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TOMAŽEVA PROSLAVA 2021

Robert Cvetek *Videti sence, strmeti v Sonce*

RAZPRAVE

- Konstantin V. Vodenko et al. *The Reception of Aristotle in Martin Luther's Late Theological Writings*
- Rok Gregorčič *Sokratska prevara za resnico kot Kierkegaardov prehod ...*
- Ľubomír Majtán *È vero che Timoteo sostituisce Paolo a Tessalonica in 1 Ts 3,1-10?*
- Marie Roubalová et al. *Rabbinic Judaism's Perspective on the First Crimes Against Humanity*
- Aljaž Krajnc *Vloga Abrahama v koranski historiografiji*
- Aldona Piwko *Contemporary Islamic Law between Tradition and Challenges ...*
- Klemen Kocjančič *Ne samo vez z Bogom*
- Anh Thuan Truong *The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris ...*
- Iva Nežič Glavica *Gešalt pedagogika v službi oblikovanja duhovno-religiozne dimenzije...*
- Boštjan Kolarič *Pravna opredelitev zatiranja verske svobode in nasilja...*
- David Kraner *Medijske reprezentacije kot odsev problema institucionalizacije ...*
- Eva K. Mirazchiyski idr. *Stališča osmošolcev v Sloveniji o vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo*
- Hedviga Tkáčová et al. *Existence and Prevention of Social Exclusion...*
- Marko Marinić et al. *The Correlation of Some Characteristics of Religious Identity ...*

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KAZALO / TABLE OF CONTENTS**TOMAŽEVA PROSLAVA 2021 / CONVOCATION IN HONOUR OF ST. THOMAS 2021**

- 9 Robert Cvetek – Videti sence, strmeti v Sonce: travma, potravmatska rast, bivanjska vprašanja in varanje samega sebe**
Seeing Shadows, Staring at the Sun: Trauma, Post-traumatic Growth, Existential Questions and Self-Deception

RAZPRAVE / ARTICLES

- 23 Konstantin V. Vodenko, Yulia N. Sushkova, Nikolay N. Kosarenko, Olga V. Popova, Anton S. Skotnikov and Elmira R. Khairullina – The Reception of Aristotle in Martin Luther's Late Theological Writings**
Sprejemanje Aristotela v poznih teoloških delih Martina Lutra
- 35 Rok Gregorčič – Sokratska prevara za resnico kot Kierkegaardov prehod med iracionalnostjo in racionalnostjo**
Socratic Deception in Service of the Truth as Kierkegaard's Pathway between Irrationality and Rationality
- 47 Ľubomír Majtán – È vero che Timoteo sostituisce Paolo a Tessalonica in 1 Ts 3,1-10?**
Ali drži, da Timotej nadomesti Pavla v Tesalonikah v 1 Tes 3,1-10?
Is it True that Timothy Substitutes Paul in Thessalonica in 1 Thess 3:1-10?
- 57 Marie Roubalová, Roman Kralik, Natalia A. Zaitseva, George S. Anikin, Olga V. Popova and Peter Kondrla – Rabbinic Judaism's Perspective on the First Crimes Against Humanity**
Prvi zločini proti človeštvu z vidika rabinskega judovstva
- 75 Aljaž Krajnc – Vloga Abrahama v koranski historiografiji**
The Role of Abraham in Qur'anic Historiography
- 91 Aldona Piwko – Contemporary Islamic Law between Tradition and Challenges of Modernity: Some Examples Worth Consideration**
Sodobno islamsko pravo med tradicijo in izzivi modernosti: nekaj upoštevanja vrednih primerov
- 103 Klemen Kocjančič – Ne samo vez z Bogom: razvoj vloge in dolžnosti vojaških duhovnikov skozi zgodovino**
Not Only a Connection with God: Historical Development of Roles and Duties of Military Chaplains
- 115 Anh Thuan Truong – The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris and Building Indigenous Missionary Force: A Study on Vietnam during the 17th and 18th Centuries**
Pariška družba zunanjih misijonov in vzpostavljanje domorodne misijonarske sile: študija o Vietnamu v 17. in v 18. stoletju

- 135 Iva Nežič Glavica – Geštalt pedagogika v službi oblikovanja duhovno-religiozne dimenzije življenja**
Gestalt Pedagogy in the Service of Shaping the Spiritual and Religious Dimension of Life
- 149 Boštjan Kolarič – Pravna opredelitev zatiranja verske svobode in nasilja nad verskimi skupnostmi**
The Legal Classification of the Repression of Freedom of Religion and the Violence against Religious Communities
- 163 David Kraner – Medijske reprezentacije kot odsev problema institucionalizacije Cerkve**
Media Representations Reflect the Problem of the Institutionalisation of the Church
- 185 Eva Klemenčič Mirazchiyski in Plamen V. Mirazchiyski – Stališča osmošolcev v Sloveniji o vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo: analiza podatkov ICCS**
Attitudes of Eighth-Graders in Slovenia on the Role of Religious Influence in Society: An Analysis of ICCS Data
- 199 Hedviga Tkáčová, Martina Pavlíková, Miroslav Tvrdoň and Alexey I. Prokopyev – Existence and Prevention of Social Exclusion of Religious University Students due to Stereotyping**
Obstoj in preprečevanje družbenega izključevanja vernih študentov zaradi stereotipizacije
- 225 Marko Marinić and Jasna Ćurković Nimac – The Correlation of Some Characteristics of Religious Identity with the Quality of Life of Persons with Disabilities**
Povezanost posameznih značilnosti religiozne identitete s kakovostjo življenja oseb z invalidnostjo

OCENE / REVIEWS

- 241 Maciej Potz, Political Science of Religion: Theorising the Political Role of Religion (Klemen Kocjančič)**
- 243 'Abd al-Ġabbār al-Niffarī, Knjiga mističnih postajališč in nagovorov (Aljaž Krajnc)**
- 246 Marcin Godawa in Bojan Žalec, ur., Image and Man – Correlations (Urška Jeglič)**
- 250 Mihai Dragnea, Christian Identity Formation Across the Elbe in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries (Simon Malmenvall)**

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Robert Cvetek

Videti sence, strmeti v Sonce: travma, potravnatska rast, bivanjska vprašanja in varanje samega sebe

Seeing Shadows, Staring at the Sun: Trauma, Post-traumatic Growth, Existential Questions and Self-Deception

Povzetek: Številne raziskave kažejo, da procesi v možganih, tako v fizičnem, še bolj pa v socialnem okolju, v veliki meri izbirajo, kaj bomo kot posamezniki opazili in naredili za pomembno, s tem pa si ustvarjamo tudi subjektivne sisteme za interpretacijo sveta in življenja. Travmatične izkušnje imajo zaradi specifične spominske narave pri tem posebno vlogo, zaradi pogoste navzočnosti ogroženosti življenja pa predvsem tudi za bivanjski vprašnji končnosti in smisla življenja. Ti dve vprašanji današnji družbi delata velike probleme, na nekatere njune vidike pa dajeta vera in religija prepotrebne in pomembne odgovore. Odgovore je treba sprejeti ne le na kognitivni in razumski ravni, ampak jih uvrstiti tudi v vedenje in življenje, predvsem pri žrtvah travme pa jih dajati v sočutnem, pristnem, ljubečem in varnem odnosu, v katerem je možno regulirati intenzivne afekte in anksioznost. Pri tem je lahko v veliko pomoč akademsko delo v smislu interdisciplinarnega dialoga, h kateremu močno poziva tudi papež Frančišek.

Glavne besede: travma, potravnatska rast, eksistencialna vprašanja, nenamerna slepota

Abstract: Numerous studies show that processes in our brain essentially select what we perceive and consider essential, both in the physical and even more so in the social environment. Thus, we also create subjective systems for interpreting the world and life. Because of the specific nature of memory, traumatic experiences play a unique role in this process, because of the frequent presence of life threats on such occasions, especially for the existential questions of the finality and meaning of life. These two questions pose significant problems

for contemporary society, and faith and religion provide many needed and vital answers to some of their aspects. The answers must not be accepted only on a cognitive and rational level and translated into behaviour and life, especially for trauma victims, given in a compassionate, genuine, loving, and safe relationship where intense emotions and anxieties can be regulated. Scientific work in the sense of interdisciplinary dialogue, Pope Francis also strongly calls, can be of great help.

Keywords: trauma, post-traumatic growth, existential questions, unintentional blindness

1. Nenamerna slepota in naša slika sveta

Številne raziskave (Simons in Chabris 1999, 1059–1074; Hannon in Richards 2010, 309–319; Hughes-Hallett et al. 2015, 3184–3189; Remington, Cartwright-Finch in Lavie 2014, 1–11; Oktay in Cangöz 2018, 59–66) so potrdile fenomen tako imenovane nenamerne slepote. Raziskave (Chabris et al. 2011, 150–153) so pokazale, da nastopa tudi v dogodkih vsakdanjega življenja. Nenamerna slepota je nezmožnost videti dobro vidne objekte, ki jih direktno gledamo, ko je naša pozornost drugje (Mack 2003, 180). Navadno se izraz uporablja za vidne objekte, lahko pa tudi za druge (slušne, tipne ipd.) (Mack 2003, 180). S fenomenom nenamerne slepote je povezan fenomen selektivne pozornosti. Da bi bili v naših nalogah (prebrati časopis) učinkoviti, je treba, da procesiramo za naloge pomembne informacije (smo osredinjeni na besede v časopisu), hkrati pa ignoriramo za naloge nepomembne informacije (pogovore okrog nas v polni restravraciji) (Cosman in Vecera 2012, 576).

V znameniti raziskavi, ki sta jo izvedla, sta Simons in Chabris (1999) udeležencem prikazala posnetek, v katerem si trije igralci bele in črne ekipe podajajo žogo. Glede na njune ugotovitve, ki so bile pozneje v drugih raziskavah tudi večkrat potrjene, približno polovica opazovalcev ne vidi osebe, oblečene v gorilo, ki se prikaže in sprehodi čez celotno sceno v posnetku, če se opazovalcem naroči, naj štejejo število podaj bele ekipe. Ta in podobne raziskave nam kažejo, da procesi v možganih torej močno izbirajo, kaj bodo opazili ali naredili pomembno celo v fizičnem okolju, kaj šele v našem socialnem ali psihičnem. Naše slike realnosti so tako močno filtrirane.

Fenomen nenamerne slepote in selektivne pozornosti nam pomaga lažje razumeti nekatera ekstremna, na primer negativna stališča nekaterih do zakonskega partnerja, do nošenja mask pri ukrepih zaradi virusa COVID-19, do katoliške Cerkve in tudi do vere. Ta stališča so odvisna od tega, katere njihove vidike bomo naredili za pomembne in za katere bomo nenamerno (seveda pa lahko tudi namerno) slepi. V depresiji se, na primer, močno zoži pozornost na negativno (Beck 2002, 31). Tudi v predajanju skušnjavi bi lahko v nekem smislu govorili o zožitvi pogledov, v katerih je deaktiviran reflektivni sistem (Vohs 2006, 217; Milyavskaya et al. 2015,

677–678). Z razumevanjem teh fenomenov tudi lažje razumemo težave novinarjev z objektivnostjo. Nekateri raziskovalci navajajo, da bi morali biti novinarji previdni celo pri navajanjih pričevanj in upoštevati možnost nenamernih napak (Blom 2018, 345–354).

Vsak od nas si sčasoma na podlagi svoje lastne pozornosti (pri tem igrajo pomembno vlogo tudi globoka čustva) ustvari neko sliko sveta, v katerem živi, oziroma si ustvarimo sistem, ki ga uporabljamo za interpretacijo sveta in življenja. Ta sistem ali slika vsebuje odgovore na za naše razmišljanje pomembna vprašanja, kakor so: Je življenje za nas varno in predvidljivo? So ljudje v njem dobri, neškodljivi, prijazni in zaupanja vredni? Je dobri Bog tisti, ki ne bo dovolil, da se nam v življenju kaj hudega zgodi? Ob tem pa je zelo pomembno vprašanje, koliko je ta naša, nedvomno do neke mere subjektivna slika sveta v skladu z realnostjo. Nekatero poenostavitve realnosti so nujno potrebne, da se lahko v kompleksnih dražljajih sploh znajdemo, vendar so lahko vir mnogih težav, če slike sveta niso posodobljene, če so naivne, preveč poenostavljene in nesofisticirane. Če bi vozili avto in pri tem nenehno gledali v aplikacijo z neposodobljenim Googlovim zemljevidom, namesto da bi gledali na cesto, bi verjetno imeli hude težave. Lahko se celo zgodi, da imamo celotna pomembna področja realnosti našega življenja brisana ali neizdelana.

2. Travmatične izkušnje

Naša podoba sveta, življenja in eksistencialnih vprašanj je lahko močno odvisna od travmatičnih izkušenj. Te izkušnje imajo namreč posebno vlogo v možganih in posebno spominsko naravo. Navadno spomini zbledijo v času, človek se že po nekaj dneh težko spomni senzornih elementov (na primer barve, zvokov) neke določene izkušnje. V travmatičnih spominih pa se slike, barve, čustva, zvoki in telesne reakcije prav vtisnejo ali vžgejo v možganske sisteme in lahko vztrajajo v precej nespremenjeni obliki mesece, leta in celo desetletja (Cvetek 2010, 55; van der Kolk, Hopper in Osterman 2001, 27; van der Kolk 1994, 254). So zamrznjeni v času (Shapiro 2001, 42; 47). Neka klientka, ki je bila spolno napadena in medtem zvezana, je ob razgovoru o dogodku po več letih čutila na zapestjih vrvi, torej imela celo fizične občutke, ki so bili ‚zamrznjeni‘ v času. Kaj šele čustva in druge senzorne (npr. vidne, slušne, tipne) vtise! Problem travm, tudi spolnih zlorab, je torej, da se nepredelana travma ne konča, ko se izkušnja konča. Lahko bi rekli, da je ujeta v neke vrste časovni zanki in se lahko nenehno podoživlja ali retravmatizira, ko kaj spomni na njo. Tudi zato so takšne izkušnje tako problematične in v preteklosti so morda strokovnjaki premalo osveščali o tem.

Travmatične izkušnje so dokaj pogoste. Po ozki definiciji travme, kakor je opisana v klasifikaciji DSM (American Psychiatric Association 2013, 271), travme doživi 60–90 % ljudi (Benjet et al. 2016, 334), po širši definiciji pa praktično vsi, in to večkrat. Rezultati raziskave, ki smo jo na naši fakulteti opravili na odrasli slovenski populaciji glede pogostosti takšnih dogodkov (Cvetek, Ahčin et al. 2006), so prikazana v tabeli 1.

	% enkrat	% večkrat	Skupaj
1. Življenjsko nevarna bolezen odgovarjajočega	9,44	4,41	13,85
2. Življenjsko nevarna nesreča ali poškodba odgovarjajočega (npr. avtomobilska, letalska, pri delu...)	21,3	5,83	27,13
3. Uporaba fizične sile ali orožja na odgovarjajočem v ropu ali napadu	3,89	1,06	4,95
4. Smrt bližnjega družinskega člana, intimnega partnerja ali zelo bližnjega prijatelja odgovarjajočega zaradi nesreče, umora ali samomora	19,49	8,94	28,43
5. Fizična prisila (starša, drugega družinskega člana, intimnega partnerja, tujca ali koga drugega) v spolno občevanje ali v oralni ali analni spolni odnos proti volji odgovarjajočega ali ko je bil odgovarjajoči nemočen, ko je spal ali bil omamljen	2,53	1,95	4,49
6. Poleg izkušenj iz prejšnjega vprašanja izkušnje dotikov privatnih (intimnih) delov telesa odgovarjajočega; prisila odgovarjajočega, da se dotika telesa drugega, ali poskus prisile, da bi imel nekdo spolne odnose proti volji odgovarjajočega	7,25	6,74	13,99
7. Večkratno oklofutanje, pretep ali drugačen napad ali poškodba odgovarjajočega v otroštvu, ki jo zagrešijo starši, skrbnik ali druga oseba	5,86	31,47	37,33
8. Obrcanje, pretep, oklofutanje ali kaka drugačna fizična poškodba odgovarjajočega v odraslosti, ki jo zagreši intimni partner, oseba, s katero je bil odgovarjajoči na zmenku, družinski član, tujec ali kdo drug	6,97	5,87	12,84
9. Večkratno zasmehovanje, poniževanje in ignoriranje odgovarjajočega, ki jih zagrešijo starši, intimni partner ali družinski član	1,94	32,54	34,47
10. Poleg že opisanih izkušenj grožnja odgovarjajočemu z orožjem, kakor je nož ali pištola	5,86	2,5	8,36
11. Navzočnost odgovarjajočega pri umoru, resni poškodbi, spolnem, fizičnem nasilju ali pri napadu	6,69	6,7	13,39
12. Druge situacije z možnostjo resne poškodbe ali nevarnosti za življenje odgovarjajočega – vključenost v vojaški spopad ali življenje na vojnem območju	6,68	1,91	8,59
13. Resen požar, potres, poplava, plaz ali druga naravna nesreča	12,77	7,5	20,28
14. Življenjsko nevarna bolezen bližnjega prijatelja ali družinskega člana odgovarjajočega	34,88	20,9	55,78
15. Izkušnja, da je bil bližnji prijatelj ali družinski član žrtev resnega napada, mučenja, ugrabitve ali vzeta za talca	4,48	2,48	6,96
16. Razbijanje stvari, ki ga zagrešijo starši odgovarjajočega, ali njihovo medsebojno poškodovanje	6,42	19,19	25,61
17. Ločitev ali razhod staršev odgovarjajočega	9,88	1,15	11,03
18. Odvzem odgovarjajočega njegovi družini	8,56	4,17	12,73

Opomba: % enkrat – procent odgovarjajočih udeležencev, ki so neko travmo oziroma hujši stresni dogodek doživeli enkrat; % večkrat – procent odgovarjajočih udeležencev, ki so neko travmo oziroma hujši stresni dogodek doživeli večkrat; Skupaj – seštetih procenti za eno in za več doživetih neke travme oziroma hujšega stresnega dogodka.

Tabela 1: *Procent nastopanja nekaterih vrst travme oziroma večjih stresnih dogodkov v slovenski populaciji.*

3. Travmatične izkušnje in njihov vpliv na našo podobo sveta in življenja

Jedro problema težav ali psihopatologije, ki se razvije po travmi, lahko pogosto vidimo kot problem regulacije čustev. Mnogi strokovnjaki (Shapiro 2001, 47; Peterson 2017a, 2019) pa kot jedro takšnih težav ali psihopatologije vidijo tudi v tem, da je slika, podoba realnosti (npr. ali smo v nevarnosti ali ne) izkrivljena. Že za samo potravmatsko stresno motnjo je značilno, da posameznik v sedanosti, ko ni realnih razlogov za to, podoživlja pretekle spomine (Svetovna zdravstvena organizacija 2018). Če se petdeset let star odrasel posameznik, ki ga je mama kot otroka pretepala, s strahom, veliko frustracijo in anksioznostjo odzove na pogovor s svojo mamo, to ni ustrezna reakcija na sedanjo realnost. Mama mu ne pomeni več grožnje, da ga bo fizično pretepla, če je, denimo, ta mama petinsedemdesetletna invalidka na vozičku (Shapiro 2001, 47). Če so nekega otroka nadlegovali vrstniki, to še vedno lahko nosi s sabo kot odrasel človek – v drži, v predvidevanjih o ljudeh, v reakcijah, strahu, negotovosti, pri štiridesetih letih je tej sliki realnosti rok uporabe že zdavnaj potekel, vendar ni posodobljena, da bi odsevala realnost sedanosti (Peterson 2017a).

Raziskave kažejo, da je eden od večjih dejavnikov za psihopatologijo po travmi (korelacije tudi do 0,5) (Park, Mills in Edmondson 2012, 70; Peterson 2019), koliko travma (lahko pa tudi dogodki, kakor so ločitev, afera ali izdajstvo) zruši posameznikov sistem prepričan o svetu ali razumevanja sveta. Koliko je torej dogodek tako nepričakovan, da ga posameznik ne more vključiti v okvir sistema, ki ga uporablja za svoje interpretacije sveta in življenja in narave človeka.

Travmo definitivno lahko razumemo kot veliko zlo, ki se lahko prenaša iz generacije v generacijo, nekatere novejšje raziskave nakazujejo celo medgeneracijski prenos travme prek epigenetike (Perroud et al. 2014, 334–344; Jawaid, Roszkowski in Mansuy 2018, 7–20). Raziskave tudi potrjujejo možne številne negativne biološke, psihološke, socialne in duhovne posledice. Pa vendar, stroka ima tudi dobre novice za žrtve travm. Raziskave predvsem v zadnjem času posvečajo večjo pozornost tudi tako imenovani potravmatski rasti, pozitivnim izidom travme, ki so predmet te razprave in ki seveda ni preprosta in je vsi ne zmorejo. Vendar 10–77 % oseb, ki jih prizadene travma, doživi pozitivne psihološke spremembe po travmi (Wu et al. 2019, 408). Tako jih je v metaanalizi, v katero je bilo vključenih 10 181 udeležencev, 52,58 % poročalo o srednjih do velikih stopnjah potravmatske rasti (Wu et al. 2019, 412).

Čeprav torej travma lahko povzroči, da so nekatera področja življenja manj izdelana in v skladu z realnostjo, pa raziskave potravmatske rasti kažejo, kako travma lahko pomaga, da je naš sistem interpretacije in razumevanja sveta bolj realen, sofisticiran, z manj pomembnimi področji življenja, ki jih ne vidimo, pa tudi z manj varanja samega sebe (Gersons et al. 2020, 260; Vis in Boynton 2008, 70–80; Sigmund 2003, 227). Navajamo nekaj zgledov, ko lahko travmatična izkušnja povzroči bolj realen pogled na svet in življenje.

– »Svet lahko kontroliramo, in če lepo in pravilno (dobro) živimo svoje življenje, igramo po pravilih v življenju, zaupamo po svoji predstavi v dobrega Boga, se nam

ali našim bližnjim slabe stvari ne bodo zgodile.« Travmatična izkušnja nam lahko pokaže, da se v življenju zgodijo težke stvari, ki lahko niso pod našo kontrolo.

– »Svet/življenje je varno.« Življenje ni absolutno varno, v bistvu je lahko zelo nevarno. Vsi namreč umremo, zato bi lahko rekli, da je smrtno nevarno. Ni pa seveda popolnoma nevarno na vsakem koraku in v vsakem trenutku.

– »Verjetno mi bo uspelo, da bom v življenju srečen in brez večjih problemov, ustvaril bom srečno družino ali življenje.« Raziskave in klinična praksa kažejo, da je zelo majhen procent ljudi dalj časa brez hujših problemov vsaj na enem področju svojega življenja. V življenju bomo zelo verjetno imeli najmanj eno resno kronično bolezen, verjetno vsaj dve. Svetovna zdravstvena organizacija (2001, 20) poroča, da samo mentalne in vedenjske motnje prizadenejo več kakor 25 % ljudi. Večja raziskava (Kessler et al. 2007, 172) pa je pokazala, da je pričakovani procent ljudi, ki imajo v svojem življenju mentalno motnjo (največkrat depresivno ali anksiozno) v Franciji 47,2 %, v Nemčiji 33 %, v Italiji 26 %, na Nizozemskem 42,9 %, v Belgiji 37,1 %, v Španiji 29 % in v ZDA 55,3 %. Če nimamo problemov na področju zdravja, so lahko problemi na področju odnosov, financ, otrok, staršev, poklica in podobno. Če večjih problemov nimamo sami, je velika verjetnost, da jih imajo naši bližnji. Zelo verjetno bomo v življenju nekajkrat na robu ali prek roba svojih zmogljivosti reševanja problemov. Novejše psihološke teorije (terapija sprejemanja in predanosti) poudarjajo, da plačamo precejšen davek za tako imenovani terro sreče oziroma za zahteve, da je v našem življenju vse funkcionalno, uspešno in brez problemov in trpljenja (Harris 2008, 8–10). Večje zavedanje o temnih aspektih življenja pa je pomembno, ker lahko pomeni tudi večje zavedanje o njegovih svetlih oziroma lepih plateh (Vachon, Bessette in Goyette 2016, 185).

– »Ljudje imajo dobre namene, verjamem v dobro ljudi, niso nevarni.« Ljudje imamo lahko zelo temne motivacije, in to tudi zavestne in preiščljene. Če ne izdelamo bolj sofisticiranega in manj naivnega pogleda na svet in ljudi, lahko hitro postanemo žrtev manipulacije (Peterson 2017b). V račun je treba vzeti obstoj zlobnosti v ljudeh, s tem pa tudi obstoj zlobnosti v sebi (Peterson 2017c; 2017d). Pastoralna konstitucija o Cerkvi v sedanjem svetu v zvezi s tem navaja: »Kajti če človek gleda v svoje srce, odkriva, da je nagnjen tudi k zlu in pogreznjen v mnogotero zlo, ki ne more izvirati od njegovega dobrega Stvarnika.« (GS, tč. 13,1) Biti dober ob vseh tragikah, pa tudi krivicah, ki se nam neizogibno dogajajo v življenju, ni preprosto. Tudi zase je dobro vedeti: če te življenje postavi v težke okoliščine in pritisne na prave gumbе, skrčiš svoj pogled, zelo verjetno postaneš zagrenjen, maščevalen in opravičuješ svoja slaba/zlobna dejanja. S tem lahko razumemo vrtiljak tragičnih zgodb tako na osebni ravni kakor tudi na ravni družbenih skupin in narodov. Če to res dojamemo, potem lahko pristno občudujemo Jezusa na križu in lahko do neke mere razumemo, kaj je bil tudi kot človeško bitje (celo Bog ga je zapustil) sposoben narediti s preoblikovanjem najhujših krivic v odpuščanje. Treba se je torej zavedati svoje kapacitete za zlo (Peterson 2017c; 2017d). Seveda pa razumevanje svojih temnih plati in temnih plati v vsakem posamezniku nikakor ne pomeni, da kakorkoli dajemo odgovornost žrtvam travme (ali jih celo krivimo), saj nikakor ne upravičujejo zlobnih dejanj. Žrtev travme mora dobiti sporočilo, da je

storilec skopal luknjo, ne ona, lahko pa kaj naredi, da se v prihodnje izogne luknji (Peterson 2019). Imeti zemljevid, kako se v prihodnje izogniti takšnim ‚luknjam‘, je lahko bistveno za okrevanje od potravmatskih simptomov.

4. Travmatične izkušnje in eksistencialna vprašanja

Poseben izziv pa pri travmi pomenijo eksistencialna vprašanja (Hoffman, Hoffman in Vallejos 2013, 3–6; Vis in Boynton 2008, 74). Travma namreč po večini definicij (klasifikacija DSM) (American Psychiatric Association 2013, 271) pomeni dogodek z grožnjo smrti ali resno poškodbo (v zadnjem času je še večji poudarek na spolnem nasilju) in tako pomembno zadeva predvsem dva od štirih glavnih virov anksioznosti in groze človekovega življenja glede na glavne avtorje (Yalom 1998, 172–173) eksistencialne psihoterapije.

4.1 Neizogibna smrt za vsakega od nas in za ljudi, ki jih imamo radi

V splošnem je še posebno sodobna družba razvila nekatere mehanizme, ki nam omogočajo, da se navadno ne ukvarjamo prav veliko s tem vprašanjem, in ki nam dajejo resda lažen občutek varnosti in neranljivosti. Pogosto se s to frustracijo naši vrojeni težnji po obstajanju in brutalni omejitvi našega bivanja na tem svetu soočamo tako, da z občutkom nelagodja gledamo proč (od smrti). Veliko psihične energije se porabi za zanikanje (na to mi še ni treba misliti; smrt je za starejše od mene; če bom zdravo živel, bom to preprečil) in za potlačevanje. Z evtanazijo se hočemo prepričati, da smrt ni nič groznega, lahko jo naredimo nebolečo in celo prijetno.

Precej jasno so s to anksioznostjo povezane psihične motnje, kakor so hipohondrija, panične motnje, kompulzivno umivanje rok, fobije in podobno. Predvsem eksistencialni terapevti (Yalom 2008, 18–30) pa ugotavljajo, da bi lahko to anksioznost, če bi le želeli, videli v ozadju še veliko več problemov in načinov našega vedenja (kopičenje premoženja, pretirana kontrola, razni družinski problemi, hlepenje po časti, odkloni v spolnosti...).

V splošnem je način, kako premagaš svoj strah pred nečim, to, da se prostovoljno soočiš z njim, seveda z ustreznimi velikimi koraki, ne pa z begom od tega. Študentje lahko pomislijo na odlašanje ali soočanje s kakim težkim izpitom. Ideja o škodljivosti potlačevanja in zanikanja se nedvomno v nekem določenem vidiku pripisuje Sigmundu Freudu, vendar je iskanje resnice, ne glede na stroške, močna krščanska ideja.

Problem zanikanja je tudi v tem, da je ob vedno številčnejših dogodkih, kakor so življenjske prelomnice, upokojitve, smrti bližnjih in podobno, vedno manj učinkovita.

Za nas pa je bistveno, kar Yalom (1980, 32–33), najbolj znani predstavnik današnje eksistencialne psihoterapije, tako lepo formulira: »Zanikanje smrti na katerikoli ravni je zanikanje posameznikove narave in povzroči vedno večje predirljive restrikcije (omejitve) zavedanja in izkušnje. Integracija ideje smrti nas reši; namesto da bi nas obsodila na eksistenco terorja ali potrtega pesimizma, deluje kot

katalizator, ki nas pahne v bolj pristne načine življenja in ojača naša zadovoljstva v življenju.«

Raziskovalci navajajo: če resnično hočemo pogledati na končnost našega življenja, gremo psihološko v drugo stanje zavedanja, imenovano stanje zavesti ali čuječnosti bivanja (30), drugače od stanja zavesti vsakodnevnih skrbi. Mnogi oboleli z razširjenim rakom – namesto da bi obstali otopeli in v obupu po diagnozi – doživijo prebujenje, začnejo voditi življenje bolj bogato. V življenju postavijo prioritete in naredijo za nepomembne tiste stvari, ki so nepomembne. Rečejo na primer, da je škoda, ker so morali čakati toliko časa, da se naučijo živeti (2008, 34). Glede na to, da pa imamo vsi diagnozo smrtnosti že od rojstva, nam verjetno ni treba čakati na diagnozo raka, da bi dosegli te spremembe, če bi le hoteli bolj jasno pogledati na končnost našega življenja.

Ni pa gledanje smrti v svoji prihodnosti in inkorporiranje tega v naše sisteme nekaj preprostega. Eksistencialni psihoterapevti uporabljajo metaforo o strmenju ali zrenju v sonce (2008). Na prav poseben, pogosto celo preveč brutalen način, ko je dejstvo naše minljivosti prezentirano v zelo jasni luči, pa je to prav v travmatičnih izkušnjah, v katerih je navzoča grožnja smrti (Vachon, Bessette in Goyette 2016, 184). Ob tem so težko učinkovite kakršnekoli obrambne strategije pred zavedanjem. In po travmi se mora za neko mentalno in duhovno zdravje pogosto oseba vsaj do neke mere naučiti spoprijemati – namesto ga zanikati – z vprašanjem smrti.

Zanimivi so tudi mešani rezultati raziskav, ki ugotavljajo, kako sta strah ali anksioznost pred smrtjo povezana z verovanjem v posmrtno življenje in z religioznostjo. Raziskave namreč ne kažejo jasno, da bi vera pri vseh zmanjševala takšen strah ali anksioznost. Raziskava Mesarič (2018, 51), izvedena na Univerzi v Ljubljani, na Teološki fakulteti, je med anksioznostjo pred smrtjo in močjo religiozne vere odkrila korelacijo 0,036, to pomeni: praktično nično povezanost. Podobno govorijo tudi nekatere druge raziskave; res je, da so razlike med posameznimi verstvi in pa predvsem v tem, kakšna je ta vera (Bakan, Arli in Yıldız 2019, 2241; Jong et al. 2017, 11–12). Če nekdo verjame, da ga v posmrtnem življenju čaka kazen ali pekel, to verjetno ne vpliva razbremenjujoče na strah. Podrobnejša analiza teh ugotovitev in njihova implikacija sta zunaj namena te razprave, ob tem naj omenimo le papeža Frančiška (Frančišek 2013), ki v okviru teologije občutljivosti oziroma nežnosti (angl. *tenderness*) opozarja na razumevanje odnosa z Bogom kot na protistrup za strah. Verjetno bi bilo treba delati na večji implementaciji teh sporočil.

4.2 Problem smisla v življenju

Drugo tako pomembno eksistencialno vprašanje je, ali ima ob vseh težavah, trpljenju, omejenosti in končnosti našega življenja naše življenje kak pozitiven smisel.

V splošnem številne raziskave kažejo na velik pomen smisla za človekovo zdravje in funkcioniranje. Steptoe s sodelavci (Steptoe, Deaton in Stone 2015, 640–648) je odkril, da je med starejšimi udeleženci v 8,5-letnem obdobju umrlo 29,3 % ljudi, ki so imeli majhen občutek smisla v življenju, v primerjavi z le 9,3 % tistih, ki so

imeli večji občutek smisla v življenju. Nekateri raziskovalci psihoterapije celo trdijo, da je pomoč klientom pri najdenju ustreznih smislov celo najpomembnejši cilj psihoterapije (Metz 2016, 27–33).

Glede na to, da so nekateri zaradi pozitivnega občutka smisla dali celo svoje življenje, lahko sklepamo, da je vsaj pri nekaterih občutek smisla še močnejši od strahu pred smrtjo.

Za našo razpravo pa so pomembne tri težave v zvezi s smislom, ki se izkazujejo v raziskavah in literaturi.

1. V današnjem vsakdanjem modernem življenju je smisel lahko zelo zožen, včasih celo zreduciran na pridobivanje denarja in materialnega dobrega ali na prizadevanje za neke površinske in kratkotrajne užitke. Ti smisli so precej ranljivi, travmatična izkušnja, tudi s svojim sporočilom o minljivosti življenja in o postavljanju človeka v stanje zavesti ali čuječnosti bivanja, je hud udarec za takšne zožene, reducirane smisle, ki jih zamaje, seveda pa zagotavlja v tem smislu tudi priložnost za rast (Vachon, Bessette in Goyette 2016, 179; Sigmund 2003, 224).

2. Glede na zavedanje človeka o končnosti njegovega življenja se lahko pri ljudeh pokaže vir smisla, ki presega samo življenje posameznika. Torej nekaj, kar ostane tudi po njem: na primer narediti neko pozitivno spremembo v svetu, narediti svet boljši, vzgojiti otroke, ki bodo nadaljevali tvoje vrednote; pomagati drugim in podobno. Vendar pa ne želimo predstavljati preveč preprostih rešitev na vprašanje smisla. Če razumsko razmišljamo, vsaj kakor razumsko tukaj pojmuje, nam namreč zavedanje, da nam fosili s pomembno verjetnostjo kažejo, da vsaka vrsta nekoč izumre (tudi dinozavri so izumrli) in da bo čez par milijonov let sonce eksplodiralo in uničilo zemljo, da ne govorimo o črni luknji, ki nas bo vse požrla, lahko poraja neko določeno stopnjo frustracije, če seveda v enačbo, da se nam sploh izide, ne vstavimo tudi onostranstva.

Številne raziskave v splošnem kažejo, da imata resnična, notranja (intrinzična) vernost in religioznost posameznika lahko zelo pomembno vlogo pri razreševanju teh bistvenih življenjskih vprašanj. Teologija v tem smislu lahko zagotovi pomembne in prepotrebne odgovore. V zvezi s tem pa je treba opozoriti na še neko težavo v zvezi s smislom, pa tudi širše.

3. Raziskovalci potravmatske rasti (Vis in Boynton 2008, 74; Mattis 2002, 317–318) poudarjajo problem samo kognitivne ravni razumevanja smisla in potrebo po globljem dožemanju in izpeljavi v življenje teh razumskih odgovorov glede smisla. Ta proces imenujejo tudi presežno ustvarjanje smisla (Vis in Boynton 2008, 74). Odgovori na smisel življenja so namreč lahko zelo neavtentični, nepristni, nereflimirani in naloženi od zunaj. Zgolj nekakšni deklaratorni, kognitivni, dogmatični, razumski ali intelektualni odgovori imajo lahko majhno vrednost in so pogosto precej neuporabni. Lahko razumsko za svoje življenje vemo, da je smisel življenja ljubezen, služenje bližnjim, širjenje božjega kraljestva, slavljenje Boga ali kaj podobnega, vendar tega v resnici ne dojemamo niti ne živimo. Lahko funkcioniramo, ne da bi se spraševali o veljavnosti, pravi vrednosti in pomenu teh smislov za naše življenje, odločitve in vedenje. Lahko nekdo iskreno misli, da veruje v Boga

ali da je treba v življenju delati dobro in da ima plemenit smisel življenja, vendar njegova dejanja (prvenstveno prizadevanje za materialne dobrine, da ne govorimo o zlorabah) kažejo, da glede tega vara samega sebe. Psihoterapevti govorimo o stiku s sabo, tudi s svojimi sencami in temnimi čutenji in o včasih grozi, spoznati o sebi, kdo v resnici si. Šele ponižno opazovanje sebe in predvsem svojega vedenja nam bo povedalo, kakšna je naša vera ali smisel življenja in koliko so naši zavestni odgovori na smisel življenja lažni ali avtentični in resnični.

Za zmanjševanje notranje razcepljenosti posameznika med ‚razumskim, intelektualnim‘ vedenjem, med tem, kar posameznik misli, in tem, kar potem dejansko odigrava v življenju, je verjetno lahko v veliko pomoč tudi v akademskem prostoru dialog med različnimi disciplinami (teologija, filozofija, psihologija ...), ki je tako poudarjen v apostolski konstituciji *Veritatis Gaudium* (Petkovšek 2019, 25–26). Predvsem pa je potrebno večje vključevanje različnih izkustvenih, doživljajskih, čustvenih, vedenjskih, problemskih, relacijskih in celo telesnih aspektov (novejše teorije govorijo celo o instinktu smisla življenja) v razumevanje, znanje in tudi poučevanje glede teh vprašanj. Vodičar (2016, 375–382) govori v tem smislu o vzgojni poti etike pristne skrbi za drugega, o poti zglada in dialoga, ki morata nujno voditi v praktično življenje. Sedaj že mednarodno razširjena relacijska družinska terapija, ki jo je razvil prof. Gostečnik s sodelavci na Teološki fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani (Gostečnik 2017; Gostečnik et al. 2011; Gostečnik et al. 2017; Cvetek 2015; Cvetek, Kompan Erzar et al. 2006; Gostečnik 2011; Gostečnik, Repič in Cvetek 2008; Cvetek, 2012; Gostečnik et al. 2009), s svojim globinskim celostnim pristopom, ki poudarja tudi telesne, temeljne afektivne, čustvene, pristne odnosne, vedenjske in duhovne aspekte človekovega doživljanja, lahko pomeni pomembno dodano vrednost omenjenemu dialogu tudi v svetovnem merilu. Ocenjujemo, da nas papež Frančišek (Frančišek 2013, 2019) prav s poslanico univerzitetnim ustanovam s poudarjanjem kerigmatične teologije, teologije občutljivosti ali nežnosti, kakor jo imenuje, s poudarjanjem potrebnosti upoštevanja čustev v teologiji in povezovanju teologije z življenjem spodbuja točno v tem smislu.

5. Sklep

Človek, ki bo v svoji eksistencialni poštenosti priznal svojo ranljivost in se spoprijel s svojimi ‚sencami‘, bo tudi, tako kakor Kristus, lahko pristno pristopal k trpečim, izrinjenim in ponižanim. Še posebno pri tistih, ki so preživeli travme, je pomembno, da se raziskovanja eksistencialnih vprašanj in danosti življenja lotimo v sočutnem, ljubečem in varnem odnosu, v katerem je možno regulirati intenzivne afekte in anksioznost, ki se ob teh vprašanjih kažejo.

V današnji družbi je bistveno, da teologija oznanja evangeljsko sporočilo na tem področju, in to v smislu, da ni treba zanikati ‚senčnih‘ področij življenja. Karkoli že je bolečega, težkega, ‚senčnega‘, vedno je možnost vstajenja in upanja. Nobene človeške neumnosti ni, ki ne bi mogla biti odpuščena, nobenega človeškega žalovanja, ki ne bi bilo do neke mere potolaženo, nobene človeške temine in sence, v

katero ne bi mogel prodreti žarek svetlobe. Še tako zlomljen ali travmiran človek lahko v iskanju odgovorov tudi na eksistencialna vprašanja usmeri svoj pogled proti Soncu.

Kratika

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PREOBRAŽENI

Zgodnjekrščanska teologija
Kristusovega spremenjenja na gori

Predgovor Gorazd Kocijančič



Jan Dominik Bogataj
**Preobraženi: zgodnjekrščanska teologija
Kristusovega spremenjenja na gori**

V monografiji avtor predstavi grško in bizantinsko umevanje evangeljskega dogodka Jezusove spremenitve na gori in ga umesti v širši grški religijski koncept metamorfoze. Temu doda svojsko latinsko tradicijo na zahodu in z vzhodne strani še semitski element iz sirskega izročila, potem pa predstavi tudi vizijo za sodobno teološko in filozofsko misel. Dogodek in njegovo patristično interpretacijo namreč umesti v tri teološke »poddisciplin«: kristologijo, soteriologijo in eshatologijo. Bogato poznavanje patrističnih besedil in prodorno razmišljanje mu je omogočilo, da je prišel do poglobljenega uvida v zapleteno dinamiko bizantinske, latinske in sirske patristične misli, ki je vredna ne le študija, pač pa tudi umestitve v sodobno miselno avanturo.

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Konstantin V. Vodenko, Yulia N. Sushkova, Nikolay N. Kosarenko, Olga V. Popova, Anton S. Skotnikov and Elmira R. Khairullina

The Reception of Aristotle in Martin Luther's Late Theological Writings

Sprejemanje Aristotela v poznih teoloških delih Martina Lutra

Abstract: The ambiguous legacy of Martin Luther, the sixteenth-century German reformer, includes his expressive, intellectual reactions to Aristotle's ideas. His vehement criticism of the ancient philosopher in some of his later writings may have eclipsed Luther's more balanced reception of Aristotle in his early career. Furthermore, careful distinctions must be made between Luther's views on medieval Aristotelianism vs the original ideas of Aristotle. Finally, when assessing the German reformer's appraisal of Aristotle, it is vital to distinguish between the vertical, *coram Deo*, horizontal, *coram hominibus*, human situatedness, and interaction dimensions. This article argues that, despite the strong rejection of Aristotle's usefulness for theology by Luther, we can discern a limited use of Aristotelian categories by Luther when dealing with some matters of politics and ethics (the rule of law in a state and an individual's virtues). Based on Luther's mature writings, we will examine Luther's notions of sin, concupiscence, justification, divine grace, and human will, as these topics resonate in his treatment of Aristotle's philosophical heritage.

Keywords: Aristotle, Aristotelianism, Martin Luther, justification, reason, free will

Povzetek: Dvoumna zapuščina Martina Lutra, nemškega reformatorja iz 16. stoletja, vključuje njegove čustvene odzive na Aristotelove ideje. Zdi se, da je Lutrova ostra kritika antičnega filozofa v nekaterih njegovih poznih delih zameglila bolj uravnoteženo sprejemanje Aristotela v zgodnjih letih. Poleg tega je treba izpostaviti jasno razlikovanje med Lutrovim pogledom na srednjeveški aristotelizem in izvornimi Aristotelovimi idejami. Pri obravnavi vrednotenja, ki ga je

o Aristotelu izražal nemški reformator, je nadalje ključno, razlikovati med vertikalno (*coram Deo*) in horizontalno (*coram hominibus*) razsežnostjo človeškega stanja in sporazumevanja. Članek zagovarja stališče, da je kljub izrazitemu zavračanju koristnosti Aristotela za teologijo pri Lutru mogoče opaziti omejeno rabo aristotelskih kategorij na področju političnih in etičnih zadev (vladavina prava v državi in kreposti pri posameznih osebah). Na podlagi Lutrovih zrelih spisov obravnavamo njegovo razumevanje greha, poželenja, opravičenja, božje milosti in človeške volje, saj prav te teme odmevajo skozi njegovo obravnavo Aristotelove filozofske dediščine.

Ključne besede: Aristotel, aristotelizem, Martin Luther, opravičenje, razum, svobodna volja

1. Introduction

Martin Luther is arguably one of the best-known and most controversial figures of the sixteenth century. Born at a time of late scholastics, in Europe torn amid warring factions (internal struggles) during the era of fascinating discoveries (the Americas) and inventions (such as the Gutenberg's printing press), and threatened by a potent outside enemy (the Ottoman Turks), the German reformer is hailed by many in the Protestant camp as a champion of the Christian Gospel, while cursed by others as the man who tore the seamless canvas of Western Christendom to pieces. His appeal to the primacy of divine revelation (*revelatio specialis*) as interpreted by the Church's tradition and perceived and internally digested by the individual believer's conscience, introduced a curious mix of mysticism (as seen, e.g., in his emphasis on the mystical union of Christ and the believer in faith; LW 31, 359), strict Augustinianism (as evidenced by his leaning toward Augustinian's doctrine of predestination and primacy of divine grace; LW 27, 255), and individual voluntarism into the theological discourse of his era. Luther's voluntaristic mysticism, as Jacques Maritain called it, »unbridled the human self in the spiritual and religious order, as the Renaissance /.../ unbridled the human self in the order of natural and sensible activities« (Maritain 1928, 8).

Among the numerous contentious points in Luther's theological legacy is undoubtedly his stance toward Aristotle or, more generally, philosophy as a path to spiritual wisdom. Already in Medieval times, intellectuals between the 1200s to 1500s used surprisingly diverse ways to interpret competing currents of ancient and Christian moral thought to formulate a philosophical ethic fitting to their times (Bejczy 2008). The ever-increasing »emphasis upon dialectic as a primary instrument of formal inquiry was augmented in the mid-12th century by the recovery of critical works on logic by Aristotle« (Luy 2017). These attempts, naturally, continued after Luther through to the birth of the modern era, which further testifies to their theological significance. For example, attempts were made to establish a clear line from Aristotle through St. Thomas Aquinas to modern, democratic po-

litical thought (Jefferson, Truman, etc.) to substantiate the existence of 'western political philosophy' (Jaffa 1952).

However, not all in and outside the Church viewed Aristotle's ideas with sympathy. Luther's nominalist training in philosophy seemed to predispose him to question rational, intellectual explanations (Schwarz 1962) and assume a profound anti-intellectual approach. Thus, when speaking of Aristotle and St. Thomas, he allegedly said: »Aristotle is the godless bulwark of the papists. He is to theology what darkness is to light. His ethics is the worst enemy of grace.« (Maritain 1928, 15) Among his derogatory comments targeted at Aristotle were many *ad hominem* attacks and hyperbolic ridicule against the Greek philosopher. Luther writes that Aristotle is »an urchin who must be put in the pigsty or donkey's stable« (WA VII, 282, 15–16) and that he is a mediocre philosopher (IX, 43, 5) who should be rejected by faithful Christians (I, 647, 33–34). On the other hand, Luther had good things to say about Aristotle, too, recommending his writings on methodology and ethics and even stating explicitly that, at least on some topics, »Aristotle philosophizes about such matters, and he does it well« (LW 25, 434).

However, what made things complicated was that »people do not understand him well,« as Luther complained (434). Luther often complained that both the scholastic teachers before him and many of his contemporaries had misunderstood Aristotle's thinking (Eckermann 1978). St. Thomas Aquinas, according to the German reformer, belonged among those who »never understood a chapter of the Gospel or Aristotle« (Maritain 1928, 15). If this observation carries any weight, Luther's criticism of Aristotle could be partially interpreted as his opposition to the typical scholastic intellectual rendering of Aristotle's ideas rather than to Aristotle himself (Nitzsch 1883; Oberman 1966). Luther became familiar with Aristotle by collecting the writings translated into Latin and became accessible to him in his Erfurt city school (1502–1505). He also read commentaries on Aristotle's works by renowned medieval teachers – Peter Lombard, Duns Scotus, Pierre d'Ailly, Gabriel Biel, etc. (Dieter 2015).

In our research, we will primarily focus on Luther's later, more mature writings. These include (1) Luther's commentaries – Commentary on the prophetic books Zachariah and Isaiah; Commentary on Ecclesiastes; Commentary on Galatians; (2) Luther's scholastic disputations – Concerning Man (*Disputatio de homine*, 1536) (WA 39, I, 175–177); Concerning Justification; Concerning Christ's divinity and humanity; and (3) Luther's lectures given during his late Wittenberg university teaching career – Lectures on Titus, 1 Peter and 1 John. This source material will provide us with concrete examples of Luther's views on important theological topics, including justification, grace, the natures of Christ, and free will, and the nature of sin and concupiscence. Rather than providing a detailed description and critical analysis of these topics from Luther's perspective, our goal will be to examine Luther's treatment of Aristotle's ideas and his influence on Luther's contemporaries (from Luther's limited perspective) relative to the selected theological issues.

2. Luther's commentaries: Zachariah, Isaiah, Ecclesiastes

Luther wrote his commentaries on Zachariah, Isaiah, and Ecclesiastes between 1527–1532. They all belong among his more mature writings. His relationship with Aristotle is ambivalent, as one can witness by reading Luther's early works (Dieter 2015; Brecht 2009). His positive comments usually relate to the philosopher's ideas about the matters of the state (namely, the rule of law in the state) and civic morality (WA 20, 120, 19–20). This can further be evidenced by Luther's exposition of Luke 2:15-20 contained in his *Collection of Sermons (Kirchenpostille, 1522)*:

»Thus in our active life, we are to stick with the needy, while in our studies and in our contemplative life we are to stay only with God's word so that Christ alone is in both respects the man who is everywhere before us. The books of Aristotle and those of the pope and of any other man should be avoided, or they should be read in such a way that we do not seek in them information concerning the edification of the soul, but we should *use them to improve our temporal life, to learn a trade or civil law.*« (LW 52, 39)

It is here, in the earthly realm or, as Luther puts it, *coram hominibus*, where reason and unredeemed conscience play an important role. We can trace this idea in Luther's other commentary, on the Book of Revelation 3:20, where he argues that »no one is so evil that he does not feel the murmur of reason and the voice of conscience, according to the statement, ›reason always speaks for the best.‹ And this explanation is indeed very attractive.« (LW 10, 99; Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* I, 1102b, 15) Elsewhere in his texts, Luther admits that humans did not lose rationality after the Fall: »After the fall of Adam, God did not take away this majesty of reason, but rather confirmed it.« (LW 34, 137; Janz 2011, 48) Commenting on Ecclesiastes 1:7, Luther openly acknowledges Aristotle's scientific observations regarding the origin of the ‚springs‘ and ‚winds‘, while lifting Solomon's wisdom as superior to the wisdom of the philosophers: »Aristotle disputes about where springs and winds come from and sweats over this investigation, as do many others. However, nowhere do we find what Solomon says here, that all streams come from the sea and in turn fill the sea.« (LW 15, 16–17)

Passages with a more critical flavour can be found more abundantly, however. In the preface to his Lecture on Zachariah (20, 156), Luther points out, somewhat sarcastically, that Aristotle is not of much use to people who lack proper education because his writing style is too complicated. The polemical tone increases as soon as Luther engages more theologically essential topics, such as the nature of the human soul. He vehemently rejects Aristotle's teaching about the mortality of the soul.

»The world, of course, cannot understand or believe that the soul is immortal. In fact, if you look at how things go and at the appearance about which Solomon is speaking when he says, ›Man dies as the beast does,‹ they do have the same breath as the beast. In appearance, therefore, we coincide. The philosophers have indeed disputed about the immortality of the soul,

but so coldly that they seem to be setting forth mere fables. Aristotle above all argues about the soul in such a way that he diligently and shrewdly avoids discussing its immortality anywhere; nor did he want to express what he thought about it.« (15, 59; Aristotle, *De anima* I, 1; Sorabji 1974, 63–65)

Even a harsher tone comes across to readers from Luther's Commentary on Isaiah (based on his lectures from 1527–1530). The German reformer appears to be incredibly unforgiving when dealing with the topics of the sacraments and the human will. Luther argues that when the faithful forsake the simple, biblical teaching of Christ, they are led astray by the sophistries of the philosophers.

»Once we have forsaken Christ, all monsters, beasts, and demons lead us astray; error follows upon error. This we see today, first concerning Baptism, then concerning the Eucharist, then concerning free will so that one error follows hard upon the other. As one wild beast falls in with another, so it was hitherto under the papacy. Aristotle, Scotus, etc., fell in with each other.« (LW 16, 297)

Complaining about the perceived unfaithfulness of many of his contemporaries, including monks and scholastic teachers, Luther laments in the second volume of his Commentary on Isaiah 42:7 that Christ »is despised by so many monasteries and schools that it is impressive. We ignore Him and read the monstrous material of Aristotle.« (17, 69) The immediate reference here is to the doctrine of free will which Luther utterly despised. He is adamant that »apart from Christ there is nothing but darkness and dungeon. Away with free will!«, exclaims Luther emphatically, for »it is not enough to shine. One must also see and act. Nor is it enough to burn. Thus here, too, all lights apart from Christ are darkness, as is free will. Afterwards there is also captivity. Even though we see the Gospel, we cannot perform it, and there is nothing but prison.« (69) If philosophical reason ever attempts to understand what God is like or offer guidance in the human quest for salvation, Luther further argues, it will inevitably lead us to error (Janz 2011, 49), as evidenced by Erasmus' foolish insistence on the freedom of the will *coram Deo* inspired by humanism and Aristotle (WA 10, I, 532, 1–12).

3. Luther's scholastic disputations: concerning man, concerning justification, concerning the divinity and humanity of Christ

Luther took part in scores of scholastic disputations from as early on as 1516. Among these, the disputations *Concerning Man* (1536; WA 39, I, 174–180; LW 34), *Concerning Justification* (1536; WA 39, I, 78–126; LW 34), and *Concerning the divinity and humanity of Christ* (1540; WA 39, II, 92–121) contribute to an important theological legacy of the reformer. They also happen to be revealing when it comes to assessing Luther's relationship to Aristotle. All three disputations bear the same fundamental

testimony: when choosing one's epistemological starting point, Luther (representing *revealed theology*) and Aristotle (representing philosophy, i.e., human wisdom based on *revelatio naturalis*) stand on the opposite sides. However, Luther freely employs Aristotle's linguistic/semantic and logical tools and categories to prop up his theological arguments, and he is even willing to acknowledge it by citing Aristotle's name. For example, to defend a proper distinction between the concrete sense of the term ‚human‘ as opposed to the general sense of the term ‚humanity‘, Luther appeals to Aristotle's differentiation between *nature* (general) and *person* (concrete): »Aristoteles dicit: Abstracta sonant naturam, concreta personam [abstract terms refer to nature, the concrete ones to a person]« (108; 116–117).

While fitting examples of Luther's fair use of Aristotle are scarce, his criticism of the philosopher finds ample expressions. Defending his hermeneutical understanding informed by his presupposition of the literal theological meaning of vital biblical accounts (i.e., those directly related to salvation history), Luther argues that Christ's humanity and divinity must be understood as having been manifested in a concrete historical person: »Christ is not a mathematical or physical word but a divine, uncreated Word, who signifies the essence as well as the person because God's Word is divine. Christ is God's Word. Thus, Christ is divine. Philosophically, a word stands for a sound or an utterance, but when we speak theologically, Word signifies the Son of God [*Verbum significat filium Dei*]. Aristotle would never allow this, that is, that a word should signify the true God.« (WA 39, II, 103, 11) We find a similar reservation in two more places of the disputation when Luther argues that »Aristotle would not agree with this« (112, 19) and »Aristotle would not be able to understand this matter« (118, 27).

The same type of ‚limitation‘ on the side of the philosophical reason as represented by Aristotle can be found in several places of Luther's *Disputation concerning Justification*. Instead of focusing on the inner life of the Trinity or the essence and characteristics of the three divine persons, the topic here revolves around some critical issues of theological anthropology and hamartiology. The main line of reasoning consists of Luther's insistence on scholastic theology being permeated with (and therefore limited by) Aristotelian presuppositions, which steers it away from traditional, gospel-oriented biblical theology. While scholastic theology, in Luther's view, perceives the human condition more optimistically, biblical revelation paints a much more pessimistic picture that brings us (theologizing humans) down from the clouds of our arrogant reasoning to the grim reality of sin. Luther argues against the scholastic insistence on man being merely weak, which makes one prone to sin, but which in and of itself is not harmful.

»But the scholastic doctors contend that it is only a condition and not sin of the kind that would cast us away from the eyes of God. Just as Aristotle speaks of affections which are in us but bring us neither blame nor praise, so according to them as according to him, concupiscence is a kind of indifferent affection, or, as they call it, ‚*adiaphoron*‘, which does not damn us, and which is neither advantageous nor injurious to us.« (LW 34, 186)

We find here an explicit reference to Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, in which Aristotle argues that »we are not called good or bad on the ground of our passions« (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* II, 4; Polansky 2014, 4). *Concupiscentia*, according to Luther, is far more than an inclination toward sin; it is a Sin itself. It is the very essence of human sinfulness (WA 39, I, 118, 1–7).

»For original sin is not only the lack of righteousness, but a kind of inborn evil, as said before, which makes us guilty of sin and eternal death, subject to divine wrath. It remains in us even after baptism and resists the law of God and the Holy Spirit. These are the sound distinctions of this definition, which the papists did not understand at all. Therefore, they did not define original sin correctly. For anyone who has not truly learned all aspects of this definition of original sin does not know sin.« (LW 34, 186)

Original sin, Luther opines, is »a kind of corruption of nature, which drives us to resist the Spirit« (34, 186). In place of Aristotle, whose misleading role had Luther just exposed, Christians should place their faith in St. Augustine and St. Paul (above all his letters to Romans and Galatians).

»Accordingly, since that very concupiscence is really that evil which is innate in us by nature and which even in the righteous struggles against the law of God and finally lasts until the grave, it is necessary for us to examine original sin diligently, to see what it is. Augustine, who is one of the preservers of the definition of original sin, truly acknowledged this.« (34, 186–187)

Luther blames Aristotle for not being honest enough to himself, i.e., failing to see the true depravity of his sinful nature. »If Aristotle had understood the innate sinful condition, he would have called it a disposition [*habitus*], not only an affection [*passionem*].« (34, 165)

Luther's conviction about the necessity of distinguishing and separating the theological from the philosophical reasonings is best evidenced in his *Disputation concerning Man*. Commenting on the failure of philosophy to properly understand the essence of sin and its effect on human nature, Luther says: »Therefore those who say that natural things have remained untainted after the fall philosophize impiously in opposition to theology.« (Thesis 26; LW 34, 139) This is also true »of those who introduce Aristotle (*who knows nothing of theological man*) to witness that reason aspires to the best things« (Thesis 28; LW 34, 139). According to Luther, Aristotle, along with his contemporaries – the philosophizing scholastic theologians – know nothing about a man (Thesis 31; LW 34, 139) because they speak from without the biblical tradition as mundane, carnal men. To avoid their mistakes, Luther argues, theologians must approach these issues from within as ‚theological men‘. Hence Luther's conclusion that a genuine theologian must clearly distinguish between philosophy and theology and refrain from using fundamental philosophical presuppositions about man, God, sin, grace, the free will (and alike) in one's theological treatment of these topics. This, according to Luther, is precisely where Aristotle fails the most.

»Therefore, if philosophy or reason itself is compared with theology, it will appear that we know almost nothing about man, inasmuch as we seem scarce to perceive his material cause sufficiently. For philosophy does not know the efficient cause for certain, nor likewise, the final cause, because it posits no other final cause than the peace of this life and does not know that the efficient cause is God the creator. Indeed, concerning the formal cause which they call soul, there is not and never will be agreement among the philosophers. For so far as Aristotle defines it as the first driving force of the body which has the power to live, he too wished to deceive readers and hearers.« (Theses 11–16; LW 34, 137–138)

4. Luther's lectures in Wittenberg: lectures on Titus, 1 Peter, and 1 John

Luther lectured on these biblical books sometime between 1525–1527. In his lectures, we find clear passages commending the ideas of Aristotle. Among them is Luther's exposition on Titus 3 where Luther invokes Aristotle's definition of the Greek term *ἐπιεικής*.

»We began to treat this word *ἐπιεικής*, gentle. This term is quite famous among the Greeks but not so famous among the Latins. /.../ Jurists define it as equity when on account of an intervening case, they soften the rigour of the law. Aristotle says in the fifth book of his Ethics (*Nicomachean Ethics* V, 10) that when a legislator sets down a law, he makes a distinction: The law is impossible because moral questions concern themselves with the person.« (LW 29, 74–75)

Luther prefers Aristotle's explanation to that of the ›jurists‹ who preferred to translate the term with the Latin word *aequitatem*. Likewise, in a lecture delivered on Titus 1 in November 1527, Luther observed that St. Paul had quoted a heathen poet in Tit 1:12. »That verse is true, even though it was written by a heathen poet. These are spoils which we can take away from them. But it requires art to apply these things to spiritual matters. Plato and Aristotle wrote well about political matters, Pliny described the works [of nature], etc.« But he is quick to add that Christians should »not undertake to have a heathen instruct conscience. Only Christ, our Teacher, is competent for this.« (29, 39–40)

In most other instances, however, Luther's apocalyptic reading of the Scriptures comes to the forefront, as we saw in his commentaries and other types of literature. He views the world as the arena of a raging war between the Devil's forces and the divine forces under the leadership of the risen Christ. Aristotle is often depicted as a tool in Satan's hands to lead the people of God astray. We can see this in Luther's comments on the text from 1 Pt 3,15. The reformer maintains that all Christians are to be prepared to make a defence of their faith, account for the hope in them, and only achieve this through a careful study of Scriptures.

»Now up to this time, the laity has been forbidden to read Scripture. For here, the Devil came up with a pretty trick for the purpose of tearing the people away from Scripture. He thought: »If I can keep the laity from reading Scripture, then I shall bring the priests from the Bible into Aristotle. Then the priests can babble what they please, and the laity has to listen to what they preach to them.« (30, 105)

Aristotle is elevated above the Scripture, according to Luther, with the pretence that the philosopher's teaching is more apt »to overthrow heretics« (30, 107). Such a view is misleading and dangerous to the simple minds of Christians and the teachers of the Church, who should find solace and inspiration in the Bible instead.

5. Conclusion

As his theological views matured through his study of the Scriptures and the Tradition, Luther grew ever more convinced that to reform the Church, philosophy (above all the Aristotelian metaphysics) must be excluded, along with Scholastic theology and Canon Law. He even suggested that those holding the view that if something is true for philosophy must necessarily be true for theology, they should be condemned. Hence his emphatic denunciation of the theologians at the Sorbonne University, which he labelled 'the mother of all errors', 'the most abominable prostitute', and 'the damned synagogue of the devil' (Zahnd 2018, 460). Moreover, hence his rage oriented toward »the most famous Aristotle, that noble light of nature, that heathen master, that arch master of all masters of nature, who rules in all of our universities and teaches in place of Christ« (LW 52, 165).

While we can see some development in his treatment of Aristotle's ideas during the turbulent decades of Luther's polemics, disputations, and writings, his basic stance did not change much. We can observe this in the last sermon he preached at Wittenberg, towards the end of his life, as Maritain rightly points out in his criticism of the reformer:

»Reason is the Devil's greatest whore; by nature and manner of being she is a noxious whore; she is a prostitute, the Devil's appointed whore; whose eaten by scab and leprosy who ought to be trodden under foot and destroyed, she and her wisdom... Throw dung in her face to make her ugly. She is, and she ought to be, drowned in baptism... She would deserve, the wretch, to be banished to the filthiest place in the house, to the closets.« (ERL 16, 142–148; Maritain 1928, 16)

Reason can only dishonour and blaspheme God and everything He has made (LW 51, 374). Thus, we may ask: Is Luther's dramatic denunciation of the power of reason viable as a constitutive principle in healthy theology? Is it based on a correct understanding of theological anthropology, or does it instead stem from

Luther's over-derogatory conception of human nature, plagued by original sin? Luther's contempt for the power of reason is understandable if it can be established that human nature is, indeed, severely afflicted by the original, rendering the human agent incapable of adequately responding to God when left to his/her powers. If Luther's unfounded presuppositions were true, then the use of Aristotle in particular and human reason, in general, would be illegitimate in uncovering, comprehending, and adopting the mysteries of the Christian faith (the realm of theology). It would then be true that »reason is contrary to faith « (ERL 44, 158) and that »reason is directly opposed to faith, and one ought to let it be; in believers, it should be killed and buried« (ERL 44, 156–157; Maritain 1928, 16).

However, such a negative perception of human nature is unfounded and relatively scarce in the ecumenical tradition of the Church (even more so in the Eastern Tradition than in the West). One would need to go all the way to Augustine to identify the roots of this doctrine, later developed in the form of, strict Augustinianism' of John Calvin and his supporters (Bayer 2008; Schwarz 1962). Revealingly, Luther himself was an Augustinian monk, partially explaining his affinity to this strand of theology (Wriedt 2011). Furthermore, owing to his existential struggle and, perhaps, his tragic and melancholic character, Luther seemed to have preferred the mysticism of inner faith to employ philosophical reason to solve questions about faith or those growing out of one's fundamental spiritual outlook. On the other hand, Luther was willing to concede that philosophical reasoning has had a practical value for daily use in earthly life. After all, he used Aristotle's categories of logic and claimed that some of the philosopher's ideas were useful when dealing with the mundane realm, *coram hominibus*. In addition to logic, he considered poetics, rhetoric, and semantics beneficial to theologians and all who strived for a good education. However, in the spiritual sphere, it allegedly only shed darkness, which contrasts to a great majority of the Western Christian intellectual tradition and even more so to Russian Orthodox theological thinking (Obolovitch 2015; Khoruzhy 2015; Allen et al. 2016). This feature of Luther's theology, among other problems, may have been the reason why his thinking never made any significant inroads into the Russian cultural-religious landscape. To delve deeper into this issue, however, a separate study will need to be conducted.

Abbreviations

ERL – Luther 1826–1857 [*Dr. Martin Luther's sämmtliche Werke*].

LW – Luther 1955–1986 [*Luther's Works*].

WA – Luther 1883–2009 [*D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*].

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Monografije FDI - 25

Christian Gostečnik OFM

regulativna relacijska paradigma ✕ psiho-organski prenos ✕ integrativni model



Nevroznanost in relacijska družinska terapija



Christian Gostečnik

Nevroznanost in relacijska družinska terapija

Relacijski družinski model predpostavlja, da posameznikovi zgodnji odnosi s starši in pomembnimi drugimi, zelo radikalno vplivajo na vse kasnejše pomembne odnose v posameznikovem življenju. Vedno znova si bo izbiral, predvsem intimne partnerje, na osnovi teh zgodnjih izkušenj, ki so globoko vtisnjeni v njegov nezavedni psiho-organski spomin. Relacijska terapija zato skuša, ravno na osnovi sakralnosti intimnih odnosov v sedanjosti, preoblikovati stara, še tako travmatična izkustva v odnose, ki osrečujejo.

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Rok Gregorčič

Sokratska prevara za resnico kot Kierkegaardov prehod med iracionalnostjo in racionalnostjo

Socratic Deception in Service of the Truth as Kierkegaard's Pathway between Irrationality and Rationality

Povzetek: Kierkegaardov pogled na človekove razumske zmožnosti v odnosu do vere predstavlja v interpretaciji njegovih del pomemben problem. Članek se osredotoča na vprašanje racionalnosti. Želi nasloviti dejstvo, da se Kierkegaardova misel na nekaterih mestih izraža iracionalno, medtem ko se na drugih kaže v bolj racionalni luči. Članek dilemo poskuša videti v luči posebne metode, sokratske prevare, ki jo je Kierkegaard oblikoval po Sokratovem zgledu. Najprej prikažemo mesta, kjer se Kierkegaardova misel izraža kot iracionalna – v smeri bodisi fideizma bodisi relativizma. Članek nadalje ob zavedanju teh iracionalnih potez opiše, kako danski pisec z zgledovanjem po Sokratu predstavi posebno metodo prevare za resnico. Gre za hermenevtični ključ, ki nam omogoča Kierkegaardove prvotne očitke racionalnosti brati v luči širšega smisla. V zadnjem delu se osredotočamo še na konkretne posledice, ki iz tega sokratskega prehoda izhajajo. Tako lahko še bolje osvetlimo, kakšne so značilnosti Kierkegaardove paradoksalne racionalnosti.

Ključne besede: Kierkegaard, Sokrat, psevdonim, prevara za resnico, racionalnost, razumeti, naravni razum.

Abstract: Kierkegaard's view on rational human abilities in relation to faith presents an important problem when researching his works. The article focuses on the question of rationality. It aims to explain the fact that in specific segments, Kierkegaard's thought seems irrational, while in others, it appears more rational. The article tries to see this dilemma in light of a particular method, the Socratic deception devised by Kierkegaard himself, whom Socrates inspired. First of all, segments in which Kierkegaard's thought appears irrational, either in the way of fideism or relativism, are shown. Being aware of these irrational characteristics, the article then describes how the Danish author presents a

Socrates-inspired method of deception in service of the truth. This presents a hermeneutic key that offers his initial irrationalities to be read in a broader sense. The last part of the article aims to show specific consequences that emerge from this Socratic pathway. Thus, more characteristics are presented regarding Kierkegaard's paradoxical rationality.

Key words: Kierkegaard, Socrates, pseudonym, deception in service of the truth, rationality, to understand, natural reason.

Kot vsak filozof, ki se je kdaj ukvarjal z vprašanjem vere, se tudi Søren Kierkegaard ni mogel izogniti dilemi o pravem razmerju med vero in razumom. Vprašanje, kakšen odnos je do te problematike danski pisec vzpostavil, ostaja odprto za različne interpretacije – gotovo pa je, da ta tematika zavzema v njegovem pisanju pomembno mesto. Na tem mestu predstavljamo razmeroma izvirno interpretacijo, ki za Kierkegarda v odnosu do vere priznava, da je pisec z mnogimi iracionalnimi potezami, a hkrati vse te poteze po Sokratovem zgledu zmožen povezati v smiselno skladnost. Da bi o tej njegovi metodi izvedeli več, moramo najprej upoštevati tisti del vsebine Kierkegardovega pisanja, ki govori v smeri iracionalnosti. Zato je treba na začetku povzeti pomembnejše poteze, v katerih se danski pisec kaže kot nasprotnik razuma – kot zagovornik fideizma, individualizma in morda celo relativizma.

Pri ugotavljanju Kierkegardovega odnosa do razuma moramo vsaj nekaj pozornosti nameniti avtorjevi osebni plati. Ta je namreč pomembno vplivala na njegova stališča in na način, kako je Kierkegaard razumel vero v svoji notranjosti ter kako jo je razlagal navzven, tudi v svojih delih. Dobro je vedeti, katere so bile tiste najpomembnejše poteze, ki so zaznamovale njegovo notranje dojemanje. Na prvem mestu je bil to lik njegovega očeta, ki mu je globoko v notranjost vcepil krivdo zaradi lastne velike zavrnitve Boga. Velik vpliv na Kierkegardovo pisanje je imelo tudi dogajanje okoli njegovega ljubezenskega razmerja in zaročne zveze z Regino Olsen. Globoko ga je zaznamoval spor z dansko protestantsko skupnostjo, ki je v Kierkegardovih očeh predstavljala primer poplitvenega množičnega krščanstva (Stres, 1998, 212). Ob teh treh poudarkih je njegovo notranje dojemanje bistvenih tematik, kot so Bog, vera, svet, družba in etika dobilo zelo specifičen značaj, ki se pogosto kaže v paradoksalnosti in ekstremnosti. Pomemben izraz Kierkegardove radikalnosti je tudi njegov odkrit boj proti Heglovi filozofski dediščini in nasprotovanje nemškemu idealizmu (Štrajn 2014, 103). Tu se pojavlja vprašanje, v kolikšni meri je Kierkegardov napad na ustaljeno misel njegovega časa res odraz splošne zavrnitve racionalnosti? Ali je Kierkegaard s svojimi prispevkom res odločno usmerjen v napad na razum ali bi pri njem lahko našli tudi temelje za drugačno interpretacijo njegovih del – interpretacijo, ki navsezadnje, čeprav v paradoksalnem smislu, le išče racionalno skladnost? Namen našega prispevka je prikazati osnovne značilnosti Kierkegardove obravnave razuma in razumevanja – tu je značilen poseben način branja, ki prvotne iracionalne poteze vključuje v racionalno skladnost. Prispevek poskuša na izvirni način izvesti analizo hermenevitičnega ključa, kot ga v svojem pisanju predstavlja Kierkegaard sam. Ta princip je tudi za nas ključnega pomena, saj nam omogoča, da na prvotne očitke Kierkegardovi iracionalnosti gledamo v drugačni luči.

1. Iracionalnost, fideizem in relativizem

Pri mnogih bralcih Kierkegaardova dela puščajo vtis, kot da jih je napisal nekdo z radikalno iracionalnim stališčem do človekovega ravnanja in verovanja. Na prvem mestu lahko k temu prispeva Kierkegaardovo razmišljanje o veri. Zanj pogosto pravi, da gre za skok, zaradi česar je navadno označen za fideista (Rae 2010, 55). Vera se mu kaže kot radikalna vsebina, za katero velja skrajna različnost od človeškega (Kierkegaard 1987, 49). Vera torej v duhu Luthrovega razmišljanja človeka nikakor ne preoblikuje od znotraj, temveč mu odrešenje prinese popolnoma od zunaj (Stres 1998, 216). Zaključek, ki lahko izhaja iz takšnih vtisov je, da Kierkegaardova vera pomeni neko arbitrarno odločitev volje in da človekove razumske sposobnosti nanjo ne morejo vplivati pozitivno (Coplestone 1963, 346).

Sposobnosti človekovega razuma se morajo po Kierkegaardovem mnenju varovati težnje po umni sintezi. Heglova misel se od Kierkegaardove najizraziteje razlikuje ravno v tej točki – slednji svojo dialektiko (341) utemljuje na zavedanju, da znotraj uma do sprave med bistvenimi nasprotji v življenju ne more priti, Hegel pa umu pripisuje zmožnost, da do sprave privede vsa nasprotja, na katera naleti, in si na tak način vse podredi v nekakšno občo umnost. Pri Kierkegaardu je denimo močno naglašena razlika med notranjostjo in zunanostjo, med Bogom in človekom (Kierkegaard 2005, 94). Od tod njegovo vero prežema močna individualistična konotacija – Kierkegaard namreč vero označuje kot novo notranjost, do katere človek pride s tako imenovanim subjektivnim obratom. Vztrajanje v veri je tako neobhodno povezano s subjektivnim mišljenjem, ki pomeni naravnost na lastno postajanje (Kierkegaard 1992, 73), naravnost na zavedanje lastne eksistence. Ko bralec pri Kierkegaardu naleti na takšne misli, si zlahka ustvari vtis, da gre za misleca, ki vero razume na izrazito fideističen, individualističen ali celo relativističen način. Vtis o njegovi iracionalnosti pa se na tem mestu ne konča. Nekateri interpreti, kot sta Conant in Diamond, pri Kierkegaardu prepoznavajo še močnejšo misel, ki želi nad vse povzdigniti idejo (če jo sploh smemo označiti za idejo) nesmisla (Lippit in Hutto 1998, 269). Prav tako niso redke interpretacije v smislu, da Kierkegaard vse obravnavane tematike izpostavlja nevarnosti absolutne negacije (Novak 2014, 305). V podporo iracionalnemu značaju njegovega pisanja govori tudi dejstvo, da se pogosto zelo izrazito izreka proti vsakršnemu dokazovanju Boga (Kierkegaard 1987, 45), proti etičnemu stadiju, ki pomeni življenje znotraj okvirov občega (2005, 77), in da ponekod s pridom uporablja izraze z močno iracionalno konotacijo (1987, 127). Kierkegaard s svojimi psevdonimnimi deli ustvarja občutek, kot da je vera zanj vse, kar radikalno nasprotuje razumu. Izjave, v katerih zavrača zgodovino, razum, politiko in predvsem sistem (Stres 1998, 218), dajejo močan občutek, da se njegova misel o veri v vseh pogledih kaže kot fideizem. Kot bomo videli v nadaljevanju, pa psevdonimno pisanje ni edino, kar je Kierkegaard pri podajanju svoje misli uporabil. Upoštevanja vreden je tudi prispevek, ki ga je podpisal z lastnim imenom in priimkom – njegova primarna avtorska dela. Tu so Kierkegaardove iracionalne izjave postavljene v drugačno luč. Tu je, kot bomo videli, avtor sam razložil način, kako vse njegovo še tako protirazumsko pisanje služi širšemu smislu.

2. Zgled Sokrata

Kierkegaard je v svojem intelektualnem ustvarjanju pokazal veliko naklonjenost do grške filozofske tradicije. Že v tej potezi lahko spoznamo, da danski pisec ne kaže več tako radikalne drže, saj podobno kot racionalno usmerjeni filozofi osrednjemu obdobju zgodovine filozofije priznava zelo visoko mesto. Grški dediščini, čeprav predkrščanski, je po njegovem treba vsaj v nečem prikimati (Kierkegaard 1987, 149). Osrednja točka, kjer grško dediščino Kierkegaard prepozna za pozitivno, je dejstvo, da lahko starogrške filozofe smiselno uporabi v svojem intelektualnem spopadu s hegllovstvom (149). Posamezne predstavnike grške misli, kot so Heraklit in njemu nasprotni eleati, je v njihovih konkretnih dilemah prepoznal kot navdih v svojem boju proti nemškemu idealizmu (Štrajn 2014, 103). Med mnogimi velikimi osebnostmi pa mu je daleč največ pomenil plemeniti modrijan Sokrat (Kierkegaard 2014, 236). Lahko bi rekli, da si ga je vzel za vzor svojemu filozofskemu razglabljanju – predstavljal mu je poglavitni navdih pri formiranju lastnega filozofskega jezika. Lik starogrškega Sokrata moramo zato upoštevati, tudi ko se želimo dotakniti vprašanja Kierkegaardove racionalnosti. Atenski modrec namreč predstavlja temeljni vzor za Kierkegaardov odnos do razuma – in prav tako za njegov način posredovanja vere. V razumevanju sokratskega značaja Kierkegaardove misli lahko spoznamo globljo perspektivo Kierkegaardove misli, tudi tiste, ki se izraža iracionalno.

Ob proučevanju tega lika v Kierkegaardovih delih najprej opazimo zanimivo navezavo na Sokratov odnos do modrosti: »Občudoval sem njegovo modrost, občudoval sem ga, da je v svoji modrosti postal preprost in bil sposoben premagati spretneže« (236–237). Navdihuje ga Sokratova splošno znana dvojna poteza: po eni strani je moder, da premaga spretneže, po drugi strani pa z modrostjo postane preprost, celo neveden (236). Prav ta dvojni vidik Sokratove (ne)vednosti je Kierkegaard prepoznal kot izjemno učinkovit za podajanje resnice, za poučevanje in pisanje. Ne samo, da si je Atenec s takšnim načinom pridobil vrlino samoodpovedi, ampak si je s tem ustvaril lažji dostop do učenca (2012, 351). Biti učitelj v sokratskem razumevanju pomeni biti učencu povod za njegovo razumevanje, prav tako pa je tudi učenec lahko povod za učiteljevo boljše razumevanje (1987, 28). V središču je torej vrlina samoodpovedi, ki jo je Kierkegaard pri Sokratu visoko cenil. Njena pomembnost je v tem, da je danskemu piscu omogočila vključiti Sokratove smernice v lastno krščansko razmišljanje. Kierkegaard je namreč svojo versko formacijo pridobil v okolju, prežetem z izrazito ortodoksnimi protestantskimi temelji, po katerih pretirano vključevanje posvetne, še manj pa predkrščanske filozofije v religijo ni bilo dobrodošlo. Zato nikakor ni samoumevno, da je kljub tej strogi poziciji, s katero doktrinalno ni imel težav (Rae 2010, 13–14), v svoje misli tako intenzivno vključeval tudi misel atenskega modreca. Slednje mu je omogočil ravno Sokratov poudarek na samoumiku (Kierkegaard 2012, 351), saj le zaradi ideje samoodpovedi ni prišlo do nasprotja s krščanskim naukom – kjer je samoodpoved, tam je tudi mesto za krščanstvo. Biti povod učencu in potem še prikriti svojo pomoč (351), to je Kierkegaard prepoznal ne samo kot nekaj za krščansko oznanilo neškodljivega, ampak tudi kot nekaj precej koristnega za uvajanje v pravi odnos

do Boga. Sokrata zato razmeroma utemeljeno označuje za najbližjega krščanstvu (2014, 236). Sicer drži, da o vseh podrobnostih pogleda na človeka in resnico Kierkegaard Sokratovega mnenja ni delil (Rae 2010, 42) – njuna podobnost pride najbolj do izraza v tem, da se je želel zgledovati po Sokratovem vedanju, po njegovem načinu življenja, učenja in izražanja.

3. Poteze sokratske prevare

Sokratski pristop v mišljenju in izražanju misli je Kierkegaarda zaznamoval v mnogih potezah. Eden zanimivejših načinov, s katerim je svoje pisanje uvedel v sokratsko metodo, je uporaba psevdonimov – velik del Kierkegaardovega korpusa namreč obsegajo dela, ki so podpisana z izmišljenimi imeni. Tako je nastalo več kot deset psevdonimov, s katerimi je podpisan tudi pod svojimi najslavnejšimi deli. Ob spraševanju, zakaj se je Kierkegaard odločil za takšen način pisanja, je najprej treba upoštevati predvsem njegove lastne razlage, ki jih morda lahko apliciramo tudi na konkretna dela. Knjiga, ki predstavlja nekakšen prehod med psevdonimnimi in avtorsko podpisanimi deli, *Zaključni neznanstveni pripis k Filozofskim drobtinam*, tako prinaša nekaj pomembnih poudarkov. V njej namreč Kierkegaard pri nekaterih svojih psevdonimih razlaga, kako izmišljene osebnosti deloma prinašajo vsebino njegovih stališč, delno pa se od njih tudi razlikujejo (Kierkegaard 1992, 24). Poudariti je treba, da takšna dela in razmišljanja, ki jih vsebujejo, njihov dejanski pisec do neke mere preklicuje. V kolikšni meri ta preklic velja, sicer ostaja vprašanje, a središče pozornosti želi Kierkegaard prenesti na pričevanjsko vlogo – kot pričevanje o bivanjskih odnosih posamičnika (Ule 2014, 186–190). Poleg tega je med interpreti Kierkegaardovih del razširjeno mnenje, da vsebina psevdonimnega pisanja služi širšemu pomenu in smislu. Čeprav dejstvo njihovega obstoja znotraj Kierkegaardovega korpusa izraža nekakšno zmedo, marsikateri razlagalec trdi, da takšen vtis ustvarjajo namenoma – da torej danski pisec z njimi »zavestno pristane na to, da bi izpadel nerazumljivo« (McCombs 2013, 20). Tudi vidik Kierkegaardove dialektičnosti je pri njegovih psevdonimih precej jasno izražen. Z uporabo psevdonima namreč Kierkegaard poglobljenega bralca vabi v novo razmerje. Psevdonim ne pove veliko v smislu ustaljenih informacij – več pove s tem, da bralca s svojo dialektičnostjo privabi v iskanje razlage (Vodičar 2014, 365). Vsekakor je Kierkegaard s psevdonimom želel posredovati neko svojo vsebino, toda s specifično konotacijo, značilno za vsak izmišljeni lik – in s prav posebnim ciljem pri bralcih (Mulder 2010, 6).

Z vidika mojega pisateljstva – osrednje delo, v katerem Kierkegaard razlaga svoj način pisanja – psevdonimno pisanje povezuje s temo, ki je ključna za ugotavljanje njegovega vrednotenja razuma:

»Vendar je z vidika celote pisateljstva estetično pisanje prevara, in v tem je globlji pomen psevdonimnega. Toda prevara, ali ni to nekaj nadvse odvratnega? Na to bi odgovoril: ne pustite se zavesti z besedo prevara. Ne-

koga lahko prevaramo zaradi resnice in – spomnimo se na starega Sokrata – človeka lahko prevaramo v tem, kar je resnica. Ja, prav res, edinole na tak način, da ga preslepimo, je mogoče človeka, ki je v utvari, privedi k resnici.« (Kierkegaard 2012, 54)

Tema prevare, ki je za Kierkegaarda osrednja značilnost Sokratove govornice, dodobra zaznamuje njegovo pisateljsko delo, v katerem želi zamajati množični tok poplitvenega krščanstva (109). Prevara pomeni preprosto to, da sporočila ne začnemo neposredno s tistim, kar želimo od poslušalca doseči (55). Razlog za to je dejstvo, da poslušalec za resnico ni dovzeten in namesto nje vztraja v estetični zablodi. Iz tega izhaja Sokratovo didaktično načelo, da je takšnega človeka treba na neki način preslepiti (54). Ker je v Kierkegaardovih očeh večina ljudi v resnici živela v stadiju estetičnega, ob tem pa je sama menila, da je popolnoma krščanska (55), je v Sokratovi prevari videl najboljšo možnost za oznanilo resnice. Začel je pisati v estetičnih opredelitvah (55), sporočila resnice pa se je v neposrednem smislu vzdržal (109).

Ena pomembnejših potez prevare je torej izogib neposrednosti sporočila. Tak način izražanja bi v določenem smislu lahko povezali s pojmom metaforične govornice. Ta je namreč na podoben način – z izogibanjem jasnosti in enopomenskosti – različnim filozofom služila kot sredstvo za prikaz občih jasnosti v luči nejasnosti in iluzije (Vodičar 2017, 574). Po besedah Kierkegaarda je težnja po neposrednosti v človekovem odnosu do Boga »preprosto rečeno poganstvo«, da torej na tak način Bogu želi vsiljevati lastne podobe in želje (Kierkegaard 1992, 243). S tem se odpira možnost prevare kot tiste, ki s svojo posrednostjo – ta vključuje vsaj minimalno zavedanje presežnosti – lahko precej učinkovito pokaže na pravo resnico (2012, 54). Kierkegaardova psevdonimna dela so po njegovih lastnih besedah namenjena prav temu, da intenzivneje uporabljajo prevaro v odnosu do estetično zavedene javnosti. Čeprav so namenjena predvsem ljudem brez pravega zavedanja lastne eksistence in Božje izmuzljivosti (1992, 243–244), pa po drugi strani niso prav nič škodljiva za tiste, ki vero že razumejo pravilno in jo v življenju tudi uresničujejo – tem, ki vse ljubijo in verujejo, nobena prevara ne more doživega, saj v tem, da verujejo in ljubijo, ne morejo biti prevarani (2012, 306). Sicer pa bralcem, ki se v svoji notranjosti že iskreno trudijo vstopiti v religiozni stadij in tako v glavnini svoje biti zavreči estetično, Kierkegaard bolj izrazito namenja dela svojega primarnega avtorstva, torej dela podpisana z dejanskim imenom in priimkom. Dva reda njegovega pisanja – primarno in psevdonimno – sta torej namenjena smiselnemu prepletu med sokratsko prevaro za resnico in bolj jasnim, a še vedno posrednim oznanilom resnice, ki pa je vselej resnica krščanstva. Za celoto Kierkegaardovega pisateljstva, bodisi primarnega bodisi psevdonimnega, torej vseskozi stoji precej presenetljiva smiselnost, predvsem pa vztrajen razlog religioznega.¹

¹ Postavlja se vprašanje, ali je imel Kierkegaard načrt takega dvojnega pisateljstva v religioznem pomenu, kot ga sam razlaga v delu *Z vidika mojega pisateljstva*, zares v mislih že od začetka svojega pisanja. Nekateri interpreti, med njimi Caputo, namreč sumijo, da je religiozno razlago svojih psevdonimnih del ustvaril šele v poznih letih (Caputo 2008, 71).

Pomembna poteza, ki je značilna za Kierkegaardov sokratski način izražanja, je tudi izraziti odpor sveta, ki ga takšen sokratski učitelj pri svojem delovanju vselej doživlja. Ker »svet ni bil nikdar dorasel temu, da bi večina ljudi glasovala za resnico ali imela o njej pravilno predstavo«, je potemtakem jasno, da do pravilnega posredovanja resnice, ki ga prinaša sokratski učitelj, občuti močno nelagodje (2012, 459). Po Kierkegaardovih besedah se ob stiku med svetom in človekom resnice ustvarijo pogoji, da lahko pride do »pravcatega trčenja« (453), tako pa tudi do priložnosti, da človek, ki izhaja iz množice, izstopi iz estetičnega ugodja in se obrne navznoter (452) – tudi mimo zunanjih predmetov (453). Svet, ki pomeni množično predajanje družbe estetičnemu, sokratske nesebičnosti ne zmore priznati za pozitivno (351). V krščanskem razumevanju se lahko sokratska prevara uporabi za klic k zavedanju Božje presežnosti, da se na tak način zavaruje pred neresnico (1992, 244). Misel množice, zaznamovana z nenasitno težnjo po neposrednosti in obvladovanju vsega, pa takšnega samoponižanja ne sprejema. Pristnemu oznanjevalcu resnice namesto priznanja namenja trpko zavrnitev, zato velja Kierkegaardovo opozorilo, da vsakega avtentičnega učitelja resnice čaka huda preizkušnja: skušali ga bodo spodkopati, ga vpeljati nazaj v množico ter uničiti ves njegov oznanjevalni trud. (2012, 459) Na kocki je pravzaprav pravilno razumevanje resnice – tega pa množica ni sposobna ponuditi. Kierkegaard gre v svojem razmišljanju celo tako daleč, da lahko prav nasprotovanje množice uporabi za argument pravega razumevanja – dokaz za to, da je oznanjevalec zvest resnici, je to, da je preganjan (79). Pravilno razumevanje se lahko zgodi le v človeku samem, dogaja se v notranjosti in v njegovi notranjosti ga tudi določa. Pravo razumevanje sega v globino in je neobhodno povezano s smislom življenja (Pavliková in Žalec 2019, 1023). Nemogoče je nekaj pravilno razumeti, ne da bi nas tisto, kar razumemo, določalo kot človeka. »Imeti razumevanje za nekaj pomeni že neke vrste sporazum, dogovor med osebo, ki je razumela, in med stvarjo, ki je razumljena« (Kierkegaard 2012, 363). Zavest pravega razumevanja je torej tisto, k čemur Kierkegaard želi spodbuditi svoje bralce.

Največja laž, ki jo človeku želi prodati svet, je v tem, da je razumljeno lahko ločeno od osebe, ki razume. Bitka za resnico, v kateri Sokrat in Kierkegaard uporabljata tudi prevaro, odpira zavest poslušalca in bralca za drugačno dojetje – tako, ki ne pristaja na udobno ločevanje med tistim, ki razume, in stvarjo, ki je razumljena. V nasprotju z lažnim ponuja pravo razumevanje kot tisto, ki človeka celostno določa, čeprav mora človek v ta namen žrtvovati svojo lahкотno ustaljenost. Tu se kaže še ena pomembna lastnost sokratske prevare, torej razločevanje med pravim in lažnim razumevanjem, med razumeti in »razumeti« (1987, 123). V Kierkegaardovem času je v filozofski misli prednjačila paradigma o ločenosti med predmetom (objektom), ki je proučevan, in osebo, ki ga proučuje. Ta pojav, navadno imenovan objektivizacija, je Kierkegaard pogosto problematiziral – predvsem ko je šlo za vprašanje eksistence. Razumeti sebe v tem, kar razumemo (1998, 172), za učenjake njegovega časa ni bilo tema, o kateri bi bilo vredno razmišljati. Kierkegaard je s svojo prevaro klical k nasprotnemu – k notranjosti, k obrnjenosti navznoter, k zavesti o sebi in o lastnem delovanju (2012, 452). Želel je povedati, da

življenje človeka ne poteka samo po znanstvenih načelih, po načelih objektivizacije in distance do samega sebe. Lahko bi rekli, da mora biti življenje ne zgolj proučevano, ampak res v polnosti živeto (Klun 2014, 387). Kierkegaardovo svarilo pred tem, da bi znanstvena obravnava prekomerno posegla v odnos do lastne eksistence in ga tako poplitvila, izvira iz nevarnosti, da bi bivanje izgubilo lastno avtentičnost (Evans 1987, 179). Skrbi ga, da je človeška družba zaradi osredotočenosti na trenutek izpred oči izgubila večnost: »Kar koli spoznavamo, spoznamo na lahkoten način, kot pamflet ali uglajeno laž, kjer ena neresnica podpira drugo« (Kierkegaard 2012, 461). Realnost tega nepravlega spoznanja je torej laž, še več – je pravi preplet laži, kjer te druga drugo podpirajo. Kierkegaard pa po drugi strani skupaj s Sokratom trdi, da je nemogoče nekaj prav razumeti, če nas to razumevanje ne nagne tudi k pravemu ravnanju (1987, 123). Od tod se potrjuje tudi Sokratova opredelitev greha kot nevednosti (119).

Na poti k razumevanju preko sokratske prevare se kot pomembni kažeta tudi ironija in humor. Ironija kot sredstvo je za človeka priložnost, da sam do sebe vzame nekakšno obliko distance (Golomb 1991, 72). To je – drugače kot znanstveni pristop, ki v odnosu do eksistence ni primeren – pozitiven način vzpostavitve distance, v katerem se človek poniža (2012, 42) in v katerem je zmožen preveriti svoja dejanja ter biti do sebe iskren (1991, 72). Podobno kot je Sokrat Atencem, zaslepljenim od sofizma, z ironijo želel pomagati k resnici, želi tudi Kierkegaard bralce, ujete v estetično zmoto, s humorjem predramiti za religiozno resnico. Sokratova ironija se po Kierkegaardovih besedah spopada s protislovjem med obema vrstama razumevanja (Kierkegaard 1987, 121). Iz napisanega bi lahko sklepali, da po Sokratovem mnenju na neki način že s tem, ko se tega protislovja začnemo zavedati, vstopamo v pravo razumevanje. Zahvaljujoč krščanskemu nauku se Kierkegaardovo stališče na tem mestu od Sokratovega malenkostno razlikuje – danškemu piscu je za razliko od atenskega misleca že dostopen zaklad vere v Kristusa. Vloga ironičnega je zato v njegovih delih prilagojena oznanilu krščanske resnice, ki pa je človek ne more osvojiti zgolj s sokratskim zavedanjem, ampak z vero v odrešenika Jezusa,² ki mu omogoča novo življenje. Zaradi tega Kierkegaard svoje oznanjevanje večkrat označuje z besedo humor, Sokratovo učenje pa z besedo ironija. Izraza sta si podobna v tem, da se v odnosu do sveta oba izražata polemično (2012, 79). Poleg tega se oba jasno izražata zgolj kot sredstvi in ne kot cilja neke filozofske misli (Golomb 1991, 72). Humor se od ironije razlikuje zgolj v tem, da z izražanjem protislovja bivanja hkrati izraža tudi religiozno resnico eksistence (Evans 1987, 179). Medtem ko beseda ironija v Kierkegaardovi govorici označuje bolj prehod med estetičnim in etičnim, ima beseda humor že značaj prehoda k religioznemu – oznanjevalec ga uporablja izključno z namenom, da bi v krščanskem smislu oznanjal in vabil k veri in k novemu življenju (1998, 269).

Med najpomembnejše poteze Kierkegaardovega sokratskega poučevanja je treba prišteti tudi poudarek na pozornosti do učečega se. Zdi se razvidno, da vsak

² Tu se kaže skoraj edina močnejša razlika med Sokratovim in Kierkegaardovim mišljenjem – vprašanje dostopa do resnice (Rae 2010, 42).

človek, ne zgolj učitelj, že stopa po neki poti k popolnosti. Zato se tudi Kierkegaardu zdi edino smiselno, da prva učiteljeva dolžnost ob interakciji z učencem ni to, da ga začne neposredno uvajati v večje razumevanje. Čeprav seveda učitelj ve več kot učeči se, mora najprej sam spoznati, na kateri točki učeči se je – šele ko se pred njim tako poniža, mu postane sposoben zares pomagati (2012, 42). Učitelj pravega razumevanja je to vedno pripravljen storiti. Ko denimo sreča nekoga na ulici ali – v Kierkegaardovem primeru – ko nagovarja svojega bralca, se mora najprej spustiti na njegov nivo, da lahko potem njega povabi višje – na mesto, kjer je on sam (44). Učitelji, ki se po tem načelu ne ravnaajo niti v najmanjši meri, svojim učencem ne morejo nuditi pomoči. Boljše razumevanje, ki ga glede na učence posedujejo, se na druge ne more prenesti zaradi drže zaprtosti – in jim tako pri učenju nič ne pripomore (42). Učeca ponižnost je torej tisto metodološko izhodišče, iz katerega sokratski učitelj izhaja vedno znova. Sokrat je to uresničeval v pogovorih na atenskih ulicah in v svojem krogu učencev, Kierkegaard pa je to želel posnemati še pri pisanju knjig. Uporablja praktično vse mogoče oblike estetskega življenja, jih pretvarja v psevdonime – izmisli si njihove osebne situacije in zgodbe, potem pa se vanje vživi ter napiše knjigo, kot bi jo ti napisali sami. Vse to je storil v sklopu majevtične prevare – in z izključnim namenom posredovati oznanilo Jezusa Kristusa. Uporabil je Sokratovo načelo, da »biti učitelj v resnici pomeni biti učeči« (44).

4. Konkretna implikacija prehoda k pravemu razumevanju

Vprašanje racionalnosti je torej pri Kierkegaardu zaznamovano s prehodom od lažnega k pravemu razumevanju s pomočjo sokratske prevare. Ob upoštevanju te ideje lahko ob proučevanju Kierkegaardovih del najdemo mesta, pri katerih se zdi, da je ta prehod že upoštevan. V njegovih delih tako v odnosu do racionalnosti prepoznamo nekakšno dvojnost: v psevdonimnih delih do razuma odklonilen odnos, v avtorsko podpisanih pa afirmativen. Razlog za to je, da človek na tem svetu resnico vidi zgolj zamagljeno, »temačno skozi steklo, bi lahko rekli« (Rae 2010, 54). Tudi dvoumnost terminologije, ki na eni strani poudarja vero kot paradoks (Kierkegaard 1992, 205), na drugi pa kot izpolnjenost zavesti (2017, 92) in razumevanja (1987, 121), je Kierkegaard razložil z izjavo, da večna resnica ni paradoks v odnosu do sebe, se pa kot paradoks kaže v odnosu do omejenega človeka (1992, 205). Prehod od perspektive paradoksa do perspektive resnice, kjer se ta ne kaže več kot paradoks,³ je možen prav po poti sokratsko obarvanega vstopa v vero. Poleg terminologije racionalnosti je kot rezultat sokratske prevare za resnico mogoče prepoznati tudi poudarek na konkretnosti. Ta izhaja iz poudarka glede povezanosti med pravim razumevanjem in življenjem posamičnika. Kierkegaard tu naglašuje nevarnost, ki jo pomeni znanstveno proučevanje v odnosu do eksistence:

³ S poudarjanjem paradoksa Kierkegaard želi pokazati, da transcendentne resnice Boga ne gre jemati zlahka ali je enostavno povezovati z zemeljskimi kategorijami (Petkovšek 2015, 238).

tvori sicer pomembne objektivne miselne strukture, a te posamezniku nič ne koristijo, če jih ne usvoji tudi njegov subjekt in jih naposled privede v konkretnost (Grič 1973, 229). Ključen problem človeka je prehod od razumevanja do ravnanja – tu se začenja krščanstvo, ki s svojo paradoksalnostjo premosti razdaljo med enim in drugim (Kierkegaard 1987, 123).

Konkretna posledica sokratskega prehoda je tudi Kierkegaardovo priznavanje pozitivne vloge naravnih pogojev za spoznanje Boga. Tu lahko do neke mere govorimo tudi o priznanju naravnega razuma, ki človeku do določene mere lahko pomaga do vere. Gre za to, da vsak posameznik v sebi že zaradi naravne ustvarjenosti poseduje neko spoznanje o Bogu, s tem spoznanjem pa potem bodisi v vero vstopi bodisi ga v grehu zavrne (2012, 106). Ideja fundamentalnega spoznanja o Bogu je pri Kierkegaardu sicer nejasna, očitno pa je, da jo avtor na neki način priznava (Mulder 2010, 28). Ker torej po njegovem mnenju obstaja neko splošno naravno razumevanje, dano vsem ljudem, je potemtakem logična tudi izpeljava o vrednotenju teološkega govora. Slehernemu izmed nas so po naravnem razumu dana merila, da se s pomočjo njih izražamo o vsem okoli nas. Tako se, če le želimo kaj povedati oziroma če hočemo oznanjati svojo vero, ljudje moremo in moramo poslužiti teh meril tudi v odnosu do Boga (Kierkegaard 2014, 284). Danosti, ki so predhodno dane vsem, so po uporabi sokratske prevare, ki je preprečila njihovo zlorabo, in so prikazane kot del Božjega načrta. In čeprav Kierkegaard kot bistveno, kar vse nas povezuje, izpostavlja bistveno drugačnost, je ta vsem skupna – in v perspektivi krščanske celote poenotena (2012, 118). Ni pa poenotena na način heglvske sprave (Coplestone 1963, 341) – Kierkegaardova misel pravi zgolj to, da posamičnik v stremljenju k eksistencialni resnici postaja zvest svoji celovitosti (Collins 2014, 257), ni pa mu tega stremljenja treba nujno uresničiti – posameznik ima pri Kierkegaardu v nasprotju s Heglovo mislijo tudi možnost, da eksistencialno resnico dokončno zavrne. Spoznali smo, da je v tej celostni perspektivi tudi človeški razum vsekakor mogoče videti v pozitivni luči (McCombs 2013, 11). Kierkegaardovo priznavanje naravnih zmožnosti se tu ne konča. Pozitivno namreč vrednoti tudi koncept naravne ljubezni, ki se je sicer resda dolžna umakniti čisti ljubezni, ostane pa še vedno pomembna na sekundarni ravni (Mulder 2013, 76). Ta ljubezen se mora tako v zakonskem (Kierkegaard 2003, 404) kot v prijateljskem (551) odnosu presojudati tudi z naravno močjo razuma. Posameznik ima na voljo dejavnike, ki mu pomagajo presojudati, ali je neka ljubezen, ki jo izkuša, prava ali neprava (Žalec 2016, 288). Poleg tega na tej točki kot smiselno prepozna tudi etični stadij, ki ga pri vstopu v vero označuje za možni sprožilni dejavnik (Teodorescu 2016, 115).⁴ Etika namreč dokončno utemeljitev dobi samo z vero, vsaka druga utemeljitev tako ali drugače privede do neodločenosti (Jamnik 2018, 344). Potemtakem pri Kierkegaardu biti veren postane smiselna razrešitev vprašanja etičnosti (Žalec 2019, 635).

⁴ Teodorescu poleg tega kot sprožilni dejavnik za Kierkegaardovo vero prepoznava pragmatični postulat na podlagi eksistencialnega obupa. Posameznik pragmatično predpostavlja, da obstaja osebni Bog, ki ga lahko reši iz osebnega obupa (Teodorescu 2016, 113).

5. Sklep

Kierkegaard pri vprašanju racionalnosti izstopa v tem, da močno poudarja razliko med pravim razumevanjem, ki ga povezuje tudi z religioznim podukom (Kierkegaard 2012, 94), in lažnim. Zameetek slednjega danski pisec prepoznava v napačni zamisli ljubezni (2012, 212), ki želi ločevati med živetim in razumljenim. Za Kierkegaarda je ključnega pomena predvsem subjektivno védenje – védenje, povezano s človekovo eksistenco in zmožno notranje vplivati na subjekt (Teodorescu 2016, 107). Subjektivno védenje, kot nam razlaga Kierkegaard, vključuje tudi sposobnosti, ki jih imamo ljudje kot naravne danosti. V subjektivnem védenju te naravne sposobnosti nikakor niso preklicane, so pa z vero obvarovane pred samoljubjem (Žalec 2017, 253). Poglavitna naloga človeka v življenju je, da uresničuje samega sebe v tem, da je najbolj on sam (Teodorescu 2016, 114) – da torej postane posamičnik. Tu je temelj Kierkegaardove paradoksalne misli, ki preko sokratskega prehoda iz iracionalnih izhodišč postane na neki način racionalna. Po Kierkegaardu je pravo razumevanje tisto, ki posamezniku pomaga pri njegovem projektu postati posamičnik. Pravo razumevanje posamičnika usmerja, da je vse bolj »prosojno zasidran v moči, ki ga je vzpostavila« (Kierkegaard 1987, 156). Tu pa je, kot smo lahko spoznali, zelo v pomoč prav sokratska prevara za resnico.

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Ľubomír Majtán

È vero che Timoteo sostituisce Paolo a Tessalonica in 1 Ts 3,1-10?

Ali drži, da Timotej nadomesti Pavla v Tesalonikah v 1 Tes 3,1-10?

Is It True that Timothy Substitutes Paul in Thessalonica in 1 Thess 3,1-10?

Riassunto: Dopo la partenza di Paolo dalle comunità da lui fondate sorgono vari tipi di problemi. Preso atto delle varie difficoltà in cui vivono le comunità cristiane, Paolo manda Timoteo per risolvere situazioni pesanti. Avendo spesso accompagnato Paolo, Timoteo conosce bene situazioni e problemi. Il suo compito è di calmare la situazione, unire le fazioni che si sono divise, risanare il rapporto deteriorato tra l'Apostolo e la comunità a Tessalonica. Per rafforzare l'autorità del suo collaboratore, Paolo lo propone ai fedeli come modello. Nella 1 Tessalonicesi, Timoteo sostituisce Paolo e compie quello che avrebbe fatto l'Apostolo se avesse potuto recarsi in quella città per incoraggiare ed esortare i fedeli (1 Ts 3,2). Timoteo, come *alter Paulus*, con l'autorità dell'Apostolo deve incoraggiare la comunità, sconfortata dalla brusca e forzata separazione. L'assenza di Paolo è, dunque, colmata con l'arrivo di Timoteo.

Parole chiave: Paolo, Timoteo, Tessalonica, rappresentante, *alter Paulus*, delegato

Povzetek: Po Pavlovem odhodu iz skupnosti, ki jih je ustanovil, se med verniki kažejo različne vrste težav. Zaradi njih Pavel pošlje Timoteja, da reši kočljive spore. Ker je Timotej pogosto spremljal Pavla, je dobro poznal njihove razmere in težave. Njegovo poslanstvo je, umiriti dogajanje, združiti razdeljene strani, pozdraviti porušene odnose med apostolom in skupnostjo v Tesalonikah. Da bi poudaril avtoriteto svojega sodelavca, ga Pavel vernikom predstavi kot vzornika. V 1 Tes Timotej nadomešča Pavla in opravlja enako vlogo kakor sam apostol, ko bi bil lahko osebno navzoč v mestu, da bi okreplil in spodbudil vernike (1 Tes 3,2). Timotej kot *alter Paulus* z avtoriteto apostola krepí skupnost, oslABLJENO z grenko in nasilno ločitvijo. Pavlovo odsotnost tako umiri Timotejev prihod.

Ključne besede: Pavel, Timotej, Tesaloniki, predstavnik, *alter Paulus*, delegat

Abstract. After Paul departs from the communities founded by him, various problems arise among believers. On this basis, Paul sends Timothy to resolve tense situations. Having often accompanied Paul, Timothy knows their circumstances and problems well. His mission is to calm the situation, unite divided parties, and heal broken relations between the Apostle and community in Thessalonica. To emphasize the authority of his co-worker, Paul presents him as a model to the community of believers. In 1 Thessalonians, Timothy represents Paul and does what the Apostle would have done if he had been able to go to the city – he encourages and exhorts the faithful (1Thess 3,2). Timothy, as *alter Paulus*, with the Apostle’s authority, must encourage the community, disheartened by the abrupt and forced separation. Paul’s absence is, therefore, compensated by Timothy’s arrival.

Key words: Paul, Timothy, Thessalonica, representative, *alter Paulus*, delegate

1. Introduzione

Il presente articolo propone un’analisi del testo di 1 Ts 3,1-10 dove si descrive il compito di Timoteo a Tessalonica. Quando non è possibile la visita di Paolo nella comunità, raggiunge i cristiani inviando uno dei suoi collaboratori. Timoteo non è sconosciuto ai Tessalonesi e così può incoraggiare la comunità, sconfortata dalla brusca e forzata separazione. L’articolo analizza la situazione a Tessalonica dopo la separazione dei missionari e la consolazione dei fedeli dopo la visita di Timoteo nella città. Si descrive sia la missione di Timoteo a Tessalonica (1 Ts 3,1-5) che il suo ritorno (vv. 6-10). Poi si presentano alcune ipotesi se Timoteo è (o non è) co-fondatore della comunità. Timoteo è descritto come il rappresentante dell’Apostolo. Egli si sostituisce a Paolo, che non può essere fisicamente presente per dirimere le questioni di persona. Timoteo rappresenta dunque Paolo in sua assenza.

2. Paolo e i Tessalonesi

Durante il secondo viaggio missionario, Paolo con i suoi compagni lascia Filippi, dopo la prigionia e la liberazione miracolosa, e arriva a Tessalonica (At 17,1). Sorprende come negli avvenimenti menzionati a Filippi e a Tessalonica non si faccia riferimento a Timoteo, ma si parli esclusivamente di Paolo e di Sila (Trevijano Etcheverría 2002, 209).

Paolo rimane a Tessalonica e per tre settimane¹ discute nella sinagoga dei giudei (At 17,2).² Benché la sua predicazione non abbia ottenuto il risultato aspetta-

¹ È impossibile determinare quanto tempo Paolo e i suoi compagni siano rimasti a Tessalonica. Gli Atti dicono che ha discusso per tre settimane nella sinagoga, ma questo non vuole dire che il suo soggiorno sia durato tre settimane. Paolo avrebbe potuto restare a Tessalonica per diverse settimane, se non per mesi. (Fant and Reddish 2003, 135)

² La discussione si apre sull’esistenza della sinagoga menzionata. Poiché sino ad oggi non sono stati trovati i resti di questa sinagoga, alcuni pensano che si tratti di una glossa (Fant and Reddish 2003, 134). Contro quest’ipotesi si pone il fatto che in varie città le sinagoghe erano installate in abitazioni. In diver-

to, un piccolo gruppo di ebrei, compresi i greci credenti, aderisce al messaggio cristiano (v. 4). La loro missione, comunque, agita i giudei ingelositi che provocano il conflitto (v. 5).³ Paolo è costretto a lasciare Tessalonica durante la notte e a partire verso Berea (v. 10).⁴ I giudei da Tessalonica sono venuti, infatti, anche lì, a Berea, per agitare il popolo (v. 13). Paolo poi prosegue per Atene, da dove manda Timoteo per conoscere la situazione a Tessalonica.⁵ A Corinto incontra di nuovo Sila e Timoteo, e ascolta le notizie riguardanti i Tessalonicesi (18,5).

Gli abitanti di Tessalonica, in prevalenza gentili e in minoranza giudei della diaspora, vissuti secondo la loro religione giudaica o le divinità che confessavano i greci, sono ora evangelizzati da Paolo e dai suoi compagni e pregati di lasciare il loro *modus vivendi* per cominciare a credere in Cristo (Brodeur 2013, 117–118; Pitta 2013, 78). Gli Atti menzionano l'attività di Paolo nella sinagoga solo per tre settimane. Infatti, solo nel caso della comunità di Tessalonica notiamo che la permanenza e l'evangelizzazione di Paolo sono assai brevi (Smith 2000, 711).

Paolo perde il contatto personale con gli abitanti della città. Ci sono delle domande nella comunità nascente che sono rimaste aperte: la santità di vita e la carità (1 Ts 4,1-12), la speranza nella risurrezione (vv. 13-18), l'attesa della parusia (5,1-11). Paolo non può rispondere personalmente a queste richieste e quindi invia il suo collaboratore Timoteo. Paolo, con i suoi compagni, non solo fonda la comunità, ma si preoccupa anche della crescita di questa chiesa. Egli la invita a riprendere il contatto (Fabris 2014, 105).

3. Timoteo come delegato autorevole di Paolo: il testo (1 Ts 3,1-10) e la delimitazione del brano

»¹ Per questo, non potendo più resistere, abbiamo deciso di restare soli ad Atene ² e abbiamo inviato Timoteo, nostro fratello e collaboratore di Dio nel vangelo di Cristo, per rafforzarvi ed esortarvi nella vostra fede, ³ perché nessuno si disturbi in queste tribolazioni. Voi stessi, infatti, sapete che a questo siamo destinati; ⁴ infatti, quando eravamo tra voi, vi prean-

si luoghi della 1 Tessalonicesi si rievoca il retroterra semitico. Infine, non si può negare la presenza di una comunità giudaica a Tessalonica. Altrimenti non si può spiegare la costrizione alla fuga dalla città da parte dei missionari. (Pitta 2013, 74)

³ Si pensa al conflitto tra cristiani e non-cristiani. Tratta della tensione non solo verso Paolo, ma anche contro i fedeli di Tessalonica (1 Ts 1,6). I Tessalonicesi sono imitatori dei missionari e del Signore (Barclay 1993, 512–513). Oltre le tensioni *outside*, dunque i giudei ingelositi, si parla anche degli oppositori *inside* nella chiesa, cfr. Weima 2002, 210.

⁴ Paolo visita soprattutto le città di notevole importanza. Berea in tutta la Bibbia è menzionata solo due volte (proprio in At 17) per la sua importanza rimarchevole. Era una delle porte d'accesso alla Macedonia occidentale. (Brodeur 2013, 121)

⁵ Qui si dividono le informazioni tra la 1 Tessalonicesi e gli Atti degli Apostoli. Mentre 1 Tessalonicesi ci porta la testimonianza, che Paolo manda Timoteo da Atene (1 Ts 3,1), Luca menziona che Paolo s'isola già a Berea, e Sila, assieme a Timoteo, resta a Berea (At 17,14); Paolo prosegue verso Atene (vv. 15-16), dove si svolge il famoso discorso nell'Areopago (vv. 22-31). Poi parte per Corinto (At 18,1), dove aspetta il ritorno di Timoteo con le notizie dalla comunità di Tessalonica (v. 5).

nunziavamo che avremmo dovuto subire tribolazioni, come è accaduto e voi lo sapete.⁵ Per questo motivo, non potendo più resistere, ho inviato [Timoteo] per avere le notizie sulla vostra fede, se il tentatore non vi avesse tentati e così diventasse vana la nostra fatica.

⁶ Ma ora che Timoteo è tornato da voi a noi, e ci ha portato la buona notizia sulla vostra fede e sulla vostra carità e che sempre avete il buon ricordo di noi, desiderosi di vederci, come noi vogliamo [vedere] voi;⁷ per questo siamo stati consolati, fratelli, a vostro riguardo, di tutta la nostra angoscia e tribolazione per la vostra fede,⁸ perché ora, ci sentiamo rivivere, se rimanete saldi nel Signore.

⁹ Infatti, quale ringraziamento possiamo rendere a Dio riguardo a voi, per tutta la gioia con la quale abbiamo gioito per voi davanti al nostro Dio,¹⁰ noi che notte e giorno, con viva insistenza, chiediamo di poter vedere il vostro volto e completare ciò che ancora manca alla vostra fede?» (1 Ts 3,1-10)

Mentre 1 Ts 2 descrive la separazione di Paolo dai Tessalonicesi e la successiva consolazione, con 1 Ts 3 si cambia clima, anche se ci sono termini che ritroviamo in ambedue i capitoli («vedere il volto» in 1 Ts 2,17; 3,6.10; «io Paolo» in 1 Ts 2,18; 3,5). Paolo introduce un nuovo personaggio inviato come suo delegato autorevole. Dopo la separazione dei missionari, Paolo tenta di riprendere dei contatti con i Tessalonicesi (1 Ts 2,17-20). All'inizio di 1 Ts 3, l'Apostolo decide di inviare a Tessalonica Timoteo per avere notizie dei fedeli (1 Ts 3,1-5). In ciò che segue viene descritto il ritorno di Timoteo da Tessalonica: egli porta con sé buone notizie e un buon ricordo dei Tessalonicesi (vv. 6-10).

4. La separazione e la consolazione

Dopo la fuga dei missionari da Tessalonica, la comunicazione personale è interrotta. Paolo stesso parla di una «separazione» (1 Ts 2,17). Lui esprime non solo il progetto di andare da loro più volte, ma anche il desiderio di vedere il loro volto.⁶ Benché Paolo non ci informi della situazione dopo la partenza da Tessalonica, non cessa di preoccuparsi per la comunità: «Eravamo nell'impazienza di rivedere il vostro volto, tanto il nostro desiderio era vivo» (2,17); «Abbiamo desiderato una volta, anzi due volte, proprio io Paolo, di venire da voi» (v. 18); «Non potendo più resistere» (3,1); «Abbiamo inviato Timoteo» (v. 2); «Per confermarvi ed esortarvi nella vostra fede» (v. 2); «Chiediamo di poter vedere il vostro volto» (v. 10). Paolo non scrive per trasmettere le informazioni, ma per esprimere il proprio affetto e le proprie preoccupazioni (Gaventa 1998, 40).

Non si può negare la connessione amichevole intrecciata tra i missionari e i Tessalonicesi tanto che, dopo la partenza, Paolo dice: «eravamo separati.» (1 Ts 2,17)

⁶ Al desiderio di «rivedere il vostro volto» (1 Ts 2,17) corrisponde la risposta della comunità a Tessalonica: «Desiderosi di vederci come noi lo siamo di vedere voi» (3,6). Per le altre somiglianze dell'analisi strutturale nella parte 2,17-3,13, cfr. Fee 2009, 124.

Il testo greco qui usa l'aoristo ἀπορφανισθέντες, che è un *hapax* nel NT. Nella radice si scopre l'aggettivo ὀρφανός (orfano, senza i genitori). Letteralmente, qui Paolo dice che «siamo diventati orfani». Separandosi dai Tessalonicesi, i missionari si sentivano come bambini senza genitori. L'eco del verbo ἀπορφανισθέντες la troviamo in 3,1 quando Paolo dice: «Abbiamo deciso di restare soli ad Atene.» Lui si sente come orfano.⁷

Paolo e i suoi compagni non possono ritornare a Tessalonica perché «Satana ce lo ha impedito» (1 Ts 2,18). Pochi versetti dopo, per paura di vanificare la loro fede, ripete: «Per timore che il tentatore vi avesse tentati.» (3,5) Qui si apre la domanda: perché Paolo si preoccupa tanto per la fede dei Tessalonicesi e non, per esempio, per la loro vita o il loro futuro? L'altra domanda che poniamo è: come mai Satana impedisce il ritorno di Paolo a Tessalonica, mentre il viaggio di Timoteo non è bloccato? Cerchiamo di sviscerare le risposte in ciò che segue (Gaventa 1998, 42).

Per due volte Paolo qui usa la parola ,tribolazione' (il sostantivo θλίψις dei Tessalonicesi in 1 Ts 3,3; il verbo θλίβω di Paolo in 3,4⁸). Probabilmente non si tratta di attacchi fisici, anzi qui è presente il pericolo della defezione o dell'apostasia (εἰς κενὸν in 1 Ts 3,5⁹). Secondo Smith, i credenti rischiano di tornare alla vita precedente, prima di essere evangelizzati da Paolo, perdendo i valori insegnati da Paolo durante l'evangelizzazione e l'Apostolo si preoccupa della comunità, come emerge dall'intervento mediante Timoteo e dalla lettera, affinché i Tessalonicesi non continuino la loro prassi religiosa precedente, che non è conforme al vangelo annunciato. Ecco, le tribolazioni preannunciate e accadute in 3,4 (Smith 2000, 711).

5. La consolazione dei Tessalonicesi mediante la lettera

La 1 Tessalonicesi è una lettera reale, non un discorso retorico (Pitta 2013, 79). Paolo esprime il proprio rallegramento personale, quando Timoteo ritorna portando con sé una buona notizia da Tessalonica. Alcuni studiosi pensano che la lettera sia stata scritta subito dopo l'arrivo di Timoteo a Corinto (1 Ts 3,6), dove Paolo era giunto e dove lavorò per un anno e mezzo (At 18,11). Fra l'evangelizzazione di Tessalonica da parte dei missionari e la stesura di 1 Tessalonicesi intercorre, dunque, un intervallo breve. La lettera risulterebbe databile all'inizio del 51 (Brodeur 2013, 122). Il compito di Timoteo si può dividere in due fasi principali:

⁷ Il senso di εὐδοκῆσαμεν al plurale può esprimere Paolo insieme con Sila, la gente ad Atene, o plurale epistolare – *plurale maiestatis* (Malherbe 2000, 190). Però, secondo la versione in At 17,16-34, Paolo si reca ad Atene, senza Sila e Timoteo. Per la problematica di ,noi' in 1 Ts 3,1, cfr. Morris 1991, 93.

⁸ Nelle lettere paoline il termine θλίψις si orienta verso la persecuzione escatologica, cioè la persecuzione dei credenti dagli aggressori o la sofferenza per la fede (Rm 8,35; Fil 1,17).

⁹ L'espressione εἰς κενὸν (κενός) Paolo la usa anche negli altri luoghi per indicare la stabilità del suo insegnamento o della resistenza delle comunità (1 Cor 15,58; Gal 2,2; Fil 2,16).

5.1 La missione di Timoteo a Tessalonica (1 Ts 3,1-5)

Per scoprire la situazione a Tessalonica, Paolo manda uno dei co-fondatori della comunità. In 1 Ts 3,2, Timoteo, chiamato ἀδελφός e συνεργός, sarà perfettamente riconosciuto e (come Paolo spera) accolto dai credenti di Tessalonica.

Qual è il compito di Timoteo a Tessalonica? Innanzitutto, confortare i credenti. Paolo lo dice chiaramente: «Abbiamo inviato Timoteo /.../ per confermarvi ed esortarvi.» (1 Ts 3,2) Il secondo compito di Timoteo è verificare se vi è stabilità nella comunità, a causa della brusca e forzata separazione (v. 5). I fondatori si preoccupano di quanto accaduto nella vita dei Tessalonicesi dopo la fuga dei missionari: μηδένα σαίνεσθαι (v. 3). L'*hapax* nel NT del verbo σαίνομαι si può tradurre come ‚turbare, disturbare, mescolare, accalappiare‘. Non è visibile solo la preoccupazione nel presente, ma anche la continuazione delle azioni accadute durante la presenza di Paolo a Tessalonica (nel v. 4 si notano i verbi nell'imperfetto: ἤμεν e προελέγομεν). Con il v. 5 non si conclude solo questa prima parte (vv. 1-5), ma si ripete anche il motivo del v. 1 (μηκέτι στέγοντες nel v. 1 – μηκέτι στέγων nel v. 5). Mentre nel v. 1 vediamo il verbo al plurale (εὐδοκήσαμεν), nel v. 5 si usa al singolare: ἔπεμψα (κάγώ distingue Paolo dagli altri).

In sintesi, si può affermare che la missione di Timoteo ha lo scopo di testimoniare la fede, l'amore nella comunità e il ricordo di Paolo. Non a caso Paolo sceglie in 1 Ts 3,2 due titoli per Timoteo. Lo fa per approfondire il tema dell'affetto dei fedeli («nostro fratello») e della fede in Dio («collaboratore di Dio nel vangelo di Cristo»).¹⁰

5.2 Il ritorno di Timoteo con la notizia (1 Ts 3,6-10)

Eseguita la missione, Timoteo ritorna da Paolo e lo informa della situazione a Tessalonica (Barclay 1993, 517). Non è importante parlare solo del movimento ‚da voi‘, ma sottolineare soprattutto la relazione ‚da voi – a noi‘. Timoteo lo informa su tre questioni: la fede dei Tessalonicesi, il loro amore e il loro ricordo di Paolo. Dal punto di vista sintattico, tutto il versetto di 1 Ts 3,6 è costruito come la frase subordinante e si riferisce alla frase principale nel v. 7: »Ci sentiamo consolati, fratelli.« Paolo non gioisce solo per le buone notizie portate da Timoteo, ma principalmente sente che la comunità da lui fondata rimane salda nel Signore (v. 8).

Alla preoccupazione iniziale riguardo la perdita della fede dopo la partenza dei missionari, ora si sostituisce l'assicurazione finale: »rimanete saldi (στήκετε) nel Signore«. Il verbo στήκω mantiene in sé il senso militare, cioè rimanere forte, mantenere la posizione nella battaglia (Fabris 2014, 112).

Con i versetti conclusivi (1 Ts 3,9-10), Paolo esprime il ringraziamento (1 Ts 1,2; 2,13) con cui nell'Antichità si chiude di solito la lettera, glorificando gli dèi per la comunicazione avvenuta con successo. Nel nostro caso ciò significa che la missione di Timoteo ha portato buon frutto e che i contatti con i fedeli a Tessalonica

¹⁰ Anche negli altri luoghi Paolo usa l'idea della collaborazione per descrivere l'importanza della missione di una persona alla quale si attribuisce questo titolo (Iovino 1992, 165).

sono nuovamente riannodati. Il ringraziamento di Paolo, come reazione immediata al ritorno di Timoteo, dura senza interruzione: »notte e giorno« nel v. 10 (Malherbe 2000, 203–204).

6. Il rapporto personale (ἡμεῖς – Timoteo – ὑμεῖς)

È importante soffermarsi sulla massiccia presenza dei pronomi personali in 1 Ts 3,1-10.¹¹ La loro frequenza misura l'intensità del dialogo epistolare (Fabris 2014, 103). Il gioco tra la prima e la seconda persona plurale esprime il rapporto profondo tra Paolo e i Tessalonicesi. Nel v. 2 Timoteo è mandato per confermare ὑμᾶς, nel v. 6 lui ritorna πρὸς ἡμᾶς. L'accento si pone ora sul ritorno; ciò tranquillizza la relazione personale di Paolo (vv. 1-4). La stessa funzione incoraggiante compie anche l'appellativo dei destinatari ἀδελφοί (v. 7), che esprime di nuovo la situazione pacificata e amichevole. Mentre non si può negare l'invio di Timoteo a Tessalonica, tra gli studiosi si discute circa la sua presenza nella città durante la fondazione della comunità. Crescono, dunque, due ipotesi:

6.1 Timoteo non è co-fondatore della comunità

Quest'ipotesi si basa sull'assenza di Timoteo durante il secondo viaggio missionario da Filippi fino a Berea. Non è coinvolto nell'agitazione nella piazza di Filippi, quando Paolo e Sila subiscono la punizione e sono messi in carcere (At 16,19-24), né a Tessalonica (Paolo e Sila in At 17,4-5), né a Berea (v. 10).¹² A questa ipotesi si oppone Luca, il quale non menziona tutti i dettagli dell'evangelizzazione, ma si concentra sugli eventi più rilevanti.

Così emerge la realtà, ovvero che Timoteo viene accettato agevolmente a Tessalonica. Se non è presente in città durante la prima evangelizzazione di Paolo e Sila, non viene dunque riconosciuto come un personaggio ,problematico' e quindi può tornare in città con facilità per rintrecciare la comunicazione, senza sollevare sospetti o reazioni pericolose nell'ambiente giudaico e fra la popolazione della città (Fabris 2014, 34). Satana ha impedito a Paolo di andare a Tessalonica (1 Ts 2,18); invece, il viaggio di Timoteo non è stato bloccato.

6.2 Timoteo è co-fondatore della comunità

Nominare Timoteo come uno dei co-mittenti della Prima lettera ai Tessalonicesi in 1 Ts 1,1 (espressione genuina: »Paolo, Silvano e Timoteo«) significa confermare la sua sicura presenza nella città. In 3,2 Timoteo viene nominato con la descrizione semplice di »nostro fratello e collaboratore di Dio«. Timoteo ritorna alla comunità, la quale lo riconosce subito e non è necessario attribuirgli altri termini (vedi »mio figlio diletto e fedele nel Signore« in 1 Cor 4,17; »Paolo e Timoteo,

¹¹ Solo nella parte seconda (1 Ts 3,6-10) ἡμεῖς si ripete 7 volte e ὑμεῖς 10 volte.

¹² Ci stupisce anche l'informazione di Sila. Al di fuori della menzione iniziale nel prescritto, nella 1 Tessalonicesi non si parla di Silvano-Sila, ma solo di Timoteo (Fabris 2014, 108).

servi di Cristo Gesù» in Fil 1,1; »mio vero figlio nella fede« in 1 Tm 1,2). Secondo Malherbe, Timoteo era con Paolo quando la chiesa di Tessalonica è stata fondata ed è appena ritornato lì dalla sua missione (1 Ts 3,6). Dunque per Paolo non c'è alcun bisogno di raccomandarlo ai suoi lettori. Timoteo mantiene contatti più vivaci con i Tessalonicesi dell'Apostolo stesso (Malherbe 2000, 190–191).

7. Timoteo come rappresentante

Luca non tratta del percorso di Timoteo verso Tessalonica. Tanto non ci informa del tempo trascorso da Paolo e Sila ad Atene, aspettando Timoteo. Timoteo è mandato a Tessalonica come il rappresentante di Paolo per esortare i fedeli (παρακαλέσαι in 1 Ts 3,2). Richard sostiene che Timoteo fu mandato a Tessalonica con le notizie di Paolo e Sila; e che ritorna, invece, con le notizie dei Tessalonicesi (Richard 1995, 157–158). Non solo: ritorna con lo scopo di consolare i missionari (παρακλήθημεν nel v. 7). Adesso la stabilità della comunità dimostra il rapporto tra i fondatori e i credenti. Nella notizia di Timoteo è evidenziato che i Tessalonicesi, sempre (πάντοτε) li ricordano (v. 6). Lo stesso termine è usato nel ringraziamento epistolare: »Ringraziamo sempre (πάντοτε) Dio per tutti voi.« (1,2)

Timoteo è descritto in 1 Ts 3,1-8 come il ministro fedele. Lui sostituisce Paolo e Sila e opera a Tessalonica mediante la sua responsabilità. È inviato come *team-worker* a Tessalonica per continuare la missione dei fondatori che è stata interrotta. L'invio di Timoteo a Tessalonica significa la soluzione alternativa per ristabilire i contatti con quella chiesa (Fabris 2014, 108).

8. Timoteo come *alter Paulus*

Qualche volta, nella corrispondenza con i Tessalonicesi, Paolo parla di imitazione (1 Ts 1,6; 2,14) facendo riferimento alla parola τύπος (1,7).¹³ Paolo presenta se stesso come esempio: »Voi ricordate infatti, fratelli, la nostra fatica e il nostro travaglio: lavorando notte e giorno per non essere di peso ad alcuno vi abbiamo annunziato il vangelo di Dio.« (2,9)¹⁴ Da Paolo, come modello concreto, si passa alla comunità di Tessalonica, che è diventata modello per tutti i credenti, nella Macedonia, nell'Acacia, dappertutto (1 Ts 1,7).¹⁵

La missione di Timoteo non si compie solo come conseguenza della situazione fastidiosa (vedi δὴ in 1 Ts 3,1), ma egli è visto anche come il sostituto di Paolo a

¹³ Più tardi nella Lettera agli Ebrei si esorta l'imitazione degli altri (6,12; 13,7).

¹⁴ Contro l'opinione di Malherbe 2000, 188–211, che sottolinea l'approccio di Paolo di diventare modello per i Tessalonicesi, sta Kim (2005, 528–533), che parla dell'assenza di qualsiasi persona chiamata a imitare Paolo.

¹⁵ Le due province romane allargano la missione dell'esemplarità di Paolo. Poco prima lui è stato a Filippi (provincia della Macedonia), dove subisce la carcerazione (At 16,20-24). Partendo da Tessalonica Paolo punta la sua missione verso Corinto (18,1-17), capitale della provincia dell'Acacia (Pitta 2013, 95).

Tessalonica. Ciò che Paolo preannuncia, Timoteo lo fa (Malherbe 2000, 196). Timoteo a Tessalonica fa quello che avrebbe fatto Paolo se avesse potuto rivedere i cristiani, cioè rafforzarli ed esortarli nella loro fede (Fabris 2014, 109). Se Paolo è colui che con coraggio annuncia il vangelo (εὐαγγέλιον in 2,2) in mezzo ai fedeli, Timoteo ritorna da Tessalonica portando il lieto messaggio (εὐαγγελισαμένου in 3,6). La missione di Timoteo non consiste solo nel consolare i Tessalonicesi (3,2), ma anche nel ricevere le notizie sulla loro fede (3,5).

Timoteo rappresenta l'Apostolo durante la sua assenza nella comunità. In nome di Paolo, Timoteo raggiunge i destinatari, li conferma ed esorta (1 Ts 3,2) e tenta di scoprire se nella comunità è vivo il ricordo di Paolo (v. 6). Timoteo arriva nella comunità ed è designato come «collaboratore» (v. 2) per esprimere la sua condizione – egli deve essere accettato come uno che è inviato dall'Apostolo. Attraverso la missione di Timoteo, il contatto tra Paolo e i Tessalonicesi è di nuovo rianodato.

9. Conclusione

Timoteo è il fedele collaboratore di Paolo nel servizio del vangelo. L'Apostolo lo presenta e lo raccomanda ai Tessalonicesi come suo delegato. Quando Paolo non può recarsi a Tessalonica, Timoteo fa da collegamento tra Paolo e la chiesa macedone. Quando Timoteo rientra da Tessalonica, Paolo si sente rivivere, perché gli reca buone notizie. I Tessalonicesi conservano un buon ricordo di Paolo e dei suoi collaboratori nella predicazione del vangelo e restano saldi nel loro cammino di fede (Fabris 2014, 115).

Paolo, dunque, manda Timoteo a Tessalonica come se mandasse se stesso. Egli svolge il compito dell'Apostolo, cioè sostiene i credenti. Oltre a questo, Timoteo deve verificare la stabilità della comunità fondata da Paolo. Egli, come *alter Paulus*, con l'autorità dell'Apostolo cresce nella responsabilità e deve incoraggiare la comunità, sconfortata dalla brusca e forzata separazione o a causa della morte di alcuni.

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Rabbinic Judaism's Perspective on the First Crimes Against Humanity¹

Prvi zločini proti človeštvu z vidika rabinskega judovstva

Abstract: This article focuses on the first recorded crimes (sins) against humanity in the context of the broader and more fundamental issue of human life's intrinsic value and dignity. An analysis of the views of rabbinic Judaism reveals a network of concepts that are dynamically intertwined. They originate from a strictly monotheistic framework (worldview) of Judaism that helps resolve whether a person is allowed to end his life for the sake of others. Careful analysis and interpretation of the first three acts of violence recorded in the Hebrew Bible (Tanakh) reveal the catastrophic consequences of choosing to end another's life without considering its intrinsic value while ignoring the intrinsic value of the other and his dignity and assuming that humans have the power to decide the fate of another human being, to distance humanity from God (from God's presence), trapping humans in the idolatry of materialism. Moreover, the Hebrew Bible (Tanakh) allows for a factual assessment and distinction between different acts of violence. It offers guidance, protection, and hope, for both victims and perpetrators, in the drama of creation and salvation.

Keywords: rabbinic Judaism, crimes against humanity, sin, murder, Cain, Abel, the value of human life, Hebrew Bible (Tanakh)

Povzetek: Članek se osredotoča na prve zabeležene zločine (grehe) proti človeštvu v kontekstu širšega in bolj temeljnega vprašanja notranje (intrinzične) vrednosti in dostojanstva človeškega življenja. Analiza pogledov rabinskega judovstva

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razkriva mrežo pojmov, ki so dinamično prepleteni. Izvirajo iz strogo mono-teističnega okvira (pogleda na svet) judovstva, ki pomaga razreševati vprašanje, ali je človeku dovoljeno, da konča svoje življenje zaradi drugih. Skrbna analiza in interpretacija prvih treh dejanj nasilja, zabeleženih v hebrejski Bibliji (Tanak), razkriva katastrofalne posledice izbire končanja življenja drugega, ne da bi pri tem upoštevali njegovo notranjo vrednost. Medtem sta neoziranje na intrinzično vrednost drugega in na njegovo dostojanstvo in predpostavljjanje, da imamo pristojnost, odločati o usodi drugega človeka, oddaljili človeštvo od Boga (od božje navzočnosti) in ga ujeli v past malikovanja materializma. Še več, hebrejska Biblija omogoča stvarno oceno in razlikovanje med različnimi dejanji nasilja. Zagotavlja vodstvo, zaščito in upanje, tako za žrtve kakor tudi za storilce, v drami stvarjenja in odrešenja.

Ključne besede: rabinsko judovstvo, zločini proti človeštvu, greh, umor, vrednost človeškega življenja, Kajn, Abel, hebrejska Biblija (Tanak)

1. Introduction

Humans tend to consider their lives to be the most valuable thing in the world. However, human life itself does not have the highest value. Rabbinic Judaism recognizes three other categories that exceed the value of human life: (1) believing in the existence of one God; (2) protecting the lives of other human beings; and (3) maintaining the purity of sexual intercourse (BT, Sanhedrin 74a). A person who is forced to disobey one of these commandments (e.g., he/she is forced to convert, to murder another human being, or participate in a forbidden sexual act) is allowed to end his life either by committing suicide or by letting his friends or enemies end his life. A death like this is called »*Kiddush Hashem* – sanctification of God’s Name« (Zozulak and Valčo 2018, 1037–1050). Rabbinic Judaism accepts an unnatural ending of human life only in the situations mentioned above. The most intriguing question is whether a person should be allowed to end his own life for the sake of others. One group of rabbis strongly supports the idea that this is possible only under specific circumstances. In contrast, another group is convinced that a person should never be allowed to do so (Lamm 2007, 139). Cases in which one’s life and the lives of one’s relatives must be protected need further discussion.

Every human being is considered a relative (or, in religious terminology, a neighbor ‘) because we all have one common ancestor – Adam. Besides, all humans have been created in God’s image (*imago Dei*),² which gives them a stamp of eternal value and destiny (Zozulak and Valčo 2018, 1037–1050). Therefore, deep respect and protection of human life are natural and expected for everyone and should not be considered a subjective or national matter only. Tanakh (the most

² Christian exegetes would interpret this passage christologically in a Trinitarian fashion in which *imago Dei* is understood as *imago Trinitatis* (Valčo et al. 2019, 176–192).

famous and most-cited form found in Decalogue)³ directly forbids putting human life in danger. Hence it directly opposes murder and killing and forbids a believer to commit murder.

A mythopoetic description of the first three acts of violence is mentioned at the beginning of Tanakh (in the third and fourth chapters of Bereshit). These acts of violence occurred in the First, Second, and Seventh generations of humankind. The three acts of violence drew humankind apart from God (God's Presence) (Kardis 2019, 121), trapping them in a materialistic civilization. To recover a clear notion of justice and sanctity, including a sense of mutual dependency and solidarity, an intentional, carefully designed system of conducive environments, education, and upbringing need to be implemented in the lives of communities of believers (Šoltés 2018, 81–90; Vansač and Guľašová 2018, 216–225).

2. The first intentional murder – a choice between life and death

The first intentional murder mentioned in Bereshit is Cain's murder of his brother Abel. However, long before the first murder, there had been an attempt to put human life in danger. Nachash, the speaking serpent (Targum and Midrashim perceived as the angel of death Samael (Targum Pseudo-Jonatan; Bereshit 3,6)), threatened human life in the Garden of Eden for the first time. Snakes were considered to be the most intelligent animals. Having promised deep knowledge to Eve, the serpent deceived her into eating the forbidden fruit from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, even though consumption of the fruit was punishable by death. The consumption of the forbidden fruit, as mentioned in Midrash, is the main reason why death came to take Adam, Eve, and all their offspring (Bereishit Rabbah 16,6). According to Rabbinic Judaism, humans were created immortal. Ideas mentioned in Bereshit, however, do not support this claim. Bereshit also states that after Eve had eaten the forbidden fruit, God decided to prevent humans from eating fruits from the Tree of Life. The fruit from the Tree of Life represents immortality (Gn 3,22-24). The sacred text does not mention an immediate death after consumption of the forbidden fruit. However, it is stated that humans remain mortal (3,19). Rabbis think that humans became mortal only after eating from the Tree of Knowledge. When the Israelites were given Torah on Mount Sinai, they were also given back their immortality. However, the sin of worshipping the Golden Calf divested them of their newly-received immortality, and they became mortal once again (Shemot Rabbah 32,1). Rabbis claim that the Torah represents and supports life in general but disobeying one of the commandments ultimately leads to death. Adam and Israel lost their immortality because they decided to disobey the Torah.

³ For a treatment of Talmudic literature on relevant topics see Slivka 2018, 37–44.

3. The first fratricide – a choice between good and evil

The first fratricide happened in the Second Generation. It is mentioned in the fourth reading of Bereshit. This reading can be divided into four parts: (1) Gn 4,16: the story of Cain and Abel, (2) Gn 4,17-22: Cain's genealogy, (3) Gn 4,23-24: Lamech's poem, which is presumably a part of a longer poem, (4) Gn 4,25–26: Appendix about Seth and Enosh.⁴

Some of the ideas mentioned above remain unclear, however: »No one can claim to be able to explain these parts with absolute certainty.« (Žák 1990, 66) When studying the chapter, rabbis uncovered new aspects and ideas (see below) that became the subject of follow-up analyses worked out in the form of commentaries. The analyses are focused on the following aspects: (1) The aspect of the Law: Crime and punishment; (2) The aspect of humanity: Humankind, Fraternity, Mutual responsibility, and dependency; (3) The aspect of ethics: Good and evil; (4) The theological aspect: Sin, atonement, redemption; (5) The didactic aspect: Acceptance and rejection of a child; (6) The psychological aspect: Man's character and variability of human characters. Animal impulses in humans; (7) The mystical aspect: secrets that a rational approach cannot uncover.

Composed of the mentioned elements, the Biblical narrative is a narrative about the rise of human civilization and humanity's adaptation to the world after being banished from the Garden of Eden. The author (or an editor) interconnected it with the first chapter of the Book of Bereshit. Bereshit contains the Creation myth describing the Seven days of Creation. The fourth chapter of Bereshit narrates about the Seven Generations that gave birth to human civilization. The peaceful life of humanity in the Garden of Eden is forever lost. Humans now must face struggles, danger, and violence.

The civilized world gradually developed (or decayed according to some) because of farming (Cain), herding (Abel, Jabal), city culture (Cain, Enoch, Irad), metallurgy (Tubal-Cain), music (Jubal), and faith (Enos). As shown below, some rabbis have promoted the idea that civilization's early development was also supported by the first human sovereign (Lamech), prostitution, and sacred prostitution (Naamah). The author of the scripture claims that humankind played a crucial role in developing the civilized world. This view contrasts with other nations' belief that developing civilized world results from help and support from deities.

The most noticeable aspect of the narrative is its smooth development (or changes) in the way of life of humans, walking' and later ,sitting'. The former ,walking human' (gatherer and shepherd) became a ,sitting human' (a farmer who settled in one place). The connection between these two lifestyles increased human prosperity in the world. Farmers feed their cattle with crops, and the cattle fertilize fields. Humans grow richer; they build cities, develop culture and faith. Humankind inevitably becomes a slave to wealth and money. A settler (a man who settled in one place) is the stronger one (Cain survives); however, the nomadic

⁴ Seth replaced deceased Abel. Midrashim states that (Numbers Rabbah 14,20).

type (deceased Abel) will always represent the archetype of the original human lifestyle.

The history and traditions of shepherds and farmers are interconnected (Skolnik and Berenbaum 2007). The fourth chapter of the Book of Bereshit (describing the conflict between Cain and Abel) presumably contains two layers reflecting the lifestyles mentioned above. The story of Cain and his offspring is a part of the older scripture that talks about nomadic Cainite people, their forefather Cain and the first ancient murder (see the fragment of the ancient poem of Lamech) that cursed them to become settlers and bound them to one place. The murder of Abel is a part of a more recent scripture (because the author of the text had already known the story told in the second and the third chapter of the Book of Bereshit). However, the editors of Tanakh provide the reader with separate stories, and this is how the text has been interpreted and commented on for many rabbinic generations.

3.1 The second generation

The story of the first fratricide begins with Adam meeting Eve for the first time. The word *„jada‘* (to know) includes both mental and physical knowledge. However, the word used in this context is also a euphemism for sexual intercourse between men and women. In this very context, the verb *„to know‘* refers to *„conceive‘* and *„give birth‘*.⁵ Rashi (Bereshit 4,1.) believes that Adam knew his wife Eve before they disobeyed God, i.e., before they were banished from the Garden of Eden. Other rabbis suppose that he *knew* her for the first time after being banished from the Garden (Yad David). Eve gave birth to her first son Cain (Gn 4,1a). She delivered her child in the Garden of Eden (Rashi, Bereshit 4,1. Hirsch, Bereshit 4,1.).

Eve was happy that she gave birth to a baby boy. Her son Cain was another man in a hard-working family that cultivates the land for living, representing hope for a better and more comfortable future in which he will be able to help his father with »his work under the sun« (Eccl 2,22). We can see the same happiness and sense of joy in the words of Noah's father after Noah was born. His father hopes that the baby boy will make the living easier for his family: »Truly, he will give us rest from our trouble and the hard work of our hands, because of the earth which was cursed by God.« (Gn 5,29b)

The firstborn son was keenly awaited because, in the future, he would take care of his old parents and be the successor of his father's work, and he will continue to carry the family values and traditions. Every baby boy was a long-awaited saviour who would crush the head of the serpent (3,15). However, the exact expectations are associated with the birth of a baby girl because she may be the one who will finally give birth to another man in the family.

⁵ Midrashim states that she conceived by a miracle and gave birth immediately (Bereishit rabbah 22,2).

Eve is just as happy as a man who saw his wife for the first time.⁶ Cain's act of violence would be perceived as disappointing as his mother's consumption of the forbidden fruit. Eve expressed her great expectations and hoped that she immediately put them into her newborn son after giving birth (4,1b). However, translating this short and clear sentence is not an easy task to do. Von Rad claimed that it is hard to translate each word of the sentence and keep its meaning (Rad 1972, 103). The main difficulty with the translation is that there are various possibilities to translate the words »*kaniti ish et Adonai*« in the sentence, each of them producing a different meaning.

According to commentaries, Eve expressed her gratitude for the newborn son, for she thought she had given birth to a Messiah (or God's angel). Unfortunately, she was holding the first murderer in the history of humankind. However, at that moment, she was nothing more than a mother holding her innocent child—the child she and her husband would raise and take care of for many years.

Later, Eve gave birth to another baby boy named Abel (Gn 4,2a) – Cain's brother. The social status of a younger child is expressed in the following verse: »in pain you shall bring forth children, yet your desire shall be for your husband [Gn 3,16].« (Prudký 2018, 224) The text, however, does not mention whether Adam ,*knew*' her wife once again before the birth of Abel (it only mentions that she »gave birth again« or in a literal translation, »she added one birth«). Based on this statement, many rabbis think that Cain and Abel were twins (Pirkei DeRabbi Eliezer 21). The text also does not mention any expectations or hopes put into Abel.

3.2 Cain's and Abel's occupation

Adam and Eve's children are put into a more challenging life position than their parents originally had been. They must deal with demanding circumstances in stark contrast to the Garden of Eden's ideal life. As was already mentioned, these two men represent archetypes of settlers (farmers) and nomads (shepherds). Tanakh, however, does not depict farming as an inferior lifestyle. Adam is the very first farmer who has to take care of and protect the Garden. Since this moment, Jews have been longing to have their land that was promised to their forefather Abraham. Even though Adam was a farmer, the classical and archetypal lifestyle is not considered farming neither hunting, but herding (Žák 1990, 70; Beneš and Vaďura 2010, 118). It is also important to mention that the text of Tanakh does not label farming as evil; neither does it mark herding as good, nor does it differentiate specifically between these two. One brother cultivates land on which the other brother shepherds his cattle.

Since Cain was the firstborn, he followed his father's footsteps and became a farmer just as he was predestined to do. In the Hebrew scripture, he is called »the one who slaves (serves) the land« or »slave of the land« (Beneš and Vaďura 2010, 114; 118). Cain does exactly what his parents, having been banished from the

⁶ »This is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh: let her name be Woman because she was taken out of Man.« (Gn 2,23)

Garden of Eden, were commanded to do by God – he works hard to feed himself and his family. The cultivated land called *,adama'* resembles the first man Adam, who has to cultivate land to survive. They work hard on the land cursed by God. Cain takes an example from his father's diet as well. He primarily eats plants because God forbade killing God's creatures and consuming their flesh (Rashi, Bereishit 1,29.): »See, I have given you every plant yielding seed that is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree with seed in its fruit; you shall have them for food.« (Gn 1,29) Since the two brothers did not sin until that time, some propose that Cain cultivated soil free of God's curse and lived according to the words of God. Another perspective considers the possibility that their parents' sin may have cursed the land cultivated by their children. The strong Cain (unlike the weak Abel) is not afraid of God's curse on the land. He decides to try and break it with his strength. Midrashim mentions that he became obsessed with cultivating the cursed soil, hence growing further from God (Bereshith Rabbah 22,6.). There is a resemblance to his mother, who became obsessed with the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden after meeting the serpent.

The second son, Abel, became a shepherd (4,2b). His occupation, too, is connected to past circumstances. However, it is not as obvious. He produced animal fur that served as clothing for humans to protect them from cold (when humans were not allowed to eat animal flesh). Abel provided clothes to his parents and, therefore, followed God's example, who gave them clothes after they had realized they were naked (3,21). Rashi (Bereishit 4,2) thinks Abel chose this occupation because he wanted to be as distant from the cursed soil as possible (unlike his brother Cain). He feared the curse. However, many people associate this occupation with a meat diet allowed by God only after the Great Flood (9,3). Rabbis were deeply concerned about this fact. Therefore, they emphasized that the only animal products Abel used were animal skin, milk, and wool, but never meat (Mizrachi, Bereishit 4,2).

3.3 The first attempt to gain God's favour – the first sacrifice

Working and serving God have always been connected because a human being can offer nothing more to God but his servitude. In the past, the figure of a father represented a sacrifice. However, as we see, it is not applied in this case. The main participants of the sacrifice are the two brothers. Products of their work are presented to God as a sacrifice. This type of sacrifice is called *,mincha'* (,additional sacrifice/a gift') in Hebrew. The word *,mincha'* is also used for a king's gift to win his favour (Dubovský 2008, 195). The word *,mincha'* mentioned in the following chapters of Tanakh expresses gratitude and dependency on God (most frequent are plant products). Cain presented God with a sacrifice that came from land cultivation (Gn 4,3). Abel offered God his firstborn sheep and their fat (4,4a; Lv 3,16; Lv 7,23; Lv 7,25).

God, however, accepted (,looked at it'; ,gave attention') Abel's sacrifice and refused Cain's sacrifice (,did not look at it'). How the two brothers found out about the acceptance and refusal of their sacrifice is unclear from the scripture. God did

not communicate with them directly about his decision. When translating the Bible from Hebrew to Greek, translator Theodore decided to use the verb »set on fire« (Jb, 1,16). He assumes that God set Abel's sacrifice on fire because he accepted it, and as a sign of refusal, he left Cain's sacrifice unnoticed (Dubovský 2008, 195). The same idea is mentioned in Midrashim, and Rashi supports this explanation as well (Bereishit Rabbah 22,10; Midraš Zuta 35; Raši, Bereishit 4,4). The acceptance and refusal of sacrifice may as well be linked to God's approval and disapproval of their occupations (Mrázek 1989, 31).

Rabbi Hirschensohn sees things differently. He believes that the first real sacrifice (as we understand it today - on the altar) was offered to God for the first time by Noah (Drazin 2014). Noah's Ark sheltered humans and animals, and God did not allow these animals to be eaten. After surviving the flood, humans kill animals saved from death on Noah's Ark without any reasonable explanation. God smelled the burned flesh of animals and said: »I will never again curse the ground because of humankind, for the inclination of the human heart is evil from youth; nor will I ever again destroy every living creature as I have done.« (Gn 8,21) Every sacrifice (even the temple sacrifice) is nothing more but a way for people to get closer to God and express gratitude to Him. The same compromise is later made by God himself when he approves eating meat (a diet which is typical for carnivores), even though it was never his plan in the first place. Cain and Abel (according to Hirschensohn) did not build altars, they did not slit throats of cattle as a part of the sacrifice, and they did not burn their offerings. It was better to offer God a living creature than its dead body. The two brothers brought their sacrifice to a specific place (either a mountain or to the entrance of the Garden of Eden) and left it there. Cain's sacrifice remained untouched by God, and he thought, mistakenly, that God did not accept it. Animals brought to one of the places mentioned earlier ran away as soon as Abel had left, and he, again mistakenly, thought it was a sign of God's acceptance (Drazin 2014).

The acceptance of Abel's sacrifice is one of many cases mentioned in Tanakh when the second brother is shown more favour than the firstborn. The Torah, however, does not provide us with any reasonable explanation for God's decision. This fact has been discussed for centuries, and opinions vary: »However, it is assumed that God is always fair, and humans understand his decisions.« (Prudký 2018, 239) Rabbis think that the main reason for God's decision lies in the type of sacrifice and its purpose.

According to most rabbinic tradition, the difference may be either in the quality of sacrifice or the man who presented it,⁷ in its quantity⁸ or the form of consumption of the sacrifice (239). When it comes to sacrifice quality, rabbis cannot agree on what should be considered the best sacrifice. Their opinions differ: it

⁷ »By faith Abel offered to God a more acceptable sacrifice than Cain's. Through this he received approval as righteous, God himself giving approval to his gifts; he died, but through his faith he still speaks.« (Hb 11,4)

⁸ The first sacrifice was offered by Cain; Abel saw it and he presented God with greater offering. Josephus Flavius though Abel was close-fisted (*Antiquitates Judaeorum* I 2,1).

could be things such as the firstborn animal from the herd, an animal (better than a plant), Paschal lamb (better than a plant or any other animal), anything valuable, things of a natural origin (better than products linked to land cultivation), substitute sacrifice or a sacrifice for redemption (better than any other type of sacrifice). When differentiating between men who presented a sacrifice, the focus may be on their physical qualities, moral qualities, social status, origin, or intentions. One of these may be why the scripture mentions that God looked only at Abel's sacrifice and did not look at Cain's sacrifice or that he (God) paid attention only to Abel while ignoring Cain.

Some rabbis come with a different perspective. They think that there is no reason at all for God's actions (the secret of the chosen one) (Rad 1972). God is the ultimate authority, and he is free to act as he wishes, just as he, later on, explains to Moses: »I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion.« (Ex 33,19)

Cain did not get offended by God for not accepting his offering; however, he got angry with Abel. To be more specific, it seems that Cain got envious of his brother. Midrashim tries to provide a few other possible reasons for Cain's anger and the murder. The explanations are based on three aspects (Leibowitz 2004, 39): (1) Material aspect (an argument focused on their parents' heritage⁹ or division of the world); (2) Sexual aspect (a dispute about a woman - mother or a sister); (3) aspect of belief (future of the world, placement of the Temple, the ultimate authority and the purpose of humankind). Another possible explanation is that there can be no reasonable explanation for the argument between the two brothers. It seems that the question of why a human being is willing to kill another will remain unanswered.

3.4 Events before the murder

Cain's sacrifice was overlooked by God, as we read: »but for Cain and his offering he had no regard. So, Cain was furious, and his countenance fell.« (Gn 4,5). The expression that consists of words »set on fire« - ,chara' and »a lot« - ,meod' (as can be seen in this case) or the infinitive used in Tanakh, express a state of mind that leads a man to the worst action (usually murder) (Gn 4,5; 34,7; Nu 16,15; 1 S 18,8.). Some rabbis, however, support the opinion that ,chara le' indicates desperation and anger that comes from strong anxiety (it is not a pure rage which is usually expressed by ,chara af'). Another expression, »his face turned grey« (in Hebrew: »his countenance fell«), described Cain's reaction to the situation. An expression that someone »loses one's countenance« (lip corners and eyebrows are down) is a common indication of sadness, disappointment, and anger. Cain's reaction to being overlooked by God is the same as the reaction of a child whom his parents reject. This is frequently stated in the scripture of Tanakh itself (envy, cries, insistence, and hatred towards the accepted ones lead to an attempt to remove the enemy) (Gn 25,28; 27,34; 27,41; 37,3-4; 37,11.18.).

⁹ It's very likely that the dispute took place, because there was no heritage law.

As soon as Cain got angry with his brother (Gn 4,5), his parents were supposed to act accordingly and quiet the situation. They were supposed to talk to the disappointed and confused child; they were supposed to offer care and support to free him from anger. However, they did not show any interest in Cain's feelings. Cain's parents are not even mentioned in this part of the text. God is the only one who is trying to calm him down. He speaks to Cain and takes the role of his loving mother. He tries to determine why Cain is unhappy: »Why are you angry, and why has your countenance fallen?« (4,6)

At the same time, God emphasizes that Cain still has a choice and shows him (just like in the book Deuteronomy) two possible paths (two ways of living): good or evil, life or death, life in God's presence or life without him.

3.5 The first fratricide

Tanakh describes the first fratricide very briefly: »Now Cain said to his brother Abel: Let us go out to the field.« And when they were in the field, Cain rose against his brother Abel, and killed him.« (Gn, 4,8) Cain had decided not to answer God when God asked him to choose one path of the two. Fighting God is way more complex than fighting a human, however. That is why he goes to his brother and talks to him (4,8a). The Hebrew script does not contain Cain's words addressed to Abel. It appears that something is missing in the manuscript (Dubovský 2008, 200).

Commentators are not able to find one common explanation for the missing words. Some think that God's words (Gn 4,7) eventually stopped Cain from talking to Abel, and he remained silent (which would indicate that a lack of communication can lead to murder) (Kaveh 2019). Others think that Cain had already spoken to Abel, and the author thought it was unnecessary to repeat his ideas and feelings.¹⁰ Another group of scholars supports the idea that the words were left out intentionally because Cain said something horrible. Another possible explanation seems to be that the author intentionally left out the words to create tension, or that this part of the script got lost when it was copied by hand, causing the transcriber to skip from one line to the end of the following line, which contained the same end-word (*homoioteleuton*) (Dubovský 2008, 200).

It seems that Cain originally had evil intentions and lured his brother to a distant place. Older translations of the script contain the expression: »let us go to the field« (Hebrew Samaritanus, Greek Septuaginta, Sirian Pešitto, Ramban); »come on, let us go outside« (some Aramean targumim) or »let us go outside« (Latin Vulgata). These translations indicate that the murder took place out in a field. The meaning of a field stands in opposition to a garden. A field is also a natural habitat of the serpent who »was craftier than any other wild animal« (Gn 3,1).

The fratricide is described in one sentence. A man encountered evil which resulted in the death of his brother. The script does not mention how Abel was killed. It happened in the fields, in a distant place where one would only call for help in

¹⁰ Ibn Ezra thinks that he repeated and appealed on Cain with previous words of God (Ibn Ezra, Bereshit 4,8).

vain (compare Dt 22,25-27). It is a typical place for murder without witnesses. Maybe there was another reason (religious reason) for the choice of this place.

In Tanach's narrative, Cain behaves like an enthusiastic religious thinker who cannot agree that his brother brought a better offering to God (a firstborn cattle) and received God's favour. Cain thought that Abel intended to present God with a more excellent offering. Maybe he said to himself: I presented God with plants, which was not enough to win his favour. God liked the animal sacrifice presented by my brother better. I have to offer him something even more incredible than he did. What is better than a living creature? Maybe he would like a living human being; people of other nations regularly sacrifice humans. Could he offer more than his brother?

It may be possible (in connection to ideas of Baal religion) that »he thinks that spilt blood will give birth to a new generation, new strength« (Žák 1990, 70). His brother's blood spilt in the field was an offering to God, and it was supposed to bless the soil. However, it resulted in the exact opposite because God did not want human life to be sacrificed for him (Beneš and Vaďura 2010, 130). Cain became the first man who saw a man die (death caused by another man). In addition, Cain was the first human who became afraid of death (Gn, 4,14).

3.6 Events after the murder

God does not punish Cain immediately after the murder. Instead, God tries to talk to him calmly, just as if he is his loving and patient father. Again, God puts himself in a position where he takes on the role of a parent. He expects Cain to be sorry for what he did, confess his sin, take responsibility for the damage, and atone for his deed. God wants to know what happened: »Where is your brother Abel?« (Gn 4,9a). Cain, however, does not want to atone for his sin. His answer resembles the answer of a lying child. It seems that the way he answers to God is not appropriate. On the contrary, one would expect a more respectful response to the Almighty supreme being – he, unlike his parents, does not have experience with God's wrath.

Cain answers with a brief »I do not know«. Therefore, Josephus assumes that Cain hid the dead body of his brother immediately after the act (*Antiquitates Judaeorum* I 2,1). After this, Cain adds: »Am I my brother's keeper?« (Gn 4,9b) (Ginzberg 2004) According to Wiesel:

»When God asks Cain: Where is your brother? Cain answers: ›I don't know. Am I my brother's keeper?‹ From the point of view of Midrashim, it is possible to change punctuation which would result in an expression with a different meaning, such as ›I didn't know that I am supposed to be my brother's keeper.‹« (1994, 42)

Cain is trying to get rid of any responsibility for his brother. However, he answers that the first word: »I do not know!« betrays him (Prudký 2018, 246). His parents decided to accept death to gain knowledge. Adam was blessed with knowledge (his naked body, his wife, etc.). Another man – Cain, pretends that he does not know anything: »Even though it is obvious that he knows!« (247)

Cain's reaction is horrible. Cain killed his unsuspecting brother just like a wolf kills sheep – the same sheep that Abel, his brother, took care of. As already mentioned, the name 'Cain' resembles the word *'kana'* (the one who bought, received, created) and the derived word *'mikne'* (herd). Cain's name implies that he is a brave and robust protector of herds. Cain, however, did not follow his destiny. The future of Israel is to protect the Pesach (Easter) lamb as its sons because the Paschal Lamb will save the lives of the firstborn sons of Israel and lead them to freedom. God educates the Israelites to treat each other as brothers and sisters who will not follow in Cain's footsteps.

The attempt to keep secrets from God is childish. God, however, does not give Cain another chance to confess. Now, he speaks to him as a strict father and a judge who is about to punish him: »What have you done? Listen! Your brother's blood cries out to me from the ground.« (Gn 4,10) Then God punishes Cain for what he did. It would be reasonable to expect a punishment by death: »Show no pity: life for life, eye for an eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.« (Dt 19,21; compare: Ex 21,12-24; Lv 24,17-20; Mt 5,38-42) Torah mentions that the punishment by death would be reasonable because Cain intentionally murdered his brother (Nu 35,16-21). Cain is, however, not punished by death. Many people think that it is not fair, while others respect and understand God's decision. Berešit Rabbah (22,26) states that »He did not know that his blow would kill his brother«. Therefore, Cain did not commit murder; instead, he took someone's life, which was later punished by banishment (that is why God banished Cain from his homeland and did not kill him).

If we think about this killing as a murder, it is evident that many people want Cain to be punished by death. People feel this way mainly because they cannot relate to him in his original context when they read his words. However, let us look at the situation from the point of view of his mother. Cain is her son. He is now the only son that she has left. This changes the situation. Would his mother condemn him to death, or would she ask for mercy? She would probably ask for mercy and even lie just to protect her only son - just like the widow who lied and told her king an entirely made-up story:

»Your servant had two sons, and they fought with one another in the field; there was no one to part them, and one struck the other and killed him. Now the whole family has risen against your servant. They say, 'Give up the man who struck his brother, so that we may kill him for the life of his brother whom he murdered, even if we destroy the heir as well.' Thus they would quench my one remaining ember, and leave to my husband neither name nor remnant on the face of the earth.« (2 S 14,6-7)

The story of the widow, as was already mentioned, is entirely made up by Joab to save David's son. However, the feelings of the mother are honest. In the case of Cain, God considers the punishment from all aspects. He is not an unmerciful judge; he is like a loving mother who has just lost one child and, if he kills Cain,

his mother will lose the only son she has left. God talks to Cain as if he were his parent (a loving mother and a merciful father). He represents the role of both parents that are not mentioned in this part of the scripture.

Cain will, however, receive a punishment. He is cursed (Gn 4,11a), according to Targum Onkelos (compare Bereishit Rabbah, Rashi), »more than soil«. He is banished from the land (G). When he attempts to till the soil, it will no longer yield its produce to him¹¹ (4,12a). He becomes a fugitive (4,12b) rejected by his own family, »a wanderer on the earth«¹² (Wiesel 1994, 47).

Cain's reaction to the punishment is: »My punishment is greater than I can bear.« (Gn 4,13) The statement does not carry a clear meaning in Hebrew. It can be interpreted in various ways, one of which is an expression of regret (»My sin is too great to ever be undone /.../ than God can forgive me« [LXX]) and contemplation of whether the evil act can be undone. On the other hand, God teaches humans that they can atone for their sins. Therefore, Cain can atone for his sin as well (Ramban, Bereishit 4,7). The punishment would lead Cain to realization and understanding that he has committed a horrible crime and that he cannot bear the guilt of this proportion (if Cain himself is the bearer of the guilt – see further below). There is also another interpretation: The crime is so horrible that there is no way to undo it (may insinuate: That is why I ask for the punishment by death), because God will never be able to forgive me (if the bearer of the guilt is God – see further below).

Rabbi Eliezer Finkelman emphasizes that Cain's speech may be interpreted as a question even though it does not include a question mark, which is very common in Biblical Hebrew (Finkelman 2019).

,*Avon*' is a Hebrew word for ,crime', ,guilt for a crime' (Targum, Abravanel), and it can be translated as ,punishment for a crime' (Ibn Ezra Bereishit 4,13; Westerman 1984, 309; *Torah y haftarot en versión Castellana*). Some dictionaries, however, do not include this translation or even reject it (just like Abravanel). It may be because it is hard to understand that one word can mean ,crime', ,guilt' and ,punishment' for the crime as well. Ibn Ezra says that in the Hebraic Tanakh, ,*avon*' stands for ,crime/sin', ,guilt' and ,punishment' for a crime. He thinks that the translations as mentioned above of ,*avon*' cannot exist separately. If that is the case, Cain's reaction expresses terror, outrage, and surprise from the extent of the punishment¹³ (even though the punishment is too light for murder): »My punishment is more than I can bear (Gn 4,13).« (Finkelman 2019). Is Cain worried about his past (horrified by what he did) or his future (results of the punishment)? It is entirely possible that the author or editor of the script tried to express both aspects because the ambiguousness can be easily avoided. The author or the editor could have used a simple

¹¹ Rashi claims that she is the reason why God sent an additional curse.

¹² According to Midrashim, the greatest punishment for Cain was that he no longer knew what ,Shabbat' - Saturday meant.

¹³ Josephus Flavius believes that it was an expression through which he begged God not to be punished by death.

word *,chataa'* (sin) or *,onesh'* (punishment, penalty), but instead he used a word that represents both – as if he were trying to draw attention to two choices that each human being has after committing such a terrible crime. The human individual will either be horrified by what he has done and will try to provide atonement, or he will be scared of the punishment, and he will try to hide from God.

The interpretation of *,avoni'*, which is translated as *,my punishment'*, corresponds to Cain's expected a much greater punishment. However, Cain managed to understand only half of what God told him. He understood that he had to leave the land (leave the soil alone) and that he now became a fugitive (Gn 4,14a,c). The rest of what God told him remained misunderstood. He thinks that he must also hide from God's face (4,14b). Therefore, he makes the same mistake as his parents after being banished from the Garden of Eden. Ramban thinks that the sentence »go out of the presence of God« means that he »is not allowed to be in God's presence by praying or offering a sacrifice« (Bereshit 4,14).

Cain decides to leave God's presence (4,16). Cain also mistakenly thinks that anyone who will ever find him will try to kill him (4,14d). However, it is not clear who would want to kill him. He could be killed by God, another man, or an animal. God, however, did not punish him by death. Therefore, there is no reason for God killing Cain. Is it possible that another man would attempt to kill Cain? If we assume that the word *,adam'* stands for humankind created by God, people can punish him by death, but they do not have a supreme judge to make a decision. Besides, no law would put a sentence on Cain. Mrázek points out that »fratricide was not usually punished in ancient times because people did not know how to punish it« (1989, 32). If we assume that *,adam'* stands for *,an individual'*, Cain could be killed (just as a rebellious son) only by his parents. Some rabbis emphasize the idea that Cain did not feel threatened by men or animals before the act. In most cases, they do not explain why he felt threatened after killing Abel. One group of rabbis think that after the murder, Cain was no longer perceived as an image of God (*celem*); therefore, he was left with his image (*demut*), and animals were no longer afraid of him – which is why he was scared they may kill him.

God does not attempt to explain how mistaken Cain is. As if He is tired of explaining the same thing to his parents. However, he explains the second misunderstanding: »Then the LORD said to him, ›Not so! Whoever kills Cain will suffer a sevenfold vengeance.‹ And the LORD put a mark on Cain, so that no one who came upon him would kill him.« (Gn 4,15)¹⁴ What is he trying to achieve by the sevenfold revenge? Cain's killer cannot be killed seven times. If there are other people, six of Cain's relatives or offspring may die along with him. Some rabbis say that it is not a seven times greater punishment, but only a figurative way of expressing that the punishment will be significant since the number seven represents completeness (Radak, Bereishit 4,15). Other rabbis (Rashi, Ibn Ezra) believe, just as is written in Targum Onkelos that it has nothing to do with the extent of the punishment but rather connected to the time of the punishment (Flavius Jo-

¹⁴ The same motif is repeated in Christian tradition.

sephus, *Antiquitates Judaearum* I 2,1). The punishment will affect the Seventh Generation of Adam (or Seventh Generation of Cain, i.e., Tubal-Cain. It would mean that Cain was not given mercy. Frequently, number seven represents an end (or culmination) of an era.

Just like Cain's parents were given clothes by God (Gn 3,21) to protect them and remind them of their sin, Cain was given protection, and he would carry a reminiscence of his guilt as well. God marks¹⁵ Cain: »Then the Lord put a mark on Cain so that no one who found him would kill him« (4,15). Torah does not explain how the mark was placed on Cain. Hebrew script uses the verb 'to place', which is interpreted as carve, cut out, or painted by ink. The script does not mention the exact location of the mark. When we consider the ideas written in the Book of Ezekiel: »Who had the writing case at his side« (Ez 9,3), a mark is usually placed on the forehead, some scholars believe that the mark was a cutting located on Cain's arm (Pirke Rabbi Eliezer 21). Slaves, soldiers, and people in servitude were marked in the same way (Prudký 2018, 251). According to Kohler, Bennett, and Ginzberg, opinions on what the mark looked like vary. Nevertheless, the most common concept is that Cain suffered from a disease, and its symptoms were visible on his appearance, writing or reading, seal, horn, a sign of acceptance, or on Cain's dog.

Cain left God's presence (literally »went out of the presence of God«). He was homeless. The result of Cain's act is a decay of soil. God cursed the land he cultivated after his parents had sinned; however, he is the one who caused a complete decay of the already cursed soil by spilling innocent blood on it, and it seems that it would not make any difference if the blood spilt on the soil came from a magic ritual or an intentional murder. The soil that drank his brother's blood will not provide Cain with any more products, and he is banished from it.

Cain's story resembles the story of his parents. Cain's parents, as well as Cain himself: 1. Were warned before sinning; 2. They disobeyed God and sinned; 3. God allows them to confess. He asks the man: »Where are you?« (Gn 3,9); he asks the woman: »What is this you have done?« (3,13) He asks Cain: »Where is your brother Abel?« (4,9); »What have you done?« (4,10); 4. An evil act is followed by the curse (of serpent and soil) (3; 14,7); of Cain (4,11); 5. Sinners are banished from their home, and they must seek refuge (4,14); 6. They want to be close¹⁶ to God.

Moshe Kaveh points out that even though these stories share similar characteristics, they differ in many aspects: 1. The sin of Adam and Eve is against God himself; Cain's sin is linked to humankind; 2. Cain's parents confess (even though they try to blame someone else), but Cain refuses to admit his crime (Kaveh 2019).

¹⁵ Exile cities and edges of altars will be marked with the same mark as mentioned here. The mark should prevent killing and never-ending avenger.

¹⁶ Adam and Eve wanted to be similar to God and be even closer to him, but at last they became dust and they were banished from the Garden. Cain wanted to be like his father and serve the soil but instead, he became a wanderer. He attempted to make a great offering to God who punished him for it.

4. Conclusion

Humans are presented with a choice between knowledge and death in the Garden of Eden. They choose death. The serpent's attempt to threaten the human's life was flourishing. The human being rebels against the Creator is alienated from Him and participates personally and institutionally in producing oppressive behaviour and structures that further alienate humans from one another (Žalec and Pavlikova 2019, 39–48; 2019, 1015–1026). This leads to a loss of human dignity as human persons turn against each other in acts of injustice, violence, and cruelty (Bernaciak 2018, 25–26). This is not the last sin of humanity (sin leads to another sin). From a lie (Eve lied about what God told her about the forbidden fruit), Sin grows more significant to fratricide and murder. The first murder takes place. Humankind saw the difference between good and evil. Humanity is always taught to choose the good but fails to do so and chooses death instead. The concept of murder is presented by the conflict between settled and nomadic lifestyles. It may be a hidden criticism of a king who thinks that he holds control over life itself, including his subjects' lives or deaths (even lifestyles). In addition, these texts imply the dangers stemming from idolatrous cults and pseudo-religious ideologies that rebel against the natural order of creation.¹⁷

Torah presents the idea that every human being (not only a ruler) is capable of this horrible act and adds that there are several types of killing: intentional murder, unintentional killing, killing in a battle, and execution of a criminal. On the other hand, Torah does not accept the concept of manslaughter because 1. The only supreme being is God, never a human ruler; 2. All men are created in the image of God; therefore, when a human is attacked, it is as if God were attacked as well; 3. The value that should be protected the most by humans is one's life and the life of another human being (some rabbis include the lives of other living beings as well); 4. It is a natural right shared by all humans to live in their community; this, however, no longer applies after committing a sin that Torah established as punishable by death; 5. Even if a human carries a burden of his ancestor's sins, he/she always should choose life and live in the presence of God; they should not choose death or a curse; 6. A human being who made a mistake in a hardship still has a chance for atonement.

A human (or a sovereign ruler) who disobeys one of the commandments written in the Torah finds himself in conflict with another human being as well as a community (whose laws he violated). Moreover, each time he/she gets into a conflict, this conflict is ultimate with God. A sinner is cut off from the presence of God, and he/she is punished by banishment (either to the Land of Nod or *Sheol*). By not obeying the commandments written in the Torah (*chukim cadikim* in Dt 4,8), such a human being is cut off from the presence of the righteous God of Israel and finds himself/herself in a state of deep alienation and lack of fulfilment. On the other hand, obe-

¹⁷ In modern times, »the dangers of the naturalistic tendencies within the modern sciences« became evident in the post-enlightenment ideologies of »Hitlerism and /.../ Bolshevism«, as Valčo (et al.) rightly observe (2019, 176).

dience to Scriptural commandments (both moral and cultic) »teaches us to correctly answer God's calling so that [one] can fulfil one's ultimate purpose« of being a good creature of God in His good creation (Petro 2018, 45).

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Aljaž Krajnc

Vloga Abrahama v koranski historiografiji

The Role of Abraham in Qur'ānic Historiography

Povzetek: Koran zase trdi, da je eden od svetih spisov, ki so bili razodeti v človeški zgodovini. V Koranu imata posebno mesto judovstvo in krščanstvo, saj želi pokazati svojo kontinuiteto s sveto zgodovino, kakor jo poznata ti dve religiozni tradiciji. Izhodiščni tekst tega članka je K 3, 63-67. Sledi nekaterim sodobnim preučevalcem Korana in njegovega konteksta in analizira izraza *hanīf* in *ummī*. Pokaže njuno pomembnost pri razumevanju koranske historiografije in njenih polemčnih temeljev. Namen članka je pokazati, da Koran dobro pozna nestrižanje judov in kristjanov o liku Abrahama in svojo legitimiteto pokaže v polemiki s to tradicijo. To pomeni, da je za razumevanje Korana potrebno solidno poznavanje biblične tradicije pozne antike.

Ključne besede: islam, Koran, Abraham, pagan, sveta zgodovina, pozna antika, Biblija, Mohamed

Abstract: The Qur'ān has established itself as one in the sequence of sacred scriptures that have been revealed throughout human history. Judaism and Christianity both play a crucial role in the Qur'ān because the Qur'ān aims to prove its continuity with the sacred history of these two religious traditions. The present paper explains the text found in Q 3:63-67. The paper offers an explanation of the expressions *hanīf* and *ummī*, based on recent scholars' study of the Qur'an in its historical context. It stresses the importance of these terms for the understanding of qur'ānic historiography and its polemical foundations. The primary purpose of the paper is to show that the Qur'ān demonstrates awareness of the disagreements between Christians and Jews regarding the figure of Abraham and that the Qur'ān aims to prove its superiority by providing a new answer to an old question. Consequently, this means that familiarity with the Bible and its reception in Late Antiquity is crucial for elucidating the context of the Qur'ān.

Keywords: Islam, Qur'ān, Abraham, pagan, sacred history, Late Antiquity, Bible, Muhammed

1. Uvod

Koran (*al-Qur'ān*) je na Arabskem polotoku znan od prve polovice 7. stoletja po Kr. dalje.¹ Geografski in časovni izvor svetega spisa muslimanov nam dovoljujeta, da vsaj delno rekonstruiramo kontekst, v katerem je Koran nastal. Poleg splošnega političnogospodarskega dogajanja, ko sta se za prevlado borila sasanidski in bizantinski imperij, je za dojemanje okolja, v katerem nastane Koran, najpomembnejša verska dediščina, ki so jo s seboj nosile skupnosti, živeče na Arabskem polotoku ali v okolici. Pomembno vlogo so odigrale tudi judovske in krščanske skupnosti. Polemiki s temi skupnostmi Koran posveti veliko prostora, pri tem pa ponudi svojevrstno interpretacijo nekaterih bibličnih zgodb oziroma likov. Abrahamu uporabi Koran za ponazoritev teologumenona o sveti zgodovini, prek katerega pokaže, da sta Mohamed in na novoustanovljena skupnost povsem zakonito udeležena v sveti zgodovini, kakor jo poznata judovstvo in krščanstvo.

2. Nova zaveza in odprtje abrahamovskega vprašanja

Pripoved o Abrahamu, ki jo najdemo v 1 Mz 12,1–25,11, je vse od njenega nastanka dalje uporabljena za ponazarjanje religioznih verovanj Izraelcev, na podoben način pa tudi Abraham v (nekaterih) tekstih Nove zaveze. Novozavezni spisi morajo med drugim namreč dokazati judovskim vernikom, da je celotna skupnost, ki izpoveduje vero v vstajenje Jezusa Kristusa, vključena v zgodovino odrešenja, in da je Jezus Kristus Gospod in Odrešenik, v katerem so se izpolnile obljube, dane Izraelcem.

Abrahamova figura je problematizirana že v evangelijih in v Apostolskih delih (Mt 3,7–9; 8,11–12; Lk 1,70–73; 16,19–31; Jn 8,39–59; Apd 7), vendar polemika o Abrahamu v teh spisih še precej spominja na polemiko o Abrahamu znotraj judovstva (Firestone 2015, 7–8). „Abrahamovsko vprašanje“ v pravem pomenu besede odpre Pavel v svojem Pismu Rimljanom in v Pismu Kološanom. Pavel želi v Rim 4 pokazati, da so tudi pogani (*gr. éthnos*) vključeni v odrešenjsko zgodovino, v Gal 4 pa predloži svojo vizijo dveh zavez, sklenjenih z Abrahamom.

Pismo Rimljanom – ki nas tukaj najbolj zanima – je Pavlovo najdaljše in bržkone tudi najvplivnejše pismo. Pavel ga je rimskim vernikom poslal spomladi leta 57 med svojim bivanjem v Korintu. Že prej je Pavel spoznal nekaj vernikov iz Rima, ki so morali od tam zbežati zaradi Klavdijevega edikta, izdanega okrog leta 49. Skle-

¹ Prispevek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega programa „Judovsko-krščanski viri in razsežnosti pravičnosti“, P6-0262 (A), ki ga financira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije. Zahvaljujem se Samu Skralovniku in anonimnemu recenzentu za branje rokopisa tega članka in za predloge izboljšav. Grščino in hebrejščino transliteriram po *Slovenskem pravopisu (Pravila)*, arabščino po sistemu založbe Brill. Transliteriram samo izraze, ki nimajo slovenske ustreznice. Uporabljen je Slovenski strandarni prevod Svetega pisma, konzultiral pa sem tudi hebrejski izvirnik Stare zaveze (*Biblia Hebraia Stuttgartensia*, Peta [popravljen] izdaja). Vsi prevodi Korana so moji, prevajam pa po kairski izdaji iz leta 1924, torej različici recitacije, ki jo je posredoval Ḥafṣ od 'Ašima in je danes prevladujoča, čeprav je to bolj ali manj stvar naključja, saj obstajajo tudi drugi načini recitacije Korana (Reynolds 2008, 2–3; Bauer 2014, 53–58).

pamo lahko, da je bila ob koncu tridesetih let v Rimu znotraj sinagog že navzoča posebna vrsta gibanja verujočih v Jezusa Kristusa. Nova vera v Jezusa pa ni bila omejena samo na judovske vernike, ampak je zajela tudi pogane. Zaradi delitve na Jude in pogane in zaradi nekaterih drugih družbenih neenakosti so se razvila socialna trenja, ki so postavljala izziv skupnostim verujočih v Jezusa Kristusa. (Jewett 2003, 91–92)

Pavel vprašanje poganskih vernikov obravnava že v Pismu Galačanom (5,2), kjer omenja, da so napetosti med poganskimi verniki in Judi, ki so zahtevali obrezo za pogane, še večje kakor v Rimu. Pismo Rimljanom je Pavel napisal, da prepreči podobne nemire v rimski skupnosti. Svojim sorojakom, pokristjanjenim Judom – Pavel namreč pravi »Abraham, naš praoče po mesu« (Rim 4,1) –, je jasno povedal, da imajo tudi poganski verniki v Jezusa Kristusa delež v odrešenjski zgodovini, predvsem pa to, da jim ni treba izpolnjevati navodil postave in se dati obrezati. Čeprav si preučevalci niso edini o točni sestavi rimske skupnosti (Cambier 1982, 442–443), pa je ne glede na razmerje med judovskimi in poganskimi verniki jasno: eno od glavnih sporočil Pavlovega pisma je, da so tudi pogani, verujoči v Jezusa Kristusa, udeleženi v odrešenjski zgodovini, ne da bi morali slediti judovski postavi. Ta teologumenon je Pavel uporabil za konsolidacijo svoje misijonarske dejavnosti. (Brown 1997, 562–564 [2008, 556–560])

Pavel v svojem argumentu glede novega teologumenona o Abrahamu poudari dva dogodka v Abrahamovem življenju. Prvi je Abrahamova vera, o kateri poroča 1 Mz 15,6,² drugi pa je obreza iz 1 Mz 17,10.³ Pavel poudari, da je bil Abraham opravičen že po veri oziroma da se mu je že vera štela v pravičnost (Rim 4,3.9). Obreza je poznejša od dejstva, da se je vera Abrahamu štela v pravičnost, in je po Pavlu »pečat pravičnosti iz vere« (4,11). Abrahamu se je vera štela v pravičnost in po tej pravičnosti je prejel obljubo potomstva, ki jo srečamo že v 1 Mz 12. Prav to, da je obstajala vera še pred deli in da je Bog to vero štel v pravičnost in Abrahamu obljubil potomstvo, je za Pavla pokazatelj, da k pravičnosti vodi v prvi vrsti vera in ne dela. Dela, in s tem je mišljena tudi postava, so poznejša od vere in zunaj nje nimajo bistvenega pomena. Pavlov namen ni diskreditacija judovskih zapovedi, ampak prej pokazati, da imajo tudi pogani delež v odrešenjski zgodovini oziroma svoje mesto v njej prav prek vere v Jezusa Kristusa, ne da bi morali izpolnjevati postavo in brez obreze. Kakor je namreč Bog Abrahamu vero štel v pravičnost, ko še ni bil obrezan, tako tudi poganom vera zadostuje in jim ni treba izpolnjevati postave oziroma se jim ni treba obrezati. »Judje so imeli Abrahama za svojega prednika, za Pavla pa je »oče vseh nas« (4,16), ki smo njegove vere.« (Brown 1993, 567 [2008, 563])

² »Veroval (*he'ēmin*) je Gospodu in ta mu je to štel v pravičnost (*šēdāqāh*).« (1 Mz 15,6)

³ »To je moja zaveza (*bērītī*), zaveza med menoj in vami ter tvojimi potomci (*zar'ākā*) za teboj: vsak možki pri vas naj bo obrezan (*himmōl*).« (1 Mz 17,10)

3. Koran in polemična retorika

Orientalisti so že vse od srede 19. stoletja dalje preučevali zgodovino nastanka Korana in skušali rekonstruirati zgodovinski kontekst, v katerem je nastal.⁴ Velikokrat so izhajali iz koranskega opisa navad in iz nauka kristjanov in Judov, pri tem pa skušali ugotoviti, za katere skupine kristjanov in Judov bi ti opisi lahko veljali (Griffith 2013, 36). Uporabljali so različna hereziografska poročila o zgodnjekrščanskih sektah, največkrat o judeokristjanih, kakor so to bili, recimo, ebioniti in nazarjci.⁵ Za ta pristop je torej značilno, da poskuša mesta, kjer se zdi, da Koran krščanskih in judovskih naukov ne predstavlja pravilno,⁶ razložiti s hipotezo, da so bile v predislamski Arabiji ali drugod na Bližnjem vzhodu navzoče sekte, ki so takšne nauke imele za svoje in so Koranu posredovale „napačne“ krščanske nauke. Takšno preučevanje Korana velikokrat rezultira v prepričanje, da je Koran v resnici slabo obveščen o „pravi“ krščanski in judovski teologiji in da je bil Arabski polotok v začetku 7. stoletja „azil“ za heretike.

Vendar so nekateri raziskovalci takšno avtomatično iskanje vzporednic med koranskim besedilom in zgodovinsko realnostjo, ki naj bi ga odsevalo, upravičeno postavili pod vprašaj. Iskanje vzporednic in vplivov na Koran namreč postane problematično, ko preučevalec pozabi, da je Koran retoričen tekst z zase značilno agendo, ki za njen prikaz uporablja različna literarna sredstva. Potrebno se je zavedati, da Koran ni tekst, ki bi ga bilo mogoče analizirati samo preko analize virov, ki so vplivali na njegov kontekst, ampak je potrebno Koran pojmovati kot distinktivni in neodvisen glas, ki je podal povsem svojske odgovore na nekatera vprašanja, ki so se zastavljala v takratnem versko-družbenem kontekstu in za ponazoritev le-teh uporablja svojske literarne oblike in retorična orodja. Sidney Griffith, ki je poleg Gabriela Saida Reynoldsa (2019) morda največ prispeval k temu korektivu v koranskih študijah, v zvezi s tem govori o *polemični retoriki* Korana (Griffith 2013, 24; 37).

Griffith, drugače eden največjih poznavalcev zgodnjega arabskega krščanstva sploh, svoje poglede na razumevanje polemične retorike Korana najboljšeje izrazi v monografiji *The Bible in Arabic: The Scriptures of the „People of the Book“ in*

⁴ Zgodovinski podatki o življenju preroka Mohameda niso predmet tega članka. Namen tega članka ni govoriti o življenju preroka Mohameda, ampak predvsem doumeti Koran sam, to je, kaj sporoča, komu sporoča in kako sporoča. Zato bo subjekt stavkov velikokrat Koran sam. Iz takšnega, po svojem bistvu skromnega in nepretencioznega pristopa h Koranu, ki po eni strani ne zavrača *a priori* muslimanske tradicije o nastanku Korana, po drugi strani pa islamskega izročila ne obravnava nekritično, lahko postavimo skromne, a dokaj trdne in zanesljive temelje, ki bi lahko v prihodnosti pripomogli k našemu poznavanju Korana in predvsem tega, kaj je želel povedati svojemu kontekstu. Cilj te študije je izključno razložiti enega od koranskih argumentov in ne rekonstrukcija zgodovinskih dogodkov po sebi.

⁵ Poročila o teh skupinah so se nam ohranila v zgodnjekrščanski hereziografski literaturi. Če odštejemo Ireneja Lyonskega, je morda najpomembnejši zgodnjekrščanski hereziograf Epifanij iz Salamíne († 403). V svojem delu *Panárion* opiše in ovrže nauke raznih herezij. Omenja tudi ebionite in nazarejce (*Panárion*, 29–30). Predstavniki obeh skupin so spoštovali zapoved sobote, obrezo in druge judovske zakone. Dodatno so ebioniti – zaradi svojega samarijanskega izvora – zavračali vsak fizičen stik s pogani. Najodmevnejša študija, ki trdi, da je Koran nastal v okolju takšnih judovsko-krščanskih skupnosti, je verjetno delo *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World*, ki sta ga leta 1977 izdala Patricia Crone in Michael Cook.

⁶ Npr. trditev, da je je tudi Marija, Jezusova mati, del Svete Trojice (K 5, 116).

the Language of Islam. Svoj razmislek začne z ugotovitvijo, da poleg problematičnega branja Korana nimamo nobenih drugih jasnih dokazov, da bi na začetku 7. stoletja v Arabiji ali kje drugod v okolici poleg običajnih orientalskih krščanskih skupnosti⁷ obstajale tudi povsem posebne skupnosti, ki bi izpovedovale nauke, kakršne Koran pripisuje kristjanom.⁸ Čeprav so v zgodovini te skupnosti bile izpričane še v 4. stoletju, pa od takrat dalje o njih nimamo nobenega trdnega dokaza, ki bi nam dovoljeval postulirati obstoj takšnih skupin na Arabskem polotoku v začetku 7. stoletja po Kr.⁹ Po Griffithu je treba način predstavitve krščanskih naukov v Koranu pripisati dejstvu, da ima Koran svojo lastno agendo in da za njen prikaz uporablja *polemično retoriko*, katere glavni namen je razkriti absurdnost naukov, ki jih izpovedujejo orientalski kristjani. Koran ni hereziografsko poročilo, ampak ga moramo brati kot literarno besedilo, ki se za ponazoritev svojih argumentov večkrat zateka h karikiranju krščanstva in judovstva. (2013, 28–29; 2011, 310–312).

Griffith pa poleg vztrajanja pri tezi, da so kristjani koranskega konteksta predniki orientalskih Cerkev, poudarja tudi dejstvo, da so te krščanske Cerkev v pozni antiki proizvedle tudi svoj lastni interpretacijski aparat, s katerim so razlagale biblične odlomke (2013, 26–27).¹⁰ Pri razlaganju odlomkov Biblije so ustvarile svojo lastno teološko dediščino, ki jo moramo nujno upoštevati, če želimo razumeti kontekst, v katerem je nastal Koran. Del tega širšega poznoantičnega poskusa razumevanja Biblije so tudi različna apokrifna oziroma psevdoepigrafska besedila, ki po svoje razlagajo biblične pripovedi. Ključno pri razumevanju teh del je, da jih večina ni nastala v raznih heretičnih skupnostih, ampak so bile oziroma postale del teološke dediščine še danes ohranjenih skupnosti.¹¹

Za razumevanje Korana je pomembna teološka dediščina sirske Cerkev in etiopske Cerkev, saj so bile prav te najbolj navzoče na Arabskem polotoku na začetku 7. stoletja po Kr. V zadnjih nekaj letih se govori predvsem o vplivu sirske cerkvene dediščine na okolje v katerem je nastal Koran, tako da nekateri preučevalci

⁷ Torej tiste, ki so se po nastopu islama izkristalizirale v melkitsko, nestorijansko, jakobitsko, koptsko, etiopsko in maronitsko Cerkev (Griffith 2008, 129–155).

⁸ Drugačnega mnenja je François de Blois (2002, 1–16). Za kritiko de Bloisa gl. Shadel 2016, 23–24.

⁹ Čeprav se je treba strinjati z Griffithovo hipotezo o neobstoju takšnih ‚heretičnih‘ skupin v Arabiji 7. stoletja, pa je Holger Zellentin z nekaj odličnimi študijami (2013; 2019) pokazal, kako bi bilo napačno trditi, da so nauki teh skupin popolnoma ‚izpuhteli‘. Zellentin prav prek branja koranskih pravnih predpisov pokaže, da je bilo izpolnjevanje judovskih predpisov še dolgo del krščanstva in se ni omejevalo le na heretične skupine – katerih obstoj po 4. stoletju ni več izpričan –, ampak je bilo integralni del krščanstva, saj so nekateri kristjani želeli izpolnjevati več od minimuma, ki ga predpišejo Apd 15,20 (2013, 25–32).

¹⁰ Za dober vpogled v interpretacijske možnosti in potencial, ki ga daje že sama pokrajina, kjer se dogajajo glavni biblični dogodki, gl. Ostrowski in Wiater-Kawecka (2021).

¹¹ Koran je bil – kakor smo pokazali zgoraj – najverjetneje v stiku samo s ‚pravovernimi‘ krščanskimi skupnostmi. To dokazuje, da apokrifne literature ne moremo brati zgolj kot deviacijo oziroma odklon od pravovernega krščanskega nauka, ampak da je ta literatura velikokrat nastala sredi povsem pravovernih skupnosti, ki so želele o dogodkih iz zgodovine odrešenja vedeti več oziroma so si jo želele dodatno razložiti. V tem smislu je treba apokrifno literaturo videti v prvi vrsti kot vajo v pristnem teološkem razmisleku: ne zaustavi se pri tekstu ki, ga že imamo, ampak se prav iz poglobljenega uvida v resnico, ki jo ti teksti posredujejo, zaveda, da je realnost odrešenjskih dogodkov nezaobsegljiva za kakršenkoli kanon.

poročajo tudi o sirskega obratu v koranskih študijah.¹² Raziskovalci so ugotovili sledi sirske krščanske dediščine v koranskih besedilih tako v obliki izvorno sirske besede kakor v vplivu na vsebino nekaterih pripovedi.¹³ Vpliv etiopskega krščanstva na besedilo Korana doslej še ni bil tako dobro raziskan, obstaja pa kar nekaj nearabskih koranskih izrazov, ki so najverjetneje etiopskega izvora, na primer *hawāriyyūn*, ki označuje Jezusove sledilce/učence (Reynolds 2013).

Koran ima tako delež v kulturi pozne antike, ko so Judje in kristjani svete spise razlagali in jim pri razlagah dodajali povsem svoje elemente. Vsebuje veliko vzporednic s poetičnimi pridigami, ki so jih poznali sirske kristjani in so se nam ohranile predvsem v opusu Efrema Sirskega in Jakoba iz Seruga (Griffith 2013, 91–95), in s teksti rabinskega judovstva, ki vsebujejo reinterpretacijo bibličnih pripovedi. Prek podobnosti Korana z besedili orientalskega krščanstva in rabinskega judovstva lahko dobimo vsaj delni vpogled v okolje, v katerem je nastal Koran. Govorimo o nenehni interpretaciji bibličnih pripovedi, ki so jim tako Judje kakor kristjani pogosto dodajali povsem svoje elemente, vse v želji, da bi pravilno doumeli smisel razodetih spisov in dogodkov svete zgodovine.

Prav prek te želje po pristnejšem in izvirnejšem sledenju božjemu razodetju pa Koran tudi jasno prelomi s takratnim judovstvom in krščanstvom. Kristjani in Judje namreč ne sprejmejo novega razodetja, ki ga prinaša Koran.¹⁴ Sčasoma se v skupnosti prvih muslimanov rodi potreba, da svojim krščanskim in judovskim sodobnikom jasno povedo, kaj je napačnega pri njihovem nauku, pa tudi, da predložijo svojo lastno vizijo zgodovine oziroma razodetja.¹⁵ Prav v to okolje moramo umestiti polemično retoriko Korana, saj je v kontekstu nastanka primarni namen Korana prav to: prepričati takrat živeče Jude in kristjane o tem, da je na novo rojena muslimanska skupnost, zbrana okrog Mohameda, prava naslednica serije razodetij.¹⁶

¹² Še posebno se je ta obrat razmahnil po tem, ko je do sedaj še vedno neznan avtor pod psevdonimom Christoph Luxemburg objavil študijo *Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran*, v kateri je trdil, da je Koran arabski prepis sirskega lektionarja in da je zato v Koranu vse polno sirijanizmov. Čeprav je Luxemburga teza o sirskega izvorniku danes ovržena – za zelo ostro, ampak v bistvu pravilno kritiko Luxemburga gl. Saleh 2011 –, pa je treba priznati, da je bila eden od glavnih generatorjev sirskega obrata v koranskih študijah, saj je nesporno pokazala, da je treba Koran razumeti v kontekstu sirskega krščanstva.

¹³ Gabriel Said Reynolds je nedavno (2018) izdal delo *The Qur'an and the Bible: Text and Commentary*, v katerem je tekst Korana opremil z opombami oziroma komentarji; v njih napoljuje na biblično in postbiblično literaturo, ki razjasnjuje koranski kontekst. Literatura sirskega krščanstva je poleg same Biblije zagotovo največkrat omenjeni vir, ki razjasnjuje kontekst Korana. Za poglobljeno primerjalno študijo med aramejskimi evangeliji ter Koranom gl. El-Badawi 2014.

¹⁴ Mehdi Azaiez je napisal odlično študijo o kontradiskurzu v Koranu (Azaiez 2018), ki predpostavlja živo dinamiko med tekstom in prvimi naslovljenci. Koran nekatere svoje teologumenone predloži prav kot odgovor na neposredni kontradiskurz, ki ga proizvedejo nasprotniki v preteklosti (npr. nasprotniki prerokov), v sedanjosti (nasprotniki Mohameda) in v prihodnosti (predstava nasprotnikov v eshatološki prihodnosti). Po Azaiezovi analizi približno 10 % Korana sestavlja kontradiskurz, če pa temu prištejemo še odgovore, ki jih daje Koran, znaša to 16 % vsega teksta, to pa – in to Azaiez ves čas poudarja – ni zanemarljiv delež (2018, 91–93).

¹⁵ Ena od velikih – morda celo največjih – zaslug nemške preučevalke Angelike Neuwirth je, da nas je znova spomnila: Koran predpostavlja skupnost, ki ji je namenjen. Temu posveti celotno monografijo (2019), ki dobro predstavi njeno misel.

¹⁶ Danes je na področju islamskih študij veliko govora o možnosti zanesljivih podatkov o preroku Moha-

Vendar je bilo treba za koherenten religiozni nauk poiskati tudi elemente iz skupne tradicije, ki bi potrjevali resnico koranskega razodetja oziroma prek katerih bi skupnost prvih muslimanov lahko sebe umestila v zgodovinsko pripoved zgodovine odrešenja oz. Božjih posegov. Koran na tem mestu poseže po Abrahamu, ki so ga – kakor smo razložili zgoraj – tudi prvi sledilci Jezusa Kristusa uporabili, da so sebe umestili v judovsko odrešenjsko zgodovino, oziroma natančneje, da so v judovsko zgodovino umestili še pogane. Tudi tukaj Koran ponovno pokaže, da njegova kritika krščanstva in judovstva prihaja ‚od znotraj‘, to je, iz judovstva in krščanstva samega.

4. Abraham: Jud, kristjan ali musliman?

يَا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ لِمَ تُحَاجُّونَ فِي إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَمَا أُنزِلَتِ التَّوْرَةُ وَالْإِنْجِيلُ إِلَّا مِنْ بَعْدِهِ أَفَلَا تَعْقِلُونَ هَآ أَنتُمْ هَؤُلَاءِ حَاجَجْتُمْ فِيْمَا لَكُمْ بِهِ عِلْمٌ فَلِمَ تُحَاجُّونَ فِيْمَا لَيْسَ لَكُمْ بِهِ عِلْمٌ وَاللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ وَأَنْتُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ مَا كَانَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ يَهُودِيًّا وَلَا نَصْرَانِيًّا وَلَكِنْ كَانَ حَنِيفًا مُّسْلِمًا وَمَا كَانَ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ إِنَّ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِإِبْرَاهِيمَ لِلَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوهُ وَهَذَا النَّبِيُّ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَاللَّهُ وَلِيُّ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ [آل عمران: 65-68]

»⁽⁶⁵⁾ O, ljudstvo knjige (*ahl al-kitāb*), zakaj se pripravate (*tuḥāggūna*) o Abrahamu? Tora (*al-Tawrā*) in Evangelij (*al-Inǧīl*) sta bila razodeta (*unzilāt*) šele po njem. Ali ne razumete? ⁽⁶⁶⁾ Ali ste vi tisti, ki ste se pripravili o tem, o čemer ste imeli védenje? Zakaj se torej pripravate o tem, o čemer nimate védenja. Bog ve, vi pa ne veste. ⁽⁶⁷⁾ Abraham ni bil ne Jud, ne kristjan, ampak je bil *ḥanīf*, musliman, ter ni bil [eden] izmed politeistov.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Resnično, od vseh ljudi so Abrahamu najbližje (*awlā*) tisti, ki so mu sledili, ta prerok (*nabī*) [t. j. Mohamed, op. A. K.] ter tisti, ki so verjeli. Bog je blizu verujočim.« (K 3, 65-68)

Ta odlomek iz tretje sure – poimenovane ‚Imrānova družina‘ (*Āl Imrān*) – je bil po tradicionalni islamski pripovedi tako kakor vsa tretja sura razodet v Medini. Tudi tista smer znanstveno-kritičnega preučevanja Korana, ki sprejema razdelitev na meške in medinske sure,¹⁷ je potrdila tradicionalno islamsko prepričanje, saj

medu. Tudi največji skeptiki ne dvomijo o obstoju preroka Mohameda, večina raziskovalcev pa sprejema, da je bil prerok, ki je deloval na Arabskem polotoku v prvi polovici 7. stoletja po Kr. Težava pa nastopi pri sprejetju hadisov, tradicionalnih islamskih poročil o življenju in dejanjih preroka Mohameda in njegovih prvih sledilcev (*al-ṣaḥāba*). Vse od Goldziherja (umrl 1921) dalje so hadisi predmet kritike o njihovi avtentičnosti, saj pogosto odsevajo nekatera poznejša verska vprašanja. Obe strani, tako tista, ki dvomi o zanesljivosti hadisov, kakor tista, ki v njih vidi bolj ali manj zanesljive priče o življenju Mohameda, pa sta primorani svoje trditve braniti prek poglobljenega študija. Ta študij nam je v zadnjem času prinesel nekaj odličnih monografij o hadisih – na primer Brown 2020, Anthony 2020 in Juynboll 2007 –, ki se precej razlikujejo v pristopu in ponujenih rezultatih. Tudi v konfesionalni islamski literaturi je veliko govora o avtentičnosti hadisov. Iskanje avtentičnih hadisov in določanje prave metodologije je tako glavna naloga tradicionalne islamske znanosti o hadisih (*ʿilm al-ḥadīṯ*). Danes obstaja smer sodobne teologije, ki se ukvarja z reavtifikacijo hadisov in jo največkrat povezujemo z Muḥammadom Našir al-Dīn al-Albanijem (umrl 1999), albanskim teologom oziroma muḥaddiṯom (preučevalcem hadisov).

¹⁷ Pristop, ki je Koran bral v optiki razdelitve na meško in medinsko obdobje, torej tradicionalni islamski pristop, je prevzel tudi oče znanstveno-kritičnega preučevanja Korana, Theodor Nöldeke. Ni bilo veliko dvoma v ta pristop do nastopa Wansbrougha, Cronejeve in Cooka („revizionisti“); ti avtorji so konec sedemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja objavili nekaj študij, ki so radikalno podvomile v izvor Korana na Arabskem polotoku in predvsem v uspešnost branja Korana skozi optiko biografije preroka Mohameda.

sura vsebuje vse značilnosti medinskega obdobja, vključno z relativno visoko povprečno dolžino verza (Sinai 2017, 119–120).

Koran že takoj na začetku tega odlomka pokaže, da je nagovor namenjen ljudstvu knjige (3, 65), s tem so tukaj mišljeni Judje in kristjani.¹⁸ Iz odlomka je jasno, da je njegov glavni namen, vstopiti v polemiko z Judi in kristjani in predložiti svoj odgovor na vprašanje o tem, kdo je Abrahamu »najbliže« (K 3, 68).¹⁹ Iz vprašanja »Zakaj se pripravate o Abrahamu« (3, 65) je jasno, da Koran pozna polemiko med judovstvom in krščanstvom glede statusa Abrahama. Kakor smo omenili zgoraj, se ta rodi že v Novi zavezi, pozneje v pozni antiki pa se le še nadaljuje. Na figuro Abrahama se obrača in jo po svoje interpretira že kumranska skupnost (Skralovnik 2018, 710–719), rabinsko judovstvo si ustvari podobo Abrahama, ki postavijo izpolnjuje še pred njenim uradnim prihodom z Mojzesom, medtem ko krščanske Cerkve v skladu s Pavlom poudarjajo, da je Abraham veroval še pred obrezo in da je zato obreza nepotrebna (Said Reynolds 2010, 77–81).

Koran se na tem mestu vključi v debato, ki je razdvajala Jude in kristjane, in predloži svoj lastni odgovor, s katerim legitimira na novo ustanovljeno skupnost. Odgovor je pomemben predvsem zato, ker Koran tako predstavi svojo vizijo svete zgodovine, hkrati pa tudi pojasni, kako je skupnost prvih muslimanov udeležena v tej zgodovini. Skupnost prvih muslimanov je namreč sestavljena primarno iz ljudi, ki pred sprejetjem islama niso pripadali ne Judom ne kristjanom. Da bi upravičil legitimiteto nove skupnosti pred Judi in kristjani, se Koran obrne k Abrahamu in pri tem poseže po izvorno pavlinski interpretaciji.

Ključ za razumevanje tega odlomka je v K 3, 67: »Abraham ni bil ne Jud, ne kristjan, ampak je bil *hanif*, musliman, ter ni [bil eden] izmed politeistov«. Dejstvo, da Abraham ni bil ne Jud in ne kristjan, je utemeljeno v koranskem prepričanju, da sta bila Tora in Evangelij razodeta šele po Abrahamu, Tora z Mojzesom, Evangelij pa z Jezusom. V tem smislu je po Koranu judovstvo nastalo z Mojzesom in s Toro, krščanstvo pa z Jezusom in z Evangelijem. Če je do tukaj Koran razmeroma jasen, pa se *crux interpretum* tega odlomka pokaže pri besedi *hanif*, saj njen pomen v arabščini ni jasen.

Danes je predvsem berlinska šola, z Angeliko Neuwirth in z njenim učencem Nicolaiem Sinaiem na čelu, tista, ki zagovarja tradicionalno razdelitev na meške in medinske verze Korana. Glavni glas opozicije k temu pristopu je Reynolds, ki se, po našem mnenju upravičeno, vpraša: »Ali nas sam Koran res obvezuje k branju glede na meška in medinska obdobja?« (2011, 502) Po Reynoldsu je ta razdelitev produkt islamske eksegeze (*tafsīr*), ki je kot poskus razumevanja Korana proizvedla Mohamedov življenjepis (2010, 18–22). Čeprav je zgodovinsko Mohameda zunaj dosega razumnega dvoma, pa je treba dati Reynoldsu prav, ko pravi, da je na podlagi Korana nemogoče razločiti, kateri verzi so bili razodeti v Meki in kateri v Medini. Tudi islamska eksegetska tradicija si za kar nekaj verzov ni enotna o tem, kdaj so bili razodeti, poleg tega pa najzgodnejši rokopisi Korana nikjer ne vsebujejo kakršnegakoli namiga, da bi bili posamezni deli Korana razodeti v Meki oziroma Medini. Kljub problematičnosti razdelitve Meka – Medina pa je dokaj jasno, da lahko prek analize rasti (angl. *growth*) Korana vsaj delno določimo, katere sure oziroma verzi so nastali prej in kateri pozneje (Sinai 2011).

¹⁸ O izrazu *ahl al-kitāb* in možnih referentih tega izraza gl. Sharon 2011.

¹⁹ Za primerjalno študijo o Abrahamu in njegovem potomstvu v Bibliji in v Koranu gl. Flisar 2019. V slovenščini razpolagamo tudi s primerjalno študijo najpomembnejših tekstualnih vzporednic med Koranom in kanoničnim Svetim pismom (Osredkar 2016).

5. *Ḥanīf*

Beseda *ḥanīf* je eden od koranskih izrazov, ki jasno pokaže, da je treba za pravilno razumevanje Korana dobro poznati besednjak Judov in kristjanov tistega časa. Čeprav je klasična islamska eksegeza predložila nekaj zanimivih in inovativnih poskusov razlage tega termina (*The Study Qurʾān* 2015, 60), pa je treba priznati: pomanjkljivo poznavanje judovske in v tem primeru predvsem krščanske misli tistega časa ji je onemogočilo, da bi razumela to besedo in kot posledico tega argument, ki ga predlaga Koran. Sodobno preučevanje, kateremu so na voljo obsežna in detajlna primerjalno-leksikalna orodja, je tako izraz *ḥanīf* kot izraz *ummī*, ki nas bo tudi zanimal v tem poglavju, interpretiralo tako, da je pogledalo, kako sta ti besedi oziroma ta semitska korena rabljena v drugih semitskih jezikih (de Blois 2002).²⁰

Izraz *ḥanīf* se v Koranu najde dvanajstkrat (K 2, 135; 3, 67.95; 4, 125; 6, 79; 6, 161; 10, 105; 16, 120.123; 22, 31; 30, 30; 98, 5). V K 10, 105 se obrača na naslovljenca v drugi osebi ednine, v K 98, 5 pa na naslovljenca v drugi osebi množine. V preostalih primerih velja ta za Abrahama. Razen v K 3, 67 je s sintaktičnega vidika beseda vedno rabljena kot *ḥāl*, to pa pomeni, da izraža stanje subjekta, ki ga opisuje.

Da ni jasno, kaj točno naj bi izraz *ḥanīf* pomenil, je vidno že iz prevajalskih rešitev, ki jih uporabljajo prevajalci Korana. Mohsen in Margit P. Alhady izraz prevajata kot ‚pravoveren‘ (2014, 60), Erik Majoron kot ‚pravi vernik‘ (2017, 70), Abdel Haleem v svojem angleškem prevodu kot ‚upright‘ (2016, 39), nekateri prevajalci pa izraz pustijo nepreveden, na primer *The Study Qurʾān* (2015, 148). Podobno tudi islamski eksegeti nimajo enotnega mnenja o pomenu tega izraza (Reynolds 2010, 76–77).

Izraz *ḥanīf* in z njim povezani koranski argument iz K 3, 65-68 lahko v polnosti razumemo šele, če pogledamo, kakšen pomen imajo v semitskih jezikih besede, ki izvirajo iz istega korena. Čeprav so že orientalisti s konca 19. in iz začetka 20. stoletja uporabljali to metodo, da bi razložili pomen izraza *ḥanīf* (Jeffrey 2007 [1938], 112–115), pa je bil nedavno predvsem François de Blois (2002) tisti, ki je najprepričljiveje razložil njegov pomen in pokazal, da ga je treba brati v kontinuiteti z ‚abrahamovskim vprašanjem‘, kakor ga je odprl Pavel v Rim 4.

Koren *ḥ-n-f/p*²¹ ima v semitskih jezikih različne pomene. Na prvi pogled nam za razlago arabskega izraza *ḥanīf* zatekanje k semitskim izvorom ne ponudi veliko, še posebno ker ima koren *ḥ-n-f/p* vse od najstarejših ohranjenih napisov v severovzhodni semitščini večinsko pejorativen pomen v smislu ‚slab, neprepričljiv‘ (de Blois 2002, 19). V hebrejski Bibliji je glagol *ḥānēp* uporabljen v smislu ‚biti umazan,‘

²⁰ Čeprav je etimološki pristop lahko do neke mere koristen in nam lahko razjasni nekatera nejasna mesta, pa takšen pristop postane problematičen, ko preučevalec pozabi, da je arabščina popolnoma poseben jezik in da so besede rabljene glede na semantične zakonitosti tega jezika. Ko v tem članku predlagamo etimološki pristop za razumevanje koranskega izraza *ḥanīf*, to delamo z zavedanjem, da lahko takšen pristop hitro eskalira, kakor na primer pri Luxemburgu.

²¹ Konzonanta p in f se pogosto rabita izmenjaje iz enega semitskega jezika v drugega, nekateri semitski jeziki pa uporabljajo celo oba (Garbini in Durand 2019, 78–79; 86).

‚profan‘ ali celo ‚neveren‘ (Brown, Driver in Brigs 2020 [1906], s. v. »*h-n-p*«) in je tako uvrščen v polje religiozne govornice. V palestinski in babilonski judovski aramejščini imajo besede, povezane s tem korenem, pomen ‚zavesti‘ ali ‚prilizovati se‘, v mandejščini pa so povezane z lažnimi bogovi oziroma s češčenjem lažnih bogov (de Blois 2002, 18–19).

Izraz *hanīf* razumemo šele, če ga povežemo s sirščino, dialektom aramejščine, ki so ga uporabljale sirske orientalske Cerkve in ki je še danes uradni liturgični jezik večine od teh Cerkva. V sirskih prevodih Biblije – s Pešito na čelu – namreč izraz *hanpā* nekajkrat prevaja grški samostalnik množine *éthnē* (narodi), pridevnik *ethnikós*, samostalnik *hellēn* (Grk), v enem primeru pa tudi izraz *ápistoi* (neveren) (1 Kor 10,27). Vsi ti grški izrazi so mestoma prevedeni tudi z drugimi sirskimi besedami. Za razumevanje izraza *hanīf* v Koranu je pomembno predvsem dejstvo, da sirski izraz *hanpā* nima nujno pejorativnega pomena, ampak lahko preprosto označuje nekoga, ki ni judovske narodnosti. Sirska Pešita namreč za prevod novozaveznih mest, na katerih so pogani oziroma Grki opisani v negativni luči, praviloma ne uporabi besede *hanpā*. (de Blois 2002, 20–21)

Da je arabska beseda *hanīf* prevzeta iz sirske besede *hanpā*, priča tudi raba te besede v krščanski arabščini. V rokopisu *Sinai Arabic* 154, ki ga hranijo v knjižnici samostana sv. Katarine na Sinaju in je nastal okrog leta 800, se nam je poleg prve krščanske apologije v arabščini ohranil tudi delni prevod Apostolskih del in katoliških pisem. To je eden najzgodnejših, če ne celo najzgodnejši ohranjeni rokopis v krščanski arabščini. Večino rokopisa je leta 1899 izdala britanska orientalistka Margaret Gibson. Arabski prevod Apd, ki ga najdemo v tem rokopisu, takole prevaja Apd 18,4:

»Vsako soboto je govoril v sinagogi (*al-ġamā‘a*) in spraševal (*yaṭlab*) Jude (*al-yahūd*) in pogane (*al-hunafā[‘]*).« (Gibson 1899, ar. 21)

Beseda *hunafā[‘]*²² je množinska oblika samostalnika *hanīf*. Tudi Pešita na tem mestu grški izvirnik *hellēnas* prevaja s korenem *h-n-p*. Izraz *hanīf* torej v krščanski arabščini pomeni nekoga, ki ni Jud, tukaj Grka. Tudi nadaljnja krščanska literatura v arabščini uporablja izraz *hanīf*, da označi pogane. To rabo prevzamejo nekateri zgodnji muslimanski zgodovinarji, ki so se zanašali na sirske krščanske vire (de Blois 2002, 19–20).

Če se sedaj vrnemo h K 3, 67, lahko razumemo, zakaj je uporabljen izraz *hanīf*. Koran namreč hoče povedati, da Abraham ni bil ne Jud ne kristjan, ampak *pogan*. Pogan v tem kontekstu pomeni nekoga, ki ni pripadal skupnosti, kateri je bil dan sveti spis oziroma *kitāb*. Zato je tudi potrebna nadaljnja specifikacija tega termina. Koran namreč omembi izraza *hanīf* skoraj vedno doda »in ni bil izmed politeistov« (*wa-mā kāna min al-mušrikīn*), da razloži, katere vrste pogan je bil Abraham.

Zgovorna je tudi omemba besede *muslim*. To bo namreč naziv, s katerim bodo sledilci razodetja, danega Mohamedu, imenovali sami sebe, da bi se ločili od Judov

²² Zadnja *hamza* odpade oziroma ni zapisana; to je nasploh značilno za srednjo arabščino, torej arabščino Judov in kristjanov prvih stoletij islama.

in kristjanov. Koran z uporabo tega izraza že nakaže temeljno podobnost med Abrahamom in Mohamedom. Vendar je treba poudariti tudi, da je izraz *muslim* uporabljen v dveh pomenih. V prvem pomenu besede je *muslim* tisti, ki je predan Bogu, in v tem smislu moramo razumeti tudi mesta, na katerih Koran pravi, da je bil Abraham musliman. V drugem pomenu besede pa izraz *muslim* pomeni nekoga, ki sledi Koranu oziroma razodetju, kakor ga je prinesel prerok Mohamed. Tako muslimanski eksegeti rešijo zagato, v katero bi lahko zapadli ob trditvi, da je bil Abraham musliman v pomenu sledilec preroka Mohameda.²³

6. *Ummī*

Da pa bi v polnosti razumeli intenco argumenta, ki ga najdemo v K 3, 65-68, pa moramo – kakor je to odlično pokazal Reynolds (2010, 85–87) – razjasniti pomen še nekega drugega koranskega izraza: *ummī*. Izraz se v Koranu dvakrat najde v ednini (*ummī*) (K 7, 157.158) in štirikrat v množini (*ummiyyūn*) (K 2, 78; 3, 20.75; 62, 2). Večina islamskih eksegetov in teologov pravi, da ta izraz pomeni ‚nepismen‘, torej označuje dejstvo, da prerok Mohamed ni znal pisati in brati. Vendar je takšna razlaga problematična. Na to so vse od Geigerja (umrl 1874) dalje opozarjali orientalisti in je bilo problematizirano že znotraj samega islama, predvsem v delih velikih šiitskih eksegetov.²⁴

Danes v koranskih študijah prevladuje prepričanje, da izraz *ummī* v resnici pomeni nekoga iz skupnosti, ki nima svetega spisa (*kitāb*). Izraz je zato vselej treba brati kot označitev za vse tiste ljudi, ki ne sodijo v *ahl al-kitāb*.²⁵ Koranski verz 2,78 – ki bi lahko bil izjema, saj pravi, da so nekateri Judje *ummiyyūn* – velja najverjetneje za judovske spreobrnjenca, ki so se spreobrnilo šele pred nedavnim in zato še ne poznajo spisov (Shadel 2016, 35).

Vidimo torej, da sta izraza *ummī* in *hanīf* v Koranu skoraj sinonima. Oba namreč označujeta predstavnika ljudstva, ki nima svetega spisa (*kitāb*), z drugimi besedami: pogana. Ko Koran uporabi besedo *ummī* in z njo označi preroka Mohameda (K 5, 157), je to poimenovanje treba razumeti v navezavi na Abrahama, ki je bil

²³ Ta zagata je najverjetneje nastala šele po smrti preroka Mohameda. Čeprav tudi sam Koran vernike imenuje ‚muslimani‘, iz Korana še ne moremo trditi, da velja izraz musliman samo za sledilce Mohameda. Nasprotno se zdi, da Koran uporablja besedo *muslim* in *islām* kot označitev verskega stanja, v katerem je nekdo, in ne za označitev pripadnosti skupnosti preroka Mohameda, čeprav so pravi pripadniki Mohamedove skupnosti samo tisti, ki so predani Bogu in torej muslimani.

²⁴ Shadel (2016, 2) med drugim opozori na Šayḥa Abū Ġa'far al-Ṭūšija, enega največjih šiitskih teologov, ki je živel v 11. stoletju po Kr. V svojem komentarju h Koranu *Tibyān fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (8: 216) al-Ṭūsī zapiše tole: »Eksegeti Korana (*mufasssīrūn*) pravijo, da prerok ni bil zmožen pisanja. Vendar verz [K 29, 48] ne kaže na to. V njem je [povedano] le to, da [Mohamed] ni pisal (lam yakun yaktub al-kitāb). Ne-pisati pa lahko pridevamo tako osebi, ki ne zna pisati, kot osebi, ki zna pisati.« al-Ṭūsī želi poudariti, da ta specifični verz iz Korana (29,48), ki so ga muslimanski eksegeti imeli za dokaz, da je bil Mohamed nepismen (*ummī*), v resnici sploh ne pravi, da je bil Mohamed nepismen, ampak pove samo to, da Mohamed, preden je prejel razodetje, ni pisal, neodvisno od tega, ali je znal pisati ali ne.

²⁵ Za malo drugačno interpretacijo pojma *ummī*, ki ta izraz razume kar v treh smislih, gl. Günther 2006, 400.

prav tako kakor Mohamed pogan, to je *ḥanīf*. Zato lahko K 3, 68 reče, da so »Abrahamu najbližje tisti, ki so mu sledili, *ta prerok* [t. j. Mohamed, op. A. K.] ter tisti, ki so verjeli«. Predstavniki ljudstva knjige (*ahl al-kitāb*) se motijo, ko se pripravajo, ali je bil Abraham Jud ali kristjan, saj je bil Abraham *ḥanīf* in mu je zato še najbližje Mohamed, ki je *al-nabī al-ummī*, poganski prerok. Še jasneje to povezavo Koran izrazi v 2, 128-129, ko Abraham in njegov sin molita za svoje ljudstvo pri postavitvi svetišča, imenovanega ‚Hiša‘ (*al-bayt*), ki ga islamska tradicija identificira s Kabo:

(128) O Gospod, naredi naju predana Tebi (*muslimayn laka*), iz najinega potomstva pa Tebi predan narod (*umma muslima laka*). Pokaži nam naše obrede (*manāsik*) ter nam odpusti.²⁶ Resnično, Ti si Oduščajoč ter Milostljiv. (129) O Gospod, obudi jim poslanca (*rasūl*) izmed njih, ki jim bo recitiral Tvoje verze (*āyāt*) ter jih učil spisa (*al-kitāb*) in modrosti ter jih očistil (*yuzakkīhim*). Resnično, Ti si Mogočen ter Moder.

Tukaj je z vso jasnostjo izražena genealoška povezava med prerokom Mohamedom in Abrahamom in Izmaelom. Koran namreč namiguje na neposredno rodovno povezanost med Mohamedom in Abrahamom prek Izmaela.

7. Polemična historiografija

Reynolds na neki točki svoje obravnave izraza *ḥanīf* v povezavi z Abrahamom pravi, da smisel tega koranskega argumenta ni razlaganje zgodovine, ampak polemika s kristjani in Judi. Vsekakor se je treba strinjati, da je polemičnost ena od glavnih značilnosti Korana in tudi tega odlomka. Vendar se zdi: Reynolds premalo poudarja, da polemičnost ni zadnji cilj Korana, ampak da Koran v polemiki predloži svoje lastne teologumenone. Koran v polemiki z judovstvom in krščanstvom ustvari svoje lastno videnje svete zgodovine, ki je z veliko vidikov nedvomno povsem različno od judovskega in od krščanskega dojemanja svete zgodovine.

Ker pa Koran svoje videnje svete zgodovine prikaže v polemiki z judovstvom in s krščanstvom, je neizogibno tudi, da prevzame del biblične tradicije. Koran, spis, razodet poganskim Arabcem v »jasni arabščini« (K 16, 103), biblično tradicijo uporabi in jo za svoje poslušalce na novo pove. Pri tem se sklicuje na like, ki so poznani že iz biblične tradicije: Adam, Kajn in Abel, Noe, Abraham, Izak, Jakob, Izmael, Jožef, Mojzes, Aron, Savel, David, Salomon, Zaharija, Marija, Jezus in še nekaj drugih. Vsak od teh likov igra v Koranu neko določeno vlogo. Nekateri so bolj obrobni in omenjeni le enkrat ali dvakrat, na primer Savel ter Abel in Kajn. Drugi igrajo pomembnejšo vlogo in jih Koran omenja večkrat, na primer Adam, Noe, Mojzes, Marija, Jezus. Vsem tem likom pa je skupno, da v koranski pripovedi dobijo nekatere posebne značilnosti, ki jih kanonično Sveto pismo ne poudarja

Eden od glavnih teologumenonov, ki jih Koran razgrne v polemiki z Judi in s kri-

²⁶ Dobesedno: »se obrni k nam«.

stjani, je pojmovanje svete zgodovine.²⁷ Koran namreč sebe vidi ne kot deviacijo v poteku svete zgodovine – kakor bodo to pozneje trdili krščanski apologeti, na primer Janez Damaščan (Bogataj 2019, 199–201) –, ampak kot spis (*kitāb*), ki je bil razodet (*unzila*)²⁸ podobno, kakor so bili razodeti prejšnji spisi, in torej v kontinuiteti z njimi. Da pa bi tudi teološko podkrepil svoje mesto v zgodovini razodetja (*tanzīl*) svetih spisov, mora Koran v polemiki z judovstvom in s krščanstvom razgrniti svoje lastno videnje svete zgodovine, ki bo veljalo kot korektiv judovskemu in krščanskemu pojmovanju zgodovine, hkrati pa bo jasno pokazalo, da je prav skupnost, zbrana okrog Korana in Mohameda, tista, ki je legitimna naslednica svete zgodovine. V tem smislu lahko govorimo o polemični historiografiji, saj Koran svoje izvirno videnje svete zgodovine predloži v polemiki z judovstvom in s krščanstvom.

8. Sklep

Koransko pojmovanje Abrahama kot *hanīfa* moramo brati predvsem v luči polemične historiografije, s katero želi Koran legitimirati svojo skupnost in poganski izvor preroka Mohameda. Mohamedu so njegovi krščanski, še bolj pa judovski sogovorniki nedvomno očitali, da je pogan in da mora za udeleženos v sveti zgodovini vstopiti v judovstvo oziroma krščanstvo. Ko Koran govori o bibličnih temah, moramo predpostavljati, da je bila tematika poznana tudi Judom in kristjanom in da Koran daje svoj odgovor na vprašanja, ki so se postavljala ob bibličnih pripovedih. Eno od teh je tudi, kdo je bil Abraham oziroma katera skupnost ga je najbolj vredna.

Kakor smo pokazali, Koran pokaže seznanjenost z argumentom kristjanov o Abrahamovi neobrezi. Ni pomembno to, da bi Koran izkazoval neposredno literarno vez z Rim 4 – in to velja za skoraj celotno Biblijo, saj ne moremo z zanesljivostjo

²⁷ Drugi pomembni teologumen za koransko vizijo svete zgodovine in predvsem za koransko razumevanje preteklih religij je *tahrīf* oziroma namerno predruženje svetih spisov, ki jih Koran očita Judom in kristjanom. Koran je izredno skop z informacijami o podrobnostih namerne predruženja svetih spisov in ne uporablja besede *tahrīf*, ampak samo glagol *ḥarrafa*. Stežka predpostavimo, da ima Koran v mislih dejansko zamenjavo teksta. Verjetnejši je scenarij, da Koran Judom in kristjanom očita: narobe so interpretirali svete spise, to pa je nekaj, kar bo poznejša islamska tradicija imenovala *tahrīf al-ma'āni*. Tezo, da so kristjani in Judje zanalasč spreminjali tekst v pomenu, da so nekatere besede odstranili oziroma jih zamenjali, je treba, vsaj po našem mnenju, brati v kontekstu prvih prevodov Biblije v arabščino v začetku 8. stoletja po Kr. To je terminus post quem razlage o tekstualni poneverbi (*tahrīf al-naṣṣ*) svetih spisov, saj je šele takrat Biblija postala dostopna širšemu krogu islamskih teologov. Tudi drugače so nekateri islamski teologi, na primer Ibn Ḥaldūn, jasno nastopili proti ideji o tekstualni poneverbi (Lazarus-Yafeh 2000, 111).

²⁸ Glagol *nazzala*, ki ga tukaj prevajamo kot ‚(nekaj) razodeti‘, v Koranu velja samo v zvezi s spisom (*kitāb*). Zato sta se slovenska prevajalca Korana odločila, da bosta ta glagol prevajala z ‚objaviti‘. Nobenemu prevodu pa ne uspe pokazati izvirnega smisla glagola *nazzala*, ki pomeni ‚storiti, da se nekaj spusti‘. Če nekoga na primer primoramo, da sestopi s kamele ali konja, bi rekli ‚*nazzalnāhu*‘, dobesedno: ‚storili smo, da je sestopil‘. Moj prevod je pomanjkljiv, ker bi, strogo vzeto, ‚(nekaj) razodeti‘ moralo prevajati arabski glagol *awḥā*. Razodetje se namreč ne kaže nujno v tekstovni obliki. Po drugi strani pa tudi prevod ‚objaviti‘ – čeprav se navdihuje po bošnjaški teološki tradiciji in ohranja vez s tekstualnostjo – ne posreduje dobro arabskega originala, saj glagol *nazzala* v arabščini v nobenem primeru ne more pomeniti objave kakega drugega teksta.

reči, da Koran kadarkoli citira Biblijo –, ampak prej to, da je Koran ta argument poznal iz krščanske tradicije, katere poznavanje predpostavlja. Koran ‚abrahamovsko vprašanje‘ pozna in obenem ponudi nov odgovor nanj, tako da *hkrati* predloži svojo vizijo svete zgodovine in utemelji svojo legitimnost in legitimnost poganškega preroka Mohameda.

Mohamed je – prav tako kakor poganski kristjani v Rimu s preloma 1. stoletja po Kr. – pogan, ki mora svoje mesto v sveti zgodovini utemeljiti z novim teologumenonom oziroma z novim pojmovanjem svete zgodovine. Besedilo K 3, 63–67 je treba brati prav kot mesto, na katerem Koran ponudi takšen teologumenon.²⁹ Pri tem se opre na – iz krščanskega izročila podedovano – opažanje, da Abraham nastopi še pred postavo (Toro); Koran to dopolni s tem, da Abraham nastopi tudi pred Evangelijem oziroma Jezusom kot ustanoviteljem krščanstva. Pri tem se – podobno kakor v Rim 4 – pokaže v sveti zgodovini lik, ki, strogo gledano, ni ne Jud ne kristjan, ampak *pogan*. Mohamedu in poganskim Arabcem tako ni treba vstopiti v judovstvo in krščanstvo, da bi bili del svete zgodovine, ampak ji pripadajo, saj ji je pripadal tudi Abraham, in to kljub temu da je bil *hanif*, torej ne Jud ne kristjan, ampak pogan. Vendar ne politeist, kakor bi dodal Koran.

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²⁹ To pa seveda ne izključuje dejstva, da Koran na drugih mestih ne govori o podobni tematiki.

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Marjan Turnšek
**Zakramenti uvajanja v skrivnostno življenje
cerkvenega organizma**

Delo posreduje in uveljavlja nekatera nova spoznanja na področju zakramentov uvajanja, predvsem pa odpira nove vidike za praktično, to je pastoralno področje. V cerkveni pa tudi v ekumenski medkrščanski prostor monografija prinaša doprinos v smeri krepitve dialoga in zблиževanja v teološkem razumevanju zakramentov. V najširšem smislu monografija prispeva h krepitvi kulture samovrednotenja človeka kot osebe pa tudi k poglobljenemu razumevanju in ustvarjanju pristnih medčloveških odnosov.

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Aldona Piwko

Contemporary Islamic Law between Tradition and Challenges of Modernity: Some Examples Worth Consideration

Sodobno islamsko pravo med tradicijo in izzivi modernosti: nekaj upoštevanja vrednih primerov

Abstract: Islamic law is a perfect divine law; therefore, man cannot change it. This law was once and for all given to people to be fulfilled as something fixed and immutable. Man can only interpret and explain it. Shari'a is a collection of Islamic religious law written in the Quran. Islamic law covers all spheres of human life, precisely defining the duties of a believer towards the Creator. The changing world in modern times brings forth the notion that Islamic law must be modified. Thus, it is necessary to adapt Islamic legislation to the laws and legal norms of Latin tradition. This is due to the development of economic cooperation between Islamic countries and other parts of the world. That is why a civil code formalizing Shari'a was developed and implemented. Islamic law is also a source of controversy due to the severity of penalties for offences. This article also analyses the situation of women in the Muslim world, which, despite the changes, is still complicated and often tricky. This article offers an interdisciplinary approach; it combines various fields of knowledge: theology, politics, law, and religious studies.

Keywords: Islam, law, politics, Quran, Shari'a, modernity

Povzetek: Islamsko pravo je popolno božje pravo, zato ga človek ne more spremenjati. To pravo je bilo ljudem dano enkrat za vselej, da bi ga izpolnjevali kot nekaj vnaprej določenega in nespremenljivega. Človek ga lahko zgolj interpretira in razlaga. Šarija je zbirka islamskega verskega prava, zapisanega v Koranu. Islamsko ali šeriatsko pravo pokriva vsa področja človeškega življenja in natančno določa vernikove obveznosti do Stvarnika. Spreminjajoči se svet moderne dobe postavlja v ospredje prepričanje, da se mora islamsko pravo preoblikovati. To je posledica razvoja ekonomskega sodelovanja med muslimanskimi državami in drugimi deli sveta. Od tod izhajata tudi razvoj in uresničevanje civilne zakonodaje, ki šeriatsko pravo formalizira. Islamsko pravo je obenem vir nasproto-

vanja zaradi ostrine kazni za storjene prestopke. Članek analizira tudi položaj žensk v muslimanskem svetu, ki je kljub spremembam še vedno zapleten in pogosto težek. Članek ponuja interdisciplinarni pristop, saj združuje različna področja védenja: teologijo, politiko, pravo in religijske študije.

Ključne besede: islam, pravo, politika, Koran, šarija, modernost

1. Introduction

The law is a system of norms of conduct that arose with the existence and functioning of a state or other ordered social organism. Currently, there are various areas of state law, including secular and religious law, in the world. Islam is a unique religious system in which religious life is closely connected to everyday life. That is why religious law also applies to non-religious social life. The holy book of Islam Quran is the Word of God and a set of religious principles and a legal code and constitution for many Islamic countries. This is because there is no division between the sacred and the profane in Islam. All human deeds must be following God's will, as communicated in Quran.

An analysis of religious law in Islam has already been undertaken in *Bogoslovni vestnik/Theological Quarterly*. Historically, this topic was dealt with by Marjana Harcet (2008), Urška Flisar, and Mari Jože Osredkar (2018). Contemporary problems of the Muslim community in Slovenia analyses Urška Jeglič (2020). This article aims to analyze modern Islamic law, which must reconcile the hard-religious principles and moral norms arising from the Quran with the requirements of the contemporary world. In addition, Islamic law must adapt its principles to international relations (Ocvirk 2004) because Islamic World engages in lively economic and trade exchanges with the Latin world, in which state law is separated from religion.

The literature on the analyzed topic is rich, but due to the dynamically occurring changes in legal principles, it constantly needs updating research on modern Islamic law. Undoubtedly, attention should be paid to the publications: Mohamed Al-Nowaihi (1975), Jan Michiel Otto (2008), and Ann-Elizabeth Mayer (1995), in which researchers analyze the implementation of Islamic law in current conditions. This article also refers to Nedžad Grabus' (2012) analysis of changes in Muslim societies and Drago K. Ocvirk (2012) showing social changes in the Islamic world due to the Arab Spring. On this basis, a critical interpretation of the sources will be carried out.

2. Analysis

2.1 Modern legal elements in Islam

Contemporary times in the Islamic world begins with the fall of the caliphate in 1924. During the National Assembly of Turkey, held on March 3, 1924, led by Mu-

stafa Kemal, the abolition of the caliphate was adopted. Thus, the separation from the old, hierarchical, and conservative power is closely connected with religion. In this way, a modern state was built - the Republic of Turkey (Shaw and Shaw 2012, 564–576). However, much earlier, in the dawn of Islam, changes were initiated regarding the law, its interpretation, and adaptation to changing international conditions and civilization development. These changes have had varying degrees of impact and often continue to influence the shaping of legal systems in countries with Islamic dominance.

The strengthening of the European countries in the international arena in the nineteenth century, while weakening the Turkish power, led to many reformist movements among Islamic scholars. They saw the need to renew Islam on the religious, legal, economic, and social levels. Muslim theologian Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani (1838–1897) questioned the closure of the possibility of creating law. He supported his concept by the fact that no historical scholar banned the creation of law. Only in the 10th century did most lawyers acknowledge this, but they did not issue a relevant, written document. Al-Afghani's demands meant that Islamic law regained the opportunity to develop and take advantage of Latin law patterns. Beginning with the mid-nineteenth century, European codes started to be introduced in the Ottoman Empire, including the „Commercial Code“ (in 1850), „Penal Code“ (in 1858), „Code of Commercial Procedure“ (in 1861), and the „Maritime Code“ (in 1863). Modernizing the Islamic world at the time of international and economic cooperation with European countries was extremely important. However, religious law could not cope with modernity (Hallaq 2009).

The response to Islamic law's westernisation was the „Ottoman Code“, known as *Mecelle*, first published in 1877 (Ayoub 2015, 121–124). The work on the code was led by Ahmed Cevdet, an Ottoman scholar and historian. This study was a civil code and was the first attempt to codify a part of Islamic law – Shari'a. He was recognized and valid throughout the Ottoman Empire. After the Empire's collapse, the „Mecelle code“ became the foundation of law in the countries founded on Ottoman debris. This code remains the basis of civil law in Jordan and Kuwait (Hallaq 2009). Another Muslim scholar, an Egyptian professor of law, Abd ar-Razzak as-Sanhuri (1895–1971), was the author of the Egyptian „Civil Code“, published in 1948, based on the French model primacy, which, however, possessed Shari'a. Abd ar-Razzak al-Sanhuri also wrote legal codes for Iraq, the Syrian Baath party, and Jordan and Libya. His vision of state law was criticized because he left much room for freedom in interpreting legal principles to a judge who could appeal to the principles of equity or natural law (Saleh 1993, 161–167). Despite many attempts to adapt local law to international standards, especially since the end of World War II, the top place still belongs to the holy Shari'a law (Otto 2008, 7–9).

The reform of modern Islamic law requires a change in how the message of the Quran is read. Christian theology is constantly developing biblical exegesis, interpreting God's message in modern times. This problem is more complex in the Islamic tradition. For centuries it was considered that the Quran should be read literally, without any human interpretation. Till today, conservative Islamic scholars

uphold this custom (Bhutto 2015, 310–314). However, modern times have naturally led to the necessity to interpret the Quran and read it in the light of the 21st century. The propagator of the contemporary reading of the Qur'an in the context of Islamic law was Abu Bakr Gumi (1922–1992), Nigeria's most prominent Sharia expert. He considered it necessary to restart *ijtihad* (Kausar 2017, 153–155), i.e., adaptation of sharia law to changing conditions, through an independent interpretation of the Quran and Sunnah. He emphasized that only in this way can a thorough reform of the law be carried out, which must be in line with the Quran but must also be guided by the good of the entire Muslim community (Harnischfeger 2008).

2.2 Islamism

Changes taking place in the Middle East, especially after World War II, contributed to the intensive search for Muslim identities. The ideology of Islamism has become an attempt to answer this search. Islamism is a political force in the Muslim world, deeply rooted in religious tradition and public awareness. The main assumptions of the ideology of Islamism primarily emphasize the importance of Islam not only as a religion but as a holistic socio-political system. It regulates various aspects of the functioning of the state, and above all, legal, economic and social. The fundamental source of proper conduct is the correct interpretation of the Quran and Hadith. Islamism aims to introduce and maintain a religious state governed by the principles of religious law, i.e., Shari'a.

Islamism does not have one ideology. Two main branches have developed—unification of the *umma* and establishment of the caliphate, and therefore the pursuit of theocracy. An example of this is the Islamic Liberation Party Hizb ut-Tahrir, founded in 1953 in Jerusalem. Currently, it is an international Islamic party proclaiming the reconstruction of the caliphate covering the entire Muslim world. He postulates the overthrow of pro-Western rule in Arab states, such as Saudi Arabia and pro-Russian. At the same time, he rejects the possibility of violent solutions, believing that postulates can be achieved through peace and dialogue. Hizb ut-Tahrir believes that an essential element in economic development is promoting the free market and private activities, while the state ownership and control of public transport, health care, public buildings and gas, and oil deposits. The party operates in Denmark, Sweden, and the United States. In Germany, its activities are prohibited (Wali 2017, 102–105).

However, the second view of Islamism is a democratic system represented by Muslim Brothers. He postulates staying with current states, but an essential element is emphasising private property on the economic level. Islamism has taken three types of action. The first is universal suffrage, enabling the people to speak, but it is not always true that they respect freedom and justice. Bottom-up social initiatives, known as *dawa*, are an essential activity. *Dawa* in Arabic means a call and is a kind of missionary activity aimed at spreading religion among non-believers and calling them to accept Islam. This activity is now called *dawa islamijja* and means the mission of spreading Islam. Undoubtedly, this element is increa-

singly becoming a severe impediment in Christianity-Islam relations. Opponents of Islam see every kind of gesture or behaviour directed by Muslims towards Christians, hidden aspirations for Islamization. Currently, *dawa* in the Muslim world also defines political organizations (Danecki 1997). The last, most controversial type of action present in the ideology of Islamism is armed struggle (Kepel 2002).

Given the above, two currents can be distinguished in Islamism: extremist and modernist. The leading representative of extremist Islamism was Sayyid Qutb, who, as a fundamentalist ideologist, postulated the complete Islamization of social and political life, and only a caliph, who holds the leader's dignity of all Muslims, can guarantee proper social attitudes. He proclaimed the necessity of fighting against all manifestations of ungodliness and apostasy. Sayyid Qutb believed that the world of the twentieth century was again in the time of *Jahilijah* (Calvert 2010). Therefore, just as it was in the time of Muhammad, ignorance must be destroyed so that God's rule on the earth will triumph again. Extreme Islamism of Sayyid Qutb sought to establish an Islamic regime based on four levels.

Restoring the original order was God's rule on earth; with the reservation, it is not to be a theocratic rule because Islam does not know the state and class of the priesthood. The establishment of such governments is inseparably connected with the resignation from the current state law and the introduction of sharia. The third postulate was to restore the office of caliph, although the thinker did not demand the establishment of a new Arab State. However, he believed that the very awareness of supreme authority in the person of the caliph would guarantee a sense of community and belonging to one political organization, and thus the abolition of a multi-party political system (Khan 2001, 221).

The representative of modernist Islamism is Tariq Ramadan, the grandson of the founder of The Muslim Brotherhood. Tariq Ramadan was born in Geneva; he is a Muslim theologian and preacher. He lives in Switzerland and is a professor at the University of Oxford. The scholar propagates the idea of being a loyal citizen of European countries while maintaining a complete Muslim identity (Grabus 2012, 541). He founded the Swiss Muslim movement, which organizes various seminars and lectures on interreligious subjects. He actively participates in many actions for the dialogue between Islam and other religions. While remaining a Muslim, he perceives the misconduct of members of the religious community (Ramadan 1999). He is critical of human rights violations in many Muslim countries. For this reason, he has the status of an undesirable person in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Tunisia, and Syria.

However, Tariq Ramadan is controversial among Muslims and European columnists, especially in France and often also in the academic community. Sometimes accused of double morality, and thus conducting hidden Islamization of Europe. He is also often seen as an emissary of The Muslim Brotherhood in the Western world. Opponents of Tariq Ramadan also accuse him of practising *taqiya*, allowing in Islam, concealing actual views in their activities to protect themselves from imminent danger.

The Muslim world has established the following documents: „Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights“ (1998) adopted by Islamic Council in Paris on 19 September 1981 announced at the headquarters of UNESCO, „Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam“ (2012) adopted by Conference of Foreign Ministers in Cairo on 5 August 1990 and „The Arab Charter on Human Rights“ (2006) established in 1994, but no country has ratified it. The current version of the Charter was adopted by the Council of the League of Arab States on 22 May 2004. The Charter came into force in 2008 after seven of the League of Arab States members had ratified it. These documents highlight the universal principles of human life on earth, such as the equality of all people, non-discrimination on the grounds of sex, race, and language, and religious freedom. At the same time, these documents highlighted the values arising from Islam’s religion, thus being in line with Shari’a laws. It should also be emphasized that all the rights and freedoms provided in these documents are subject to Islamic Shari’a law. It is also a source of interpretation for individual paragraphs. Furthermore, although most Muslim countries have recognized these documents, they are still not always and not in all parts of the world dominated by Islam; their provisions are applied and respected (Ocvirk 2004, 328–329).

2.3 Controversies regarding Islamic law

It should be remembered, however, that despite the changes taking place in the Muslim world, including on the legal plane, there is a constant struggle between what is religious, originating from Islam, and what is secular, and therefore foreign elements, imposed in a way by the Europeans on the Muslim world. Subsequent reforms of the law and attempts to adapt it to the requirements of modern times meant that secular laws entered areas reserved only for religious laws. Despite the partial adaptation of French or English legal systems to the conditions of the Islamic world, Shari’a has always dominated over foreign-derived patterns of Latin law. On this plane, the most significant misunderstandings in the interpretation of the law by the Muslim world are created, and at the same time, the fear of Islam is intensified. Often, the drastic steps taken by Islamic legislation are highly controversial in the Latin world. In Sunnis, theological schools emerged, whose representatives were considered the only source of the true faith and teaching the Quran and the prophet’s Tradition (Flisar and Osredkar 2018, 1081–1082). Departure from this path was treated and is often still heresy - *bid’a*. Traditionalists believe that man must follow God’s direction. Theological schools made it possible to learn about religion thoroughly. Scholars belonging to a given school promoted a specific way of interpreting the principles of faith and law. Over the centuries, many different theological schools were established. The most popular include Mutazilite, Asharic, and Wahhabite (Marchand 2004, 22–29). It is Wahhabism that has aroused the most significant controversy, especially recently. All Islam is identified with this ideology, and the entire Muslim world is perceived through the prism of the strict laws in Saudi Arabia.

The ‚eye for eye‘ principle still applies in the Saudi kingdom. A verdict was carried out to remove the eye of a man who had spilt acid on another man, due to

which the victim lost an eye (Rosenbaum 2013, 154). In addition, a vertebral cord rupture was carried out in a man who hit a pedestrian in a car, injured his spine, and was paralyzed. In addition, other controversial punishments are imposed by Saudi courts, such as public flogging, amputation of fingers or hands for theft, stoning for adultery, and beheading for murder. Humanitarian organizations estimate that in Saudi Arabia, more than 100 penalties of this kind are carried out each year (Penal 2015, 15).

Despite such drastic penalties for offences, Saudi law is also subject to the requirements of modernity. A special symbol of the strictness of the law in Saudi Arabia was the ban on women driving a car. King Salman issued a decree lifting this ban, and thus, from June 2018, women will be able to hold licenses and officially drive cars (Krane and Majid 2018).

In a significant part of Muslim countries, there is a dual legal system: religious and state. Shari'a covers the Muslim community in three areas: religion, family life, and inheritance. On the other hand, other aspects of *umma's* coexistence are governed by civil codes, which refer to Koran law to varying degrees. Religion and morality in many Muslim countries take precedence over statute law. In connection with this, regulations are introduced which are following belief.

For this reason, Kuwait introduced a ban on the sale of mother-of-pearl oysters because this activity, according to local law scholars, is related to gambling banned in Islam. There was a custom on the market for taking bets as to the content of shells taken. Due to the concerns of the alims regarding the improper behaviour of traders and buyers, the authorities closed the market, and gamblers were threatened with a curse (Hallaq 2009).

An autopsy is problematic and difficult to reconcile with Shari'a. Islam prohibits the destruction of what God has created, which is why, in most cases, an autopsy is forbidden. It is also forbidden to donate someone's own body after death for scientific purposes. At the same time, in the event of a justified necessity to carry out an autopsy for judicial and trial purposes, it can be performed, subject to the consent of the deceased's relatives (Klöcker and Tworuschka 1995, 110). It should be emphasized that the ban on autopsies halted the development of medicine in the Arab-Muslim world.

At present, most Arab countries with Islam dominance are seeking change in civil law. Undoubtedly, the increasing number of countries in which citizens can enjoy relatively broad civil liberties speaks in favour of these changes. This is even the case in Lebanon, Tunisia, and Morocco. At the same time, the death penalty is still in force in Morocco, and those on death row are sentenced to death. The death of people in judicial and extrajudicial executions remains taboo in Morocco (Hood and Hoyle 2012, 65–67). In Egypt, the death penalty still applies. In many Muslim Middle East countries, non-governmental organizations and media freedom remain under the strict control of state administration offices in Arab-Muslim countries.

Islam knew the institution of the court in which an independent judge, called Kadi, gave the judgment. However, during classical Islam, no appeal was known,

so the sentence passed was final. There is a possibility of appealing against the sentence to a higher instance in the judiciary of Muslim countries. An essential element of the proceedings was and still are the testimonies of at least two witnesses. At the same time, it should be clearly emphasized that the testimony of a woman, in many regions of the Muslim world, is still half worth a man's testimony to this day.

2.4 Women in modern Islamic law

Contemporary Islamic law remains in the spotlight because of the position and status of women who profess Islam. Dominant patriarchy in the Islam religion and culture of the Middle East assigns considerable privileges to men; thus, the role of women in society was and in many places in the Muslim world remains limited. Therefore, Islamic law contradicts the modern idea of equality between women and men (Przybyszewski 2010, 119). It should be noted, however, that this restriction resulted from cultural conditions and constitutional law. The Quran emphasizes the equality of all people towards God. Islam guarantees numerous rights for women, which may vary depending on the country or region. Of course, the most numerous groups of rights and privileges, and at the same time many restrictions, are those regarding married and family life. However, most emotions are caused by rules imposed on Muslim women. The most prominent issue is the clothing of women professing Islam. According to Islamic principles, the characteristic women's dress raises many emotions in a world with Latin roots, seeing it as a symbol of the enslavement of a woman, striving for her elimination from society. This happened in Afghanistan during the Taliban regime in 1996–2001.

The principles of Muslim dress are set out in the law because the fashion of the Islamic world is a synthesis of Shari'a and regional customs. The basic rule is to recommend a woman's outer clothing, which cannot emphasize her body shape, so Muslim women usually wear loose dresses or long coats. The order regarding the woman's dress is written in the Quran: »Tell believers to look down modestly and keep their purity, and to show only those decorations that are visible on the outside and to impose curtains on the chest /.../«(Quran An-Nur, 31). The above words have become the primary recommendation for clothing, permanently inscribing in the Muslim tradition. This veil, called the hijab, has become synonymous with the enslavement of a Muslim woman. Perpetual discussion about the positive and negative meanings of the headscarf in Islam has been going on for centuries. Some see her as slavery and the ongoing objectification of a woman, which is still a manifestation of religious conservatism. In contrast, others see in hijab as a sign of respect and protection.

The use of traditional clothing by Muslim women is also being discussed in a world dominated by Islam. Different views apply to his presence in the modern world; some women do not look for this specificity for centuries and present their dressing lifestyle as terrible. On the contrary, you can hear the following defence about the hijab: »I am a respected woman. I am not watching, touching or talking to any man. I am protected like a precious pearl, which when touched by every-

one becomes black and dirty.« (Saleh 1972) Muslim countries indeed have far fewer sexual crimes against women than in other countries. However, it is difficult to state clearly to what extent the outfit has a significant impact on this. It should be remembered that Islamic law severely punishes all those who commit sexual offences. The lightest punishment is public flogging, while in extreme cases, a crime against morality is punishable by death. Opponents believe that, of course, the Muslim style of dress fulfils some protective functions. However, it is equally proof of the weaker sex of men who cannot control themselves at the sight of a beautiful woman (Amin 2002, 43–44).

The Quran contains the following instructions regarding women's clothing: »Tell believing women /.../ to put curtains on their breasts and show their decorations only to their husbands or fathers.« (Quran An-Nur, 31) On the other hand, in the Quran, we read: »O Prophet! Tell your wives and daughters and women believers to cover them tightly with their garments. This is the most appropriate way for them to be known and not to be offended.« (Quran al-Ahzab, 59). It should also be noted and clearly emphasized that none of the above texts requires covering the face. The obligation nowadays among orthodox Muslim women to cover their faces from unrelated men probably originates from pre-Islamic times.

Muslim women do not have the freedom to choose a candidate for a husband because he must be an Islamic believer. Still, in many places of the Arab-Muslim world, marriages are arranged. A form of discrimination against women is also an unequal way of inheriting property. Shari'a emphasizes that the man is obliged to support his family, so he is responsible for a more significant proportion of the inheritance than the woman.

The many rights guaranteed to women in the Quran are often disregarded. Women from the Arab-Muslim world are most often discriminated against in the following areas: violence against women, reproductive rights, treatment in the family, integration into society, their place in politics, and the economy. After social changes known as the Arab Spring (Ocvirk 2012), Egyptians are in the most challenging situation, as they are sexually molested in the Middle East and victims of public rape. This happened at Tahrir Square in Cairo, during protests against President Muhammad Mursi (Johansson-Nogués 2013). In Egypt, despite the legal prohibition, there is a practice of female genital mutilation called clitoridectomy. This custom is not derived from the Muslim tradition and, in the past, was not known and practised in the Arabian Peninsula. In addition, Egyptian women are victims of human trafficking and are victims of domestic violence (Marroushi 2015). A problematic situation also affects women living in Iraq. With the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's regime, the situation of women has deteriorated significantly. Many more women are forced into prostitution and are victims of violence. Due to warfare, the number of widows also increased, which entails the need for resettlement, and thus women become victims of human trafficking, kidnapping, and rape (Tawfik and Moety 2017).

3. Conclusions

Islamic law regulates the life of a religious community, and in many cases, affects social relations, known as civil or administrative. This is because Islam, as a religious and legal system, strives to embrace the whole person and to answer and meet all his needs. Referring to the history and tradition of law derived from the Quran shapes believers in the sense of community and the continuity and permanence of Islam. The practice of religion and the behaviour of believers have a legal dimension because improper human conduct may result in criminal sanctions. An offence against God's recommendations is seen as breaking the established order also for the whole community. Therefore, part of religion is law because it provides the guidelines necessary for the proper spiritual existence of man. The intensively transforming modern world also requires Muslim scholars to introduce changes in legislation.

Furthermore, although God's law is immutable and inviolable, the regulations regarding community members' daily lives are subject to modification. Therefore, the modern scientific community of Islamic lawyers and Muslim theologians calls for the reopening of the door of *ijtihad*. New interpretations of the texts are critical concerning the status of women, relations between Sunnis and Shiites, relations between Muslims and non-Muslims, the role of Muslims in non-Muslim societies, and Islamic economic theories. Updating activities in Islamic law is necessary because old interpretations no longer provide suitable answers to the difficult questions facing the Muslim world. A new opening of the interpretation of the Quran should be the liberation of religious establishments from the influence of political regimes. Contemporary Shari'a contains several bans that apply to residents of Muslim countries. However, Islamic law should not be seen only in terms of restrictions. It brings numerous privileges and facilities for followers, even though these rights are difficult for Europeans to understand. Misunderstandings about sharia are the result of different cultural conditions of the Middle East and Europeans and the place and importance of religion in the life of modern man.

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Roman Globokar
Vzgojni izzivi šole v digitalni dobi

Monografija predstavi vpliv digitalnih medijev na celosten razvoj otrok in mladih. Izpostavi poudarke sodobne kulture (hitre spremembe, provizoričnost, globalnost, virtualnost, vrednotna praznina itd.) in predlaga vrednote, ki naj bi jih spodbujala šola v digitalne dobe (samospoštovanje, čustvena vzgoja, kritično mišljenje, kreativnost, skupnost). Del celostne vzgoje je tudi poznavanje religij, zato avtor zagovarja uvedbo nekonfesionalnega religijskega pouka za vse učence v slovenskih javnih šolah. Ob koncu predstavi rezultate dveh obsežnih raziskav o katoliškem šolstvu pri nas.

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Klemen Kocjančič

Ne samo vez z Bogom: razvoj vloge in dolžnosti vojaških duhovnikov skozi zgodovino¹

Not Only a Connection with God: Historical Development of Roles and Duties of Military Chaplains

Povzetek: Avtor v članku preučuje različne naloge in dolžnosti, ki jih opravljajo vojaški duhovniki v sklopu duhovne oskrbe pripadnikov oboroženih sil. Zgodovinski zgledi kažejo, da je bil razvoj duhovne oskrbe v oboroženih silah v prvih dveh tisočletjih zelo počasen, a je v zadnjih nekaj desetletjih presegel stare okvire delovanja vojaških duhovnikov. Ti duhovniki tako ne le zagotavljajo pastoralno oskrbo, ampak so postali svetovalci, terapevti itd., ki pomagajo ne samo vojaškemu osebju, ampak tudi njihovim družinskim članom, sodelujejo z nevladnimi organizacijami in imajo lahko tudi neposredni vpliv na razvoj vojaško-političnih dogodkov. Delo vojaških duhovnikov sedaj presega klasični teološko-religiološki okvir, posega namreč tudi na področja medicine, psihologije, kulturologinje zakonsko-družinske terapije in sorodnih ved.

Ključne besede: vojaški duhovnik, duhovna oskrba, religija, oborožene sile, vojaške družine, veterani

Abstract: In the article, the author examines military chaplains' different duties and responsibilities while providing spiritual care for military personnel. Historical examples show that while the development of spiritual care in the military (armed forces) in the first 2,000 years was slow, spiritual care surpassed the old framework of military chaplains in recent decades. Currently, military chaplains provide spiritual care and become counsellors, therapists, and so forth, not only for the military personnel but also for their family members. At the same time, they cooperate with non-governmental organizations and significantly impact military-political events. Military chaplains' duties now exceed classical theological-religious activities, as they also cover areas of medicine, psychology, cultural studies, marriage and family therapy, and other related fields.

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Keywords: Military Chaplain, Spiritual Care, Religion, Armed Forces, Military Families, Veterans

1. Uvod

Vojske oziroma oborožene sile se že od nekdaj navzoče v človeški zgodovini, enako kakor je tudi religija. Presek teh dveh družbenih struktur pomenijo vojaški duhovniki (tudi vojaški kurati, kaplani itd.), ki delujejo znotraj oboroženih sil in zagotavljajo duhovno oskrbo vojaških oseb. Ta oskrba pomeni »pravico vojaškega osebja do izpovedovanja vere« oziroma »duhovno oskrbo vseh, ki jih zadeva vojska tako v času miru, kot v času vojaških vaj ali vojne, in tudi v multinacionalnih enotah: vojakov na rednem služenju; poklicnih vojakov, podčastnikov in častnikov; posameznikov, ki začasno po pogodbi delujejo v vojski; in civilnega osebja, ki deluje v vojski.« (Plut 2002, 16)

Princip sodobnega organiziranega vojaškega duhovništva izhaja iz katoliške Cerkve, ko je koncil v Ratisboni leta 742 potrdil, da imajo lahko vojaški voditelji pri sebi škofa in ali duhovnike, ki so imeli nalogo, »da poslušajo spovedi mož in jim odrejati primerno pokoro«. V naslednjih stoletjih so se dolžnosti vojaških duhovnikov razširile (Johnston 2009, 25–26; Liuski in Ubani 2020, 2).

Šele v drugi polovici 19. stoletja so na mednarodni ravni priznali nekatere pravice vojaških kaplanov in jim zagotovili podobno zaščito kakor vojaško-zdravstvenemu osebju, prek uveljavitve ženevske konvencije iz leta 1864, poznejših dopolnil in drugih mednarodnih pravnih aktov (Lunze 2004, 70).

Ta članek bo na podlagi zgodovinskih izkušenj analiziral različne vloge in naloge, ki so jih izvajali oziroma jih še izvajajo vojaški duhovniki, da bi ugotovili, kam lahko vodi nadaljnji razvoj njihovih zadolžitev. Hkrati bo članek dopolnil zelo skromno bero znanstvenoraziskovalnih del na področju duhovne oskrbe oboroženih sil; poleg dveh doktorskih disertacij (Plut 2001; Šimac 2013) in na njih temelječih publikacij (Plut 2002; Šimac 2014) ter dveh zbornikov vojaškega vikariata (Pregelj, Plut in Petelinšek 2005; Plut, Mesarič in Sadar 2010) obstajajo tudi splošni članki o duhovni oskrbi (Čepar 2000, 2010; Mesarič 2012; Plut in Mesarič 2003; Pregelj 2017; Kladnik 2017), pa tudi članki o posameznih slovenskih vojaških duhovnikih (Ratej 2014; Šimac 2020a, 2020b).

2. Vez z Bogom prek svete daritve

Že v antičnih časih so z vzpostavitvijo organizirane religije svečeniki, šamani oziroma duhovniki spremljali vojščake, ki so odhajali v boj s sosednjimi plemeni, še posebno če so jih vodili vladarji. O tem govori že Stara zaveza:

»Kadar greš v boj proti sovražnikom in zagledaš konje in bojne vozove in ljudstvo, številnejše od tebe, se jih ne boj! Kajti s teboj bo GOSPOD, tvoj

Bog, ki te je pripeljal iz egiptovske dežele. Ko boste blizu boja, naj nastopi duhovnik, govori naj ljudstvu in mu reče: »Poslušaj, Izrael! Danes ste pred bojem s sovražniki. Naj vam ne upade srce; ne bojte se in ne plašite se in naj vas ne bo strah pred njimi! Kajti GOSPOD, vaš Bog, hodi z vami, da se bo bojeval za vas z vašimi sovražniki in vam dal zmago.« (5 Mz 20,1-4).

Povezava med svečeniki in vojaškimi poveljniki je bila zelo močna v starem Egiptu, kjer je v predptolomejskem Egiptu okoli četrtnina častnikov imela (predhodne) svečeniške obveznosti, medtem ko je ta odstotek še narasel pod Ptolomejci – na 38 % (Fischer-Bovet 2014, 304).

Vloga duhovnikov znotraj vojske se je začela institucionalizirati z vzpostavitvijo stalnih vojska; prva takšna zabeležena vojska sega v čas vladavine asirskega kralja Tiglath-Pileserja III., ki je vladal v 8. stoletju pr. Kr. in se je tudi boril proti antičnemu Izraelu (Schwartzwald 2014, 24). V antični Evropi so Grki vzpostavili prve stalne vojske mestnih držav, pri tem pa je bila religija oziroma vera pomembna tudi pri izvajanju vojaških nalog. Še pred začetkom vojne so za mnenje prosili preroka, nato je moral kralj s pomočjo svečenikov opraviti daritev za pridobitev božjega blagoslova. Daritev je sledila pred odhodom vojske na bojišče, pred prečkanjem vsake reke, pred vsako bitko in po vsaki bitki (Naiden 2019, 10).

Podobno so v starorimski vojski imeli duhovnike, ki so spremljali vojake na bojišče, pa tudi z njimi živeli v vojaških postojankah, mestih itd. Prvi zapiski o vojaških duhovnikih v rimski vojski segajo v drugo polovico 5. stoletja. Tako je rimski general Evzebij ob nedeljah dovolil krščanskim vojakom, da so se udeležili svete maše, medtem ko so se preostali vojaki morali udeležiti nenedominacijske, monoteistične molitve. Še v 6. stoletju pa je bila navzočnost vojaških duhovnikov v posameznih legijah bolj privilegij kakor pravilo (Jones 1953, 239–240).²

V zgodnjem obdobju se je tako vzpostavila primarna naloga duhovnikov, ko so sledili vojski na bojišče – da so upravičili pravi namen vojske s pridobitvijo božje podpore, posledica tega pa je bil tudi vpliv na moralo vojakov. Voj(šč)aki sami so morali dokazati, da so upravičeni do božje pomoči (med bitko) z zglednim izpolnjevanjem verskih dolžnosti (Bachrach 2011, 13).

Že v času Karla Vélikega, ki je začel združevati »vojskovanje s projekti pokrščevanja«, so škofje in duhovniki, ki so spremljali vojaške pohode, dobili nalogo, utemeljiti to delovanje, ko se krščanstvo ni več širilo s prepričanjem, ampak »prek prisile in svete vojne« (Moore 2018, 47).

Tako so med križarskimi vojnami duhovniki, ki so bili del križarskih vojska, imeli nalogo, da izvajajo dosledno in natančno pastoralno skrb. Prek pridiganja so morali vojake pozivati, naj se vedejo kot krščanski vojaki, pri tem pa so morali sami biti »zgoden pravega krščanskega strahu pred Bogom in v ljubezni do Boga«. K vrnitvi na pravo, krščansko pot so morali pozvati tudi tiste, ki so se med spopadi (in v miru) izkazali za nemoralne (Bachrach 2004, 620).

² O vlogi kristjanov v prvih treh stoletjih po Kr., glej Harnack, *Militia Christi* (1905).

3. Obsežna (ne le duhovna) oskrba

Do konca prve polovice 20. stoletja, obdobja, ki sta ga na koncu zaznamovali dve svetovni vojni, so vojaški duhovniki imeli nalogo, izvajati duhovne obrede pred spopadi in po njih in zagotoviti vojakom izpolnjevanje religioznih oziroma verskih norm. Tako so krščanski vojaški duhovniki skrbeli za delitev svetih zakramentov, vojaški rabini in imami za blagoslovitev in ritualni zakol živine, vsi pa so imeli še dolžnost, skrbeti za ranjence in obolele (to je dostikrat presegalo samo duhovno oskrbo, saj so izvajali tudi osnovno medicinsko oziroma bolničarsko oskrbo) ter poiskati in zagotoviti primeren (verski) pokop padlih in mrtvih vojakov (ter tudi civilistov) (Allison 2016, 1–2; Biro 2014, 399–400).

Dalje so podpirali poveljniški, častniški kader pri njihovih odločitvah, ki so primarno zadevale moralo podrejenih vojakov, pa tudi družine padlih vojakov. Na administrativnem področju so bili vojaški duhovniki zadolženi za izdajo potrdil o smrti in pokopu ter občasno tudi porok. Kot visoko izobraženi ljudje so duhovniki v avstro-ogrskih oboroženih silah sodelovati tudi pri cenzuri pisem, ki so jih vojaški pošiljali domov (Biro 2014, 399–400). Prav tako so vojaške duhovnike uporabljali za širjenje propagande med vojaki, predvsem glede ohranjanje zvestobe avstro-ogrski monarhiji (Zaharia 2017, 293).

Že prej so številni vojaški duhovniki, ki so bili med redkimi ljudmi z znanjem pisanja, delovali tudi kot (ne)uradni kroniki: pisali so zgodovino vojaške enote oziroma ekspedicije (Dalton 2009).

4. Apologeti in učitelji

Med drugo svetovno vojno so vojaški duhovniki morali preseči svoje duhovne naloge tudi z apologetiko dejanj svoje lastne države in/ali oboroženih sil, to pa je značilno predvsem za totalitarne države (Allison 2016, 2).

Tako je v oboroženih silah tretjega rajha služilo tudi okoli tisoč katoliških in protestantskih vojaških duhovnikov; ubadali so se z dilemo služenja režimu, ki je preganjal krščanske Cerkve (Bergen 2001, 233–234). Georg Werthmann, ob koncu vojne v. d. katoliškega vojaškega škofa, je dejal: »Čutili smo, da smo bolj uporabni, če ostanemo zunaj koncentracijskega taborišča. Toda nikdar nismo ogrozili naših načel ali naših duš. Bili smo preganjani, vse odkar so nacisti prišli na oblast. In jaz vem osebno, da v primeru nemške zmage v tej vojni ne bi bilo več duhovščine v Nemčiji.« (Faulkner 2010, 2)

Druga svetovna vojna velja tudi za prvo ideološko vojno, za spopad med dvema nasprotnima poloma (demokratski in totalitarni svet, verujoči proti nevernim); posledica tega je bila, da se je to preneslo tudi na versko raven (Allison 2016, 2). Tako so krščanski vojaški duhovniki v oboroženih silah tretjega rajha dostikrat v svoje pridige vpletali (verski) boj proti boljševizmu (komunizmu) z vidika obrambe vere, pri tem pa so uporabljali tudi križarske primerjave (Faulkner 2010, 11–12). Podobno retoriko so razvili tudi vojaški duhovniki v slovenskem domobranstvu (Kladnik 2017, 715).

Po drugi svetovni vojni je svet doživel obširno sekularizacijo, kar se je pokazalo tudi pri duhovni oskrbi v številnih oboroženih silah. V nekaterih državah so tako v celoti ukinili duhovno oskrbo (države Varšavskega pakta), drugje so zmanjšali vlogo vojaških duhovnikov (npr. leta 1946 so v Združenem kraljestvu ukinili obvezno navzočnost pri svetih mašah vojaških duhovnikov), zato so vojaški duhovniki postali le »nekaj več kot poveljanci socialni delavci« (McFarlane v Allison 2016, 2).

Kot posledica tega je v modernem in postmodernem svetu postalo značilno, da vojaški duhovniki ne skrbijo le za duhovnost vojakov, ampak se ukvarjajo s celotno skrbjo za pripadnike oboroženih sil,³ pri tem pa uporabljajo svoje versko, pastoralno znanje za primerno svetovanje (Allison 2016, 2).

Pred koncem druge svetovne vojne je bilo delovanje vojaških kaplanov na splošno namenjeno večjim skupinam oziroma vojaškim enotam. Tako so bile celotne vojaške enote navzoče pri verskih obredih, od svetih maš do skupinskih odvez grehov. Največkrat je bila individualna obravnava vojakov namenjena le tistim, ki so bili ranjeni, so umirali ali dejansko že umrli. Tako se je v krščanskem obredju po 4. stoletju po Kr. izoblikovala tradicija večkratnih svetih spovedi (in ne le ene predsmrtne, življenjske spovedi), prav zaradi vojakov, ki so bili nenehno izpostavljeni smrti in zaradi svojega delovanja (možnost uboja/umora nasprotnika) izpostavljeni smrtnemu grehu (Bachrach 2011, 13–14).

5. Medicinsko-psihološka skrb

Medtem ko so pred 20. stoletjem vojaški duhovniki pomagali pri medicinski oskrbi ranjenih in obolelih vojakov, pa se je v drugi polovici 20. stoletja izkazalo, da lahko sodelujejo tudi pri psihološki oskrbi vojakov, še posebno tistih, ki so izpostavljeni travmatičnim dogodkom v miru in vojni (Adler in dr. 2018).⁴

Moss in Prince (2014, 151–2) to ponazorita: »Travmatizirani vojaki so tudi obremenjene duše, spopadajoč se s krizami vere in konflikti vesti. /.../ Ob določenih časih in mestih, vseeno, z vidika frontnih vojakov, delo pastoralne oskrbe preko kaplanov se ne razlikuje od prakse in ciljev vojaških voditeljev. Toda drugič, je pastoralna oskrba videna, kot da zagotavlja ločeno in vredno službo za vojake vseh činov v oboroženih silah.«

V raziskavi, ki so jo naredili Morgan, Hourani, Lane in Tueller (2016) v skupini 889 aktivnih vojakov kopenske vojske ZDA, se je izkazalo, da so pri vojaki, ki so iskali pomoč pri vojaških kaplanih v zadnjem letu, zabeležili 50,8 % depresijo in 39,1 % možnost posttravmatske stresne motnje, 26,6 % jih je bilo pozitivnih na navzočnost generalizirane anksiozne motnje.

Pri tem se je izkazalo, da je religioznost pozitivno vplivala na preprečevanje sa-

³ Celotna skrb za pripadnike oboroženih sil v Slovenski vojski zajema zdravstveno, psihološko in socialnovarstveno oskrbo, pravno pomoč in svetovanje, religiozno duhovno oskrbo, športno dejavnost, organizirano preživljanje prostega časa in skrb za družinske člane (Šebal 2010, 113–114).

⁴ O vlogi duhovnosti in religioznosti v stresnih situacijah, tudi v psihoterapiji, glej Košir 2020.

momorilnosti vojakov in veteranov, ki so trpeli za posttravmatsko stresno motnjo ali doživeli moralno rano (Ames in dr. 2018, 6; Drescher in dr. 2018; Kopacz in dr. 2018). Vloga vojaških duhovnikov pri mentalni higieni vojakov se je pokazala v postmodernih mednarodnih operacijah, saj so duhovniki znali identificirati, preprečevati in svetovati glede duševnih motenj, od lažje čustvene napetosti do poskusa samomora (Besterman-Dahan in dr. 2012). Tako so vojaški duhovniki postali »partnerji v operativni psihologiji«, s tem pa razbremenijo vojaške psihologe, saj so navadno bolj navzoči med vojaki kakor psihologi (Frederich in dr. 2011, 168).

Vse večjo vlogo imajo vojaški duhovniki tudi pri preprečevanju in zdravljenju zasvojenosti med pripadniki oboroženih sil, in to prek pastoralne oskrbe (Robertson 2016).

6. Povezovalci

Ob vse večjem številu mednarodnih (mirovnih) operacij po drugi svetovni vojni so vojaški duhovniki, ki so bili del kontingentov v tujini delujočih oboroženih sil, postali tudi pomemben del teh misij. Sodelovali so na sestankih z verskimi voditelji in tako vzpostavili stik z voditelji lokalnega okolja, to pa jim je omogočili dodatno delovanje med lokalnim prebivalstvom, še posebno med humanitarnimi misijami. Vojaški duhovniki tako zmorejo zapolniti 'informacijsko vrzel', ki nastane zaradi nerazumevanja različnih kultur in religij. To nerazumevanje jezika, simbolizma, zgodovine in arheologije lahko privede do zaostritve odnosov med tujim kontingentom in lokalnim prebivalstvom, preprečijo pa jo lahko prav vojaški duhovniki, seveda v nesekulariziranem okolju (Lee, Burke in Crayne 2005, 3–18).

Tako so leta 2001 v vojni mornarici ZDA razvili program, po katerem so vojaški kaplani postali orodje preprečevanja konfliktov na mednarodnih misijah, in to z vzpostavitvijo odkritih stikov z lokalnimi verskimi voditelji in s svetovanjem vojaškemu poveljnikom glede verskih in kulturnih posledic morebitne poveljniške odločitve (Johnston 2009, 25). Vojaški duhovniki so prevzeli »mirovniško vlogo med verskimi voditelji in njihovimi skupnostmi«, pri tem pa si prizadevajo za »miroljubne odnose med razklanimi skupnostmi z zagotavljanjem priložnosti za izvedbo srečanj – z vzpostavitvijo varnega in preobrazbenega prostora za dialog« (Moore 2014, 95–96).

Na mirovnih ali humanitarnih misijah so vojaške organizacije dostikrat, če ne večinoma prisiljene sodelovati z nevojaškimi subjekti, h katerim sodijo tudi različne nevladne, civilne organizacije. Vojaški kaplani, sami povezovalci med vojaškim in civilnim okoljem, tako primarno sodelujejo z organizacijami, ki delujejo na področju humanitarnosti, človekovih pravic, civilne družbe (vključno z vpeljavo demokracije) in razrešitve konfliktov (McLaughlin 2002, 21).

Medverski dialog ni pomemben samo med delovanjem v tujini, ampak tudi znotraj same vojaške organizacije, v kateri so navzoči vojaki različnih veroizpovedi. Vojaško duhovništvo tako deluje na istem principu kakor širša (civilna) družba,

z integracijo različnih (verskih) oziroma družbenih skupin v eno družbo, pri tem pa se zagotavljajo verske potrebe posameznikov oziroma skupin (Peterson 2015, 4–5). To v nekaterih oboroženih silah dosegajo tudi s tem, da vojaški duhovnik »usposablja vojaško osebje, da spoštuje verska prepričanja, promovira mir in harmonijo« (Seiple 2009, 45). V preteklosti, predvsem v multietničnih državah, je bilo za vojaške duhovnike pomembno, da so poznali več jezikov, tako so namreč lahko duhovno skrbeli za pripadnike več nacij, ki so služili v istih oboroženih silah (Šimac 2020b, 171).

V zadnjem času nekatere države uvajajo tudi ateistične oziroma humanistične vojaške duhovnike, ki naj bi skrbeli oziroma skrbijo za ateistične pripadnike oboroženih sil (Kolenc 2014, 395).

7. Branitelji reda in prava

Vojaški duhovniki zaradi vloge, ki jo imajo znotraj oboroženih sil, in predvsem zaradi ugleda, ki ga uživajo med vojaškim osebjem, lahko preprečujejo tudi negativnost oziroma toksičnost vojaških voditeljev. Tako lahko nadrejene opozorijo na potrebe in zadržke podrejenih, ne da bi nadrejeni vedeli, kdo od podrejenih je to izrazil, in vzpostavijo dialog v organizaciji, ki velikokrat tega ne omogoča. To se dogaja predvsem zato, ker duhovnike vojaško vodstvo posluša, duhovniki poznajo organizacijsko kulturo oboroženih sil in osebnosti vpletenih oseb. S tem nastane možnost za mediacijo oziroma rešitev problema na najbolj nekonflikten način, ne glede na čin vpletenih (Messinger 2013, 123).

Benham Rennick (2011, 93) pravi, da vojaški kaplani, ki imajo simbolični ‚nevtalni‘ čin, delujejo prek ‚duhovništva prisotnosti‘ (*ministry of presence*), ko lahko posredujejo zunaj poveljniške linije in upoštevajo neujemanja med institucionalnimi cilji in človeškimi potrebami.

V nekaterih situacijah lahko vojaški duhovniki prek svoje pastoralne skrbi pridejo tudi do informacij glede vojnih zločinov, storjenih znotraj njihove lastne vojaške organizacije. Med vietnamsko vojno leta 1968 je enota ameriških vojakov pobila prebivalce vasi My Lay. Ta vojni zločin je videl pilot helikopterja, o tem je povedal je še isti dan vojaškemu kaplanu, ki je o tem poročal svojemu nadrejenemu (Olson in Roberts 1998, 117–119).

Kakor že rečeno, vojaški duhovniki naj bi si prizadevali tudi za ponovno vzpostavitev moralnosti med vojaki; to se v sedanosti kaže med vojaškimi zaporniki, duhovna oskrba pa ima funkcijo v rehabilitaciji tega zapornika (Brink 1953, 36).

8. Tudi za vojaške družine in veterane

Po drugi svetovni vojni, ko so se vzpostavile večje, stalne oborožene sile, ki so bile v posameznih državah garnizirane v vojaških bazah, kjer so pripadniki oboroženih

sil živeli s svojimi družinami (kakor tudi v državah, kjer profesionalni vojaki živijo zunaj vojašnic), se je hkrati pokazala potreba po duhovni oskrbi za člane družin vojakov, vpetih v vojaško okolje in vojaški način življenja. Poleg individualne pastoralne oskrbe, ki je podobna, če ne identična s ‚civilno‘ pastoralno oskrbo, vojaški duhovniki izvajajo tudi zakonsko-družinsko svetovanje, še posebno zaradi specifik vojaškega življenja, kakor so dolgotrajna odsotnost, travmatične izkušnje, možnost hude poškodbe ali smrti itd. (Moon 2016, 128–134).

Sipe (1993, 25–43) izpostavlja, da imajo vojaški duhovniki možnost, biti vpleteni v vse ravni človeškega življenja od rojstva do smrti. Poleg običajnih življenjskih stresnih okoliščin morajo pri tem upoštevati še geografske preselitve, razbite odnose, dnevne vožnje ...

Vojaški duhovniki imajo tudi pomembno vlogo pri zagotavljanju duhovne oskrbe umirajočim veteranom, ki jim lahko pomagajo »razrešiti stres, povzročen zaradi z bojem povezanih dogodkov, ki so v konfliktu z njihovimi osebnimi prepričanji« (Chang, Stein in Skarf 2015, 635).

9. Glasniki miru

Moss in Prince (2014, 152–153) sta naloge vojaških duhovnikov razdelila na tri skupine: 1) naloge, povezane z religioznostjo, 2) naloge, povezane z vojaško organizacijo, in 3) naloge, povezane s svetovanjem in oskrbovanjem posameznih vojakov in morebiti njihovih družin. V prvo skupino sodijo verske norme, običaji in obredi, ki se izvajajo ob različnih časih in v različnih krajih, pri tem pa vojaški duhovniki skrbijo tudi za verske potrebe drugače verujočih (omogočanje stika vojakov z njihovimi (civilnimi) verskimi delavci). Naloge, povezane z vojaško organizacijo, so predvsem: vzdrževanje vrednot oboroženih sil, promocija samodiscipline, svetovanje poveljujočim glede kadrovskih zadev, sodelovanje z vojaško-medicinskim osebjem, poučevanje (npr. glede spolnosti) in vzdrževanje morale vojakov. V tretjo skupino sodijo svetovanje in pomoč ranjenim in bolnim, zagotavljanje prve pomoči, skrb za padle in umrle pripadnike, obveščanje družin pripadnikov, svetovanje veteranom in tudi njihovim družinam.

Moore (2008, po Volfu 2009) ima zgoraj navedene tri skupine nalog vojaških duhovnikov za njihovo osrednjo, splošno nalogo, a v zadnjem času se vse bolj izpostavlja vloga vojaških duhovnikov kot ‚agentov miru‘. Vojaški duhovniki morajo upoštevati načelo pravične vojne in ohranjanje miru v globaliziranem svetu, v katerem so različne religije »ena izmed najbolj mogočnih sil v svetu danes«. (Vojaška) sila je namreč sama nezmožna uveljaviti mir v svetu, v katerem so upoštevane človekove pravice in uveljavljeni demokratični ideali. To se lahko zgodi z uporabo religije, ki »igra vlogo pri definiranju ljudskih identitet skupnosti«. Vojaški duhovniki imajo pri tem nalogo, da iščejo načine pomiritve in združitve nasprotujočih si družbenih skupin, prav v moči religije (Volf 2009, 33–35).

10. Namesto sklepa

Iz naštetih zgledov lahko razvidimo, da je duhovna oskrba v oboroženih silah vse od začetkov do današnjih dni sklenila nekakšen krog: od prvotne skupinske, množične oskrbe celotne vojaške enote je prišla do individualne obravnave posameznih vojakov. Hkrati vojaški duhovniki ne izvajajo samo duhovne, pastoralne oskrbe, ampak zagotavljajo tudi pomoč na drugih področjih (npr. na zdravstvenem, psihološkem itd.), to pa presega njihovo temeljno zadolžitev.

Kot del vojaške in verske organizacije vojaški duhovniki presegajo in povezujejo obe organizaciji in so tako simbolično hkrati posvetni in svetni. Njihovo delo se ne navezuje le na pripadnike oboroženih sil, ampak v zadnjih desetletjih v njihov delokrog sodijo tudi družinski člani, (vojni) begunci, nevladne organizacije itd. V današnjem svetu, v katerem vse bolj vladajo versko in nacionalno motivirani konflikti, imajo lahko prav vojaški duhovniki na podlagi poznavanja različnih kultur in religij odločilno vlogo pri zagotavljanju in ohranjanju miru na konfliktnih območjih.

Zato je treba pri usposabljanju bodočih (vojaških) duhovnikov zagotoviti, da prejmejo čim bolj širok nabor znanja, ki presega teološko-religiološke okvire in vključuje – ni omejeno s tem – kulturologijo, medicino, psihologijo, zakonsko-družinsko terapijo itd. Tako lahko vojaški duhovniki znotraj oboroženih sil delujejo v luči miru, kot glasniki sprave in povezovalci narodov.

Kljub vsem dodatnim vlogam in dolžnostim, ki so jih v zadnjih desetletjih začeli opravljati, pa vojaški duhovniki še vedno ostajajo »avtentične priče pravega upanja, rojenega iz obljube Njega, ki je prava ljubezen«; tako v vojnih razmerah prinašajo upanje vojakom – na (večno) življenje (Zelinskyy 2016).

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Marjan Turnšek (ur.)

Stoletni sadovi

Člani katedre za dogmatično teologijo v jubilejnem letu z zbornikom predstavljajo »dogmatične sadove« na »stoletnem drevesu« TEOF v okviru UL. Prvi del z naslovom »Sadovi preteklosti« s hvaležnostjo predstavlja delo njenih rajnih profesorjev. Kako katedra živi ob stoletnici svojo sedanjost in gleda v prihodnost z upanjem, predstavljajo prispevki živečih članov katedre v drugem delu pod naslovom »Sadovi sedanjosti«. Tretji del ponuja »Podarjene sadove«, ki so jih ob jubileju poklonili nekateri pomembni teologi iz tujine, ki so povezani z našo fakulteto (zaslužni papež Benedikt XVI., Hans Urs von Balthasar, Jürgen Moltmann, Bruno Forte, Marino Qualizza in Marko I. Rupnik).

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Anb Thuan Truong

The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris and Building Indigenous Missionary Force: A Study on Vietnam during the 17th and 18th Centuries

Pariška družba zunanjih misijonov in vzpostavljanje domorodne misijonarske sile: študija o Vietnamu v 17. in v 18. stoletju

Abstract: Based on the original materials recorded by the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris operating in Vietnam from the second half of the 17th century to the late 18th century and the achievements of French and Vietnamese scholars, this article addresses the building of indigenous force of missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in Tonkin and Cochinchina (Vietnam) during this period. In particular, the author of this article focuses on comparing the results of training Vietnamese priest resources and building seminaries in the two above areas, and at the same time points out the reason for such difference. To complete the content of this article, the author combines two main research methods of historical science (historical method and logical method) with other research methods (systematic, statistical, differential analysis, synthetic, etc.), especially the comparative method. The research result presented in the article makes specific contributions to studying the history of Christianity in Vietnam and the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in this country in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Keywords: Vietnam, Tonkin, Cochinchina, priests, seminaries, catechists, seminarians

Povzetek: Na podlagi izvirnega gradiva, ki so ga ustvarili misijonarji Pariške družbe zunanjih misijonov, delujoči v Vietnamu v drugi polovici 17. stoletja in do poznega 18. stoletja, in na podlagi dosežkov francoskih in vietnamskih preučevalcev se članek posveča vzpostavljanju domorodne misijonarske sile pod okriljem Pariške družbe zunanjih misijonov ter v Tonkinu in Cochinchini (Vietnam) v tem obdobju. Avtor članka se posebej osredotoča na primerjanje rezultatov in osvetljuje razlo-

ge za razlike pri oblikovanju nabora vietnamskih duhovnikov in pri grajenju semenišč na omenjenih področjih. Kot dopolnitev vsebine članka avtor združuje dve glavni raziskovalni metodi zgodovinske znanosti (zgodovinska metoda in logična metoda) z drugimi raziskovalnimi metodami (sistematična, statistična, diferencialna analiza, sinteza itd.), zlasti s primerjalno metodo. Raziskovalni rezultat članka je nov prispevek pri preučevanju krščanstva v Vietnamu in dejavnosti Pariške družbe zunanjih misijonov, namenjene Vietnamu v 17. in v 18. stoletju.

Ključne besede: Vietnam, Tonkin, Cochinchina, duhovniki, semenišča, kateheti, semeniščniki

1. Introduction

From the second half of the 17th century, when arriving in Vietnam (including Tonkin and Cochinchina)¹ to preach the Gospel, the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris recognized the necessity of building up the indigenous missionary force. Because at that time, the workload to be done to 'incubate' for the 'seeds' of Christianity to develop in Vietnam was huge, entirely inversely proportional to the number of French missionaries dispatched due to this missionary organization. Meanwhile, political unrest in Vietnam created by wars between different political powers and the ban on Christianity imposed by the rulers of Tonkin and Cochinchina in the 17th and 18th centuries disrupted the presence of French missionaries in dioceses over which they were given authority. In such times, the indigenous missionary force would have a significant effect. They were the ones who would replace the French missionaries to take care of the spiritual and religious life of the Christians as well as perform other pastoral care works. In particular, the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris also clearly saw the advantages of the indigenous missionary force when they not only did not encounter language barriers but also had a profound understanding of the culture, customs, and habits of indigenous people. Therefore, it would be easier for them to preach the Gospel and call people to join Christianity. Stemming from the above awareness, right from the beginning, building indigenous missionary human resources were outlined and implemented by the bishops of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris from the second half of the 17th century to the late 18th century. In particular, the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris

¹ The 17th and 18th centuries were a turbulent period in Vietnamese history. From 1627 to 1672, Trinh's family in the North and Nguyen's family in the South fought each other 7 times but failed to come to an end. After 46 years of constant fighting, both sides exhausted their human resources and properties, so they had to accept a truce and a long division. Gianh River, historically known as Linh Giang, became the boundary dividing Dai Viet country into two regions: from Linh Giang to the South called Dang Trong (Cochinchina) under the administration of Lord Nguyen, and from Linh Giang to the North was called Dang Ngoai (Tonkin) under the administration of King Le Lord Trinh. This situation lasted until the end of the 18th century when the Tay Son peasant movement broke out (1771), which in turn destroyed the force of Lord Nguyen in Cochinchina (1777) and Lord Trinh in Tonkin (1786) (Hữu Quỳnh et al. 2006, 335–362; Thành Khôi 2014, 291–352).

obtained favourable results in training indigenous priests and building, organizing activities for seminaries in the territory of Vietnam during that period.

Approaching the research issue from the perspective of history, the author applies the historical method, with the desire to reproduce systematically and accurately the panorama of the training of indigenous priests as well as the seminary building activities in Tonkin and Cochinchina (Vietnam) of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in the 17th and 18th centuries with all its arising and development steps. The author applies selecting, collating, synthesizing, statistics, analyzing data and historical events and phenomena mentioned in Western and Vietnamese scholars' original material source and academic achievements to achieve this goal. In particular, the process of training indigenous priests and building seminary of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris' missionaries in the 17th and 18th centuries at Tonkin and Cochinchina has always been placed in a close relationship, aiming to clarify the differences of this process in the two areas. Therefore, comparison becomes one of the research methods used throughout the article. On that basis, the author analyses the cause of the difference and examines and evaluates the results of training indigenous priests and building seminary of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in the 17th and 18th centuries at Tonkin and Cochinchina. That is the manifestation of the application of the logical method in the process of studying this issue. Thus, it can be affirmed that the clarified contents in the article are the result of the combined application of the research methods mentioned above.

2. The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris and training Vietnamese priests

From the second half of the 17th century to the late 18th century, the presence of the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in Vietnam not only contributed to creating an exciting period of evangelization but also led to positive changes in the process of building indigenous missionary force in this country. As latecomers compared to the Jesuits,² moreover, at that time, there were not so many missionaries of this missionary organization operating in Vietnam, and the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris found that the most effective way for them to expand influence and promote evangelization quickly was nothing but to build a solid indigenous priest force.

However, this issue was not initiated right from the beginning by the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris but posed by a Jesuit missionary:

² The Portuguese Jesuit missionaries were the first force to openly deploy their missionary work in Cochinchina (1615) and Tonkin (1627). However, their activities quickly encountered obstacles from the Vietnamese monarchies that ruled these two areas at the time. In Tonkin, the religious ban and deportation of foreign missionaries issued by Lord Trinh in 1663 completely ended the Jesuit missionary work in the area. Meanwhile, a similar ban issued by Lord Nguyen in Cochinchina in early 1665 also made all Jesuit missionaries be deported. However, right in 1665, the Society of Jesus sought to return to Cochinchina to evangelize (Bá Cầm 2008, 39–173; Khánh Tường 1956, 478; Launay 1923, 26–27).

Alexandre de Rhodes.³ After more than 20 years of missionary work in Vietnam, in 1649, realizing the necessity of establishing dioceses to manage the missionary work in Cochinchina and Tonkin (Vietnam), he returned to Europe to advocate for the establishment of Vicariate Apostolic in Vietnam. At the same time, ordaining the priesthood to indigenous people was also one of the contents that received Alexandre de Rhodes' attention (Vaupot 2019, 827). Because according to him, at that time, there were about 300,000 Christians in Vietnam. 300 to 400 missionaries were needed to take care of their spiritual life. However, the Holy See certainly could not accommodate that quantity.

Moreover, it needed many expenses to bring all these missionaries to Vietnam. Therefore, the best solution for the Holy See to solve this issue is to send a few Titular Bishops to Vietnam to ordain the priesthood to indigenous people. Meanwhile, according to Alexandre de Rhodes, out of 100 catechists in Tonkin (Vietnam) at that time, there were many eligible and qualified candidates to become priests (Chappoulie 1943, 390–392).

Based on the issues posed by Jesuit missionary Alexandre de Rhodes about the need to build up an indigenous missionary force, after the appointment of two missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris, namely François Pallu⁴ and Lambert de la Motte⁵ as Vicar apostolic of Tonkin and Vicar apostolic of Cochinchina (September 9, 1659), on November 10, 1659, the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith of the Holy See gave them a directive on what to do as soon as they arrived in these two regions. The Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith emphasized the importance of training indigenous missionary force. The directive clearly stated that one of the main reasons for the

³ Alexandre de Rhodes was born on 15 March 1593 in Avignon, in a Jewish family. On 14 April 1612, he joined the Jesuits in Rome and was ordained a priest in 1618. At the end of the year, he was accepted by the Jesuit Superior for the mission in Eastern Asia after having applied three times for a missionary trip between 1614 and 1618. He arrived in the Portuguese capital to board the ship to Eastern Asia, but because he was suspended for too long in Goa, until 29 May 1623, he reached Macao. Initially, he planned to go to Japan for the mission, but his wish was unsuccessful, so he was sent to Vietnam. He came to Cochinchina, Vietnam, for the first time in December 1624 and returned to Macau to go to Tonkin, Vietnam, in July 1626. On 19 March 1627, he arrived in Tonkin and was expelled from the area in May 1630. From 1630 to 1640, he taught theology at the Institute of Madre de Deus. Between 1640 and 1645, he returned to the mission in Cochinchina. In July 1645, he left Cochinchina for Macau and then went to Europe. In 1654, he went to Persia and died at Ispahan on November 5, 1660 (Quang Chinh 1972, 106).

⁴ François Pallu (1626–1684) was a French missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris, who greatly influenced Chinese and Vietnamese Christianity in the second half of the 17th century. In 1659, he was appointed by the Holy See as Vicar apostolic of Tonkin to manage Tonkin's missionary work (Vietnam), Laos, and five provinces in the southwest of China. In 1680, when the Vicar apostolic of Fujian 福建 was founded, he was appointed by the Holy See as Apostolic administrator to manage the missionary work of nine provinces and islands in South China. On October 29, 1684, he died in Fujian 福建, China (Lach and Van Kley 1993, 231; 262; Moidrey 1914, 71–72; Baudiment 2006, 532).

⁵ Lambert de la Motte was a missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. He was born on January 16, 1624, in Lisieux, France. In 1655, he was ordained a priest. On July 29, 1658, he was appointed Titular Bishop of Berytus and Vicar Apostolic of Cochinchina. During administering the missionary activities in Cochinchina, he only visited this mission area twice (the first time from September 1671 to March 1672 and the second time from July 1675 to May 1676). For most of the remaining time, he worked in Ayutthaya and died there in 1679 (Gauchat 1935, 114).

Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to send bishops François Pallu and Lambert de la Motte to Vietnam was that two bishops would apply different methods to recruit, train and endeavour to educate indigenous catechists, helping them to qualify for the competency and qualities to become priests. They would then use the powers of an ordained bishop by the Holy See to ordain such catechists as priests and assign to these indigenous priests vast missionary areas to govern under the direction of two bishops (391–402).

To realize this directive of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, after arriving in Siam (1662), Lambert de la Motte worked together with François Pallu to make a concrete plan of training indigenous priest resources for some Asian countries in general and Vietnam (including Tonkin and Cochinchina) in particular in the immediate and long term. On the one hand, they established the Seminary of Saint Joseph in Ayutthaya (1666) (Tarling 1992, 535; Lach and Van Kley 1993, 249). This was the place to receive a resource of elite catechists from Vietnam and the countries, to foster and ordain them. When the bishops were not present in the mission land due to the drastic ban on Christianity of the local government, on the other hand, during times when the bishops of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris were present in Vietnam, to directly administer and manage pastoral care in dioceses, the ordination of the priesthood in place to Vietnamese would be applied. In the 17th and 18th centuries, these two methods were combined and used by the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. They brought a particular effect in training the indigenous priest force for two mission areas of Tonkin and Cochinchina (Vietnam).

Based on the materials recorded by the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris operating in Cochinchina in the 17th and 18th centuries, it could be known that, between 1668 and 1796, 4 out of 6 bishops⁶ of this diocese, namely Lambert de la Motte, François Pérez⁷, Guillaume Piguel⁸, and Pigneau de

⁶ From 1659 to 1799, the Diocese of Cochinchina was administered by six bishops appointed by the Holy See, including Lambert de la Motte (1659–1679), Guillaume Mahot (1682–1684), François Pérez (1691–1728), Alexandre de Alexandris (1728–1738), Armand Lefèvre (1741–1760), Guillaume Piguel (1760–1771), and Pigneau de Béhaine (1771–1799) (Gauchat 1935, 114; Ritzler and Sefrin 1952, 119; 129; 278; Ritzler and Sefrin 1958, 65; 145; 304; 455).

⁷ François Pérez was not a missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris but a secular clergy. Around his background, there are many different records at the moment. According to a written appointment of the Bishop to him of the Holy See in 1687, he was Portuguese. However, according to a report by missioner Charles-Marin Lablé sent to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in February 1701, Pérez was a Portuguese of Indian descent. In a letter dated July 10, 1702, Pérez stated that his father was Spanish in Segovia, served King Philippe V, and went to Negapatan, India in 1630, while his mother was a Portuguese. Author Louvet in *La Cochinchine Religieuse* said that Pérez was born in Tenasserion, of the Kingdom of Siam. His father was of Manille descent, and his mother was Siam. In 1668, he was ordained a priest. On February 5, 1687, he was ordained Titular Bishop of Bugia by the Holy See and Vicar Apostolic of Cochinchina. He held these positions until his death on September 20, 1728 (Launay 1923, 379; 506; 593; Louvet 1885, 310–311).

⁸ Guillaume Piguel was a missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. He was born on December 4, 1762, in La Mézière, France. He was ordained a priest on December 21, 1748. On July 29, 1762, he was appointed as Titular Bishop of Canatha and Vicar Apostolic of Cochinchina by the Holy See. He held these positions until his death on Jun 23, 1771 (Launay 1924, 394; Ritzler and Sefrin 1958, 145; 455).

Béhaïne⁹ conducted 12 times of priesthood ordination or sending Vietnamese catechists and seminarians to Siam to receive the Holy Orders, with a total of 19 ordained people. It is worth mentioning that the number of Vietnamese catechists and seminarians ordained at each time was not impressive. The year 1690 was recorded when the Vietnamese received the priesthood the most, but this number did not exceed four people (Launay 1923, 353–358; 378–415; Hữu Trọng 1959, 221–222). The number in other times only ranged from 1 to 2 people. Not only that, but the training of Vietnamese priest resources by missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in Cochinchina also did not secure the regularity and continuity when there was quite a long period (1691–1703, 1708–1763, 1780–1791) this work seemed to be completely stagnant.

Regarding the place of ordination, depending on the specific historical situation at each stage, the bishops of the Cochinchina diocese chose one of two methods: send indigenous catechists and seminarians abroad to be ordained as priests or conduct the ordination in place. From the second half of the 17th century to the late 18th century, out of 12 times of ordaining priesthood to the Vietnamese, to provide human resources for pastoral care in Cochinchina, there were five times that this activity was conducted in Siam and seven times right in this mission area. In particular, from 1668 to 1690, in the context that bishop Lambert de la Motte was mainly in Ayutthaya to administer the missionary work in Cochinchina, the ordination of the priesthood to Vietnamese catechists took place in Siam. From 1704, when Vicar Apostolic of Cochinchina such as François Pérez, Pigneau de Béhaïne, etc., in this mission area, the activity of ordination of the priesthood to Vietnamese catechists and seminarians was conducted right in Cochinchina and maintained until the late 18th century.

Time	Place of the ordination of the priest	Quantity	Vietnamese priest name
1668	Siam	2	Giuse Trang, Luca Ben
1672	Siam	1	Manuel Bon
1676	Siam	1	Louis Doan
1690	Siam	4	Francois Van (Nho), Thaddee Nghiem, Mauro Loc (Tran The Lao), Manuel Lan (Laurent)
1704	Cochinchina	1	Matthieu (unknown Vietnamese name)
1706-1707	Cochinchina	1	Francois (unknown Vietnamese name)
1763	Siam	2	Marino Phien, Nicolas Due
1775	Cochinchina	1	Paul Ho Van Nghi

⁹ Pigneau de Béhaïne was born on November 2, 1741, in Origny-en-Thiérache, France, was a missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. Around 1765, he was ordained a priest. On 24 September 1771, he was appointed as Titular Bishop of Adraa and Vicar Apostolic of Cochinchina. He held this position until he died at Qui Nhon (Binh Dinh province) in 1799 (Launay 1925, 374; Louvet 1896, 7–9; Ritzler and Sefrin 1958, 65; 455).

Time	Place of the ordination of the priest	Quantity	Vietnamese priest name
1776	Cochinchina	1	Andre Ton
1779	Cochinchina	1	Jean Nhuc (Nhat)
1792	Cochinchina	2	Thomas Nam, Nhon (unknown Holy name)
1796	Cochinchina	2	Andre Giang (Ngai), Dominique Tan (Van)

Table 1: *Quantity of Vietnamese catechists and seminarians who were ordained priests and served in Cochinchina in the 17th and 18th centuries. Sources: (Launay 1923, 52; 62; 197; 237; 353–358; 378–415; 491; 565; Launay 1924, 398; Launay 1925, 57–58; 70; 74; 144–145; 266; 273; 414; Hữu Trọng 1959; 173; 221–222; Bá Cần 2008, 219).*

If the training of indigenous priest resources to serve the missionary activities of the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in Cochinchina in the 17th and 18th centuries did not achieve impressive results, in contrast, at the same time, this missionary organization's missionaries achieved great success in Tonkin.

Time	Place of the ordination of the priest	Quantity	Vietnamese priest name
1668	Siam	2	Jean Hue, Benot Hien
1670	Tonkin	7	Martin Mat, Anton Que, Philippe Nhan, Simon Kien, Jacques Chieu, Leon Tru, Vite Tri
1677	Siam	2	Philippe Tra, Dominique Hao
1679	Siam	2	Francois Thuy, Michel Hop
1683	Tonkin	4	Thaddee Ly Thanh, Felix Tan, Dominique Quang, Melchior Lieu
1689	Tonkin (2 people), Siam (3 people)	5	Domingo Trach, Benoit Su (in Tonkin), Louis Lieu, Paulin Khanh Hoe, Joseph Phuoc (in Siam)
1694	Tonkin	3	Jean Tuyen, Antoine Nang, Tite Bon
1703	Tonkin	3	Joseph Huan, Jean Hau, Paul Tri
1710	Tonkin	3	Antoine Chi, Benoit Uyen, Thomas Mi
1714	Tonkin	3	Paul Bang, Dominique Minh
1719	Siam	1	Vite Thu
1720	Tonkin	1	Thomas Dou
1721	Tonkin	1	Marc Toan
1722	Tonkin	1	Ignace Hoan
1724	Tonkin	1	Marco Hoanh
1725	Tonkin	2	Vite Bang, Gioan Qui
1730	Tonkin (2 people), Siam (1 person)	3	Phanxico Liem, Andrea Thong (in Tonkin), Bento Nghiem (in Siam)
1732	Tonkin (1 person), Siam (2 people)	3	Jaques Chieu (in Tonkin), Joseph Chat, Simeon Triem (in Siam)
1735	Tonkin	1	Pie Ly
1836	Tonkin	2	Barnabe Loi, Vicent Ngai

Time	Place of the ordination of the priest	Quantity	Vietnamese priest name
1737	Tonkin	1	Phaolo Thanh
1739	Siam	1	Pierre Lang (Phan)
1741	Tonkin	1	Paul Kieng
1743	Tonkin	1	Quintus Dong
1744	Tonkin	2	Anre Nhuong, Martino Luan
1745	Tonkin	2	Antoine Hien (Tram), Stephan That
1748	Tonkin	2	Gioan Hieu, Gioan Hien
1750	Tonkin	4	Gioan Tinh, Phero Kien, Phanxico Hau, Phanxico Huan
1751	Tonkin	1	Phaolo Giai
1752	Tonkin	1	Vito Tuyen
1753	Tonkin	3	Vite Tao, Anre Lieu, Dominico Phuc (Dat)
1754	Tonkin	1	Phero Triem (Dang)
1756	Tonkin	1	Phaolo Tai
1757	Tonkin	3	Denis Dien, Pio Vien, Giuse Chan
1761	Tonkin	7	Anton Kiem, Inhatio Trach, Phanxico Bau, Toma Luu, Toma Tu, Barnabe Chuong, Marco Nhuan
1763	Tonkin	1	Luy To
1765	Tonkin	1	Marco Quan
1766	Tonkin	13	Unknown ¹⁰

Table 2: *Quantity of Vietnamese catechists and seminarians who were ordained priests and served in Tonkin in the 17th and 18th centuries. Sources: (Néze 1925, 12–13; 19–21; 24–68; 70–78; 85–181; 183–206; 211–215; 220–230; 234–262; 266–270; Marillier 1995, 7–52; Nouvelles Lettres Édifiantes des Missions de la Chine et des Indes Orientales 1821, 160–161).*

From the materials recorded by the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris working at Tonkin in the 17th and 18th centuries, it could be known that, between 1668 and 1766, the bishops of Diocese of Tonkin (the Diocese of Western Tonkin from 1698 onwards) of the Society of Foreign Missions

¹⁰ The material source recorded in the book *Nouvelles Lettres édifiantes des Missions de la Chine et des Indes Orientales* said, in 1766, Bertrand Reydellet – Bishop of the Diocese of Western Tonkin ordained priesthood to 13 Vietnamese people, of which 5 people were catechists trained by Jesuits, 2 people were former seminarians of the Seminary of Saint Joseph in Siam, and 4 people were seminarians of Vinh Tri seminary (Nam Dinh). However, this work did not specifically mention the name of 13 Vietnamese seminarians and catechists who were ordained as priests at that time (*Nouvelles Lettres Édifiantes des Missions de la Chine et des Indes Orientales* 1821, 160–161).

of Paris namely François Pallu, François Deydier¹¹, Jacques de Bourges¹², Edme Bélot¹³, François Gabriel Guisain¹⁴, Louis Nééz¹⁵, and Bertrand Reydellet¹⁶ conducted 38 times of ordination in place or sending Vietnamese catechists and seminarians to Siam to be ordained from bishops in Ayutthaya, 3 times more than the number of times of ordination of the priesthood to the Vietnamese conducted by the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in Cochinchina at the same time (12 times). The number of indigenous priests trained to serve the mission in Tonkin was also relatively large, with 95 people, five times higher than the number 19 priests trained at the same time in Cochinchina. The number of Vietnamese catechists or seminarians receiving the priesthood in each ordination time was also higher than that in Cochinchina, ranging from 2 to 7 people, but also up to 13 people (1766) (*Nouvelles Lettres Édifiantes des Missions de la Chine et des Indes Orientales* 1821, 160–161). Especially the ordination of the priesthood to indigenous people of the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in Tonkin was maintained regularly but later carried out with higher frequency and less interruption for a long time Cochinchina at the same period. Regarding the place of ordination, also as in Cochinchina, the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions

¹¹ François Deydier was a missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. He was born on September 28, 1634, in Toulon, France. In November 1660, he was ordained a priest. In August 1662, he and Bishop Lambert de la Motte went to Siam. There he began to study Vietnamese, and on June 22, 1666, he left Siam for Tonkin to work. On 25 November 1678, he was appointed as Titular Bishop of Ascalon by the Holy See and the Vicar Apostolic of Eastern Tonkin (Vicar Apostolic of Eastern Tonkin). He held the position until he died on 1 July 1693 (Bá Càn 2008, 373–374; Ritzler and Sefrin 1952, 100).

¹² Jacques de Bourges was a missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. He was born in 1630 in Paris. In 1662, he accompanied Bishop Lambert de la Motte to go to Siam. However, in 1663, he returned to Europe. In 1669, he returned to Siam with his three missionaries (initially, there were 6 missionaries, however in the journey from Europe to Siam, three died on the way). In the same year, going with the Tonkin diocese's inspection team led by Bishop Lambert de la Motte, he began his mission in this area. On November 25, 1679, he was appointed as Titular Bishop of Auzia and Vicar Apostolic of Western Tonkin. He assumed the task of managing missionary work in the Western Tonkin diocese until 1712, when he was deported. He returned to Siam and died there on August 9, 1714 (Launay 1927, 80-83; Ritzler and Sefrin 1952, 106).

¹³ Edme Bélot was born on May 10, 1651, in Avallon, France, a missionary to the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. He was ordained a priest on January 1, 1678. On October 20, 1696, he was appointed as Titular Bishop of Basilinopolis and Coadjutor Vicar Apostolic of Western Tonkin. On 9 August 1714, he became Vicar Apostolic of Western Tonkin and held this position until he died in 1717 (Ritzler and Sefrin 1952, 115; Launay 1927, 144).

¹⁴ François Gabriel Guisain was a missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. He was born in 1666 in Paris. In 1692, he came to Tonkin when he was still a seminarian. In 1693, he received the Holy orders. On 3 December 1710, he was ordained as Titular Bishop of Laranda and Vicar Apostolic of Western Tonkin. He died on November 17, 1723, in Trang Den (Nghe An province) (Launay 1927, 230–232; Ritzler and Sefrin 1952, 236).

¹⁵ Louis Nééz was born February 11, 1680, in Verneuil, France, a missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. On October 8, 1738, he was appointed as Titular Bishop of Comana Armeniae and Apostolic Vicar of Western Tonkin. He held this position until he died in Ha Nam province (Tonkin) in 1764 (Ritzler and Sefrin 1958, 159; 455).

¹⁶ Bertrand Reydellet was a missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris, born around 1722 in Le Grand-Abergement, France. In 1748, he was ordained as a priest. In 1762, he was appointed as Titular Bishop of Gabala and Coadjutor Vicar Apostolic of Western Tonkin. In 1764, he was appointed as Vicar Apostolic of Western Tonkin. He held this position until he died in 1780 (*Nouvelles Lettres Édifiantes des Missions de la Chine et des Indes Orientales* 1821, 139–140; 144–145; 319–320; Ritzler and Sefrin 1958, 221; 455).

of Paris in Tonkin also depended on the specific conditions at each stage, such as whether the bishop of the Diocese was present in the mission area or not or whether the Tonkin government ban on the Christianity was drastic or not to decide whether ordination would take place in place or send their catechists and seminarians to Siam to receive the priesthood. However, looking at the overall picture in the training of Vietnamese priests of the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in Tonkin, it could be seen that the ordination of the priesthood to indigenous people right in Tonkin accounted for the dominant number compared to the few ordination times that took place in Siam. Out of a total of 38 times ordination of the priesthood to the Vietnamese in the 1668–1776 period, there were only eight times that this activity took place in Siam (accounting for 21%), with 14 ordained catechists and seminarians. Compared with a total of 95 trained priests during the whole period to serve the mission in Tonkin, the number only accounted for 14.7%. This showed that, in the Tonkin area, the ordination in place of the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris played a crucial role in building an indigenous missionary force in the 17th and 18th centuries.

So why in the same period, under the same administration and management of a missionary organization, but there were different results in training the indigenous missionary force of the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in Cochinchina and Tonkin? Seeking the answer from the internal training of indigenous priest resources of the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in these two regions, it could be seen that, for Cochinchina, the frequent absence of bishops in this mission area¹⁷, especially in the second half of the 17th century in combination with conflicts arising between the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris and several bishops. They were not part of this missionary organization but appointed by the Holy See between 1691 and 1738¹⁸, which significantly affected indigenous priest resources' training. Meanwhile, from the second half of the 17th century to the late 18th century, the activities of mission and training of the indigenous missionary force in Tonkin were always under the careful and unified management of the bishops who were missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris¹⁹, which created favourable conditions for the missionaries of this missionary organization to carry out the training of the indi-

¹⁷ From 1665 to 1679, missionary work in Cochinchina was basically placed under the administration of several missionaries who were Vicar generals of Bishop Lambert de la Motte, such as Chevreuil, Hainques, etc. Lambert de la Motte only visited this area twice (the first time from September 1671 to March 1672 and the second time from July 1675 to May 1676). He was in Siam for most of his time to remotely administer the missionary work in Cochinchina. Thereafter, the absence of bishops in this mission area continued to occur in the periods of 1684–1691, 1760–1771 (Bá Cãn 2008, 211–230; 279–285).

¹⁸ In the period 1691–1728 and 1728–1738, when the Holy See appointed François Pérez who was inherently a secular clergy, and missionary Alexandre de Alexandris of the Barnabite Order, respectively, as the Bishop of Diocese of Cochinchina, between the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris working in Cochinchina at that time and two bishops had a fierce conflict (Launay 1923, 405–408; 477; 487; 493–494; 497; Louvet 1885, 341; Launay 1924, 4–6; 14–18).

¹⁹ From the second half of the 17th century to the late 18th century, the Diocese of Tonkin (after 1698, known as the Diocese of Western Tonkin) was under the management of seven Bishops of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris, including François Pallu (1659–1678), François Deydier (1679–1693), Jacques de Bourges (1679–1713), Edme Bélot (1713–1717), François Gabriel Guisain (1718–1723), Louis Néez

genous priest resources in a planned way and with a long-term vision. Another equally important cause that determined the remarkable development of training missionary human resources in Tonkin compared to Cochinchina was that the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in Tonkin paid particular attention to and achieved tremendous success in constructing seminaries counterparts in Cochinchina. So, in fact, how did the construction and operation of seminaries of the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in Tonkin and Cochinchina from the second half of the 17th century to the late 18th century happen?

3. The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris and constructing seminaries in Vietnam

When setting foot in Vietnam for the missionary, the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris realized that the training of seminarians in place to ordain priesthood would be a suitable solution in this country and bring a higher efficiency than sending Vietnamese people to Siam to be ordained that was inherently inconvenient, passive and potentially dangerous. Therefore, from the very beginning, establishing seminaries in Vietnam (both Tonkin and Cochinchina) was raised by the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris.

In Tonkin, right from the 70s of the 17th century, the construction of the seminaries was initiated by the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. Specifically, in 1666, after being appointed as Vicar general by Bishop Lambert de la Motte, missionary François Deydier went to Tonkin. At Ke Cho - the capital of this kingdom, to develop the training of missionary force, he established a minor seminary and attracted 15 indigenous people to participate in the study. He taught them French and Latin and focused on fostering outstanding qualified people to prepare for the ordination of the priesthood (Launay 1927, 71–72). However, when Bishop Lambert de la Motte was not present in Tonkin²⁰, the ordination of the priesthood could not be conducted right in this mission area. Therefore, missionary François Deydier must send seminarians trained by him to Siam to receive the Holy Orders²¹.

In 1679, based on considering a proposal made in 1659 by missionary François Pallu - Bishop of the Diocese of Tonkin, the Holy See agreed to divide the Tonkin

(1723–1764) and Bertrand Reydellet (1764–1780) (Gauchat 1935, 201; Ritzler and Sefrin 1952, 100; 106; 115; 236; Ritzler and Sefrin 1958, 159; 221; 455).

²⁰ The Diocese of Tonkin was inherently entrusted by the Holy See to Bishop François Pallu to govern from 1659. However, from then to the time he died (1684), Bishop François Pallu never set foot in this missionary area for many different reasons. Despite this, he showed his concern for the Tonkin missionary area by writing numerous letters to advise and encourage the Christian community. Also, he assigned the administration of missionary work in this area to the Bishop of the Diocese of Cochinchina, namely Lambert de la Motte. Therefore, the fact that the training of priests and seminary construction at Tonkin in the second half of the 17th century attached to Lambert de la Motte's role was also completely understandable (Launay 1927, 1–6; 9–10; 11–118; 171–175; 191–193).

²¹ On February 24, 1668, missionary Deydier sent two Vietnamese catechists named Jean Hue and Benot Hien to Siam to receive the priesthood from Bishop Lambert de la Motte (Nééz 1925, 19–21; 24–27; Marillier 1995, 7–10).

area into two dioceses and take the Red River as the boundary line. Accordingly, the East of the Red River became the Diocese of Eastern Tonkin under Bishop François Deydier. The West of the Red River became the Diocese of Western Tonkin under Bishop Jacques de Bourges' management. Despite such a division, in essence, the whole missionary work in both dioceses before 1698 was in the hands of the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. Both bishops François Deydier and Jacques de Bourges, cooperated very closely and had the same Vicar general who was missionary Edme Bélot²². Therefore, the seminary construction from 1679 to 1698 in both dioceses continues to be carried out and associated with the role and merit of the missionaries of this missionary organization. In fact, during this period, there were three more seminaries in the Tonkin area, namely Trang Den seminary (Nghe An province)²³, Kien Lao seminary (Nam Dinh province), and Ke Coc seminary (Bac Ninh province)²⁴. However, the notes of the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in Tonkin at that time only showed such that, while they did not mention the specific activities of these seminaries. Perhaps during this period, the fierce ban on Christianity by Lord Trinh's government in Tonkin caused these newly established seminaries not to achieve as many results as expected by the missionaries and suspend after a short period the seminarian training was implemented. However, this was an essential premise, laying the foundation for creating other seminaries in the Tonkin region later.

From 1698 onwards, the Diocese of Eastern Tonkin was entrusted to the Dominican missionaries. The missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris were only active in the Diocese of Western Tonkin²⁵. Therefore, the seminaries in Tonkin of the missionaries under this missionary organization until the late 18th century took place only in the Diocese of Western Tonkin. This time also marked a new change in training the indigenous missionary force when Bishop Jacques de Bourges established a seminary in Ke So village (Thanh Tri district, Hanoi at

²² Edme Bélot was born on May 10, 1651, in Avallon, France, a missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. He was ordained as a priest on January 1, 1678. On October 20, 1696, he was appointed Titular Bishop of Basilinopolis and Coadjutor Vicar Apostolic of Western Tonkin. On August 9, 1714, he became Vicar Apostolic of Western Tonkin and held this position until he died in 1717 (Ritzler and Sefrin 1952, 115; Launay 1927, 144).

²³ The birth of Trang Den seminary (Nghe An province) is closely attached to the role of missionary Sarrante of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. He was born around 1653 in Tartas. In 1683, he went to the Diocese of Eastern Tonkin to evangelize and work in Nghe An area. To ensure the safety of Sarrante, the indigenous priest in charge of this area named Philippe Tra made a house for Sarrante in Trang Den village - where all people were Christian and quite far from the authority of the town. Here, Sarrante founded a seminary, trained a few seminarians, and prepared some elite catechists for receiving the Holy orders (Launay 1927, 289–292).

²⁴ Regarding the time of the birth of Kien Lao seminary (Nam Dinh) and Ke Coc seminary (Bac Ninh), so far, the French missionary's documents did not mention them clearly. However, based on the event of 1682, missionary Delavigne arrived in Tonkin with missionary Sarrante and was assigned to take charge of these two seminaries before leaving Tonkin in 1685. It showed that Kien Lao seminary (Nam Dinh province) and Ke Coc seminary (Bac Ninh province) were born before 1682 (Launay 1927, 343; 387).

²⁵ The Diocese of Western Tonkin in the late 17th century and early 18th century included the diocese of Hanoi, diocese of Hung Hoa, diocese of Phat Diem, diocese of Thanh Hoa, and diocese of Vinh at present (Bá Càn 2008, 403).

present) and assigned a Vietnamese seminarian who completed the study of theology in Siam to manage. However, the fundamental seminary was located in Pho Hien (Hung Yen province) - where the French missionaries resided. Here, about 20 catechists and seminarians were directly trained by the French missionaries to prepare for the ordination of the priesthood in place or sending to Siam to study theology. Their lives were quite austere and destitute. They studied one session and did manual work in the other session. Catechists oversaw planting and caring for vegetables and fruits in a large garden, making fences, rowing, and other jobs.

Meanwhile, seminarians had to cook and wash clothes alternately. Each day, each person was given a tiny amount of money, from 10 to 15 cents, to buy fish. They had to cook fish with much salt and eat it with rice. In terms of clothes, each year, they were only given two fabric clothing sets and belts. So, there was no surprise to see them wearing patchwork clothes. Despite such difficult living conditions, according to the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris, at that time, the number of indigenous catechists in the Diocese of Western Tonkin who wanted to serve a long term for the mission career was quite crowded with about 200 people (Launay 1927, 456; 459). This was a plentiful human resource for training indigenous priests.

From 1712 onwards, when the Lord Trinh government in Tonkin stepped up the ban on Christianity, the indigenous seminarian training institution built by the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in Pho Hien had to cease work (Launay 1927, 567). Three French missionaries Jacques de Bourges, Edme Bélot, and Francois Gabriel Guisain, were all expelled. While Bishop Jacques de Bourges returned to Siam, two missionaries Edme Bélot and Francois Gabriel Guisain, tried to remain illegally in Western Tonkin. The pursuit of training great indigenous missionary human resources to serve the evangelization in the Western Tonkin made these two missionaries always nurture the plan of building a new seminarian training institution with more extensive scale and more closely organized than before. That led to the birth of Vinh Tri seminary (Nam Dinh province). From 1713 to 1723, Bishop Francois Gabriel Guisain made great efforts to maintain the training of indigenous seminarians at this seminary. In 1719, he appointed Louis Nééz - A capable missionary, and later became bishop of the Diocese of Western Tonkin (1723–1764), acting as Director of Vinh Tri seminary (Bá Cầm 2008, 413). However, the Tonkin government's ban on Christianity lasted from 1723 through 1764, i.e., the time of administration of the Diocese of Western Tonkin of missionary Louis Nééz, which caused Vinh Tri seminary not to operate stably and perform the work of training seminarians in a large scale. It was not until 1765 when missionary Bertrand Reydellet was appointed as bishop and selected Vinh Tri as the headquarters of this diocese. The activities of Vinh Tri seminary were closely organized and vigorously promoted. As noted by the French missionaries operating in the Diocese of Western Tonkin, under the administration of Bishop Bertrand Reydellet (1765–1780), there were often from 40 to 50 and sometimes a more significant number of catechists and seminarians involving in the study in Vinh Tri seminary (*Nouvelles Lettres Édifiantes des Missions de la Chine et des In-*

des Orientales 1821, 145). For the catechists - who have gone through missionary work in Western Tonkin and were over 40 years old, they were present at the seminary to study theology every day under the direct preaching of Bishop Bertrand Reydellet. For the seminarians, learning Latin was a critical task that they must undertake. Accordingly, those who had good language capacity, could more or less listen to and speak Latin would be arranged to study in class directly taught by Bricart - a French missionary working at the seminary. As for the rest of the seminarians would be introduced to the most basic and essential things in Latin in another classroom, under two indigenous assistants' guidance. In addition to Latin, seminarians at Vinh Tri seminary also had to practice reading and writing Chinese characters. In addition, seminarians also learned liturgy rituals and learned to sing to serve for important Christian occasions. Although researchers were unable to find any specific statistic on the number of seminarians who graduated from Vinh Tri seminary under the administration of Bishop Bertrand Reydellet (1765–1780), from the materials recorded by the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris operating in Western Tonkin at that time, it could be known that Vinh Tri seminary in the late 18th century was the place to train a large number of catechists, to provide for 21 Tonkin priests in charge of parishes throughout the Diocese of Western Tonkin. Because at that time, each priest needed 4 or 5 catechists to assist them in their pastoral care of the parishes (146).

Thus, from the second half of the 17th century to the late 18th century, on the Tonkin missionary area in general (before 1698) and in the Diocese of Western Tonkin in particular (after 1698), there were at least six seminaries established by the bishops of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris for less than 150 years, which showed the extraordinary efforts in building the indigenous missionary force in Tonkin by the missionaries of this missionary organization. However, while the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in Tonkin demonstrated rather vivid 'painting' with bright colours on the construction of indigenous catechists and seminarians training institutions, on the contrary, at the same time, the establishment of seminaries in Cochinchina did not receive much attention from the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris working here. Therefore, this work did not get as many results as in Tonkin, affecting the training of priests in Cochinchina, which was also completely understandable.

In fact, in the second half of the 17th century, the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in Cochinchina were even earlier than in Tonkin (1666). As early as 1664, missionaries Louis Chevreuil²⁶ as Vicar general of Bishop Lambert de la Motte, set foot in this mission area. From then until 1739, when missiona-

²⁶ Louis Chevreuil was born in 1627 in Rennes, France, was a missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. In 1661, after joining the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris, he went to Siam to evangelize. From July 1664 to March 1665, acting as Vicar general of Bishop Lambert de la Motte, he came and operated in Cochinchina. However, it was not long before Lord Nguyen's government in Cochinchina banned Christianity; he was deported and had to return to Siam in April 1665. From 1666, he did missionary work in Cambodia. In 1670, he was arrested by Portugal in Macau. After being released (1673), he returned to Siam to work and died there on November 10, 1693 (Saraiva 2013, 40–41; Lach and Van Kley 1993, 239–240; 245–246; 1155–1156; 1275; Salles 2006, 17; Montézón et al. 1858, 250).

ries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris and missionaries of other religious orders²⁷ undertook to administer the Diocese of Cochinchina, they were well aware of the need to build an indigenous missionary force. However, stemming from many different causes²⁸, the establishment of seminaries in Cochinchina was completely stagnant during this period. The training of the indigenous catechists and seminarians to prepare the premise for the priesthood ordination mainly took place at the Seminary of Saint Joseph in Siam. It was not until 1739 when inspecting the missionary situation in Cochinchina and arriving in Sinoa (present-day Hue city), noticing a severe shortage of indigenous missionary human resources in this area that Bishop Elzear des Achards de La Baume²⁹ provided funding to build a house next to Tho Duc church for a seminary (Launay 1924, 87). At the same time, he worked together with missionary Jean Antoine de Lacourt³⁰ to train the indigenous missionary force in this area by recruiting five seminarians to join the class at Tho Duc seminary. However, this work did not get the approval of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris working in Cochinchina at that time. That made Bishop Elzear des Achards de La Baume and missionary Jean Antoine de Lacourt choose one of two options, either continuing to maintain the seminary operation or abandoning the intention to build the indigenous priest force. In fact, after the death of the Elzear des Achards de La Baume (1741), Tho Duc Seminary also remained active for the first few years under the time of Armand Lefèbvre (Launay 1924, 102–103) - A missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris, appointed by the Holy See as Vicar Apostolic of Cochinchina between 1741 and 1760³¹. Despite that, the establishment of Tho Duc Seminary in Cochinchina

²⁷ In the 1691–1738 period, the Holy See appointed François Pérez, who was inherently a secular clergy and missionary Alexandre de Alexandris of the Barnabite Order as the Bishop of Diocese Cochinchina (Launay 1923, 378–379; 595).

²⁸ The seminary construction of the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in Cochinchina in the 1664–1738 period did not achieve remarkable results, stemming from the following reasons. The first was the frequent absence of bishops assigned to manage this missionary area, due to the impact of the war between the political powers in Vietnam and the indigenous government's policy of banning on Christianity. The second was the conflict between the bishops appointed by the Holy See but not part of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris and the missionaries of this missionary organization operating in Cochinchina at that time. The third was that the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris working in Cochinchina at that time did not pay much attention to the issue of building seminary and training indigenous priests (Bá Càn 2008, 211–230; 279–285; Launay 1923, 405–408; 477; 487; 493–494; 497; Louvet 1885, 341; Launay 1924, 4–6; 14–18).

²⁹ Elzear des Achards de La Baume was a missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris, born in 1691 in Avignon, France. On July 31, 1726, he was appointed as Titular Bishop of Halicarnassus. In 1737, he was appointed as the Apostolic Visitor in Cochinchina by the Holy See, coming to this area to grasp the situation and resolve the contradictions and disputes between the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris and the Spanish Franciscan Order. He died in 1741 in Cochinchina (Ritzler and Sefrin 1952, 216; Favre 1746, 162–163).

³⁰ Jean Antoine de Lacourt (1706–1746) was a missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. On May 11, 1731, he was ordained as a priest in Siam. Thereafter he arrived in Cochinchina to work. On June 13, 1741, he was appointed as Pro-Apostolic Vicar of Cochinchina. During his time in this missionary area, Jean Antoine de Lacourt made an important contribution to the establishment and operation of Tho Duc seminary (Hue city) - the first missionary human resource training institution built by the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in Cochinchina (Launay 1924, 110).

³¹ Arnaud-François Lefèbvre was born on December 21, 1709, in Pas de Calais, France, a missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris. On 6 October 1741, he was appointed as Titular Bishop of Nea Aule

china during this period was an important event, marking the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris's first efforts in building an indigenous priest training school in this missionary area.

Interrupted for a long time, it was not until the early 80s of the 18th century that the issue of constructing and organizing the operation of the seminaries managed by the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in the southern land of Cochinchina at that time (i.e., the Southern region of Vietnam today) was restarted, associated with the role of Bishop Pigneau de Béhaine. In fact, from the end of 1765, due to the unsafe situation in Siam, the Seminary of Saint Joseph based in Chantabun (Siam) moved to Hon Dat (Ha Tien town - Cochinchina). At that time, missionary Andrieux was the seminary Director, and missionary Artaud was a moderator (Launay 1924, 426). However, at the end of 1766, missionary Andrieux died. Missionary Boiret was appointed to replace until missionary Pigneau de Béhaine arrived in Ha Tien (Cochinchina) and was appointed Director of Hon Dat seminary in 1767 (Louvét 1896, 33; Launay 1924, 428-430). In a letter to his parents dated July 3, 1767, missionary Pigneau de Béhaine stated that the seminary he was assigned to administer was located in a deserted place with about 40 Siamese, Chinese, Tonkin, Cochinchina seminarians, etc., studying here. His and his counterparts' mission was to nurture and teach them what was necessary to become a priest (Launay 1925, 428-429). However, the seminary's limited financial condition caused Pigneau de Béhaine and other missionaries and seminarians to stay in makeshift bamboo cottages built and experienced in a challenging and austere. The missionaries showed their powerlessness to see many seminarians suffering from illness without having the necessary conditions, to help them. In late 1769, Hon Dat seminary was attacked by Cambodian robbers. In that situation, the seminary was relocated from Ha Tien (Cochinchina) to Malacca and then to Virampatnam village of Pondicherry (India). Under the administration of missionary Pigneau de Béhaine, the training of seminarians here was re-organized. The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris materials said that in 1771, the seminary had 39 seminarians, including 12 Chinese, 16 Cochinchinas, 5 Tonkins, 4 Siam, 1 Macaoian, and 1 Malaysian. Seminarians were arranged into four classes, theology was studied in the first class, and Latin, literature, and religion were studied in the remaining three classes (Launay 1920, 285).

After more than four years of undertaking the role of seminary manager in Pondicherry - the missionary human resource training establishment for both East Asia and South Asia at that time, in July 1774, missionary Pigneau de Béhaine handed over his position of the Director of the seminary to missionary Mathon and travelled to Cochinchina to act as bishop of this diocese. At that time, Pigneau de Béhaine realized the complete reliance on the seminary in Virampatnam (Pondicherry) to train indigenous missionary human resources for the Diocese of Cochinchina would cause many inconveniences and losses. Because Pondicherry

and Vicar Apostolic of Cochinchina. He held this position until he died in 1760 (Ritzler and Sefrin 1958, 304; 455; Launay 1923, 107-108).

was quite far from Vietnam, travel was difficult and expensive. Furthermore, it would be hazardous if seminarians from Cochinchina were sent to the seminary in Virampatnam (Pondicherry) to study, after returning, were detected and caught by the authority of this region. To overcome these disadvantages, Bishop Pigneau de Béhaine outlined a long-term plan for training indigenous missionary human resources, expressed through the idea of building a separate seminary for this mission area. At the same time, he issued a convention called „Specific Regulations for the Cochinchina and Cambodia missionary areas“, which clearly defined the goals and directions of training the indigenous missionary force (Launay 1925, 28; 51). However, in the context when the war between the forces of Nguyen Phuc Anh - A descendant of Lord Nguyen and the Tay Son dynasty took place fiercely in the late 18th century in Cochinchina, especially in South Vietnam today, it is impossible to build and organize a permanent seminary somewhere in this area. Therefore, Bishop Pigneau de Béhaine thought of the model, itinerant seminary, built to relocate the seminary location quickly depending on the war's actual situation. In particular, during this period, the close relationship between Bishop Pigneau de Béhaine and Nguyen Phuc Anh was gradually established³². That led to the fact that the seminary founded by Pigneau de Béhaine in this area in 1775³³, 'floated' through many different places in the land of South Vietnam today, from Cay Quao (1775–1777), Tan Trieu (1778–1782) to Lai Thieu (1789) (Phát Huồn 1965, 228), associated with the footsteps of Pigneau de Béhaine and Nguyen Phuc Anh's army in the confrontation with the force of Tay Son dynasty in the late 18th century.

Thus, if the fact that the Seminary of Saint Joseph was relocated from Siam to Ha Tien (Cochinchina) and operated here for 5 years (1765–1769) was excluded, from the second half of the 17th century to in the late 18th century, in the entire territory of Cochinchina stretching from Quang Binh to the South of Vietnam today, there were two seminaries established by the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris to serve the training of indigenous missionary human resources. That number only accounted for one-third of the number of seminaries established by missionaries who also belong to this missionary organization in

³² After two meetings with Nguyen Phuc Anh in 1784, Bishop Pigneau de Béhaine took over the task of bringing Prince Canh - Nguyen Phuc Anh's son, to France for seeking reinforcement. On November 28, 1787, the Treaty of Versailles was signed between Count Montmorin, representative of French King Louis XVI, and Bishop Pigneau de Béhaine on behalf of Nguyen Phuc Anh. Accordingly, the French government pledged to help Nguyen Phuc Anh in terms of the military to regain his monarchy. However, this treaty was not implemented then by the French. In such a context, based on personal prestige, Pigneau de Béhaine mobilized warships, soldiers, weapons, and finance in Pondicherry and the Ile de France to help Nguyen Phuc Anh. And from 1789 until his death (1799), Pigneau de Béhaine served as a military and diplomatic adviser, making an important contribution to the restoration of Nguyen Phuc Anh's monarchy (Launay 1925, 90–92; 106; 157–157; 163–165; 168–170; 194; 198; Maybon 1919, 231; 238; 268; 271–272; Vaupot 2019, 828).

³³ In 1765, Guillaume Piguel - Bishop of Diocese of Cochinchina, intended to establish a separate seminary in Cambodia. However, it was not until five years later (1770) that Bishop Guillaume Piguel and missionary Levasseur built a small seminary on an island on the Mekong River in the territory of Kong Pong Soai province. In 1775, bishop Pigneau de Béhaine relocated the seminary to a place called Cay Quao in the South of Ha Tien (Cochinchina), arranged missionaries to administer the seminary, and conducted the training of the seminarians (Launay 1924, 431; Launay 1925, 12; 58; 130).

Tonkin during the same period. If in Tonkin, the perseverance of the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in this area caused seminaries to be continuously organized and maintained in operation for nearly 150 years, in contrast in Cochinchina, the establishment and organization of the activities of training institutions for indigenous catechists and seminarians was frequently interrupted. In 1664–1738 or 1750–1764, the seminaries were completely absent on this land. That was why the training of indigenous priests in Cochinchina in the 17th and 18th centuries did not achieve as many results as in Tonkin, although missionaries of the same missionary organization did this, was the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris.

4. Conclusion

In the 17th and 18th centuries, together with the continual appointment of the Holy See as bishop of the mission areas in Tonkin and Cochinchina (Vietnam), the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris with authority in hand strongly promoted the work of building the indigenous missionary force. This was reflected in Vietnamese priests' training and the establishment and operation of seminaries in both regions during this period. In fact, building the indigenous missionary force of the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris achieved positive results. From the second half of the 17th century to the late 18th century, that was less than 150 years, in two regions of Tonkin and Cochinchina, at least eight indigenous missionary human resources training institutions (seminaries) were established and put into operation by the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in Vietnam at that time. Accompanying that, 114 Vietnamese catechists and seminarians were ordained to the priesthood to serve mission work in both regions. Overall, this was the case, but when compared with specific numbers, researchers could see the dominance in the results of training priests (Tonkin: 95, Cochinchina: 19) and building seminaries (Tonkin: 6, Cochinchina: 2) of missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris in Tonkin compared with their counterpart at Cochinchina. What was the reason to explain this phenomenon? During this period, in Tonkin, the bishops, as the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris, were regularly present in the area they were assigned to administer. They also persisted and sought to surreptitiously operate under dangerous conditions, created by the indigenous authority's ban on religion and expelling foreign missionaries at that time.

Meanwhile, in Cochinchina, a completely different situation compared to Tonkin took place, when, in many periods, the work in this mission area was not administered by anyone or handed over to the representative of the bishop, while the bishop in Siam operated remotely and occasionally visited the mission area for a short time. Therefore, catechists and seminarians' training and especially the ordination of the priesthood could not be carried out in the absence of a bishop. If in Tonkin, from the second half of the 17th century to the late 18th centu-

ry, the work of training Vietnamese priests and building the seminary was placed under the unified management and administration of the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris, on the contrary, in Cochinchina, the conflict between the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris and the bishops appointed by the Holy See to oversee the pastoral care here but not belonging to this missionary organization, had adverse effects on the training of indigenous missionary force. In addition, the difference in enthusiasm and interest in building indigenous missionary forces of the missionaries of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris working in Tonkin and Cochinchina in the 17th and 18th centuries was also one of the other reasons for the significant difference in the results of training priests and building seminaries in Tonkin and Cochinchina at that time.

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Gešalt pedagogika v službi oblikovanja duhovno-religiozne dimenzije življenja

Gestalt Pedagogy in the Service of Shaping the Spiritual and Religious Dimension of Life

Povzetek: Na Teološki fakulteti se izvaja program izpopolnjevanja iz gešalt pedagogike, ki je namenjen pedagoškim, pastoralnim, svetovalnim, socialnim delavcem in staršem ter vsem, ki si želijo nadgraditi svoje strokovne kompetence s celostnimi gešaltističnimi pristopi in metodami. Program izhaja iz biografskega in celostnega učenja, ki predpostavlja transformacijo posameznikove osebnosti. Povezana je z njegovo ranljivostjo in z odkrivanjem resursov, ki mu bodo omogočali osebno rast in ga naredili dovzetnega za vzgojno-pedagoške izzive. Dodana vrednost programa se kaže v povezavi in korelaciji psihološkega in terapevtskega dela s številnimi bibličnimi vsebinami in različnimi religioznimi elementi, ki nagovarjajo tako globinsko psihološko kakor tudi duhovno-religiozno dimenzijo udeležencev. Posledica tega je, da jih dela dovzetnejše za njihovo duhovno religiozno doživljanje in za dialoški odnos z Bogom, kakor je potrdila tudi naša raziskava.

Ključne besede: osebna rast, poglobljanje duhovno-religiozne dimenzije, izpopolnjevanje iz gešalt pedagogike

Abstract: The Faculty of Theology runs a training program in gestalt pedagogy, intended for pedagogical, pastoral, counselling, social workers, parents, and all those who want to upgrade their professional competencies with integrated gestalt approaches and methods. The program is based on biographical and holistic learning, which presupposes the transformation of an individual's personality. The latter is related to his or her vulnerability and the discovery of resources that will enable personal growth and make him receptive to educational and pedagogical challenges. The program's added value is reflected in the connection and correlation of psychological and therapeutic work with many biblical contents and various religious elements, which address both the profound psychological and spiritual, religious dimension of the participants.

As a result, it makes them more receptive to their spiritual, religious experience and dialogical relationship with God, which was also confirmed by our research.

Keywords: personal growth, deepening of the spiritual-religious dimension, improvement in gestalt pedagogy

1. Uvod

Od leta 2015 dalje se na Teološki fakulteti v sodelovanju z Društvom za krščansko geštalt pedagogiko izvaja program izpopolnjevanja za geštalt pedagogiko. To je mednarodno patentirana smer geštalt pedagogike (EU-Marke 0037 517 57), ki jo je utemeljil dr. Albert Höfer in deluje pod okriljem ustanove Albert Höfer Gesellschaft. Cilje programa, ki je namenjen pedagoškim (učiteljem in katehetom), pastoralnim, svetovalnim, socialnim delavcem in staršem, lahko povzamemo v treh točkah:

- oblikovanje posameznikove pozitivne samopodobe,
- praktična uporaba in teoretično fundiranje celostnih geštalt pedagoških in didaktičnih metod v pedagoškem, pastoralnem in svetovalnem delu;
- spoznavanje biblične antropologije in poglobljanje svetopisemske duhovnosti, ki temelji na globinsko psihološki eksegezi (UL-TEOF 2015; Höfer 2001, 122).

Izpopolnjevanje posreduje, širi in pogloblja krščansko usmerjeno geštalt pedagoško delo, medtem ko njegove vsebine in metode spodbujajo osebnostne, socialne, svetovalne, strokovne in religiozne kompetence udeležencev.

Ker je poglobljanje religioznih kompetenc po besedah dr. Alberta Höferja specifikum programa (Nežič Glavica 2017, v), bomo na podlagi teoretičnih izhodišč in izsledkov kvalitativne raziskave (172–255) predstavili, kako program v pedagoško teorijo in prakso integrira duhovno-religiozno dimenzijo življenja in učenja. Najprej se bomo osredotočili na proces oblikovanja stabilne osebnostne podobe, ki po Höferju udeležence odpira za komunikacijo s presežnim. Človek je namreč v svojem ‚sebstvu‘, ustvarjen po božji podobi in je skrivnost, njegove globine so v polnosti razpoznavne le Bogu. Od Boga poklican uresničuje s poslušanjem božje besede svoje življenje in vstopa v jaz – ti odnos, ki se po Bubu ne navezuje samo na medčloveške odnose, temveč tudi na njegov odnos z Bogom (Küstenmacher, Haberer, in Werner Tiki 2016, 153). »Duhovnost za človeka ni nekaj poljudnega, ampak človeka opredeljuje.« (Höfer 2004, 8) Iz tega razloga se v izpopolnjevanju izkušnja odkrivanja samega sebe povezuje z izkušnjo Boga in jo predpostavlja. Po Höferju je v okviru izkušnje Boga utemeljeno in upravičeno človekovo odkrivanje samega sebe. »Pri tem se ne sklicujem takoj na njegovo duhovnost in njegov odnos do Boga, ampak na njegovo bit kot moškega in ženske ter na to, kako se razvija v božjih očeh /.../.« (10)

2. Oblikovanje stabilne osebne podobe

Za geštalt pedagogiko je učiteljeva osebnost najbolj učinkovito ‚orodje‘ ali ‚medij‘ njegovega delovanja (Höfer 2001, 123). Iz tega razloga udeleženci programa pod vodstvom trenerjev »čuteče prodirajo vase in odkrivajo svoje življenjske moči v najgloblji notranjosti« (Gerjolj 2008, 142). V skupini in z njeno pomočjo spoznava vzroke za svoje blokade in vedenjske vzorce, ki jih ozaveščajo in predelujejo. ‚Tukaj in zdaj‘ se učijo mobilizirati svoje lastne vire in neodkrite potenciale za reševanje svojih težav in hkrati sprejemati tako svoje pozitivne kakor tudi negativne strani. Ob tem postane skupina prostor, ki udeležence varuje, podpira in sooča z njegovimi problemi (izzivi) ter mu tako omogoča osebno rast in poglobljanje strokovnih kompetenc (Bernstädt in Hahn 2020, 97–106). Oblikovanje stabilne osebnosti, ki v procesu osebne rasti udeležencem odpira tudi vrata Presežnemu, temelji na osnovnih načelih geštalt pedagogike. V nadaljevanju se bomo osredotočili zgolj na štiri.

2.1 Načelo zavedanja

Načelo zavedanja pomeni za geštalt pedagogiko temelj njenega delovanja. Pri tem povzema zakonitosti oziroma principe posameznikovega zavedanja od geštalt psihologije, ki raziskuje »možnosti in pogoje zaznavanja čutnih resničnosti in bistvo čutnega zaznavanja« (Höfer 2006a, 12). Zanima jo, kako posameznik zaznava ‚like‘, ‚ozadje‘, ‚celost‘ in ‚smiselne celote‘.

Po geštalt psihologiji je ‚lik‘ vse (npr. predmeti, osebe, potrebe ...), kar pritegne posameznikovo pozornost in s tem izstopi iz ozadja. Vsak ‚lik‘, ki je v ospredju, izzove v posameznikovem polju zaznavanja neki čustven odziv in s tem postane zavestno dogajanje. Od posameznikovega čustvenega odziva, motivov, znanja in dosedanjih izkušenj je odvisno, na kakšen način se bo lotil obdelave ‚lika‘. ‚Lik‘ lahko posameznik ozavesti in ga v procesu zaznavanja zapre oziroma razreši, lahko pa ga ponovno umakne v ozadje in s tem ostane dogajanje nezavedno in tudi nerazrešeno. Kot ‚ozadje‘ označuje geštalt pedagogika biološki, socialni, kulturni ali duhovni okvir nekega dogajanja, iz katerega se ‚liki‘ oblikujejo. Dinamiko dogajanje med ‚ozadjem‘ in ‚likom‘ pa opredeli kot ‚polje‘, ki pomeni središče posameznikove pozornosti (Ščuka 2007, 24–26).

V procesu zaznavanja razlikuje geštalt pedagogika med zavestnim (*awareness*) in intuitivnim zavedanjem. Prvo omogoča osredotočeno, sistematično in analitično zavdanje vsega, »kar posameznik v resnici doživlja, ne glede na to, ali se to nanaša nanj ali na ljudi okrog njega« (Stein 2005, 38). Intuitivno zavedanje pa razume kot neosredotočeno, prosto ‚prisluskovanje‘ vsemu, kar posameznik doživlja in ga obdaja. »Gre za stanje odprte ne osredotočenosti, v katerem je posameznik dovzeten za določene aspekte, ki se dogajajo okrog njega in v njem.« (Stein 2005, 38) Za geštaltpedagoško delo sta obe obliki zavedanja pomembni, saj druga drugo dopolnjujeta in sta si v pomoč. Prva omogoča udeležencem ozaveščanje in doje-manje ‚lika‘, medtem ko se druga fokusira na ‚ozadje‘.

2.2 Osredotočenost na sedanjost

V procesu osebne rasti se geštalt pedagogika v prvi vrsti osredotoča na ‚tukaj in zdaj‘. Po geštalt psihologiji in terapiji je namreč posameznikovo vedenje odvisno le od v tem trenutku navzočega polja dražljajev. »Zavedanje se vedno odvija v sedanjosti. Odpira možnosti za ukrepanje. Rutine in navade so trdovratne funkcije in vsaka potreba po njihovi spremembi predpostavlja, da jih v luči zavedanja na novo osvetlimo.« (Perls 2007, 84) S takšnim pristopom ne želi zanikati učinkov preteklosti in prihodnosti, temveč samo izraziti, da je možno vplive iz preteklosti in prihodnosti zaznati le v sedanjem vedenju.

Osredotočenost na sedanjost je geštalt pedagogika povzela po geštalt terapiji, ki je bila v primerjavi z drugimi terapevtskimi usmeritvami v veliki meri dovzetna za vzhodne discipline, kakor so na primer zen budizem, tantra, taoizem ... Usmerjenost na neposredno doživljanje ‚tukaj in zdaj‘ je namreč sestavni del vzhodnih tehnik, ki ponavadi potekajo znotraj posameznika. Tehnike geštaltterapevtskega in geštaltpedagoškega dela se od njih razlikujejo v tem, da vključujejo neposredno verbalno in neverbalno izražanje doživljanja, da ga tako izostrijo in ozavestijo (Lamovec 1997, 93–97). Pri tem pa se geštalt pedagogika v prvi vrsti posveča senzornemu in čustvenemu doživljanju posameznika. Z uporabo različnih geštaltpedagoških metod, ki velikokrat mobilizirajo aktivnosti celotne skupine, povečuje posameznikovo napetost in s tem intenzivira njegovo doživljanje. Osmišljanje in ‚analiziranje‘ doživljanja, ki sta človekovi naravni težnji, vključi šele po doživljanju, kajti velikokrat sta prav razmišljanje in ocenjevanje najpogostejša načina izmikanja pred neposrednim doživljanjem.

2.3 Načelo samouravnavanja

Samouravnavanje je eden od treh kriterijev geštalta, ki jih je v začetku 20. stoletja definirala graški filozof Christian von Ehrenfels, utemeljitelj geštalta (von Ehrenfels 2008, 125–128). Njegovi kriteriji geštalta so se pozneje implicirali na področje geštalt terapije, geštalt pedagogike, pa tudi geštalt pastorage. Vsi trije kriteriji izhajajo namreč iz dejstva, da je človek geštalt celota, ki je več kakor le vsota njegovih posameznih celic, organov in okončin. Njegova delitev na telo, dušo in duha prikazuje le različne poglede na eno in isto celoto. Pri tem pa je delovanje vseh človekovih delov usmerjeno v funkcionalnost te celote in v uravnavanje notranjega ravnovesja in skladnega zadovoljevanja potreb.

Zato zdrav organizem teži k temu, da iz okolja izbira to, kar potrebuje za rast, in to asimilira, medtem ko pa vse nepotrebno zavrže. Okolje, iz katerega črpa, zajema njegovo naravnost in držo, njegovo (pred)zgodovino in njegove izkušnje, to je vsota tega, česar se je do sedaj naučil, kar je uvidel in se navadil. (Stein 2005, 17) Če okolje posamezniku dopušča optimalni razvoj in s tem nemoten proces samouravnavanja, bo lahko na podlagi svojih primanjkljajev oziroma presežkov (1. stopnja) zaznal dražljaj oziroma neugodje, ki ga bo privedlo do zavedanja te potrebe. S stopnjevanjem neugodja se intenzivira posameznikovo zavedanje potrebe, ki se kot ‚lik‘ izriše iz ozadja (2. stopnja). Zavedanje te potrebe (3. stopnja)

bo postalo zanj vedno bolj izostreno, medtem ko se začnejo druge potrebe v procesu zaznavanja pomikati v ozadje. Na podlagi zavedanje potrebe (4. stopnja) se začne posameznik pripravljati na delovanje v smeri zadovoljitve. Začne vzpostavljati kontakt (5. stopnja) s tistimi vidiki okolja, ki lahko zadovoljijo njegovo potrebo. Pri tem prevzema samoiniciativo in odgovornost. Takšno soočanje z okoljem omogoči posamezniku, da preizkuša različne opcije (6. stopnja). Opirajo se mu nove možnosti, ki mu ponujajo ustvarjalno izbiranje med možnimi načini zadovoljitve potrebe, tako dolgo, dokler se ne odloči za najbolj učinkovito in ustrezno možnost (7. stopnja). S tem zadovolji svoje potrebe, elemente, ki jih je pridobil iz okolja, pa asimilira. Posledica tega je, da nastopi ravnovesje (8. stopnja), ki prinaša ugodje, zadovoljstvo in srečo, saj je cilj dosežen in problem razrešen (geštalt končan). Tako se lahko ‚lik‘ ponovno vrne v ozadje (0. stopnja) in nastopi plodna praznina, v katero lahko vstopi nov dražljaj (Ščuka 2007–53).

Če pa se posameznik znajde v okolju, ki neustrezno vpliva nanj in s svojimi pritiski omejuje njegov proces samouravnavanja, lahko nastopijo na katerikoli stopnji ciklusa samouravnavanja motenje pri nastajanju in razgradnji ‚likov‘. Tako lahko, na primer, ‚lik‘ oziroma svoje potrebe zamenjuje s potrebami drugih (introjektivna), svoje lastnosti in čustva pripisuje drugim (projektivna), zabriše razlike med seboj in drugimi (konfuzija), namesto da bi deloval navzven, svojo energijo usmeri vase in to, kar bi delal drugim, dela sebi (retrorefleksija) itd. V takšnih primerih skuša izpopolnjevanje posameznika z različnimi geštaltterapevtskimi in geštaltpedagoškimi metodami najprej opolnomočiti (načelo ‚self-supporta‘) na ravni zavedanja, občutenja čustev, obrambnih mehanizmov, ki zmanjšujejo njegov stik s samim seboj. Govorimo o ponovnem vzpostavljanju kontinuuma zavedanja – neposrednega in implicitnega vedenja, ki je lahko tako motorično kakor senzorno in je, po Perlsu, »samo po sebi zdravilno«. »V geštaltističnem pomenu besede klientu odpira možnosti izbire ter s tem sprejetje svojega deleža odgovornosti pri oblikovanju realnosti vsakdanjega življenja.« (Flajs 2011)

2.4 Načelo osredotočanja na stik oziroma kontakt

V geštalt pedagogiki pomeni stik oziroma kontakt dinamičen proces (izmenjava lika in ozadja, kontakta in umika), ki poteka med posameznikom in okoljem. Znotraj tega procesa se dogajajo spremembe na obeh smereh. Okolje vpliva na posameznika in posameznik vpliva na okolje »Skozi kontakt se človek hkrati vzpostavlja, razmejuje od svojega okolja in se z njim povezuje /.../ V kontaktu z okoljem se v človeku poraja doživljanje, na osnovi katerega se zaveda tako sebe kot okolja.« (Flajs 2011)

Geštalt pedagogika razume celoten proces, poučevanje in učenje, predvsem z vidika kontakta oziroma stika udeleženca/učenca s samim seboj (jaz), z geštalt trenerjem/učiteljem (mi), z učno snovjo (ono) in z okoljem. »Pri tem se poslužuje fenomenološke naravnosti, na kateri temelji geštalt terapija, in iz nje izhajajočih konceptov in metod. V središču njene pozornosti je celostno upoštevanje doživetih oseb ter integracija njenega mišljenja, čutenja in delovanja.« (Burow 1998, 11) Torej je pomembna oseba oziroma osredotočenja na osebo. V pedagoškem

procesu se to osredotočenje realizira z uporabo treh dejavnikov, ki jih je geštalt pedagogika prevzela po Rogersu (na klienta usmerjena pogovorna psihoterapija) in so se prvotno navezovali na držo terapevta v terapevtskem procesu (Stein 2005, 42). V pedagoškem usposabljanju se ti dejavniki, ki so spoštovanje, empatija in pristnost, realizirajo v odnosu trener – udeleženec. To so dejavniki, ki ne omogočajo samo osredotočenja na osebo, temveč tudi sproščeno ozračje, v katerem se lahko udeleženci razvijajo in učijo in kot posledica tega prevzamejo te dejavnike (načelo odgovornosti) kot svojo lastno držo v odnosu do sebe, do drugih in do Presežnega.

Da so udeleženci izpopolnjevanja osvojili temeljna načela geštalt pedagogike in jih realizirali na različnih življenjskih področjih, potrjuje naša raziskava, v kateri je sodelovalo 80 udeležencev iz šestih generacij, ki so uspešno končali program izpopolnjevanja. Od vseh udeležencev jih je 64 (80 %) potrdilo, da so se med izobraževanjem in po njem zgodile na njihovi osebni in poklicni ravni pomembne spremembe (Nežič Glavica 2017, 179–180). Njihove odgovore lahko razvrstimo v štiri sklope.

Prvi sklop se navezuje na njihov osebni razvoj, v katerem so prepoznali spremembe pri dojetanju in osmišljanju svoje lastne življenjske zgodbe in pri odkrivanju svojih lastnih virov moči, pozitivno naravnost pri oblikovanju svoje lastne samopodobe (sprejemanje samega sebe, prepoznavanje svojih osebnostnih meja, manj obrambnih drž, vzpostavljanje notranjega ravnovesja in umirjenost).

Drugi sklop odgovorov se navezuje na njihovo delo, pri katerem izpostavijo naslednje spremembe: celosten pogled na učenca in pedagoško-didaktični proces; uporaba geštaltpedagoških didaktičnih metod, ki so izboljšale njihovo kvaliteto dela in odnose z učenci (večja senzibilnost, empatija, globlja in odprta komunikacija, boljši uvid v situacije ...); večja motiviranost (manj anksioznosti), kreativnost in samozavest pri izvajanju pedagoškega ali terapevtskega dela.

Kot tretji sklop lahko izpostavimo odgovore, ki zadevajo njihove socialne in sve-tovalne veščine; pri tem navajajo, da so postali bolj senzibilni, empatični in čuječi v odnosu do sebe in do bližnjih (lažje prepoznavajo osebne krize posameznikov in njihove vzorce vedenja); pravijo, da so uspešnejši pri razreševanju konfliktov in konfliktnih situacij (doma, v razredu, med sodelavci); lažje je vzpostavljanje zdrave distance do dela in do sodelavcev.

Četrti sklop odgovorov se navezuje na spremembe v duhovno-religioznem doživljanju. Pri tem izpostavijo temeljno zaupanje in vero, da se bodo stvari ‚že‘ do-bro iztekle (ne morejo oz. jim ni treba imeti vedno vseh vajeti v rokah).

Odgovore 16 anketirancev (20 %), ki pri sebi niso zaznali sprememb, bi lahko tolmačili s temi razlogi: v sklopu izobraževanja se niso bili pripravljene aktivno vključiti v proces razreševanja aktualnih vprašanj, ki bi jim omogočil vzpostavljanje stabilne osebne podobe in kakovostnejše opravljanje poklica; geštaltpedagoški pristop zanje ni bil ustrezen pristop, da bi si z njim lahko okrepili zgoraj navedene kompetence; v okviru izobraževanja so želeli pridobiti zgolj specifične geštaltpedagoške metode, ki jih lahko uporabijo pri svojem izobraževalnem oziroma terapevtskem delu.

Na vprašanje: Ali vam je izobraževanje iz geštalt pedagogike odprlo kake nove vidike, poglede, spoznanja na vaši osebni in poklicni poti?, je 78 udeležencev (97,50 %) odgovorilo pritrdilno in le 2 (2,50 %) udeleženca sta na vprašanje odgovorila z ‚ne‘ (Nežič Glavica 2017, 181–183).

Na osebni ravni anketiranci izpostavljajo globlje in kompleksnejše zavedanje, ki jim koristi na različnih življenjskih področjih. Postali so bolj senzibilni in čuječi do samega sebe, do svojega telesa, do drugih, do okolja oziroma vzdušja v posameznih situacijah; odkrili so nove vidike pri razreševanju in prepoznavanju svojih lastnih življenjskih zgodb (vzorci vedenja, razmejitev vlog, samoodgovornost, prepoznavanje in skladno zadovoljevanje svojih lastnih potreb, iskanje načinov, kako vzpostaviti notranje ravnovesje ...); doživeli so osredotočenje na ‚tukaj in zdaj‘, pozitivno vrednotenje neposrednega doživljanja in zavedanja, da je za vzpostavitev psihičnega ravnovesja treba posvetiti več časa tudi senzornemu in čustvenemu doživljanju in se za nekaj trenutkov odreči razmišljanju; nastopilo je pozitivno vzdušje v skupinah (varnost, zaupanje, sprejemanje, empatično doživljanje, pristni stiki ...); spoznali so vlogo postavljanja pravih vprašanj, na katera mora poiskati odgovore vsak sam; doseglo jih je prebujanje kreativnega ustvarjanje (risanje, pisanje, ples, petje ...); prebudilo se je zaupanje, da se v življenju stvari dogajajo z nekimi določenimi namenom, da ni naključij, da ni nič nemogoče ipd.

Na poklicni ravni anketiranci izpostavljajo osebno rast, ob kateri so postali bolj umirjeni, sproščeni, suvereni, kreativni pri svojem delu (pedagoškem in terapevtsko-svetovalnem); imajo celosten pogled na učenje, povezovanje učne snovi z izkušnjami (Nežič Glavica 2019); novo je vključevanje intuicije in čustev pri sprejemanju poslovnih odločitev, prav tako odkrivanje novih delovnih in raziskovalnih področij; izboljšala sta se sodelovanje in komunikacija s sodelavci; ni težko vzpostaviti zdravega ravnovesja med službo in privatnim življenjem. Prav to pa je tudi cilj katoliške vzgoje. »Vzgoja ni namenjena temu, da bi pomagala posamezniku ali skupnosti do večje moči, ampak je usmerjena k razvijanju večjega razumevanja človeka, dogodkov in stvari. Prek krščanskega pojma ljubezni naj bi dosegali tudi skupnost, ki ne zlorablja svojega položaja v odnosu do drugih in do narave.« (Vodičar 2019, 697)

3. Osebna rast v korelaciji z duhovno-religiozno dimenzijo človeka

Na izpolnjevanju je osebna in poklicna rast udeležencev tesno prepletena z življenjskimi zgodbami svetopisemskih oseb. Ker je svetopisemski človek konkreten in ima številne obraze, se lahko udeleženci z njim identificirajo in najdejo orientacijo za svoje lastno življenje. Iz tega razloga ponuja izpolnjevanje številne svetopisemske cikluse, ki so v povezavi in korelaciji s psihološkim in terapevtskim delom in ga presegajo (Gerjolj 2006).

To dokazuje tudi naša raziskava, v kateri smo udeležence vprašali, s katerimi svetopisemskimi liki oziroma zgodbami so se lahko najbolje identificirali (Nežič

Glavica 2017, 222). Pri tem je 44 udeležencev (55 %) na prvo mesto pričakovano uvrstilo Jezusove čudeže (Jezus pomiri vihar, sključena žena, mrtvoudni deček iz Naina, prešuštnica). To so zgledi, v katerih so se lahko poistovetili s svetopisemskimi ljudmi, z njihovimi različnimi hibami in težavami, ki prav tako hromijo njihovo življenje (Šegula 2014, 774). Na podlagi identifikacije z liki in z aktualizacijo dogodkov so lahko neposredno doživeli, da Jezus ljudi razumevajoče sprejema, jih revitalizira in jim vrača njihovo izgubljeno dostojanstvo. Jezusov empatični odnos, ki je razviden iz Svetega pisma, udeležence opogumlja, da se mu približajo in zaupajo. Takšna srečanja z Bogom lahko vodijo udeležence do nove duhovne preobrazbe in eksistence. Pri tem pa udeleženci Jezusov pristop do ljudi aplicirajo tudi na svoje pedagoško in pastoralno delo (Höfer 2006b, 27–99). Jezus je sprejemal ljudi takšne, kakor so, ne da bi jih obsojal. Obračal se je na vse sloje, še posebno na nemočne, zatirane, konfliktno in izobčene iz družbe. Geštaltpedagoški način dela učitelje in katehete spodbuja, naj se po vzoru Jezusove »pedagogike ljubezni« (Höfer in Thiele 1982, 76) tudi oni soočajo s težavami in naj jih ne poskušajo obiti. Naj bodo dovzetni za težave in konflikte v razredu, učencem pa naj pomagajo pri premagovanju temnih plati in jih spreminjajo v pozitivne (82). Po Jezusovem zgledu naj učitelji v učencih vidijo tisto, kar posameznik lahko postane. Pomembna je vizija, pogled v prihodnost, ki daje učencem upanje in vero vase.

Druga svetopisemska zgodba, s katero so se lahko udeleženci identificirali, je pasijon (Nežič Glavica 2017, 22). Izbralo ga je 35 anketirancev (43,75 %). Pasijon, ki pripoveduje o Jezusovem trpljenju in o njegovi smrti, jim je odpiral eksistencialna vprašanja o vlogi in razsežnosti trpljenja v njihovem lastnem življenju. Ob dramatizaciji in z življenjem v različne vloge so lahko prepoznavali, kdo in kakšni so, ko trpijo, kako trpljenju kljubujejo, najdejo notranje ravnovesje, kako trpljenje osmišljajo, ali iščejo njegov imanentni smisel ...

Na tretje mesto je 21 anketirancev (26,25 %) uvrstilo pripoved o Abrahamu in Sari, v kateri je v ospredju njuna dinamika odnosov, ki se izraža v njunem zakonskem in družinskem življenju. Na njunih zgledih so se udeleženci lahko učili, kako biti dober mož ali žena, mati ali oče, »seveda ne v receptualnem smislu, marveč predvsem v obliki izzivov in artikulacije življenjskih vprašanj« (Gerjolj 2006, 14).

V izpopolnjevanju se človekova odprtost do transcendence in »transpersonalna psihologija, kot vir odrešenja, udejanja tudi s pomočjo ritualov in liturgije« (Höfer 2001, 124). To potrjujejo tudi rezultati raziskave, v kateri so udeleženci jutranji duhovno-religiozni ritual doživljali kot uvodni impulz in usmeritev v delo in kot molitev oziroma hvalnice, s katerimi so v povezanosti s skupino in z Bogom stopili v nov dan (Nežič Glavica 2017, 214). Iz odgovorov anketirancev je prav tako razvidno, da je večina udeležencev (81,25 %) globoko doživljala tudi maše, ki so jih dojemali kot sklepno dejanje, ki je smiselno povzelo posamezne vsebinske poudarke srečanj in jih združilo v celoto. Doživljali so jih kot osebno, konkretno daritev oziroma izročitev Bogu, pri kateri so lahko bili aktivni soustvarjalci in ne zgolj pasivni opazovalci. Svojo aktivno držo so še posebno izpostavili pri darovanju, ko so na oltar prinašali svoje izdelke (slike, tekste, kipce ...). Tako so na simbolni ravni iz svojih izdelkov v kruh polagali svoje konkretne izkušnje, ki so jih tako pozitiv-

no kakor negativno zaznamovale, v vino pa vsa nova spoznanja, želje in resurse, s katerimi lahko izboljšajo kvaliteto svoje življenjske (izkustvene) biografije (215–218). Na podlagi njihovega poprejšnjega procesa osebne rasti in aktivnega sodelovanja, ki je imel za posledico, da je prekoračil časovni okvir ‚klasične‘ maše, je večina udeležencev izkustveno doživela bistvo evharistije. To bistvo pa se ne ponavzočuje in ne udejanja samo s Kristusovim darovanjem na križu, temveč tudi s konkretnimi daritvami njegove Cerkve.

4. Metodološka kreativnost

Pri izpopolnjevanju se uporabljajo metode, ki prodirajo v vse plasti duše. »So kreativne, kar pomeni, da so sicer z neko temo dana pravila, ne pa tudi izid. Tega si kroji vsak posameznik po svoje.« (Höfer 2001, 125) Govorimo o metodah in o pridobivanju praktičnega znanja, ki jih morajo udeleženci najprej preizkusiti na sebi. To pomeni, da udeleženci na svoji lastni koži doživijo, kar v drugačni obliki doživljajo njihovi učenci. »Sami tako rekoč spoznavajo možnosti in težave učenja svojih učencev in učenk, da bi jih lahko od znotraj učili.« (2007, 12)

V širokem spektru ponujenih metod je udeležence na duhovno-religioznem področju najbolj nagovorila metoda bibliodrama, ki jo je na prvo mesto uvrstilo 46 udeležencev (57,50 %) (Nežič Glavica 2017, 208). Pri tem so izpostavili:

»Začutila sem neverjetno povezanost telesa s čustvi, situacijami, ki se dogajajo v mojem življenju.«

»Ob dramatizaciji prešuštnice sem spoznala, da se v meni nahaja tako prešuštnica kot tudi ljudje, ki jo obsojajo.«

»V Raheli in Labanu sem prepoznala moj odnos z očetom.«

»V igri vlog sem začutil veliko napetost in dramatičnost svetopisemske pripovedi ter jih na intenziven način prenesel v trenutne osebne situacije. Zelo pozitivno je name vplivalo upanje, da se bo ob koncu vse dobro izteklo.«

Iz njihovih odgovorov je razvidno, da jim je ta metoda v obliki dramatizacije omogočila identifikacijo s svetopisemskimi osebami in vlogami in prevzemanje njihovega zaznavnega polja. Identifikacija sodi med osrednje metode geštalterapevtskega dela. V okviru različnih vaj udeležencem omogoči, da se soočajo z različnimi stvarmi (z osebami, živalmi, predmeti, čustvi, pojmi), ki obstajajo znotraj in zunaj njih. Takšne vaje krepijo njihovo zaznavanje, saj jim prek afektivnih, kognitivnih in motoričnih izkušenj omogočajo intenzivnejši in neposredni pristop do obravnavanih vsebin (Gamper 2013, 30). Pri tem religiozne in svetopisemske vsebine niso izvzete.

Svetopisemske zgodbe poleg osebnega razvoja glavnih protagonistov udeležence seznanjajo tudi z njihovo potjo do Boga. Njihova osebna vera je opisana kot

dolg proces, ki je udeležencem s psihološkega vidika postopoma odpiral tudi pred-dispozicije za zaznavanje in izkušnjo Boga. Bolj ko je vloga prvinska in arhetipska, globlji je njen učinek, saj deluje na udeleženčeve podzavestne predstave in vzorce vedenja in mu daje konkretno podobo in ime (Küstenmacher, Haberer, in Werner Tiki 2016, 154). Prav v teh psiholoških procesih je največji učinek izobraževanja, ki udeležencev ne zaznamuje le v njihovem obdobju tistega trenutka, temveč tudi v prihodnje, saj jih naredi dozretnejše za nadaljnjo religiozno-duhovno doživljanje in komunikacijo z Bogom. To izkazuje tudi naša raziskava, saj je 71 udeležencev (88,75 %) potrdilo, da so ob svetopisemskih zgodbah postopoma anticipirali vlogo Boga in začeli božje delovanje doživljati in povezovati s svojimi življenjskimi dogodki (Nežič Glavica 2017, 224–229), kakor potrjujejo tudi njihovo odgovori:

»Ob premišljevanju Mojzeseve zgodbe sem ugotovil, da tudi mene Bog vseskozi pripravlja za moj poklic, saj je vedno preko različnih ljudi in dogodkov izrazil posegel v moje življenje, ko sem bil na razpotju.«

»Običajno se šele po zaključku dogodkov zavem, kako me je Bog vodil, čeprav se mi je v posameznih trenutkih zdelo, da me je zapustil.«

»Božje delovanje se je pričelo kazati preko različnih svetopisemskih likov: speči učenec me je spodbudil, da sem v odnosih postala bolj aktivna (več govorim, nisem tako prestrašena, sem bolj pogumna); Tobijeva Sara me je spodbudila, da sem začela bolj goreče moliti za moža – učinka sicer še ni, a verjamem, da bo kmalu; Abraham me je spodbudil, da se naj odprem; poistovetila sem se lahko tudi z Abrahamovo Saro, saj sem tudi sama nerodovitna, tako v odnosih kot drugače (brez otrok). Zaznavam učinke, ki se kažejo v izboljšanih odnosih z nekaterimi sodelavkami.«

Na drugo mesto je 35 anketirancev (43,75 %) uvrstilo kreativno pisanje, ki jim na različne načine omogočilo literarno vizualizacijo in ozaveščanje njihovih lastnih misli, notranje monologe, neoprijemljive dimenzije, ki so vodile v drugo dimenzijsko spoznanja. Pri kreativnem pisanju je največ udeležencev izpostavilo metodo pisanja osebnega psalma, ki ima po Höferju zdravilne učinke. Strukturo psalma primerja celo s terapevtskim procesom (Höfer 1995, 19). Tako kakor se pisec v psalmu obrne na Boga, se na terapiji klient obrne na terapevta, z željo po pomoči. V samem terapevtskem procesu lahko sname svoje maske in spregovori o tem, kar ga hromi. Nato lahko v varnem okolju s terapevtom, ki ga spremlja, najde pomoč in podporo na svoji poti ozdravljenja. Podobno pa pisanje psalma udeleženca postopoma vodi skozi njihove eksistencialne stiske in konkretne življenjske preizkušnje in jim v duhovno-religiozni komunikaciji omogoča avtorefleksijo njihovih lastnih dejanj v odnosu do samega sebe in Boga. To je notranji proces, ki postopoma prehaja od žalosti v veselje, od tožbe in dvomov k slavljenju Boga.

Na tretje mesto je 32 (40 %) anketirancev uvrstilo vaje, ki so vključevale telesno dimenzijo (Nežič Glavica 2017, 211). Od vseh vaj (sprostitvene metode, molitev s celim telesom, scenske uprizoritve ...) je anketirance pri duhovno-religiozni dimen-

ziji najbolj nagovoril skupinski ples. Vključevanje plesa je udeležencem pomagalo pri integraciji fizičnih in psihičnih dimenzij. Ples namreč prispeva k samozavedanju, ki »omogoča oblikovanje ustrezne telesne slike, daje občutek notranje strukture, reducira impulzivnost, omogoča odkrivanje samega sebe, vzbuja zadovoljstvo s samim seboj, samozaupanje in občutljivost za neverbalne znake.« (Kroflič 1999, 23) Prav tako pa ples spodbuja socialne sposobnosti oziroma socialno zavedanje, ki se kaže v spodbujanju stika z drugimi, v sodelovanju, v prilagajanju skupini, v empatiji, v vodenju in podrejanju, in ne nazadnje, v sprejemanju stikov prek telesnega kontakta (24).

Izobraževanje iz geštalt pedagogike se v procesu osebne in duhovno-religiozne rasti osredotoča na celega človeka. Ples in gib sta vključena v jutranje duhovno-religiozne uvode in večerne sklepe dneva; sta sestavni del intenzivnega dela na samem sebi, pa tudi sklepne maše. Pri takšnih mašah je še posebno vidno, da je religiozna komunikacija odprta za celega človeka in ga s telesnimi držami spodbuja k celostni molitvi. Molitvene kretnje, drže in ples naredijo človeka odprtega za božje delovanje. V njegovem telesu odpirajo prostore, ki bi drugače ostali za Boga zaprti. Vera ni nekaj, kar bi bilo vezano samo na človekovega duha ali razum, temveč je nekaj, kar mora prodreti globlje, tudi v človekovo telo in se v njem utelesiti (Platovnjak in Roblek 2005, 20–22). Na takšen način je izpopolnjevanje iz geštalt pedagogike udeležencem omogočilo, da so tudi telo doživeli kot kraj izkustva vere, ki človeka celostno nagovarja in spreminja.

5. Sklep

Na podlagi rezultatov raziskave in teoretičnih izhodišč ugotavljamo več stvari.

Oblikovanje osebnosti je ena od najpomembnejših prioritet izpopolnjevanja iz geštalt pedagogike. Izhaja iz biografskega in celostnega učenja, ki z uporabo različnih geštalterapevtskih pristopov vzpostavlja stabilno osebnostno podobo udeležencev (učiteljev). Govorimo o transformaciji njihove osebnosti, ki je povezana z njihovo ranljivostjo in z odkrivanjem resursov, to pa jim omogoča osebno rast in jih hkrati naredi dovzetne za vzgojno-pedagoške izzive in za situacijo, v kateri so učenci v tistem trenutku. Za geštalt pedagogiko je namreč učitelj tisti, ki učenca uči in spodbuja k samostojnosti, bodisi pri iskanju odgovorov na osebne krize ali pri reševanju miselnih, praktičnih ali umetniških nalog. Pri poglobljanju strokovnih kompetenc udeležencev program ne izhaja samo iz celostnih pristopov geštalt pedagogike in humanistične psihologije, temveč se zgleduje tudi po Jezusovi pedagogiki, ki je v svoji etični drži do ljudi, tako v pedagoškem in svetovalnem kakor tudi v duhovno-religioznem smislu zgled verujočim in ,neverujočim' udeležencem.

Izpopolnjevanju iz geštalt pedagogike je uspelo v pedagoško teorijo in prakso uspešno integrirati tudi duhovno-religiozno dimenzijo življenja in učenja. V proces osebne rasti nevsiljivo, z uporabo celostnih geštaltpedagoških metod vključuje različne biblične vsebine in religiozne elemente (jutranji duhovno-religiozni ritu-

ali, ‚geštalt‘ maše ...), ki nagovarjajo tako globinsko psihološko kakor tudi duhovno-religiozno dimenzijo udeležencev. To je potrdila naša empirična raziskava, saj je kar 95 % udeležencev navedlo, da jih je proces osebne rasti ‚senzibiliziral‘ za duhovno in religiozno dimenzijo življenja. Preostalih 5 % anketirancev, ki so na to vprašanje odgovorili z ‚ne‘, nikjer v anketi ni navedlo, da bi se zaradi tega počutili v procesu izpopolnjevanja izolirane oziroma nesprejete. Religiozni elementi in vsebine jih niso odvrnili od izpopolnjevanja. Velik prispevek programa se kaže tudi v obširnem fundusu ponujenih svetopisemskih vsebin, ki so v korelaciji s psihološkim in geštaltpedagoškim delom udeležencem omogočile spoznati Sveto pismo v novi perspektivi (Nežič Glavica 2017, 203) in jih naredile dovzetnejše za njihovo nadaljnjo duhovno-religiozno doživljanje in za dialoški odnos z Bogom, ki jim lahko vpliva upanje in daje oporo, ne da bi pri tem posegal v njihovo avtonomijo in odgovornost za njihova lastna dejanja.

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Monografije FDI - 22



✧ Rojstvo sakralnosti ✧ hrepenenje po Bogu ✧
občutje svetega ✧ vrojenost ideje o Bogu
✧ razlogi za vero in nevero ✧

Psihoanaliza in sakralno izkustvo

Christian Gostečnik OFM



Christian Gostečnik

Psihoanaliza in sakralno izkustvo

Psihoanalitična relacijska paradigma predpostavlja, da imata tako religiozni kot nereligiozni človek svoje psihične razloge za vero oziroma nevero. Zato je pomembno ugotoviti v kakšnega Boga verujoči veruje oziroma v kakšnega Boga neverujoči ne veruje. Tudi religiozna oseba namreč ne veruje v Boga v katerega nereligiozna oseba ne veruje ali ne more verjeti.

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Boštjan Kolarič

Pravna opredelitev zatiranja verske svobode in nasilja nad verskimi skupnostmi

The Legal Classification of the Repression of Freedom of Religion and the Violence against Religious Communities

Povzetek: Članek podrobneje pravno obravnava pojavno obliko nasilja, imenovano zatiranje verske svobode in nasilje nad verskimi skupnostmi. Pravna obravnava izkazanih oblik nasilja, ki so se izvajale v obdobju komunističnega totalitarnega režima na Slovenskem, in njihov kazenskopравни konec namreč osvetljujemo in napolnjujeta pravni vidik tranzicijske pravičnosti in narodne sprave v Republiki Sloveniji.

Odgovor na znanstveno vprašanje, ali je zatiranje verske svobode in nasilje nad verskimi skupnostmi mogoče pravno opredeliti kot hudodelstvo zoper človečnost, smo dali s pravno opredelitvijo (pravno kvalifikacijo) po klasični subsumpcijski shemi, ki zahteva ugotovitev na način najkasnejšega ujemanja pravno relevantnih dejstev dejanskega stanja in zakonskih znakov pravno relevantne pravne podlage, da lahko to pravno dokončamo, to je: da izvedemo pravno opredelitev kot vrednostno sintezo ali sklep.

Ugotovili smo, da sta preganjanje na verski podlagi kot zatiranje verske svobode in nasilje nad verskimi skupnostmi, ki sta bili opravljeni skupaj s kako drugo izvršitveno obliko hudodelstva zoper človečnost, pravno opredeljeni kot hudodelstvo zoper človečnost. Nasilje nad verskimi skupnostmi, pri katerem je bilo dano „samo“ izvršitveno dejanje preganjanja na verski podlagi, pa je pravno opredeljeno kot sistematična kršitev človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin.

Ključne besede: zatiranje verske svobode, nasilje nad verskimi skupnostmi, pravna opredelitev, hudodelstvo zoper človečnost

Abstract: The article discusses the legal assessment of violence called repression of freedom of religion and violence against religious communities. The legal evaluation of the forms of violence carried out during the communist totalitarian regime in Slovenia, and their criminal legal conclusion illuminate and fill

the legal aspect of transitional justice and national reconciliation in the Republic of Slovenia.

We provided the answer to the scientific question of whether the repression of freedom of religion and the violence against religious communities can be legally classified as crimes against humanity by carrying out a legal assessment (a legal classification) based on the classic subsumption scheme, which requires establishing the closest match of the legally relevant facts and the legal signs of a lawfully applicable legal norm to determine the legal conclusion, that is the legal classification as a value synthesis or deduction.

We found that the persecution on religious grounds in the form of repression of freedom of religion and violence against religious communities carried out along with some other form of crimes against humanity is legally classified as crimes against humanity. Violence against religious communities that consisted 'only' of the executive action of persecution on religious grounds is legally classified as a systematic violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Keywords: repression of freedom of religion and violence against religious communities, legal classification, crimes against humanity

1. Uvod

Nasilje komunističnega totalitarnega režima na Slovenskem v obdobju med letoma 1945 in 1990 je bilo izvedeno v več izkazanih oblikah, ki jih zgodovino pisje deli na: povojne zunajsodne množične umore, koncentracijska in delovna taborišča, izgone prebivalstva, nasilne razlastitve premoženja, politične sodne procese, politične obsojence in politične zapornike ter na zatiranje verske svobode in nasilje nad verskimi skupnostmi. Enako razdelitev izkazanih oblik nasilja uporablja tudi Ustavno sodišče RS (US RS 1992, odst. 8).

Če so zgodovinska dejstva in dogodki v zgodovino pisju dokaj podrobno obravnavani in ugotovljeni, sta ugotavljanje in vrednotenje pravnih vidikov komunističnega totalitarnega nasilja na Slovenskem in uveljavitve prava v izvedeni kazenski odgovornosti storilcev in v obsodbi totalitarnega režima, ki pomenita temelja demokratične in pravne države z delujočo vladavino prava, v slovenski pravni znanosti izrazito zanemarjeni. Prav odsotnost objektivne pravne analize, pravnega vrednotenja in uveljavljanje in uveljavitev prava z ugotovitvijo individualne kazenske odgovornosti storilcev in moralne odgovornosti ter dolžnosti Republike Slovenije v največji meri preprečuje katarzo slovenskega naroda in povzroča vedno nove delitve, namesto doseganja cilja pravnega pomirjenja Slovencev.

Namen prispevka je, s pravno opredelitvijo izkazane oblike nasilja zatiranje verske svobode in nasilja nad verskimi skupnostmi pripomoči k uveljavljanju in utrjevanju vladavine prava ter s preganjanjem in kaznovanjem storilcev prispevati k spravi v Republiki Sloveniji. Uveljavitev vladavine prava namreč pomeni najpo-

membnejši element mehanizma tranzicijske pravičnosti v posttotalitarnih družbah, ki bistveno prispeva k spravi in k skladnemu civilizacijskemu razvoju ter utrjevanju vladavine prava in demokracije.

De facto še ne popolnoma raziskave in *de iure* neopredeljene oblike množičnega in sistematičnega nasilja in s tem kršenja človekovih pravic in temeljnih svobod namreč ležijo kot zgodovinska mora nad slovenskim narodom in povzročajo travme ter politične in osebne delitve.

V prispevku bomo pravno opredelili izkazano obliko nasilja kot zatiranja verske svobode in nasilja nad verskimi skupnostmi s pravno opredelitvijo (pravno kvalifikacijo) po klasični subsumpcijski shemi. Ta shema zahteva ugotovitev pravno relevantnih dejstev dejanskega stanja in zakonskih znakov pravno relevantne pravne podlage v obliki splošnega in abstraktnega pravnega pravila, ki pomeni zgornjo premiso (lat. *praemissa maior*), konkretno izkazano dejansko stanje pa spodnjo premiso (lat. *praemissa minor*) pravnega silogizma. Če so v abstraktni pravni normi opisani znaki uresničeni v dejanskem stanju oziroma ko se pravno relevantna dejstva in abstraktno (zakonsko) dejansko stanje najtesneje ujamejo, lahko to pravno dokončamo, to je: izvedemo pravno opredelitev kot vrednostno sintezo ali sklep (lat. *conclusio*). Prispevek tako prek analize ujemanja zgodovinskega dejanskega stanja in pravnih zakonskih znakov hudodelstev zoper človečnost povezuje znanstveni področji zgodovine in prava.

Znanstveno vprašanje, ki ga zastavljamo, je, ali je nasilje v obdobju komunističnega totalitarizma na Slovenskem, ki je bilo izvedeno v izkazani obliki *zatiranja verske svobode in nasilja nad verskimi skupnostmi*, mogoče pravno opredeliti kot hudodelstvo zoper človečnost.

Ker za pravno opredelitev zadostujejo pravno relevantna dejstva, smo opravili sintezo zgodovinskih dejstev obravnavane izkazane oblike nasilja, ki jih pomenijo predvsem:

- število žrtev in njihov družbeni ali pravni status,
- obseg nasilja in njegova sistematičnost,
- obstoj pravne podlage ali načrta nasilja,
- dokazi o morebitnem zavedanju storilca o okoliščinah nasilja,
- dokazi o morebitnem posebnem namenu storilca po uničenju varovane skupine.

Na podlagi najtesnejšega ujemanja konkretnega in zakonskega dejanskega stanja smo z metodo silogističnega sklepanja izvedli pravno posledico v obliki pravne opredelitve zatiranja verske svobode in nasilja nad verskimi skupnostmi v obdobju komunističnega totalitarizma na Slovenskem.

2. Hudodelstva zoper človečnost

Rimski statut stalnega Mednarodnega kazenskega sodišča (MKS), ki je stopil v veljavo po 60 ratifikacijah dne 1. julija 2002, ko je bilo sodišče tudi formalno ustanovljeno in pristojno za preganjanje in kaznovanje storilcev mednarodnih hudo-

delstev, v prvem odstavku 7. člena definira hudodelstva zoper človečnost kot »katerakoli od naslednjih dejanj, ki so sestavni del širokega ali sistematičnega napada na civilno prebivalstvo ob vednosti storilca, da gre za tak napad« ter taksativno našteva takšna dejanja:

»umor; iztrebljanje; zasužnjevanje; deportacija ali prisilna preselitev prebivalstva; zapor ali drug odvzem prostosti ob kršitvi temeljnih pravil mednarodnega prava; mučenje; posilstvo, spolno suženjstvo, vsiljena prostitucija, prisilna nosečnost, prisilna sterilizacija ali katera koli druga oblika primerljivo hudega spolnega nasilja; preganjanje kakšne prepoznavne skupine ali skupnosti zaradi političnih, rasnih, narodnih, etničnih, kulturnih, verskih razlogov, razlogov, povezanih s spolom, kot je določeno v tretjem odstavku, ali drugih razlogov, ki so po mednarodnem pravu na splošno priznani kot nedopustni, če je takšno preganjanje povezano z drugim dejanjem, navedenim v tem odstavku, ali s katerim koli drugim kaznivim dejanjem iz pristojnosti sodišča; prisilno izginotje oseb; apartheid; druga podobna nečlovečna dejanja, ki naklepno povzročajo veliko trpljenje ali hude telesne poškodbe ali okvare duševnega ali telesnega zdravja.«

Drugi odstavek 7. člena Rimskega statuta MKS pa obširneje pojasnjuje najpomembnejše pojme iz prvega odstavka.

Rimski statut MKS tako določa naslednje elemente oziroma zakonske znake hudodelstev zoper človečnost, ki jih mora izpolniti dejansko stanje, da ga lahko opredelimo kot hudodelstvo zoper človečnost, in ki so postali del običajnega mednarodnega prava:

1. fizični element oziroma izvršitvena oblika dejanskega stanja (lat. *actus reus*): »umor, pokol, mučenje, iztrebljanje, zasužnjevanje, izvajanje poskusov, zunaj-sodno kaznovanje, deportacija, ugrabitev, neupravičen odvzem prostosti, suženjstvo, kanibalstvo, mučenje, posilstvo, preganjanje na politični, verski ali rasni podlagi in druga nečloveška ravnanja«;
2. kontekstualni element dejanskega stanja: »če so izvršena kot sestavni del širokega ali sistematičnega napada na civilno prebivalstvo«;
3. mentalni element storilca dejanskega stanja (lat. *mens rea*): »ob vednosti storilca, da gre za tak napad«.

Tako Rimski statut MKS ponuja najširši nabor kriminalnih dejanj, ki lahko pomenijo hudodelstva zoper človečnost, če so sestavni del velikega ali sistematičnega napada na civilno prebivalstvo ob vednosti storilca, da je to takšen napad, in hkrati ne zahteva, da je napad storjen na nacionalni, politični, etnični, rasni ali verski podlagi (razen v izvršitvenem dejanju preganjanja kake prepoznavne skupine ali skupnosti, ki mora biti opravljeno v povezavi s katerim drugim naštetim izvršitvenim dejanjem ali katerim drugim hudodelstvom, za katero je pristojno MKS). (Cassese 2002, 376)

Rimski statut MKS pomeni zadnje soglasje mednarodne skupnosti s 124 državami članicami statuta in tako danes velja kot najbolj avtoritativna mednarodno

pravna opredelitev pojma hudodelstva zoper človečnost. Vsebina 7. člena Rimskega statuta MKS namreč dejansko odseva 6. (c) člen Nürnberške listine Mednarodnega vojaškega tribunala iz leta 1945, katere načela so postala del običajnega mednarodnega prava, in v najširšem smislu odseva tudi splošna pravna načela civiliziranih narodov. Ker pa se *stricto sensu* Rimski statut MKS ne more uporabljati za pravno opredelitev dejanskih stanj, ki so bila storjena pred 1. julijem 2002, ko je statut stopil v veljavo, to onemogoča *ex post facto* preganjanje in je tako uporabljen strogo prospektivno. (Bourgon 2002, 543)

Domača pravna definicija hudodelstev zoper človečnost je dana v Kazenskem zakoniku Republike Slovenije. Čeprav v Sloveniji vse do leta 2008, ko je bila sprejeta novela Kazenskega zakonika Republike Slovenije, nismo poznali domačih pravnih pravil o hudodelstvih zoper človečnost, na tem področju ni obstajala pravna praznina, saj so se izvršitvena dejanja hudodelstev zoper človečnost preganjala po že obstoječih pravnih pravilih o vojnem hudodelstvu, če so bila dejanja storjena v vojnem času ali oboroženem spopadu. Če pa so bila izvršitvena dejanja hudodelstev zoper človečnost storjena v obdobju miru, so organi pregona in kaznovanja storilcev uporabljali inkriminacijo splošnih dejanj (umor, telesne poškodbe, protipravni odvzem prostosti). Zakonodajalec pa je to pomanjkljivost odpravil na način vrinjenja, saj je v člene, ki so že obravnavali vojna hudodelstva zoper civilno prebivalstvo ter ranjence in bolnike vrinil naslednje: » /.../ ali pri izvajanju ali v podporo politiki kakšne države ali organizacije, kot velik del sistematičnega napada /.../.« (Korošec 2009, 19)

Kazenski zakonik Republike Slovenije (KZ-1) je leta 2008 domačo pravno opredelitev hudodelstev zoper človečnost predložil v 101. členu, v katerem je vsebinsko povzel besedilo 7. člena Rimskega statuta MKS tako, da je združil besedila prvega in drugega interpretativnega odstavka v eni alineji. Posebnost je nastala pri alineji o preganjanju, ki jo je KZ-1 še bolj zožil kakor Rimski statut, ki veže to izvršitveno dejanje alternativno na katerokoli drugo izvršitveno dejanje iz 7. člena ali na kako drugo dejanje iz pristojnosti MKS, to pa omejuje njegov namen. (Ambrož et al. 2012, 196). KZ-1 namreč zahteva, da morajo biti poleg izvršitvenega dejanja preganjanja kumulativno izpolnjeni še zakonski znaki kakega drugega izvršitvenega ravnanja hudodelstva zoper človečnost in še zakonski znaki genocida (100. člen), vojnih hudodelstev (102. člen) ali agresije (103. člen). »Na podlagi jezikovne razlage je dopustna zgolj kumulativna uporaba vseh pogojev in ne alternativna. Takšno kumulativno predpisovanje kaznivih dejanj je zelo omejujoče, zlasti pa je v nasprotju z Rimskim statutom.« (Zgaga 2009, 18–19)

2.1 Prvi zakonski znak hudodelstev zoper človečnost

Prvi zakonski znak hudodelstev zoper človečnost, ki ga določata relevantni pravni določbi 7. člena Rimskega statuta MKS in 101. člena KZ-1 in dodatno pojasnjuje sodna praksa mednarodnih kazenskih sodišč, je katerokoli od naslednjih izvršitvenih dejanj (lat. *actus reus*): umor, iztrebljanje, zasužnjevanje, deportacija ali prisilna preselitev prebivalstva, mučenje, zapor ali kak drug odvzem prostosti ob kršitvi temeljnih pravil mednarodnega prava, prisilno izginotje oseb, preganjanje, druga podobna nečloveška ravnanja.

Preganjanje sodna praksa opredeljuje kot »dejanja proti posamezniku zaradi njegove pripadnosti določeni rasni, verski ali politični skupini« (MKSJ 2004a, odst. 235), pri tem pa »preganjanje nujno ne zahteva fizičnega elementa, pri čemer se diskriminatorna podlaga, tj. politična, rasna ali verska, razume kot vzajemno izključujoča«, pove torej: ni treba, da je dana kumulativno (1997, odst. 707), če »storilec preganjanja ni prvenstveno cilj na posameznike, ampak na pripadnost posebni rasni, verski ali politični skupini« (2004a, odst. 244), in Rimski statut MKS v drugem odstavku 7. člena pojasnjuje preganjanje kot

»naklepno in hudo kratenje temeljnih pravic v nasprotju z mednarodnim pravom zaradi prepoznavne lastnosti skupine ali skupnosti in sicer zaradi političnih, rasnih, narodnih, etničnih, kulturnih, verskih razlogov, razlogov povezanih s spolom, ali drugih razlogov, ki so po mednarodnem pravu splošno priznani kot nedopustni, če je takšno preganjanje povezano z drugim dejanjem, navedenim v tem odstavku, ali katerim koli drugim kaznivim dejanjem iz pristojnosti sodišča.«

2.2 Drugi zakonski znak hudodelstev zoper človečnost

Drugi zakonski znak hudodelstev zoper človečnost, ki ga določata relevantni pravni določbi 7. člena Rimskega statuta MKS in 101. člena KZ-1 in dodatno pojasnjuje sodna praksa mednarodnih kazenskih sodišč OZN in MKS, je kontekstualni element izvršitvenega dejanja, ki zahteva, da je izvršitveno dejanje »izvršeno kot sestavni del širokega ali sistematičnega napada proti kateremukoli civilnemu prebivalstvu«. Terminološko opredelitev »izvršeno kot sestavni del širokega ali sistematičnega napada« pojasnjuje drugi odstavek 7. člena Rimskega statuta MKS kot »večkratno izvršitev dejanj iz prvega odstavka zoper civilno prebivalstvo pri izvajanju ali v podporo politiki kakšne države ali organizacije, ki imata takšne cilje«.

Pri hudodelstvih zoper človečnost mora biti napad širok ali sistematičen, sem se ne prištevajo individualna dejanja obtoženih (MKSJ 2004b, odst. 94). Pojem ‚širok‘ zadeva velik obseg napada in število žrtev (2005, odst. 183). »Koncept ‚široko razširjen‘ bi lahko definirali kot množično in pogosto delovanje v velikem obsegu, ki se izvršuje kolektivno z veliko težo in je usmerjeno zoper večje število žrtev. Koncept ‚sistematičen‘ bi lahko definirali kot skrbno organiziran, ki sledi urejenemu vzorcu na podlagi skupne politike in vključuje bistveno količino javnih in zasebnih virov. Pri tem ni potrebno, da je ta politika uradna politika države. Kljub temu pa mora obstajati vnaprej pripravljen načrt ali politika.« (1998, odst. 579–580) Zato »so iz hudodelstev zoper človečnost izključena tista dejanja, ki niso storjena kot del širše politike ali načrta« (1999, odst. 124).

Nasprotno MKSJ v svojih odločitvah ni zahtevalo obstoja politike ali načrta pri izvršitvi hudodelstev zoper človečnost. »Napad ne potrebuje podpore z obstojem načrta ali politike.« (2004a, odst. 120) »Obstoj načrta ali politike napada je lahko dokazno relevanten, ni pa pravni element zločina.« (2004b, odst. 100, 126)

Sodna praksa je sistematičnost dodatno pojasnila kot: »podpornik (agent) sistema ne rabi delovati sistematično; dovolj je, če je njegovo posamezno dejanje

bilo povezano s sistemom ter je tako izgubilo naravo posamičnega primera; dejanja, storjena na sistematičen način, kot praksa držav s strani izvrševalcev ideološke hegemonije.« (Cassese 2002, 357–358)

Opredelitev ‚napad proti civilnemu prebivalstvu‘ zožuje področje pojma ‚širok ali sistematičen napad‘, pri tem pa drugi odstavek 7. člena Rimskega statuta MKS dodatno opredeljuje, da napad pomeni »ravnanje, ki vključuje večkratno izvršitev dejanj iz prvega odstavka zoper civilno prebivalstvo pri izvajanju ali v podporo politiki kakšne države ali organizacije, ki imata takšne cilje.«

2.3 Tretji zakonski znak hudodelstev zoper človečnost

Tretji zakonski znak hudodelstev zoper človečnost, ki ga določata relevantni pravni določbi 7. člena Rimskega statuta MKS in 101. člena KZ-1 in dodatno pojasnjuje sodna praksa mednarodnih kazenskih sodišč OZN in MKS, je zahtevani mentalni element izvršitvenega dejanja (lat. *mens rea*), pravno opredeljen kot »vednost storilca, da gre za tak napad«, ki zahteva vedenje storilca o širokem ali sistematičnem napadu zoper civilno prebivalstvo. Mentalni naklep storilca je najteže dokazljiv zakonski znak hudodelstva zoper človečnost.

Tako je MKSR mentalni naklep pojasnilo, kot da je »storilec moral vedoma storiti hudodelstva zoper človečnost v tem smislu, da je mogel razumeti celoten kontekst svojih dejanj. /.../ Storilec je moral vedeti, da je njegovo dejanje del širokega ali sistematičnega napada na civilno prebivalstvo in izvrševanja neke vrste politike ali načrta.« (MKSR 1999, odst. 133–134) »Storilec mora vedeti, da poteka napad na civilno prebivalstvo, in mora vedeti, da so njegova dejanja del napada ali vsaj tveganje, da bi bila njegov del. Vendar to ne pomeni, da mora poznati podrobnosti napada. Zadostuje, da je s svojimi dejanji ali funkcijo, ki jo je voljno sprejel, vedoma sprejel tveganje sodelovanja v izvršitvi napada.« (2002, odst. 59)

3. Pravna opredelitev zatiranja verske svobode in nasilja nad verskimi skupnostmi

Po koncu druge svetovne vojne si je Komunistična partija Slovenije (KPS), da bi preoblikovala družbeni sistem v skladu z novim svetovnim nazorom komunizmom, prizadevala, z različnimi sredstvi uveljaviti marksistično ateistično ideologijo. V ta namen je poskušala omejiti vpliv verskih skupnosti, posebno katoliške Cerkve, ki je bila daleč največja in pomembno vpeta v slovenski prostor, pa tudi vpliv manjših nekatoliških verskih skupnosti in jih hkrati nadzorovati.

Po vojni je partija ‚pripredila‘ celo vrsto duhovniških in redovniških procesov, to so bili božični proces, jezuitski proces, Rožmanov proces, proces proti frančiškankam, Leničev proces, Bitenčev proces, proces proti Katoliški akciji, procesi proti lazaristom, magdalenkam, frančiškankam (Griesser Pečar 2005). Za razumevanje povojnega odnosa komunističnih oblasti do Cerkve in do verskih skupnosti se je treba ozreti na medvojno obdobje oziroma medvojno obdobje revolucionarnega

nasilja nad pripadniki katoliškega tabora (Hančič 2015, 649–657).

V skladu z zeleno marksistično ateistično ideologijo namreč religija ni imela mesta v komunističnem režimu. To pooseblja izjava Franca Leskoška - Luka na seji Okrajnega komiteja Zveze komunistov Slovenije v Celju 28. junija 1954: »Mi smo nasprotniki vere. Mi vemo, da je vera šašava stvar. To je strašilo za ljudi. Vera v 20. stoletju ne spada več v našo stvarnost. To je stvar, ki je bila pred 500 leti, danes pa je neumnost.« (Mikola 2012, 343) Enako pove *Priročnik za delo Milice na področju varstva ustavne ureditve* iz leta 1985, ki ga je izdal Republiški sekretariat za notranje zadeve, ko so posebne naloge v zvezi s spremljanjem Cerkve in njenih duhovnikov dobile postaje Ljudske milice (359).

Za komunistično oblast na Slovenskem je bila Cerkev notranji sovražnik številka ena, ker je ostala edina organizirana sila zunaj partije. Zato jo je komunistična oblast skušala – če že ne uničiti, pa vsaj podjarmiti. (Griesser Pečar 2013, 2) Oblika preganjanja verskih skupnosti so bili tudi montirani politični sodni procesi. Zapisniki politbiroja CK KPS od leta 1945 do leta 1952 potrjujejo izvajanje montiranih političnih procesov proti pripadnikom Cerkve. Na seji CK KPS dne 25. decembra 1945 je minister za notranje zadeve Ivan Maček - Matija predložil organizacijsko-politično poročilo o sodnem načinu obračunavanja z duhovščino in svojo nameru glede nadaljnega političnega pritiska proti Cerкви pojasnil z besedami: »Mi bomo v bližnji bodočnosti zaprli nekoliko farjev, kajti imamo dovolj podatkov, da bodo lahko obsojeni.« (Ščavničar 2016, 113)

Analiza ugotovljenih pravno relevantnih dejstev, okoliščin in dokazov izvršitve nasilja pri zatiranju verske svobode in nasilja nad verskimi skupnostmi, ki pomenijo kršitve človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin, kaže, da so bili opravljeni v vsaj eni obliki izvršitvenega dejanja hudodelstev zoper človečnost, to je: kot *preganjanje* na verski podlagi.

Drugi element oziroma zakonski znak hudodelstev zoper človečnost, ki zahteva, da je izvršitveno dejanje opravljeno kot sestavni del širokega ali sistematičnega napada proti kateremukoli civilnemu prebivalstvu, to pa pomeni večkratno izpeljavo izvršitvenih dejanj hudodelstev zoper človečnost, zoper civilno prebivalstvo pri izvajanju ali v podporo politike kake države ali organizacije s takšnimi cilji, se potrjuje v široki in sistematično organizirani naravi nasilnih dejanj:

- Od maja 1945 do leta 1961 je bilo obtoženih 429 duhovnikov od povprečno nekaj manj kakor 1000, 339 jih je bilo kaznovanih z zaporno kaznijo, 73 pa je bilo denarno kaznovanih; 9 duhovnikov, salezijanski pomočnik in neka usmiljenka so bili obsojeni na smrt, 4 duhovniki so bili usmrčeni. Sodbe so pogosto vsebovale zaplembo vseh premičnin in nepremičnin. Zaradi obsodbe posameznikov je bilo zaseženo premoženje redov, to pa potrjuje dejstvo, da so bile kazni nesorazmerne. Najbolj znani politični montirani sodni procesi, v katere so bili vključeni duhovniki, so bili božični proces, Rupnikov/Rožmanov proces in Bitenčev proces. V teh procesih so bile obtožnice in sodbe skonstruirane, sestavljene na podlagi lažnega gradiva ali pričevanj, predlogi zagovornikov nemočni, prič in dokumentov v prid obtoženca pa sodišče ni upoštevalo. Številni

- sakralni objekti – cerkve, kapele, znamenja, križi, pokopališča – so bili onečaščeni, nasilno porušeni ali rušeni pod kako ‚strokovno‘ pretvezo, posebno po prekinitvi diplomatskih odnosov z Vatikanom leta 1952. Dodatno je bila Cerkev kot institucija pod krinko ‚ločitve cerkve in države‘ izločena iz javnega življenja in zaznamovana z močno protiversko in proticerkveno propagando. Da bi partija ločila duhovnike od škofov, izigrala vodstva škofij med seboj in onemogočila vpliv Vatikana, je politična oblast s podporo SDV dne 20. septembra 1949 ustanovila Cirilmetodijsko društvo katoliških duhovnikov. (Griesser Pečar, 2010) Cirilmetodijsko društvo so samo navidezno ustanovili ‚napredni‘ duhovniki, dejansko pa je za njimi stala komunistična oblast (2017, 435).
- Med letoma 1951 in 1961 je bilo upravno kaznovanih 1411 duhovnikov na skupaj 1450 dni zapora (Griesser Pečar, 2005). Po podatkih s seznama obsojenih duhovnikov iz Nadškofijskega arhiva Ljubljana je bilo do leta 1951 na Slovenskem obsojenih 185 pripadnikov Cerkve, od tega v mariborski škofiji 62, to je pomenilo 33 odstotkov vseh sodb. Med njimi je bila v 14 primerih izrečena tudi kazen zaplembe premoženja. (Ščavničar 2016, 111–127)
 - Med letoma 1945 in 1955 je bilo upravno kaznovanih 1033 duhovnikov, od tega 969 z denarnimi kaznimi. Do leta 1961 je bilo po statistiki najmanj 1450 predstavnikov Cerkve kaznovanih upravno in denarno in 95 z zaporno kaznijo. (Griesser Pečar 2005, 635–636)
 - Cerkev je za tedanja oblast pomenila ‚izrazitega razrednega sovražnika‘, zato so jo nameravali ideološko in ekonomsko uničiti, predvsem z zaplenitvijo cerkva in cerkvenih veleposestev in z diskreditacijo duhovnikov v sredstvih javnega obveščanja, ko so članki o sodnih procesih, v katerih so bili obsojeni duhovniki, izstopali po velikosti in poudarjenosti, poročanje pa je bilo pristransko, enostransko in zaničljivo (Ščavničar 2016, 112). Juhant ugotavlja, da se je marksistično postavljanje sveta na glavo začelo s propagandno vojno zoper nosilce dotedanjega krščanskega duhovnega izročila, ki je skušala postaviti na laž pomen teh ljudi in njihovih duhovnih korenin, temu pa je sledila dejanska nasilna odstranitev teh nosilcev (likvidacije) in z njo povezana oblast terorja (Juhant 2016, 132).

Sistematičnost se potrjuje v organizirani naravi političnih sodnih procesov proti Cerkvi, duhovnikom in drugim verskim skupnostim. Represija KPS se namreč ni omejevala samo na katoliško Cerkev in na njeno duhovščino, ampak so ji bile v enaki meri izpostavljene tudi preostale verske skupnosti; najhujše so bili preganjani pripadniki Jehovovih prič in baptisti, prizaneseno pa ni bilo niti pravoslavni in evangeličanski Cerkvi. (Mikola 2012, 359–367) Največji pritisk na nekatoliške verske skupnosti se je izvajal od leta 1948 do leta 1953, pri tem pa je osrednjo vlogo odigrala SDV. Tako so leta 1948 potekali sodni procesi proti pripadnikom evangeličanske in pravoslavne Cerkve in proti pripadnikom baptistične verske skupnosti. Največ sodnih postopkov je bilo proti pripadnikom Jehovovih prič leta 1948, leta 1949 in leta 1952, pritisk pa se je nadaljeval tudi v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih, zaradi ugovora vesti verskega prepričanja – odklanjanje orožja in odklanjanje služenja vojaškega

roka. Na dan 15. marca 1987 je bilo v zaporih Ljubljana in Rogoza Maribor zaprtih še devet pripadnikov Jehovovih prič. Mnogi so bili večkrat obsojeni in zaprti zaradi istega kaznivega dejanja. (Strajnar 2014, 119–127) Sistematičnost se potrjuje tudi v različnih oblikah zatiranje verske svobode in nasilja nad verskimi skupnostmi. Večnoma je to potekalo prek kazenskega sodstva z metodami zrežiranih političnih procesov, na katerih so jim očitali protidržavno politično delovanje, njihov namen pa naj bi bilo zrušenje obstoječe družbene ureditve z nasiljem. Tako je KPS za uničenje verskih skupnosti na Slovenskem sistematično izvedla naslednje ukrepe:

- preimenovanje okoli sto petdeset slovenskih krajev, ki so dobili ime po katoliških svetnikih, na podlagi Zakona o imenih naselij in označb trgov, ulic in hiši iz leta 1948,
- pritiske na verujoče učitelje in profesorje in preostale državne uslužbenice,
- zbiranje podatkov o učencih, ki so se udeleževali verouka,
- ustanovitev posebne komisije za vprašanje vere pri partijskih komitejih,
- izločitev teološke fakultete iz univerze,
- politične sodne procese proti katoliškim duhovnikom,
- agrarno reformo, po kateri so smele verske ustanove obdržati 10 ha posestev, izjemoma do 30 ha obdelovalne zemlje in do 30 ha gozdov,
- uničevanje in skrunjenje sakralnih objektov in fizične napade na duhovnike, s soglasjem partije,
- izvajanje hišnih preiskav, stanovanjsko utesnjevanje in brisanje z volilnih list,
- ukinjanje cerkvenih šol, omejevanje verouka in verskega tiska,
- odpuščanje sester iz šol in bolnišnic,
- pridobivanje zaupnikov SVD med katoliškimi in nekatoliškimi verskimi skupnostmi. (Mikola 2012, 343–367; Griesser Pečar 2005; 2010)

Vpliv političnega pritiska na katoliško Cerkev in zatiranja verske svobode so občutili tudi verniki, ki so morali izražanje veroizpovedi umakniti v zasebno sfero. Nanje so najbolj vplivali sovražni govor, diskriminacija na področju izobraževanja in dela in prepoved javnega izražanja vere. Zaradi vsega tega lahko v sedemdesetih letih že opazimo učinke sekularizacije in močno upadanje deleža vernih. (Piškurić 2018, 592–607)

Ugotavljamo, da se zahtevani kontekstualni element hudodelstev zoper človečnost potrjuje v navedenih pravno relevantnih dejstvih, okoliščinah in dokazih, ki kažejo na širšo naravo hudodelstev, velik obseg napada in števila žrtev, to pa je v pravni teoriji razumljeno kot množično in pogosto delovanje v velikem obsegu, ki se izvršuje kolektivno z veliko težo in je usmerjeno zoper večje število žrtev. Sistematičnost se potrjuje v organizirani naravi kršitve nasilja v obdobju komunističnega totalitarizma, ki ga je izvajala KPS kot dejanska oblast na Slovenskem. Prav tako ugotavljamo, da so bile kršitve človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin storjene v izva-
janju politike diskriminacije ali preganjanja prepoznavne skupine na verski in razredni podlagi. Obenem so bile žrtve deležne sistematičnega spodkopavanja človeškega dostojanstva, to pa kaže, da imamo lahko ta dejanja za del celostne politike in doslednega vzorca nečlovečnosti. Nečlovečnost napada namreč zahteva, da mora

biti izvršitvena oblika nasilja nečlovečne narave in pomena, ki povzroča veliko trpljenje ali hudo telesno poškodbo ali škodo za duševno ali fizično zdravje.

Ugotavljamo, da sta bili zatiranje verske svobode in nasilje nad verskimi skupnostmi izvedeni kot del velikega napada na civilno prebivalstvo in da je zahteva po izpolnitvi terminološke opredelitve »proti kateremukoli civilnemu prebivalstvu« izpolnjena, saj je bil primarni objekt napada civilno prebivalstvo.

Ugotavljamo, da se v izkazani obliki nasilja, imenovani zatiranje verske svobode in nasilje nad verskimi skupnostmi, zahtevani mentalni element hudodelstev zoper človečnost potrjuje na podlagi ugotovljenih pravno relevantnih dejstev, okoliščin in dokazov izvršitve nasilja in obstoja različnih pravnih podlag, po katerih so organizirali vzpostavitev in delovanje različnih oblik izkazanih oblik nasilja, to pa pomeni, da so se storilci, ki so bili agenti sistema glede na svoj položaj, mogli in morali zavedati širšega konteksta napadov in dejstva, da so njihova dejanja del napadov. To izhaja:

- iz sprejetja „Zakona o kaznivih dejanjih zoper narod in državo“ iz leta 1946, po katerem je bila kaznovana večina duhovnikov do julija 1951 (Griesser Pečar 2005);
- iz sprejetja „Zakona o prekrških zoper javni red in mir“ iz leta 1949, ko so mnogim duhovnikom prostost odvzeli tudi upravni organi za notranje zadeve pri okrajnih in mestnih ljudskih oblasteh, z izrekanjem tako imenovanih administrativnih (upravnih) kazni oziroma ‚varstvenih ukrepov‘.

To ugotavlja tudi Ustavno sodišče Republike Slovenije, ki pravi,

»da so bili jugoslovanski državljani, ki so ostali v državi, desetletja podvrženi trajnemu in sistematičnemu ogrožanju človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin v tedanjem družbenopolitičnem sistemu, velja v polni meri tudi za Cerkev. Posebej velja opozoriti, da pravni in dejanski položaj verskih skupnosti v tedanjem sistemu ni bil določen samo s splošno znanimi predpisi, ampak je bil njihov položaj, še posebej pa položaj Rimskokatoliške cerkve v Sloveniji podrobneje definiran s strogo zaupnimi, skrivnimi internimi navodili, ki so tedaj skupaj z drugimi skrivnimi predpisi tvorila paralelni skrivni pravni sistem. /.../ Oživiljanje proticerkvene agitacije in poskusi stigmatizacije Cerkve kot fevdalne gosposke in tujka na Slovenskem pomenijo v bistvu perpetuiranje ideološko političnih stališč iz dokumentov nekdanje tajne politične policije o Cerkvi kot permanentnem notranjem sovražniku in generiranje novih umetno ustvarjenih nasprotij, kar vodi k protiustavnemu spodbujanju nestrpnosti do Cerkve v nasprotju z 63. členom Ustave.« (Ustavno sodišče Republike Slovenije 1996, tč. 35)

Dodatni pogoj, da lahko izvršitveno dejanje preganjanja opredelimo kot hudodelstvo zoper človečnost, je, da mora biti po Rimskem statutu MKS to dejanje vezano alternativno na katerokoli drugo izvršitveno dejanje hudodelstev zoper človečnost ali katero drugo dejanje iz pristojnosti MKS, po KZ-1 pa kumulativno povezano še s katerim drugim izvršitvenim dejanjem hudodelstev zoper človečnost

in z genocidom, vojnim hudodelstvom ali agresijo.

Tako preganjanje na verski podlagi kakor zatiranje verske svobode in nasilje nad verskimi skupnostmi, ki so bila opravljena skupaj s kako drugo izvršitveno obliko hudodelstev zoper človečnost, kakor so na primer ‚umori‘ (umor Lojzeta Grozdeca 1. januarja 1943 itd.), »zapor ali drug strog odvzem prostosti ob kršitvi temeljnih pravil mednarodnega prava« (zapiranje Jehovovih prič itd.), »mučenje, ki pomeni naklepno povzročitev hude bolečine, telesnega ali duševnega trpljenja osebi, ki jo je storilec pridržal, pri čemer mučenje ne vključuje bolečine ali trpljenja, ki je izključno posledica izvrševanja zakonitih sankcij ali je z njimi povezano« (zažig škofa Antona Vovka 20. januarja 1952, politični sodni procesi proti duhovnikom itd.), pravno opredeljujemo kot hudodelstva zoper človečnost.

Na splošno pa zatiranje verske svobode in nasilje nad verskimi skupnostmi kot preganjanje na verski podlagi pravno opredeljujemo kot sistematične kršitve človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin, kakor so pravica do življenja in telesne nedotakljivosti, človekovega dostojanstva, pravica do osebne svobode, svobode govora in spoštovanja verskega prepričanja, pravica do svobode mišljenja, vesti in vere, in kot kršitve temeljnih sodnih pravic, kamor sodi predpostavka poštenega postopka. Razglasitev kolektivnih kazni in nedoločnost inkriminiranih dejanj sta bili v nasprotju z že takrat veljavnim 50. členom „Haškega pravilnika o vojskovanju na kopnem“, ki prepoveduje kaznovanje celotnega prebivalstva zaradi dejanj posameznikov. V nekaterih primerih, ko so storilci pozivali k sovražstvu, diskriminaciji ali nasilju na verski podlagi, lahko govorimo tudi o sovražnem govoru.

Kratice

- CK KPS** – Centralni komite Komunistične partije Slovenije.
KPS – Komunistična partija Slovenije.
KZ-1 – Kazenski zakonik Republike Slovenije 2008.
MKS – Mednarodno kazensko sodišče.
MKSJ – Mednarodno kazensko sodišče za bivšo Jugoslavijo 1997/2002/2004/2004a/2005.
MKSR – Mednarodno kazensko sodišče za Ruando 1998/1999.
OZN – Organizacija združenih narodov.
SDV – Služba državne varnosti.

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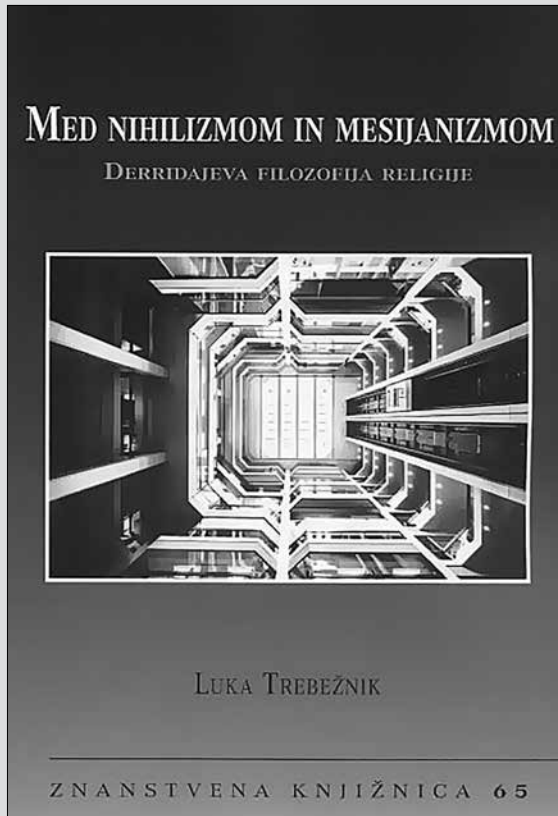
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Luka Trebežnik

**Med nihilizmom in mesijanizmom:
Derridajeva filozofija religije**

Derridaju nikakor ne gre za zavračanje obstoja resnice, temveč gre le za sporočilo, da ta nastopa preko razlike. Dekonstrukcija trdi, da ne obstaja zunaj teksta, kar pomeni, da ne obstaja večna resnica. Temu je tako, ker je sleherna resnica inkarnirana v jezik in pripoved. Ta Derridajeva stališča pa so v veliki meri nasprotna tradiciji, ki veruje, da se za tekstem nahaja trden in nesporen smisel. Izmed vsega slovstva je to najočitneje izraženo pri religijah, ki sprejemajo nadnaravni izvor svojih tekstov. Od to sledi, da sta dekonstrukcija in teologija izvorno nerazdružljivi.

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David Kraner

Medijske reprezentacije kot odsev problema institucionalizacije Cerkve

Media Representations Reflect the Problem of the Institutionalization of the Church

Povzeteč: Iz analize člankov slovenskih medijev o katoliški Cerkvi v letu 2019 ugotavljamo, da je v medijskih reprezentacijah Cerkve močno navzoče izrazito subjektivno poročanje, s tem pa škodljivi trojni medijski učinek: prednostno tematiziranje (*agenda-setting*), okvirjanje (*framing*) in vplivanje na javno mnenje z učinkom spirale molka (*spiral of silence*). Pastoralna in spekulativna teologija bi morali z roko v roki odkrivati znamenja časov tukaj in sedaj, v teh razburkanih časih krize v Cerkvi, in biti trdna opora pastoralnim delavcem z aktualno teološko refleksijo, s slovenskim pastoralnim načrtom in z vseslovenskimi pastoralnimi programi, izdelanimi v sinhroniji s Slovensko škofovsko konferenco. Zdajšnja odsotnost refleksije, načrtov in programov pri pastoralnih delavcih povzroča negotovost, nezaupanje, labilnost in celo odpor številnih duhovnikov do njihovih škofov. V stanju krize identitete so vse negativne novice o Cerkvi, tudi če z majhno negativno konotacijo, videti kakor veliki napadi. Odzivi Cerkve pa so zato lahko nepremišljeni, to vodi v še slabše stanje.

Gljučne besede: reprezentacije, Cerkev, vpliv, mediji, teologija

Abstract: Analyzed articles of Slovenian media about the Catholic Church in the year 2019 show that in media representations of the Catholic Church, there is distinctly subjective reporting, which has a harmful triple media effect: agenda-setting, framing, and influencing public opinion with the effect of a spiral of silence. Pastoral and speculative theology should discover hand in hand the signs of the clock here now, in these turbulent times of crisis in the Church, and be solid support for pastoral workshops with current theological reflection, Slovenian pastoral plans, and all-Slovenian pastoral programs made in sync with Slovenian bishop conference. The current lack of reflection, planning, and programs causes uncertainty among pastoral workers, mistrust, liability, and even resistance of numerous priests against their bishops. In a state of an identity crisis, all negative news about the Church, even with a minor negative connotation, is seen as a

powerful attack. Therefore, the Church's reactions can be reckless, which leads to the worsening of the situation.

Keywords: representations, Church, influence, media, theology

1. Aktivno delovanje medijev in izziv za spremembe praktične teologije

Prvi vtis ob negativnih medijskih novicah je, da mediji danes želijo katoliški Cerkvi (v nadaljevanju: Cerkev) zmanjšati moč in da pastoralisti ob tem pasivno in prestrašeno molčijo. Vendar je bila v zgodovini, vse od prvega nastopa novičarskih medijev, vedno navzoča napetost med mediji in Cerkvijo, saj imata omenjeni ‚instituciji‘ vsaka svojo lastno naravo delovanja, ki sta si v nekaterih točkah diametralno nasprotni: prva teži k novostim in konfliktnosti, druga pa k edinosti in kontinuiteti s svojimi koreninami (Dulles 1994, 6–9). Praktična in spekulativna teologija morata nujno upoštevati različnost narav delovanja Cerkve in medijev in druga z drugo sodelovati v kulturi in prostoru, *hic et nunc*, se obojestransko podpirati tam, kjer v pastoralni in teologiji izgubljata učinkovitost (CS, opomba 1). »Teologi izgubljajo izpred oči svoje pravo poslanstvo, ki ni ustvarjanje, ampak razlaganje tega, kar nam je razodeto, poglobljanje vanj in ne uveljavljanje svojih lastnih izvrstnosti.« (Sarah 2019, 106) Tudi glede medijev je kardinal Sarah popolnoma jasen: »Ne pustimo si vsiljevati ritma medijev, ki tako naglo govorijo o spremembah, preobratih ali revolucijah. Čas Cerkve je dolgotrajen. Njen čas je čas resnice iz kontemplacije, ki prinaša ves svoj sad, če resnici pustimo, da v miru požene korenine v zemljo vere.« (106)

V slovenskem pastoralnem načrtu Pridite in poglejte je poudarjeno: »Danes pa vidimo, da je vse več duhovne brezbržnosti, moralnega relativizma in ideološke razdeljenosti. V slovenski družbi se poglobljajo negativni učinki sekularizacije.« (PIP, tč. 12) Devet let pozneje lahko dodamo, da so se brezbržnost, ideološke razdeljenosti in moralni relativizem še dodatno poglobili. Cerkev s svojimi dejanji sama daje zadostno količino materiala, ki ga novinarji v manipulativnih in brezobzirnih informativnih člankih slovenskih medijev uspešno uporabljajo. »Zaradi prepletenosti sodobne govorice s številnimi negativnimi vplivi, katerim je sodobni človek vsak dan izpostavljen, /.../ bo prihodnost zagotovo terjala več dinamičnosti s strani kakršnegakoli oznanjevanja, kateheze in/ali druge komunikacijske dejavnosti.« (Kraner 2018, 89) V tej raziskavi ugotavljamo, da najpogosteje zapisane negativne besede v naslovih medijskih člankov o Cerkvi (zloraba, proti, obsoditi, žrtev, sodišče, pedofil, kriv, boj in stiska) odsevajo problem institucionalizacije Cerkve. V informativnem medijskem diskurzu ne gre pričakovati vsebin, ki bi Cerkev reprezentirale, kako skrbi za evangelijsko sporočilo ljubezni do najbolj ubogih. Namesto tega v objavah medijev najdemo cerkvene finančne nepravilnosti, spolne škandale in neutemeljeno poudarjanje vpletanja Cerkve v politiko.

Izbira načina informiranja javnosti, ki jo uporabljajo mediji, je povezana z dosEGO želenih učinkov. V naši analizi ugotavljamo periodično ponavljanje tem ekstremnega žaljenja, etiketiranja, diskreditiranja in teptanja dobrega imena večine katoličanov. S tem mediji dosegajo želeni učinek spirale molka (Noelle-Neuman

2002, 40). V Sloveniji se je v letu 2019 podvojilo število evidentnih primerov kristjanofobije glede na prejšnje leto. Cerkev v Sloveniji v Letnem poročilu 2019 navaja šest evidentnih primerov vandalizma, v katerih je pomembno večinoma le uničevanje verskih simbolov (križi, kapele in drugi objekti), v enem primeru pa žaljivo pisanje novinarka revije Mladina (Tajništvo SŠK 2019, 154–160).

Poleg spirale molka bomo izpostavili še dva značilna medijska vpliva: prednostno tematiziranje in okvirjanje. S tem načinom poročanja o Cerkvi slovenski mediji zelo vplivajo na socialne reprezentacije Cerkve: največji vpliv imajo mediji na mnenja, veliko manj pa ga imajo na notranja stališča in drže (Kraner 2019).

Omenjeni zunanji medijski vplivi so lahko dogmatični in pastoralni teologiji v pomoč pri refleksiji, načrtovanju, izvajanju in pri vrednotenju pastoralnega delovanja. Leta 2012 je bilo ugotovljeno:

»Slovenski katoličan je postal ‚izbirni vernik‘. Odloča o tem, kaj bo veroval in česa ne, h katerim obredom in zakramentom bo pristopal in h katerim ne. Močno ga privlačijo zakramenti, ki so podobni obredom prehoda (krst, prvo obhajilo in birma), ter blagoslovi, vse manj pa je prisoten pri nedeljski evharistiji. Od predstavnikov Cerkve pričakuje verske in obredne usluge ter tradicionalne množične dogodke, tudi če nima žive vere v Jezusa Kristusa, božjega Sina in Odrešenika. Tovrstni tip vernika imenujemo ‚oddaljeni kristjan‘, saj ostaja član Cerkve, a je oddaljen od njenega evharističnega jedra.« (PIP, tč. 21)

Stanje se v Cerkvi od leta 2012 do leta 2019 ni izboljšalo. Tudi danes povprečen katoličan sam izbira vsebino vere, se odloča glede na to, kaj mu v tem trenutku ustreza, ne obiskuje maš in od Cerkve pričakuje ‚storitve‘ (pogreb, blagoslov, krst, poroko ...). Medijske reprezentacije Cerkve so izrazito pozitivne ob božiču, za veliko noč in ob blagoslovih (npr. konj, vina, nove ceste) in izrazito negativne ob diskurzu o financah, spolnosti, škandalih in o politiki. V tekstovni analizi naslovov člankov medijske reprezentacije vidimo: občinstvu sporočajo, da Cerkev zlorablja, da je proti ljudem, ima obsojanja vredne voditelje, povzroča žrtve, zadeve s Cerkvijo rešujejo sodišča, med voditelji so pedofili, potreben je boj proti Cerkvi, ker povzroča stiske ljudi itd. Takšne reprezentacije Cerkve nikogar ne privlačijo, do nje vzbujajo notranji odpor, spodbujajo negativna stališča in celo povzročajo zapuščanje Cerkve (nekateri izstopijo, drugi nikoli ne obiskujejo verskih obredov ali pa zelo redko). Strah pred izpostavljanjem medijem, ki ga mediji vzbujajo v katoliških verskih uslužbencih in vernikih, je tipičen za spiralo molka. Učinek vpliva medijev se meri v spremembi mišljenja, notranjih stališč in vedenja. Umikanje vernikov iz cerkvenih skupnosti torej pomeni spremembo vedenja, to pa je najvišja stopnja medijskega učinka.

2. Medijsko vplivanje in teorije: *agenda-setting*, *framing*, *spiral of silence*

V medijskem diskurzu kot zadeva (*issue*) redno nastopa Cerkev v Sloveniji. Reprezentacije Cerkve v medijih so sestavljene iz fragmentov najpogostejših besed v

naslovih in njihovih besednih parov, iz mrežne povezanosti najpogostejših besed, pa tudi iz konotacije samega članka. Časovna obdobja objav, v katerih je zadeva Cerkev, so pogosto vezana na politične dogodke (davki, šolstvo in zaščita mladoletnih). Njihova vsebina je v skoraj polovici člankov postavljena v negativne okvire, dobra tretjina je pozitivnih, drugi pa so ,ideološki'.¹ Pomembnim sporočilom, ki jih želi Cerkev posredovati, ne uspe prodreti v javnost, ampak ostanejo nedotaknjena na katoliških medijskih kanalih. Pri reprezentiranju Cerkve v slovenskih medijih je navzoče prednostno tematiziranje (*agenda-setting*), okvirjanje (*framing*) in vplivanje na javno mnenje z učinkom spirale molka (*spiral of silence*).

Govorimo o konceptu ,reprezentacij'. Za Stuarta Halla to pomeni: prek govornice proizvajati pomen nekega miselnega koncepta. Koncept reprezentacij je zanj bistvenega pomena za razumevanje procesa, v katerem člani neke kulture proizvedejo in si izmenjajo neki pomen z uporabo jezika, znamenj in podob, ki reprezentirajo neko stvarnost. Hall si postavi vprašanje: »Na kakšen način koncept reprezentacij poveže pomen in govorico s kulturo?« Odgovarja, da pri tem obstaja razlikovanje med tremi različnimi pristopi različnih teorij o reprezentacijah: refleksivna, intencionalna in konstruktivistična teorija (Hall et al. 2013, 1).

Na drugem mestu Hall poudarja, da obstajata dva procesa reprezentacij. V prvi vrsti je to individualni sistem, ki povezuje celotno kombinacijo predmetov, oseb in dogodkov s serijo miselnih konceptov ali reprezentacij, ki obstajajo v naših glavah (npr. ko govorimo o svojih konceptih o vojni, smrti, prijateljstvu ali ljubezni). Hall je mnenja, da individualni sistem sam po sebi ne zadostuje, zato teži k temu, da se izrazi oziroma reprezentira pomene in miselne koncepte. To lahko naredimo z govorico, ki je vsem skupna. Pri globalnem procesu konstruiranja govornice govorimo o drugem reprezentativnem sistemu. Svoje individualne konceptualne mape hočemo deliti z drugimi, zato jih moramo preoblikovati v skupni jezik tako, da jih povežemo s koncepti in idejami drugih. Pri tem so pomembna znamenja, kakor so besede, glasovi in podobe. Ta znamenja reprezentirajo koncepte in relacije med njimi. (3–5)

V naši raziskavi smo se osredotočili na ,globalni proces konstruiranja' realnosti prek medijskih člankov in upoštevali tri osnovne teorije: prednostno tematiziranje, okvirjanje in spiralo molka.

Prednostno tematiziranje ali teorija prednostnega tematiziranja je proces »neprestanega prizadevanja zagovornikov neke zadeve, da bi pridobili pozornost ljudi, ki delajo v medijih, javnosti in političnih elitah. Teorija agenda-setting ponuja razlago, zakaj so javnosti v demokraciji na voljo informacije o nekaterih zadevah, ne pa tudi o določenih drugih zadevah, in kako se oblikuje javno mnenje. /.../ Agenda je zbirka zadev, ki so posredovane v določenem časovnem obdobju v hierarhični lestvici po pomembnosti.« (Dearing in Rogers 2012, 42) Pomemben element agenda-settinga je njegova potencialno konfliktna narava. Podrobno o tem govorita politolog Roger Cobb in Charles Elder, ki poudarita, da je ena od značilnosti agenda-set-

¹ Z izrazom ,ideološki' smo označevali tiste članke, ki niso bili ne pozitivni ne negativni, ampak so vsebovali oglaševalske elemente neke institucije, ustanove, osebe ali skupine ljudi.

tinga tudi kontroverznost, »ki v določenem časovnem obdobju postane del legitirnega zanimanja, ki si zasluži pozornost politike« (Cobb in Elder 1983).

Okvirjanje vključuje izbor in poudarke neke zadeve, s katerimi se vpliva na človeško zavest, in to s prenosom informacije z neke lokacije na zavest. »Okviriti pomeni, izbrati določene vidike realnosti, kot jo vidimo, in jih narediti bolj izstopajoče v posredovalnem tekstu, in sicer tako, da se poudarijo določena definicija problema, vzročna interpretacija, moralna sodba in/ali predlog, kako obravnavati zadevo, o kateri teče beseda.« (Entman 2012, 99)

Spirala molka je teorija, ki trdi, da izražanje alternativnih mnenj neke manjšine lahko utiša mnenje večine. Razvila jo je Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, ki trdi, da ljudje zavzemajo svoja lastna stališča v zadnjem trenutku, ker si želijo biti ,na strani zmagovalca'. Človek zelo trpi, ko spozna, da so mu drugi obrnili hrbet, obenem pa z veseljem izkoristi to šibko točko kot vajeti, da bi vladal nad drugimi. (Noelle-Neuman 2002, 40)

Individualno mnenje vplivne manjšine se prek medijev zelo pogosto ponavlja in s tem ustvarja vtis, da je to mnenje večine. Tako se hote vzbujata strah in nelagodnost pri drugače mislečih, ki so jih zaprli v spiralo molka. Ker nihče noče biti poraženec in hočejo biti vsi na zmagovalni strani, se jim ob tem ponuja roka, da sprejmejo javno mnenje kot svoje. (18–21)

Iz predstavljenih teorij vplivanja medijev smo oblikovali raziskovalno vprašanje tekstovne analize naslovov člankov: Katere besede najpogosteje nastopajo v naslovih? Kateri so najpogostejši besedni pari? Kakšna je mrežna povezanost najpogostejših besed?

3. Analitična shema in število analiziranih člankov

Analizirali smo 3735 člankov tiskanih, radijskih, televizijskih in spletnih medijev v štirih trimesečnih analitičnih obdobjih leta 2019. *Kliping d. o. o.*, Družba za spremljanje in analizo medijev, nam je vsak dan posredoval članke, v katerih je bila omenjena Cerkev. Relevantne članke smo analizirali prek analitične sheme oziroma vprašalnika v Excelovem dokumentu. Kvantitativne analize člankov smo izvedli s programom SPSS za vsako obdobje posebej, kvalitativne tekstovne analize naslovov člankov pa vse skupaj s programom T-LAB.² Analiza zaobjema časopisne članke, radijske in televizijske prispevke informativnega programa in spletne novice Slovenske tiskovne agencije (STA). Različne vrste besedil so v nadaljevanju poimenovane ,članki', tudi če so to radijska oziroma TV poročila. Zaradi lažje obdelave podatkov smo lokalne medije združili v naslednje kategorije: ,drugo – tisk', ,drugo – radio', ,drugo – TV' in ,drugo – web'.

Zanimalo nas je, kako slovenski mediji v naslovih svojih člankov predstavljajo Cerkev. Predpostavljamo, da uredniki dajo zadnjo besedo pri tem, kako bo neki

² Statistični program T-Lab (<http://www.tlab.it>) je celoten sklop jezikovnih, statističnih in grafičnih orodij, ki omogoča analizo besedila.

članek naslovljen, in da njihove reprezentacije Cerkve potencialno vplivajo na to, kakšne socialne reprezentacije o Cerkvi imajo ljudje.

Analiza je bila izvedena v štirih obdobjih. Prvo obdobje zaobjema 1246 člankov. Število člankov v tem obdobju je večje od drugih obdobj, ker smo analizirali tudi tiste članke, ki neposredno ne zadevajo Cerkve. S tem smo omogočili analizo tistih člankov, ki zadevajo vernost, religioznost, religije, islam, terorizem itd. Največji odstotek vseh analiziranih člankov je bil objavljen v lokalnih medijih oziroma kot ,drugo – tisk', v spletnem mediju Sta.si, v Dnevniku in v Delu.

V drugem obdobju je bilo analiziranih 516 člankov, to je za dve tretjini manj od prvega obdobja. Kakor je že bilo omenjeno, je bil v tem obdobju spremenjen kriterij izbire člankov za analizo: analizirani so bili samo tisti članki, ki neposredno opisujejo Cerkev, izpuščeni pa vsi tisti, ki opisujejo islam, pravoslavje, protestantizem ali druge religije brez povezave ali omembe Cerkve. Prav tako so bili izpuščeni kratki članki, ki bežno omenijo lokalni dogodek in obenem mimogrede še Cerkev. Največ člankov, analiziranih iz tega obdobja, je bilo v Sta.si, v Dnevniku, v Slovenskih novicah in kot ,drugo – tisk'.

V tretjem obdobju je bilo analiziranih 834 člankov. Drugače kakor v drugem obdobju je kriterij izbire člankov dopuščal tudi članke o župnijskih praznovanjih, ki so bili v drugem obdobju izključeni. V tem obdobju je bilo spet največ člankov objavljenih kot ,drugo – tisk', nato pa si sledijo še Sta.si, Dnevnik, Slovenske novice in Delo.

V četrtem obdobju je bilo analiziranih 1139 člankov. Kriterij izbire je bil enak kakor v tretjem obdobju in se je izkazal za najboljšega. V tem obdobju je bilo spet največ člankov kot ,drugo – tisk', v Sta.si, v Delu, v Dnevniku in v Večeru.

N	Obdobje 1	Obdobje 2	Obdobje 3	Obdobje 4
Delo	114	42	60	102
Demokracija	38	15	32	28
Dnevnik	125	75	78	97
Drugo – radio	13	15	21	20
Drugo – tisk	268	63	235	337
Drugo – TV	49	38	24	43
Mladina	35	16	20	18
Radio Slovenija	104	28	50	64
Reporter	34	20	36	24
Slovenske novice	56	34	73	76
Sta.si	176	65	83	155
Svet24	34	31	21	28
TV Slovenija	106	34	49	67
Večer	94	30	52	80
Drugo – web	0	10	0	0
Skupaj	1246	516	834	1139
			Skupaj vsi	3735

Tabela 1: Število analiziranih člankov po obdobjih glede na medij.

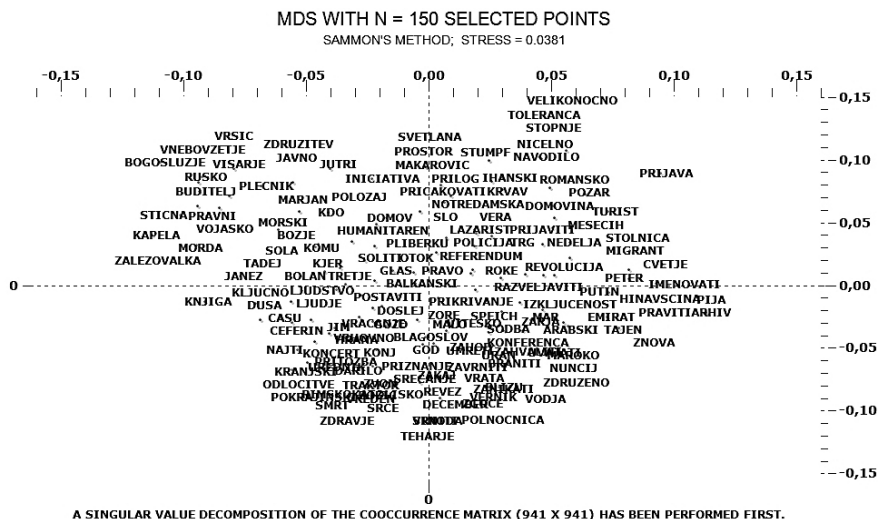
Iz tabele 1 je razvidno, da se število analiziranih člankov v štirih obdobjih precej spreminja. V prvem obdobju so bili analizirani vsi članki, v katerih je bila omenjena religija ali verska skupnost, tudi če niso bili neposredno povezani s Cerkvijo. V drugem obdobju so bili analizirani samo tisti članki, ki izključno opisujejo Cerkev. V tretjem in četrtem obdobju so bili vključeni še članki, ki so povezani s katerokoli temo (tudi necerkveno) in z lokalnimi dogodki, ki omenjajo Cerkev. Številčna različnost med prvim in tretjim oziroma četrtem obdobjem kaže na to, da Sta.si, Delo, Dnevnik, Mladina, Radio Slovenija, TV Slovenija in Večer poročajo o religioznih in verskih temah skoraj toliko kakor o Cerkvi: njene številke se v tretjem in v četrtem obdobju zmanjšajo za polovico. Takšnih sprememb pa ni med ‚drugo – tisk‘ (oz. lokalnim tiskom), ‚drugo – TV‘, Reporterjem in Demokracijo.

4. Tekstovna analiza naslovov člankov

Tekstovna analiza naslovov je bila izvedena s statističnim programom T-LAB. Najpogostejše teme (*items*), ki smo jih predstavili, so sestavljene iz različnega števila lem. Kakor je razvidno iz tabele 2, je tema ‚papež‘ zastopana z največ lemmi.

#	Tema	N	#	Tema	N	#	Tema	N	#	Tema	N
1	papež	359	26	žrtev	51	51	dom	31	76	miren	24
2	biti	267	27	veliko	48	52	pozvati	31	77	obletnica	24
3	Cerkev	136	28	končati	48	53	migrant	31	78	nad	24
4	nov	115	29	božič	45	54	manj	30	79	pomagati	23
5	cerkveno	110	30	pred	45	55	Slovenec	30	80	govor	23
6	slovenski	104	31	zaradi	44	56	slovesnost	29	81	Koroška	23
7	spolno	104	32	danes	42	57	družina	29	82	kajati	23
8	sveto	101	33	teden	41	58	naj	28	83	delo	23
9	duhovnik	94	34	prvi	41	59	spomin	28	84	sprejeti	23
10	Vatikan	92	35	praznik	40	60	vse	27	85	romanje	23
11	zloraba	81	36	obnoviti	39	61	pedofil	27	86	zvon	23
12	Slovenija	77	37	začetek	39	62	dobrota	27	87	dva	22
13	otrok	73	38	svoje	38	63	akcija	26	88	arabski	22
14	obisk	66	39	vatikansko	37	64	imeti	26	89	pod	22
15	škof	65	40	sodišče	36	65	knjiga	26	90	orgle	22
16	katoliški	61	41	nadškof	35	66	Prekmurje	26	91	naše	22
17	kardinal	60	42	brez	35	67	niso	26	92	lahko	22
18	dnevni	60	43	Karitas	35	68	Ljubljana	26	93	ljudje	21
19	maša	60	44	finance	35	69	kriv	25	94	milijon	21
20	državno	57	45	pomoč	34	70	boj	25	95	nadškofija	21
21	župnik	56	46	blagoslov	33	71	stiska	25	96	praznovati	21
22	proti	54	47	Evropa	33	72	vrh	24	97	hrvaški	21
23	srečanje	54	48	drugače	32	73	človek	24	98	želja	21
24	mladi	54	49	življenje	32	74	dobrodelno	24	99	vsako	21
25	obsoditi	54	50	svetovno	31	75	evro	24	100	verniki	21

Tabela 2: Najpogostejše teme v naslovih ($N > 20$).



Slika 1: Večdimenzionalno skaliranje vseh tem.

Najpogosteje so nastopale v naslovih analiziranih člankov teme, ki zadevajo pet področij Cerkev: Cerkev kot institucija (Cerkev, cerkveno, papež, Vatikan, Ljubljana, župnik, škof, kardinal, državno, Karitas); škandali (zlorabe, žrtev in obsoditi, pedofil, kriv, stiska, boj); aktivnosti (obisk, srečanje, praznik, obnoviti, blagoslov, življenje, dobrodelno, obletnica, pomagati, romanje, praznovati); finance (nov, veliko, finance, evro) in zakramenti (maša, sveto, blagoslov).

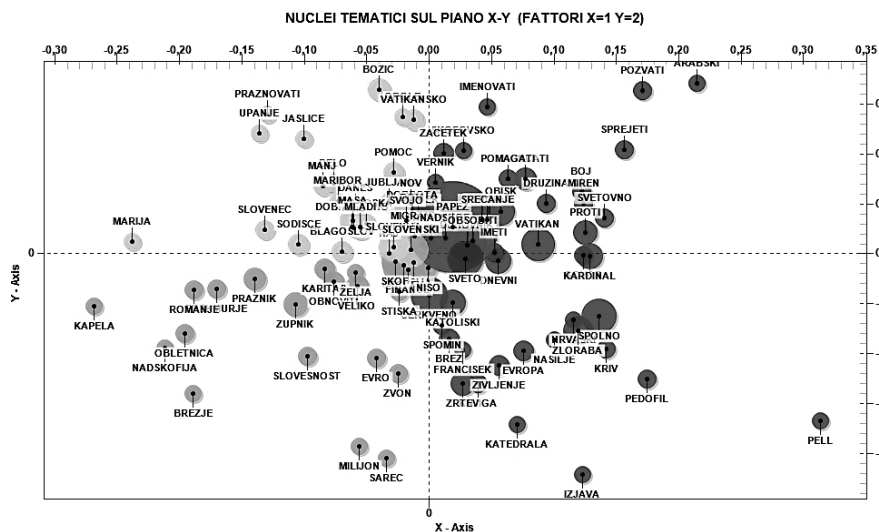
4.1 Besedni korpus iz analiziranih naslovov člankov

Besedišče naslovov vseh analiziranih člankov sestavlja 941 tem in 20 190 ponovitev. Slika 1³ prikazuje medsebojno oddaljenost oziroma bližino tem, razporejenih po štirih kvadrantih. Glede na vsebino tem jih lahko poimenujemo z naslednjimi imeni: v prvem kvadrantu Cerkev v tujini (požar, notredamski, stolnica, cvetje ...), v drugem Cerkev v civilni javnosti (Plecnik, javno, združitev, Vršič, Višarje ...), v tretjem pozitivne aktivnosti v Cerкви (srečanje, god, odločitve, blagoslov, konj ...) in v četrtem negativni opis Cerkve (prikrivanje, sodba, zavrniti, braniti, izključenost ...).

Na sliki 2 vidimo najbolj izostren pogled na tematska jedra. Tudi tem kvadrantom lahko damo imena glede na teme, ki nastopajo: prvi kvadrant – Vatikan (Vatikan, svetovno, imenovati, pomagati, pozvati, arabski, srečanje, obisk, papež, nadškof ...), drugi kvadrant – Slovenija (Slovenec, sodišče, blagoslov, mladi, pomoč, Maribor, Ljubljana ...), tretji kvadrant – praznovanje in dobrodelnost (praznik, obletnica, slovesnost, želja, Karitas, evro ...) in četrti kvadrant – zlorabe (zloraba, spolno, žrtev, kriv, pedofil, kardinal, cerkveno, katoliški ...).

Povzamemo lahko, da avtorji medijskih člankov uporabo besed razvrščajo bipolarno v dve skupini. Prva bipolarnost je v tem, da Cerkev striktno delijo na Cerkev v tujini – Vatikan in Cerkev doma – Slovenija. Cerkev v tujini (notredamski,

³ MDS – Multi Dimensional Scaling.



Slika 2: Tematska besedna središča.

Vatikan, svetovno, arabski, obisk, obsoditi, papež ...) je poleg tega še v diametralnem nasprotju z aktivnostmi v Cerkvi – s praznovanji in z dobrotelnostjo (priznanje, srečanje, blagoslov, praznik, obletnica, slovesnost, Karitas, evro ...).

Drugo bipolarnost določa negativni opis Cerkve v Sloveniji – zlorabe (konferenca, Zore, prikrievanje, sodba, braniti, izključenost, zloraba, spolno, žrtev, kriv, pedofil ...), ki je poleg tega v diametralnem nasprotju s temami Cerkve v civilni javnosti – Slovenija (Plečnik, javno, združitev, Slovenec, Maribor, Ljubljana ...).

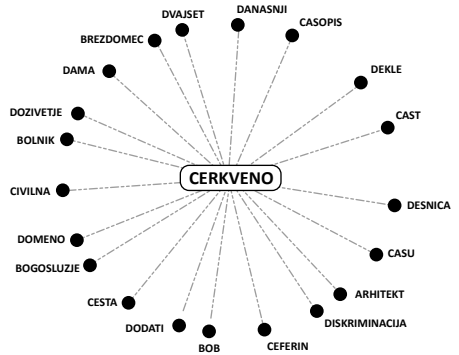
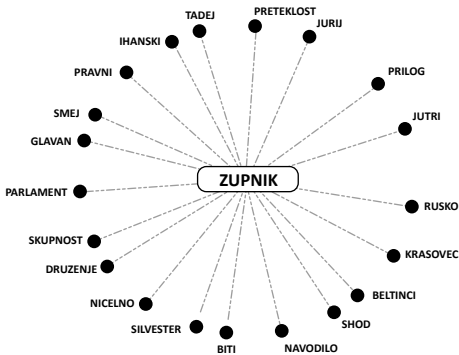
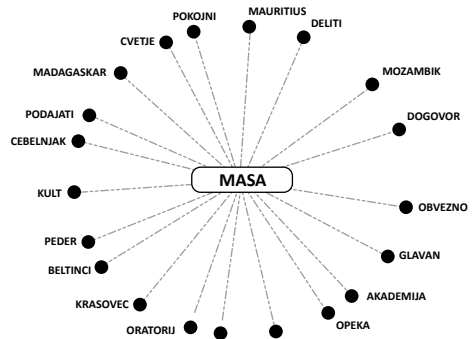
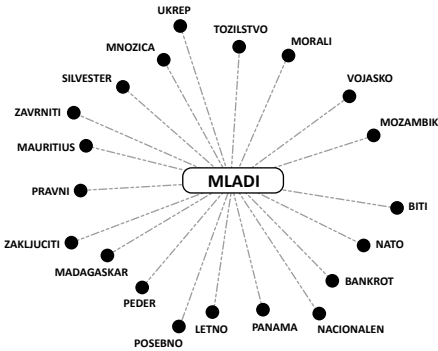
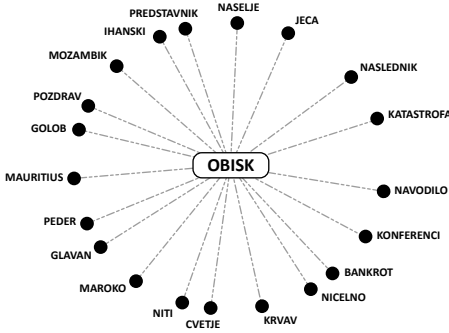
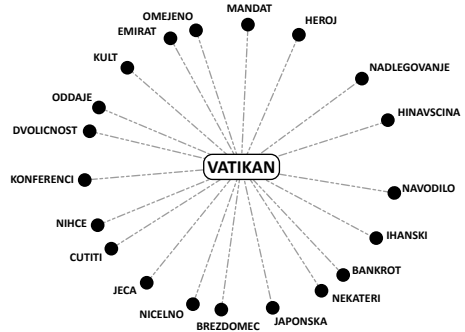
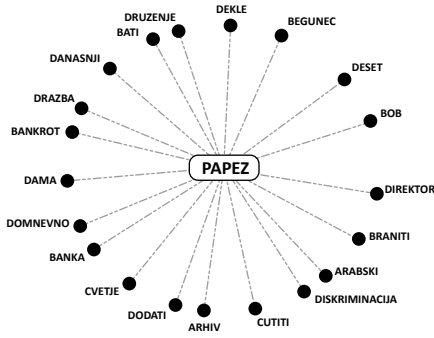
4.2 Teme v povezavi z besedami (lemami)

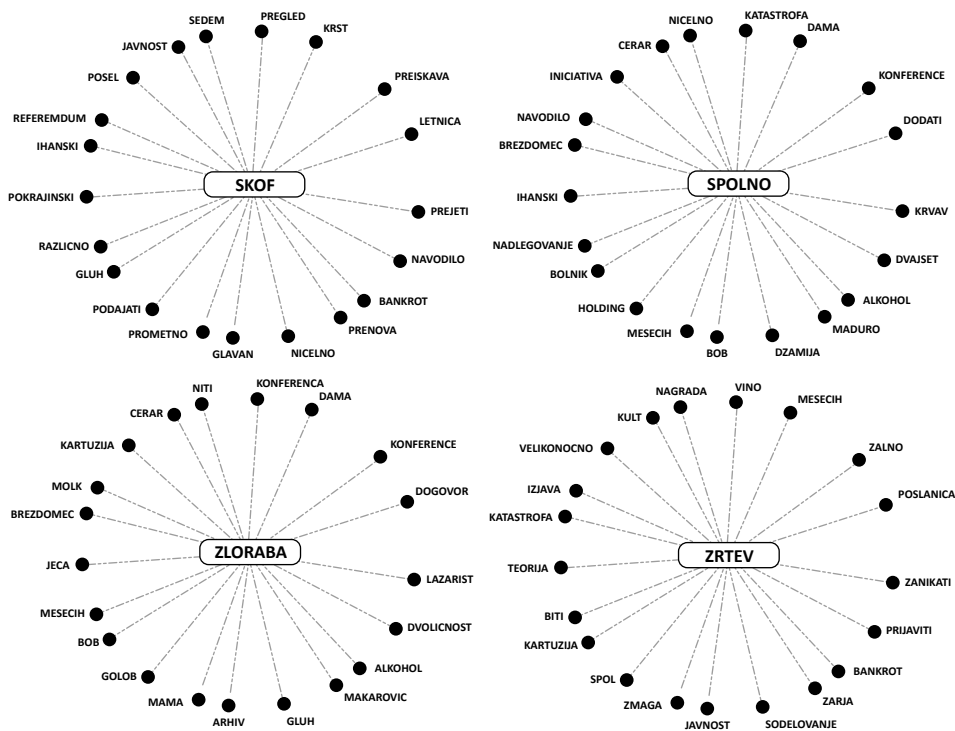
Zanimalo nas je, s katerimi besedami so povezane teme, ki v celotnem korpusu besed najbolj izstopajo, so najzanimivejše in tematsko povezane.

Na sliki 3 vidimo 12 radialnih diagramov. Najbolj relevantne teme (Slika 2) smo razporedili v štiri skupine.

Cerkev v tujini (kvadrant 1) je predstavljena v prvi vrsti s temami papež, Vatikan in obisk. Vsaka od tem je povezana s štirimi negativnimi besedami: papež (bati, bankrot, diskriminacija), Vatikan (dvoličnost, bankrot, hinavščina, nadlegovanje) in obisk (krvav, bankrot, peder, katastrofa). Druge izstopajoče teme so: begunec, arabski, arhiv, cvetje, heroj, emirat, kult, brezdomec, Japonska, ničelno. Te medijske teme časovno sovpadajo s političnimi agendami.

Cerkev doma (kvadrant 2), kakor vidimo v drugi vrsti, predstavljajo teme: slovenski, mladi in maša. Vsaka tema je povezana z vsaj tremi negativnimi besedami: slovenski (dvoličnost, diskriminacija, bankrot), maša (bankrot, gluhi, peder) in mladi (bankrot, tožilstvo, zavrniti). Druge izstopajoče teme v povezavi s Cerkvijo doma (slovenski, mladi, maša) so: ihanski, cvetje, akademija, Gržan, vojaško, nacionalen, obvezno, oratorij. Vse to so teme, ki jih podpira levi pol političnih strank.





Slika 3: Radialni diagrami povezanosti besed.

Cerkveno praznovanje (tretji kvadrant) je predstavljeno v tretji vrsti s temami: cerkveno, škof in župnik. Tudi v tej vrsti sta le dve temi povezani z negativnimi besedami: cerkveno (diskriminacija) in škof (bankrot). Druge izstopajoče teme v povezavi s cerkvenim praznovanjem so: čast, doživetje, bolnik, arhitekt, desnica, krst, javnost, shod itd.

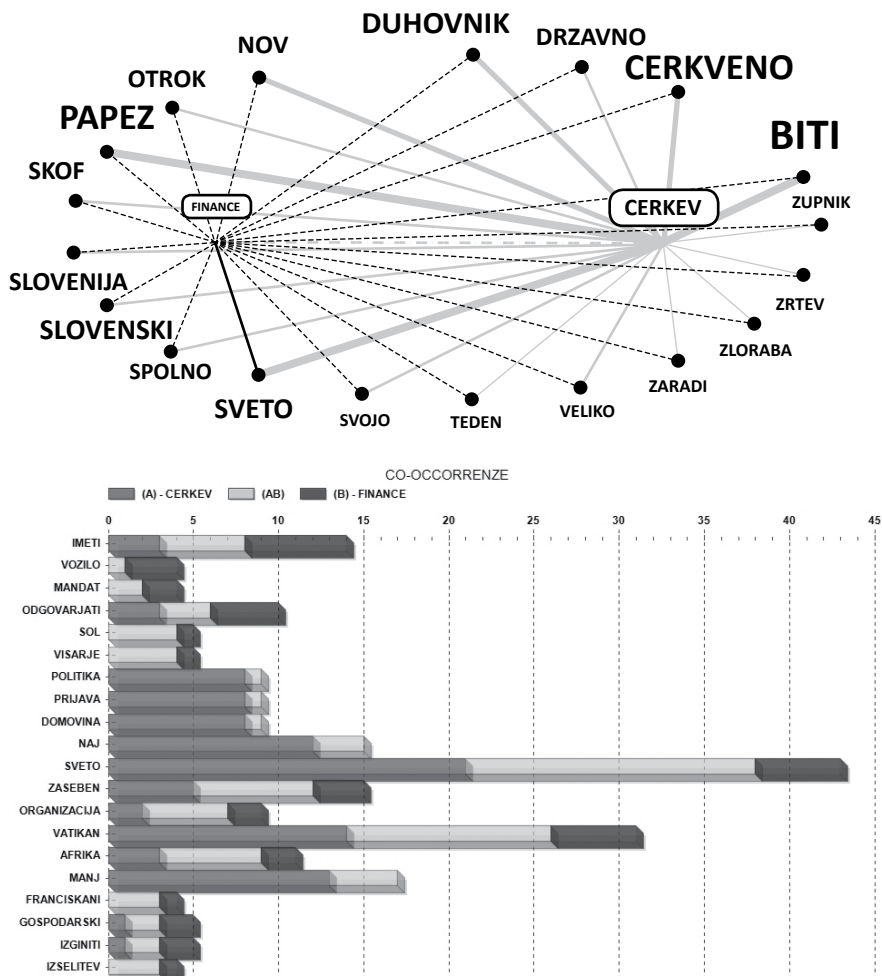
Zlorabe v Cerkvu (kvadrant 4) so predstavljene v četrti vrsti s temami: spolno, zloraba in žrtev. Vsaka od tem je povezana s tremi negativnimi besedami: spolno (katastrofa, nadlegovanje, krvav), zloraba (molk, gluhi, alkohol) in žrtev (zanikati, prijaviti, bankrot). Druge izstopajoče teme v povezavi z zlorabami v Cerkvu so: Cerar, alkohol, ječa, Golob, mamila, Makarovič, lazarist, konference, zmaga, teorija, izjava, kult, žalno itd.

Ob koncu lahko povzamemo, da so teme, ki so uporabljene v naslovih slovenskih medijev, ko govorimo o medijskem diskurzu o Cerkvu, povsod zaznamovane z negativnimi besedami. Teme v povezavi s Cerkvu v tujini imajo največ negativnih besed. Teme o Cerkvu v Sloveniji so tudi močno zasičene z negativnimi besedami. Najmanj negativnih besed je pri opisu praznovanja in dobrotelnosti Cerkvu. V medijskem diskurzu o zlorabah pa je pri izbranih temah povsod navzoč enak delež negativnih besed kakor med temami, ki jih najdemo v celotnem kvadrantu Cerkvu v Sloveniji.

4.3 Besedne zveze

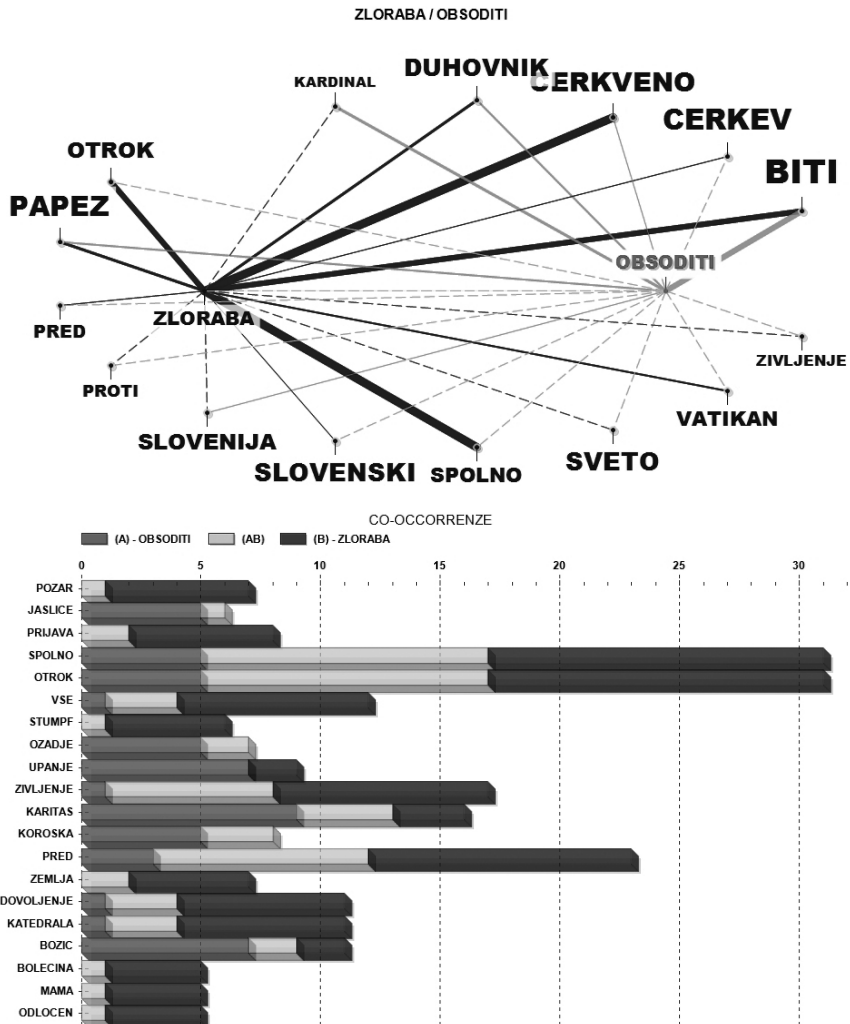
V tem poglavju smo izbrali tematske pare in ocenjevali, kako so tematski pari med seboj povezani z istimi temami. Izbrali smo tiste pare tem, ki bi dali več informacij o najpogostejših temah. V prvi vrsti smo zasledovali povezavo s temami financ in države (finance – Cerkev; cerkveno – državno), nato spolnost in spolne zlorabe (Vatikan – spolno; zloraba – obsoditi; obsoditi – duhovnik), potem povezavo s svetim (sveto – Cerkev), z nasprotovanjem Cerkvi (Cerkev – proti) in z duhovnikovimi odnosi (škof – duhovnik; otrok – duhovnik, duhovnik – sveto). Povsod prilagamo le po eno sliko.

Tematski par finance – Cerkev najbolj povezujejo teme: sveto, Vatikan, imeti, odgovarjati, zaseben in Afrika; cerkveno – državno pa najbolj povezujejo teme: spolno, miren, ozadje, mesto, revež, jaslice in blizu.



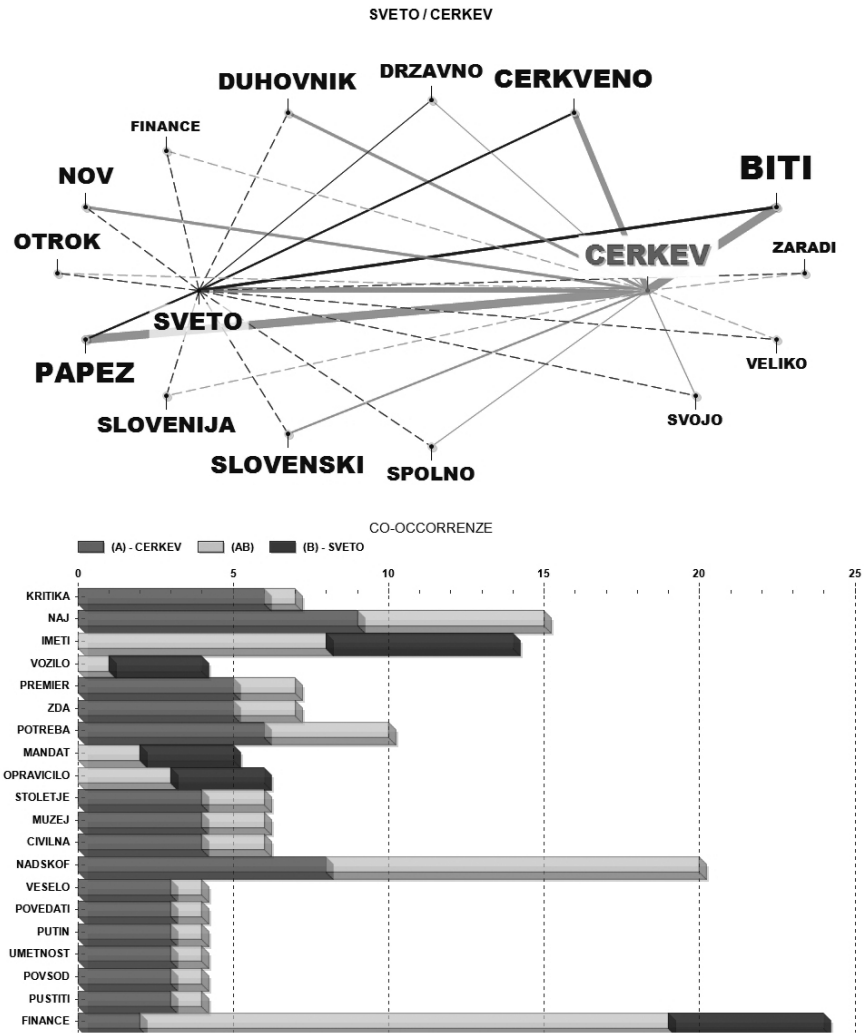
Slika 4: Tematski par finance – Cerkev.

Tematski pari, povezani z Vatikanom in s škandali, so: Vatikan – spolno (povezana z besedami Marija, prekmurski, revež); zloraba – obsoditi (povezana z besedami cerkveno, spolno, duhovnik, biti, sveto, Vatikan, Slovenija); obsoditi – duhovnik (povezana z besedami kardinal, škof, blagoslov, danes, razglasiti ...).



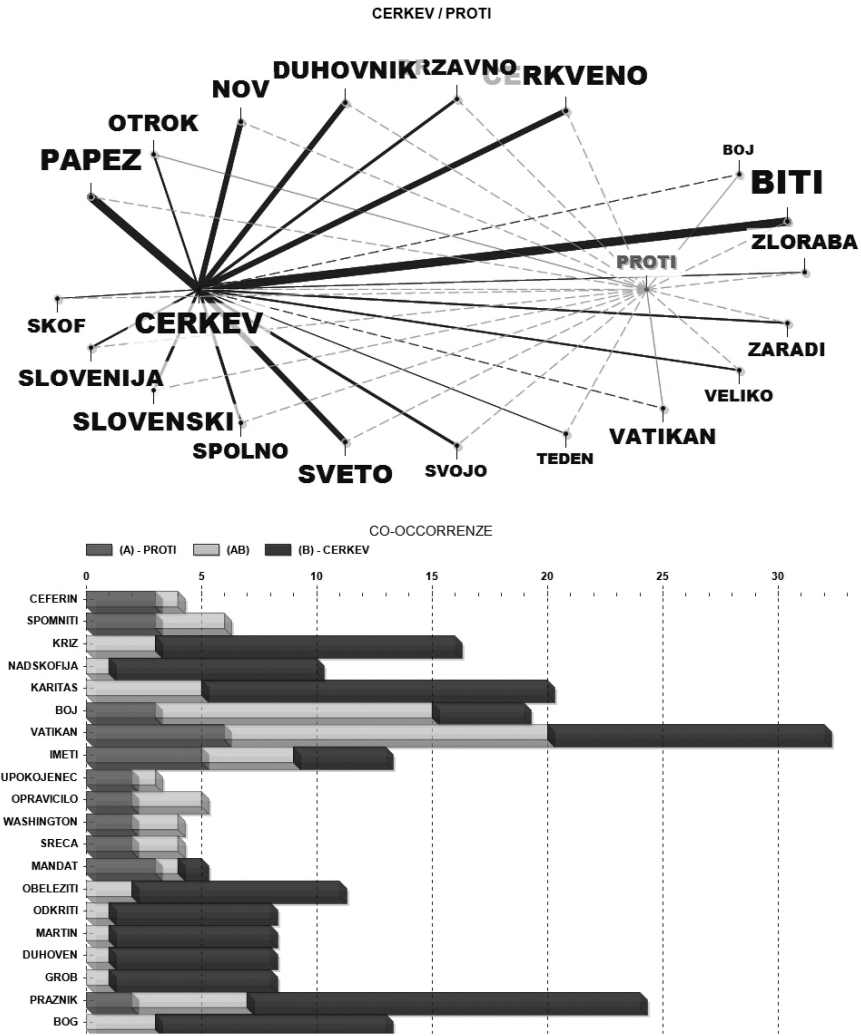
Slika 5: Tematski par zloraba – obsoditi.

Tematski par sveto – Cerkev najbolj povezuje tema finance.



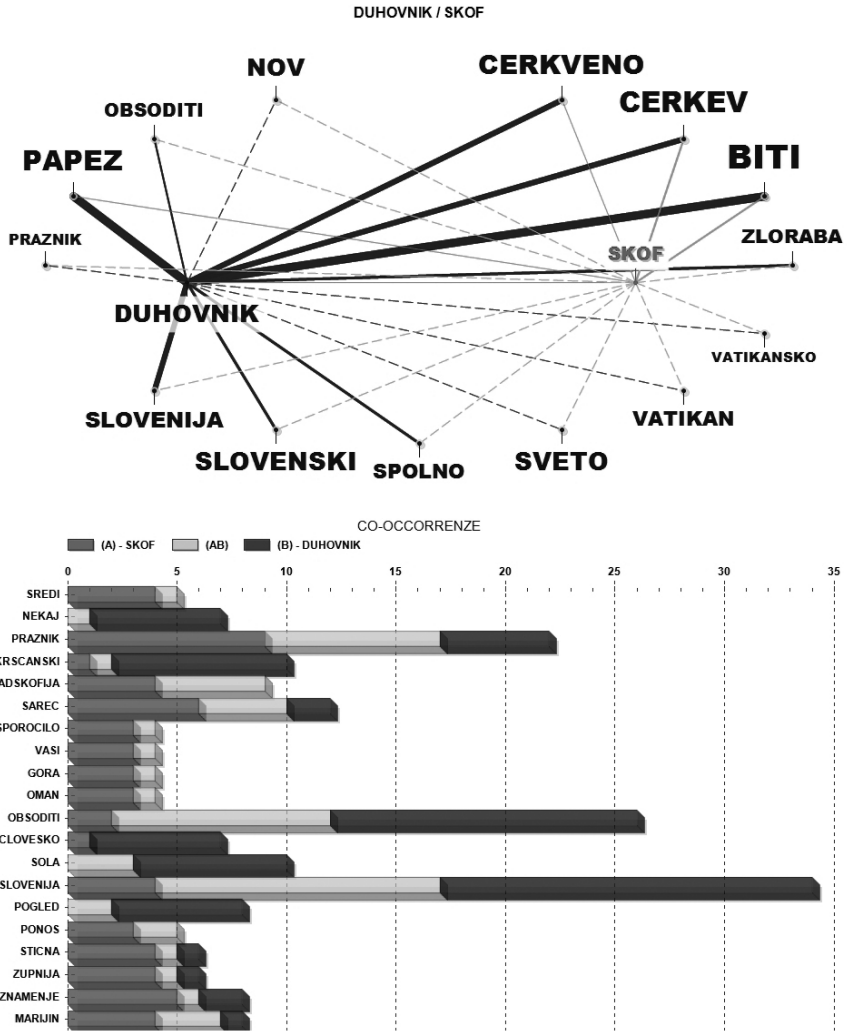
Slika 6: Tematski par sveto – Cerkev.

Tematski par Cerkev – proti najbolj zaznamujejo teme: boj, Vatikan, imeti in praznik.

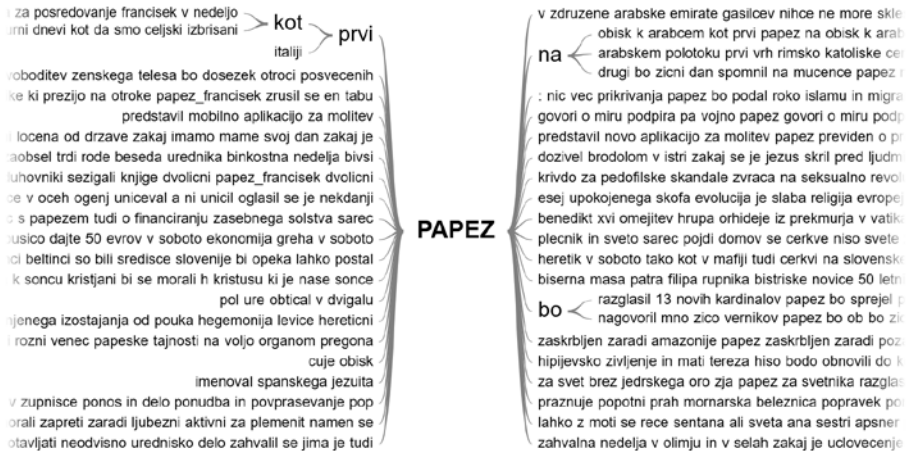


Slika 7: Tematski par Cerkev – proti.

Tematski par škof – duhovnik najbolj zaznamujejo besede: praznik, Šarec, obsoditi, Slovenija in Marijin. Tematskemu paru otrok – duhovnik so skupne teme: Evropa, nadškofija in nedelja. Tematski par duhovnik – sveto opredeljujejo teme: papež, Slovenija, finance, Evropa, znamenje in Martin.



Slika 8: Tematski par škof – duhovnik.



Slika 9: Analiza na podlagi konkordanc – papež.

Iz predstavljenih petih sklopov tematskih parov je razvidno, da slovenski mediji v naslovih člankov Cerkev povezujejo z državo in financami, pri tem pa se sklicujejo na Vatikan, imetje, odgovornost, reveže, jaslice, sveto itd. Zlorabe povezujejo z Vatikanom in se sklicujejo na duhovnike, na dogajanje v Sloveniji in v Vatikanu, na sveto, na kardinale in na škofe in uporabljajo glagola obsoditi in razglasiti. V naslovih medijev nastopata temi Cerkev in sveto, pri tem pa ju najbolj povezuje beseda finance. Temi proti in Cerkev sta najbolj zaznamovani z besedami: boj, Vatikan, imeti in praznik. Temo duhovnik, ki je v povezavi s temami: škof, otrok in sveto, zaznamujejo z besedami: obsoditi, Slovenija, papež, finance, Evropa, znamenje itd.

4.4 Konkordance

Za predstavitev konkordanc ali besed oziroma pojmov s konkretno navedbo vseh mest v besedilih člankov, ki jih zadevajo, smo izbrali tiste, ki opisujejo Cerkev v tujini, Cerkev v Sloveniji in očitke Cerkvi. Med njimi so besede: papež, Vatikan, Zore, Slovenija, spolne zlorabe, žrtev, sodišče in proti. Iz vseh treh sklopov so rezultati bolj negativni kakor pozitivni. K besedilu prilagamo le en zgled (Slika 9).

V povezavi s Cerkvijo v tujini smo izbrali besedi papež in Vatikan. Beseda papež je navzoča v največ temah o Cerkvi, največkrat je v povezavi s temami: o spolnih zlorabah, o obiskih, o imenovanjih oseb na pomembne funkcije, o odstopih, o pozivih itd. Beseda Vatikan se najpogosteje povezuje s temami: obisk, kardinal, konferenca, srečanje, danes, korupcija, jaslice itd.

V povezavi s Cerkvijo v Sloveniji smo izbrali besedi Zore in Slovenija. Prva je povezana z besedami: nadškof, zmaga svetlobe, veliki petek, škofovska konferenca v Vatikanu, vrhovno sodišče, družina, pri nas ne vidi pedofilskega omrežja, ljubljanska stolnica, spolne zlorabe, kritičen do politike itd., druga pa z besedami: imenovanje novega nuncija, največje orgle, samostojna itd.

V povezavi z očitki Cerkvi smo izbrali besede: spolne zlorabe, žrtev, proti in sodišče. Besedno zvezo spolne zlorabe mediji povezujejo: s papežem, s Cerkvijo, z

žrtvami, s prijavami in s prikrievanji. Beseda žrtev ni povezana le s spolnimi zlorabami, civilno iniciativo, trpljenjem, zaščito, domnevanji, preziranjem, ampak tudi z drugimi temami, kakor so prometne nesreče, medvojno in povojno nasilje. Tema proti zadeva tako pozitivne kakor negativne besede: proti evtanaziji, proti zlu, proti ravnanju vlade z migranti, proti korupciji, pedofilom, Cerkvi, propadu, podnebnim spremembam, izkoriščanju, režimu, ukrepa proti, tožilka umaknila obtožnico proti, protest proti, boj proti, tožbe proti, uporništvo proti.

Iz predstavljenih konkordanc lahko povzamemo, da ima tema papež najštevilnejšo mrežo besed. Skoraj povsod so navzoče negativne besede. V konkordancah besede ‚proti‘ odkrijemo, da je Cerkev proti evtanaziji, proti zlu, proti ravnanju vlade z migranti, proti korupciji itd. Seveda ne manjka negativnih povezav: proti patru, proti obsodbam, proti Cerkvi itd. V večini zgledov je pomembna negativna raba besede proti in s tem negativna reprezentacija Cerkve.

5. Raziskovalna vprašanja in skladnost analiziranih podatkov s teorijami

Iz predstavljenih analiz je mogoče razbrati: medijska etiketiranost Cerkve je privedena do te mere, da so negativne reprezentacije o njej postale nekaj, na kar se je občinstvo navadilo. Hkrati so s tem Cerkvi odvzeti dobro ime, kredibilnost in smiselnost oznanjevanja evangelija, ki temelji na zapovedi ljubezni do Boga in do bližnjega. Občinstvo kritizira medije in jim verjame zelo malo (Kraner 2019), hkrati pa jih finančno podpira. Občinstvo ima moč in lahko zahteva spremembe v posameznih medijih (Losito 2003; 2007). Potrditev tega so odgovori na raziskovalna vprašanja v povezavi z najpogosteje ponavljajočimi se besedami v naslovih, z najpogostejšimi besednimi pari in z mrežno povezanostjo najpogostejših besed, to pa kaže, da so predstavljene teorije medijskih vplivov močno navzoče v člankih in v naslovih člankov in se ujemajo z medijskimi reprezentacijami.

Slovenski mediji v naslovih člankov, ki so povezani s Cerkvijo, izrazito poudarjajo nekatere teme in praviloma ponavljajo besede zloraba, proti, kriv, pedofil, obsoditi, žrtev, stiska itd. V naslovih člankov Cerkev povezujejo z nekaterimi temami in jo etiketirajo s posameznimi besedami: temo finance izstopajoče poudarjajo besede imetje, odgovornost, reveži, jaslice in sveto; temo zlorabe povezujejo z Vatikanom, z dogajanjem v Sloveniji in v Vatikanu, s svetim, s kardinali in s škofi, sklicujejo se na temo duhovnik in uporabljajo glagola obsoditi in razglasiti; temo sveto povezujejo z besedo finance; temo proti povezujejo z besedami boj, Vatikan, imeti in praznik; teme duhovnik, škof, otrok in sveto povezujejo z besedami obsoditi, Slovenija, papež, finance, Evropa in znamenje. Iz celotne mreže besed smo ugotovili, da se povezujejo v štiri glavne skupine: Cerkev v tujini (Vatikan), pozitivne aktivnosti v Cerkvi (praznovanja), negativni dogodki v Cerkvi (zlorabe), Cerkev in slovenska javnost (umetnost, zgodovina).

Glede na omenjene teorije so to zgledi izražanja alternativnih mnenj neke manj-

šine, ki želi s pomočjo medijev utišati mnenje večine (Noelle-Neuman 2002, 40). Elementi teorije spirale molka so navzoči tudi v drugih zgledih in so evidentni na prikazanih slikah, razen pri temah, ki govorijo o praznovanju, o blagoslovih in o obnovitvah, pri katerih je navzoče minimalno število negativnih besed. Povsod drugod je koncentracija negativnih besed velika. Takšen način opisovanja dela Cerkve namerno v občinstvu vzbuja občutek: »Bolje biti tiho kakor pa drezati.« Takšen pristop se v teh zgledih pritiska ujema s teorijo o spirali molka, vendar je za Cerkev neugoden, saj večina katoličanov pomisli, da imajo mediji prav.

Ko postanejo zadeve medijskega diskurza o Cerkvi povezane s temami finance, zlorabe, politika, se z lahkoto doseže konflikt med javnostmi. Omenjene teme so bile v analiziranih člankih postavljene hierarhično najvišje, nastopale so v vnaprej načrtovanih obdobjih in bile usklajene z dogajanjem na politični sceni. Zato tukaj govorimo o prednostnem tematiziranju (*agenda-setting*) ali teoriji prednostnega tematiziranja (Dearing in Rogers 2012, 42).

V naših tekstovnih analizah smo ugotovili, da mediji v izbor novic vključujejo in poudarjajo naslednje: papež, Zore, žrtev, sodišče, otrok, proti, kardinal, Vatikan, spolne zlorabe. Razvidno je: mediji želijo vplivati na človeško zavest tako, da izbirajo nekatere vidike realnosti in jih naredijo bolj izstopajoče v posredovalnem tekstu, poudarijo nekatere definicije problemov, vzročno interpretirajo, moralno sodijo (Entman 2012, 99).

Na podlagi te analize lahko potrdimo, da je pri reprezentiranju Cerkve v slovenskih medijih navzoče prednostno tematiziranje (*agenda-setting*), okvirjanje (*framing*) in vplivanje na javno mnenje z učinkom spirale molka (*spiral of silence*).

Z ene strani Cerkev sama daje medijem dovolj gradiva za pisanje o njenih neopravičljivih napakah (na področju financ), z druge strani pa mediji očitno poudarjajo njene napake tako, da jih je mogoče razumeti kot razpihovanje sovraštva do katoličanov in kot etiketiranje katoličanov kot drugorazrednih državljanov. Nekateri novinarji Dela, Večera in Dnevnika, na primer, v svojih člankih še vedno omenjajo 'cerkveni finančni holding', 'cerkvena zvonova' itd., čeprav že skoraj desetletje Cerkev ni lastnik. Drugi primer je način pisanja novinarjev o spolnih škandalih v Cerkvi, ki se je ob nastopu civilne iniciative Dovolj je v večini člankov spustil pod nivo novinarskega poročanja. Tretji primer je zadeva Strehovec, ko v informativnih člankih zaznamo neke vrste oglaševanje organizacije oziroma gibanja, ki je s svojimi vrednotami diametralno nasprotno Cerkvi, s tem pa tudi večini državljanov Republike Slovenije, ki so katoliške veroizpovedi. Opazno je podcenjevanje katoliških vrednot, po drugi strani pa minimalno poročanje o izidu tožb, v katerih so sodišča potrdila, da je bilo Strehovčevo ravnanje pravilno, ali pa govorimo celo o zanemarjanju poročanja, kakor se je jasno pokazalo takrat, ko so neznanci generalnemu tajniku SŠK z grafiti po ljubljanskih ulicah javno grozili s smrtjo.

Več kakor očitno je, da pozitivna sporočila, ki jih želi v javnost posredovati Cerkev (npr. izjave za javnost komisije Pravičnost in mir), ne prodrejo dlje kakor do majhnega deleža katoliške javnosti prek katoliških medijev, civilni mediji pa teh sporočil ne objavijo.

6. Sklep in izzivi za prihodnost

Poudarjeno negativno pisanje o Cerkvu in povezovanje pomembnih vsebin katoliškega nauka z negativnimi temami vplivata na notranja stališča občinstva, saj jim preustvarjata merila za vrednotenje. Takšne reprezentacije o Cerkvu nikogar ne privlačijo, ker vzbujaajo notranji odpor do Cerkve, negativna stališča do nje in celo zapušanje Cerkve. Pri spremljanju teh tem nekdo lahko hitro sklene, da je vse, kar je povezano s Cerkvijo, negativno. V verskih uslužbencih in v vernikih se vzbuja strah pred tem, da bi razmišljali drugače od javnega mnenja (Vodičar 2020, 258). Svoje nestrinjanje so pripravljani povedati v zaprtih krogih ali prek verige elektronskih sporočil, nikoli pa se ne upajo izpostaviti v medijih (razen posameznikov). Mediji so uspešni, saj dosegajo želeni učinek v treh stopnjah: najprej vplivajo na spremembo mišljenja, potem na notranja stališča in nazadnje na vedenje. Ker je opazen umik vernikov iz prostora Cerkve, je mogoče sklepati, da imajo tudi na to vpliv mediji. To vprašanje ostaja odprto in bi ga bilo treba v prihodnje tudi poglobiti in raziskati.

Ob koncu ugotavljamo izjemno učinkovitost medijev, uvodoma pa smo izpostavili pasivno delovanje Cerkve in njeno neučinkovitost. Zastavlja se vprašanje, kje je glavni vzrok za neučinkovitost pastoralnega delovanja Cerkve.

Ob tem se navezujemo na Dullesa in na njegovih pet modelov Cerkve: institucionalni model, ko je Cerkev razumljena kot popolna družba; skupnostni ali ‚občestveno-udeležbeni‘ model, ki povzdiguje občestvo ter znotrajcerkveno in zunajcerkveno soudeleženoost; zakramentalni ali ‚skrivnostno-ritualni‘ model, ki daje prednost verski praksi in tudi Cerkev obravnava kot zakrament; misijonarski ali ‚doktrinalno-kerigmatični vidik‘, ko ima Cerkev vlogo oznanjevanja in poslušanja Besede; sekularno-dialoški model, ki je po eni strani zaznamovan s svojim sprejemanjem, to pomeni, da je ‚dialoško odprt‘ in poudarja dialog s sodobnostjo, po drugi strani pa je zaznamovan z delovanjem, je torej ‚diakonalno-aktivistični‘ model, ki postavlja v ospredje evangeljsko služenje, predvsem najmanjšim in zapostavljenim (Midali 2005, 373–374). Dulles razloži vsakega od modelov z uporabo sedmih kriterijev, na podlagi katerih oceni vsak model posebej. Kriteriji so naslednji: spisi kot temelj; krščanska tradicija kot temelj; zmožnost dati članom družbeno identiteto in poslanstvo; težnja po širjenju krščanskih vrednot; ujemanje z versko izkušnjo današnjih ljudi; teološka rodovitnost; rodovitnost, ki člane Cerkve naredi zmožne, da vstopijo v pozitivni odnos z osebami zunaj skupine (Dulles 2005, 227).

Ob koncu Dulles izpostavi, da z dajanjem prednosti nekemu določenemu modelu jasno stopijo v ospredje tudi točno določeni tipi oseb: duhovniki imajo raje institucionalni model, zagovorniki ekumenizma so naklonjeni modelu Cerkve kot mistične skupnosti, spekulativni teologi se navdihujejo pri zakramentalnem modelu, biblicisti in pastoralisti pri misijonarskem modelu, osebe, ki so vključene v sekularne dejavnosti, pa raje vidijo sekularno-dialoški model Cerkve (228).

Naša raziskava potrjuje, da mediji najprej opazijo le vidne zadeve znotraj Cerkve in jih po potrebi dodatno negativizirajo tako, da so v skladu s tematskimi po-

udarki. Cerkev v Sloveniji se v javnosti kaže preveč kot institucija, premalo pa kot skupnost, ki si pomaga, ki pomaga drugim, ki drži skupaj. Rezultat obojega so negativne socialne reprezentacije Cerkve. Bolj bo Cerkev pri svojem delovanju vztrajala pri institucionalnem modelu, več bo negativnih reprezentacij v medijih, več odpora bo doživljala pri cerkveni in pri civilni javnosti. Da bi se trend zmanjševanja števila ljudi v Cerkvi obrnil, bo potreben večji poudarek na skupnostnem, zakramentalnem in dialoškem modelu.

Kratice

- CS** – Drugi vatikanski cerkveni zbor 2004 [pastoralna konstitucija O Cerkvi v sedanjem svetu / *Gaudium et spes* (1965)].
- PIP** – Slovenska škofovska konferenca 2012 [Pridite in pogledjte].
- SPAD** – Société Pour l'aviation et ses dérivés.
- SPSS** – Statistical Package for Social Science.
- SŠK** – Slovenska škofovska konferenca.
- T-LAB** – Text Laboratory.

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Branko Klun, Luka Trebežnik (ur.)

Vračanje religije v postmodernem kontekstu

Zbornik želi pokazati, da religija ni izginila iz filozofije, kot so napovedovali nekateri razsvetljenski misleci, temveč se vanjo vrača in jo na novo vznemirja. Sicer je to vračanje raznoliko in pogosto nekonvencionalno, vendar pa to ne zmanjšuje njegovega pomena in s tem potrebe po dialogu med postmoderno filozofijo in teologijo.

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Stališča osmošolcev v Sloveniji o vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo: analiza podatkov ICCS¹

Attitudes of Eighth-Graders in Slovenia on the Role of Religious Influence in Society: An Analysis of ICCS Data

Povzetek: V Sloveniji in v nekaterih drugih izobraževalnih sistemih, sodelujočih v Mednarodni raziskavi državljanske vzgoje in izobraževanja (ICCS), smo v vprašalnik za učence vključili vprašanja o vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo. Rezultati sekundarnih analiz ICCS so pokazali, da imajo osmošolci v Sloveniji (N = 2844), ki pogosteje obiskujejo verske obrede zunaj doma, tudi pozitivnejše mnenje o vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo. Prav tako so rezultati korelacijskih analiz pokazali na resda šibko, vendar pozitivno in statistično značilno povezanost med pogostostjo obiskovanja verskih obredov zunaj doma s pripravljenostjo prostovoljstva v prihodnje, ne nazadnje tudi s sodelovanjem v prostovoljnih akcijah za pomoč skupnosti sedaj. Zaznana je bila tudi povezava med stališči osmošolcev o vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo in občutkom evropske identitete osmošolcev v Sloveniji.

Ključne besede: vpliv vere na družbo, prostovoljstvo, participacija v družbi, občutek evropske identitete, osmošolci, ICCS

Abstract: In Slovenia and some other participating education systems in the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), we included questions on the role of religion in influencing society in the Questionnaire for Students. The results of secondary analyses of the ICCS database showed that eighth-graders in Slovenia (N = 2844), who more often attend religious services outside the home with other people, also have a more favourable opinion role about religion in influencing society. The results of correlation analysis also showed a weak but positive and statistically significant association between the frequency of attending religious services outside the home and the willin-

¹ Prispevek je rezultat Raziskovalnega programa P5-0106 „Edukacijske raziskave“.

gness to volunteer in the future, not least by participating in voluntary actions to help the community now. An association was also found between the attitudes of eighth-graders in Slovenia about the role of religion in society and the sense of European identity.

Keywords: endorsement of religious influence in society, volunteering, participation in society, perception of European identity, 8th graders, ICCS

1. Uvod

V svetu je danes v šolskem kontekstu državljanska vzgoja priznana kot eno pomembnejših področij za vzgojo posameznika v aktivnega državljana. Pomen tega izseka vzgoje in izobraževanja ni le v smeri usvajanja državljanske vednosti, temveč sta enako pomembna tudi razvoj stališč in pripravljenost za delovanje v (političnem in) družbenem življenju. Pri tem je seveda pomemben tudi razvoj skupnih vrednot za (so)bivanje. Prav zato želimo izpostaviti, da državljanska vzgoja (danes) ne pomeni zgolj politične socializacije kot takšne (še posebno ne politične pismenosti v najožjem razumevanju tega termina), ampak ima mnogo širšo obliko. Del te vzgoje je tudi spoznavanje religij oziroma verstev.² Se pravi: nekako je to družbena pismenost. Na eni strani so vsebine, ki se predajajo mladim posameznikom (npr. tudi v Sloveniji je v okviru obveznega predmeta domovinska in državljanska kultura in etika del učnega načrta, in to za 7. razred osnovne šole, posvečen učnim ciljem/standardom znanja o verovanju, verstvih), na drugi strani pa razvoj vrednot, ki so prav tako skupne tudi nekemu bolj religijskemu pouku (ali pa prevladujočim verstvom po svetu), na primer vrednota strpnosti, moralna načela, etika itd. Skratka, tudi v Sloveniji je to obvezen del kurikula, in prav pri državljanski vzgoji (kakor bi nemara lahko poenostavljeno imenovali to predmetno področje) vključuje cilje, ki so širši od neke zgolj navezave na politiko, politični sistem, pomembni so cilji, ki so pravzaprav družbeni in s svojimi komponentami (kritično mišljenje, razvoj politične in družbene pismenosti, dejavno vključevanje v družbeno življenje) pripevajo k sobivanju posameznikov, ne nazadnje k obstoju družbe.

Podobno analogijo z državljansko pismenostjo (ki ne obsega le državljanske vednosti) lahko vpeljemo tudi za religijsko pismenost. Kakor ugotavljata Dinham in Shawova (2017, 11), z vidika religijske pismenosti to pomeni, da sta pomembni poučevanje in učenje tako o religiji kakor o stališčih oziroma prepričanjih (glede religije). Kakor ugotavljata, pri tem ne sme biti pomemben zgolj instrument za kohezijo in državljanstvo, ampak se je nujno ukvarjati s pripravo učečih se na praktično nalogo sodelovanja z bogato raznolikostjo religij in prepričan, v vsakodnevem življenju zunaj šole. Pri tem se je treba vprašati, kako mlade na običajen in strpen način poučevati o religiji in o prepričanjih ob drugih šolskih predmetih in

² Tudi v nadaljevanju članka skušamo dosledno uporabljati termina vera (kot osebno prepričanje) in religija (kot institucionalizirana oblika izražanja vere v skupnosti). Pri citatih upoštevamo terminologijo, ki jo uporabljajo avtorji.

ob etosu, saj jim to omogoča, da vstopijo v odraslost z razumevanjem religije in prepričanja v svojem življenju in okoli njega, doma in v službi (Dinham in Shaw 2017, 11). Pri tem sta Globokar in Rifel (2017, 361) nekoliko konkretnješa in na podlagi analize izvajanja predmeta vera in kultura v katoliških gimnazijah v Sloveniji ugotavljata, da je po mnenju dijakov religijski pouk pri tem predmetu večinoma »v precejšnji ali zelo veliki meri pomagal, da so celoviteje razumeli sebe in soljudi, kritično vrednotili dogajanje v družbi in postali bolj usposobljeni pri zavzemanju za reševanje perečih osebnih, medosebnih ter življenjskih problemov«.

Pa vendarle, kaj ima to opraviti z udeležbo državljanov v družbenem življenju oziroma s tako imenovano aktivno participacijo v družbi oziroma z državljsko vzgojo, katere pomembni del je očitno tudi usvajanje religijske pismenosti?

Čeprav se zdi, »da izginja religioznost človeka, da religije izgubljajo svoj pomen ali se raztapljajo v postmoderni /.../ spreminjajo se religiozne institucije« (Pevcec Rozman 2017, 300), nedavne raziskave kažejo, da je velika večina svetovnega prebivalstva povezana z neko versko tradicijo (Pancer 2015, 72). Članstvo v verski skupini ali organizaciji na več načinov vpliva na državljsko udeležbo: a) verski voditelji in kongreganti postanejo del posameznikove družbene mreže in ta mreža pogosto pomeni vir rekrutiranja za državljske in politične dejavnosti, b) skoraj vse verske tradicije podpirajo vero v služenje drugim in te vrednote sporočajo svojim privržencem, c) verski voditelji so moralni vzorniki, ki z zavzetostjo za izboljšanje družbe navdihujejo druge, d) vključenost v verske skupine posameznikom omogoča tudi, da se vključijo v široko paleto skupnostnih projektov in se naučijo večšin, ki jih je mogoče uporabiti v drugih civilnih organizacijah in dejavnostih (72–73). Skratka, iz gornjega zapisa je razvidno, da ima vključenost v neko versko tradicijo za posameznika mnoge potencialne vplive, ki segajo ven iz ozkega prakticiranja verske tradicije, v različne sfere družbenega življenja, ne nazadnje tudi na področje aktivnega udejstvovanja v družbi.

Kakor kažejo raziskave, je religija pogosto pomemben katalizator državljske participacije (Pancer 2015; Schulz et al. 2016, 26). Kako? Verska prepričanja in prakse ljudi so povezani z vsemi oblikami državljske udeležbe (Pancer 2015, 58). Tako so, na primer, številne študije pokazale na povezavo med religijo in prostovoljstvom – sociologa Smith in Faris sta, denimo, preučila podatke iz raziskave, opravljene na nacionalno reprezentativnem vzorcu ameriških srednješolcev, da bi ugotovila povezavo med religijo in skupnostno dejavnostjo. Ugotovila sta: dijaki, ki so vsak teden obiskovali verske obrede, imajo več kakor dvakrat večjo verjetnost, da bodo redno sodelovali v skupnostnih zadevah ali prostovoljnem delu, v primerjavi z dijaki, ki nikoli ne obiskujejo verskih obredov (58). Religija je prav tako povezana s politično participacijo, kakor povzema Pancer (2015, 58): Zaff in sodelavci (2003) so na podlagi longitudinalne raziskave v ZDA ugotovili, da je bilo pri mladih, ki so se v 10. razredu (to bi v Sloveniji pomenilo začetek srednje šole) udeleževali verskih obredov, za 24 % bolj verjetno, da bodo čez štiri leta (op. p.), ko pridobijo volilno pravico, glasovali na volitvah, kakor mladi, ki na omenjeni stopnji formalnega izobraževanja niso obiskovali verskih obredov (Pancer 2015, 58). Pomembno ugotovitev, ki se prav tako veže na presek religije in političnega delo-

vanja, najdemo tudi pri Udoviču (2020, 145): v članku, ki analizira maše za domovino, opozori, da je odnos mladih do maše za domovino pomemben predvsem zato, ker bodo mladi kmalu postali politični odločevalci, pri tem pa se bodo njihova sedanja stališča »pretopila tudi v stališča političnih strank, katerih člani bodo«.

V članku se drugače ne osredotočamo na religijski pouk v Sloveniji ali Evropi, bolj nas zanima, kakšna stališča imajo osmošolci v Sloveniji (in v drugih evropskih državah oziroma šolskih sistemih) do vloge vere pri vplivu na družbo. Še posebej nas pa zanima, ali imajo osmošolci, ki se pogosteje udeležujejo verskih obredov zunaj svojega doma z drugimi ljudmi, nemara bolj pozitivna stališča do te vloge pri vplivu na družbo. Na reprezentativnih podatkih za Slovenijo bomo preverili tudi druge hipoteze, ki jih izpeljujemo iz zgoraj opisanih rezultatov tujih raziskav (na primer povezava z obiskovanjem verskih obredov in prostovoljstvom, povezava verskih obredov in politične participacije – vezano na udeleževanje volitev v prihodnje). Ne nazadnje, raziskali bomo tudi povezavo z občutkom evropske identitete, kakor jo definira mednarodna raziskava ICCS.

2. Vprašanja o vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo (ICCS 2016)

Prva mednarodna raziskava s fokusom na državljanski vzgoji in izobraževanju je bila v svetu izvedena leta 1971 (v sklopu Študije šestih predmetov), nato pa kot samostojna raziskava leta 1999 (kratica CivEd – Civic Education Study), leta 2009 in leta 2016 (ICCS – International Civic and Citizenship Education Study) (Klemenčič, Mirazchiyski in Novak 2019, 17–18). Slovenija je sodelovala v zadnjih treh zajemih podatkov, se pravi leta 1999, leta 2009 in leta 2016.³ Teme, ki se navezujejo na religijo oziroma vero, so pomemben del raziskave. Tako že pri sami definiciji skupnosti eden od delov opredeljuje članstvo v neki skupnosti, to pa je določeno s prepričanjem posameznika o njegovem članstvu (na primer z identifikacijo s ‚somišljeniki‘ glede političnih, verskih, filozofskih ali družbenih vprašanj) (Schulz et al. 2016, 15). Še bolj je pa to razvidno iz same vsebine vprašalnikov in iz testa državljske vednosti, na primer pri vsebinski domeni družba in njeni podsistemi se raziskava osredotoča tudi na civilne institucije, ki omogočajo prevzemanje različnih vlog v družbi (Klemenčič, Mirazchiyski in Novak 2019, 27): eden od sklopov je namenjen religijskim institucijam (Schulz et al. 2016, 16). Pri državljanskih principih (pri subdomeni vladavine prava) je enako: v smislu enakosti pred zakonom, ne glede na versko prepričanje (16), ali to, da se vsi ljudje rodijo enaki, v smislu dostojanstva in pravic, ne glede na to, kakšne so njihove osebne lastnosti (na primer vera) (20). Ocenjevalni okvir raziskave ICCS definira zelo pomembno dimenzijo v okviru preverjanja državljanske vzgoje in izobraževanja. Govori o različnih tipih percepcij učencev in njihovega vedenja, ki so pomembni pri vzgoji državljsana. Ena

³ Na mednarodni ravni raziskavo koordinira Mednarodna zveza za evalvacijo izobraževalnih dosežkov (IEA oziroma The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement), v Sloveniji Pedagoški inštitut.

od teh afektivno-vedenjskih domen so stališča (druga delovanje). Raziskava ICCS znotraj sklopa preverjanja stališč učencev do družbe in do državljskih sistemov izpostavi poseben sklop, namenjen stališčem o vplivu vere na družbo. To je mednarodna opcija, za katero ni nujno, da jo sodelujoče države (oziroma izobraževalni sistemi) vključijo v raziskavo na nacionalni ravni. V Sloveniji smo ta del vprašalnika izvedli prvič prav v ciklu raziskave 2016. V tem članku se bomo večinoma posvetili prav temu sklopu.

V tabeli 1 predstavljamo rezultate o stališčih osmošolcev v Sloveniji do vloge vere pri vplivu na družbo.⁴ Učenci so pri tej nalogi lahko izbirali med štirimi kategorijami strinjanja s posamezno postavko (Likertova 4-stopenjska lestvica), in to od zelo se strinjam do nikakor se ne strinjam.

	Zelo se strinjam	Strinjam se	Ne strinjam se	Nikakor se ne strinjam
Vera je zame bolj pomembna kakor to, kar se dogaja v državni politiki.	14,4 % (0,96)	31,8 % (1,16)	34 % (1,11)	19,9 % (0,95)
Vera mi pomaga pri odločanju o tem, kaj je prav in kaj ni.	14,5 % (0,82)	34,7 % (0,88)	29,4 % (0,95)	21,5 % (0,92)
Verski voditelji bi morali imeti več vpliva na družbo.	7,4 % (0,61)	28,1 % (0,97)	41,4 % (1,02)	23,1 % (0,98)
Vera bi morala vplivati na to, kako se ljudje vedejo drug do drugega.	13,5 % (0,80)	39,5 % (1,09)	27,20 % (0,85)	19,9 % (0,82)
Življenjska pravila, ki temeljijo na veri, so pomembnejša kakor pravila civilnega prava.	7 % (0,56)	26,3 % (0,97)	44,3 % (1,03)	22,4 % (0,99)
Vsi ljudje bi morali imeti svobodo, živeti v skladu z vero, ki jo sami izberejo.	45,8 % (1,07)	37 % (1,02)	9,8 % (0,62)	7,4 % (0,65)
Verni ljudje so boljši državljani.	8,9 % (0,62)	18,8 % (0,82)	40,1 % (1,13)	32,2 % (1,05)

Tabela 1: *Stališča osmošolcev v Sloveniji do vloge vere pri vplivu na družbo. Vir: Baza ICCS 2016, naši lastni izračuni. Opomba: standardne napake so navedene v oklepajih ob odstotkih učencev.*

Iz rezultatov tabele vidimo, da se je največ osmošolcev v Sloveniji zelo strinjalo s trditvijo, da bi vsi ljudje morali imeti svobodo, živeti v skladu z vero, ki jo sami izberejo (približno 46 % osmošolcev). Prav tako se jih je z omenjeno postavko stri-

⁴ Pri postavkah v slovenskem jeziku smo uporabljali termin vera, v smislu človekovega osebnega odnosa z Bogom (oziroma z bogovi v nekaterih verstvih), in ne nekoliko širše oziroma splošnejše in bolj neosebne terminologije, kakor je izraz religija. Prav zato pri identifikaciji postavk uporabljamo termin, ki je bil dejansko uporabljen v vprašalniku za učence, iz katerega črpamo podatke za našo analizo.

njalo okoli 37 %. Da so verni ljudje boljši državljani, se večina učencev ni strinjala oziroma nikakor ni strinjala (prvo kategorijo je izbralo okoli 40 % osmošolcev in drugo okoli 32 %). Odgovori učencev pri preostalih postavkah so nekoliko bolj razpršeni med kategorijami (ne)strinjanja. Pa vendarle vidimo, da se precejšen delež osmošolcev v Sloveniji strinja ali zelo strinja s postavkami, da je vera zanje pomembnejša kakor to, kar se dogaja v državni politiki, da jim vera pomaga pri odločanju o tem, kaj je prav in kaj ni, in da bi vera morala vplivati na to, kako se ljudje vedejo drug do drugega. Pri tem velja posebej opozoriti, da ta tabela ne razlikuje med osmošolci, ki so dejansko verni, in tistimi, ki niso. Ta vidik (drugače vezan na obiskovanje verskih obredov zunaj doma z drugimi ljudmi) podrobneje analiziramo v nadaljevanju članka.

Izobraževalni sistem	2016	2009	Razlike (2016 - 2009)	40	45	50	55	60
Belgija (flamski del)	45 (0.3) ▼	45 (0.2)	-0.3 (0.4)					
Bolgarija	51 (0.3) △	51 (0.3)	0.2 (0.4)					
Čile	49 (0.2)	53 (0.2)	-4.0 (0.3)					
Kitajski Tajpej	48 (0.2) ▽	48 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.3)					
Kolumbija	55 (0.2) ▲	54 (0.1)	0.3 (0.3)					
Hrvaška	55 (0.3) ▲	-	-					
Danska†	43 (0.2) ▼	44 (0.2)	-0.4 (0.3)					
Dominikanska republika (r)	60 (0.2) ▲	58 (0.2)	1.5 (0.3)					
Estonija1	44 (0.3) ▼	-	-					
Latvija1	46 (0.3) ▽	47 (0.3)	-1.4 (0.4)					
Litva	48 (0.2)	49 (0.2)	-0.1 (0.3)					
Malta	54 (0.2) ▲	55 (0.2)	-1.7 (0.3)					
Nizozemska†	44 (0.4) ▼	-	-					
Norveška (9)1	44 (0.3) ▼	45 (0.4)	-0.8 (0.5)					
Peru	56 (0.1) ▲	-	-					
Slovenija	48 (0.3) ▽	-	-					
Švedska1	42 (0.4) ▼	44 (0.2)	-2.9 (0.5)					
Povprečje ICCS 2016	49 (0.1)							
Skupno povprečje izob. Sistemov	49 (0.1)	50 (0.1)	-0.8 (0.1)					
Izobraževalna sistema, ki nista dosegla standardov vzorčenja								
Hong Kong LRK	47 (0.3)	-	-					
Južna Koreja2	42 (0.2)	-	-					
Primerjalna regija, ki ni dosegla standardov vzorčenja								
Severno Porenje-Vestfalija (Nemčija)1	46 (0.5)	-	-					

Nacionalni rezultati ICCS 2016 so:	□	2016 povprečni rezultat +/- interval zaupanja
Več kot 3 točke nad ICCS povprečjem ▲	■	2009 povprečni rezultat +/- interval zaupanja
Statistično značilno nad ICCS povprečjem △		V povprečju imajo učenci z vrednostjo znotraj tega območja več kot 50 % možnosti, da na vprašanje o religijskemu vplivu v družbi odgovorijo z
Statistično značilno pod ICCS povprečjem ▽		Nestrinjanje s pozitivnimi trditvami
Več kot 3 točke pod ICCS povprečjem ▼		Strinjanje z pozitivnimi trditvami

Slika 1: Stališča o vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo pri osmošolcih v Sloveniji in Evropi. Vir: prirejeno po Schulz et al. 2018, 140.

Na sliki vidimo prikaz lestvice, ki je izračunana iz prvih šestih postavk, prikazanih v tabeli 1. Iz slike 1 vidimo rezultate, izračunane na podlagi te lestvice, prav tako pa tudi trende (nekateri izobraževalni sistemi, ne pa tudi Slovenija, so ta vprašanja vključili že v izvedbo raziskave leta 2009). Najprej si pogledjmo trende med letoma 2009 in 2016. Učenci (osmošolci) iz dvanajstih izobraževalnih sistemov so odgovarjali na ista vprašanja tako leta 2009 kakor leta 2016. Na podlagi tega vidimo, da so učenci iz Dominikanske republike vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo leta 2016 pripisali večji vpliv kakor v zajemu podatkov predtem. Na drugi strani pa vidimo, da je večina učencev v letu 2016 pripisali vlogi vere manjši vpliv v primerjavi z letom 2009 (statistično pomembne razlike so razvidne pri tistih številkah, ki so zapisane krepko). Tako je bilo, denimo, pri učencih iz Čila, iz Latvije, z Malte in iz Švedske. Podobno je tudi z mednarodnim povprečjem. Kar vidimo iz prikaza, je tudi to, da je med osmošolci v sodelujočih izobraževalnih sistemih odnos do tega, kakšno vlogo ima vera pri vplivu na družbo, različen (razpršenost je kar velika). Mnenje osmošolcev v Sloveniji je pod mednarodnim povprečjem, to pa pomeni, da naši osmošolci niso ocenili tako velike vloge vere pri vplivu na družbo kakor, denimo, njihovi vrstniki iz Hrvaške ali z Malte (če omenimo le ti dve evropski državi). Prav to nas je spodbudilo k nadaljnjemu raziskovanju te teme, zato smo opravili vrsto sekundarnih analiz, ki jih predstavljamo v nadaljevanju.

3. Analitični okvir in rezultati

3.1 Okvir za analizo, postopki

Okvir za analizo so podatki mednarodne raziskave ICCS 2016, ki so bili v Sloveniji zbrani pred poletjem 2016, prvič javno objavljeni konec leta 2017, s sprostitevjo mednarodne baze v letu 2018. V Sloveniji je v raziskavi sodelovalo 135 šol oziroma 2844 osmošolcev (realizacija vzorca je reprezentativna, to pomeni, da lahko govorimo o rezultatih na ravni populacije osmošolcev v Sloveniji).⁵

Za odgovore na vprašanja o povezanosti stališč osmošolcev o vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo, vere kot katalizatorja državljske participacije in pogostosti prostovoljstva, glede na pogostost obiskovanja verskih obredov zunaj doma z drugimi ljudmi, smo izvedli korelacijske analize. Na koncu empiričnega dela nas je tudi zanimala povezava med stališči o vplivu vere na družbo in zaznano evropsko identiteto; tudi tukaj smo izvedli korelacijsko analizo. Vprašanja, katerih podatke analiziramo v članku, so bila vključena v Vprašalnik za učence, postavljena so bila tako, da so pri postavkah učenci izbirali svoje odgovore na 4-stopenjski Likertovi lestvici (podrobneje jih opisujemo pri rezultatih vsake od analiz). Preden so bile izračunane lestvice oziroma korelacije med spremenljivkami, je bilo opravljeno nasprotno kodiranje spremenljivk, da smo dobili vrednosti, ki so imele isto smer (druga-

⁵ Sodelovali so tudi učitelji in ravnatelji, vendar njihovih podatkov v tem članku ne analiziramo, ker za vsebino tega članka niso relevantni.

če analize, primerjave ne bi bile pravilne). Za analizo podatkov smo uporabili programsko orodje RALSA (Mirazchiyski in INERI 2020), ki upošteva kompleksni dizajn in kompleksno vzorčenje raziskave ICCS.

3.2 Rezultati in interpretacija

3.2.1 Osmošolci s pozitivnejšimi stališči o vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo

V naši analizi nas je najprej zanimala morebitna povezava med pogostostjo obiskovanja verskih obredov zunaj doma z drugimi ljudmi in stališča osmošolcev o vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo. V analizi smo izračunali Spearmanovo korelacijo, in to med lestvico »Stališča osmošolcev o vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo« (S_RELINF) in pogostostjo obiskovanja verskih dogodkov zunaj doma z drugimi ljudmi. Lestvica S_RELINF je oblikovana na podlagi prvih šestih postavk, ki smo jih navedli v tabeli 1: vera je zame bolj pomembna kakor to, kar se dogaja v državni politiki; vera mi pomaga pri odločanju o tem, kaj je prav in kaj ni; verski voditelji bi morali imeti več vpliva v družbi; vera bi morala vplivati na to, kako se ljudje vedejo drug do drugega; življenjska pravila, ki temeljijo na veri, so pomembnejša kakor pravila civilnega prava; vsi ljudje bi morali imeti svobodo, živeti v skladu z vero, ki jo sami izberejo. Kakor že navedeno, je bila kategorija odgovorov 4-stopenjska Likertova lestvica (od zelo se strinjam do nikakor se ne strinjam).

Preverili smo korelacijo (izračunali Spearmanov koeficient korelacije rangov) med omenjeno lestvico in vprašanjem o pogostosti udeleževanja verskih obredov zunaj doma z drugimi ljudmi. Osmošolce smo namreč vprašali prav to, obenem pa smo jim ponudili naslednje kategorije odgovorov, ki zadevajo pogostost udeleževanja omenjenih obredov: nikoli, manj kakor enkrat na leto, vsaj enkrat na leto, vsaj enkrat na mesec, vsaj enkrat na teden.

	Korelacija s pogostostjo obiskovanja verskih obredov zunaj doma z drugimi ljudmi	Standardna napaka	p-vrednost
Stališča osmošolcev o vplivu vere na družbo	0,53	0,02	< 0,001

Tabela 2: Korelacija pogostosti obiskovanja verskih obredov in stališč o vplivu vere na družbo med osmošolci V Sloveniji. Vir: Baza ICCS 2016, naši lastni izračuni.

Rezultati analize (tabela 2) so pokazali, da je korelacija pozitivna in dokaj močna (0,53, s standardno napako 0,02) in je statistično značilna ($p < 0,001$). To pomeni, da imajo osmošolci, ki pogosteje obiskujejo verske obrede zunaj doma, tudi pozitivnejše mnenje o vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo.

3.2.2 Religija oziroma vera kot katalizator državljske participacije – prostovoljstvo, politična participacija

V uvodnem delu članka smo povzeli rezultate nekaterih drugih raziskav, ki pričajo o pomenu religije oziroma vere kot pomembnega katalizatorja za državljsko

participacijo. Zato bomo v nadaljevanju analizirali povezavo med pogostostjo udeleževanja pri verskih obredih zunaj doma in stališči o prostovoljstvu v prihodnje oziroma dosedanje sodelovanje v prostovoljskih dejavnostih za pomoč skupnosti, prav tako pa tudi povezavo med pogostostjo udeleževanja pri verskih obredih zunaj doma in politično participacijo.

V Spearmanovi korelacijski analizi smo uporabili že prej opisano spremenljivko pogostosti obiskovanja verskih obredov zunaj doma z drugimi ljudmi in spremenljivki o prostovoljstvu. Znotraj vprašanja »Kako pogosto sodeluješ pri dejavnostih organizacij, klubov oziroma skupin«, na katero so osmošolci odgovarjali tako, da so izbrali eno od treh ponujenih kategorij odgovorov (da, sodeloval sem v zadnjih dvanajstih mesecih; da, sodeloval sem, toda pred več kakor letom dni, in ne, nikdar nisem sodeloval), je bila tudi postavka: »Prostovoljna skupina, ki dela za pomoč skupnosti«. Drugo vprašanje, vezano na pričakovano participacijo na volitvah in v drugih organizacijah v prihodnje (ko bodo ti učenci odrasli, pri volitvah je to, na primer, že približno štiri leta po tem, ko so bili testirani), je prav tako vsebovalo postavko o prostovoljstvu: »Prostovoljno pomagal ljudem v lokalni skupnosti«. Glede na to, kako je bilo vprašanje zastavljeno, je to pomenilo: v prihodnje. Pri tem vprašanju so bile možne kategorije odgovorov: to bi zagotovo naredil; to bi verjetno naredil; tega verjetno ne bi naredil; tega zagotovo ne bi naredil.

	Korelacija s pogostostjo obiskovanja verskih obredov zunaj doma z drugimi ljudmi	Standardna napaka	p-vrednost
Sodelovanje v prostovoljni skupini, ki dela za pomoč skupnosti	0,11	0,02	< 0,001
Pripravljenost, prostovoljno pomagati ljudem v lokalni skupnosti v prihodnje	0,14	0,02	< 0,001

Tabela 3: Korelacija med pogostostjo obiskovanja verskih obredov in prostovoljstvom osmošolcev v Sloveniji. Vir: Baza ICCS 2016, naši lastni izračuni.

Spearmanova korelacija med pogostostjo obiskovanja verskih obredov zunaj doma z drugimi ljudmi in sodelovanjem v prostovoljni skupini, ki dela za pomoč skupnosti, je resda šibka (0,11; s standardno napako 0,02), a je statistično značilna ($p < 0,001$). Korelacija med odgovori osmošolcev na pogostost obiskovanja verskih obredov in pripravljenostjo, prostovoljno pomagati ljudem v lokalni skupnosti v prihodnje, je prav tako resda šibka (0,14, s standardno napako 0,02), čeprav je tudi tukaj povezava statistično značilna ($p < 0,001$). To pomeni, da bodo osmošolci (takšna so vsaj bila njihova stališča ob izvajanju raziskave), ki pogosteje obiskujejo verske obrede z drugimi ljudmi zunaj svojih domov, pogosteje prostovoljno sodelovali v svojih lokalnih skupnostih (vendar korelacija ni tako močna).

V nadaljevanju sta nas zanimala še dva vidika politične participacije v prihodnje; v analizah smo uporabili dve lestvici:

- pričakovana elektorska participacija v prihodnje – ta lestvica je sestavljena iz naslednjih postavk: glasovanje na lokalnih volitvah, glasovanje na nacionalnih volitvah, pridobitev informacij o kandidatih pred glasovanjem na volitvah;
- pričakovana aktivna politična participacija v prihodnje – ta lestvica je sestavljena iz naslednjih postavk: pomoč kandidatu ali stranki med volilno kampanjo, pridružiti se politični stranki, pridružiti se sindikatu, kandidirati na lokalnih volitvah, vključiti se v organizacijo, ki ima politične ali dobrodelne namene.

Pri postavkah obeh lestvic so kategorije možnih odgovorov naslednje: to bi zagotovo naredil, to bi verjetno naredil, tega verjetno ne bi naredil, tega zagotovo ne bi naredil.

	Korelacija s pogostostjo obiskovanja verskih obredov zunaj doma z drugimi ljudmi	Standardna napaka	p-vrednost
Pričakovana elektorska participacija osmošolcev	0,12	0,02	< 0,001
Pričakovana aktivna politična participacija osmošolcev	0,05	0,02	0,033

Tabela 4: *Korelacija med pogostostjo obiskovanja verskih obredov in pričakovano (politično) participacijo osmošolcev v Sloveniji v prihodnje. Vir: Baza ICCS 2016, naši lastni izračuni.*

V tabeli 4 prikazujemo rezultate Spearmanove korelacijske analize med pogostostjo obiskovanja verskih obredov osmošolcev in pričakovano udeležbo na volitvah v prihodnosti (se pravi: elektorsko participacijo) – povezava je šibka (0,12; s standardno napako 0,02), čeprav je statistično značilna ($p < 0,001$). Povezava pogostosti obiskovanja verskih obredov učencev in prihodnje politične udeležbe je še šibkejša (0,05; s standardno napako 0,02), čeprav je tudi tukaj statistično značilna ($p = 0,033$). Iz teh rezultatov lahko sklepamo, da bodo osmošolci, ki pogosteje obiskujejo verske obrede zunaj doma, bolj verjetno udeleženi na volitvah kakor pa neposredno v politiki. Vendar je korelacija precej šibka.

3.2.3 Povezava med stališči o vlogi religije pri vplivu na družbo in evropsko identiteto

Kakor so pokazali rezultati raziskave, opravljene na priložnostnem vzorcu 149 mladostnikov, starih med 15 do 22 let (se pravi: od začetka srednje šole do praviloma vključenosti v 1. bolonjsko stopnjo študija), h kulturni razsežnosti evropske identitete najpomembneje prispeva religiozna identiteta (Golob, Makarovič in Tomšič 2019, 166;169). V naši bazi imamo dva sklopa spremenljivk, na podlagi katerih lahko za populacijo osmošolcev v Sloveniji izračunamo povezavo med občutkom evropske identitete in stališči o vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo.⁶

⁶ Seveda je treba povedati, da je naš konstrukt evropske identitete drugačen kakor v omenjeni raziskavi, ki pa nam je vendarle dala idejo za ta del našega članka.

Pri tej analizi smo izračunali Pearsonovo korelacijo med lestvico S_RELINF (stališča osmošolcev o vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo – to je lestvica, ki smo jo uporabili tudi pri prvi analizi) in lestvico E_EUIDENT (lestvica, ki je pri osmošolcih merila občutek evropske identitete). Izračunana je na podlagi vprašanja, ki je bilo vključeno v tako imenovani Evropski modul raziskave ICCS 2016. Lestvico evropske identitete osmošolcev sestavljajo naslednje postavke: sebe imam za Evropejca; ponosen sem, da živim v Evropi; počutim se kakor del Evrope; sebe imam najprej za državljana Evrope, potem pa za državljana sveta. Učenci so pri teh postavkah lahko izbirali med štirimi možnimi kategorijami odgovorov: zelo se strinjam, strinjam se, ne strinjam se, nikakor se ne strinjam.

	Korelacija s stališči učencev o vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo	Standardna napaka	p-vrednost
Občutek evropske identitete	0,07	0,02	p < 0,001

Tabela 5: Korelacija med stališči osmošolcev v Sloveniji o vplivu vere na družbo in občutkom evropske identitete. Vir: Baza ICCS 2016, naši lastni izračuni.

Korelacija med obema lestvicama je precej šibka (0,07; s standardno napako 0,02), čeprav je statistično značilna (p < 0,001). To pomeni, da obstajajo učenci, ki se strinjajo s tem, da ima vera vpliv na družbo, in se ponavadi opredelijo za evropske državljane, vendar v dokaj majhni meri. Skratka, kljub šibkosti korelacije sta ta dva sklopa stališč osmošolcev v Sloveniji povezana.

4. Sklep

V članku nas je zanimala povezava med stališči do vloge vere pri vplivu na družbo in povezava med pogostostjo obiskovanja verskih obredov zunaj doma z drugimi ljudmi v smislu religije oziroma vere kot katalizatorja politične oziroma družbene participacije (sem štejemo tako prostovoljstvo kakor elektorsko participacijo – pripravljenost voliti na volitvah, in pričakovano politično participacijo v prihodnje). Prav tako nas je zanimalo, ali obstaja povezava med stališči osmošolcev do vloge vere v družbi in evropsko identiteto. Populacija, ki smo jo preiskovali, so osmošolci v Sloveniji. Vse podatke za našo analizo smo zbrali v okviru zadnjega zajema Mednarodne raziskave državlanske vzgoje in izobraževanja (ICCS 2016). Vprašanja, ki zadevajo vero, so v izbirnem delu. V Sloveniji smo jih prvič vključili v raziskavo prav v zadnjem ciklu izvedbe raziskave.

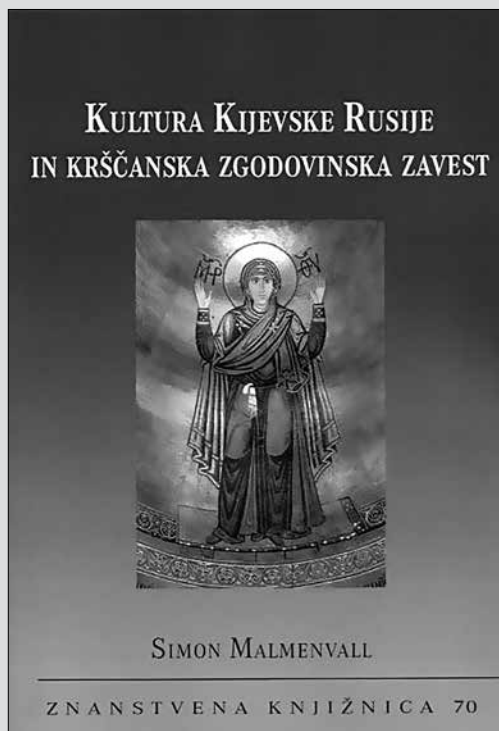
V raziskavi ICCS 2016 se je približno 72 % osmošolcev v Sloveniji opredelilo kot verujočih (okoli 58 % vseh učencev, sodelujočih v raziskavi, je navedlo, da so katališke veroizpovedi), približno 28 % pa se jih je opredelilo kot neverujočih (Klemenčič, Mirazchiyski in Novak 2019, 45). Okoli 32 % osmošolcev je povedalo, da se verskih obredov zunaj doma z drugimi ljudmi udeleži vsaj enkrat na leto, na drugi strani se teh obredov nikoli ne udeleži okoli 24 % osmošolcev v Sloveniji (46).

Naše dodatne analize so pokazale, da imajo osmošolci v Sloveniji, ki pogosteje obiskujejo verske obrede zunaj doma, tudi pozitivnejše mnenje o vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo. Prav tako so rezultati pokazali na resda šibko, vendar pozitivno in statistično značilno povezanost med obiskovanjem verskih obredov zunaj doma s pripravljenostjo na prostovoljstvo za pomoč ljudem v skupnosti v prihodnje (ne nazadnje tudi povezavo s prostovoljstvom do sedaj). Zaznana je bila tudi povezava med stališči osmošolcev o vlogi vere kot vplivu na družbo in občutkom evropske identitete osmošolcev.

Članek prinaša pomembne ugotovitve, ki so v skladu z raziskavami, resda na drugih populacijah, v svetu. Zato je ta del rezultatov pričakovan. Lahko pa smo jih prvič empirično preverili tudi za Slovenijo. Pomembne so iz te perspektive, da bi nemara v nekem vsakodnevnem razmisleku celo menili, kako med prakticiranjem verskih obredov osmošolcev in njihovo, predvsem politično, participacijo ni nobene povezave (zato so nas naši rezultati vsaj delno presenetili). Pri prostovoljstvu bi verjetno to povezavo lažje predvideli. Pa so rezultati analiz pokazali na povezavo pri prav vseh izračunanih korelacijah, čeprav ponekod nekoliko šibkejšo, a še vedno govorimo o statistično značilni povezanosti. Seveda moramo omeniti tudi, da pri tovrstnih raziskavah – verjetno bi to lahko trdili za večino ali celo vsako družboslovno raziskavo – rezultatov ne moremo interpretirati v smislu kavzalnosti, na način, da bi iskali vzrok in posledico. Najbrž to ni niti tako pomembno, vsekakor je pa pomembno spoznanje, da je med religioznostjo (recimo udeleževanje verskih obredov) in sedanjo in prihodno pripravljenostjo, participirati v družbi, povezava, ki je statistično značilna. Kot argument bi lahko navedli tudi to, da je participacija pri bolj verskih dejavnostih pomemben del grajenja aktivne participacije v prihodnje, participacije v smislu sodelovanja v družbenem življenju, ki ima seveda različne perspektive. Pri tem ne govorimo le o aktivni participaciji v političnem življenju, čeprav smo potrdili tudi to povezavo. V tem oziru so rezultati vsekakor pomembni za slovenski šolski sistem. Dajejo namreč vpogled v to, da govorimo o dveh področjih našega življenja (vera, politična participacija), ki se na prvi pogled zdita ločeni, pa očitno nista. To je vsekakor pomembno za nadaljnji razvoj področja državljske vzgoje v Sloveniji. V publikaciji *Razvoj državljske vzgoje v Sloveniji* (Čepič et al. 2012, 166) avtorji predlagajo, »da se vsebina etika in vednost o verstvih izločita iz učnega načrta za državljsko vzgojo« in »da dobita mesto kot samostojna obvezna predmeta, saj bodo samo v tem okviru vsebine etike in poznavanja verstev dobile tisti minimalni obseg, ki jima glede na vsebino splošne izobrazbe in primerjave z drugimi državami gre«. Naši rezultati temu na eni strani pritrjujejo, češ kako pomembne so te vsebine v kurikulumu (zato se vsekakor strinjamo, da morajo tudi vsebine o verstvih imeti svojo vlogo v kurikulumu), vendar po drugi strani, morda se zdi paradokсно, temu lahko celo nasprotujejo. Rezultati so namreč pokazali, da govorimo o dveh sklopih (politična participacija in vera), ki sta očitno povezana.

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Simon Malmenvall
**Kultura Kijevske Rusije
in krščanska zgodovinska zavest**

Monografija spada v okvir kulturno-idejne zgodovine in historične teologije. Gre za prvo celovito osvetlitev oblikovanja krščanske kulture Kijevske Rusije (najstarejše vzhodnoslovanske državne tvorbe, ki je obstajala med 10. in 13. stoletjem) v slovenskemu znanstvenemu prostoru. Pri tem je posebna pozornost namenjena proučitvi zgodovinske zavesti (kot zgodovine odrešenja) takratne staroruske psvetne in cerkvene elite v času neposredno po uradnem sprejetju krščanske vere. Poglavitni del monografije se posveča štirim zgodovinsko-religijskim narativnim virom, sestavljenim med sredino 11. in sredino 12. stoletja: pridigi Beseda o postavi in milosti, letopisu Pripoved o minulih letih, hagiografiji Branje o Borisu in Glebu in potopisu Življenje in romanje Danijela.

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Existence and Prevention of Social Exclusion of Religious University Students due to Stereotyping

Obstoj in preprečevanje družbenega izključevanja vernih študentov zaradi stereotipizacije

Abstract: Man is born into a tangle of standard processes and behaviour patterns created and modified over time. Through gradual socialization, he acquires the attributes of his own culture and gets acquainted with the admissible *modus operandi* for the social group he is a member of; he also deepens these principles and confronts them with the experiences of others. Stereotyping is a process that represents the initial classification of phenomena and people, which it categorizes into groups and assigns them positive or negative characteristics. Stereotypes form the ideas that people have about themselves and ,their' group with which they identify and are aimed at members of other groups with which they do not identify. Negative stereotypes about other people arise from pursuing one's own positive social identity and positive self-presentation. Stereotyping of believers occurs precisely because of perceived differences between ,we' and ,them' (for example, in attitudes and values, possibly in ,religious' practice). Stereotypes are often the unconscious ,beginning' of a range of known intolerant attitudes; they can lead to racism, anti-Semitism, ethnic discrimination, and other forms of intolerance. According to the experts, no nation has innate attitudes to hate, as they cannot be inherited in a biological-psychological sense. Intolerance is acquired, often to justify negative attitudes and behaviours. Using the qualitative method of guided group interviews (the so-called focus group), we examine the existence of stereotypes in university students towards their religious classmates. We consider the potential of social exclusion of young believers due to stereotypes and present current measures in prevention.

Key words: stereotype, social exclusion, social identity, adolescents, controlled interview

Povzetek: Človek je z rojstvom postavljen v mrežo skupnih procesov in vedenjskih vzorcev, ki nastajajo in se spreminjajo skozi čas. Skozi postopno socializacijo prevzame značilnosti svoje kulture in spozna dovoljeni *modus operandi* družbene skupine, ki ji pripada; ta načela tudi poglobi in jih primerja z izkušnjami drugih. Stereotipizacija je proces, ki pomeni začetno razvrščanje pojavov in ljudi, vse pa nato kategorizira v skupine in jim pripiše pozitivne ali negativne lastnosti. Stereotipi oblikujejo predstave, ki jih imajo ljudje o sebi in o »svoji« skupini, s katero se identificirajo; usmerjeni so k članom drugih skupin, s katerimi se ne identificirajo. Negativni stereotipi o drugih ljudeh nastopijo z namenom krepitve svoje pozitivne identitete in pozitivnega vrednotenja samega sebe. Stereotipizacija vernikov se rodi prav zaradi prepoznanih razlik med ,nami' in ,njimi' (npr. v načinu vedenja in pri vrednotah, morda tudi pri ,religiozni' praksi). Stereotipi pogosto pomenijo nezavedni ,začetek' vrste znanih nestrpnih drž; vodijo lahko k rasizmu, antisemitizmu, etnični diskriminaciji in k drugim oblikam nestrpnosti. V skladu z ugotovitvami strokovnjakov ne obstaja narod, ki bi imel prirojeno sovražstvo, saj se to ne more dedovati v biološko-psihološkem smislu. Nestrpnost je naučena, pogosto zato, da bi z njo upravičevali negativno razpoloženje in vedenje. Na podlagi kvalitativne metode skupinsko vedenih intervjujev (fokusna skupina) preučujemo obstoj stereotipov med univerzitetnimi študenti v razmerju do njihovih vernih sošolcev. Obravnavamo potencial družbenega izključevanja mladih vernikov zaradi stereotipov in predstavimo aktualne ukrepe na področju preprečevanja takšnih fenomenov.

Ključne besede: stereotip, družbeno izključevanje, družbena identiteta, adolescenti, kontrolirani intervju

1. Introduction

Religious pluralism in European countries has not achieved the expected weakening of faith. On the contrary, it turned out that a more significant number of religious alternatives leads to an overall increase in religiosity and market competition. The individual has more choice, which increases his ,consumption' (religiosity) and, in Wohlrab's words, his interest in stricter (i.e., more fundamentalist) religious practice (Wohlrab-Sahr [n.d.]). After the fall of communist totalitarianism in 1989, Slovakia was no exception. At the last census in 2011, 75% of the state's population declared their affiliation with churches and religious societies registered in the Slovak Republic. There are currently 18 registered churches and religious societies and approximately 200 unregistered religious groups in the Slovak Republic; most of them are movements of Christian origin (Grešková 2013).

The surprising return of interest in religion was reflected in its destiny - with the globalization of the world grew the globalization of religion and the pursuit of dialogue, ecumenism, and interfaith dialogue on the one hand and the activity

of religious radicalism on the other. While the former was either ignored or welcomed, the second led to a reaction in a global society that vehemently rejected forms of religious radicalism and fundamentalism; this was reflected not only in the structures of society but also in everyday interpersonal relationships. As a result of the radicalism of religion, a sense of threat naturally grew in society, evoking old stereotypes and creating new forms of intolerance; Stereotyping has become a tool for labelling ‚difference‘ and contributes to the world view in two opposing terms daily – on the one hand, we are ‚we‘ and, on the other hand, ‚they‘. The subject of both attitudes is the question of ‚what does ‘ and ‚what is‘ the second group as opposed to ‚what is doing‘ and ‚what is‘ our group. Within this view, even in the university’s environment, it is possible to perceive the diversity of young children of character or their interests and values and habits that can be the target of ridicule or condemnation. According to Plichtová and Podolinská, the duality of the view ‚we‘ – ‚they‘ carries with it its own (usually negative) emotion and the current behaviour that follows from this view; in stereotypes and prejudices, according to the author, there is a present tendency to harm or cause discrimination (RTVS 2017).

Similarly, Pickering states that ‚difference‘ is constructed as a deviation from normal, safe, or important. The definition of otherness is made consciously, i.e., to »ensure the unification of the collective identity and separate the privileged from the subordinate« (Pickering 2001, 49). Cipro agrees with this, referring to the tendency of the ‚superiority complex‘ as an objective undesirable and dangerous moment, which aims at the social exclusion of underestimated minority groups and individuals within the social group (Cipro 2001).

The school space – the classroom – is also one of many social groups. There is stress from exams and the fear of failure, but these unpleasant feelings last forever after college, and we realize that our college life has brought us many lovely memories. These are pleasant and full of experiences for most graduates. However, some such students come to mind when they have to immerse themselves in books and scripts and face ridicule and paganism. The reason could be simplified, exaggerated, constantly recurring, and easily recognizable ‚truths‘ with a negative emotional charge, as Burton and Jiráček or any describe stereotypes ‚difference‘ that was not accepted by the majority. Such a ‚difference‘ is also the individual’s religiosity (Burton and Jiráček 2003, 196–197). One of the many definitions of religiosity speaks of it as a kind of belief in the existence of supernatural phenomena and beings, but the term religiosity already includes participation in activities that are directly related to this belief and its experience; according to experts, it is a complex of phenomena such as religious beliefs, experiences, and actions (Sekot 1985; Ševčíková 2004; Kuberová and Baňasová, 2015 and others). Briefly, religiosity describes how religion is realized within individual social groups and how one ‚experiences‘ religion, i.e. to what extent his experience of religion affects his ordinary life, actions, decisions or understanding of duties, responsibilities for oneself and others, and so on; we consider interesting several different concepts of the role of humanity in the

world which is represented by Vymetalová et al. (2020). Religiosity, in this sense, thus represents an observable manifestation of religion, which can be observed in a particular group of people over time and judged in various ways by an individual or another group of people. The paper will evaluate the religious manifestations of religious individuals from the perspective of the non-religious majority. We will evaluate the forms of stereotyping of non-religious students towards their religious classmates.

The term stereotype refers to a highly stable belief, almost independent of people's experiences. The stereotype represents the initial classification of phenomena and people, categorizing them into groups and, consequently, assigns positive and negative values to the given phenomena and people. Stereotypes are relatively stable patterns that persist even when their new findings do not confirm or even refute them. The stereotype can also be positive, which can no longer be said of a deliberately harmful prejudice, and is negative for subjective reasons, not for objective conditions (e.g., lack of information, note) (Burton and Jiráček 2003, 196–197). Prejudice can also be aptly described through its Anglicism; in the past, the term meant the English term prejudice, i.e., condemn in advance.

Several experts describe stereotypes and prejudices as similar concepts, and we also come across opinions where the two concepts are in a kind of conditioned relationship. According to social psychology, stereotypes relate to prejudices, but it is not the same. According to the experts, prejudices often begin as an expression of ethnocentrism, i.e., as we suggest above in the text, we judge others by the eyes of our group, and we consider that to be the best (Alpport 1954; Šišková 1998; Vašečka 2013, and others). Hinton pointed out an exciting phenomenon: positive self-presentation and identification with one's group do not automatically create negative stereotypes about 'different' groups. The determining attribute is the 'type of foreign group' (Hinton 2000). In the study, we are interested in representing this 'foreign group' for the researched university students of the humanities and what reasons the students give for judging (and not once condemning) their classmates from the ranks of Jews, Christians, and Muslims.

As a starting point in thinking about stereotyping, we draw attention to the research conclusions by the Slovak Centre for Research on Ethnicity and Culture, which has long drawn attention to the deepening of ethnic tensions in society, discrimination against minorities, and intolerance of Slovaks to otherness. Despite the high social importance of religion, which is inherent in most Slovaks, there is tension in the relationship of the majority to any 'difference'. According to experts, the reason for the tension is mainly the long-term debate, which portrays minorities in Slovakia as a threat and a real threat to the territorial integrity, cultural sovereignty, and dominance of the majority nation, which are ethnic Slovaks (Centrum pre výskum etnicity a kultúry 2019).

2. Methodology and review of the related literature

The research presented in this study consisted of a combination of qualitative pre-research using a focus group and a qualitative-quantitative questionnaire completed by 140 university students. The chosen qualitative method of pre-research proved to be suitable, as the selected seven respondents were able to justify their statements in more detail or confront them with the opinions of other participants (see Table 1). The method was also valuable for identifying assumptions about stereotypes, verified in the quantitative part of the research, where the questionnaire was used. The focus group ended with a joint expression of the participants' agreement with the conclusions of the interview, which eventually eliminated potentially misinterpretations of the pre-research.

Number of members: 7		
Sex:	4 men	3 women
Education:	2 high school, 2 university	2 high school, 2 university
The religious point of view:	2 believers, 2 unbelievers	1 believer, 2 unbelievers

Table 1: *Characteristics of focus group members. Source: own research.*

The focus group was followed by research using a questionnaire method. The research aimed to identify decisive stereotypes in the research sample of (non-religious) respondents towards their religious classmates. The questionnaire was a combination of quantitative and qualitative questions and was designed to enable the acquisition of data and data on deeper reflection processes of the research sample (Gavora 2007). Although more challenging to categorize and interpret, we chose the path of seven open-ended questions. Our goal was not to present any variants of answers to the respondents. The method was a benefit, as we obtained many attitudes and exciting ideas from the respondents, which suitably complete the researched issues. There were 140 questionnaires; we categorized more than 980 answers. The other three questions of the questionnaire were closed. They either gave respondents the option to choose one of the options or asked the respondent to rank them according to preferences (i.e., on a scale of 1–5). The questionnaire was distributed to university students of humanities at the University of Žilina.

The two separate and time-phased parts of the research had different goals, used different research methods, and obtained their data, thus contributing to the main goal of the study, which was to research the decisive stereotypes of (non-religious) university students against their religious classmates, i.e., against Jews (1st partial objective), Christians (2nd partial objective) and Muslims (3rd partial objective). An overview of the research design is shown in Chart 2.

Research questions	
1 st research question:	<i>What are the most common stereotypes of college students against Jews? (Q1)</i>
2 nd research question:	<i>What are the most common stereotypes of college students against Christians? (Q2)</i>
3 rd research question:	<i>What are the most common stereotypes of college students against Muslims? (Q3)</i>
4 th research question:	<i>What are the desirable measures to prevent stereotyping in higher education? (Q4)</i>
Research methods	
<i>Qualitative group interview</i>	7 members of the group discussed 2 times for 2 hours
<i>Qualitative-quantitative questionnaire</i>	140 university students were contacted

Table 2: *Research design – Qualitative-quantitative research: research questions and research methods. Review of the related literature.*

The issue of stereotyping Jews, Christians, and Muslims is extensive. That is why we choose a qualitative selection of historical and current events based on the available literature and the richness of historical and current studies on this issue. The aim is to approach the current reality and describe and analyse manifestations of stereotyping against Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Slovakia, yet in wider Europe. The choice of presented circumstances is conditioned by the real impact of these events on the present. We consider the optics of processing the issue to be essential - we notice members of religious minorities in Slovakia (i.e. Jews, Christians and Muslims) as ‚victims of violence‘, not as ‚actors of violence‘, as they are currently mainly Muslims, followed by Christians and Jews, as actors of violence have been the subject of many publications and comprehensive studies (Spencer 2006; Sartori 2005; Müller 2005; Mendel 2000; McGoldrick 2007; Kúing and Van Ess 1998; Kropáček 1996; Kepel 2006; Fletcher 2003; Barša 2001; Anderson 1990, etc.).

The Stephen Roth Institute, an academic institution at Tel Aviv University, has long focused on studying anti-Semitism in Europe, presenting data on contemporary anti-Semitism and racism in Eastern Europe, including Slovakia. In addition to violence and vandalism, the institute also monitors the area of propaganda that interests us primarily due to the paper’s topic. Data from the Institute speak of anti-Jewish literature (e. g., the Protocols of the Sages of Zion) and publications (denying the Holocaust, attempts to rehabilitate racist and fascist figures, etc.), stereotypical newspaper attacks, as well as targeted propaganda in the media or on the Internet. Attacks on Israelis in Eastern Europe also take place through election campaigns, ‚street art‘ (the so-called graffiti) or leaflets with stereotypical arguments (e.g., Jews as actors in vandalism on Christian heritage, etc.) (The Stephen Roth Institute on Antisemitism and Racism [n.d.]).

Modern anti-Semitism identifies Jews, according to Vago, as the early spreaders of globalization and as its primary users. Stereotyping presents the picture that, with globalization, Jews are concerned about the global interests of the United States, world Jewry, and Israel; they are presented as aggressive forces, destabilizing the economy and society of European nations to dominate the world (Vago 2000). According to Jelínek, stereotypical accusations of Jews of espionage,

betrayal, or unfair practices ‚favouring Israel‘ are common (Jelínek 2000). Thanks to globalization, the stereotypical image of a Jew in the eyes of Gentiles acquires other unflattering characteristics – in the words of Vago, he is »an eternally cunning Jew who has no roots and serves his interests spread all over the world« (Vago 2000, 26). Moreover, Jews always take a picture of the rich and influential, while others suffer misery. According to Jelínek, this view is based on another stereotypical belief, namely that »Jews manipulate facts or falsify them in order to suck out poor Eastern European states« (Jelínek 2000, 156–158).

Vago also points to the stereotypical ways in which Jews' claims for restitution and compensation are presented to the public in the countries of post-Christian Eastern Europe. The author aims to point out the stereotypical image of Jews who »extract money from post-communist states« (Vago 2000, 22). According to Vago or Králik, there is also a negative view of Jews because of the reasons for the Holocaust presented in society (Vago 2006; Králik 2020) As a result, right-wing extremists have been clearly and gradually negating the Holocaust since 1989. Their efforts are to raise minimal doubts about what happened to the Jews, casting a grey shadow on the struggle for historical memory.

In Slovakia, several experts map the issue of the relationship of the Slovak majority to the Jewish minority. Hradská points to the Jewish community as the first oppressed and shouted minority, which experienced economic prosperity in the 19th century, and eventually became a ‚scapegoat‘ responsible for all the ills and problems of Slovak society at the time. According to Hradská, the word ‚Jew‘ was identified among Slovaks in the 19th century (and beyond) with the word ‚usurer‘. The tendency to look at Jews through the prism of their property position in society prevailed; negative passions were aroused by the economic power of the Jews and their economic expansion (Hradská 2014). Even according to Rybářová, Jews were given the adjective ‚bearers of social injustice‘ among Slovaks, as Slovaks were in poverty, while »Jews always had large supplies« (Rybářová 2014). Jelínek recalls that it was even a period when he shouts, »Away with the Jews! Death to the Jews!« (Jelínek 1999, 24).

The stereotyping of Jews in Slovakia in the first half of the 20th century was also helped by the belief that Jews reported Slovaks and sympathized with Hungarians. According to Krekovičová and Panczová, the Jews' efforts to »be a support for the Hungarian political, cultural and economic elites« contributed to this stereotype, making them »the enemy of Slovak nationalism« (Krekovičová and Panczová 2013, 35). According to Hradská, Jews in Slovakia were described as an organic part of Hungarian Jewry and bearers of Hungarianization – the enemy of the Slovak government and the nation (2014). Mešťan pointed out that the accusation of Jews participating in the Hungarianization of Slovaks is also related to the current persistence of anti-Jewish nationalist and racial stereotypes. Finally, propaganda played an important role in the attitude of Slovaks towards Jews, proclaiming the question of whether »do Jews really have a Slovak national feeling?« Experience has shown that they lived in Slovakia as foreigners, linguistically, economically, and religiously (Mešťan 2000a). The answer to the question was no.

That is also why, as Hradská points out, the image of a Jew has always been the same - a Jew was »a usurer, a merchant, a robber, a muggle, a speculator, an exploiter« (Hradská 2004)

According to Meššan, the assimilation policy of the forty-year-old communist regime also supported racial stereotypes concerning minorities in the thinking of part of the population in Slovakia (Meššan 2000a). After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, some anti-Semitic phenomena revived, which were studied by Fatranová. According to the author, three phenomena appeared briefly and marginally after 1989: hatred towards Jews because Slovaks believed in the world-ruling intentions of Jews; the opinion that Jewish Jews are robbing and robbing and accusing Jews of participating in the Hungarizaion of Slovaks. Fatranová thinks that only one phenomenon persists to this day - it is political clericalism. This case has become an echo of the effort to recognize the existence of Slovak statehood (Fatranová 2000). Mikloško also explains this more broadly when he points out that Tiso's execution after the war is still a Slovak trauma. »He was a priest, and hanging a priest is a disgraceful death that touches people deeply.« This made him a martyr, so» the idea of Slovak statehood spread further in his execution« (Vagovič 2012).

In the 21st century, several groups of right-wing radicals (connected to the international network of extremist movements), which are characterized by negationism, revisionism, the Auschwitz lie, and other phenomena directed against Jews or questioning Holocaust crimes, began to activate in the approach to Jews in Slovak conditions. According to K. Hradská, establishing such movements in Slovak society is based on the demand for racial purity, often accompanied by anti-religious attitudes. It is a targeted promotion of intolerance and open anti-Semitism, which calls Judaism ‚heretical Hebrewism‘ and Jews ‚antichrists and liars‘. At the same time, the Jews are credited with efforts for world domination and the goals of world mixing of races or the destruction of true Christianity. Vago currently associates the stereotyping of Jews in Slovakia with the nature and deeds of extremist movements. The author talks about the so-called ‚Purifying history‘, i.e., twisting the past, which is backed by extremists' belief that the fate of the Jews during war-torn Slovakia was no different from the fate of ordinary Slovaks. According to the author, a new and current form of anti-Semitism is a systematic attack on the historical memory of the Holocaust to relativize the Holocaust (Vago 2000, 18–21).

In the study, we further approach the forms of stereotyping of Christians in Europe by secular society. The stereotyping of Christians is manifested primarily by attacks in the social sphere. The current reminder of exemplary cases can be found in the so-called *A shadow report on intolerance and discrimination against Christians in Europe*. The text confirms the stigmatization of contemporary European Christianity as well as the day stereotyping of Christians. The report talks about marginalization, restrictions on freedom, and the social exclusion of Christians (which lead to a denial of Christian rights). According to several experts, at least four areas can be identified that are directly related to the problem of soci-

al exclusion of Christians in contemporary Europe: (1) Exclusion of Christians from public life (e.g., non-acceptance of Christian views in the public sphere); (2) Creating stereotypes and prejudices against Christians based on their media image; (3) Focusing on the removal of Christian symbols (e.g., Christmas symbols); (4) Aggressive opposition to Christians in public positions. (Katólicka cirkev na Slovensku [n.d.]])

Christians in Slovakia, according to members of the focus group, do not experience (or only rarely experience) the exclusion of religious groups from public life and space (as we see in other Europe) or religious persecution (as we see in the world), which does not mean that they do not perceive the whole several other forms of stereotyping due to religious intolerance. We mean, for example, condemnation for public and social expressions of faith (or refusal to understand faith only as a matter of individual conscience), derogatory stereotypes, attacks on the Church and total slander of Christians, aggressive secularism in the media, ridicule Christian ethical norms and values (i.e. issues of ethics, human life, family, marriage, sexuality), etc. According to the focus group, the sources of conflicts between Christians and other societies are also becoming ‚secular‘, i.e., power or economic interests of Christian churches.

Carlin also speaks of the ‚historical tricks‘ and ‚outrage over evil‘ committed by Christians in society so far. According to the author, this is one of the fundamental reasons for the intolerance of Christians in today’s society, which does not forget the crimes committed by Christians over the last two thousand years and remembers the violence brought to society by the Crusades, the Spanish Inquisition, the index of forbidden books, the court with Galileo or Copernicus, burning of witches, Catholic-Protestant religious wars and finally the current sex scandals within the church (Carlin 2019). The focus group members also consider Nietzsche’s still surviving view of weak Christianity as a reason for stereotyping Christians today (Nietzsche 1995, 9).

Another of the conclusions adopted in the focus group recalls the much ridicule from the backwardness faced by the Christian churches in Slovakia. According to group members, the church is associated with regression primarily to defend tradition; low capacity to reform and adapt to the ‚new age‘; due to a conservative attitude towards homosexuals, homosexual partnerships, adoptions, and bioethics issues (e. g., artificial insemination) and due to the church’s inability to accept a scientific shift. The conclusions of the focus group also suggest that the Christian church and believing Christians will be referred to as ‚hypocrites‘. The precondition of the focus group is also the opinion that young respondents can perceive the Christian faith as a ‚kind of mental disorder‘, event. Christians can be considered irrational to stupid.’

Muslims are the second-largest religious and cultural community in today’s multicultural Europe. The attitude of the post-Christian world towards Muslims is greatly influenced historically. Let us recall that the current phenomenon and attitude are preceded by the 20th century, when the colonial empires collapsed, in which Islam

prevailed until then. In most Muslim countries, secular political regimes and Western-backed governments have gained power. The penetration of ‚oppression‘ prompted the emergence of more, from moderate to radical movements; in the West, these movements are often referred to as ‚fundamentalist‘. Even in Eastern Europe, especially after the fall of Communism, »the militant Islam became the new ideological antagonist, feared for its anti-democratic elements and propensity to violence« (Kardis et al. 2019, 113). The economic, cultural, or political influence of post-Christian countries manifested itself in the Muslim world in the 20th century under the pressure of unwanted modernization; a parallel phenomenon was the decline of Islamic communities. The reciprocal relationship between Islam and the post-Christian West divides the fatal view of Islam into Western civilization, the ‚moral split‘ which Muslims interpret because of materialistic and immoral Western culture. At the same time, Islam presents itself as a bearer of correct values and true faith.

The reaction of Europeans shows that the religious intolerance of Muslims in Europe is gaining strength and emotion in the 21st century. This is confirmed, among other things, by the findings of the Eurobarometer from the end of 2015. These suggest that Muslims feel the lowest level of social acceptance among religious groups living in today’s Europe (Európska komisia 2015). The subject of the current stereotyping of Muslims is their immigration to Western countries; it is followed in particular by economic problems (e. g. growing poverty and social disparities) and demographic problems (e. g. declining birth rates in European countries and rising birth rates among Muslims); however, there is also more and more talk about Europe’s moral problems (significantly the increase in the anti-social behaviour of immigrants).

According to Bedford, the ‚phobia of Islam‘ began in Europe, but still in 1989, when the British writer of Indian origin, Salman Rushdie, published his novel *Satanic Verses* in London. The book provoked a wave of unrest and protest demonstrations by Muslims; they demanded a death sentence for the novel’s author. The domestic or Western media, which have begun to portray Islamists as dangerous and threatening individuals close to terrorism and extremism, have not contributed to the overall unsatisfactory situation (Bedford 1999). In this context, another fact that has an impact on the present turns out to be true. The third monotheistic religion becomes more tolerant when it feels powerful and self-confident, and vice versa, when retreating from its positions of power, a message more intolerant. According to experts, »within themselves, they consolidate the fundamentalist currents which see the way out of difficulties as a return to the oldest rules« (Tonková 2007; Huntington 1996; Hykisch 2001; Laqueur 2006; Steyn 2006; Reeber 2006 and others).

In Slovakia, the Muslim community is small (approximately 5,000 people), and according to Čikeš, most Muslims represent a group of educated, employed people with a solid economic background (2020). The social status of Slovak Muslims differs significantly from the status of Muslims, for example, in Germany, the United Kingdom, France, or another European country. Especially in the media, however, there is a homogeneous stereotyping of ‚European Muslims‘, which does

not consider the diversity of nations, social statuses, and social roles. A small number of Muslims in Slovakia, yet a large media presentation of the problems associated with Islam, are also the subject of research that points to the hazardous consequences of Europeans' mediated experience with Muslims. We also see in this one of the reasons for the stereotyping of Muslims living in Slovakia. Finally, Slovak Muslims also reflected the situation, who perceive most of society as highly stereotypical (Dugovič 2015).

Semi-annual ethnographic research of Muslim migrants living in Bratislava is certainly interesting in the researched issue. It is a study of the attitude of Slovaks to Islam by Cenker, who states that in connection with Muslims in Slovakia, there is an »argument that is often distorted, simplified and rejected« (Cenker 2010, 223). The author brings a study with a detailed description of the experiences of the religious life of Muslims in our capital. Bratislava Muslims openly talk about the great degree of adaptation to the environment, i.e., the Slovak world in which they move. According to the conclusions of this research, the inadaptability of Slovak Muslims seems to be a stereotype. Finally, valuable research from the environment of Charles University in Prague testifies to the negative attitude of Slovaks towards Islam. Its authors Polonský and Novotný examined whether knowledge of Islam influenced anti-Islamic prejudices and confirmed by research that the higher the level of knowledge, the more prejudices we hold against Muslims; the more our fear of Islam grows in our territory (Novotný 2001). The research concludes that respondents are most concerned about Islamic terrorism and the growing problems of the growing integration of Muslims.

3. Results

Results of the study bring several findings that can be divided into three levels according to three research questions:

In a preliminary survey dealing with the existence of stereotypes against Jews in a seven-member focus group and a survey of stereotypes against Jews in a research sample of 140 respondents, we noted a relatively rare agreement - in both cases defining the five most common stereotypes about Jews in the context of Slovak culture. Our findings are shown in Figure 1.

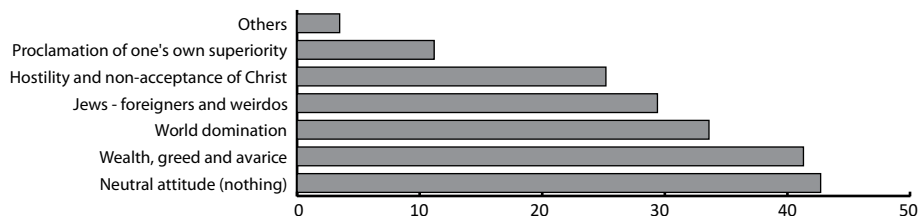


Figure 1: *The most common stereotypes among university students against Jews. Source: own research.*

Figure 2 shows our findings, i.e., the description of the focus group members of presumed stereotypes towards Christians and the findings - stereotyping of Christians in respondents. Five central stereotypes about Christians were identified in the pre-research and the questionnaire. Among the university students whose opinions we obtained through the questionnaire, there were two stereotypes that the focus group members did not anticipate: the respondents' opinion of the intolerance and condemnation of others from Christians and an opinion that reflects the backwardness of Christianity.

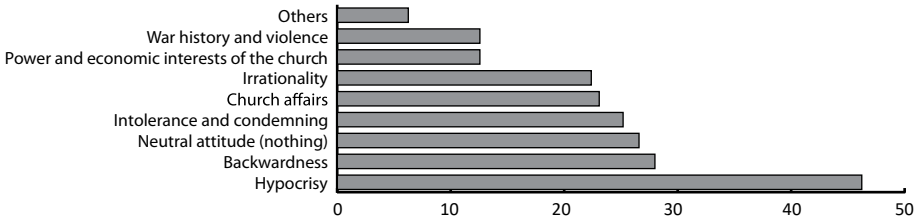


Figure 2: * *Stereotypes from the questionnaire that the members of the focus group did not anticipate*
The most common stereotypes among university students against Christians. Source: own research.

The opinions and attitudes of 140 Slovak university students in quantitative research revealed the most common reasons for the religious intolerance of young Slovaks towards Muslims. Based on the findings, we state that all five assumptions of the focus group members were confirmed. In addition, the focus group members did not anticipate the other two stereotypes, which found themselves to a relatively significant extent in the respondents' statements in the questionnaires. The first stereotype or prejudice was the respondents' belief that Muslims lead an 'unattractive' way of life. The second statement from the respondents is that Muslims are for most Europeans (and Slovaks) 'unwanted neighbours'. According to the questionnaire respondents, 'they are not able to participate in life in Western countries'. Our findings are shown in Figure 3.

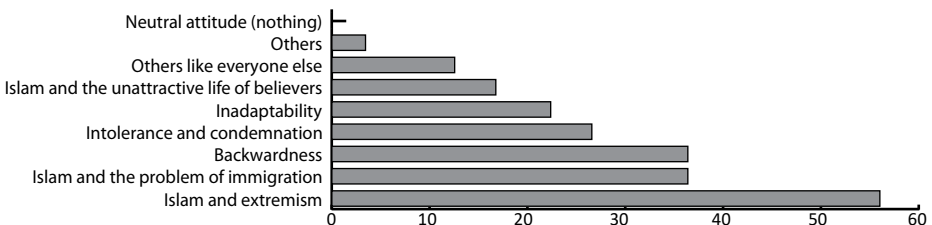


Figure 3: * *Stereotypes from the questionnaire that the members of the focus group did not anticipate*
The most common stereotypes among university students against Muslims Source: own research.

4. Discussion

4.1 1st partial objective – Stereotyping of Jews

To the question »what hinders you the most about Jews?« (Which aimed to reveal the forms of stereotyping of respondents towards Jews), respondents answer as follows: In the questionnaire, the first three most common answers were »nothing, I do not know, and I did not meet with a Jew«. The results suggest a certain indifference in the evaluation of Jews. However, it cannot be ruled out that these three most common answers are interdependent - the lack of personal experience may mean that I do not find any mistakes in a person (i.e., »nothing bothers me«) and that the question »I do not know to respond«.

After the highest values assigned to the neutral answers, the assumption of a stereotype about the wealth, greed, and avarice of the Jews was confirmed. Behind this is the belief that the business abilities of Jews are always accompanied by the ‚affection‘ of Jews for usury and fraud in the business. Based on these stereotypes, Jews are considered those who love wealth. At the same time, they are ‚greedy and avaricious‘, because from what they give to others from what they own, i.e., do not share and are ‚greedy‘, i.e., they desire to own more than they need in life. The assumption of the focus group on this stereotype was confirmed in the research sample in both its meanings, i.e. a Jew as a miserly man and a Jew as a greedy man. The number of opinions gave this stereotype the second-highest value of 41.3%.

The questionnaire also includes a stereotypical view of a Jew as a ‚foreigner‘ in the sense of ‚weirdo‘ (29.4%). Respondents also give examples of different and not exactly understood Jewish customs and laws governing eating, celebrating holidays, or circumcision of young children. The appearance of the Jews is also evaluated negatively: »braids«, »bad hygiene«, »they are ugly«, »I do not like their appearance«, »they look unsympathetic«, and so on. Respondents also confirm some antipathy towards Jewish culture and especially religion: »I do not know what bothers me, but we all know that Jews have always belonged to the group of less popular ones«; »Their customs and traditions are strange«; »They have always been different«; »My religious way of life hinders me«; »They do not try to resolve their relations with the Arabs« and so on.

In the questionnaire, the argument that Jews oppose Christianity, possibly against Christ, was 25.2%, thus confirming the assumption from the focus group in the pre-research. K. Hradská, for example, also perceives this attitude as a danger. She recalls the anti-Jewish attitudes presented in connection with Christianity in groups of right-wing radicals, known for calling Jews ‚antichrists‘ and ‚liars‘, attributing to them, among other things, efforts to destroy true Christianity (Hradská 2007, 174). We record the answer that the Jews are »guilty of the crucifixion of Christ« only in the amount of 4.9%. The longest surviving anti-Semitic phenomenon - the belief that the Jewish people are to blame for the crucifixion of the Son of God seems to weaken. Hradská similarly states this, evaluating this as a positive

consequence of the church's efforts for interfaith dialogue and cooperation with followers of other religions (Hradská 2007). In the context of our findings, we believe that this stereotype helps to alleviate, among other things, the efforts of Christian churches to return to the Jewish roots of their faith.

The so-called 'the superiority of the Jews' is a stereotype that hinders 11.2% of respondents. According to members of the focus group, »Jewish ethnocentrism (perceived as superiority) is associated with several other stereotypes of Jews in our country /.../ and evokes hatred, which has serious social consequences«. The focus group members talk about the consequences, such as conflicting social conditions, unsatisfactory coexistence of the majority and minority, violence against individuals on the streets, vandalism, and the destruction of cultural heritage. Negative references in the context of preferring the importance of Israelis can also be seen in the replies to the questionnaire; for example, there are claims that Jews are »guys with orthodox faith and a belief that they are chosen«; »They are picky and consider themselves superior to others«; »They promote their faith as the sole and only true truth and then rise above others«; »It prevents me from acting – they look conceited« and so on.

The assumption that the respondents will stereotypically perceive Jews in the form of images »Jew as a tavern, usurer or impostor« was not confirmed (the assumption was presented in a study by K. Hradská 2014; J. Alner 2011 and others) – mention of »Jew the innkeeper« or »usurer« does not even appear at all in the answers as well as mention of »Jew as a traitor«, an event »collaborator with the Hungarians« (the assumption was presented in a study by P. Mešťan 2000a; G. Fatranová 2000; K. Hradská 2014; E. Krekovičová and Z. Panczová, 2013 and others). Let us recall that the given stereotype is based on the idea of a Jew - innkeeper and is based on the belief that Jewish innkeepers reported Slovaks and sympathized with the Hungarians by arousing hatred towards the Slovak government and the nation (Hradská 2014). Thirdly, we add that the questionnaire does not include a stereotype, which, according to Fatranová or Vago, persists in Slovakia – it is political clericalism (possibly the so-called 'The Tiso case') (Fatranová 2000; Vago 2000). On the positive side, the surveyed university students show no signs of attempting to relativize the Holocaust, as stated by Vago, nor do they mention the stereotypical view of Jews' intentions to achieve world race mixing or the destruction of Christianity referred to by Hradská (Vago 2000; Hradská 2007).

4.2 2nd partial objective – Stereotyping of Christians

We are aware of the tension between Christian teaching and the practical implementation of this teaching in the lives of believers through the observations of the members of the focus group and the findings of the questionnaire. The stereotype of Christians - hypocrites was confirmed among the young people in our research sample to the highest extent (46.2%). Respondents refer to Christians primarily as 'hypocrites'; fewer common descriptions of Christians are 'saints'; »superficial people who hide behind incense« alike. According to respondents,

Christians are ‚pretending‘; »They choose from faith only what is right for them«; »They behave in the opposite way to their faith«; »They preach to others what they should do and do not do it themselves«; »They do not behave like true Christians«; »They judge a man by going to church and behaving worse than he is«; »They pretend to be believers, but they go to church only to be seen by other people«, and so on. We believe that in this case, we can talk more about ‚prejudices‘, as these are negative attitudes of respondents, resulting from their subjective reasons (Burton and Jiráček 2003, 196–197).

The focus group members did not assume that the respondents would associate Christianity, i.e., Christian churches and Christians with ‚backwardness‘. According to the respondents, the church is associated with regression mainly for the defence of traditions; low capacity to reform and adapt to the ‚new age‘; due to a conservative attitude towards homosexuals, homosexual partnerships, adoptions, and bioethics issues (e. g. artificial insemination) and due to the church’s inability to accept a scientific shift. The stereotype of ‚church backsliding‘ continues in the questionnaires, mostly with accusations that the church is also ‚evil‘ because it denies a person everything nice and pleasant and forces him, in the respondent’s words, ‚to follow the rules or live in constant renunciation‘. The ridicule of the backsliding of Christians is again followed by a stereotypical ‚sarcasm‘ against basic Christian values. From the respondents’ point of view, Christians are especially reproached for being »backsliding as their faith« and »blindly following the orders of their church and following tradition«.

The same surprise that the focus group members did not anticipate was the stereotype of Christians as ‚intolerant and alienating other people‘. Therefore, it is an interesting phenomenon, where the young generation expresses its opinion on what they see in their surroundings and does not perceive it positively. The opinion that »Christians are intolerant and alienate others« was stated in the questionnaire by 25.2% of respondents, which is the third most common answer. The statements in the questionnaire do point to the pressure to ‚accept the Christian worldview‘ that respondents perceive from the Christians they meet. This is evidenced, for example, by the respondent’s opinion: »Religions in themselves are not a problem. The problem is extremism in faith. It is weird, but I feel ‚at home‘ - with our Christians«.

The media presentation of church cases and affairs also significantly contributes to the increase in negativism towards Christianity and the church and to prejudices (possibly stereotyping; for example, paedophilia and sex scandals, politicization and radicalism of the views of church leaders, presentation of ‚efforts‘ to cover-up scandals in the church, etc.). The conclusions of our research, in which the assumption of the focus group was also confirmed in the questionnaire, also point to criticism of the church for the given reasons; we recorded 23.1%. Let us add that, in connection with the cases in the questionnaires. There are also allegations in which a significant part of the research set is openly separated from the church and states that »the church is a corrupt power«; that »one can believe in God, but one cannot trust the church«, or that »one can believe in God without

the church«.

A stereotypical view of the ‚irrationality‘ of Christians in our research sample was confirmed in 22.4% of respondents (e. g., sexual intercourse after marriage, baptism of young children, decency, faith in the effect of prayer, etc.). We will also mention the more extensive statements from the questionnaire: »He who believes in some salvation must be a fool - we will all end up in the dust«; »It is a senseless belief in something that may not even exist«; »One has many shortcomings; it should be clear to them (Christians) that the saint was no one and believes in delusion« and so on. In the context of this stereotype, Christians are referred to in the questionnaire as ‚blind faith heretics‘; ‚naïve‘; ‚prudish biblists‘, ‚flocks of sheep‘ and ‚mentally ill people‘. The statement confirms, among other things, the finding presented in the empirical part of the work that in most countries of contemporary Europe, persecution of Christians has various forms of hatred, and Christians face them daily. This is largely related to Christian stereotypes, as it is stereotyping according to Sedlák that begins the process of »using derogatory names to describe groups considered« different »and continues to justify such reworked, prejudiced and judged differences, and symbolic distance« (Sedlák 2008, 201). According to Allport, the stereotype in this process often justifies and justifies mostly negative attitudes and behaviours. (Allport 1954, 191). Let us add that Nietzsche’s well-known claim about the ‚death of God‘ does not appear in the respondents.

In their statements, the respondents also show negativity towards the church, which they also associate with the ‚secular‘ interests of the church, i.e., the assumption of focus group members that the respondents of the questionnaire will be hindered by »power and economic interests of the church« was confirmed. The variable was mentioned by 12.6% of respondents. Questionnaires also include a negative reference to the Christian historical heritage in the questionnaires, i.e., violent and military interventions ‚in the name of the faith‘. The group members assumed the stereotype in the preliminary research and were confirmed by 12.6% of the respondents in the questionnaire. Interestingly, respondents needed to comment on the negative past of Christianity as a reason for their unbelief.

In the context of qualitative statements from the questionnaires, it can be seen that the respondents’ attitude towards Christians includes not only the application of stereotypes but also the relatively frequent application of prejudices, which are harmful for subjective reasons. Our research group contributes to negativity towards Christians by encouraging individuals to view and innocently evaluate other people. However, it is an evaluation in opposite terms - on one side there are ‚we‘ (i.e. ‚normal‘ people) and on the other side they are ‚they‘ (i.e. ‚radical‘, ‚fanatical‘, ‚irrational‘, ‚hypocritical‘ and similar Christians). In connection with the evaluation of Christians, we also find in the answer’s elements of negative thinking, especially cynicism, simplification, underestimation, prejudices, belief in conspiracy theories, and pessimism. In addition, a unique phenomenon is taking place among the respondents - the positive qualities are interpreted as negative in Christianity. We mention, for example, the statement: »Christians are too polite«;

»They do not swear...«; »They see everything positively and thank God for everything (even for evil)«; or the opinion, »I am bored by the decency of Christians, it is not normal«. Although reverence, a positive perception of life circumstances, or decency are generally positive qualities, in the context of our findings, they surprisingly appear as ‚criticism‘, that is, negative feedback; The good news is that, according to experts, criticism helps us name the conflict so that, if there is a will, we can clarify things and look for constructive solutions to problems and misunderstandings (University of Cambridge 2017).

4.3 3rd partial objective – Stereotyping of Muslims

Muslims set a goal to unite the world in one good faith, that is, Islam. For this purpose, Muslims have ‚jihad‘ (i.e. effort, activity, possibly spreading the faith). According to the focus group members, this fact is well known in our society, and therefore the stereotype ‚all Muslims are extremists‘ is well established in Slovakia. The assumption of the research group was confirmed. More than half of respondents (56%) considered Muslims as extremists; throughout the survey, only this variable received an overwhelming majority of responses. From the answers to the questionnaire, the most common are ‚reproach of Islamic terrorism‘ and ‚condemnation of suicide attacks‘. Third, the respondents also refer to the fanaticism of Muslims in practising the faith as extremism. In this context, our research findings also raise the doubts of respondents about the ‚meaning of faith‘, education and ethics of Muslims or ‚the value of Muslim culture and religion‘.

Another stereotype contains a reproach of the inability to integrate Muslims in Western countries. This is an opinion that the research group members did not anticipate; that is, it came out of the questionnaire, and we recorded it in 36.4% of respondents. We see that the presence of Muslims in Europe is of concern to respondents, and perhaps the fear of over-immigration may be understood. The indicated problems provoke reactions - among other things; we see the stereotyping of all Muslims without distinction and the generalization of media references that speak of the inability of the integration of Muslims in Western countries; According to several experts, including Weigl and Tkáčová, the current Muslim minority in the West is passing through the so-called identification crisis. It is a perception of one’s non-acceptance by the majority society, which is often accompanied by a feeling of uprooting and strong exclusivity (often even discrimination) by the majority (Weigl 2006, 31–37; Tkáčová 2014, 79).

The focus group members expressed the assumption that a stereotype about ‚backwardness of Islam‘ may appear in the questionnaire. This has to do with the relationship of religious individuals to the ‚scriptures‘ of Muslims. Also, in Christianity, for example, the New Testament has a central place in the core of the concept of Christianity (Martin et al. 2020). However, as the intervention of the Qur’an and Sunnah in the case of Islam is visible in all areas of the lives of contemporary Muslim believers (although »life had changed significantly since the 7th century when Islam originated«, as members of the focus group recall), there are currently controversial, contradictory formulations or concepts with different

interpretations. In post-Christian Europe, we see arguments »that total exclusion of religious beliefs for example from public debate is wrong«, but the same arguments clearly »refuse extreme exclusivism and defend moderate exclusivism« (Žalec and Pavlíková 2019, 75). The assumption from the preliminary research was also confirmed in the questionnaire. The problem of the backwardness of Islam, mainly due to the exclusivity of the Qur'an and Sunnah, is perceived by up to 36.4% of respondents, which is the second most common answer. From our research findings, the respondents understand two areas as a manifestation of the backwardness of Islam' are more pronounced. The first is the understanding of the position of women in Islam based on the Qur'an and Sharia. The second thing is the Muslim belief that the Qur'an is God's constant and unchanging revelation (Hadith 1:3 verses 55-57). Opinions on the backwardness of Islam, together with respondents' belief in the inability to integrate Muslims in Western countries, were the second most common statements made by respondents in the questionnaire.

The focus group members also assume an opinion of Muslims, which will point to their ,intolerance and condemning' in the research sample. The seven-member team had in mind the moral judgments that result from the Qur'an and form the basis for the alienating attitude of believing Muslims toward ,unbelievers' that is, to the rest of the non-Muslim world. Sharia also proves to be problematic. »Muslims in the Qur'an is always orthodox and unharmed, Christians on the contrary«, says the participants in the preliminary research. We find similar statements in the questionnaire, so we state that the assumption about this stereotype was confirmed and was the third most common variable for young respondents with a value of 26.6%.

Members of the research group refer to Muslims in European countries as »unadaptable and intolerant«. Their assumption that the questionnaire respondents will similarly evaluate Muslims was confirmed; the variable acquired a value of 22.4%. The following statements of the respondents evidence the existence of the stereotype in our research sample: »Muslims lead a barbaric way of life, in contrast to our civilized«; »They impose their faith and way of life on others, which I consider intolerant«; »They are not sympathetic because they hate Christians«; We cannot see that ,inadaptability and intolerance' are attributed to Muslims primarily in the matter of religion, that is, concerning other believers. This finding is shared by prominent experts such as S. Huntington, professor B. Tibi, Islam specialist professor G. Kepel and, in part, American political scientist B. Barber. They agree that contradictions and conflicts occur mainly between groups with different religions, as religion is their main distinguishing feature (Huntington 1996; Tibi 1995; Kepel 2006; Barber 1996).

The list of the most common stereotypes continues with the conviction of respondents about the ,unattractive life of believing Muslims'; 16.8% of respondents express this opinion through a questionnaire. All the examples that respondents describe as unattractive are significantly dominated by the obligation to cover women; it is a phenomenon that hinders almost half of respondents (49%). Re-

spondents do not comment on the ban on veiling women for religious reasons; they are aware, however, of the wider scope of this issue, in particular the ‚fear of black clothing‘; »Discrimination and social distance of Muslim women from other people of Western culture« and »the problem of identifying Muslim women in public«.

The stereotype of Muslims who ‚are different from everyone else‘ was confirmed in a questionnaire of 12.6%. This finding confirms that in the case of stereotyping in religious intolerance, it determines the degree of positivism and negativism concerning believers, according to Hinton, to a large extent »the type of foreign group« (Hinton 2000, 49). In the case of Muslims, it is a group that Slovaks perceive as ‚the most distant‘. This attitude is reinforced not only by religion but also by customary, cultural differences, the relationship between politics and religion, the significant participation of religion in the private life of Muslims, and the like in the evaluation of Muslims as ‚other‘ and ‚different‘, respondents rely mainly on the recent experience of violent manifestations (beliefs) of Muslims in European countries (historical conflicts are mentioned minimally, note). The result is a verbalized feeling of aversion and open hostility, which can be observed in most questionnaires. Respondents‘ statements about the ‚difference‘ of Muslims from the majority of Slovaks, possibly Europeans, can be uniformly described through the statement of one of the respondents – »Muslims are different from us; they are the greatest foreigners for us«.

Finally, respondents to the question »what bothers me about Muslims« never once used the opportunity to answer with »I do not know« or »I did not meet a Muslim«. However, this possibility is highly probable in Slovakia (due to the small number of Muslims). Even more interesting is that the respondents did not once say that they did not mind ‚nothing‘ about Muslims. The neutral attitude (nothing, I do not know, I did not meet), which was most common in the case of Jews (42.7%) and also in the case of Christians (26.6%), does not appear in the results of the research into the (non) existence of stereotyping of Muslims (0%).

4.4 4th partial objective – The desirable measures to prevent stereotyping in higher education

To meet the fourth partial objective, we finally consider current measures in stereotyping young Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the environment of universities in Slovakia. Due to the complexity and the number of areas covered by the topic, we avoid formulating final recommendations in the following section. Instead, we will focus on proposals that could be supportive, as they emerged from the theoretical and methodological background of this study, reflect the values and inclinations of the authors of this study, and rely on the conclusions of the just presented pre-research and research:

Strengthening respect for diversity and variety in the university environment: Reducing the stereotyping of religious students determines their social inclusion and leads to strengthening respect for diversity and variety. Educational activities

can lead to a greater degree of respect for different cultural, social, or ethnic 'differences', to increasing sensitivity to respect and protection of minorities as well as the identity of religious individuals; to increase students' knowledge and skills in the field of human rights and intercultural dialogue and the like.

Support for initiatives aimed at the complete elimination of manifestations of stereotyping: The university environment represents a suitable space for the implementation of activities whose primary and secondary goal is the elimination of stereotyping, xenophobia, racism, and ethnic intolerance. A parallel phenomenon of these initiatives may be steps leading to strengthening social communication channels that improve the quality of intercultural discourse, increase intercultural awareness, and eliminate prejudices and stereotypes in the university environment.

Solving the emotional level of the problem and non-acceptance: Solving the emotional level of the consequences of stereotyping also proves necessary. The perception of one's non-acceptance, feelings of uprooting, and exclusivity on others pushes religious young people out of university youth's social life events. It thus robs them of an essential element of the so-called quality of life. The feeling of non-acceptance, uprooting, and non-participation is, among other things, responsible for the phenomenon of social exclusion, and this, among other things, again influences the growth of stereotyping. It is a targeted creation of initiatives, which are also an excellent alternative to the shared experience of 'difference', which students have so far perceived mainly through the media. As Petrová and Nemeč remind us, decades ago, the first theories on the impact of digital technologies have started to appear. First, television and later computers were criticized by humans, such as their learning or reading (Petrová and Nemeč 2019). Today we cannot doubt especially the negative impact of the media. Therefore, the support for initiatives aimed at the complete elimination of manifestations of stereotyping is even more welcome and necessary.

Active participation of religious students in social inclusion: For successful inclusion (especially Jews and Muslims), it is necessary to get these students to improve the quality and effectiveness of developed initiatives and programs. The participation of religious students is necessary, encouraged, and welcomed by program proponents, mediators, faculty leaders or their assistants, teachers, volunteers, etc. Active participation will undoubtedly contribute to greater inclusion of religious students or the development of their 'local identity', i.e., »An expression of belonging to a locality and a local society« (Králik et al. 2018, 69).

Linking religious students with local authorities: Linking individuals with local authorities within a particular university could be an appropriate measure in the social inclusion of religious young people (possible members of religious minorities); we mean authorities such as educators, educational counsellors, school social workers, heads of departments or faculties, and others. These people are important local actors in the university environment and can be available to a member of a minority if needed. In this sense, we consider their coordinated co-

operation as one of the possible solutions, as a rich network of experts and their competencies can contribute to solving potential problems through their own professional social and educational activities in the university environment (even outside the university) to the higher motivation to resolve conflicts, to lower stereotyping in the collective and ultimately to more secure social inclusion of religious students in the university environment.

Targeted programs for students as part of the school's educational policy: Exclusive programs focused on stereotyping in society give the impression that Jews and Muslims in particular (as 'different' ones) need a unique approach, and relief leads to the opposite result. Special attention to activities and projects is sometimes needed. However, if possible, especially the participation of religious students - Jews and Muslims - in these programs should not be exclusive (the so-called special programs and policies), but on the contrary, incorporated into programs designed for all (with sensitive inclusion and addressing the specific needs of members of religious minorities). The measure can act as the putty in the local community, helping to reduce tensions and break down stereotypes and prejudices.

5. Conclusion

We are sure that impartial research on the actual or potential motivation of stereotyping among young people in Slovakia can be helpful not only in the context of social exclusion of religious students but also in solving many problems in the context of discrimination and marginalization. This was also one of the motivations for stereotyping research; today, we can talk about the significance or benefits of this study. We wanted to gain a deeper understanding of the causes that lead individuals, consciously or unconsciously, to stereotypical intolerant attitudes toward other people.

The task of the focus group within the pre-research was to determine the forms of stereotyping towards Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Slovakia. To identify and describe the forms of stereotyping in religious students at a selected university in the Slovak Republic, we verified the assumptions from the preliminary research in 140 university respondents through a questionnaire. The research will carry out the fact that Jewish anti-Semitism is universal, has remorse for Jewish social, historical, and religious ethnocentrism, contains stereotypical accusations, and stretches throughout the history of Slovaks. It seems that a new trend of anti-Jewish attitude is emerging in Slovakia - in short, Jewish anti-Semitism is, in addition to the traditionally religious character, increasingly secular, i.e., racially and ethnically oriented.

Stereotypes about Christians have also persisted among Slovaks for decades. The existence of religious wars significantly influences the attitude of believers towards their religion (i.e., Christianity), violent re-Catholicization, declarations

and behaviour of the Catholic priest and president of the fascist republic J. Tis in the pre-war period, anti-church communist propaganda, or scandalous image of Christian churches (mainly in tabloid) media.

According to Grešková, distrust of religious institutions (we see it especially concerning traditional churches) is domesticated in Slovak society with the curiosity of some and the suspicion of others (Grešková 2013). The stereotypes found against Christians in the university environment illustrate that stereotyping manifests itself in ways beyond the usual expression of ‚disagreement‘. It is increasingly taking the form of verbal oppression, ridicule, and paganism, which are encouraged, among other things, by a stereotypical view of the ‚difference‘ in the life of the church and its devotees.

Based on mediated cases with elements of religious intolerance and stereotyping towards Christians, we state, together with members of the research group, that the existence of anti-Christian stereotypes in contemporary Europe and Slovakia conditions many other phenomena: »Reinforcing existing prejudices, offering negative media images of Christians, slander and defamation, which often creates social hostility and professional hardship, or the frequent misuse of art to desecrate Christianity«. Christians face »the suppression or removal of religious symbols, the marginalization of Christian ideas and individuals in the context of political correctness and the rules of political discourse«. Also common are »vandalism, the desecration of Christian buildings, and hate crimes against individuals because of their convictions«.

Probably Muslims have the worst picture among Slovaks. According to the research group from our preliminary research, the causes of stereotyping against Muslims in Europe and Slovakia are the loss of peaceful content of Islam, the rise of Islamization, and the fact that violence against Muslims in Europe is a response to ‚fanatic‘ violence. Other significant problems (more or less based on stereotypical views) include the vague differences between the ‚political‘ and ‚religious‘ motives of believers; regrets of the inability of Muslims to integrate into Western countries; conviction of obscurantism (event. backwardness) in Islam; moral judgments, which represent the alienating attitude of believing Muslims towards ‚infidels‘; respondents‘ beliefs about the inadaptability and intolerance of Muslims in European countries; the perception of life based on Islam as an unattractive life and the view that Muslims are different from us, that is, »they are the greatest foreigners to us«. For these reasons, Muslims in European countries, including Slovakia, may perceive that their religion is increasingly perceived as a radical religious system without the possibility of change; a parallel phenomenon is the undeniable stereotyping of Muslims, both in the media and in ordinary streets.

Among other things, this is confirmed by the final question of the questionnaire, in which we asked about the definition of religious intolerance. Most respondents formulated their answers in relation to Islam and Muslims. Among the three groups examined in our research, we believe that Muslims face the highest level of intolerance in the context of qualitative findings from pre-research. More-

over, we do not find the hateful attitude and stereotyping of respondents only connected with radical Muslims. Once again, the respondents' opinions represent the belief that 'our' is better, more correct, more attractive and, above all, more civilized. In short, the stereotypical view of Muslims is, due to the differences in this culture and religion, relatively visible among the young Slovaks studied.

We can state that the objectives of the paper were met. The study presents an overview of relevant research in stereotyping of Jews, Christians, and Muslims and subsequently the own research findings – the forms and consequences of stereotyping religious young people in higher education.

We see the importance of research in a set of established and subsequently verified assumptions about stereotypes against Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the research group, i.e., among young people in adolescence, which according to experts, is a period of significant holistic personality formation, i.e., accepting or rejecting the opinions of others, including opinion orientation on the 'difference of others'. The design and verification of the usefulness of the research methodology also consider as a contribution of the research.

The research shows the acute need to implement prevention measures that would positively reduce the stereotyping of religious students in higher education. Reducing stereotypes and prejudices can have, among other things, a significant impact on enhancing diversity and variety in the higher education environment, increasing students' knowledge and skills in cultural diversity and human rights, and, finally, the social inclusion of religious young people, their quality of higher education and education and, ultimately, their future.

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Tanja Pate

Kronična bolezen v družini

Kronična bolezen pomembno poseže v vsakodnevno življenje posameznika in njegove družine. Bolezen se nepovabljeno vrine pred osnovno nalogo staršev, partnerjev, sorojencev. Celotna družina se mora soočiti z izgubo možnosti, ki bi jih življenje predpostavljalo, spremeniti že vzpostavljene čustvene, miselne in vedenjske vzorce ter razviti nove, ki bodo omogočali prilagoditev na novo situacijo, nadaljnji razvoj in funkcionalnost.

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The Correlation of Some Characteristics of Religious Identity with the Quality of Life of Persons with Disabilities

Povezanost posameznih značilnosti religiozne identitete s kakovostjo življenja oseb z invalidnostjo

Abstract: Research on the correlation between religious identity and the quality of life of disabled persons is relatively rare and not always yielding the same results. In this paper, attempting to clarify the image of the mentioned relationship, we examine the correlation of some characteristics of religious identity with happiness and personal well-being among persons with various disabilities. An empirical study was conducted (N=684), and the results suggest that blind persons are the most religious, while the least religious are deaf persons. A positive correlation of happiness and personal well-being was found concerning intrinsic characteristics of religiosity, while some extrinsic characteristics of religiosity (declarative belonging to a religious community and the frequency of attending religious seminars) did not show a significant correlation. Faith gives the feeling of belongingness and safety and can be a resource from which disabled persons can draw the strength to cope with a disability; however, it needs to be lived and not expressed just declaratively or ritually.

Keywords: persons with disabilities, religiosity, religious identity, happiness, personal well-being, quality of life

Povzetek: Raziskave o povezavah med religioznostjo in kakovostjo življenja oseb z invalidnostjo so razmeroma redke. Njihovi rezultati se med seboj večkrat ne ujemajo. Da bi ugotovili jasnejše stanje glede medsebojne povezanosti obeh fenomenov, smo v tem članku preverili posamezne elemente religiozne identitete z občutenjem sreče in blagostanja pri osebah z različnimi oblikami invalidnosti. Empirična raziskava je zajela 684 oseb z invalidnostjo. Rezultati kažejo, da so najbolj religiozne slepe osebe (nevideči), najmanj pa gluhe (nesliščeči). Pozitivna korelacija med občutenjem sreče v življenju in osebnim blagostanjem se pri invalidnih osebah izkazuje glede na intrinzične (globoko notranje) dejav-

nike religioznosti, medtem ko na drugi strani statistično značilne pozitivne korelacije nista izkazala elementa samodeklarirane pripadnosti verski skupnosti in pogostosti izvajanja posameznih vrst verske prakse. Vera omogoča občutek pripadnosti in zanesljivosti, tako lahko za osebe z invalidnostjo pomeni vir, iz katerega črpajo moč za sobivanje z invalidnostjo. Zato morajo te osebe vero dejansko živeti, ne pa se z njo le deklarativno poistovetiti ali zgolj obiskovati verske obrede.

Ključne besede: osebe z invalidnostjo, religioznost, religiozna identiteta, sreča, osebno blagostanje, kakovost življenja

1. Introduction

Health is indeed one of the most represented topics, not only in scholarly and professional literature but also in everyday communication. As an ideal, which needs to be achieved or preserved, society invests excellent efforts in detecting the various factors contributing to health development and those causing its deterioration and inducing malfunctions, illnesses, or disabilities. The factors can be of different origin (biogenic, psychogenic, sociogenic), and it seems that a part of them are derived from the spiritual, i.e., the religious domain of the human being.

2. Religion – health – disability

We live in a time when health is often regarded as the ‚highest good‘ and, as Karl Gabriel would suggest, based on the teaching of Thomas Luckmann, it is becoming a kind of a »this-worldly religion« (Gabriel 2006, 218–223). This lifelong ‚jihad‘ for physical fitness, of a kind, reshapes the world around the body (Bauman 2005, 94–95), often making people practically obsessed with bodily topics and hunting for health. Therefore, theologian and physician Manfred Lütz is suitable in pointing out that the postmodern crisis of religion, i.e., the religious vacuum, is becoming increasingly filled with health (Gabriel 2006, 222; Gašpar and Perković 2010, 289).

Nevertheless, the relationship between religion and health is not placed solely on the level of exclusivity. The notions of health/illness and religion have had a long history of mutual relationships and have been a subject of interest of practically all religions. Primitive medicine has, in fact, entirely relied on religion (and magic); medieval monastic and scholastic medicine used the interpretation of holy scriptures for healing. In contrast, ancient Islamic medicine relied on sacred texts stipulating hygiene and diet as health prerequisites (Žuškin et al. 2012). As far as scholarly interest is concerned, several empirical studies dealt with the topic in the 19th century already; however, the positivistic oriented science often ignored

or pathologized the religious dimension of life. For example, Amariah Birgham lists the negative influences of religion on health in 1835, although pointing out some positive influences. He thus remarks that some religious rituals (circumcision, castration, flagellation, bodily scarification, joint ankylosis), religious teaching, inadequate spaces (cold, dim spaces), even the »peculiar influence of the Spirit« can harm human health (Birgham 1835, 49–76).

In the previous century also, some studies emphasize the negative influence of religion. Analyzing various studies, Ančić (2016, 8) finds that some of them suggest that a religious community can sometimes by its teaching impose certain beliefs that promote social deviance harmful to health, or that participation in a religious community can also contribute to the creation of social pressure, eventually leading to the consequences that harm health. Still, it is a fact that in the second half of the 20th century, various epidemiological studies also emerged, which were pointing out the positive correlation of religion and the improvement of symptoms of various physical and organic malfunctions. The latter also generally pointed to a positive relationship between religion and health in a broader sense (Ančić and Marinović Jerolimov 2011, 72; Ančić 2016, 8).

Nowadays, research often emphasizes positive correlations of spirituality and health, particularly in providing help with depressions (Platovnjak 2020). Religion reduces the risk of developing cardiovascular illnesses, high blood pressure, stroke, most cancers, and influences other domains of life quality, such as lower rates of divorces, alcoholism, drug addiction, and higher rates of life and marital satisfaction (Thoresen 1999, 294). Lee and Newberg (2005, 456) assert that prayer and meditation affect human psychological health positively (psychological tranquility, finding the meaning of life, a more mature approach to life's hardships, reducing anxiety and depression, and higher emotional stability self-actualization, etc.). Spirituality thus offers the meaning of life by its positive effects and provides ill persons with relief in coping with illness, ageing, and death (Macuh and Raspor 2018, 647). Moreover, a negative correlation between religiosity and suicide has also been found (Nisbet et al. 2000)

Canda (2001, 110) finds that numerous studies in mental health and social work point out that spirituality contributes to developing resilience to illness among persons with disabilities. Edwards and collaborators (2016, 296) emphasize that religion provides a »positive framework for illness«, and it is increasingly pointed out that the inner world of a person, his/her attitudes towards life, his/her values, beliefs, and inspirations can provide help in coping with any of life's challenges, including illness and disability. A similar finding is presented in one of the most recent studies (Mugeere et al. 2020, 69), by which it was shown that persons living with disablement attach great importance to faith or believing in a supreme being, which empowers them to face the challenges of disablement, go further and understand the course of their lives more quickly. Kim (2020, 824) also finds that religiosity helps people face the emergence of disability. In other words, the very fact of becoming disabled undoubtedly decreases

the level of personal well-being; however, to a much greater extent non-religious, than in religious persons.

Moreover, it suggests a significant difference between the levels of happiness in religious versus non-religious individuals. Thus, spirituality and religion have become sources of strength in difficult temptations (Pate 2016, 438). It is, therefore, unsurprising that some research suggests a high percentage of persons with disabilities who are religious (around 80–85 %) and who state that faith plays an essential role in their lives (Imhoff 2017, 186). Simultaneously, studying memoirs and biographies written by persons with disabilities, Imhoff finds that even those authors who are not religious convey the need to offer some religious or theological explanation of their status.

3. Aims of the study

Research on the relations between religiosity and the characteristics of health status, psychosocial structure, and the quality of life of disabled persons is still rare, even on the global level. The existing ones do not always yield identical results, thus somewhat blurred by the nature of this relationship. Simultaneously, it is a fact that cultures, religions, and then forms of religiosity differ significantly from one setting to another. Therefore, it is plausible to presume that both their relationship to the health status can also vary significantly and that in order to have the whole mosaic of the relation between religion and health, it is necessary to have all of its pieces. This paper aims to contribute to the global knowledge on the correlation between some characteristics of religious identity and psychosocial functioning of persons with disabilities (the feeling of happiness in life and the level of personal well-being).

4. Methods

4.1 Procedure

The empirical study among persons with various disabilities was conducted in 2015/2016 in Zagreb, Croatia. By employing systematic probabilistic sampling, the study included members of several civil society organizations of persons with disabilities (Table 1), and the sample was stratified proportionally to the size of respective CSOs.

Two research approaches were employed – postal survey and the method of direct surveying. The most significant number of answers was collected by the first method, while direct surveying was employed only in the deaf and hard of hearing, and the blind and partially sighted were unable to read and fill in the questionnaire without assistance. In both cases, the respondents were informed about the aims and the purpose of the study, and the participation in the study

was voluntary and anonymous. The respondents were not obliged to sign nor to give any data that might reveal their identity. At the same time, it was explained to them that the results would be used exclusively as a set of data for statistical analysis on the group and not the individual level.

4.2 Instruments

Religiosity is a rather intimate, multidimensional, and complex phenomenon that is very hard to measure (Marinić 2014; Klarin and Krasicki 2020). Nevertheless, it is possible to grasp some of its outlines by analyzing various characteristics of religious identity. This was attempted to be achieved by exploring a total of five questions/variables – belongingness to a particular religious community and acceptance of the teaching; level of religiosity; helpfulness of faith in life, illness and accepting one's status; attendance of healing and spiritual renewal seminars; level of conviction that faith could heal a person. It was for this study that we constructed some of these questions, while the remaining scales were taken and modified from the study „Vjera i moral u Hrvatskoj“ [Faith and Morals in Croatia] (Valković et al. 1998).

Happiness, i.e., the affective component of subjective well-being, is measured by the instrument constructed by Fordyce (1988). In it, the respondents are asked to assess their usual mood (happiness) on an 11-degree scale (0-extremely unhappy, 10-extremely happy).

To analyze specific and individual domains of subjective well-being, we employed the modified International Well-being Index – IWI (Cummins et al. 2003) in our study. Initially, the questionnaire consists of the personal and national index; however, in this study, we analyzed only seven items of the personal well-being index: life standard, health, life achievement, relations with family and friends, the feeling of physical safety, the acceptance within the community and the feeling of safety regarding the future. We also asked the participants to assess their satisfaction with the mentioned aspects of life on a scale of 11 degrees (0-extremely unsatisfied, 10-extremely satisfied).

Additionally, we used the information on the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants and the data on the distinctive characteristics of their health status.

4.3 Achieved sample

Altogether, a total of 1630 persons with disabilities were contacted to participate in the study. A total of 42 % of them accepted and accurately filled in the questionnaires. Thus, the final number of respondents was 684 persons with various types of disabilities. Due to the specificity of particular types of disablement, and to better overview the comparisons and table presentations of the results, the sample was first divided into persons with physical and those with sensory disabilities. The sub-sample of persons suffering from physical disabilities was then divided into the easier moveable (those who can walk without assistance or with

the help of medical aid or another person) and those hard of moving (who can move in a wheelchair or are completely immovable). The sub-sample of persons with sensory disabilities was divided into those with impaired hearing and impaired vision. The structure of the achieved sample divided as explained is presented in Table 1.

	Physical disability			Sensory disability		Total
		Easier movable	Hard of moving or immovable	Deaf and hard of hearing	Blind and partially sighted	
Zagreb Muscular Dystrophy Society	N	43	49	0	0	92
	%	46.74	53.26	0	0	
Association of persons with cerebral palsy and polio Zagreb	N	44	45	0	0	89
	%	49.44	50.56	0	0	
Multiple Sclerosis Society of Zagreb	N	95	34	0	0	129
	%	73.64	26.36	0	0	
Zagreb Association of the Physically Disabled	N	85	27	0	0	112
	%	75.89	24.11	0	0	
Association of the Deaf and Hard of Hearing of the City of Zagreb	N	0	0	103	0	103
	%	0	0	100	0	
Spinal Injuries Zagreb	N	6	44	0	0	50
	%	12	88	0	0	
Zagreb Association of Blind Persons	N	0	0	0	109	109
	%	0	0	0	100	
Total	N	273	199	103	109	684

Table 1: *Achieved sample according to types of disabilities.*

In the context of sociodemographic characteristics, the sample was comprised of 56.14 % of women, and 43.86 % of men, respectively. The average age of the respondents was 50.99 (SD=16.292), and they were dispersed in all legal age groups (age range 18–98).

From the aspect of characteristics related to disability, 29.5 % of persons were born with a disability, 24 % became disabled by the age of 20, and all the remaining became persons with disabilities in somewhat later periods of life. Almost 70 % of the respondents have the highest officially assessed degree of disability. It is often a consequence of a severe illness (60 %), while the remaining part is a consequence of traffic accident, occupational injury, war injury, or some other cause.

5. Results

Based on our five variables, we first analyzed the characteristics of the religious identity of persons with disabilities.¹

Our first variable (on the declarative belongingness to a religious community and acceptance of the religious community's teaching) showed that more than two-thirds of the respondents were members of some religious community, albeit a part of them accepted all that their religious community was teaching, while the other did not (37.96 compared to 31.71 %). The number of believers, but do not belong to any religious community is 13.41 %, while a little above 10% points out that they are not believers. (Table 2)

		Physical disability		Sensory disability		Total
		Easier movable	Hard of moving or immovable	Deaf and hard of hearing	Blind and partially sighted	
I believe and accept all that my religious community teaches	N	118	61	24	46w	249
	%	44.53	31.61	25.00	45.10	37.96
I believe but do not accept all that my religious community teaches	N	81	73	21	33	208
	%	30.57	37.82	21.88	32.35	31.71
I believe in God or a higher force but do not belong to any religious community	N	28	28	21	11	88
	%	10.57	14.51	21.88	10.78	13.41
I do not believe in God, nor a higher force	N	25	19	18	8	70
	%	9.43	9.84	18.75	7.84	10.67
I am looking for answers	N	13	12	12	4	41
	%	4.91	6.22	12.50	3.92	6.25
Total	%	100	100	100	100	100

Table 2: *Belongingness to a religious community.*

We observe the distribution of the answers classified across our groups: the highest percentage of those who believe and accept all that their religious community teaches in the group of the blind (45.10 %) and more accessible movable persons with a physical disability (44.53 %). On the other side, the highest number

¹ A part of the results from Tables 2–6 are also presented in the final group overview of all the results obtained after the completion of the empirical study (See: Marinić and Rihtar 2016, 70,132-133). Nevertheless, these results were weighted according to the sizes of corresponding CSOs and, unlike the results presented hereinafter, included only descriptive overviews (percentages and means), without concrete frequencies and more detailed statistical analyses (χ^2 test, variance analysis, t-test and Pearson correlation).

of convinced atheists is deaf and hard of hearing – as many as 18.75 %, while this percentage is below 10 % in other groups. Therefore, it is clear that the χ^2 test revealed a statistically significant difference among the groups in the answers to this question ($\chi^2 = 38.223$; $p=0.000$).

On an 11-degree scale, we tested the respondents' religiosity's innate sense, regardless of formal (non)belonging to a religious community. The average answer on the scale ranging from 0 (not religious at all) to 10 (extremely religious), which is 5.66, points to a generally moderate level of religiosity. Nevertheless, by observing the results according to the groups of respondents with different disabilities, significant differences in mean values of the answers are also visible. Notably, it has been revealed that deaf and hard of hearing persons were the least religious ($M=4.31$), while the most religious were blind and partially sighted persons ($M=6.37$). The variance analysis points to the statistical significance of these differences ($F=6.965$; $p=0.000$).

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Easier movable	242	0	10	5.84	3.177
Hard of moving or immovable	169	0	10	5.66	3.279
Deaf and hard of hearing	81	0	10	4.31	2.764
Blind and partially sighted	94	0	10	6.37	2.958
Total	586	0	10	5.66	3.167

Table 3: *Level of religiosity.*

The level of religiosity was tested with the respondents' sex, and it was found that women were reporting a significantly higher level of religiosity ($M=6.11$) than men ($M=5.17$). The t-test analysis confirmed the finding ($t=-3.569$; $p=0.000$).

The same measure of religiosity was correlated to the respondents' age. Unlike the previous analysis, we did not find a significant correlation here ($r=0.042$; $p=0.326$), i.e., there were no large deviations and regularities in expressing the level of religiosity of respondents grouped according to age.

In the context of the severity/degree of disability correlated with this variable, it was detected that there was no statistically significant correlation ($r=0.028$; $p=0.503$). Both the respondents with a less severe degree of disability and those with a more severe degree reported a similar level of religiosity.

In the subsequent analysis, we asked the respondents directly to what extent they found faith helping them cope with the disability. The results of the answer to the question »If you are a believer, can you assess how much your faith helps you in your life, illness and accepting your status?«, displayed in Table 4, indicate that around 42 % of the respondents see their faith as helpful in coping with their state. However, a fourth of them unambiguously point out not having this type of help.

	Physical disability		Sensory disability		Total	
	Easier movable	Hard of moving or immovable	Deaf and hard of hearing	Blind and partially sighted		
I am not a believer	N	35	29	28	13	105
	%	13.06	15.03	27.45	12.26	15.70
It does not help me at all	N	21	24	13	10	68
	%	7.84	12.44	12.75	9.43	10.16
It both helps me and does not help	N	84	60	38	30	212
	%	31.34	31.09	37.25	28.30	31.69
It helps me	N	74	37	22	34	167
	%	27.61	19.17	21.57	32.08	24.96
It helps me a lot	N	54	43	1	19	117
	%	20.15	22.28	0.98	17.92	17.49
Total	%	100	100	100	100	100

Table 4: *Helpfulness of faith in coping with challenges due to disability.*

Once again, it has been shown that in the deaf and hard of the hearing group, there was the highest percentage of those reporting not being believers or not feeling such help – around 40 % in total. Moreover, only one respondent from that group stated that faith was of great help to him. On the other side, if we add the answers »It helps me« and »It helps me a lot«, we see that the highest percentage (a little below 50 %) is in the group of the blind and partially sighted and in the group of the more straightforward movable persons with a physical disability. The χ^2 test points to the statistically significant difference in the groups' answers ($\chi^2=41.053$; $p=0.000$).

Since the respondents are persons with severe and permanent health problems, i.e., disabilities, we thought it would be interesting to ask them whether they attended healing and spiritual renewal seminars. Table 5 provides evidence that two-thirds of the respondents have never attended these types of worship, while only 17.21 % of them have been to such events multiple times.

Keeping in mind that most often, there are no sign language interpreters present at worship, the most significant number of the respondents who have never been to a seminar or spiritual renewal is from the group of deaf and hard of hearing persons (over 91 %). The most frequent attendees of this type of spiritual gatherings are the hard of moving or the completely immovable (23.32 %). The χ^2 test again revealed a statistically significant difference in the groups' answers ($\chi^2=34.974$; $p=0.000$).

		Physical disability		Sensory disability		Total
		Easier movable	Hard of moving or immovable	Deaf and hard of hearing	Blind and partially sighted	
Never	N	174	115	94	70	453
	%	64.44	59.59	91.26	64.81	67.21
Once	N	49	33	5	18	105
	%	18.15	17.10	4.85	16.67	15.58
Multiple times	N	47	45	4	20	116
	%	17.41	23.32	3.88	18.52	17.21
Total	%	100	100	100	100	100

Table 5: Attendance of healing and spiritual renewal seminars.

Finally, we asked them if they believed that strong faith in God could heal a person, regardless of the illness he/she was suffering from. A third of the respondents thought that was impossible, and once again, it was shown that it mainly was the deaf and hard of hearing who had such an opinion (53.4 % of them).

We also tested the statistical significance of the differences in the groups' answers, and it was confirmed ($\chi^2=32.614$; $p=0.000$).

		Physical disability		Sensory disability		Total
		Easier movable	Hard of moving or immovable	Deaf and hard of hearing	Blind and partially sighted	
No	N	75	63	55	27	220
	%	27.78	33.16	53.40	25.00	32.79
Both yes and no	N	86	58	28	36	208
	%	31.85	30.53	27.18	33.33	31.00
Yes	N	75	40	9	27	151
	%	27.78	21.05	8.74	25.00	22.50
I do not know	N	34	29	11	18	92
	%	12.59	15.26	10.68	16.67	13.71
Total	%	100	100	100	100	100

Table 6: Can strong faith heal a person.

In the following analyses, we used all the mentioned variables of religiosity as independent variables in assessing the correlation with some domains of life of persons with disabilities. Since the analysis was conducted by employing the method of Pearson correlation, we adjusted some questions so that the scale of answers would be adequate. In the first question, regarding belonging to a religious

community, we excluded the answer »I am looking for answers«. Further on, in the question regarding whether strong faith could heal a person, we excluded the answer »I do not know«. Finally, in the direct question on how helpful faith was in life, illness, and accepting one's health conditions, we merged the answers »I am not a believer« and »It does not help me at all« in one answer. The questions were correlated with the level of happiness in life and the IWI Personal Well-being Index.

It is clear from Table 7 that the very fact of declarative belonging to a religious community and accepting its teaching is not in correlation with any of the analyzed variables. In other words, those who belong to a religious community and accept declaratively all that a particular community teaches are equally happy, and their well-being index does not differ significantly.

In the following question, in which the intrinsic dimension of religiosity was assessed, i.e., the level of personal religiosity, there were significant correlations with all the analyzed characteristics of disabled persons' lives. The persons express a higher level of religiosity while reporting higher levels of happiness and personal well-being.

The same was repeated in the direct question of how helpful faith was in their lives, illness, and accept their status. All the analyzed domains are positively correlated with this question, i.e., the more they think that faith helps them in life, the more satisfied they are with these domains.

The frequency of attending healing and spiritual renewal seminars is not related to happiness and personal well-being, while the very intrinsic level of the conviction that faith could heal a person is positively correlated with these variables.

		A feeling of personal happiness	IWI Personal Well-being Index
Belongingness to a particular religious community and acceptance of the teaching	r	-0.002	0.019
	p	0.968	0.661
	N	575	520
Level of religiosity	r	0.181(**)	0.119(**)
	p	0.000	0.007
	N	551	504
Helpfulness of faith in life, illness, and accepting one's status	r	0.172(**)	0.121(**)
	p	0.000	0.004
	N	618	559
Attendance of healing and spiritual renewal seminars	r	0.069	0.048
	p	0.085	0.256
	N	622	562
Level of conviction that faith could heal a person	r	0.160(**)	0.092(*)
	p	0.000	0.041
	N	539	490

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed),

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table 7: Pearson correlation of religiosity variables with personal happiness and IWI Personal Well-being Index.

We also wanted to know which of the seven domains analyzed within the IWI Personal Well-being Index were correlated with religiosity (life standard, health, life achievement, relations with family and friends, feeling of physical safety, acceptance from the community, and feeling of safety regarding the future). The results indicate that the correlation of particular characteristics of religious identity with the analyzed domains of personal well-being is primarily detected in the domains referring to the feeling of safety regarding the future, satisfaction with the general acceptance within the community in which a person lives, and the social relations. The persons reporting a higher level of religiosity are more satisfied with these domains, while on the other side, none of the questions was correlated with life standard and achievements.

		Satisfaction with the living standard	Satisfaction with the health	Satisfaction with life achievements	Satisfaction with personal relations	Satisfaction with the feeling of safety	Satisfaction with belonging to the community where they live	Satisfaction with the feeling of safety in the future
Belongingness to a particular religious community and acceptance of the teaching	r	0.009	0.097(*)	0.047	0.002	0.016	-0.084(*)	-0.021
	p	0.836	0.018	0.261	0.955	0.709	0.045	0.624
	N	575	588	563	582	577	573	562
Level of religiosity	r	0.082	-0.021	0.04	0.096(*)	0.072	0.173(**)	0.144(**)
	p	0.056	0.628	0.345	0.024	0.089	0.000	0.001
	N	548	559	546	556	552	548	542
Helpfulness of faith in life, illness and accepting one's status	r	0.064	-0.006	0.051	0.075	0.090(*)	0.180(**)	0.157(**)
	p	0.108	0.887	0.212	0.061	0.024	0.000	0.000
	N	623	636	611	630	626	618	610
Attendance of healing and spiritual renewal seminars	r	0.011	-0.017	0.045	0.052	0.036	0.048	0.082(*)
	p	0.781	0.674	0.261	0.186	0.362	0.235	0.042
	N	627	641	615	635	631	622	615
Level of conviction that faith could heal a person	r	0.059	-0.002	0.002	0.023	0.064	.151(**)	.143(**)
	p	0.170	0.954	0.961	0.583	0.138	0.000	0.001
	N	540	554	534	549	546	539	534

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table 8: Pearson correlation of religiosity variables with all the analyzed domains of IWI Personal Well-being Index.

6. Discussion and conclusion

Previous research has not always yielded identical results. However, a considerable amount of them suggested a strong relationship between religiosity and persons with disabilities, i.e., that disabled persons were highly religious (80–85 %) and emphasized the importance of faith in their lives (Imhoff 2017, 186). Our research yielded the same percentage – 83 % of the surveyed persons with disabilities declared themselves as believers from the declarative expression of religious orientation. However, only 38 % of them accept all that their religious community teaches, while the rest either accept one part of the official teaching or consider themselves believers, despite formally not belonging to any religious community or not being believers at all.

A total of 42 % of the respondents pointed out that faith was helping them in life, while 67 % of them have never attended seminars and spiritual renewal meetings, and a little less than a fourth of them believed in the healing power of faith. They rarely report a declaratively atheistic orientation (11 %); nevertheless, it still is a fact that they can neither be labelled as highly religious. This is further supported by the finding suggesting that assessing the level of personal religiosity on a scale from 0 to 10 the respondents scored the average value of 5.66. Therefore, it could be concluded that the most significant number of the respondents are indeed religious, but the average intensity of their religiosity is not high but relatively moderate.

Women report a higher level of religiosity than men do, which aligns with the findings of research studies on the general population (Nikodem and Zrinščak 2019, 381). On the other side, the degree of disability is not significantly correlated with the level of religiosity, and the same is confirmed regarding age, which is not an expected finding.

The blind and partially sighted proved to be the most religious, while on the other side, the deaf and hard of hearing reported the lowest level of religiosity. Moreover, this includes all the analyzed variables. One of the possible causes of such a finding is the question of pastoral. Deaf persons cannot adequately participate in religious instructions and rituals if these are not translated into sign language. Sign language is generally very rarely available in nowadays society, including in pastoral. Since some deaf persons cannot read without assistance, it is clear that it is challenging for them to access high-quality spiritual and religious content and information. They are often victims of discrimination by the social community (Marinić 2020, 568), suggesting that authors Mateljan and Korda (2009, 42) are suitable when arguing that the deaf is one of the most neglected groups within the Church. Our results support this hypothesis while simultaneously presenting an evident indicator of the need for further engagement in adjusting pastoral models to this category of persons with disabilities. It is essential not to forget that pastoral implies the conveyance of information and high-quality education and represents much more than the deaf persons need to be provided with the opportunity to participate in all aspects of church life, just like the

rest, and be integrated completely, thus making them feel full members of their religious community.

Similar could be remarked regarding immovable and hard of moving persons, who reported the second-lowest level of religiosity following the deaf and hard of hearing. Although the communication model with them is less challenging, several other barriers need to be eliminated to make the pastoral among them effective.

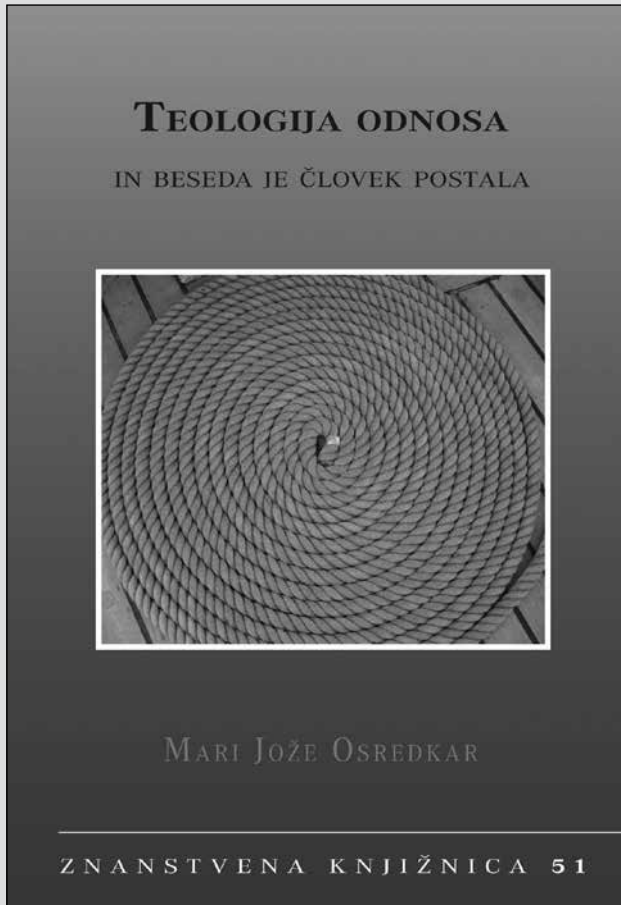
By analyzing the relationship of religiosity variables with happiness in life and personal well-being, the results confirm the findings of some previously conducted studies (Kim 2020, 824; Thoresen 1999, 294). A significant correlation exists between happiness and personal well-being on one side, the variables of the level of personal religiosity self-assessment, the feeling that faith was helpful in life, and the conviction that faith had the power to heal. All three variables might indicate the notion of 'intrinsic religiosity', i.e., of a lived and experienced faith, and it is evident that the higher the religiosity in that sense is, the happier individuals feel in their lives more excellent their well-being is. On the other hand, 'external characteristics of religiosity' (declarative belonging to a particular religious community and the acceptance of its teaching, and the frequency of attending seminars and spiritual renewal meetings) did not indicate a significant correlation with our variables. Indeed, this does not imply that belonging to a community is insignificant or that seminars and spiritual renewals are not a beneficial form of religious practice. It instead suggests that if the latter is only declarative and ritual, they alone do not mean much in the context of happiness and personal well-being. Religiosity needs to be internalized to be a resource that contributes to the quality of life. In this process of 'internalization', perhaps spiritual renewal seminars can help; however, since this was not the topic of this analysis, the conclusion regarding the matter would not have the necessary substantiation.

Regarding the context of the personal well-being domains, a statistically significant correlation is confirmed with those domains of life related to the feeling of safety regarding the future and those related to social relations in satisfaction with being accepted within the community a person lives. The persons reporting higher levels of religiosity express more satisfaction regarding these domains.

By way of conclusion and briefly – the respondents are a moderately religious segment of the population. The level of religiosity varies significantly among persons with different types of disabilities, and there is a need for additional pastoral efforts towards increasing the quality of catechesis and integration of all persons with disabilities into church life. The persons expressing higher levels of religiosity feel safer regarding their future, maintain better relations with their environment and report higher happiness and personal well-being. Thus, religiosity can be a positive resource for persons with disabilities from which they draw the strength to cope with the challenges arising from their disablement. It needs to become a part of self-identity so that, as Tanja Pate asserts, merciful God's intervention would transform the pain, suffering, and problems inflicted by facing the illness and provide a more fulfilled life (Pate 2016, 438).

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Mari Jože Osredkar

**Teologija odnosa
In beseda je človek postala**

Odnos je nekaj duhovnega, nekaj, kar se ne vidi, nekaj česar človeški čuti ne zaznajo neposredno. Pa vendar je odnos za posameznikovo življenje nekaj eksistenčno pomembnega. Je pravzaprav naš življenjski prostor: »v njem živimo, se gibljemo in smo«. Še več, odnos je ključ za razumevanja vere in Boga.

Ljubljana: Brat Frančišek in Teološka fakulteta, 2016. 148 str. ISBN 978-961-6844-50-5. 12€.

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Maciej Potz. *Political Science of Religion: Theorising the Political Role of Religion*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020. 187 str. ISBN 978-3-030-20168-5.

Leta 2020 je britanska založba Palgrave Macmillan izdala monografijo *Political Science of Religion: Theorising the Political Role of Religion*, delo poljskega politologa Macieja Potza.

Potz, redni profesor na Univerzi v Lodžu, se ukvarja s preučevanjem politične teorije in politične znanosti religije, še posebno teokracije in politične strategije verskih udeležencev v sodobnih demokraciji s poudarkom na Poljski in na ZDA.

Sama monografija je razdeljena na tri dele, vsak del pa je dalje razdeljen na dve poglavji. Prvi del se ukvarja z vprašanjem, zakaj mora politologija (oz. politične znanosti) preučevati religijo. Tako v prvem poglavju avtor poudari, da je politološki pristop pri preučevanju razmerja med politiko in religijo različen od perspektive pravnih, socioloških, teoloških ali religioloških študij in kot posledica tega »nujno potreben« (Potz 2020, 3). Prevladujoča tematika sodobnih študij »odnosov med Cerkvijo in državo« je predvsem analizirana z vidika primerjalne religiologije, sociologije religije, mednarodnih odnosov, pravnih študij in politične psihologije, zato lahko spominja na »ohlapno zbirko besedil, ki poročajo o kakršnemkoli obstoju religije in politike«, posledica pa je, da ne prinašajo odgovorov na »vprašanja, ki jih išče politologija glede na pomembnost religije, v različnem pomenu termina, na distribucijo politične moči« (8). Dalje

poudari, da so ti pristopi neprimerni za politološko raziskavo religije, in to z vidika pravne slepote (omejitev preučevanja odnosa Cerkev – država na pravne dokumente), normativne preobremenjenosti (obremenitev s poprejšnjimi prepričanji glede pravilne pozicije religije v javni sferi) in izbora religije za posebno obravnavo (veliko raziskav se osredotoča na posebni vidik odnosa).

Drugo poglavje prvega dela se poglubi v določitev področja preučevanja religije znotraj politologije. Tako najprej določi načela politične znanosti religije: religija je sistem prepričanj in praks, povezanih z nadnaravnim, to pa motivira ljudi k različnim vrstam družbenega vedenja, vključno s političnim; verske doktrine opravljajo pomembne politične funkcije; verske organizacije so družbene entitete, ki ob vstopu v politični sistem, da bi vplivale na odnose moči, postanejo politični igralci; verski politični igralci morajo biti analizirani enako kakor sekularni politični igralci; podobna analiza je lahko osredotočena na verske organizacije kakor na politične sisteme – prostore odnosa moči; verske doktrine se v veliki meri razlikujejo od sekularnih ideologij; politika je sekundarno zanimanje za verske skupine; ni treba opredeliti resničnosti/objektivnosti verskih prepričanj in politologi naj ne bodo osredotočeni na ocenjevanje obstoječih odnosov med državo in religijami z vidika pravilnega modela odnosov – to je delo političnih filozofov (20–21).

Tako naj se preučevanje politične znanosti o religiji osredotoči na štiri definicije religije, in to z naslednjih vidikov: z vsebinsko-sociološkega (sistem

prepričanj in praks, povezan s svetim, kakor jih ima in izvaja skupnost vernikov), s funkcionalno-sociološkega (sistem prepričanj in praks, ki izvajajo funkcijo svetega za skupnost vernikov), z vsebinsko-psihološkega (sistem prepričanj in praks, povezanih s svetim, kakor jih ima in izvaja posameznik) in s funkcionalno-psihološkega vidika (sistem prepričanj in praks, ki izvajajo funkcijo svetega za posameznika), pri tem pa je sveto (*sacred*) opredeljeno kot »sile nad naravo ali zunaj narave, ki lahko prekinajo, spremenijo ali zanemarijo fizične sile« (24). Religija je, po mnenju avtorja, skupinska izkušnja pripadnosti, intelektualna izkušnja podrejenosti avtoriteti in vir moralnih prepričanj, to pa vpliva tudi na politično ravnanje – skupno prepričanje tako lahko pelje »v politično mobilizacijo ter vodi h konvencionalni in nekonvencionalni politični udeležbi« (31). Posledica tega je, da verske organizacije, z vidika politologije, pomenijo vir preučevanja kot udeleženci v večjem političnem sistemu ali kot samostojni politični sistem (34). Verske skupnosti tako lahko pomenijo: politično stranko, interesno skupino ali družbeno gibanje.

Drugi del je posvečen preučevanju teokracij, to je: preučevanju političnih sistemov, v katerih je religija »nujna za oblikovanje in vzdrževanje odnosov politične moči« in tako »poglavitna značilnost teokracije« (63). Religija daje legitimnost politične moči, politična moč postane sakralizirana, hkrati pa verske doktrine dajo legitimnost politični moči. V drugem poglavju drugega dela avtor analizira teokracije kot politične sisteme; začne s prenosom moči (oz. z nasledstvenim vprašanjem), ključna je prav verska doktrina. Pomemben vidik je tudi vloga preroških institucij oziroma

samih prerokov v političnem sistemu, to pa sega že v prazgodovino in v antiko (npr. posvetovanje starogrških politikov s preroki, vidci pred pomembnimi odločitvami) (95). To vpliva na moč verskih udeležencev v političnem sistemu, še posebno v teokratskem režimu. Ti se opirajo na različne mehanizme politične kontrole, ki lahko povzročijo, da vladajoči uporabijo pozitivne in negativne sankcije. Sankcije so lahko fizične, pa tudi družbeno-psihološke.

Zadnji del se ukvarja z vlogo religije v demokracijah; avtor začne s pregledom spreminjajočega se položaja religije v sodobni politiki, še posebno z vidika sekularizacije. Z upadanjem obiskovanja verskih obredov zamira tudi pripadnost verski skupnosti, kot posledica tega pa tudi vpliva na možno politično mobilizacijo vernikov in s tem na politično moč verske skupnosti. Kljub temu se je religija ohranila v zahodnih demokratičnih sistemih, predvsem z vidika ideologije, vsebine in institucije; dejansko je pridobila tudi posebni status med drugimi ideologijami. Hkrati avtor poudari naslednje: »Preferencialni odnos do religije je včasih tako globoko ukoreninjen v vsebinskih podlagah zahodnih političnih sistemov, da pogosto ostane skoraj neopažen.« (124) To se primarno vidi predvsem v zaščiti svobode verskega prepričanja v liberalnih sistemih. Med političnimi strategijami verskih udeležencev omeni: posnemanje (političnih voditeljev, družbenih gibanj, interesnih skupin) in versko specifične strategije (moralni vidiki, uporaba izobčenja, molitev kot politično orodje). Z vstopom religije v politiko pa lahko nastane politični spor in konflikt: to lahko sega od simboličnega konflikta (npr. poudarjanje krščanskega izvora neke določene

države, naroda) do versko motiviranega ekstremizma. Zadnje poglavje tretjega dela (in celotne monografije) je posvečeno vlogi religije v poljski in v ameriški politiki; pri tem so ameriške verske organizacije primarno politični deležniki, medtem ko je poljska katoliška Cerkev deležnik veta (145).

To delo je pomembno tudi za slovenski prostor in za preučevalce vloge religije/verskih skupnosti v slovenski politiki, predvsem z vidika teoretične podlage za takšno preučevanje, pa tudi za primerjalno analizo z drugimi državami.

Klemen Kocjančič

‘Abd al-Ġabbār al-Niffarī. *Knjiga mističnih postajališč in nagovorov*. Prevedel in spremno besedo napisal Raid al-Daghistani. 128 str. Ljubljana: Kud Logos, 2020. ISBN 978-961-7096-72-2

V slovenščini smo pred nedavnim dobili na voljo prevod izbranih sentenc iz dveh spisov muslimanskega mistika 10. stoletja po Kr., ‘Abd al-Ġabbārja al-Niffarīja. Sentence je izbral in prevedel Raid al-Daghistani, islamolog, ki deluje na Centru za islamsko teologijo Univerze v Münstru. Spisa *Knjiga [mističnih] postajališč* (*Kitāb al-mawāqif*) in *Knjiga [mističnih] nagovorov* (*Kitāb al-muḥāṭabāt*) sta edini ohranjeni al-Niffarījevi deli. al-Daghistani ju je prevajal po kritični izdaji britanskega orientalista Arthurja Johna Arberryja iz leta 1935. Prevodu je dodal spremno besedo, v kateri postavi al-Niffarīja v kontekst zgodovine sufizma in oriše temeljne značilnosti al-Niffarījeve misli. Kakor pove na koncu spremne besede (2020, 121), je slovenščina šele peti jezik, v katerega sta ta spisa prevedena. Prevod je opremljen s sprotnimi opombami, ki razlagajo nekatere temeljne pojme sufizma. H knjigi je priložen tudi priložni slovarček, v katerem prevajalec razloži, kako je prevajal posamezne arabske pojme. Knjigo je založila založba KUD Logos, pri kateri je al-Daghistani leta

2014 izdal prevod al-Ġazālījevega dela *Rešitelj iz zablode* (*al-Munqid min al-ḍalāl*).

Spis *Knjiga [mističnih] postajališč* (*Kitāb al-mawāqif*) je sestavljen iz 88 literarnih enot, ki so poimenovana postajališča (*mawqif*, mn. *mawāqif*). Beseda *mawqif* je toponim (arab. *ism makān*) glagola *waqafa* in označuje prostor oziroma kraj, kjer nekdo stoji ali se zaustavi. Posamezna poglavja oziroma postajališča se začno s formulo »postavil me je v« (*awqafanī fi*), s katero al-Niffarī takoj na začetku pove, da je Bog tisti, ki ga postavi na neko določeno postajališče. Vsako od postajališč osvetli enega od vidikov življenja mistika. Da prikažemo le zgled: 57. postajališče nosi naslov »postajališče src mističnih spoznavalcev« (*mawqif qulūb al-‘arīfin*). V njem al-Niffarī oziroma Bog razloži, kakšno mora biti srce spoznavalca. Pri tem uporabi dva temeljna pojma sufizma – ‚srce‘ (*qalb*) in ‚[mistično] spoznanje‘ (*ma‘rifa*) – in ponudi svoj odgovor na to, kako sta oba pojma medsebojno povezana. Srce je namreč v sufizmu podobno kakor v biblični tradiciji glavni epistemološki organ, resnično spoznanje pa izhaja iz stanja, v katerem je mistikovo srce. Vendar je razumevanje poglavij vse prej kakor lahka naloga, saj al-Niffarī uporablja zelo enigmatičen jezik. Razu-

mevanje nam prevajalec na kar nekaj mestih olajša z opombami, ki osvetlijo nekatere temeljne pojme sufizma.

Osrednje mesto v prevodu ima prevod osmega postajališča: »Postajališče svetega stojišča« (*mawqif al-waqfa*). al-Daghistani v spremni besedi razloži centralni pomen tega poglavja za celoten spis (2020, 117–120). Beseda *waqfa* je že etimološko povezana z besedo *mawqif*. Označuje akt stóje oziroma dejavnost, ki jo opravlja stoječi. al-Daghistani se odloči za prevod ‚stojišče‘, to besedo pa bi lahko prevedli tudi z glagolnikom ‚stója‘. Stója oz. stojišče al-Niffarīju pomeni eksistencialno zadržanje, ki prek resničnega spoznanja (*maʿrifa*) vodi do resničnega védenja (*ʿilm*) (20 [8,75]), centralnega pojma islamskih znanosti (*ʿulūm*). Stója je steber (*ʿamūd*) (19 [8,59]) resničnega vedenja in nemogoče je neposredno preiti od védenja do stóje (21 [8,86]). al-Niffarī jasno pove, da je stója več od vedenja, saj »stója zaobsega vso vednost, toda vednost ne zaobsega stóje« (17 [8,18]), stoječi pa »presega spoznanje tako, kot presega mišljenje« (21 [8,84]). Za al-Niffarīja je stója eksistencialno zadržanje, ki ima resda za posledico mistično spoznanje in vednost, ampak se ne omejuje samo na to. Sveto stojišče oz. sveta stója je vir vednosti in obenem tudi izpolnitev vednosti. Tisti, ki stoji v stóji, je en sam, saj se mistično združi z Bogom, medtem ko je spoznavajoči še vedno ‚ujet‘ v pojavni svet in v razmerje spoznano-spoznavaajoči (20 [8,67]).

Pojem stóje je pri al-Niffarīju osrednjega pomena, saj tvori formo vseh drugih postajališč (*mawāqif*). V vseh 88 postajališčih je namreč stoječi od Boga postavljen (*awfaqa*) v specifični način stóje, iz katere izhaja spoznanje, ki se na-

zadnje kaže v besedilu al-Niffarījeve knjige. Toda sama stója je veliko več od spoznanja, saj stoječi na koncu ponikne v Bogu. Če poznamo (*naʿrifu*) o samem al-Niffarīju sila malo, je to nujno potrebno interpretirati skozi njegovo misel, ki vodi k »odpostajanju v Bogu« (*fanāʾ fī-l-llāh*) ter s tem k »obstajanju po Bogu« (*baqāʾ fī-l-llāh*) (al-Daghistani 2020, 118).

Prevodu izbranih sentenc iz spisa *Kitāb al-mawāqif* al-Daghistani doda še sentence iz spisa *Kitāb al-muḥāṭabāt*. Tudi v tem spisu je osrednji subjekt, ki daje nagovore, Bog sam. Namenjeni so poslušalcu, ki si želi mističnega združenja z Bogom: sufiju. Tudi za ta spis sta značilni izredna miselna prodornost in preudarnost s katerima al-Niffarī vodi sufijskega vajenca do mističnega zrenja (2020, 103 [51,6]).

K prevodoma obeh spisov je dodana spremna beseda, v kateri al-Daghistani predstavi nekatere temeljne značilnosti al-Niffarījeve misli in ga umesti v širši kontekst sufizma. Pri tem obsežno navaja relevantno strokovno literaturo. K spremni besedi je dodan tudi slovarček, v katerem al-Daghistani razloži, kako je prevajal nekatere temeljne pojme sufizma. Slovarček je še posebno koristen, saj je za sufijske tekste značilno, da ustaljenim arabskim izrazom in besedam pripisujejo popolnoma svojske pomenne.

Knjiga je med drugim dobrodošla v slovenskem intelektualnem prostoru predvsem iz dveh razlogov. Prvi je povezan s poznavanjem islama in islamske tradicije, saj imamo kljub dejstvu, da sufizem doživlja neko določeno mero naklonjenosti zaradi svoje globoke duhovnosti, resnici na ljubo na voljo bore malo prevodov primarnih virov, ki bi omogočili boljše poznavanje sufizma in

islamske tradicije. Za dober pokaz tega, o čem govorim, je dovolj samo pogledati al-Daghistanijevo opombo na strani 107, ki našteje nekatera dela zgodnjega, formativnega obdobja sufizma. Bolj poglobljeno poznavanje te tradicije hitro privede k spoznanju, da je islam skoraj nemogoče razumeti brez dobrega poznavanja sufizma, saj so bili veliki muslimanski učenjaki pogostokrat člani sufističnih redov (*ṭariqa*). Sufizem je namreč sčasoma postal splošno razširjen fenomen v islamski družbi. Ni iz trte zvita teorija, da je celo Ibn Taymiyya, eden največjih ḥanbalitskih teologov, pripadal enemu od sufijskih redov, natančneje redu *Qādiriyya* (Makdisi 1974). Seveda to po drugi strani pomeni, da je sufizem mogoče razumeti samo, če ga razumemo kot islamski fenomen. Krščanski ali kak drug (npr. „newagevski“) sufizem ne more obstajati, pa naj bodo vzporednice in vplivi še tako številni. Prevod, ki smo ga dobili, je zatorej nedvomno dobrodošla pridobitev pri poznavanju islamske tradicije kot celote tako za muslimane kakor tudi za druge preučevalce islama.

Drugi razlog, zakaj je knjiga dobrodošla v slovenskem intelektualnem prostoru, se omejuje na krščansko bralstvo. Pomembno je dejstvo, da sta dobra seznanjenost z drugimi religioznimi tradicijami in pozitivno vrednotenje teh tradicij temeljnega pomena za današnjo krščansko teologijo. Zgodovinsko gledano, ne bi bilo pretirano reči, da je preučevanje sufizma pomembno vplivalo na teološko klimo drugega vatikanskega koncila. Ključno je bilo predvsem delo francoskega orientalista Louisa Massignona, avtorja še vedno nepresežene študije v štirih zvezkih o sufiju al-Ḥallāḡu. Massignon – ki se je v katoliško

krščanstvo spreobrnil oziroma ponovno vrnil ob študiju islamske tradicije in je pozneje postal celo diakon melkitske Cerkve – je vplival tako na nekatere sestavljavce okrožnice Nostra aetate (npr. na Georgea Anawatija in na Roberta Casparja) kakor na druge pomembne teologe drugega vatikanskega koncila. Morja velja med njimi izpostaviti Henryja de Lubaca, ki al-Ḥallāḡa v Massignonovem prevodu med drugim citira v svoji knjigi *Na poteh k Bogu* (*Sur les chemins de Dieu*) (2017, 15). Pozitivno vrednotenje drugih religioznih tradicij pri teh mislecih ni izhajalo iz lažnega eklekticizma, ampak je bistvo tega zadržanja zupanje v dobrot stvarstva, ki se je razodela in izhaja iz univerzalnega in zadostnega odrešenjskega dela Jezusa Kristusa. Tudi slovenska krščanska teologija bo lahko od sedaj dalje prisluhnila hrepenenju in izredni duhovni globini muslimanskega mistika al-Niffarīja, ki ji naj bo v izziv in spodbudo pri razumevanju sveta in zgodovine.

al-Daghistani je opravil odlično delo pri prevodu in pisanju spremne besede. Slovenskemu bralcu mu je uspelo dobro predstaviti misel in odpostajanje (*fanā'*) 'Abd al-Ḡabbārja al-Niffarīja. Pri tem je z obsežnimi biografskimi opombami v spremni besedi pokazal tudi zelo dobro poznavanje sodobne sekundarne literature o al-Niffarīju in o sufizmu nasploh. Za to mu je treba čestitati. Pokazal je, da je kos prevajanju izredno zahtevnega al-Niffarījevega miselnega toka, o katerem sodobni sirske pesnik in mislec Adūnīs pravi, da je »kakor da bi bil jezik gibanje biti (*ḥarakat al-kā'in*), ki se razpusti v govorjenje, glasove in tišine« (1995, 191–192). Naj za na konec besedo prepustimo prav njemu, ki o al-Niffarīju v odlični študiji *Sufizem in sur-*

realizem (*al-Šūfiyya wa-l-sūriyāliyya*) med drugim zapiše te besede:

»Temeljna značilnost al-Niffarījevih tekstov je preseganje poimenovanj (*asmā'*), dokazov, pomenov, oblik, itd., ki se jih je posluževalo njemu predhodno pisanje (*kitāba*), da bi ponazorilo resničnosti (*ašyā'*) oz. to, kar je poimenovano. Al-Niffarī piše na skrivnosten način, ki se ga prej niso posluževali. Resničnosti osvobodi njihove preteklosti,

njihovih prejšnjih besed in ustaljenih načinov njihovega izražanja, ter jih postavi v drugo obliko, tako da jih izrazi z novimi poimenovanji. Pisanje je tukaj spreminjanje (*tağyīr*); prenavlja namreč resničnosti, s tem, ko prenovi njihove oblike in povezave, ter prenavlja jezik sam, s tem, ko uvaja (*tunši'*) nove povezave med besedo in besedo ter med besedami in resničnostmi.« (1995, 186)

Aljaž Krajnc

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Marcin Godawa in Bojan Žalec, ur. *Image and Man – Correlations*. Krakow: Pontifical University of John Paul II, 2020. 125 str. ISBN: 978-83-7438-679-1

Znanstvena monografija *Image and Man – Correlations* je rezultat internacionalnega sodelovanja med slovenskimi in poljskimi akademiki. Obravnavani monografiji daje dodatno vrednost raznolik izbor avtorjev prispevkov, ki vsak s svojega področja osvetlijo pojem »podob«. Kakor povesta urednika v kratkem uvodu na začetku monografije, želi delo prispevati k boljšemu razumevanju in evalvaciji različnih oblik podob v naših življenjih. Znanstveni članki nam postrežejo z interdisciplinarnim pogledom na razkrivanje podob, pri tem pa so v ospredju antropološki, teološki, filozofski, izobraževalni in psihološki vidik.

Prezreti ne smemo niti vrednosti primesi umetnostne zgodovine, religiologije in estetike.

V znanstveni monografiji najdemo devet člankov osmih avtorjev. Avtor dveh člankov je Bojan Žalec, ki v prvem prispevku predstavi Kierkegaardov pogled na Boga. Pri tem se še posebej ustavi pri njegovem delu *Works of Love* (1847), pri katerem je jasno izražena filozofova težnja po etiki ljubezni. Žalec prepozna v Kierkegaardovi etiki ljubezni, ki temelji na svetopisemski zapovedi zlatega pravila, najpravičnejši način, prek katerega človek lahko postane tista podoba, za katero je bil ustvarjen.

V drugem prispevku (zadnji v monografiji) Žalec spregovori o islamofobiji, ki v prvi vrsti meče slabo luč na celotni islam in na vse muslimane in je kot takšna hkrati zaviralica graditve interkul-

turnega dialoga. V prvem delu prispevka Žalec predstavi karakteristike islamofobije, pri tem se navezuje na Todda H. Greena. Islam je po njegovem mnenju označen kot monoliten, drugi, slabši, sovražen, manipulativen in diskriminativen. Hkrati trdi, da so diskurzi proti islamu nekaj naravnega in da muslimanski kritizem na zahodu nima veljave. V drugem delu prispevka se avtor naveže na iskanje izvora islamofobije, pri tem še posebej omenja Bernarda Lewisa, po čigar mnenju vidi islam sovražnika v Zahodu. Razlog za to sta ljubosumnost in ponižanje muslimanov ter ostro nasprotovanje modernizmu in sekularizmu. Nadalje se Žalec posveti Saidovi kritiki zgoraj omenjene misli in izpostavi, da se orientalizem in islamofobija ne smeta enačiti. Prispevek članka je: izpostaviti razmislek o prihodnjih korakih, ki bi vodili do zmanjšanja islamofobije. Avtor predlaga: muslimane bi morali obravnavati kot sebi enake in jim dati priložnost, da se vključijo v zahodno družbo. Obenem je treba doseči, da se tudi širša javnost (in ne zgolj akademiki) zave, kako so različne informacije, ki jih oddajajo o muslimanih mediji, filmi in razni forumi, del islamofobijske industrije. Cilj je, doseči medkulturni in medreligijski dialog z muslimani na konkretni ravni in imeti pred očmi, da vsi muslimani niso teroristi.

Naslednji prispevek v monografiji se navezuje na embleme, ki prikazujejo liturgijo velikega petka in se hranijo v frančiškanskem samostanu v Krakovu. Magdalena Ficoń v svojem prispevku razloži trinajst emblemov, katerih zanimivost je povezovanje uprizorjenih podob in napisov v latinščini. Prvi emblem prikazuje Kristusa pred velikim duhovnikom, krasi pa ga napis »Oče, odpusti

jim, saj ne vedo kar delajo«. Napis pod drugim emblemom je vzet iz Lukovega evangelija. Pravi: »Resnično, povem ti, še danes boš z menoj v raju.« (Lk 23,43) Zanimivo pa je, da emblem upodablja Cerkev; Ficońova to poveže z dejstvom, da človek z vsakim vstopom v cerkev prestopa nebeška vrata. Tretji emblem je povezan s tretjim Kristusovim stavkom na križu: »Žena, glej, tvoj sin!« (Jn 19,26) Tudi tukaj emblem ne prikazuje Kristusa na križu, prav tako ni prikazano nobeno trpljenje. Avtor upodobi rojstvo Cerkve in njenih teles na miren način. »Zakaj si me zapustil?« (Mt 27,46), to je napis pod naslednjim emblemom, ki uprizarja čoln na valovitem morju. Peta slika prikazuje Kristusa kot jelena, ki pije vodo. Pod njim je napis »*Sitio*« (Žejen sem). Ficońova v tem odstavku vidi simbolizem zmage, s katero je Kristus premagal zlo in odrešil človeštvo. Na šestem emblemu z napisom »Dopolnjeno je« (Jn 19,30) so naslikani trije križi, ki zelo preprosto prikazujejo Jezusovo smrt in s tem izpolnitev vseh prerokb. Naslednji (sedmi) emblem slika Boga na oblakih, ki z iztegnjeno roko čaka, da se njegov Sin vrne domov. S sliko se ujema tudi napis, ki pravi: »Oče, v tvoje roke izročam svojo dušo.« (Lk 23,46) Sledi emblem, na katerem je menora naslikana pred križem. Menora je simbol božje popolnosti, svetosti in blišča. Križ pomeni Kristusa, ki je resnična luč. Pod osmim emblemom je zapisano »Sonce je zakrito«. Slika na devetem emblemu prikazuje razpolovljeni tempelj. Tukaj se tudi napis »Tempeljska zavesa je bila strgana na dva dela« ujema s sliko. Ficońova vidi v tem konec stare zaveze in začetek nove zaveze. Naslednji emblem prikazuje razpokane skale; to se lahko navezuje na Mt 27,50–53. Enajsti em-

blem nosi zapis »*Monumenta apperta svnt*«. Prikazuje mirno ozadje z drevesi. V ospredju pa so liki, ki prihajajo iz groba. Dvanajsti emblema upodablja mesto z mestnimi vrati in ljudi, ki vrata obkrožajo. Ficońova zapiše, da je to prikaz vstajenja od mrtvih in s tem nakazilo eshatološke ere. Ljudje, ki so osvobojevali pekla, korakajo v sveto mesto Jeruzalem. Na zadnjem emblemu je naslikano pashalno jagnje, kakor Kristusa imenuje evangelist Janez. Avtorica sklene: ta analiza nakazuje, da nosijo poslikave v sebi globoko sporočilo in nekako kažejo na resničnost in pravičnost sveta.

Dagmara Pięta se v svojem prispevku osredotoči na posebno vrsto evangelizacije – na teologijo filma. V sodobni družbi, kateri se želi Cerkev po zadnjem koncilu približati, je film orodje za gradnjo dialoga in bratstva, na kar je še posebno opozarjal sv. Janez Pavel II. Teologija filma je ena od celic teologije umetnosti. V njej so zajeta vprašanja o bistvu človekovega bivanja in o relaciji sveta do vrednosti. Teologija filma tako išče odgovore na religijska, etična in moralna vprašanja in jih vključuje v filmsko govorico. Iz naslova prispevka, *The Idea of Theology of Film Based on Krzysztof Kieślowski's Works*, je razvidno, da se avtorica članka opira na enega od najuspešnejših poljskih filmskih režiserjev, Krzysztofa Kieślowskega (1941–1996). Njegova zbirka desetih srednjementražnih filmov, imenovana Dekalog, se osredotoča na življenje sleherne osebe in odpira vprašanja o pomembnih življenjskih tematikah, kakor so vprašanja smrti, prave ljubezni, sebičnosti, umora, neplodnosti, abortusa, osamljenosti, ugrabitve, materializma in raznovrstnih stisk.

Naslednji (četrti) prispevek v obravnavani monografiji nosi naslov Stigma-

tization of Emotinality. Avtorica v obravnavanem članku razume stigmatizacijo kot fenomen, ki označuje zunanjo vsiljeno negativno podobo in izziva negativni odnos do osebe, skupine ali družbenega fenomena, ki izraža različne podobe, prepričanja ali vrednote. Mateja Centa meni, da stigmatizacija prav tako cilja na čustva oziroma čustvenost. Stigmatizacija čustvenosti kaže na zunanjo vsiljeno negativno podobo ali negativni odnos do izražanja čustev, ki so lahko neprimerna ali pretirana. V prispevku avtorica navede več zgledov sodobnih raziskav, prek katerih pokaže, da je stigmatizacija žensk kot bolj čustvenih za nekatere raziskovalce dejstvo, za druge pa stereotip. Pri tem poudari, da so nekatere pričakovane čustvene reakcije lahko odvisne od spola, po drugi strani pa tudi temeljijo na prepričanju in verovanju, kakor ga daje zunanji svet, ki ga oblikuje družba. Družba ima lahko globoko utrjena pričakovanja glede ustreznosti izražanja čustvenega odnosa, kot posledico tega pa je v nasprotnem ravnanju težko zaobiti stigmatizacijo. Centa sklene, da na takšen način postopek stigmatizacije pogosto deluje nepremišljeno in se bo ohranil, vse dokler bodo obstajale pomembne norme. Družba namreč stigmatizira vsakega člana, ki se oddalji od pričakovanih norm. Na koncu Centa predloži smernice za premostitev stigmatizacije. Poziva k temu, da je drugega treba slišati in ga v prvi vrsti narediti za resničnega, da se je treba zavedati, kako je drugi vedno drugačen od nas. Največje ovire za sprejemanje drugega pa pomenijo narcizem, strah in pristranskost.

Peti članek v obravnavani monografiji poveže svetopisemsko zgodbo o Tobitu s prvinami edukacije. Sveto pismo govori o tem, kako je bil Tobitov sin To-

bija poslan v Medijo h Gabaelu, po vredo desetih talentov srebra. Na poti ga je spremljal angel Rafael, ki se je Tobitu predstavil kot eden od njegovih sorodnikov. Gerjolj v angelu Rafaelu vidi vlogo botra, ki mladostnika spremlja na poti odraščanja in h kateremu se lahko mladenič nekoliko bolj zaupa kakor svojim lastnim staršem, boter pa ga prav tako vzgaja in uči veščin za pravično življenje. Obenem se dotakne tudi Tobitove slepote, ki ga je prizadela zaradi belih peg. Če so oči ogledalo duše, potem lahko drži tudi to, da starši v obdobju odraščanja otrok nekoliko oslepijo, saj jih mladostniki zaradi želje po samostojnosti ne spustijo v svojo dušo. Vzporedna svetopisemska pripoved v Tobitovi knjigi spregovori o Tobijevi poroki s sorodnico Saro. Sari je zli duh odvzel že sedem mož. Vsi so umrli na poročno noč in podobno se pričakuje tudi za Tobija. A angel Rafael odžene hudega duha, Tobija pa ozdravi svojo ženo. Gerjolj prepozna v tem zmago ljubezni nad smrtjo, seveda pod pogojem, da je središče ljubezni Bog. Dodaja, da je za starše na stara leta najlepše darilo, videti svoje otroke srečne in s potomci, ob tem pa tudi prepoznajo, da je bila njihova vloga in vloga drugih ljudi (angelov), ki so spremljali njihovega otroka na poti odraščanja, nepogrešljiva. Angeli so vsakdanjem življenju otrok poleg staršev tudi pedagogi, kateheti, športni učitelji in drugi, ki otroka spremljajo na poti njegovega odraščanja, ga učijo za veščine in življenje in mu na neki način zagotavljajo tudi varno okolje.

Anna Jungeiwicz se v svojem prispevku opira na metafore o svetu kot tiskalnem stroju, ki so jih uporabljali zgodnji poljski pridigarji, po zgledu velikih filozofov (Platon, Aristotel) in teologov (sv.

Avguštin). Obrača se na češkega protestanta Johanna Amosa Komenskega (1592–1670), na poljskega dominikanskega pridigarja Fabiana Birkowskega (1566–1636) in na poljskega pridigarja Franciszeka Rychłowskega (1611–1673). Avtorica pravi, da se je treba vprašati o funkcijah teh metafor. So namreč veliko več kakor le retorični okras. Misli zgoraj omenjenih teologov se navezujejo na figurativno gradnjo sveta, ki je zgrajena iz različnih, hierarhičnih delov. Toda to ne ponazarja le konstrukcije sveta, ampak še posebno prenos resnice in znanja. Funkcija je torej bolj epistemološka kakor ontološka. Nadalje metafore ponazarjajo predhodni obstoj bitij v Božjih mislih pred dejanjem stvarjenja. Nena zadnje pa nakazujejo na človekovo potrebo po oblikovanju svoje lastne podobe po božji podobi, to pa je mogoče zaradi božje podobe, ki obstaja v naravi.

Naslednji članek za obravnavano monografijo je pripravila Ana Martinjak Ratej. Govori o podobi človeka kot osebe v povezavi s totalitarnimi režimi. Avtorica je, navezujoč se na Hanno Arendt, na Zygmunta Baumana in na druge personaliste, prikazala nevarnosti totalitarnih sistemov za človeka in človeštvo. Ti sistemi namreč izničijo človekovo dostojanstvo, poleg tega želijo izenačiti družbo, to pa vodi do zanikanja različnosti in edinstvenosti vsakega človeškega bitja. Martinjak Ratejeva sklene, da bi nam morale biti bogate izkušnje totalitarnih sistemov iz zgodovine šola za nadaljnje odločitve. Pravi, da bi se bilo treba upreti vsem političnim sistemom in oblikam vladanja, ki na takšen ali drugačen način vpeljujejo prvine totalitarizma v svoje oblike vladanja.

Prispevek Veronike Beliaev-Saczuk je sad njenega terenskega dela (2014–

2015) v regiji Okian, ki leži v Republiki Burjatiji, avtonomni republiki Ruske federacije v Sibirskem zveznem okrožju. Na omenjenem okrožju živita dve etnični skupnosti – Sojoti in Burjati. V tem delu sveta se je vse do danes ohranil budizem, ki pa vsebuje primesmi šamanizma. Po avtoričinih besedah je teh primesi v Okainu največ na svetu. Avtorica posebno mesto v članku posveti boginjama ljubezni, imenovanima Bela in Zelena Tara, spreminjajočim se lokacijam, njunemu čaščenju in negovanju podob ter različnim legendam, ki so še danes močno navzoče v življenju tamkajšnje skupnosti.

Raznovrstnost prispevkov v monografiji kaže na dejstvo, da je človek kot

družbeno bitje vpet v najrazličnejše vzorce družbe. Podobe, ki jih odkriva v svojem življenju, so v veliki meri odvisne od percepcij družbe, ki jih je kot posameznik in kot družbeno bitje pridobil in si jih nekako tudi prilastil. Odličnost monografije uvidimo v iskanju njene rdeče niti. Kaže na to, kako pomembno je, da človek sprejema sebe in drugega, brez spolne, verske, etnične ali kakršnekoli druge stigmatizacije. Hkrati pa mora imeti pred očmi tudi dejstvo, da je za graditev sobivanja v sožitju treba uporabljati pravilne edukacijske veščine – takrat, ko sami raziskujemo, pa tudi takrat, ko posredujemo svoje znanje naslednjim rodovom.

Urška Jeglič

Mihai Dragnea. *Christian Identity Formation Across the Elbe in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*. New York: Peter Lang, 2021. 126 + VIII str. ISBN: 978-1-4331-8431-4.

Romunski kulturni zgodovinar Mihai Dragnea, raziskovalec na Univerzi jugovzhodne Norveške in glavni urednik ameriške znanstvene revije *Hiperborrea*, je skupnost preučevalcev srednjega veka in religijske zgodovine obogatil z monografijo o procesu pokristjanjevanja nekdanjega slovanskega ljudstva Vendov ob reki Labi na mejnem ozemlju med današnjo Nemčijo in Poljsko. Raziskovanje tamkajšnjih Slovanov ima resda v modernem kritičnem zgodovino-pisju dolgo izročilo, a se je večina doslejšnjih študij te vrste osredotočala predvsem na etnično-jezikovne (samo) opredelitve, na prodiranje germanskih vplivov na slovanski vzhod, na nastop

geografsko-kulturne prehodnosti (t. i. *Germania Slavica*) in na oblikovanje poljske srednjeveške države. Osrednje vprašanje obravnavanega dela je drugačno in tako tudi izvirno: kako so v 10. in v 11. stoletju krščanski aristokrati, zlasti pripadniki cesarske rodbine Otoncev, cerkveni hierarhi, potopisci in zgodovino-pisci, izhajajoči povečini z nemškega govornega območja, razumeli postopno sprejemanje krščanske vere med Vendi. Avtor prepričljivo dokazuje, da je bila glavna skrb cerkvenih avtoritet politična in duhovna vključitev Slovanov v okvir Svetega rimskega cesarstva kot samooklicanega povezovalca (zahodno)krščanskega sveta, pri tem pa je posebna skrb veljala prepoznavanju resničnih ali domnevnih krivoverstev in preprečevanju vračanja k predkrščanskim obrednim praksam in vrednostnim predpostavkam. V tem pogledu monografija razkriva pomembno in v srednje-

veških študijah uveljavljeno spoznanje, da je posamezni proces pokristjanjevanja zajemal vrsto medsebojno prepletenih in večkrat protislovnih dejavnikov, ki so presejali temeljna doktrinarna in kanonična vprašanja. Takšna družbeno-kulturna dinamika se v tej monografiji razkriva skozi številčno in politično šibko skupino, ki je po drugi strani, vsaj navidezno nepričakovano, doživela razmeroma veliko pozornost v sočasnih pripovednih in listinskih virih.

Mihai Dragnea umešča proces pokristjanjevanja polabskih Slovanov v okvir kulturne politike otonskega cesarstva, ki si je po zgledu Karla Velikega prizadevala za nadaljevanje (zahodne) rimske imperialne dediščine (*romanitas*), dopolnjene s sklicevanjem na univerzalnost krščanske Cerkve in na povezovanje vseh pravovernih kristjanov pod eno krono. Hotenje po vzpostavitvi »ene vere, ene Cerkve in ene države« je neizogibno predvidevalo širjenje upravnno-ozemeljskih meja in oblikovanje večetnične imperialne skupnosti, v kateri naj bi svoje mesto dobili tudi Vendi. Avtor tako prepričljivo pojasnjuje, da ima pogosto vzvišeno in s predsodki zaznamovano pisanje o »divjaštvu« slovanskih prebivalcev tistega časa izvor predvsem v prepričanju o vsestranskih prednostih krščanskega načina življenja, ne v germanski sovražni naravnosti do slovanskega sveta kot takšnega, tudi če je naposled uspešno končani proces uvažanja nove vere do konca srednjega veka pripomogel h germanski kolonizaciji in k skorajšnji asimilaciji Slovanov z nemškimi jezikovnim okoljem. Politično in kulturno prodiranje Svetega rimskega cesarstva proti vzhodu je bilo nadalje odvisno od razmer v deželi Saški, ki je bila najbližje poselitvenemu območju

Vendov, saj so tamkajšnji mejni grofje izkazovali daleč največjo podporo osrednji cesarski oblasti. V tem pogledu sta tamkajšnji posvetna in cerkvena oblast dosledno uresničevali načelo, da pomeni sprejetje krsta tudi pridružitve krščanskemu imperiju. Omenjene okoliščine je potrjevala razmeroma obsežna pisna (samo)refleksija krščanskih avtorjev s prikazovanjem in povečini pristranskim vrednotenjem poganskih praks, v katerih se je kazala omenjena rimsko-imperialna zavest, ki je med drugim, brez upoštevanja drugačnih družbenih okoliščin, prevzemala predstave in pojme iz rimske poganske antike (npr. kip (*statua*), svetišče (*templum*)). Obravnava nekrščanskih prvin polabskih Slovanov ni bila usmerjena v boj med zmagovito novo in umikajočo se staro vero, pri tem bi seveda krščanstvo pomenilo alternativo poganstvu, temveč v utemeljevanje odpadništva (apostazije) ali krivoverstva (herezije) uradno že pokristjanjenega ljudstva, ki se krščanskemu cesarstvu in njeni Cerkvi »upira« z ohranjanjem nedovoljenih verovanj in običajev. Proces pokristjanjevanja je tako spodbudil spraševanje o pravi veri in o odnosu med domačim in tujim, o odnosu med sprejemljivim in drugačnim, saj večina tovrstnih srednjeveških tekstov, idejno temelječih na antičnih delih in na Svetem pismu, vzpostavlja Vende kot ljudstvo »severnih dežel« (*partes aquilonis*) in predstavnike »drugega sveta« (*alter mundus*), ki se težavno vključujejo v krščansko imperialno skupnost ali »našo ekumeno« (*noster orbis*).

Najvidnejša odlika monografije romunskega kulturnega zgodovinarja je njena jedrnatost oziroma obvladljivost, saj si lahko bralec na dobrih stotih straneh pridobi pregledno, vsebinsko zado-

stno in pripovedno podkrepljeno znanje o ključnih vidikih pokristjanjevanja Vendov in oblikovanja krščanske istovetnosti na stiku germanskega in slovanskega sveta. To značilnost dopolnjujeta avtorjevo dosledno opiranje na žanrsko širok nabor pisnih virov in njegov transdisci-

plinarni pristop, ki v sklenjeno celoto povezuje zgodovinopisne, kulturološke in teološke metode. Mogoče je trditi, da obravnavana monografija ponuja kakovostno in dovolj celovito predstavitev znane tematike v novi luči.

Simon Malmenvall

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- s.n. **Christian Gostečnik**, So res vsega krivi starši? (sozaložništvo s FDI)

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Opirajoč se na Sveto pismo in na izročilo in ob upoštevanju dometa človekove misli, usposablja svoje študente za jasen premislek o témah presežnosti in tukajšnjosti, vere in razodetja, kanonskega prava, morale in vzgoje. Kot katoliška fakulteta v zvestobi kulturnemu krogu, iz katerega je izšla, sledi avtoriteti cerkvenega učiteljstva in skrbi za intelektualno pripravo kandidatov na duhovništvo in za duhovno rast laičskih sodelavcev v Cerkvi in v širši družbi.



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Theological Quarterly
EPHEMERIDES THEOLOGICAE

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Leszek Misiarczyk | <i>Impassibilitas et impeccantia</i> |
| Rebecca J. Keller | <i>Jerome, Vigilantius, and the Cults of the Saints</i> |
| Miran Špelič | <i>Jerome and Victorinus</i> |
| Jacobus P.K. Kritzinger | <i>The Interpretation of The Parable of the Prodigal Son</i> |
| Jan Dominik Bogataj | <i>Jerome's Interpretation of the Transfiguration</i> |
| Chris Synodinos | <i>Jerome's Contra Johannem</i> |
| Milena Joksimović | <i>Adulter vs. Moechus</i> |
| Florence Bret | <i>Fondation et transmission dans la Vita Pauli et la Vita Hilarionis</i> |
| David Movrin | <i>Holy Aemulatio</i> |
| Gina Derhard-Lesieur | <i>»Monachum ecclesia peperit postumum« (Hier., Ep. 66.4.2)</i> |
| Giorgia Grandi | <i>Narrating the Ascetic Model, Its Context and Its Hero(in)es</i> |
| Rafko Valenčič | <i>Where are you, Stridon?</i> |
| Jordina Sales-Carbonell | <i>Jerome and Western Monasticism</i> |
| Jan Ciglencečki et al. | <i>Blue Deserts</i> |
| Jože Krašovec | <i>Izvori Hieronimovih pogledov na prevajanje in razlaganje ...</i> |
| Giovanna Martino Piccolino | <i>La regola educativa di S. Gerolamo</i> |
| Irena Avsenik Nabergoj | <i>Hieronimova in sodobna spoznanja</i> |
| Emmanuelle Mantel | <i>La lettre de consolation chez saint Jérôme</i> |

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2021 • 2

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2

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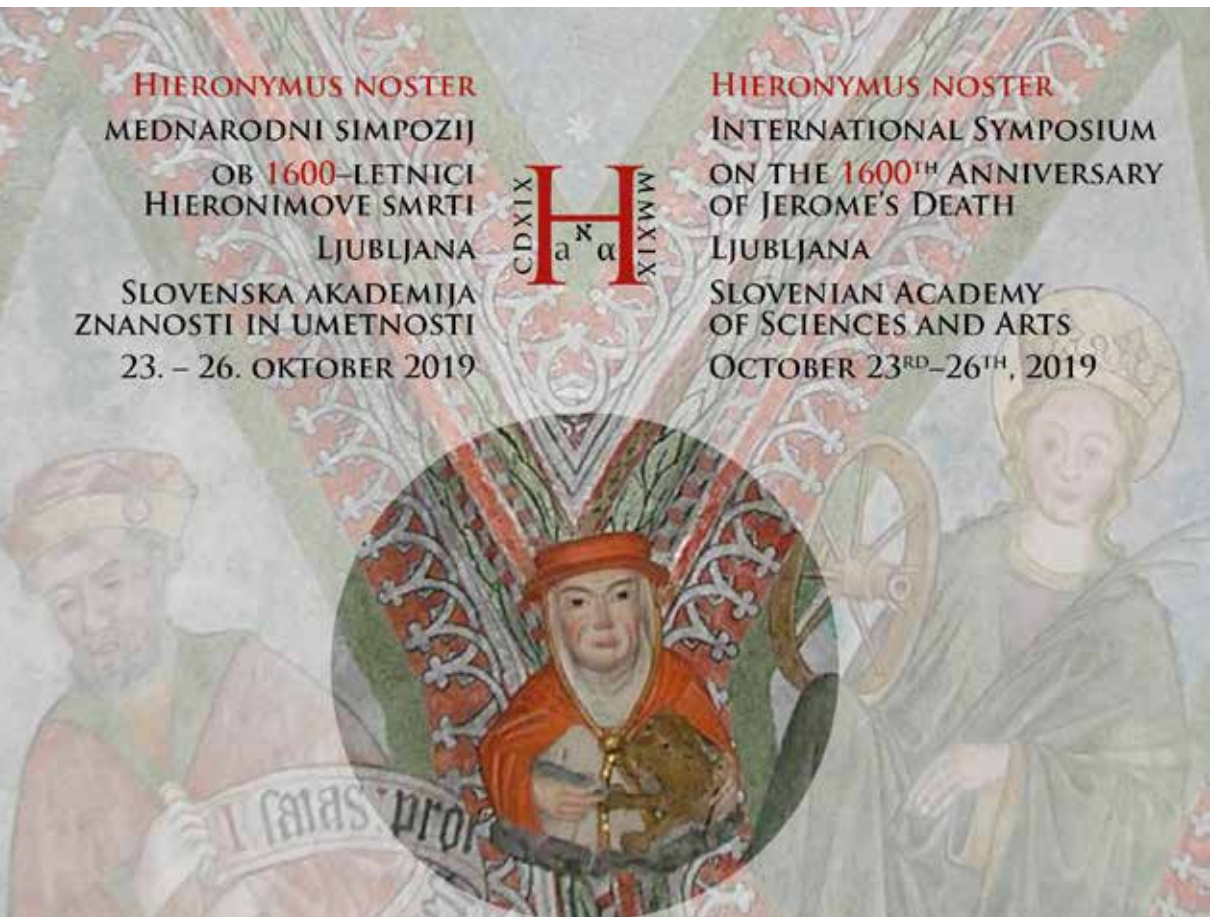
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HIERONYMUS NOSTER
MEDNARODNI SIMPOZIJ
OB 1600-LETNICI
HIERONIMOVE SMRTI
LJUBLJANA
SLOVENSKA AKADEMIJA
ZNANOSTI IN UMETNOSTI
23. – 26. OKTOBER 2019

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INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM
ON THE 1600TH ANNIVERSARY
OF JEROME'S DEATH
LJUBLJANA
SLOVENIAN ACADEMY
OF SCIENCES AND ARTS
OCTOBER 23RD–26TH, 2019



KAZALO / TABLE OF CONTENTS

TEMA / THEME

HIERONYMUS NOSTER: DIVINARUM SCRIPTURARUM INTERPRES ET TRACTATOR – ATQUE THEOLOGUS?

- 265** Uvodnik / *Editorial* (Jan Dominik Bogataj, Rajko Bratož, Alenka Cedilnik, David Movrin, Miran Špelič in Rafko Valenčič)
- 271** Leszek Misiarczyk – *Impassibilitas et impeccantia: Jerome's Misunderstanding of Impassibility and Sinlessness in Evagrius Ponticus*
Impassibilitas et impeccantia: *Hieronimovo napačno razumevanje brezstrastnosti in brezgrešnosti pri Evagriju Pontskem*
- 283** Rebecca J. Keller – *Jerome, Vigilantius, and the Cults of the Saints*
Hieronim, Vigilancij in kult svetnikov
- 293** Miran Špelič – *Jerome and Victorinus: A Complex Relationship Between the Compatriots*
Hieronim in Viktorin: Zapleten odnos med rojakoma
- 299** Jacobus P.K. Kritzinger – *The Interpretation of The Parable of the Prodigal Son by two Latin Patristic Authors, St Jerome and St Peter Chrysologus*
Razlagi prilike o izgubljenem sinu dveh latinskih patrističnih avtorjev, sv. Hieronima in sv. Petra Krizologa
- 309** Jan Dominik Bogataj – *Jerome's Interpretation of the Transfiguration in the Light of Some Recent Patristic Discoveries (Origen, Fortunatian, Chromace)*
Hieronimova razlaga Kristusovega spremenjenja v luči nekaterih nedavnih patrističnih odkritij (Origen, Fortunacijan, Kromacij)
- 325** Chris Synodinos – *Jerome's Contra Johannem and ps.-Basil's De consolatione in adversis on Resurrection and Disability*
Hieronimov Contra Johannem in ps.-Baziljev De consolatione in adversis o vstajenju in telesnih okvarah
- 337** Milena Joksimović – *Adulter vs. Moechus: Jerome's Use of Terms for Adultery in Vulgate*
Adulter vs. Moechus: Hieronimova raba pojmov za prešuštvo v Vulgati
- 357** Florence Bret – *Fondation et transmission dans la Vita Pauli et la Vita Hilarionis*
Ustanovitev in prenos v Vita Pauli in Vita Hilarionis
Foundation and Transmission in Vita Pauli and Vita Hilarionis
- 369** David Movrin – *Holy Aemulatio: Vita Hilarionis and Jerome's Efforts to Outdo the Life of Antony*
Sveto posnemanje: Vita Hilarionis in Hieronimovi naporih pri preseganju Antonovega življenjepisa

- 379** Gina Derhard-Lesieur – »*Monachum ecclesia peperit postumum*« (Hier., Ep. 66.4.2): **Metaphors of Conversion to Asceticism in Jerome's Letter 66**
»Monachum ecclesia peperit postumum« (Hier., Ep. 66.4.2): Metafore spreobrnjenja k asketskemu življenju v Hieronimovem Pismu 66
- 391** Giorgia Grandi – **Narrating the Ascetic Model, Its Context and Its Hero(in)es: A New Proposal for Jerome's Letters and Lives**
Pripovedovanje asketskega vzora, njegov kontekst in junaki/junakinje: Nov predlog za Hieronimova Pisma in Življenjeja
- 403** Rafko Valenčič – **Where are you, Stridon?**
Kje si, Stridon?
- 425** Jordina Sales-Carbonell – **Jerome and Western Monasticism: Asceticism, Evergetism, and Orthodoxy in the Late 4th Century Hispania**
Hieronim in zahodno meništvo: Asketicizem, evergetizem in ortodoksnost v Hispaniji poznega 4. stoletja
- 437** Jan Ciglencečki in Nena Bobovnik – **Blue Deserts: Jerome and the Origins of Insular Monasticism in the Adriatic**
Modre puščave: Hieronim in izvori otoškega meništvja na Jadranu
- 453** Jože Krašovec – **Izvori Hieronimovih pogledov na prevajanje in razlaganje Svetega pisma**
Origins of Jerome's Views on Translation and Interpretation of the Bible
- 465** Giovanna Martino Piccolino – **La regola educativa di S. Gerolamo: esempi di *institutio christiana* nell'Epistolario geronimiano (Ep. 107 e 128)**
Hieronimovo vzgojno pravilo: Primeri institutio christiana v Hieronimovih pismih (Ep. 107 in 128)
The educational rule of St. Jerome: Examples from institutio christiana in his epistolography (Ep. 107 and 128)
- 477** Irena Avsenik Nabergoj – **Hieronimova in sodobna spoznanja o literarni kakovosti Svetega pisma**
Jerome's and Contemporary Findings on the Literary Quality of the Bible
- 491** Emmanuelle Mantel – **La lettre de consolation chez saint Jérôme**
Tolažilno pismo pri sv. Hieronimu
Letter of Consolation in St. Jerome
- 503** Felix Seibert – **Integrating Pagan Knowledge: The Virgilian Quotations in Jerome's Letters**
Vključevanje poganskega znanja: Vergilijanski navedki v Hieronimovih pismih
- 515** Silvio Koščak – **Saint Jerome in *Liber officialis* of Amalar of Metz (775–850) and *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* of William Durand (1230–1296)**
Sv. Hieronim v Liber officialis Amalarija iz Metza (775–850) in Rationale divinatorum officiorum Vilijema Duranda (1230–1296)

525 Anja Božič – »Movere et delectare« After St. Jerome: Pier Paolo Vergerio's Fifth Sermon *pro Sancto Hieronymo*

»Movere et delectare« po Sv. Hieronimu: Vergerijev peti govor pro Sancto Hieronymo

539 Antonio Dávila Pérez – St. Jerome *versus* Sanctes Pagnino in the Reception and Inquisitorial Process of the Polyglot Bible of Antwerp (1568–1577)

Sv. Hieronim vs. Sanctes Pagnino v recepciji in inkvizitorskem procesu Biblia Polyglotta iz Antwerpna (1568–1577)

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Uvodnik / Editorial

Hieronim si svojega svetništva in slovesa – za razliko od kakega drugega velikega moža krščanske antike – ni prislužil s teološkim udejstvovanjem, saj se v zgodovino ni zapisal z rešitvijo kakšne zahtevne doktrinalne zagate ali z izvorno inovativnostjo svoje misli. Sicer se je srečal s trinitaričnimi spori (konkretno okrog bitke za škofijski sedež v Antiohiji, o čemer priča njegovo *Pismo* 15 papežu Damazu), se pozneje znašel v vrtincu origenistične krize (pri čemer je v svojih stališčih prešel od občudovalca aleksandrijskega učenjaka do njegovega zmernega nasprotnika), nasploh je goreče branil nicejski in konstantinopelski nauk ter ostro polemiziral z nasprotniki, vendar je pri vsem tem, kot je zapisal Stefan Rebenich, eden boljših poznavalcev Hieronimovega dela, Stridončan »cenil bolj polemično posploševanje kot subtilno distinkcijo, bolj konzervativnost nauka kot sveže ideje, bolj retorično razkazovanje kot trdne argumente, bolj učene prisposodbe kot diskurzivno presojanje, bolj dogmatično pomiritev kot intelektualno dovzetnost, bolj avtoritativno odločanje kot neodvisno presojo«.

To, po čemer betlehemeski učenjak slovi še danes, je predvsem njegova predanost Božji besedi. Papež Benedikt XV. mu je leta 1920 v okrožnici Spiritus Paraclitus nadel epitet *doctor maximus explanandis Scripturis*, saj je bil po njegovem Cerкви podarjen zavoljo boljšega razumevanja Svetega pisma, ki mora biti srce vsake teologije. A razmerje med teologijo ter svetopisemsko filologijo in eksegezo ni najbolj enoznačno. To kažejo prispevki številnih avtorjev, ki so oktobra 2019 nastopili na mednarodnem znanstvenem simpoziju *Hieronymus noster*. V pričujoči številki so zbrani članki, ki se *lato sensu* ukvarjajo s preučevanjem Stridončanovega prispevka za teologijo in svetopisemsko eksegezo.

Simpozij je ob 1600. obletnici njegove smrti potekal med 23. in 27. oktobrom 2019 na Slovenski akademiji znanosti in umetnosti (SAZU) pod častnim pokroviteljstvom predsednika Republike Slovenije Boruta Pahorja. Na pobudo zaslužnega profesorja dr. Rafka Valenčiča je organizacijo prevzel Inštitut za patristične študije *Victorinianum* na Teološki fakulteti UL, v sodelovanju z uglednimi domačimi (Odelka za zgodovino in klasično filologijo Filozofske fakultete UL, SAZU, ZRC SAZU) in tujimi znanstvenimi ustanovami (Institut des Sources chrétiennes, Univerza v Cádizu – mednarodna mreža Europa Renascens, projekt DANUBIUS na Université de Lille, Fakulteta Artes Liberales Univerze v Varšavi, Oddelek za srednjeveške študije Srednjeevropske univerze na Dunaju CEU). Povabilu organizacijskega odbora, v katerem je sodelovalo šest slovenskih in šest tujih članov, je sledil nesluten odziv zainteresirane svetovne akademske javnosti, kar je na koncu privedlo do kar 111 aktivnih udeležencev, ki so nastopili z referati. Pri tem so prevladovali mednarodni

strokovnjaki (poleg 22 slovenskih kar 89 tujih sodelujočih iz 17 držav). S tako udeležbo je ljubljanski simpozij dodobra presegel konceptualno podoben kongres, ki je potekal leta 2006 na waleški univerzi v Cardiffu, in tako postal doslej največja znanstvena konferenca za hieronimijanske študije.

Ena izmed glavnih značilnosti raziskovanja Hieronimovega dela je interdisciplinarnost. Med otvoritvenim večerom je v svojem nagovoru tedanji predsednik SA-ZU-ja akad. dr. Tadej Bajd poudaril izjemno vlogo latinskega jezika pri oblikovanju izobraženca, saj spodbuja večjezičnost, ki je tako zaželena v današnji akademski sferi, obenem pa tako omogoča vstop v spoznavanje rimske literature, filozofije, prava, kot tudi pomaga pri drugih znanstvenih panogah, denimo pri računalniških programskih jezikih. Dekan Teološke fakultete UL dr. Robert Petkovšek je ob otvoritvi omenil veličino Hieronimove osebnosti in njegovega dela, ki povezuje in ne deli: vsa zahodna kultura temelji tudi na njegovem prevodu Svetega pisma. »Ni ga in ga tudi ni bilo, človeka v našem izročilu, ki bi vsaj kdaj ne slišal stavka ali besede iz Hieronimovega prevoda. Že v tem se simbolno kaže njegova povezovalna moč, kakor nakazuje že naslov simpozija: *Hieronymus noster*, naš Hieronim. Želim, da bi nas v tam času inflacije besede Hieronim kot *philologos*, ljubitelj besede, navdihoval, da bi v Besedi prepoznali nekaj, kar je ljubezni vrednega.« Dekan Filozofske fakultete dr. Roman Kuhar je podobno ovrednotil pomen Hieronimovega dela v prizmi premoščanja meja, povezovanja narodov in odpira vrata k novim svetovom, pogledom in izkušnjam. »Prevodi so pravzaprav tisto, kar ta svet omogoča in ga poganja naprej; Hieronimov doprinos k temu je neprecenljiv.«

Tematski blok, ki ga sestavljajo izbrani prispevki s simpozija, v svoji raznovrstni celoti seveda ne podaja sinteznih odgovorov na velika vprašanja o vlogi Svetega pisma za teologijo *et vice versa*, saj se avtorji Hieronimovemu delu posvečajo z vidikov, ki so tudi metodološko zelo različni. A po drugi strani ta raznolikost raziskovalnih področij – od razmerja do klasikov, odmevov v liturgični tradiciji, zgodovinskih in arheoloških vidikov meništva pa vse do ožje teoloških in eksegetskih tem – dokazuje pomen Stridončana in njegove zapuščine, ki še po toliko stoletjih vznemirja tako akademske raziskovalce kot širše občinstvo. To so dokazali tudi številni dogodki, organizirani v jubilejnem letu.

Vsem velja povabilo papeža Frančiška, ki ga je zapisal v apostolskem pismu ob 1600-letnici smrti svetega Hieronima septembra 2020, Gorečnost za Sveto pismo (*Scripturae Sacrae Affectus*, zbirka Cerkevni dokumenti 164), da bi ljubili, kar je ljubil Hieronim. Slovenci smo zaradi zanesljive bližine njegovega rojstnega kraja Stridon, katerega natančna ubikacija je vsaj za zdaj še vedno zavita v meglo poza-be, k temu še posebej nagovorjeni.

One of the main characteristics of the research on Jerome's work is interdisciplinarity. In his address on an opening evening, the then President of SAZU, Academician Dr Tadej Bajd, emphasized the exceptional role of the Latin language in the formation of the educated person, as it promotes multilingualism, which is so desirable in today's academic sphere. At the same time, it provides an entry into Roman literature, philosophy, law, as well as helping in other scientific disciplines, such as computer programming languages. Dr Robert Petkovšek, Dean of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Ljubljana, mentioned at the opening the greatness of Jerome's personality and work, which unites and does not divide: all Western culture is also based on his translation of the Bible. »There is not, and never has been, a person in our tradition who has not at least heard a sentence or a word from Jerome's translation. This is already a symbolic indication of his power to connect, as the symposium's title suggests: *Hieronymus noster*, our Jerome. In this time of the inflation of words, I wish that Jerome, as a *philologos*, a lover of the Word, may inspire us to recognize in the Word something that is worthy of love.« The Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Dr Roman Kuhar, similarly evaluated the importance of Jerome's work in the prism of bridging borders, connecting peoples and opening doors to new worlds, perspectives and experiences. »Translations are, in fact, what make this world possible and propel it forward; Jerome's contribution to this is invaluable.«

The present thematic issue of *Bogoslovni vestnik (Theological Quarterly)* encompasses selected papers on St. Jerome *lato sensu* concerning theology and Biblical exegesis, presented at the *Hieronymus noster* international symposium, which took place between October 23 and 27 in Ljubljana, at the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, under the honorary patronage of Mr Borut Pahor, the President of the Republic of Slovenia. Over 110 participants and the scholars present discussed a wide range of topics, from the relations between Christian and Pagan classical literature, liturgy, historical and archaeological aspects of monasticism to the more strictly theological and exegetical questions. While Jerome himself got involved in different doctrinal polemics from time to time (for instance, in the Meletian schism in Antioch or the Origenistic controversy in Jerusalem), he is not primarily known theologian who would have resolved difficult doctrinal questions. As Stefan Rebnich has written, Jerome »preferred polemical simplification to subtle distinction, doctrinal conservatism to fresh ideas, rhetorical display to substantial argument, learned allusions to discursive ramifications, dogmatic reassurance to intellectual receptivity, and the authoritative decision to independent judgment.« Nevertheless, Jerome's weakness as a theologian was more than successfully substituted by his extraordinary work as a Biblical scholar, translating and commenting on the Holy Scriptures. The variety of present papers, now offered to a broader audience, reveals this complicated relationship between theology and exegesis in his work.

In the following, we also present some concluding remarks, *Invitatiuncula*, written by Dr David Movrin as a final summarizing speech of the symposium:

First, I am pleased to announce that we have reached the research goal around which the symposium was organized. The subtler and more perceptive among you may have noticed the hidden tension bubbling under the surface. The fric-

tion between the two prevailing regional orthodoxies involves the ubication of Jerome's birthplace, Stridon – described by Jerome himself as »oppidum Stridonis, quod a Gothis eversum, Dalmatiae quondam Pannoniaeque confinium fuit«, »a town which, before the Goths destroyed it, had been on the border between Dalmatia and Pannonia«. It is an age-old and vexed question, and studies such as the one titled *Natale solum magni ecclesiae doctoris sancti Hieronymi in rud-eribus Stridonis occultatum*, published back in 1752, have barely scratched the surface of its complexity. To make a long story short, there are two local schools of thought. One of them tends to pinpoint this elusive settlement among the hills that we visited yesterday. The competing doctrine claims that the translator of the Vulgate was born further South. It would be unfair and indeed patronizing to look for nationalist motivations in what is surely nothing else but a pure academic thirst for knowledge. However, it is true that by a bizarre geographical coincidence, the proponents of the former camp tend to come from the northern side of the Slovenian-Croatian border, while the adherents of the latter faction tend to hail from its southern side.

It took three days of intense and frequently passionate deliberations – and a neutral scholar from across the pond – to provide a convincing solution. I am happy to report that after centuries, scholarly consensus has finally emerged. In an inspiring lecture, Craig Caldwell pointed out a telling description that Jerome himself provided about his birthplace. Perhaps it makes sense to repeat it for the benefit of those who were at the parallel sessions. In his seventh letter, addressed to Chromatius, Jovinus, and Eusebius, the Stridonian states: *In mea enim patria, rusticitatis vernacula, deus venter est et de die vivitur: sanctior est ille, qui ditior est*. Let me attempt a translation: »My country is enslaved to rustic behaviour, their god is their belly, and the richer you are, the more saintly you are held to be.« We discussed this with a Croatian colleague, and we both realized that Jerome's eloquent and precise description fits, like a glove, both Slovenian *and* Croatian milieu. There is no need to exclude anybody. Both countries should share the right to own these proud Latin phrases and to use them self-referentially on their promotional materials as they see fit.

Secondly, these last several days made us realize that it still takes a village to raise a child, as the African proverb has it. Even more so if that child is a problem child, such as an academic symposium; it has been almost two years now since we started organizing, and some of you are familiar with the phrase »terrible twos«. We feel indebted to several friends for helping us out with our unruly toddler, even if some of them could not be here today. Among them are Rajko Bratož, Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts; Alenka Cedilnik, History Department, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana; Antonio Davila Perez, Department of Classical Philology, University of Cádiz – Europa Renascens International Network; Laurence Mellerin, Institut des Sources chrétiennes (HISOMA-UMR 5189 research centre); Dominic Moreau, DANUBIUS Project (Université de Lille/HALMA-UMR 8164 research centre); colleagues at the Department of Classical Philology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana; Elżbieta M. Olechowska, Faculty of Artes

Liberales, University of Warsaw; Katalin Szende, Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Vienna; Marjeta Šašel Kos, Institute of Archaeology, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana; Miran Špelič and Rafko Valenčič, Faculty of Theology, University of Ljubljana. There is, however, one very young village elder that bore the lion's share of responsibilities and deserves to be mentioned outside of the alphabet. Jan Dominik Bogataj, Victorinianum Patristic Institute, Faculty of Theology, University of Ljubljana, was the symposium's secretary and the unstoppable *spiritus movens* behind much of what we have seen during these days. We hope that this applause will convey some of our gratitude to all of them for their fantastic service.

Speaking of African proverbs, this is perhaps the time to mention the story of Cornelia Africana, the mother of the Gracchi. You all know about her friends who questioned Cornelia about her mode of dress and personal adornment. They were surprised by her lack of jewellery and attire, far more simple and understated than usual for a woman of her rank and station. Valerius Maximus describes how Cornelia calmly pointed towards her children and said: »These are my jewels«. This symposium would not have been possible without our incredible students, who made sure everything ran smoothly. Even more, they did it with flair, panache, and style. I do not dare to mention any names because there were many on several locations at once; my capabilities of bilocation are still limited, and I would undoubtedly miss and forget some. I promise that I will get the list and thank them in person. For the time being, please join me in a particularly warm round of applause and perhaps stomping of feet: as Cornelia Africana would say – *haec ornamenta sunt nostra*.

Finally, we all want to thank you, the participants. It was your extraordinary response that made the experience of these past few days possible, and we felt that you had brought the warmth of community and the light of knowledge. I am not even sure that this is a mere worn-out and hackneyed metaphor. Do not wait for the 1700th anniversary. Send back some of your illuminating research before that – and the next time you will be in the region, do not be strangers. You will always be welcomed with open arms.

Aemonae seu Labaci, 26/10/2019.

Jan Dominik Bogataj, Rajko Bratož, Alenka Cedilnik,
David Movrin, Miran Špelič and Rafko Valenčič,
uredniki posebne številke / guest editors



Jan Dominik Bogataj OFM

PREOBRAŽENI

Zgodnjekrščanska teologija
Kristusovega spremenjenja na gori

Predgovor Gorazd Kocijančič



Jan Dominik Bogataj
**Preobraženi: zgodnjekrščanska teologija
Kristusovega spremenjenja na gori**

V monografiji avtor predstavi grško in bizantinsko umevanje evangeljskega dogodka Jezusove spremenitve na gori in ga umesti v širši grški religijski koncept metamorfoze. Temu doda svojsko latinsko tradicijo na zahodu in z vzhodne strani še semitski element iz sirskega izročila, potem pa predstavi tudi vizijo za sodobno teološko in filozofsko misel. Dogodek in njegovo patristično interpretacijo namreč umesti v tri teološke »poddisciplin«: kristologijo, soteriologijo in eshatologijo. Bogato poznavanje patrističnih besedil in prodorno razmišljanje mu je omogočilo, da je prišel do poglobljenega uvida v zapleteno dinamiko bizantinske, latinske in sirske patristične misli, ki je vredna ne le študija, pač pa tudi umestitve v sodobno miselno avanturo.

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Leszek Misiarczyk

Impassibilitas et impeccantia: Jerome's Misunderstanding of Impassibility and Sinlessness in Evagrius Ponticus

Impassibilitas et impeccantia: Hieronimovo napačno razumevanje brezstrastnosti in brezgrešnosti pri Evagriju Pontskem

Abstract: Jerome understood impassibility like Stoics as a complete lack of any emotion or desire. He mistakenly identified impassibility with *impeccantia* accusing Evagrius of making man a cold stone or a sinless God. Evagrius, however, did not identify impassibility with the state of modern apathy or insensitivity or as a lack of desires and impulses, but as a liberation from the passionate thoughts: gluttony, impurity, avarice, sadness, wrath, and acedia. Jerome did not read Evagrius texts in original Greek and had second-hand information about his teaching, so he misunderstood his concept of *impassibilitas et impeccantia*.

Keywords: Jerome, sin, Stoicism, emotions, *apatheia*

Povzetek: Hieronimovo razumevanje brezstrastnosti (*impassibilitas*) sledi stoiškemu, to pomeni: odsotnost čustev ali želja. Brezstrastnost je zmotno enačil z brezgrešnostjo (*impeccantia*), pri tem pa je Evagrija obtožil poskusa, da želi iz človeka narediti brezsrčen kamen ali za brezgrešnega Boga. Evagrius brezstrastnosti namreč ni razumel v smislu sodobnega pojma apatije ali brezčutnosti, pa tudi ne v smislu umanjkanja želja in dražljajev, marveč kot osvoboditev od strastnih misli: požrešnost, nečistost, pohlep, žalost, jeza in akedija. Hieronim ni bral Evagrijevih besedil v izvorni grščini, ampak je imel o njih zgolj informacije iz druge roke, zaradi česar je napačno razumel pojma brezstrastnosti in brezgrešnosti.

Ključne besede: Hieronim, greh, stoicizem, čustva, apatija

1. Jerome's Polemic with Pelagianism

If we want to understand Jerome's polemic with Evagrius correctly, we should put it into the broader context of his polemic with Pelagianism. Over the centuries, this dispute, known as the 'Pelagian Controversy', has been seen as centrally concerned with the nature of grace (Von Harnack 1899, 170; Evans 1968, 7; Bonner 1972, 1; Rees 1991, 54), while other issues have been put aside. Gerald Bonner has correctly stated that »historians and theologians have too long tended to form their image of Pelagianism by looking through Augustinian spectacles« (1992, 48). As a result of that, 'Pelagianism' has been passed down over time as a centralized and organized movement aimed to deceive Christians on the correct understanding of grace (Brown 2000, 346–349). In recent decades, scholars have begun to realize that in using the term 'Pelagian Controversy', some patristic authors are much more diverse and nuanced than previous generations have allowed. Bonner rightly claimed that »we can no longer think of the Pelagians as a constituting a party with a rigidly-defined doctrinal system but rather as a mixed group united by certain theological principles which nevertheless left the individual free to develop his own opinions upon particular topics« (1970, 31; Teske 1997, 11; Rousseau 2009, 14). Bonner, in 1972, had already distinguished between the theological heresy and the historical controversy: »Dogmatic theologians use the word Pelagianism /.../ to describe the heresy which dispenses with any need for divine grace and denies any transmission of Original Sin.« Instead, as a historical controversy, 'Pelagianism' would be »an ascetic movement within the Christian Church during the late fourth and early fifth centuries, a movement composed of disparate elements which came, over time, to be associated under the name of the British theologian and exegete Pelagius« (1972, 1; 2018; Bugiulescu 2018).

Michael Rackett, in his dissertation entitled *Sexuality and Sinlessness*, rightly pointed out that the central theological principle of the Pelagian controversy was not so much an affirmation of human free will or denial of original sin as it was the affirmation of the possibility of sinlessness (2002a, 251–253). Even if Rackett fell into the same reductionist trap as previous scholars by replacing the central question of grace with the central question of sinlessness, nevertheless, he rightly drew the attention of scholars to the idea of sinlessness. Stuart Squires rightly follows Rackett in affirming that we should recognize sinlessness as one of the most important themes for Pelagius and his followers but refuses to claim that this is the heart of the matter (2013, 8). Even if sinlessness is not a central and crucial issue within the Pelagian controversy, it is still one of the movement's central ideas. Jerome's accuse of Evagrius confirms that sinlessness and impassibility, strictly connected with it, were seen as part of Pelagianism.

We know that Jerome, like Cassian, was one of the essential ascetic writers in the Western Church in the 4th–5th century. However, Elisabeth Clark, claiming that Jerome viewed the Pelagian debate as a »continuation of both the ascetic and the Origenist controversies« (1992, 221), is incorrect. If there is no doubt regarding the fact that Jerome considered Pelagianism as a continuation of the Origenist

controversy, it seems that he did not see this debate as an ascetic controversy. It is surprising that in his *Epistula* 130.16, which is one of his most essential discourses on consecrated life, there is no connection between asceticism and Pelagius. In this text, Jerome warns Demetrias against the danger of Origenism, especially the doctrine of the pre-existence of souls, but does not accuse Pelagius of distorting ascetic teaching (Squires 2013, 85–109). We do not know why: maybe because he did not notice any danger for the ascetic life in Pelagius' writings or because he thought it would be easier to accuse Pelagius of distorting the Gospel by introducing the corrupting influence of philosophy. However, in any case, his ascetic preoccupations are curiously absent. There is no doubt that Jerome detected the influence of Origen on Pelagius as the most important and most dangerous. Thus, when he accused Evagrius of proclaiming impassibility and sinlessness, he did so not because he was convinced that Evagrius as a monk distorted ascetic doctrine with his ideas, but because as an Origenist, he deviated from orthodox theological teaching as did his master. In other words, Jerome's criticism of Evagrius is strangely based not on ascetical principles but theological ones. Now let us start the detailed analysis of Jerome's texts which will confirm that perspective.

2. Jerome's Criticism of Evagrius

Epistula 133 *Ad Ctesifontem* is the third text written against Pelagius in 414, but it is also chronologically the first text in which Evagrius is mentioned. Jerome refutes Pelagius' denial of original sin, pointing out that he has drawn it partly from philosophers and partly from heretics. Quoting Is 14,13-14 he adds that it is the greatest presumption to claim not only likeness to God but equality to Him and so to compress the poisonous doctrines of all heretics which in turn flow from the statements of the philosophers, particularly Pythagoras and Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school. The Stoics affirm that it is possible to root out of the human mind what they call 'passions' (πάθη) – all vice may be destroyed roots and branches in man by meditation on virtue and constant practice of it. To maintain such a doctrine is to take man's nature from him, forget that he is constituted of the body and soul, and substitute mere wishes for sound teaching. Jerome refers to Rom 7,24, where St. Paul affirms that nobody can free man from the body of this death, then to Vergil (*Aen.* 6.733–734) and Horace (*Sat.* 1.3.68–69), who confirms that we cannot escape these feelings. He also quotes Tertullian (*Adversus Hermogenem* 9), who said that »the philosophers are the patriarchs of the heretics«. Jerome draws a powerful argument from Rom 7,19, in which the Apostle tells us that he has no power to do what he wishes. He quotes many different biblical passages affirming human weakness and the impossibility of living without sin (Rom 11,32; 3,23; Eccl 7,20; Prov 20,9). The heretics inspired by Greek philosophers say that a man may be 'without sin' and they describe this state by the Greek word ἀνάμαρτος. After that, Jerome sets forth the names of heretics affirming that doctrine: Manichaeus and Priscillian from Spain. These heretics have affinities with Gnosticism

which may be traced to the impious teaching of Basilides, who insisted that without knowledge of the law, it is impossible to avoid sin. Moreover, in this context, we find the attack on Evagrius:

»Evagrius of Ibera in Pontus who sends letters to virgins and monks and among others to her whose name bears witness to the blackness of her perfidy (that is Melania), has published a book of maxims on apathy, or, as we should say, impassivity or imperturbability; a state in which the mind ceases to be agitated and – to speak simply – becomes either a stone or a God. His work is widely read, in the East in Greek and the West in a Latin translation made by his disciple Rufinus. He has also written a book that professes to be about monks and includes many not monks at all he declares to have been Origenists and have certainly been condemned by the bishops. I mean Ammonius, Eusebius, Euthymius, Evagrius himself, Horus, Isidorus, and many others whom it would be tedious to enumerate.« (Hier., *Ep.* 133.3)¹

Later on, Jerome states that if we would like to trace other masters of this heresy, we should go to Origen, who, commenting Ps 16,7, »My reins also instruct me in the night season«, affirmed that when a holy man has reached perfection, he is accessible even at night from human infirmity and is not tempted by evil thoughts. This is also the second position of Jovinian that »the devil cannot tempt persons baptized with water and spirit« (Hier., *Adv. Iovin.* 2.1). Jerome adds that if the arguments of these people and Pelagius were true, men would have no external need for God's grace to avoid sin. Therefore, there is no need to fast or any other form of self-restraint. The Pelagians argued that if the human will require external support, it ceased to be free will and criticized Christians for destroying the free will. To save human freedom, we must admit that we are no longer dependent upon God. Jerome tried to convince Ctesifont that human free will requires the help of God's grace. If in the Holy Scriptures many are called righteous, at the same time, Scripture clearly says that they have committed a lot of errors and sins before their complete conversion to God.

The same idea is repeated in *Commentary on Jeremiah 4* when Jerome mentions that while he started commenting on the book of the prophet in Bethlehem, there suddenly erupted the heresy of Pythagoras and Zeno regarding ἀπαθεία and ἀναμαρτησία, that is *inpassibilitatis et inpeccantiae*. It has been developed in the writings of Origen, his disciples Evagrius Ponticus, and Jovinian. This heresy became known not only in the East but also in the West and some islands like Sicily

¹ »Evagrius ponticus hiborita, qui scribit ad uirgines, scribit ad monachos, scribit ad eam, cuius nomen nigredinis testatur perfidiae tenebras, edidit librum et sententias peri apatheias, quam nos ‚inpassibilitatem’ uel ‚inperturbationem’ possumus dicere, quando numquam animus ulla cogitatione et uitio commouetur et – ut simpliciter dicam – uel saxum uel deus est. Huius libros per orientem graecos et interpretante discipulo eius rufino latinos plerique in occidente lectitant. Qui librum quoque scripsit quasi de monachis multos que in eo enumerat, qui numquam fuerunt et quos fuisse describit origenistas et ab episcopis damnatos esse non dubium est, ammonium uidelicet et eusebium et euthymium in ipsium euagrium, or quoque et isidorum et multos alios, quos enumerare taedium est.« The English translations are cited according to the Fremantle's translation in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* series. Latin text follow the Hilberg's CSEL critical edition.

and Rhodes; it stained many people and has grown from day to day because heretics teach it in secret and deny it publicly (*dum secreto docent et publice negant*) (Hier., *Praef. in Hieremiam* 4).

Finally, Jerome made his total onslaught in *Dialogus adversus Pelagianos* written in 415–419. It is a Socratic dialogue between two fictional characters Atticus (Jerome's voice) and Critobulus (Pelagius' voice), where he developed the arguments presented in *Epistula* 133. Benoît Jeanjean's claim that *Epistula* 133 and the *Adv. Pelag.* »constituent un ensemble cohérent de textes qui présentent un objectif commun - réfuter la thèse pélagienne de l'impeccantia« (1999, 387–388) is not entirely accurate. In fact, in *Ep.* 133 and *Adv. Pelag.* 1–2 Jerome states that one may not be sinless, but in *Adv. Pelag.* 3, probably under Augustine's influence, he curiously departs from his previous statements adding that one may be sinless due to individual efforts. However, he does not allow this sinlessness to remain a permanent state because no matter how strong the will or how few temptations are, one may not avoid sin for the entirety of one's life but only for a 'short time'. Jerome did not allow that in *Adv. Pelag.* 1; 2. This change at the end of *Adv. Pelag.* 3 stems from a rejection of Augustine's position on sinlessness. Jerome read in Augustine's work a theology that he considered too pessimistic about the human condition. He felt the need to offer a theological position that attributed more agency to the individual to counteract the limitations that Augustine placed on the human will because of original sin. In comparison, it may seem to be an exaggeration to call him an optimist, the *Adv. Pelag.* are, by Jerome's standards, relatively equilibrated. This temperate position resulted from his rejection of Augustine on one extreme and, of course, Pelagius on the other (Squires 2013, 95–96). In his *Ep.* 133 and *Adv. Pelag.* 1–2, while he rejected Pelagius' understanding of grace, as Augustine had done, he saw free will as possessing more agency than did Augustine (*Ep.* 133.5).

Jerome's primary weapon of attack on Pelagius' theory of sinlessness was to paint him as an intellectual descendent of heterodox Christians who infected Christianity with non-Christian ideas (Rebenich 1992, 219). In the Prologue to *Adv. Pelag.* he repeats once again the same arguments he presented in *Ep.* 133:

»After writing the letter to Ctesiphon, in which I replied to the questions propounded, I received frequent expostulations from the brethren, who wanted to know why I any longer delayed the promised work in which I undertook to answer all the subtleties of the preachers of impassibility (*apatheia*). For everyone knows what the contention of the Stoics and Peripatetics was, that is, the old Academy, some of them asserted that πάθη, which we may call emotions, such as sorrow, joy, hope, fear, can be thoroughly eradicated from the minds of men; others that their power can be broken, that they can be governed and restrained, as unmanageable horses are held in check by peculiar kinds of bits. Tullius has explained their views in the *Tusculan Disputations*, and Origen, in his *Stromata*, endeavours to blend them with ecclesiastical truth. I pass over Manichæus, Priscillianus, Evagrius of Iborra, Jovinianus, and the heretics found throughout almost the whole of Syria, who, by a perversion of the

import of their name, are commonly called Massalians, in Greek, Euchites, all of whom hold that it is possible for human virtue and human knowledge to attain perfection, and arrive, I will not say merely at a likeness to, but equality with God; and who go the length of asserting that, when once they have reached the height of perfection, even sins of thought and ignorance are impossible for them. /.../ Origen is peculiar in maintaining on the one hand that human nature cannot pass through life without sin, and on the other, that it is possible for a man, when he turns to better things, to become so strong that he sins no more.« (Hier., *Adv. Pelag. Prologus*)²

Jerome mentioned several men whom he held responsible, either directly or indirectly, for attempting to corrupt the Church, such as the New Academics, Peripatetics, Gnostics, Basilides, Priscillian, Evagrius, Xystus, Messalians, Mani, Arians, and Marcion (Hier., *Ep.* 133.1–3; *Adv. Pelag.* 1.1.19–20). He spent much time and worked to link Pelagius with the Stoics, Jovinian, Rufinus, and, most importantly, Origen (3.15; 1.2; 3.19). He felt that if he could connect Pelagius' idea of sinlessness to Origen and then back to Greek philosophy, he would discredit his opponent and win (Elm 1997, 311–318). While all scholars agree that it was absurd of him to link Pelagius with the New Academics, Peripatetics, Gnostics, Basilides, Priscillian, Messalians, Mani, Arians, and Marcion, a disagreement has arisen about the influence that the Stoics (Cavallera 1922, 1; 323; Ferguson 1952, 78; Brown 2000, 368), Evagrius, Xystus, Jovinian (Duval 2003, 284–365; Hunter 2007, 259–268), Rufinus (Kelly 1975, 315–316), and Origen (Bostock 1999, 385–386) had on Pelagius.

Jerome offers a definition of sinlessness that he sees operating in Pelagius' works which, he believes, is rooted in Stoicism (Cavallera 1921, 127). According to the Stoics, he says, every individual experienced passions (πάθη, *perturbatio*) that must be removed through »meditation (*meditatio*) on virtue and constant practice (*exercitatio*) of it« (Hier., *Ep.* 133.1). In *Praefatio in Heremiam propheta* 4 he says that ἀναμάρτητος is a synonym for ἀπάθεια and in Latin *sine peccato*. He associates sinlessness with a pagan philosophical origin (Jeanjean 1999, 395–397; Rackett 2002a, 283–284). We know that the term ἀπάθεια was a philosophical one which later was adapted and used by theologians such as Clement of Alexandria, Origen,

² »Scripta jam ad Ctesiphontem epistola, in qua ad interrogata respondi, crebra fratrum expostulatio fuit, cur promissum opus ultra differrem, in quo pollicitus sum me ad cunctas eorum qui ἀπάθειαν praedicant, quaestiunculas responsurum. Nulli enim est dubium, quin Stoicorum et Peripateticorum, hoc est, veteris Academiae ista contentio sit, quod alii eorum asserant πάθη, quas nos *perturbationes* possumus dicere: aegritudinem, gaudium, spem, timorem eradicari et extirpari posse de mentibus hominum: alii frangi eas, regi atque moderari, et quasi infrenes equos quibusdam lupatis coerceri. Quorum sententias et Tullius in Tusculanis disputationibus explicat, et Origenes ecclesiasticae veritati in *Stromatibus* suis miscere conatur, ut praeteream Manichaeum, Priscillianum, Euagrium Iberitam [Al. Hiboritam et Hyperboritam], Jovianianum, et totius pene Syriae haereticos quos sermone gentili διεστραμμένως Massalianos Graece Εὐχίτας vocant; quorum omnium ista sententia est, posse ad perfectionem, et non dicam ad similitudinem, sed aequalitatem Dei humanam virtutem et scientiam pervenire, ita ut asserant se ne cogitatione quidem et ignorantia, cum ad consummationis culmen ascenderint, posse peccare /.../. Illud autem Origenis proprium est, et impossibile esse humanam a principio usque ad mortem non peccare naturam: et rursus esse possibile, cum se aliquis ad meliora converterit, ad tantam fortitudinem pervenire ut ultra non peccet.« (Hier., *Adv. Pelag. Prologus* [PL 23,517–519]) The same idea is repeated in 1.26; 2.6; 3.3; 3.13.

and Evagrius (Grovec 1973, 312; Nieścior 1996–97; Stewart 1998, 41; Driscoll 1999, 157; Tobon 2010). Jerome is convinced that Pelagius received his understanding of sinlessness from Evagrius, but modern scholars rightly point out that he did not understand what Evagrius meant by ἀπάθεια (Hier., *Ep.* 133.3). Driver, for example, claims that his »description of apatheia is little more than a caricature, and his supposed reliance on the ancient philosophers shows that Jerome had little understanding of their views« (2002, 303; Bell 1987, 148; Kelly 1975, 315; Rackett 2002b, 231; Somos 1999, 372; Colish 1990, 78; Casiday 2002, 370–372). Although the relationship between Pelagius and the Stoics has yet to be explored, Driver rightly rejected his argument of the equivalence of *sine peccato* and ἀπάθεια.

Furthermore, even if Jerome had quite a clear understanding of the Stoic definition of ἀπάθεια, he did not know the writings of Evagrius well enough to realize how the monk of Pontus had adopted the term for Christian usage by making it a means towards the end of a prayerful connection to God. At least, Cassian understood Evagrius better than Jerome (Rebenich 1992, 67–71). Both Cassian and Jerome rejected Pelagius' idea of sinlessness, but they did so from opposing positions. Cassian stood firmly on an Evagrian foundation while Jerome rejected Pelagius from an anti-Evagrian position. For Cassian, Pelagius was, we can say, »not Evagrian enough«, while Jerome thought that Pelagius was ,too Evagrian' (Squires 2013, 141–143). It was irrelevant that Pelagius may never have read Evagrius. What was of central importance was their relationships with Greek philosophy and the Christian appropriation of that philosophy. These relationships coloured their rejection of Pelagius. Cassian, with his dependence on Evagrius and his praise of the ascetic practices of the Egyptian fathers, constructed a definition of sinlessness that echoed the σκοπός of the desert monks. With his scorn for the monks of Nitria and their appropriation of Greek philosophy through Origen and Evagrius, Jerome constructed a definition that (indirectly) assailed those he had once praised. Furthermore, Jerome's equation of sinlessness with Stoic ἀπάθεια was just as misleading. Although Pelagius most likely had been influenced by certain aspects of Stoicism, Jerome's unfairness assumed that Pelagius, Origen, and Evagrius understood sinlessness through a Stoic perspective.

In the context of a dispute with Jovinian and the Pelagian controversy, Jerome understands the Greek term ἀπάθεια either as a state of complete absence of any movements in the human soul or as a kind of the divine state (*ut simpliciter dicam, vel saxum vel deus est*). In contemporary research on Evagrius, thanks to the discovery of many of his texts preserved in Greek under the name of Nil of Ancyra and a Syrian translation of his writings, we can reconstruct (probably better than Jerome himself) his understanding of impassibility, which was quite different than what is attributed to him by Jerome.

3. Impassibility and Sinlessness, According to Evagrius

Evagrius saw the spiritual life as πρακτική, and γνωστική (Bunge, 1996; Misiarczyk 2007, 117–184). The first stage is the fight against eight principle λογισμοί: glut-

tony (γαστριμαργία), impurity (πορνεία), avarice (φιλαργυρία), sadness (λύπη), anger (ὀργή), acedia (ἀκηδία), vainglory (κενοδοξία) and pride (ὑπερηφανία) (Stewart 2005; Misiarczyk 2007, 185–375; Brakke 2013, 213). Impassibility is the state of the soul reached after the victory over the first five λογισμοί, and it is at the exact moment the gate to γνωστική, the stage of the knowledge of God when the monk is attacked by vainglory and pride. Evagrius, from one side, defines impassibility as uprooting or removing all passions from the soul, from the other as just limiting their impact. Scholars proposed then that when Evagrius talked about uprooting or removing all passions, he had in mind the monastic life and speaking to beginners; he invited them to limit their impact (Joest 1993; Nieścior 1996–97; 1998; Driscoll 1999; Tobon 2010a; 2010b). Therefore, impassibility would not mean an absolute lack of passionate thoughts but a short and harmless time of staying in the soul without any consent of the will. This, however, clearly stands in contradiction with other texts of Evagrius, in which he defined impassibility as total liberation from the passions. The category of moderation and gradation can explain Evagrius' apparent ambivalence in the definition of impossibility. For the monk of Pontus, passion is the immoderate use of impulses, desires, or pleasure in general. The first degree of impassibility is to be free from this immoderate and incompatible use with their nature. This is the negative aspect of the whole process, i.e., freeing oneself from the improper use of an ontically good sphere, and this state would be an imperfect impassibility.

On the other hand, the second degree would be reserved for those advanced in spiritual life. It would include a positive aspect of the process, i.e., using impulses and desires in the right way, i.e., according to the measure determined by the ontic and moral order established by God as well as the individual choices of man, and following their nature, e.g., lust as a desire for virtue. Here we find the first fundamental difference between Evagrius and Jerome, who identified impassibility with the complete lack of emotion or desire in the Stoic sense. As we have already seen earlier, Jerome saw the sources of both Arianism and Pelagianism in Origen, and he interpreted the teaching of Evagrius about impassibility from the perspective of these assumptions. He mistakenly identified impassibility with *impeccantia* or *impassibilitas*, accusing Evagrius of wanting to make a man a cold stone or a sinless God (*vel saxum vel deus est*). As we have seen, Evagrius did not identify impassibility with the state of modern apathy, insensitivity, or - psychologically speaking - with denial or repression of feelings and emotions. If he claimed that love is the daughter of impassibility, he assumed that there was still some emotional component in that state. According to Evagrius, impassibility consists in freeing oneself from the passion because it is impossible to free oneself from the desires and impulses which belong to human nature. Either Jerome did not understand this subtle distinction, or the teachings of Evagrius had already reached him in some changed form since he identified impassibility with a will to free oneself from these natural desires and impulses.

While on the one hand, the lack of distinction between desires, impulses, and passions led to the identification of impassibility with indifference, i.e. an attempt

to make a man of stone; on the other, the identification of passion with sin led to the understanding of impassibility as sinlessness, i. e., a divine state. It is worth remembering that Jerome used the term *impeccantia*, which, as noted by G. Bunge in his time, meant the Pelagian teaching about the possibility of achieving a state of sinlessness on man's strength alone without the help of God's grace (Bunge 1986). Therefore, he applied the Pelagian ideas to the Evagrius concept of impassibility, seeing in it the influence of Origen and the sources of the Pelagian heresy. The absurdity of this accusation becomes evident if we remember that Evagrius in his teaching on impassibility was inspired more by Clement, not Origen, who used the Greek term ἀπάθεια very rarely. Jerome emphasized it, not fully understanding the teachings of Evagrius on this subject, mixing it with the Stoic ideal of dispassion and the Pelagian doctrine of sinlessness. Pelagians themselves, by identifying ἀπάθεια with *impeccantia*, created much confusion so that the later Christian authors such as John Cassian avoided it at all costs, replacing it with *puritas cordis* (Nieścior 1996; 1997; Joest 1993; Driscoll 1999; Stewart 2003). In the spiritual doctrine of Evagrius, however, impassibility meant neither the Stoic lack of any desire or insensitivity nor sinlessness understood in a Pelagian way. There is no doubt that, according to the monk of Pontus, ascetic practice, although it is a spiritual method of purifying a passionate part of the soul, remains ineffective without God's grace. Impassibility, according to Evagrius, would be a liberation from evil passions, i.e., from the use of desires and impulses against their nature and not their lack at all. Evagrius defines such a state as »the health of the soul« (*Practicus* 56), and if we were to describe the use of desires and impulses contrary to nature, impassibility would be a liberation from such improper use. Such a state is possible for man here on earth, but it is never absolutely permanent. This impassibility, however, is not achieved by shortcuts or voluntarism but by slowly and gradually fighting the first five passionate thoughts. It is a state, or better-said process, subjected to a specific gradation that develops parallel with the ascetic efforts. Different degrees of impassibility is achieved after victory over each passionate thought.

As we have seen, Evagrius' concepts of impassibility and sinlessness are more subtle than what Jerome attributed to him. Different theological and historical contexts, and also a polemical attitude influenced Jerome's interpretation of ἀπάθεια, one of the essential ideas of early Christian monasticism and sowed the seeds of distrust on it in later Latin Christianity.

Abbreviations

Adv. Iovin. – *Adversus Iovinianum*.

Adv. Pelag. – *Adversus Pelagianos*.

Aen. – *Aeneis*.

CSEL – *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*.

Ep. – *Epistula* [Hilberg 1996].

PL – *Patrologia Latina*.

Sat. – *Satirae*.

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Monografije FDI - 25

Christian Gostečnik OFM

regulativna relacijska paradigma ✕ psiho-organski prenos ✕ integrativni model



Nevroznanost in relacijska družinska terapija



Christian Gostečnik

Nevroznanost in relacijska družinska terapija

Relacijski družinski model predpostavlja, da posameznikovi zgodnji odnosi s starši in pomembnimi drugimi, zelo radikalno vplivajo na vse kasnejše pomembne odnose v posameznikovem življenju. Vedno znova si bo izbiral, predvsem intimne partnerje, na osnovi teh zgodnjih izkušenj, ki so globoko vtisnjeni v njegov nezavedni psiho-organski spomin. Relacijska terapija zato skuša, ravno na osnovi sakralnosti intimnih odnosov v sedanosti, preoblikovati stara, še tako travmatična izkustva v odnose, ki osrečujejo.

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Rebecca J. Keller

Jerome, Vigilantius, and the Cults of the Saints

Hieronim, Vigilancij in kult svetnikov

Abstract: While the publication of a new critical edition of Jerome's *Contra Vigilantium* in 2005 has renewed interest in recent years, there remains much work to be done on several issues concerning the text. The argument that Jerome was tacitly endorsing Vigilantius's theological perspective because Jerome did not respond with a clear explanation of his position is not entirely convincing, not least because this argument fails to take into account the genre of the text. Because Jerome's purpose was primarily to attack and undermine the position of Vigilantius, Jerome's doctrine is veiled beneath his scathing rhetoric. This study provides a close reading of *Contra Vigilantium*, considering the genre of the text, Jerome's rhetoric, and its implications. It also examines how Jerome's other works and letters provide insight into Jerome's position in *Contra Vigilantium*, and his understanding of the cults of the saints and relic practices.

Keywords: relics, saints, Jerome, theology, Vigilantius, Victricius

Povzetek: Čeprav je objava nove kritične izdaje Hieronimovega dela *Contra Vigilantium* leta 2005 obnovila zanimanje zanj, ostaja veliko vprašanj v povezavi z njim še vedno odprtih. Argument, da je Hieronim potihem odobral Vigilancijev teološki pogled, ker naj prvi ne bi jasno izrazil svojega lastnega prepričanja, ni povsem prepričljiv, saj premislek te vrste ne upošteva zvrsti besedila. Hieronimov primarni namen sta bila napad in spodkopavanje Vigilancijevega pogleda, zato je svoj nauk zakril pod ostro retoriko. Prispevek ponuja podrobno branje dela *Contra Vigilantium*, pri tem pa upošteva zvrst besedila, Hieronimovo retoriko in njene implikacije. Analizira tudi, kako druga Hieronimova dela in pisma pomagajo k razumevanju *Contra Vigilantium* in na sploh njegovega pojmovanja čaščenja svetnikov in relikvij.

Ključne besede: relikvije, svetniki, Hieronim, teologija, Vigilancij, Viktricij

1. Introduction

1600 years after Jerome wrote his *Contra Vigilantium*, allegedly in a single night in Bethlehem, a new critical edition of the text was published (CCSL 79C, vi.).¹ Of all Jerome's works, the *Contra Vigilantium* has been deemed his rudest, most abusive, most violent, and least structured polemic (Lössl 2005, 100). Thus, it seems hardly a credible source for reconstructing the position of Vigilantius. Nevertheless, the text has been used to promote a view of Vigilantius as a true Christian, a proto-Protestant, over and against the 'paganising' medieval, vulgar Catholicism' of Jerome (100). Of course, this is too simplistic by far, even if one ignores the disparaging use of terms.

Since the *Contra Vigilantium* is the only known source for his thought, much of the scholarly attention given to the text has been focused on recovering the beliefs of Vigilantius. Jerome's position has received little consideration by comparison, and though his *vitae* of the saints Paul, Hilarion, and Malchus have been examined at length, there is little in the scholarly literature that discusses Jerome's doctrine of the cults of the saints specifically.² In his analysis of the *Contra Vigilantium*, one notable scholar argued that Jerome was tacitly endorsing Vigilantius' position because Jerome did not respond with a coherent explanation of his doctrine of the power of the saints or their relics.³ The genre of the text, however, needs to be taken into account. Jerome is not writing a primarily theological treatise, but a personal polemic, an invective, meant to attack and undermine the position and person of Vigilantius, such that Jerome's position is veiled, as it were, under layers of vituperation.⁴

Nor is Jerome engaged in a systematic theology of the cults of the saints.⁵ Jerome is not concerned with defending his own or the Church's beliefs as he is concerned with excoriating Vigilantius. His numerous personal insults make this clear: Jerome calls Vigilantius »insane (*insanum caput*)« (Hier., *C. Vigil.* 5), »drunk and drowsy (*ebrius et dormiens*)« (5), »from the stock of tramps and bandits (*de latronum et conuenarum natus est semine*)« (4) »a living dog (*canis uiuens*)« (6), »an inarticulate viper (*elinguis uiperæ*)« (15). He says that Vigilantius »vomit[ed] up [his text] while snoring between hangovers (*quos inter crapulam stertens euomit*)« (3) and even implies that demons possess Vigilantius himself (5).

In order to recover Jerome's thought, we must begin by prying back some of these layers by digging underneath the name-calling and classical allusions.⁶ Then

¹ Translations are based on the work of Amy Oh (2013), with few modifications.

² For Jerome's hagiographical works, see, for example, Coleiro 1957; Gray 2017; Šubr 2014; Weingarten 2005.

³ Indeed, Lössl states, »Jerome reveals little of a positive teaching of his own« (2005, 103) in the *Contra Vigilantium*, and that Jerome »has no real alternative theology to offer to explain this new martyr cult« (2005, 115).

⁴ This is not to say that the *Contra Vigilantium* is Jerome's only polemical work, or that his taste for rhetoric isn't evident in his other writings. Yet it is surprising that Jerome's own doctrine of the cults of the saints as presented in this text has not been the focus of concerted scholarly attention.

⁵ For more on the development of the cults of the saints in Late Antiquity, see Brown 1981 and Wiśniewski 2019.

⁶ For an excellent analysis of the numerous classical allusions Jerome employs throughout the text, see

Jerome's own opinion does emerge, and it looks very different from the opinion he accuses Vigilantius of holding. Jerome's rhetoric carefully identifies himself with apostles, martyrs, and even emperors, thereby claiming their agreement with his orthodox views. In contrast, he paints a portrait of Vigilantius as the heir of a multitude of heretical figures, including Eunomius (8; 10), Montanus (8), and Jovinian (1). In this reconstruction of Jerome's doctrine of the cults of the saints, drawing on the *Contra Vigilantium* and other texts from his vast oeuvre, I shall focus on a few main points, all of which were contentious vis-a-vis Vigilantius: the honor due to saints and martyrs, the location of the souls of the dead and their intercession on behalf of the living, and the efficacy of the relics of the saints.

2. Jerome's Thought on the Saints in *Contra Vigilantium* and Other Works

A letter to Riparius, a presbyter in Gaul, dated 404, gives a preview, as it were, of some of Jerome's rhetorical flourish in dealing with Vigilantius: »You tell me that Vigilantius (whose very name ‚Wakeful‘ is a contradiction: he ought instead to be described as ‚Sleepy‘) has again opened his fetid lips and is pouring forth a torrent of filthy venom upon the relics of the holy martyrs; and that he calls us who cherish them ‚ashmongers‘ and ‚idolaters‘ who pay homage to dead men's bones.«⁷ Jerome proceeds to address the distinction between veneration or honour and worship. To worship (*colere*), to adore (*adorare*), and to serve (*servire*) are inappropriate verbs to describe the glory due to the saints. Rather, Jerome states, »We honour (*honoramus*) the relics of the martyrs in order to adore him whose martyrs they are; we honour the servants so that the honour of the servants may overflow to the Lord.«⁸

This distinction is also found in the *Contra Vigilantium*. In what seems to be a direct quotation from Vigilantius' work, he hints none too subtly that the honour given to the relics of the saints is crossing over into worship: »Why is it necessary not only that you honour (*honorare*) with such great honour, but also that you worship (*adorare*) that ›I don't know what‹ which you revere (*colere*) while carrying it around in a bit of vessel? /.../ Why do you kiss and worship dust wrapped in linen?«⁹ Further, Vigilantius states, »We see that a virtually pagan rite (*ritum gentilium*) has been brought into the church under the pretext of religion.«¹⁰

Oh 2013, 75ff.

⁷ »Ais Uigilantium, qui /.../ hoc uocatur nomine - nam Dormitantius rectius diceretur - os fetidum rursus aperire et putorem spurcissimum contra sanctorum martyrum proferre reliquias et nos, qui eas suscipimus, appellare cinerarios et idololatrās, qui mortuorum hominum ossa ueneremur.« (Hier., *Ep.* 109.1) English translation based on NPNF2.

⁸ »Honoramus autem reliquias martyrum, ut eum cuius sunt martyres, adoremus, honoramus seruos, ut honor seruorum redundet ad dominum.« (Hier., *Ep.* 109.1) See also Oh 2013, 190.

⁹ »Quid necesse est tanto te honore non solum honorare, sed etiam adorare illud nescio quid quod in modico vasculo transferendo colis?... Quid puluerem linteamine circumdatum adorando oscularis?« (Hier., *C. Vigil.* 4)

¹⁰ »Prope ritum gentilium videmus sub praetextu religionis introductum in ecclesiis.« (Hier., *C. Vigil.* 4)

Jerome's response is clothed in his castigation of Vigilantius: »Who, you insane man, has ever worshipped (adoravit) martyrs? Who considered a human being to be God?«¹¹ Jerome's rhetorical tool here serves to render his opponent's arguments ridiculous. He cites the apostolic examples of Paul, Barnabas, and Peter, who refused to be worshipped as gods since »honour was being given to them when it was owed to God.«¹² Jerome further accuses Vigilantius of desiring worship for himself »so that Vigilantius alone, drunk and drowsy, may be worshipped.«¹³

Jerome goes on to defend the practice of relic translation by appealing to the tradition of the church. He mentions the translations of the relics of Andrew, Luke, and Timothy by Emperor Constantius; and the translation of the relics of the prophet Samuel by Emperor Arcadius (Hier., C. *Vigil.* 5). While Jerome's view of Constantius is ambiguous, the point he makes is not: if the emperors treat relics with such honour and respect, how much more ought ordinary people reverence the saints. The people who celebrated the translation of Samuel were worshipping Samuel instead of Christ, Jerome dismisses out of hand with characteristic irony, rendering Vigilantius' claims farcical.¹⁴

Jerome also addresses the location of the souls of the apostles and martyrs, stating, »You say that the souls of the apostles and martyrs have come to rest either in the lap of Abraham, or in a place of refreshment, or under the altar of God and that they are unable to leave their tombs and be present where they wish.«¹⁵ Vigilantius objects to the notion that the souls of the saints could be »multiplied and travel at will along with each fragment of their bodies« (Hunter 1999, 425). Again, Jerome answers with sharp rhetoric: »Will you set down the laws for God?«¹⁶ Quoting Scripture, he refers to the apostles and martyrs, »Of them, it is written: ›They follow the Lamb wherever he goes.‹ If the Lamb is everywhere, then those who are with the Lamb must be believed to be everywhere.«¹⁷ This is one of the most significant positive formulations in the whole *Contra Vigilantium*: Here, Jerome states outright his belief that the saints can be present in places other than those mentioned by Vigilantius. Saints can be present with their remains, and indeed, seem-

¹¹ »Quis enim, o insanum caput, aliquando martyres adoravit? Quis hominem putavit deum?« (Hier., C. *Vigil.* 5)

¹² »... sed quod sub gentilitatis errore honor eis deo debitus deferretur.« (Hier., C. *Vigil.* 5)

¹³ »ut solus Vigilantius ebrius et dormiens adoretur.« (Hier., C. *Vigil.* 5)

¹⁴ »Are the people of all churches foolish, who went to visit holy relics and received them with as great a joy as if they were seeing a living being in the flesh so that crowds of people might be joined together from Palestine all the way to Chalcedon and resound in one voice in praise of Christ? It *must* have been the case (*videlicet*) that these people adored Samuel instead of Christ - Samuel who was Christ's Levite and prophet.« (Hier., C. *Vigil.* 5)

¹⁵ »Ais enim uel in sinu Abrahae uel in loco refrigerii uel subter aram dei animas apostolorum et martyrum consedissee nec posse suis tumulis et ubi uoluerint adesse praesentes.« (Hier., C. *Vigil.* 6) The *sinus Abrahae* and the *locus refrigerii* seem to be synonymous for Jerome.

¹⁶ »Tu deo leges pones /.../?« (Hier., C. *Vigil.* 6)

¹⁷ »/.../ de quibus scriptum est: ›Sequuntur agnum quocumque uadit.‹ Si agnus ubique ergo et hi qui cum agno sunt ubique esse credendi sunt.« (Hier., C. *Vigil.* 6)

ingly without their remains, »everywhere (*ubique*)«. Jerome does not linger on this point, perhaps because it is pretty radical, but it is a point to which I shall return.

Vigilantius also doubts that the dead can intercede on behalf of the living. Jerome writes, »You say in your little pamphlet that while we live, we can pray for one another reciprocally; after we have died, however, one's prayer on behalf of another cannot be heard.«¹⁸ Jerome again points out the absurdity of this position: if the apostles and martyrs can intercede on behalf of the living while they are living, will they not be able to do so once they have achieved »their crowns, their victories, and their triumphs?«¹⁹ »Will they have less power after they have begun their life with Christ?«²⁰ Jerome's defence of this argument is a bit weak here, but the same point can be found in his other works. Throughout his consolatory letters, the Hieronymian position is that the saints are not only present with Christ, but they are also reigning with Christ (O'Connell 1948, 88–89). Indeed, the saints are better able to intercede on behalf of the living now that they are no longer solicitous for themselves.²¹ Another example of this is found at the end of Jerome's account of the life of Paula: for Jerome, Paula is united to Christ by her faith and works, such that she may »more easily obtain« what she asks for (Cain 2010, 128).²² Of course, Paula will ask for petitions on behalf of the living, seeing as she has already attained her reward.

Another critical point, and one that appears not to have been examined in the scholarship on this text, is Jerome's firm belief in the efficacy of relics. Vigilantius seems to object to the signs and miracles occurring at the basilicas of the martyrs because they are superfluous. Where the people are already Christian believers, what need is there for such signs and wonders? »/.../ as if the critical question to answer is for whom they occur, not by what miracle«, Jerome huffs in reply.²³ Turning Vigilantius' own words against him, Jerome answers: »tell me how in the vilest dust and ash, the ›I-don't-know-what‹, there is such a significant presence of signs and power.«²⁴ Jerome dares Vigilantius only to enter the basilicas of the martyrs, where the presence of the saints will cleanse him of the demons which are prompting his attacks on these pious practices.²⁵

¹⁸ »Dicis in libello tuo quod dum uiuimus mutuo pro nobis orare possumus. Postquam autem mortui fuerimus, nullius sit pro alio exaudienda oratio /.../« (Hier., C. *Vigil.* 6)

¹⁹ »Si apostoli et martyres adhuc in corpore constituti possunt orare pro ceteris quando de se adhuc debent esse solliciti, quanto magis post coronas, uictorias et triumphos?« (Hier., C. *Vigil.* 6)

²⁰ »/.../ et postquam cum Christo esse coeperint, minus ualebunt?« (Hier., C. *Vigil.* 6)

²¹ See, for example, Hier., Ep. 75.2 to Theodora on the death of her husband Lucinius: »Sed gaudeas regnare cum Christo /.../ Ille iam securus et uictor te aspicit de excelso et fauet laboranti et iuxta se locum praeparat eodem amore et eadem caritate /.../« »rejoice as well that he now reigns with Christ /.../ Victorious now and free from care he looks down on you from on high and supports you in your struggle, nay more, he prepares for you a place near to himself; for his love and affection towards you are still the same /.../« See also O'Connell 1948, 76.

²² See Hier., Ep. 108.33: »Fides et opera tua Christo te sociant. Praesens facilius, quod postulas, inpetrabis.«

²³ »/.../ quasi nunc hoc quaeratur, quibus fiant, et non qua uirtute fiant.« (Hier., C. *Vigil.* 10)

²⁴ »/.../ sed responde quomodo in uilissimo puluere et fauilla nescio qua tanta sit signorum uirtutumque praesentia.« (Hier., C. *Vigil.* 10)

²⁵ »ingredere basilicas martyrum et aliquando purgaberis.« (Hier., C. *Vigil.* 10)

Jerome confesses his trepidations in defence of the power of relics: »Whenever I am angry and think something evil in my mind, and a phantasm deceives me at night, I do not dare to enter the basilicas of the martyrs.«²⁶ Though Jerome does not elaborate here, it seems that he believes the power and presence of the saints to have a connection with their relics, such that he fears not the evil thought or the phantasm in the night but entering those places where the saints are most efficacious.

How is this reconcilable with Jerome's earlier statements that the saints are with Christ wherever he is and can be everywhere?²⁷ Jerome does not answer in this text, so we must look to his other writings. In a letter dated c. 405 to Theophilus, Jerome praises Theophilus's treatise on the Eucharist and the accompanying liturgical ephemera. Jerome indicates that not only is the Eucharist itself to be honoured and revered, but that »the sacred chalices, veils, and other accessories used in the celebration of the Lord's passion are not mere lifeless and senseless objects devoid of holiness, but that instead, from their association with the body and blood of the Lord, they are to be venerated (*ueneranda*) with the same awe as the body and the blood themselves.«²⁸ Christ in his divinity is not confined to a specific place, and nevertheless, the presence of Christ in the Eucharist is different somehow, and that presence extends to all of the accessories used in the celebration of the mass.

The saints are also not limited in their power by the location of their earthly remains. At the end of the *Vita Hilarionis*, after describing the theft of Hilarion's body from Cyprus, where he died, and its relocation to Palestine by one of his disciples, Jerome describes the 'strange dispute' (*miram /.../ contentionem*) between the people of Palestine and Cyprus, »the one contending that they have the body, the other the spirit of Hilarion.«²⁹ »And yet«, Jerome closes the life, »in both places great miracles are wrought daily, but to a greater extent in the garden of Cyprus, perhaps because that spot was dearest to him.«³⁰ This notion can also be seen in Jerome's letter to Julia Eustochium, where, in encouraging the latter to the life of virginity, Jerome exhorts her: »Rarely go abroad, and if you wish to seek the aid of the martyrs, seek it in your own chamber.«³¹ One need not go on pilgrimage to faraway places because the aid of the saints can be sought in any place.

If there is a contradiction here in Jerome's thought on the presence of the saints, it ought not to be surprising. The saints may be present everywhere, and

²⁶ »Quando iratus fuero et aliquid mali in meo animo cogitauero et me nocturnum phantasma deluserit, basilicas martyrum intrare non audeo.« (Hier., *C. Vigil.* 12)

²⁷ This is another of Lössl's critiques: that Jerome is inconsistent in his argument on this point (2005, 112).

²⁸ »Mirati sumus in opere tuo utilitatem omnium ecclesiarum, ut discant, qui ignorant, eruditi testimonis scripturarum, qua debeant ueneratione sancta suscipere et altaris Christi ministerio deseruire sacrosque calices et sancta uelamina et cetera, quae ad cultum dominicae pertinent passionis, non quasi inania et sensu carentia sanctimoniam non habere, sed ex consortio corporis et sanguinis domini eadem, qua corpus eius et sanguis maiestate ueneranda.« (Hier., *Ep.* 114.2)

²⁹ »Cernas usque hodie miram inter Palaestinos et Cyprios contentionem, his corpus Hilarionis, illis spiritum se habere certantibus.« (Hier., *V. Hilar.* 47 [PL 23, 53])

³⁰ »Et tamen in utrisque locis magna quotidie signa fiunt, sed magis in hortulo Cypri, forsitan quia plus illum locum dilexerit.« (Hier., *V. Hilar.* 47 [PL 23, 53–54])

³¹ »Rarus sit egressus in publicam: martyres tibi quaerantur in cubiculo tuo.« (Hier., *Ep.* 22.17)

yet their bodily remains, their clothing, and the locations of their earthly lives have a specific other power to work miracles. Jerome does not define how these phenomena are reconcilable, just as he does not define how Christ's presence in the eucharist differs from Christ's presence in all creation. He also does not echo the more radical thought of Victricius of Rouen, who argues that »the relics of the saints are, in effect, consubstantial with God« (Clark 1999, 365–399; 366).

Victricius of Rouen, in a sermon dated 396, gives a much more robust, if still unsystematic, theological explication of the saints.³² Jerome agrees with Victricius on many points, including that the saints can be present everywhere and yet are present in their relics in a more substantive way. Addressing the martyrs, Victricius states, »I knew that you are everywhere by the merit of your virtue: heavenly brilliance is not cheated out of any place on earth.«³³ Victricius believes in the efficacy of the relics of the saints to heal,³⁴ and he acknowledges the relationship between the living and the dead.³⁵

Victricius takes his theology of the saints much farther than Jerome, however. He gives a fuller explanation of how the saints are everywhere, arguing that they are joined to the divinity of Christ by adoption.³⁶ The saints are »entirely with the Saviour in his entirety.«³⁷ Therefore, the saints are joined to the Trinity itself, such that the only difference between them and the three trinitarian persons is that the saints have an 'acquired' (*indemptam*) divinity, while the persons of the Trinity are divine by nature: »You see then /.../ that the Father and the Son have by property of nature what the saints have by the unity of the gift they have received.«³⁸ For Victricius, the saints are the same (*idem*) as the »ineffable substance of the godhead« (*inenarrabilisque substantia deitatis*), though by gift and by adoption rather than by nature and property.³⁹

³² As Clark rightly points out, Victricius' argument is »unusually difficult to follow« (1999, 368), both because of the genre of the text and because of his penchant for rhetorical flourish.

³³ »Merito uirtutis ubique uos esse noui: nullo enim terrarum spatio caelestis claritudo fraudatur.« (Victric., *De laude sanctorum* 1)

³⁴ »If the hem of the Saviour's garment cured when lightly touched, it is beyond doubt that the dwelling places of the martyrdoms will cure when we take them into our arms.« »Nam si curauit adtacta leuiter fimbria Saluatoris, procul dubio curabunt amplexata domicilia passionum.« (Victric., *De laude sanctorum* 2)

³⁵ Victricius calls the saints 'advocates' and holds that they have a say in the judgement of souls: »Adsunt aduocati, delictorum nostrorum gesta oratione pandamus. Fauent iudices, possunt mitigare sententiam /.../« (Victric., *De laude sanctorum* 12)

³⁶ »/.../ it follows that we should believe, by a similar argument, that for those who live in Christ and the church there is one substance of flesh and blood and spirit, by the gift of adoption.« »/.../ sequitur ut in Christo et in ecclesia uiuentibus pari argumento unam beneficio adoptionis et carnis et sanguinis et spiritus credamus esse substantiam.« (Victric., *De laude sanctorum* 7)

³⁷ »/.../ toti cum toto sint Saluatore.« (Victric., *De laude sanctorum* 7)

³⁸ »Uidetis itaque /.../ hoc esse Patris et Filii per naturae proprietatem, quod est sanctis per suscepti muneris unitatem.« (Victric., *De laude sanctorum* 8)

³⁹ »Dico idem esse per beneficium non per proprietatem, per adoptionem non per naturam.« (Victric., *De laude sanctorum* 8)

It is possible that this teaching prompted Vigilantius to speak out against the saints' cults.⁴⁰ Vigilantius is deeply concerned about the proper worship of God and sees the honour being given to the saints as pushing the boundaries of worship inappropriately, even to idolatry. Vigilantius sees martyrs' veneration as a reintroduction of 'pagan' cultural manifestations into the Christian liturgy (Force 2003, 18). Jerome, strikingly, does not refute this. Instead, he argues that it is possible to begin from a place of idolatry or error and be transformed by the Christian message: »Because we used to worship idols, we should not worship God now, because we may seem to worship God with a similar honour once given to idols? That was done for idols and should be detested; this is done for martyrs and should be accepted.«⁴¹ For Jerome, the outward manifestations might look the same, but God rewards each individual according to their faith.⁴²

3. Conclusion

Jerome certainly does not give such a radical explanation of how the saints are efficacious, as does Victricius. Nevertheless, this is not to say that Jerome and Vigilantius are on the same side of this debate.⁴³ Jerome is forced by Vigilantius to think theologically about the cults of the saints, to go beyond his epistolary and hagiographical writings, and deal with some thorny issues: the relationship of the soul and the body, the connection between the living and the dead, the nature of the presence of the saints, and the efficacy of their relics (Force 2003, 24). Vigilantius was not a minor heretic to be dismissed; he was »an active member of an influential group in the western church« (Oh 2013, 36). Indeed, Vigilantius seems to have been in the majority of Gallic clerics in his critiques of the cults of the saints and the increasingly ardent asceticism of those who championed such cults.⁴⁴ While Jerome's desire to be influential in Gallic affairs and his success in such influence is a matter of debate (Mathisen 2009), it is clear, at least in this regard, that Jerome's position won out over his opponent.⁴⁵ Gennadius of Marseilles, in his *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum* written around the year 470, includes this

⁴⁰ This point is debated in the scholarship on Victricius and Vigilantius. David Hunter sees Vigilantius's articulation of his critique of the cults of the saints as responding to both the practice and theology of Victricius (1999, 423). However, according to Paul Force, following Élie Griffe, Vigilantius was responding to the development of the cult of St. Saturninus in Toulouse and the attitude of Bishop Exuperius (2003, 20–21).

⁴¹ »Et quia quondam colebamus idola, nunc deum colere non debemus, ne simili eum uideamur cum idolis honore uenerari? Illud fiebat idolis et idcirco detestandum est, hoc fit martyribus et ideo recipiendum est.« (Hier., *C. Vigil.* 7)

⁴² »/.../ secundum fidem suam habent mercedem.« (Hier., *C. Vigil.* 7)

⁴³ For more on the relationships between Victricius, Vigilantius, and Jerome, see Force 2003, 24; Hunter 1999, 409–413; Trout 1999, 200–209.

⁴⁴ »Vigilantius's opinions were received with sympathy by many Christians in Gaul, especially within the ecclesiastical hierarchy.« (Hunter 1999, 403)

⁴⁵ Feiertag offers some tantalizing hints of the ways the Jerome's thought and language are used and promoted by Gallic figures (1985 [CCSL 79C], x–xix).

entry: »The bodies of the saints and especially the relics of the blessed martyrs are to be honoured *as if they were the actual remains of Christ* [...] If anyone thinks differently, he is to be considered a Vigilantian and not a Christian.«⁴⁶

Abbreviations

- C. Vigil.** – *Contra (Adversus) Vigilantium* [Feiertag 2005].
CCSL – Corpus Christianorum Series Latina.
CSEL – Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
Dogm. – *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum*.
NPNF – Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.
PL – Patrologia Latina.
V. Hilar. – *Vita Hilarionis*.
Victric. – *Victricius Rotomagensis*.

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⁴⁶ "Sanctorum corpora, et praecipue beatorum martyrum reliquias, ac si Christi membra sincerissima honoranda...Si quis contra hanc sententiam uenit, non christianus sed Vigilantianus credatur." (Gennad., *Dogm.* 39 [CCSL 79C, xviii]) Emphasis added.

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Jerome and Victorinus: A Complex Relationship Between the Compatriots

Hieronim in Viktorin: Zapleten odnos med rojakoma

Abstract: The paper is based on an analysis of the adjective *noster* as an attribute to the proper name; its use by Jerome in a short note found in *De viris illustribus* serves to broaden the otherwise scarce information on his compatriot Victorinus. In Jerome's other references to Victorinus, too, a friendly bias can be noticed, as Jerome, otherwise highly critical and anti-heterodox turns a blind eye to Victorinus' millennialism. Jerome criticises Victorinus only for his stylistic shortcomings and linguistic imperfection and tones this down further by praising Victorinus' command of Greek. Jerome's judgments also say something about Jerome himself: although he broke away from his homeland early and became a true cosmopolitan, he nevertheless retained a special connection to his native land and its inhabitants.

Keywords: Jerome, Victorinus of Poetovio, millennialism, Latin exegesis

Povzetek: V članku izhajamo iz analize svojilnega pridevnika »noster« kot epiteta k lastnemu imenu. Iz njegove rabe pri Hieronimu skušamo poglobiti razumevanje kratke notice o Viktorinu iz Hieronimovega dela *De viris illustribus*, v kateri nam daje sicer skope, a dragocene podatke o svojem rojaku. Tudi pri drugih Hieronimovih omembah Viktorina zasledimo prijazno pristranskost, saj sicer zelo kritičen in proti heterodoksnosti nastrojen Hieronim tukaj zamiži na eno oko in spregleda Viktorinov milenarizem – očita mu le slogovno nedodelanost in jezikovno nedovršenost, pa še to omiljuje s pohvalo njegovega znanja grščine. Hieronimove sodbe povedo nekaj tudi o njem samem: čeprav se je zgodaj odtrgal od domače dežele in bil pravi svetovljan, je do domače dežele in njenih prebivalcev vendarle ohranjal poseben odnos.

Ključne besede: Hieronim, Viktorin Ptujski, milenarizem, latinska eksegeza

Whenever Jerome wanted to show special kindness to someone, he gave them the attribute *noster* 'our'; a few times, he even paraphrased this pronoun with the form *meus et tuus*, 'my and your'. He often treated his friends in this way; only sometimes, however, he qualified people from the past with this attribute. Those

were, without exception, Christian authors. Within Jerome's rather extensive opus with many names mentioned, only Hilary of Poitiers and Victorinus of Poetovio are given this kind of attention three times.

The present paper aims to point out some links that may have contributed to a particular relationship between Jerome and Victorinus, and explain the reasons behind it. We started our research simply by analyzing all the occurrences of the possessive pronoun *noster* applied to personal names and later all mentions of Victorinus of Poetovio in Jerome's writings.¹ We found three occurrences that belong to both lists, and we think that is rather meaningful.

1. Jerome's Usage of the Adjective *noster*

Jerome was not always an easy character. On the one hand, he was extremely polite and courteous towards his friends, but on the other, he was even able to call his opponents names (Opelt 1965, 1973). One of his frequent courtesies was the possessive pronoun *noster*, and two of his contemporaries who enjoyed that privilege were Nepotianus and Blesilla. The former had been his correspondent, and both are mentioned in his letters to other people,² and both were deceased; it is in their epitaphs, full of admiration, that Jerome uses this pronoun so frequently. Both these letters, 39 and 60, are in some way unofficial canonization of the mourned persons. They are full of respect for Nepotianus' virtuous life or Blesilla's profound conversion. In short, we can define their literary genre as a true Christian apotheosis.

The second group that receives this type of treatment is Christian authors from the past; only two of these are Greek writers, the majority of them are Latin writers (*Ep.* 49.19). They are listed here in alphabetic order: rather pagan Ausonius (118.7), Cyprian of Carthage, Hilary of Poitiers (20.1; 34.5; 49.19), Lactantius, borderline orthodox Novatian, Tertullian of the same sort (36.1), and, finally, our Victorinus of Poetovio. In this last case, 'our' may simply refer to 'Latin' or may pertain to Victorinus being a companion in Christian literary effort. Or, perhaps it has some deeper meaning.

Jerome sometimes uses the analyzed pronoun *noster* in a geographical sense since we find it used twice with the place of his residence, *Bethlehem nostra* (58.3; 65.1).

When Jerome uses the possessive pronoun *noster* with the name of his exegetical forerunner Victorinus, he surely refers to his sanctity, which Victorinus gained through his undoubted martyrdom. Here, he is joined by Nepotianus (60.1; 60.8; 60.11; 60.19) and Blesilla (38.2.5; 39.3; 39.7). Furthermore, Victorinus is also one of the respected Latin Christian authors, the first to give us exegetical writing, so

¹ All Jerome's mentions of Victorinus have already been collected by Haussleiter (1916, VII–XIV). See also Micaelli 1995.

² To Nepotianus *Ep.* 52, Epitaph of Nepotianus in *Ep.* 60 to Heliodorus. Blesilla mentioned in *Ep.* 38; Epitaph for Blesilla in *Ep.* 39 to Paula, her mother. For the Latin citations from Jerome's letters, the Hilberg's CSEL critical edition is quoted.

he belongs to the group of the other Church fathers.³ Moreover, Victorinus may also be *noster* through the geographic vicinity of their homelands: Poetovio being *colonia Pannoniae*, and *Strido* (or *Stridonae*) *oppidum, quod Dalmatiae Pannoniaeque confinium fuit* (*De vir. ill.* 135).

2. Jerome's Attitude Towards ,his' Victorinus

Victorinus of Poetovio gets average attention in Jerome's *Illustrious Men*; he is neither overlooked nor overexposed.⁴ Besides the admittedly incomplete list of Victorinus' writings, we are informed of his bishopric in Poetovio, of his blessed death as a martyr, and we get one single literary evaluation: about his not-perfect knowledge of Latin. However, at the same time, this criticism is toned down by two instances of praise: his command of Greek (*non aequae Latine ut Graece noverat*), and the importance of his work (*opera grandia sensibus*). The general impression that Jerome conveys is relatively positive. Without neglecting or minimizing Victorinus' shortcomings, Jerome praises him.

Victorinus is one of the few Latin Christian authors who deserved praise in Jerome's quotes. In letters 58 and 70, Jerome gives an abstract of his *Illustrious Men*, but with slight modification. Thus, in *Ep.* 58, he tells of Victorinus' martyrdom and his inability to put into words all he knows (*quod intellegit, eloqui non potest*). In *Ep.* 70, Jerome clearly defines the reason for Victorinus' weakness: his lack of erudition (*licet desit eruditio, tamen non deest eruditionis voluntas*), which he hoped to improve on, but obviously failed to do so due to his situation and different circumstances. Again, Jerome's criticism is not merciless but relatively gentle.

He mentions Victorinus as one of many Origen's translators into Latin (Hilary, Eusebius of Vercelli, himself). In *Ep.* 61 and 84, he praises Victorinus' writings, not as mere translations, but as authorial works (*nec disertiores sumus Hilario nec fideliores Victorino, qui tractatus eius non ut interpretes, sed ut auctores proprii operis transtulerunt*). He parallels Victorinus to Origen, saying that their exegesis is similar in specific points.

Jerome admired Victorinus as the only Latin interpreter of Isaiah. Nevertheless, again, Jerome could not resist a slight criticism regarding Victorinus' style, but he softens this by drawing a comparison to the apostle Paul, whose autobiographical remark he uses for the Pannonian bishop, praising his knowledge.⁵

³ See Hier., *Ad Gen.* 27,27: »Hippolyti martyris verba ponemus, a quo et Victorinus noster non plurimum discrepat.« (cf. also Id., *Ep.* 36.16); Id., *Ep.* 18.6: »Victorinus noster duodecim Apostolos interpretatus est.«

⁴ Hier., *De vir. ill.* 74: »Victorinus, Petavionensis episcopus, non aequae Latine ut Graece noverat. Unde opera eius grandia sensibus, villiora videntur compositione verborum. Sunt autem haec: Commentarii in Genesim, in Exodum, in Leviticum, in Isaiam, in Ezechiel, in Abacuc, in Ecclesiasten, in Cantica Cantorum, in Apocalypsim Ioannis, adversum omnes haereses, et multa alia. Ad extremum martyrio coronatus est.«

⁵ *In Isaiam* prol.: »... etsi imperitus sermone, non tamen scientia.«

3. The Question of Millennialism and Victorinus' Exegesis of the Apocalypse

However, what is truly astonishing is Jerome's tolerance towards Victorinus' millennialism or chiliasm. Jerome has been known for his low tolerance of heterodoxy, to which millennialism belonged in his times; however, this belief seems to enjoy a special place in Jerome's judgments. Millennialism was commonly believed in by very authoritative persons, such as Justin, Irenaeus, and Tertullian. One of them is also our Victorinus. As Jerome could not criticise Irenaeus, he also did not reproach Victorinus for his millennialism. He nevertheless mentioned it a few times and did not simply ignore this view by Victorinus.

Another reason for such careful treatment seems to be that millennialism was not so strong or maybe not even present anymore in Jerome's time.⁶ So it did not present any real threat to orthodoxy, as did Arianism, the remains of which may have persisted at the time.

Jerome's mentions of Victorinus are most commonly found in the lists of Christian authors. At least eleven of them can be attested. Three times he is mentioned as part of a group of those who explain the Apocalypse in a millennialistic manner (e.g. Hier., *De vir. ill.* 18; *In Ezech.* 11). Four times Victorinus is one of the two authors who are compared in one way or another.

The rest of the occurrences are characterizations of Victorinus as a translator of Origen (three times), a martyr with a pleasant temper (*nulli molitur insidias*) (Hier., *Adv. Ruf.* 1.2); there are two further mentions of Victorinus' exegeses by Jerome.

The two authors came closest when Jerome decided not to write his own commentary on the Apocalypse or to do it only later, time and circumstances permitting. The fact is that he never did. Instead, he just revised Victorinus' work. In our opinion, he tried to conceal his discomfort at avoiding this challenging task by writing in the preface that he was only answering a question posed by his friend Anatolius inquiring about his opinion on Victorinus' interpretation, which had been sent to him. Nevertheless, Jerome ended up doing more than he was asked to do, not only writing a review but also correcting the text where it had been, as he supposed, made faulty by the scribes and, above all, replacing the final chapters. In the preface, he explained these reasons and his methods, especially with regard to Victorinus' millennialism. Jerome also promised to replace the last chapters, which were impregnated by millennialism.

To make absolutely clear where his own text begins, Jerome makes the sign of the cross there.⁷ Thus, Jerome's care for orthodoxy led to the loss of Victorinus' basic millennial text since all the surviving copies bear Jerome's *finale*. However, we are incredibly fortunate that at least one manuscript containing Jerome's introduction

⁶ The millenarian error was first closely linked to Biblical exegesis (Rev. 20), as well as to eschatological rhetoric. See also Krašovec 2020 and Avsenik Nabergoj 2020.

⁷ Hier., *Pref. In Apoc.*: »A principio libri usque ad crucis signum quae ab imperitiis erant scriptorum vitia, correximus, exinde usque ad finem voluminis addita esse cognosce.«

lacks his replacement of the comment of the last chapters and includes Victorinus' original text instead. So, since Hausleiter's edition in CSEL 49 of 1916, we can observe directly what type of millennialism Victorinus pursued. (Dulaey 1993)

As we mentioned already, we are amazed by Jerome's meek attitude towards Victorinus. He could have ground him to dust, and Victorinus could not have answered back. Jerome could have signed his own name under the corrected version, but the Stridonian (i.e. Dalmato-Pannonian) respected the authorship of the Pannonian. Perhaps there was at least a hint of patriotism and loyalty to his homeland that made Jerome judge Victorinus more mildly than he would otherwise have done.

Curti, in his article, concludes that Jerome tolerated Victorinus' millennialism and paid respect to him because he mitigated those eschatological views with allegorical exegesis; but Jerome remained a harsh opponent of *iodaizantes* and literalists. (Curti 1998, 202)

4. Conclusion

Victorinus and Jerome never met in earthly life since half of the century had elapsed between the death of the former and the birth of the latter. There were many differences between them. The former, who could not afford classical education, still experienced persecution and was martyred; the latter, well trained in Classics, enjoyed the freedom of religion, witnessed the golden age of patristics and got his star on the ecclesiastic 'walk of fame' soon. Though he may have travelled widely, the former ended up staying in a relatively secluded town, Poetovio, at the edge of the empire. The latter crossed roads and seas from one lime to another, made himself quite at home in Constantinople and Rome, and towards the end of his life, wrote letters all over the world from Bethlehem. The former lived in an era of establishing orthodoxy and stabilizing the canon. The latter was a contemporary and colleague of Epiphanius, the heresy-hunter, and received the heritage of the first two ecumenical councils. However, they were both scrutators of the Bible, and through their literary and exegetical efforts, they transmitted the Word from one context to another. Moreover, both were also geographically close to each other.⁸

Jerome could have judged Victorinus much more severely, not only on the grounds of his literary weakness and lack of formal education but rather on the grounds of his questionable eschatological belief. Nevertheless, he treated him with unusual kindness and sympathy. Two possible reasons for this can be assumed. The crown of martyrdom assured Victorinus of an unquestionable place in heaven, so Jerome did not hesitate to lean on him, regardless of millennialism, which was no longer a threat in his time. Maybe Jerome, who was so reserved

⁸ The importance of this wide but well connected geographical area is also demonstrated by Jerome's familiarity with of the work of Bishop Fortunatianus of Aquileia, which was only rediscovered in 2012 after fifteen centuries in oblivion. See Bogataj 2020; Bogataj and Špelič 2020.

with positive expressions about his homeland, gives at least some praise to his compatriot, granting him this attribute of honour and neighbourliness: *noster*.

Abbreviations

Adv. Ruf. – *Adversus Rufinum*.

CSEL – Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.

De vir. ill. – *De viris illustribus*.

Ep. – *Epistula* [Hilberg 1996].

Pref. In Apoc. – *Praefatio In Apocalypsin*.

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The Interpretation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son by Two Latin Patristic Authors, St Jerome and St Peter Chrysologus

Razlagi prilike o izgubljenem sinu dveh latinskih patrističnih avtorjev, sv. Hieronima in sv. Petra Krizologa

Abstract: In this paper, a comparison is made between Jerome's and Petrus Chrysologus' interpretations of the parable of the prodigal son. In *Letter 21*, written in 383/384, Jerome responds to a request by Pope Damasus to clarify specific questions about this well-known parable. After an introduction in which the specific questions are mentioned and briefly discussed, he continues with a verse-by-verse commentary of the Lucan passage, followed by a short conclusion. Petrus Chrysologus (c. 380–c. 450), bishop of Ravenna, delivered five sermons on the parable of the prodigal son, of which the fifth sermon offers a spiritual interpretation. A comparison between the two different approaches to the parable highlights Jerome's usual exegetical method. There is a sharper focus on Jerome's letter, and in comparison with Chrysologus' work, the unique character of Jerome's approach is underlined. An essential aspect of Jerome's commentary is his identification with the contents of the parable and the fact that he uses this work to promote himself as a biblical scholar and exegete.

Keywords: Parable of the prodigal son, sermons, Peter Chrysologus, letter, St Jerome, self-presentation of St Jerome

Povzetek: Prispevek primerja dve razlagi prilike o izgubljenem sinu, Hieronimovo razlago in razlago Petra Krizologa. V *Pismu 21* iz leta 383/384 odgovarja Hieronim na prošnjo papeža Damaza, da bi razjasnil nekatera vprašanja glede te slovite evangeljske prilike. Najprej v uvodu omenja in analizira različna podrobna vprašanja, nadaljuje z razlago vrstic odlomka Lukovega evangelija, na koncu sledi kratek sklep. Peter Krizolog (ok. 380–ok. 450), škof v Raveni, je pripravil pet govorov o isti priliki, med njimi peti ponuja duhovno razlago. Primerjava med dvema različnima pristopoma do razlage prilike poudari Hieronimovo značilno eksegetsko metodo, ki skozi primerjavo postane še bolj jasno razvidna

kot izvirna. Pomemben vidik Hieronimove razlage nastopi, ko v vsebini prilike označi samega sebe in ko to uporabi za identifikacijo sebe kot bibličnega strokovnjaka in razlagalca.

Ključne besede: prilika o izgubljenem sinu, govori, Peter Krizolog, pisma, Hieronimova predstavitev

1. Introduction

This article aims to compare St Jerome's and St. Peter Chrysologus' interpretations of the parable of the prodigal son. In *Letter 21 (Ep. 21)*, written in 383/384, Jerome responds to a request by Pope Damasus to clarify specific questions about this well-known parable. After an introduction in which the specific questions are mentioned and briefly discussed, he continues with a verse-by-verse commentary of the Lucan passage, followed by a short conclusion. Peter Chrysologus (c. 380–c. 450), the bishop of Ravenna, delivered five sermons on the same parable, of which the fifth sermon offers a spiritual interpretation of the parable. Because it is impossible to make a detailed comparison between these works in an article, the idea is to summarize the two authors' work on the parable and identify similarities and differences between their approaches. There is a sharper focus on Jerome's letter, and in comparison with Chrysologus' work, the unique character of Jerome's approach is underlined.

2. Background

Jerome, the older of the two, was born in Stridon, near Emona c. 347 and died on 30 Sept 419 (420?) near Bethlehem. He spent time in several important centres, like Rome, Trier, Aquileia, Antioch, Constantinople, and Bethlehem. During his second stay in Rome from 382–385, he became the protégé of Pope Damasus I, for whom he performed specific administrative or secretarial duties and who commissioned him to revise the Latin text of the Gospels according to the Greek original, which led to several other revisions and translation of biblical texts. Jerome was recognized as an outstanding biblical scholar and received the unique distinction of *Doctor Ecclesiae*. Rebenich describes the variety of Jerome's literary output by referring to him as a novelist, theologian, chronographer, epistolographer, satirist, biographer, biblical scholar, literary historian, translator, controversialist, threnodist, and ascetic expert (2002, 61–136).

St Peter Chrysologus was born at Forum Corneliae (Imola) c. 380 (406?) and died in his hometown c. 450. He was ordained bishop of Ravenna in 433 and served in that position till shortly before his death. He had a good relationship with emperor Valentinian III and his mother, Galla Placidia, and Pope Leo the Great. He got the name *Chrysologus* (Golden word) based on his oratorical abilities and was declared *Doctor Ecclesiae* by Pope Benedict XIII in 1729.

3. The Sermons of Peter Chrysologus

Chrysologus delivered 59 sermons on the Gospel of Luke, and 5 of them deal with the parable of the prodigal son.¹ The first four sermons offer a literal interpretation, while the fifth one provides an allegorical explanation. Almost all his sermons followed the exegetical pattern, and he uses the terms *sermo* or *tractatus* to refer to his sermons. The basic structure of the sermons consists of a short introduction, followed by a verse-by-verse discussion of the specific biblical passage, culminating in a short paraenetic appeal to the congregation. The conclusion is ordinarily concise, often doxological.

It is impossible to discuss the sermons in detail,² and therefore, a summary of the five sermons on the parable of the prodigal son is provided.

The first sermon deals with Luke 15:11-16. The introduction to the first sermon also serves as an introduction to the series of sermons. It, therefore, describes it as a parable about the love of the Father, the jealousy of the Jewish race, and the penitent return of the Christian people. After the introduction, he immediately commences with the verse-by-verse explanation of this passage; about the request of the younger son to get his inheritance, his departure, the wasting of his inheritance, and the terrible consequences of this decision. This is followed by a paraenetic appeal to stay with the Father, the Church, and fellow Christians.

In conclusion, he announces the themes for the next sermons in the form of the following questions: »Who is the father so ready to forgive, and readier still to welcome back his son? Who is the brother grieving over his brother's return? Who is the younger brother, foolish in his departure but most wise in his return?« (Petr. Chrys., *Sermo* 1.7)³

The second sermon deals with Luke 15:17-19. In the introduction, he refers to the first sermon, which discussed the prodigal son who deserted his father. He then announces the happier theme of the second sermon as the return and repentance of the lost son. In the verse-by-verse explanation, he then treats the son's decision to stand up and return home, his intention to confess his sins, and his request to be treated as a hired worker. In the paraenetic appeal of this section, Chrysologus emphasizes the relevance and purpose of the message. He warns his congregation against the devil's cruelty and appeals to them to stay with the father. In the conclusion of the second sermon, he promises to get to the deeper meanings at a later stage.

In his third sermon on the parable, Chrysologus focuses on Luke 15:20-24. In the introduction to this sermon, he refers to the previous two sermons about the prodigal son's departure, return, guilt, and repentance and announces that this sermon is

¹ Olivar's critical edition (CCSL 24) was used.

² Unfortunately, this description of Chrysologus' sermons doesn't do justice to his eloquent style. Even though he states in his conclusion that the simple and uncultivated parable forced him to unfold and explain the allegorical and lofty matters rather than to declaim them, his sermons are not presented in a simple style, but abound in figures of speech, word play, sound play, et cetera. For a detailed analysis of Chrysologus' sermons on the parable of the prodigal son, see Kritzinger 1998.

³ The English translation used for all the quotations from Chrysologus' sermons is that of Ganse 1953.

about the Father meeting his son, his goodness, and his mercy. In the verse-by-verse explanation, he describes how the father welcomes his son back, embraces and kisses him, how he orders his slaves to bring him the best coat and a golden ring, and to kill the fattened calf for his son who has returned. The paraenetic appeal has a dual purpose. On the one hand, he calls on the congregation to stay with the Father.

On the other hand, he encourages those who have left the Father, squandered everything, and come to utter ruin to stand up and return to such a father, inspired by such an example. The conclusion refers to the literal interpretation of the story and hints at revealing the hidden mystery, but it has to wait to describe the grief and envy of the older brother first.⁴ He thus refers to the literal interpretation of the first three sermons and the allegorical interpretation of the fifth sermon, which has to wait until he has dealt with the literal interpretation of verses 25-32 in the fourth sermon.

The fourth sermon then deals with Luke 15:25-32. The introduction refers to the previous sermon's description of the return and safety of the younger son and announces the theme of this one, the envy of the older brother. The verse-by-verse explanation discusses the older son's reaction, who does not want to join the feast. His grievances are mentioned as well as the reaction of his father. The paraenetic appeal of the fourth sermon first provides a digression about envy and ends with the following exhortations: »Let us by vigilant faith and the Spirit's light drive and keep away the foul tricks of envy. Let us suppress this envy with all the force of heavenly arms. For, just as charity unites us to God, so does envy cut us off from Him.« (Petr. Chrys., *Sermo* 4.1) However, another paraenetic appeal is addressed to the older brother, in which he is asked to bear with his brother's return to the father and the father's welcoming reception of his son. The father also requests him to share his present possessions with his brother to share in any future possessions. Finally, he calls on the elder brother to rejoice because his brother has been found so that he, too, may be glad that his (elder) brother has not been lost. In the conclusion of the fourth sermon, the bishop says that the literal interpretation or narrative sermon should now be brought to an end to reveal the mysterious, more profound meanings.⁵

The fifth sermon provides an allegorical or spiritual interpretation of the whole parable and therefore deals with the entire passage. The introduction refers to the preacher's earlier promise to raise the historical sense to a mystical and extraordinary sense. An allegorical explanation of the whole parable is then offered in the verse-by-verse explanation. There is no clear paraenetic appeal in this sermon. In conclusion, the preacher mentions his inability to thoroughly discuss such extensive matters within a sermon's scope. He finally expresses the wish that the plain and uncultivated parable may be welcomed, a simple message that has forced him to open up and explain allegorical and lofty matters rather than declaim them.⁶

⁴ »Historiam loquimur adhuc, et iam cogitamus arcanum nudare mysterium. /.../ Sed differendum est, ut senioris dolorem vetustum, vetustiore fratri invidiam prosequamur.« (Petr. Chrys., *Sermo* 3.5)

⁵ »Sed iam sermonem historicum concludamus, ut postea quae sunt mystica, quae profunda, Christo revelante, pandamus.« (Petr. Chrys., *Sermo* 4.5)

⁶ »Non sit ingrata, simplex et inculta conlatio, quae nos res mysticas et excelsas non narrare, non declamare, sed aperire compulit et explanare.« (Petr. Chrys., *Sermo* 5.8)

4. Jerome, *Letter 21 to Damasus*

Letter 21 of Jerome was written to Pope Damasus in 383/384 (Cain 2009, 53). It contains Jerome's reply to specific questions of Damasus about the interpretation of the parable of the prodigal son. Jerome gives a complete exposition of the whole Lucan passage in his reply, and this letter can thus be regarded as a commentary on the parable. *Letter 21* has a straightforward structure: an introduction with the request of Damasus (*Ep.* 21.1); an explanation of the parable's context and the fundamental issue that Jesus addresses here (21.2–3); a verse-by-verse commentary (21.4–41); a short conclusion (21.42).

Jerome's *Letter 21* then responds to the following questions of Damasus: »Who is the father? Who are the two sons? How does the younger one squander his inheritance with prostitutes? What does it mean that he was sent to look after the pigs and that he ate their pods, that he returned to his father, received a ring and a robe, and that the fattened calf was killed for him? Who is the older brother, and why is he jealous of his brother on his return?« (21.1.1)⁷ These questions almost cover the interpretation of the whole parable. After the general questions, Jerome again quotes Damasus, describing and discussing the problems of identifying the older brother with the Jews and the younger brother with the gentiles or the righteous and the sinner. These questions of Damasus confront Jerome with different interpretations of the parable and introduce the difficulties that accompany these interpretations. A fundamental principle of text analysis is introduced here: to ask the right questions to the text, guiding the exegete in his interpretation.

Jerome does not immediately reply with straightforward answers but first makes a remark about methodology. He says that he usually asks why the parable was told if it was not explained by Jesus Himself. With this question, Jerome puts the parable in context. He first refers to Luke 15:1-2 and quotes from Matthew 9:10-13 and says that Mark 2:15-17 agrees and uses the same language. Jerome refers to the envy of the scribes and the Pharisees and explains the reason behind it: »Therefore, all their envy has this source: the question why the Lord did not avoid speech and intercourse with those whom the precepts of the law condemned.« (21.2.2) Jerome concludes that this whole issue arose from the law and then expands on the contrasts between law versus mercy and forgiveness versus punishment. This is a crucial part of the letter in which Jerome summarises the gospel's central message, namely that God has sent his Son to save sinners whom he called to repentance and »tempered the severity of the law by the grace of the gospel« (21.2.3). He says that Jesus has told these three parables to refute the accusation of the scribes and the Pharisees. He clarifies that the three parables (on the lost sheep, on the lost coin, and the lost son) serve the same purpose but focus on the third one. The main theme of the parable is thus identified as an issue about 'law versus grace', and this identification directly results from his di-

⁷ The English translation is that of Mierow 1963 and is used for all the quotations from *Letter 21* in this article.

scussion of the context. An additional but still prominent theme is also addressed here, namely the theme of ‚envy versus joy‘.

Jerome’s verse-by-verse commentary, which follows the introduction, provides us with his allegorical interpretation of the parable. Chrysologus’ allegorical interpretation corresponds to Jerome’s to a large extent,⁸ but Jerome discusses it more fully and provides elaborate reasons for his interpretations. He also provides alternative interpretations in some cases. Concerning the identities of the two sons, he suggests that the older and younger brother could represent either the Jews and the Gentiles or the saints and the publicans and sinners, respectively. It is difficult to summarise this section, but a few examples of Jerome’s allegorical exegesis of this passage are presented, and where it differs significantly from Chrysologus’ interpretation, his interpretation is also mentioned.

Both authors agree that the parable’s father refers to God the Father and explain why God is sometimes likened to man (Petr. Chrys., *Sermo* 5.1; Hier., *Ep.* 21.4). The two sons are generally understood as two peoples, the Jews and the Gentiles, but as indicated above, Jerome also argues the possibility of the two sons representing the Jews and sinners in general, respectively (Petr. Chrys., *Sermo* 5.2; Hier., *Ep.* 21.4; 39–41). Jerome explains in great detail how the words and attitude of the older brother can also be applied to the saints. He offers this as an additional possibility but does not choose or indicate a preference for a specific interpretation.

After discussing the identity of the man and the two sons, Jerome continues with a creative interpretation of the substance of God (*substantia Dei*). He describes it as follows: »Everything is the substance of God: life, reason, thought, speech. This is the gift God has bestowed upon all alike, and in equal measure.« (Hier., *Ep.* 21.5)⁹ However, after referring to the Greek equivalent of the Latin *substantia*, he states that it is expressed more vividly in the original Greek and says that the Greek word refers to man’s free choice.¹⁰ Chrysologus has a different and exciting explanation for the substance of God. At first, he mentions similar things as Jerome: human character, speech, knowledge, reason, and judgment, belonging to the law of nature. However, he contends that the elder son got a different share, namely the five Books of the Law, which make their inheritance equal in number, but unequal in value (Petr. Chrys., *Sermo* 5.3).

Both authors describe the son’s departure to a far-off land as a spiritual departure. Jerome says: »It is not by spatial distances but through affection that we either are with God or depart from Him.« (Hier., *Ep.* 21.7.2) Chrysologus explains

⁸ There is, however, no indication that Chrysologus has seen or made use of Jerome’s commentary in this letter.

⁹ »Substantia Dei est, omne quod vivimus, sapimus, cogitamus, in verba prorumpimus. Haec aequaliter universis et in commune largitus est.«

¹⁰ »In the Greek, the reading is more vivid: διεῖλεν αὐτοῖς τὸν βίον. That is, he gave them free choice, he gave their hearts’ desire, that each might live, not in accordance with God’s command, but to please himself; that is, not out of necessity, but by free will, in order that virtue might have its place, so that, like God, we have the privilege of doing what we wish, differing in this from all the other animals.« (Hier., *Ep.* 21.6)

ins it in similar terms: »It (the Gentile race) sojourned into the foreign country of the Devil more in the spirit than in place,« and »For, this younger son was in his Fathers presence, yet he lacked this Father; although he was in his own house, he did not feel at home.« (Petr. Chrys., *Sermo* 5.4)

After the younger son has wasted his inheritance, according to Jerome, by worshipping idols and leading a life without virtue, there came a famine, which indicates a place without God: »Every place in which we dwell without the Father is a place of famine, penury, and want.« (Hier., *Ep.* 21.10)¹¹ Chrysologus indicates that the son has wasted his substance through his desire for secular eloquence, through the brothels of the (philosophical) schools at the meeting places of the philosophical sects, and through his conjectures, he corrupted his portion of speech, knowledge, reason, and judgment. This resulted in an immense need and severe hunger to know the truth (Petr. Chrys., *Sermo* 5.4). In his second sermon, Chrysologus describes the famine as an involuntary hunger and compares it to fasting: »Hunger calls back him whom abundance had exiled. Hunger enabled the son to understand his father, whereas abundance had caused him to recognize only a sire. If even involuntary hunger did all this, try by experiment how beneficial a voluntary fast can be.« (2.1)

The younger son then joins one of the country's princes, referring to the devil, who sent him to feed the swine, i.e., the demons. According to Jerome, the pods of the swine, or food of the demons, are drunkenness, luxury, fornication, and all the vices. Nevertheless, it can also be interpreted as the songs of the poets, secular wisdom, and the display of rhetorical language, things which cannot still hunger for truth. For Chrysologus, the pods of the swine refer to »the sinfully sweet pleasures of the body« to which the Epicureans are devoted (5.6).

Both authors interpret the approach of the Father to meet the son as a reference to the incarnation. Jerome describes the father's hurried approach as follows: »Before he returned to his ancient father by worthy works and true repentance, God, with whom all future events are already past and who knows beforehand all that is to be, runs forward to his coming and by His Word, which took flesh by a virgin, anticipates the return of His younger son.« (Hier., *Ep.* 21.19) Chrysologus explains this as follows: »But the father runs out, he runs from afar. ›When as yet we were sinners, Christ died for us.‹ The Father runs out, and He runs out in His Son when through Him He descends from heaven and comes down upon the earth.« (Petr. Chrys., *Sermo* 5.6)

Both authors also see the falling upon the son's neck as an image pointing to the incarnation.¹² Jerome complements this interpretation with a statement that refers to the light yoke which Christ placed on the younger son: »So He placed upon the younger son (by grace rather than because of merit) His light yoke, that is, the easy precepts of His commandments.« (Hier., *Ep.* 21.20)¹³

¹¹ »Omnis locus quem patre incolimus absente, famis, penuriae et egestatis est.«

¹² »Incubuit super collum ipsius, id est, corpus sumpsit humanum.« (Hier., *Ep.* 21.20); »Cecidit, cum per Christum divinitas tota nostra decumbit, et incumbit in carne.« (Petr. Chrys., *Sermo* 5.6)

¹³ »Ita et jugum suum leve, id est mandatorum suorum facilia praecepta, ex gratia magis quam ex merito

For Jerome, the best robe refers to »that robe which Adam had forfeited by sinning, the robe which in another parable is called a wedding garment, that is, the covering of the Holy Spirit, without which no one can attend the banquet of the King.« (21.23) Chrysologus also mentions the robe Adam lost but explains it as the eternal glory of immortality (Petr. Chrys., *Sermo* 5.6).

While the ring signifies to Jerome the likeness to Christ (*signaculum similitudinis Christi*) (*Ep.* 21.2), Chrysologus describes it as »[t]he rings of honour, the title of liberty, the outstanding pledge of the spirit, the seal of the faith, the dowry of the heavenly marriage« (Petr. Chrys., *Sermo* 5.6).

Both Jerome and Chrysologus link the shoes to the preaching of the Gospel (following Isa. 52:7, Rom. 10:15, and Eph. 6:15), but Jerome also refers to the shoes as an indication of the dignity of a bridegroom and the readiness to celebrate the Passover (Hier., *Ep.* 21.25; Petr. Chrys., *Sermo* 5.6).

According to Jerome, »[t]he fatted calf, which is sacrificed for the safety of penitents, is the Saviour Himself, on whose flesh we feed, whose blood we drink daily« (Hier., *Ep.* 21.26).¹⁴ Chrysologus likewise mentions the daily sacrifice: »He is the calf who is daily and continually immolated for our food.« (Petr. Chrys., *Sermo* 5.6)¹⁵

4.1 Jerome's Self-Presentation in *Letter 21*

Although the comparison between the verse-by-verse commentary of Jerome and the fifth sermon of Chrysologus shows that there are no significant differences in their allegorical interpretations, there is one crucial aspect in which the two works differ significantly and which illustrates the unique character of Jerome's letter. This aspect concerns the self-presentation of the author in the specific work. While the sermons of Chrysologus reveal almost nothing about the preacher himself, Jerome's letter seems to be a document of self-promotion in which he presents himself to Damasus (Cain 2009, 43–67), the first addressee, but also to other readers as an erudite exegete.

In the letter's introduction, Jerome presents himself as the ‚adviser‘ of Pope Damasus, which means the authority to whom the Pope turns to clarify exegetical questions (Kritzinger 2019, 2–3). The letter starts by complimenting Damasus for asking the right questions (presumably, to the right person).¹⁶ He uses this letter to present himself as a biblical scholar and theologian. He follows the main exegetical principle of explaining one biblical passage by referring to other passages where the same issue is discussed or seems relevant to the commentator.¹⁷ He emphasizes the importance

super juniorem filium collocavit.«

¹⁴ »Vitulus saginatus qui ad poenitentis immolatur salutem, ipse Salvator est, cujus quotidie carne pascimur, cruore potamur.«

¹⁵ »Hic est vitulus qui in epulum nostrum cotidie ac iugiter immolatur.«

¹⁶ »Beatudinis tuae interrogatio, disputatio fuit: et sic quaesisse quaerendo viam est dedisse quaesitis. Sapienter quippe interroganti, sapientia reputabitur. (The question of Your Beatitude was a theme for argument, and to have posed questions thus is to have opened a way for a reply. Indeed ›wisdom will be ascribed to one who questions wisely.‹)« (Hier., *Ep.* 21.1)

¹⁷ Lawler lists more than 150 references or quotes to other biblical passages in the letter.

of the context of the specific passage and describes it exceptionally well. He further pays attention to crucial theological issues such as law and grace, free will, original sin, and the justice of God (Hier., *Ep.* 21.2; 21.6; 21.39–41).

Jerome is first and foremost known for his abilities as a translator of the Bible and his advocacy for the original biblical languages, especially the *Hebraica veritas*, the original Hebrew version of the Old Testament. He preferred the Septuagint, the Greek translation. Jerome refers on three occasions to Greek words and their meanings and three times to the meaning of Hebrew words in this commentary. He explains the meanings of ‚*Naid*‘ (*quod interpretatur ‚fluctuation‘*), ‚*Babel*‘ (*id est ‚confusion‘*; Hier., *Ep.* 21.8), and ‚*meleth*‘, which is referred to when he explains the meaning of the Greek word *συμφωνία* and its Latin equivalent *consonantia* (Hier., *Ep.* 21.29). He mentions the fact that some Latin interpreters mistakenly think that a symphony is a kind of organ. He, as an expert, can correct them. This letter gives him an ideal opportunity to promote himself as a biblical language expert (Kritzinger 2019, 3, n. 17).¹⁸ He also uses the opportunity to advocate his ‚*non /.../ verba, sed sensus*‘-principle, which he uses elsewhere to describe his approach to translation, but here to indicate the priority of meaning over words or style (Bartelink 1980, 46).

Jerome sees himself also as a defender of the orthodox faith when he refers to and criticizes Tertullian’s interpretation in paragraph 3 of the letter. He differs from Tertullian’s opinion that the publicans and sinners mentioned here were not Jews and argues his case with arguments from the Bible.

In a long digression on pagan poetry, philosophy, and rhetoric, Jerome defends his eclectic use of the pagan classics. He refers to a passage from Deuteronomy (21:10-13) where certain precepts are given to any Jew who wants to take a Jewish woman as a wife. He prefers to see the figure of a captive woman as a type of secular wisdom and interprets it allegorically.¹⁹ He applies this to himself and seems to identify himself with the prodigal son. In *Letter* 11, Jerome compares himself to the lost son and the lost sheep (Hier., *Ep.* 11.3). If Jerome sees himself as the younger son, it might further imply that his opponents are branded as the elder brother, the envious, ignorant son who does not understand the basic message of the Gospel and the Father’s grace.

5. Conclusion

Although a comparison between a sermon (or, in this case, a series of sermons) and a commentary (or a letter containing a commentary) is problematic and works of different genres are compared, the comparison reveals the unique character of

¹⁸ Jerome refers to himself as *vir trilinguis*: »Ego philosophus, rhetor, grammaticus, dialecticus, hebraeus, graecus, latinus, trilinguis.« (Hier., *Apol. c. Rufin.* 3.6)

¹⁹ The theme of Jerome’s use of the classics is also addressed in his famous *Letter* 22, where he is accused in a dream of being a Ciceronian, rather than a Christian.

Jerome's approach. While the sermons of Chrysologus have a moralistic and pastoral character with a solid paraenetic message to his congregation, Jerome treats the questions of Pope Damasus more scholarly, providing a detailed interpretation of the parable of the prodigal son and succeeds in addressing the most critical issues raised in the text. However, he also uses the opportunity to promote himself and strengthen his authority as a biblical scholar. His identification with the parable's content is an essential aspect and offers a new perspective on this letter.

Abbreviations

ANC – Ancient Christian Writers.

CCSL – Corpus Christianorum Series Latina.

CSEL – Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.

FC NT – The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation.

Ep. – *Epistulae* [Hilberg 1910].

Apol. c. Rufin. – *Apologia contra Rufinum*.

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Jerome's Interpretation of the Transfiguration in the Light of Some Recent Patristic Discoveries (Origen, Fortunatian, Chromace)

Hieronimova razlaga Kristusovega spremenjenja v luči nekaterih nedavnih patrističnih odkritij (Origen, Fortunacijan, Kromacij)

Abstract: This paper synthesizes and analyses Jerome's interpretation of Christ's Transfiguration event, described in the synoptic gospels (Matt 17:1-8; Mark 9:2-8; Luke 9:28-36), to which he paid special attention in his works *Tractatus in Marci evangelium* (CPL 592) and *Commentarium in Matthaeum* (CPL 590). The second part of the study is dedicated to comparing Jerome's interpretation with three recently discovered Patristic works: Origen's *Homiliae in Psalmos*, *Commentarium in evangelia* of Fortunatian of Aquileia, and the works of Chromace of Aquileia and Victorinus of Poetovio. Based on this confrontation, it is possible to understand better Jerome's interpretation and the development of the Patristic exegesis of this critical episode in the life of Jesus in general.

Keywords: Transfiguration on the Mount, Victorinus of Poetovio, Patristic exegesis, Christology, Scripture

Povzetek: Prispevek sintetizira in analizira Hieronimovo razlago Kristusovega spremenjenja, opisanega v sinoptičnih evangelijih (Mt 17,1-8; Mr 9,2-8; Lk 9,28-36), ki se mu je Hieronim posebej posvetil v delih *Tractatus in Marci evangelium* (CPL 592) in *Commentarium in Matthaeum* (CPL 590). Drugi del študije je namenjen primerjavi Hieronimove interpretacije s tremi nedavno odkritimi patrističnimi deli, to so: Origenove *Homiliae in Psalmos*, *Commentarium in evangelia* Fortunacijana Oglejskega in dela Kromacija Oglejskega ter Viktorina Ptujskega. Na podlagi te konfrontacije je mogoče bolje razumeti Hieronimovo razlago, pa tudi nasploh spremljati razvoj patristične eksegeze te pomembne epizode iz Jezusovega življenja.

Ključne besede: Kristusovo spremenjenje, Viktorin Ptujski, patristična eksegeza, kristologija, Sveto pismo

1. Introduction

When Jerome in 386 wrote from Bethlehem to Marcella, describing the charms of the Holy Land and urging her to leave Rome, he also mentioned mount Tabor: »We shall make our way to Tabor and see the tabernacles there which the Savior shares, not, as Peter once wished, with Moses and Elijah, but with the Father and with the Holy Ghost.« (Hier., *Ep.* 46.13)¹ After Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, and Cyril of Jerusalem (Baldi 1955, 318–321), Jerome was among the first Christian authors who identified Tabor as the Mount of Christ's Transfiguration.²

The purpose of this paper is to examine Jerome's interpretation of the Transfiguration. However, although Jean-Louis Gourdain compared Jerome's *Tractatus in Marci ev.* 6 with Origen's *Comm. in Mt.* in his insightful article (1994), a study encompassing and systematizing Jerome's interpretation of Christ's Transfiguration still has not been made.³ Therefore, the first section of this paper will present a synthesis of the two works in which he discussed this Gospel narrative. In contrast, the second part is concerned with Jerome's interpretation with some recent Patristic discoveries to present some new insights on the exegesis of the Stridonian.

2. Jerome's Interpretation of the Transfiguration

The Transfiguration account is discussed in two of Jerome's exegetical works: *Tractatus in Marcum* and *Commentarium in Matthaem*.

2.1 *Tractatus in Marcum* 6: »In pectore meo tabernaculum facere«

This work is a rare example of the early Christian exegesis of Mark's Gospel. The homily *Tractatus* 6, dedicated to the Transfiguration account in Mark 9:1-8, is the most essential and theologically rich among other homilies of *Tractatus in Marci Euangelium*, since it includes many examples of spiritual interpretation and allegorization.

Germain Morin attributed to Jerome a corpus of various homilies as recently as the 19th century: besides his famous *Tractatus in Psalmos* and other works, are there also ten homilies on the Gospel of Mark (CCSL 78). They indeed belong to Jerome's Bethlehem period, but it is challenging to determine the exact date. Morin proposed the years between 401 and 410, but Gourdain, confronting it with the second phase of Origenist controversy, asserts that they can be dated between 397 and 402 (Gourdain 2005, 12–15).

¹ This article was written as a result of work within the research programme P6-0262, which was co-funded by the Slovenian Research Agency.

² »She made the ascent of mount Tabor whereon the Lord was transfigured [*scandebat montem Thabor, in quo transfiguratus est Dominus*].« (Hier., *Ep.* 108.13) For the Latin text of Jerome's letters Hilberg's CSEL editions are used.

³ A part of the otherwise more extensive transverse study is also devoted to the discussion of Jerome's interpretation of the Transfiguration of Christ (Bogataj 2020b, 234–241).

After the spiritual-moralistic reading of the verse Mark 9:1 – about those who will not taste death until they have seen the kingdom of God –, Jerome proceeds to the interpretation of Christ's Transfiguration. He briefly describes the literal sense of the account (*historia*) and harmonizes the divergence between Matthew's version, which speaks about the 'eighth day' and Mark's version, which describes the 'sixth day', by saying that the first counted the first day and the last, whereas the latter reckoned only the time between. Quickly, Jerome passes on to the spiritual interpretation: »We are not denying the historical event, but prefer a spiritual explanation [*Non historiam denegamus, sed spiritalem intellegentiam praeferimus*].« (Hier., *In Marci ev.* 6 [CCSL 78, 479]) The phrase »after six days« (Mark 9:2) for Jerome represents the eschatological setting of the event: »Not until this world shall pass away – that is the force of the six days – shall the new kingdom appear.« Afterwards, our scholar from Stridon introduces etymologies for the names of all three apostles present on the mountain.

Another important hermeneutical insight presented by Jerome is the difference between those who remain at the bottom of the mountain (*litteram sequuntur* / following the letter) and those who ascend the mountain (*spiritaliter intellegere* / reading Scriptures spiritually).⁴ Jerome states that to this very day, Jesus is down below for some and up above for others: for those who read Scriptures spiritually, Jesus is instantly transfigured (*statim commutatur*), and his garments – an allegory of the Scriptures themselves – shine exceedingly.

Explaining the fullers, who cannot make garments as white as those of Jesus, Jerome surprises his audience with an unusual interpretation. He confronts Scripture with some of the finest authors of the classical literature – Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, and Epicurus –, but convincingly states that they could not make garments, i.e., their writings, as white as those of Jesus, »because they were on the earth, their treatises are all about earthly matters [*quoniam super terram erant, totum de terrenis disputabant*].« (6 [CCSL 78, 481]) For Jerome, no arbiter of secular literature (*disceptator saecularis litteraturae*) could fashion garments such as Jesus possesses on the mountain.

Establishing a similar contrast, commenting on the presence of Moses and Elijah on the mountain, Jerome mentions Jews who follow only the letter that kills and cannot see Jesus transfigured. However, the conversation of these two significant figures with Jesus symbolizes harmony between the two covenants.⁵ Jerome regards Peter's proposal for pitching three tents as separating the Law, the prophets, and the Gospel, which cannot be done. Thus Jerome asserts that he wanted to build in his heart a tabernacle (*volo in pectore meo tabernaculum facere*) for Christ,⁶ the Law, and the prophets, by saying: »It was Peter's miscom-

⁴ »Iesu, donec deorsum est, non transfiguratur; ascendit, et transmutatur.« (Hier., *In Marci ev.* 6 [CCSL 78, 480])

⁵ For an exegetical discussion of Christ as the fulfilment of messianic expectations, see Celarc 2019.

⁶ »Ut quorum sit una divinitas unum sit et in pectore tuo tabernaculo.« (Hier., *Comm. in Mt.* 17,4 [CCSL 77, 148]). See also 17,5.

prehension when he proposed three different tents conferring honour upon the servants equally with the Lord. Unless they dwell together, they cannot be in harmony [*nisi simul habitauerint, non possunt habere concordiam*].⁷

When interpreting the cloud that overshadowed them instead of the tents, Jerome regards it as the grace of the Holy Spirit, and this Trinitarian reference serves to illustrate with great precision his most important hermeneutical principle:

»See the mystery of the Trinity, according to my power of understanding, at any rate. Everything that I perceive, I want to understand in Christ, the Holy Spirit, and the Father. Unless I understand in the Trinity that will save me, no understanding can be sweet to me.

[Vide mysterium Trinitatis, secundum meam tamen intellegentiam. Ego enim omne quod intellego, sine Christo et Spiritu Sancto et Patro nolo intellegere. Nisi intellexero in Trinitate quae me saluabit, dulce mihi non potest esse quod intellego.]« (6 [CCSL 78, 483])

Understanding for Jerome does not consist of a mere gathering of knowledge, but it is related to the divine operation, which is not only theoretical but, first and foremost, experiential, practical, and soteriological.

The culmination of the homily is the Father's voice affirming Jesus' divine identity. Commenting on that, Jerome echoes post-Nicene Trinitarian theology: »This is My Son, of My nature, of My substance, abiding in Me, and He is all that I Am. This is My beloved Son [Hic est Filius meus: de mea natura, de mea substantia, in me manens, et totus quod ego sum. Hic est Filius meus carissimus.].« (6 [CCSL 78, 483]) After this, the homily ends with Christ alone remaining on the mountain, demonstrating his divine nature, uniqueness, and elevation above the other two. »I may even say: in One, they find three. Moses, in fact, and Elias, too, are more apt to be found if they are brought together in one with Christ.« (6 [CCSL 78, 484]) Once again, Jerome is presenting his hermeneutical position in the harmonization of the two testaments.

Unsurprisingly, Jerome relies on his interpretation of Origen's *Commentary on Matthew* (*Commentarii in Matthaeum* 12.31–43 [GCS 40, 150–170]). Gourdain, who compared these two texts, maintains that despite the different similarities, Jerome was independent and that there is no direct relation to Origen (Gourdain 1994; Cerami 2008, 53 n. 152). Nevertheless, it is difficult to speak about Jerome's originality because he explains commentaries as compilations and collections of many existing interpretations to offer the reader the opportunity to make their own decision.⁸ However, on the other side, as Gourdain emphasizes (1994, 369), there is some originality present in Jerome's work, one that is more methodological. Due to the pedagogical adaptation or simplification, Jerome can develop his

⁷ The idea of the unity of one Trinitarian tent is present also in Jerome's *Comm. in Mt.* 17,4: »Sed fac tria tabernacula, immo unum Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.« (CCSL 77, 148). Cf. also Hier., *Ep.* 46.13.

⁸ See, for example, Hier., *Apologia contra Rufinum* 1.16 (SC 303, 44–46).

original explanation. In the cited passages, he demonstrates some of his most critical exegetical principles: insufficiency of the letter, a necessity for the spiritual understanding, unity of both Testaments, the light of the Spirit of Christ, and the Trinity itself. It is more a process of (indirect?) appropriation from Origen and not mere copying. If Origen only stated that in the spiritual experience, the garments of transfigured Christ are the words of the Scripture (Scognamiglio 1998, 385–393), Jerome makes this idea central to his homily, continuing this allegory and applying it to the whole process of reading Scriptures.

2.2 *Commentarium in Matthaem 17:1-9: »Transformatio splendorem addit, faciem non subtrahit«*

Jerome's interpretation of Christ's Transfiguration in his *Commentarium in Matthaem*⁹ is much shorter. He wrote this work to fulfil Eusebius of Cremona's promise in 398, stating that the interpretation will be only literal. Fortunately, he does not stick to this intention strictly, but this text is much more concise than the *Tractatus in Marci ev. 6*, with only a few allegorizations.

Jerome contextualizes the Transfiguration account in the eschatological announcement after Jesus' first declaration of his future death and Resurrection (Matt 16:21-28). Christ's Transfiguration on the mountain has, for Jerome, a consolatory role for his disciples: »Seeing in advance that they could make such objections, then, the one who knows secrets compensates for their present fear with an immediate reward [praevicens ergo occultorum cognitor quid possent objicere, praesentem timorem praesenti compensat praemio].« (Hier., *Comm. in Mt.* 3. 16,27 [CCSL 77, 146]) Transfiguration reveals already in the present what is to come: »He appeared to the apostles in the form in which he will appear at the time of judgment [qualis futurus est tempore iudicandi].« (3. 16,27 [CCSL 77, 147])

Proceeding to the interpretation of the Transfiguration itself (Matt 17:1-8), Jerome points out the physical reality of Christ's body even during Transfiguration:

»But as for what it says: »He was transfigured before them,« let no one think that he lost his original form and appearance [*nemo putet pristinam eum formam et faciem perdidisse*], or that he lost the reality of his body and took up either a spiritual or an airy body [*vel amisisse corporis veritatem et adsumpsisse corpus uel spirituale uel aerium*]. On the contrary, the evangelist shows how he was transformed when he says: *And his face shone like the sun, and his clothing became white like snow.*« (Hier., *Comm. in Mt.* 3. 16,27 [CCSL 77, 147])

We can detect an echo of anti-Origenist polemic (McGuckin 1986, 270, n. 68) since Jerome asserts that Jesus' body, even at the moment of the Transfiguration, did not cease to be physical, or either only »spiritual [*vel spirituale*] or ethereal [*vel aereum*]«. He uses Mark's allusion to an earthly fuller to emphasize that the

⁹ Latin text is quoted from D. Hurst and M. Adriaen's critical edition (CCSL 77, 146–150), whereas the passages translated in English are from T. P. Scheck's translation (2008, 197–201).

glory of Jesus appears in is entirely visible to mortal sight. Jerome seems to exclude here the notion found in Tertullian that the vision of the Transfiguration is comparable in any way to the imaginary mechanisms that produce dreams. (Anthony 2014, 232–233; McGuckin 1986, 270, n. 68)

Christ's substance is not changed; only the glory is different – he appears in more extraordinary splendour. While it changes in glory, the Son of God remains the same.

»When the splendour of the face is shown, and the brilliance of the clothing is described, it is not that the substance is removed, but the glory is changed [*non substantia tollitur sed gloria commutatur*]. »His face shone like the sun.« Surely, the Lord was transformed into that glory [*transformatur in eam gloriam*] with which he will come later in his kingdom. The transformation added splendor; it did not make his face disappear [*transformatio splendorem addidit, faciem non subtraxit*].« (Hier., *Comm. in Mt.* 3. 16,27 [CCSL 77, 147]).

The main point Jerome wants to emphasize seems to be the physicality of Christ's body. He is once more arguing against over-spiritualization.

»Let it be that his body became spiritual. Were his garments also changed, which became so brilliant that another evangelist said: »Such as a fuller on earth is not able to make them?« Well, what a fuller on earth cannot do has to be something bodily and tactile [*corporale est et tactui subiacet*], not something spiritual and airy that deceives the eyes and is seen only as an imaginary representation [*non spiritale et aerium, quod inludat oculis et tantum in fantasmate conspiciatur*].« (3. 16,27 [CCSL 77, 147]).

The second mention of the *corpus uel spirituale uel aerium*, emphasized with two other expressions (Christ's body was still physical, tactile, and did not become a *fantasma*) shows evidently that Jerome here is introducing anti-Origenist rhetoric. Jerome's position on embodiment in the Origenist controversy is well-known (Clark 1990, 154, 159–162).¹⁰ Even though he does not mention the Alexandrian explicitly and also that Origen had a subtle and often misunderstood or erroneously interpreted understanding of the 'spiritual body' (Clark 1992, 93; Eichinger 1969, 63–119), otherwise away from Docetic doctrine, this argumentation can be proved by a reference to the *Liber adversus Iohannem Hierosolymitanum* (25–26), where Jerome presents his understanding of Origen's doctrine about the negation of the Resurrection of the body. Although Christ did eat, drink, and was clothed after the Resurrection – according to the doctrine of Origen as presented by Jerome – he did not conceal the spiritual and aerial nature of his body (*non dissimulat naturam aerei corporis et spiritualis*), since he also passed through the closed door (PL 23, 378C).¹¹ Cruzel claims that Jerome did not conceive the

¹⁰ For an interesting philosophical reflection on creation and corporeality, see Esterbauer 2019.

¹¹ Cf. »Transfigurabit Dominus corpus humilitatis nostrae, conforme corporis suae gloriae. Quando dixit

difference between *aerei* (deriving from *aërius*) and *aetherei* [*corporis*] and that Origen certainly talked about the latter (1980, 258–259, n. 67). Air is, however, one of the four essential elements. Henceforth, Jerome is wrong to regard Christ's transfigured body as purely spiritual or ascribe to him only the aerial dimension of the everyday earthly existence, which would be again an over-spiritualization.

Another peculiarity found in Jerome's *Commentarium in Matthaeum* is the three reasons for fear of the three apostles (Matt 17:6). They were frightened either because they recognized that they had erred because of the bright cloud or the Father's voice. »Human weakness cannot bear the sight of greater glory [*humana fragilitas conspectum maioris gloriae ferre non sustinet*].« (Hier., *Comm. in Mt.* 3. 17,6 [CCSL 77, 149]) This is why Jerome scolds the apostles: »In proportion to how much someone seeks what is more, to that degree it falls to what is lower if it fails to recognize its own measure [*quanto quis ampliora quaesierit, tanto magis ad inferiora conlabitur, si ignorauerit mensuram suam*].« (3. 17,6 [CCSL 77, 149])

Summarizing his interpretation in the *Commentarium in Matthaeum*, we can assert that Origen undoubtedly influenced Jerome. Marie-Anne Vannier affirms that »Jerome s'inspire d'Origène mais pour donner une interprétation personnelle du récit de la Transfiguration« (2014, 55).

The Stridonian himself, however, named precisely all the works he read in preparation for writing his *Commentarium in Matthaeum*: the interpretations of Hippolytus the martyr, Theodor of Heraclea, Apollinaris of Laodicea and Didymus of Alexandria among the Greeks, and Hilary of Poitiers, Victorinus of Poetovio and Fortunatian of Aquileia among the Latin authors.¹² In the first place, though, he mentions Origen, but Jerome seems to be distancing himself from the Alexandrian owing to the recent controversies about Origenism.

3. New Aspects on Jerome's Work from Some Recent Discoveries

To enrich the knowledge on Jerome's perception of the Transfiguration, we can now discuss some recent Patristic discoveries, which will shed some new light on the early Latin tradition of the interpretation of Christ's Transfiguration on Mount Tabor. Origen's *Homiliae in Psalmos*, discovered in 2012, open a new chapter

transfigurabit, id est, μετασχηματίζει, membrorum, quibus nunc utimur, diversitas denegatur. Aliud nobis spirituale et aethereum promittitur: quod nec tactui subjacet, nec oculis cernitur, nec pondere praegravatur: et pro locorum, in quibus futurum est, varietate mutabitur.« (Hier., *Liber adversus Iohannem Hierosolymitanum* 26 [PL 23, 378A–B]). What Jerome is mentioning here, referring to the Phil 3:21, is the transformation of our bodies and conformation of them to Christ's glory. Cf. also Origenes, *HomLc* 17 (GCS 9, 104).

¹² »Legisse me fateor ante annos plurimos in Matheum Origenis viginti quinque volumina et totidem eius omelias commaticumque interpretationis genus, et Theophili Antiochenae urbis episcopi commentarios, Hippolyti quoque martyris et Theodori Heracleotae Apollinarisque Leodiceni ac Didimi Alexandrini et Latinorum Hilarii, Victorini, Fortunatiani opuscula, e quibus – etiam si parva carperem – dignum aliquid memoriae scriberetur.« (Hier., *Comm. in Mt.* Praef. [CCSL 77, 4–5])

in our understanding of the relation between Origen and Jerome; Fortunatian of Aquileia's *Commentarii in evangelia*, found in 2012 as well, are also very closely related to Jerome and, finally, an essential fragment of Chromace of Aquileia, discovered in 1978, could reveal to us a glimpse of the interpretation of the Transfiguration by Victorinus of Poetovio.

3.1 Origen's *Homiliae in Psalmos*: Christ's Body at the Transfiguration and Ps 15:9-10

In May 2012, in the *Codex Monacensis Graecus* 314 of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Marina Molin Pradel identified 29 of Origen's homilies, the Psalms of which only a few have been preserved in Latin translation. As one of the most significant Patristic discoveries over the last decades, it caused much interest since it shed new light on the person and work of the great Alexandrian scholar and many other Patristic works.

Apart from Origen's influence on Jerome's commentaries on the Gospels of Marc and Matthew, discussed above, we now find one interesting typical detail about the nature of Christ's body at the Transfiguration in both Origen's and Jerome's homilies on Psalm 15. Before Pradel's discovery, Jerome's authorship of 74 homilies of Psalms (*Tractatus lix in Psalmos* – CPL 592 and *Tractatum in Psalmos series altera* – CPL 593), written probably in 401, was convincingly challenged by Vittorio Peri, who claimed that Jerome only translated and did some minor redaction work of Origen's homilies on Psalms (Peri 1981; Coppa 1993, 13–32). Now, with the critical edition of the original 29 homilies of Origen (GCS NF 19), a reexamination of the corpus of Jerome's homilies can be done in order to elucidate Jerome's role.¹³

When commenting on Psalm 15, »My body, too, abides in confidence; because you will not abandon my soul to the nether world, nor will you suffer your faithful one to undergo corruption.« (Ps 15:9-10a), Jerome asserts very clearly that this verse refers to Christ's descent to the dead with the confidence that he will rise again directly. This allows our exegete to introduce a discourse on the Lord's body and soul, addressing the union of Christ's perfect body (*caro perfecta*) and perfect soul (*anima perfecta*). He refutes here the heresy of Apollinarism, which – based on the Platonic triad of body, soul, and spirit –, argued that Jesus had an average human body, but with a divine mind, instead of a regular human soul.¹⁴

In Jerome's polemic against the Apollinarians, besides citations from the *Letter to the Oriental bishops* by pope Damasus, unambiguous use of Origenist themes is noticeable (Rondeau 1982, II, 145–156). Commenting on Ps 15:9-10, Jerome maintains that before his Incarnation, the Lord existed not as a composite but in a

¹³ In her doctoral dissertation, Elena Orlandi (2013) compared Jerome's and Origen's homilies on Psalms in a general prospective, arguing for a fair amount of Jerome's originality, whereas in her recent article (2018) she concentrated properly on their interpretation of Psalm 15.

¹⁴ Cf. also Jerome, *Hom. in Ps.* 108,31. Jerome uses the well-known Patristic soteriological axiom, *Quod non est assumptum, non est redemptum*, for expressing the sensitive soul (*sensus*) of the incarnated Logos and emphasizing Christ's liberty in accepting the passion as Father's will.

simple form (*simplex et incompositus*); only because composite man (*homo compositus*) was unable to bear the simplicity of God, he assumed our human composite nature (*venit et ipse compositus*). The idea of a human soul in Christ, separated from body descended to hell to save the souls separated from the bodies, has Origenist roots. Origen's expression »σύνθετόν τι χρῆμα« (*Contra Celsum* 1.66 [GCS 2, 119]) according to the Aristotelian and Stoic anthropology, describes the unity of Christ's soul and body, though without falling into the Apollinarian heresy.¹⁵

What Jerome stresses is that the body of Christ was the same when he suffered, died, and rose from the dead.

»If that same body arose from the dead in the Lord, how do some come to a conclusion that, though it some sort of wonderful and spiritual flesh, yet not like ours [*spiritalē quādam et magnā et non nostrā carnem*]? We are not saying that we deny the body of Christ assumed that glory that we believe we also are going to receive as saints, for then, indeed, this corruptible body will put on incorruption, and this mortal body will put on immortality (cf. 1 Cor 15:53).« (Hier., *Tractatus de psalmo* 15.9 [CCSL 78, 381–382])

Then is proceeded by a mention of the event of the Transfiguration:

»Just as before the Lord suffered His passion, when He was transformed and glorified on the mountain, He certainly had the same body that He had had down below, although of a different glory, so also after the Resurrection, His body was of the same nature as it had been before the passion, but of a higher state of glory and more majestic appearance.

[*Sed quodmodo ante quam pateretur transformatus et glorificatus in monte eandem utique carnem habuit quam habuerat et deorsum, licet alterius gloriae;*¹⁶ *sic et post resurrectionem eiusdem naturae in eo caro fuit quae ante passionem fuerat, sed glorificationis augustiorisque conspectus.*]« (15.9 [CCSL 78, 382])

By comparing Jerome's homily on Psalm 15 and Origen's newly discovered ho-

¹⁵ Jerome echoes Origen's doctrine on this problem very clearly. »Quia animae absque corporibus apud inferos tenebantur, quae in sua natura sunt simplices, et ipsa derelicta carne, non Deus Verbum, non homo compositus, sed anima descendit ad inferos.« (*Tractatus de psalmo* 15.9 [CCSL 78, 382–383]); »Deus filius, Deus Verbum quamdiu in caelis fuit, et homines non tantum peccauerunt ut ad eos ipse descenderet, simplex et incompositus cum angelis thronis dominationibus ceterisque uirtutibus morabatur. Quando uero descendit ad homines, eos uidelicet qui ex anima et corpore compacti erant, uenit et ipse compositus, ne compositi simplicem ferre non possent.« (15.9 [CCSL 78, 382]). Cf. »Μόνη ἡ ψυχὴ εἰς ἄδου καταβέβηκεν, ὅπου μόνον ψυχαὶ ἦσαν. Εἰ καὶ ἐνθάδε ψυχαὶ μόνον ἦσαν καὶ μὴ ἦν τὸ ζῶον σύνθετον, οὐκ ἂν ἐηλύθει ἐνθάδε σύνθετος. Ὅθεν πλανῶνται οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι οὐ σύνθετος ὁ σωτὴρ ἐπιδηδήμηκεν, ἀλλὰ ἀναλαβὼν σῶμα ὅμοιον τῆ ὑπερεχούσῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου οὐσία, μᾶλλον δὲ ταῦτόν τῆ οὐσίᾳ τοῦ λόγου, καὶ ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ ταύτῃ τῆ οὐσίᾳ τοῦ λόγου ἦν. Οὗτοι δὲ ἀθετοῦσι τὴν χρηστότητα αὐτοῦ ἐνδυσσαμένου τὸν σύνθετον ἄνθρωπον «καὶ» λέγοντος· ἡ σὰρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι, οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς τὸν ἄδην. Ὅπου οὖν γυμναὶ ψυχαὶ ἦσαν, ψυχὴ μόνη καταβέβηκεν· ὅπου οὖν σύνθετον τὸ ζῶον ἦν, ὁ σύνθετος ἦλθε μετὰ ψυχῆς.« (Origenes, *H15Ps* II 8 [GCS NF 19, 108–109]).

¹⁶ Cf. Jerome's expressions: »Gloria comutatur.« (*Comm. in Mt.* 3. 17,2 [CCSL 77, 147]); »Sed mutare eam gloriam, non mutare naturam.« (*Commentarium in Ionam* 2,7 [PL 25, 1136])

mily II on Psalm 15, it becomes evident that the Stridonian took the reference to the Transfiguration from the latter but developed his interpretation according to the Apollinaristic polemic regarding Christ's soul and body, emphasizing the oneness of Christ's body even at the event of the Transfiguration. Origen, however, in his newly discovered homily also explores the meaning of Christ's Incarnation through Transfiguration:

»If by descending came down also to the angels – he came from the heights of the heavens – perhaps he was formed according to the place. And so as in this life he was transfigured in front of those who ascended together with him to the mountain and revealed himself gloriously (Matt 17:1-8), so as well when he came from the Father.

[Εἰ καταβαίνων καταβέβηκε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους – ἦλθε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρωρείας τῶν οὐρανῶν –, τάχα κατὰ τόπον ἐμορφώθη. Καὶ ὡσπερ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ μετεμορφώθη ἔμπροσθεν τῶν συναναβεβηκότων αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἐνδοξότερος ἐφάνη, οὕτως καταβαίνων ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς.]« (Or., *H15Ps* II 8 [GCS NF 19, 109])

The difference is that Origen composes his interpretation by discussing epistemological problems, arguing for the s.c. *polymorphic epistemology*, by which everyone perceives the Lord in their way since He reveals himself in different forms,¹⁷ and Jerome, on the contrary, continues explaining why the Lord had to assume our human composite nature, despite possessing the more straightforward divine nature.¹⁸ The fact that both Origen and Jerome introduced similar references to Christ's Transfiguration, when interpreting an otherwise very different passage from the Psalm 15, clearly supports the strong influence of the Alexandrian on Jerome and these findings became possible only after the discovery of Origen's lost homilies on Psalms. Although they accentuate different aspects, the relevance of Origen for Jerome's understanding of the Transfiguration is thus even more firmly established.

¹⁷ »Ἐπεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος, καταβαίνων ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἔμεινε ὁποῖος ἦν πρότερον ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐχώρουν αὐτὸν οἱ κατώτεροι, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἐμοὶ γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, οὕτως παρ' ἄλλοις ἄγγελος καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις θρόνος, κυριότης, ἀρχή, ἐξουσία· καὶ ἐκάστω γίνεται τι ὁ κύριος, ὅπερ ἕκαστος δύναται αὐτὸν χωρῆσαι. Τί λέγω τότε; Καὶ σήμερον ὁ λόγος μεταμορφοῦται. Οὐχ ὁμοίως αὐτὸν βλέπει Παῦλος καὶ Τιμόθεος· ἔνδοξον, μεταμορφούμενον ἐπὶ τὸ θεϊότερον, βλέπει αὐτὸν Παῦλος μᾶλλον ἢ Τιμόθεος· ἔλαττον αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν βλέπει Τιμόθεος. Κἂν ἐλάττονα ἐκείνου νοήσης, ὅπει ἐλάττονα μορφὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῷ ἐλάττοτι ἐμφαινόμενου. Ἐὰν δέ τις ἦ πάνυ ἁμαρτωλός, ὁλως οὐ βλέπει τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ βλέπει αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔχοντα εἶδος οὐδὲ κάλλος, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἀτιμον ἐκλείπει παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν βλέπει, ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἀπλήγα ἀλλ' ἐν πληγῇ. Ἐὰν ἦς ἐν πληγῇ, ἐν πληγῇ αὐτὸν βλέπεις· ἐὰν ἦς ἀπλήγης, ἀπλήγα αὐτὸν ὄψει· ἐὰν ἦς ἄμωμος, ὅπει αὐτὸν σοὶ ἄμωμον ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδεικνύοντα. Οὐχ ὅτι αὐτός ποτε μεμώμηται ἢ ὅτι αὐτός ποτε πέπληγε· τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν φέρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλογισάμεθα αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐν πόνῳ καὶ ἐν πληγῇ καὶ ἐν κακώσει. Ταῦτα διὰ τὸ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς τὸν ἄδην.» Ἐδεῖ γὰρ παραστήσαι, ὅτι γυμνῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς ψυχὰς γενένηται.« (Origenes, *H15Ps* II 8 [GCS NF 19, 109–110]) See also a recent study of Leoni (2021).

¹⁸ Curiously, Jerome states also his conviction that only Christ's soul descended into hell, not his body and not the God-Word, what appears foreign to Catholic belief, since it has been accepted *cum fide*, that the Word of God descended to hell simultaneously with the soul of Christ. Cf. also Theophilus of Alexandria, *Easter Letter of the year 402* (98.7), translated by Jerome. See Ewald 1996, 35, n. 107.

3.2 Fortunatian of Aquileia's *Commentarii in evangelia*

In October of the same year, 2012, Lukas Dorfbauer discovered the work *Commentarii in evangelia* (CSEL 103) and ascribed it to the Fortunatian of Aquileia, African bishop of this northern Italian Roman city. In Codex 17 of the Archdiocesan library of Köln from the beginning of the 9th century, he identified a commentary on the Gospels, which had been anonymously lying in oblivion for around 1500 years. However, he proved to be probably the oldest preserved Latin Gospel commentary, written in the middle of the 4th century.

The relation between Jerome and Fortunatian is complex and very intriguing (Bogataj 2018; 2020a). Jerome certainly knew at least Fortunatian's *Commentary* and maybe even the man himself in person.

Fortunatian's work is generally transmitted only in part and, unfortunately, does not include any reference to the Transfiguration account. In the form as it is preserved, there are also some other remarkable lacunae: there is no commentary on the Lord's Prayer, Fortunatian remains silent on a section as long as Matthew 21:42–23:22, his account on Jesus' crucifixion and burial (Matthew 26 and 27) is both lacunose and relatively cursory, and he does not devote a single section on Matthew's concluding chapter 28 narrating Jesus' Resurrection.

As opposed to the discovery of Origen's homilies, which shed new light on Jerome's interpretation of the Transfiguration, Fortunatian's commentary offers us new evidence only *ex silentio*.¹⁹ Without falling into hypothetical speculation, can the question – Why is the comment on the Transfiguration not included in Fortunatian's work – offer at least some different considerations? On the level of textual criticism, the whole text may just not be transmitted in the manuscript tradition. Was there no interest in specific passages, or may there be some correlation with the needs of the commentary's original audience that we fail to see? Was the original author unable to provide an interpretation, or are the omissions indebted to the lack of the appropriate sources? Could there have been some redaction of the text, eliminating the Transfiguration account on behalf of some doctrinal polemics? We suppose, for example, that Augustine abstained from emphasizing this Gospel narrative because the Manicheans over-emphasized it.²⁰

No firm answer to these questions is possible, and perhaps, until further evidence emerges, we can do no more than speculate. Nevertheless, Dorfbauer (2015) demonstrated that the North Italian preacher living in the 5th or 6th century, whose works are gathered in the collection of the so-called *Epiphanius Latinus*, was well acquainted with the work both of Fortunatian (and Chromace) (2015), it is possible to suggest that in Epiphanius' *Interpretatio Evangeliorum* (CPL 914), sermons 29 and especially 47 (Erikson 1939, 49, 113–118), encompass some kind of 'North Italian (maybe Aquileian)' interpretation. For Epiphanius, the Transfigura-

¹⁹ For some insights regarding this topic I am indebted to Lukas Dorfbauer.

²⁰ Although Pintard (1972) and Louth (2000) do not explicitly mention this theory, and the issue would require further research, it is nevertheless true that the Transfiguration did not have the same significance for Augustine as it did in the East.

tion of Christ is vital, especially as evidence of Christ's divinity. In both sermons, the author emphasizes Christ's glory and Moses and Elijah as testimonies, and this part of the comment follows Chromace's exposition almost *verbatim* (Dorfbauer 2015, 101).²¹ However, Chromace, a couple of decades after Fortunatian, wrote a long and vital treatise on this great mystery of Christ's life.

3.3 Chromace of Aquileia and Victorinus of Poetovio

Only seventeen treatises on the Gospel of Matthew and one homily on the eight beatitudes by Chromace of Aquileia were known until Henri Lemarié in 1969 discovered and published another thirty-eight sermons. In the following years, he found three more texts in a 12th-century homiliary (Codex 8) of the abbey San Silvestro de Fabriano library in central Italy, which he attributed to Chromace (CCSL 9A Suppl.). Among them, *Tractatus in Matthaem* 54A – in the homiliary it was intended for the first Saturday of Lent and, interestingly, attributed to Jerome –, contains an interpretation of the Transfiguration event (Matt 16:28–17:9). Lemarié presented this treatise at the Oxford International Conference for Patristic studies in 1979 and comparing the text with that of other similar works, including both Jerome's *Commentarium in Matthaem* and *Tractatus in Marcum*, demonstrated the originality of Chromace as well as some literary influences, but not the one of Jerome (1980, 213–222).

However, even of greater interest is a tiny detail, one word precisely, in Chromace's explanation of the three tents (Matt 17:4).²² In assigning three different meanings to them – heaven, paradise, and earth – Chromace refers to an older source: »maiores intellexerunt«. This is the only example of this word in his work and could, according to Lemarié, derive from a millennialist author, presumably Victorinus of Poetovio (CCSL 9A Suppl., 635; Lemarié 1980, 220, n. 17). After the discovery of Fortunatian's *Commentarii in evangelia*, although we are well aware of Chromace's heavy dependence on the work of his predecessor in Aquileia,²³ we know that, though he could have been among Chromace's *maiores*, he probably was not (unless the passage on the Transfiguration disappeared from the work during the transmission of the text).

A strikingly similar interpretation of the three tents can be found in the work *De arca Noe* of Gregory of Elvira – preserved for centuries under the name of Origen and only in 1909 attributed to Gregory by A. Wilmart –, where the Iberian bishop delivers a very similar commentary on the three-chambered ark, cit-

²¹ Cf. Epiphanius, *Interpretatio Evangeliorum* 29; 47 (Erikson 1939, 49; 115) and Chromatius, *Sermo* 22.2 (CCSL 9A, 101).

²² »In tribus autem tabernaculis de quibus ait Petrus ad Dominum: »Domine, si uis, faciam tria tabernacula, tres mansiones, id est caeli, paradisi et terrae significatas maiores intellexerunt, quae per uniuersis credentibus tam per Moysen, id est per legem, tam etiam per Heliam, id est per prophetas, quam etiam per ipsum Dominum, id est per euangelicam praedicationem, pro qualitate meritum a Domino repromissae sunt.« (Chromatius, *Tractatus* 54A.10 [CCSL 9A Suppl., 635])

²³ After Fortunatian, and before Chromace, Valerianus was bishop of Aquileia. For the relations between Fortunatian and Chromace, see CSEL 103, 51, n. 142.

ing the same biblical verses as Chromace (John 14:2; Isa 40:31; Matt 13:8).²⁴ As Lemarié suggested, there would have been one common source of both Gregory and Chromace, and the probabilities direct us to Victorinus' unfortunately lost *Commentary on Matthew*.

4. Conclusion

By examining Jerome's interpretation of Christ's Transfiguration, we can prove the importance of this Biblical event for Jerome and his exegesis. It has become clear that, despite the fact of its absence from Fortunatian's *Commentarii in evangelia*, the event of Christ revealing his divine glory on Mount Tabor had an essential role in the early Latin Biblical interpretation.

Why did the event of Transfiguration not become a central point for understanding Christ in Western theology as it has in the Eastern Greek tradition? One conclusion can be drawn from our investigation since Jerome did accept from Origen the great importance of the Transfiguration, but Augustine, on the other hand, did not. The role of Jerome's work is, therefore, of much importance since it represents some echoes of the Origenistic theology in Latin.

²⁴ Cf. »Ideo etiam dudum arca in similitudine ecclesiae tricamerata fieri iussa est, ut illic quoque ipsa mansionem diuersitatem ostenderetur, de quibus scriptum et apud Esaiam inuenimus, ubi dicitur: *Volabunt sicut aquilae*, id est hi quibus caelestis mansio debetur. Et addidit: *Currunt et non fatigabuntur*, hi scilicet qui in paradysum transferentur; *ambulabunt et non esurient*, hi utique qui in terra, renouato mundo, regnabunt. Quod id ipsum etiam tripertito fructu terrae illius optimae, id est in centesimo, sexagesimo et tricesimo, significatum potest intellegi.« (Chromatius, *Tractatus* 54A.10 [CCSL 9A Suppl., 635]) »Quod autem bicamerata et tricamerata arca fuisse refertur, mansionum loca et habitationem qualitates, quae sanctis in regno dei sunt praeparatae, euidenter ostendit. In una etenim camera paradysi figura est, in altera terrae nouae, – ubi Ierusalem caelestis est descendura, /.../ –; in tertia camera caelorum regnum. Inde est quod et saluator noster ac dominus in euangelio dicebat: *Multae sunt habitationes apud patrem meum qui est in caelo*. Sic autem de caelorum regno scriptum est: *Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam, quia ipsorum est regnum caelorum*. De paradysi autem mansionem ipse utique dominus probat cum dicit: *Vincenti, ait, dabo edere de ligno uitae, quod est in paradiso mei*. Terrae autem nouae mansionem similiter manifestat, cum dicit: *Beati mansueti, quia ipsi possidebunt terram*; sed et Salomon: *Sancti, ait, relinquuntur super terram, impii autem expellentur ab ea*. Harum itaque trium mansionum qualitates rursus idem beatus Eesaias meminit dicens: *Sustinentes dominum mutabunt uirtutem, pinnigerabunt tamquam aquilae, current et non fatigabuntur, ambulabunt et non esurient*. Volabunt utique in caelum sicut aquilae pinnigerantes, current in paradiso et non fatigabuntur, ambulabunt in terram nouam et non esurient, quia escam illic a deo praeparatam accipient. Hanc itaque tripartitam rationem mansionum sanctorum etiam et apostolis suis in euangelio dominus per parabolam manifestasse dignatus est dicens: *Semen, quod cecidit in terram bonam, faciet, ait, fructum centesimum*. Centesimum itaque fructum facient, qui in caelum habitationes accipiunt, sexagesimum, qui in paradiso habitare merentur, tricesimum, qui in terram nouam futuri sunt. Vnde iam planum uobis esse debet arcam istam tricameratam ecclesiae, ut saepe dixi, catholicae imaginem perspicue indicasse, cuius tripartita habitacula, id est caeli, paradysi et terrae nouae, retro olim a domino monstrabatur.« (Gregorius Illiberitanus, *De arca Noe* 15–20 [CCSL 69, 151–152])

Abbreviations

- CCSL – Corpus Christianorum Series Latina.
 CPE – Connaissance des Pères de l'Église.
 CPL – Clavis Patrum Latinorum.
 GCS (NF) – Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller (Neue Folge).
 PL – Patrologia Latina.

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Marjan Turnšek
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cerkvenega organizma**

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Chris Synodinos

Jerome's *Contra Johannem* and ps.-Basil's *De consolatione in adversis* on resurrection and disability

Hieronimov Contra Johannem in ps.-Bazilijev De consolatione in adversis o vstajenju in telesnih okvarah

Abstract: This paper concerns disability and bodily resurrection, the latter being a topic that has bemused Christian theologians from the beginning. Specifically, this paper concerns Jerome's treatise *Contra Johannem*, directed against John of Jerusalem, a putative Origenist, and *De consolatione in adversis* attributed to ps.-Basil. The author of *Cons.* was concerned with the nature of the resurrected body regarding a particular class of disabled people, viz., an audience of lepers, whereas Jerome focuses on the resurrection of the flesh in general. There is some evidence to suggest *Cons.* is somehow linked, even if implicitly and indirectly, to the Origenist controversy, which primarily concentrates on the nature of the resurrected body. The two prevailing related themes in *Cons.*, to wit, leprosy, and the flesh's resurrection, relate to the body. It is interesting that the only two codices containing this work also contain Jerome's epistle *Contra Johannem*. These two works occur again in the *editio princeps* (Paris 1528). The significance of this thematic connection remains to be explained, and St. Jerome's influence clarified.

Keywords: affliction, leprosy, redemptive suffering, the resurrection of the flesh, spiritual body, Origenism, resurrection body, garment of glory, garment of brilliance

Povzetek: Članek obravnava temo telesne okvare in telesnega vstajenja, pri tem pa je telesno vstajenje področje, ki je krščanske teologe zaposlovalo že od začetka. Natančneje, ta članek zadeva Hieronimovo razpravo *Contra Johannem*, ki je usmerjena proti Janezu Jeruzalemskemu, domnevnemu origenistu, in proti delu *De consolatione in adversis*, pripisano Ps.-Baziliju. Avtor *De consolatione* se ukvarja z naravo vstalega telesa glede na razred telesne okvare, namreč gobavcev, medtem ko se Hieronim osredotoča na vstajenje mesa na splošno. Obstaja nekaj dokazov, ki kažejo, da je *De consolatione* povezan, tudi če le implicitno in posredno, z origenistično polemiko, ki se ukvarja predvsem z naravo vstalega telesa. Obe prevladujoči povezani temi v *De consolatione*, gobavost in

vstajenje mesa, zadevata telo. Zanimivo je, da edina kodeksa, ki vsebujeta to delo, vsebujeta tudi Hieronimovo pismo *Contra Johannem*. Obe deli ponovno nastopata v *editio princeps* (Pariz 1528). Pomen te tematske povezave je treba še pojasniti, razjasniti pa kaže tudi vpliv sv. Hieronima.

Ključne besede: bolezen, gobavost, odrešitveno trpljenje, vstajenje mesa, duhovno telo, origenizem, vstajenje, oblačilo slave, oblačilo sijaja

This paper concerns disability and bodily resurrection, the latter being a topic that has bemused Christian theologians from the beginning. Specifically, this paper concerns Jerome's treatise *Contra Johannem Hierosolymitanum ad Pammachium* (= *Contra Johannem*), which is directed against John of Jerusalem, a putative Origenist, and *De consolatione in adversis* (= *Cons.*) attributed to ps.-Basil (PG 31, 1687C–1704B). The latter treatise, a work transmitted in Latin, was the subject of my doctoral dissertation, in which I argued that St. Radegundis of Poitiers (c. 520–587) was the author (Synodinos 2010). The author of *Cons.* was concerned with the nature of the resurrected body concerning a particular class of disabled people, viz., an audience of lepers, disabled, whereas Jerome focuses on the resurrection of the flesh in general. There is some evidence to suggest *Cons.* is somehow linked, even if implicitly and indirectly, to the Origenist controversy, which primarily concentrates on the nature of the resurrected body. The two prevailing related themes in *Cons.*, to wit, leprosy, and the flesh's resurrection, relate to the body.¹ It is interesting that the only two codices containing this work also contain Jerome's epistle *Contra Johannem*. These two works occur again in the *editio princeps* (Paris 1528). The significance of this thematic connection remains to be explained, and St. Jerome's influence clarified.

The preacher of *Cons.*, a sermon in the diatribe style, is confronted with a composite task: an audience of lepers needs to be comforted and guided, but above all, it needs to be set straight on the involvement of Providence in their suffering. Moreover, this audience must be corrected in their distorted speculations on the state of their resurrection body as conditioned by their dreadful disability. This audience see in their suffering a penalty of sin, a retribution occasioned by their conduct, and construe their affliction not only as a mark of divine judgment but of divine abandonment as well. In addition, they compound their misfortune by taking it a step further to the level of resurrection and everlasting life, apparently maintaining that the affliction under which they labour in the present life will somehow prevail beyond death and condition the state of their resurrection body as well and that they will rise as lepers on the appointed day for all eternity (*Cons.*, PG 31, 1700A). Notwithstanding, there is always the possibility that they qualify the view they entertain on the kind of resurrection they expect for themselves – viz., that they will rise as lepers in everlasting life – that they hold it to be valid only if the resurrection is construed as resurrection in the flesh, and that accordingly, on account of this qualified belief, they have already endorsed a different type of resurrection theory by the time they are being addressed. However, this may be,

¹ For an excellent general reflection on suffering related to flesh, see Mensch 2019.

detecting this subliminal meaning cued by the audience's sentiments of profound dejection and arising from it, the preacher endeavours earnestly in her sermon to maintain a balance between alleviating pain and eradicating implicit disbelief.

It is unclear how the lepers concluded by endorsing such a grim prospect for their resurrectional future or by whom or what they were prompted to do so. Nonetheless, two preliminary relevant facts can be gleaned with relative certainty from the preacher's address. The first is that their distorted perception of the resurrection seems alarming enough to warrant the preacher's intervention in matters of redemptive significance. The second fact is the vague reference to some party whom the preacher implicates in her audience's endorsement of contorted eschatological principles:

»Non te ergo dilectissime, corporis damna contristent, sed quidquid dominus miserit, gratulanter et viriliter suffer /... / Novi enim quosdam – maxime eos qui leprae macula fuerint corde asparsi – in tantum disperationem pro hac plaga venire, ut putent se omnino destitutos esse a domino.

[Let not afflictions of the body grieve you, then, beloved, but whatever God has sent firmly and joyously endure /... / For I know that some—clearly those who are dear to me, tainted as they with their taint of leprosy – have fallen into such despair on account of this misfortune that they think the Lord has completely forsaken them.]« (1698A–B)²

Here, *dilectissime* presumably refers to the audience, while *quosdam* appears to involve a different group. The relation and interactions between the audience and the unnamed party, which the fantastic interlocutor represents,³ are not specified. True, when lashing out at the fantastic interlocutor in brisk, typically diatribe style, indicting him on charges of arbitrary, scripturally unfounded eschatological interpretation of the resurrection, the preacher may be gently censoring the audience as well by indicting it indirectly on the same charge. Nevertheless, the imaginary interlocutor here is more of an interlocutor *in absentia* than an imaginary one, since, despite the indefinite pronoun in the apostrophe *quisquis ille es*, »whomever you may be,« with which the fantastic interlocutor is addressed, the preacher has in mind a particular group of people, possibly other than the audience, some party she knows of with whom the audience share the same affliction and with whose aberrant tenets they have blurred their belief in the resurrection.

Conversely, the unnamed party here typified by the fantastic interlocutor may, for all practical purposes, stand for the audience, whom the speaker advisedly

² All translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

³ The diatribe has been generally defined as a hybrid between declamation and dialogue. The most fundamental feature of the diatribe's dialogic element in its fully developed form is the imaginary, or fantastic, addressee, a fictitious interlocutor who interrupts the speaker's disquisition, in general as the mouthpiece for the common opinion, and may have a succinct dialogical exchange with the speaker. As a rule, the interruption of the fictitious interlocutor amounts to an objection or a false conclusion, stated in conformity with a set of formal features. The speaker's reply to the fictitious interlocutor likewise follows similar formal patterns.

does not name out of compassion and courtesy in a kind of politeness strategy. From the meagre facts presented in this homily, complicated as they are by the preacher's diatribe style, the relation of the two parties cannot be conclusively ascertained. What matters, however, is the twisted eschatological ideology here revealed: the preacher is likely aware of the fact that the corollary of such extravagant dogmatics may be for the audience to persist in the idea of the resurrection per se while dropping that of the resurrection of the flesh in the long run—that is, if they have not done so already as previously stated. For the lepers must realize that the possibility for the disease to spill over into the life to come can potentially be afforded only by its clinging on to flesh—in this case, to flesh made eternal—in other words, by encroaching on the fleshy materiality of their resurrected bodies.

Neither is it clear whether they hold their views unconditionally or consider them by qualifying them somehow. The preacher's entreaty, *ne velis*, etc. (1699A), indeed allows for both of these alternatives. As regards the second of the two, the audience may, for instance, have already opted for some spiritual bodily resurrection after being convinced of their resurrection in leprosy if belief in the resurrection were to be construed as the resurrection of the flesh. The possibility of such reasoning on the part of the audience may again be detected in yet another of the preacher's attempts at allaying her audience's resurrectional fears by urging them to suppress their *mortiferam suspicionem*, their »spiritually deadly notion, laden with mistrust« (1700A). It is evident that in the audience's terrified minds flesh made eternal could somehow be represented as affording a chance – however slim – for the disease to spread into life everlasting by feeding on their fleshy limbs in their resurrection status; and that the nervous shock sustained in consequence of this dreadful prospect could easily lead them to reject the resurrection of the flesh unreservedly altogether. Accordingly, it would somehow seem that in this audience's case, the spillover of the disease into the next world hinges upon the fleshy materiality of the body and that this spillover could be checked by removing the flash from the picture altogether.

Nevertheless, the survival of the body in its fleshy materiality after attaining to a resurrection status is a highly-charged, controversial issue that plagued Christian dogmatics during the Origenist crisis; and the question is if the extravagant beliefs entertained by the disabled audience of the current sermon are somehow connected with Origenist views, as seems to be indicated at least at the corollary level. If this is so, and if the affinity claimed between Origenist doctrines and this audience's set of beliefs is tenable – as seems to be the case in light of the implications of such beliefs for the audience in the manner previously analyzed – then some contextual relations tentatively identified between this sermon and some of the literature involved in the Origenist controversy would appear to stand on more solid ground. One such instance worth investigating would be the case of affinities between *Cons.* strategies and ideas and those occurring in Jerome's *Contra Johannem*. And this possible connection between *Cons.* and *Contra Johannem*, at any rate, would tend to indicate that the coincident occurrence of both these works in the extant witnesses, MSS Tours 281 and Caen 34 (373), may be the result of a

deliberate decision made by some party involved in these witnesses' production based on the common ground these two pieces share in certain aspects. Such a claim is undoubtedly attractively plausible for MS Caen 34 (373) for one in that Caen is already a selective apograph of Tours, the oldest extant witness, but it can certainly be true of Tours itself as well and possibly of some antecedent witness or witnesses reflected in Tours. Furthermore, to say that Radegundis of Poitiers was likely reading the *Contra Johannem* among other sources of inspiration in composing this sermon seems to imply that the preacher herself may have detected Origenist overtones in her audience's interpretation of and outlook on the resurrection of the flesh.

Of all the scriptural figures summoned into action in the course of this sermon, Job is the most prominent concerning his importance in exemplifying the circumstances and ideas that the preacher has set herself the task to get across. Job pre-eminently typifies and embodies the suffering of the righteous, almost in a Stoic fashion, as *vir philosophicus* (*Cons.*, PG 31, 1694A), and scriptural segments of exchanges between Job and his wife are used to cast them both in character roles of lively, diatribe-like sketches. Regardless of the audience's unknown actual choice of a resurrectional model at the time they are being addressed, that this choice is conditioned by their understanding of the resurrection of the flesh as it pertains to them and that, accordingly, their cacodoxy consists precisely in that understanding is manifest from some of the preacher's appeals (1702B). Job is assigned an essential role in the preacher's endeavour to refute this cacodoxy. He is called upon to attest to his belief in the resurrection, which he construes as resurrection in his flesh (1701B). Because he bears witness to his conviction while he is entirely in thrall to the disease and his flesh is infected, the preacher infers that he hoped to rise again healed and cleansed of his affliction and that it was precisely this expectation that sustained him in his ineffable suffering (1701A).

However, the same strategy of citing this very passage and explicating it by way of drawing the very same inference to the advantage of the argument at hand likewise occurs in Jerome's *Contra Johannem*, in the section arguing the resurrection of the flesh (*Contra Johannem*, PL 23, 373C–389A). Nearly two-thirds of the ten scriptural passages cited in treating the *Cons.* variation of the same topic in the dedicated portion of this work, including the three longest ones and critical to the treatment of the resurrection of the flesh in *Cons.*, namely, Job 19,25-27; 1 Cor 15,35-38, and 1 Cor 15,42-44, occur in *Contra Johannem* as well.⁴ Of these, 1 Cor 15 is a crucial text, fundamental to establishing doctrinal realities respecting the resurrection of the dead. It »contains the fullest treatment of the resurrection /... / found anywhere in the Bible« (Hoekema 1979, 247). The fourth section of 1 Cor 15,35-50, from which the passage cited in both *Contra Johannem* and *Cons.* is derived, contains ideas that had admitted from the outset of manifold interpretations, on which fed the folly of all heretical sects in their disputes with the Church

⁴ Two Matthew passages that appear to be implicitly mutually linked with reference to the common ground *Cons.* and *CJ* share in treating the resurrection body will be discussed in more detail later. Cf. also Scobie 2011.

on matters of resurrection, on Irenaeus's evidence (Swete 1908, 93). Thus, it does not come as a surprise that 1 Cor 15,35-38, occurring in *Contra Johannem* and in *Cons.*, is used in both these works in response to what is perceived as a doctrinal perversion of the parties addressed.

Moreover, as regards the particular citation of Job's passage in both works, Job is styled as *athleta Ecclesiae* in *Contra Johannem* (PL 23, 382A), while in *Cons.* he is said »to strip naked for his contest as is the custom among athletes« [*mos enim est athletarum ut ad certamen nudi procedant*] (1694B). Besides Job, Jerome enlists help from Enoch and Elijah, who were assumed while being still in the flesh, to support his argument against the purported Origenism of John of Jerusalem. Enoch and Elijah are said to be presently »inhabitants of paradise« (*paradisi coloni*) (*Contra Johannem*, PL 23, 381B), while in *Cons.*, in a moving appeal to the *frater*, viz., the audience collectively addressed, the preacher urges him to become *paradisi colonus* by suffering patiently in this life (1699A). True, Enoch and Elijah do not feature in *Cons.* to suggest that, like *athleta* in Job, the designation *paradisi colonus* may imply an additional possible link between *Cons.* and *Contra Johannem*. However, the case of such link between these works is bolstered if the occurrence of the designations mentioned above in the *Cons.* diction is not regarded as a mere accident but as a silent incident of subconscious recollection of Jerome's text, peripheral to what appears to be the conscious borrowing of nearly the entire Bible of *Cons.* (1700A–1702C) from *Contra Johannem* for the reasons previously submitted. So far, then, we have discussed Job 19,25-27, and 1 Cor. 15,35-38, the two of the three longest Biblical quotations, which *Cons.* contains and shares with *Contra Johannem* regarding the resurrection of the flesh. In both works, we have posited that the Pauline passage and Job's testimony are solicited to evince the ultimately established doctrine of the Church on the resurrection of the dead, which is properly construed as the resurrection of the flesh. Accordingly, *Cons.* and *Contra Johannem* may be said to share: 1. common doctrinal challenges respecting the resurrection of the flesh; 2. the same strategy in using Job 19,25-27 and 1 Cor 15,35-38 to address issues arising from their respective challenges; 3. the same end aimed at, namely, resolving eschatological distortions and ambiguities concerning the resurrection body in conformity with the ultimately established view of the Church.

In *Cons.* the lepers are promised to »put on a heavenly body« (*caeleste corpus induere*) (1702A–1702B), with the diction picking up on the outfit imagery of the Pauline passage – much like in *Contra Johannem* (PL 23, 381A). This 'heavenly body', however, that the preacher promises her lepers in *Cons.* is not a new body, but – to judge from the Bible cited – their very same body, which, as understood in Job's statement, »I shall be wrapped with my own skin and with my own flesh« [*circumdabor pelle mea et /... / carne mea*] (1701B), is shaped or transformed for the better: »in id ipsum corpus /.../ in melius conformari.« (1701A). It is called 'heavenly' in that it reflects the state proper for it to enter the 'heavenly kingdom' (*regnum caeleste*);⁵ but it is indubitably its old self – extinct flesh, desiccated bones

⁵ 'Heavenly body' (*corpus caeleste*) seems to be a term suggested by 1 Cor. 15.40, cited in both *Cons.* (PG

and all (1702B) – revived to be converted, viz., to suffer a dramatic, enhanced qualitative change: *in melius transformari* (1702B). This change is manifested in the qualitatively new attribute of its resurrection state, viz., its ‘heavenly splendour’, *claritate caelestium*, an attribute also said to ‘be worn’, *immortalis splendorem induere* in everlasting life (1701B). The body that undergoes these changes in the resurrection is consequently time and again explicitly said in *Cons.* to consist of skin, flesh, and bones, modified for the better (1701B; 1702B). As regards the clothing trope referred to, *immortalis splendorem induere*, it must be observed that *splendorem induere* comes immediately next to *immortalis* – a predicative adjective indicating the state in which the transformed person will ‘put on’ their new corporeal attribute, to wit, their brilliance: »you will wear this brilliance when you are immortal.« The textual proximity of the two notions, ‘immortality’ and ‘brilliance’, suggests mutual concomitance, as if one is accessory to the other; or better still, as if this brilliance is the outward appearance of the idea or state of immortality embodied. Accordingly, the ‘splendour’ which is metaphorically ‘put on’ must be the ‘splendour of immortality’. The attire imagery in *Cons.* is undoubtedly suggested by 1 Cor 15,53: »corruptibile hoc induerit incorruptionem, et mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem« – »for this corruptible must put on incorruption: and this mortal must put on immortality,« cited in it as well as in *Contra Johannem* (*Cons.*, PG 31, 1702A–B; *Contra Johannem*, PL 23, 381A). In *Cons.* the resurrection body is invested with the splendour of immortality or puts on brilliance in its immortal state; in *Contra Johannem* it wears the garment of immortality, which bestows glory on it (381A). Notwithstanding, a close conceptual affinity in imagery and key terms which is found between these two works in their respective explications of 1 Cor 15,53 cannot, as regards *Cons.*, be explained by a coincident or spontaneous eagerness of the author to continue along the lines of the imagery of the common Pauline source – at least not entirely. Rather, in *Cons.*, even if to some extent, this affinity needs to be considered in light of the other points of common interest that *Cons.* shares with *Contra Johannem*, as previously detailed. However this may be, a note should still be taken of the fact that in *Cons.* the term used to name the one property mentioned about a body clad in immortality as peculiar to it is ‘brilliance’ (*splendor, claritas*), while the related term in *Contra Johannem* is ‘glory’ (*gloria*). However, although ‘glory’ in the *Contra Johannem* exegesis of 1 Cor 15,53 is a choice consistent with the Latin translation of Paul’s Greek term δόξα in 1 Cor 15,42–44 (378A), ‘brilliance’ or ‘splendour’, which occurs in *Cons.* instead, is not an inconsistent surrogate term for it – especially in light of the general tenor of Jerome’s text.

The distance between the *gloria* of the resurrection body in *Contra Johannem* and the *claritas* of the same in *Cons.* is but a step. The *claritas* of the body in the

31, 1702A) and in *Contra Johannem* (PL 23, 379B). But the interpretation of *corpora caelestia* in *CJ* differs considerably from that found in *Cons.*, except in one place in *Contra Johannem*, where Jerome’s reference seems to be to an implied »heavenly body« construed in a way kindred to that found in *Cons.*; see *Contra Johannem*, PL 23, 381B, where Jerome’s refers to the resurrection body as »*domicilium* [viz., *corpus*, supplied from *Contra Johannem*, PL 23, 381A] *nostrum, quod de caelo est*. [our dwelling which is from heaven]«

latter work is implicit in the *gloria* of the former work. No further details are provided in 1 Cor 15,42-44 respecting the δόξα of the resurrection body. Paul offers a better glimpse into the body's δόξα yet to come, however, by specifying in Phil 3,21 that our bodies will be transformed in conformity with the body of the Lord's δόξα (1 Jn 3,2). Thus, practically in the same context, the self-same term δόξα is used, now regarding the Lord's body (Phil 3,21), now about everybody else's (1 Cor 15,43). As previously stated, Jerome selects *gloria* for the Greek δόξα in his Latin rendition of 1 Cor 15,43. This is the δόξα of our future resurrection bodies.

Notwithstanding, in Phil 3,21 he renders the self-same δόξα of the original Greek by *claritas*. This is the δόξα of the Lord's body, to which our bodies will conform. Clearly, in Phil 3,21 Jerome takes δόξα as applied to Christ's body in its sense of 'dazzling radiance' or 'glaring splendour'. Thus in Jerome's understanding and terminology, the glory (δόξα) of the resurrection bodies of the righteous is not their own but the glory (δόξα) of the Lord's body, viz., a glory manifested in brilliance (*claritas*), to which every resurrection body conforms. Then, since the resurrection body conforms to the glory of the Lord's body – which glory is brilliance (*claritas*) – the glory of the resurrection body must be likewise construed as brilliance (*claritas*). Accordingly, the *gloria* of the resurrection body in *Contra Johannem* and the *claritas* of the same, spoken of in *Cons.*, amount to the same property or state. Moreover, Jerome construes the brilliance which the δόξα of the Lord's body is taken to be in Phil 3,21 as selfsame with the dazzling splendour of the Transfiguration; for albeit this brilliance, to which the glory (δόξα) of our resurrection bodies conforms, is not further qualified in Phil 3,21, in *Contra Johannem* the glory of the resurrection body is likened to the glory of the Transfiguration; to wit, to the glory of the Lord's body, which Jerome construes as brilliance in Phil 3,21 and which is manifested as such par excellence in the Transfiguration episode. To be more specific, immediately following his discussion of 1 Cor 15,53 in *Contra Johannem*, Jerome goes on to rehearse questions touching the Transfiguration in its connection with the glory of the resurrection body. In so doing, he links the two transformations – that of the Transfiguration and that of the resurrection body – by way of a comparison involving the link-word 'glory' («Sic et Dominus noster in monte transfiguratus est in gloria» [»in like manner, our Lord was likewise transfigured on the mountain«] *Contra Johannem* PL 23, 381A). The comparison is likely intended to take the connection to a deeper level, viz., to imply that the glory attending the Lord's transfigured body and clothes on Mt. Tabor is selfsame with the glory clothing the resurrection body upon the latter's investiture with the, garment (*indumentum*, or *vestmentum*) of immortality'. Jerome did hold that view, as documented in his commentary on Matthew: »Qualis futurus est tempore iudicandi talis apostolis apparuit /.../ certe transformatus est dominus in eam gloriam qua uenturus est postea in regno suo.« (Hieronymus, *In Mt* 3 [PL 26, 121D–122A]) The likely reason for Jerome to construe the δόξα of the Lord's body in Phil 3,21 as *claritas*, and specifically as the *claritas* of the Transfiguration – viz., the radiant brilliance to which our resurrection bodies conform—is possibly the fact that Phil 3,21 finds ideal application in the Lord's assurance that the just will

shine as the sun (Mt 13,43). In his promise, the Lord foretells a state of dazzling brilliance for the righteous, and if Phil 3,21 specifies that their bodies will conform to the δόξα of the Lord's body, that δόξα, whatever else it may be construed as⁶ it must be likewise construed as dazzling brilliance. For it is to the body of the Lord, whose »facies fulgebat sicut sol« (Mt 17,2), that need to confirm the bodies of those who »fulgebunt /.../ sicut sol« (Mt 13,43). Thus, Jerome's dazzling brilliance is not primarily understood as that which shone on Paul on the road to Damascus⁷ but that which attended Christ's body when transfigured.

The first of these two Matthew passages just cited occurs in *Contra Johannem* (PL 23, 381B: »Et facies eius, inquit, fulgebat sicut sol«), the second in *Cons.* (PG 31, 1700B: »Tunc, inquit, iusti fulgebunt in regno Patris sui, sicut sol«). They are both cited in the context of the discussion involving the glory of the resurrection body, a context that both works share. Although not cited together in the pertinent sections of either work under discussion, these two passages are mutually evocative and complementary in the context shared by *Cons.* and *Contra Johannem*, as illustrated by discussing the term *claritas* regarding *gloria* in the latter work. This being the case in Jerome, it is reasonable to assume that these two passages should be likewise mutually complementary in *Cons.* and that although only Mt 13,43 is cited in it, Mt 13,43 is somehow evocative of Mt 17,2. In that sense, Mt 13,43, which is cited in *Cons.*, seems to be an indirect reference to Mt 17,2, viz., to the splendour of the Transfiguration. The *Cons.* section discussing the bedazzling transformation experienced by the resurrection body is resplendent with such marvellous luminosity that one can think of no other episode more splendid in transcendent radiance to inspire and serve as a model (*Cons.*, PG 31, 1700B: »iusti fulgebunt /.../ sicut sol«; 1701B: »immortalis splendorem induere«, the resurrection body, said to be clothed in brilliance in *Cons.* 1701B) – even if tacitly – besides the Transfiguration. Moreover, this uniqueness is that in a sermon in need of highlighting the changes suffered by the resurrection body in its transformation, the Transfiguration is the only scriptural epiphany that provides a glimpse into a mechanism of change witnessed and applicable to the transformation of the resurrection body.⁸ Such a tacit reference would account not only for the *gloria* and *claritas* connection in the context under discussion; it would likewise explain the ease with which someone aware of Jerome's terminology in *Contra Johannem* could shift to that found in *Cons.* and substitute *claritas* for *gloria* concerning the resurrection body as if these two terms were interchangeable. That they were so by the time the preacher of *Cons.* was delivering her sermon is documented. At least they were so in Hilary of Poitiers,⁹ who occupies a prominent place on Radegundis's reading list along with

⁶ Kennedy, for instance, observes that δόξα in Paul »is always the outward expression of the spiritual life« (1897, 463).

⁷ Kennedy identifies this dazzling brilliance with that »which shone forth upon Paul from the risen Christ on the Damascus road« (Kennedy 1897, 464).

⁸ The episode involving Paul on the road to Damascus, for instance, would not meet these requirements.

⁹ Fierro states (1964, 86): »Hilario identifica prácticamente ,gloria' y ,claritas' en muchas ocasiones. Traduce con ambas indistintamente los mismos textos bíblicos. Recurre tanto a una como a otra en expre-

Jerome on Venantius Fortunatus evidence (Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* 8.1.54–60). In his commentary on Mt 17,2, Hilary qualifies the Lord's clothes as ‚garments of glory‘ (*habitus gloriae*) or ‚garments of brilliance‘ (*habitus claritatis*), interchanging the terms ‚glory‘ and ‚brilliance‘ indifferently.

In line with the references to individual body parts, their impairments, deformities, and their restoration following the resurrection – thereby implying retention of the body's complete anatomical structure in its risen state – and as a type of complement to the scenes from the Book of Job, the preacher appends the episode of Dives and Lazarus in arguing her case (*Cons.*, PG 31, 1700C–1701A). The citation of the dialogue between Abraham and Dives (1700C–1701A), the latter's request for a drop of water to cool his tongue, and the reference to the tip of Lazarus's finger, using which this drop is to be provided, also serve as a reminder that our bodies' anatomical integrity is not compromised in the life to come. However, although the preacher's definition of the resurrection body is entirely in line with Jerome's as expounded in *Contra Johannem*, her definition of the ‚spiritual body‘ is not. Jerome defines the resurrection body in constitutional terms, to wit, about its makeup, as does Origen (*Contra Johannem*, PL 23, 378A–B), whose understanding of the risen body's constitution Jerome needs to denounce while accusing John of Jerusalem of endorsing it. In his rebuttal to Origen's claim, Jerome offers a contrary contention but always along the lines of a compositional principle (382B). With Jerome, the *corpus spirituale* that rises in the resurrection, the resurrection body, is not spiritual in a sense Origen construes it, namely, ethereal, like to the breath and the breeze; it is fleshy in its structure and composition. Jerome has the full support even of Rufinus (Swete 1908, 95–96). The term »resurrection of the flesh« *carnis resurrectio* (89–92), is neither a scriptural term nor a phrase coined by Jerome but one that was inevitably appropriated by the Church in her effort to outwit the ‚sophistries‘ of the Docetic Gnostics »in order to safeguard Scriptural truth« and »to protect another fundamental doctrine of the Catholic faith« (89–92). In the same context, Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis* 63 (94), asserts »resurget igitur caro, et quidem omnis et quidem ipsa et quidem integra« [The flesh, therefore, will rise again, and indeed the whole, and indeed itself, and indeed unimpaired]. Jerome is therefore replying to what seems to be Origen's novelty in applying Paul's form of words *corpus spirituale* to define the makeup and constituent properties of the resurrection body within the context of the broader challenge the Church faced in forming her doctrine on the nature and composition of that body.¹⁰

siones equivalentes: ‚habitus gloriae‘ o ‚habitus claritatis‘. Las escribe dentro de un mismo contexto, si dar indicios de que alguna de ellas tenga peculiar significado. Las sitúa a menudo en paralelismo estricto, y emplea indiferentemente los pleonasmos ‚gloria claritatis‘, y ‚claritas gloriae‘.

¹⁰ Origen's use of Paul's phrase *corpus spirituale* to define the resurrection body with respect to the constitution of the body seems to have arisen in light of an urgency forced upon him primarily by the pressure of non-Christian and heretical parties to determine the nature of the risen body; see, for instance, his discussion with Celsus on this subject (Swete 1908, 93); as regards deviant Christian views and grossly simplistic opinions commonly entertained by members of the Church on that issue, see *Contra Johannem* (PL 23, 375C).

Jerome does not object to or question Origen's reading of *corpus spirituale* in constitutional terms; he merely answers based on Origen's definitional presuppositions in order to refute his opponent's conclusions; which conclusions had been reached in part by a strictly qualified, if not fanciful, interpretation of the term 'spiritual' applied exclusively to the makeup of the resurrection body against the tradition in which Jerome stood along with Tertullian and possibly also with Clement of Rome (89–91). The approach in *Cons.* is entirely different on this point. As previously stated, although in all other respects *Cons.* fully abides by the tradition in which *Contra Johannem* and Jerome stand for the nature and makeup of the resurrection body, it approaches the application of Paul's phrase 'spiritual body' to the risen body from a completely different perspective. Either indirectly calling into question this phrase's application strictly to the resurrection body's makeup or by way of merely offering a different interpretation, *Cons.* does not construe 'spiritual body' in structural or makeup terms but interprets it with a quickening or enlivening principle in mind, namely, the Holy Spirit; it reads: »our present body is a soulish body, to wit, a body that depends on the soul, thanks to which we stay alive in our present existence; but that which rises again is a spiritual body because it is reborn through the Holy Spirit.« (*Cons.*, PG 31, 1702A) This is not an unprecedented interpretation of Paul's *corpus spirituale*. It occurs in later patristic literature, both Eastern and Western, and John the Evangelist already points out the enlivening power of the Holy Ghost according to the Lord's statement (Jn 6,63: »It is the spirit that quickened: the flesh profited nothing«). St. John Chrysostom speaks in like manner, stating that even in its present existence, to wit, in this present life, the body is to some extent spiritual on account of the Holy Spirit's dwelling in it; but that it is not presented consistently so because the Spirit's activity within it is blocked on account of sin so that although the Spirit is present, the life of the flesh is still conditioned by the soul (*Homiliae XLIV in epistolam primam ad Corinthios; In epist. I ad Cor. homil. XLI*, PG 61, 359). However, the earliest reading in resurrectional literature disputing the legitimacy of Origen's understanding of 'spiritual body' in makeup terms seems to occur in Methodius of Olympus' *De resurrectione* and with that reading of 'spiritual body', the corresponding one in *Cons.* shows striking affinity.¹¹

In summary, *Cons.* is a sermon that belongs with the resurrectional homiletic tradition, since its central theme revolves around the question of the resurrection body to comfort a particular class of disabled people who seem utterly mystified, confused, and deeply tormented about their resurrectional future. *Cons.* appears to be occasionally laced with verbal echoes, such as forms of words and phrases, as well as with units of textual structural components, such as scriptural passages, textual features, and keyword themes, bearing a suggestive affinity – now more palpable, now more subtle – to kindred works, primarily to Jerome's *Contra Johannem*. It is common knowledge that Jerome's *Contra Johannem* mainly engages what St. Jerome claimed to be Origen's misconceptions on the nature of the resurrection body.

¹¹ For the fact that St. Radegundis of Poitiers was highly likely *perita utriusque linguae* and that she could read Greek in the original as well, see Synodinos 2010.

Additionally, the affinity which the present study alleges between *Contra Johannem* and *Cons.* reveals the latter's alignment with Jerome's presuppositions on the resurrection of the flesh. In that sense, St. Radegundis of Poitiers, the author of *Cons.*, may be said to solicit support from anti-Origenist resurrection literature in arguing her case against the overly bizarre views that her disabled audience of lepers entertained on the resurrection body when it came to the resurrection of their own. It is, therefore, distinctly possible that the preacher implements this strategy alarmed at some concrete *mortiferam suspicionem* she entertains, some affinity or connection she detects, or is aware of, between the convictions of her audience and a kind of mitigated Origenism. Such an affinity or connection is not explicitly stated or spelt out in so many words either because concrete evidence is lacking or for some other reason.

Abbreviations

Cons. – ps.-Basil, *De consolatione in adversis* [Synodinos 2010].

GCS – Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller.

MGH AA – Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctorum Antiquissimi.

PG – Patrologia Graeca.

PL – Patrologia Latina.

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Adulter Vs. Moechus: Jerome's Use of Terms for Adultery in Vulgate

Adulter Vs. Moechus: Hieronimova raba pojmov za prešuštvo v Vulgati

Abstract: Traditional marriage morality of the modern Western civilization has been greatly influenced by the Christian teaching on marriage, which sees adultery as a significant threat to a marriage bond. Christian marriage morality was shaped primarily during the 4th century when the Church allied with imperial institutions, rose to power, and Christianity spread at an extraordinary pace. Jerome revised the existing Latin translation of the gospels and translated the Old Testament from Hebrew to Latin. The Vulgate soon became the referential and most frequently used version of the Bible. It has for centuries influenced the content, style, and vocabulary of European literature and Romance languages. Due to its importance and the social, historical, and cultural circumstances under which it was formed, the Vulgate text is of the most significant relevance for exploring the terminology of adultery. The author investigates the terms for adultery used by Jerome in translating *Old Testament* (members of lexical families derived from the words *adulter* and *moechus* as a translation of Hebrew forms derived from the root *na'aph*) and endeavours to explain his motivation for choosing different Latin terms. The author also compares the vocabulary of adultery in the *New Testament* books of the *Vulgate* and explores Jerome's intervention in the Latin text of the *New Testament*.

Keywords: Jerome, *Vulgate*, *adulterium*, *moechus*, Latin language, adultery

Povzetek: Krščansko učenje o zakonu, ki razume prešuštvo kot glavno grožnjo zakonski zvezi, je v veliki meri vplivalo na tradicionalno razumevanje zakonske morale sodobne zahodne civilizacije. Krščanski moralni nauk o zakonu je bil oblikovan predvsem v 4. stoletju, ko je Cerkev skupaj s cesarskimi institucijami prišla do moči in se je krščanstvo neustavljivo širilo. V tem času je Hieronim posodobil obstoječi latinski prevod evangelijev in prevedel Staro zavezo iz hebrejščine v latinščino. *Vulgata* je kmalu postala osrednja in najpogosteje uporabljena različica Svetega pisma. Kot takšna je skozi stoletja vplivala na vsebino, slog in besedišče evropske književnosti in romanskih jezikov. Zaradi njenega pomena in tudi zaradi družbenih, zgodovinskih in kulturnih okoliščin, znotraj katerih je nastala, je besedilo *Vulga-*

te izjemno relevantno za raziskovanje besedišča prešuštva. Avtorica se posveča preučevanju izrazov za prešuštvo, ki jih je uporabil Hieronim pri prevajanju Stare zaveze (leksikalna družina okrog izrazov *adulter* in *moechus* kot prevedkov različnih oblik hebrejskega korena *na'aph*) in skuša razložiti njegove motive za različno rabo latinskih izrazov. Prispevek tudi primerja besedišče prešuštva v Novi zavezi *Vulgate* in pojasnjuje obseg Hieronimovih posegov v latinsko besedilo Nove zaveze.

Ključne besede: Hieronim, *Vulgata*, *adulterium*, *moechus*, latinščina, prešuštvo

1. Introduction and Methodology

In Western society, adultery is considered a serious threat to the stability of marriage and, consequently, family and society as a whole. In all ancient societies, a patriarchal view of adultery prevailed, based on the fact that only female sexuality was restrained. Adultery was considered extramarital sexual intercourse of a married woman; a married woman and her lover could only commit adultery. A husband who engaged in out-of-wedlock relationships was not considered an adulterer, and his actions were not subject to social or legal sanctions. A man's sexuality was restricted only when, as in intercourse with a married woman, his actions threatened another man's integrity. (Evans-Grubbs 1999, 94–102, 203–205; 2002, 83–87)

Christianity brought a great novelty in sexual morality: equal standards for both sexes. A man was expected to confine his sexual activities to marriage, and his unfaithfulness was condemned.¹ This paper shows how these cultural changes reflected on the Latin language, explore Jerome's method of translating the Old Testament and examines the range of his interventions in the New Testament.

At the instigation of Pope Damasus I (366–384), Jerome revised the existing Latin translation of certain New Testament books and, later, translated the Old Testament from Hebrew (or Aramaic). This Bible version, known as *Vulgate*, soon became the authoritative version of the Scripture in the Latin West. It has shaped the content, style, and vocabulary of Romance languages and European literature for centuries. Its text was formed at a crucial moment to develop Christian marital and sexual morality when the Church, allied with imperial institutions, rose to power, and Christianity was spreading at an extraordinary pace.

The traditional marriage morality of the Western world, which has its roots in Christian teaching on marriage, has been facing several challenges lately. Sexua-

¹ The idea that both genders are equal was sporadically present among pagan thinkers of the 1st century, but Christian ethics systematically adopts this idea (Joksimović 2016, 23–47). In *Ep. 77.3* Jerome speaks of Fabiola, who left her adulterous husband, so corrupt »that neither a whore nor a slave would put up with it« [*non scortum quidem et vile mancipium ea sustinere posset*]. In Jerome's opinion, she acted in accordance with Jesus' teaching that divorce is justified in the case of adultery, for what is true of a man is true of a woman. In this, Roman laws differ from divine laws: »Aliae sunt leges Caesarum, aliae Christi: aliud Papianus, aliud Paulus noster praecipit. Apud illos viris impudicitiae frenata laxantur: et solo stupro atque adulterio condemnato, passim per lupanaria et ancillulas libido permittitur /.../ Apud nos, quod non licet feminis, aequae non licet viris /.../«

lity is no longer confined to marriage, and the need for marital sexual exclusivity is questioned regularly. By examining the terminology of adultery at the roots of Western marital morality, we hope to understand marriage better as we still know it today and identify its place in this rapidly changing world.²

This paper presents part of the results from the author's doctoral dissertation *Terminology of Adultery in the Vulgate and its Social, Historical and Cultural Context*³ (Joksimović 2016) in which Latin terms for adultery, namely, lexical families based on the words *adulter* and *moechus*, have been diachronically examined in several textual corpora: Pre-Christian Latin⁴, Christian Latin⁵, the Vulgate (Stuttgart edition), the *Vetus Latina* corpus, that is, Latin biblical translations other than Vulgate⁶, and Jerome's other works.

The first part of the paper presents Jerome's translation of the terms for adultery in the Vulgate Old Testament books. In the second part, the Old Testament vocabulary is compared with the vocabulary of the corpora as mentioned earlier in those aspects in which Pre-Christian and Christian Latin differ most.

This analysis comprises the works from the beginnings of Latin literature until Pope Gregory the Great (590–604). When the Lombard invasion of Italy (568) swept away Justinian's reconquest achievements, and Latin began to be vulgarized rapidly, the time of this Roman bishop is considered to be the actual end of late antiquity by many scholars (Löfstedt 1959, 9).⁷

2. Pre-Christian Latin

A specific Latin feature is two lexical groups for adultery: one based on the word *adulter*, and the other gathered around the word *moechus*. They are partial synonyms and differ in tone and connotations.

**Adulter* is originally a Latin word and *vox propria* for adultery. These are neutral technical terms, typical for high style, prose, and legal texts (Joksimović 2016, 146–147; 148–151).

Moechus is the Latinized form of the Greek *μοιχός*, 'seducer of a married woman'. The noun *μοιχός* was first adapted in spoken Latin and then passed over into the language of

² The views on this fundamental global social, cultural and religious changes have been summarised recently (Bahovec 2020).

³ In dissertation the author explores terminology of prostitution, fornication, mistresses and concubinage, as well.

⁴ Based on the *Packard Humanities Institute* database, containing Latin texts prior to 200 AD. Texts of unclear dating and commentaries on ancient works were not analyzed. *Digests* have been examined, as they contain older legal texts. Works of later pagan authors such as Ausonius were also explored.

⁵ Based on the *Patrologia Latina Database* containing works of Christian authors from Tertullian to 1216.

⁶ Based on the *Vetus Latina Database* containing Latin quotations of biblical verses other than *Vulgate* and references to them.

⁷ For the sake of brevity, an asterisk by a word marks entire lexical group, gathered around it (**adulter*, **moechus* ...), and Old and New Testament are abbreviated to OT and NT, respectively.

comedy. Such history determined its further destiny; thus **moechus* became a mocking and offensive term, appropriate for lower style and poetry (103–108; 108–117).

The differences in tone reflected in the frequency of the mentioned terms. In Pre-Christian Latin **adulter* occurs 11 times more frequently than **moechus*. Late Latin **adulter* prevailed in the language of the educated, while **moechus* disappeared from literary use but was preserved in spoken Latin (Adams 1983, 351–353).

The patriarchal view of adultery influenced the semantic content of the terms for adultery. Pre-Christian Latin has words to describe extramarital affairs of married women, that is, with them, but there is no term for an unfaithful husband and his actions. The term *adultera* (rarely *moecha*) denotes an unfaithful wife, verbs *adulterare* and *moechari*, and the noun *adulterium* refers to the adulterous wife and her lover (there is no corresponding noun from the **moechus* group). *Adulter* and *moechus* do not refer to an unfaithful husband but a seducer of a married woman.⁸ Such linguistic disproportion reflects the dual standard of sexual ethics.

3. Vulgate – Old Testament

In the OT, adultery is relatively often mentioned in the primary and figurative sense. In the basic sense, the patriarchal concept of adultery is described – the extramarital relations of a married woman and the seduction of married women. In this way, adultery is mentioned primarily in the Pentateuch as a rule within the verses which legally sanction sexual relations. A marital bond is a general symbol for a relationship between the Jewish people and God (Krašovec 2019, 880). In the prophetic books, however, adultery usually appears as a stylistic figure (allegory, metaphor, comparison) which describes the betrayal of an unfaithful wife (the Jewish people) and her falling away from her husband (God).

In the OT **adulter* and **moechus* are predominantly translations of the basic Hebrew terms for adultery, derived from the root *na'aph* (נָאֵף)⁹. Jerome consistently translates **na'aph* by the nominals from the **adulter* group (*adulter*, *adultera*, *adulterium*) and by the verb *moechari*. As will be shown, he departs from this practice for the sake of clarity, for stylistic motives, and, less frequently, to preserve the vocabulary of older Latin translations.

3.1 Nouns *ni'uph* and *na'aphuwph*

Two nouns meaning 'adultery': *ni'uphim* (נִיּוּפִים) (Strong 1890, 5004) and *na'aphuwph* (נְאֻפִיּוּפִים) (Strong 1890, 5005) are translated by the word *adulterium* in the plural. There is no correlation with the *Septuagint*, where we find *μοιχεία* (singular, 2) and the participle of *μοιχεύω* (Table 1).

⁸ Only once *adulter* (Cic., *Scaur.* 8.2) and *adulterium* (Sen., *Ep.* 94.26) denote unfaithful husband and his actions; in Late Latin *adultera* can denote a mistress of a married man (Joksimović 2016, 162–163). For semantic content of **moechus* and **adulter* see Joksimović 2016, 111–132, 154–170.

⁹ ‚To commit adultery‘; figuratively, ‚to apostatize‘. (Strong 1890, 5003).

	Vulgate	Greek	Hebrew
Os 2:2	<i>adulteria</i>	μοιχείαν	<i>na'aphuwph</i>
Jer 13:27	<i>adulteria</i>	μοιχεία	<i>ni'uph</i>
Eze 23:43	<i>in adulteriis</i>	ἐν τούτοις μοιχεύουσιν	

Table 1: *ni'uph* and *na'aphuwph*.

3.2 Non-finite Verbs

Jerome translates participles (functioning as nouns) and infinitives of **na'aph* mainly by nouns *adulter*, *adultera* and *adulterium*, or the adjective *adulter*. Verb *adulterare* occurs only twice, in infinitive and participle form.

3.2.1 Feminine Participles

The form *adultera* always translates feminine participles: *qal* participles (7) by the noun, and *piel* participles, always combined with the noun 'ishah (ἡ ἴσαῃ), 'woman' (3), by the adjective (*mulier adultera*). The *Septuagint* has noun μοιχαλῖς (5) and passive participles of the verbs μοιχεύω and μοιχάομαι (Table 2).

	Vulgate	Greek	Hebrew
Prov 30:20	<i>mulieris adulterae</i>	γυναικὸς μοιχαλίδος	<i>piel</i>
Os 3:1	<i>mulierem ... adulteram</i>	γυναῖκα ... μοιχαλῖν	
Eze 16:32	<i>mulier adultera</i>	ἡ γυνὴ ἡ μοιχωμένη	
Le 20:10	<i>adultera</i>	ἡ μοιχευομένη	<i>qal</i>
Eze 16:38	<i>adulterarum</i>	μοιχαλίδος	
Eze 23:45	<i>adulterarum</i>	μοιχαλίδος	
	<i>adulterae sunt</i>	μοιχαλίδες	

Table 2: *Feminine participles of na'aph*.

3.2.2 Masculine Participles

Masculine participles are mostly (7/9) translated by the form *adulter*. In Os 7:4 we find participle *adulterantes*, and in Le 20:10 the noun *moechus* (Table 3).

	Vulgate	Greek
Le 20:10	<i>moechus</i>	μοιχεύων
Job 24:15	<i>adulteri</i>	μοιχοῦ
Prov 6:32	<i>adulter</i>	μοιχὸς
Is 57:3	<i>adulteri</i>	μοιχῶν
Ps 49:18	<i>adulteris</i>	μοιχῶν
Jer 9:2	<i>adulteri sunt</i>	μοιχῶνται
Jer 23:10	<i>adulteris</i>	-
Os 7:4	<i>adulterantes</i>	μοιχεύοντες
Mal 3:5	<i>adulteris</i>	μοιχαλίδας

Table 3: *Masculine participles of *na'aph*.

Os 7:4 belongs to an obscure section on idolatry.¹⁰ It is quoted in the translations of Origen's works¹¹ and referred to in the verse *omnes adulterantes, quasi clibanus corda eorum*, which is a compound of Os 7:4 and 7:6 in the form found in older Latin translations.¹² This compiled verse became widely known in the 4th century with the struggle against numerous heresies and Origenism and often occurred in the works of Jerome¹³ and his contemporaries,¹⁴ containing almost exclusively participle *adulterantes* (cf. μοιχεύοντες in the *Septuagint*). Jerome presumably preserves the vocabulary of existing Latin translations, established by frequent references to the mentioned verse.

Le 20:10 prescribes the death sentence for adulterers: »Si moechatus quis fuerit cum uxore alterius, et adulterium perpetraverit cum conjugē proximi sui, morte moriantur et moechus et adultera.«

In the original, **na'aph* occurs four times.¹⁵ Jerome translates the same finite verb form (*yin'aḇ*) by *moechari* (*moechatus fuerit*) and by the construction *adulterium perpetrare* (*adulterium perpetraverit*), while masculine and feminine participles are translated by the nouns *moechus* and *adultera*. This is the only occurrence of the noun *moechus* in *Vulgate*. The use of the terms from different lexical families is a peculiarity of Jerome's translation. In the *Septuagint* we find forms of the verb μοιχεύω in all four places.¹⁶ Jerome's translation is probably motivated by style; this is indicated by his use of *uxor* and *conjunx* as a translation of the word 'wife', 'woman' (*ishah*) in the same verse. The reason may be stylistic: parallelism is the primary stylistic tool in Hebrew literature¹⁷ but can be redundant in Latin; Jerome may have, therefore, opted for different terms: »moechatus fuerit cum uxore« – »adulterium perpetraverit cum conjugē« – »moechus« - »adultera«.

3.2.3 Infinitives

Jerome translates the infinitive of *na'aph* by infinitive *adulterare* (1) and noun *adulterium* (2). In *Septuagint* we find the noun μοιχεία and infinitive and participle of verbs μοιχεύω and μοιχάομαι (Table 4).

¹⁰ Hier., *In Os*. 2.7.5 *sqq.*: »Obscurus locus et attento lectoris sensu indigens ut historiam cognoscamus.«

¹¹ *Adulterantes*: Orig., *In Matth.* 13.4 (PG 13,1103–1104); Iulian. (Ps.-Rufin.), *In Os*. 2.7; cf. Hier., *Jer*. 5.67. *Moechantes*: Rufin., *Orig. in Lv*. 5.5.

¹² Hier., *In Os*. 2.7.4–7: LXX 7.4: »Omnes adulterantes quasi clibanus ardens ad coquendum /.../«; 7.6 »Quia succensa sunt quasi clibanus corda eorum /.../«

¹³ Hier., *Ep.* 22.17; *In Eph.* 3.6; *In Eccl.* 1071a; *In Soph.* 2.3–4; *In Matth.* 3.6.16 *adulterantium corda*; *In Ezech.* 9.28; 11.38; *In Mich.* 2 *adulterantes a Deo...*, 3 *adulterantium corda*; *In Nah.* 2.3; *In Ioel.* 1.19–20; *In Is.* 8.27.5; 16.58.13; 17.64.8*sqq.*; *Ep.* 130.10.4; *In Ier.* 1.24; 3.81; cf. Ps.-Hier., *In Iob* 26.28.

¹⁴ Caes. Arel., *Serm.* 43.2 (=Ps.-Aug. 289); 189.4; 43.5; Eucher., *Form.* 7; Hesych., *In Lev.* 5.18; Ps.-Hier., *Brev.* 104; 107. Gaudent., *Serm.* 13.29: *fornicantes*.

¹⁵ אִישׁ אִשׁוֹ יִשְׁכַּב אֶת זְכוֹת מִשְׁכַּבֵּי אִשָּׁה תוֹעֵבָה עָשׂוּ שְׂשִׁימָה מוֹת יִמְתוּ דְמֵיהֶם בָּם

¹⁶ "Ἀνθρώπος ὃς ἂν μοιχεύσῃται γυναῖκα ἀνδρός ἢ ὃς ἂν μοιχεύσῃται γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον θανάτω θανατούσθωσαν ὁ μοιχεύων καὶ ἡ μοιχευομένη."

¹⁷ On foundational literary forms in the Bible, and particularly on the parallelism see Avsenik Nabergoj 2019; on parallelism and synonyms and their translation in the *Septuagint* and the *Vulgate*, see Krašovec 2018, 490–495.

	Vulgate	Greek	Hebrew
Jer 7:9	<i>adulterare</i> ¹⁸	μοιχᾶσθε	qal
Jer 23:14	<i>adulterium</i> ¹⁹	μοιχωμένους	
Os 4:2	<i>adulterium</i>	μοιχεία	

Table 4: *Infinitives of *na'aph.*

3.3 Finite Verbs

3.3.1 Masculine Subject

Jerome translates finite verbs, whose subject is a man, by the verb *moechari*. The exception is Le 20:10, where he uses the syntagm *adulterium perpetrare* for stylistic motives (*supra*). Jerome avoids the verb *adulterare* (in Le 20:10 he uses *adulterium perpetrare*, not *adulterare*). In *Septuagint*, we find finite forms of μοιχεύω and μοιχάομαι (Table 5).

	Vulgate	Greek
Ex 20:14	<i>non moechaberis</i>	οὐ μοιχεύσεις
De 5:18	<i>neque moechaberis</i>	
Le 20:10	<i>si moechatus quis fuerit cum</i>	ἂν μοιχεύσῃται γυναῖκα
	<i>adulterium perpetraverit cum</i>	
Jer 5:7	<i>moechati sunt</i>	ἐμοιχῶντο
Jer 29:23	<i>moechati sunt in</i>	36:23 ἐμοιχῶντο τὰς γυναῖκας

Table 5: **Na'aph: finite verbs with masculine subject.*

3.3.2 Feminine Subject

The finite verbs of *na'aph*, whose subject is a woman, appear only in the prophetic books and are inconsistently translated with terms from three lexical families: **adulter*, **moechus*, and **fornicatio*. Jerome's translation is not correlated with the *Septuagint*, where we always find μοιχεύω or μοιχάομαι, or with the use of particular conjugations in the Hebrew original (Table 6).

	Vulgate	Greek	Hebrew
Jer 3:8	<i>moechata esset</i>	ἐμοιχᾶτο	<i>piel</i>
Jer 3:9	<i>moechata est cum</i>	ἐμοίχευσεν	<i>qal</i>
Eze 23:37	<i>adulterae sunt</i>	ἐμοιχῶντο	<i>piel</i>
	<i>fornicatae sunt cum</i>		
Os 4:13	<i>adulterae erunt</i>	μοιχεύσουσιν	
Os 4:14	<i>cum adulteraverint</i>	ὅταν μοιχεύωσιν	

Table 6: **Na'aph: finite verbs with feminine subject.*

¹⁸ *Clementina*: »adulterari«.

¹⁹ *Clementina*: »adulterantium«.

When translating Jer 3:8-9, Jerome preserves the vocabulary of older translations while altering the construction of the verse: »quia pro eo quod moechata esset aversatrix Israēl, dimissem eam /.../ et /.../ praevaricatrix Juda /.../ abiit /.../« (Jer 3:8); »/.../ et moechata est cum lapide et ligno« (Jer 3:9).

In the Septuagint and Origen's translation, Jer 3:8 has the imperfect ἐν οἷς ἐμοιχᾶτο, corresponding to *in quibus moechabatur* in Jerome's and Rufin's translation of Origen.²⁰ In the Vulgate, Jerome uses the pluperfect conjunctive *moechata esset*. In Jer 3:9, aorist ἐμοίχευσεν²¹ was translated in old Latin translations and Jerome's other works by perfect or imperfect, followed by the preposition *in* (*moechata est*²²/*moechabatur*²³ *in+acc./abl.*). In the Vulgate, we find the perfect *moechata est*, but with the preposition *cum* (*moechata est cum*).²⁴ Jerome, thus, innovates with syntax and morphology but not with vocabulary.

In Os 4:13-14 *adulterae erunt* and *adulteraverint* are a translation of the same verb form (3 pl. *tānā'āpnāh*): »Ideo /.../ sponsae vestrae adulterae erunt« 4:14: »non visitabo /.../ super sponsas vestras cum adulteraverint« (Os 4:13). There are two relevant older Latin translations of these verses: »Propterea /.../ sponsae vestrae moechabuntur, et non visitabo /.../ super sponsas vestras cum adulteraverint/.../« (Hier., *In Os.* 1.4.14 LXX);²⁵ »Moechabuntur/.../« (*Cod. Wirc.* Os 4:13) and »Et non respiciam /.../ super nurus vestras cum moecat« (*Cod. Wirc.* Os 4:14).

In Os 4:13, we find the future *moechabuntur* in both translations, corresponding to the future μοιχεύσουσιν in the *Septuagint*. In Os 4:14 in *Cod. Wirc.* we find the present *moecat* (active!) and in *In. Os. adulteraverint* as in the Vulgate (in Septuagint present conjunctive μοιχεύωσιν). The translation in Jerome's commentary on Hosea is almost identical to the one in the *Vulgate*, but *Cod. Wirc.* differs in: *respiciam* (Vulg. *visitabo*) and *nurus* (Vulg. *sponsam*). There are no other references to Os 4:13. When citing Os 4:14 (before and after the translation of the Book of Hosea c. 393), Jerome always uses *adulteraverint*, but alternates *nurus* and *sponsa*, which indicates that he was familiar with translations like *Cod. Wirc.*, containing *moechari* in both verses.²⁶ Nevertheless, Jerome uses terms from the group **adulter* in both verses.²⁷

²⁰ Hier., *Hom. Orig. in Ier.* 14.1.5; Rufin., *Orig. in Rom.* 7.18.

²¹ LXX: »/.../καὶ ἐμοίχευσεν τὸ ξύλον καὶ τὸν λίθον.«

²² Cyr., *Ep.* 63.18; cf. Ps.-Aug., *Alterc.* 237 (44); Ps.-Hier., *Pachom. Reg.* 159 (61.9) *moechatus est in*; Rufin., *Orig. in Ios.* 7.5: *meretricabamur*; Euseb. Emes., *Serm.* 26.3 *fornicabatur ad*. Faust. Rei., *Grat.* 2.10 gives up the metaphor: *lignum adorat et lapidem*.

²³ Gaudent., *Serm.* 8.37; Hier., *Hom. Orig. in Ier.* 14.1; 14.6; *moechabuntur in*: Hier., *In Os.* 1.4.10 sqq.; *In Is.* 16.3 sqq.

²⁴ *Ita* Hier., *In Ier.* 1.3.6 sqq.

²⁵ Latin version of Origen's recension of *Septuagint*.

²⁶ *Sponsas*: Hier., *Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.* 9.4; *In Is.* 17.63.18-19; *nurus*: *In Is.* 1.1.5; 6.13.11; 7.19.20sqq.; *Ep.* 140.15.3; *Hom. Orig. in Ier.* 2.5.

²⁷ Cf. Hier., *Hom. Orig. in Ier.* 2.5: »non uisitabo /.../ super nurus vestras, quando adulterant (al. adulterantur).«

In Eze 23:37, the same verb form *ni'êpû* is translated first by the construction *adulterae sunt* and then by *fornicatae sunt*: »Quia adulterae sunt²⁸ /.../et cum idolis suis fornicatae sunt /.../.« It is unclear why Jerome chooses words from different lexical families or opts for the verb *fornicari*. In both places we find ἐμοιχῶντο in the *Septuagint* and *moechabantur* in *Fragm. Sang.*²⁹ In the commentary on Ezekiel, Jerome quotes translation as in the *Vulgate* but uses *moechari* instead of *fornicari* in the paraphrase.³⁰

Maybe the Hebrew text Jerome translated differed from the one known to us, which was the basis for the *Septuagint*. As we have seen before, the reason may be stylistic: Jerome opts for different terms to avoid the redundancy of Latin words caused by Hebrew parallelism.

3.4 Jerome's Self-initiated Use of *adulter

In the OT **moechus* appears exclusively as a translation of **na'aph*. Jerome, however, uses **adulter* to translate **na'aph*, but also Hebrew words of more general meaning (7 occurrences, Table 7). Such use of **adulter* prevails in the Pentateuch (5/7); it is not conditioned by the vocabulary of older Latin translations or the *Septuagint*.

Ancient Bible translators generally tended to choose words with the most general meanings for translating terms with a wide semantic range unless the context required specificity (Krašovec 2018, 489); this indicates that Jerome felt the strong need to use the terms with more specific meaning.

Jerome only uses nouns *adulter* (2), *adultera* (2) and *adulterium* (3) in such a manner. He never uses the verb *adulterare*, although half of the translated Hebrew forms are verbs (Num 5:13; 5:27; Is 57:8) and predicate constructions (De 22:22).

3.4.1 *Adulter, adultera* = ,man', ,woman'

In De 22:22, the death penalty for adulterers is again prescribed: »Si dormierit vir cum uxore alterius, uterque morietur, id est, adulter et adultera /.../.« The nouns *adulter* and *adultera* are a translation of 'iysh ,man' (אִישׁ), that is, the syntagm meaning ,the one lying down with a woman' and 'ishshah ,woman' (אִשָּׁה), referring to an adulteress and her lover. The text of the *Septuagint* and older Latin translations corresponds to the Hebrew original; therefore, Jerome's translation is excluded.³¹

3.4.2 *Adulterium* = ,defiled', ,sin', ,betray'

Section Num 5:12-31 describes the procedure for proving a wife's adultery; in it *adulterium* appears three times, indicating wife's infidelity as a translation of the

²⁸ *Clementina*: »adulteratae sunt.«

²⁹ »Maechabantur /.../ cogitationibus suis moechabantur.«

³⁰ Hier., *In Ezech.* 7.23.36 sqq: »Adulterae sunt /.../ sunt enim moechatae in idolis.«

³¹ LXX: »τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν κοιμῶμενον μετὰ τῆς γυναίκος /.../ τὴν γυναῖκα«; *Cod. Lugd.* »qui dormierit cum mulierem.«; *Cod. Monac.* »/.../ et illum qui cum muliere /.../ abit, et mulierem.«

words *tame'*, *'avon* and *ma'al*.

In Num 5:13³² *adulterium* is a translation of *niṯmā'āh*, 'defiled' from *ṯame'* (אִטַּף)³³ (*latet adulterium*, literally 'there is no evidence that she is defiled'). In the Septuagint and older Latin translations, we find the perfect passive participle ἡ μεμιαμμένη (μιαίνω) and *coinquinata*, both meaning 'defiled'.³⁴ Elsewhere in the *Vulgate* *niṯmā'āh* is translated by the perfect passive participle *polluta est*.³⁵

In Num 5:15³⁶ *adulterium* is a translation of the noun *'avon* (אִוֶּן) (Strong 1890, 5771) 'sin', corresponding to ἀμαρτία in the *Septuagint* and *peccatum* in older Latin translations.³⁷ Elsewhere in the *Vulgate*, Jerome translates *'āvōn* (68) mainly by *iniquitas* (60)³⁸ and, less frequently, *peccatum*,³⁹ *peccare* (Is 22:17), *malum* (1Rg 28:10), *scelus* (3Rg 7:9) and in the paraphrase *quod argueres* (2Rg 3:8).

In Num 5:27⁴⁰ clause (*sc. si uxor est*) *contempto viro adulterii rea* translates two Hebrew forms: a) finite verb *wattim'ōl* from *ma'al* (לַעֲלֹב)⁴¹ 'to betray' and b) noun *ma'al* (לַעֲלָוָה)⁴² 'betrayal'. Jerome's translation differs from the *Septuagint* and other Latin translations.⁴³ The noun *ma'al*, usually combined with the verb *ma'al*, indicates apostasy in the OT (except Num 5:12). Jerome translates it by *contemne-re* (*maritum, Deum, Dominum*),⁴⁴ *praevaricari, transgressio*, and related terms.⁴⁵

3.4.3 *Suscepisti adulterum* = *'alah*

In Is 57:8⁴⁶ *suscepisti adulterum* is a translation of the finite verb *watta'ālī* from *'alah* (אָלַף) 'to ascend', 'mount'.⁴⁷ Jerome's motivation for such a translation is not

³² »(Sc. vir cuius uxor) dormierit cum altero viro, et hoc maritus deprehendere non quiverit, sed latet adulterium, et testibus argui non potest, quia non est inventa in stupro /.../«

³³ »To be foul, especially in a ceremonial or moral sense (contaminated).« (Strong 1890, 2930)

³⁴ »κρύψη αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ μεμιαμμένη.«; *Cod. Lugd.*: »et absconderit hoc ipsa aut fuerit coinquinata.«

³⁵ Eze 23.7; 23.13; *cf. Nova Vulgata* Num 5:14: »sed latet quod impuram se reddiderit.«

³⁶ »/.../adducet eam ad sacerdotem, et offeret oblationem /.../ sacrificium zelotypiae est, et oblatio investigans adulterium.«

³⁷ »ἔστιν γὰρ θυσία ζηλοτυπίας θυσία μνημοσύνου ἀναμνησέκουσα ἀμαρτίαν.«; *cf. Cod. Lugd.* »est enim sacrificium zelationis, sacrificium memoria, commemorans peccatum.«

³⁸ *E.g.* Gen 15:16; Le 10:17; Num 14:18; 18:1; De 5:9; 1Rg 3:14; Job 31:11; Ps 49:5; Is 53:6; Jer 14:20.

³⁹ Num 14:18; 18:1; De 19:15; Ps 78:38.

⁴⁰ »Quas cum biberit, si polluta est, et contempto viro adulterii rea /.../«

⁴¹ »To cover up /.../ to act covertly, i.e. treacherously.« (Strong 1890, 4603)

⁴² »Treachery, i.e. sin.« (Strong 1890, 4604)

⁴³ Num 5:27 *Cod. Lugd.*: »siquidem fuerit coinquinata et latuerit iurum suum«; LXX: »ἐὰν ἡ μεμιαμμένη καὶ λήθη λάθην τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς.«

⁴⁴ Le 6:2 »contempto Deo«; Num 5:12 »maritumque contemnens«; 2Par 28:19 »contempui /.../ Dominum.« *Cf.* Jos 22:20 »praeteriit mandatum Domini.«

⁴⁵ »Praevaricari et sim.«: *e.g.* Num 31:16; Le 5:15; Jos 7:1; Eze 14:13; »Transgressio et sim.«: Esdr 9:4; 10:6; Num 5:6; Job 21:34 »repugnare /.../ veritati.«

⁴⁶ »Quia iuxta me discooperuisti, et suscepisti adulterum, dilatasti cubile tuum; et pepigisti cum eis foedus; dilexisti stratum eorum manu aperta.«

⁴⁷ »Used in a great variety of senses, primary and secondary, literal and figurative.« (Strong 1890, 5927)

clear.⁴⁸ The possibility of impact of the Septuagint text, significantly different from Latin, is excluded.⁴⁹ The commentary on Isaiah provides no answers since it contains a formulation similar to the one in the Vulgate.⁵⁰ Maybe Jerome interprets *'alah* in Is 57:8, 'to abandon' (husband, God); in certain verses, he translates *'alah* by *recedere* 'to leave' (3Rg 15:19; 4Rg 12:18; 2Par 16:3; Jer. 37:4.).

3.4.4 *Adultera* = μοιχαλῖς

In Prov 18:22a, *adultera* is a translation of μοιχαλῖς. We find this verse in the Septuagint and Clementine, but not in the Hebrew text or the Stuttgart edition of the Vulgate.⁵¹

	Vulgate	Greek	Vetus Latina	Hebrew
Num 5:13	<i>latet adulterium</i>	ἡ μεμαμμένη	<i>fuerit coinquinata</i>	<i>tame</i>
Num 5:15	<i>adulterium</i>	ἀμαρτίαν	<i>peccatum</i>	<i>'avon</i>
Num 5:27	<i>si... est et contempto viro adulterii rea</i>	λήθη λάθη τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς	<i>fuerit coinquinata et latuerit uirum suum</i>	<i>ma'al</i>
De 22:22	<i>adulter</i>	τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν κοιμώμενον μετὰ τῆς γυναίκος	<i>qui dormierit cum mulierem/ qui cum muliere... abit</i>	<i>'iysh</i>
	<i>adultera</i>	γυναῖκα	<i>mulierem</i>	<i>'ishshah</i>
Prov 18:22 a	<i>adulteram</i>	μοιχαλίδα		
Is 57:8	<i>suscepisti adulterum</i>	ᾧσου ὅτι ἐὰν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀποστῆς πλεῖόν τι ἔξεις		<i>'alah</i>

Table 7: Jerome's self-initiated use of **adulter*.

3.5 Distribution by the Books

The distribution of the terms for adultery by OT books shows certain not overly significant regularities. **Moechus* (almost exclusively *moechari*) occurs only in the Pentateuch and the Book of Jeremiah. Finite verb forms of *moechari* always translate the finite verb forms of **na'aph*. The exception is Le 20:10 (*adulterium perpetrare*) for stylistic reasons; it is also the only place in the *Pentateuch* where **adulter* appears as a translation of **na'aph*; everywhere else in the *Pentateuch* **na'aph* is translated by **moechus*, while **adulter* as a translation of more general terms (Table 8).

Jerome translated the Torah at the very end of his translation endeavour, after most other OT books, after the much-translating experience.⁵² However, all the

⁴⁸ *Nova Vulgata*: »et ascendisti«.

⁴⁹ » /.../ ᾧσου ὅτι ἐὰν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀποστῆς πλεῖόν τι ἔξεις ἡγάπησας τοὺς κοιμωμένους μετὰ σοῦ.«

⁵⁰ Hier., *In Is.* 57.7sqq.: »eamdem nunc quasi uxorem adulteram arguit et confutat, quod dormiens cum viro, clam adulterum susceperit, et discooperuit pallium, immo, dilataverit stratum suum, et fecerit pactum, quasi dotis instrumenta conficiens cum adulteris. Hoc autem dicit, ut ostendat quod non solum in agris et domibus idola coluerint, sed in Templo quoque posuerint simulacrum Baal /.../«

⁵¹ Reflections of Prov 18:22a are found in: Hier., *In Matth.* 19.9 (146); Aug. *Retract.* 1.19.6; 94; *Cod. Valv.* p. 206.

⁵² Between 398 and 406 (Denzin-Weber and Thompson).

prophetic books were translated in the same year, 389–392 AD (Williams 2006, 281–283); still, **moechus* only appears in the Book of Jeremiah. The chronological criterion, therefore, only partly explains Jerome’s lexical choice.

	<i>*moechus</i>	<i>*adulter</i>	<i>*fornicatio</i>
Ex	1		
Num		3	
De	1	2	
Le	2	2	
Job		1	
Prov		3	
Is		2	
Ps		1	
Jer	4	5	
Eze		6	1
Os		6	
Mal		1	
Sum	8	32	1

Table 8: *Distribution by the books.*

3.6 Impact of Greek Vocabulary

The impact of the Greek vocabulary in choosing **moechus* or **adulter* is negligible. In the *Septuagint* **na'aph* is always translated by **μοιχός* (Joksimović 2016, 213–225). The expected influence would be reflected in the more frequent use of **moechus*, especially in the books, which Jerome first translated from Greek into Latin (Ps, Prov, Eccl, Job, Par). In these, however, only **adulter* appears.

4. Vulgate - New Testament

The translation of the Vulgate NT books shows a great deal of consistency and uniformity. The leading Greek lexical group for adultery is based on the term *μοιχός*. In NT, the nouns *μοιχός*, *μοιχαλῖς*, and *μοιχεία* are always translated by the nouns *adulter*, *adultera* and *adulterium*.⁵³ The verbs *μοιχεύω* and *μοιχάομαι* are mainly translated by the verb *moechari* (14), and less frequently by the verb *adulterare* (4) and constructions with the noun *adulterium* (2).⁵⁴

5. Other Jerome’s Works

In quotations and references to relevant Bible verses in his other works, Jerome predominantly uses the same forms as in the Vulgate, particularly in the OT ver-

⁵³ Exeptions: 2Pt 2:14, Iac 4:4.

⁵⁴ For group **μοιχός* and its translation in the NT, see Joksimović 2016, 83–102, 215–258.

ses. Discrepancies are rare and usually conditioned by stylistic needs, the desire for precision, or under the influence of older Latin translations. As in the Vulgate, he only uses the verb *moechari* and the noun *moechus*, and never *moecha* or neologisms *moechia*, *moechatio*, *adulterator*, *adulteratio*. (Joksimović 2016, 219; 221; 224; 246; 256–258).

6. Vetus Latina

Vetus Latina shows the most remarkable similarities to the vocabulary of the Vulgate NT books. The impact of the Greek language and Vulgar Latin is noticeable. The quotations of the relevant Bible verses and references in the corpus Vetus Latina mostly contain the same forms as in the Vulgate. Discrepancies from the Vulgate mainly consist in alternate use of the terms **moechus* and **adulter*. The terms for prostitution, fornication and sin in general (**fornicatio*, **meretrix*, **peccatum*, **stuprum*) occur less frequently. In Vetus Latina we find words absent from the Vulgate: *moecha*, *moechatio*, *moechia*, *adulterator*, *adulteratio*. **Adulter* is typical for the language of the educated, above all the constructions with the noun *adulterium* and the corresponding verb (*facere*, *committere*, *admittere*, *concupere*, *perpetrare*). (Joksimović 2016, 217–224)

7. Christian Latin

7.1 New Meanings – Husband’s Adultery

Christian sexual ethics brings a great novelty – the view that adultery violates the marriage bond, regardless of who violates it. All extramarital sexual relations are condemned, including a husband’s infidelity. A man is expected to limit his sexuality to marriage. This cultural change is reflected in the language; the semantic content of the terms for adultery changes, and **adulter* and **moechus* begin to denote the unfaithful husband and his actions.

Such use begins with the New Testament. The Synoptic Gospels testify that Jesus forbade divorce and characterized the second marriage, concluded during a former spouse’s life, as adultery.

Lk 16:18 »Omnis qui dimittit uxorem suam et alteram ducit, moecharur.«

Mt 19:9 »/.../ quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam /.../ et aliam duxerit moecharur /.../.«

Mk 10:11 »/.../ quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam et aliam duxerit adulterium committit super eam.«

Moechari and *adulterium committere* in the verses mentioned denotes the husband’s adultery, thus imposing a new meaning on Latin terms. Such use is marked and aims at changing the language content to adapt it to Christian teaching. The

verses mentioned were of great importance for the development of Christian sexual ethics, and such use of the terms for adultery in them paved the way for their further use with a new meaning.

In the OT **adulter* and **moechus* denote the patriarchal concept of adultery, that is, only a wife's infidelity, or, respectively, the seduction of married women. In the Hebrew world, as in other ancient societies, only female adultery was sanctioned; thus, it is the only form of infidelity mentioned.

7.2 Revival of **moechus*

Another change with Christian Latin is a higher frequency of the group **moechus*. **Moechus* occurs five times more frequently in the Christian texts than in Pre-Christian Latin (556:99).⁵⁵ This is only partly due to the larger volume of preserved texts; **adulter*, by comparison, occurs only twice as often (2610:1078). **Adulter* remains more frequent than **moechus* (2610:556), but the proportion decreases from 11:1 to 5:1, and the share of **moechus* increases from 8% to 18% (Table 9).

The difference in tone and connotations between **adulter* and **moechus*, characteristic of Pre-Christian Latin, disappears with Christianity and is used interchangeably (Joksimović 2016, 174–175).

	<i>*adulter</i>	<i>*moechus</i>	Sum	<i>*adulter</i> : <i>*moechus</i>
Pre-Christian	1078	99	1177	11:1
%	92	8	100	
Christian	2610	556	3166	5:1
%	82	18	100	

Table 9: **adulter* and **moechus* in Pre-Christian and Christian Latin.

In the *Vulgate*, this ratio is even more favourable of **moechus*, with 4:1 (32:8 occurrences) in the OT and 1,6:1 (22:14 occurrences) in the NT. Moreover, in the NT **moechus* occurs almost twice as often (14) as in the OT (8). This does not apply to **adulter*, which remains more common in the OT (32) than in the NT (22) (Table 10).

	<i>*adulter</i>	<i>*moechus</i>
Pre-Christian	11	1
Christian	5	1
OT	4 (32)	1 (8)
NT	1.6 (22)	1 (14)

Table 10: Ratio of **adulter* and **moechus* in Pre-Christian Latin, Christian Latin, OT and NT.

Terms for adultery occur almost as often in the OT (40) as in the NT (36), but in the OT **adulter* (32:8) predominates, and in the NT **moechus* (22:14); this difference indicates that Jerome's interventions on the text of the NT were not extensive.

⁵⁵ Numbers in brackets are explained and compared in relevant accompanying tables, in this case, Table 9.

The high proportion of **moechus* in the NT indicates that Christianity gave a key impetus for the revival of this lexical group due to Greek and spoken Latin on Christian Latin. In Late Latin **moechus*, we have said, disappeared from the literary language of pagan writers; it was revived in spoken Latin under the influence of the Greek and established itself in the Christian written tradition.

7.3 Higher Proportion of Verbs *adulterare* and *moechari*

In Christian Latin, *adulterare* and *moechari* are more frequently used, while the proportion of the nominals from groups **moechus* and **adulter* diminishes.

Within its lexical group, the proportion of *moechari* increases drastically (5: 67%). The share of the noun *moecha* is, on the other hand, drastically reduced (32: 2%). *Moecha* disappears after the age of Augustine. Vulgate follows these tendencies; *moecha* occurs neither in the OT nor in the NT (nor in Jerome's other works). *Moecha* probably retained offensive connotations, causing its gradual disappearance (Table 11).

	moechus	moecha	moechari	ἅπαξ λεγόμενα	moechia	moechatio	Sum
Pre-Christian	58	32	5	4	/	/	99
%	59	32	5	4	/	/	100
Christian	91	13	365	/	67	11	547
%	17	2	67	/	12	2	100

Table 11: **moechus* in Pre-Christian and Christian Latin (Joksimović 2016, 142).

**Adulter* is not subject to such drastic changes. Despite the more significant proportion of *adulterare* (1:8%), the nominals prevail in Christian Latin, as well (Table 12). (Joksimović 2016, 171–172)

	adulter	adultera	adulteri- um	adulter (adi.)	adulteri- nus	adulter- are	other	Sum
Pre-Christian	405	114	525	15	1	16	2	1078
%	38	11	49	1	0	1	0	100
	98							
Christian	740	339	1149	99	65	217	1	2610
%	28	13	44	4	3	8	0	100
	92							

Table 12: **adulter* in Pre-Christian and Christian Latin.

In Vulgate, these tendencies are even more emphasized. The ratio of the nominals and the verb *adulterare* is reduced from 66:1 in Pre-Christian to 11:1 in Christian Latin and 3:1 in the OT. Moreover, in the NT, *adulterare* appears twice more often than the nominals from the same group. The high frequency of *adulterare* in the OT is striking, given that Jerome, as we have said, avoids using the verb *adulterare*.

In the Pre-Christian corpus, the nominals from the group **moechus* appear more often than the verb *moechari* (16:1). In Christian Latin, *moechari* becomes more common (2:1). Even more striking is this ratio (in favour of *moechari*) in the OT (7:1) and NT (14:1). In *Vulgate* alone, *moechari* occurs more frequently (OT 7; NT 14) than in the entire Pre-Christian corpus (6). In *Vulgate*, we have said that the verb *moechari* occurs; the noun *moechus* appears only once in the OT. (Table 13).

Moreover, in Christian Latin *moechari* is more common than *adulterare* (365:217 = 1,7:1); this proportion increases with the OT (7:3 = 2,3:1) and especially the NT (14:4 = 3,5:1). (Table 13)

	*adulter		*moechus	
	Nominals	Verb	Nominals	Verb
Pre-Christian	66 (1062)	1 (16)	16 (93)	1 (6)
Christian	11 (2393)	1 (217)	1 (182)	2 (365)
OT	3 (8)	1 (3)	1 (1)	7 (7)
NT	1 (2)	2 (4)	0 -	14 (14)

Table 13: Ratio of the nominals and verbs from the groups **adulter* and **moechus* in Pre-Christian and Christian Latin, OT and NT.

There are several possible explanations for the high proportion of *moechari* in the *Vulgate*. First, *adulterare* has been used predominantly in non-sexual meaning in Pre-Christian Latin; maybe that is why Jerome avoids it. Jerome's time, the revival of **moechus* was already finished, and *moechari* was already established in the existing Latin translations. Thus, *moechari* might have been an acceptable choice to Jerome. *Moechari* occurs in many verses of great importance for the development of Christian sexual ethics. We find it in Jesus' words about the unbreakability of marriage, but also God's commandment forbidding adultery (Ex 20:14: *Non moechaberis*). These verses were often repeated at gatherings of believers and in Christian literature, so their vocabulary became widely known. His interventions would encounter opposition if Jerome departed from the established vocabulary, replacing the *moechari* with *adulterare*.

7.4 Neologisms – Abstract Nouns *moechia* and *moechatio*

There is no abstract noun from the **moechus* group with the meaning of adultery in Pre-Christian Latin. With Christianity, the nouns *moechia* and *moechatio* appear as a translation of *μοιχεία*. Their use is sporadic compared to *adulterium* (*moechia* 67, *moechatio* 11, *adulterium* 1149, Table 11).⁵⁶ *Adulterium* remains the primary abstract term with the meaning 'adultery' in both eras. The only neologism in the **adulter* group is *adulteratio*.

⁵⁶ *Moechia* survives in medieval literature. *Moechatio* is rare, found mainly in translations of Greek Christian scriptures, and disappears from the 6th century (Joksimović 2016, 132–142).

No neologisms appear in the Vulgate, in the OT, or the NT. In this aspect, the Vulgate vocabulary is conservative. Maybe Jerome purified the NT Vulgate text from neologisms. Their absence is the main difference between the vocabulary of the Vulgate and older Latin translations.

8. Conclusion

Jerome translates Hebrew terms for adultery formed from the root *na'aph* by the nouns *adulter*, *adultera* and *adulterium* and the verb *moechari*. Similarly, in the NT Greek terms for adultery, gathered around the word *μοιχός*, are translated predominantly by nominals from the group **adulter* and the verb *moechari*. As Krašovec points out, »we may assume that relative uniformity of ancient translations of the Bible reflects a living tradition« (2018, 488).

With the NT, terms for adultery start denoting the husband's adultery and paving the way for new use in Christian Latin. In the OT, due to the content of the Hebrew sacred texts, terms for adultery denote only a patriarchal concept of adultery.

A specific feature of Christian Latin is a higher frequency of a) terms from the **moechus* group, especially the verb *moechari*, and b) verbs *adulterare* and *moechari* in general. Their frequency increases with the OT and, particularly, the NT, indicating that Christianity has instigated said lexical changes. The fact that the vocabulary of the OT is more similar to the language of the Christian Fathers in general than to the vocabulary of the NT indicates that Jerome adopted the current language tendencies only to some extent and that he rarely intervened in the text of the NT.

The vocabulary of the NT and *Vetus Latina* shows the most significant similarities. The striking difference between them is the absence of neologisms such as *moechia*, *moechatio*, *adulteratio* from the NT. Jerome may have cleaned the NT of them. Neologisms are absent from other Jerome's works as well. The term *moecha* gradually disappears with Christian Latin; it does not appear in Vulgate or Jerome's other works. Such consistency of vocabulary and phrasing may be the product of Jerome's editorial interventions (Krašovec 2018, 489).

Jerome's lexical interventions in the NT are scarce. He instead innovates with syntax and morphology than with vocabulary. The biblical text is considered sacred, which reflects in the conservative approach to its translation. Once formed, the vocabulary of biblical translations is preserved and not changed without valid reasons. Any change contradicts the established tradition and leads to a possible misinterpretation of biblical truth.

This research clearly distinguished three separate lexical units. The first is Pre-Christian Latin, which shows no resemblance to other corpora. The second is the vocabulary of Christian fathers, including Jerome (in the OT translation and his other works); they show the most remarkable similarities. The third is the vocabulary of

the NT, which represents the radical lexical pole of Christian Latin, formed under the strong influence of spoken Latin on the one hand, and Greek on the other. New Testament translations have become the reference pivot for Christian Latin.

The language of biblical texts, especially of their most significant and quoted verses, became the basis for further developing Christian vocabulary. Such are the verses forbidding divorce and characterizing second marriage as adultery. In these verses, **adulter* and **moechus* are used in a manner inconsistent with Pre-Christian Latin, denoting the husband's adultery. Such use was the basis for the future development of the semantic field of lexical groups gathered around the terms mentioned.

		Vulgate	Greek
Ex	20:14	<i>non moechaberis</i>	οὐ μοιχεύσεις
De	5:18	<i>neque moechaberis</i>	
Le	20:10	<i>si moechatus quis fuerit</i>	ἂν μοιχεύσῃται γυναῖκα
		<i>adulterium perpetraverit</i>	ἂν μοιχεύσῃται
		<i>moechus</i>	μοιχεύων
		<i>adultera</i>	ἡ μοιχευομένη
Job	24:15	<i>adulteri</i>	μοιχοῦ
Prov	30:20	<i>mulieris adulterae</i>	γυναϊκὸς μοιχαλίδος
	6:32	<i>adulter</i>	μοιχὸς
Is	57:3	<i>semen adulteri</i>	μοιχῶν
Ps	49:18	<i>adulteris</i>	μοιχῶν
Jer	3:8	<i>moechata esset</i>	ἐμοιχᾶτο
	3:9	<i>moechata est</i>	ἐμοίχευσεν
	5:7	<i>moechati sunt</i>	ἐμοιχῶντο
	7:9	<i>adulterare/ adulterari</i>	μοιχᾶσθε
	9:2	<i>adulteri sunt</i>	μοιχῶνται
	13:27	<i>adulteria</i>	μοιχεῖα
	23:10	<i>adulteris</i>	-
	23:14	<i>similitudinem adulterium</i>	μοιχωμένους
Eze	16:32	<i>mulier adultera</i>	ἡ γυνὴ ἡ μοιχωμένη
	16:38	<i>adulterarum</i>	μοιχαλίδος
	23:37	<i>fornicatae sunt</i>	ἐμοιχῶντο
	23:43	<i>in adulteriis</i>	μοιχεύουσιν
	23:45	<i>adulterarum</i>	μοιχαλίδος
		<i>adulterae sunt</i>	μοιχαλίδες
		<i>adulteria</i>	μοιχεῖαν
	Os	2:2	
3:1		<i>mulierem ... adulteram</i>	γυναῖκα ... μοιχαλίν
4:2		<i>adulterium</i>	μοιχεῖα
4:13		<i>adulterae erunt</i>	μοιχεύσουσιν
4:14		<i>adulteraverint</i>	μοιχεύωσιν
7:4		<i>adulterantes</i>	μοιχεύοντες
Mal	3:5	<i>adulteris</i>	ἐπὶ τὰς μοιχαλίδας

Appendix – Table 14:

Translation of **na'aph* - cumulative table.

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Fondation et transmission dans la *Vita Pauli* et la *Vita Hilarionis*

Ustanovitev in prenos v Vita Pauli in Vita Hilarionis ***Foundation and Transmission in Vita Pauli and Vita Hilarionis***

Sommaire: Les rapports entre mentor et disciple scandent la *Vita Pauli* et la *Vita Hilarionis* de Jérôme et tissent une continuité presque héréditaire entre un fondateur et ses successeurs. Le but de cet article est de se demander comment ces relations de transmission témoignent des ambitions de Jérôme tant dans le domaine ascétique que littéraire. Ces deux *Vies* de moines, tout d'abord, veillent à préciser la place de leur héros dans une lignée de moines qui remonte aux origines. La *Vie de Paul* ne dit presque rien de la vie de l'ascète et se concentre sur sa rencontre avec Antoine, qui devient en tout son héritier grâce à des parallèles bibliques. Hilarion, quant à lui, commence sa vie monastique par la rencontre avec un mentor et la termine dans la transmission à l'un de ses disciples. À chaque fois, le vêtement ascétique, signe le plus immédiatement visible de l'idéal monastique, transmis d'un moine à son disciple, se fait représentation symbolique de cette filiation spirituelle. Cette insistance sur la transmission peut alors être lue comme un redoublement de la visée exemplaire des *Vitae*, où le lecteur devient le disciple du mentor qu'est pour lui le saint. Mais ce motif devient également pour Jérôme le moyen de définir sa place dans la tradition littéraire hagiographique : à la fois rival et imitateur de la *Vie d'Antoine*, et premier auteur latin de *Vies* d'ascètes aspirant à créer lui-même des émules.

Mots clés: fondation, transmission, monachisme, Vie de Paul, Vie d'Hilarion

Povzetek: Odnos med mentorjem in učencem loči Hieronimovi deli *Vita Pauli* in *Vita Hilarionis* in tke skoraj dedno kontinuiteto med ustanoviteljem in njegovimi nasledniki. Cilj tega članka je prevpraševanje, kako ti odnosi prenosa pričajo o Hieronimovih ambicijah na asketskem in na literarnem področju. Vsak od obeh meniških življenjepisov najprej poskrbi za razjasnitev mesta svojega junaka v vrsti menihov, ki sega nazaj vse do začetkov. *Vita Pauli* skoraj nič ne govori o asketovem življenju in se osredotoča na srečanje z Antonom, ki v skladu

z bibličnimi vzori postane njegov dedič. Po drugi strani Hilarion začne meniško življenje s srečanjem z mentorjem in ga konča s prenosom na enega od svojih učencev. Vsakokrat asketsko oblačilo, najbolj neposredno vidno znamenje meniškega ideala, ki se prenaša od meniha do njegovega učenca, postane simbolična predstavitev tega duhovnega sorodstva. Ta poudarek na prenosu lahko nato razumemo kot okrepitev namena obeh *Življenj*, da bi bralec postal učenec mentorja, to je opisanega svetnika. Toda ta motiv je za Hieronima tudi sredstvo za opredelitev njegovega mesta v hagiografski literarni tradiciji: je tekmeč in obenem posnemovalec *Življenja sv. Antona*, prvi latinski avtor asketskega življenjepisa, in situdi sam prizadeva ustvariti posnemovalce.

Ključne besede: utemeljitev, prenos, meništvo, Pavlovo življenje, Hilarionovo življenje

Abstract: Paul and Anthony, Anthony and Hilarion, Hilarion and Hesychius /.../, the mentor-disciple relationships punctuate Jerome's *Vita Pauli* and *Vita Hilarionis*, and forge an almost genetic continuity between a founder and his successors. This article will ask how these inheritance relationships reflect Jerome's intentions in the ascetic and literary fields. These two *Lives* of monks make sure to place their hero in a monastic line that goes back to the origins. The *Vita Pauli* says almost nothing about the ascetic's life and focuses on his encounter with Anthony, who becomes his heir in all thanks to biblical parallels. Hilarion, for his part, begins his monastic life by meeting a mentor and ends it with an act of transmission to one of his disciples. Each time, the ascetic garment, the most immediately visible sign of the monastic ideal given by a monk to his disciples, becomes a symbolic representation of this spiritual lineage. Consequently, this emphasis on transmission can be read as a doubling of the *Vitae's* exemplary aim, the reader becoming the disciple of the mentor the saint is for him. However, this motif also becomes for Jerome a way to define his place in the literary hagiographic tradition: both a rival imitator of the *Vita Antonii* and the first Latin author of *Lives* of ascetics aspiring to create emulators.

Keywords: Foundation, transmission, monasticism, Life of Paul, Life of Hilarion

Paul et Antoine, Antoine et Hilarion, Hilarion et Hesychius... Ces duos mentor-disciple ouvrent et ferment la *Vie de Paul* et la *Vie d'Hilarion* de Jérôme, deux des trois *Vies* de moines que Jérôme a écrites entre 376 et 392.¹ La *Vie de Paul* est la première dans l'ordre de rédaction. Elle date de 376 environ et s'intéresse à la figure de Paul de Thèbes qui aurait vécu sur les troisième et quatrième siècles de notre ère et que Jérôme présente comme la figure fondatrice du monachisme. Il répond ici au »best-seller« qu'est la *Vie d'Antoine* écrite moins de vingt ans plus

¹ Nous ne parlerons pas de la troisième *Vie* de moine, la *Vie de Malchus*, dont la forme est très particulière et très différente des autres: il s'agit d'un récit romanesque à la première personne enchâssé dans le récit d'un narrateur anonyme. Le héros de la *Vita* est toujours vivant à la fin du texte.

tôt et déjà traduite deux fois en latin² dans laquelle Athanase d'Alexandrie parle lui aussi de celui qu'il considère être le père des moines.³

La *Vie d'Hilarion* est la dernière des trois *Vies* écrites par Jérôme, un peu avant 392. C'est la plus longue des trois⁴ et celle qui a la construction narrative la plus proche de la biographie classique, de la *Vie d'Antoine*, et des *Vies* de saints postérieures. Dans ce texte également, Jérôme a à cœur de placer son héros dans une lignée monastique temporellement très précise : à la fois par rapport à Antoine, son prédécesseur, et par rapport à la postérité.

Dans ces deux *Vies*, Jérôme place donc comme enjeux majeurs les thèmes de la fondation et de la transmission, qui peuvent être lus à trois échelles différentes. Il s'agira ainsi d'étudier, dans cet article, comment il les présente et les articule au niveau narratif de l'existence du héros de son hagiographie, mais également au niveau spirituel de l'idéal monastique et au niveau littéraire de l'écriture de vies de saints.

1. Fondation et transmission dans le schéma narratif

1.1 La *Vie de Paul*

La *Vie de Paul* est presque uniquement construite autour des deux thèmes que sont la fondation et la transmission. En effet, la part qui narre la vie même de Paul, son existence dans le désert, est extrêmement réduite : seuls les chapitres 4 à 6 en parlent, ce qui est très peu, même à l'échelle d'une vie aussi courte.⁵ Mais ce qui rend ce passage particulièrement bref est l'inscription générique du texte puisque, dans l'horizon d'attente du lecteur, le sujet d'une biographie est le suivant : écrire la vie d'un homme de sa naissance à sa mort en reprenant un certain nombre de topoï codifiés par les théoriciens de la rhétorique,⁶ ce dont Jérôme, en fin lettré, est parfaitement conscient. D'ailleurs, quand il annonce son plan, il souligne cette construction textuelle anormale pour une biographie : »J'ai conçu le dessein /.../ d'écrire quelques pages sur les premières années et sur la fin de

² Athanase rédige la *Vie d'Antoine* un an après la mort du saint, en 357. Elle est rapidement traduite en latin dans les années qui suivent (traduction aujourd'hui anonyme) puis l'est une seconde fois par Évagre d'Antioche en 373. Ces traductions connaissent une ample diffusion en Occident comme l'atteste Sulpice Sévère qui évoque clairement le texte dans la *Vita Martini* et dont la connaissance du grec n'est pas assurée (cf. SC 133, 119).

³ »En effet, il n'y avait pas encore en Égypte de si nombreux monastères et le moine ne savait absolument rien du grand désert. Quiconque voulait être attentif à soi-même s'exerçait seul non loin de son village.« (Ath., *V. Anton.* 3.2)

⁴ Elle compte trente-trois chapitres.

⁵ 18 chapitres relativement brefs.

⁶ *Eugeneia, genesis, physis, sôma, paideia, epitêdeumata, praxeis et aretai, tukhê, teleutê et ta meta tèn teleutên*, comme le relève Laurent Pernot (1993, 154–177) à propos de la biographie et du discours épictétique en s'appuyant notamment sur Ménandre de Laodicée et Théon.

Paul⁷ et il justifie cette ellipse d'une certaine d'années par son ignorance en la matière : «Les événements qui ont marqué le milieu de sa vie, les embûches que le démon lui a dressées, nul, en effet, ne les connaît.»⁸

Le fait d'écrire une *Vie* sans presque rien dire de la vie du personnage apparaît paradoxal. Ce qui reste dans l'œuvre, une fois que tout ce qui aurait pu y être a été écarté, est donc particulièrement révélateur des intentions de Jérôme lorsqu'il rédige ce texte. Il subsiste, dans l'œuvre, un prologue, qui correspond, nous allons le voir, au motif de la fondation, et des chapitres qui correspondent à la fin de la vie de Paul et donc au motif de la transmission.

Reprenons le premier motif, celui de la fondation. Jérôme y consacre la première partie de son prologue avant de parler de martyrs pour établir la continuité entre les figures de sainteté : le moine ascète est le successeur des martyrs. Il est martyr dans le cœur à défaut de l'être physiquement.

Le premier chapitre de *la Vita Pauli* est, littéralement, une recherche des origines. Il s'ouvre sur une question inspirée par le début de l'Évangile de Luc :⁹ «Bien des gens ont souvent demandé quel était le premier solitaire à avoir habité le désert»¹⁰ et qui pose clairement le thème de ce prologue : il s'agit de rechercher le *πρῶτος ἀνήρ*, le fondateur. Se réappropriant un motif courant chez les historiens (dans *l'Histoire Romaine* de Tite-Live par exemple), Jérôme annonce son ambition de remonter aux origines même du monachisme.

Grâce à une habile *variatio* autour du thème du commencement (*a quo potissimum monachorum [...]/ coepta sit, principia, huius propositi caput, ipse ante omnes, principem rei istius*), il propose alors plusieurs hypothèses qu'il va argumenter avant de les rejeter pour mieux mettre en valeur sa réponse à la question : le premier moine est Paul. Jérôme organise son propos pour nous donner à voir une véritable enquête.

Ainsi, il écarte tout d'abord deux figures bibliques : Elie et Jean-Baptiste qui, par leur mode de vie, se rapprochent beaucoup du moine ascète et qui seront d'ailleurs, pour cette raison, les comparaisons bibliques les plus fréquentes utilisées dans les Vies de moines postérieures. Ce rejet est aisé : si l'on considère que le monachisme est né au IV^e siècle, il est évident qu'Elie et Jean ne peuvent être que des modèles, non de vrais moines.

Ce n'est qu'ensuite que son propos peut réellement surprendre son lecteur cultivé. Il écarte également une autre figure, celle d'Antoine considéré jusqu'ici comme le premier moine.

⁷ »Pauca de Pauli principio et fine scribere disposui.« (Hier., *V. Pauli* 1.4)

⁸ »Quomodo autem in media aetate vixerit, aut quas Satanae pertulerit insidias, nulli hominum comperit habetur.« (Hier., *V. Pauli* 1.4)

⁹ Lc 1,1 : »Beaucoup ont entrepris de composer un récit des événements qui se sont accomplis parmi nous.«

¹⁰ »Inter multos saepe dubitatum est a quo potissimum monachorum eremus habitari coepta sit.« (Hier., *V. Pauli* 1.1)

Ce rejet ne peut se faire qu'au prix de concessions : «cela est vrai en partie»¹¹ et «il aiguillonna le zèle des autres»,¹² écrit-il, concessions qui soulignent déjà le type de rivalité littéraire qu'il va vouloir entretenir avec l'œuvre d'Athanase et qui sont une manière de ne pas perdre son lecteur qui connaît déjà Antoine. De plus, souligner l'excellence d'Antoine est une preuve d'honnêteté intellectuelle de la part de Jérôme et une manière de valoriser encore davantage Paul qu'il va placer au-dessus.

Car Paul est assurément le terme de sa recherche, et il est défini comme le *princeps istius rei*. Si Jérôme présente bien le fait qu'il est le fondateur du concept et non du nom, il fait néanmoins immédiatement de lui le seul moine parfait, correspondant à la définition du mot (*μοναχός* signifiant seul) en prenant astucieusement comme témoins de l'existence de Paul des disciples d'Antoine : «Amathas et Macaire», ce qui laisse entendre qu'Antoine, lui, n'était pas vraiment seul, donc pas vraiment *monachos* contrairement au héros de la *Vita*.

Il s'agit donc pour Jérôme de prouver, par une reprise des formes et des règles du genre historique, par une véritable enquête si l'on reprend l'étymologie du mot *historia*, que Paul est bien le premier moine du monde.

Le sérieux et la qualité de sa recherche, d'un point de vue scientifique, se veulent renforcés par le choix d'écarter toutes les anecdotes saugrenues et d'aspect légendaire qui ont pu être rapportées sur Paul («on a dit qu'il vivait dans une grotte souterraine, avec une chevelure qui lui tombait jusqu'aux talons»),¹³ même s'il s'agit d'une prétériorité qui permet de faire entendre brièvement au lecteur ces histoires plaisantes sans les cautionner pour autant.

Cette découverte, somme toute scientifique, puisqu'elle s'appuie sur des témoignages humains, est renforcée par une preuve d'origine divine. En effet, lorsque, au chapitre 7, Antoine apprend l'existence de Paul, il l'apprend grâce à un songe : «Il lui fut révélé que, plus profond dans le désert, vivait un autre plus parfait que lui»¹⁴ dont la nature divine est confirmée par sa déclaration suivante: «Dieu me montrera son autre serviteur.»

L'enquête humaine et le signe du ciel ont ainsi donné le même résultat : Jérôme peut donc affirmer que Paul est le fondateur du monachisme.

Nous passons presque directement du motif de la fondation à celui de la transmission tant le passage sur la description de la vie de Paul se limite à la présentation de son lieu de vie, proche du *locus amoenus* (avec l'ombre, l'eau cristalline et le calme).

Le récit, après une brève digression hiéronymienne sur d'autres ascètes isolés du désert, se focalise sur le personnage d'Antoine. Désormais, c'est autour de

¹¹ «Quod ex parte verum est.» (Hier., *V. Pauli* 1.2)

¹² «Ab eo omnium incitata sunt studia.» (Hier., *V. Pauli* 1.2)

¹³ «Subterraneo specu crinitum calcaneo tenus hominem /.../.» (Hier., *V. Pauli* 1.3)

¹⁴ «Atque illi per noctem quiescenti revelatum est, esse alium interius multo se meliorem.» (Hier., *V. Pauli* 7.2)

lui que le récit évolue, comme s'il devenait le héros du texte, alors que Paul, au lieu d'être le personnage principal de sa propre *Vita*, devient l'enjeu de la quête.

D'emblée, la relation entre Paul et Antoine est placée sur le mode de l'inégalité et de la rivalité constructive. En effet, en plus d'être plus âgé qu'Antoine (treize ans contre «seulement» quatre-vingt-dix), Paul est défini par deux comparatifs : *interius* et *meliorem*, donc il vit plus profond dans le désert et il est meilleur, ce qui nous invite à le percevoir immédiatement comme supérieur à Antoine.

Ce choix de la comparaison avec Antoine pour définir le lieu de vie ainsi que les qualités de Paul est très habile de la part de Jérôme : faire un portrait de Paul qui aurait été extrait de la comparaison l'aurait exposé à des critiques aisées de gens qui auraient souligné que rien de cela n'était mieux que ce qu'avait fait Antoine. Là, par l'usage de la comparaison, il place Paul au-dessus d'Antoine sans avoir à préciser comment exactement se manifeste cette supériorité.

Antoine, au terme d'un parcours dont la structure du récit est proche de celle d'un conte avec les péripéties, les opposants et les adjutants qui sont, de plus, des créatures fantastiques ou des animaux, parvient à rencontrer enfin Paul. Face à la porte fermée de ce dernier, Antoine doit se placer en position de suppliant, dans une réécriture du chapitre 48 de la *Vie d'Antoine* où le saint refusait d'ouvrir lui aussi à un homme qui l'en priait devant sa porte. Cette fois, c'est Antoine qui est devant la porte, ce qui prouve bien qu'il y a une hiérarchie entre les deux hommes : Paul est l'ancien, il est le mentor. Antoine est le disciple.

Les moments que les deux moines partagent sont révélateurs de la façon dont Jérôme envisage la transmission entre mentor et disciple : elle se trouve sans cesse à la frontière de l'émulation et de la communion.

En effet, les deux moines font tout ensemble. Ils échangent de «mutuelles étreintes» (*mutuos amplexus*), ils rendent grâce à Dieu «en commun» (*in commune*). Après cette communion dans leurs retrouvailles, ils entrent en communion de manière spirituelle au moment de leur repas. En effet, il s'agit de rompre le pain, donc de reproduire le geste de Jésus lors de la Cène et de célébrer ainsi l'Eucharistie. Incapables de choisir qui aura l'honneur d'imiter le Christ, Paul et Antoine agissent de concert : «ils se décidèrent à prendre le pain chacun par un bout en tirant à soi»,¹⁵ lit-on au chapitre 11 de la *Vita Pauli*, ce qui constitue une concélébration à la forme pour le moins surprenante mais qui a le mérite de souligner la communion spirituelle des deux hommes par ce geste.

Cette communion, néanmoins, n'est qu'un élément de la transmission. Entre ces deux hommes qui partagent la même foi et le même ascétisme, il y a une figure de mentor et une figure de disciple. Paul tient pour Antoine des discours formateurs et il est celui qui a le plus de connaissances puisque lui, par exemple, bien qu'il ne soit pas sorti du désert depuis une centaine d'années, connaissait l'existence d'Antoine : «Depuis longtemps, mon frère, je savais que tu habitais

¹⁵ »Tandem consilium fuit, ut adprehenso e regione pane, dum ad se quisque nititur, pars sua remaneret in manibus.« (Hier., *V. Pauli* 11.2)

dans ces régions»,¹⁶ déclare-t-il à Antoine au chapitre 11. Du fait de son âge, Paul sera également le premier à mourir et il compte sur Antoine pour remplir pour lui le devoir d'un fils envers son père : enterrer son corps : »Le Seigneur t'a envoyé pour couvrir de terre mon pauvre corps«,¹⁷ annonce Paul à son visiteur qui, ensuite, se considérera comme son »pieux héritier« (*pious haeres*), comme on peut le lire au chapitre 16.

Cette relation entre un mentor et son disciple est d'autant plus prégnante dans le texte que Jérôme a recours à une double intertextualité biblique : une intertextualité néotestamentaire et une intertextualité vétotestamentaire.

Les instants partagés par Paul et Antoine suivent tout d'abord l'ordre chronologique des derniers moments du Christ sur terre. Ils partagent un repas avec la fraction du pain puis ils partagent leur boisson (certes de l'eau et non le sang du Christ), ils passent la nuit en prière, comme Jésus au Jardin des Oliviers, jusqu'au lever du jour. La mention suivante de Paul est dans une parole d'Antoine revenu chez lui : »J'ai vu Paul au paradis«, affirme-t-il avant même d'être sûr de son décès. Ce propos se confirme par une vision qui nous offre à voir la transfiguration et l'ascension de Paul : »Il vit, au milieu des légions angéliques, parmi le chœur des prophètes et des apôtres, Paul, resplendissant d'une blancheur de neige, s'élever dans les cieux.«¹⁸ Paul apparaît donc déjà ressuscité et auprès de Dieu. Ce visage christique de Paul, conforté par la pensée que Jérôme donne à Antoine au chapitre 12 : »Il crut voir le Christ en Paul«, particulièrement du Christ au moment de la Cène, donc de l'instauration et de la transmission de l'Eucharistie, en fait le mentor absolu vis-à-vis d'Antoine qui se trouve à la place des apôtres.

Plus explicite encore que cette intertextualité évangélique, c'est une intertextualité vétotestamentaire que Jérôme met en place pour figurer la transmission entre le premier moine et son émule. Paul et Antoine deviennent comparables à Elie et Elisée. Ce parallèle était déjà esquissé dans le prologue quand Jérôme traitait de la possibilité qu'Elie soit à l'origine du monachisme. Le lien entre Paul et Elie est particulièrement visible lors du repas des deux moines ou, plus précisément, dans la manière dont ce repas est apporté à Paul au chapitre 10 : »Ils voient un corbeau s'arrêter sur une branche d'arbre, puis voler doucement à terre et y déposer un pain entier.«¹⁹ Cette manière de recevoir de la nourriture est semblable à ce dont bénéficie Elie dans le troisième livre des Règles (3 Reg 17,6) : »Les corbeaux lui apportaient du pain et de la viande le matin, et du pain et de la viande le soir.«

¹⁶ »Olim te, frater, in istis regionibus habitare sciebam.« (Hier., *V. Pauli* 11.3)

¹⁷ »Tu missus a Domino es, qui humo corpusculum tegas.« (Hier., *V. Pauli* 11.3)

¹⁸ »Cumque iam dies inluxisset alia, et trium horarum spatium iter remaneret, videt inter angelorum catervas, inter prophetarum et apostolorum choros, niveo Paulum candore fulgentem in sublime conscendere.« (Hier., *V. Pauli* 14.2)

¹⁹ »Suspiciunt alitem corvum in ramo arboris consedissee, qui inde leviter subvolans, integrum panem ante mirantium ora deposuit.« (Hier., *V. Pauli* 10.2)

Le parallèle avec les deux prophètes se poursuit par le motif du manteau qui prend une place prépondérante à la fin de la *Vita Pauli*. En effet, Paul force Antoine à le quitter et à ne pas assister à son décès en lui réclamant la tunique d'Athanase comme linceul mais, plus intéressant, il y a une transmission de la tunique de Paul, celle qu'il s'était lui-même fabriquée, à Antoine et cette transmission est qualifiée d'héritage : «Le lendemain, le pieux héritier, ne voulant rien perdre des biens de celui qui était mort sans testament, prit pour lui la tunique que Paul avait tissée lui-même /.../ avec des feuilles de palmier.»²⁰ Ce passage de la tunique ou du manteau d'un moine à un autre est une réécriture de cette même transmission entre Elie et Elisée. Elisée reçoit tout d'abord le manteau d'Elie (3 Reg 19,19) : «Élie s'ap procha de lui, et il jeta sur lui son manteau.» et, au moment de la montée d'Elie au ciel, il récupère son manteau comme Antoine le fait pour Paul (4 Reg 2,14) : «Il prit le manteau qu'Élie avait laissé tomber.» Prenant son manteau, Elisée devient le successeur d'Elie, son héritier. De même, prenant son manteau, Antoine devient l'héritier de Paul.

Ce n'est pas simplement un manteau qui est transmis. Ce vêtement, comme Jérôme nous le rappelle dans l'épilogue, représente le mode de vie monastique. Dans ces derniers chapitres de la *Vita Pauli*, avec un travail rhétorique recherché, Jérôme offre à son lecteur un développement plus large, à portée catéchétique, sur le mode de vie qui convient à un bon chrétien. Sa *variatio* dans le lexique du vêtement : *vestiunt, tunicis, indumentum, vestem ...* lui permet de broder toutes les possibilités qui s'offrent aux hommes pour montrer que le bon choix est celui d'Antoine, celui que lui, Jérôme, ferait en conclusion de cet épilogue qui invite à prendre cette *Vita* comme un apologue : la tunique de Paul, c'est-à-dire le mode de vie ascétique d'un moine, du fondateur du monachisme.

1.2 La Vie d'Hilarion

La *Vie d'Hilarion*, bien que plus classique dans sa composition, développe aussi ces deux thèmes de la fondation et de la transmission.

Impossible, bien évidemment, pour Hilarion d'être, lui aussi, le premier moine au monde. Néanmoins Jérôme fait tout pour le présenter comme le premier de sa région, donc comme le premier moine de Palestine. De fait, quand Hilarion cherche un modèle au début de sa vie monastique au chapitre 4, c'est vers l'Égypte et Antoine qu'il doit se tourner, il n'y a pas plus près et, quand il repart d'Égypte pour sa région natale, il est seul avant de faire des émules à son tour et d'être à l'origine de tout le monachisme palestinien.

Mais, justement, parce qu'il ne peut pas être le premier de tous, Hilarion se trouve inscrit dans une lignée de moines. En visitant Antoine, il reçoit de sa part un «manteau». ²¹ Jérôme continue ici de filer la métaphore d'un texte à l'autre. Hilarion, en obtenant un vêtement de moine de la part d'Antoine, reçoit de lui

²⁰ »Ne quid pius haeres ex intestati bonis non possideret, tunicam sibi eius vindicavit, quam in sportarum modum de palmae foliis sibi ipse texuerat.« (Hier., *V. Pauli* 16.8)

²¹ »Pelliceum habens ependyten quem illi beatus Antonius proficiscenti dederat.« (Hier., *V. Hilar.* 3.1)

l'idéal monastique, celui qu'Antoine, en prenant le manteau de Paul, avait obtenu du premier moine de tous les temps. Hilarion se trouve ainsi inséré dans une filiation de moines qui remonte aux origines mêmes.

Ce qu'il a reçu, Hilarion le transmet à son tour. En effet, à la fin de sa vie, au chapitre 32, sentant la mort venir, Hilarion lègue ses biens, qui sont essentiellement ses vêtements, à son disciple Hésychius : «Pendant une absence d'Hésychius, il lui écrit de sa propre main une courte lettre sous forme de testament par laquelle il lui léguait toutes ses richesses, à savoir son exemplaire de la Bible, le sac qui lui tenait lieu de tunique, son capuchon et son petit manteau.»²² On retrouve donc la même notion de legs et d'héritage que dans la *Vita Pauli*. Un bon moine, un moine saint, se doit de propager le monachisme, de transmettre à des disciples, ressort-il de ces deux *Vies* de Jérôme.

2. L'élan du monachisme

Si Jérôme insiste autant sur la constitution d'une lignée, c'est aussi que cette transmission doit s'étendre plus largement. Le lecteur est invité à s'identifier au disciple. Il est amené, comme Antoine ou Hilarion, à parcourir un chemin pour atteindre le saint qui est pour lui le modèle de vie monastique ou, alors, comme Hésychius, il est convié à accompagner Hilarion, son exemple, durant sa vie, grâce à la lecture.

La difficulté du parcours qu'Antoine doit effectuer pour atteindre Paul peut être relue sous cet angle : elle représente spirituellement le parcours que le lecteur devenu ascète doit faire pour se rapprocher de Dieu. Sans proposer un combat spirituel visible par un combat physique contre le diable comme c'est le cas dans la *Vie d'Antoine*, il s'agit malgré tout de ne pas céder devant les manifestations d'inspiration diabolique et de ne pas se décourager quand le chemin n'est pas évident à reconnaître.

Cette insistance sur la transmission d'un mentor à son disciple est donc une manière de rendre visible la visée du texte hagiographique héritée de la biographie classique : c'est un texte didactique, qui narre la vie d'un personnage exemplaire, imitateur du Christ, qui doit servir de modèle pour les lecteurs.

La façon dont les disciples découvrent et imitent leur mentor, puis dont ils transmettent à leur tour cette spiritualité ascétique et monastique est la représentation de ce que doit faire le lecteur qui accède au même mentor grâce à l'hagiographie. Il doit vivre comme un moine et transmettre à son tour.²³ Grâce à l'hagiographie, le lecteur devient à son tour l'héritier du manteau de Paul, pour reprendre l'image de Jérôme, et il est invité à le léguer lui aussi.

²² «Cum absens esset Hesychius, quasi testamenti vice brevem manu propria scripsit epistulam, omnes divitias suas ei derelinquens, evangelium scilicet et tunicam sacceam, cucullam et palliolum.» (Hier., *V. Hilar.* 32.1)

²³ Sur l'importance du monachisme dans la construction de la communauté ecclésiale, voir Bugiulescu 2018.

3. Une lignée littéraire

Mais il me semble qu'on peut aller encore plus loin et voir également dans cette importance des motifs de la fondation, de la rivalité et de la transmission une représentation des ambitions littéraires de Jérôme dans le genre biographique hagiographique.

Jérôme est un auteur cultivé et qui a une conscience forte de sa création littéraire. Les *Vies* de Paul et Hilarion entretiennent des rapports d'intertextualité très forts avec la *Vie d'Antoine* d'Athanase d'Alexandrie. C'est une source majeure de Jérôme et, en même temps, il se place en rivalité littéraire constante avec cette œuvre (Bastiaensen 1994). Les rapports entre Paul et Antoine sont une manière de mettre son texte et celui d'Athanase sur un pied d'égalité, puis de se hisser littérairement au-dessus finalement, ce que son prologue à la *Vita Pauli* laisse entrevoir : « Comme la vie d'Antoine a été racontée avec exactitude tant en grec qu'en latin, j'ai conçu le dessein, pour réparer une omission, d'écrire ces quelques pages /.../. »²⁴ L'enjeu littéraire de Jérôme ici est clairement suggéré et l'émulation entre auteurs apparaît plus nettement que chez un autre auteur dont la source principale est aussi la *Vie d'Antoine*: Sulpice Sévère quand il écrit la *Vie de Martin* (SC 113, 118–119).

On peut donc relire sous cet angle la rivalité entre Paul et Antoine et notamment la question de qui est le plus ancien et de qui est le meilleur.

Le fait que Jérôme mette des expressions ou des citations virgiliennes dans la bouche de Paul alors que c'est lui l'homme cultivé et non Paul montre qu'il crée un rapprochement entre le premier moine et lui-même. Jérôme s'inscrit donc dans une lignée d'auteurs, il hérite des classiques, il hérite d'Athanase, mais revendique la particularité d'être le premier de son espèce, le fondateur d'un genre en latin en étant remonté aux origines du monachisme et en étant le premier à écrire dans cette langue des *Vies* de saints, qui ne sont pas des passions et il invite à l'imitation littéraire.

4. Conclusion

Il s'agit donc moins, pour Jérôme, d'écrire des *Vies* que de fournir des exemples. La *Vie de Paul*, particulièrement, met l'existence même du héros à l'écart. Le choix d'un objet paradoxal pour une *Vita*, le choix d'une *Vie* sans vie, est révélateur des ambitions plus larges de Jérôme : au-delà d'un exercice littéraire autour des conventions du genre biographique, il entend offrir un redoublement de l'objet d'imitation au lecteur. Le personnage principal de la *Vita* n'est pas le seul exemple à suivre, le destinataire peut et doit également s'identifier à son disciple, à son successeur, pour venir prendre sa place dans la lignée des ascètes dont, lui, Jérôme aura été le premier à narrer la vie dans le monde latin.

²⁴ »Igitur quia de Antonio tam Graeco quam Romano stilo diligenter memoriae traditum est /.../.« (Hier., *V. Pauli* 1.4)

Abréviations

- 3(4) Reg** – Regum III(IV).
Ath. – Athanasius Alexandrinus.
Hier. – Hieronymus.
SC – Sources Chrétiennes.
V. Ant. – *Vita Antonii* [Baterlink 2004].
V. Hilar. – *Vita Hilarionis* [Morales 2007].
V. Pauli – *Vita Pauli* [Morales 2007].

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Marjan Turnšek (ur.)

Stoletni sadovi

Člani katedre za dogmatično teologijo v jubilejnem letu z zbornikom predstavljajo »dogmatične sadove« na »stoletnem drevesu« TEOF v okviru UL. Prvi del z naslovom »Sadovi preteklosti« s hvaležnostjo predstavlja delo njenih rajnih profesorjev. Kako katedra živi ob stoletnici svojo sedanost in gleda v prihodnost z upanjem, predstavljajo prispevki živečih članov katedre v drugem delu pod naslovom »Sadovi sedanjosti«. Tretji del ponuja »Podarjene sadove«, ki so jih ob jubileju poklonili nekateri pomembni teologi iz tujine, ki so povezani z našo fakulteto (zaslužni papež Benedikt XVI., Hans Urs von Balthasar, Jürgen Moltmann, Bruno Forte, Marino Qualizza in Marko I. Rupnik).

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David Movrin

Holy Aemulatio: Vita Hilarionis and Jerome's Efforts to Outdo the *Life of Antony*

Sveto posnemanje: Vita Hilarionis in Hieronimovi naporih pri preseganju Antonovega življenjepisa

Abstract: The three lives of saints penned by Jerome, *Vita Pauli*, *Vita Malchi*, and *Vita Hilarionis*, were frequently described in the past by one or another variant of Edward Gibbon's acerbic verdict – that their only defect is »the want of truth and common sense.« Twentieth-century scholarship, less sweeping and perhaps more discerning, pointed out significant differences between the texts. While the *Life of Malchus* is not even biography and while the subject of *Life of Paul* seems to have been a figment of Jerome's imagination, the *Life of Hilarion* is anchored in reality, to the extent that traces of its protagonist can still be found in independent secondary sources such as Sozomenus. However, while its historicity poses intriguing questions of its own, recent decades have become particularly interested in its narrative strategies. Susan Weingarten convincingly showed how Jerome used and subverted a masterpiece of profane literature, namely, Apuleius' *Golden Ass*. What inspired such a daring tactic? The approach was partly motivated by the text Jerome was emulating, namely, the *Life of Antony* itself.

Keywords: Jerome, Hagiography, *Vita Pauli*, *Vita Malchi*, *Vita Hilarionis*

Povzetek: Trije Hieronimovi svetniški življenjepisi, *Vita Pauli*, *Vita Malchi* in *Vita Hilarionis*, so bili v preteklosti pogosto deležni te ali one različice jedke sodbe iz ust Edwarda Gibbona, ki je mimogrede navrgel, da je njihova edina napaka »pomanjkanje resnice in zdrave pameti«. Raziskovalci 20. stoletja so z manj posploševanja in morda z več razločevanja poudarili, da obstajajo med temi tremi besedili tudi velike razlike. Medtem ko *Malhovo življenje* sploh ni biografija in se zdi, da je bil protagonist *Pavlovega življenja* plod Hieronimove domišljije, je Hilarionov življenjepis zasidran v stvarnosti: sledi njegovega protagonista je moč najti v neodvisnih sekundarnih virih, kakršen je Sozomen. Zgodovinskost besedila zastavlja vrsto svojih lastnih vprašanj, zadnja desetletja pa se posebej zanimajo za v njem nakazane narativne strategije. Susan Weingarten je prepričljivo pokazala, kako je Hieronim uporabil in subvertiral mojstrovino profane literature, Apulejevega *Zlatega osla*. Kaj bi lahko navdihnili tako drzno taktiko? Zdi se, da je bil pristop deloma motiviran prav z besedilom, ki ga je Hieronim posnemal, z Antonovim življenjepisom.

Ključne besede: Hieronim, hagiografija, *Vita Pauli*, *Vita Malchi*, *Vita Hilarionis*

1. Introduction

The three lives of saints penned by Jerome of Stridon, *Vita Pauli*, *Vita Malchi*, and *Vita Hilarionis*, were frequently described in the past by one or another variant of Edward Gibbon's acerbic verdict that »the only defect of these pleasing compositions is the want of truth¹ and common sense« (Gibbon 1931, 5, n. 17). Twentieth-century scholarship, less sweeping and perhaps more discerning, pointed out significant differences between the texts and that it hardly makes any sense to lump them together. Timothy Barnes, in his *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History*, warned that »it becomes a serious bar to understanding when all three are treated as if they formed three parts of a trilogy, or when they are put on the same level of historicity«; this can happen when all three are assumed to be truthful, or all three are characterized as 'romances of monastic life' (Barnes 2016, 171). Interestingly enough, this fact was consistently recognized by the manuscript tradition, where the texts tended to be transmitted separately; of many manuscripts that contain *Vita Pauli*, *Vita Malchi*, or *Vita Hilarionis*, only a minute segment contains all three.²

While one could argue that the *Life of Malchus* is not even biography³ and while the subject of the *Life of Paul* seems to have been a figment of Jerome's imagination, the *Life of Hilarion* is an entirely different matter. Following criticism from contemporaries who were not always ready to provide the *carte blanche* from Mark 9:23, *Vita Pauli* 6.2 demanded the faithful – »haec incredibilia videbuntur eis, qui non crediderint omnia possibilis esse credentibus« – Jerome's subsequent attempt was anchored in reality. The onslaught of his colleagues is evident from the very beginning of the text, where Jerome complains about their scepticism:⁴

»Maledicorum voces contemnimus, qui olim detrahentes Paulo meo nunc forsitan detrahent et Hilarioni, illum solitudinis calumniati, huic obicientes frequentiam, ut qui semper latuit, non fuisse, qui a multis visus est, vilis extimetur.« (*Vita Hilarionis* 1.6)

¹ It seems that Gibbon was not yet ready for the more nuanced understanding of Christian biography, open to the fact that in these texts, »truth claims were made quite apart from the stories themselves and, indeed, were often incidental to the narrative being told«; these claims could be focused on »the order of world powers and the constructedness of social or family relations« (Johnson 2020, 81).

² The landmark work by W.A. Oldfather's team (McNeil B.V.M. 1943) was supplemented by *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta* (Lambert 1969) and more recently by the work of Edgardo Morales (Leclerc, Morales, and Vogüé 2007, 112 ff.).

³ For the discussion of the literary form, see the edition and commentary published by Oxford University Press (Gray 2015, 14). It should be noted that a shift is currently taking place in the very definition of biography as the life story of a historical, rather than a fictional individual, which used to be the norm (von der Nahmer 1994, 57 ff.); recent scholarship proposes a revision, as it is »arguably a remnant of our modern characterization of biography as a provider of historical truth« (De Temmerman 2020).

⁴ The text is from the critical edition published by Sources Chrétiennes (Leclerc, Morales, and Vogüé 2007).

»I disregard what the critics say of it, for those who earlier found fault with my life of Paul will now perhaps also find fault with my life of Hilarion. If they criticize Paul for his solitude, they will criticize Hilarion for his sociability, believing that because Paul always remained out of sight, he did not exist and because Hilarion was seen by many, he should be regarded as of no importance.«⁵

Vita Pauli was among the earliest literary achievements of Jerome; it probably appeared before 381. Despite the slanderers' claims, it was of significant literary quality and came to have enormous influence in the West. Only later (but probably still before 392) followed the lives of Malchus and Hilarion. Stephan Rebenich, who pointed out the fine literary form of *Vita Pauli* (Rebenich 2013, 18), was not the first one to do so; Richard Reitzenstein, in *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, speaks of a 'gem of narrative literature' (Reitzenstein 1906, 68), and indeed several scholars analyzed the motives and elements which Jerome borrowed from Greek and Latin literature of both pagan and Christian provenance when composing his *vitae*.⁶ When working with earlier forms, Jerome was flexible.

»Collections of examples and apophthegms, as well as miraculous stories, served him as a framework for individual episodes; the predominant literary structures are modelled on the archetype of the classic novel and the classical biography. Terms such as 'romance of monastic life', 'Enkomion', 'travel-aretalogy', 'saint's Life' or 'Mönchsbiographie', therefore describe only one particular aspect of this work.«

Rebenich further noticed how Jerome mastered classical literary practice and integrated stylistic devices and narrative structures of pagan origin into his writings. His mixed reception of classic examples guaranteed his contemporaries an entertaining reading experience (Rebenich 2013, 18).

2. Modelling and Rivalry

Despite all this eclecticism, one text was on Jerome's mind more than the others when he embarked on his hagiographic projects. *Life of Antony* by Athanasius⁷ was translated from Greek to Latin by Jerome's friend and patron, Evagrius of Antioch. Antony's story was an ancient bestseller, highly influential; in a famous passage in his *Confessions*, Augustine mentions its role in his conversion.⁸ For Jerome, Evagrius produced a golden standard. He quotes his very words in one of his seminal polemical letters, *Ep. 57*, known as *De optimo genere interpretandi*:⁹

⁵ Wherever possible, translations are taken from the Penguin anthology of *Early Christian Lives* (White 1998).

⁶ For *Vita Hilarionis*, see in particular the study by Paul Winter (Winter 1904).

⁷ There was considerable controversy regarding the authorship of the text; however, as one overview of the problems involved concludes, the various theses »have not convinced many« (Harmless 2004, 111–113).

⁸ The significance of this mention is perhaps heightened by the fact that the references to Antony are otherwise hard to find in Augustine's work (Kamimura 2014, 42).

⁹ The text is taken from the critical edition published by Mnemosyne (Bartelink 1980).

»Verum ne meorum parva sit auctoritas quamquam hoc tantum probare voluerim, me semper ab adulescentia non verba, sed sententias transtulisse, qualis super hoc genere praefatiuncula sit, in libro, quo beati Antonii Vita describitur, ipsius lectione cognosce. »Ex alia in aliam linguam ad verbum expressa translatio sensus operit et veluti laeto gramine sata strangulat. Dum enim casibus et figuris servit oratio, quod brevi poterat indicare sermone, longo ambitu circumacta vix explicat.« Hoc igitur ego vitans ita beatum Antonium te petente transposui, ut nihil desit ex sensu, cum aliquid desit ex verbis. Alii syllabas aucupentur et litteras, tu quaere sententias.« (6.1–2)

»In quoting my own writings, my only object has been to prove that from my youth up, I at least have always aimed at rendering sense, not words, but if such authority as they supply is deemed insufficient, read and consider the short preface dealing with this matter which occurs in a book narrating the life of the blessed Antony. A literal translation from one language into another obscures the sense; the exuberance of the growth lessens the yield. For a while, one's diction is enslaved to cases and metaphors, and it has to explain by tedious circumlocutions what a few words would otherwise have sufficed to make plain. I have tried to avoid this error in the translation, which at your request, I have made of the story of the blessed Antony. My version always preserves the sense, although it does not invariably keep the words of the original. Leave others to catch at syllables and letters, you for your part, look for the meaning.«¹⁰

Evagrius followed this approach in his translation; this meant adding and occasionally improving. Compared to the previous Latin version, which was close to the original and stylistically less than impressive, Evagrius produced a rhetorical breeze of fresh air, showing an audience for Lives on a high literary level. Indeed, it is not surprising that numerous borrowings from Evagrius' translation could be detected in Jerome's text since he »entered into competition with Athanasius' *Vita Antonii* and its Latin translations« (Rebenich 2013, 22). Indeed, this rivalry seems to be the scholarly consensus (Rousseau 2010, 133). As for the stylistic swagger, Hagendahl, for instance, called Jerome's style »rather exuberant«, stressing that it is not devoid of classical ornaments, such as »Virgilian lines« (Hagendahl 1958, 105).¹¹ More recent studies go into detail, analyzing particular parallels between the texts, for instance, the concept of the desert (Šubrt 2007), solitude (Konig 2020), or supplication (Gray 2020b). Alan J. Ross has shown how Jerome's writing relies on »allusive engagement with the only other monastic hagiography likely than in existence, Athanasius' *Vita Antonii*,« and how well-marked intertext it represented. Jerome mentioned both Greek and Latin accounts; there seems to be a consensus among scholars that Jerome presents Paul as »not just the earlier but also the superior monk« and a »truer example of asceticism« (Ross 2020, 124–127).

¹⁰ Translated by W.H. Fremantle, G. Lewis and W.G. Martley.

¹¹ His work gave new impetus to the scholarly research of these texts; in the years that followed, even their Latin world order was meticulously analysed (Heimann 1966).

3. *Aemulatio*

The present paper proposes to take the observation a step further and use this concept of competition, *aemulatio*, a key concept when one tries to analyze Roman translation (McElduff 2013), for Jerome's *Life of Hilarion*, the longest of his three *vitae*, which for some reason remained sorely underrepresented in Hagendahl's brilliant and magisterial analysis. *Life of Hilarion* was a new attempt to outdo the *Life of Antony*. This time, it was based on a personality with significantly stronger historical credibility, to the extent that traces of its protagonist can be found in independent secondary sources such as Sozomenus.

Philip Rousseau eloquently describes how Jerome's Hilarion, in his career, mirrored the path of his teacher, Antony;¹² first by keeping him company and trying to understand his way of life, later by deciding to mirror the same pattern, *ordo*, of his life, selling everything and going to the desert. Hilarion's staying there was again akin to Antony's; it took 22 years before people started visiting – but once they did, »they flocked to him«. ¹³ The next step, the miracles, will be again oddly familiar to the readers of *Vita Antonii*. Antony healed a young girl from a distance (*Vita Antonii* 58), as well as a man, possessed while on a boat (63) – and so did Hilarion (*Vita Hilarionis* 25); like Antony (*Vita Antonii* 89), Hilarion kept visiting the monks living nearby (*Vita Hilarionis* 17); and while Antony made a spring appear in the desert (*Vita Antonii* 54), Hilarion made the rain (*Vita Hilarionis* 22) fall on the crops (Leclerc, Morales, and De Vogüé 2007, 51).

However, the exciting part comes afterwards, with Hilarion showing his taste for one-upmanship. While Antony avoided crowds by withdrawing to the desert, Hilarion opted for »a prolonged pilgrimage, a lifetime of escape from reputation, and from the danger of becoming rooted in one place« (Rousseau 2010, 138). This meant moving first to the site where »Antony himself used to sing, pray, work, and rest when weary« (*Vita Hilarionis* 21.4) and later, to the oasis of Aphroditon. There, he realized an island might be a better choice, so he sailed to Sicily; and when that was not enough, he decided to go to »barbarous races where his name and fame were unknown« (28.1), which meant Epidaurus in Dalmatia, and eventually Cyprus, where he died, »semper de fuga cogitans« (31ff.).¹⁴

While the historicity of these events poses fascinating questions of its own,¹⁵ recent decades became particularly interested in the implied narrative strategies; as Christa Gray points out, the fact that its protagonist is a historical character

¹² See the fourth chapter in his *Ascetics, Authority, and the Church* (Rousseau 2010, 137 ff.).

¹³ »Certatim ad eum de Syria et Aegypto populi confluebant.« (*Vita Hilarionis* 8.9); cf. *Vita Antonii* 14.2, »Πολλῶν ποθούντων καὶ θελώντων αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄσκησιν ζηλώσαι.« Greek text of *Vita Antonii* is quoted after the SC edition (Bartelink 2004).

¹⁴ Rousseau perceptively pointed out how Hilarion's deliberate dedication to a life of pilgrimage can be understood as »a vivid comment on Jerome's own enforced situation, following his expulsion from Rome« (2010, 138).

¹⁵ Recent scholarship of the genre warns that even »when the biographee is a historical person, stylization can be so strong that we cannot trust the biography to give us any reliable information about the reality behind him« (Praet 2020).

should not preclude the understanding of the text as a Christian literary biography (Gray 2020a, 88).¹⁶ This tradition forms part of its background, even though the author mostly avoids explicit referencing or even direct quotations from earlier texts, as do others in this genre (Müller 2020, 80). To begin with, *Vita Hilarionis* is rhetorically structured in a way that mirrors *Vita Antonii* (Nehring 2003, 434). Its preface has a passage that sounds very much like a passage from *Vita Probi* in *Historia Augusta* (Adkin 1997); it is not entirely clear who copied whom, but what matters is that Jerome is echoing the Sallustian *Bellum Catilinae*, as well as Cicero's *Pro Archia*. When describing the carnal desires of a young monk, he uses Virgil (Pataki 2001). In *Vita Hilarionis* 3.7, editors of the critical edition have noticed parallels with Vergil, Livy, and Tacitus in one particularly dense sentence. However, this was only a beginning; and one can imagine Jerome as a late-antique Al Pacino in the *Scent of a Woman*, thundering: »I am just getting warmed up!« Susan Weingarten, in her study on *The Saint's Saints: Hagiography and Geography in Jerome*, has shown how Jerome used, and subverted, a masterpiece of profane literature, namely Apuleius' *Golden Ass*. Weingarten analyzed a series of verbal and visual parallels and discovered a shared joke and examples of shared vocabulary, as well as a series of shared images and functional parallels. It seems that the bawdy and indecent *Golden Ass* was used as a fundamental antithesis for the ascetic monk – as a »pagan captive which has been shorn and converted to Jerome's ascetic Christianity« (Weingarten 2005, 104).¹⁷

Why all these parallels, and why are they not explicit? Jerome's ambivalence with classical authors is well known. Weingarten points out his letter 22 to Eustochium about being a Ciceronian, not a Christian. As he wrote in that letter: »Quid facit cum psalterio Horatius? Cum evangelii Maro? Cum apostolo Cicero?« (*Ep.* 22.29) Decades later, he developed this motif further: »Quid Aristoteli et Paulo? Quid Platoni et Petro?« (*Adv. Pelag.* 1.14) Could this be the reason for his concealment – which nonetheless failed to conquer his rivalry? Just as Hilarion in his Christianity surpasses his pagan rivals, the many literary allusions appear to have been used by Jerome to show how compared to the *Vita Antonii*; his literary masterpiece can go one better. Nevertheless, what in Athanasius' text inspired such a daring tactic?

4. *Life of Antony and Its Literary Context*

To attempt an answer to this question borders on rushing in where angels fear to tread. Scholarship has long ago realized that Jerome's relationship with the cultural legacy of the ancients could not be defined in an unequivocal formula. »It is inconsequent, inconsistent, reflecting opposite tendencies, fluctuating like

¹⁶ For the reciprocal influence, see the intriguing concept of 'Bio-Historiographie' (Führer 2020).

¹⁷ It should be noted that the case of Apuleius remains *sub iudice* and that Neil Adkin disagreed with Weingarten in 2011, arguing that her parallels are too general to prove direct dependency (Adkin 2011); in two earlier papers, he had already written about the »dangers of over-zealous identification of classical reminiscences in this work« (Adkin 2000, 2010).

the currents of the tide.« (Hagendahl 1958, 309) Nonetheless, one cannot help but wonder whether Jerome's approach was not at least partly motivated by the way other texts were alluded to in the *Life of Antony* itself. Richard Reitzenstein famously showed how Athanasius employed the lives of pagan philosophers,¹⁸ specifically the *Life of Pythagoras* by Porphyry (Reitzenstein 1914); other scholars, such as Johann List, discussed parallels between *Life of Antony* and *Life of Plotinus* by Porphyry (List 1930); and Ludwig Bieler, in his *Theios aner: Das Bild des ‚göttlichen Menschen‘ in Spätantike und Frühchristentum*, created a whole network of parallels between the holy men of antiquity, using texts such as Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* and *The Lives of Sophists*; the *Pythagorean Life* by Iamblichus; the already mentioned *Life of Pythagoras* and *Life of Plotinus* by Porphyry; and the *Lives of Philosophers* by Eunapius (Bieler 1935).

Indeed, one can go through *Life of Antony* using this type of framework, and the analysis produces a series of parallels with the classical literature. Like the pagan holy men, Antony was marked by early maturity, and as a child, he wished to »stand apart from the normal activities of children« (*Vita Antonii* 1.2). The same could be said of the young Apollonios of Tyana, also able to rise above his companions like a young eagle (*Vita Apollonii* 1.7); and about the young Porphyry, developing so fast, according to Eunapius, that he soon became an ornament to his teacher (*Vitae sophistarum* 4.1). Similarly, the young Proclus did not yield to peer pressure (*Vita Procli* 11). Their archetype, of course, was the young Pythagoras (*De vita Pythagorica* 10). Antony was also marked by special knowledge, such as the knowledge of approaching death; he ordered the monks to wrap his body, prepare it for burial, and hide it under the earth, so that »to this day no one knows where it is hidden« (*Vita Antonii* 91–92). A similar shroud of secrecy covered the deaths of Apollonios (*Vita Apollonii* 8.29 ff) and Plotinus, who was reluctant to mention even the details of his birth (*Vita Plotini* 2). Of course, Antony's life was marked by the ubiquitous asceticism, linked by Reitzenstein, via direct quotation, to the *Life of Pythagoras*. His biographer stresses that it is »superfluous even to speak about meat and wine, for nothing of this sort could be found among those who are zealous« (*Vita Antonii* 7.7) – and there were parallels for this in the conduct of Pythagoras (*De vita Pythagorica* 187 ff.), Apollonios (*Vita Apollonii* 1.8), and others. The unique capabilities, marked by Antony's exceptional knowledge,¹⁹ can also be traced across the lives of Pythagoras (*De vita Pythagorica* 66; *Vita Pythagorae* 28) Iamblichus (*Vitae sophistarum* 459), and Apollonios (*Vita Apollonii* 8.26). Antony's benevolently traditional approach to nature sometimes gives the impression of a proto-Francis of Assisi (*Vita Antonii* 50); this can also be observed with Pythagoras (*De vita Pythagorica* 60) and others. Although Antony avoids his followers, they come in droves, eventually making the desert a city (*Vita Antonii* 14.7; 44). Pythagoras likewise attracted many followers, who created their community (*Vita Pythagorae* 20), and entire cities sought Apollonios of Tyana

¹⁸ This took place in the broader context of the relationship between asceticism and ancient philosophy (Bobovnik and Derhard 2020).

¹⁹ For instance in *Vita Antonii* 19.4–5, where the monk saves two visiting companions, somehow knowing they need help and sending them water to the desert.

(*Vita Apollonii* 4.1). Many more of these *loci in libris* could be adduced here (Movrin 2011, 324–340). Direct quotations cannot pinpoint these parallels. However, their sheer number testifies to the close relationship between the texts; in this context, Patricia Cox perceptively wrote about ‚mirroring‘ (Cox 1983, 146).

5. Conclusion

In the opening of one of his *Lives*, Jerome mentioned that he had been silent for a while. His little exercise, so he stated, helped him overcome his writer’s block; he desired »to practice on a minor work and to rub away, so to speak, any rust from [his] tongue«²⁰ – which probably explains his search for inspiration in the texts of older masters. While there are no explicit references to using secular authors in such practice, scholars have certainly understood this remark in the context of what seems to be ‚unequivocal traces‘ of several classical passages – even though Jerome’s paraphrase technique meant that, in his writings, »hardly a word is left unchanged in the passage imitated« (Hagendahl 1958, 117–118). Admittedly, this makes the analysis somewhat tricky.

With all this in mind, what can be inferred from the fact that Athanasius played upon classical allusions and that Jerome upped the ante by using ancient biography and several other genres, from Cicero to Apuleius? It would seem that Jerome’s *aemulatio* went much further from mere content and style; it also included narrative strategies, using pagan texts as models, following the example of the Israelites in the Exodus, despoiling the Egyptians of their gold and silver. There is, of course, a caveat, memorably expressed by Bartelink. It is challenging to know which of these lives were known to Athanasius when he was writing the *Life of Antony*, and the same could be said about Jerome (Bartelink 1982, 146–147). One can almost sense a similar realization from Susan Weingarten when she speaks about Jerome using Apuleius »consciously or unconsciously« (Weingarten 2005, 104).

Indeed, Jerome’s efforts to outdo the *Life of Antony* pose several challenging questions. While his strategy of using pagan sources mirrored the one in the *Life of Antony*, it is hard to say how much of this was calculated and how much was intuitive. Furthermore, there is the thorny issue of how the audience perceived Jerome’s efforts.²¹ Questions like these will be challenging to answer, but this difficulty should not preclude them from being stated. It is easy to feel gaslighted by the constant oscillating of Stridonian’s position and the many contradictions between his proclamations and stylistic usage. The above paragraphs, however, testify to the fact that this complexity is far from coincidental:

»In his case, matters lie deeper. His inconsistency reflects the inner conflict of his soul. He was a Christian ascetic and felt the incompatibility of this ide-

²⁰ *Vita Malchi* 1.2: »Prius exerceri cupio in parvo opere, et veluti quamdam rubiginem linguae abstergere.«

²¹ As the time was passing, the perception of this layer all but disappeared; this can be seen from Jerome’s reception in euchological texts (Aracki Rosenfeld 2020).

al and the humanism of pagan antiquity strongly. But he was also a rhetor brought up in the atmosphere of the old cultural legacy. He felt attracted and repelled – at the same time. For a time, the one feeling prevailed over the other, but he never reached a stable equilibrium. As a Christian, he felt bound to reject pagan literature. But he did not cease admiring it and reading it – apart from a short interruption caused by the dream. To this reading, he owes more than his incomparable style. If any Latin Father can be called a humanist, it is certainly Jerome.« (Hagdahl 1958, 328)

Abbreviations

Ep. – *Epistulae*.

Adv. Pelag. – *Adversus Pelagianos*.

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»Monachum ecclesia peperit postumum« (Hier., Ep. 66.4.2): Metaphors of Conversion to Asceticism in Jerome's Letter 66

»Monachum ecclesia peperit postumum« (Hier., Ep. 66.4.2): Metafore spreobrnjenja k asketskemu življenju v Hieronimovem Pismu 66

Abstract: Conversions are usually narrated in metaphors. This is also true for the conversions to asceticism present in several of Jerome's letters. This article examines the use of metaphors of conversion in Jerome's Letter 66 to Pammachius. The addressee's wife, Paulina, is presented as a young mother who died in labour. I will argue that this pregnancy may be read as a transformative metaphor for Pammachius's conversion to asceticism. The choice of this surprising metaphor, changing the relation between Paulina and Pammachius from wife and husband to mother and son, serves several intra- and extratextual functions.

Keywords: Conversion, Metaphor, Jerome, Letters, *Epistula* 66

Povzetek: Spreobrnjenja so ponavadi opisana z metaforami. To velja tudi za spreobrnjenja k asketskemu življenju, ki so navzoča v nekaterih Hieronimovih pismih. Članek obravnava rabo metafor spreobrnjenja v Hieronimovem Pismu 66, ki ga je naslovil na Pamahija. Pavlina, naslovljenčeva žena, je prikazana kot mlada mati, ki je umrla ob porodu. Predstavljena teza zagovarja idejo, da je to nosečnost mogoče razumeti kot transformativno metaforo za Pamahijevo spreobrnitev k asketskemu življenju. Izbira te presenetljive metafore, ki spreminja odnos med Pavlino in Pamahijem iz odnosa žena – mož v odnos mati – sin, je vpeljana z različnimi nameni tako znotraj besedila kakor zunaj njega.

Ključne besede: spreobrnjenje, metafora, Hieronim, pisma, *Pismo* 66

1. Introduction

Conversions to asceticism are pervasive in Jerome's *Letters* and are particularly important in those letters dealing with a beloved person's death. For instance, the narrator announces only to praise the deceased's life after his or her conversion (Hier., *Ep.* 77.2.2). The conversion, almost like the baptism, seems to create a wholly new person. Jerome's own wish to convert to a more devout Christian lifestyle free from sin manifests itself in an early letter: the Lord should save him by calling: »Hieronyme, ueni foras« (4.2.2).¹ This claim is provided by the biblical story of Lazarus's resurrection (John 11:1-46, esp. 43) and is also used in *Letter* 38. There, Jerome describes Blesilla's conversion to asceticism by alluding to the same story: Blesilla was lying in her metaphorical tomb, suffering from a fever, tied up by the bonds of the earthly world when Jesus exclaimed: »Blesilla, exi foras« (38.2.2). She converted to asceticism and recovered from her sickness. In other letters, individual conversions are presented using the metaphors of a survived shipwreck (77.6.1) or a change of clothes (130.5.4).²

Conversion is depicted with metaphors in all these narratives, which is not surprising considering that the very term ‚con-versio‘ is a metaphor. In its literal sense, it means that you turn back and thus denotes a spiritual reversal. Conversion is, although it occurs in earthly life, experienced as a transcendent phenomenon. Visualizing conversion, measurable only by the status of the converted before and after the event, demands the use of metaphors from the immanent domain: »the ‚transcendental‘ (the ‚absent‘ /.../) that religious communication is based on, itself cannot be communicated and therefore must be described using ‚immanent‘ (known, ‚present‘) means« (Krech 2012, 24).³ Metaphors of conversion enable communication about this reconstructed experience. At the same time, how conversions are narrated and which metaphors are chosen has an impact on other people's conversion experiences.⁴ Therefore, the literary use of metaphors not only mirrors conversions that have taken place and creates a way of thinking about this complex phenomenon; it also triggers new perceptions of conversions. As metaphors are always selective,⁵ they shed light on different aspects of conversion. Thus, we can analyze how metaphors shape cultural understandings of conversion, how they conceptualize and systemize realities, and how they model extratextual and extralinguistic acts through imagination.

¹ I quote Jerome's text from Hilberg's CSEL edition.

² Jerome accords great importance to the differences between a worldly Christian and an ascetic lifestyle. He describes the decision to embrace asceticism with the same metaphors that are used elsewhere to describe conversions from one religion to another. Therefore, I decided to use the expression ‚conversion to asceticism‘ in this article.

³ Palmisano (2019) has for instance shown in a recent article how the concept of the fear of God is developed through metaphors in Ben Sira.

⁴ For the idea that metaphors are not only part of language, but also shape thought and action, cf. Lakoff and Johnson 2003.

⁵ Using a metaphor, you select items of the *explanans* as well as of the *explanandum*. These virtual items are actualized in the process of metaphorization. Cf. Black 1954–1955, 287; Le Guern 1973, 19.

2. Jerome, Letter 66: A Case Study

This article focuses on a very original description of conversion to asceticism, the one of Pammachius, which is described in Jerome's *Letter 66*. The occasion for this letter is the death of Pammachius's wife, Paulina. She was a daughter of Jerome's lifelong companion Paula and thus one of Eustochium's sisters. Pammachius was a Roman aristocrat and senator, as well as a friend of Jerome.⁶ After Paulina's early death in 396,⁷ Pammachius converted to Christian asceticism. The way his conversion is described turns out to be crucial for the structure and argumentation of Jerome's *Letter 66*. Therefore, I will first consider the conversion narrative in more detail before turning to the metaphor's textual functions. My analysis will focus on how this conversion metaphor influences the structure of *Letter 66*.

Pammachius's conversion to asceticism is closely linked to Paulina's death. Indeed, she is said to have died in labour. I contend that her being in labour is a metaphorical process instead of the end of a natural pregnancy. The son to whom she gives birth is the ascetic Pammachius. Jerome takes up the conversion-as-rebirth motif but develops it further and thereby alters it. I will show that Paulina's metaphorical pregnancy develops in four steps.

2.1 Introduction of the Conversion Metaphor

First, the metaphor is carefully introduced but is still ambiguous: in Hier., *Ep.* 66.1.2, Paulina is described as a *parturiens rosa*, a »rose coming into flower«, and a *papillatus corymbus*, a »cluster of flowers being in the bud«. The imagery of blooming flowers is a *topos* in obituaries and often stresses that the deceased has died young (Hier., *Ep.* 60.13.1–2; Paul. Nol. *Ep.* 13.6). Jerome continues by developing the floral image,⁸ but striking is the use of *parturiens* and *corymbus*. Both expressions may refer either to a flower or to the description of a woman who is about to give birth or who has just given birth to a child. In the *parturiens rosa*, the metaphor is created by combining the proper meaning of *parturio* to the metaphor of the rose, thus becoming »a rose in labour, a rose giving birth«. While the rose is undoubtedly a flower, the word *corymbus* can either refer to a cluster of flowers, which is the most common and the proper meaning, or that of a nipple which refers to a woman breastfeeding a child. In consequence, both expressions not only portray Paulina as a good woman who died in the prime of life but also as the mother of an infant child: the *parturiens rosa* hints to a pregnant woman, who is about to give birth at the moment of her death; the *papillatus corymbus* presents her as a breastfeeding mother. Besides the possibility of an

⁶ For Paulina, cf. for instance Fürst 2016, 228, and for Pammachius Fürst 2016, 223–224.

⁷ Nautin (1978, 547; 550) also analyses that Jerome wrote and sent his letter to this occasion in 398. Paulinus of Nola wrote his *Letter 13* for the same reason in the winter of 396/7. Fürst (2016, 228) dates Paulina's death to 396 or 397.

⁸ Cf. »Quis parturientem rosam et papillatum corymbum, antequam in calathum fundatur orbis et tota rubentium foliorum pandatur ambitio, immature demessum aequis oculis marcescere uideat?« (Hier., *Ep.* 66.1.2)

actual pregnancy with a miscarriage,⁹ this might also be read metaphorically and already hints at the birth of a metaphorical, spiritual heir.

2.2 Paulina the Mother, Pammachius the Infant Child

This assumption is proved by another, much clearer passage: Jerome presents Pammachius's conversion as a birth; he, therefore, transforms Pammachius the ascetic into a newborn child and Paulina into his mother, who is still alive when he first sees the light of day. She dies shortly afterwards (Hier., *Ep.* 66.3.3):

»quamquam illa inito semel matrimonio nihil aliud diebus ac noctibus cogitavit, nisi ut reddito fructu nuptiarum secundum castimoniam gradum arriperet et, tanti dux femina facti (Verg., *Aen.* 1.364), uirum proposito suo iungeret non relinquens salutis comitem, sed expectans. dumque crebris abortiis et experta fecunditate conceptuum non desperat liberos et sorcus auiditatem maritique tristitiam praeponit inbecillitati suae, passa est aliquid de Rachelis exemplo et pro filio doloris ac dexteræ (cf. Gen. 35:18) uirum desiderii sui peperit heredem.«

»Though indeed she had once entered into marriage, she was only thinking day and night about seizing the second degree of chastity as soon as she should have borne the fruit of her marriage, and inducing as »a female leader in this high venture«, her husband to follow her course, not forsaking her companion in salvation, but waiting for him. She did not give up the hope of having children because she had experienced in many miscarriages that she was not infertile; she prefixed the eagerness of her mother-in-law and the sadness of her husband to her own weakness. Thus, she suffered much as Rachel suffered, although instead of bringing forth, like her, »a son of grief and the honoured,«¹⁰ she bore an heir who was the husband she had been longing for.«

Paulina and Pammachius indeed tried to have descendants, and Jerome's hint at Paulina's pregnancies and miscarriages might depict reality. However, the heir Paulina finally gets does not seem to be a baby since her husband Pammachius is depicted as her heir. The word *uir* is used twice, each time linked to another substantive, respectively *comes* and *heres*. In the first case, it is unambiguously Pammachius who is called *uir*; it is thus unlikely that *uir* describes someone else in the second sentence. Furthermore, if you understand a real *heres*, you would think of a child and not an adult, a meaning *uir* does not take.¹¹ Pammachius is then Paulina's *heres*.¹² This passage suggests that Paulina died after her heir's birth,

⁹ For Paulina's miscarriages, cf. Hier., *Ep.* 66.3.3 and *infra*.

¹⁰ Benjamin is given the name Benoni (*filius doloris*) by Rachel and the name Benjamin (*filius dexteræ*) by his father Jacob (Gen. 35:18).

¹¹ Cf. »Contrasted w.[ith] a child, etc., as implying maturity of age.« (*Oxford Latin Dictionary* 2012, s.v. »*uir*«).

¹² Cf. Hier., *Ep.* 108.4,2 for a similar description: »Paulina /.../ sanctum et admirabilem uirum et propositi

thus after having influenced Pammachius towards asceticism.¹³ According to this passage, Paulina has had ascetic ambitions, which are stressed in this passage by the verb *cogitavit*. She is said to have favoured asceticism long before Pammachius (*salutis comitem /.../ expectans*),¹⁴ which explains why she is described as the mother and Pammachius as her child. At the same time, the verb *cogitavit* also states that, although she might have been in favour of the ascetic life, she had not embraced it: Pammachius as her spiritual heir fulfils these ambitions after her death.¹⁵ Using the verb *peperit* in perfect tense compared to *parturiens* used before highlights a dynamic process, which describes Paulina's transformation from a woman in labour to a woman who has already given birth to her child.

2.3 From a Spiritual Leader to a Physical Mother

Paulina's leading role in the ideal of asceticism is underlined on the one hand using a Virgilian quotation (Verg., *Aen.* 1.364), which in its pretext describes Dido leading a group of Tyrians away from their home country to a new land. On the other hand, her pioneer role is highlighted by comparing her to Rachel, Benjamin's mother, who died in labour (Gen. 35:18). This death functions as the *tertium comparationis* for the two women. However, the comparison only assumes its whole meaning when an heir is born. Jerome draws a parallel between Benjamin, the *filius doloris ac dexteræ*, and Pammachius, the *uir desiderii Paulinae*. He alludes once more to Rachel and twice to the wife of Phineas, Eli's daughter-in-law, who also died in labour while giving birth to Ichabod (1 Sam. 4:19-21).¹⁶ Paulina's comparison to Rachel and the wife of Phineas on the one hand, and Pammachius's association with Benjamin and Ichabod on the other, thus insist on the image of birth: the reader is encouraged to imagine a physical birth. It is thus specific by this comparison that the

et rerum suarum Pammachium reliquit heredem.«

¹³ Shanzer on the contrary maintains that Paulina was probably dead in childbed. But she also underlines Paulina's »consolation that the reformed Pammachius was the offspring she had wished for.« (2009, 100–101; 101, n. 67).

¹⁴ This is presented similarly in another letter of Jerome's (*Hier., Ep.* 77.10.1): »Inter laudes feminae subito mihi Pammachius meus exoritur. Paulina dormit, ut ipse uigilet; praecedit maritum, ut Christo famulum derelinquat. hic heres uxoris et hereditatis alii possessores.«

¹⁵ Cain (2013, 158) understands the quoted paragraph in the way that Pammachius »and Paulina vowed to live together in a state of lifelong marital celibacy, and [that] from that point on, until her death near the end of 396 /.../, Paulina regarded Pammachius as her *heres* in the faith.« (*Hier., Ep.* 66.3.3) Jerome mentions Paulina's *castum /.../ cubile* (*Hier., Ep.* 66.2.1) and her *cubile immaculatum* (*Hier., Ep.* 66.3.2, quotation from Heb. 13:4). But 'chaste' does not absolutely refer to complete sexual renunciation, as states Courtray: »la chasteté n'est pas l'abstention de toute activité sexuelle. /.../ La chasteté peut être définie plus justement comme un comportement ordonné de la sexualité, comme une maîtrise qui coordonne le corps, l'esprit et l'âme dans une unité de tout l'être, comme un respect également de son état de vie.« (2009, 442) The quoted passage of Jerome's shows on the contrary that Paulina and Pammachius tried to have children until her death as is shown by the expressions *non desperat liberos* and *reddito fructu*. Cf. also van 't Westeinde 2017, 20–21. Paul. Nol., *Ep.* 13.3 also says that Pammachius has turned to asceticism only after Paulina's death.

¹⁶ The narrator insists on the virtuousness and faith of these women and their sons: *De prima* [i.e. Rachel] *Beniamin, hoc est, filius uirtutis ac dexteræ, de secunda* [i.e. wife of Phineas] *inclitus sacerdos dei ex arcae cognomine nascitur* [i.e. Ichabod]. (*Hier., Ep.* 66.4.1).

metaphorical words describing conversion as birth are to be taken in their proper and not transferred meaning. This makes this metaphor of conversion grotesque since, according to worldly rules, Pammachius was Paulina's husband and not her infant son, as is stressed by the double use of the substantive *uir*.

2.4 Returning to ‚Reality‘

Finally, the narrator turns away from the imagery that distorts the relationship between Paulina and Pammachius, but only after alluding one last time to the metaphor of pregnancy and birth. Paulina is enumerated *expressis uerbis* as the third woman who has died under the same circumstances (Hier., *Ep.* 66.4.2):

»Nobis post dormitionem somnumque Paulinae Pammachium monachum ecclesia peperit postumum et patris et coniugis nobilitate patricium, elemosynis diuitem, humilitate sublimem.«

»In our time, after Paulina has fallen asleep and passed away, the Church has born the monk Pammachius, her posthumous son, a patrician by the nobility of his parentage and marriage, rich in alms, and lofty in lowliness.«

While Jerome again insists on the metaphorical birth of Pammachius after Paulina's death, he still introduces a shift here. Paulina's death causes Pammachius's birth and thus his conversion to asceticism. After a long process, the final conversion to asceticism is described through the metaphor of birth as a violent process, in which the mother renounces her own life to give life to her son's ascetic life. Of course, grammatically, the Church and not Paulina gives birth; but ‚posthumous‘ can only acquire meaning when related to the death of Paulina and not to that of the Church. The vocabulary still corresponds to the imagery of pregnancy, labour, and birth (*peperit*), but since the *ecclesia* is subject to that verb, the image of a physical mother is less striking. As in the other occurrences of the conversion metaphor, death and birth are closely linked in this passage.

In summary, it can be pointed out that in Jerome's letter, Pammachius's conversion to asceticism is described as a metaphorical birth. Pammachius is reborn as an ascetic, and Paulina is presented as the originator of this conversion to asceticism. Presenting Pammachius as Paulina's child, and insisting on this physical image by comparing Paulina to Rachel and the wife of Phineas, seems somehow grotesque as Pammachius was her husband. This metaphor thus asks for our attention. The first and the last step link the real to the metaphorical level, carefully introducing and discontinuing the metaphor. Once the way is paved, Jerome develops his metaphor, not only turning Paulina literally into a mother and Pammachius into an infant but even challenging the reader's imagination with the comparison to women who, according to some Old Testament passages, have physically died in labour. As soon as this metaphor has reached its climax, turning upside down the family's relations, the metaphor is discontinued with a change in subject; it is stressed once more that Pammachius's birth as an ascetic is due to Paulina, but the *ecclesia* becomes subject of the verb *pario*. Therefore, the reader is brought back to the real world: Pammachius is a natural infant in asceticism and needs guidance.

3. The Metaphor's Functions Inside the Letter

For this reason, one may now ask why precisely this conversion metaphor is employed and why it is highlighted by the four steps I have just presented; indeed, other more common metaphors would be conceivable.¹⁷ However, this metaphor serves several purposes inside the text. Therefore, I would like to show how far this metaphor impacts the letter's argumentation, structure, and function.

3.1 Glorification of a Worldly Christian, or: Praising a Sinner

Presenting Paulina as the source of Pammachius's asceticism and many other people's devout faith, Paulina is glorified according to the narrator's ascetic ideal. It seems that Paulina was not the saint whom everyone wanted to praise for her Christian virtues. Consequently, it was necessary to make some detours to glorify her posthumously. Since she did not embrace the ascetic life herself, as shown above, this metaphor presenting her as the origin of other people's conversions is needed to glorify her according to ascetic standards.

Although she was a religious Christian, she did not excel in any particular Christian virtue or action, as the narrator states himself when praising her *temperantia*, her 'moderation'.¹⁸ This argument is supported by the fact that Paulina is never praised on her own,¹⁹ but always together with her family: her mother Paula, her sister Eustochium and her husband Pammachius: true ascetics in the narrator's eyes.²⁰ Before recognizing the conversion metaphor, one might have considered these long explanations about the family's virtues as part of panegyric *res externae*.²¹ One now might ask whether they might be due to the narrator's embarrassment that he has to praise Paulina's mediocrity.²² The glorification of Paulina's family extends the praises on her person.

One might even go further: The narrator hints at Paulina's expensive clothes and jewellery²³ and voluntarily presents Paulina more as a sinner than a saint by high-

¹⁷ One may for example think about metaphors that present the transition from dirt to cleanness, from one place or path to another, from darkness to light, from blindness to strength of vision.

¹⁸ Cf. Hier., *Ep.* 66.3.1–2. Cf. Favez for this thought: »Certes, celle-ci avait été une croyante sincère, mais /.../ elle avait passé discrète et fervente, tout entière à ses devoirs d'épouse chrétienne, sans que rien l'eût signalée spécialement à l'attention de ses contemporains.« (1937, 27).

¹⁹ The only exception is the flower metaphor in Hier., *Ep.* 66.1.2, which is a *topos* of obituaries; cf. supra.

²⁰ For instance, these four family members are linked to the Stoic cardinal virtues *prudentia*, *iustitia*, *fortitudo*, and *temperantia* in Hier., *Ep.* 66.3.1.

²¹ Jerome talks about the rhetoricians' precepts of praising the deceased ancestors for example in Hier., *Ep.* 60.8.1; 77.2.3.

²² This also seems to be the reason why Jerome emphasizes that Paulina wanted to have descendants only to »produce virgins for Christ (*ut Christo uirgines pareret*).« (Hier., *Ep.* 66.3.3).

²³ Cf. »Ardentes gemmae, quibus ante collum et facies ornabatur, egentium uentres saturant; uestes sericae et aurum in fila lentescens in mollia lanarum uestimenta mutata sunt, quibus repellatur frigus, non quibus nudetur ambitio; deliciarum quondam supellectilem uirtus insumit.« (Hier., *Ep.* 66.5.1) Paulinus of Nola (Paul. Nol., *Ep.* 13.28) also mentions Paulina's valuable clothes and jewelry to contrast them with the poor whom Pammachius feeds with their returns (Shanzer 2009, 101). Cain (2013, 324) understands Jerome's passage in the way that Paulina herself had got rid of her valuable clothes and

lighting Pammachius's posthumous alms as a way of extinguishing Paulina's sins.²⁴ In this context, it is also essential to consider that Jerome refers back to this letter twice, respectively praising Pammachius through positive words and not Paulina.²⁵

Despite these points, the conversion metaphor enables some panegyrics on Paulina in this letter since she is presented as the origin of other people's conversions. Moreover, the metaphor allows for the comparison with two biblical women who died in labour, which elevates Paulina into the biblical realm and thus into the excellent line of God's good servants.

3.2 Praise of Pammachius's Ascetic Actions

Second, the image of a metaphorical birth enables a transition from Paulina's to Pammachius's glorification: Pammachius's new ascetic lifestyle can be praised this way. With this association, Jerome links the *laudes* for Paulina to the *laudes* for Pammachius. The letter is announced as treating the death of a beloved person; the narrator calls himself a *consolator* and announces a *commemoratio*.²⁶ Thus, the reader might expect praises of the deceased. Nevertheless, the praises of the addressee Pammachius are much more important by their content and scale than those of the deceased Paulina. Namely, chapters 4 to 7 glorify Pammachius's efforts to convert more Christians to asceticism (Hier., *Ep.* 66.4.3–66.5.1),²⁷ his alms for the sick and the poor (66.5.2) that function as flowers on Paulina's tomb (66.5.3–4), his indifference about the other senators' opinions when he arrives in his monastic garb in the Senate (66.6.1–2) and his high reputation as ascetic (66.7.1–3). By presenting Pammachius as Paulina's spiritual heir, the glorification of Pammachius reflects on Paulina and makes the transition to Pammachius's praises natural and effortless.

jewelry, but the returns' benefits are mentioned in the context of Pammachius's actions for the poor, which is even clearer in Paulinus of Nola's passage.

²⁴ Cf. »Pammachius noster sanctam fauillam ossaque ueneranda elemosynae balsamis rigat. his pigmentis atque odoribus fouet cineres quiescentes sciens scriptum: »sicut aqua extinguet ignem, sic elemosyna peccata« (*Eccli. 3:30).« (Hier., *Ep.* 66.5.3) Cf. Shanzer's explication of this passage: »this may be the first explicitly documented example of *post mortem* alms offered by another (i.e. surrogate alms) to extinguish the sins of one deceased.« (2009, 100) Cf. Paul. Nol., *Ep.* 13.3; 13.11. This is implicitly stated in Hier., *Ep.* 66.5.4: »Gaudet huiusce modi filiae mater herede.« Shanzer explains that »the daughter who inherits is the *ecclesia pauperum*« (2009, 99, n. 56). Paulina must then be the *mater* who rejoices about the alms.

²⁵ Cf. »Ante hoc ferme biennium Pammachio meo pro subita peregrinatione Paulinae breuem epistulam dedi erubescens ad disertissimum uirum plura loqui et ei sua ingerere, ne non tam consolari amicum uiderer, quam stulta iactantia docere perfectum.« (Hier., *Ep.* 77.1.1) »Paulinam, quae sanctum et admirabilem uirum et propositi et rerum suarum Pammachium reliquit heredem, ad quem super obitu eius paruam libellum edidimus.« (Hier., *Ep.* 108.4.2) Both *epistula* and *libellus* refer to Hier., *Ep.* 66.

²⁶ Cf. »Ita et ego, serus consolator, qui inportune per biennium tacui, uereor, ne nunc inportunus loquar et adtractans uulnus pectoris tui, quod tempore et ratione curatum est, commemoratione exulcerem.« (Hier., *Ep.* 66.1.1)

²⁷ Ambrose (*Patr.* 12.57) refers to Rachel's death and to the name *filii doloris*' when he links the apostle Paul to his ancestor Benjamin and describes the former's efforts to convert his contemporaries to Christianity. We may here see a parallel to Pammachius's efforts to move his contemporaries to an ascetic Christian life.

3.3 Paving the Way for Pammachius's Exhortations

Third, depicting Pammachius's ascetic actions as Paulina's ambitions that she could not complete in her lifetime means exhorting and encouraging Pammachius to continue this way of life. As her posthumous heir, he should continue walking on the path she had decided on before her death. The rest of the letter includes a long exhortatory part, which is not, as might be expected in a letter written on the occasion of a death, on managing grief, but rather on the ascetic lifestyle.²⁸ This might also be the reason why the narrator is insisting a lot on Paulina's family: He shows his addressee that he can follow the exemplary lives of Paula and Eustochium. This might encourage and exhort Pammachius (and other readers) to asceticism since Paula and Eustochium are presented as *exempla* for this lifestyle. It perfectly fits the image of the infant ascetic, as Pammachius is depicted in the conversion metaphor, who still must be provided with sustenance for his faith and religious lifestyle.²⁹ These nourishing instructions are provided by Jerome's letter.

3.4 A Broader Audience and a Wider Impact

Fourth, the metaphor transforms traditional aristocratic values, such as wealth and male heirs, into Christian ascetic ones, such as almsgiving and producing children in the faith (Hier., *Ep.* 66.4.3):

»Tales Paulina morte sua nobis liberos edidit, quos uiuens cupiuerat possidere. ›Laetare, sterilis, quae non paris, erumpe et clama, quae non parituris« (Gal. 4:27; Is. 54:1), quoniam, quot Romae pauperes sunt, tot filios repente genuisti.«

»These are the children that Paulina has given birth to for us in her death, whom she had desired to have in her lifetime. ›Rejoice, O barren one who does not bear; break forth and cry aloud, you who are not in labour!«,³⁰ because you have brought forth all of a sudden as many sons as there are poor people in Rome.«

This passage explains that the new ascetic ideal subverts the old aristocratic wish of descendants. Spiritual children replace those related by blood; inheritance is given not to the heirs in the bloodline but to the poor. Jerome visualizes these transformations by employing his conversion metaphor. Paulina and Pammachius

²⁸ Cf. Hier., *Ep.* 66.8–13. Here one also has to take into consideration that this letter has been written two years after Paulina's death and that Pammachius has already overcome his grief at the time when Jerome was writing his letter. Cf. Hier., *Ep.* 66.1.1.

²⁹ In the exhortatory part of the letter, there is a long allegory that develops some metaphors of the Song of Songs (cf. Hier., *Ep.* 66.10.1–2). Within this allegory, the topic of a faith that has to be nourished and starts its being as an infant that grows slowly is repeated: »Ibi ei da mamillas tuas, sugat de erudito pectore et requiescat ›inter medios clericos, pinnae deargentatae columbae et interiora eius in fulgore auris« (Ps. 67:14). Paruulus iste et puer, qui butyro et melle saginatur, qui inter caseatos nutritus est montes, cito crescit in iuuenem, uelociter in te hostes spoliat, mature praedatur Damascus et regem uincit Assyrium.« (Hier., *Ep.* 66.10.2).

³⁰ Translation taken from the English Standard Version.

thus become models for the Roman world of their time. According to the passage, Paulina's heir has been multiplied in the following months since Pammachius has not only given alms to the poor but has also brought his faith to them. These people are here presented as Paulina's children (*liberi, filii*).³¹

4. Conclusion

The example of Jerome's *Letter* 66 illustrates in many ways how the choice of metaphor generates meaning. This letter presents Pammachius's conversion to asceticism as a birth, selecting and insisting on transferring the ascetic ideal from Paulina to Pammachius and thus on Pammachius's spiritual dependence on Paulina. It is irrelevant whether this presentation depicts reality: More importantly, it influences the letter's argumentation and structure and therefore plays a vital role in the transmission and promulgation of Jerome's ascetic ideal.

The conversion metaphors chosen by Jerome, in general, refer to a variety of worldly objects and events. With these, different aspects of conversion are selected. The depiction of conversion is therefore not a homogenous field. Metaphors present a broad panorama of views on this complex phenomenon. As a result, metaphors of conversion do not only shape our perception of Jerome's contemporaries more than 1600 years after their death but, more importantly, have always been a way of narrating and alternating events. Metaphors provide a graspable explanation for a complex phenomenon.

Abbreviations

Ambr., Patr. – Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De patriarchis*.

Hier., Ep. – Hieronymus, *Epistulae* [Hilberg 1996].

Paul. Nol., Ep. – Paulinus Nolanus, *Epistulae*.

Ser., Med. – Q. Serenus, *Liber medicinalis*.

ThLL – Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.

Verg., Aen. – Vergilius, *Aeneis*.

³¹ In the next chapter, the idea that sick people claim that Pammachius and Paulina brought them relief, is repeated: »Ille caecus /.../ clamitans heres Paulinae, coheres Pammachii est.« (Hier., Ep. 66.5.1)

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Monografije FDI - 22



✻ Rojstvo sakralnosti ✻ hrepenenje po Bogu ✻
✻ občutje svetega ✻ vrojenost ideje o Bogu ✻
✻ razlogi za vero in nevero ✻

Psihoanaliza in sakralno izkustvo

Christian Gostečnik OFM



Christian Gostečnik

Psihoanaliza in sakralno izkustvo

Psihoanalitična relacijska paradigma predpostavlja, da imata tako religiozni kot nereligiozni človek svoje psihične razloge za vero oziroma nevero. Zato je pomembno ugotoviti v kakšnega Boga verujoči veruje oziroma v kakšnega Boga neverujoči ne veruje. Tudi religiozna oseba namreč ne veruje v Boga v katerega nereligiozna oseba ne veruje ali ne more verjeti.

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Giorgia Grandi

Narrating the Ascetic Model, Its Context and Its Hero(in)s: A New Proposal for Jerome's *Letters* and *Lives*

Pripovedovanje asketskega vzora, njegov kontekst in junaki/junakinje: nov predlog za Hieronimova Pisma in Življenja

Abstract: Epistles 1–17, 22–23, 41–43, 68, 70, 72, 107, 130, despite being different from one another in length, addressee, and content, can be considered narrative letters show specific narrative techniques and strategies. What makes them ‚narrative‘ is the author's behaviour: he is pleased to narrate episodes, places, memoirs, novels, or *exempla* to his friends, trying to persuade them to embrace (or persist in following) his monastic way of life. We can talk about ‚weak narrativity‘ because they incorporate a proliferation of ‚minor‘ narrative genres to be compared to the *Lives* and divided into three main periods. The inner and extratextual functions of these epistles change throughout these periods, especially since letter-writing is: »a form not only of representing but of constituting reality«, of constituting, in the case of Jerome, his reliability and the monastic movement itself, its history, its heroes and heroines.

Keywords: Narrativity, *Epistles*, monasticism, fiction, novel, *Lives* of Paul, Malchus and Hilarion

Povzetek: Čeprav se *Pisma* 1–17, 22–23, 41–43, 68, 70, 72, 107 in 130 med seboj razlikujejo po dolžini, po naslovniku in po vsebini, jih lahko razumemo kot narativna pisma, saj izkazujejo posebne narativne tehnike in strategije. ‚Narativne‘ jih napravlja avtorjev odnos: všeč mu je opisovanje dogodkov, krajev, spominov, romanov ali *exempla*, s tem pa želi svoje prijatelje prepričati, da bi sprejeli ali nadaljevali življenje po njegovem meniškem idealu. V *Pismih* lahko govorimo o »šibki narativnosti«, ker uporablja manjše narativne žanre, in jih zato lahko primerjamo z *Življenjepisi* ter jih razdelimo v tri glavna obdobja. Znotraj- in zunaj-besedilne funkcije teh pisem se skozi obdobja spreminjajo, predvsem zato, ker je pisanje pisem »oblika, ki ne le prikazuje, marveč vzpostavlja resničnost«. Pri

Hieronimu vzpostavlja njegovo lastno zanesljivost in meniško gibanje nasploh, skupaj z njegovo zgodovino ter z junaki in junakinjami.

Ključne besede: narativnost, *Pisma*, meništvo, fikcija, roman, *Življenje* Pavla, Malha in Hilariona

Having studied the excellent works of Cain (2009), Canellis (2002), and Stoico (1972) about the *Epistolary* of Saint Jerome, in my doctoral dissertation (Grandi 2014b), I suggested an alternative classification for his letters, following my criteria which are based mainly on a linguistic, narratological, stylistic and rhetoric analysis. I concluded that we could find six macro-categories: paraenetic, eulogistic/consolatory, functional, polemic, exegetical, and narrative letters. This last category results from my consideration of the content and structure more than of the addressees.¹ I aimed to reveal and study their intimate kinship with the *Lives* (Hilarion, Malchus, Paul) written by the author more or less in the same period.² All these masterpieces were the product of Jerome's fictional vein, need for communication, and attitude towards storytelling³ exploited to support the rapidly expanding monastic movement. I accordingly argued that his letters 1–17, 22–23, 41–43, 68, 70, 72, 107, 130, despite being different from one another in length, addressee, and content, showed specific narrative techniques and strategies⁴. What makes them 'narrative letters' is the strategy of the author:⁵ he is pleased to narrate episodes, places (*in primis* desert and sea), memoirs, novels, or *exempla*⁶ to his friends, trying to persuade them to embrace (or persist in following) his ideal monastic way of life. In doing this, he is always attractive and entertaining, thanks to peculiar narratological tools. For *Letters*, in particular, we can talk about 'weak narrativity' because they »incorporate a proliferation of 'minor' narrative genres: anecdotes, gossips, and hearsays, jokes, dream narratives, *ekphrasis* of paintings« (McHale 2001) that we are going to analyze in this paper.

Nevertheless, the intra- and extratextual functions of these epistles change throughout time, especially since letter-writing is: »a form not only of representing but of constituting reality« (Bruner 1991), of constituting, in the case of Jerome,

¹ Both Canellis (2002) and Cain (2009) tend to approach this type of letters – at least a part of them – as *amicales* or *ad familiares*. Also see Gibson 2012 and Malherbe 1977.

² Following Cavallera's chronology (1922), Jerome started his career as an epistolographer in 374 with narrative letters and wrote the most considerable part of them between 374 and 385. While the chronology of *Lives* is still discussed, they were probably written between 376 and 390.

³ Palmer proposes: »Theorists from various disciplines have suggested that life plans are scripted on fairy-tales' patterns and in a sense we are all novelists.« (2004, 186) We can consider that this is particularly true for our saint.

⁴ Here I have to thank the organizers of „Epistula narrans. Narrative modeling in Latin epistolography. International graduate and early career conference“ (Tübingen, July 5-7, 2018) conference; the present paper shows the results of a research began on that occasion.

⁵ We can talk about »narratives that are incorporated in non-narrative genres« by Jerome (De Jong 2014, 17).

⁶ Hagendahl highlights that Jerome tries to impress the reader with these witty remarks and commonplaces (1958, 104).

his reliability and the monastic movement itself, its history, its heroes and heroines. So, following Cavallera's chronology, I have identified three main periods in Jerome's narrative production.⁷ In the desert (374–376), Jerome complains about his loneliness and lets the readers meet him as a hermit through letters that are at the same time factual and fictional and through *Vita Pauli*, the first step in shaping a new history of monasticism. In Rome (384–385), he primarily addresses long, paraenetic letters about the lives of holy women to Marcella, building his influence and authoritativeness in the Western world and promoting himself against other competing groups. At the end of this period, looking back to his Roman experience, he also writes *Vita Malchi*, turning his relationship with Paula into a breath-taking novel of chastity. More or less in the same period, looking forward to Bethlehem and beyond, he narrates the adventures of saint Hilarion, enriching them with historical hints and revealing that the late antique world was changing and challenging new gauntlets. In Bethlehem, until his death, he also writes something that we can almost call 'metaliterature', explaining why he frequently uses controversial issues in these works.

Before analyzing the internal narrativity of Jerome's *Letters* and *Lives*, we first need to remember that, as the writing of letters in antiquity was strictly standardized (Cugusi 1983; Fowler 1982), Jerome was not going to break the rules which he had studied and admired. At the same time, he was well aware that, to spread the new Christian message at its best, it was necessary to employ and regenerate classical tools, to use epistles – as Antin would say – as a 'passe-partout' genre (Antin 1951, 123). As I have elsewhere said (Grandi 2010), the *Lives* also can be considered (Fuhrmann 1976, 87) as *Formexperimenten*, not belonging to a definite genre. The blurring lines of all these texts reflect Jerome's complex personality and define the holy woman/Christian heroine (*Letters*) and those of the holy man/Christian hero (*Lives*) in second place Jerome as an *auctoritas*.⁸

Ep. 1 to Innocence is very interesting for us.⁹ It can be entitled *History of a martyrdom's (epic) fail*, and it is a sort of ideal entanglement between *Epistles* and *Lives*; actually, I would dare to say that, having been written in 374,¹⁰ a few years before *Vita Pauli*, it is the matrix for both of the collections. It derives its form from *Acta martyrum*,¹¹ a well-known and structured genre in ancient Christianity, expiring after the end of persecutions (Van Uytfganghe 2001). It is the report

⁷ The context is particularly important since joining events with their times produces an easier comprehension of the one from the other and a better comprehension of the whole continuative history of the author.

⁸ To do so, Jerome adapts himself and his style to his audience (Vessey 1993): for example, he often literary turns himself into a woman (even into the sinful Magdalene) or in other characters as Lazarus, trying to convince his addressees to act in a monastic (or eremitic) manner.

⁹ For the literary analysis of this epistle, see Praet et al. 2014, 385, in which the text is defined as a 'hybrid composition' and in which the authors find a connection with hellenistic novel, in particular with Elio-dorus' *Aethiopia*.

¹⁰ The chronology is not clear: Grützmacher (1969) and Cavallera (1922, 53) propose a late dating – 384/385 –, while Hagendahl (1958, 100) dates it a decade earlier.

¹¹ For example from *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (e.g. the 'Thecla motif' of gender-shift).

of a miracle, which occurred at the time of Diocletian in Vercelli: the story of a woman who, wounded seven times by her persecutors and tortured to death, does not even faint, but rather lives to testify to the greatness of God. This is the supernatural story of a martyr¹² – and a monk is exactly a martyr *in pectore*, we can say a ‚failed‘ martyr (because of the end of persecutions), or a new type of it (for he loses his life in a metaphorical, not in an authentic way). Because of this, for Jerome, the unnamed woman stands for the prototype of monks and nuns. For these reasons, we can ascertain that the text, although addressed (which is a *sine qua non* condition for letters) to Innocence, has less of the genre of the letter and more of the hagiography. In particular, it has many features in common with *Vita Malchi*, and its *Lust am fabulieren*: literary quotations (the initial nautical metaphor, the *rubigo*, the unnamed female heroine), narrative mechanism (such as the claimed suicide/*Scheintod*, bloody details, and witty trick to gain freedom...),¹³ and a stylistic pattern that resembles that of a novel (an antagonist, the intervention of the marvellous and desirable happy-ending). All of these entertain the reader. Nevertheless, the latter tends to praise Evagrius, a good friend of Jerome who intervened in the persecution and prevented the woman’s second death. This brings the reader back to reality, giving him the sensation that God is operating in history through the group to which Jerome belongs.¹⁴

Ep. 2 to Theodosius and other hermits is a very brief letter in which Jerome praises the desert. Two motifs are substantial: the drawing of the *solitudo* as a *locus amoenus*, and the *captatio benevolentiae* towards the abbot of the desert. Jerome here introduces himself as a sinful man needing forgiveness, using two central metaphors that will often return in his production: the one of the good shepherd and that of the prodigal son; they are a sort of *professio humilitatis* that icastically resumes the saint’s biography and his experience in a desert scene as the very place of monasticism. The Christian themes intersect classical literature, and Jerome also uses a metaphor derived from Virgil: the ship that has a tormented journey (=life) but still arrives safely at the harbour. All these literary expedients end in a sort of prayer or autoreferential propitious motto for a long journey, partially assuming the function of a *propemptikon*¹⁵ full of pictures and sketches about Jerome’s everyday life that evoke narrative forms of coherence, without fully submitting to them (McHale 2001, 162): he is narrating by himself about himself.

Closer to the attitude of the first letter and of the *Lives* is *Ep. 3* to Rufinus. In this letter, Jerome compares himself to Bonosus, whose life is an incredible journey among the rocks of ascetic life (again, the nautical metaphor) to gain his place on

¹² In effect, as Praet et al. 2014, 408, say: it is not a martyr but a secular trial on adultery, a case of *Unterhaltungsliteratur* as Kech (1977) calls it.

¹³ For other particulars, see Capponi 1989.

¹⁴ In effect, Evagrius was a pro-Nicene activist who had translated Athanasius’s *Vita Antonii*, dedicating it to Innocence alike, so Jerome with this letter wanted to follow in his footsteps (Praet et al. 2014, 388) or at least to give a first essay of a similar operation.

¹⁵ The definition of ‚lettere augurali‘ (greetings letters) is by Paolo Cugusi (1989, 396).

an island surrounded by cliffs wildlands and seas. On the contrary, a 'storm' blows Jerome from Aquileia. We can consider this letter, written in 375, the first example of male hagiography (of Bonosus, seen as a *puer-senex*) by the Saint of Stridon. However, it is also an account of Jerome's journey throughout the Mediterranean Sea¹⁶ and collects many details that will re-appear in the *Lives* (the language of *militia Christi*, the attitude of the two main characters, the references to John of Patmos and Vergil). In *Ep. 4*, to Florentinus, Jerome again praises his friend Rufinus and identifies himself with Lazarus (»Hieronyme, veni foras«), showing his preference for complicated, extreme, borderline figures. Closely connected to these last letters and their narrative construction of friendship and solitude are *Ep. 7–13*,¹⁷ in particular, *Ep. 7* to Chromace, Eusebius and Jovinus, where Bonosus is named *filius ikthus* and where desert and sea are one more time compared, precisely as the sinful life of Jerome¹⁸ and the perfect life-style¹⁹ of his friend.²⁰ It seems that this holy paradigm is not sufficient to promote an ideal way of life: Jerome has read Evagrius' translation of *Vita Antonii* and needs his archetype, especially to convince Heliodorus after the failure of his invitation in *Ep. 14*; he needs to write *V. Pauli*.

In *Ep. 5*, the first explicit references to *V. Pauli* and the upcoming *V. Malchi* appear.²¹ Here it starts to become apparent that all these fictional characters are Jerome's alter egos (and, vice-versa, Jerome introduces himself as one of them) because many details that here are referred to him return in *Lives* to characterize their heroes (above all the contrast between loneliness and relationships in the desert). In this epistle, he also reveals his tireless desire for reading and writing. *Ep. 6* is a quarrel that adopts the question-answer strategy of *Acta martyrum* and uses juridical language. What is most interesting about this is the question asked by Jerome if his native land still exists. Let us think that he is relatively isolated in the desert near Chalcis (every day, he meets messengers, travellers and mail carriers) (Clausi 2013, 135). His loneliness appears to be predominantly a *topos*, mourning for being distant from the hot spots of Rome to the extent that the very same question appears in a very similar context in *V. Pauli* (where we find Paul isolated in the middle of a harsh desert, curious about the world left behind

¹⁶ As in *Ep. 46* and *Ep. 108* or in *Vita Hilarionis*. Hagendahl (1958, 100) proposes that the historical journey across the sea impressed Jerome so much that it induced him to talk frequently about this experience in his texts.

¹⁷ Here he proves to be a loyal friend through the report of some episodes, underlining again his solitude. *Ep. 9* shows many references to classical narrative literature (e.g. Verg., *Aen.* 4.366f.; Hor., *Carm.* 2.13.39f. e 1.23); *Ep. 11–13* display a *synkrisis* of passages about forgiveness (a technique that Jerome frequently uses for his exegesis); lastly, *Ep. 8*, among the other narrative motifs, presents a brief historical *excursus* about the people called 'Caschi'.

¹⁸ Jerome here claims, as in *Ep. 4*, to be dead and waiting to be brought back as Lazarus.

¹⁹ »Si vis perfectus esse« is the theme of parenetic epistles, that is strictly connected with the ideal life of the characters presented here, in narrative letters and *Lives* (Grandi 2014).

²⁰ Another detail that lends a narrative allure to the letter is the metaphor used by Jerome to describe his joy: even superior to that of the Romans after their victory at Cannae.

²¹ For example, the first lines of the letter quote (or are quoted?). The chronology of the epistle is uncertain, between 375 and 377, whereas *V. Pauli* dates to 376. See Hier., *V. Pauli* 6.2.

but not longing for it)²², linking the two biographies definitively. In addition, in this letter, Jerome starts to complain about ‚false monks with long hair‘, which also appear in *V. Pauli* and *Ep. 22*. *Ep. 10* technically is not a narrative letter, but a text explaining the relationship between the *Epistolary* and the *Lives*: they are strictly interrelated; they complete each other for themes, suggestions, and Jerome’s reflections. Here he dedicates his *V. Pauli* and claims to have adopted a simple style to be read by everyone; actually, we know that he writes with chosen words, classical echoes, many samples of universal history drawn from the Bible colourful descriptions.²³ In *Ep. 10*, he speaks about ‚eastern merchandise‘ and works that are already *condita*, maybe referring to a germ form of the upcoming last *Lives*. A few evangelical metaphors, depicting the contrast between East and West, the story about the monks of the desert spoiling its solitary life,²⁴ and the sea element again, are instead the content of *Ep. 15–16* to Damasus and prepare Jerome’s coming to Rome, providing his *professio fidei* to the pope and his fashioning as an exegete. The end of *Vita Pauli* and the prologue of *Vita Hilarionis* echo these episodes. In the end, the *topos* of the *rubigo linguae* and the Virgilian sentence »hospitio prohibemur harenae«²⁵ in *Ep. 17* leave no more doubts about the link between *Lives* and *Letters*. In these, Jerome uses polemic hints against false monks, and a desert suddenly becomes uninviting. In all these letters of the first period, he tells us all about his life in the desert and his feelings; it is a diary, but it is also fictional,²⁶ rich in *topoi*, and intended for a vast public in Rome and beyond: it is the saint’s novel.

The second period of his life and his narrative letters²⁷ opens in 385 in Rome. In the desperate moment when he was the object of resentment and charges, he felt he had to return to the tale (probably a few years before *V. Malchi*): violent sketches of secular Roman life, counterposed to the first female hagiographic portraits,²⁸ and the *angulus* theme here prevail, together with the narratological tool of flash-back.²⁹ Lastly, the narrative epistles of the third period, when Jerome

²² Paul despises the cities and appreciates the desert, but this is only rhetoric: Jerome is well aware of the perils of a desert that is far from his ideal and, at the same time, of the possibilities offered by Rome.

²³ Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich (1999, 207) supposes that Jerome sent *V. Pauli* to Paul because of his huge library: he could have the economic and technical means to spread the text, moreover Jerome asks in exchange for a book.

²⁴ Depiction of contrasts that he renews in *Ep. 17*, where the monks become the real monsters of the desert, in opposition to the friendly creatures of *V. Pauli*: »Melius est inter feras habitare.« (*Ep. 17.3*; *V. Pauli* 72.8–9)

²⁵ Verg., *Aen.* I, 539 that Jerome ‚translates‘ in »non mihi conceditur unus angulus heremi« (*Ep. 17.3*; *V. Pauli* 72.9–10).

²⁶ In claiming this, I am not assuming that Jerome is inventing his staying in the desert, but that he has the attitude of a good narrator, which he derives from Late antique and classic literature.

²⁷ For the narrative characteristics in this period, I refer you to my recent paper presented in Rome at the conference *Girolamo e Roma* (Rome, 30 September – 3 October 2019): „Bethlehem contra Romam? Il tema dell’*angulus* declinato nelle *Epistole* geronimiane“ to be published in the acts of the conference (see Grandi 2021).

²⁸ For a general introduction to the topic, see Coon 1997.

²⁹ See the dream narrative of *Ep. 22* or of *V. Hilar.* in Nazzaro 2013.

settles in Bethlehem, are merely occasional and include concise stories, such as that of Demetriades' choice, of Didymus the Blind (an *excursus* and a fanciful *exemplum* to support the reasoning of the letter), of the Beautiful Israelite Bride (metaphor of the saint's relationship with the classics), or that of the mother and daughter in danger of backsliding,³⁰ to discredit Vigilantius. Eventually, around the end of the century, Jerome shifts towards meta-narration: he wants to explain why he is telling stories and working, mainly because he now has a broader audience in the eastern and western world. Through these letters, he becomes pervasive in the ancient world to the point that, finally, when he describes his journey through the desert and the Holy Land (Cain 2013), he does not want to transmit a memorial travel diary, but to let poor people from all over the known world make the same journey, with him, at least in a spiritual sense. Jerome *auctor* and *agens* are now closer than ever because he shows us his methods, working routine, and *studiolo*.

The same hazy line between fictional and factual events marks the *Lives*, too. I have elsewhere (Grandi 2017) discussed some of the *Lives'* sources, here I desire to restate the ambivalence of their provenience: history and novel, introducing some new considerations on their narrativity and registering new findings.³¹ First of all, if Paul and Anthony are primarily Christian and religious characters, *Vita Pauli's* marked dependence from (or, rather, opposition to) Evagrius/Athanasius' *Vita Antonii*,³² Malchus is a pagan novelistic hero, and Hilarion is a historical figure with exceptional traits. *Puer-senex*, *theios aner*, thaumaturge, and wrestler, Hilarion's biography shares features with neo-platonic philosophers, Christ in the Gospels, and Jerome himself, as we know, but also with Alexander the Great.³³ For example, to Curtius Rufus's historical work, Jerome owes a linguistic pattern for natural descriptions (e.g., Curt., *Hist. Al.* 4.7.1–32; 7.10.1–2.) and an entire episode related to the death of the saint/emperor (10.5.1–37; Hier., *V. Hilar.* 44, 47.): a woman, whom he has helped, dies, overwhelmed by grief, right after her champion.³⁴ To *Great Alexander's novel* (a famous novelistic biography) by Ps-Callisthenes (or maybe to its Latin translation from 3rd–4th century by Iulius Valerius), *V. Hilar.* owes the strategies to resume the hero's life during the narration (cap. 35; Hier., *V. Hilar.* 9-13), the scene of the contention for his corpse (cap. 34; Hier., *V. Hilar.* 47), or even the chariot race (cap. 19; Hier., *V. Hilar.* 20). Last, to Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, Hilarion's biography is indebted for some details: the prologue that diverts

³⁰ *Ep.* 117 presents, for example, these formulas that betray a narrative allure: »rettulit mihi quidam« and »narrare surdis fabulam«.

³¹ But, like Hagendahl (1958, 94) says, it is beyond human individual resources to find out each source of Jerome.

³² Evagrius's translation with its novelty inspires Jerome, but at the same time the saint feels competitive with his source, so he replaces Antony with Paul (older and holier) and create 'another' Antony (see Leclerc 1988).

³³ A similar process has been studied for *Vita Antonii* by Cameron (2000) and Rubenson (2006).

³⁴ *Vita Malchi* also shares a peculiarity with *History of Alexander the Great*, the particular of the goatskin used to cross the river (Curt., *Hist. Al.* 7.5.17). It could also be a reference to Sall., *Hist. Fr.* 3.77, or, following Susan Weingarten (2005, 178ff.), to Amm., *Res. gest.* 35. In the same way *Vita Pauli* shows a lykos-wolf that guides the protagonist (as in Curt., *Hist. Al.* 5.4.10).

critique, the hero's repulsion for *ludii*, and the information that both Alexander and Hilarion had a favourite, inseparable book: the *Iliad* for the first (Plut., *Alex.* 8.1-2) and his handwritten Gospel for the other (*V. Hilar.* 35). The key to explain these similarities is probably the record of Alexander's exclamation in front of Achilles' tomb (Cic., *Arch.* 24) in *V. Hilar.* prologue. Here, for excess of exegetical zeal, the saint lists Daniel's various names for the Macedonian leader (Dan 2:32.39; 7:6; 8:5). This might betray Jerome's interest in historical works on Alexander to comment on the prophet; all the more since we know that he was fond of historical writers³⁵ (Ammianus Marcellinus³⁶ and Aurelius Sextus Victor³⁷ above all).

Concerning *V. Malchi*, I will secondarily suggest a few reflections since its narrativity has been already studied³⁸, and its dependence on the ancient novel is very explicit. Even if Hagendahl warns us that Jerome's knowledge of Greek literature was indirect and labile, except for exegetical works,³⁹ I propose that he somehow read Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* (maybe for the surmised Christian conversion of its author). Many are the similarities with this work: the opening on a seascape (which signify not life as in *Letters*, but the narration itself),⁴⁰ the occurrence of linguistic puns and different levels of narration; the tragic allure; the presence of shepherds, barbarians, caves to hide in; and above all the behaviour of Chariclea, a clever woman who elaborates a safety plan and a fake marriage, remaining chaste (Heliod., *Aeth.*, 1.22) precisely as the unnamed heroine in *V. Malchi*,⁴¹ and that of Cnemone's father (1.10–11) which resembles that of the abbot in *V. Malchi*.

At the end of this quick survey on the narration in these works, we can see that *Lives* and *Letters* share the aim to narrate (and construct) an ascetic model, its context, and its champions, using classical techniques and sources to found a Christian literature. Unusual scenarios versus real life, exemplar biographies versus choices and episodes (*kairos*), heroes versus heroines, structured presentation versus spots, saints versus the sinful Jerome are only different aspects of a

³⁵ In fact the biographies of *De viris illustribus* are historical works inspired by Svetonius and Eusebius of Caesarea, moreover in the prologue of *V. Malchi* he states that he would like to write a major historical work.

³⁶ From Marcellinus, Jerome derives much information about the desert in *V. Malchi*, while Pliny the Elder and Valerius Maximus are at the base of the knowledge of the fantastic beasts of *V. Pauli*.

³⁷ It is his book that Jerome requests to borrow from Paulus of Concordia in *Ep.* 10.

³⁸ For the quotation from Apuleius, Longus and Achilles Tatius, see Bauer (1961) and Fuhrmann (1976, 50; 57; 64; 85). For Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, see Šubr (2014, 207). In general, see Gray (2017) and Huber-Rebenich (1999, 199), that talks about an »eclectic reception of a variety of models« (Petronius, Apuleius, Lucian, Xenophon of Ephesus). For the relationship with *Aeneid* and the characters of Dido and Aeneas, see again Grandi (2015, 215), Weingarten (2005, 171–174) and De Vogüé (1991–2008, II 91).

³⁹ Hagendahl (1958, 93) cites Courcelle, Pierre. 1948. *Les lettres grecques en occident: De Macrobe à Cassiodore*. Paris: Boccard, and Lübeck, E. F. C. 1872. *Hieronymus quos noverit scriptores et ex quibus hauserit*. Leipzig: Teubner.

⁴⁰ Even if the most direct reference is Ambr., *Off.* 1.10.32–3, as revealed by Harvey (2005, 287). The seascape is real in Heliodorus, metaphorical in Jerome.

⁴¹ An interesting challenge is that of Haskins (2018), who presents all the classical and biblical possible identifications of the woman.

single literary, paraenetic operation intended to convince the public to the monastic cause. The collateral effect is that Jerome is introduced as a remarkable storyteller and a hero: for his addressees and us, he is a friend whose incredible stories and challenges across exotic and queer lands are attractive to listen to. As he says in *V. Hilar.*: good enterprises need good storytellers, good as Homer, Ulysses, and Jerome ...

Abbreviations

- Ambr., Off.** – Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De officiis ministrorum*.
Amm., Rer. gest. – Ammianus Marcellinus Antiochenus, *Rerum gestarum*.
Cic., Arch. – Cicero, *Pro Aulo Licinio Archia poeta oratio*.
CSEL – Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
Curt., Hist. Al. – Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri magni*.
Ep. – *Epistulae* [Hilberg 1910–1918].
Heliod., Aeth. – Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*.
Hor., Carm. – Horatius, *Carmina*.
Sall., Hist. – Sallustius, *Historiae*.
SC – Sources Chrétiennes.
V. Hilar. – *Vita Hilarionis* [Morales 2007].
V. Malchi – *Vita Malchi* [Gray 2015].
V. Pauli – *Vita Pauli* [Morales 2007].
Verg., Aen. – Vergilius, *Aeneis*.

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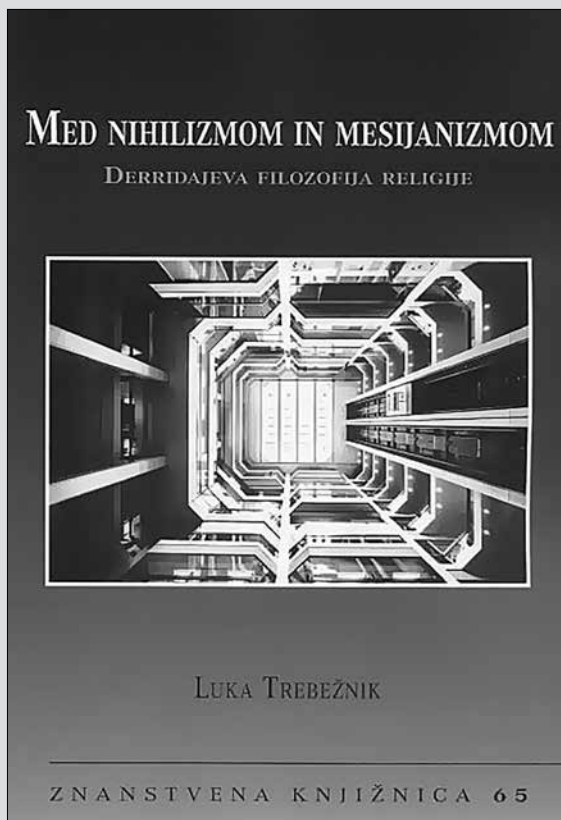
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Luka Trebežnik

**Med nihilizmom in mesijanizmom:
Derridajeva filozofija religije**

Derridaju nikakor ne gre za zavračanje obstoja resnice, temveč gre le za sporočilo, da ta nastopa preko razlike. Dekonstrukcija trdi, da ne obstaja zunaj teksta, kar pomeni, da ne obstaja večna resnica. Temu je tako, ker je sleherna resnica inkarnirana v jezik in pripoved. Ta Derridajeva stališča pa so v veliki meri nasprotna tradiciji, ki veruje, da se za tekstom nahaja trden in nesporen smisel. Izmed vsega slovstva je to najočitneje izraženo pri religijah, ki sprejemajo nadnaravni izvor svojih tekstov. Od to sledi, da sta dekonstrukcija in teologija izvorno nerazdružljivi.

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Rafko Valenčič

Where are you, Stridon?

Kje si, Stridon?

Abstract: St. Jerome's reference to the geographical location of Stridon cannot be resolved if we do not take into account the citations in his own texts as well as the people, events and other places associated with his life. This article addresses these questions and proposes hypotheses regarding the location of Stridon. A verbal contest between Croats, Italians and Hungarians has taken place over the current Slovenian territory as to whose compatriot St. Jerome is. However, in their arguments, they have largely ignored the course of St. Jerome's life, his friendships and acquaintances, citations of geographical features, as well as heated controversy and contention. The search for the location of Jerome's Stridon is narrowing to the region between Aquileia and Emona (Ljubljana). This has so far been accepted by many scholars, referring in particular to the Letters of Jerome. This article contributes new arguments: the early presence of Christianity in this area, as confirmed by recent archaeological findings in Emona 2017–2018, the concentration of churches in the Slovenian Karst dedicated to St. Jerome. At this point, we mention the settlement of Strane on the slope of Mount Nanos (Odra), which draws our attention because of its name and other geographical features and historical events.

Keywords: location of Stridon, Jerome's citations, hypotheses, new archaeological research, the concentration of churches in the Slovenian Karst (Pivka), Strane (Stridonae?)

Povzetek: Hieronimova navedba geografske lege Stridona je nerešljiva, če ne upoštevamo navedb, ki jih sporočajo njegova besedila in ljudje, dogodki in kraji, povezani z njegovim življenjem. Ta vprašanja obravnava razprava, v kateri na vajamo razne domneve glede ubikacije Stridona. Prek današnjega slovenskega ozemlja se je v preteklosti vihtel besedni dvoboj med Hrvati, Italijani in Madžari, čigav rojak je sv. Hieronim. Pri tem so večinoma prezrli potek Hieronimovega življenja, njegova prijateljstva in poznanstva, navedbe geografskih značilnosti, pa tudi vroče polemike in nasprotovanja. Razprava glede lokacije (ubikacije) Hieronimovega Stridona se zožuje na prostor med Akvilejo (Oglej) in Emono (Ljubljana). To so že doslej sprejemali številni raziskovalci, sklicujoč se zlasti na Hieronimova Pisma. Naša razprava prispeva nove argumente: zgodnja navzoč-

nost krščanstva na tem območju, kakor potrjujejo novejšje arheološke raziskave v Emoni 2017–2018, koncentracija cerkva na Krasu, posvečenih sv. Hieronimu. Tukaj omenjamo naselje Strane (Stridonae?) na pobočju gore Nanos (Ocra), ki priteguje našo pozornost zaradi svojega imena in drugih geografskih značilnosti in zgodovinskih dogajanj.

Ključne besede: lega Stridona, Hieronimove navedbe, domneve, nove arheološke raziskave, koncentracija cerkva na Slovenskem Krasu (Pivka), Strane (Stridonae?)

The true location of Stridon, the birthplace of St. Jerome, remains unknown. Many researchers in various scientific fields are working to find an answer to this question or at least the direction for further research efforts. Archaeological, historical and comparative studies have nevertheless contributed evidence toward pinpointing the geographical location of Stridon. Is it possible to repeat a finding such as the discovery of a milestone along the former Roman road *Ad Malum* near Materija na Krasu (1842) (Vidrih-Perko 2006; Slapšak 1997), which revealed the presence of Rundicts in this Karst area and territorial demarcations between the contemporary populations? Perhaps a similar milestone lies discarded in a ditch or has been incorporated into the wall of a building or a church in the Slovenian Karst or somewhere nearby.

A millennium and a half after St. Jerome historical and archaeological sciences, as well as social, cultural and religious interest, joined in the search for the true location of Stridon, the birthplace of St. Jerome, translator, researcher and interpreter of the Bible. This discussion does not seek or provide an answer that would satisfy partial interests but strives to contribute to the kind of answer that interests the ecclesiastical as well as the historical and cultural public. St. Jerome contributed to the understanding and dissemination of the message of the Bible so that he himself — because of the Bible — would receive a lasting memory in the history of mankind and in European and world culture. The celebration of the 1600th anniversary of St. Jerome's death (419/420–2019/2020) was a special incentive for us, the most convincing heirs to the place of his boyhood and the search of his calling by studying the Bible and the lives of spiritual men of the first centuries of Christianity, to contribute to the recognition of the location of his birthplace Stridon.¹

1. Jerome's Accounts

Jerome's reference to the location of Stridona in *De viris illustribus sive de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (*On Famous Men or On Church Writers*), written in 392 or 393, is short and concise. He presents himself as the last of the 135 cited names with the words: »Hieronymus, natus patre Eusebio, oppido Stridonis, quod a Gothis

¹ This question is treated by Valenčič 2007. Some of the papers from the symposium *Hieronymus noster*, which deal with various aspects of the reception of St Jerome in Slovene and Slavic culture, were published in the journal *Edinost in dialog*; see Bogataj et al. 2020.

eversum Dalmatiae quondam Panoniaeque confinium fuit (135) [Jerome, born to his father Eusebius, in the town of Stridon, which was formerly the border of Dalmatia and Pannonia, having been overthrown by the Goths«]. Enough and too little. Enough for his contemporaries, who knew his life and work at the time he spread and preserved the cultural and Christian tradition of the contemporary generations, in spite of turbulent historical, social and religious events. Not enough for the generations that followed, who could not recognize the message of his records.

Jerome's account of the geographic location of Stridon and its historical destiny is incomplete if we do not take into account the statements given by other texts and the events, people and places associated with St. Jerome. We shall address these questions in this discussion by first briefly stating the hypotheses regarding the location of Stridon as presented by their proponents. We present arguments by older and more recent researchers who have addressed this issue based on the course of Jerome's life and the statements in his works, not always and not all, *sine ira et studio* (without anger and ambition).

2. Enigmas Regarding the Name Stridon

Some believe that the most important mention is that of the *very name* – *Stridon*,² which is cited only by Jerome and only in one place and not by any of his contemporaries. The place has not yet been identified with certainty. It has turned out that the name alone does not suffice if we do not take into account other features that indirectly confirm the location, such as other historical events and comparisons, the mention of the demarcation between the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia, the year of the destruction of Stridon, etc. Consequently, some researchers rightly refuse to mention the alleged localities, be it in Dalmatia or Pannonia, which may have a similar name but do not possess the other features and circumstances of the former Stridon. None of the major researchers and scholars of St. Jerome is willing to be limited to a single statement on which to base his hypothesis.

Others, among them the Croatian archaeologist and historian, academician Mate Suić (1986), tackled the linguistic features or *homophones* of the name Stridon, which begins with the characteristic consonants *s-t-r-(d)*. They sought a clue in the Latin verb *strideo, stridere*, which signifies squeezing, creaking, roaring, that is generated upon passing through a strait or overcoming an obstacle. Such phenomena are characteristic of the karst topography, of the passage between mountains and hills, of the transition from the plain to the hilly area, e.g., from Dalmatia to Pannonia or from Pannonia to Dalmatia. M. Suić (1986, 239-240) places Stridon in the area of Liburnia, in the hinterland of the Kvarner Bay,

² M. Suić believes that the expression ‚oppido Stridonis‘ is the plural form of the word ‚Stridonae‘. This plural form is familiar in Liburnia, e.g. Šapjane, Žejane ... It is thus possible to explain the place name *Strane*, which is dealt with in this discussion.

where such natural phenomena are very pronounced. He cites toponyms such as Šapjane, Žejane, Starod ... with occasional explanations. In the vicinity of these places, along the former Roman road *Ad Malum* and *Ad Titulos* (between Aquileia and Tarsatica), there is a strong fortress *Gradina* (*Gradišče*), which dominates the landscape and the passages toward the Kvarner Bay. The toponym *Šapjane* (from the Croatian *šaptati*, Slovenian *šepetati*, *piskati*) is supposed to indicate a place where the wind produces a special echo and noise. Suić has also tackled linguistic explanations and similarities. The place of *Žejane* (*Eu-sebiane*) is said to be reminiscent of Eusebius, Jerome's father, and his grange (*villulae*). The suffix *-ane* is also said to be a relic of Roman provenance. The author's statements are biased, for he does not mention other places in the geographical vicinity, e.g., the oldest medieval settlement in the area, the pre-parish of Jelšane (10th century AD). He also fails to mention the important prehistoric and ancient Roman fort of Sv. Katarina nad Jelšanami, which dominates the routes between Tarsatica and Aquileia, and between Tarsatica and Emona. He appears to be unaware of the presence of Christianity in nearby places (*Šilentabor*, Ahac; in the 6th century), nor does he mention the churches dedicated to St. Jerome in the near vicinity (Koritnice, Čelje, Nanos, Sv. Ahac, Ivanje selo), as well as the medieval locality of *Strane* in Pivka on the eastern side of the *Ocra* (Nanos), along the once important thoroughfare between *Emona* (Ljubljana), *Longaticum* (Logatec) and *Aquileia*. This was called *Via Gemina*.

Our attention is especially drawn to the settlement of *Strane* on the slope of the Nanos. The name of the place has both the characteristic consonants *s-t-r* and the suffix *-ane*. In the Middle Ages, *Strane*, together with the villages of *Studeno in Strmca*, belonged to the lordship of the Cistercian monastery of Stična (Grebenc 1973; Penko 2007, 91–93). The place, including its geographical location and area, which have been buried by a rockslide from the Nanos, are still archeologically and historically unexplored. A reminder of the rockslide is the church of St. Bric (Briccius) on the eastern slope of the Nanos at an altitude of 900 m. Churches built where similar snow-, stone- or landslides have taken place tend to be dedicated to the saint.

Much as the search for the location of Stridon in relation to the toponyms or homophones, the mention of the Roman provinces of *Dalmatia – Pannonia* and their borders or junctions has not led to a definitive answer. The borders (junctions) between the provinces shifted, such that some researchers have extended the search for Stridon to the banks of the Drava in the North and to Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica) in the East. Some scholars have thought or expected that their authority was sufficient for the validity of a hypothesis, e.g., the archaeologist Frano Bulić (Suić 1986, 222), who defends the Dalmatian hypothesis, to be discussed below.

Fewer questions are raised as to the year the Goths destroyed Stridon. M. Suić believes that it was in 379 (Suić 1988, 241)³ after the Goths had plundered the lands of the Danube after their victory over the Roman army at Adrianopolis. They

³ Similarly Milotić (2006, 28); Penko (2007, 29) believes the year was 378.

came all the way to the foot of the Julian Alps (*Alpium Vallum*). From the East, they probably came via Emona and Longaticum and continued their way through Ocra (Nanos, Razdrto) or along a parallel route via Stari trg near Lož. Stridon certainly was an important place in the geographical area and lay on the transit route; otherwise, the Goths would not have stopped there on their march toward the centre of the Empire (Mandac 1995, 13). The Goths chose routes and places (*castella*) that were strategically, militarily and commercially more important. They housed »a permanent military crew that supervised the main thoroughfares« and were surrounded by autonomous military areas with warehouses in support of security personnel (Penko 2007, 45).

Some have sought Stridon, with its characteristic initial consonants *s-t-r*, elsewhere. A typical example is *Štrigova* in Međimurje (near Razkrižje), which has a rich and important tradition regarding Jerome's birthplace. The hypothesis has been defended, among others, by Melchior Inchoffer (1644) and later by the renowned Trieste historian Franc Kandler (1805–1872). The most important advocate and promoter of this hypothesis was Josip Bedeković (1688–1760), who has written a monograph on *Štrigova* and St. Jerome titled *Natale solum magni Ecclesiae doctoris Sancti Hieronymi* [Native Land of the Great Teacher of the Church St. Jerome] (Neostadii Austriae, 1752). The book has been translated into Croatian (2017)⁴ by a group of collaborators (J. Bedeković, D. Feletar, M. Berljak, L. Logožar), who later prepared and published the anthology *Prinosi za povijest Štrigove. Štrigova – rodno mjesto sv. Jeronima* [Contributions for the History of *Štrigova*. *Štrigova* — Birthplace of St. Jerome] (2019). They argue that *Štrigova*, considering historical and archaeological evidence and local tradition, is the birthplace of St. Jerome or his parents. They refer to the fact that Dalmatia, as it then bordered the province of Pannonia, extended as far as the Mura. A wooden church was first erected at the place, dedicated to the saint who was specially venerated by the Pauline monks, for the reason that St. Jerome had written the biography of St. Paul the Hermit in Egypt (4th cent.), whose example inspired in St. Jerome enthusiasm for hermit life.⁵ Proponents of this hypothesis refer to Pope Nicholas V (1439-1455), who in 1447 issued a bull allowing the Counts of Celje (Frederick of Celje) to bless the newly built (Gothic) church and venerate the saint. The book by J. Bedeković (original and translation) is an apology for the claim that Jerome's birthplace be-

⁴ The translation was published under a different title: Josip Bedeković, *Knjiga o sv. Jeronimu, Iliriku i Međimurju*, Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2017. O sv. Hieronimu na str. 303–502.

⁵ Paulines were founded in 1303. They had several monasteries in Croatia: Remete (1272), Lepoglava (1400), *Štrigova* (15th cent.), Sv. Helena pri Čakovcu, Sv. Petar u Šumi in Istria (1459), Kamensko near Karlovac, Olimje (1663) etc.

In preparation of the commemoration of the 1600th anniversary of the death of St. Jerome (2019) the Croatian scientific institutions (HAZU and its outstations) published a translation of Bedeković's book and organized a symposium on Bedeković's work and on compatriot St. Jerome. The Church and societal events at the time were supposed to confirm the belief that the saint belonged to their place as well as to revitalize veneration and pilgrimages to the restored church of St. Jerome at *Štrigova* that had been forbidden or hindered after World War II. The church has been in the process of renovation since 2000, including the important paintings of the baroque fresco painter, Tirolean and Pauline monk Ivan Krstnik Rengar (1700–1753).

longs to Croatia and not to Hungary or Styria, rather than presenting evidence for its true location (2017, 78).

In the Western flank, staunch advocates claimed that *Zrenj* (*Sdregna*, also *Stridone*) near Oprtalj/Buzet in northern Istria was the birthplace of St. Jerome. Proponents of this Italic/Istrian hypothesis thus wanted to emphasize Jerome's Romance (Italic/Istrian) origins. The hypothesis was a response to the Dalmatian (Croatian/Slavic) hypothesis and cited as evidence, in addition to the name of the place, the cemetery church dedicated to St. Jerome, other devotional markers, and a rich tradition among the local people. Among proponents of this hypothesis were the historian and humanist Flavio Biondo (Flavius Biondus, 1392–1463),⁶ Domenico Vallarsi (1771) and Peter Stanković (1771–1852; 1824)⁷ (Milotić 2006). Vallarsi placed the birthplace of St. Jerome a little north of Zrenj, in the area between Aquileia and Emona, which then belonged to Italy. Biondo mentions the Istrian towns (*civitas, oppidum*) Buje, Momjan, Oprtalj, Grožnjan, Buzet, which were then under the administration of Koper, among them also the *oppidulum* – little town of *Sdrigna* (*Sdregna*), where St. Jerome was supposedly born. Biondo as well as other proponents of the Istrian (Italic) hypothesis were aware of the fact that the Glagolitic alphabet and Slavic worship had been widespread in these places for some two centuries, which was disturbing for some from the ethnic viewpoint.

The association between Zrenj and St. Jerome is comprehensively discussed by Ivan Milotić (*1982), a lawyer and researcher of the Istrian past, in the monograph *Zrenj i sveti Jeronim* [Zrenj and St. Jerome] (2007). Milotić is careful not to mislead the reader that Zrenj is Jerome's birthplace. He describes Jerome's life in a transparent and critical way, referring to renowned authors such as F. Cavallera, A. Vaccari, M. Suić, J. Bratulić and others. Although in Istria, in addition to Zrenj, there are several churches dedicated to St. Jerome, Milotić does not refer to this fact in confirmation of Zrenj as Jerome's Stridon (Milotić 2006, 20–22).⁸ When presenting the »Istrian hypothesis« advocated by older authors, he states that his purpose »is not to prove or disprove a hypothesis of Jerome's birthplace« (59–60) but to point out the fact that there are close ties between Zrenj and St. Jerome, which were created by a historical and religious tradition that cannot be denied. He cites the proponents of the various hypotheses, especially the Dalmatian (Croatian/Slavic) and Istrian (Italic) hypotheses, showing their one-sidedness and shortcomings. When he strives for a comprehensive insight into Jerome's life, references in his works and events in his life, he is most convinced by the archaeologist and historian Mate Suić (1986) that the birthplace of St. Jerome is Liburnia, a region in the hinterland of Kvarner.

⁶ Flavio Biondo, *Italia illustrata sive descriptio XIV regionum Italiae*, Basileia, 1559. The book was published in 1474 after Biondo's death. (Milotić 2006, 61–66)

⁷ Pietro Stankovich, *San Girolamo il dottore massimo dimonstrato evidentemente di patria Istriano - Apologia*, Trieste, 1829.

⁸ The author does not mention St. Jerome's churches at Klana and at Rijeka, which are not part of Istria.

The controversy over the location of Stridon has thus focused mainly on the Dalmatian and Istrian hypotheses. The key issue is that Jerome belonged to Italy, that he was, therefore, an Italic (Italicus) and not a Dalmatian, i.e., a Slav. Some see a link between Jerome and Aquileia in the inscription at the entrance to the church of Aquileia, where Jerome was supposed to have been baptized; the inscription reads: »Divo Hieronymo qui in hac sancta ecclesia lavacrum gratiae suscepit et fidem.« [To St. Jerome, who in this holy church received the laver of grace and faith.] (De Leo 2007, 477) However, Jerome was baptized during his first stay in Rome (in 366).

The claim of Jerome's Italic origin was strongly opposed by the Split humanist and renowned spiritual writer Marko Marulić (1450–1524). In his time, the veneration of St. Jerome in Dalmatia was widespread due to the use of the Glagolitic alphabet and the belief that Dalmatia was his homeland. The title of Marulić's treatise *In eos qui beatum Hieronymum Italum fuisse intendunt* [Among Those who Consider that Blessed Jerome Was an Italic] (Milotić 2007, 68) is already telling. Marulić was inspired by St. Jerome to compose poems of biblical stories and spiritual instructions (*Davidias, Judita, Suzana, De imitatione bene vivendi, Vita divi Hieronymi*, etc.). Most researchers then and later sought the location of Stridon in Dalmatia or its vicinity. That is why they considered Jerome a 'Dalmatian'. The first to call Jerome a Dalmatian, in a contemptuous context, is Palladius Galata, bishop of Henelopolis in Bithynia, in his work *Historia Lausiaca* (+431). Palladius states: »Some priest, Jerome« and »Some Jerome, Dalmatian« (*Patrologia Graeca* 34).

This question has more recently been dealt with by the Croatian archaeologist Frano Bulić (1846–1934), who established himself as a researcher of the Roman Salona (Solin, Split). Bulić was an undisputed authority in the field of archaeology and convinced many with the theory that Jerome's birthplace was somewhere in Dalmatia or vicinity. Without scruples, he referred to the famous saying attributed to Jerome: »Parce mihi, Domine, quia Dalmata sum!« (Lord, forgive me for being a Dalmatian). Jerome neither said nor wrote these words, although some still refer to them today. An important role regarding Jerome's presumed Dalmatian origin was played by the Slavic liturgy and Glagolitic alphabet, widespread in Dalmatia and on Dalmatian and Istrian islands, which was attributed to St. Jerome.⁹ More on this below.

Bulić believed he had found the crowning proof for the location of Stridon on the Grahovo Polje, on the Roman road to Bosnia, in the inscription on the milestone that had been found around 1860 near Knin. Its inscription was recorded by the military commander and amateur archaeologist Stjepan Petković and interpreted by the lawyer Josip Alačevich. For Bulić, finding a milestone referenced to Stridon in its text was indisputable proof that he had discovered Jerome's birthplace. He published his hypothesis as early as 1898 and more extensively in various langua-

⁹ For an interesting study of Jerome's friend Bonosus and the beginnings of monasticism in the Adriatic islands, see Ciglenečki and Bobovnik 2021. Parallely, Sales-Carbonell (2021) makes a compelling study of the origins of monasticism at the other end of the Mediterranean Sea.

ges on the 1500th anniversary of Jerome's death (1920; 1984 [1920]). It turned out to be a forgery; the milestone with the noted inscription was mysteriously »lost.« Its transcription and interpretation are unconvincing. The case went *ad acta*, and the scientific persuasiveness of its advocates was shattered. M. Suić (1915–2002) recognizes that Bulić was very knowledgeable of the literature on this issue and was able to present the conflicting hypotheses regarding the location of Stridon systematically, but disagrees with him (Suić 1986, 217–218).

On the occasion of the 1500th anniversary of Jerome's death (1920), many scholars responded to Bulić's claims and rejected his hypothesis for various reasons. Ferdinand Cavallera (1922), an excellent scholar of Jerome and publisher of his works, firmly rejects Bulić's hypothesis, finding that any search for Stridon outside the triangle Aquileia — Emona — Tarsatica, outside the region of the Julian Alps, is unconvincing. Alberto Vaccari (1922, 150), a biblical scholar and editor of the new Vulgate, responds to individual Bulić's claims by citing Jerome's texts and comparisons, although he still calls Jerome a 'Dalmatian'. Roko Rogošič (1928, 275) rejects the writings and interpretations by Petkovič/Alačevich as a forgery and suggests St. Peter at Pivka (on the Karst) as a possible location, which is given support by an expert on Istrian saints, the bishop and historian Dragutin Nežić (1985, 264–277). The lawyer Miroslav Premrou refers to the statements in Jerome's works (1921, 235–246). The patrologist Franc Ksaver Lukman summarizes Rogošič's statements (1941), while the historian Rajko Bratož (1990, 348–353) accepts Matej Suić's (1986) Liburnian hypothesis, given the then known data, which I comprehensively and critically discusses in the monograph *Sveti Hieronim – mož s Krasa* (2007). Recently, Francisco Moreno (1989), Josip Bratulić (1990), Regine Pernoud (1996), Rajko Bratož (1993), Ivan Miličić (2006), Josip Stanko Škunca (2017), Leo De Pietro (2007)¹⁰ and others have also written about Jerome. M. Mandac abandons the further search for the location of Stridon but still gives Jerome the nickname 'Dalmatian' (1995), even in the title of his book. All of the above touches upon the issue of the location of Jerome's Stridon and, in part, address his life and work, especially translation and theology, which have left lasting traces in European and world culture.

A similar unknown as the name Stridon is Jerome's statement that the place *once (quondam)* lay on the *former (quondam)* border between Dalmatia and Pannonia. The border between the provinces stretched from Liburnia (Kvarner) in the North to Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica) in the East. Some scholars were looking for Stridon even along this extensive frontier, all the way to its Eastern edge. The former Dalmatia did not always have the same borders, and today's borders are more misleading than helpful in resolving the position of Stridon. In the North, the former Dalmatia also included Liburnia, an area called *Dalmatia supra mare* (according to Farlatti), which included the hinterland of Kvarner or even today's Pivka (Mons Odra). D. Nežić disputes that St. Jerome would be from Istria or from

¹⁰ De Pietro (2007, 13) cites: »Born at Stridon, an unknown place in the Roman Empire, not far from Aquileia.«

the region of *Venetia - Histria (Regio decima)*, which nevertheless »I would be happy to list« as a recognizable locus at the time, if it were true. He believes that Stridon lies »somewhere in the area around Sv. Peter na Krasu« (today's Pivka). In Jerome's time, this was the edge of Roman Dalmatia. »Somewhere here was Stridon, the birthplace of St. Jerome... His living contacts with the Church people in Aquileia and Emona (Ljubljana) speak in favor of this, while he does not know or name Salona (Solina) and its bishop at all.« (Nežić 2000, 161–162)

Thus, a verbal contest raged over the current Slovenian territory between Italians, Croats and Hungarians, especially between Croats and Italians, as to whose compatriot St. Jerome was. In doing so, they ignored the course of St. Jerome's life, friendships and acquaintances, citations of geographic features, as well as controversies and contentions, which were not few. They ignored the statements in Jerome's writings and other scientific comparisons (Rogošič 1928, 296–270).¹¹ Some rightly believe that even if the name and location of Stridon were to be found and the location were too distant from the Julian Alps, one should not be considering it as a candidate for Jerome's Stridon (F. Cavallera).

3. For a New and More Comprehensive Approach

The modest data on the location of Stridon, as cited by Jerome himself in *De viris illustribus*, have drawn the attention of researchers to other statements of his. Jerome was a Roman and a cosmopolitan who knew the Roman Empire, fed on Roman and Greek culture; he met and corresponded with many people of the time, while maintaining a keen memory of his birthplace, Stridon. In his *Letter to Heliodorus* he complains, »My heart stops when I ponder how things are going wrong today. For twenty years and more Roman blood has been spilled day after day between Constantinople and the Julian Alps ...« (*Letter* 60.16)

The medieval Split historian Archdeacon Tomaž (Thomas Archidiaconus, 1201–1268) approached the location of the birthplace of St. Jerome with more evident citations. In his work *Historia Salonitana* he locates Stridon in Liburnia, in the hinterland of Kvarner, in the so-called upper Dalmatia (*Dalmatia supra mare*) (*Historia Salonitana*, 55; 410). Tomaž states: »Dalmatia is a coastal region that stretches from Epirus /.../ to the Kvarner Bay; inside it lies Stridon, which was on the border between Dalmatia and Pannonia. This was the homeland of Blessed Jerome, a great teacher.« (Milotić 2006, 32) Some believe Archdeacon Tomaž, a renowned medieval historian, had reliable historical sources at his disposal to claim this with such certainty. His work has been obscured over time by patriotic and biased opinions, which are still widespread today. Veneration of the saint, as well as disputes over his birthplace, were especially widespread during the Crusades (in the 13th century) and upon the transfer of the relics of the saint from Bethlehem to Rome

¹¹ The author states that »osobito malo pisaca obaziralo na same Jeronimove spise« [few writers even considered Jerome's writings] (Rogošič 1928, 296–270).

(Rupnik 1929, 52–53), to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore (Saint Mary Major or Mary of the Snows), where they still rest today. At that time St. Jerome was often portrayed by painters and sculptors, and his life was presented by writers (Milotić 2006, 14; 18). Most of the churches dedicated to St. Jerome in Slovenia date to the Middle Ages, to the time of (late) Gothic style, which took hold in Slovenia with a century-long delay. The churches on our soil decorated with Templar crosses and memorials, such as at Dutovlje on the Karst (St. George), at Slap near Vipava (St. Matthias), at Strane on the Pivka (Sv. Križ), remind us of the pilgrimages to the Holy Land and the defence of pilgrims against robbers.

Our attention is now drawn to the connection of St. Jerome with the Glagolitic alphabet. Rabanus Maurus (784–856) wrote about Jerome's authorship of the Glagolitic alphabet in his work *De inventione linguarum* (Patrologia Latina 112, 1579–1584), which experts on the origin of the Glagolitic alphabet strongly reject (SNS 2021). Veneration of St. Jerome is closely associated with the use of the Glagolitic alphabet and (old) Slavic liturgy, which was widespread on the Kvarner islands, in Istria and Dalmatia, and the neighbouring regions. Catholic Rome opposed this practice for fear of a recurrence of the schism between the West and East (in 1054). It saw Latin liturgy as a counterweight to Slavic liturgy, which was already established not only in the Christian East but also among neighboring Slavic nations (Croats, Macedonians, Czechs, Moravians, and also in the nearby Slovenian regions of Primorje and Goriška). The establishment of the Glagolitic alphabet was met with trials and opposition, for example, the action at the Split Parliament in 925, the prohibition of liturgy in the national language in 1060, and the order to priests in the countryside to master Latin much as priests in the cities did. (Bogović 2004, 247–260)

The effort to preserve the Glagolitic alphabet and the veneration of St. Jerome reached an important point in 1248. The Croatian historian Franjo Šanjek has stated that the belief the Glagolitic alphabet was invented by St. Jerome took hold in the 12th and 13th centuries. Bishop Filip of Senj in 1248 addressed Pope Innocent IV (1243–1254) a letter in defense of the Glagolitic liturgy by stating that it was a ‚letter of Jerome‘, to which the Pope did not object out of respect for the saint. The authority won; later, many also referred to it. The Croatian historians Josip Buturac and Andrija Ivandija believe this was a ‚pious lie‘ (*pia fraus*). (Valenčič 2007, 79) Regardless of the stated reasons, both the Glagolitic alphabet and St. Jerome received confirmation, which was an incentive to preserve religious, cultural and ethnic affiliation, which in turn has an important place in Croatian cultural and religious history. Thus the Glagolitic alphabet played a vital role in the religious and national development, both then and now, in Dalmatia and Istria, on the Dalmatian and Kvarner islands, on the Northern Croatian border belt and even in the Slovenian lands (Naldini 2001).

Now we direct our attention to the many churches dedicated to St. Jerome in the area between Aquileia and Emona and the immediate vicinity, for example, Nanos - Odra (altitude 1019 m), Koritnice near Knežak, Čelje near Prem, Bošamarin near Koper, Topolovec near Sočerga, Ivanje selo near Rakek, Petkovec in

Rovte, Kozana in Goriška Brda, Ahac (later dedicated to St. Jerome and today to St. Joachim) at Jasen near Ilirska Bistrica, Branica (later dedicated to St. Catherine of Alexandria), Jagrščice near Tolmin (in ruins), on Loza (in 'borscht') near Slavina (unidentified location). In addition to the churches, it is worth mentioning the chapels and votive signposts dedicated to the saint in settlements or along pilgrimage routes, as well as depictions (paintings, sculptures) in other settings (Valenčič 2020, op. 40).

On the occasion of the 1600th anniversary of Jerome's death (419/420–2019/2020), the Diocese of Koper prepared and revived pilgrimages to the churches on its territory mentioned above (Koritnice, Čelje, Kozana, Bošamarin, Topolovec and Nanos), which showed the still enduring tradition of veneration of the saint. Among them, the church on the Nanos stands out, as it has preserved a rich pilgrimage tradition in spite of inclement weather conditions and the post-World War II hostile attitude toward faith. (Valenčič 2020)

There are several churches dedicated to St. Jerome in the Croatian Istria and vicinity as well: Zrenj near Oprtalj, Nova vas, Hum, Vižinada, Muntić, Kavran, Otok sv. Jerolima (Brioni), Rijeka and Klana near Rijeka (Medved 2020). Should Istria perhaps also be included in the search for the birthplace of St. Jerome? Scholars such as D. Nežić, I. Milotić, M. Suić and others make no references to this fact.

The concentration of churches dedicated to St. Jerome in the Slovenian Karst and in Istria is not accidental. It was the ecclesiastical authority — the local bishop, who also consecrated or blessed the church, the diocese, or the patronage over the parish — that decided to which saint a given church was to be dedicated. We do not have detailed information on the locations mentioned above. It is not known how much influence the believers had in these cases if any. We can assume that pre-existing influences, such as the veneration of a saint at a given place or in the surrounding area, oral and written tradition, pilgrimages, answered prayers, as well as events in the Church and broader society, e.g., the Crusades, the pilgrimages to the Holy Land, the spread of infectious diseases, were crucial to the erection of a church and the veneration of a saint. Perhaps this is the reason why churches dedicated to St. Jerome were erected in turbulent and critical times, in secluded places, at the edge of settlements, in cemeteries, so that they do not stand out in terms of size or furnishings.

Researchers and the general public are less familiar with the facts we cite below as important factors in finding the location of Jerome's Stridon. The well established and recent archaeological findings reveal the early presence of Christianity in the area of the Slovenian Karst (the Pivka and Bistriško) in late antiquity. The Romanesque-Gothic church of St. Martin at Šilentabor (also known as Šilen Tabor) near Zagorje na Krasu harbours archaeological artefacts from late antiquity (6th century) in the presbytery. The church of St. Achatius above Ilirska Bistrica, which is in ruins, also contains artefacts from the 6th century. Both sites date back to the 7th to 8th centuries B.C. These were independent agrarian communities (Šilen Tabor, Knežak–Šembije, Trnovo – Dol. Zemon), which were interconnected, as recently

obtained LIDAR images and archaeological excavations show. The area maintains continuity of settlement until late antiquity and beyond.

Christian artefacts have been found in the Škocjan Caves and the nearby Ajdovščina above Rodik. This area also shows the later continuity of settlement and the early establishment of Christian centres with the founding of pre-parishes from the 10th century onwards. Janez Höfler lists Slavina, Hrenovice, Trnovo and Vipava as the oldest pre-parishes in this area, as well as Jelšane, Knežak, Vreme, Tomaj, Hrušica..., which were founded a few centuries later, all of which maintain connections with the past. (Höfler 2001)

Due to its geographical location and its features, the broader territory of the Pivka and Karst was an important junction of the East-West and North-South routes, which enabled trade, military campaigns and migration of peoples. From pre-historic to Roman times and in later periods, the places witnessed migrations of peoples, destructive campaigns and military conquests. In connection with Istria, this area is known for its many fortifications (*castellum*). (Marchesetti 2020) A. Penko notes that considering the densest concentration of early and late Roman sites found in the area of the Nanos or Ocra–Razdrto and »considering the rich folk tradition and the location on the ancient Roman route between Aquileia and Emona, it is possible to look for the ancient Stridon in the very area of the settlement Strane« (2007, 67; 107–140).

In the 4th and 5th centuries, the Romans built a system of fortified Alpine checkpoints (*Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*) in the Eastern part of this area to defend the empire, which ran from Tarsatica through Studena and Klana in Croatia and Babno polje and Prezid to the North across the present-day Slovenian territory to Carinthia; to the West was the strongest fortress *Gradina* (562 m) near Starod. The system of Alpine checkpoints also required an adequate hinterland for supplies, defence and support (material, military, settlement) (cf. *Castra–Ajdovščina, Ad Pyrum–Hrušica* at 858 m above sea level). Archaeologists have yet to focus on the area between Tarsatica and Emona, where there were orderly and interconnected agrarian communities (Šilen Tabor, Knežak–Šembije, Trnovo), as shown by recent LIDAR images (2017). This area, especially its Eastern part — Dolenji Zemon, Jelšane, Podgraje, st. Katarina —, researched by the lawyer and renowned amateur archaeologist Franc Poklar (1919–2021), is largely unexplored.¹² Due to its geographical location, proximity to Alpine checkpoints and local features, this area lent a strong backdrop and support to the Alpine checkpoints defence system.

In addition to the already known archaeological finds in Roman Emona, such as the baptistery with mosaics in the centre of Ljubljana (the Zgodnjekrščansko središče [Early Christian Center], discovered in 1962), additional archaeological excavations took place in 2017–2018 along the Northwestern part of the former Emona (now Gosposvetska ulica), which have also confirmed the strong presence of Christianity in the 4th and 5th century. The findings include a room (chapel) with

¹² Poklar's historical and archeological studies have been published in local newspapers and are accessible in the library Knjižnica Makse Samsa in Ilirska Bistrica.

mosaics, 45 sarcophagi, one of which is fully preserved and contained the remains of a prominent middle-aged person with a preserved glass bowl of Eastern provenance with grapevine ornaments and Greek text, and around 300 skeletons buried *ad sanctos*. This was undoubtedly a Christian community with which St. Jerome communicated.¹³ Two of the preserved letters by St. Jerome remind us of his connection with Emona: the *Letter to the Virgins in Emona* (10) and the *Letter to the Monk Anthony* (12). Jerome scolds Anthony for not replying to the ten letters he had sent him. Researchers conclude that Jerome was not received benevolently in Emona due to his ascetic rigour and demand, which can also be inferred from his similar conduct in Aquileia, in the Calchidian desert and later in Rome which in turn is to be ascribed to his fiery character.

4. Jerome's Birthplace – Stridon

So far, we have critically assessed the various hypotheses about St. Jerome's birthplace, referring to the name Stridon, with the characteristic consonants *s-t-r*, to the argumentation and critical tradition of individual hypotheses, and the veneration of the saint, confirmed by the numerous churches dedicated to St. Jerome at the junction between the Roman provinces Dalmatia and Pannonia. Historians and archaeologists have tried in vain to discover any indication of the place in other historical records of the time or confirmation in archaeological excavations. We summarize the findings so far.

The references to the toponym Stridon, a similarly written or sounding (homophonic) name of the place, have not provided a convincing answer. Štrigova in Medžimurje is distant from the then and present Dalmatia and even more so from Jerome's citations. Zrenj (Sdregna) near Oprtalj/Buzet in Istria, despite its rich tradition, has no convincing justification, as Jerome would without hesitation have listed Istria as his birthplace, which was then part of the province of *Italia-Histria* (*Regio X*). The location of Stridon on Grahovo polje in Bosnia or even farther to the East near Sirmium is unconvincing, which raises many new questions. The border (junction) between the provinces Dalmatia and Pannonia, both of which bordered on *Italia-Histria*, extended from the river Raša in Istria to Sirmium (now Sremska Mitrovica), has changed and does not constitute the borders of either then or now. To the four hypotheses described by Bulić (Dalmatian, Pannonian, Italic, neutral) (1984, 241–270; Valenčič 2007, 72–154), we could add others, depending on the scholars who would propose them. In this uncertainty and confusion, it is not surprising that some have abandoned any further search for the location of Stridon (Mandac 1995, 13).

The neutral (Liburnian) hypothesis of F. Bulić has never been at the forefront, although the most convincing evidence supports it. It was proposed in the 13th

¹³ These findings were also communicated by an article in the Slovenian edition of the journal *National Geographic* (February 2019).

century by the Split historian Archdeacon Tomaž (Thomas Archidiaconus), who located Stridon in Liburnia, in the hinterland of the Kvarner Bay, in the extreme North of Dalmatia (*Dalmatia supra mare*). The hypothesis is supported by many of the researchers already mentioned above, such as F. Cavallera and A. Vaccari. The academician M. Suić (1986), an archaeologist and historian, places Stridon in Liburnia, in the area of the settlements of Žejane, Šapjane, Mune, Pasjak, the fortress Gradina, and Starod, all located along the important Roman thoroughfare between Tarsatica and Aquileia. The historian R. Bratuž considers the hypothesis the most convincing to date (1990), which has also been stated by Miroslav Premrou (1921), Roko Rogošič (1928), Fran Ksaver Lukman (1941), and Dragutin Nežić (1985). This location has also been cited, but not argued, by Pope Benedict XVI (audience 7 and 14 October 2007).¹⁴ It has also been cited by other recent authors, such as Ivan Milotić (2006) and Josip Stanko Škunca (2018). The monograph *Saint Jerome - a Man from the Karst* (2007) locates Stridon slightly north of Liburnia, on the Slovenian Karst, in the geographical area between Aquileia and Emona today's Pivka. The hypothesis is related to the Liburnian, so we call it the Liburnian-Karst hypothesis. More evidence supporting this hypothesis is presented in detail in the monograph *Saint Jerome - a Man from the Karst* (2007), supplemented by recent archaeological findings in Emona and the Karst/Pivka (2017–2018). Evidence includes the events and characteristics of Jerome's life and the citations in his writings.

The search of the location of Jerome's Stridon thus narrows to the area between Aquileia and Emona (Ljubljana). This has so far been argued and accepted by many researchers, who have referred to the statements in Jerome's works and the relations with the events of his life. Our discussion also refers to these statements. Researchers of Jerome's birthplace tend to suggest that Stridon be sought in the territory between the former Roman cities of Aquileia and Emona. The distance from the coastal Aquileia through the Karst or Castra (Ajdoščina) in the Vipava Valley, Odra (Razdrto) or Ad Pirum (Hrušica), Longaticum (Logatec) to Emona does not exceed 200 km. This area is familiar to us Slovenians, so we can make an important contribution in identifying the location of Stridon.

At this point, it is worth mentioning the settlement of *Strane*, which has not been properly researched so far and attracts our attention from several aspects. In addition to the settlements of Strmca and Studeno, the settlement of Strane belonged to the lordship of the Cistercian monastery of Stična (1162). It lies on the Eastern slope of the Nanos (at an altitude of 700 m), on the former amber and latter mast road between Aquileia and Emona, near Šmihel under the Nanos, one of the major strategic and archaeological localities on the Pivka. Above Strane are the archaeological sites *Dolgi grič*, *Divji skedenj* and *Pod Rjavo steno*. The settlement of Strane dominates over the entire Pivka and Odra, a natural passage to the Southwest toward Tergesta and Aquileia. The settlement location had a suitable hinterland for the provision of the inhabitants (arable land, rich water sources). The church dedicated to the Holy Cross (1704) dates to the Middle Ages. Folk

¹⁴ Both speeches by Pope Benedict XVI are published in Slovenian translation in Frančiček 2020.

tradition also refers to Jerome's yew, one of Slovenia's oldest and best-protected trees (Rupnik 2000, 196–200). The name – *Strane* – is also reminiscent of the connection with Stridon. The configuration of the land — paths, mounds, demolished walls — is a challenge for archaeologists, to which they have not yet responded. Whatever artefacts have been found in the past, by Austrian archaeologists in the 19th century, by Italian archaeologists in the 20th century, and occasionally by amateur researchers and seekers of 'hidden treasures', have ended up in foreign depots or private hands.

5. Updates and Starting Points

The amendments to the Liburnian or the Liburnian-Karst hypothesis are based on Jerome's life and mentions in his writings, as well as on recent archaeological findings and comparative studies, which are enumerated below. Jerome's statements are exhaustively referred to by M. Premrou, who already in 1922 responded to Bulić's publications (*Civiltà Cattolica* 1921; reprinted in *Arhivi* 2014).

(1) Jerome describes his birthplace as a fortified town (*oppidum*) that provides residents with security from enemy attacks. The location of the town, probably the acropolis, considers the natural features that determine its internal design and strength. Stridon is organized by a hierarchical order (rural aristocracy, wealthy landowners, servants). The owner (settlement) also owns the *granges* (*vilullae*) for leisure activities (*otium*), which complement the trade and other economic activities (*negotium*) of the owners, which is confirmed by the fact that Jerome's family can afford to hire servants. His father's estate is apparently large so that Jerome hopes that, despite the enemy's destruction of the place, there is still some inheritance left to be sold. In the *Letter to Pamachius*, Jerome states that »he was compelled to send his brother Paulinianus to his homeland to sell the half-ruined properties that had been spared from the barbarian hands, and the income of our parents« (*To Pamachius* 66.14). The location and configuration of the Pivka and Karst landscapes provide indisputable possibilities for the existence of such estates (a plain with smaller hills and protected settlements (*castellum*), rich water sources, access to routes...). Jerome's family can afford a domestic teacher who provides the children — Jerome, his brother Paulinianus and sister, possibly also friend Bonos — with basic education and a general, including Christian, upbringing.

(2) Jerome is critical of his fellow Stridonians/Stridoners. In the *Letter to Cromatius* (7,5), he complains: »In my hometown, where ill-breeding is at home, the belly is god and one lives with abandon: the richer one is the holier.« The town is therefore ruled by 'ill-breeding' and 'prosperity'. In spite of the hostile environment, Eusebius' children receive the upbringing and spiritual education that prepares them for life in the world of that time. It is not clear to which Christian centre Stridon gravitates. M. Suić believes it is Tarsatica, so he calls Jerome a »citizen of Tarsatica« (*građanin Tarsatike*); however, Jerome never mentions Tarsatica (Suić

2986, 213). As expected by their parents and themselves, Eusebius' adolescents go out into the world to receive proper preparation for the tasks of life.

Jerome spends his playful childhood years in Stridon, his youth in Rome and then in Aquileia, where he establishes lasting friendships and matures for the challenges of adult life. Stridon also plays an important strategic role; otherwise, the Goths would not have stayed there on their way to the centre of the Empire, looting and demolishing it in the process. Due to the situation in the family — relations with Aunt Castorina, his sister's easy life, the seducer priest Lupicinus and other tensions, possibly also due to his own strictness and ascetic demands that others refuse to accept — Jerome is reluctant to return to and stay in Stridon. However, he still follows its fate with pain. In the *Letter to Heliodorus* he states that »every day from Constantinople to the Julian Alps Roman blood is shed in Thrace, Macedonia, ... Dalmatia, and all the Pannonias (*Dalmatiam cunctasque Pannonias*), which are plundered and destroyed by the Goths and Sarmatians« (Premrou 1921, 237).

(3) Stridon was located along the route between Aquileia and Emona, as confirmed by other evidence. Aquileia was an important administrative, military, naval, commercial and religious centre in this part of the Roman Empire. It gathered like-minded Christians seeking spirituality and asceticism, whom Jerome called the 'choir of the blessed' (*chorus beatorum*). Apparently Jerome felt good among them and later maintained written contact with many. They include Bishop Valerian, his successor Bishop Chromatius, then Rufinus, Eusebius and Bonos (a friend from Stridon), Deacon Julian, Elder Paul from Concordia. During his stay in Aquileia, he probably also contacted Emona — with the virgins of Emona and the monk Anthony, to whom he wrote several letters.¹⁵ His *Letters to Anthony* and *Letters to the Virgins of Emona* confirm that Jerome had personal contact with them. He was at home with the Christian community of Emonians but probably broke up with them because of the strict ascetic precepts and demands he advocated (Premrou 1921, 294). Recent archaeological discoveries on Gosposvetska ulica in Ljubljana (Emona) in 2017–2018 confirm the strong presence of a Christian community in this area.

(4) Jerome thanks the clerics of Aquileia — Deacon Julian — for encouraging the younger sister (name unknown) in Christ, the 'fruit of Saint Julian', who had gone astray, to convert and is now »steadfast in what she has begun« (*Letter to Julian* 6.2). It is not clear whether this is about a religious or a moral matter, behind which was probably the priest Lupicinus, the »Iberian serpent« (6.2). Looking back on her misguided youthful steps, he remembers, »how slippery is the path of youth, on which he also slipped.« He begs his friends to ask Bishop Valerian »to encourage her with a letter« (*Letter* 7.4). There is no doubt that Stridon had to be somewhere near Aquileia for Aquileian clerics to take care of its faithful. This task could have been performed by those who knew the sister and lived near Aquileia.

¹⁵ In the *Letters to Anthony* (12.3) he writes: "I have already sent you ten letters ... full of courtesy and requests, while you are too lazy to budge. The Lord talks to his servants; you, brother, do not give your brother a word."

(5) In his *Letter to Pamachius*, Jerome complains that the monasteries in Bethlehem have run into material trouble. Therefore, he »was compelled to send my brother Paulinianus to our homeland to sell the half-ruined family properties that escaped the barbarian hands, and the income of our parents, so as not to stop work for the saints and be ridiculed by gossips« (*Letter* 66.14). He also mentions the matter in his *Letter to Rufinus*, in which he writes that »Paulinianus has not yet returned and hopes that he will see Bishop Chromatius in Aquileia.« Scholars of Jerome's life rightly conclude that Paulinianus would not have wasted either time or material resources on an unnecessary journey if Stridon were very distant from Aquileia. The request to Paulinianus to pay a visit to Bishop Chromatius confirms that there was a bond of acquaintance and friendship.

(6) In a commentary on the prophet Zephaniah (1.2), Jerome mentions in addition to Illyricum and Thrace the land of birth as the third land. He states: »The witness is Illyricum, the witness is Thrace, the witness is the land in which I was born, where everything but the sun and earth, the growing thorns and dense forests, is destroyed« (»Testis Illyricum est, testis Thracia, testis in quo ortus sum solum«) (Premrou 1921, 237). The provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia both touched Italy at their junction. However, Jerome is not an 'Italicus', nor is he a Dalmatian or a Pannonian. D. Vallarsi (*Opera*, X, 1, 5, etc.), the publisher of Jerome's works and a scholar of Jerome's life, already states that Stridon should be sought in the area between Aquileia and Emona towards the Julian Alps and near the Ocra (Nanos), where Dalmatia and Pannonia touched, and this is Liburnia. It is surprising how the later seekers of Jerome's Stridon ignored the clear statements by Vallarsi. Other personal, domestic and patriotic views prevailed.

(7) In the area of the Karst (Pivka) and its vicinity, there is an intense concentration of churches dedicated to St. Jerome not found elsewhere, namely: Mount Nanos (at an altitude of 1018 m; its existence is attested at the latest in 1350), Koritnice near Knežak, Čelje near Prem, Ivanje selo near Rakek, Petkovec above Logatec, Bošamarin near Koper, Topolovec in the Slovenian Istria, Kozana in Goriška Brda, Kontovel near Trieste. Some churches, dedicated initially to St. Jerome, were later dedicated to another patron saint, namely at Jasen near Ilirska Bistrica (first to St. Achatius and later to St. Joachim) and in Gornja Branica in the Vipava region (to St. Catherine); the church at Jagršče is in ruins.

The pilgrimages organized in the Diocese of Koper in 2019 on the 1600th anniversary of the death of St. Jerome to the churches dedicated to him showed that the tradition was more alive than expected. Neither the ravages of time with the overgrowth on landslides and the surrounding area nor the various weather disasters nor the post-World War II unfavourable conditions to pilgrimages could suppress it. The tradition also reflects other local components, such as prayers for intercession for health and happy childbirth, hand and face washing in a nearby stream, etc., to which were added various legends expressing general contents, such as the pilgrimages by the saint, his stories and sermons, signs in stone, the transfer of a church or chapel, friendship with wild animals, etc.

(9) The presence of Christianity in this territory is attested by the late antique Christian churches at Šilen Tabor above Zagorje on the Pivka and at Ahac near Ilirska Bistrica (both from the late antiquity (6th century); the latter is in ruins). Other sites, such as the finds at Ajdovščina above Rodik and in the Škocjan Caves, also testify to the presence of Christianity. (Slapšak 1997, 19–64) The deposits lie in an important transit area between the East and West, marked by the defence, trade and military routes, and the *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* (Alpine checkpoints), built by the Romans in the 4th and 5th centuries for the defence of the Empire against the peoples coming from the East. The checkpoints are visible in many places between Tarsatica and Emona, and recently (2017–2018), other archaeological traces of early settlements and Roman roads from this period have been discovered in this area, as well as visible traces of the inner defensive wall (*Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*) between Ahac and Trnovo (Ilirska Bistrica), which runs through Ahac, Trnovo (Stražice) and Knežak toward Šilen Tabor and Nanos–Hrušica (*Ocra-Ad Pyrum*). (Jurešič 2015) There are also other archaeological sites and Roman roads in the immediate vicinity, which confirm the possibility of various activities (trade, handicraft, farming) performed by servants for their masters, such as preparation of firewood, land cultivation, knitting socks for winter, creating a suitable environment for children's games, etc. The Karst area enabled an important passage from the East to the West and vice versa, which also opened up opportunities for military campaigns.

The early settlement and presence of Christianity continued well into the Middle Ages with the establishment of pre-parishes, which to this day carry out their mission. Pre-parishes Slavina, Hrenovice, Trnovo, Vipava etc., were the mothers of later parishes and Christian centres, which preserve the Christian and cultural traditions of the past centuries to the present day.

Surprisingly, the veneration of St. Jerome persisted even though there was no important centre (diocese), institution, or person that would be the bearer of this tradition. Aquileia as well as many neighbouring Istrian dioceses, lost their historical role, and any influence of the central Slovenian area cannot be detected. It is therefore surprising that veneration of the saint began and has been maintained in this territory.

(10) The archaeological heritage of these places is vibrant but unexplored. This is especially true for the Bistriška, which borders the territory of today's Croatia that from the archaeological and historical standpoint forms a unit with the Slovenian region. This has already been noted by F. Poklar, a lawyer, amateur archaeologist and historian, who has collected substantial historical and archaeological data. The situation is better in the Pivka/Karst, presented by Andreja Perko in the book *Naše korenine* (2007). Along the former Roman road linking Aquileia and Emona and during the construction of the expressway at Razdrto (Ocra), rich traces of the past were discovered in several places. The Eastern side of the Ocra (Nanos) remains unexplored and is calling for archaeological exploration. This is especially true for the village of *Strane*, with the church of the Holy Cross, which preserves the memory of the Crusades, and the old Jerome's yew, protected as a cultural

heritage and with many archaeological sites from the Iron Age to late antiquity. The village's existence is attested to as the property of the Cistercian monastery at Stična in 1162. Here ran the former Amber, then Roman and then Mast road, which connected the continental area with the Mediterranean. The ancient village dominates the Pivka, and above it are three archaeologically unexplored sites that are begging archaeological research.

6. In Conclusion

I summarize some well-known and some lesser-known facts that support the hypothesis that Jerome's Stridon should be located in the area between Aquileia and Emona.

The Diocese of Koper, whose territory, according to current knowledge, harbors the place of St. Jerome's birth Stridon, prepared in 2019 a resounding series of pilgrimages to the churches dedicated to the saint within the diocese and published a memorial anthology *Sveti Hieronim in naš čas [Saint Jerome and Our Time]* (2020). In this territory between Aquileia and Emona lay important strategic and military as well as trade and migration routes between the Western and Eastern parts of the Roman Empire, which are only partially archaeologically and historically known to the world public. LIDAR images (2017) of Šilen Tabor, Knežak-Šembije and Trnovo (2017) perceive three autonomous agrarian communities with intermediate territories. The area of Ajdovščina above Rodik, which covered the routes between Tarsatica and Aquileia, had a similar character (Slapšak 1997). Conditions have so far not been conducive to archaeological and historical research in this area. Archaeological artefacts found in this area in the 19th century have ended up in depots in Vienna and those from the early 20th century in Trieste. We hope that both the symposium on the 1600th anniversary of Jerome's death and the revived pilgrimages have provided new impetus for exploring his Stridon. In this way, like Jerome in his time, we will be able to contribute to the treasury of knowledge about the time and place, the people and the identity of the peoples and nations that were or still are involved in the story.

Although it is the task of archaeological science to contribute to the confirmation of various hypotheses, it is also the task of the hypotheses to indicate to archaeology where to stick the shovel.



Photo 1: The map of churches dedicated to St. Jerome.

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Jerome and Western Monasticism: Asceticism, Evergetism, and Orthodoxy in the Late 4th Century Hispania

Hieronim in zahodno meništvo: asketicizem, evergetizem in ortodoksnost v Hispaniji poznega 4. stoletja

Abstract: Jerome had very little Hispanic epistolary correspondence. Nonetheless, the information contained in his few surviving letters gives us an idea of the essential nature of the first Hispanic monasticism - that related to aristocratic asceticism in a family milieu. Among other things, it was the economic basis for the foundation of monasteries throughout the Holy Land under the direct patronage of Jerome of Stridon. Lucinus and his wife Theodora were wealthy Baetican landowners who became active evergetes for the Christian cause and embraced an ascetic life under Jerome's influence. Lucinus sent conspicuous amounts of money to Jerome. He also sent a garment he had worn as a symbol of his conversion to monasticism, a decision Jerome endorsed and blessed when he replied by sending silicon garments for him and his wife, Theodora. Abigaus was a blind man who also converted to asceticism under the epistolary influence of Jerome. He appears to have been related to a proto-monastic community to which Lucinus and Theodora may have belonged. This is an exciting aspect that allows us to fully comprehend the beginnings of coenobitism in the western reaches of the Roman Empire. The portrait of a late 4th-century orthodox asceticism painted by Jerome's letters will be analyzed and compared with the information gleaned from the contemporary archaeological remains in Hispania impregnated by Priscillianism and other heterodox movements against which Jerome railed through epistolography from his base in the Holy Land.

Keywords: Hispania, monasticism, asceticism, orthodoxy, Christianization among the aristocracy, *ecclesia in villa*

Povzetek: Čeprav je Hieronimovih epistolarnih korespondentov iz Hispanije zelo malo, je iz nekaterih ohranjenih pisem kljub temu mogoče razbrati bistveno značilnost zgodnjega hispanskega meništva, ki je bilo povezano z aristokratskim asketicizmom družinske narave, to pa je med drugim prispevalo k ekonomski

podlagi ustanavljanja samostanov v Sveti deželi pod vodstvom stridonskega pisca. Bogata betičanska veleposestnika, Lucin in žena Teodora, ki sta postala dejavna pri krščanski dobroti, sta pod Hieronimovim vplivom sprejela asketski način življenja. Lucin je Hieronimu poslal velik znesek denarja, obenem pa – kot simbol svojega sprejetja meniškega življenja – tudi volnen kos blaga; to je Hieronim pohvalil in blagoslovil, saj jima je nazaj tudi sam poslal kos blaga. Na drugi strani se zdi, da je slepi Abigaus, ki se je prav tako oklenil meništvu pod vplivom Hieronimovih pisem, povezan s protomeniško skupnostjo, kateri sta morda pripadala tudi Lucin in Teodora, to pa lahko prispeva k boljšemu razumevanju cenobitskega meništvu v zahodnem delu imperija. Članek obravnava ortodoksni asketicizem s konca 4. stoletja, kakor ga prikazujejo Hieronimova pisma, in ga primerja s sodobnimi dognanji glede (arheologije) hispanskega meništvu, ki so ga pogosto zaznamovale tendence priscilijanizma in drugih heterodoksnih gibanj, proti katerim se je Hieronim iz Svete dežele boril s pismi.

Ključne besede: Hispania, meništvu, asketicizem, ortodoksnost, pokristjanjevanje aristokracije, *ecclesia in villa*

1. Introduction

This short paper will analyze various aspects deriving from the direct contact Jerome established with the first Hispanic monasticism¹ (or, more specifically, the first Hispanic asceticism).² As far as we know, Jerome never travelled to Hispania, and none of his texts or any third parties refers to it, either in a legendary or an apocryphal manner.

His presence on Hispanic soil came through his letters and the early dissemination and influence of his work. It should be framed within an initial general flow in which the 'Eastern Christian factor' reached the Iberian Peninsula almost exclusively in the form of literature (4th–5th centuries). It also arrived very occasionally through the presence of certain people who came with or at the invitation of Westerners who had previously travelled to the Holy Land.

This occurred in both Hispania and the rest of Western Europe. With Jerome, it can be seen; for example, in the presence among his circle of friends and acquaintances of Evagrius of Antioquia, an Eastern priest brought to Europe by Eusebius of Vercelli, who, during Jerome's youth, moved between Aquileia and Concordia.

¹ This paper falls within the framework of the project: „Monastic Landscapes. Representations and virtualisations of Medieval Spiritual and Material Realities in the Western Mediterranean (6th–16th centuries)“ PGC2018-095350-B-I00.

² The origin of Hispanic asceticism has already been dealt with masterfully by, among others, Díaz Martínez 1991 and Marcos Sánchez 2002.

It would not be until later (6th–7th centuries) that the Oriental Christians, especially monks, physically moved westwards in general and to the Iberian Peninsula.³ This occurred for various reasons, none of which interests us here and will not go into this presentation. However, this research will focus on the stage during the last years of the Western Roman Empire and the influence exerted by Jerome on the first outbreaks of monasticism at its westernmost end.

2. The Hispanic Religious Framework

From the point of view of Christianity, the Hispania of the last decade of the 4th century (the chronological framework in which we document the contact between Jerome and Hispanic asceticism) was a territory characterized by the proliferation of different heterodoxies (Escribano Paño 1990, 151–189), as also happened in the East and many other parts of the Empire. It is known that Jerome fought very actively and vehemently against many of these doctrinal positions (Jeanjean 1999).

In the historical framework of Jerome's lifetime, some of the primary heresies in Hispania were Arianism, Priscillianism,⁴ Gnosticism, Manichaeism, and Novatianism, even though the prefecture of Gaul (and therefore the Vicariate of the Hispanias) suffered the most extreme measures of religious totalitarianism applied by Emperor Maximus from 383. In this very messy, confused, and tense doctrinal environment, Hispanic Christians who devoted themselves to the ascetic way of life⁵ needed clear spiritual guidance, an aspect that does not always appear to have been satisfied by the local hierarchies (often precisely because they were immersed in their doctrinal struggles).

Some confusion and involuntary heterodoxy must have existed (and is verified in different sources) among Hispanic Christians, who were victims of pressure from the different positions mentioned above. Consequently, it is not surprising that the faithful and ascetic, in order to ensure the correct orthodoxy in their ascetic practices (un- or very little regulated in those initial moments of Western monasticism), would end up appealing to an exogenous, superior authority such as Jerome at this stage of their maturity for precise advice and instruction. Moreover, the fear of falling into heterodoxy and ending up like Priscillian (executed in 385, a few years before the Hispanic letters we comment on below) would probably have influenced the decision to be placed under the direct tutelage of a higher authority.⁶ This procedure had already been clearly established in other canonical documents, such as Pope Siricius' letter-decree to Bishop Himerius of Tarraco (*Ep.* 1.7 [PL 13, 1137–1141]), also in 385.

³ My article entitled „Syrian and other Eastern monks in Late Antique Hispania. Archaeological data“ will appear in a monograph *Power, Conversion and Religious Leadership* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

⁴ A heresy for which Jerome had a particular aversion, e.g. *Ep.* 120.10.

⁵ Fontaine (1979, 28–53) analysed some years ago the ascetic model that had been brought from the East to the West and that, from the late 4th century, had been installed in the *villae* of the aristocratic families converted to Christianity.

⁶ As Jerome himself confirms in his *Ep.* 75 addressed to a Hispanic ascetic.

Additionally, Jerome's base in the Holy Land and its strategic installation next to the Nativity Church in Bethlehem gave him an unquestionable aura of fame and authority in the Christian world. That authority is known to have begun taking shape when he worked as a »secretary of Latin letters« for Pope Damasus in the 480s and began to surround himself with select Roman matrons prepared to devote themselves to asceticism under the guidance of their master. Finally, having overcome his problems in Jerusalem relating to Origenism (Bautista Valero 2013, 45–65), his steadfast struggle against the diverse heterodoxies of the period endowed him with the outstanding experience and authority to emerge as a universal reference for the Catholic orthodoxy of his time (Moreschini 1982, 61–71).

Returning to the Hispanic heterodoxies, perhaps the most influential of the time, Priscillianism, should be particularly highlighted, not only for its intrinsic importance but also for its apparent similarities to the way Jerome organized his disciples. Jerome, like Priscillian, surrounded himself mainly with women, aristocratic Roman matrons who sought in the charismatic figure the spiritual master who would guide their new ascetic status.⁷ Let us recall the first woman Jerome led to becoming a ,consecrated virgin': his sister. This led to family tensions, and that, together with the resignation of his career in the court of Valentinian I, was the straw that broke the camel's back and resulted in Jerome's first departure to the East.⁸

Therefore, if Priscillian and Jerome have one thing in common, apart from a very similar age, it is the charisma and ability to attract circles of Roman aristocratic women to their ranks.⁹ Nevertheless, according to the sources, it appears that the equality with which Priscillian treated them compared to ascetic males was one of the essential differences between him and Jerome and, at the same time, one of the many things his enemies accused him of. However, as some authors have pointed out, in this regard, Jerome's attacks on heretics are artificially rhetorical and somewhat hypocritical because they appear accompanied by women (Hier., *Ep.* 53.7),¹⁰ given their intense ascetic activity with their circle of Roman matrons.

⁷ In fact, women were the protagonists of the first forms of asceticism documented in *Hispania*, when they are mentioned in the Council of Elvira held at the beginning of the 4th century as ,consecrated virgins' (males ascetics would not appear in the Hispanic sources until well into the 4th century); these female ascetics would have made a formal religious commitment under the tutelage of the ecclesiastic ministers with the sexual restraint as its basis (Marcos Sánchez 2002, 234–238). On the other hand, it is well known that Jerome wrote various treatises on female virginity, one of the most popular subjects of early Christianity, see Adkin 2003.

⁸ By chance, his second and definitive departure for the East was also motivated by the unfortunate consequences of the conversion to asceticism of the young widow Blaesilla, see Hier., *Ep.* 45. (González Salinero 2011, 543–562)

⁹ Well documented in the case of Priscillian is the staunch defence for him mounted by powerful aristocrats, who in turn also ended up being condemned to death (Marcos Sánchez 2002, 244–245).

¹⁰ Other works by Jerome insist on the idea of seduction of wealthy women by the leaders of the heresies, e.g. Hier., *Comm. in Isaiam* 17.64.

3. The Hispanic Ascetics Related to Jerome

From his base in Bethlehem, Jerome consolidated his authority and continued to send letters to the Christian aristocracy of the time, which also includes a cast of Hispanic correspondents (Brogiolo 2005, 127–150; Marcos Sánchez 2014, 13–35), although we only have evidence of three: a consecrated couple and a blind ascetic. They appear in three preserved letters (*Ep.* 71; 75; 76) written at the end of the 4th century. The information is sparse, but it allows us to draw very eloquent lines of the essential nature of the first Hispanic monasticism.

Letters 71 (*Ad Lucinum baeticum*, a. 398) and 75 (*Ad Theodoram spanam de morte Lucini*, a. 399) of Jerome's epistolary corpus correspond to Lucinus and his wife, Theodora. They were wealthy landowners from *Baetica* (Hier., *Ep.* 71.3–4)¹¹ and active euergetes for the Christian cause who had embraced the ascetic life under Jerome's influence (Marcos Sánchez 1994). Lucinus had already sent other letters (not preserved) to Jerome and six copyists to make copies of his works (Hier., *Ep.* 75.4). These would be the first copies of Jerome's works to arrive in *Hispania*.

Likewise, Lucinus had sent vast amounts of money to the churches of Jerusalem and Alexandria (75.4) and other simple but highly symbolic items. These included a piece of wool and two capes he used as proof of his renunciation of the world and his conversion to the 'perfect life' (71.7),¹² a decision that had been blessed by Jerome himself when he sent four silicon garments to the Hispanic couple, endorsed in writing the orthodoxy of their practices, and invited them to establish, finally, their residence in the Holy Land (71.7).

On the other hand, in Letter 75, sent a few months later on the occasion of Lucinus' death, Jerome gave a funeral eulogy for the husband to immediately encourage Theodora to continue improving her spiritual 'life of perfection' after having successfully achieved sexual continence during her last years of married life (Laurence 1997, 274–276). This letter gives clear evidence of the problem mentioned above of the heresies that were invading *Hispania* at that time, especially among the ascetic circles of the aristocracy: »He (Lucinus), that when the most impure heresy of Basilides was ravaging the Hispanics, and like the contagious plague was devastating all the provinces between the Pyrenees and the Ocean, was able to maintain the purity of the Church, and not admit Armazel, Barbelon, Abraxas, Balsam, or the ridiculous Luesibora or those others that, more than names of persons, are monsters invented by those heretics to impress the spirit of the ignorant and prostitutes.« (Hier., *Ep.* 75.3)¹³ Subsequently, in the same paragraph,

¹¹ Marcos Sánchez (2002, 254) argues that this Hispanic husband and wife did not belong to the senatorial aristocracy, but rather to a well-off urban elite. We are going by the dates given in the 2013 Spanish translation of Jerome's epistolary by the *Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos* (Madrid), who based their work mainly on Migne's Latin text (PL 22 and PLS 2, 20).

¹² Lucinus would have communicated to Jerome his decision to convert to the ascetic life in a letter that has not been preserved (Vilella Masana 2002, 92–93).

¹³ In the same letter Jerome also alludes to Gnosticism and its overwhelming success among the Hispanic aristocracy. In subsequent letters, Hieronymus described Hispanic Priscillianism as an accomplice of Gnosticism, (Hier., *Ep.* 133.3). The translations of the passages from Jerome's letters are taken from

Jerome proclaims how those heterodox movements attempted, in particular, to procure for their ranks the women of 'the wealthy households'. As we have already mentioned, this is a curious reproach, given that it is merely a projection and a reflection of Jerome's strategy of surrounding himself with wealthy matrons to support his projects.

Because of their content, *Ep. 71* and *Ep. 75* are considered extolments to the nascent monastic life that was beginning to proliferate in *Hispania* according to the model of the married couple,¹⁴ withdrawing from the world and continuing to live together as a family while following rigorous patterns of continence and chastity. With their abundant economic resources – and often in their properties – they ended up sowing the seeds of authentic monasteries as they would be defined in the later literature. For this model, we have the case of the nobles Paulinus (of Gallic origin) and Tharasia (of Hispanic origin), who founded the famous Nola in a final phase of their ascetic life monasteries. We will return to Paulinus of Nola shortly.

However, the third letter sent to Hispania (*Ep. 76; Ad Abigaum spanum*, a. 399) briefly and concisely reveals a single person, the blind Abigaus (a priest?), perhaps also converted to asceticism under the epistolary influence of Jerome. Abigaus appears surrounded by *sancti* and related to an unnamed and undescribed community of a proto-monastic nature, to which some authors have indicated that the husband and wife Lucinus and Theodora may also have belonged (Vilella Masana 2002, 107). This is an exciting aspect for understanding the beginnings of the coenobitic organization at the western end of the Roman Empire. In this respect, Jerome asks Abigaus to take over the widow Theodora (*Hier., Ep. 76.3*).

On the other hand, also significant is the mention at the end of the letter of the journey to the Holy Land that Theodora would have begun. This was a fashionable itinerary for ascetics of the time, although, among the Hispanic women about whom we have information from the sources, she would have only been preceded by the Galician ascetic Egeria, who visited the holy sites of the East between 381 and 384 and left a written account of it.

Furthermore, here our questions arise about the structure and hierarchy of this supposed ascetic community. Would the husband and wife Lucinus and Theodora have been the estate owners on which the community came together? Therefore, would they have been the leaders of the ascetic community? Would Abigaus have been a prominent member of this community, as evidenced by his epistolary contact with Jerome? Unfortunately, all these nuances are neither indicated in the letters nor can they be deduced from them, although the first signs of a coenobitic organization that would be imposed in later centuries can be seen.

Finally, we cannot end this section concerning the letters Jerome sent to Hispania

Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, ed. 1893. *Jerome: Letters and Select Works*. Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 6. Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co. For the Latin text of Jerome's letters Hilberg's CSEL editions are used.

¹⁴ For the Late Antique marriage model, see Saje 2019.

without mentioning *Ep. 53* and *Ep. 58* sent to Paulinus of Nola. Although this great poet of Christian antiquity was not Hispanic, the native of Bordeaux would indeed have begun his conversion to asceticism while living in Hispania with his wife, the Hispanic noblewoman Tharasia,¹⁵ following the death of their son, Celsus, a few days after birth between 390 and 393.¹⁶ Therefore, the ascetic model of this couple would not have been very different from that of Lucinus and Theodora.

Furthermore, thanks to Paulinus and Tharasia, we know about what we could call Jerome's 'epistolary antithesis', Ausonius of Bordeaux. Thus, just as Jerome congratulated Paulinus on his conversion and then encouraged the Baetican couple (Lucinus and Theodora) to embrace the ascetic life, in contrast, some years earlier, the poet from Bordeaux, perplexed by such a choice, was exhorting Paulinus and Tharasia to abandon that type of life and Hispania (Martínez Gázquez 1973, 30–31). In the light of the final result, the 'spiritual victor' in the epistolary contest with the ascetic couples from the Iberian Peninsula was undoubtedly Jerome. For this reason, he should be considered as one of the founders and promoters of Iberian monasticism.

Jerome's epistles have been sent to Paulinus dated 394 and 395, when the Hispano-Gallic couple relocated to their properties in Campania, near Cimitile.¹⁷ However, that does not mean that they are less attractive in terms of what we can learn from them about the asceticism practised by Christian couples in the West and Hispania.

In *Ep. 53 (Ad Paulinum presbyterum, a. 394)*, Jerome congratulates Paulinus on his desire to enrich himself spiritually as »an obedient ingenuity, still without a master, is worthy of praise« (53.3). This would have been a veiled allusion to the nascent but important monastic movement organized in the West outside the priestly hierarchies that largely contributed to expanding the aforementioned 4th-century heresies. This is why Jerome was at pains to guide Paulinus in the reading and study of the Holy Scripture (»let us study in the land that will live on in heaven« [53.10]) and invited him to come and be at his side in the Holy Land (53.11).

On the other hand, *Ep. 58 (Ad Paulinum presbyterum, 395)* confirms Paulinus and Tharasia's decision taken in Hispania sometime before to live a life devoted exclusively to asceticism. Therefore, Jerome exhorts Paulinus to renounce all his worldly goods completely. However, he is no longer insisting that Paulinus move to the East, as »Anthony and all the swarms of monks of Egypt and Mesopotamia, of Pontus, Cappadocia and Armenia never saw Jerusalem, and without the need for that city the gates of paradise are open to them« (58.3). However, Jerome does

¹⁵ Paulinus would have met Tharasia thanks to the divine intervention of the martyr Felix (Paul. Nol., *Carm.* 21.398–402).

¹⁶ The baby, born in the Hispanias, was buried alongside to martyred children (Paul. Nol., *Carm.* 31) in Complutum (Alcalá de Henares). Those martyrs were not named in the source but were later identified as *lustus* and *Pastor*.

¹⁷ At Christmas 394 Paulinus had been ordained priest in Barcelona, just before leaving for Italy (Paul. Nol., *Ep.* 1.10). That is why there is some debate as to whether Paulinus received *Ep. 53* from Jerome while he was still in *Hispania* or after he arrived in Italy (Vilella Masana 2002, 87–88).

recommend »that you renounce the city and do not abandon your vocation as a monk« (58.4) if he finally decides not to practice as a presbyter. He also recommends that he distance himself from the masses and the powerful, as well as eating meagre, vegetarian meals and practising other recommendations of austerity and contention along the lines that would be followed by Lucinus and Theodora a few years later (58.6–7).

Jerome's letters directly impacted Hispania, but part of his non-epistolary literary work also influenced subsequent monasticism.¹⁸ For example, the *Vita Pauli* influenced the drawing up of the *Vita Fructuosi* (Díaz y Díaz 1974, 28), the famous monk and bishop of Braga who organized the monastic life of the northwestern quadrant of the Iberian Peninsula during the 7th century, founding numerous monasteries and writing the rules for them.

Concerning Hispania and its incipient monasticism, we should also mention the *Adversus Vigilantium*, a treatise written by Jerome in 406 in response to the critical views that Vigilantius, a priest from Barcino,¹⁹ had on monasticism and other fundamental elements of Christianity, such as the worship of saints and relics. His criticism of monasticism derived from his complete rejection of celibacy, a mainstay of asceticism for Jerome and in the official position of the Church. Vigilantius did not accept the monk's view as, from his perspective, it represented an escape from society (Hier., *Adv. Vigil.* 356–357). Once in Barcelona, where he would have arrived between 406 and 408 fleeing from the Vandal invasions (Massie 1980, 94–96), Vigilantius continued to defend his postulates (Castellanos 1995–96, 416–418).

4. Some Archaeological Notes

From other letters written by Jerome, it can be deduced that this Hispanic aristocracy probably built other *domestica ecclesia* on their properties, as documented for example in *Ep.* 30, which refers to the construction of a domestic church to host an ascetic community in the house of the Roman matron Paula (30.14).

We could already be looking at *domestica monasteria*, as documented half a century later in the Council of Ilerda (present-day Lleida) in 546, which would anathemise the monasteries founded by private individuals that were not subjected to the authority of the diocese (*Conc. Ilerdensis*, c. III.). More than a century later, the *Regula communis*, probably written by Fructuosus of Braga, insisted on that subject and specified the existence of monasteries consecrated in private homes.²⁰

¹⁸ However, Monaci Castagno noted that Jerome never wrote neither ecclesiastical history nor a monastic history, nonetheless he cultivated the ambition to be a historian of the Church or monasticism (2011, 22).

¹⁹ Vigilantius was of Aquitanian origin (Hier., *Adv. Vigil.* 355ss.) and news of his appointment in Barcelona was provided by Gennadius of Marseille (Gennad., *De vir. ill.* 36).

²⁰ »Indeed, some are accustomed to organising monasteries in their own homes for fear of hell, and to gather in community with their wives, children, servants and neighbours under the firmness of oath,

There are quite a few Roman *villae* in Hispania in which slightly later chapels are documented (5th–7th cent.) (Chavarría Arnau 2007, 143–152; Brogiolo 2005, 130–132) that could already have been fulfilling this function in the last quarter of the 4th century. We have some archaeological remains of a sizeable late-Roman *villae* in southern Hispania for which we do not know the names of the former owners, but that could have easily belonged to ascetic married couples or another kind of family circle from the end of the fourth century.

Roman villas such as La Cocosa (Badajoz), La Olmeda (Palencia), El Saucedo (Toledo) or Milreu (Estoi, Portugal) could have been Christian monasteries or retreats for aristocratic ascetics during their late imperial phase. This possibility is based on the presence of basilicas in each of them. However, it is hazardous to go further and deduce only from that archaeological evidence that the ancient buildings in Roman villas were occupied by ascetics and/or monks or whether, in contrast, the villa basilicas were merely private chapels built for the owners. There is also a possibility that both cases could have occurred, correlatively, in individual villas. The private chapel could have attracted a community of monks, all without excluding the following parochial functions.

All these possibilities and questions can be applied to many archaeological sites. The paradigm could perhaps be the Villa Fortunatus (Fraga, Huesca), where, on one side of the peristyle, a chapel with a baptismal pool and a necropolis were installed in the 5th century (Navarro Sáez 1999, 147–150). All this in a villa whose proprietor was already a Christian in the third quarter of the 4th century, according to a mosaic excavated in the domestic area.

Along the same lines of discussion but introducing more recent stratigraphic levels, of particular interest are various medieval monasteries or late antiquity churches that, interestingly, are built on the remains of Roman villas. For example, at the site known as Monte do Mosteiro (Mértola, Portugal), there is an early medieval church on the plot of a Roman villa (Maciel and Martins 1995, 499–506). Moreover, at Sítio do Mosteiro (S. Bartolomeu do Outeiro, Portugal), a Visigothic basilica was excavated in a Roman villa with several chronological phases (Alfênim and Lima 1995, 463–469). It is likely that the toponym ‘monastery’ in these places (documented as early as the Middle Ages) refers to a *monasterium in villa*?

Therefore, the archaeological examples mentioned could have their origin as monasteries in the early ascetic practices of a private family nature, such as those undertaken in their villas by the Hispanic and Hispano-Gallic couples, is documented in Jerome’s letters.

and to consecrate churches in their own homes dedicated to martyrs and give them the title of ‘monasteries’.« (*Regula communis* 1)

5. Conclusion

Jerome shows us how Hispanic monasticism was born and spread among the aristocracy due to the influence of literature (in this case, the epistolary genre) at a time when it was a practice restricted to matrimonial and/or family circles. Jerome addresses his letters to that aristocracy to answer their doctrinal doubts and lead them on the straight path of heterodoxy at a time of convulsion caused by heretical disputes that ravaged both East and West. The Hispanic monasticism that came later – progressively more plural and heterogeneous on a social level – would be regulated based on coenobitic rules designed for community life and promoted by what had already become local episcopal hierarchies. Meanwhile, the formation of communities would soon be disassociated from their origin in the nuclei of aristocratic married couples converted to asceticism that abounded in the last years of the 4th century.

However, the substrate of the Hieronymian seed in Hispanic monasticism would survive the passage of time, with not only the influence of his work remaining indelible but also its invocation in many monasteries and monastic landscapes. For instance, in Montserrat's millenary monastery (north-eastern Hispania), the highest peak on the mountain, where it is set, has been dedicated to St Jerome.

The saint's popularity on the Iberian Peninsula would be crystallized in creating the Order of Saint Jerome in the 14th century (after a brief formation stage of an eremitic nature) foundation of successive Hieronymian monasteries during the years immediately after. These included San Bartolomé de Lupiana (Guadalajara), the true germ of the Order; San Jerome de Yuste (Cáceres); Sant Jeroni de la Vall d'Hebron (Barcelona); and Sant Jeroni de la Murtra (Badalona) (Díaz Martí, 2006).²¹

Nevertheless, it is in the south of the Iberian Peninsula that the Hieronymian monastic order appears to have taken root most extensively and intensively, especially in Andalusia:²² San Jerónimo de Valparaíso, in Córdoba, now declared a National Monument; or San Jerónimo de Buenavista in Seville; and eloquently, the first monastery built in Granada after the Catholic monarchs had taken the Muslim town, was one dedicated to St. Jerome (which appears to have an earlier history, although it is very poorly known). For their part, the female Hieronymian congregations, such as Santa Paula in Seville, Santa María de la Asunción in Morón de la Frontera, Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles in Constantina, Santa Marta in Córdoba, and Santa Paula in Granada, remind us of the importance of female spirituality in Jerome's monastic doctrine.

So, it should be noticed that it was in southern Spain – ancient Baetica (where Lucinus, Theodora, and Abigaus lived and practised asceticism) – that coincidentally it appears that Jerome's name associated with the monastic world was recov-

²¹ Although it is currently cloistered, this monastery is spiritually and culturally still very active.

²² Hernández-Díaz Tapia also emphasises the importance of the female branch of the Hieronymian order in Andalusia (1976, 7).



Photo 2: *The highest peak - dedicated to St. Jerome - of the mountain that hosts the monastery of Montserrat (Barcelona), dedicated to St. Jerome (photo: Sergi Boixader).*

ered with greater intensity from the time of the Christian advance that ended up expelling the Muslims from ancient Hispania. This leads us to suspect that the Hieronymian legacy would have been transmitted powerfully from antiquity and survived during the long interval of Muslim occupation.

Abbreviations

Adv. Vigil. – *Adversus Vigilantium*.

CSEL – Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.

De vir. ill. – *De Viris Illustribus*.

Ep. – *Epistulae*.

PL – Patrologia Latina.

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Blue Deserts: Jerome and the Origins of Insular Monasticism in the Adriatic

Modre puščave: Hieronim in izvori otoškega meništvaja na Jadranu

Abstract: This article focuses on Jerome as one of the first 'ideologists of the desert'. To this end, it discusses his letters, *Vitae*, and his personal experience in the desert of Chalcis (c. 374–377 AD). Jerome is also an important historical source for the 4th-century insular eremitism in the Adriatic: in *Ep.* 60 to Heliodorus, he mentioned Dalmatia as one of the three archetypal deserts, equating it with Egypt and Mesopotamia. The article analyses Jerome's extant references on anchoritic communities and ascetic monks residing in Dalmatia. A special place among them was given to Bonosus, Jerome's close friend who around 374 AD moved to an unknown Northern Dalmatian island. Jerome depicted Bonosus' ascetic life on an island as an ideal that surpasses even the established forms of eremitism in more traditional desert environments. Jerome's propaganda for *insulae Dalmatiae* raises the question about their possible localization, which is shortly discussed in the concluding paragraphs.

Keywords: Jerome, Bonosus, Insular eremitism, Monasticism, Asceticism, Dalmatia

Povzetek: Članek se osredotoča na Hieronima kot enega prvih 'ideologov puščave'. V tem oziru se obrača tako k Hieronimovim pismom in hagiografijam kakor tudi k njegovi osebni izkušnji v sirski puščavi Halkis (ok. 374–377). Hieronim je pomemben tudi kot zgodovinski vir za začetke otoškega puščavnštva na Jadranu v 4. stoletju: v *Ep.* 60, naslovljeni na Heliodora, Hieronim omenja Dalmacijo kot eno izmed treh arhetipskih puščav in jo postavlja ob bok Egiptu in Mezopotamiji. V osrednjem delu članek analizira Hieronimova pričevanja o anahoretskih skupnostih in menihih na Jadranu. Posebno mesto med njimi zaseda Bonoz, Hieronimov bližnji prijatelj iz otroštva, ki se je okrog leta 372 preselil na neznan otok na področju severne Dalmacije. Bonozovo asketsko življenje na otoku Hieronim vzporeja z najbolj znamenitimi puščavniki tistega časa. Ob Hieronimovi propagandi za *insulae Dalmatiae* se zastavlja vprašanje o njihovi lokaciji, ki ga avtorja obravnava v zadnjem delu članka.

Ključne besede: Hieronim, Bonoz, otoško puščavnštvo, meništvaja, asketizem, Dalmacija

1. Introduction

As historical fatherlands of monasticism, one usually thinks of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria.¹ In *Ep.* 60 to Heliodoros, however, Jerome offered a different picture: alongside Egypt and the broader regions of the Near East, he mentioned the Roman province Dalmatia as one of the promised lands for zealous hermits (Bratož 2000, 110). Moreover, Jerome referred to Dalmatia several times in his other letters and his *Vitae*, hence becoming the first and only source for eremitic tradition in the late 4th-century Adriatic. Firstly, this article discusses Jerome's 'ideology of the desert' and secondly, it systematically overviews the passages in Jerome's opus that mention monasticism in the Adriatic. Finally, the concluding section addresses different speculations about the possible localization of Jerome's *insulae Dalmatiae*.

2. Jerome as the 'Ideologist of the Desert'

Jerome first encountered ascetic *modus vivendi* during his study years in Trier (before 370 AD), where he likely came across Athanasius' famous work *Vita Antonii*. He described this »first conversion« (Campenhausen 1972, 131; Derhard-Lesieur 2021) to asceticism in *Ep.* 3, where he wrote that in Trier, he devoted himself to God for the first time (Hier., *Ep.* 3.5.2).² Rufinus' account corroborates this in *Apologetica contra Hieronymum*, where Rufinus alluded to Jerome's knowledge of Greek before his conversion (Rufin., *Apol. c. Hier.* 2.9).³ According to some scholars, the two protagonists in Augustine's famous account of his conversion (Aug., *Conf.* 8.6–12) were no other than Jerome and his closest friend Bonosus.⁴

The next formative stage in the development of Jerome's vision of ascetic life was the time he spent in Aquileia.⁵ In the second half of the 4th-century, ascetic communities in Aquileia were already flourishing (Bratož 2000, 104–110).⁶ Even before the arrival of Jerome and Bonosus around 370 AD, the household of the future

¹ For general introduction see Chitty, Derwas. 1966. *The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism Under the Christian Empire*. Oxford: Blackwell; Steidle, Basilius, ed. 1956. *Antonius Magnus eremita 356–1956. Studia ad antiquum monachismum spectantia*. Rome: Orbis Catholicus, Herder; Canivet, Pierre. 1977. *Le monachisme syrien selon Théodoret de Cyr*. Paris: Beauchesne. Primary sources for Egypt are: Athanasius, *The Life of St. Anthony* (critical edition: Bartelink, Gerard J. M., ed. 1994. *Vie d'Antoine – Athanase d'Alexandrie. Introduction, texte critique et traduction*. SC 400. Paris: Cerf), and Paladius, *Historia Lausiaca* (critical edition: Bartelink, Gerard J. M., ed. 1974. *La storia Lausiaca*. Verona: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla). For Palestine and Syria: Theodoret of Cyrus, *A History of the Monks of Syria*: Price, Robert M., tr. 1985 Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications (critical edition: Canivet, Pierre, and Alice Leroy-Molinghen, ed. 1977–1979. *Histoire des moines de Syrie*. SC 234, 257. Paris: Cerf.)

² »Cum post Romana studia ad Rheni semibarbas ripas /.../ ego primus coeperim velle te colere.«

³ »Ante enim quam converteretur, mecum pariter et literas Graecas et linguam penitus ignorabat.«

⁴ Kelly refutes the hypothesis arguing that Augustine would not describe Jerome and Bonosus as *indocti* (1975, 30). For further discussions see Courcelle 1950, 181; Leclerc et. al. 2007, 13; Steinhausen 1951, 134.

⁵ On Jerome's personal accounts on his contacts with the Aquileian circle see Bratož 2013, 18–23.

⁶ Spinelli (1982, 273) labels the group of Aquileian ascetics not exactly as a cenobitic monastic commu-

Aquileian bishop Chromatius was organized as an informal religious community, *monasterium* – or this is at least how Rufinus later described it.⁷ In Aquileia, Jerome and Bonosus met a group of ascetics – *chorus beatorum* (Hier., *Chron.* a. 374) – that nurtured their ascetic zeal. This community lasted until 374 AD, when they were parted by a »sudden whirlwind« (*subitus turbo*), as Jerome put it (Hier., *Ep.* 3.3).⁸

Afterwards, Jerome set out to Syria and into the desert of Chalcis, which seemed to him »the most secure harbour for a shipwrecked man« (3.3).⁹ This was a significant turning point in his life, for the change of environment encouraged him to write the first eulogies of anchoritic life in the desert. These eulogies set the stage for the development of his ideal image of the desert, which he later promulgated in his writings. Jerome's exalted descriptions of eremitism have significantly influenced later monastic literature in the West and inspired many other ascetics and laypeople.

„Desert as a paradise“ became a recurrent *topos* in Jerome's writings. A meaningful paradigm shift is found in the opening of Jerome's *Vita Pauli*, where the classic attributes of paradise are presented as the utmost agony, while the real desert with all its hardships is described as a paradise (Šubrt 2000, 125–126). The motif of the „desert as a paradise“ also occurs in *Ep.* 2 where Jerome is asking a certain Theodosius, leader of the ascetic community in the Syrian desert, to pray for him to become worthy of the desert and to be allowed to join that „admirable community“ (*admirandum consortium*), since – according to Jerome – the desert was »lovelier than any city«¹⁰ and „those lonely spots“ were »made into a paradise by the saints that throng them.«¹¹

This notion of the „desert as a paradise“ is further related to Jerome's exhortations aimed at various individuals, encouraging them to retreat from society and leave behind their city life.¹² In *Ep.* 14, Jerome observed that »a monk cannot be perfect in his own country« (14.7.2),¹³ while in *Ep.* 58, he suggested to Paulin of Nola that he should consider a solitary life if he desires to become a true monk. In

nity, but with a strong „fervore ascetico“ that is manifested in later writings of Jerome, Rufinus, and Chromatius.

⁷ *Apol. c. Hier.* 2.9. Among the ascetics in the circle were deacon Iulianus, subdeacon Niceas, monk Chrysocomas, Chromatius' brother Eusebius, who was also a deacon, and upper deacon Iovinus, as well as Rufinus. Chromatius, Iovinus, and Eusebius later became bishops.

⁸ The translations of Jerome's letters are, if not stated otherwise, taken from Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, ed. 1893. *Jerome: Letters and Select Works*. Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 6. Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co. For the Latin text of Jerome's letters Hilberg's CSEL editions are used.

⁹ »Syria mihi velut fidissimus naufrago portus occurrit.«

¹⁰ »Spectarem desertum, omni amoeniorem civitatem.« (Hier., *Ep.* 2)

¹¹ »Viderem desolata ab accolis loca, quasi ad quoddam paradisi instar.« (Hier., *Ep.* 2) The passage is explored in depth in Cain 2009, 20–21.

¹² Cf. »They [i.e. the cities] were considered as environments where all worldly wishes (power, money, sex and greed for food) prevailed, distracting people from the interest for afterlife and betraying Christ's true teaching.« (Marazzi 2015, 605)

¹³ »Monachum in patria sua perfectum esse non posse.« Cf. Lc 4,24.

order to abide by the true meaning of the word *monachus*, therefore, one needed to live alone in the desert and leave behind »cities which are the homes not of the solitaries but crowds« (58.5.1).¹⁴ In *Ep.* 125, he exclaimed along the same line that »a town is a prison and solitude a paradise« (125.8.1).¹⁵ In *Ep.* 14, one finds Jerome's famous eulogy to the desert: »O wilderness, bright with Christ's spring flowers! O, solitude, whence come those stones wherewith in the Apocalypse the city of the mighty king is built! O desert, rejoicing in God's familiar presence!« (14).¹⁶ Jerome's praise of the desert thus coincides impeccably with the concept of solitude, recently established by the first Christian ascetics as the principal criteria for ascetic life (Bobovnik and Derhard 2020).

In addition to his *Epistulae*, the formation of Jerome's 'ideology of the desert' can be observed in his *Vitae* of the legendary Desert fathers – *Vita Pauli*, *Vita Malchi*, *Vita Hilarionis* –, texts that mark the very beginning of Latin hagiography (Leclerc et al. 2007, 20). The first and most influential among these works is *Vita Pauli*, written sometime between 376 AD and 381 AD.¹⁷ The text depicts the life of St. Paul of Thebes, who is presented as preceding St. Anthony and surpassing him in his virtue. With this twist, Jerome re-writes the very origins of the Egyptian eremitic tradition as set out in the Athanasius' *Vita Antonii* and establishes St. Paul as the 'first hermit' (Hier., *V. Paul.* 1).¹⁸ In Jerome's version of the story, St. Anthony's older friend Paul is compared to Biblical figures such as the Prophets Elias, John the Baptist, and apostle Paul (13).¹⁹ In stark contrast to St. Anthony, who in Athanasius' words »could not endure learning letters« (Hier., *V. Ant.* 1),²⁰ St. Paul was, according to Jerome, an educated Christian (Hier., *V. Paul.* 4).²¹ In this way, Jerome intentionally positioned erudition as an integral part of monastic life, a notion that later exerted a significant influence on monasticism in the West (Hale-Williams 2006, 39).

The three *Vitae* by Jerome helped to consolidate Egypt, Syria, and Palestine as the fatherlands of the 4th-century monasticism: Paul of Thebes was presented as the first hermit in the Egyptian desert, the story of Malchus took place in the Syrian desert,²² and Hilarion was an itinerant monk from Gaza. As far as the 'coverage' of main geographical regions of early monasticism in Jerome's *Vitae* is con-

¹⁴ »Non sunt solorum habitacula, sed multorum.«

¹⁵ »Mihi oppidum carcer est et solitudo paradusus.«

¹⁶ Translation by F. A. Wright. »O desertum Christi floribus vernans! O solitudo, in qua illi nascuntur lapides, de quibus in Apocalypsi ciuitas magni regis extruitur. O heremus familiari Deo gaudens!«

¹⁷ For the attempts to determinate the date see Kelly 1975, 60–61; Rousseau 2010, 133.

¹⁸ »Paulum quemdam Thebaeum principem rei istius fuisse.«

¹⁹ »Vidi Eliam, uidi Ioannem in deserto, et uere in paradiso Paulum uidi.«

²⁰ Γράμματα μὲν μαθεῖν οὐκ ἠνέσχετο.

²¹ »Litteris tam Graecis quam Aegyptiacis adprime eruditus.«

²² The story of *Vita Malchi* revolves around the early Christian phenomenon of 'spiritual marriage', a favourite topic for Jerome as well, who highly praised the life of ascetic virgins (*subintroductae*), encouraging them for the 'unconsummated' marriage. For the general discussion on marital practices in Late Antiquity see Saje 2019, 989–1000, and Saje 2018, 813–823.

cerned, it is interesting to note that an important episode of *Vita Hilarionis* occurs in (southern) Dalmatia.²³ Jerome placed the Adriatic region on the map of ideal monastic landscapes, an act which he confirms by adding the Dalmatian islands to his list of promised monastic lands in *Hier., Ep.* 60.

3. Insular Eremitism in the Adriatic

Since there were no natural desert environments in the Latin West, monks who followed in the footsteps of famous Eastern ascetics looked for extreme solitude, remoteness, and wilderness that were characteristic of the deserts in Egypt and the Middle East (Marazzi 2015, 605–615; Lebecq 2013, 11). One obvious candidate for such an environment were desolate islands, isolated from the rest of the world by sea.²⁴ These insular ‘cells’, well-defined by their shores,²⁵ soon became a symbol of retreat and asceticism (Gioanni 2013, 100). The same holds true for the 4th-century anchoritic communities in the broader Adriatic region. Due to the lack of archaeological evidence from this earliest period, all knowledge about insular monasticism in the Adriatic comes from Jerome (Bratož 2000, 103–126).²⁶ It is to this textual evidence that we now turn.

3.1 *Hier., Ep.* 60

Jerome’s *Ep.* 60, written in 396 AD, is a *consolatoria* (Cain 2006, 504) composed for his friend Heliiodorus, whose nephew Nepotianus died not long ago. Nepotianus had, like his uncle, abandoned civil or military service (*Hier., Ep.* 60.9.2) and became a presbyter in Altinum, a town in the province of Venetia-Histria, where Heliiodorus was bishop.²⁷ In *Ep.* 60, Jerome tried to soothe his friend’s grief by praising Nepotianus’ traits and impeccable ascetic values. Nepotianus, Jerome wrote, would have eagerly left everything behind when he became a monk if the love for his uncle would not have prevented him. That is why he contemplated leaving for Egypt or Mesopotamia. In this respect, he also considered Dalmatian islands:

»He [sc. Nepotianus] longed daily to make his way to the monasteries of Egypt, or to visit the communities of Mesopotamia, or at least to live a

²³ See below.

²⁴ The term ‘isolation’ is etymologically derived from *it. isola*, which in turn comes from *lat. insula*, ‘island’. The problem of water shortage could have been partly solved with the use of cisterns, which was a common practice at the time, while the abundance of seafood provided better natural resources than the harsh desert environments in the deserts of Egypt, Palestine and Syria.

²⁵ Cf. Jerome’s description of the island as a jail: »Abruptae rupes, quasi quemdam horroris carcerem claudunt.« (*Ep.* 3.4.4)

²⁶ For the recent archaeological survey in the North Adriatic region see Čaušević-Bully and Bully 2013; 2015. Archaeological evidence for early insular monasticism is scarce in other Mediterranean regions (e.g. Tyrrhenian Sea, Ligurian Sea) as well (Belcari 2013, 80).

²⁷ Nepotianus was also the addressee of *Ep.* 52, in which Jerome offers guidance for those struggling to combine their ascetic life and ecclesiastical career.

lonely life in the Dalmatian islands, separated from the mainland only by the strait of Altinum. But he had not the heart to forsake his episcopal uncle in whom he beheld a pattern of many virtues and from whom he could take lessons without going abroad.« (60.10)²⁸

3.2 Hier., Ep. 105

The second testimony that hints at eremitism in the Adriatic is Jerome's *Ep. 105*, written around 398 AD. It addresses the lost letter that was sent to Jerome by St. Augustine. The relevant passage is the following:

»You are sending me letter upon letter, and often urging me to answer a certain letter of yours, a copy of which, without your signature, had reached me through our brother Sysinnius, deacon, as I have already written, which letter you tell me that you entrusted first to our brother Profuturus, and afterwards to someone else; but that Profuturus was prevented from finishing his intended journey, and having been ordained a bishop, was removed by sudden death; and the second messenger, whose name you do not give, was afraid of the perils of the sea, and gave up the voyage which he had intended. These things being so, I am at a loss to express my surprise that the same letter is reported to be in possession of most of the Christians in Rome and throughout Italy and has come to everyone but myself, to whom alone it was ostensibly sent. I wonder at this all the more because the brother Sysinnius aforesaid tells me that he found it among the rest of your published works, not in Africa, not in your possession, but on an island of the Adriatic some five years ago.« (105.1)²⁹

The passage implies an established (monastic?) community on an unnamed *insula Hadriae*; however, there are no geographical clues that would allow for locating this island (Bratož 2000, 111).

3.3 Hier., Ep. 118

The third reference to eremitic communities in the Adriatic is found in Jerome's *Ep. 118*, dated 407 AD. In this letter, Jerome writes to a certain Julian, his compatriot or perhaps a neighbour (Suić 1986, 236), praising his benefactory deeds:

²⁸ »Cumque arderet cotidie aut ad Aegypti monasteria pergere aut Mesopotamiae invisere choros vel certe insularum Dalmatiae, quae Altino tantum freto distant, solitudines occupare, avunculum pontificem deserere non audebat tota in illo cernens exempla virtutum domique habens, unde disceret.«

²⁹ »Crebras ad me epistolas dirigit, et saepe compelis, ut respondeam cuidam epistolae tuae, cuius ad me, ut ante iam scripsi, per fratrem Sisinnium diaconum exemplaria pervenerunt absque subscriptione tua et quam primum per fratrem Profuturum, secundo per quendam alium te misisse significas, et interim Profuturum retractum de itinere et Episcopum constitutum veloci morte subtractum, illum cuius nomen retices, maris timuisse discrimina et navigationis mutasse consilium. Quae cum ita sint, satis mirari nequeo, quomodo ipsa epistola et Romae et in Italia haberi a plerisque dicatur et ad me solum non pervenerint, cui soli missa est, praesertim cum idem frater Sisinnius inter caeteros tractatus tuos dixerit eam se non in Africa, non apud te, sed in insula Hadriae, ante hoc ferme quinquennium reperisse.«

»I would not, therefore, have you offer to the Lord only what a thief may steal from you or an enemy fall upon, or a proscription confiscate, what is liable to fluctuations in value now going up and now down, what belongs to a succession of masters who follow each other as fast as in the sea wave follows wave, and – to say everything in a word – what, whether you like it or not, you must leave behind you when you die. Rather offer to God that which no enemy can carry off, and no tyrant take from you, which will go down with you into the grave, nay on to the kingdom of heaven and the enchantments of paradise. You already build monasteries and support in the various islands of Dalmatia a large number of holy men. But you would do better still if you were to live among these holy men as a holy man yourself.« (118.5)³⁰

The plural term *monasteria* and phrase *multus numerus sanctorum* suggest that several separate ascetic communities in the Adriatic already existed around 400 AD (Čaušević-Bully and Bully 2015, 79). However, Jerome's use of the term *monasteria* does not necessarily denote a coenobitic monastery but rather refers to a semi-anchoretic colony (*laura*) or a solitary hermitage (Bratož 2000, 110). Apart from the general mention of Dalmatia, no geographical details can be derived from this passage.

3.4 Hier., *Apologia contra Rufinum*

Further to the *Epistulae*, monastic communities on the Adriatic islands were mentioned twice in Jerome's *Apologia contra Rufinum*:

»Whence then, I beg you to consider, did the report of you [sc. Rufinus] having written these books reach me? Who was it that sowed them broadcast through Rome and Italy and the islands of the coast of Dalmatia? How did these charges against me ever come to my ears if they were only lurking in your desk and those of your friends?« (3.3.12–16)³¹

Jerome again mentioned Dalmatia in a later passage:

»After I repelled your charges, that is your praises, and without showing an ill will to you personally, answered the accusations, not the accuser, and inveighed against the heretics, to show that, though defamed by you, I was a Catholic; you grew angry, and raved and composed the most magnificent works against me; and when you had given them to all men to read and re-

³⁰ »Nolo tantum ea offeras domino, quae potest fur rapere, invadere inuadere, proscriptione tollere, quae et accedere possunt et recedere et instar undarum ac fluctuum a succedentibus sibi dominis occupantur atque – ut uno cuncta sermone comprehendam – quae – velis nolis – in morte dimissurus es; illud offer, quod nullus tibi hostis possit auferre, nulla eripere tyrannis, quod tecum pergat ad inferos, immo ad regna caelorum et ad paradisi delicias. Exstruis monasteria, et multus a te per insulas Dalmatiae sanctorum numerus sustentatur; sed melius faceres, si et ipse sanctus inter sanctos viveres.«

³¹ »Et unde, oro te, librorum tuorum ad me fama pervenit? Quis eos Romae, quis in Italia, quis per Dalmatiae insulas disseminavit? Si in scriniis tuis et amicorum tuorum latebant, ad me quomodo mea crimina pervenerunt?«

peat, letters came to me from Italy, and Rome and Dalmatia, showing each more clearly than the last, what all the encomiums were worth with which in your former laudation you had decorated me.« (3.7. 32–40)³²

In these two passages Jerome reported that Christian communities in the Adriatic were aware of concurrent affairs, particularly about an ardent polemic he had with Rufinus (Bratož 2000, 111). Jerome's former friend was now sending malicious letters across the 'Dalmatian islands' (*per Dalmatiae insulas*) in order to discredit him among his compatriots (Bratož 2013, 9). Like with the letters, it is impossible to locate these islands on the grounds of the text alone.

4. *Eremitae Dalmaticae*: Hilarion, Bonosus, Castricianus

4.1 Hilarion

In *Vita Hilarionis*, the eponymous saint was presented as a forefather of the ascetic movement in the broader Adriatic region. According to Jerome, Hilarion travelled extensively in his late years in order to escape the crowds of admirers that appeared at his every place of residence. The same applied to Sicily, his last stop before setting sail for Dalmatia. In this context, Jerome wrote that Hilarion

»wanted to go to certain barbarous races where his name and fame were unknown. He [sc. Hesychius] therefore brought him to Epidaurus, a town in Dalmatia, where he stayed for a few days in the country near but could not be hidden.« (28.1–2)³³

Ironically, Dalmatia, the country of 'barbarous races', was Jerome's fatherland.³⁴ With 'barbarous races' he might have alluded to the pagan population of this region, which was only partly Christianised in the mid-4th-century.

According to Jerome, Hilarion arrived to Epidaurus (present-day Cavtat near Dubrovnik) around 366 AD and performed two miracles. First, he saved the local population from a gigantic savage snake (28), and second, he tranquillized the sea after a devastating earthquake (29). These miracles were so remarkable that »Epidaurus and all the region roundabout tell the story to this day, and mothers teach their children to hand down the remembrance of it to posterity« (29.4).³⁵

³² »Postquam repuli crimina, id est laudes tuas, et absque invidia tui nominis respondi criminibus, non criminatori, atque, ut me catholicum a te infamatus probarem, invectus sum in haereticos, irasceris, furis, et loculentissimos libros contra me cudis. Quos cum legendos et cantandos omnibus tradidisses, certatim ad me de Italia et urbe Roma atque Dalmatia scripta venerunt, quibus me laudatur pristinus ornasses praeconiis.«

³³ »Velle ad barbaras quasdam pergere nationes, ubi et nomen et sermo suus incognitus foret. Duxit itaque illum ad Epidaurum, Dalmatiae oppidum, ubi paucis diebus in vicino agello mansitans non potuit abscondi.«

³⁴ For a discussion of Jerome's Dalmatian origins, see Bratož 2013, 8–15.

³⁵ »Hoc Epidaurus et omnis illa regio usque hodie praedicat, matresque docent liberos suos ad memoriam in posteros transmittendam.« This anecdote is mentioned also by Sozomenus in *HE* V.10.2–3 (Cedilnik 2004, 291–292).

Jerome further added that his fame spread as far as Salona (29.7),³⁶ leaving Hilarion no other choice but to escape the crowds. Thus, he sailed away »secretly by night in a small boat« (29.7).³⁷

Another passage in *Vita Hilarionis* should be considered in the context of the previously discussed ‚ideology of the desert‘ and its insular forms.³⁸ Hilarion was beset by familiar problems with admirers already in Egypt long before he visited Dalmatia. To this end, he contemplated on how to avoid them:

»Having then left Bruchium, he entered the oasis through the trackless desert and there abode for a year, more or less. But, inasmuch as his fame had travelled thither also, he felt that he could not be hidden in the East, where he was known to many by the report and by sight, and began to think of taking ship for some solitary island, so that having been exposed to public view by the land, he might at least find concealment in the sea.« (23.7)³⁹

Described here is an ideal of the insular ascetic life that Hilarion himself never wholly fulfilled. While he lived in Sicily and Cyprus, these two islands did not correspond to his idea of a small and solitary island (*sola insula*), primarily due to their size and population density. The ideal of insular eremitism, envisaged by Hilarion, was yet to be fulfilled by later generations of ascetic monks in Dalmatia.

4.2 Bonosus

According to Jerome, the most remarkable insular hermit was his close friend Bonosus. Jerome considered him as an inseparable brother, writing in *Ep.* 3 that they were »fostered in the bosoms of the same nurses, and carried in the arms of the same bearers« (3.5).⁴⁰ Afterwards, they were schoolmates in Rome, lived together in Trier (3.5.2), where they became interested in asceticism and later moved to Aquileia (*Ep.* 3; 7; *Apol. c. Ruf.* 1.4; *Chron.* a. 374). After the quarrel in Jerome’s Aquileian ascetic circle in 374, Bonosus decided to pursue eremitic life and moved to an unknown island. Although never explicitly stated by Jerome, we can arguably assume that Bonosus settled down on one of the islands in the Adriatic, on the shores of which the city of Aquileia stood (Bratož 2000, 110).

Jerome described him as a »new inhabitant of paradise« (*novus paradisi colonus*) (*Hier., Ep.* 3.4.2), living »in the safe shelter of his island« like John (of Patmos) (7.3).⁴¹ Bonosus’ island is depicted in a highly poetic manner:

³⁶ »Mirabatur omnis civitas et magnitudo signi Salonis quoque precrebuerat.«

³⁷ »In brevi lembo clam nocte.«

³⁸ For Jerome’s contribution to Late Antique conception of insular eremitism cf. Marazzi 2015, 606.

³⁹ »Egressus ergo de Bruchio per inviam solitudinem intravit Oasim, ibique anno plus minus exacto, quia illuc quoque sua fama peruenerat, quasi iam in Oriente latere non posset, ubi multi illum et opinion et vultu noverant, ad solas navigare insulas cogitabat, ut quem terra vulgaverat, saltem maria celarent.«

⁴⁰ »Idem nos nutricum sinus, idem amplexus foverint baiulorum.«

⁴¹ »In tuto insulae /.../ ad exemplum Ioannis.«

»For here you have a youth educated with us in the refining accomplishments of the world, with an abundance of wealth, and in rank inferior to none of his associates; yet he forsakes his mother, his sisters, and his dearly loved brother and settles like a new inhabitant of paradise on a dangerous island, with the sea roaring round its reefs; while its rough crags, bare rocks, and desolate aspect make it more terrible still.« (3.4.2)⁴²

And in the following passage:

»Around the entire island roars the frenzied sea, while the beetling crags along its winding shores resound as the billows beat against them. No grass makes the ground green; there are no shady copses and no fertile fields. Precipitous cliffs surround his dreadful abode as if it were a prison.« (3.4.4)⁴³

These descriptions, which are perhaps only Jerome's inventions, again offer no firm grounds for establishing the island's location. According to Suić's theory, the above passage could refer to one of the islands in the Brioni archipelago, which lies along the Western coast of Istria (Suić 1986, 266). However, Jerome's explicit depiction of Bonosus' island as a solitary place in *Ep.* 3.4.2 is an argument against the theory because Brioni islands lie in close proximity to the densely populated Western coast of Istria.⁴⁴ Thus, it would be more plausible to place Bonosus's island farther South or/and East of Istria among the *insulae Dalmatiae*.

As far as Bonosus is concerned, retreating from Aquileia to an unknown island, he became the second known Western insular hermit after St. Martin of Tours (Bratož 2000, 110), who settled on the island of Gallinaria along the Ligurian coast some 15 years before (*Sulp. Sev., V. Mart.* 6.5).⁴⁵ However, the conditions in which Bonosus lived seem to have been more austere than those of St. Martin. The latter's insular episode lasted only a couple of years (c. 358–360 AD) that he spent accompanied by a presbyter. On the other hand, Bonosus seems to have remained a solitary insular hermit his entire life (Bratož 2000, 110, n. 53).⁴⁶

Jerome painted Bonosus' saintly life as an unattainable *exemplum*. This can be observed in the following passage, full of biblical allusions and symbolism:

⁴² »Ecce puer honestis saeculi nobiscum artibus institutus, cui opes adfatim, dignitas adprime inter aequales, contempta matre, sororibus et carissimo sibi germano insulam pelago circumsonante navifragam, cui asperae cautes et nuda saxa et solitudo terrori est, quasi quidam novus paradisi colonus insedit.«

⁴³ »Totam circa insulam fremit insanum mare et sinuosis montibus inisum scopulis aequor reclamant; nullo terra gramine viret; nullis uernans campus densatur umbraculis; abruptae rupes quasi quemdam horrore carcerem claudunt.«

⁴⁴ Cf. discussion on Brioni below in „Conclusion“.

⁴⁵ »Cedendum itaque tempori arbitratus ad insulam, cui Gallinaria nomen est, secessit comite quodam presbytero, magnarum virtutum viro. Hic aliquamdiu radicibus vixit herbarum: quo tempore helleborum, venenatum, ut ferunt, gramen, in cibum sumpsit.« Critical edition: Halm, Karl, ed. 1866. *Sulpicius Severus, Opera*. CSEL 1.

⁴⁶ Jerome mentions that even Bonosus' closest friend was not with him on the island: »Nullus ibi agriculturalum, nullus monachorum ne parvulus quidem quem nosti, Onesimus, quo velut fratre minusculo fruebatur, in tanta vastitate adhaeret lateri comes.« (*Ep.* 3.4.2) Cf. Bratož 2000, 110; Gioanni 2013, 101.

»You tell me that Bonosus, like a true son of the Fish, has taken to the water. As for me, who am still foul with my old stains, like the basilisk and the scorpion, I haunt the dry places. Bonosus has his heel already on the serpent's head, while I am still as food to the same serpent which by divine appointment devours the earth. He can scale already that ladder of which the psalms of degrees are a type; while I, still weeping on its first step, hardly know whether I shall ever be able to say: I will lift up my eyes unto the hills, from whence comes my help. Amid the threatening billows of the world, he is sitting in the safe shelter of his island, that is, of the church's pale, and it may be that even now, like John, he is being called to eat God's book; while I, still lying in the sepulchre of my sins and bound with the chains of my iniquities, wait for the Lord's command in the Gospel: ›Jerome, come forth.‹ But Bonosus has done more than this. Like the prophet Jeremiah, he has carried his girdle across the Euphrates (for all the devil's strength is in the loins) and has hidden it there in a hole of the rock.« (Hier., *Ep.* 7.3)⁴⁷

Not only was Bonosus described as »a new inhabitant of paradise«, but Jerome also went even further, likening him to Jacob (Hier., *Ep.* 3.4)⁴⁸ and comparing him with Moses (3.4)⁴⁹ and John (of Patmos) (7.3).⁵⁰ He further described him as someone who surpasses even the Apostles (3.4),⁵¹ claiming that Bonosus experiences similar visions as John (of Patmos) (3.4).⁵² In a telling metaphor, he described Bonosus as »a son of the Fish« (*filius, ἰχθύος*), who set out to the solitary island. He »has taken to the water« (*petere aquosa*) (*Ep.* 7.3), while Jerome, considering himself too sinful, was still »haunting the dry places« (*arentia sectari*) (7.3).

The last testimony of Bonosus in Jerome's opus is a short passage from *Chronicon*, written around 380 AD, where Bonosus, Florentinus, and Rufinus are described as *insignes monachi* of the Aquileian circle (Hier., *Chron.* a. 377).⁵³

⁴⁷ »Bonosus, ut scribitis, quasi filius ἰχθύος, id est, piscis, aquosa petiit, nos pristina contagione sordentes quasi reguli et scorpiones arentia quaeque sectamur. Ille iam calcat super colubri caput, nos serpenti terram ex divina sententia comedenti adhuc cibo sumus. Ille iam potest summum graduum psalmum scandere, nobis adhuc in primo ascensu flentibus nescio an dicere aliquando contingat: ›Levavi oculos meos in montes, unde veniat auxilium mihi‹ (Ps 120,1) Ille inter minaces saeculi fluctus in tuto insulae, hoc est, ecclesiae gremio, sedens ad exemplum Iohannis librum forte iam devorat, ego in scelerum meorum sepulchro iacens et peccatorum vinculis conligatus dominicum de evangelio exspecto clamorem: ›Hieronyme, veni foras‹. Bonosus, inquam, – quia secundum prophetam omnis diaboli virtus in lumbis est – trans Euphraten tulit lumbare suum ibi illud in foramine petrae abscondens.«

⁴⁸ »Scalam praesagatam Iacob somniantem iam scandit.«

⁴⁹ »Et sacramento Moysi serpentem in heremo suspendit.«

⁵⁰ »Ille inter minaces saeculi fluctus in tuto insulae, hoc est ecclesiae gremio, sedens, ad exemplum Iohannis librum forte iam devorat.«

⁵¹ »Videt gloriam dei, quam etiam apostoli nisi in deserto non viderant.«

⁵² »Et fortasse ad exemplum Iohannis aliquid videt, dum in insula commoratur.«

⁵³ »Florentinus, Bonosus, et Rufinus insignes monachi habentur.« To this passage alludes also Rufinus (*Apol. c. Hier.* 2.28.44).

4.3 Castricianus

Besides Hilarion and Bonosus, Castricianus, a blind man of Pannonian origins, is the last insular hermit in the Adriatic mentioned by name. In *Ep.* 68, dated to 397 AD, Jerome wrote that Castricianus' journey to Bethlehem with the intention of visiting Jerome did not last long. When he reached Cissa, he was convinced by his ,brothers' to stay:

»My reverend son Heraclius the deacon has reported to me that in your eagerness to see me you came as far as Cissa, and that, though a Pannonian and consequently a land animal, you did not quail before the surges of the Adriatic and the dangers of the Aegean and Ionian seas. He tells me that you would have actually accomplished your purpose had not our brethren with affectionate care held you back. I thank you all the same and regard it as kindness shown. For in the case of friends, one must accept the will for the deed.« (68.1)⁵⁴

This passage confirms that there was a community of monks present in Cissa around 397 AD.

5. Conclusion

Insular eremitism in the Adriatic holds a special place in Jerome's writings. Jerome presented it as an ideal that surpasses even the established forms of monasticism in more traditional desert environments. He openly praised Bonosus' ascetic life on an island (*petere aquosa*) over the life of those who lived in desert places (*arentia sectari*) (*Hier., Ep.* 7.3). Considering the high status of the Adriatic islands in Jerome's ideal image of the desert, his propaganda for *insulae Dalmatiae* raises the question about their possible localization. While it is certainly not possible to establish their exact location based solely on the figurative descriptions in Jerome's texts, the above-discussed passages nevertheless provide some general indications.

The toponym Altinum, which according to Jerome's *Ep.* 60 was separated from the Dalmatian islands only by a strait (*fretum*) of the sea, can form the basis for cautious speculation about their location. Altinum was a Roman town in Venetia-Histria, located on the border of the West Adriatic lagoons, opposite the Torcello island.⁵⁵ In strictly geographical terms, the first impulse would be to interpret Jerome's phrase *quae Altino tantum freto* distant as the archipelago along the Italian coast right in front of the ancient Roman town. Nevertheless, it would be highly improbable for the educated Jerome, who must have been well acquainted

⁵⁴ »Sanctus filius meus Heraclius diaconus mihi retulit, quod cupiditate nostri Cissam usque venisses et homo Pannonius, id est terrenum animal, non timueris Adriatici maris aestus et Aegei atque Ionii subire discrimina et, nisi te pius fratrum retinisset affectus, voluntatem opere complisses. Habeo itaque gratiam et in acceptum refero. In amicis enim non res quaeritur, sed voluntas.«

⁵⁵ For Altinum see Scarfi and Tombolani 1985.

with the broader region from his time in Aquileia, to count the tiny islands on the Italian coast among the *insulae Dalmatiae*. Moreover, Altinum had a busy port in Jerome's time, which alone would have highly diminished the solitude of hermits living on the islands in its immediate vicinity.

A similar argument can be further used for dismissing the identification of Jerome's 'Dalmatian islands' with the islands on the Western coast of Istria, opposite the Italian mainland.⁵⁶ For this to be true, the Latin word *fretum* must be read as 'a stretch of the sea' (a possible alternative to its primary meaning 'strait'),⁵⁷ which corresponds to approximately 100 kilometres of seawater separating the Istrian coast from Italy. However, the hypothesis about the islands on the Western coast of Istria seems again implausible, for Jerome would hardly confuse this region, which ecclesiastically and jurisdictionally belonged to Italy, with the Roman province of Dalmatia. In that period, the Western borders of Dalmatia followed the river Arsia (Raša), running through the Eastern part of Istria, while in turn, the whole Western coast was part of Italy.⁵⁸ It is clear from the famous passage about Jerome's birthplace Stridon in *De viris illustribus* (125)⁵⁹ that he was well aware of the nearby provincial borders between Pannonia and Dalmatia.⁶⁰ Considering the border between Italy and Dalmatia, we can therefore assume that Jerome, a native from the same area, would not ignore the well-known fact that important early Christian centres, such as Pola (Pula) and Parentium (Poreč), as well as the islands along the coast did *not* belong to Dalmatia.

A further argument speaking against the localization of Jerome's *insulae Dalmatiae* on the Western coast of Istria is their proximity to the economically flourishing, agriculturally well developed, and densely populated coastal region (Bratož 2014, 403, 406; Matijašić 1998, 334–366), altogether making the whole archipelago highly inadequate for the zealous solitude-seeking ascetics of Jerome's time.

If we discard the above hypotheses about the possible semi-anchoritic settlements in the Altinum archipelago and the Western Coast of Istria, Jerome's vague phrase *quae Altino tantum freto distant* could designate the broader Kvarner region further to the East,⁶¹ from where it was possible to reach the coast of Altinum via direct maritime routes with no intermediate stops. This same argument would also apply to the

⁵⁶ These possibilities were proposed by Bratož and Suić, who have cautiously identified the 'Dalmatian islands' with the Brioni archipelago north-west of Roman city of Pula (Pola) (Bratož 2000, 112; Suić 1986, 266).

⁵⁷ In Latin *fretum* can mean 'a strait', 'sound', 'channel' as well as (even if used more in poetry) 'the sea', as suggests Lewis-Short's Latin Dictionary with given examples: the sea (syn.: *mare, oceanus, pelagus, pontus*). Plur.: »fervet fretis spirantibus aequor«, Verg., *Gerog.* 1.327: »in freta dum fluvii current.«; Id., *Aen.* 1.607; cf. Ov., *Met.* 1.36: »pastor cum traheret per freta navibus Idaeis Helenen.«; Hor., *Carm.* 1.15.1: »fretis acrior Hadriae.«.

⁵⁸ Cf. the map of the borderlines between Dalmatia and Italy in Cedilnik 2004, front inner page.

⁵⁹ »Hieronymus natus patre Eusebio, oppido Stridonis, quod a Gothis eversum Dalmatiae quondam Pannoniaque confinium fuit.«

⁶⁰ For discussion on ubication of Stridon see Bratož 2013, 8–15.

⁶¹ For a historical overview of archaeological excavations on Kornati islands and speculation about possible early monastic locations see: Radić Rossi, Irena, and Tomislav Fabijanić. Arheološka baština Kornata. In: *Toponimija kornatskog otočja*, Vladimir Skračić, ed. Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2013, 86–87.

more isolated outer line of islands stretching from southwestern Kvarner (islands Unije, Susak, Žirje, Dugi otok etc.) towards Kornati archipelago in the South. On the other hand, it seems rather implausible that Jerome's phrase »a short strait from Altinum« (Hier., *Ep.* 60) would also comprise islands located further south than these regions. Apart from the legend of Hilarion that took place in Epidaurus, no other explicit indication in Jerome points to central parts of Dalmatia.⁶²

The suggested localization of Jerome's *insulae Dalmatiae* in *Ep.* 60 in the Kvarner region can be further corroborated by the toponym Cissa (Hier., *Ep.* 68), mentioned in the context of Castricianus, who intended to visit Jerome in Bethlehem, but was held by brethren with loving care at Cissa. Based on Pliny the Elder's mention of the two islands with the name Cissa in his *Naturalis historia*,⁶³ scholars distinguish between Cissa Pullaria (Istria) and Cissa Liburnica (island Pag). While the identification of the latter as island Pag is generally accepted, the question of localization of Cissa Pullaria has raised heated debates among scholars (Šonje 1980–1981, 105; Marušič 1990, 403; Suić 1996, 693; Bratož 2004, 554–556; Škunca 2011, 333). As far as our present discussion is concerned, however, the main question is not the exact location of Cissa Pullaria, but foremost the question, which of the two islands of Cissa, mentioned in Pliny, the Elder – Cissa Pullaria (Istria) or Cissa Liburnica (Kvarner) – Jerome had in mind in *Ep.* 68.

According to Suić's theory, the island where Castricianus interrupted his journey to visit Jerome in Bethlehem is Cissa Pullaria. He derives his conclusions by identifying the island Cissa mentioned in Pliny the Elder (3.129) with the Brioni archipelago, for which he finds confirmation in Jerome's account of Castricianus (Hier., *Ep.* 68), who allegedly started his journey from Aquileia. Nevertheless, as there is no clue in Jerome that Castricianus indeed set sail from Aquileia, Suić's argument for the identification of Jerome's toponym Cissa with Brioni islands forms a *petitio principii*. An argument against Suić's theory is Jerome's description of Castricianus as *homo Pannonius* (Hier., *Ep.* 68.1), which would suggest that his point of departure was Pannonia and that for him, the shortest route towards Adriatic was not via Aquileia, but directly to Tarsatica (Rijeka), Senia (Senj) or any other port in broader Kvarner region.⁶⁴ According to this itinerary, the toponym Cissa in Jerome's *Ep.* 68 would have necessarily referred to Cissa Liburnica (island

⁶² Noteworthy, however, is the argument proposed by Nikolina Uroda (2013, 114) who connects the name Ausonius, to whom Jerome entrusts the letter 118, with the inscription from Podstrana near Split, dated to the 5th-century AD. The inscription mentions a certain Ausonius (*vir spectabilis*) and is the only evidence for this name in the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia.

⁶³ »/.../ iuxta Histrorum agrum Cissa, Pullariae et Absyrtides, /.../ iuxta eas Electrides« (3.129) and »Insulae eius sinus cum oppidis /.../ Absortium, Arba, Gissa, Portunata« (3.152).

⁶⁴ Suić seeks to diminish those drawbacks to his argument by referring to the Gothic invasion which has at the time caused an unstable situation on the roads in the Illyricum and could have prevented Castricianus from taking the more direct road to Kvarner (Suić 1996, 693, n. 17). This argument is not very convincing since the same would be true also regarding the roads leading from Pannonia to Aquileia. Suić seems to contradict his own claim that Jerome's Cissa is the Brioni islands while attempting to undermine Šonje's theory about 'basilica urbana' in Cissa in Novalja, arguing that the church might have as well been a monastic one. He sees the proof for this argument in Jerome (Suić 1996, 708), thus ironically supporting the Šonje's argument of identification of Jerome's Cissa with Cissa Liburnica on island Pag.

Pag), from where Castricianus could embark on a ship to Salona and continue his journey overseas towards Bethlehem (Šonje 1980–1981, 106).

The final point to consider in Jerome's words *quod cupiditate nostri Cissam* in *Ep.* 68 is whether the toponym Cissa means the town (modern-day Novalja), which was a populated urban area at that time, or it more generally refers to the eponymous island Pag (Cissa). As mentioned above, Jerome's use of the term *monasteria* (Hier., *Ep.* 60; 118) in the late 4th-century refers to semi-anchoretic colonies rather than to coenobitic communities. Thus, it is more probable that the *fratres*, with whom Castricianus stayed in Cissa, were a semi-anchoretic community that deliberately moved away from urban centres. In this case, the ambiguous toponym Cissa in *Ep.* 68 would refer to the island rather than to the town. Island Pag (Cissa) can arguably be counted among the *insulae Dalmatiae*, mentioned in Jerome's *Ep.* 60 as one of the three promised monastic lands. Even if a more precise localization of other Dalmatian islands is not possible based on Jerome's texts alone, *Ep.* 60 and *Ep.* 68 at least seem to both point towards the broader Kvarner region.

Abbreviations

Apol. c. Hier. – *Apologia contra Hieronymum*.

Apol. c. Ruf. – *Apologia contra Rufinum*.

Aug., Conf. – Augustinus, *Confessiones*.

CCSL – Corpus Christianorum Series Latina.

Chron. – *Chronicon*.

CSEL – Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.

Rufin. – Tyrannius Rufinus.

SC – Sources Chrétiennes.

Sulp. Sev., V. Mart. – Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*.

V. Ant. – *Vita Antonii*.

V. Hilar. – *Vita Hilarionis*.

V. Pauli – *Vita Pauli*.

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Jože Krašovec

Izvori Hieronimovih pogledov na prevajanje in razlaganje Svetega pisma

Origins of Jerome's Views on Translation and Interpretation of the Bible

Povzeteke: Namen tega prispevka je prikazati, kako Hieronim v svojih prevodih, v predgovorih k prevodu posameznih knjig Svetega pisma, v komentarjih in v pisnih izražja svojo zavezanost grško-rimski retoriki na eni strani in različnim posebnostim svetopisemskega jezika, sloga in sporočila na drugi. Hieronim je bil velik strokovnjak v klasični literaturi, v literarni teoriji in v dialektiki. Ko je začel prevajati Sveto pismo, je spoznal, da resnica Svetega pisma presega vse poganške arhetipe, trope in ideale. Ko se je v duhovni zrelosti povzpел nad grško-rimske vzornike, je začel poudarjati posebnost svetopisemskih besedil, ki se kaže predvsem v večpomenskosti temeljnih dogodkov, likov in simbolov. Zavzemal se je za jasnost izražanja in za natančnost v prevajanju svetopisemskih besedil tako glede vsebine kakor glede literarne oblike. Poseben cilj tega prispevka je vprašanje, kateri dejavniki so vplivali na razvoj Hieronimovih hermenevtičnih načel v prevajanju in razlaganju Svetega pisma. Temeljno vprašanje je, kako pomemben dejavnik je večpomenskost svetopisemskih besedil, ki je v srednjem veku dala povod za razvoj judovskih in krščanskih hermenevtičnih načel glede razmerja med dobesednim in duhovnim pomenom svetopisemskih besedil. Vzporedni cilj prispevka je ugotavljanje, kateri dejavniki so vodili do tega, da je Hieronimov prevod Svetega pisma (*Vulgata*) v srednjem veku v katoliški Cerkvi dobil status avtoriziranega latinskega prevoda Svetega pisma.

Ključne besede: Hieronim, dobesedni in prosti prevod, hebrejski izvirnik, Septuaginta, revizija prejšnjih prevodov, *Vetus Latina*, *Vulgata*, *Nova Vulgata*

Abstract: The purpose of this article is to show how Jerome in his translations, in the prefaces to the translation of individual books of the Bible, in commentaries, and letters, expresses his commitment to Greco-Roman rhetoric on the one hand and various peculiarities of biblical language, style, and message on the other. Jerome was a great expert in classical literature, literary theory, and dialectics. When he began translating the Bible, he realised that the truth of the Bible transcends all pagan archetypes, tropes, and ideals. As Jerome rose

above Greco-Roman models in his spiritual maturity, he began to emphasise the uniqueness of biblical texts, manifested above all in the diversity of meaning of actual events, characters, and symbols. He advocated clarity of expression and accuracy in translating biblical texts in terms of content and literary form. The specific aim of this paper is the question of what factors influenced the development of Jerome's hermeneutic principles in the translation and interpretation of the Bible. The fundamental question is what an important factor is the ambiguity of biblical texts, which in the Middle Ages gave rise to the development of Jewish and Christian hermeneutic principles regarding the relationship between the literal and the spiritual meaning of biblical texts. The parallel aim of the article is to determine what factors led to the fact that Jerome's translation of the Bible (Vulgate) in the Middle Ages was given the status of an official Latin translation of the Bible in the Catholic Church.

Keywords: Jerome, literal and free translation, Hebrew original, the Septuagint, revision of previous translations, *Vetus Latina*, the Vulgate, *Nova Vulgata*

1. Uvod

Zgodovino študij o prevajanju sta zaznamovala komentator 1. stoletja, Ciceron, nato pa prevajalec in komentator iz 4. stoletja, Hieronim. Ta članek ponuja kritično presojo Hieronimovih pogledov na prevod in razlago Svetega pisma. Raziskuje Hieronimove zapletene odnose do rimske prevajalske tradicije na eni strani in do nastajajoče krščanske tradicije na drugi strani. Pokaže, kako Hieronim v svojih prevodih in predgovorih k posameznim delom, komentarjem in pismom izraža svojo zavezanost različnim posebnostim svetopisemskega jezika, sloga in sporočila. Da bi pravilno ocenili razvoj Hieronimovih pogledov na prevod in razlago Svetega pisma, se zdi pomembno, razmisliti o okoliščinah njegovega življenja in dejavnosti.

Kontekst Hieronimovega življenja in njegovo delovanje v obdobju pozne antike in zgodovina sprejema njegovega prevoda Svetega pisma (*Vulgata*) v Cerkvi pojasnjujeta pomen Hieronimovega edinstvenega prispevka k razvoju krščanske civilizacije v Evropi in pozneje po vsem svetu. Velik Hieronimov prispevek je razprava o svetopisemskih besedilih med predstavniki judovske, krščanske in klasične literarne tradicije. Njegov materni jezik je bil latinščina, uradni jezik rimskega cesarstva, vendar je v tistem času helenistična grščina ohranila enakomeren položaj kot pomemben jezik literature, filozofije in religije. Grščina je bila v začetku kulturni jezik krščanskega sveta; izobraženi Rimljani so bili dvojezični. Prevlada latinščine v zahodnem delu rimskega cesarstva je povzročila naraščajoče povpraševanje po latinskih prevodih Svetega pisma za notranje potrebe krščanskih skupnosti in za liturgične in izobraževalne namene. Prvi latinski prevodi svetopisemskih besedil segajo v sredino 2. stoletja po Kr. Do Hieronima (347–420) je bilo tako že narejenih veliko latinskih različic, predvsem *ad hoc* prevodov iz grškega Svetega pisma

(Septuaginte). Avguštin (354–430) govori v svojem delu *O krščanskem nauku* (*De Doctrina Christiana*) o »neizmerni raznolikosti latinskih prevajalcev« (2.11). Pozneje so stare prevode Svetega pisma v latinščino poimenovali z zbirno oznako *Vetus Latina* (stari latinski prevodi). Opozoriti je treba, da nobeden od številnih latinskih prevodov Svetega pisma v zgodnji krščanski dobi ni dobil uradne veljave.

Ko se je število izvodov, revizij in recenzij starih latinskih prevodov Svetega pisma povečalo v mnogih besedilnih oblikah, so v vodstvu Cerkve vse bolj čutili potrebo po ustanovitvi enega samega veljavnega latinskega besedila Svetega pisma. Papež Damaz I. je zaupal nalogo, da pripravi revidirano latinsko različico Svetega pisma, Evzebiju Sofroniju Hieronimu. Sledovi Hieronimove izobrazbe v klasični latinski literaturi se kažejo v njegovem posebnem odnosu do Vergila in Cicerona. V stiku s Svetim pismom pa se je Hieronim vse bolj zavedal, da je Sveto pismo Božja beseda. Ta zavest je v njem utrjevala čut odgovornosti do načina prevajanja Svetega pisma v latinščino. Svoja spoznanja je posređoval v predgovorih k svojim zgodnjim delom, v predgovorih k prevodom posameznih knjig Svetega pisma, v nekaterih pismih in v svetopisemskih komentarjih. Hieronim je mnogokrat poročal o posebnih težavah, s katerimi se je srečal kot prevajalec ali komentator, o obsegu in mejah svojega lastnega znanja, o vprašanju legitimnosti svojega projekta prevajanja Svetega pisma, o svoji obrambi pred kritikami in obtožbami, ki so jih izražali njegovi nasprotniki, in o razlogih za prevajanje Stare zaveze neposredno iz hebrejščine (Schaff in Wace 1995, 483–502).

Hieronimovo delo vključuje prevode grških očetov, polemične traktate, življenje asketov, prevod Svetega pisma Stare zaveze iz hebrejščine v latinščino, komentarje k svetopisemskim knjigam in 126 pisem. Tako je Hieronim poskrbel za edinstven obseg virov, ki omogočajo spoznavanje Hieronimovih načel o prevajanju na splošno in posebej o prevajanju Svetega pisma in o njegovem pristopu v pisanju komentarjev k svetopisemskim knjigam. Zato je Hieronimove hermenevtične poglede mogoče precej natančno določiti.

2. Poznoantični kontekst Hieronimovega življenja

Za pravilno oceno razvoja Hieronimovih pogledov na prevajanje in razlago Svetega pisma se zdi pomembno razmisliti o okoliščinah njegovega življenja in o njegovi dejavnosti v več pogledih: rojstvo v težavnih časih po smrti cesarja Konstantina (337); otroštvo v Stridonu, vasici blizu Emone na meji Dalmacije in Panonije; bivanje v Rimu na šoli, kjer je študiral retoriko (363–366); življenje v Galiji, ko se je naselil v mestu Avgusta Treverorum (Trier, 366–370); asketsko življenje v Ogleju (370–373); potovanje skozi Trakijo, Pont, Bitinijo, Galatijo, Kapadokijo in skozi Kilikijo do Antiohije (374) v slabem zdravstvenem stanju; spokorno življenje puščavnika v puščavi Halkidi (374–379); vrnitev v Antiohijo (379), kjer ga je za duhovnika posvetil antiohijski škof Pavlin; prebivanje v Carigradu (380–381), kjer je v latinščino prevedel Evzebijovo delo *Chronicon* (260–339); življenje v Rimu, kjer je služil kot tajnik pri papežu Damasus I. (382–385); potovanje v

Antiohijo (385); obisk Jeruzalema, Betlehema in svetih krajev Galileje in Egipta (pozimi 385); naselitev v Betlehemu (386), kjer je živel do smrti 30. septembra 420 v bližini Betlehema.

Za našo študijo sta še posebej pomembni dve obdobji: obdobje njegovega prevajanja Svetega pisma (382–405) in obdobje pisanja komentarjev (405–420). Hieronim je odlično obvladal latinščino in grščino. Imel je tudi nekaj znanja o hebrejščini, ko je začel svoje prevajalsko delo (iz časa študija v Siriji). Ko se je naselil v Sveti deželi v Betlehemu, se je načrtno lotil izpopolnjevanja v hebrejskem jeziku. Redno je bil v stikih z judovskimi učitelji. Leta 382 je začel prevajati Sveto pismo tako, da je najprej izboljšal obstoječo različico prevoda Nove zaveze v latinščino (*Vetus Latina*). Predgovor v štiri evangelije je velikega pomena (Schaff in Wace 1995, 487–488). Po končani redakciji Nove zaveze se je lotil primerjave različnih besedil gršega prevoda Stare zaveze (*Septuaginta*) in drugih grških različic Stare zaveze. V tem obdobju je začel oblikovati prepričanja, ki so na koncu privedla do njegovega prevoda neposredno iz hebrejščine.

Svoje najpomembnejše delo, latinski prevod Svetega pisma (*Vulgata*), je Hieronim opravil v letih 391–404. Staro zavezo je začel prevajati leta 391 in jo je dokončal leta 404. Med zadnjim obdobjem svojega življenja v Betlehemu (405–420) je Hieronim pisal komentarje o prerokih in predgovore k tem komentarjem. V predgovorih in komentarjih je obilno razlagal svoje prevajalske izbire na podlagi hebrejskega izvornika in se torej ni opiral na nezanesljive prevode (Schaff in Wace 1995, xvi–xxxiii). Matthew A. Kraus v svoji najnovejši knjigi *Jewish, Christian, and Classical Exegetical Traditions in Jerome's Translation of the Book of Exodus: Translation Technique and the Vulgate* (2017) trdi, da je Hieronim združil »klasična slovnična načela z analizo Septuaginte, starega latinskega prevoda in druge verzije (*recentiores*: Akvila, Simah in Teodotion) v dialogu z rabinskimi tradicijami« (Kraus 2017, 2).

Hieronim je bil tudi avtor knjig, ki pojasnjujejo izvorno besedilo Stare zaveze: *Knjiga hebrejskih imen* ali *Slovar lastnih imen v Stari zavezi* (Betlehem 388); *Knjiga vprašanj o Genezi* (Betlehem 388); prevod Evzebijeve knjige o krajih in imenih hebrejskih krajev (*Onomasticon*, Betlehem 388). To pojasnjuje, zakaj v svojih komentarjih navaja številne judovske tradicije v zvezi z lokacijo krajev, omenjenih v Svetem pismu. Pomemben segment Hieronimove velike literarne zapuščine je njegova obsežna zbirka pisem (*epistulae*), v benediktinski izdaji jih je ohranjenih 126. V slogovnem pogledu so pisma njegova najboljša dela. Pisma imajo med drugim posebno vrednost takrat, ko avtor izraža tudi svoja čustva tistim, ki jim je zaupal. Tako je razkril svojo nadarjenost za prevajanje in razlaganje svetopisemskih besedil, pa tudi sposobnost za asketski način življenja. To korespondenčno gradivo je pomemben vir informacij o splošnem družbenem in cerkvenem življenju v njegovem času.

3. Hieronimovi pogledi na prevajanje in predgovori v njegove prevode

V predgovoru v Evzebijevo *Kroniko*, ki jo je prevedel v letih 381–382, opozarja Hieronim na težave, ki izhajajo iz različnih prevodov Stare zaveze. Na začetku predgovora poroča, da je »naš Tulij dobesedno prevedel cele Platonove knjige« in opisuje naravo težav, s katerimi se srečuje v svojem lastnem prevodu. Največja težava je iskanje ustreznih besed za izražanje pomena (Schaff in Wace 1995, 483). Hieronim že v tem predgovoru izkaže svoje prepričanje o nujnosti vrnitve k hebrejskemu izvirniku. Ko se je naselil v Betlehemu (385), mu je uspelo najti številne judovske učitelje, s katerimi je pridno razpravljal o lastnostih hebrejskega Svetega pisma. Hieronim je menil, da prevajalci Septuaginte niso ohranili posebnosti hebrejskega besedila. Težavo je ponazoril z latinskim prevodom grške poezije, sestavljenim v heksametrih in pentametrih: »Ko jih beremo v grščini, imajo *neki* pomen; ko jih imamo v latinščini, so skrajno nekoherentni.« (Hieronim 1995, 484) V predgovoru k prevodu Origenovih dveh homilij o Visoki pesmi, napisanih leta 383, trdi Hieronim, da se je bolj učil »zvestobe kakor elegance« (Schaff in Wace 1995, 484).

Med letoma 383 in 385 je Hieronim na prošnjo papeža Damaza I. v Rimu pripravil uradno latinsko izdajo Nove zaveze. Pregledal je obstoječe latinske različice na podlagi grškega izvirnika. V edinem ohranjenem predgovoru, in to v predgovoru k prevodu evangelijev iz leta 383, je Hieronim papežu Damazu poročal, da se težava pokaže že v presoji, kateri obstoječi latinski prevod naj vzame za podlago svoje redakcije, ker je latinskih prevodov izredno veliko. Zato prihaja do sklepa, da se je treba opreti na izvirnik (Schaff in Wace 1995, 487–488).

Do leta 388, dve leti po tem, ko se je Hieronim naselil v Betlehemu, je končal tri dela: *Knjigo o hebrejskih imenih*, *Knjigo o krajih in imenih v hebrejščini* in *Knjigo o hebrejskih vprašanjih*. V predgovorih omenja svoje pripravljalne študije za prevod Stare zaveze. Njegov prevod Stare zaveze ni bil izveden z odobritvijo Cerkve, kakor se je to zgodilo z evangeliji, ampak na prigovarjanje zasebnih prijateljev in po njegovem lastnem občutku o nujnosti tega dela. Staro zavezo je prevajal v Betlehemu od leta 391 do leta 404. Hieronim je napisal predgovore k večini prevodov starozaveznih knjig. Prvi po vrsti objave je bil predgovor k Samuelovima knjigama in h Knjigama kraljev. Predgovor je naslovil: »Pavli in njeni hčeri Evstohiji«, objavljen pa je bil okoli leta 391. Hieronim je ta predgovor predstavil kot razlago načel, sprejetih v vseh njegovih prevodih iz hebrejščine. Celoten predgovor je posvečen naravi hebrejskega jezika in zgradbi judovskega kanona hebrejskega Svetega pisma. Poudarja izvirnost njegovega pristopa k prevajanju neposredno iz hebrejskega izvirnika (Schaff in Wace 1995, 490).

V predgovoru k Jobovi knjigi, ki je bil napisan leta 392 in dan v obtok okoli leta 393, Hieronim zagovarja svoj prevajalski pristop pred »zlorabo« svojih nasprotnikov, ki ga obtožujejo zaradi kritičnega odnosa do grških prevodov (491). V nadaljevanju Hieronim prikazuje žalostno stanje latinskega prevoda številnih delov Svetega pisma in zagovarja natančnost svojega pristopa (491). V predgovoru k Jobovi knjigi Hieronim dalje prikazuje svoje prizadevanje za učenje hebrejščine, saj je plačal ve-

liko vsoto za storitve judovskega učitelja, »domačina iz Lide, ki je bil med Hebrejci, ki so bili uvrščeni na prvo mesto«. Hieronim se je zavezal, da bo prevajal samo tisto, kar je prej razumel. Resno je upošteval naravo besedil v prozi in v pesniški obliki, ki jo je primerjal z grško in latinsko poezijo. Glede svoje kvalifikacije v latinščini pravi, da je »svoje življenje, skoraj iz zibelke, preživel v družbi slovničarjev, retorikov in filozofov« (491). V predgovoru k Jobovi knjigi Hieronim razlaga tudi cilj svoje zaveze, da v prevodu Svetega pisma povrne izgubljeno, popravi tisto, kar je pokvarjeno, in razkrije v čistem in vernem jeziku skrivnosti Cerkev. Izpostavi svoj trud, da v latinščino prevede tako grški prevod Septuaginte kakor hebrejski izvirnik, ki je temelj za njegovo prevajalsko delo. Dalje zagotavlja, da njegovo delo ni sad zlobe, ampak skrbnega učenja (492).¹

4. Hieronimovi pogledi na prevod v njegovih pismih

Hieronimova stališča o ustrezni metodi prevajanja kažejo nasprotujoče si teorii in včasih protislovnosti. Leta 396 je Hieronim napisal dolgo pismo Pamahiju o najboljši metodi prevajanja (*Pismo* 57; Schaff in Wace 1995, 112–119). To pismo je njegov odgovor na ostro kritiko neke osebe, ki je proti njemu vložila obtožbo, češ da je s prevajanjem pisma nekega moškega ponarejal izvirnik in ga ni prevajal »besedo za besedo« (57.2). Hieronim brani svoj prevod pisma z obrazložitvijo metode svojega prevajalskega dela (57.5). Pravi, da »pri prevajanju iz grščine (razen v primeru svetih spisov, kjer je celo vrstni red besed skrivnost) prevaja pomen za pomen in ne besedo za besedo« (Schaff in Wace, 1995, 113–114).²

V *Pismu* 57.6 Hieronim izjavlja, da si je že od mladosti prizadeval, kako bi v prevodu ohranil smisel, čeprav v prevajanju ne ohranja vedno besed izvirnika. Glede citiranja odlomkov iz Stare zaveze, ki so navedeni v Novi zavezi, Hieronim ugotavlja, da so apostoli in evangelisti starozaveznih spisov gledali na pomen, ne pa na ohranitev oblik ali konstrukcij (57.9). V nadaljevanju pravi, da v Svetem pismu ni treba upoštevati »besed«, temveč »pomen« (57.10).³ Opozarja na »velike dodatke in opustitve, ki jih je naredila Septuaginta«; tako bi upravičil svoje stališče, da je prednost treba dati izvirniku. Kljub temu priznava, da je Septuaginta upravičeno ohranila svoje mesto v cerkvah, »bodisi zato, ker je prvi od vseh prevodov,

¹ Čeprav je Hieronim dajal prednost hebrejskemu izvirniku, so bili pomembni razlogi, da bi upoštevali tudi grško Sveto pismo Stare zaveze (*Septuaginta*). Kot poudarja Emanuel Tov, »v judovstvu LXX ni bila nikoli tako cenjena kot v krščanstvu, ker so Judje imeli navdihnjeno hebrejsko Sveto pismo, medtem ko je bila za večino kristjanov LXX edini sveti vir Stare zaveze in je nekaterim od njih bila njihov glavni vir« (1988, 163). Obstajal pa je tudi notranji razlog za veliko spoštovanje do Septuaginte: »LXX je bila eno izmed velikih prevodnih podvigov antike. To je bil prvi večji prevod iz orientalskega jezika v grški jezik in tudi prvi pisni prevod Svetega pisma. Iz tega izhaja, da so se prvi prevajalci morali spoprijeti s številnimi težavami, ki se jih še nihče ni lotil, med njimi s prehodom s semitskega na indoevropski jezik in s prenosom konceptov iz ene kulture v drugo.« (169)

² »Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteor me in interpretatione Graecorum absque scripturis sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu.« Odlomki iz izvirnika so navedeni po Hilbergovi izdaji.

³ »Non verba in Scripturis consideranda sed sensus.«

narejenih pred Kristusovim prihodom, bodisi zato, ker so jo uporabljali apostoli«. Vendar je zelo kritičen do Akvilovega pristopa pri prevajanju hebrejskega izvirnika v grščino: »Po drugi strani imamo prav, da zavračamo Akvila, prozelitnega in kontroverznega prevajalca, ki si prizadeva prevajati ne le besede, temveč tudi njihove etimologije.« (57.11) V *Pismu* 106.3 je Hieronim opredelil kot nalogo dobrega prevajalca to, da idiomatske izraze drugega jezika ustrezno izrazi v svojem jeziku.⁴

Hieronimova konfliktna načela pa se v praksi ne izvajajo. Včasih govori o potrebi prevajanja glede na smisel in hkrati ponuja dobesedno prestavljanje, včasih pa nasprotno. Pri prevajanju poezije so za Hieronima najbolj očitni izzivi struktura paralelizem (*parallelismus membrorum*), prepoznavanje stereotipnih pesniških oblik in iskanje latinskih ekvivalentov pri prevajanju danega hebrejskega korena ali besede in idioma. V procesu jezikovne in slogovne identifikacije ekvivalentov so igrali pomembno vlogo eksegetični dejavniki. Poudariti je treba, da posebnost jezika Vulgate izhaja predvsem iz prevajalčeve tesne navezanosti na izvorni jezik. Zavedanje, da so svetopisemska besedila božja beseda, je razvilo občutek zvestobe, to pa odseva prepričanje, da je treba besede Svetega pisma prevajati dosledno, da bi čimbolj ostali zvesti izvornemu jeziku.

5. Hieronimov premik med svetovnimi kulturami

Hieronimova Vulgata ponuja bogat vir za preiskovanje tehnike prevajanja in za razlago eksegetskih vprašanj. James Barr v svoji knjigi *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* (1979) prepozna šest vrst dobesednosti: delitev na elemente in segmente; besedni red; količinski dodatki ali odštevanja v ciljnem besedilu; doslednost in neskladnost pri prevajanju besedišča; natančnost pri prevajanju semantičnih ekvivalentov; imitacija hebrejščine (Barr 1979, 281). Hieronim obravnava sestavne elemente svojega izvirnega besedila, na primer infinitivne konstrukte, infinitivne absolute, pridevnike, genitive, glagole in samostalnike. Matthew A. Kraus navaja:

»Ne samo, da je Hieronim imel slovnično izobrazbo (filologijo), imel je ekvivalent leksike (Origenova *Heksapla*), svoje delo o hebrejskih imenih in krajih, judovske svetovalce (rabine) in svoje izkušnje kot prevajalec, številne komentarje (svoje in komentarje svojih predhodnikov) in več prejšnjih prevodov (Septuaginta, stari latinski prevodi, Akvila, Simmah in Teodotion). Te vidne podrobnosti o prevajalcu so podlaga za hipotezo, da je kot svojo tehniko prevajanja Druge Mojzesove knjige iz hebrejščine v latinščino uporabil *recentiores* – rabinsko filologijo.« (2017, 13)

Hieronimov pristop ni bil atomističen. Posamezni besedilni vidiki delujejo v njegovem prevodu soodvisno kot poenoteni sistem v širšem zgodovinskem in li-

⁴ »Et hanc esse regulam bono interpretis, ut ιδιώματα linguae alterius suae linguae exprimat proprietate.« Prim. *Pismo* 106.3: »boni interpretis ...«

terarnem kontekstu s poudarkom na eksegetičnih tradicijah. Hieronimova prevajalska tehnika »vključuje tesno primerjavo s hebrejskim besedilom, da se izolirajo različice od hebrejščine, ki bistveno vplivajo na pomen besedila« (13). Celovito preučevanje konceptualnega sveta in kulturnega duha hebrejskega Svetega pisma in judovskih tradicij je bilo za Hieronima bolj pomembno kakor postavljanje strogo togih načel za njegovo prevajalsko delo. To pojasnjuje očitna nepovezanost med tem, kar govori o prevodu, in tistim, kar dela, ko dejansko prevaja Sveto pismo. Navaja, da je prevajalec kakor ‚osvajalec‘, ki je »ujel v svoj jezik pomen svojih izvornikov« (*Pismo* 57.6). Uporaba bojne metafore ‚osvajalec‘ kaže na napetost med izvornim in ciljnim jezikom. Matthew A. Kraus meni, da je Hieronim morda gojil širši obseg besede *sensus*:

»Na eni ravni, predvsem filološki, se *sensus* nanaša na povezovanje leksikografije, morfologije in sloga, v nasprotju z *verbum*, ki namenja izključno pozornost leksikografiji in morfologiji. Vsaka pomenska enota v izvornem besedilu mora imeti natančen ekvivalent v ciljnem prevodu. Na drugi ravni, predvsem duhovni, se *sensus* nanaša na razumevanje v religioznem kontekstu. Zagotovo je pri prevajanju prevladujoč filološki *sensus*, medtem ko duhovni *sensus* igra osrednjo vlogo v njegovih komentarjih.« (2017, 46)

Tako v prevodu kakor v komentarjih se dvojni koncept besede *sensus* prekriva. Dejstvo, da je Hieronim napisal komentarje po tem, ko je dokončal prevod Stare zaveze, kaže na kronološki razvoj od začetne, bolj preproste tehnike prevajanja do poznejšega širšega razumevanja pojma *sensus*, ki vključuje slogovne elemente poetičnih in proznih svetopisemskih besedil. Dobesedni prevod (prestavljanje *verbum de verbo*), ki mu ne uspe reproducirati slogovnih sredstev izvornika, v resnici ne bi bil zvest prevod. Hieronim je dobro vedel, da Sveto pismo vključuje metaforične izraze in govorne figure.⁵ Njegovo širše razumevanje besede *sensus* pri prevajanju svetopisemskih besedil ga je privedlo do neskladja med teorijo in prakso: kljub trditvam v pismu Pamahiju (57.5), da svetopisemski prevod »zahteva dobesedno« (*verbum ad verbum*) metodo, je njegov prevod večine svetopisemskih knjig prosti prevod. Matthew A. Kraus trdi, da so »pri prevajanju pomena besedila vključeni

⁵ Največji dosežek Hieronimovega spreobrnjenja iz ciceronijanca v kristjana je njegova uporaba jezikovnih in literarnih izraznih sredstev za večino pretanjenih duhovnih resnic: »Dojemanje resničnosti in resnice v svetu človekove duhovnosti sta specifično področje svetopisemskih literarnih predstavitev. Literatura prikazuje življenje v vseh razsežnostih in razkriva, kako poteka, bi lahko potekalo ali bi moralo potekati moralno življenje. Svetopisemska literatura sporoča zgodovinsko resnico izkušnje razmerja med Stvarnikom in izvoljenim ljudstvom.« (Avsenik Nabergoj 2016, 76) Kakor je v svojih delih izjavil Hieronimov sodobnik Avguštin, so metafore in simboli primerno sredstvo za izražanje duhovnih razsežnosti resničnosti in resnice. Med najvidnejše metafore, ki jih Avguštin uporablja, so metafore hrane za opis duhovne lakote in intelektualne nasičenosti (Avsenik Nabergoj 2017). Druga smer razumevanja vloge metafor in simbolov je odnos med naukom in živo izkušnjo: »Najboljši prevod resnice Boga niso besede, ampak dejanja in življenje.« (Petkovšek 2017, 635) Hieronim se je dobro zavedal, da nobena beseda, metafora ali simbol ne izpolni svoje vloge v izolaciji, temveč v širšem kontekstu svetopisemske literature: »Duhovni pomen celote svetopisemskega besedila kaže tudi na njegov univerzalni pomen in nadčasovno aktualnost. Tako prepoznamo večstransko vlogo metafor, simbolov, slogovnih in retoričnih figur v strukturi večjih literarnih enot. Presojanje posameznih figur samih na sebi ne bi imelo velikega pomena v raziskovanju sporočilnosti Svetega pisma.« (Avsenik Nabergoj 2019, 855)

naslednji elementi: razlaga hebrejskih idiomov, določitev izrazov, vzdrževanje pri-povedne in tehnične logike, ustvarjanje živih podob, ustvarjanje jasnejše latinščine, ugotavljanje konotacij in dodajanje poudarkov» (102).

V povezavi s svojo slovnično/retorično izobrazbo Hieronim kaže nagnjenje do idiomatičnega (*sensus ad sensum*) prevoda v nasprotju z dobesednim (*verbum ad verbum*) prestavljanjem. Njegove odločitve o prevajanju Stare zaveze *iuxta Hebraeos* so zmanjšale vrednost prejšnjih grških, latinskih in drugih prevodov. Besedilni dokazi kažejo, da Hieronim prejšnjim prevodom ni sledil kot besedilom, ki bi jih bilo treba kopirati, ampak kot uporabnim virom, ki temeljijo na slogovnih pomislekih pod vplivom semantičnih, lingvističnih, funkcionalnih, literarnih in družbenih parametrov pozne antike. Hieronim pristopi k hebrejski verziji neposredno, skozi grške ali skozi judovske in krščanske eksegetične tradicije znotraj širših kontekstov poznega klasičnega kulturnega sistema. Celovito natančno branje in preučevanje Vulgate v širših poljih pozne antike razkriva, da Hieronimov prevod Svetega pisma ni le reprodukcija pomena izvirnika v ciljnem jeziku, ampak zagotovo tudi dejanje razlage, oblika eksegeze same v sebi. Matthew A. Kraus trdi:

»Obnavljanje eksegetičnih tradicij, kodiranih v Vulgati, na splošno osvetljuje poznoantično kulturo zaradi njihove judovske, krščanske in klasične pripadnosti. Ta grobi opis razkriva Hieronimovo globino kot bralca in razlagalca Svetega pisma. Še več, ker je proces prevajanja tako zapleten in kulturno vpet, nas na koncu natančna besedilna analiza ponese prek lingvističnih in literarnih vprašanj do družbenega in kulturnega okolja ter nas povabi, da Drugo Mojzesovo knjigo v Vulgati beremo v razmerju do sodobnega razvoja preučevanja pozne antike, patristike, rabinske literature in zgodovine svetopisemske razlage.« (214)

Kot značilni poznoantični lik, ki se giblje med judovskim, krščanskim in klasičnim kulturnim svetom, omogoča Hieronim širši in bolj integrativni pristop h kulturnim sistemom, ki jih posreduje jezik. V današnjem času Hieronimov lik signalizira ponovno razmišljanje o odnosu med judovstvom in krščanstvom in močno vzbuja ponovno zanimanje za medkulturno izmenjavo. Hieronim je skozi celotno življenje dozoreval v iskanju najboljše metode prevajanja.⁶ Cerkev je morala doživeti dolgo zgodovino sobivanja z Judi, da je končno v moderni dobi sprejela načelo dialoga. Ta novi odnos Cerkve do judovskih svetopisemskih virov vključuje pripravo Nove Vulgate (*Nova Vulgata Bibliorum Sacrorum*) iz znanstvenih in ekumenskih razlogov, ki je potekala med letoma 1965 in 1979. Do leta 1968 je bil predsednik Komisije za revizijo Vulgate kardinal Augustin Bea. Nova Vulgata je nadomestila nekdanje verzije Vulgate kot uradni liturgični prevod. Drugi predsednik Komisije

⁶ Christoph Marksches v svojem članku „Hieronimus und die ‚Hebraica Veritas‘“ (1994) orisuje tri faze Hieronimove poti do popolnega sprejemanja ‚Hebraica Veritas‘: prva faza (375–387) je bila čas ‚Graeca Veritas‘; druga faza (386–393) čas posvečanja večje pozornosti hebrejščini kakor grškim prevodom; tretja faza (393/94–420) obdobje preciziranja in radikalizacije njegove naklonjenosti do ‚Hebraica Veritas‘ (177–178). Za Hieronimovo razpravo z Avguštinom, kakšno novo resnico je mogoče pridobiti z novim prevodom na podlagi hebrejskega besedila (Worth 1992, 33–93).

za revizijo Vulgate, od leta 1968 do leta 1971, Pietro Rossano, opredeljuje naravo Nove Vulgate takole:

»Nova Vulgata je prevod, ki je do besedil izvirnika kritično zvest. Od vseh drugih izdaj se razlikuje po vrsti jezika, ki ga uporablja, jezika stare krščanske latinske tradicije, ki vsebuje neizbrisne sledi semitizma, ki nosijo znake vpliva prevoda Septuaginte, jezika, ki za razliko od hebrejščine teži k spiritualizaciji nazivov, ki se nanašajo na Boga (prim. začetek Ps 18) in povezujejo judovsko zavezo z novo krščansko zavezo.« (1990, 193)

6. Sklep

Hieronim zagovarja najboljši način prevajanja svetopisemskih besedil in je prepričan, da se prevajalec nikoli ne sme po nepotrebem oddaljiti od izvirnika, vendar je treba izvirnik vzeti v celostnem smislu. Glede Hieronimovega poznavanja hebrejščine ima Benjamin Kedar očitno prav, ko trdi: »V nasprotju s tistimi, ki trdijo, da je Hieronimovo znanje hebrejščine precenjeno, je treba poudariti, da je v resnici ta jezik dobro obvladal. V povezavi z njegovim monumentalnim prevodom, latinsko Vulgato, Hieronimove neštete pripombe o hebrejski filologiji pričajo o tem znanju.« (Kedar 1988, 315) Hieronimova prednost je bilo torej njegovo dobro znanje treh jezikov – latinščine, grščine in hebrejščine –, ki so igrali pomembno vlogo pri njegovem razmišljanju. V *Pismu* 17.2 Hieronim omenja svoje »tekoče znanje sirščine in grščine«. Njegova latinska verzija Svetega pisma dokazuje, da je znal zlahka najti enakovredne besede za hebrejske besede, besedne zveze in slogovne oblike in videti pretanjene semantične razlike med hebrejskimi sinonimi.

Ocena obsega in vrednosti Hieronimovega prevoda Svetega pisma v latinščino temelji tako na njenih notranjih prednostih kakor na zgodovinskem položaju in vplivu Vulgate. Hieronim je živel in deloval ob zatonu stare grško-rimske civilizacije in signalizira novo, krščansko dobo. Hieronimov vpliv je rasel za njegovega življenja in se krepil po njegovi smrti. Njegov prevod Svetega pisma (Vulgata) je močno vplival na zahodno krščanstvo v celotnem srednjem veku do reformacije. Seviljski nadškof Izidor iz Sevilje (560–636) je v svojem delu *Etymologiae* (6.4.5) opisal Hieronimovo edinstveno delo, Vulgato: »Tudi duhovnik Hieronim, spreten v treh jezikih, je spise Svetega pisma iz hebrejščine prevedel v latinski govor in jih je naredil dostopne. Njegov prevod (Vulgata) ima zaslužno prednost pred drugimi, saj je natančnejši v prevodu in bistroumnejši v jasnosti njegove misli [in kolikor je delo kristjana, je prevod prostejši].« (Barney et al. 2006, 139) Na četrtem zasedanju (8. aprila 1546) je tridentinski cerkveni zbor razglasil, da je treba Vulgato v liturgičnih in didaktičnih dejavnostih Cerkve sprejeti kot avtentično (Rossano 1990, 193–194).

Hieronimova Vulgata je postala medij, s katerim je kulturna, verska in družbena kontinuiteta preseгла temeljne politične in gospodarske spremembe v obdobjih vse do moderne dobe. V moderni dobi pa je Hieronim deležen posebne pozornosti teoretikov prevajanja med teorijo in prakso. V drugi polovici 20. stoletja se

je prevajalski študij razvil v akademsko disciplino. Prevajalske študije so zdaj področje, ki združuje filologijo in kulturne študije. Pozornost je namenjena celovitosti in etični vrednosti instrumentalnih prevajalskih modelov, ki so zgodovinsko in kulturno določeni (Krašovec 2013).

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Branko Klun, Luka Trebežnik (ur.)

Vračanje religije v postmodernem kontekstu

Zbornik želi pokazati, da religija ni izginila iz filozofije, kot so napovedovali nekateri razsvetljenski misleci, temveč se vanjo vrača in jo na novo vznemirja. Sicer je to vračanje raznoliko in pogosto nekonvencionalno, vendar pa to ne zmanjšuje njegovega pomena in s tem potrebe po dialogu med postmoderno filozofijo in teologijo.

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Giovanna Martino Piccolino

La regola educativa di S. Gerolamo: esempi di *institutio christiana* nell'Epistolario geronimiano (Ep. 107 e 128)

*Hieronimovo vzgojno pravilo: institutio christiana v
Hieronimovih pismih (Ep. 107 in 128)*

*The Educational Rule of St. Jerome: Examples From in-
stitutio christiana in His Epistolography (Ep. 107 in 128)*

Riassunto: Le epistole ‚pedagogiche‘ di Gerolamo (Ep. 107 e 128; la prima scritta tra il 400 e il 401, la seconda tra il 412 e il 413) costituiscono un interessante e prezioso documento della *paideia* cristiana: dispensando consigli, l'autore delinea *curricula* di apprendimento, ereditati dalla cultura romana (in particolare da Quintiliano) e metodi d'insegnamento ispirati dalla Sacra Scrittura. Gerolamo afferma che l'esempio dei genitori è più efficace di qualsivoglia regola o precetto. È necessario per i fanciulli apprendere sotto forma di gioco. L'educazione femminile, con l'affermarsi del Cristianesimo, diviene un tema fondamentale della speculazione pedagogica: nel testo un confronto con altri autori cristiani, come Gregorio di Nissa, sull'educazione delle vergini è supportato da opportuni rimandi testuali.

Parole chiave: educazione cristiana, famiglia romana, figlia, educazione della vergine, gioco, la donna nella cultura greco-romana, docenti, discenti.

Povzetek: Tako imenovani ‚pedagoški‘ pismi sv. Hieronima (Pismo 107 in Pismo 128; prvo napisano leta 401/402 in drugo leta 412/413) pomenita zanimiv in dragocen dokument tistega, kar imenujemo krščanska *paideia*; avtor svetuje, začrta *curricucula* učenja, kakor nam jih je predala rimska kultura (predvsem Kvintilijan), in metode poučevanja, ki jih je navdihnilo Sveto pismo. Hieronim zatrjuje, da je zgled staršev veliko bolj uspešen kakor kakršnokoli pravilo ali zapoved. Za otroke je prav tako nujno, da sprejemajo pouk skozi igro. Vzgoja žensk je z uveljavitvijo krščanstva postala temeljna tema pedagoškega premisleka, zato je tema vzgoje devic v članku obravnavana tudi v povezavi z drugimi krščanskimi avtorji, z Gregorjem iz Nise na primer.

Ključne besede: krščanska vzgoja, družina v Rimu, hči, vzgoja devic, igra, ženska v grško-rimski kulturi, učitelji, učenci

Abstract: The ‚pedagogical‘ epistles by Jerome (*Ep.* 107 and 128; the former written in 400–401 and the latter in 412–413) are an exciting and precious document from Christian *paideia*: giving advice, the author gets Scholarship *curricula* inherited from Roman culture (mainly from Quintilian) and the teaching methods provided by holy Bible. Jerome wrote that parents’ example is more instructive than a lot of rules or precepts. Then children must learn to play. Woman’s education, in Christianity, becomes a fundamental subject in the pedagogical reflection: in this text, comparison with other Christian authors, for example, *gratia* Gregorius Nyssenus, about virgins’ education is supported by textual references.

Keywords: Christian education, Roman family, daughter, education of virgins, play, women in Greek and Roman society, students and teachers

1. La cultura greco-romana e la predicazione di Gesù

Nella graziosa novella di Gige e Candaule,¹ Erodoto afferma che »con lo spogliarsi delle vesti la donna si spoglia anche del pudore«:² benché presso i barbari la nudità fosse disonorevole anche per l’uomo, è certamente da rilevare, come ha scritto lo Jaeger (2018, 1104–1110), un notevole cambiamento di sentire prodottosi ad Atene rispetto alla donna dall’età periclea ai primi decenni del IV secolo, quando Platone scrive la *Politèia*. In essa, infatti, il filosofo ateniese dedica attenzione alla formazione della donna aristocratica, futura consorte del guerriero, la quale dovrebbe essere cooperatrice nell’ufficio di lui: se comune dovrà essere il compito, tali dovranno necessariamente essere anche educazione e formazione. La donna aristocratica, pertanto, educata alla musica e alla ginnastica, non avrebbe dovuto vergognarsi di svestirsi nei ginnasî, perché insieme col marito guerriero anziché dell’*himation* si sarebbe vestita di *areté*.³ L’attuazione del programma di una formazione culturale unica per uomo e per donna avrebbe rafforzato, quindi, secondo Platone, l’unità dello stato ideale da lui ben delineato nel noto dialogo, conferendo alla classe dirigente quella superiorità richiesta dal compito. Occorre, infine, notare che anche in un tale progetto la donna non è destinataria di un programma educativo volto a coglierne e potenziare le peculiarità di genere, mentre il riconoscimento più elevato che le si riesca a concedere consiste nell’essere uguagliata al genere maschile (Cantarella 2010, 93–95).

¹ Ringrazio il Preside del Pontificium Institutum Altioris Latinitatis, Prof. Don Miran Sajovic SDB, per il cordiale incoraggiamento. Resta, tuttavia, solo mia la responsabilità di eventuali errori o imperfezioni.

² »Ἄμα δέκιθῶνι ἐκ δυομένων συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶγυνη.« (Hdt., *Hist.* 1.8.3) Dopo una breve esposizione sulle origini mitologiche del conflitto Europa-Asia, dalle quali Erodoto prende le distanze, l’autore introduce Creso, con il quale ha inizio il *lógos* sulla Lidia, fino al regno di Gige che soppianta Candaule perché indotto dalla moglie di questi a scegliere tra la morte sua o del marito, dopo che il sovrano aveva consentito a Gige di ammirarla nuda a sua insaputa. (Cassola 1984, 84–91)

³ Cf. Pl., *R.* 452e–456c (Sartori, Vegetti e Centrone 2003, 304–315).

Diversa è la situazione a Roma, dove l'istruzione non è preclusa alle ragazze, in particolare alle rampolle di famiglie gentilizie: la donna, quale *mater educatrix*, è depositaria del compito di trasmettere il *mos maiorum* ai figli, di provvedere alla loro educazione, almeno fino all'età di sette anni. Il suo bagaglio culturale deve essere speso prevalentemente in ambito privato, evitando pubbliche esibizioni come simbolo di emancipazione e di superiorità rispetto all'uomo. Il *curriculum* scolastico prevede una prima istruzione elementare detta *ludus litterarius*, dai sette ai dodici anni circa, con la compresenza di ragazzi e ragazze: è prevista la lettura, la scrittura e il calcolo sotto la guida del *litterator* o *ludi magister*. Segue verso i dodici anni, in classi distinte tra maschi e femmine, l'insegnamento secondario, ovvero la scuola del *grammaticus* che insegna in prima istanza la lingua (ossia valore fonetico, declinazione, coniugazione, ritmo dei versi, parti di un discorso), in seconda l'uso corretto della lingua parlata e scritta (con l'introduzione degli autori e di esercitazioni sullo stile).

Ai soli maschi, in genere, è riservato l'accesso alla scuola di retorica, verso i quindici o i sedici anni: il *rhetor*, oltre a insegnare le regole del discorso, dedica attenzione allo studio del diritto insieme col *magister iuris*, nel quadro di una più ampia formazione filosofica (Lanfranchi e Prelezo 2008, 150–164).

La diffusione della predicazione di Gesù, nella prima età imperiale, s'innesta in una cultura ebraica dove il ruolo femminile assume funzioni nettamente subordinate alla volontà maschile,⁴ mentre per il mondo greco-romano non è possibile delineare un quadro univoco. In Grecia come a Roma, infatti, non mancano discriminazioni, tuttavia nei ceti sociali più elevati dell'Impero è possibile trovare donne emancipate, oppure (fenomeno del tutto assente in Palestina) la presenza di sacerdotesse nei culti pagani.⁵ Le donne nei Vangeli canonici, invece, hanno sempre ruoli ben definiti: alcune che procurano assistenza, anche mediante le proprie sostanze (Lc 8,1-3), l'emorroissa, considerata impura, che sperimenta la guarigione immediata (Mt 9,20-22), la samaritana che, da una condizione poco rispettabile, diviene valida testimone per la sua città (Gv 4,1), la Maddalena tenace nella fedeltà al Maestro e Salvatore (Mc 16,9), Marta e Maria di Betania, dedite rispettivamente al servizio e all'adorazione del Maestro. Sono esse solo alcuni esempi della grande attenzione e della benefica cura spirituale di cui sono destinatarie le donne durante il ministero di Cristo (Fabris 1987, 209–222; Mattioli 1992; Marucci 1976, 273–296; Martino 2010, 615–624).

⁴ Filone spesso afferma l'inferiorità della femmina rispetto al maschio e, nella sfera umana, della donna rispetto all'uomo. La donna è debole, nata per essere ingannata, poco incline alla riflessione (Phil., *Quaest. in Gen.* 1.46). Il peccato, inoltre, è conseguenza della debolezza femminile (Phil., *Quaest. in Gen.* 3.3).

⁵ Basti pensare, a mo' di esempio, all'insigne ruolo delle Vestali a Roma, a partire dall'età arcaica: le giovani che venivano scelte per il culto di Vesta erano bambine tra i sei e i dieci anni, selezionate grazie ai requisiti delle loro famiglie d'origine. Ancora Prudenzio in *Contra Symmachum* 2.1066 dirà: »podii meliore in parte sedentes«, riferendosi al fatto che assistevano alle rappresentazioni pubbliche, non relegate in *summa cavea*, come le altre donne, ma sedute nelle prime file, tradizionalmente riservate ai senatori. (Orlandi 1995–1996, 359–371)

2. Dall'età apostolica al IV secolo

In età apostolica alcuni scritti sono rivolti indistintamente a fratelli e sorelle: l'*Epistola di Barnaba* si rivolge a «figli e figlie»,⁶ mentre Adolf von Harnack ha descritto come le donne abbiano avuto fin dall'inizio un posto di rilievo accanto ai grandi maestri, anche nella diffusione della cultura cristiana di tipo scolastico o intellettuale (1906, 406–419).⁷ Taziano, ad esempio, esalta le figure femminili che «si dedicano alla filosofia», ovvero repute sagge:⁸ i lemmi φιλοσοφία/*sapientia* cominciano nel II secolo ad assumere l'accezione di «percorso interiore verso il superamento della dimensione terrena»⁹ e, a partire dal IV secolo, in concomitanza con l'evoluzione dell'ambito semantico del termine, che tende a lambire la realtà degli asceteri e dei monasteri, si profila un nuovo progetto pedagogico, specificamente rivolto alle donne da parte dei Padri, sia in Oriente, sia in Occidente, che consenta alla donna cristiana di anelare a un nuovo paradigma di santità, mediante una vita di ascesi, di preghiera e di continenza.¹⁰ Questo prodotto peculiare della cultura cristiana del IV secolo, che rappresenta, senza dubbio, un'evoluzione morale-speculativa rispetto alla coeva temperie storica ellenistico-giudaica¹¹ eredita, tuttavia, sia dalla tradizione ebraica, sia da quella romana la centralità del ruolo della famiglia nella trasmissione dei valori.¹² A tal proposito, un esempio illuminan-

⁶ «Χαίρετε, υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες.» (*Barn.* 1.1 [Prinzivali e Simonetti 2010, 112–113]).

⁷ Per un approfondimento sulle donne cristiane, partecipi della cultura, in qualità di allieve, collaboratrici o protettrici di intellettuali cristiani cf. Mazzucco 1989, 10–16.

⁸ «/.../ affinché /.../ sotto i vostri occhi non deridiate quelle donne che presso di noi si dedicano alla filosofia. /.../ Tutte le nostre donne vivono nella continenza e le fanciulle intorno alla conocchia rivolgono espressione a Dio con più ardore d'ogni vostra fanciulla.» (Tat., *Orat.* [Burini 2000, 230–231])

⁹ Sull'evoluzione del termine φιλοσοφία/*sapientia* negli autori cristiani cf. Bardy 1949. A titolo meramente esemplificativo vale la pena ricordare le parole di Socrate di Costantinopoli, quando descrive la biografia di Gregorio il Taumaturgo: «Καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (Ἐριγένου) παιδευθεὶς τὴν ἀληθῆ φιλοσοφίαν.» (Soc., *H.e.* 4.27 [SC 505, 116–117]) Qui per ἀληθῆς φιλοσοφία s'intende l'ispirazione spirituale che garantisce la veritiera interpretazione delle Scritture.

¹⁰ Sulla novità del progetto educativo dei Padri rivolto al genere femminile cf. Milazzo 2002; sulla funzione profetica e sul diaconato femminile all'interno della comunità cristiana cf. Hauser-Borel 2000; Ugione 1989; Gryson 1974; Mara 1981; Rousselle 2000, 143–165.

¹¹ Si ricorda, tuttavia, in ambito romano, la figura di Musonio Rufo, filosofo stoico, vissuto nel I secolo e maestro di Epitteto, nelle cui pagine a noi pervenute è del tutto assente l'immagine tradizionalmente negativa della donna: nella *Diatriba IV* afferma che figli e figlie vanno educati allo stesso modo perché sia gli uni, sia le altre diventino virtuosi. Di interesse è anche la *Diatriba III* per il tema del rapporto delle donne con la cultura che si intitola *Del fatto che anche le donne debbano accostarsi alla filosofia*. Cf. Ramelli, Ilaria, ed. 2001. *Musonio Rufo: Diatribe, Frammenti e Testimonianze*. Milano: Bompiani. Sul caso di Ipazia di Alessandria cf. Cameron 2013, 65–82; Ronchey, 2011; Ronchey 2014, 135–169.

¹² «/.../ maiores nostri /.../ domum pusillam rem publicam iudicaverunt.» (Sen., *Ep.* 47.14 [Barone 1989, 224–227]) Questa espressione corrisponde alla struttura piramidale della *familia Romana*, dove i ruoli dei membri sono ben definiti e il cui ordine è garantito dalla presenza del *pater familias*. La *familia romana* è un organismo in sé autosufficiente e che si autodetermina in ambito educativo, essendo questa la dimensione sociale che maggiormente le compete. (Frasca 1991, 9–11, 14–15) I rapporti affettivi competevano maggiormente al ruolo materno, mentre il padre era soprattutto un severo custode della tradizione. Utile, in proposito la testimonianza ciceroniana: «Prima societas in ipso coniugio est, proxima in liberis, deinde una domus, communia omnia; id autem est principium urbis et seminarium rei publicae.» (Cic., *De off.* 1.54 [Narducci e Resta Barrile 2004, 122–123]) Sul ruolo attribuito alla famiglia nella trasmissione dei valori, come già avveniva nel mondo romano e giudaico cf. Marrou 2016, 642–646. Diversa è la famiglia cristiana costituita da due coniugi ferventi nella fede: è il caso delineato

te è costituito dalla *Vita di S. Macrina*, scritta con devozione fraterna da Gregorio di Nissa:¹³ l'educazione impartita da Emmelia, madre di Macrina nonché figlia di Macrina *senior*, la quale era stata discepola di Gregorio Taumaturgo,¹⁴ indirizza la giovane verso un modello di santità plasmato sull'esempio di quello proposto da Atanasio nella sua *Vita di Antonio*. L'opera, scritta su richiesta del fratello Basilio, segue cronologicamente la stesura del *Trattato sulla verginità*,¹⁵ realizzando così una sorta di ideale continuità tra la riflessione teorica e la sua esemplificazione sulla vita virtuosa, alla quale il Nisseno intende invogliare il lettore.¹⁶

3. San Gerolamo e l'educazione delle fanciulle

Anche Gerolamo recepisce l'ideale ascetico della *Vita di Antonio*,¹⁷ che ha, secondo gli studiosi,¹⁸ un ruolo determinante nella formazione del monachesimo occidentale: grazie alla mediazione del patriarca alessandrino Atanasio (nonché di vari monaci dai quali sarebbe stato accompagnato), rifugiatosi dapprima a Roma, poi a Milano e infine ad Aquileia in seguito alle ostilità degli ariani a partire dal 339, l'ideale ascetico di origine egiziana si diffonde rapidamente in Occidente.¹⁹ In particolare, le testimonianze letterarie parlano di un ascetismo al femminile, cui sono

da Tertulliano in *Ad uxorem*: «Quale iugum fidelium duorum unius spei, unius voti, unius disciplinae, eiusdem servitutis. Ambo fratres, ambo conservi; nulla spiritus carnisve discretio, atquin vere *duo in carne una*. Ubi caro una, unus et spiritus: simul orant, simul voluntantur, simul ieiunia transigunt, alterutro docentes, alterutro exhortantes, alterutro sustinentes.» (Tert., *Ad Uxor.* 2.8.7 [Isetta et al. 2008, 318–321]). Una donna timorata di Dio, invece, curerà di piacere solo al proprio marito, come afferma sempre Tertulliano: «Sancta femina sit naturaliter speciosa, non adeo sit occasio. Certe si et fuerit, non ignorare, sed etiam impedire debet. Quasi gentili bus dicam, gentili et communi omnium praecepto alloquens vos: solis maritis vestris placere debetis.» (Tert., *Cult. fem.* 2.3.4 [Isetta et al. 2008, 376–377]).

¹³ Cf. *La Vita di S. Macrina* di S. Gregorio di Nissa (Giannarelli 1988). Un ottimo contributo esegetico è quello offerto dall'introduzione in Grégoire de Nysse, *Vie de sainte Macrine*, dove si legge: «d'une éducation entièrement domestique, que se réserve la mère de Macrine.» (Gr. Nyss., *V. Macr.* 3.6 [SC 178, 51])

¹⁴ Macrina *senior* è definita da Basilio come colei che trasmette ai nipoti la dottrina di Gregorio Taumaturgo (Bas., *Ep.* 204.6), mentre nell'*Ep.* 223.3 scrive di aver ricevuto la prima idea di Dio da sua madre e dalla nonna.

¹⁵ Il *Trattato sulla Verginità* fu scritto nel 371, mentre la *Vita di S. Macrina* nel 380.

¹⁶ Evidente influsso esercitò la *Vita di Macrina* nella Patristica e in particolare su Geronzio, autore della *Vita di Melania*, la ricca matrona romana, che dopo la morte dei figli, insieme con il marito, decide di liquidare i beni, di vivere in castità e di viaggiare in Africa, Terra Santa ed Egitto, fondando monasteri e dedicandosi a una rigidissima asceti. Cf. Gorce, Denys, ed. 1962. *Vie de sainte Mélanie*. SC 90. Paris: Cerf.; Coco, Lucio, trad. 2013. *Geronzio: Vita latina di Santa Melania*. Roma: Città Nuova. Delle due versioni quella greca dovrebbe essere l'originale rispetto a quella latina ed è storicamente affidabile e importante per le informazioni sullo sviluppo dell'asceti cristiana. (Perrone 1980; Giardina 1994)

¹⁷ Evagrio di Antiochia la tradusse in latino prima del 375, mentre un'altra traduzione latina anonima, meno letteraria, è più antica. Entrambe traduzioni suscitarono in Occidente interesse autentico per il fenomeno del monachesimo, costituendo, inoltre, un modello per la letteratura agiografica latina (cf. Ruggiero, Fabio, ed. 2003. *Sulpicio Severo: Vita di Martino*. Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane Bologna).

¹⁸ Il ruolo dell'Oriente nell'impulso al monachesimo occidentale si espletò, con rapidità, mediante la circolazione di traduzioni provenienti dal *milieu* egiziano (e cappadoce). Oltre la *Vita di Antonio* si diffusero le regole basiliane e la *Historia monachorum*, libera traduzione della *Storia dei monaci d'Egitto*, di Rufino di Aquileia, nonché il *corpus* delle regole di Pacomio, tradotte da Gerolamo nel 404. Per un ragguaglio esaustivo sull'argomento cf. Vecoli 2015.

¹⁹ Lo stesso Gerolamo ce ne dà notizia in *Ep.* 127.5.

connesse le origini del monachesimo latino in Terrasanta, di antica tradizione e sovente rappresentato da personaggi legati all'aristocrazia di Roma.

Mario Maritano, nel suo pregevole contributo alla comprensione della figura del maestro nella pedagogia geronimiana (2012), evidenzia l'importanza delle *Epp.* 107 e 128,²⁰ scritte rispettivamente nel 400–401 e nel 412–413, quali documenti illuminanti ai fini di una certa e articolata educazione cristiana delle *virgines*.²¹ Non si può non convenire con l'illustre patrologo su questo punto, tenuto conto del fatto che in esse Gerolamo trae dalla Bibbia motivi di intervento e di impegno, ispirandosi anche a pratiche e programmi scolastici ereditati dalla cultura romana e, in particolare, da Quintiliano. In sintesi, la tradizione classica viene in queste lettere rimodulata e rinnovata alla luce della visione cristiana della vita.

Nell'*Epistula* 107 (*ad Laetam de institutione filiae*), alla nuora di Paola,²² che ha dato alla luce una fanciulla (anch'essa di nome Paola, in ossequio alla di lei *ava*) facendo voto di consacrarla alla vita religiosa, la quale chiede come educare al meglio cristianamente la bambina, lo Stridonense risponde che la *virgo*, destinata ad essere »Tempio del Signore« e »consacrata a Cristo« dovrà ispirare la sua educazione e la vita, in ogni suo aspetto, al messaggio evangelico. Inoltre, avrà anche

²⁰ Il testo latino utilizzato è ripreso per *Ep.* 107 e *Ep.* 128 dall'edizione di Labourt (2002a; 2002b), invece la traduzione e di Cola (1996). Resta tuttavia proficua la consultazione dello spicciolo (Moreschini 2000, 434–469). Per una bibliografia specifica sulle *Ep.* 107 e 128, cf. Labanca 1901; Lanfranchi 2008.

²¹ Sul problema della verginità Gerolamo si era scagliato contro il monaco Gioviniano nel *Contra Iovinianum* (PL 25, 211–338). Costui, giunto a Roma forse dal nord, aveva spinto al matrimonio delle vergini consacrate, suscitando lo sferzante intervento di Gerolamo da Betlemme, mediante attacchi *ad personam*, con l'impiego a dismisura di testimonianze bibliche, nonché con la ripetizione di argomenti attinti anche da Tertulliano. A Roma gli amici di Gerolamo vennero a trovarsi in una situazione imbarazzante, per i toni eccessivi che aveva assunto la polemica con l'intervento dello Stridonense, tanto da spingere l'amico Pammachio (genero di Paola) a ridurre il numero di copie dell'opera in circolazione. L'epistola geronimiana 49, *Apologeticum ad Pammachium*, ben testimonia la cooperazione in prima linea dell'amico romano: »Ego, si bene problematis memini, inter Iovinianum et nos ista contentio est, quod ille exaequet virginitatis nuptias, nos subiciamus; ille vel parum vel nihil, nos multum interesse dicamus. Denique idcirco te post dominum faciente damnatus est, quod ausus sit perpetuae castitati matrimonium comparare.« (Hier., *Ep.* 49.2 [Moreschini e Palla 2000, 266–267]) Nel 390, o poco dopo, la fazione favorevole al monachesimo e in particolare Pammachio indussero la condanna di una decina di partigiani di Gioviniano (cf. Siricio, *Ep.* 7 [PL 13, 1168–1172]). Ambrogio e un suo sinodo espressero formale condanna di Gioviniano (PL 16, 1124–1129). Agostino più tardi interverrà sull'argomento con il *De sancta virginitate*, in difesa della verginità, contro Gioviniano e Vigilanzio, ove oltre lodare suddetta virtù ammonirà le vergini perché non insuperbiscano. Cf. Recchia 1966; Duval 2003.

²² Sulla nobildonna romana Paola, la testimonianza più completa lasciata da Gerolamo è certamente l'*Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae*, che figura come *Ep.* 107, dedicata alla figlia Eustochio, e destinata, certamente, a un pubblico più vasto. L'intento dichiarato (cap. 2) dell'autore è quello di rendere testimonianza alla vita esemplare della nobildonna. Segue la narrazione del matrimonio e, con la morte del marito, di una vita ascetica che si traduce in grande carità e liberalità verso il prossimo. In seguito all'incontro con alcuni vescovi orientali (giunti a Roma per una sinodo), Paola si imbarcherà per l'Oriente, insieme con la figlia Eustochio; giunta ad Antiochia, da dove secondo studi autorevoli (Cavallera 1922, 123) insieme con Gerolamo e altri compagni, intraprese il viaggio in Terrasanta, per poi muovere alla volta dell'Egitto, culla di asceti e anacoreti. L'umiltà, unita alle pratiche ascetiche e penitenziali, nel quadro di una castità irreprensibile, delineano il ritratto di una donna integerrima, severa nella disciplina prima con sé stessa, esempio di umiltà, tenacia e liberalità che si manifestano soprattutto nell'organizzazione della vita monastica a Betlemme. Concludono l'*epitaphium* due poemetti epigrafici, incisi sulla sua tomba, che menzionano i cinque anni di vita ascetica a Roma e i venti a Betlemme, in osservanza anche alla gran dama romana, rampolla degli Scipioni e dei Gracchi, secondo un gusto poetico di ascendenza damasiana. Cf. Mohrmann 1975.

Maria, madre di Gesù, come suo modello e a lei dovrà ispirarsi nei comportamenti: da altri Padri della Chiesa, come Ambrogio,²³ Maria è espressamente indicata quale *magistra* per le vergini, mentre San Paolo, nella medesima epistola, viene definito *praeceptor* da Gerolamo per gli opportuni consigli dispensati ai cristiani.

In senso primario e manifesto, maestri sono gli stessi genitori della fanciulla. Con chiarezza rivolgendosi alla madre, poi al padre Gerolamo scrive: »Te habet magistram, te rudis miretur infantia. Nihil in te et in patre suo videat, quod si fecerit, peccet. Mementote vos parentes virginis et magis eam exemplis docere posse quam voce.« (Hier., *Ep.* 107.9)²⁴

In primo luogo, il nostro Autore intende porre l'accento sull'insegnamento morale e sull'esempio; in secondo luogo, nel più specifico ambito scolastico, egli richiama come fondamentale la corretta pronuncia delle parole:

»Unde et tibi est providendum, ne ineptis blanditiis feminarum dimidiata dicere filiam verba consuescas et in auro atque in purpura ludere, quorum alterum linguae, alterum moribus officit, ne discat in tenero, quod ei postea dediscendum est. Graccorum eloquentiae multum ab infantia sermo matris scribitur contulisse, Hortensiae oratio in paterno sinu coaluit. Difficulter eraditur, quod rudes animi perbiberunt. Lanarum conchyliquis in pristinum candorem revocet? Rudis testa diu et saporem retinet et odorem, quo primum imbuta est.« (*Ep.* 107.4)²⁵

È evidente anche in questo caso che la madre, in particolar modo, a continuo contatto con i figli piccoli, risulti la prima *magistra dicendi*. Questo è quanto afferma, ad esempio, Cicerone riferendosi ai Gracchi, figli di Cornelia: »Sed magni interest quosquisque audiat cotidie domi, quibuscum loquatur a puero, quemadmodum patres, paedagogi, matres etiam loquantur. Legimus epistulam Corneliae matris Gracchorum; apparet filios non tam in gremio educatos quam in sermone matris.« (Cic., *Brut.* 210–211)²⁶ La *neglegentia parentum*, per contro, fu conside-

²³ »Il primo stimolo dell'apprendimento è costituito dalla nobiltà del maestro. Che cosa c'è di più nobile della madre di Dio?« (Ambr., *Virg.* 2.2.7 [SAEMO 14/1, 168])

²⁴ »Te abbia come sua maestra, te ammira la sua infanzia inesperta. In te e in suo padre non veda cosa che, da lei imitata, la porti a peccare. Ricordatevi che siete i genitori di una vergine e che potete esserle di insegnamento più con l'esempio che con le parole.«

²⁵ »Perciò devi anche provvedere a che tua figlia, per le insulse moine delle donne, non prenda l'abitudine di pronunciare le parole a metà e di dilettersi nell'oro e nella porpora (la prima cosa nuoce alla lingua, la seconda ai costumi) e a che non impari in tenera età cose che dovrebbe poi disimparare. Sta scritto che all'eloquenza dei Gracchi contribuì molto, fin dall'infanzia, il modo di parlare della madre e che l'abilità oratoria di Ortensia si formò in seno al padre. Si cancella con difficoltà ciò che menti vergini hanno assorbito. Chi può ricondurre all'antico candore le lane tinte di porpora? Un'anfora nuova mantiene a lungo il sapore e l'odore di ciò che ha contenuto la prima volta.«

²⁶ »Ma importa molto chi uno senta parlare tutti i giorni in casa, con chi parli fin da fanciullo, in che modo parlino i padri, i pedagoghi e anche le madri. Se leggiamo le lettere di Cornelia madre dei Gracchi, appare evidente che i suoi figli sono stati educati non tanto nel grembo quanto nell'idioma della madre.« (Narducci 1995, 276-279) Le medesime osservazioni vengono avanzate da Cicerone a proposito dei Catuli, figlio e padre (Cic., *Brut.* 133), e di Scipione l'Emiliano, »usu et domesticis praeceptis« (Scip., *Rep.* 1.22.36 [Ferrero e Zorzetti 1975, 103–104]).

rata una delle cause principali della corruzione dell'eloquenza in età imperiale e, in generale, della decadenza dei costumi:²⁷ non solo i genitori, in età tardo-repubblicana, avevano smesso di occuparsi personalmente dell'educazione dei figli,²⁸ ma con il loro comportamento li inducevano alla *lascivia* e alla *dicacitas*.

Nell'epistola 128, che l'autore definisce col diminutivo *epistulum*, quasi a evidenziarne il tono confidenziale, indirizzata a Gaudenzio, sull'educazione dell'infante Patcatula, oltre a rimodulare concetti espressi nella lettera precedente, si accentuano le peculiarità dell'ambiente nel quale la giovinetta va educata, sereno e gioioso, che sappia trasmettere l'amore per la cultura, senza indulgere a espressioni disoneste o a compagnie maschili. Oltre al lavoro intellettuale, la fanciulla dovrà abituarsi anche ai lavori manuali, caratteristici della donna romana, in particolare la tessitura, insieme col lavoro di confezionare vestiti, occupazione costante nell'ascetismo e nel monachesimo femminile: »Interim et tenero temptet pollice fila deducere; rumpat saepe stamina, ut aliquando non rumpat« (*Ep.* 128.1);²⁹ in tal modo si rifugge l'ozio (consuetudinario nella nobiltà), e si produce un'opera compiuta con le proprie mani. Gerolamo richiede anzitutto che le persone, le quali dovranno accudire all'educazione e all'istruzione della bambina siano di moralità provata, tuttavia che ella eviti di legarsi morbosamente a qualche domestica: la governante modello deve guidare la fanciulla in una formazione monastica, con scanditi orari di preghiera diurna e notturna (107.9). Riferendosi poi al maestro, Gerolamo ne riporta tre qualità da richiedersi: età, condotta ineccepibile, sapere. Erano queste virtù legate a valori umani apprezzati anche dai gentili:³⁰ l'azione dei maestri a Roma fu sempre risultante della diretta influenza paterna, garante di moralità, severità e competenza.

Lo Stridonense, concludendo la lettera a Leta, le suggerisce di affidare la figlia al monastero di Betlemme, data l'impossibilità di allevare convenientemente una vergine nella mondana società contemporanea. Egli stesso si offre come possibile maestro e precettore di Paola, la quale circa quindici anni più tardi, sarà inviata nel monastero di Betlemme, accanto alla nonna Paola e alla zia Eustochio. In esordio, richiamando l'esempio di Aristotele, che fu maestro di Alessandro Magno, l'Autore aveva dichiarato la responsabilità di pari grado nell'educare una nobile vergine (*Hier.*, *Ep.* 107), sposa del Signore.

Da Rufino apprendiamo che Gerolamo avviò una scuola nel monastero di Betlemme, insegnando ai giovani studenti la grammatica e la lettura di autori classici latini, in particolare Virgilio, i comici, i lirici e gli storici (*Ruf.*, *Apol. adv. Hier.* 2.11).

²⁷ Espressione massima di questo disinteresse era il rifiuto della paternità che creava in Grecia e a Roma gravi problemi demografici come riporta Polibio (Nicolai 1998, 344–345).

²⁸ Si tratta di un'usanza contraria all'antica educazione, secondo quanto testimoniato in Plutarco: »/.../ Pensava non fosse dignitoso, come egli stesso diceva, che uno schiavo potesse rimproverare suo figlio nel caso che fosse lento nell'apprendere, né che fosse debitore a uno schiavo di una cosa così grande come l'istruzione /.../.« (*Plu.*, *Cat. Ma.* 20.5–6 [Traglia 1992, 636–637])

²⁹ »Nel frattempo col suo tenero pollice provi a sconocchiare; spezzerà sovente il filo, ma è così che impara a non spezzarlo più.«

³⁰ La *mollis educatio* dei suoi tempi, secondo Quintiliano, spinge i giovani inconsapevolmente ai vizi (Piscitelli 2001, 34–35).

Egli avvertì la necessità di formare le giovani generazioni e »dar loro le armi per difendere le loro convinzioni: questo può avvenire solo con l'apprendimento dei grandi modelli che la letteratura fornisce. /.../ Anche nel problema della scuola egli è romano: insegna secondo il sistema scolastico romano, che non insegnava idee, ma come esprimere idee con proprietà e ricchezza; anche qui è filologo e letterato, non teologo.« (Grilli 2004, 312)

Infine, dalle epistole esaminate si possono dedurre gli ulteriori seguenti principi educativi enunciati: un ambiente sereno e gioioso stimola l'allievo a dare il meglio di sé stesso, dunque anche l'apprendimento delle lettere dell'alfabeto deve diventare un gioco. In secondo luogo, un clima di amore per la cultura, nello sforzo che essa implica, favorisce l'erudizione: *lusus eruditio sit* (Hier., *Ep.* 107.4). L'allieva dovrà, inoltre, preferire lo studio dei testi sacri, ad altri beni preziosi che pure si possono godere e deve dilettarsi nella lettura di trattati e opere di scrittori ispirati dalla fede.

Gerolamo scrive da cristiano per cristiani, pertanto il suo punto di riferimento primigenio è costituito, quanto ai contenuti, dalla Sacra Scrittura, nonché dalla tradizione classica romana, quanto alla forma. Qui la tradizione scolastica quintiliana si ammanta di un superiore rigore morale nell'essere ,donata' ai genitori di due *virgines*, destinate alla vita ascetica.

Con la scuola di Betlemme, in definitiva, lo Stridonense, già allievo del grammatico Elio Donato, fonda un'istituzione educativa ove il Cristianesimo diviene naturale erede della tradizione pedagogica del mondo antico, nella consapevole *traditio* della *humanitas* antica, quale presupposto ad una piena e consapevole accoglienza del dono di Dio.

Abbreviazioni

Ep. – *Epistulae* [Labourt 2002a; 2002b].

SAEMO – Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi Mediolanensis Opera.

SC – Sources Chrétiennes.

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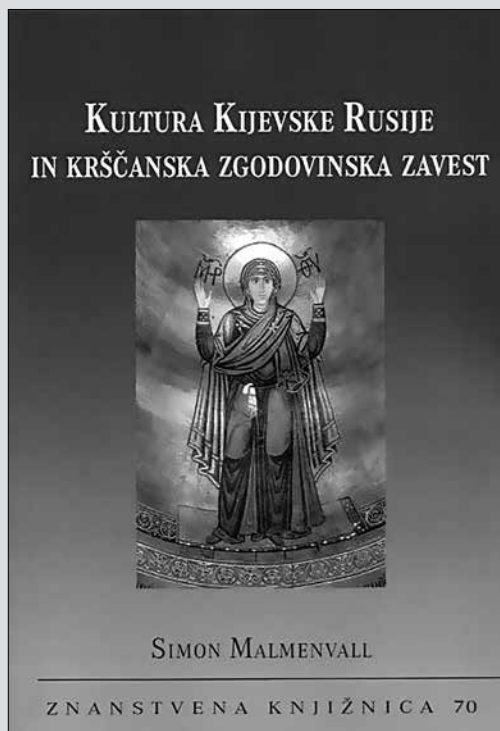
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Simon Malmenvall
**Kultura Kijevske Rusije
in krščanska zgodovinska zavest**

Monografija spada v okvir kulturno-idejne zgodovine in historične teologije. Gre za prvo celovito osvetlitev oblikovanja krščanske kulture Kijevske Rusije (najstarejše vzhodnoslovanske državne tvorbe, ki je obstajala med 10. in 13. stoletjem) v slovenskemu znanstvenemu prostoru. Pri tem je posebna pozornost namenjena proučitvi zgodovinske zavesti (kot zgodovine odrešenja) takratne staroruske psvetne in cerkvene elite v času neposredno po uradnem sprejetju krščanske vere. Poglavitni del monografije se posveča štirim zgodovinsko-religijskim narativnim virom, sestavljenim med sredino 11. in sredino 12. stoletja: pridigi Beseda o postavi in milosti, letopisu Pripoved o minulih letih, hagiografiji Branje o Borisu in Glebu in potopisu Življenje in romanje Danijela.

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Irena Avsenik Nabergoj

Hieronimova in sodobna spoznanja o literarni kakovosti Svetega pisma

Jerome's and Contemporary Findings on the Literary Quality of the Bible

Povzetek: V prvih stoletjih krščanstva so številni cerkveni očetje, kakor so Tacijan Sirski (približno 120–180), Klement Aleksandrijski (150–111), Origen (184–253), Evzebij (260–339), Janez Krizostom (347–407), Ambrozij (339–397), Hieronim (347–419) in Avguštin (354–430), izrazili svoje poglede o literarnih lastnostih svetopisemskih besedil. V 2. in 3. stoletju je med učenjaki prevladovalo mnenje, da se literarne in retorične lastnosti Svetega pisma ne morejo meriti z najpomembnejšim standardom klasične grško-rimske retorike, saj pisateljev svetih spisov niso gnale literarne ali retorične konvencije, ampak vsebina razodetja. V 4. stoletju pa so cerkveni očetje širokega znanja in literarne spretnosti v Svetem pismu prepoznali nekatere izrazite lastnosti literature. Ta prispevek obravnava sv. Hieronima (Eusebius Hieronymus), ljubitelja klasične literature in latinsko-grške dvojezičnosti, ki je Sveto pismo prevajal iz izvirnih jezikov in napisal veliko svetopisemskih komentarjev in pisem. Hieronim je bil umetnik besede s pretanjeno občutljivostjo za lepoto jezika. Bolj prepričljivo kakor katerikoli drug starodavni svetopisemski učenjak je dokazal, da je hebrejska Stara zaveza umetniška na svoj poseben način. Ugotovil je, da imajo literarne zvrsti Svetega pisma umetniško vrednost kot literatura in jih je mogoče najbolje razložiti ob uporabi literarnih konvencij, ki so oblikovale Staro zavezo. Prispevek se osredotoča na Hieronimove uvode v njegove prevode svetopisemskih knjig, na njegova pisma in svetopisemske komentarje, ki najbolje kažejo njegovo prepričanje o umetniški kakovosti Svetega pisma.

Ključne besede: Hieronim, hebrejsko Sveto pismo, Septuaginta, Vulgata, cerkveni očetje, literarna kakovost Svetega pisma, dobessedni in duhovni pomen Svetega pisma, pomen Hieronimovega dela, moderna literarna kritika

Abstract: In the early era of Christianity, several church fathers such as Tatian the Syrian (c. 120–180), Clement of Alexandria (150–211), Origen (184–253), Eusebius (260–339), John Chrysostom (347–407), Saint Ambrose (339–397), Saint Jerome (347–419) and Saint Augustine (354–430), expressed their opinions on

the literary characteristics of biblical texts. In the second and third centuries, the prevailing view among scholars was that the literary and rhetorical qualities of the Bible could not be measured by the leading standard of classical Greco-Roman rhetoric since the writers of Scripture were not driven by literary or rhetorical conventions but by the content of Revelation. In the 4th century, conversely, church fathers of broad knowledge and literary ability recognized some unique literature characteristics in the Bible. This contribution deals with Saint Jerome (Eusebius Hieronymus), a lover of Classical literature and a Latin-Greek bilingual, who translated the Bible from original languages and wrote many Biblical commentaries and letters. Jerome was an artist of the Word with a subtle sensitivity to the beauty of language. He demonstrated more convincingly than any other ancient biblical scholar that the Hebrew Old Testament shows its own unique way of being profoundly artistic. He found that the literary genres of the Bible have an artistic value as literature and can best be distinguished through the literary conventions that shaped the Old Testament. This contribution focuses on Jerome's introductions to his translations of the biblical books, to his letters and his biblical commentaries, which best demonstrate his belief in the artistic quality of the Bible.

Keywords: Jerome, the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the Church fathers, literary quality of the Bible, literal and spiritual meaning of the Bible, the impact of Jerome's work, modern Literary Criticism

1. Uvod

Helenistična kultura je literarnemu in retoričnemu izražanju dajala veliko vrednost v vseh literarnih vrstah in zvrsteh. V odgovor na poveličevanje vloge retorike v grško-rimski antiki so cerkveni očetje bistvo biblijskih vsebin videli v božjem klicu ljudem k vrlini ponižnosti: »Resnica in božja moč Svetega pisma sta jasno prikazani, ker so se ljudje odzvali na sporočilo Svetega pisma in ne na njegov slog.« (Graves 2010, 168) V 4. stoletju so nekateri krščanski misleci začeli razmišljati tudi o literarnih prednostih Svetega pisma. Hieronim, ljubitelj poglobljene literature in latinsko-grške dvojezičnosti, ki je imel izostren jezikovni čut in veliko volje za raziskovanje skrivnosti hebrejščine, je bil eden tistih, ki so najbolje izrazili umetniško rabo literarnega sloga svetopisemskih besedil v njihovih izvirnih jeziki (hebrejščina, aramejščina in grščina). Hieronim je bil poleg Origena največji poznavalec Svetega pisma v zgodnji Cerkvi in največji prevajalec Svetega pisma v latinščino, ki je bila njegov ,materni' jezik.

Hieronim je bil prvi in celo edini med očeti latinske Cerkve, ki je komentiral vse preroke in večino novozaveznih knjig. V latinščino je prevedel tudi Evzebijevu *Kroniko* in *Onomastikon*. Origenove komentarje Svetega pisma in njegove svetopisemske homilije napravil dosegljive latinsko govorečim. Kljub temu ni sistematično določil pravil svoje hermenevtike. Njegova eksegetična praksa je navadno postavljena v

tradicionalni okvir dvojnih pomenov svetopisemskih besedil: v okvir dobesednega pomena in v okvir duhovne interpretacije z različnih vidikov. Cilj tega članka je opisati, potrditi in oceniti Hieronimovo spoštovanje literarne kakovosti svetopisemskih besedil glede na njegove lastne vire, metode in cilje. Na podlagi tega lahko ocenimo Hieronimov vpliv na poznejši razvoj literarnega vrednotenja Svetega pisma, vse do nove kritike in nekaterih njenih metod, kakor je natančno branje (close reading), ki je tudi še danes med temeljnimi orodji literarne interpretacije.¹

2. Pot od klasičnih idealov do odkritja *Hebraica veritas*

Ko so cerkveni očetje priznali inferiornost Svetega pisma v primerjavi s klasično grško-rimsko literaturo v smislu literarnega sloga, so potrdili superiornost božanske resnice Svetega pisma. Avguštin na primer v svojem delu *Izpovedi* (3.5) priznava svojo nekdanjo zmoto v vrednotenju literarne kakovosti Svetega pisma v primerjavi s klasiki antične literature:

»Zakaj ko sem posvetil pozornost Pismu, nisem čutil tako, kakor danes govorim, zdelo se mi je marveč nevredno, da bi ga bil meril ob Tulijevi vrednosti. Mojemu napuhu se je upiral njegov zmerni način in moja bistrost ni prodirala v njegove globine. In vendar je bilo tako, da je raslo z malim, in zdel sem se samemu sebi velik, ker sem bil od nadutosti napihnjem.«²

Zato Avguštin nekoč ni videl ‚svetopisemske zadržanosti‘ in veličastnosti njenega pomena.

Podobno preobrazbo je napravil Hieronim v svojem srečanju s svetopisemskimi besedili v primerjavi z velikimi klasičnimi deli antike. Hieronim v svojem delu *Contra Rufinum* (1.16) piše, da je bil njegov učitelj Elij Donat, rimski slovničar in učitelj retorike. V pismu poroča: »In ko sem se občasno vrnil v pravi um in začel brati preroke, se je njihov slog zdel neotesan in odbijajoč. S slepimi očmi nisem videl svetlobe; vendar krivde nisem pripisal njim, temveč soncu.« (*Pismo* 22.30)³ V svojem poročilu o znamenitih sanjah je priznal očitek: »Ti si Ciceronec in ne kristjan.« (22.30)⁴ To se je zgodilo v času njegovega umika v puščavo Halkis (Chalcis), ki je pomenil vrhunec notranjega konflikta med ljubeznijo do klasike in vizijo, s katero se je srečal v svoji asketski poklicanosti.

Vsebina svetopisemskih spisov je kristjanom omogočila, da »v svojem razmišljanju o umetniški naravi Svetega pisma presežejo grško-rimske konvencije« (Graves 2010, 162). Grško-rimski jezikovni slog je pomenil razmeroma skladno tradicijo od

¹ Prispevek je nastal kot rezultat dela v okviru raziskovalnega programa P6-0262, ki ga je sofinancirala Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije.

² Slovenski prevod *Izpovedi* je navajan po Gantarjevem prevodu (1984).

³ »Si quando in memet reversus prophetam legere coepissem, sermo horrebat incultus et, quia lumen caecis oculis non videbam, non oculorum putabam culpam esse, sed solis.« (Hilberg 1996, zv. 1, 189–190)

⁴ V izvirniku: »Ciceronianus es, non Christianus.« (Hilberg 1996, zv. 1, 190)

obdobja Aristotela do zgodnje bizantinske dobe, vendar so bile literarne kompozicije grškega Svetega pisma kot prevod iz semitskega izvirnika v grškem svetu neka tujerodna entiteta. Prvi poganski avtor, ki je citiral svetopisemsko besedilo, Pseudo-Longin iz prve polovice 1. stoletja po Kristusu, je pohvalil njegov način izražanja. V svojem delu *O vzvišenosti* 9.9 takoj po homerskem opisu Pozejdona v *Iliadi* 13 navaja uvodni del Geneze kot zgled literature, ki predstavlja božansko naravo, kakršna je v resnici, čista in neokrnjena. Avtor Mojzes ni imenovan po imenu, ampak samo kot judovski zakonodajalec: »Na podoben način je tudi postavodajalec Judov, ki ni bil kdorsibodi, dostojno povzel in predstavil moč Božanskega, ko je takoj na začetku Postave zapisal: ›Bog je rekel – kaj? – Bodi svetloba! – In nastala je. Bodi zemlja! – In nastala je.« (Longin 2011, 18)

Hieronimova eksegetična praksa dobesedne razlage svetopisemskih besedil odseva njegovo prizadevanje za psihološko analizo pri ugotavljanju zgodovinskih dejstev z neposrednim pričevanjem oseb, ki so vpletene v svetopisemske pripovedi, ali z informacijami o preteklosti, ki jih ponujajo sama svetopisemska besedila. Pierre Jay navaja značilne usmeritve »aleksandrijskih predhodnikov, ki vsako figuro hitro izrabijo kot povabilo, da se dvigne k duhovnemu smislu,« in usmeritve »antiohijskih sodobnikov, ki v slovnico vnesejo vse, kar ima opraviti s figurativnim pomenom ali je z njim povezano« (Jay 2004, 1104). Nadalje ugotavlja, da Hieronim v razlagi besedila upošteva postopke, kakor so »semantična študija, parafraza, upoštevanje konteksta, pritožba na argumentacijo, različne oblike argumentacije. Tako je v Hieronimovi praksi izrisano zблиževanje vseh virov znanja za natančno razumevanje dobesednega pomena, *historiae veritas*, temeljni kamen veljavnosti vsake duhovne interpretacije.« (Jay 2004, 1105)

Matthew A. Kraus ugotavlja, da je klasična tradicija vplivala na Hieronimovo metodo prevajanja tako glede splošnih načel kakor tudi v posebnih primerih:

»V soglasju s Ciceronom, Horacijem in Terencijem simpatizira z idiomatičnim (*sensus ad sensum*) prevodom v nasprotju z dobesednim (*verbum ad verbum*) prestavljanjem. Poleg tega njegova primerjalna metoda ustreza standardom, ki veljajo v klasični komentatorski literaturi njegovega časa. Kakor je komentator razložil besedilo s predstavitvijo različnih interpretacij, Hieronim razmišlja o različnih prevodih, recenzijah in eksegetičnih tradicijah.« (Kraus 2017, 182)

3. Hieronimovo spoštovanje literarne kakovosti hebrejske in grške Biblije

Kakor trdi Jay, Hieronimova eksegetična praksa odseva njegov celostni in medbesedilni pristop k svetopisemskim besedilom. Upošteva načelo, da Sveto pismo razlaga Sveto pismo. To stališče temelji na povezavi med izrazom komentiranega besedila z drugimi odlomki Svetega pisma, ki vsebujejo isto besedo ali katerokoli drugo slovnično ali literarno sestavino. Uporaba drugih besedil Svetega pisma

igra bistveno vlogo pri razlagi dobesednega pomena besedila in pri prehajanju v duhovni pomen. Pomembnost, ki jo pripisuje dobesednemu pomenu, obveznemu temelju vsake duhovne interpretacije, ga vodi k več kakor eni liniji razlage in k izraziti naklonjenosti figurativni eksegezi. Pomenljivost, ki jo Hieronim pripisuje jezikovnim, zgodovinskim in literarnim lastnostim svetopisemskih besedil, ga je privedla do tega, da se je vrnil k *hebraica veritas* kot besedilu hebrejskega Svetega pisma. Bil je »izjemen posrednik v službi Svetega pisma: med dediščino antične kulture in novostjo krščanskih izkušenj, med judovskimi tradicijami in tradicijo Cerkve, med grškim vzhodom in latinskim zahodom« (Jay 2004, 1114).

Hieronim je s svojim celostnim in medbesedilnim pristopom edinstveno obogatil krščansko eksegezo. Matthew A. Kraus navaja, da so bili Hieronimovi viri »grška tradicija, klasični tropi ali judovske tradicije« (Kraus 2017, 35–36). Trdi: »Ta besedilna analiza gre še dlje s celovitim branjem teh tehnik in virov. Takšno branje naslika Hieronima kot tipično poznoantično figuro, ki se giblje med kulturnimi svetovi. Še posebej zanimivo je, da so ti svetovi krščanski, klasični in judovski in da se ti kulturni sistemi posredujejo z jezikom.« (220–221) Zgodaj v svojem življenju je Hieronim razvil svojo literarno občutljivost s formalnim izobraževanjem. Njegov celostni eksegetični pristop je bil po naravi v nasprotju zgolj z abstraktno refleksijo ali špekulacijo. Njegova globoka razlaga in krepostno življenje sta vabila k natančnemu branju besedil. Aline Canellis ugotavlja, da je bila »izbira tehnike odvisna od vrste besedila in posebnega namena njegove eksegeze. Posledično obstajajo tri vrste komentarjev: polemični, nedorečeni (tj. brez jasne artikulacije metodologije) in namerni (tj. z določeno metodologijo).« (Canellis 2016, 66–68)

Hieronima prva srečanja s svetopisemskimi besedili niso navdušila z vidikov elegance in lepote. V zgodnjih letih je imel raje rafinirano kakovost latinske literature. V pismu 22 Hieronim poroča o svojih znamenitih sanjah, da je preveč ljubil klasično literaturo, in prizna:

»In tako, bedni človek, kakršen sem bil, bi se postil samo zato, da bi lahko pozneje bral Cicerona. Po mnogih nočeh, ki sem jih preživel v budnosti, po poplavah solz, poklicanih iz mojega najglobljega srca, bi se po spominu na svoje pretekle grehe še enkrat lotil Plavta. In ko sem se občasno vrnil v pravi um in začel brati preroke, se je njihov slog zdel grob in odvraten. Z zaslepljenimi očmi nisem videl svetlobe; vendar krivde nisem pripisoval njim, temveč soncu.« (Pismo 22.30 [Hilberg 1996, 1:189–190])

Z branjem Svetega pisma v hebrejščini je Hieronim premagal svojo prvotno nenaklonjenost Stari zavezi kot literaturi. V pismu 125 poroča o začetkih učenja hebrejščine v svoji burni mladosti pred spreobrnitvijo:

»Da bi ublažil svoj nemir, sem se posvetil bratu, ki je bil pred spreobrnitvijo Jud, in ga prosil, naj me nauči hebrejščine. Tako sem, potem ko sem se seznanil z ostrino Kvintilijana, tekočim jezikom Cicerona, resnostjo Frontona in nežnostjo Plinija, začel pisati na novo in se učil izgovarjati besede tako ostre kot grlene. Kakšen trud sem namenil za to nalogo, skozi kakšne

težave sem šel, kako pogosto sem obupaval, kako pogosto sem popustil in nato v svoji želji po učenju začel znova, lahko potrdim tako jaz, subjekt te bede, kot tudi tisti, ki so takrat živeli z mano. Toda Gospodu se zahvaljujem, da iz tega semena učenja, posejanega v grenkobi, zdaj izkoriščam sladke sadeže.« (125.12 [Hilberg 1996, 3:131])⁵

Michael Graves trdi, da je učenje v pozni antiki

»vključevalo estetsko vrednotenje besedila, in čeprav ga je v svetopisemskem besedilu v prvi vrsti zanimal njegov moralni ali teološki nauk, je Hieronim Sveto pismo bral tudi s pogledom na njegovo lepoto, zlasti (vendar ne samo) v zvezi s hebrejskimi zadevami. Hieronim je v Stari zavezi našel tako dobro sestavljeno vsebino kot tudi čudovit jezik.« (2010, 170–171)

Za prikaz umetniške kakovosti Stare zaveze v hebrejščini se Hieronim sklicuje na grške literarne izraze in figure, kakor so personifikacija, hiperbola, sinekdoha, metafora. Jasno se je zavedal bogate zmožnosti hebrejskega jezika za asonanco in besedno igro. Razumevanje pomembnih jezikovnih in literarnih lastnosti izvirnih svetopisemskih jezikov je nenehno zaposlovalo Hieronimovo misel. V svoji prevajalski dejavnosti je najjasneje spoznal, da se jeziki razlikujejo glede na vrstni red besed, njihove specifične metafore in njihove domače idiome. To dejstvo prevajalca postavlja pred moreče težave, ki jih ni vedno mogoče v celoti rešiti. Temu glavnemu problemu je namenjen večji del njegovega Predgovora k prevodu Evzebijeve *Kronike*. Hieronim izraža izkušnjo o različnih razlogih za zadrego v prevajanju: pomanjkanje ustreznih besed, raznolikost figur, idiomi jezika, posebnosti vrstnega reda (Fremantle 1995, 483).

Hieronim je resno upošteval naravo besedil v prozi in v pesniški obliki, ki jih je primerjal z grško in latinsko poezijo. V Predgovoru k Jobovi knjigi iz leta 392 piše:

»Če se komu zdi neverjetno, da imajo Hebrejci v resnici metrum, in če upoštevamo psalter ali Jeremijeve Žalostinke ali skoraj vse pesmi v Svetem pismu, so te podobne našemu Flaku, grškemu Pindarju, Alkaju in Sapfo, pa naj bere Filona, Jožefa (Flavija), Origena, Evzebija iz Cezareje in bo s pomočjo njihovega pričevanja ugotovil, da govorim resnico.«⁶

⁵ Za izvirno latinsko različico Hieronimovih pisem glej izdajo Hilberg 1996.

⁶ Slovenski prevod je narejen na podlagi angleškega v Fremantle 1995, 491.

4. Hieronimov filološki in literarni pristop v njegovih svetopisemskih komentarjih

Matthew Kraus obravnava Hieronimovo Vulgato kot delo poznoantične latinske literature. Opozarja, da želja po evalvaciji medsebojnega vplivanja poznih antičnih študij, patristike, judovskih študij in zgodovine svetopisemske hermenevtike s podarkom na eksegetičnih tradicijah zahteva natančno branje. Kraus v Hieronimu vidi »poznoantičnega prevajalca pri delu, pri katerem se ukvarja s hebrejščino, preučuje grške vire, razrešuje ali odgovarja na zagonetko interpretacije. Takšen pristop ne zagotavlja samo zanesljivejše baze podatkov o eksegetičnih izvajanjih, ampak tudi natančnejši opis tega ‚prevodnega dogodka‘.« (Kraus 2017, 14)

Hieronim v svojem prevajalskem delu posveča pozornost slovničnemu in jezikovnemu pojasnjevanju, interpretaciji zgodovine, slogu in poetičnemu jeziku, pa tudi razlagi težavnih besed (*glossae*) s parafrazo ali etimologijo: »Latinska slovnica, ki izhaja iz grške znanosti, je tradicionalno sestavljena iz štirih delov: *lectio*, *enarratio*, *emendatio* in *iudicium*.« (Kraus 2017, 63) Hieronim v svetopisemskih komentarjih celo bolj kakor v prevodu Svetega pisma izkazuje svojo široko sposobnost obravnave jezikov in literatur (Scheck, 2010, 2015, 2017 itd.). Graves v svoji knjigi *Hieronimova hebrejska filologija: študija, ki temelji na njegovem komentarju Jeremija* (2007), ponuja zelo lucidno razlago Hieronimovega razumevanja izrazov *lectio* (branje na glas), *enarratio* (razlaga), *emendatio* (besedilna kritika) in *iudicium* (literarna presoja). Meni, da je »vsaka od teh komponent na neki način vplivala na Hieronimovo hebrejsko filologijo« (Graves 2007, 193–194). Ugotavlja, da je Hieronim s svojim treningom v *iudicium* razvil močan občutek za dober slog, čeprav je zaradi splošne osredotočenosti na »sporočilo« besedila njegovo vrednotenje klasične slovnične tradicije nagnjeno k eksegezi, s katero »je razvil izrazito krščansko hebrejsko filologijo« (194).

Graves trdi, da je Hieronimov pristop ‚filološki‘, in obseg pomena tega izraza razlaga s sklicevanjem na angleški *Oxford English Dictionary*: »Ljubezen do učenja in literature; študij literature v širšem smislu, vključno s slovnico, literarno kritiko in interpretacijo, odnos literature in pisnih zapisov do zgodovine itd.« (2007, 1) Avguštin v svojem delu *O krščanskem nauku* (4.7.15) pravi, da je svetopisemsko besedilo navajal, »kakor ga je iz hebrejščine prevedel v latinščino prezbiter Hieronim, ki je bil doma v obeh jeziki (*utriusque linguae peritus*)«. ⁷ Na drugem mestu istega dela (4.20.41) pa Avguštin pravi:

»Našel bi tudi mnogo čudovitih vrst sloga – lepih tudi v našem jeziku, najbolj pa v izvirnem –, kakršnih ni najti nikjer v književnosti, zaradi katere se ti retorji napihujejo. Toda paziti moramo, da ne bi s tem, ko bi tehtnim božjim mislim dodali ritem, zmanjšali njihove teže. Kajti nauk o glasbi, kjer se najbolj temeljito poučimo o ritmu, je bil našim prerokom tako domač, da učeni (*doctissimus*) Hieronim omenja celo metrume pri nekaterih, vsaj v hebrejščini; v prevodu pa jih ni poustvaril, da bi ohranil točen pomen v besedah.«

⁷ Slovenski prevod dela *O krščanskem nauku* je navajan po prevodu Nade Grošelj (2013).

Opažanja o hebrejskem besedilu lahko najdemo v njegovih svetopisemskih komentarjih in v številnih njegovih filološko naravnanih pismih. Komentarji k prerokom so Hieronimova najbolj zrela dela, saj jih je napisal v zadnjem obdobju svojega življenja: Mali preroki (končal leta 406), Daniel (leta 407), Izaija (v letih 408–410), Ezekiel (v letih 410–414), Jeremija (začel leta 414). Hieronim je v teh komentarjih lahko uporabil celotno izkušnjo učenja hebrejščine za svojo razlago svetopisemskih besedil. Obsežno obzorje, ki ga je Hieronim sestavil v svojih ustvarjalnih obdobjih, kaže, da se izrazi, kakor je ‚dobesedni pomen‘, po njegovi presoji lahko uporabljajo v zelo širokem smislu. Graves piše, da Hieronim z »dobesednim pomenom« ne označuje preprosto pomena, ki temelji na besedah, saj je duhovni pomen mogoče izvesti tudi iz jezikovnih prvin. Zdi se, da je Hieronim namesto tega dojemal pomen *ad litteram* kot tisti pomen, ki se ujema tako z besedilom odlomka kakor tudi s kontekstom knjige kot celote (Graves 2007, 190). Graves meni, da se »Hieronimova hebrejska filologija zdi najbolj podobna modernemu raziskovanju. Tukaj, v njegovi hebrejski filologiji *ad litteram*, je Hieronim najbolj spreten in ustvarjalen.« (191–192)

Izjemna skladnost filološke metode dela Hieronima edinstvenega med zgodnje-krščanskimi razlagalci in najbližjega sodobnemu raziskovanju. Hieronimov prispevek je dobro povzet v vrednotenju njegovih eksegetičnih del:

»Hieronimove interpretacije zaznamuje skladna literarna teorija, katere značilnosti so sestavljene iz: (1) zaupanja v enotnost Svetega pisma, (2) raziskovanja različnih stopenj pomena (polisemija), (3) vere v navdih svetopisemskih avtorjev, svetopisemskih besedil in bralstva, (4) širitve, a tudi omejevanja pomena s strani skupnosti, ki besedila sprejema (*regula fidei*), ter (5) povezave med eksegezo in duhovno prakso (*lectio – meditatio – oratio – contemplatio*). Nazadnje, če primerjamo Hieronimove metode z metodami sodobnih svetopisemskih raziskovalcev, je mogoče dati nekaj predlogov o področjih svetopisemske eksegeze, kjer bi hermenevtični pristop lahko odprl nove vidike za diskusijo in razpravo.« (Birnbaum in Schwiendorst-Schönberger 2014, xviii)

5. Pomen Hieronima za poznejše literarne pristope k interpretaciji Svetega pisma

V zadnjih treh desetletjih so svetopisemski in literarni izvedenci tako navdušeno sprejeli literarne pristope k Svetemu pismu, da se zdi, kakor da se je zgodil korenit »premik paradigme« ali »revolucija« v metodologiji interpretacije (Ryken 1993, 49). Po besedah Tremperja Longmana, Stephena Pricketta in drugih je to ‚novo‘ gibanje (nova kritika) zasidrano v tradiciji. Logman trdi, da je spajanje Svetega pisma in literature v poznem 20. stoletju dejansko »ponovna integracija starodavne zveze« (Longman 1999, 101). Janet Soomers želi v svojem članku „Interpreting the Bible as Literature: Historical and Contemporary Contexts with Implications for

Christian Education“ (Interpretacija Biblije kot književnosti: zgodovinski in sodobni konteksti s posledicami za krščansko vzgojo) iz leta 2007 odgovoriti na tri glavna vprašanja: »Kaj je razlaga Svetega pisma kot literature pomenila v preteklosti? Kaj pomeni danes? Kakšen vpliv mora ta metoda razlage imeti na poučevanje božje besede v sodobni kulturi?« (2007, 78)

Zgodnji cerkveni očetje, ki so bili zelo občutljivi za literarno kakovost klasičnih svobodnih umetnosti, so bili soočeni z napetostjo med preprostostjo in lepoto, ki sta značilni za božjo besedo v Svetem pismu, in očitno slogovno premočjo klasike. Janet Sommers trdi, da je »za Avguščina in druge cerkvene očete razlaga Svetega pisma kot literature pomenila pogosto problematično aplikacijo njihove klasične vzgoje in njihovo poznejše utemeljevanje posebnega statusa Besede« (79). Kakor meni, so bila za zgodnje cerkvene očete »vprašanja o literarni naravi Svetega pisma neločljivo vezana na njihovo klasično izobraževanje o svobodni umetnosti. Dobro podkovani v preučevanju jezikov, slovnic in retorike so po podobni metodologiji razlagali Sveto pismo in klasično literaturo.« (17)

Avguštin v svoji razpravi *O krščanskem nauku* (4.6.10) trdi, da so svetopisemski pisci v resnici imeli posebno vrsto retorične umetnosti, ki je estetsko boljša od klasične literature, in pravi, da to, kar ga v besedni umetnosti piscev svetopisemskih besedil »navdaja z nepopisnim užitkom, niso odlike, ki jih delijo s poganskimi govorniki in pesniki. Bolj se čudim in strmim nad tem, kako so v povsem drugačni, svojstveni govorniški umetnosti uporabili našo retoriko na tak način, da ne izostane, a tudi ni izrazita, ker ni bilo potrebno, da bi jo bodisi odklanjali bodisi razkazovali.« V srednjem veku, od 5. stoletja do renesanse, so biblicisti Sveto pismo še naprej spoštovali kot božje razodetje in literarno besedilo, čeprav se je zgodil »premik paradigme« tako pri razlagi posvetnih kakor tudi pri razlagi svetopisemskih besedil, izhajajoč od dobrednega in literarnega pristopa do alegoričnega, figuralnega in tipološkega načina branja svetopisemskih besedil, ob interpretacijah, ki so postale norma zapletenega in večpomenskega sistema eksegeze, zajemajočega celotno Sveto pismo. Stephen Prickett trdi: »V naslednjih stoletjih se je to razvilo v večplastni sistem branja, ki je v kontekstu, ko še ni bilo razlikovanja med svetimi in posvetnimi besedili, zajel celotno literaturo.« (1999, 17)

Alegorizacija je pomenila zagotavljanje notranjega duhovnega pomena in možnosti splošnega pomena besedil, pomagala pa je tudi pri njihovem sproščanju iz prvotnega okolja. V obdobjih renesanse in reformacije je nastal nov poudarek na samem besedilu. Interpretacija Svetega pisma je manj temeljila na raznolikih alegoričnih branjih in bolj na dobesednem pomenu in na zgodovinskih kontekstih Svetega pisma. Raziskovalci so se obrnili na izvirne svetopisemske jezike, njihov kulturni kontekst in njihove literarne oblike. Stephen Prickett pravi: »Čeprav je bilo splošno soglasje, da je dobesedni pomen osrednji, to še ni pomenilo enotnosti razlage ali celo, da je množica pomenov izključena. Dejansko so bili novi, notranji, navdihnjeni in skrivni pomeni besedila v številnih pogledih pomembnejši kot kdaj prej.« (1999, 22) V 18. stoletju je Robert Lowth (1710–1787) v svojem delu *De sacra poesi Hebraeorum* (Oxford 1753) poudaril potrebo po razumevanju stanja svetopisemskih pisateljev kot ljudi svojega časa, zato si moramo, kolikor je mogoče,

prizadevati, »da beremo hebrejščino, kot bi to počeli Hebrejci« (1969, 113–114).

Zdi se upravičeno trditi, da je Lowthovo delo »začelo kritično revolucijo« (Prickett 1999, 27). V 18. stoletju je drug vplivni literarni kritik izrazil občudovanje literarne lepote Svetega pisma, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803). V skladu s svojim prepričanjem, da poezija nekega ljudstva kaže edinstvene lastnosti in vrednote njegovega jezika in kulture, v delu *Duh hebrejske poezije* (1782/1783) povzdiguje »genij« hebrejskega jezika. V Predgovoru piše, da nikjer ne moremo bolje preučiti briljantnosti hebrejskega jezika kakor v njegovi poeziji, in spodbuja: »Naj potem učenjak preučuje Staro zavezo, četudi bi bila le človeška knjiga, polna starodavne poezije, s sorodnim občutkom in naklonjenostjo.« (1833, 22–23) Herder s širšim pomenom nemškega koncepta »poezije« zajema tudi zgodovinske knjige, ne da bi se spraševal o njihovi zgodovinski vsebini. Piše, da »je zgodovina pravzaprav sama po sebi poezija« (37), in priznava, da hebrejska poezija izraža »najzgodnejše zaznave, najpreprostejšo obliko, s katero je človeška duša izrazila svoje misli, najbolj nepopačena čustva« (45–46).

Nekateri drugi pisci in literarni kritiki so zasledovali novejši razvoj literarnih pristopov k razlagi Svetega pisma: René Auguste de Chateaubriand (1768–1848), Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822), Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855), Thomas Mann (1875–1955), James Joyce (1882–1941), Thomas Stearns Eliot (1888–1965), Erich Auerbach (1892–1957), Northrop Frye (1912–1991) itd. David Jasper in Stephen Prickett opozarjata na celotno obseg vpliva nove kritike: »Bolj kot kdaj prej je postalo ‚odprto besedilo‘, podvrženo različnim branjem, in njegove verske trditve so se na novo odprle ob pomoči bralnih strategij feminističnih branj, dekonstruktivnih branj, novih pristopov v retoričnih študijah in tako naprej skoraj v neskončno (*ad infinitum*).« (1999, 9–10) Primerljivo veliko delo o svetopisemski literarni kritiki je napisal Robert Moulton, profesor književnosti na univerzi v Chicagu, z naslovom *Literarni študij Svetega pisma* (*The Literary Study of the Bible*, 1899). V tem delu je Moulton opravil natančno literarno analizo številnih svetopisemskih besedil. Njegova občutljivost za literarne lastnosti Svetega pisma spominja na občudovanje »literarne lepote« svetopisemskih besedil pri zgodnjih cerkvenih očetih (Ryken 1993, 58).

Zgodovinski pregled Svetega pisma kot literature nam pomaga razumeti pomen radikalne ‚spremembe paradigme‘ v interpretacijski metodologiji v zadnjih desetletjih. Od zgodnjih cerkvenih očetov prek renesanse, reformacije in poznejših zgodovinskih premikov v svetopisemski hermenevtiki, imenovani nova kritika, so Sveto pismo razlagali kot sveto sporočilo in literarno besedilo. Nova kritika na področju literature na splošno je imela velik vpliv na nove tokove v svetopisemskih študijah. René Wellek pojasnjuje značilnosti nove kritike in njen vpliv na posameznike in družbo na splošno, najbolj prepričljivo v svojem članku „Nova kritika: Pro in kontra“ (*The New Criticism: Pro and Contra* [1978]). Različne smeri gibanja nove kritike v Ameriki so se združile v nasprotovanju »povsem filološkim in zgodovinskim raziskovanjem, ki so prevladala v celotnem poučevanju, objavljanju in promociji« (1978, 614).

V nasprotju z vsemi oblikami ‚formalizma‘, ‚pozitivizma‘ raziskav v 19. stoletju in samopriznavajočega ‚nihilizma‘ nova kritika predstavlja stališče, da je uspešno umetniško delo celota, v kateri deli medsebojno sodelujejo in spreminjajo drug drugega. Nova kritika zagovarja popolno zgodovinsko shemo, skladnost in organskost poezije, enotno senzibilnost pesnikov in organski način življenja: »Novi kritiki se v veliki meri ukvarjajo s pomenom umetniškega dela, z držo, tonom, občutki in celo s končnim implicitnim pogledom na svet.« (618) Iz tega sledi, da je »metoda natančnega branja postala pedagoško orožje nove kritike.« (620) Občutek celovitosti, enotnosti in skladnosti pri branju literarnih besedil bralca usmerja k doživljanju resničnega življenja v celoti: »Ni mogoče zanikati, da je navsezadnje poezija z več novimi kritiki če ne religija, pa potem priprava na religijo: dodeljena ji je vloga, primerljiva z domišljijo v Wordsworthu in Coleridgeu. Pesnika in njegovega bralca vrne v celoto njunih bitij, povrne se jima prvotna človečnost.« (623)⁸

Natančna literarna analiza besedil različnih literarnih vrst in zvrsti, ki jih vsebuje Sveto pismo, nam pomaga, da jasneje vidimo prirojene enotnosti kraja, časa in dejanja, predstavljene v posameznih besedilih, in natančneje ocenimo naravo in zelo širok vpliv Svetega pisma v sodobni kulturi. Janet Sommers poskuša odgovoriti na vprašanje, zakaj so tako svetopisemski kakor tudi literarni raziskovalci od sredine sedemdesetih let 20. stoletja dalje kazali neustavljivo zanimanje za Sveto pismo kot literaturo, pri tem pa navaja stališča Lelanda Rykena in Tremperja Longmana. Longman je izjavil: »Ni običajna akademska hiperbola, če rečemo, da je bilo zanimanje za literarni pristop k Svetemu pismu v tem časovnem obdobju brez primere.« (1999, 114)

Sledimo lahko sodbi Janet Sommers: »Začetni sodobni pristop k Svetemu pismu kot literaturi odraža zapuščino novih kritikov sredine 20. stoletja. Ta metoda svetopisemske razlage, osredotočena na žanrske in literarne prvine, vključuje končno obliko besedila in zahteva natančno branje besedila.« (2007, 85) Navezuje se na Lelanda Rykena, ki trdi, da božje razodetje prihaja k nam večinoma kot zbirka zgodb, pesmi, vizij in pisem, ne pa v obliki abstraktne doktrine ali sistematične teologije. Literarno branje Svetega pisma »dejansko temelji na tradicionalni slovnično-zgodovinski metodi« tako, da bralca »čim bolj približa prvotno predvidenemu navadnemu pomenu besedila« (1984, 9).

6. Sklep

Argument za vsebino bolj kakor za obliko, kakor so ga izrazili Hieronim in nekateri drugi zgodnjekrščanski pisci, je lahko vzrok za to, da je bila literarna umetnost

⁸ Miran Špelič in Jan Dominik Bogataj (2017, 79–95) obravnavata to temo v patrističnih besedilih z uporabo primerjalne ‚metode sinteze‘ v odnosu do sodobne teološke misli. Jože Krašovec (2018, 483) metodo svoje semantične študije opredeli takole: »Članek obravnava vprašanje enotnosti besedišča in značilnega bibličnega sloga s predstavitvijo ustreznice za koncept božje pravičnosti v hebrejskem izvirniku in v aramejščini (Tg), grški (LXX) in latinski (Vg) prevod iz Izaijeve knjige. Bistvo je, da je besedišče neločljivo povezano s pojavom svetopisemskega sloga in osnovnimi literarnimi oblikami.« V svoji monografiji *Prevajanje med teorijo in prakso* (2013) Krašovec obravnava Hieronimov prispevek na straneh 80–102.

številnih svetopisemskih knjig dolgo časa skrita. V moderni dobi smo s podrobnim poznavanjem starodavne literature starega Bližnjega vzhoda seznanjeni s skupnimi literarnimi umetniškimi konvencijami, ki so oblikovale Staro zavezo. Tako lahko upoštevamo literarne zvrsti, ki so delovale v časih in krajih, ko so bile napisane svetopisemske knjige: Visoka pesem v povezavi s staroegipčansko ljubezensko poezijo, Žalostinke v zvezi s starodavnimi žalostinkami itd. Kar zadeva Hieronimov splošni vpliv na zgodovinski razvoj svetopisemske interpretacije, sklene Michael Graves svojo knjigo *Hieronimova hebrejska filologija (Jerome's Hebrew Philology, 2007)* z velikim izrazom spoštovanja do vpliva, ki ga je imelo Hieronimovo delo skozi čas in ga ima še danes:

»Hieronimovega pomena za zgodovino krščanskega hebraizma ni mogoče preveč poudariti. /.../ Tudi danes Hieronim ostaja pomembna priča razlage hebrejskega Svetega pisma v antiki. Obseg njegovih raziskav o hebrejščini Stare zaveze ga dela edinstvenega med zgodnjekrščanskimi razlagalci. Čeprav se Hieronimova eksegeza v drugih pogledih lahko zdi kot izpeljana in eklektična, je Hieronim na področju hebrejske filologije res izviren in kaže izjemno skladnost metode.« (2007, 199)

Hieronimovo široko zanimanje za literarne študije, ki zajema vse od besedil in slovnice do interpretacije in kritike, pomeni njegovo najširše možno razumevanje »dobesednega« pomena svetopisemskih besedil, to pa ustreza tako formulaciji besedil kakor tudi njihovem kontekstu znotraj knjige kot celote.

V današnjem času nova obzorja za diskusijo in razpravo ponujajo zagovorniki ,nove kritike' s pozivanjem k ,enotni senzibilnosti', ki združuje intelekt in občutek. Kakor ugotavlja Wellek: »Estetsko stanje duha lahko dosežeta le skladnost in enotnost umetniškega dela /.../. Ideja o skladnosti, popolnosti in celo organskosti umetniškega dela je stara toliko kot Aristotel.« (1978, 616) Zaznavanje prepletanja jezikovnih, kontekstualnih ali zgodovinskih informacij v kontekstu knjige kot celote nas naredi občutljive na literarne lastnosti svetopisemskih besedil v njihovem dobesednem in duhovnem pomenu. Natančna besedilna analiza nas zmora popeljati onkraj jezikovnih in literarnih vprašanj, onkraj estetske izkušnje retoričnega in literarnega prepričevanja do celostne religiozne izkušnje in do rekonstrukcije prvotne celovitosti človekovega obstoja.⁹

⁹ V novejšem obdobju imamo tudi pri nas vse več raziskav večpomenskosti temeljnega teološkega besedišča Svetega pisma v njegovih različnih kontekstih in intertekstualnih razmerjih. Matjaž v članku 2019, 923–935, odkriva globlji pomen, ki ga Pavel v Prvem pismu Korinčanom daje uporabi Stare zaveze v retorični argumentaciji novih razsežnosti pomena »modrosti« v luči Jezusovega nauka in osebnega zgleda. Palmisano v članku 2019, 891–907, raziskuje večpomensko rabo metafore ,Gospodovega strahu' pri Ben Sirahu.

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Emmanuelle Mantel

La lettre de consolation chez saint Jérôme

Tolažilno pismo pri sv. Hieronimu

Letter of Consolation in St. Jerome

Résumé: Mon étude porte sur sept lettres de consolation écrites par Saint Jérôme : *Ep.* 23, à Marcella à la mort de Léa ; *Ep.* 39, à Paula sur la mort de sa fille Blesilla ; *Ep.* 60, à Heliodorus sur la mort de son neveu Népotien ; *Ep.* 66, à Pam-machius à la mort de sa femme Paulina ; *Ep.* 77, à Oceanus sur la mort de Fabiola ; *Ep.* 79, à Salvini à la mort de son mari ; *Ep.* 108, à Eustochium à la mort de sa mère Paula. Nous analyserons si ces lettres peuvent être considérées comme des consolations, s'il existe des particularités hiéronymiennes dans ce genre littéraire, si Jérôme se conforme à un style existant ou s'il crée son propre style à partir de la tradition consolatoire. Nous étudierons aussi l'évolution de l'écriture de Jérôme au fil du temps et selon les destinataires.

Mots clés: *epistula, consolatio*, rhétorique, *laudatio, exhortatio, lamentatio*, christianisme, style

Povzetek: Študija zadeva sedem tolažilnih pisem, ki jih je sv. Hieronim napisal: Mar-celi ob Lejini smrti (*Ep.* 23); Pavli ob smrti njene hčere Blezile (39); Heliodorju ob smrti njegovega nečaka Nepocijana (60); Pamahiju ob smrti njegove žene Pavline (66); Oceanu ob smrti Fabiole (77); Salvini ob smrti njenega moža (79); Evstohiji ob smrti njene matere Pavle (108). Analizirana bodo vprašanja, ali lahko ta pisma uvrščamo v žanr tolažilnega pisma, ali obstajajo hieronimijanske posebnosti v tej literarni zvrsti, ali Hieronimovo pisanje ustreza obstoječemu slogu ali na podlagi tolažilne tradicije ustvarja svoj slog. Preučevan bo tudi razvoj Hieronimovega pisanja glede na čas in prejemnike.

Ključne besede: pismo, *consolatio*, retorika, *laudatio, exhortatio, lamentatio*, kr-šćanstvo, slog

Abstract: My study is about seven letters of consolation written by Saint Jerome: *Ep.* 23, to Marcella on Lea's death; *Ep.* 39, to Paula on her daughter Blesilla's death; *Ep.* 60, to Heliodorus on his Nepotian nephew's death; *Ep.* 66, to Pam-

machus on his wife Paulina's death; *Ep.* 77, to Oceanus on Fabiola's death; *Ep.* 79, to Salvina on her husband's death; *Ep.* 108, to Eustochium on his mother Paula's death. We will analyze if these letters can be considered as consolations, if there are any of Jerome's peculiarities in this literary genre, and if Jerome conforms to an existing style or borrows his style from the Consolatory tradition. We will study the evolution of Jerome's writing over time and according to the addressees.

Keywords: epistula, *consolatio*, rhetorics, *laudatio*, *exhortatio*, *lamentation*, *Christianity*, *style*

Jérôme de Stridon est une personnalité à part chez les Pères de l'Église : jamais évêque, entouré de femmes, en général très tranché, parfois à contre-courant. Pour les lettres de consolation latines chrétiennes, qu'en est-il ? Jérôme réussissait-il à être un «bon» consolateur ? Lui qui ne voulait pas être «cicéronien mais chrétien», se conformait-il au modèle existant ? Existe-t-il des particularités hiéronymiennes ? Y a-t-il eu une évolution au cours des vingt années qui séparent sa première lettre considérée comme consolatoire de la dernière (de 384 à 404) ? Diffèrent-elles en fonction du degré d'intimité qui lie le destinataire et le destinataire ? Ou en fonction du sexe du destinataire ? Nous essaierons de répondre au mieux à ces questions à l'aide de notre corpus.

1. Notre corpus

Il est composé de sept lettres, évoquant toutes des morts de proches :

- *Ep.* 23, rédigée à l'automne 384, à l'adresse de Marcella sur la mort de Lea, une amie (*ad Marcellam de exitu Leae*)
- *Ep.* 39, rédigée la même année, adressée à Paula sur la mort de sa fille Blesilla (*ad Paulam de morte Blesillae*)
- *Ep.* 60 à Heliodorus sur la mort de son neveu Nepotianus, vers 396 (*ad Heliodorum epitaphium Nepotiani*)
- *Ep.* 66 à Pammachius sur la mort de son épouse Paulina (*ad Pammachium de dormitione Paulinae*), rédigée en fin d'année 397
- *Ep.* 77 à Oceanus sur la mort de Fabiola (*ad Oceanum de morte Fabiolae*), rédigée vers 400
- *Ep.* 79 à Salvina (*ad Salvinam*) sur la mort de son époux Nebrius, rédigée en 400 ou 401
- *Ep.* 108 à Eustochium sur la mort de sa mère Paula (*epitaphium sanctae Paulae*), rédigée en 404¹

En quoi ces lettres sont-elles des consolations ? Et pour commencer, qu'est-ce qu'une consolation ?

¹ »La vierge Eustochium, aussi dévouée dans le Christ, sa fille, pour la consolation de laquelle ce petit ouvrage est forgé.« (Hier., *Ep.* 108.2) Les traductions sont de l'auteur, sauf mention contraire, et le texte latin est cité de l'édition Les Belles lettres de Labourt 1949–1963.

2. Qu'est-ce qu'une consolation ?

La consolation est, tout d'abord, une réponse face à une perte vécue dans la douleur, généralement la mort d'un proche, comme dans notre corpus.

La consolation est aussi, pour les Romains, un *officium* : au nom de *l'amicitia*, il est un devoir d'écrire une *consolatio* à celui qui est en deuil, un court billet la plupart du temps (la *brevitas* étant une des qualités de la lettre de consolation antique) pour rappeler au consolé qu'il n'est pas seul et qu'il participe à une vie en société. Il existait alors un impératif social de maîtrise de soi. Toutefois, cette *consolatio* ne devait pas être envoyée dès l'annonce du décès. En effet, les Anciens pensaient qu'il fallait laisser un peu de temps au deuil, sur les conseils du sage Chrysippe. C'était la trinité du consolateur païen en quelque sorte : *l'opportunitas temporis*, *l'amicitia*, puis la philosophie.

Voici les trois points importants que l'on retrouve dans une lettre de consolation :

1. Le destinataire doit faire preuve de sympathie envers le destinataire, en exprimant ses regrets dans une *lamentatio*, en partageant la douleur du consolé, en utilisant un vocabulaire choisi, des euphémismes, la première preuve de sympathie étant bien entendu la lettre, objet de consolation en elle-même, puisqu'elle marque la présence en pensée du consolateur. Rappelons le sens premier du terme *sympathie*, qui prend toute sa valeur dans le cas de la consolation : le consolateur *souffre avec* le consolé.
2. Après avoir partagé la douleur du consolé, le consolateur doit l'aider à surmonter cette douleur et l'exhorter à ne pas se laisser submerger par les émotions. C'est un *modus vivendi* typiquement antique de ne pas se laisser envahir par les passions. La pensée chrétienne n'est pas en reste puisqu'un chrétien ne doit pas (trop) pleurer face à la mort, dans la mesure où ce sont la résurrection et le bonheur auprès du Christ qui attendent le défunt (et le consolé lui-même d'ailleurs à plus long terme). Ainsi donc, le consolateur doit amener le consolé à la *metriopatheia*, à «modérer la douleur pour en maîtriser les manifestations extérieures» pour reprendre les termes de Sabine Luciani (2016, 279). Pour accompagner le consolé dans cette démarche que beaucoup de philosophes antiques associaient à un processus thérapeutique, le consolateur puise dans une mine de *topoi* consolatoires et d'arguments philosophiques ou spirituels selon les époques, appuyés sur des *exempla* historiques, mythologiques ou bibliques. Le consolateur n'exhorte pas à oublier le défunt, mais à apprendre à vivre avec la douleur en la domptant, grâce à la philosophie, la foi ou la *medicina temporis*.
3. Face à un deuil, le consolateur peut aussi faire l'éloge du défunt, rappeler quelle belle personne il était, pour la communauté, à travers une *laudatio* : celle-ci mettra en avant les origines du défunt ou ses vertus, selon que la consolation est païenne ou chrétienne.

Une fois exposé ce modèle-type de la consolation, voyons si les lettres de notre corpus y obéissent. En effet, «les chrétiens, tout en subissant l'influence de la tradition, ont, dans une large mesure, renouvelé le genre» (Favez 1937, 12).

3. Les lettres de Jérôme sont-elles des consolations *stricto sensu* ?

Commençons par traiter de *l'epistolaris brevitatis*, principale caractéristique de la lettre antique (A. Canellis 2002, 312), caractéristique la plus visible. En effet, Jérôme en a une définition assez personnelle.

L'epistula 23 fait 3 pages, *l'epistula* 39 14 pages. Jérôme l'appelle d'ailleurs «liber» au paragraphe 2. *L'epistula* 60 fait 20 pages. Là encore, Jérôme emploie le terme «libro» au paragraphe 6, aussitôt corrigé en quelque sorte par «parvo isto volumine» au paragraphe suivant. *L'epistula* 66 comporte 13 pages et est appelée *'epistulae'* (au génitif) au paragraphe 15, repris ensuite dans *l'epistula* 77 comme étant *'breve epistulam'*, puis dans *l'epistula* 108 par *'parvum libellum'* : *l'epistula* 108 comporte 42 pages. Elle est d'ailleurs appelée *'prolixior liber'* au paragraphe 27 et *'librum'* au paragraphe 32 par Jérôme, même si, au paragraphe 2 il évoque un «libellus», peut-être parce qu'il ne s'attendait pas à être si bavard au début de son écrit. Comparées à cette lettre, toutes les missives sont *parvae* ou *libelli*. Toutefois, *l'epistula* 66 peut nous servir d'aune pour déterminer de ce qui semble respecter la *brevitas epistolaris* pour Jérôme, ce que nous confirme *l'epistula* 79 au paragraphe 11 : il y est évoqué *'libelli brevitatem'* alors qu'elle comporte 14 pages.²

Quelles hypothèses déduire de cette litanie de chiffres ?

1. Qu'au début de sa lettre, Jérôme ne sait peut-être pas la taille de son écrit. Au paragraphe 2 de *l'epistula* 39, il parle de *liber* alors qu'à ce même paragraphe de *l'epistula* 108, il parle de *libellus*. L'inverse eût été moins étonnant.
2. Si on excepte ces deux lettres (mais cela restera à vérifier lors de mes recherches futures), le terme *libellus* est employé pour évoquer des missives de taille moyenne (une quinzaine de pages environ), associé à une notion de brièveté *brevitatem* et *parvum* : les *epistulae* 66 et 79. Cette idée de brièveté se retrouve aussi dans *l'epistula* 60, associée alors à *volumine*.

Jérôme est bavard, ce qui s'oppose à l'idée de *brevitas* attendue dans les lettres antiques, mais en accord avec sa personnalité.

Venons-en maintenant à l'étude à proprement parler des lettres de notre corpus.

3.1 Ep. 23

La lettre 23, adressée à Marcella sur la mort de Léa, est une *consolatio*. Elle répond à tous les impératifs cités ci-dessus : Jérôme partage la douleur de son amie, à laquelle il exprime toute sa sympathie par le biais de la lettre et par l'usage d'euphémismes (comme «Leam exisse de corpore» [Hier., Ep. 23.1]) et son inquiétude au §1 «Ibique ita te paluisse conspexi, ut vere aut pauca aut nulla sit anima quae fracto vase testaceo non tristis erumpat» (23.1).³ Puis il fait l'éloge de Léa,

² *L'epistula* 77, de 12 pages, ne contient aucune évocation de ce style.

³ «Et là, je t'ai vue, pâlie, à tel point qu'il n'existe que, peu d'âmes, voire aucune, vraiment, qui n'en exploserait de tristesse comme jaillissant d'un vase d'argile brisé.»

,*sanctissimam Leam*', dans tout le paragraphe suivant. Il apaise ensuite Marcella en lui assurant que Lea est heureuse là où elle est : «aeterna beatitudine fruitur : excipitur angelorum choris, Abrahae sinibus confovetur»⁴ (23.3). Enfin Jérôme clôt l'épître par une exhortation à Marcella : n'oublions pas que nous sommes mortels afin d'accéder à l'immortalité : «Pro brevibus et caducis aeterna succedant, et cum cotidie -secundum corpus loquor- praemoriatur, in ceteris non nos perpetuos aestimemus, ut possimus esse perpetui.» (23.4)⁵

A priori cette lettre a tout d'une consolation classique. Toutefois, le terme *re-
plicatio* au début du second paragraphe nous interpelle rapidement : après la mise en contexte du premier paragraphe, surprenante au demeurant, nous pouvons nous étonner du retour sur cet événement alors même que Marcella était avec Jérôme au moment des faits. Pourquoi cette *replicatio*, effectivement, et par courrier qui plus est ? Le saint expose vite les raisons de cet écrit : «primum, quod universorum gaudiis prosequenda sit» (23.2).⁶ Cette première raison peut choquer le lecteur, surtout après le premier paragraphe où est évoquée la tristesse de Marcella. Mais la joie est un sentiment bien normal pour un chrétien qui sait ce qui l'attend dans l'au-delà. La deuxième raison, «ut eius vita breviter explicetur» («pour exposer brièvement sa vie» [23.2]) est logique dans une *consolatio*. La troisième en revanche est atypique : «tertio, ut designatum consulem de suis saeculis detrahentes esse doceamus in tartaro» (23.2).⁷ Pourquoi cet homme apparaît-il ici ? Tel un contre-exemple à la belle personne qu'était Lea, «Christi ancilla» (23.2), le consul désigné, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, un païen, est cité, puis au troisième paragraphe, clairement critiqué, comme modèle d'une société que Jérôme refuse, celle du siècle. Le saint oppose donc deux personnes, qui chacune représente son monde : celui de Dieu d'un côté contre celui des païens de l'autre. Tout est dès lors construit sur des antithèses : «divitem purpuratum /.../ nunc desolatus est, nudus» ; «non in lacteo caeli palatio /.../ sed in sordentibus tenebris» ; «haec vero, quam unius cubiculi secreta vallabant, quae pauper videbatur et tenuis /.../ Christum sequitur.» (23.3)⁸ Le but inavoué de cette *consolatio* n'est donc pas de consoler Marcella, mais de porter atteinte au monde d'ici-bas : «non pariter et Christum habere velimus et saeculum» (23.4)⁹ et de mettre en garde Marcella et son entourage contre les vices du monde présent.

⁴ «Elle jouit d'une béatitude éternelle : elle est reçue par les chœurs des anges, elle est réchauffée dans le sein d'Abraham.»

⁵ «A la place des choses brèves et caduques succèdent les choses éternelles, et puisque chaque jour -selon le corps je veux dire- nous nous préparons à la mort, pour le reste, ne nous estimons pas immortels, afin de pouvoir être immortels.»

⁶ «D'abord parce qu'elle doit être accompagnée par nos cris de joie.»

⁷ «Troisièmement pour enseigner aux détracteurs de son siècle que le consul désigné est au tartare.»

⁸ «Le riche couvert de pourpre. /.../ Maintenant il est abandonné et nu.» ; «non dans le palais lacté du ciel /.../ mais dans de misérables ténèbres» ; «alors que celle-ci, que la solitude d'une unique chambre protégeait, qui semblait pauvre et chétive /.../ suit le Christ.»

⁹ «Ne souhaitons pas avoir également et le Christ et le siècle.»

3.2 Ep. 39

La lettre 39, adressée à Paula sur la mort de sa première fille Blesilla, répond là encore aux caractéristiques de la *consolatio* : la sympathie, les lamentations («*Matris prohibitori lacrimas ipsi plangimus. Confiteor affectus meos, totus hic liber fletibus scribitur.*» [Hier., Ep. 39.2]),¹⁰ l'exhortation à ne pas verser de larmes puisque nous sommes chrétiens («*Nos vero, qui Christum induimus et facti sumus iuxta apostolum genus regium et sacerdotale, non debemus super mortuos contristari.*» [39.4]),¹¹ la *laudatio* avec l'éloge de Blesilla tout au long de la lettre, et enfin les paroles consolatoires puisque Blesilla accède à l'immortalité près du Christ mais aussi auprès des hommes grâce à Jérôme («*Breve spatium aeterna memoria pensabit. Quae cum Christo vivit in caelis in hominum quoque ore victura est.*» [39.8]).¹²

Nous n'avons pas remarqué d'éléments supprimant ou amoindrissant la *consolatio* dans cette lettre, mais au contraire, un argument nouveau, a priori jamais lu ailleurs auparavant : l'utilisation de la prosopopée du Christ («*Nonne vereris ne tibi salvator dicat*» [39.3] suivi des paroles imaginaires du Christ) à laquelle Jérôme imagine une objection de Paula («*sed dicis*», [39.4]) puis de la défunte elle-même («*Quas nunc Blesillam nostram aestimas pati cruces, quae ferre tormenta, quod tibi Christum videat subiratum?*» [39.7]).¹³ Argument fort pour convaincre Paula que son chagrin est inutile, voire déplacée, et la consoler de manière plus efficace.

3.3 Ep. 60

La lettre 60, quoiqu'un peu longue et présentée par Jérôme comme un *epitaphium*,¹⁴ est une *consolatio* : sympathie et lamentations («*Nepotianus meus, tuus, noster, immo Christi, et quia Christi, idcirco plus noster, reliquit senes et desiderii sui iaculo vulneratos intolerabili dolore confecit.*» [60.1]),¹⁵ paroles consolatoires («*cum quo loqui non possumus, de eo numquam loqui desinamus.*» [60.19]),¹⁶ exhortation à la *metriopatheia* («*obsecro ut modum adhibeas in dolore, memor illius sententiae : »ne quid nimis*» [60.7]),¹⁷ *laudatio* avec l'éloge du défunt tout

¹⁰ «A sa mère nous interdisons les larmes, alors que nous-mêmes nous pleurons. J'avoue mes émotions, tout ce livre est écrit avec des larmes.»

¹¹ «Mais nous, qui avons revêtu le Christ et sommes devenus selon l'Apôtre une race royale et sacerdotale, nous ne devons pas être attristés au sujet des morts.»

¹² «La brièveté de sa vie, une éternelle mémoire la compensera. Car c'est avec le Christ qu'elle vit dans les cieux, mais sur la bouche des hommes aussi elle vivra.»

¹³ «Quelles croix maintenant notre Blesilla supporte-t-elle, à ton avis, quelles tortures, en voyant le Christ un peu irrité contre toi ?»

¹⁴ Ep. 77.1 «*ad Heliodorum episcopum Nepotiani scribens epitaphium*» : «quand j'ai écrit à l'évêque Héliodore l'éloge funèbre de Népotianus.»

¹⁵ «Mon Népotianus, le tien, le nôtre, non plutôt celui du Christ, et parce qu'il est au Christ, justement plus le nôtre, nous a abandonnés vieillards et par le manque de lui qui nous touche tel un trait, il nous a blessés et nous souffrons, c'est insupportable!»

¹⁶ «Puisque nous ne pouvons pas lui parler, ne cessons jamais de parler de lui.» (Trad. CUF)

¹⁷ «Je te prie d'adopter une juste mesure face à la douleur, en te souvenant de cette sentence: ,rien de trop'»

au long de la lettre, tout y est.¹⁸ »*Letter 60 is certainly the greatest of his consolations.*» (Scourfield 1993, 28)

3.4 Ep. 66

La lettre 66 a été écrite deux ans après le décès de Paulina («per biennium tacui» [Hier., Ep. 66.1]). Cela ne fait pas figure d'exception dans l'Antiquité, mais c'est, à ce qu'il semble, la première fois que Jérôme met autant de temps à consoler quelqu'un. D'ailleurs il se présente ouvertement comme «consolateur en retard» dès le premier paragraphe : *serus consolator*'. Toutefois, il suit toujours le même procédé : lamentations et sympathie («Quae enim aures tam durae, quae de silice excisa praecordia et Hyrcanarum tigrium lacte nutrita, possunt sine lacrimis Paulinae tuae audire nomen ?» [66.1]),¹⁹ euphémisme (*de dormitione Paulinae*'), *laudatio* avec l'éloge de Paulina dans les paragraphes 2 et 3 notamment, paroles consolatoires («illa cum sorore Paulina dulci somno fruitur, tu duarum medius ad Christum levius subvolabis.» [66.15]),²⁰ exhortation à redoubler d'ardeur au combat du Christ («Haec dico, non quo de ardore mentis tuae quicquam dubitem, sed quo currentem inpellam, et acriter dimicanti fervorem fervore augeam.» [66.13]).²¹

Pourtant la lecture de cette épître peut laisser dubitatif. Nous avons plus l'impression de lire l'éloge de Pammachius qu'une véritable consolation, comme nous le montre ce passage : «Nobis post dormitionem somnumque Paulinae Pammachium monachum ecclesia peperit postumum, et patris et coniugis nobilitate patricium, elemosynis divitem, humilitate sublimem.» (66.4)²² Cet extrait est empli de lyrisme, comme si nous assistions à une renaissance sous nos yeux. De l'endormissement de Paulina naît Pammachius, et loin d'être triste, au contraire c'est un moment de douceur et de beauté qui nous est offert à travers les quatre derniers mots de cette phrase : «elemosynis divitem, humilitate sublimem». Cette construction en parallélisme, contenant de part et d'autre le même nombre de syllabes ainsi qu'une homéotéleute, nous amène au sublime. Il n'est plus question ici de *consolatio*, mais bel et bien de la *laudatio* du vivant. Ce passage est assez représentatif de l'épître et nous éloigne de ce que nous pensions être, au départ, par la forme, une *consolatio*.

¹⁸ Nous renvoyons à l'ouvrage très détaillé de Scourfield, notamment au chapitre intitulé „Letter 60 and the consolatory tradition” (1993, 15–33), extrêmement complet.

¹⁹ »En effet, quelles oreilles suffisamment insensibles, quelles entrailles taillées dans le silex ou nourries au lait des tigresses d'Hyrcanie, peuvent sans larmes entendre le nom de ta chère Pauline?»

²⁰ »Blesilla et sa sœur Paulina jouissent d'un doux sommeil, toi, au milieu d'elles deux, tu t'élèveras en volant vers le Christ de manière plus légère.»

²¹ »Je dis cela, non que je doute en quoi que ce soit de l'ardeur de ton âme, mais je souhaiterais te pousser à accélérer, et augmenter ardemment la ferveur d'un combattant par leur ferveur.»

²² »Pour nous, après l'endormissement dans le sommeil de Paulina, l'Eglise a engendré Pammachius, un moine, né de manière posthume, patricien par la noblesse de son père et de son épouse, riche de miséricordes, sublime d'humilité.»

3.5 Ep. 77

L'épistula 77 évoque les trois dernières *consolationes* rédigées par Jérôme. Ici, à la différence des précédentes, le saint répond à une demande d'Oceanus.²³ Nous retrouvons les caractéristiques habituelles à l'exercice : la *laudatio* de Fabiola, tellement vertueuse qu'il lui faut un nouveau type d'éloge («quo pro novitate virtutum, veterem materiam novam faciam» [Hier., Ep. 77.1]),²⁴ la sympathie par le biais de la réponse accordée, voire réclamée, par Jérôme à Oceanus, la lamentation («Nos hoc tantum dolemus, quod pretiosissimum de sanctis locis monile perdidimus.» [77.9]).²⁵ Peu de douleur dans cette lettre, pas de parole consolatoire à proprement parler, ni d'exhortation. Est-ce une autre nouveauté ?

En fait, il semble que l'identité de la défunte pose problème à Jérôme : ce dernier souhaitait répondre favorablement à un ami au sujet d'une personne très pieuse, il lui eût été difficile de se dérober. Mais l'enjeu est de taille : comment écrire une lettre de consolation, avec *laudatio*, paroles consolatoires, et *lamentatio*, au sujet d'une pécheresse ? En effet, Fabiola s'était mariée une deuxième fois, après avoir demandé le divorce, ce que rappelle Jérôme au début du troisième paragraphe. Certes, elle a été par la suite pénitente, et a consacré sa vie à Dieu de manière très pieuse. Mais le mal a été fait. Et Jérôme doit encenser Fabiola. Il parle d'ailleurs de «praeconiis» plutôt que de «laudatione» (Hier., Ep. 77.2)²⁶ et prévient qu'il ne louera la défunte qu'à partir de sa conversion. Comment encourager les autres à suivre un tel modèle ? Face à la difficulté de l'entreprise et grâce à la nouveauté qu'il s'autorise, Jérôme supprime tout simplement le recours à l'exhortation de sa consolation de commande. Dans ces divers changements apportés à la *consolatio*, nous pouvons peut-être voir le manque de sincérité d'un Jérôme qui n'a pas su dire non à un ami ou refuser la couronne blanche à une femme pieuse, accidentée de la vie, mais néanmoins pécheresse.

3.6 Ep. 79

L'épistula 79 est à nouveau une pièce de commande, présentée comme un «of-ficium», dès le début de la lettre, et comme une réponse à une demande : «extrema, quae et validior, quod filio meo Avito roganti negare nihil potui.»²⁷ ; en effet, Jérôme ne connaît pas Salvina : «loquimur ad eam cuius faciem ignoramus»²⁸ (Hier., Ep. 79.1). Cela induit immédiatement dans la lettre un manque : la sympa-

²³ «Nunc mihi, fili Oceane, volenti et ultro adpetenti, debitum munus imponis.» «Maintenant, Océanus, mon fils, j'accepte, je recherche même, cette charge que je te dois, que tu m'imposes.» (Hier., Ep. 77.1)

²⁴ «Et pour cette nouveauté des vertus, je renouvellerai un vieux matériau.»

²⁵ «Nous souffrons de cela seulement que nous avons perdu le collier le plus précieux des lieux saints.»

²⁶ «Unde nouis mihi est efferanda praeconiis, et ordine rhetorum praetermisso, tota de conuersionis ac paenitentiae incunabulis adsumenda.» «Je dois donc la louer avec des éloges d'un genre nouveau, et après avoir laissé de côté le style des rhéteurs, c'est à partir des origines de sa conversion et de sa pénitence que je dois l'exalter tout entière.» (Hier., Ep. 77.2)

²⁷ «Voici la dernière raison, et la plus forte : parce que je ne peux rien refuser à mon fils Avitus qui me l'a demandé.»

²⁸ «Nous parlons à une personne dont nous ne connaissons pas le visage.»

thie. Comment partager la douleur de quelqu'un que nous ne connaissons pas ? Jérôme a bien essayé l'exercice, mais, en recourant à la troisième personne pour évoquer Salvina (,eam'), une distance est aussitôt mise entre le consolateur et la consolée, distance qui nuit à la consolation mais qui dans le même temps est rendue nécessaire par le rang de Salvina, qui appartient à la famille impériale, et par le fait que Jérôme ne la connaisse pas. Le passage est beau, mais manque foncièrement de sincérité : »Orbitatis magnitudo, religionis occasio fuit. Nebridium suum sic quaerit, ut in Christo praesentem noverit.« (79.2)²⁹ Les quatre premiers mots nous rappellent le lyrisme du parallélisme adressé à Pammachius qu'ils imitent, mais sans la sincérité, le sublime ne prend pas. Au mieux Salvina nous fait-elle pitié...

Toutefois, cette lettre ressemble à une *consolatio*, comme le montrent la *laudatio* du défunt (Hier., Ep. 79.2; 79.5), les paroles consolatoires qui se retrouvent dans les portraits des deux enfants, notamment celui de la petite sœur : »iungitur ei germana, rosarum et liliorum calathus« (79.6).³⁰ Cette image n'est pas due au hasard et a une connotation très précise depuis saint Cyprien : elle évoque la couronne rouge du martyr et celle blanche, lot de ,consolation' des personnes pieuses qui ne sont pas mortes sous les coups de la persécution mais qui, par leur vie chrétienne irréprochable, ont été des *milites* ou *ancillae Christi*. La fille de Nebridius apparaît alors comme une consolation pour sa mère. À défaut de connaître Salvina, Jérôme ruse en recourant à des images lyriques pour emporter l'adhésion et, espère-t-il, consoler l'épouse du défunt. Enfin, et c'est, pensons-nous, le véritable but de cette lettre, le saint exhorte sa destinataire à rester veuve. Est-ce le souvenir de la consolation précédente, toute fraîche encore, qui pousse Jérôme à insister sur ce point ? En tout cas, ce dernier met à profit toute la fin de la consolation pour mettre en garde Salvina et lui conseiller de ne pas se remarier, comme dans ce passage »tu vero quae in tumulo mariti sepelisti omnes pariter voluptates, quae litam purpurisso et cerussa faciem super feretrum eius lacrimis diluisti« (79.7)³¹ où nous retrouvons les couleurs blanche et rouge, qui nous signifient : »ne te maquille pas, tes enfants sont ton ornement«, telle Cornelia, exemple de vertu de la République romaine dans sa grande époque. Toute cette *consolatio* tend, d'après nous, vers cet unique but : empêcher Salvina de se remarier, et pour cela tous les moyens sont bons, comme écrire à une inconnue sous peine d'être taxé d'opportunisme.

3.7 Ep. 108

Enfin, l'*epistula* 108, la plus longue, apparaît d'emblée comme un *epitaphium*. Par sa longueur d'une part. Par la quantité de louanges et de mises en valeur de la défunte, Paula, qui était une amie très proche de Jérôme. Par la quasi-absence de

²⁹ »La grandeur de la perte fut l'occasion de sa piété. Ainsi son Nébridius, elle le cherche, alors qu'elle le sait présent dans le Christ.«

³⁰ »Lui est attachée sa sœur, panier de roses et de lis.«

³¹ »Mais toi qui as enterré dans le tombeau de ton mari également toutes les voluptés, toi qui as nettoyé de tes larmes, sur son lit funèbre, ton visage couvert de fard rouge et de céruse.«

destinataire. Sur la quarantaine de pages qui constitue cette lettre, seules deux occurrences nous permettent de savoir que Jérôme s'adresse à Eustochium : »secura esto, Eustochium.« (Hier., *Ep.* 108.2; 108.31)

Cette *consolatio* contient une *laudatio* de Paula, sur la majeure partie du texte et une *lamentatio*, diffuse, par touches, lorsque Jérôme raconte des anecdotes de vie en commun avec son amie à la première personne du singulier (*fateor'* par exemple) : nous sentons bien que Paula lui manque, il l'avoue d'ailleurs très clairement aux paragraphes 14 et suivants. Après le récit de la mort de son amie, Jérôme offre des paroles rassurantes à Eustochium pour la consoler : »Quo magis gaudeas, mater tua longo martyrio coronata est.« (108.31)³² Les adieux à Paula sont déchirants : »Vale Paula, et cultoris tui ultimam senectutem orationibus iuva.« (108.33)³³ Jérôme a beau savoir que son amie a rejoint le Christ, il a perdu quelqu'un de cher et cela reste un moment très difficile pour lui. Ce qui peut expliquer l'absence d'exhortation dans cette longue missive. Il a du mal à exhorter les autres à être heureux de la mort de Paula. Alors il répète les paroles d'exhortation de son amie agonisante (108.19), mais est incapable d'en prononcer lui-même. Et puis, il la connaissait tellement qu'il lui est difficile d'exhorter les autres à imiter Paula, il en vient même à la critiquer au paragraphe 21 : »hac re pertinacior fuit«, »vitia loquor« (108.21).³⁴

4. Conclusion

En conclusion, Jérôme savait être un bon consolateur lorsqu'il était sincère, les *consolationes* de commande nous l'ont prouvé. Nous n'avons pas noté, *a priori*, d'évolution flagrante entre les premières et les dernières pièces. Si évolution il y a, elle serait liée à la personnalité du défunt plus qu'au temps qui passe. Que le destinataire soit un homme ou une femme ne change pas grand-chose au style, c'est surtout le degré de proximité qui joue dans la beauté du texte. Existe-t-il des particularités hiéronymiennes ? Oui, sa propre définition de la *brevitas*, en est un exemple. Et il y en a d'autres, c'est d'ailleurs à cela que l'on reconnaît un grand auteur.

³² »Pour que tu te réjouisses davantage, ta mère a été couronnée pour son long martyre.«

³³ »Adieu, Paula, et aide par tes prières l'extrême vieillesse de celui qui te vénère.«

³⁴ »Sur ce sujet elle fut trop obstinée«, »je parle de ses défauts.«

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Tanja Pate

Kronična bolezen v družini

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Felix Seibert

Integrating Pagan Knowledge: The Virgilian Quotations in Jerome's Letters

Vključevanje poganskega znanja: Vergilijanski navedki v Hieronimovih pismih

Abstract: This paper analyses Jerome's treatment of quotations from Virgil, whose works had a status as the collective memory of antiquity in the Latin West in the fourth century. Four central topics in Jerome's letter collection are examined: language, chastity, barbarian invasions, and asceticism. Examples from famous letters like *Ep. 22* to Eustochium, *Ep. 123* to Geruchia, *Ep. 14* and *60* to Heliodorus, and others, show how and in which context Jerome uses such pagan quotations to approach and connect with the pagan heritage. The stories of Aeneas and Dido, the Tartarus, or the fall of Troy are used as *bona* or *mala exempla* and role models for Christian and everyday life and as rhetorical tools in Jerome's argumentation for their general educational value. For Jerome, Virgil serves as an authority for language and knowledge and moral questions. Herein Jerome finds the best argument for a connection between pagan ideas and the Christian faith.

Keywords: Jerome, letters, Virgil, Aeneid, intertextuality, pagan heritage

Povzetek: Avtor v članku analizira Hieronimovo navajanje Vergilija, čigar dela so v 4. stoletju na latinskem Zahodu veljala za skupno antično dediščino. Obravnava štiri osrednje tematike v Hieronimovi zbirki pisem: jezik, čistost, barbarske vpade in asketicizem. Zgledi iz slovitih pisem Evstohiji (*Ep. 22*), Geruhiji (*Ep. 123*), Heliodoru (*Ep. 14* in *60*) in drugim kažejo, kako in v kakšnih kontekstih je Hieronim uporabljal navedke iz poganske književnosti, da bi jih približal in povezal s poganskim znanjem. Zgodba Eneja in Didone, podoba Tartarja in slika padle Troje so uporabljene kot *bona* ali *mala exempla*, s tem pa tudi kot vzori za krščansko in nasploh vsakodnevno življenje. Še več, pomenijo retorična orodja v Hieronimovi argumentaciji in se uporabljajo v splošne vzgojne namene. Za Hieronima je Vergilij avtoriteta, ne le glede jezika in znanja, marveč tudi glede moralnih vprašanj. Pri njem Hieronim najde najboljši argument za povezavo med poganskimi idejami in krščansko vero.

Ključne besede: Hieronim, pisma, Vergilij, Eneida, intertekstualnost, poganska dediščina

1. Introduction: Jerome and the Latin classics

»Illustris poeta, poeta eloquentissimus, alter Homerus apud nos« (Hier., *Ep.* 140.10.2; 129.4.3; 121.10.5) – these are just some of Jerome's attributes to describe his admiration for the Augustan poet Virgil, the second most cited pagan author in Jerome's oeuvre besides Cicero (Hagendahl 1958, 298).¹ The omnipresence of Virgil and other pagan authors throughout Jerome's works and especially in his highly stylized letter collection is not surprising since his school education had focussed on a small canon of classical authors among whom Virgil had a pre-eminent position. Although Jerome was born into a Christian family, he was raised in the traditional manner of ancient Roman education, even with the most famous *Grammaticus* of that time: Aelius Donatus, one of the leading experts of Virgilian exegesis in those days.²

However, Jerome's attitude towards the pagan classics was highly ambivalent and oscillated between great admiration and radical rejection,³ which is most evident in the description of his famous dream in *Ep.* 22.30.⁴ Nevertheless, he was fully aware of the cultural heritage and the collected knowledge of the ancient world, which was passed on by pagan literature and thereby created a connection between the (pagan) past and the (Christian) present. Primarily Virgil was understood as the leading authority on Roman culture and religion, his works were regarded as containing the knowledge and wisdom of the whole world, and thus his works had a similar status as the Bible.⁵ Pelttari, who states a close connection between the reception of literature and literary production in late antiquity, has shown that »the reading of Virgil's text as containing deeper wisdom was a significant act of appropriation performed by late antique readers« (Pelttari 2014, 43; see also Stefanie 2019, 193–195). Reading, therefore, was a relevant act to understand the world as a whole, and in this context, Jerome, who continued reading and also citing pagan books even after his dream (Revellio 2020, 397), appears as the »ideal author-as-reader« (Pelttari 2014, 17) who aimed at an integration of

¹ In succession to Luebeck (1872), Hagendahl collected a large number of quotations from several pagan authors: Virgil, of course, but also Horace, Terence, Cicero, Quintilian and others. Further important studies on the topic include Courcelle's *opus magnum* about the reception of Virgil's *Aeneid* in Christian and pagan authors (1984) and the recent works of Jeanjean (2018) and Revellio (2020).

² For details on Jerome's life see the many biographies available, for example Rebenich (2002) and Schlang-Schöningen (2018).

³ For example, he calls the pagan classics »mendacis ficta miracula« (Hier., *Ep.* 3.4.1) in comparison with the Bible.

⁴ His ambivalent attitude, which was quite common among Christian authors of the post-Constantinian era, has been subject to several investigations, for example by Pease (1919), Hagendahl (1958, 328; 1983, 88–91), and recently by Mohr (2007, 307–313).

⁵ Recently, Stefanow (2019, 196) has shown that Didymus the Blind, who was teacher to Jerome, taught his students the use of the tools of ancient grammar for biblical texts: »[T]he text was understood as a microcosm of all knowledge. As a microcosm of the total, the text necessarily included knowledge of the past. Since it gave access to universal knowledge, it was necessarily also valid for the future and an appropriate bequest for the next generation.« While Jerome was familiar with pagan literature from schooldays, he was encouraged by Didymus to value pagan methods and ideas also for his Christian purposes and thus to use the Virgilian and the biblical text in a similar way.

the pagan heritage into the new Christian lifestyle. This becomes most apparent in his treatment of quotations from the pagans, especially Virgil, whom he cites in many of his letters, mainly when he expects his addressees to recognize and understand the references.⁶

Therefore, this paper will deal with the question in which way and for which reasons Jerome uses quotations and allusions to Virgil's works.⁷ The examination will focus on certain topics which are particularly susceptible to quotations from Virgil's works, as they refer to Virgil as a central authority: asceticism, chastity, philology, and contemporary history. These topics are of great importance for Jerome's life and work and are repeatedly mentioned by him. Based on select examples from his letters, it will be shown that Jerome was in search of an appropriate handling of the pagan heritage all his life and saw pagan literature as a possibility of approaching, connecting, and integrating pagan knowledge into the new Christian culture of life.

2. Jerome and Virgil

2.1 *Quod et illustris poeta testatur* – Jerome on Philology

First of all, Virgil serves as an unquestionable authority on grammatical and metrical problems and has a strong influence on Jerome's language and style. One example of his dealing with articulation questions can be found in *Ep.* 20, where he explains to Damasus the meaning of the word *OSANNA*, which, as he writes, is a combination of the two Hebrew words *OSI* and *ANNA* with the elided vowel *I* in the middle. For a better understanding of the metrical phenomenon, he uses an example from Virgil's epic: »*sicut facere solemus in versibus, quando mene incopto desistere victam, scandimus ›men incopto‹.*« (Hier., *Ep.* 20.5.2; Verg., *Aen.* 1.37)⁸ It is not clear why he chose this particular verse from the beginning of Juno's angry speech in book 1, but it works very well as an example for elision and shows how Jerome uses well-known pagan texts for explanatory reasons in linguistic contexts.

Another example appears in Hier., *Ep.* 106.57, where he replies to a question regarding his translation of Ps 88,8 – *magnus, et horrendus* for Greek μέγας και

⁶ Many of Jerome's addressees were highly educated people, the intellectual and also ecclesiastical elite of their time (e.g. Augustin or pope Damasus), for whom the classics served as a kind of stylistic code (Cameron 2011, 406; Conring 2001, 225; Rebenich 1992; Revellio 2020, 401).

⁷ Several studies have already dealt with the question of the function of the pagan quotations in Jerome's works, including Pease (1919, 163–166) and Jeanjean (2013–2014, 166–169). While the first emphasises the exemplary and educational value of the quotations, the latter points out their two functions within the text, either as a rhetorical tool or a dialectic one. Already in pre-Constantinian Christian texts quotations from Virgil were used as stylistic models and for argumentative reasons, although quotations were much rarer at that time (Freund 2000, 355–361). Augustine as Jerome's contemporary, however, uses such quotations primarily for dealing with the pagan faith and as a tool for his missionary work (Müller 2003, 448–454).

⁸ »This is how we usually deal with the verses when we pronounce ›men incopto‹ for ›mene incopto desistere victam‹.«

φοβερός – in comparison to the Septuagint.⁹ He explains that he understands φοβερός in its original meaning as *terribilis*, *timendus*, *formidandus* or more precisely *horrendus* (which all could be translated to ‚terrible‘ or ‚horrible‘) and not as *despiciendum* („despicable“) or *squalidum* („rough, filthy“), as most people use it colloquially according to him (106.57).¹⁰ The passage in question (Ps 88) provides a picture of the punishing God of the Old Testament, the creator and ruler of heaven and earth who should be feared by everyone that surrounds him. To illustrate his understanding of φοβερός as *horrendus*, Jerome cites three passages from the *Aeneid*, in which he presents Virgil’s use of the word. The first (»mihi frigidus horror membra quatit« [Verg., *Aen.* 3.29–30]) is taken from the Polydorus episode in book 3: Aeneas wants to make a sacrifice to the gods for his newly built city in Thrace, but when he tears branches off a bush, they start bleeding. The voice of the Trojan prince Polydorus tells the horrified Aeneas that the Thracians had killed him and that Aeneas should immediately leave with his companions.¹¹ The second quote (»horror ubique animo, simul ipsa silentia terrent« [2.755]) describes Aeneas’ feelings at the end of book 2, when he re-enters the fallen city of Troy to search for his wife Creusa whom he had lost during his escape – the most horrible event for him in the entire epic (Binder 2019, 184). The last one (»monstrum horrendum, ingens« [3.658]) is the shortened description of the Cyclops Polyphemus, the monstrous son of Poseidon who had eaten six of Ulysses’ companions before they could escape from his cave (Hom., *Od.* 9.105–566). All these passages represent situations that are hard to beat in terms of horror. Through his translation and his explanations, Jerome tries to portray the God of Ps 88 as one who can cause such horrors that he finds described in the *Aeneid*. Virgil serves as a stylistic and linguistic example and provides vivid images, which the reader associates with the ideas of the Psalm. Thus, Virgil also influences Jerome’s exegetical work.

2.2 *Quid expectandum est a vidua Christiana – Jerome on Chastity*

A subject of great importance for Jerome was virginity and chastity. Some of his most famous letters deal with the question of a chaste life, for example, *Ep.* 22 *de virginitate servanda* to Eustochium. Because of its specifically Christian topic, *Ep.* 22 contains many biblical quotations, but only a few from the pagan classics. Nevertheless, in *Ep.* 22.6.6, Jerome adds a slight allusion to Virgil to his demand for a pure and chaste life.¹² Eustochium must ensure her chastity both in mind and deed and must not be overcome by Babylonian sins,¹³ which should somewhat

⁹ His translation was based on the critical Greek edition of the psalter by Origen and not the common text of the Septuagint (Rebenich 2002, 25).

¹⁰ In spoken or colloquial language *horrendus* seems to have been mixed with the meaning of *horridus* („rough, bristly“) which both stem back to *horrere* and *horror* (Lammert 1918, 401).

¹¹ In addition, this whole episode is introduced as *horrendum monstrum* (Verg., *Aen.* 3.26).

¹² Consider Virgil’s name in this context, which his biographer Aelius Donatus (Jerome’s teacher!) etymologically derived from *virgo*, on account of which Virgil – especially in the middle ages – is known as the »virgin« poet (*vita Verg.* l. 35–37).

¹³ Babylon, which Jerome refers to twice in the passage, is understood as the biblical commonplace for luxury, heresy, and sin. Compare the »whore of Babylon« (Rev 17,5).

shatter on a rock. Jerome concludes the paragraph as follows:

»Quia ergo impossibile est in sensum hominis non inruere notum medullarum calorem, ille laudatur, ille praedicatur beatus, qui, statim ut coeperit cogitare, interficit cogitatus et elidit eos ad petram: petra autem est Christus.«

»It is impossible that the body's natural heat should not sometimes assail a man and kindle sensual desire, but he is praised and accounted blessed, who, when thoughts begin to rise, gives them no quarter, but dashes them straightway against the rock: And the rock is Christ.« (trans. Wright)

In this passage, Jerome alludes to »notusque medullas intravit calor« (Verg., *Aen.* 8.389), a phrase from a famous passage in the *Aeneid*, where Venus successfully coaxes her husband Vulcan to forge weapons for her illegitimate son, Aeneas (8.387–393). Through this allusion, Jerome introduces, on the one hand, Venus, the prototype of the unchaste wife and converse of every Christian *virgo*, and on the other hand, Vulcan, the cheated husband who has absolutely no reason to fulfil her wish. Nevertheless, his flesh is weaker than his spirit, and so he falls victim to Venus' seduction, totally driven by his lust, and finally fulfils her wish. The introduction of these two antipodes of Christian asceticism as *mala exempla* fits perfectly well in the context of Jerome's treatment of Christian chastity: it is not just their behaviour that contradicts every principle of Christian monogamy but also their status as part of the pagan *dei consentes* that reveals the total corruptness of the pagan religion, which Jerome has already attacked with his references to Babylon above.

However, the scenes most frequently quoted in his treatises on chastity are surprisingly taken from the Dido tragedy of the fourth book of the *Aeneid*. In the beginning, Dido is shown as the mourning widow who wants to remain faithful to her dead husband and thus gives a perfect example for the Roman *univira* (Kru-meich 1993, 251–257). The following conversation between Dido and her sister Anna after the death of Dido's first husband Sychaeus is cited twice. In full detail, it can be found in Hier., *Ep.* 123.13.1 *ad Geruchiam de monogamia*:

»Solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa
nec dulces natos, Veneris nec praemia noris?
id cinerem aut manes credis curare sepultos?
cui breviter respondeat ipsa, quae passa est:
›tu lacrimis evicta meis, tu prima furentem
his, germana, malis oneras atque obicis hosti.
non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam
degere more ferae tales nec tangere curas.
non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo.« (4.32–34.548–552)

»Wilt thou, lonely and sad, pine away all thy youth long, and know not sweet children or love's reward? Thinkest thou that dust or buried shades give heed to that?‹ To this, the sufferer replies briefly: ›Won over by my

tears, thou, my sister, thou wert first to load my frenzied soul with these ills, and drive me on the foe. Ah, that I could not spend my life, apart from wedlock, a blameless life, even as some wild creature, knowing no such cares! The faith vowed to the ashes of Sychaeus I have not kept!« (trans. Fairclough)

During the conversation, Dido lets her sister convince her to enjoy the *prae-mia Veneris*, break her *fides* to Sychaeus, and start a relationship with Aeneas. However, he abandons her in the end, and so she finally commits suicide out of despair. Thus, Jerome utilizes Dido as a *malum exemplum* for a desperate widow longing for a new husband. In the following, he explicitly warns Geruchia about the horrors of marriage (Hier., *Ep.* 123.13.2):

»Proponis mihi gaudia nuptiarum; ego tibi opponam pyram, gladium, incendium. non tantum boni est in nuptiis, quod speramus, quantum mali, quod accidere potest et timendum est.«

»You set before me the joys of wedlock. I, for my part, will remind you of Dido's sword and pyre and funeral flames. In marriage, there is not so much good to be hoped for as there is evil which may happen and must be feared.« (trans. Fremantle)

The message for Geruchia is clear: if she does not preserve her widowhood, she has to expect grief and pain instead of the supposed joys. Only in the renunciation of carnal pleasures does she have the opportunity to devote herself entirely to her religious faith.¹⁴

In Hier., *Ep.* 79, a consolation to Salvina on the early death of her husband, Nebridius, Jerome conversely recalls Dido as a *bonum exemplum*, who lives the life of a perfect *univira*, when he cites her (79.7.8):

»Ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores / abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulcro. / ... / si tanti vilissimum vitrum, quanti pretiosissimum margaritum? si communi lege naturae damnat omnes Gentilis vidua voluptates, quid expectandum est a vidua Christiana, quae pudicitiam suam non solum ei debet, qui defunctus est, sed ei, cum quo regnatura est?«

»He, my first spouse, has robbed me of my loves. / So be it: let him keep them in the tomb. / If common glass is worth so much, what must be the value of a pearl of price? If in deference to a law of nature a Gentile widow can condemn all sensual indulgence, what must we expect from a Christian widow who owes her chastity not to one who is dead but to one with whom she shall reign in heaven?« (trans. Fremantle)

¹⁴ A second treatment of this scene can be found in Hier., *Ep.* 54.5 *ad Furiam de viduitate servanda*. Here, Anna's words are put in the mouth of Furia's heathen handmaids. Thus, Furia is identified with the *malum exemplum* Dido, who should better preserve her *viduitas* instead of listening to her servants' advice.

Jerome asks for such an attitude from every Christian woman, and in the mythological figure Dido, he finds the perfect role model of a chaste widow for noble Roman women.¹⁵ Intentionally, Jerome takes possession of the manners and mindset of the Roman culture, for which Virgil serves as a moral authority, and uses this pagan way of thinking to promote his ideals of chastity and asceticism.¹⁶

2.3 *Urbs antiqua ruit* – Jerome on the Sack of Rome

In his letters, Jerome repeatedly mentions that he worries about the future of Rome due to the continuing barbarian invasions. He was so profoundly impressed by the sack of Rome that he even pretended to have lost his words after the tragedy (Hier., *Ep.* 126.2.1). Already in 396, 14 years before Alaric defeated Rome, in a consolatory letter to his friend, Heliodorus, on the death of his nephew, Nepotian, Jerome drew a dark picture (60.16.2–60.17.1):

»Viginti et eo amplius anni sunt, quod inter Constantinopolim et alpes Iulias cotidie Romanus sanguis effunditur. Scythiam, Thraciam, Macedoniam, Thessaliam, Dardaniam, Daciam, Epiros, Dalmatiam cunctasque Pannonias Gothus, Sarmata, Suadus, Alanus, Hunni, Vandali, Marcomanni vastant, trahunt, rapiunt. /... / »ubique luctus, ubique gemitus et plurima mortis imago.« Romanus orbis ruit /... / »Non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum, ferrea vox, omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim.« /... / felix Nepotianus, qui haec non videt; felix qui ista non audit.«

»For twenty years and more, the blood of Romans has every day been shed between Constantinople and the Julian Alps. Scythia, Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, Dardania, Dacia, Epirus, Dalmatia, and all the provinces of Pannonia, have been sacked, pillaged, and plundered by Goths and Sarmatians, Quadians and Alans, Huns and Vandals and Marcomanni. /... / »Sorrow and grief on every side we see / And death in many a shape.« The Roman world is falling. /... / »Had I a hundred tongues, a hundred mouths, / A voice of brass, I could not tell the names / Of all those punishments.« /... / Happy is Nepotian, for he does not see these sights nor hear those cries.« (trans. Wright)

The first thing to be noticed in this passage are the allusions to the catalogues of nations and warriors in the ancient epics (Hom., *Il.* 2.484–877; Verg., *Aen.* 7.647–817; 10.163–214). Previously, Jerome had spoken about the successfully converted nations (Hier., *Ep.* 60.4), using a quotation from the ekphrasis of Aeneas' shield (Verg., *Aen.* 8.723) and thereby alluding to Augustus' triumph over the barbarians

¹⁵ Another important quotation in this context is the recurring *dux femina facti* (Verg., *Aen.* 1.346) which Jerome uses for example of Paulina, the second daughter of Paula (Hier., *Ep.* 66.3), or of Artemia, the wife of the Gaul Rusticus (Hier., *Ep.* 122.4). Like Dido, who led the founding of Carthage, these women lead their husbands in their efforts for a chaste marriage.

¹⁶ Nevertheless, his choice of quotations and allusions used seems arbitrary in terms of ideology. He shares this attitude with other early Christian writers, especially Lactantius and Augustine, who regularly reinterpret Virgil for Christian purposes (Schelkle 1939, 195; 207; Heck 1988, 178–179).

depicted there. Now, he spreads out a catalogue of nations involved in the war, thus comparing the current situation of the Roman empire with the mythical wars.

Furthermore, there are two direct quotations from the *Aeneid*. The first one (»ubique luctus, ubique gemitus et plurima mortis imago« [Verg., *Aen.* 2.368–369]) is derived from the narration about the fall of Troy in the second book. The parallel is evident here: Rome is seen as a second Troy,¹⁷ and one could quickly think that Jerome functions as a prophet for the sack of Rome 14 years later. The second quotation, Verg., *Aen.* 6.625–627¹⁸ is taken from Aeneas' *katabasis*, where his guide, the Cumaean Sibyl, concludes her description of Tartarus, the most horrible place in the entire underworld, with those words. Positioned at the end of the paragraph about the barbarians, Jerome shows the parallels between the terrible kinds of torture the sinners are suffering in the underworld and his own life in such dangerous and uncertain times. The barbarian invasion is hell on earth for everyone, and Nepotian is fortunate to have escaped.

In 412 then, two years after the disastrous defeat against Alaric's Goths, Jerome mourns the fate of Rome and his brethren in Christ (Hier., *Ep.* 127.12.3) and cites the passage from book 2 in total length (Verg., *Aen.* 2.361–365,369), replacing the end of verse 365 with verse 369, words he had already used years before in the letter cited above (Hier., *Ep.* 60.16.3).¹⁹ He could not have found more suitable words and images to describe the horrors of that time. Pagan poetry, therefore, seems to have had a more profound truth for Jerome than he was probably aware of: the influence of the mythological underworld on his view of a world out of joint, the mythical enemies that have become a real threat, and of course the fall of Troy as parallel to the fall of Rome show his tremendous reading experience and form points of contact between the pagan heritage and the Christian present.

2.4 *Militia Christi* – Jerome on Asceticism

The last matter to take a closer look at is the strictly ascetic life (as a hermit in the desert), which Jerome considered the best way to serve Christ. The subject is most prominent in Hier., *Ep.* 14, where he tries to convince his schoolmate, the monk, and former military officer, Heliodorus, to live a life of asceticism as a hermit. The setting of the letter is quite martial due to the understanding of asceticism as *militia Christi* – military service for Christ.²⁰ Already, in the beginning, Jerome writes:

»Ecce de caelo tuba canit, ecce cum nubibus debellaturus orbem impera-

¹⁷ Also, the date given in the beginning of the passage (*viginti et eo amplius anni sunt*) recalls the long duration of the Trojan war (more than 9 years) and afterwards the Odyssey (about 10 years).

¹⁸ »Non mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum, / ferrea vox, omnis scelerum comprehendere formas, / omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim.« One of Jerome's favourite passages, as it seems; also found at Hier., *Ep.* 66.5; 77.6; 123.16.

¹⁹ He also alludes again to Virgil's description of the underworld when he cites Verg., *Aen.* 6.266 (*sit mihi fas audita loqui*) in the context of his report of a barbarian attack on Marcella's house.

²⁰ A common metaphor for the life of a monk in early Christianity, which stems back to 2 Tim 2,3 and can be found for example in Hier., *Ep.* 52.5.3 (Harnack 1905, 1–46).

tor armatus egreditur, ecce bis acutus gladius ex regis ore procedens obviam quaeque metit.» (Hier., *Ep.* 14.2.1)

»Lo, the trumpet sounds from heaven! Lo, our general fully armed comes forth amid the clouds to subdue the world! Lo, from our king's mouth proceeds a sword twice sharpened, which cuts down all that is in its path!« (trans. Wright)

A small phrase is borrowed from Virgil's *Aeneid* (»proxima quaeque metit gladio« [Verg., *Aen.* 10.513]) that alludes to Aeneas' rage after the death of his young friend Pallas. Another allusion goes back to the beginning of the Revelation (»et de ore eius gladius utraque parte acutus exibat« [Rev. 1,16]), where John describes his vision of the voice that gives him the order to write down the book. Jerome now combines both quotations and creates a new phrase that transports the ideas and concepts of both worlds, the pagan and the Christian one. Like John before Christ and *pious* Aeneas in front of the dead body of Pallas, Heliodorus shall follow his destiny and choose the ascetic life of a hermit to serve God. Thus, Jerome shows parallels between Christian and pagan values and presents a way of approaching and connecting with the other culture.

However, it is not only asceticism that demands a soldier's qualities from Heliodorus. Every day holds adversities and persecution for a true Christian, as Jerome writes hereafter (Hier., *Ep.* 14.4). He explicitly warns Heliodorus about the devil (*adversarius noster*) and immediately accuses him of being far too inattentive, using a quotation from Verg., *Georg.* 2.470, where the author describes a paradise-like place where farmers live a peaceful life far from war and other duties. However, such conditions exist only in the fictional worlds of the pagan poets – not in the real world of Jerome and Heliodorus. There, one is constantly confronted with temptations (*luxuria, avaritia, libido*) and attacks on his Christian beliefs. A paradise on earth is a pagan invention. There is just one heavenly paradise for a Christian, which can only be reached by resisting all worldly temptations. To emphasize his point, Jerome ends the passage with another warning and once again quotes the *Aeneid* (Verg., *Aen.* 7.337), alluding to the Fury Allecto (»hostis, cui nomina mille, mille nocendi artes«), who is described as sowing discord, hate, and violence in order to keep the Trojans from settling in Italy. In the same way, Aeneas faces the Fury, a Christian like Heliodorus has to face the temptations of the devil, who likewise has many faces and knows many wiles, and he always has to be prepared to fight like a soldier for his faith. Thus, Aeneas serves as a role model worth copying for Heliodorus and every true Christian.

3. Conclusion: Jerome and the pagan heritage

»Omnes paene omnium libri /.../ eruditionis doctrinaeque plenissimi sunt«²¹ Jerome writes in *Ep.* 70.6.1, and thereby, the best summarizes his view of pagan literature: first of all, it is helpful for its educational value, even for Christians (Pease 1919, 163; Coffin 1924, 172). As the primary author of school education, Virgil serves as the chief source for knowledge about Roman history, religion, mythology, language, culture, and life. In Jerome's opinion, every erudite Christian must be familiar with his texts. Therefore, he engages in intensive life-long reading of Virgil's texts, which he understood as the cultural memory of the ancient world. Especially in questions of style, Virgil is the foremost authority Jerome refers to repeatedly, first of all in linguistic problems, which may even have exegetical implications for his Latin translation of the Bible, as has been shown.

Nevertheless, one must not read Virgil as a (pre-)Christian poet or Messianic prophet, as some of Jerome's contemporaries do.²² For Jerome, the Bible has the sole claim for truth. Virgil, however, provides memorable images, which Jerome copies and reuses for his purposes. Thus, pagan texts can support a better understanding of the biblical messages or provide exemplary models for a lifestyle to be attained by Jerome's readers. Therefore, allusions and quotations from the classics (Virgil as well as other pagan authors) are usually used as rhetorical tools: as simple examples to support an argument (the catalogue of the invading barbarian nations), for comparisons with historical events or current living conditions (the parallel Rome – Troy; the Tartarus that has become a reality due to the barbarian invasion or asceticism, which is nothing else than military service for Christ), as *bona or mala exempla* (Venus and Vulcan or Dido and Anna as examples of the dangers of an unchaste life) and finally as easily understandable role models for a Christian way of life (Dido, the aristocratic widow and willing *univira* or Aeneas, the pious fighter for his destiny and faith). By citing him over and over again, Jerome creates different authorities of Virgil: as a stylistic example, as a source of knowledge and learning, and finally as an *auctoritas* in a field that is extremely important for the Christian faith: morality, which seems to tie in directly with pagan poetry and its images. For a scholar like Jerome, the easiest way to approach pagan ideas and culture was studying, reading, and writing. Through his intensive examination of the classics, he saw various intersections between pagan traditions and the outline of a Christian's life. So, he integrated whatever he considered helpful from the classics into his writings and thus connected the 'old' pagan world with ideas of the 'new' Christian one.

²¹ »Almost all the books of all these [pagan] authors are extremely full of erudition and learning.«

²² With his criticism of the *Centio*-poets, who saw Virgil as a Christian *vates* who foretold the birth of Christ in *ecl.* 4, he condemns the practice of Christian reinterpretation severely: »ac non sic etiam Maronem sine Christo possimus dicere Christianum /.../ puerilia sunt haec et circulatorum ludo similia.« (Hier., *Ep.* 53.7.3)

Abbreviations

- CSEL** – Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
Hier., Ep. – Hieronymus, *Epistulae* [Hilberg 1996].
Hom., Il. – Homerus, *Ilias*.
Hom., Od. – Homerus, *Odyssea*.
Verg., Aen. – Vergilius, *Aeneis* [Conte 2009].

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Saint Jerome in *Liber officialis* of Amalar of Metz (775–850) and *Rationale divinorum officiorum* of William Durand (1230–1296)

Sv. Hieronim v delu Liber officialis Amalarja iz Metza (775–850) in v spisu Rationale divinorum officiorum Vilijema Duranda (1230–1296)

Abstract: Amalar of Metz and William Durand were medieval liturgists from the beginning and end of a long period during which liturgical treatises were created and labelled *expositio missae* or liturgical expositions. In the early 9th century, Amalar of Metz compiled the exposition *De ecclesiastico officio*, in which he examines liturgical celebrations by using an allegorical interpretation and the contribution to the Carolingian reform. He eventually became a role model for later authors who created more or less similar treatises following his example. One author who considered Amalar a role model was William Durand the Elder, bishop of Mende in France. In the 13th century, he compiled the exposition *Rationale divinorum officiorum*. Both expositions were very influential not only in the period in which they were created but also in later periods. Amalar's exposition enhanced the development of allegorical interpretations in the Middle Ages, while Durand's exposition has been used up to the liturgical reform introduced by the Second Vatican Council. In the present paper, the author explores the reception of Saint Jerome by both authors referred to above. The said authors do not use the patristic ideas in their original sense; they do not expand on them theologically. Their purpose for using patristic sources is to verify doctrines or liturgical practices of their period. Introducing allegory in the interpretation of liturgy and compiling existing material is relevant for transmitting the Fathers' beliefs to future generations.

Keywords: liturgical exposition, Jerome, reception, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, *De ecclesiastico officio*

Povzetek: Amalar iz Metza in Viljem Durand, srednjeveška liturgika, sodita na začetek in konec dolgega obdobja, ko so se oblikovale liturgične razprave z razlago obreda svete maše (*expositio missae*). V začetku 9. stoletja je Amalar sestavil

delo *De ecclesiastico officio*, v katerem z alegorično interpretacijo razlaga bogoslužje v odnosu do karolinške reforme. Sčasoma je postal vzor še za poznejše razlagalce, med drugim tudi za Viljema Duranda, škofa francoskega mesta Mende, ki je v 13. stoletju pripravil *Rationale divinorum officiorum*. Oba spisa sta imela velik vpliv ne le v obdobjih nastanka, marveč tudi pozneje. Amalarjevo delo je okrepiło razvoj alegorične interpretacije v srednjem veku, Viljemovo pa je ostalo v rabi vse do liturgične reforme drugega vatikanskega koncila. V prispevku avtor obravnava recepcijo sv. Hieronima v navedenih delih. Avtorja se ne sklicujeta na patristično misel na izviren način, v smislu razvoja teološke misli, marveč z uporabo patrističnih virov utemeljujeta nauk in bogoslužne prakse svojega časa. Alegorija kot pomoč pri razlagi liturgije in za zbiranje že obstoječih besedil sta metodi za prenos učenja očetov na prihodnje generacije.

Ključne besede: razlaga liturgije, Hieronim, recepcija, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, *De ecclesiastico officio*

1. Amalar of Metz and William Durand in the Context of Medieval Theology

Medievalists and theologians who explore medieval theology have recently been writing about the significance of medieval liturgists (Koščak 2019, 23–25). When it comes to liturgy, medieval theology abounds in authors who can testify about the context in which they created their works. Two authors referred to in the title of the present paper, Amalar of Metz (Amalarius Metensis, abbr. Amalar.) and William Durand (Guillaume Durand, abbr. Guil. Dur.), primarily discuss the symbolism inscribed within the medieval course of liturgical celebrations. The authors also discuss the literary creativity of the period, primarily the role models used in the creation of their original works.

Amalar of Metz, who introduced the allegorical method into the interpretation of liturgical celebration during the Carolingian era, was born in the late 8th century in Burgundy. He was appointed the Archbishop of Trier around 809. He started writing his well-known liturgical works around 813. Following Charlemagne's death, he was demoted from the position of bishop. He was back in the king's good graces in 825. In 835, he was assigned the position of the Archbishop of Lyon. He spent his whole life discovering the symbolism in liturgical celebrations (Knibbs 2014, vii–xxx). He is the first author in the long line of writers of the medieval literary form entitled liturgical exposition.¹ This literary form reached its pinnacle in the works of William Durand the Elder. Works of authors who succeeded him were much less successful, while Durand himself remained an authority up to the Second Vatican Council.

¹ Liturgical exposition is a medieval literary form used by liturgists of the period to teach the clergy on the symbolism of liturgical celebrations and everything related to it (church architecture, gestures, liturgy times, sacraments, church services in liturgy etc.).

William Durand was born in 1230 or 1231 in the French town of Puymisson near Béziers. He held various positions and honours in the French church hierarchy. He was named a clergyman in Miquelon in 1251, while in 1254, he became the spiritual leader of a church in Narbonne. From 1255, he studied canonical law at Modena. During the pontificate of Pope Clement IV (1256–1268), he was appointed priest of the Roman Curia. He was named the general auditor at the Holy See court of appeals (*audientia causarum sacri palatii*). He also held the position of captain and prefect of the Papal State. In 1285, he was appointed bishop of the French town of Mende. In 1295, Pope Bonifacius VIII offered him the Ravenna Diocese. However, Durand declined this position. He died on 1 November 1296. The epitaph on his grave in the Roman basilica Santa Maria sopra Minerva testifies his significance in the Church ranks and the significance of his works. (Koščak 2019, 25–26)

2. The Use of Patristic Ideas in Liturgical Expositions by Amalar of Metz and William Durand the Elder

The present paper explores the reception of Saint Jerome's ideas by both authors mentioned in the title. Medieval authors do not use the patristic ideas in their original sense; in other words, they do not expand on the Fathers' ideas in a theological sense. The goal of using patristic sources is to verify the teachings or liturgical practices of the recent period. Compilatory methods of the subject authors are used to transmit the Fathers' ideas to following periods, but a touch of originality characteristic of the context under research is also evident.

Amalar's best-known work, *Liber officialis* or *De ecclesiastico officio* (*On the Liturgy*), is the subject of research.² This work reached a broad medieval audience. Jean-Michel Hanssens discovered seventy-four manuscripts in circulation throughout the centuries (Knibbs 2014, xi), while the manuscript underwent three redactions (xv–xvi).

In the work's Prologue, Amalar introduces the testimony on the reasons behind his writing, which are, in his words, »desiderio ut scirem rationem aliquam de ordine nostrae Missae« (Knibbs 2014, 18–19). He writes that his comment would present »necnon etiam et iterare quod a scripto sancti Ambrosii et sancti Augustini didici de ordine orationum in Missa et in aliis officiis« (2014, 2). Even though he claims that he would be transmitting the ideas of the most prominent patristic authors from the Middle Ages, he uses other sources of the Church fathers. For this reason, in the primary stage of the research, we created a list of all citations of the patristic works within *Liber officialis*. When it comes to the other patristic sources, as well as those of his contemporaries, he cites the works of Saint Jerome, Saint Bede the Venerable, Saint Cyprian, Saint Gregory the Great, Saint Gregory

² For the critical edition of Amalar's works, see Hanssens 1948–1950. It is published in three volumes: Tomus I - Introductio, Opera minora; Tomus II - Liber officialis; Tomus III - Liber de ordine antiphonarii, Eclogae de ordine romano; Appendix Tomi I et II - Indices.

of Nazianzus, Saint Ignatius of Antioch, Saint John Chrysostom, Rabanus Maurus, Saint Isidore of Seville, Boetius and Gregory of Tours.

Considering the initial thought on Saint Augustine and Saint Ambrose and with the preliminary research into the presence of citations of the Fathers unveiling many citations by Saint Jerome, two research questions were asked in the context of our research: 1. What is the reason behind Amalar's use of Saint Jerome's ideas? 2. Does Amalar of Metz use Saint Jerome's works to base a new method for interpreting liturgy on the Fathers' foundations?

We researched the reception of Saint Jerome in *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* by William Durand the Elder, in an equal manner (Koščak 2019, 26–28). At the very end of *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* Durand acknowledges that they used various sources for assembling the treatise (Thibodeau 2007, xx).

2.1 The Reception of Saint Jerome in *Liber officialis* by Amalar of Metz

Below we provide a list of all sections where Amalar of Metz cited Saint Jerome. After the title of the cited work, numbers within slashes provide information on the citation location in Saint Jerome's work. The reference to Saint Jerome's work is followed by the location of the citation in Amalar's work. Saint Jerome was cited in sixty-five places throughout four books of *Liber officialis* (*Lib. off.*). Amalar references various works by Saint Jerome, mostly his Commentaries on the Scripture.

Of Saint Jerome's commentaries on the Books of the Old Testament, the most cited is the Hier., *In Is.*, which was cited in nine places (*In Is.* 14.53 – *Lib. off.* 1.11.8; *In Is.* 17.63 – *Lib. off.* 1.11.11; *In Is.* 17.61 – *Lib. off.* 1.12.45; *In Is.* 3.7 – *Lib. off.* 1.12.47; *In Is.* 2 – *Lib. off.* 1.19.7–8; *In Is.* 15 – *Lib. off.* 1.19.12; *In Is.* 1.1 – *Lib. off.* 3.3.6; *In Is.* 4.11 – *Lib. off.* 4.12.6; *In Is.* 4.12 – *Lib. off.* 4.12.7). The other Old Testament-related commentaries Amalar cites are the *In Zach.* (*In Zach.* 1.1 – *Lib. off.* 1.1.7–8), *In Ioel* (*In Ioel* 2 – *Lib. off.* 1.2.2; 3.1.3), *In Ezech.* (*In Ezech.* 11.36 – *Lib. off.* 1.8.6; *In Ezech.* 13.44 – *Lib. off.* 1.16.5; *In Ezech.* 3.9 – *Lib. off.* 3.5.2), *In Hab.* (*In Hab.* 2 – *Lib. off.* 2.13.4; *In Hab.* 2.3 – *Lib. off.* 4.16.2), *In Hos.* (*In Hos.* 2 – *Lib. off.* 1.13.8) and *In Dan.* (*In Dan.* 6 – *Lib. off.* 4.3.1; *In Dan.* 12 – *Lib. off.* 4.10.13).

Of Saint Jerome's commentaries to the Books of the New Testament, Amalar uses the *In Matth.* (*In Matth.* 4 – *Lib. off.* 1.16.3; *In Matth.* 1.9 – *Lib. off.* 1.36.6–7; *In Matth.* 2.2 – *Lib. off.* 2.20.1; *In Matth.* 6.26 – *Lib. off.* 3.23.14; *In Matth.* 4.26 – *Lib. off.* 3.23.25), *In Tit.* (*In Tit.* 1 – *Lib. off.* 2.3.2–4; *In Tit.* 1 – *Lib. off.* 2.13.4–6), *In Eph.* (*In Eph.* 3.5 – *Lib. off.* 1.1.21; 3.2.12; 4.3.15–16; *In Eph.* 2 – *Lib. off.* 1.14.4; *In Eph.* 2.4 – *Lib. off.* 1.27.27; *In Eph.* 3.6 – *Lib. off.* 3.4.4) and *In Gal.* (*In Gal.* *In Gal.* 2.4 – *Lib. off.* 4.37.2–5).

Of the other texts written by Saint Jerome, Amalar cites his Epistles (*Epistulae*), more specifically *Ep.* 78 (*Ep.* 78.2 – *Lib. off.* 1.4.5; 1.18.2–3), *Ep.* 77 (*Ep.* 77.4 – *Lib. off.* 1.12.40), *Ep.* 108 (*Ep.* 108.9 – *Lib. off.* 1.14.7; *Ep.* 108.19 – *Lib. off.* 4.9.20), *Ep.* 41 (*Ep.* 41.3 – *Lib. off.* 1.36.4; 1.37.10), *Ep.* 71 (*Ep.* 71.6 – *Lib. off.* 1.36.5), *Ep.* 52 (*Ep.* 52.5 – *Lib. off.* 2.4.1–2), *Ep.* 146 (*Ep.* 146.2 – *Lib. off.* 2.12.7; *Ep.* 146.1 – *Lib. off.* 2.13.11; 2.13.15) and *Ep.* 64 (*Ep.* 64.20 – *Lib. off.* 2.15.2; *Ep.* 64.2 – *Lib. off.*

2.18.1; *Ep.* 64.21 – *Lib. off.* 2.22.1). Below we provide some of the citations of Saint Jerome's texts referred to above.

Hier., <i>In Is.</i> 14.53 Amalar., <i>Lib. off.</i> 1.11.8	»Si posuerit pro peccato animam suam – ille quem Dominus contereere voluit sive mundare – videbit semen longevum quod seminavit in bona terra. De quo et in Evangelio scriptum est: Exiit qui seminat seminare semen bonum.«
Hier., <i>In Ezech.</i> 11.36 Amalar., <i>Lib. off.</i> 1.8.6	»Creator enim omnium sum; peperi eis et sanctificavi illos et gloriae pristinae restitui, ita ut super credentes et ab errore conversos effunderem aquam mundam baptismi salutaris, et mundarem eos ab abominationibus suis et ab universis erroribus quibus fuerant occupati, et darem eis cor novum, ut crederent in Filium Dei.«
Hier., <i>In Dan.</i> 6 Amalar., <i>Lib. off.</i> 4.3.1	»Tria autem tempora quibus Deo flectenda sunt genua: tertiam horam et sextam et nonam, ecclesiastica traditio intelligit. Denique tertia hora descendit super apostolos Spiritus Sanctus; sexta volens Petrus comedere, ad orationem ascendit in caenaculum; nona Petrus et Iohannes pergebant ad templum.«
Hier., <i>In Matth.</i> 4 Amalar., <i>Lib. off.</i> 1.16.3	»Traditio Iudeaorum est Christum in media nocte venturum in similitudine Aegyptii temporis. Quando Pascha caelebratum est, exterminator venit et Dominus super tabernacula transiit, et sanguine agni postes nostrarum frontium consecrati sunt. Unde reor et traditionem apostolicam permansisse, ut die vigiliarum Paschae ante noctis dimidium populos dimittere non liceat, expectantes adventum Christi, et, postquam illud tempus transierit, securitate praesumpta, festum cuncti agunt diem.«
Hier., <i>In Eph.</i> 3.5 Amalar., <i>Lib. off.</i> 1.1.21	»Significare absconditam cogitationem, cum inflammatur sensus noster ad libidinem, et carnis titillationibus anima ignita succenditur; et nihilominus Dei timore et mentis iudicio refrenatur.«
Hier., <i>In Gal.</i> 2.4 Amalar., <i>Lib. off.</i> 4.37.2–5	»Si dies observare non licet, et menses, et tempora, et annos, nos quoque similiter crimen incurrimus, quartam sabbati observantes et Parasceven et diem Dominicam et ieiunium Quadragesimae et Paschae festivitatem et Pentecostes laetitiam et, pro varietatem regionum, diversa in honore martyrum tempora constituta... Nos enim non azymorum pascha celebramus, sed resurrectionis et crucis. Nec septem iuxta morem Israel numeramus ebdomadas in Pentecoste; sed Spiritus Sancti veneramur adventum. Et ne inordinate congregati populi fides minueretur in Christo, propterea dies aliqui constituti sunt, ut in unum omnes pariter veniremus – non quod celebrior sit dies illa qua convenimus, sed quacumque die conveniendum sit, ex conspectu mutuo laetitia maior oriatur.«
Hier., <i>Ep.</i> 78.2 Amalar., <i>Lib. off.</i> 1.4.5	»Nec mirum si in illo numeri sacramento perveniamus ad regna caelorum, sub quo Dominus atque salvator a primo patriarcha pervenit ad virginem – quasi ad Iordanem, qui pleno gurgite fluens, Spiritus Sancti gratis redundabat.«
Hier., <i>Ep.</i> 41.3 Amalar., <i>Lib. off.</i> 1.36.4	»Nos unam Quadragesimam secundum traditionem apostolorum tempore nobis orbe congruo ieiunamus; illi tres in anno faciunt quadragesimas, quasi tres passi sint salvatores. Non quod et per totum annum, excepta Pentecoste, ieiunare non liceat, sed quod aliud sit necessitate, aliud voluntate munus offerre.«
Hier., <i>Ep.</i> 64.20 Amalar., <i>Lib. off.</i> 2.15.2	»Legimus in Levitico iuxta praeceptum Dei Moysen lavisse Aaron et filios eius. Iam tunc purgationem mundi et rerum omnium sanctitatem baptismi sacramenta signabant. Non accipiunt vestes nisi loti prius sordibus, nec ornantur ad sacra nisi in Christo novi homines renascantur.«

Table 1: *The selected quotations of St. Jerome (part 1).*

It has already been said that Amalar's originality lies in the use of the allegorical method of interpretation. The existing works claim that »the allegorical significance of liturgical words and actions reflects, for Amalar, the divine inspiration of those who devised the liturgy« (Knibbs 2014, xviii). However, based on the citations

used that interpret the Scripture in an allegorical manner, we can say that liturgy for Amalar has allegorical meanings in the same manner as the Scripture does.

Many of Amalar's interpretations and the selected citations of the Fathers' work may seem arbitrary. However, the amount of Jerome's citations used in which he interprets lines from the Scripture in an allegorical manner provides the answer to why Amalar specifically uses those interpretations and why he uses Jerome's interpretations. Jerome used the allegorical method in the interpretation of the Scripture. On the other hand, Amalar used allegory for interpreting liturgy to prove that the 'architects' of liturgical celebrations are equal to the writers of the Scripture books. Just like Scripture writers were guided by divine inspiration, the same applied to those who modelled liturgy. Hence, it is no surprise that he used the Fathers' texts drafted as commentaries on the Old Testament for verifying the allegorical interpretation of individual liturgical celebrations. This is also the reason why he often cites texts written by Saint Jerome.

Of all the Fathers' texts, Saint Jerome is the most represented author in the *Liber officialis* corpus. Contemporary authors claim that Saint Jerome's theological insights are not as deep as Saint Augustine's (Bratulić 2018, 221–222). The fame he acquired by translating the Holy Bible and writing his commentaries has not diminished even after the ecclesiastical and political changes of the Middle Ages until Amalar's period. In *Liber officialis*, he is not dependent on Jerome's interpretations. Jerome's citations conveyed in *Liber officialis* demonstrate that Amalar based his allegorical method specifically on Jerome's allegorical interpretation of the Scripture.

It should also be added that Saint Augustine's theology is far more represented in *Liber officialis* than that of Saint Jerome. The explored citations of Saint Augustine demonstrate that Amalar used texts that are theologically more developed. As stated by Amalar himself, Augustine's theology is his teacher, and he wants it to be transferred to the priests. Our exploration of the reception of Saint Jerome by Amalar of Metz leads us to the conclusion that he inherited theological insights from Saint Augustine and new methodologies for interpreting liturgy from Saint Jerome.

2.2 The Reception of Saint Jerome by William Durand

Our research also includes the reception of Saint Jerome by William Durand during his most productive period of writing liturgical expositions. He is Amalar's late medieval successor. Even though he is not the last ever compiler of liturgical exposition, he is the most successful one – the quality of texts decreased after his demise. The number of later editions of Durand's exposition *Rationale divinarum officiorum* (*Rat. div.*) shows the relevance of this work in later periods. In addition, Durand's exposition is the second-ever printed book.

Our recent research was conducted to write the doctoral thesis on *Rationale divinarum officiorum* by William Durand (1230–1296) as an example of medieval pre-treatise ecclesiology. It unveiled a large number of patristic texts that Durand used for creating his expositions. Even a superficial analysis shows that he is en-

tirely dependent on his literary role models. In other words, the process of creating his exposition primarily consisted of compiling sources. Since the author was an expert in canon law, the majority of sources included medieval legal literature. Concerning methodology, the structure of the work, liturgical topics included or interpretation of liturgy, Durand is entirely dependent on previous authors of expositions based on the Fathers' sources, beginning from Amalar of Metz to Pope Innocent III and Johannes Belet (Thibodeau and Davril 2000, 229–247 [*Apparatus in margine*]; 248–269 [*Apparatus fontium*]).

Unlike Amalar's methodological originality, Durand is entirely dependent on his predecessors. Both authors studied in this paper attempt to penetrate the symbolism of liturgical celebration to educate the clergy of their times. The 13th-century clergy Durand addresses the people who were mainly uneducated about the meaning of celebrations. However, Timothy Thibodeau considers the compilation method as Durand's original contribution (1992). Of all the Fathers' texts used by Durand, no author stands out in terms of quantity. All authors have been used relatively equally to present his conclusions as accurate.

In our exploration of Durand's use of the Fathers' theology, Saint Jerome's in particular, we found citations used about the Church symbolism. In other words, Durand is a compiler of liturgical exposition and the creator of pre-treatise ecclesiology incorporated into the liturgical treatise (Holmes 2011). As stated in the literature, before the publication of the Bull by Pope Bonifacius VIII *Unam sanctam* in 1302, Durand reflected on the Church in the context of sacrament life, worship within the sacred space.

Here we present the works of Saint Jerome that have ecclesiological implications in Durand's exposition. These elements bear the same implications in its original context. Durand's *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* contains fifteen such citations. The majority of these citations have been incorporated into larger units of canonical-legal literature used by Durand. This conclusion is brought forward by Timothy Thibodeau and Anselm Davril, editors of the critical edition of our reference source. The cited sections are presented in the same manner as for Amalar of Metz.

It can be concluded that Durand uses Saint Jerome's texts of the commentaries to the Scripture in order to verify his statements on the Church or to talk about ecclesiological topics to his contemporaries by using the patristic arguments. The sources include: *In Am.* (*In Am.* 2.4 – *Rat. div.* Pr. 9), *In Mich.* (*In Mich.* 1.2 – *Rat. div.* 1.1.22), *In Is.* (*In Is.* 3.2 – *Rat. div.* 2.10.5), *In Ezech.* (*In Ezech.* 13.44.20 – *Rat. div.* 3.1.1), *In Dan.* (*In Dan.* 2.6.10 – *Rat. div.* 5.1.7), *In Eph.* (*In Eph.* 3.5.9 – *Rat. div.* 2.2.3) and *In Tit.* (*In Tit.* 1 – *Rat. div.* 2.11.16). In the ecclesiological context, he also uses Saint Jerome's work *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* (*Nom. hebr.* – *Rat. div.* 1.5.11; 1.1.4; 5.4.23). Other texts used by Durand in the context of speaking on the Church are Saint Jerome's *Epistula Ad Rusticum monachum* (*Ep.* 125.11 – *Rat. div.* 1.9.17; *Ep.* 125.19 – *Rat. div.* 2.1.29), *Ad Euangelum presbyterum* (*Ep.* 156 – *Rat. div.* 2.10.5), *Ad Nepotianum* (*Ep.* 52.5 – *Rat. div.* 2.1.30)

and *Adversus Iovinianum* (*Adv. Iovin.* 1.4 – *Rat. div.* 1.5.11). Below we present the citations of Saint Jerome's texts referred to above.

Hier., <i>In Am.</i> 2.4 Guil. Dur., <i>Rat. div.</i> Pr. 9	»debemus divinam scripturam in ethica scrutari: primo iuxta litteram; secundo iuxta allegoriam, id est spiritualem intelligentiam; tertio secundum futurorum beatitudinem.«
Hier., <i>Ep.</i> 125.11 Guil. Dur., <i>Rat. div.</i> 1.9.17	»Semper aliquid operis facito, ut dyabolus inveniat te occupatum.«
Hier., <i>Adv. Iovin.</i> 1.44 Guil. Dur., <i>Rat. div.</i> 1.5.11	»tres patriarche sepulti sunt in civitate Ebron in spelunca duplici cum tribus uxoribus suis.«
Hier., <i>In Mich.</i> 1.2 Guil. Dur., <i>Rat. div.</i> 1.1.22	»Vae dormientibus, exsurge qui dormis«
Hier., <i>Quaest. hebr. in Gen.</i> Guil. Dur., <i>Rat. div.</i> 1.5.11	»tres patriarche sepulti sunt in civitate Ebron in spelunca duplici cum tribus uxoribus suis.«
Hier., <i>Nom. hebr.</i> Litt. 1 Guil. Dur., <i>Rat. div.</i> 1.1.4	»Ierusalem vocatur, nam Ierusalem visio pacis interpretatur.«
Hier., <i>Ep.</i> 156 Guil. Dur., <i>Rat. div.</i> 2.10.5	»Presbyter ergo /.../ nomen est aetatis, episcopus vero dignitatis.«
Hier., <i>Ep.</i> 52.5 Guil. Dur., <i>Rat. div.</i> 2.1.30	»sunt reges et sacerdotes, id est regales sacerdotes; et sunt reges, id est, se et alios in virtutibus regentes, et ita in Deo regnum habent.«
Hier., <i>Ep.</i> 125.19 Guil. Dur., <i>Rat. div.</i> 2.1.29	»veritas angulos non amat«
Hier., <i>In Is.</i> 2.3.2 Guil. Dur., <i>Rat. div.</i> 2.10.5	»Canities hominum prudentia est.«
Hier., <i>In Eph.</i> 3.5.19 Guil. Dur., <i>Rat. div.</i> 2.2.3	»Audiant, inquit, adulescentuli, audiant hii quibus officium est in ecclesia psallendi, Deo non voce tantum sed corde esse cantandum, nec in tragediarum modum guttur et fauces medicamine liniende sunt ut in ecclesia theatrales moduli et cantica audiantur.«
Hier., <i>In Ezech.</i> 13.44.20 Guil. Dur., <i>Rat. div.</i> 3.1.1	»Religio divina alterum habitum in ecclesiasticis officiis, alium in communi usu.«
Hier., <i>In Dan.</i> 2.6.10 Guil. Dur., <i>Rat. div.</i> 5.1.7	»Hinc habet ecclesiastica traditio quod ter in die genua sunt flectenda, scilicet in tertia, sexta et nona.«
Hier., <i>Nom. hebr.</i> Litt. 5 Guil. Dur., <i>Rat. div.</i> 5.4.23	»Syon interpretatur speculatio sive contemplatio.«

Table 2: *The selected quotations of St. Jerome (part 2).*

3. Conclusion

The use of the Fathers' theology in the Middle Ages is not only a verification of the rigid attitudes of the Church but is also used to develop original theological methods. Amalar of Metz founded the allegorical method for interpreting liturgy on Saint Jerome's allegorical interpretation of the Scripture. Throughout medieval times, liturgical expositions were written using this method, thereby transmitting the Fathers' ideas to future periods. William Durand achieved in transmitting the Fathers' ideas. He managed to transmit a wide variety of the Fathers' works by using the allegorical method and successfully compiling sources. A particular value of Durand's liturgical exposition lies in his integration of ecclesiological topics, whereby he defines the ecclesiological treatise form before the arrival of the original *de ecclesia* treatises. Regardless of their frequent allegorical simplification to

find a deeper meaning behind liturgical celebrations, both authors influenced the comprehension of liturgy up to the last liturgical reform in the mid-20th century.

Both authors can be labelled teachers of what had then been a largely undereducated clergy. Their most outstanding contribution is the transmission of patristic ideas on liturgy to the Middle Ages. Amalar of Metz builds his allegorical method on the interpretation method used in the Fathers' period. Using the allegorical method for interpreting liturgy, Church jurist William Durand is original in using existing theological material. The majority of his sources of patristic theology are legal texts. His creation of the unique medieval liturgical treatise *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* makes him a compiler of legal literature.

Abbreviation

CCCM – Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis.

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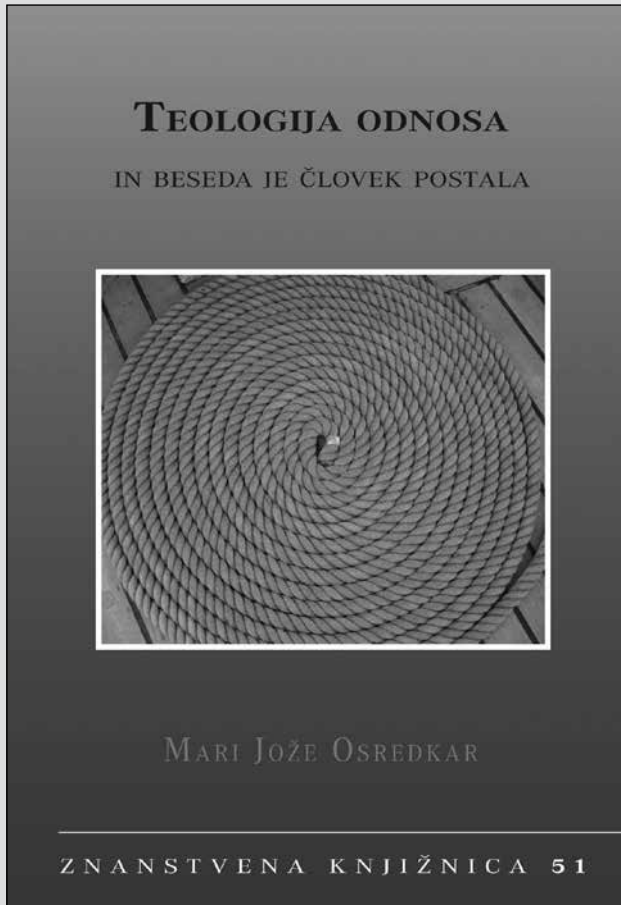
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Mari Jože Osredkar

**Teologija odnosa
In beseda je človek postala**

Odnos je nekaj duhovnega, nekaj, kar se ne vidi, nekaj česar človeški čuti ne zaznajo neposredno. Pa vendar je odnos za posameznikovo življenje nekaj eksistencialno pomembnega. Je pravzaprav naš življenjski prostor: »v njem živimo, se gibljemo in smo«. Še več, odnos je ključ za razumevanja vere in Boga.

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Anja Božič

»Movere et delectare« after St. Jerome: Pier Paolo Vergerio's Fifth Sermon *pro Sancto Hieronymo*

»Movere et delectare« po sv. Hieronimu: Vergerijev peti govor *pro Sancto Hieronymo*

Abstract: The present paper analyzes the personal devotion to St. Jerome as expressed in the works of Pier Paolo Vergerio, one of the leading humanist authors of his generation. Jerome's simultaneous investment in theology and classical learning made him a famed saint among the humanists. By transforming St. Jerome into a model of a pious scholar, Vergerio was, therefore, one of the key proponents in the dissemination of St. Jerome's cult in the Renaissance. Vergerio's ten lively *Sermones pro Sancto Hieronymo* (1392–1408) are considered the earliest examples of the classicizing orations (panegyrics) in the context of devotional public oratory. Vergerio includes traditional elements of Jerome's hagiography in his orations yet charges them with a personal dimension. Referring to the ancient tradition of his family, Vergerio portrays St. Jerome as their protector and patron saint and commends his recently deceased father into the saint's care. There is, however, no extant information about the family's rituals regarding St. Jerome and Vergerio does not refer to their devotion in all of his orations in honour of the saint. This paper explores Vergerio's creation of a personal cult of St. Jerome and interprets it as a self-fashioning device, aiming to establish Vergerio as an eloquent humanist intellectual.

Keywords: Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder, St. Jerome, patron saint, epideictic oration, humanist self-fashioning

Povzetek: Članek obravnava sv. Hieronima kot osebnega in družinskega zavetnika v slavilnih govorih enega najpomembnejših humanističnih avtorjev svoje generacije, Koprčana Petra Pavla Vergerija Starejšega. Hieronim je zaradi svoje ljubezni tako do Biblije kakor do klasičnih avtorjev postal priljubljen zavetnik humanistov, ki so ga razumeli kot ideal sinteze med krščanstvom in antiko. Vergerij je s prevrednotenjem sv. Hieronima v lik pobožnega učenjaka postal eden glavnih glasnikov Hieronimovega humanističnega kulta. Vergerijev slavospev v čast sv. Hieronimu se razlega iz desetih živahnih govorov *Sermones pro Sancto Hieronymo* (1392–1408), ki jih je Vergerij spisal po vzoru klasičnega slavilnega

govorništva. Kljub resda standardnim elementom Hieronimovih hagiografskih upodobitev pa Vergerijevi govori izstopajo zaradi dodatne, osebne note. Humanist sv. Hieronima časti kot osebnega in družinskega zavetnika in mu v skrb priporoča svojega umrlega očeta. Vendar ni znano, da bi Hieronim v resnici veljal za družinskega zavetnika družine Vergerijev, poleg tega pa ga Vergerij ne naslavlja tako v vseh desetih govorih. Članek pojasnjuje Vergerijevo prevzetje sv. Hieronima za osebnega in družinskega zavetnika kot spretno govorniško potezo, ki jo je humanist uporabil predvsem za samoupodabljanje na renesančnem govorniškem odru.

Ključne besede: Peter Pavel Vergerij Starejši, sv. Hieronim, zavetnik, govor, humanistično samoupodabljanje

1. Introduction

During 1390–1408, Pier Paolo Vergerio, one of the leading humanists of his generation, delivered at least ten public orations in honour of Saint Jerome. His *Sermones pro Sancto Hieronymo* counts as the earliest examples of the classicizing orations (panegyrics) in devotional public oratory (O'Malley 1979, 86).¹ Following the classical precepts, rather than the traditional thematic form of late medieval speeches, Vergerio's orations illustrate one of the most discernible aspects of the humanists' amalgamation of classicizing elements and hagiography.² The omission of biblical quotations, which otherwise guided thematic sermons, opened the ground for humanist innovation and self-fashioning. Accordingly, the contents of the orations ceased to focus on the saints' performances of miracles, and instead replaced them with their lives and deeds, interpreted in conformity with the preferences of their audience.

Vergerio began his public speaking career in Padua around 1390.³ His tradition of annual orations in honour of St. Jerome probably began around the same time, although the precise year has not yet been identified. In his *Ep. 42*, Vergerio states

¹ On epideictic oratory, see Pernot, *La Rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain* (1993) or Kennedy (1999) for a summarization. For humanist oratory in imitation of Ciceronian handbooks, see Witt 1990, and for humanist devotional oratory, McManamon's *Funeral Oratory of the Papal Court* (2017). When referring to the format of Vergerio's *Sermones*, the secondary scholarship employs different terminology. The expressions 'sermon', 'oration', 'speech', and 'panegyric' are used interchangeably by the previous scholarship; I will refer to these texts as *sermones*, since this is the label used in the manuscripts.

² The thematic form appeared in the late twelfth century and coincides with the birth of Scholasticism. The central study of the theme remains Caplan's *Of Eloquence* (1970). For Latin medieval preaching see *Modern Questions About Medieval Sermons* by Nicole Bériou and David D'Avray (1994).

³ There is no evidence of any public activity before this time. These early speeches are Vergerio's judicial oration in defense of Francesco Novello da Carrara's lieutenant Bartolomeo Cermisone (1390–1392), an oration celebrating Francesco Novello's recovery of Padua (1392) and the well-known funeral oration for Francesco Carrara the Elder (1393) (Katchmer 1998, 15; Simoniti 1979, 27–29). For Vergerio's biography, see Katchmer (1998, 1–77).

that his practice started four years before the letter's composition (Smith 1934, 91). If Smith's dating of the letter to 1392–1394, more probably to 1394, is correct, Vergerio possibly delivered his first oration in 1390. Two of the orations are dated in the manuscripts: *Sermo* 5 to 1392 and *Sermo* 9 to 1408. *Sermo* 8 can be dated to 1406, based on internal evidence (Robey 1973, 27). The exact order of the orations, however, does not depend on manuscript numbering and remains unknown.⁴ Three of the orations were delivered in monastic environments (1; 5; 10), two were delivered close to Vergerio's hometown in Istria (3; 6) (Robey 1973, 37), and *Sermo* 8 was delivered at the papal court in Rome.

In his panegyrics, Vergerio actively contributed to shaping the humanist cult of St. Jerome. As an active scholar in numerous fields, from the theory of education, canon law, and medicine to logic and rhetoric, Vergerio portrayed a similarly active figure of Jerome and called to the imitation of his countless virtues. He emphasized Jerome's erudition and piety and portrayed him as a pious scholar. Touching upon merely a few of his most famous miracles, Vergerio emphasized Jerome's human aspects and depicted him as a familiar figure, approachable for imitation of everyone. Vergerio's orations were circulated in numerous codices, often functioning as prefaces to Jerome's works. The orations became a new and influential model for the humanists' epideictic oratory. This made Vergerio's panegyrics so famous that they survived in many manuscripts and even in the first incunabula of Jerome's collected works.

While praising St. Jerome, Vergerio offers himself as a witness of the saint's excellence. In *Serm.* 5 and 8, and one of his letters, Vergerio explains that his inspiration to praise Jerome derives from his family's ancient tradition and his personal experience of Jerome's sanctity.⁵ On these grounds, he vowed to annually deliver a public oration in the saint's honour on his feast-day (McManamon 1985, 185). His vow is often referred to at the beginning of the orations' *exordia*. However, there is no information about Vergerio's family partaking in any specific rituals in honour of the saint, nor did St. Jerome remain the patron saint of the Vergerii family (Marinčič 2018, 13). Usually taken for granted, Vergerio's invocations of St. Jerome as his family patron have not been probed to a satisfactory degree by the existent scholarship.⁶ McManamon takes it at face value in his seminal edition and does not pause much at Vergerio's words.⁷

This paper, however, is meant to signal that Vergerio's appropriation of St. Jerome as his personal and family patron was his rhetorical device to add to the emotionality of his orations and contribute to his fame. On these grounds, I will discuss the unique features of Vergerio's authorial approach in his fifth pane-

⁴ I use the numbering and sequence of delivery suggested in McManamon's edition, which, due to different manuscript referencing, differs from the one used earlier by Robey and Smith.

⁵ *Ep.* 79 to Vergerio's father (Smith 1934, 186–187).

⁶ See the article by Marinčič (2018) for a welcome exception to this trend.

⁷ The full title of McManamon's book is *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome: An Edition and Translation of Sermones Pro Sancto Hieronymo* (1999).

gyric and compare it to his other panegyrics in honour of St. Jerome as well as to Vergerio's letters. Taking the orations in parallel with later panegyrics to St. Jerome composed by other humanists, I will illustrate Vergerio's appropriation of St. Jerome as a smart rhetoric device to establish himself on the humanist stage of classicizing rhetoric.

2. Departing From the Tradition: Sermon 5

According to the manuscripts, Vergerio's fifth sermon was delivered in 1392 to Benedictine monks in Padua (McManamon 1985, 185). This is Vergerio's most extended oration, and, according to Robey, it may have been the earliest (Robey 1973, 37). Indeed, the oration does not refer to any previous speeches, which is otherwise a systematic way for Vergerio to start the *exordium*. Although Robey's argument is based only on his opinion, according to which the oration is relatively immature in style and hesitant in its approach to the subject (37), the speech is the least coherent among Vergerio's orations and often jumps between the topics.

Moreover, *Sermo* 5 is famously unique owing to Vergerio's explicit declaration of his complete break with the thematic structure of the scholastic sermons. This might be another argument in favour of the oration being the first one. Vergerio straightforwardly draws attention to his omission of the usual biblical verse at the beginning of the sermon:

»With your kind permission, I will slightly depart today from the usual manner of delivering a sermon, and leaving aside the thematic verse from the Scripture (a convention that is no longer observed by the most up-to-date-preachers), right at the beginning, I will call to my aid the most glorious Virgin.« (McManamon 1999, 172)⁸

Owing to the lack of materials, the veracity of Vergerio's claim that this was already part of contemporary practice cannot be established. Nevertheless, even though not a single example of sermons delivered from the pulpit and following classical norms has been found up to date, as O'Mally (1979, 86) and Knowles Frazier (2005, 213) report, Vergerio already used the new format in his earlier funeral orations.⁹ In any case, the emphasized opening remark served chiefly to underline his classicizing program.

Moving on, Vergerio inserted an emotional confession of his family's devotion to St. Jerome in a first-person narrative. He reported that his family arranged annual feasts in St. Jerome's honour as long as they could afford them:

⁸ »Cum bona venia vestra praetermitteram nunc parumper solitum morem sermocinandi, et, omisso themate (qui mos iam apud modernos deciderat) primo gloriosissimam virginem ad auxilium mihi vocabo.« (McManamon 1999, 171) I quote Vergerio's orations in McManamon's English translation, occasionally modified.

⁹ See note 3.

»They were accustomed for as long as their resources permitted them to offer a solemn feast for the poor of the city. Moreover, they used to remember that their own ancestors had consistently performed the same service on this feast day. /.../ If ever fortune should look and smile upon me once again, I will not hesitate to revive this ancient custom of our family.« (McManamon 1999, 178–179)¹⁰

He then vowed to continue with the tradition to honour St. Jerome on his name day and started to ponder which of his many virtues he should praise. Vergerio does not share the information about the aftermath of his family's devotion in this oration; however, he recounts it in *Sermo 8* (McManamon 1985, 224). As a result of Jerome's divine intercession, Vergerio's family survived the attacks of Genoans on their hometown, Justinopolis (now Koper, in Slovenia). This deepened much further their already ardent devotion, cultivated most notably by Vergerio's father, who, at the time of *Sermo 8*, according to Vergerio, was just recently deceased. After his father's death, Vergerio presented himself as the sole heir to the family tradition, whereby he vowed to deliver a speech in the saint's honour each year. The oration becomes highly emotional when Vergerio speaks of his father's legacy, and its style frequently borders on theatricality.

However, one might wonder whether Vergerio was, in fact, »[n]ourished in an environment that saw the family as honoured clients of a powerful heavenly patron [and] committed himself to a public act of devotion to Jerome for the rest of his life« on this ground, as stated by McManamon in his seminal work (1999, 16). There is no actual evidence about St. Jerome as the patron saint of the Vergerii family (Marinčič 2018, 13) or their special rituals in honour of the saint in Justinopolis. The patron saints of the town were, at the time, St. Nazarius and St. Alexandrus,¹¹ who, in contrast to St. Jerome, are not mentioned in any of Vergerio's extant works, nor his letters.¹² However, as indicated by Frazier, appropriation of 'personal saints' was the standard humanist practice (Frazier 2005, 16). Vergerio probably familiarized himself with the humanist cult of St. Jerome in the learned university milieu of Florence, Bologna, and Padua. Jerome was an ideal epitome for the humanists' Christian universalism, owing to his simultaneous enthusiasm for the classical authors and biblical exegesis.

¹⁰ »[S]olebant parentes mei, dum fortuna laetaeque res starent, atque id a suis fieri solitum commemorabant perpetuo hoc ipso festo die, cum sacra ritu debito et solito more peracta essent, sollemne convivium pauperibus facere. Si quando tamen fortuna placide vultu faverit, ne vetustum quidem morem familiae nostrae praetermittam.« (McManamon 1999, 176–177)

¹¹ The cult of these two saints was in fact very popular in Justinopolis. The requisition of St. Nazarius's relics was, for example, the main calamity during the attack of Genovese on Koper which also forced the Vergerio family to leave their hometown. St. Alexander's relics are preserved in the cathedral church of Koper (Smith 1934, 506).

¹² Although Smith reports on four hymns in honor of St. Nazarius in Vergerio's *Epistolario*, he already emphasizes that they were wrongly attributed to Vergerio, since they were added to one of the manuscripts with his *Sermones*. They were, in fact, written in 1422 to celebrate the return of the relics to Koper, arranged by archbishop of Genoa, Pileo de Marini (Smith 1934, 506). The hymns are listed as anonymous in McManamon, „Research Aids: Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder.“

Moreover, in their lively interest for textual criticism, the humanists also fiercely transcribed and compiled his letters (Cain 2009, 225). Devotional texts, transcription of a saint's works, or production of his *vitae* served as an *ex-voto* to the saint. Passing through Italian cities, courts, and university towns, thus encountering different local cultures, humanists depended on their rhetorical abilities, and they tailored them according to the circumstances. Thus, looking closer into the contexts of *Serm.* 5 and 8 and comparing them with the circumstances of deliveries of other orations by Vergerio might shed light upon some additional arguments for his references to the family and personality cult of St. Jerome precisely in these two sermons.

3. *Effigiem mihi confingo: Sermons 5 and 8 Among the Other Vergerio's Orations*

Vergerio's *Sermones* were treated as a corpus by the previous scholarship, and the specific contents or backgrounds of the individual orations have not been analyzed in much depth. Despite their differences, McManamon's edition and English translation of Vergerio's speeches do not observe Vergerio's orations as individual texts. Vergerio's works are looked upon in the same way by Rice's monograph on the cult of St. Jerome in the Renaissance (1988), and the orations are treated merely as a product of a new rhetorical style, intended to promote the revised image of St. Jerome.¹³ However, by examining the orations one by one as individual pieces, it is possible to grasp Vergerio's program of remodelling the image of St. Jerome according to his different audiences. As there are no other humanist authors who produced more than one oration on St. Jerome, Vergerio's orations offer a unique opportunity to inspect the changes of his rhetorical approach according to the contexts in which the orations were delivered, by the same author and in praise of the same subject. A captivating performance was essential for the epideictic genre of Vergerio's speeches, which therefore focused primarily on the audience. Vergerio aptly devised the rhetorical *topoi* and shaped the entire contents of his orations to secure the audience's sympathy. The imitation of examples is indeed the chief motto of his work. Nevertheless, the examples given in the orations are different when it comes to an audience of different social backgrounds.

For example, in the orations delivered to monks, Vergerio demonstrates praise to be instructional on the grounds of Jerome's biographies, which praised the desert fathers. Writing about the lives of these, Jerome was motivated to imitate their austerity as well.¹⁴ According to his teaching, Jerome's lifestyle is highlighted, and

¹³ McManamon looks into the classicizing features of Vergerio's oratory also in his monograph *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder: The Humanist as Orator* (1996) and in his earlier article „Pier Paolo Vergerio (the Elder) and the Beginnings of the Humanist Cult of Jerome“ (1985).

¹⁴ See Bobovnik and Derhard 2020, 3–31 on Jerome as a chief promotor of the philosophy of desert ascetics.

the Benedictine monks are exhorted to imitate it. Not only does Vergerio emphasize Jerome's extreme endurance and piety while enumerating his deeds, but the orations also echo criticism and blame, clearly in line with the reform movement inside religious orders (McManamon 1985, 354). In contrast, speaking in front of lay audiences, Vergerio paraphrased classical authors¹⁵ and illustrated praise as an already ancient practice, which taught the examples for imitation.

In the orations delivered in Istria (*Serm.* 3; 6), Vergerio argued that owing to the location of Jerome's birthplace near 'this particular region' (*regio ista*), the audience, in this case, lay locals has a special duty to venerate the saint and imitate his deeds.¹⁶ He portrayed Jerome as one of the illustrious fellow citizens, only that he is immensely more praiseworthy and learned. He emphasized the saint's shared humanity with the audience and characterized him in terms of the audience's intercessor with God. If the audience joins Vergerio in faithful praise of St. Jerome, they, now living close to Jerome's earthly residence, will make themselves »members of his heavenly lineage« in the afterlife (Mcmanamon 189, 355). However, even though Vergerio sided with the audience and depicted himself as one of the local populace, he spoke here in a considerably less personal tone than in *Serm.* 5 and 8. However, his orations echo the language of late-antique local cults,¹⁷ his Jerome does not figure as a 'national' saint of Dalmatia.¹⁸ Moreover, in *Serm.* 3, Vergerio carefully warns against an affection towards St. Jerome merely on account of his origins:

»But indeed, neither proximity of birth, nor blood relationship, nor any earthly bond renders us acceptable and gratifying to the saints of God; only moral integrity, sanctity of life, and spiritual devotion can do that. As a matter of fact, we can please the saints only by doing the same things that made the saints themselves pleasing to God.« (McManamon 1999, 99)¹⁹

Going even further, in *Sermo* 6, Vergerio delivered a semi-historical lecture about a historically unfounded local veneration based on resemblances of the names of a small nearby village Stregna and Jerome's Stridon.²⁰ He labels it as 'a local rumour' (*dictum est*) and straightforwardly condemns it. Jerome was born in a 'place nearby' (*hinc proximo loco*), but not in Stregna, the village closest to Vergerio's hometown

¹⁵ E.g. Ovid in *Serm.* 2 (McManamon 1999, 143) or Seneca in *Ep.* 78 (McManamon 1985, 185).

¹⁶ The infamous question of the exact location of Jerome's birthplace, Stridon, remains unanswered. On various placements of Stridon by the humanists, see the article by Grubišić (2008, 227–298).

¹⁷ For the function of medieval cults of saints see, for instance, Brown's *The Cult of Saints* (1989), and Klaniczay, »Using Saint: Intercession, Healing, Sanctity« (2014, 217–237).

¹⁸ On this topic, see the article by Ivić »Jerome comes home« (2016, 618–644), and her dissertation »The Birth of the National Saint: The Cult of St. Jerome in Late Medieval Dalmatia« (2020). On the cult of St. Jerome among the Slavs, see Verkholtantsev, *The Slavic Letters of St. Jerome: The History of the Legend and Its Legacy, or, How the Translator of the Vulgate Became an Apostle of the Slavs* (2014).

¹⁹ »Verum enimvero non ortus propinquitatis, non coniunctio sanguinis, non ulla mundialis necessitudo, sed honestas morum, vitae sanctitas, ac mentis devotio Sanctis Dei acceptabiles nos reddit et gratos. Per ea etenim sola placere ipsis possumus per quae et ipsi Deo placuerunt.« (McManamon 1999, 198)

²⁰ For the translation of the entire passage to Slovenian, see Marinčič 2018, 14.

(McManamon 1999, 201). Additionally, Vergerio does not honour St. Jerome as a national saint, as was the practice within the Dalmatian cult of the saint.²¹ Moreover, in none of the panegyrics from Istria did he ever refer to St. Jerome as his family's patron saint, as he does in *Serm.* 5 and 8. One might ask why Vergerio opted to denounce local rumours rather than referring to his family's devotion to the saint, particularly in these orations delivered closest to his hometown.

It might not be too far-fetched to infer some explanations from the same venues of the orations' performances. Compared to the orations delivered in the small provincial towns of Istria, the circumstance of *Serm.* 5 and 8 were far more critical. Even though *Sermo* 5 was delivered in front of monks, it was among Vergerio's first orations (if not the very first one), which made it significant for his rhetorical career. His arguments on account of the family tradition of praise would help him establish himself as a premier member of Jerome's cult and add to his praise's rhetorical 'veracity'. Appealing to the traditional family veneration served as grounds for a popular epideictic device already part of the ancient oratory.²² Indeed, the cult of St. Jerome was already firmly established by the time Vergerio wrote his orations; however, it has to be kept in mind that Vergerio was promoting a particular representation of the saint – that of a learned orator and translator, including a refurbished version of Jerome's dream.²³ He referred to his family as already 'veteran' followers of Jerome's cult and contributed to his fame.

Vergerio's self-fashioning is even more evident concerning the particular circumstance of *Sermo* 8. This oration was delivered in front of the papal Curia in 1406. It was probably one of the most renowned orations during the Renaissance, as it was included as a biographical appendix to the first edition of Jerome's works published in Rome in 1468. It belonged among Vergerio's most accomplished orations and was seen as advocacy of humanist studies by the later Renaissance authors. Vergerio primarily reflected on Jerome's dream in this sermon and offered a revised humanist interpretation (Belting 2014, 6). According to his own words, he described how Jerome continued to read the classics, but not as ardently as the Scripture (McManamon 1999, 155).

Moreover, he inferred that St. Jerome merely applied his classical studies in the service of his biblical work. This panegyric therefore comprised a call for humanism in the service of the religious community, announcing that the humanist studies would prepare learned clergy capable of moral reform by living exemplary lives.²⁴ Where could Vergerio more appropriately insert an emotional appeal to his fam-

²¹ On Slavic cult of St. Jerome, see Verkholtantsev 2014 and Badurina-Stipčević 2013, 17–26.

²² The canon of epideictic *topoi*, listed by Menander, was transmitted to the humanists by Priscian's handbooks as *loca laudis vel vituperationis* (Simoniti 1979, 25). For the impact of humanist classicizing oratory on the preachers of the Catholic Reformation see, for instance, Visočnik 2018.

²³ *Ep.* 22. For English translation, see Wright (1933, 52–157).

²⁴ In ecclesiastical context, Vergerio used the image of St. Jerome in order to contrast him to the corrupted practice of the clergy of his time. He especially criticized the preachers, accusing them of delivering empty words in front of their audience while not providing an example of moral life themselves (McManamon, 115–29).

ily tradition, boosted by the reference to his recently deceased father, if not in the refined background of the papal court and campaigning for classical learning?

Similar creation of saintly patronage was frequent in the Late Middle Ages, and the saints whose sanctity one heard of being experienced by those close to them immediately became more popular (Vauchez 1997, 133). On the other hand, there was no need to bring the saint closer by referring to his devotion in the orations in Istria; a local veneration was probably present there already in the late medieval period.²⁵ Vergerio did not need an additional device to bring Jerome's cult closer – a medieval cult of St. Jerome as a pious penitent saint was already widely disseminated within the area. What Vergerio instead focused on in his orations in Istria is Jerome's reinterpreted image of a learned scholar and translator. Consequently, it was much more expected of Vergerio to exploit the proximity of the saint's birthplace to display his linguistic knowledge by exposing the erroneous theory of Stregna as Stridon. In contrast, while speaking in faraway Padua or Rome and aiming to establish himself as Jerome's spokesperson, a reference to the traditional family devotion to St. Jerome would likely add to Vergerio's rhetorical authority. He did not argue his family's or his father's devotion to the saint, yet his affection for the cult was expressed with sufficient emotionality to make the oration effective.

4. *Patronus meus: St. Jerome in the Context of Vergerio's Letters*

Even if Vergerio did not report the reasons for his family's extraordinary devotion to St. Jerome in his orations, he described them in one of his letters, *Ep.* 79, addressed to his father and dated in the year 1397 (Smith 1934, 186–87). The letter begins almost verbatim as some of Vergerio's orations. He first asserts his rhetorical inadequacy to the subject yet immediately pledges to carry on with his practice of public preaching since it is a way to repay his father's love. Then he makes several passionate exclamations, urging his father to honour St. Jerome and underlining it with a paraphrase from Seneca: »[T]o receive a favour without a single word of thanks comes close to denying it.«²⁶ Afterwards he recounts the story about Jerome's intercession but placing it at his father's lips as if it were a recollection of something his father has once told him himself. Further, he inserts a series of rhetorical questions and reaching the climax by an appeal to St. Jerome as the one who saved the life of Vergerio's father:

²⁵ The Franciscan monastery in Justinopolis at the time belonged to the Dalmatian Franciscan province of St. Jerome. This is also reflected by a large number of local churches, consecrated to St. Jerome, which was the reason for a recent suggestion to declare St. Jerome for the main patron of the present-day bishopric of Koper (Valenčič 2007, 123–154).

²⁶ »Proximus est enim neganti beneficium is qui tacet.« (Smith 1934, 186). Cf. Seneca, *De Beneficiis* 2.1.: »[P]roximus est a negante, qui dubitavit, nullamque iniit gratiam.« For the entire translation of the letter, see Božič 2020, 90–91.

»Who was it that led us out alive from so many traps laid against us during that wartime clash, when everything was filled with terror and was collapsing? Who was it that carried us safe and sound from the devastation and smouldering ashes of our pillaged homeland? /.../ Last but not least, who was it that saved your life after you had been condemned to death and exposed to many great dangers if not the one to whom you have entrusted your life?« (Smith 1934, 186)²⁷

The letter closely echoes *Serm.* 5 and 8, and Vergerio sometimes repeats entire phrases from the orations. Curiously enough, Vergerio uses the same admonitions he used in his oration to the monks, and he seems to be reminding his father, supposedly the initiator of the family's devotion to St. Jerome, why the saint deserved to be praised by the family. One might reasonably wonder why Vergerio's father would need to be reminded of the family tradition.

Vergerio's letter belongs among the typical humanist stylistic letters that form their authors' image as they each wanted it conveyed to posterity. It was not unusual for the humanist authors to combine themes and even phrases from their orations with those from the letters and vice versa. *Ep.* 79 is likely to have been designed precisely to enforce Vergerio's auto-portrayal as Jerome's disciple. The phrases that are repeated in his public oratory and stylistic letters are likely to serve as self-fashioning rhetoric devices, especially in the works that were expected to be disseminated or even included within the significant works.

Moreover, some other letters of Vergerio's illustrate his inclination to the etiological myths, a literalization of his hometown origins, and his aspirations to be bound with St. Jerome's figure. Although pretending to disdain some of his letters, Vergerio was quite concerned with the local history.²⁸ He was also engaged in discussions about the origins of the name Justinopolis, claiming that the city was named by Emperor Justinian II (565–578). Justinian reinforced and regulated the original Roman settlement of Aegida or Capris, inhabited by fugitives of the Langobardic invasion at the time of his arrival. Vergerio describes the myth in one of his letters, where he also states that Justinopolis has now fallen into moral decay and ruins despite its noble history. The only reason it could be praised for nowadays is its proximity to Jerome's birthplace:

»Because you see, even some obscure places had brought up great men, and celebrated cities ignoble ones, since, as it is indeed attested, it usually happens more often that extreme brilliance springs from an oppressed

²⁷ »[Q]uis nos belli fragore, quo cuncta terrebantur, cuncta ruebant, ex tot paratis insidiis vivos eripuit? Quis ex patrie, populate ruinis, ardentis cineribus, sanos et tutos evexit? Aut quis patrium solum egresos ac alieno benigne receptos olim in patriam et revexit ac in tuto reposuit? Quis denique caput tuum damnatum, tot periculis expositum, nisi is cui fuerat commendatum, servavit incolume?« For leaving his post in order to flee, Vergerio's father was at first condemned to death. Upon their return to Justinopolis in 1483 he was acquitted, but the family never rose to the same distinguished position it held before.

²⁸ Vergerio's two works that focus primarily on the region close to his hometown are *De situ Iustinopolis* and *De republica Venetorum*.

and unknown place. In this regard, you could give many ancient examples, yet you could hardly quote any worthier or one that would be dearer to me, than, as you have remarked, St. Jerome, my patron, 'the star of the Church', to praise him in your words, and, as you ought to have added, of exceptional learning. He was born not far from my fatherland's borders in a humble place, which became therefore revered before many other most splendid cities.« (Smith 1934, 145)²⁹

In this passage, Vergerio refers to one of the common *topoi* of the epideictic genre, which links the subject of praise to his birthplace. As recommended by the handbooks, when the homeland of the subject praised was already remarkable, the panegyrist should refer to it as foretelling the glory of the one being praised. In contrast, if their birthplace was humble or disreputable, this should be emphasized to point out how gloriously the subject being praised surpassed their little background (Kennedy 2003, 156). The reference clearly illustrates Vergerio's intentions and is underlined in his orations from Istria, where he highlights Jerome having departed for Rome to become »better and more learned«, despite his love for his homeland (McManamon 1999, 156).³⁰ By emphasizing the proximity of St. Jerome's origins and his birth town in this letter, Vergerio, in a way, binds himself with his successful compatriot. It was not only Jerome who rose above his humble origins but also Vergerio, coming from the same region—aligning his family and upbringing to a famous figure of an erudite theologian added to his promotion. Emphasis on the saint's humanist activities presented St. Jerome as a model for imitation. Vergerio's self-representation as a paragon of Jerome's cult also shaped his portrait – in close resemblance to that of his patron.

5. Closing Remarks: Vergerio's Orations in Parallel With Other Panegyrics on St. Jerome

Vergerio's other panegyrics and letters are not only texts that invite for a closer examination, especially in a comparative context. By focusing on Jerome as the subject of praise, I have been able to locate a set of epideictic orations composed throughout the fifteenth century. The first one of these was delivered in 1410 in Padua by Nicolaus (Niccolò) Bonavia of Lucca.³¹ Soon after that, there was a simi-

²⁹ »Sed, ut vix ullum dignius, ita nullum michi gratius adhibere potuisses quam quod Hieronymum memoras, patronum meum, Ecclesie, ut voce tua suo cum titulo decorem, sidus, et, ut adicere debueras, summum doctrine, quem non procul a patrie mee finibus humilis locus sed hoc uno plurimis amplissimis urbibus.« (Ep. 62, to Giovanni Zabarella)

³⁰ The passage in fact turned out to be extremely far-reaching. Owing to Vergerio's self-representation, the famous Italian historian Fabio Biondo (1392–1463) listed Vergerio and Jerome as the most prominent people from the region, and on this grounds classified Istria as an Italian province.

³¹ Biographical information about Bonavia is sparse. So far, the only detail I have been able to gather is that he was an erudite poet and at the time of delivering the oration, a student at the University of Padua. His oration is preserved in two manuscripts: Vatican library, BAV Vat. lat. 5994 3r–7v, and in Biblioteca Ambrosiana, R 92 sup. 2, 13r–17r.

lar oration in praise of St. Jerome in Siena, no later than 1447, by Agostino Dati.³² They offer a contrast to Vergerio's earlier work, and none of them represents Jerome as the personal patron of the authors or their families. Bonavia's oration was delivered in 1410 in Padua (Rice 1988, 95). Instead of offering a personal motivation to praise St. Jerome, Bonavia employs the Platonic doctrine of the four cardinal virtues and introduces Jerome's deeds as evidence of these virtues. His oration thus closely adheres to the scheme of ancient funerary encomia and is exceptionally detailed when it comes to Jerome's biographical details. Dati's oration offers a similar example and turns into a catalogue of Jerome's translations. Again, there is no reference to Dati's devotion to St. Jerome; on the contrary, the oration is characterized by a rather detached tone.

Another oration was delivered in Verona in 1453 by one of the first female humanists, Isotta Nogarola.³³ Instead of a detailed biography, Nogarola focuses on Jerome's persistent pursuit of knowledge. Going against Jerome's emphasis in his famous letter to Eustochium,³⁴ she promoted his learning over the virtue of virginity, thus justifying her scholarly ambitions and using the oration as a personal apology. Nogarola exploited the rhetoric tropes to position herself as a female author. Even though she did not offer her audience any explicit incentive to imitate the saint, the human quality of her portrayal of St. Jerome recalls Vergerio's patron. However, compared to Vergerio's works, these later pieces were less vivid in terms of authorial presence and the authors' affection for St. Jerome. These orators did not offer any argumentation for their praise, and they did not present it as part of their devotion to the saint. Even if the pieces are long and meticulously crafted, they inspire far less emotional effect than Vergerio's narrative. Curiously, however, none of these panegyrics attained such wide promulgation as did Vergerio's; they often survived in a unique version. Vergerio's panegyrics, in contrast, circulated in several manuscripts, even though none of them includes all ten orations (McMannan 1999, 137). Their presence in the volumes, originating from Northern Italy, suggests that the students often turned to them as models for their rhetorical compositions, regardless of their interest in St. Jerome.

The humanist scholars already acknowledged this variety of epideictic oratory in praise of civil or ecclesiastical governors. »Nobody remains unaware that panegyrics reflect not their subjects' merits, but their author's ingenuity,« stated Desiderius Erasmus (Rundle 2007, 159).³⁵ Was the personal appropriation of St. Jerome and his representation as a patron saint one of the critical features of

³² Agostino Dati: *Incipit Oratio prima de laudibus divi Hieronymi*. For a summary of his life, see *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (1987, 15–21).

³³ The oration was composed as a public welcome of the new Veronese bishop Ermolao Barbaro. It is translated to English in Nogarola's *Complete Writings*, edited by Margeret L. King and Diana Maury Robin (2003, 159–74).

³⁴ *Ep.* 22.7.

³⁵ »Ac minus quidem laedunt Poetae Rhetoresque, quorum nemini iam ignotum est institutum, Principum laudes non ex ipsorum meritis, sed ex suo metiri ingenio.« (Desiderius Erasmus, *Institutio Principis Christiani* II, 2.4, 1335–1337 [Rundle 2007, 159]).

Vergerio's authorship? It is impossible to speculate whether Nogarola's oration would have made it to later collections were it not composed by a female *oratrix*, and therefore disseminated primarily in her local background. Nevertheless, Vergerio's affectionate representation of St. Jerome as his and a humanist patron saint beyond any doubt promoted the dissemination of the famous *Sermo 8*, as well as contributed to Vergerio's popularity as a rhetorician. The utilization of the historical background to give authority to a speech was widely acknowledged already by contemporary writers. To quote another famous humanist, Leonardo Bruni openly renounced the historical fidelity of praise while commenting on his panegyric to Florence: »History must follow the truth, but praise raises many things above the truth.« (1998, 487–88)³⁶ Vergerio masterly raised his Jerome above all. Regardless of the veracity of his family devotion to St. Jerome, his references are convincingly exploited in order to point out his path to proper veneration of the saint: not only through imitations of Jerome's piety but also, and especially, through the emulation of his eloquence.

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³⁶ »Aliud est historia aliud laudatio. Historia quidem veritatem sequi debet, laudatio verum multa supra veritatem extolit.« L. Bruni *Epistolarum Libri VIII*, ed. L. Mehus (Florence, 1714), *Ep.* 8.4.

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St. Jerome *versus* Sanctes Pagnino in the Reception and Inquisitorial Process of the Polyglot Bible of Antwerp (1568–1577)¹

Sv. Hieronim vs. Sanctes Pagnino v recepciji in inkvizitorskem procesu Biblia Polyglotta iz Antwerpna (1568–1577)

Abstract. The controversial reception of the Polyglot Bible of Antwerp (1569–1573) was a result of the religious conflict of Post-Tridentine Europe between the rigorist defenders of the Vulgate of St. Jerome, who fiercely attacked this new Bible, and the Hebraists, who claimed the value of the sources even to correct the mistakes of the Vulgate. The Polyglot of Antwerp, edited by the most prominent Hebraists of the moment, was printed with the Latin column of St. Jerome. However, the editors also published the translation of the Hebraist Sanctes Pagnino, after revising it, within the *Apparatus Sacer*, the last three volumes of the Bible that included all sorts of instruments for studying the Sacred Text. This was one of the main reasons why the immediate reception of the most critical Bible of the 16th century stirred up so much controversy that it became subject to an inquisitorial process in 1577. In the present contribution, this polemic reception is studied mainly in light of what new texts recently published on that process tell about the philological and theological confrontation of different translations of the same biblical passages made by St. Jerome, on the one hand, and by Sanctes Pagnino, on the other one.

Keywords: Biblical Scholarship, Humanism, Benito Arias Montano, León de Castro, Juan de Mariana

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Povzeteke: Kontroverzna recepcija Večjezične biblije iz Antwerpna (1569–1573) je bila sad verskih nasprotij v Evropi po tridentinskem koncilu med zagovorniki Hieronimove Vulgate, ki so to novo Sveto pismo ostro napadali, in pa ‚hebraisti‘, ki so cenili hebrejski izvirnik in so želeli popraviti napake v Vulgati. Večjezična biblija iz Antwerpna, ki so jo pripravili najboljši tedanji strokovnjaki za hebrejščino, je vsebovala tudi stolpec Hieronimovega latinskega besedila, poleg tega pa je bil znotraj oddelka *Apparatus Sacer*, ki je obsegal zadnje tri knjige in je vključeval različna orodja za preučevanje svetega besedila, natisnjen tudi izboljšani prevod hebraista Sanctesa Pagnina. To je bil eden glavnih razlogov, da je recepcija najpomembnejše izdaje Svetega pisma 16. stoletja vzbudila toliko kontroverz in postala celo predmet inkvizitorskega procesa leta 1577. Članek opisano obravnava z vidika nedavno objavljenih besedil glede procesa v zvezi z njihovimi filološkimi in teološkimi argumenti glede razlikovanja v prevodu sv. Hieronima in S. Pagnina.

Ključne besede: bibličistika, humanizem, Benito Arias Montano, León de Castro, Juan de Mariana

1. Introduction

In the history of Biblical Scholarship, one of the episodes that best exemplify the tensions between Theology and Philology is the controversial reception of the Polyglot of Antwerp, the essential edition of the Bible in the 16th century (*Biblia Sacra* 1569–1573). Around this Polyglot, two opposing groups of scholars clashed again: on the one hand, the strict defenders of the Vulgate of St. Jerome, who attacked this new Bible fiercely; on the other, the Hebraists, who claimed the value of the sources even to correct the Vulgate in those passages needing revision.

The project of the Polyglot of Antwerp (1569–1573) was born as a re-edition of the Complutensian Polyglot of the beginning of the century (*Vetus Testamentum* 1514–1517). However, during the time elapsed from the first Polyglot to the second, the conflict between the defenders of the Vulgate and the Hebraists was gradually deteriorating. The turning point in this controversy was marked by the fourth session of the Council of Trent, April 8, 1546, which promulgated the well-known *Decretum de editione et usu sacrorum librorum*. This decree placed the Vulgate –by considering it as the ‚authentic‘ version– above all the Latin translations of the Sacred Books. The primary purpose of this decree was to put control on the new Latin translations based on the originals. However, a radical interpretation of the decree led some biblical scholars even to defend Vulgate’s superiority over the original biblical texts.

Since the beginning of the new Polyglot editorial project, the main reason for discussion was which Latin translation should be printed in the column next to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. The first proofs sent by the printer Christopher Plantin from Antwerp to Madrid dared to replace the text of the Vulgate, which was the one printed in the Complutensian, by the more literal Latin translation of the Hebraist Sanctes Pagnino, published for the first time in 1527 (*Habes in hoc libro* 1527). The Spanish authorities rejected the proposal. Finally, the Polyglot of Antwerp

was printed with the Latin column of Saint Jerome – as it was in the Complutensian Polyglot – but the editorial team of the Bible would not allow the new Polyglot to lack a literal Latin translation and, although they had no official instruction in this regard, they published Pagnino's translation, revised and amended. It was not located in the columns of the first five volumes dedicated to the biblical text, but within the so-called *Apparatus Sacer*, the final three volumes that included all kinds of instruments for studying the Bible. The simple coexistence of Pagnino's translation with that of St. Jerome in the new Bible was reason enough for the attacks against this edition to arrive even before the first sheet was printed. In Spain, the main enemy of the Polyglot was the professor of Greek at the University of Salamanca León de Castro, who had also managed to imprison in 1572 his colleagues of the same university fray Luis de León, Martín Martínez Cantalapiedra and Gaspar de Grajal on the very same grounds, a fact that shook the European Theology².

The volume of the entire preceding bibliography on the reception of the Polyglot is enormous. It allows following the conflicting parties' movements very well since the printing of the last volume of the *Biblia Regia* in 1573 until the beginning of the inquisitorial lawsuit against this work in 1577. Nevertheless, the recent edition of new texts related to the three actors of the process (prosecution, defence and censorship) has allowed us to connect these writings with other texts already published, reconstruct some unpreserved texts, and achieve a better comprehensive knowledge of that relevant inquisitorial lawsuit. To put it simply, the centrepiece of the lawsuit was a cluster of twenty-four passages of the new Latin translation of the Old Testament published in the Polyglot, based on Santes Pagnino's version, that distanced themselves from the corresponding translations of St. Jerome and that, according to the complainant, obscured the prophetic sense that the Catholic Church had traditionally seen in those same passages of the Vulgate. This article analyzes the connection between all the texts of the inquisitorial process collected to date with the primary objective of shedding light on the three passages of the new Latin translation of the Old Testament published in the Polyglot of Antwerp that were denounced and finally condemned due to its deviation from the translations offered by the Vulgate of St. Jerome.

2. The Immediate Reception of the Polyglot Bible in the Light of a New Document (HSA B 1351)

Scholars working on Humanism are fortunate that, from time to time, one may come across still unpublished and valuable documents. This is the case of an apology of the *Biblia Regia* written in Spanish by its director Benito Arias Montano, of which the Spanish bibliographer Nicolás Antonio gave vague news in the 17th century: in particular, Antonio referred to a manuscript of this apology or defence that was sacked by the English army in the Spanish city of Cádiz and taken to

² On the process of Luis de León see the recent edition of Alcalá Galve 2009. The documentation on the two other inquisitorial processes can be found in Pinta Llorente 1935; 1946.

the University of Oxford at the end of the 16th century (Antonio 1783, I, 210). This manuscript promised to be a key piece to rebuild the reception of the Royal Bible, and, for this reason, a long series of researchers has unsuccessfully tried to locate this document in the libraries of Oxford since the 17th century (Dávila Pérez 2016). Some scholars have even considered it a non-existent work (Morochó Gayo 1998, 260–261). However, fortunately, such is not the case.

In 2019 I published a book with the first critical and annotated edition of this text, which is titled *Defensión y respuesta de la traslación latina ad u[er]bum del hebreo que está en el segundo tomo del Sacro Apparato de la Biblia Real*. The only copy I have come across is not the one supposedly preserved in Oxford (a testimony that, if it still exists, I have not been able to locate yet), but in the Hispanic Society of New York.³ The description of this manuscript already appeared in the catalogue *Iter Italicum* of Paul Kristeller with the abbreviated title –and with a typographical error– of *Defensión y respuesta de la traslación latina ad abum (sic)⁴ del hebreo*. After reading this manuscript, the sound conclusion can be drawn that this is the same document called „Apology“ by previous scholarship because its content fits perfectly with the little that was known to us about the content of that ‚lost‘ apology, namely, a complete account (according to Arias Montano’s version) of the reception of the Polyglot Bible; as well as the answers to each of the objections of the enemies of the Polyglot, in particular of León de Castro.⁵ Nevertheless, the most critical reachable conclusion is that this *Defensión y respuesta* was the exact text presented by Arias Montano as self-defence for the lawsuit initiated by the Spanish Inquisition in 1577; that is, it is the same defensive writing that Juan de Mariana had before his eyes to elaborate his inquisitorial report. Moreover, the primary evidence is that Juan de Mariana, in his handwritten censorship document, which is still unpublished,⁶ responds to Arias Montano’s allegations following the same order and structure in which they can be read in the manuscript of the Hispanic Society.

3. The Genetic Circle of Accusatory Writings: The Accusation on Job 19,25-26

The *Defensión y respuesta* of Arias Montano provides us with new information on the movements of León de Castro during the reception of the Polyglot. It should be highlighted here that, during the entire period after the publication of the Polyglot, its director showed eagerness, as it is natural, to know the exact content of the accusatory writings of León de Castro. These writings have not been located yet, in case they are preserved. Nevertheless, the *Defensión y respuesta* provides

³ With the reference HSA Ms. B 1351.

⁴ Instead of the abbreviation *ad u[er]bum*; see Kristeller 1963–1992, V, 319.

⁵ This fully coincides with what the first librarian of the Bodleian wrote on the content of the manuscript of the Apology taken by the English army to Oxford at the end of the 16th century; see James 1612, III, 43.

⁶ *Io[hannis] Marianaе censura in Biblia Regia quae nuper diligentia et industria D. Benedicti Ariae Montani in lucem edita sunt* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Barb. Lat. 674, ff. 14^a-66^a).

essential information in this regard since it allows us to reconstruct how many accusatory writings there were, their title, and their main content.

According to one crucial passage of this new text,⁷ there were, in total, three writings of accusation. The first two contained general questions, and, as Arias Montano criticizes, they came to repeat ideas from the commentaries on the prophet Isaiah published by Castro in 1570 (Castro 1570). Castro's thesis could be summed up in the idea that the Jews had intentionally corrupted the Hebrew original text of the Bible in the passages of the Old Testament that could be understood as a prophecy of Jesus Christ. The accuser's final claim was that the literal translators of the Hebrew Bible had to correct the Hebrew original text, allegedly corrupt, so that their translations coincided with the Hebrew text that St. Jerome seemed to have followed in the Vulgate. The point that Arias Montano makes linking Castro's accusation with a work already published seems to me of great interest. The reality is that, as we will see, all the writings that formed part of the Inquisitorial dossier of the *Biblia Regia* (those of the defender, of the prosecutor and the censor) were finally reused by their authors in later printed publications. Moreover, that happened even though, in principle, the whole inquisitorial process and its materials should be kept secret.

In his third and final accusatory writing, now in Latin, León de Castro compiled a list of twenty-four passages of the new Latin literal translation of the Old Testament included in the Polyglot that demonstrated, in his opinion, the Judaizing character of the new Bible. In this text, the primary evidence of the accusation can be found, and, therefore, this is the writing to which Arias Montano responds most directly in his *Defensión y respuesta*. The content of Castro's specific accusations can be reconstructed based on the responses of Arias Montano and the censorship of Juan de Mariana.

For example, let us examine one of the denounced passages, perhaps the most important: Job 19,25-26.⁸ The Vulgate reads as follows:⁹ »Scio enim quod redemptor meus uiuit, et in nouissimo die de terra surrecturus sum: et rursum circundabor pelle mea, et in carne mea uidebo Deum meum.« (*Biblia Sacra*, VII, f. [Cc 6^r], p. 35.)¹⁰ (»For I know that my redeemer lives, and in the last day I shall rise out of the earth: and I shall be covered again with my skin, and in my flesh, I shall see my God.«) According to the Catholic Church, this passage was one of the most evident testimonies of the resurrection of the flesh. Let us now check the new Latin translation of the *Biblia Regia*, based on Pagnino's version: »Et ego noui redemptorem meum uiuum et nouissimo super puluerem staturum. Et postquam

⁷ In *Defensión y respuesta* (HSA Ms. B 1351, ff. 3^v-4^r); see edition in Dávila 2019, 33.

⁸ In the *Defensión y respuesta*... this passage is discussed in the accusations number 5 (HSA B 1351, f. 5^v, edited in Dávila 2019, 53–55) and number 19 (HSA B 1351, f. 7^r, edited in Dávila 2019, 77–78).

⁹ When quoting the Vulgate, I follow the edition of Colunga Cueto and Turrado Turrado 1983. The reason for this choice is the fact that in the texts of the process of the Polyglot Bible of Antwerp, the passages quoted from the Vulgate are closer to the state of the text that was consolidated in the Sixto-Clementine edition of 1592 than to the text of St. Jerome that appeared in the Polyglot of Antwerp, heir of which was published in the Complutensian Polyglot. All the translations of the Latin texts in this article are mine.

¹⁰ My references to the Polyglot Bible of Antwerp correspond to the copy kept in the Library of the University of Granada with the signature BHR/Caja IMP3-022.

pellem meam contriuerint hanc, et de carne mea uidebo Deum.« (»But I know that my redeemer is alive, and at the end, he will stand on the dust. Even after my skin has been destroyed, yet I shall see God in my flesh.«) Leon denounced that this new translation completely confused the idea of the resurrection and followed the interpretation of the Jews. His main arguments were the following: first, on the assumption that the Jews had corrupted the Hebrew original text of the Bible, Castro proposes to change a letter in the Hebrew text in order to read *iakim* (*surgam* or *surrecturus sum*, »I shall rise«, as translated in the Vulgate) instead of *iakum* (*resurget*, »he will stand«, the meaning accepted in the new Latin literal translation of the Polyglot Bible); second, the Hebrew word *naquaf* does not only mean ‚to cut‘ or ‚to destroy‘ (*contriuerint*, in the literal Latin translation of the Polyglot Bible) but also ‚to cover‘ or ‚to enclose‘ (*circundabor*, as St. Jerome translated). The censor Juan de Mariana declared that the proposal of changing the original Hebrew text of the Bible could not be admitted without the consensus of the Catholic Church; despite that, he finally agreed with León de Castro that the new Latin translation of this passage published in the Polyglot had to be corrected since it completely deformed the mystery of the resurrection of Christ.¹¹

We have already said that Castro’s accusatory writings have not been located yet. However, I have been able to verify that the majority of the passages denounced by Castro in the process of the Polyglot Bible were collected, explained, and developed in a later publication of 1585 with the title *Apologeticus*¹² where, by the way, there is no reference to the inquisitorial lawsuit (Castro 1585).¹³ This closes, therefore, the genetic transit of texts that have been pointed out here. In the case of the accusation, Castro’s postulates started from their commentaries on Isaiah published in 1570; they materialized in the form of the specific denunciations in the three accusatory writings of the process of 1577, and, finally, many of those accusations of the process came to light in the *Apologeticus* of 1585.

¹¹ Io[hannis] Marianaе censura in Biblia Regia (ff. 30^v-31^v; 42^r-43^r).

¹² León de Castro, *Apologeticus pro lectione apostolica et euangelica pro Vulgata diui Hieronymi, pro translatione LXX uirorum, proque omni ecclesiastica lectione contra earum obtractatores* (Salmanticae, Matthiae Gastii, 1585).

¹³ The specific pages of the *Apologeticus* where many of the passages already denounced in the process of 1577 are analyzed are the following: Ps. 9,1 (p. 547); Iob 19,26 (pp. 353–354); Iob 19,27 (pp. 355–256); Is. 16,1 (pp. 279–281); Dan. 9,26 (pp. 334–338); Dan. 9,27 (pp. 336 and 666–667); Hab. 2,3 (pp. 554–555); Hab. 2,4 (pp. 555–556); Is. 1, 9 (pp. 162–164); Is. 9,1 (pp. 638–642); Os. 11,1 (pp. 621–622); Iob 19,25 (pp. 352–353); Ps. 8,1 (pp. 331–332); Is. 11,1 (pp. 626–629); Ps. 79(80),1 (p. 74); Ps. 21(22),17 (pp. 343–344); Ps. 15(16),10 (pp. 486–488); Ps. 8,3 (pp. 664–666 and 674–675); and Ps. 15(16),9 (pp. 483–484). Some of the preceding biblical passages and others not included in the *Apologeticus* had already been discussed by Castro in his *Commentaria in Isaiam Prophetam* of 1570: that is the case of Is. 16,1 (pp. 334–335); Is. 1,9 (pp. 22–24); Is. 9,1 (pp. 212–215); Is. 10,22 (pp. 263–266, not studied in *Apologeticus*); Is. 28,10–11 (pp. 476–482, not studied in *Apologeticus*); and Is. 11,1 (pp. 273–283).

4. From the Defence of the Polyglot Bible to the Apology of the Hebrew Studies: The Omission of the Accusation on Ps. 21(22),17

Let us now turn again to the defence. The new manuscript titled *Defensión y respuesta* located in the Hispanic Society of America has already been considered in the previous lines, focusing on its transmission and primary content. Here I will approach two later texts that seem to be genetically dependent on the *Defensión y respuesta*. The first one is a manuscript from the Spanish National Library entitled *De Hebraicorum Bibliorum uaria scriptione et lectione atque de uario interpretum instituto animaduersio*.¹⁴ I did not know any previously printed witness of this manuscript before my recent edition (Dávila 2019, 88–105); this document is a working draft, and intermediate textual material between the *Defensión y respuesta* and a later text of Arias Montano titled *Benedicti Ariae Montani de uaria Hebraicorum Librorum scriptione et lectione commentatio*. This *Commentatio* is a prologue of eleven pages published in the re-editions of the successful seventh volume of the Polyglot of 1584 and subsequent years (*Biblia Hebraica* 1584).¹⁵ The text was printed only seven years after Mariana's censorship. It included the same contents of the *Animaduersio* (mainly dealing with the philological peculiarities of the Holy Tongue) followed by a wide selection of León de Castro's objections to Pagnino's translation and Arias Montano's responses, which, as has been said before, came from the *Defensión y respuesta* of the inquisitorial process. By the way, Arias Montano, like León de Castro in his *Apologeticus*, does not reference the inquisitorial process in his publication, nor does he quote Castro by name.

Unlike the *Defensión y respuesta*, the printed *Commentatio* is written in Latin, the answers to Castro's accusations are much more elaborated, and one can perceive in this publication the filter that was the censorship of Juan de Mariana. Thus, in Ps. 21(22),17, the Vulgate presents Saint Jerome's translation: »quoniam circumciderunt me canes multi; concilium malignantium obsedit me. Foderunt manus meas et pedes meos« (»for many dogs surrounded me: the council of the malignant has besieged me. They have dug my hands and feet«). According to the Catholic Church, this text was a prophecy of the death of Christ on the cross. The new literal Latin translation of the *Biblia Regia* reads as follows: »Quoniam circuncederunt me canes, coetus malignantium circuncederunt me: quasi leo manus meas et pedes meos« (*Biblia Sacra*, VII, f. [Ee 2^v], p. 52) (»for many dogs surrounded me, a gang of evil men crowded around me; like a lion, my hands and feet«). The phrase »like a lion' came from a bizarre variant of the original Hebrew text (*caari* or *sicut leo* instead of *caru* or *foderunt*). Furthermore, that was different from that of the Hebrew text of the Complutensian and the one accepted by Saint Jerome and the foremost Hebraist scholars of the moment. In his censorship of the Polyglot, Mariana proved that Castro was right and strongly recommended

¹⁴ Reference Ms. 149, ff. 120^r-123^r.

¹⁵ The *Commentatio* appears on ff. ++^r-[++ 6]^r.

to correct this translation,¹⁶ and I think that was why Arias Montano directly removed this accusation in his printed text of 1584.¹⁷

5. The Manuscript Inquisitorial Report and Its Later Printed Reuse: The Third Condemned Passage (Ps. 15[16],10)

Mariana's censorship of 1577 also has an engaging genetic-textual transmission. The first testimony, in chronological order, is a letter in Spanish from Juan de Mariana to the General Inquisitor in Spain written in August 1577, in which he informs the reader that he has concluded the censorship and makes a valuable summary of it.¹⁸ The entire censorship is in Latin, it is a document still unpublished, signed in September 1577, and the only testimony I know is the copy, with some mistakes, preserved in the Vatican Library. Nevertheless, just as the two parts of the lawsuit did, Mariana also wanted to take advantage of the papers he wrote for this important occasion. In 1609 the Jesuit published a brief treatise entitled *Pro editione Vulgata* (Mariana 1609, 34–126). Suppose that the still-unpublished censorship document is compared with this printed publication. In that case, it becomes evident that what Mariana did was to reproduce and adapt most of his inquisitorial report on the *Biblia Regia* by adding new materials and modifying some formal aspects.

Nevertheless, Mariana confesses that his writing comes directly from his activity as an informant of the lawsuit between Arias Montano and León de Castro in any place of this printed treatise. Mariana instead refers to the general controversy on the authority of the Vulgate, and his words also perfectly apply to the inquisitorial processes of the famous Hebraists of Salamanca. Moreover, Mariana even quotes in his printed treatise the names of Castro and Arias Montano in the places where he also cited them in the censorship document, but he also manages to avoid all those passages of the handwritten censorship document where he speaks of himself as the censor. One may ask how it is possible that Mariana cites the arguments of the two parts of a secret inquisitorial lawsuit and, at the same time, can hide his role as censor. He could safely do it because Castro's complaints and Arias Montano's responses were already of public knowledge after the impression of the *Apologeticus* of the first and the *Commentatio* of the second.

Mariana admits that he had more inclination to defend than to condemn as far as the censorship content is concerned. Despite this, the Jesuit severely assesses both Leon de Castro and Arias Montano. As to the first one, the censor condemns his excess of rage, the contradictions and lies of some of his anti-Hebrew argu-

¹⁶ Io[hannis] Mariana's *censura in Biblia Regia*, ff. 44^v-45^r.

¹⁷ In contrast to the other two passages studied in this article, that, despite Mariana's negative report, were also included in the printed *Commentatio*. See, on Job 19,24-25, Dávila 2019, 154–157 and 188–191; as to Ps. 15(16),10, see Dávila 2019, 196–199.

¹⁸ A complete copy of the letter is preserved in the Royal Library of Sweden in Stockholm Ms. A 902, ff. 91^r-94^r and has been edited by Macías Rosendo 1998, 464–468.

ments, and he even refuses Castro's core claim: no one can correct the original Hebrew text of the Bible without the consensus of the Catholic Church.¹⁹ As to Arias Montano, Mariana criticizes the little appreciation he gave to the Vulgate and urges him to correct three passages of his new Latin translation of the Bible: two of them have already been examined here, namely, Job 19,24 and Ps. 21(22),17. The third is Ps. 15(16),10.²⁰ Here the Vulgate translated: »Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno, nec dabis sanctum tuum uidere corruptionem« (»Because you will not leave my soul in hell, nor will you give this holy one to see corruption«); the Catholic Church interpreted the passage as an announcement of the resurrection of Christ, whose body did not experience corruption. The new literal translation of the Polyglot of Antwerp reads as follows: »*Quoniam non relinques animam meam in sepulchro: non dabis misericordem tuam uidere foueam*« (*Biblia Sacra*, VII, f. [Ee^r], p. 49.) (»Because you will not leave my soul in the grave: nor will you allow your merciful one to see the pit«). The main arguments of the censor against this new translation were the following. The primary meaning of the Hebrew word *seol*, according to the censor, was ‚hell‘, as in the Vulgate, and not ‚grave‘ or *sepulchre*, translation with which the new Bible fell on the side of the heretics, who deny that Jesus descended into hell. On the other hand, when translating the Hebrew word *sahhath* as *foueam* („pit“) instead of the generally admitted (by the Catholic Church) meaning of *corruptionem* („corruption“), Arias Montano followed Judaizing interpretations and made it difficult to understand the passage as a prophecy of the resurrection of Christ, since the Messiah was buried, that is, he saw the pit or the grave.²¹

6. Conclusions

This paper intends to show that the reception and inquisitorial process of the Polyglot Bible of Antwerp consisted in a philological and theological confrontation over the centuries between St. Jerome and the defenders of the Vulgate, on the one hand, and Sanctes Pagnino and his Hebraist followers, on the other hand.

During the inquisitorial lawsuit against the *Biblia Regia* in 1577, the close precedent of the processes and imprisonment of the Hebraists professors at the University of Salamanca in 1572 was always alive. First, Leon de Castro himself also operated in the denunciations against his colleagues in Salamanca. Second, the principles of the accusations against them were similar to those that Castro presented years later against the Polyglot Bible: the contempt for the Vulgate of Saint Jerome and the preference for the rabbinic interpretations of Pagnino, Vatable, and others in passages of the Old Testament that announced the arrival of Jesus

¹⁹ See, especially, the first chapter of Mariana's censorship document titled „Nemini licere priuata auctoritate Hebraico Diuinae Scripturae castigare“; in *Io[hannis] Marianaе censura in Biblia Regia*, ff. 21v-23r.

²⁰ Mariana also discussed the three condemned passages studied in this article within the chapter titled „De nouis uersionibus“ of his treatise *Pro editione Vulgata* (1608, 114–119).

²¹ Mariana's censorship on this passage can be read in *Io[hannis] Marianaе censura in Biblia Regia*, ff. 30^v-31^v and ff. 60^v-62^v.

Christ. This point becomes more plausible if it is taken into account that even several specific passages of the Vulgate alleged by Castro in the process of the Polyglot Bible had already been used by himself against the professors of Hebrew at Salamanca. That is the case, for instance, of two important passages studied in the present article: Job 19,24²² and Ps. 15(16),10.²³

The three parties involved in the inquisitorial lawsuit of 1577 (prosecution, defence and censorship) produced, in different phases, a series of writings in Latin and Spanish genetically linked to each other. The edition and in-depth examination of the genetic thread from the manuscripts of the process until its printed reuse is the purpose of my research projects underway.

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²² Which also appeared in the process of Luis de León; see Alcalá Galve 2009, 324, 330, 332.

²³ Which had been also cited in the process of Martín Martínez Cantalapedra; see Pinta 1946, 24, 74, 104, 170, 247.

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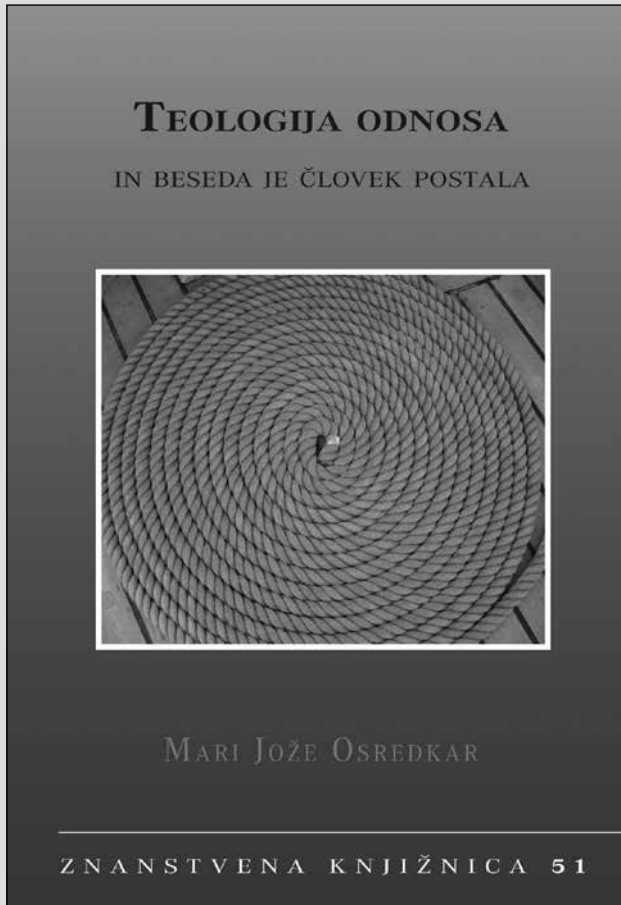
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3

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KAZALO / TABLE OF CONTENTS**RAZPRAVE / ARTICLES**

- 555 Matjaž Gams in Mari Jože Osredkar – Katoliški nauk in znanost o demografskih vprašanjih**
Catholic Doctrine and Science on Demographic Issues
- 569 Sebastián Contreras-Aguirre – Speculative and Practical Theology in the Second Scholasticism: Melchor Cano (c. 1507–1560)**
Spekulativna in praktična teologija druge sholastike: Melchor Cano (ok. 1507–1560)
- 583 Zdenko Širka – Orthodox Reading of Martin Luther: Protestantism as a Pan-heresy according to St Justin Popović**
Pravoslavno branje Martina Lutra: protestantizem kot vse-herezija po sv. Justinu Popoviću
- 597 Martin Perčič – Koncept participacije Karola Wojtyła kot odgovor na medosebno odtujenost**
Concept of Participation of Karol Wojtyła as a Response to Interpersonal Alienation
- 611 Nik Trontelj – Francišksanski misijonarji med slovenskimi izseljenci v Egiptu v 19. in 20. stoletju**
Franciscan Missionaries among the Slovene Emigrants in Egypt in the 19th and 20th Centuries
- 629 Grzegorz Szamocki – The Universalism of the Spirit of Prophecy in Numbers 11:26-29**
Univerzalnost preroškega duha v 4 Mz 11,26-29
- 641 Irena Avsenik Nabergoj – The Semantics of Love in the Song of Songs and Directions of Its Interpretation**
Semantika ljubezni v Visoki pesmi in smeri njene interpretacije
- 655 Leon Debevec – Spatial Images in Biblical Texts: Exodus**
Prostorske podobe v bibličnih besedilih: eksodus
- 669 Benaouda Bensaïd and Tajulashikin Jumahat – Crossroads between Islamic Spirituality and the Fourth Industrial Revolution**
Presečišče islamske duhovnosti in četrte industrijske revolucije
- 681 Ivan Platovnjak – Kristjani smemo žalovati!: spodbuda za pastoralo žalujočih**
Christians are allowed to grieve! Encouragement for the Pastoral Care of the Bereaved
- 695 Snežana Brumec in Nikolaj Aracki Rosenfeld – Primerjava življenjskih sprememb po romanju in po obsmrtnih izkušnjah**
A Comparison of Life Changes After the Pilgrimage and Near-Death Experiences

- 711** Mieczysław Polak – **Catechesis in the Church's Dialogue with the World**
Kateheza pri dialogu Cerkve s svetom
- 721** Leszek Szewczyk – **The Specific Content of Preaching the Word of God in a Secularized Environment**
Specifična vsebina pridiganja o božji besedi v sekulariziranem okolju
- 733** Elżbieta Osewska and Józef Stala – **The Human Being Lost in Consumerism: A Polish Perspective and Challenges in Religious Education**
V potrošništvu izgubljeno človeško bitje: poljski pogled in izzivi verske vzgoje
- 747** Domen Kušar, Leon Oblak in Manja Kitek Kuzman – **Lesena sakralna arhitektura v sodobni arhitekturni praksi**
Wood in Modern Sacral Architecture

OCENI / REVIEWS

- 763** Peter Übelbacher, Andreas Schermann in Josef Thorer, ur., *Von Canisius zum Canisianum* (Bogdan Kolar)
- 765** Stanislav Slatinek, *Temelji kazenskega kanonskega prava* (Sebastijan Valentan)

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*Matjaž Gams in Mari Jože Osredkar***Katoliški nauk in znanost
o demografskih vprašanjih***Catholic Doctrine and Science on Demographic Issues*

Povzetek: V prispevku so predstavljeni temeljni demografski trendi v Sloveniji in po svetu s poudarkom na izumiranju malih evropskih narodov, kakor so Slovenci. Na temelju analize upadanja števila rojstev v svetovnem merilu in v Sloveniji predstavljamo predloge katoliškega nauka in znanstvena dognanja demografske stroke za povečanje števila rojstev. Članek prinaša spoznanje, da je precejšnja skladnost med pogledoma katoliškega religijskega nauka o demografskih vprašanjih, ki ga uči Teološka fakulteta v Ljubljani, in spoznanji slovenske demografske stroke, kako rešiti demografsko krizo.

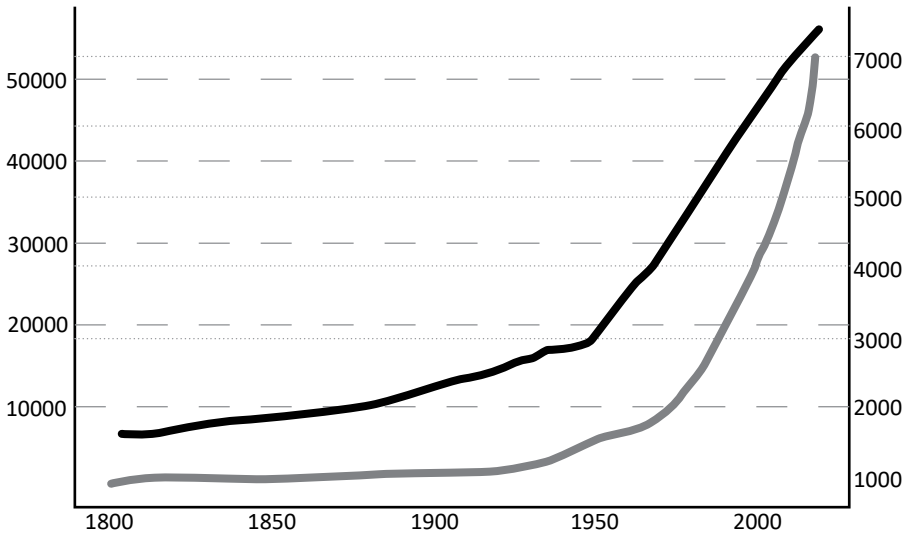
Ključne besede: demografija, nataliteta, Slovenija, Teološka fakulteta, Inštitut Jožef Stefan

Abstract: The article presents basic demographic trends in Slovenia and globally with an emphasis on the extinction of small European nations like Slovenia. Based on an analysis of the decrease in the number of births worldwide and in Slovenia, we introduce proposals of Catholic doctrine and Slovenian scientific findings to increase the number of births. The article shows that there is definite coherence between the views of the Catholic religious doctrine on demographic issues taught by the Faculty of Theology in Ljubljana and findings of the Slovenian demographic profession on how to solve the demographic crisis.

Keywords: Demography, Birth Rate, Slovenia, Faculty of Theology, Jožef Stefan Institute

1. Uvod

Inštitut Jožef Stefan in Teološka fakulteta, predvsem po zaslugi avtorjev tega prispevka, že 15 let sodelujeta pri organizaciji demografske konference v okviru Informacijske družbe. Leta 2018 sta avtorja prispevka sodelovala pri posvetu v Državnem svetu (Državni svet 2020) na temo demografije; predstavila sta vsak svoj



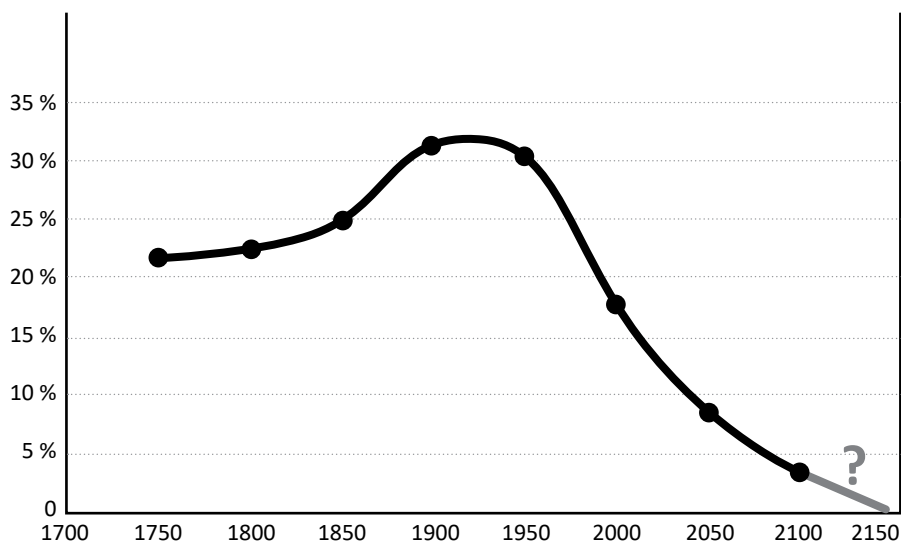
Slika 1: Eksponentna rast prebivalstva zadnje stoletje se sklada z uničevanjem živalstva in okolja. Pod grafom imamo napisane letnice od 1800 do 2000. Številke na desni označujejo število zemeljskega prebivalstva, izražene so v milijonih (vijolična zgornja linija), številke na levi pa označujejo izgubo vrst v smislu zmanjšanja biotske raznovrstnosti (zelena linija spodaj). Vir: Scott, J.M. 2008. *Threats to Biological Diversity: Global, Continental, Local*. U.S. Geological Survey, Idaho Cooperative Fish and Wildlife, Research Unit, University of Idaho.

referat. Dr. Matjaž Gams, ki je tudi državni svetnik, je v svojem predavanju nakazal, kako preprečiti izumiranje slovenskega naroda (Gams 2018). Pri tem dogodku sta sodelovala tudi dr. Drago Čepar in prof. dr. Janez Malačič, strokovnjaka z najdaljšim ‚demografskim stažem‘ v Sloveniji. Razprave so zbrane v Beli knjigi slovenske demografije, ki je postavila temelje za strokovno obravnavo demografske tematike (Gams in Malačič 2019). Nivo znanstvenih razprav ni ostal neopažen v slovenski politiki, saj je predsednik Republike Slovenije g. Borut Pahor povabil oba avtorja tega članka na posvet o demografskih vprašanjih v predsedniško palačo in njun prispevek na diskusiji je bil odmeven (Šokić 2019).

V članku bomo predstavili demografsko stanje v Sloveniji, ki ga bomo postavili v kontekst globalnih demografskih problemov. Glavni namen in hkrati izvirno sporočilo prispevka pa je, pokazati na podlagi predstavitve katoliškega nauka in znanstvenega pogleda na demografska vprašanja precejšnjo sorodnost med katoliškim naukom in spoznanji slovenske demografske stroke v analizi demografskega stanja in v spodbudah za rešitev demografske krize.

2. Demografsko stanje po svetu

Graf na sliki 1 nam pokaže, da sorazmerno z eksponentnim naraščanjem števila ljudi na zemlji izumirajo tudi živalske vrste. V zadnjih 40 letih je upadlo število živali



Slika 2: Zmanjševanje deleža Evropejcev v svetovni populaciji. Pod grafom so letnice od 1700 do 2150; na levi strani so odstotki deleža Evropejcev v svetovni populaciji. Vir <https://www.pngwing.com/en/free-png-nuudh>.

(ali število njihovih kilogramov) za polovico in trendi šestega velikega svetovnega izumiranja živali in rastlin so očitni (Kolbert 2014). Verjetno ni treba posebej razlagati, kako v zadnjih desetletjih industrija segreva zemeljsko ozračje in kot posledica tega uničuje možnosti za življenje na zemlji. Demografska rast, ki jo predvidevajo projekcije, če bi se nadaljeval trend zadnjih desetletij in predvsem današnji način življenja človeštva, bi bila očitno nevzdržna na daljše obdobje. To pa ni edini in tudi ne največji demografski problem. Problematično je upadanje rojstev!

Omenimo položaj v zahodnem svetu. V Evropi resda ni zunanje fizične ali pravne prisile glede rojevanja otrok, toda liberalistično-hedonistične težnje ustvarjajo javno mnenje, ki ni naklonjeno povečanju natalitete. To mnenje prek klasičnih in spletnih medijev vpliva na pare, da se odločajo za minimalno število otrok ali se celo ne odločajo za otroke. Zato v Evropi beležimo negativni naravni prirastek.

»Na začetku stoletja se je v Evropi začela skupna stopnja rodnosti zniževati. V letih 2001 in 2002 je stopnja znašala 1,46 živorojenega otroka na žensko. Do leta 2010 se je sicer povišala na 1,62, nato se je do leta 2013 znižala na 1,54, leta 2014 pa znova povišala na 1,58. V razvitih delih sveta se za stopnjo naravnega obnavljanja prebivalstva, tj. za raven, na kateri bi bilo število prebivalstva brez priseljevanja ali izseljevanja dolgoročno stabilno, šteje skupna stopnja rodnosti 2,10 živorojenega otroka na žensko.« (Eurostat 2020)

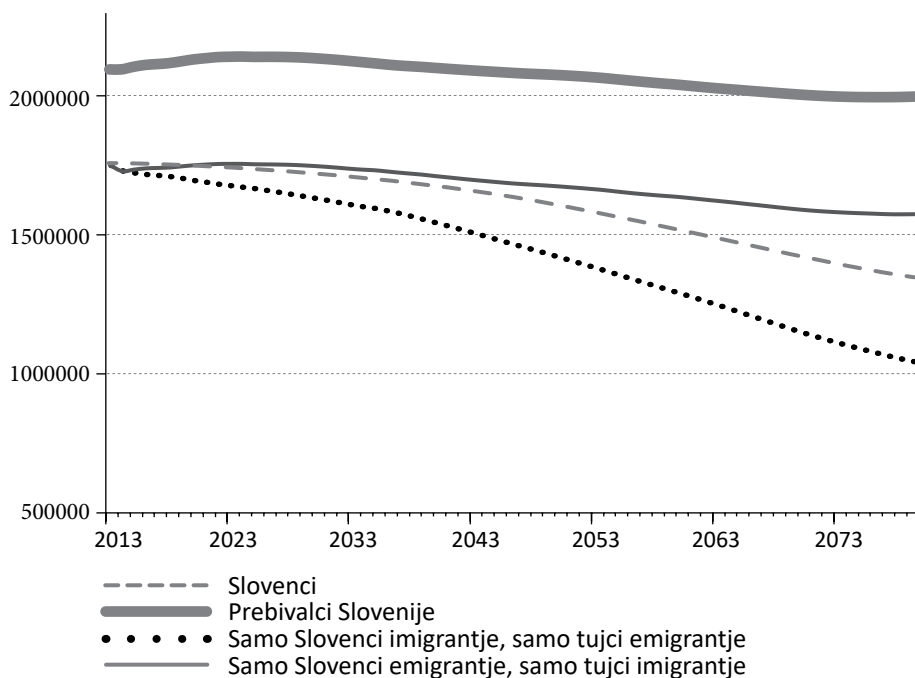
Posledici zmanjšane natalitete sta staranje prebivalstva in izumiranje narodov. To zadnje trditev potrjuje graf na sliki št. 2, na kateri krivulja prikazuje zmanjševanje

deleža prebivalcev evropskega izvora (v Evropi ali kjerkoli po svetu) v svetovni populaciji. Z drugo besedo, kaže na izumiranje evropskih narodov (Volset idr. 2020).

Ko govorimo o demografski sliki človeštva, ne moremo ne opaziti, da kljub naraščanju prebivalstva radikalno pada rodnost. Razlog ni znan, lahko je zaradi okolja (Levine in Swan 2016; Swan in Colino 2021), iz kulturno-socioloških razlogov ali zaradi obojega. Ta trend lahko močno opazimo predvsem v razvitih državah, v nekoliko manjši meri pa v deželah tretjega sveta. Vsekakor lahko zapišemo, da se število novorojenih otrok v zadnjih 10 letih v svetu praktično ne povečuje več (Pearce 2008). Nobena država, ki je padla pod mejo reprodukcije 2,1 otroka na žensko, se ni vrnila nazaj čez to mejo, vsaj do sedaj ne. Niti Kitajska, ki je začela z močnimi spodbujevalnimi ukrepi, ko se rodnost po ukinitvi prepovedi rojevanja več kakor enega otroka ni dvignila. Tabela 1 prikazuje, da se je v svetovnem merilu rodnost od leta 1955, ko beleži 4,97 otroka na žensko, do leta 2020 zmanjšala na 2,47. Hkrati pa se je povprečna starost med omenjenima letnicama zvišala od 23 do 30,9 leta. Pričakovana življenjska doba se je zvišala po celem svetu (po podatkih Svetovne zdravstvene organizacije na svetovni ravni znaša povprečno 70 let). V 45 letih smo tako pridobili 12,2 leta življenja oziroma se pričakovana življenjska doba v zadnjih 150 letih povečuje za šest ur na dan. Prihajajoči demografski problem na svetu torej ni več veliko število prebivalcev, temveč vse manjša rodnost, posledica tega pa sta staranje prebivalstva in izumiranje manjših narodov.

Leto (julij 1)	Prebivalci	Letna rast	Povprečna starost	Rodnost	Urbana pop. %
2020	7,794,798,739	1,05 %	30,9	2,47	56,2 %
2019	7,713,468,100	1,08 %	29,8	2,51	55,7 %
2018	7,631,091,040	1,10 %	29,8	2,51	55,3 %
2017	7,547,858,925	1,12 %	29,8	2,51	54,9 %
2016	7,464,022,049	1,14 %	29,8	2,51	54,4 %
2015	7,379,797,139	1,19 %	30	2,52	54,0 %
2010	6,956,823,603	1,24 %	28	2,58	51,7 %
2005	6,541,907,027	1,26 %	27	2,65	49,2 %
2000	6,143,493,823	1,35 %	26	2,78	46,7 %
1995	5,744,212,979	1,52 %	25	3,01	44,8 %
1990	5,327,231,061	1,81 %	24	3,44	43,0 %
1985	4,870,921,740	1,79 %	23	3,59	41,2 %
1980	4,458,003,514	1,79 %	23	3,86	39,3 %
1975	4,079,480,606	1,97 %	22	4,47	37,7 %
1970	3,700,437,046	2,07 %	22	4,93	36,6 %
1965	3,339,583,597	1,93 %	22	5,02	N.A.
1960	3,034,949,748	1,82 %	23	4,90	33,7 %
1955	2,773,019,936	1,80 %	23	4,97	N.A.

Tabela 1: Svetovna populacija – temeljni demografski podatki. Vir: <https://www.worldometers.info/world-population>.



Slika 3: *Projekcija prebivalcev Slovenije in Slovencev po narodnosti znotraj Slovenije. Vir: Gams 2017.*

3. Demografsko stanje v Evropi in v Sloveniji

Demografski fenomeni so, razen v vojnah, katastrofah ali epidemijah, navadno dolgotrajni in zato manj pomembni za javnost in tudi za politike, ki najpogosteje razmišljajo pretežno o časovnem razponu nekaj let. Posledica tega je, da so dolgoročne demografske napovedi v javnosti pogosto sprejete z nezainteresiranostjo in tudi s skepso, čeprav so v resnici dolgoročno najpomembnejše. Slovenski demografski dogodki (Gams in Malačič 2019) prinašajo ključno spoznanje, da je človeštvu pred desetletji grozila prevelika demografska rast, ki pa se bo po modernih projekcijah ustavila (Volset idr. 2020), hkrati pa, zaradi upadanja števila rojstev, predvsem malim evropskim narodom grozi izumrtje (Bricker in Ibbitson 2019). Kaj pomaga malo večja ali manjša gospodarska rast, če je vsako leto v Sloveniji 10 000 slovenskih državljanov premalo (Čepar 2021) in so dolgoročne demografske projekcije izredno problematične? Pred izumrtjem pa bosta nastopili slabljenje pomena držav s premajhno rodnoostjo in nazadovanje gospodarstva (Lee idr. 2014). Vrnimo se še nekoliko k sliki 2, ki nam prikazuje delež Evropejcev v svetovni populaciji in pričakovane spremembe v deležu svetovne populacije. Leta 1950, to je, po drugi svetovni vojni, je bilo Evropejcev skoraj 22 % svetovne populacije. Leta 2015 jih je bilo 10 %, leta 2100 jih bo le še 6%. To kaže na katastrofalne posledice evropske demografske politike. A medtem ko bo za velike evropske narode govor le o

nekem določenem zmanjšanju, bodo manjši evropski narodi, kakor sta slovenski in hrvaški, izumrli, če ne bo bistvenih sprememb. Demografske projekcije so enake za Slovence po narodnosti in domicilnih prebivalcih – ni bistvene razlike glede obeh pogledov. Delež Slovencev v svetu se zmanjšuje: z 0,6 promila leta 1950 na 0,2 promila leta 2015 in po projekcijah na 0,09 promila leta 2100. Od druge svetovne vojne do leta 2100 se bo torej delež Slovencev v svetu zmanjšal za 6-krat.

Slovenska demografska gibanja smo analizirali z vrsto svojih lastnih programov in smo jih primerjali s programi EU in Eurostat (Eurostat 2020). Izkazalo se je, da so predikcije zelo podobne, to pa pomeni, da je ob sedanjih predpostavkah prihodnost izrazito predvidljiva. Seveda se lahko razmere spremenijo, to vpliva na projekcije, a neodvisne analize projekcij prof. Malačiča so pokazale, da so bile zgodovinske napovedi nekaj desetletij nazaj zelo točne in natančne (Malačič, Ogrin in Gams 2020). Glavne slovenske analize smo predstavili na sliki 3. Število Slovencev po narodnosti smo zasnovali glede na obstoječe podatke, od zadnjega popisa po narodnosti. Treba je zapisati, da so najnovejši popisi brez opisovanja narodnosti (saj tudi števila splavov ne vodimo), to pa je močno vprašljivo tako s stališča stroke kakor glede vprašanj o hiperglobalni miselnosti, ki namenoma degradira lokalno prebivalstvo (Gams 2017).

Projekcije kažejo, da bo okoli leta 2100 v Slovenji le še pol prebivalcev Slovencev po narodnosti. Podrobnejše analize so dokaj definitivno odgovorile, kaj so ključni vzroki za upadanje rojstev in s kakšnimi ukrepi bi lahko povečali število slovenskih rojstev oziroma preprečili izumrtje Slovencev. Nacionalna marginalizacija Slovencev, podobno kakor večine evropskih manjših narodov, je nakazana do leta 2100 (Slika 3). Manjši narodi bodo, podobno kakor vsi manjši jeziki, ki izumirajo zaradi globalistične angleščine, v nekaj sto letih preprosto izumrli. Celo za Japonsko so projekcije, da bodo Japonci izumrli do leta 2100 (NDTV 2012; Wikipedia 2021). Seveda bodo prej sledila desetletja fizičnega, kulturnega in civilizacijskega nazadovanja, a konec je predvidljiv z osnovnošolsko matematiko: leta 2100 bo v Sloveniji samo še 50 % Slovencev, leta 2500 manj kakor 10 000. Takrat bo tudi vseh avtohtonih državljanov Slovenije (Hrvatov, Italijanov, Madžarov itd.) skupaj manj kakor 10 000. Celemu svetu grozi nazadovanje (Bricker in Ibbitson 2019), vendar se to pri velikih narodih ne pozna tako radikalno kakor pri manjših, kamor sodi tudi Slovenija z dvema milijonoma prebivalcev. Slovenskih državljanov je za 0,03 % svetovnega prebivalstva. Ob ohranitvi stopnje rodnosti na obstoječi nizki ravni bo povprečna starost prebivalcev v Sloveniji do leta 2050 narasla na 48,6 leta, medtem ko je leta 2017 po podatkih Statističnega urada Republike Slovenije znašala 43,2 leta. Obenem se bo zmanjšala populacija v najbolj aktivni dobi – od 20 do 64 let (do leta 2030 predvideno zmanjšanje za 125 000 oseb). Vse to bo med drugim pomembno vplivalo tudi na trg dela. Napovedi torej kažejo, da lahko v naslednjih tridesetih letih v Sloveniji pričakujemo močno absolutno povečanje števila starejših prebivalcev in še hitrejšo rast njihovega deleža v celotnem prebivalstvu, to pa bo ključno vplivalo na gospodarske razmere, na pokojnine in na kvaliteto življenja (Lee idr. 2014). Spoznanja po začetnih odporih in napadih na nosilce demografskih objav v Sloveniji počasi iščejo v večinskih vsaj poljudnoznanstvenih in strokovnih medijih (Sever 2021, 15–20).

4. Analiza položaja

Kdo in kako forsira ukrepe za zmanjševanje rodnosti oziroma kdo vpliva na življenje modernih Evropejcev in Slovencev? Po nekaj letih študij informacijske družbe ugotavljamo (Pivec, Krisper in Gams 2019), da so zlasti mladi pod velikim ideološkim pritiskom oziroma medijsko propagando, ki spreminja način razmišljanja, podobno kakor so ga sistemi komunističnih držav (Jugoslavija, Rusija, Severna Koreja). Ta medijska propaganda ima dokaj vidne nosilne teme: neoliberalizem, globalizem, potrošništvo, egoizem, raztrganje vseh socialnih vezi od države do družine.

V Sloveniji 17 % žensk nima otrok, mladi moški pa imajo 50 % semenčic glede na stanje pred 40 leti. Če se ustavimo pri zadnjem podatku – nekaj deset let so se večinski mediji posmehovali raziskavam, ki so trdile, da pada število semenčic pri mladih Evropejcih. Hkrati so jih strokovno klasificirali kot statistično nezanesljive. Šele nedavno (Swan idr. 2021) se je spoznanje razširilo v strokovni javnosti. Te motnje so bistveno hujše, kakor bi kdo naivno pomislil. Iz 2,5 milijona semenčic jih normalno ob polni rodnosti moškega in ženske le 20 pride do kraja oploditve. Če je semenčic pol manj, strmo pade možnost zanositve. Iz analiz in objav ni jasno, zakaj se dogajajo omenjene motnje, najbolj verjetna teorija pa je povezana s hormonskimi motilci.

Sistem vrednot potrošništva in protirodnosti širijo svetovne elite, pogosto prek dobrodelnih organizacij. Med njimi je zagotovo tudi fundacija Billa in Melinde Gates, ki deluje prioritarno v dobro človeštva in na tem nivoju je ključno zmanjšanje rojstev. Del tega ideološkega pritiska v svetu pa ni znan, morda nastaja sam od sebe, emergentno, kot del moderne informacijske družbe. Ve se tudi, s katerimi ukrepi ustaviti preveliko število rojstev: razbiti družino, omogočiti lahke ločitve, razbiti poroko in druge ustanove družine, propagirati svobodno izbiro partnerjev, otežiti starševstvo, povečati strošek in ceno otrok, trgati tradicionalne oblike socialnih vezi ...

5. Predlogi Teološke fakultete za povečanju natalitete

V javnih občilih ali pa v osebni komunikaciji je zelo pogosto izraženo mnenje, da je katoliška Cerkev ‚zaostala‘. Mnogi so prepričani, da je konservativna v smislu, da uči nauk, ki ni več aktualen v današnji družbi, ki ni skladen z znanostjo in živi v ‚srednjem veku‘. Zakaj? Razlog so vrednote, ki se dotikajo družinskega življenja, rodnosti, abortusa, evtanazije in spolne morale. Ne le v Sloveniji, tudi drugje v zahodnem svetu katoliškim vrednotam nasprotujejo predvsem levo usmerjeni liberalni mediji. Ne le da nasprotujejo katoliškemu nauku, ki ga uči Teološka fakulteta v Ljubljani, v zadnjih časih smo v Sloveniji priče njihovi ekstremistični drži, ki se izraža z agresivnimi dejanji.¹ Ali je Cerkev zares zaostala, ker zagovarja življenje kot vrednoto? Kaj je vrednota? To je cilj, ki omogoča življenje in preživetje; ne le

¹ Nasprotovanje državnega financiranja društev, ki so proti splavu, in risanje svastike na fasade njihovih prostorov.

posamezniku, temveč vsem posameznikom in družbi kot celoti. V bistvu je vrednota samo to, kar omogoča preživetje.

Jeseni 2010 je evropska škofovska konferenca povabila vse evropske katoliške škofove na posvet z naslovom *Katoliška Cerkev je vznemirjena zaradi ‚demografske zime‘ v Evropi.*² Zavedajoč se, da koeficient 1,5 otroka na žensko še zdaleč ne zadošča za ohranjanje evropske populacije, ki se stara, so škofje sklenili, da je edina rešitev za Evropo trdna in za življenje odprta družina. Rezultat posveta je knjiga *I vescovi europei su demografia e famiglia in Europa*, v kateri je izražena spodbuda evropskim državam, da bi stimulirale nataliteto s pomočjo družinam in da bi z zakonodajo omogočile spremembo načina mišljenja in življenja. V bistvu so samo povzeli nauk, ki ga katoliška Cerkev oznanja že 2000 let in ga bomo v nadaljevanju predstavili.

Krščanstvo kot religija je skozi stoletja pogosto doživljalo pritiske vladajočih elit, a se je s stališča demografije razširilo predvsem zato, ker je dalo družini ključni pomen in ker je vztrajalo pri nauku, da je življenje sveto in neodtujljivo (Kranjc Jakša 2020). Katoliški nauk o družini izhaja iz opredelitve zakonske zveze, ki je temelj družine: »Nobena ideologija ne more zbrisati iz človeškega spoznanja gotovosti, da obstaja zakonska zveza samo med dvema osebam različnega spola.« (GS, tč. 48) Cerkev razume in spoštuje osebe s homoseksualno spolno usmerjenostjo, toda dve osebi istega spola ne moreta spočeti otrok. »Zakonska zveza, s katero mož in žena ustanovita celovito življenjsko skupnost in je po svoji naravi naravnana v blagor zakoncev in roditev ter vzgojo otrok, je med krščenimi od Kristusa Gospoda povzdignjena v dostojanstvo zakramenta.« (ZCP 1055 §1) Katoliška Cerkev je prepričana, da trdnost vezi v družini, ki so bistvene za rodnjo in vzgojo otrok, v največji meri zagotavlja nerazveznost zakona. V Apostolskem pismu o družini je Janez Pavel II. poudaril, da je »med najpomembnejšimi in najnujnejšimi nalogami zakonskih parov v našem času pričevanje za neprecenljivo vrednoto nerazvezljivosti zakonske zveze in zvestobe« (Janez Pavel II., tč. 24).

Sodobna družba na vsakem koraku poudarja človekove pravice. Pri tem pa pozablja priznati pravice najšibkejšim. Katoliški nauk prepoznava človeško osebo od združenja moške in ženske spolne celice pri spočetju zarodka pa do človekove biološke smrti: »Želja po materinstvu in očetovstvu ne upravičuje nobene ‚pravice do otroka‘, pač pa so očitne pravice tistega, ki prihaja na svet. Temu je treba zagotoviti najustreznejše bivanjske razmere s trdno – na zakonu in komplementarnosti dveh podob, očetovske in materinske – utemeljeno družino.« (*Kompendij družbenega nauka Cerkve*, tč. 235). »Otrokove pravice morajo biti zavarovane s pravnim redom /.../ Prva otrokova pravica pa je, ‚da se rodi v družini z materjo in očetom‘, pravica, katere spoštovanje je bilo vedno težavno in ki pozna danes zaradi razvoja genetske tehnologije nove oblike kršitev.« (tč. 244) Cerkev je prepričana, da ima država dolžnost, da varuje družino in otroke:

»Politična skupnost ima dolžnost, da družino spoštuje, jo podpira in ji zagotavlja predvsem: svobodo, da si osnuje svoje ognjišče, da ima otroke in jih vzgaja v

² Zagreb, 30. september–3. oktober 2012.

skladu s svojimi nravnimi in religioznimi prepričanji; zaščito trdnosti zakonske zveze in družinske ustanove; svobodo, da izpoveduje svojo vero, jo predaja naprej, vzgaja v njej svoje otroke s potrebnimi sredstvi in ustanovami; pravico do zasebne lastnine, svobodo, da osnuje podjetje, dobi delo, stanovanje, pravico, da se izseli; na podlagi institucij dežele pravico do zdravstvenega varstva, do pomoči za ostarele in do družinskih doklad; zaščito varnosti in zdravstva, zlasti z ozirom na nevarnosti, kakor so mamila, pornografija, alkoholizem itd., svobodo, da skupaj z drugimi družinami osnuje združenja in da so tako zastopane tudi pri civilnih oblasteh.« (*Katekizem Katoliške Cerkve*, tč. 2211)

Papež Frančišek je pred časom poudaril, da spoštuje vse tiste, ki živijo drugače, kakor uči Cerkev. Imajo osebno svobodo in pravico, izbrati način življenja, ki jim ustreza. Cerkev in znanost pa ugotavljata, da današnja družba z zametavanjem vrednote življenja (abortus, evtanazija, hedonizem, egoizem) drvi v izumrtje. Še več, Cerkev je prepričana, da življenje po katoliškem nauku zagotovo omogoča preživetje. Življenje po verskem nauku je namreč pravica katoličanov (Strehovec 399–400). V *Beli knjigi demografije* je dr. Tadej Strehovec predstavil podatke, ki potrjujejo, da verska prepričanja zelo vplivajo na rodnost (95–98). Projekcije stopnje rodnosti v okviru posameznih verskih skupnosti³ kažejo, da se bo do leta 2050 stopnja rodnosti v okviru posameznih verskih skupnosti višala, v največji meri med verskimi skupnostmi, ki se uvrščajo v monoteistična verstva (islamska verska skupnost predvideva porast vernikov za 73 %, v okviru krščanskih skupnosti pa 35 % porast), medtem ko naj bi leta 2050 delež tistih, ki ne izkazujejo verskega prepričanja, v primerjavi s celotno svetovno populacijo znašal 9 %.

6. Predlogi demografske stroke za povečanje natalitete

Po nekaterih pesimističnih ocenah smo tako v Sloveniji kakor v Evropski uniji najbolj ugoden čas za odziv na demografske spremembe že zamudili, tako da ni mogoče z dokaj preprostimi ukrepi preprečiti izumrtja, a vendarle bi bilo treba demografsko krizo, tako kakor tudi vse druge, s katerimi smo se ali se še soočamo (ekonomska, okoljska, energetska), dojemati predvsem kot vzgonski element, ki nas lahko vodi k spremembam, in ne kot nepremagljivo težavo. Po mnenju nekaterih strokovnjakov je možno z relativno malo dodatnimi sredstvi doseči korenite spremembe na bolje, predvsem pa obrniti negativni trend v pozitivnega. Treba se je zavedati, da premajhna rodnost ni samo ekonomski problem, zaradi nje pomembno pade tudi kakovost življenja in medčloveških odnosov.

Matjaž Gams je kot poročevalec 1. oktobra 2018 državnemu svetu predložil rešitve, ki jih predlaga stroka za preprečitev izumiranja slovenskega naroda. Najprej je poudaril, da priseljevanje v Slovenijo ne bo rešilo naših demografskih težav. Nasprotno pa izseljevanje mladih iz Slovenije pogloblja demografsko krizo. Slovenija mora mladim ponuditi kakovostnejše življenjske možnosti, da ne bodo odha-

³ Študije Pew Research Centre iz leta 2015.

jali v tujino. Predstavil je nekaj konkretnih predlogov, kako je možno reševati problematiko demografskih sprememb. V Sloveniji bi bilo treba dvigniti delež financiranja dolgotrajne oskrbe s sedanjih 0,9 % BDP na vsaj 1,3 % BDP, z ohranjanjem gospodarskega razvoja pa je treba, ob staranju delovne sile, v čim večji meri vključiti starejše in upokojene in vzgajati od vrtca do univerze za tretje življenjsko obdobje za novo solidarnost med generacijami. Uvesti je treba način sodelovanja in komuniciranja v okviru družine, službe in družbe; za to že obstajajo ustrezna orodja in metodologije.⁴ Nato pa se je osredotočil na pomen družine, to pa tudi podrobneje predstavljamo.⁵

Nekateri strateški dokumenti na ravni EU (v obliki zelenih knjig na temo rodnosti, pokojninskih sistemov in migracij) in v Sloveniji (npr. „Strategija dolgožive družbe“⁶; v povezavi z „Resolucijo o družinski politiki 2018–2028 ‚Vsem družinam prijazna družba‘“ (ReDP18–28) in „Strategija ekonomskih migracij za obdobje od 2010 do 2020“) so že sprejeti. Pomemben element reševanja problematike nizke rodnosti v Sloveniji namreč lahko pomeni ustrezna družinska politika, ki jo je treba razumeti v najširšem možnem smislu in ob upoštevanju vseh področij, ki lahko vplivajo na položaj družin v družbi (materialni in vrednostni ukrepi itd.). Družinska politika mora delovati na vseh področjih družinskega življenja in v celotnem obdobju vzgoje in skrbi za otroke. Ukrepi družinske politike morajo biti naravnani pozitivno in zagotavljati neko določeno stopnjo varnosti staršem, ki se odločajo za prvega otroka ali širitev družine. Zaradi številčno čedalje manjših generacij bi bilo treba vložiti več sredstev in truda v to, da se bodo ljudje prej odločili za kakega otroka več in nasploh za družino. Kot možni ukrepi so med drugim prepoznani: a) spodbujanje mladih k porokam in k ustvarjanju družin na podlagi finančnih spodbud ob poroki in ob višjih otroških dodatkih, ki naj bodo neodvisni od premoženja družine; b) omogočanje dostopa do stanovanj za mlade družine pod ugodnejšimi pogoji (imamo 150 000 praznih stanovanj); c) spremembe pokojninske zakonodaje z uvedbo nekaterih bonitet v povezavi s številom otrok v družini.

Stroka se zaveda, da so močni pritiski v smeri zmanjšanja rodnosti, ki bodo kot stranski produkt povzročili izumrtje Slovencev po narodnosti in avtohtonih prebivalcev Slovenije. Zakaj se tega ne zave tudi politika in ne sprejme primernih ukrepov? Konec koncev je nekaj tega dejansko že uspelo, ko smo prek prvih demografskih konferenc dvignili rodnost z 1,2 na 1,5–1,6. Žal pa je do 2,1 še daleč. In zakaj sprejemamo nove in nove ukrepe v negativni smeri, ki še povečujejo pritisk na izumiranje? Zgled je starševski očetovski dopust – veliko sredstev gre za to, učinek pa je negativen, ker zmanjšuje možnosti za uspešno kariero staršev in povečuje celoviti strošek za otroka. Analize kažejo, da je ključna postavka to, kako s povečano ‚ceno‘ (finančno, človeško ...) zmanjšati pozitivne učinke otrok oziroma jih

⁴ Razvijajo jih na Inštitutu Antona Trstenjaka za gerontologijo in medgeneracijsko sožitje.

⁵ Predloge stroke za rešitev demografske krize povzemamo iz *Bele knjige demografije* (Gams in Malačič 2018).

⁶ Osredotoča se na vprašanje dolgoživosti družbe v povezavi z demografskimi spremembami in s tehnološkim razvojem, ki zahteva spremembe v gospodarstvu in v celotni družbi, nenehno prilagajanje, pridobivanje novega znanja, fleksibilizacijo trga dela, spremembe v življenjskem ciklu ipd.

narediti ,predrage'. Če mora mati delati ves dan v službi, preprosto nima časa za otroke. Če očetje ostanejo doma, škodijo svoji karieri in gospodarstvu/družbi precej bolj, kakor je pozitivnih učinkov zaradi tega ukrepa. Bistvo je to, da otroci niso ,predragi' in da prinesejo več koristi kakor negativnih posledic. Ko predlagamo takšne ukrepe, se zgamejo domači in tuji ideološki lobisti in zgroženo očitaajo, da to pa že ne. Recimo en sam preprost ukrep, ki nič ne stane in je pravzaprav ekonomsko najbolj pošten: število zaposlenih otrok naj se upošteva pri višini pokojnine. Pokojnino dobivajo upokojenci po medgeneracijskem dogovoru tako, da sočasno zaposleni plačujejo pokojnino za svoje starše. Če nekdo nima otrok, je svoje dodatke resda predal svojim staršem, zato pa ni nikogar, ki bi prispeval zanj. Tisti pa, ki imajo otroke, so zagotovili pokojnino sebi in tistim brez otrok. Kje je tu pregovor »Čisti računi, dobri prijatelji« in zakaj ne sprejmemo takšnega ukrepa v smislu spodbujanja števila rojstev? Takšnih ukrepov je cela vrsta, so pa vsi v konfliktu s propagandno ideologijo zmanjševanja rojstev, ki je resda nujna za dobro planeta in človeštva globalno, lokalno v Sloveniji pa njeno uveljavljanje pomeni izumiranje.

7. Sklep

EkspONENTNO večanje števila prebivalcev na našem planetu je demografski problem, vendar ne največji, še zdaleč pa ni usoden za človeštvo. Veliko resnejši je problem upadanja rojstev, ki ga zaznavamo po vsem svetu. Inštitut Jožef Stefan je k temu problemu pristopil znanstveno in povezal spoznanja slovenske demografe: prof. Malačič (Malačič 2006), dr. Milivoja Vida Šircelj (Šircelj 2020) in drugi. Objavljena spoznanja v zbornikih 14 demografskih konferenc in Bele knjige slovenske demografije (Gams in Malačič 2019) so relevantne strokovne podlage za odločanje v naši državi. Po drugi strani pa v slovenski javnosti obstaja veliko zavažanja glede demografskih sprememb, ki so ob konfliktu s stroko privedle do kritik in ideoloških napadov prek socialnih omrežij in v večinskih medijih. Neoliberalni pogledi in gibanja kot tako imenovani ,cancel culture' (moderna spletna oblika ostrakizma, ko se iz družbe izločajo ,drugačni') so se tako razširili v slovenski in v evropski družbi, da so demografske raziskave pogosto pod pritiski. Hkrati pa ugotavljamo, da se profesorji s Teološke fakultete v Ljubljani in raziskovalci Inštituta Jožef Stefan ujemajo v analizi demografskega stanja in da se njihovi predlogi za rešitev demografske krize v bistvenih točkah ujemajo. Obojni se zavedajo usodnosti liberalistične in hedonistične miselnosti za slovenski narod in za človeštvo. Rešitev demografske zime vidijo v trdni družini, v kateri bosta oče in mati imela izpolnjene možnosti za sprejetje in vzgojo otrok, otroci pa bodo deležni podpore obeh staršev. Strokovne predstavitve in besedila predstavnikov obeh ustanov zdržijo v primerjavi z moderno znanstveno literaturo (Volset idr. 2020). Lahko zapišemo, da je to zgled, ko gresta religijski nauk in znanost skupaj z roko v roki za preživetje slovenskega naroda in človeštva.

Kratici

- CS** – *Koncilski odloki* 1980 [Pastoralna konstitucija o Cerкви v sedanjem svetu / *Gaudium et spes* (1965)].
- ZCP** – Zakonik cerkvenega prava 1983.

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Speculative and Practical Theology in the Second Scholasticism: Melchor Cano (c. 1507–1560)¹

Spekulativna in praktična teologija druge sholastike: Melchor Cano (ok. 1507–1560)

Abstract: This article reviews the principal theological doctrines of Melchor Cano, perhaps the greatest dogmatic theologian of the Second Scholasticism. His *De locis theologicis* marked a watershed in the definition of theology as the ‘fundamental science,’ and his writings on morals attest to the practical sense of the Salamanca theological school. Since theology is both speculative and practical, this paper deals with the main aspects of Cano’s theoretical and moral theology, namely, his doctrine of theological places, his vindication of the Indian’s freedom and political power, his teaching about the distinction between natural and positive law, and Cano’s conception of the right of war.

Keywords: Second Scholasticism, Melchor Cano, theoretical theology, practical theology, Spanish Scholasticism, *loci theologici*

Povzetek: Članek ponuja pregled glavnih teoloških nauk Melchorja Cana, verjetno največjega dogmatičnega teologa obdobja druge sholastike. Njegovo delo *De locis theologicis* je bilo prebojno pri opredelitvi teologije kot ‘temeljne znanosti’, njegovi spisi o morali pa pričujejo o praktičnem smislu salamanške teološke šole. Ker je teologija tako spekulativna kakor tudi praktična, članek obravnava glavne vidike Canove teoretične in moralne teologije, to je: njegov nauk o teoloških mestih (virih), njegov zagovor svoboščin in politične moči Indijancev, njegov nauk o razlikovanju med naravnim in pozitivnim zakonom in njegovo dojemanje pravice do vojne.

Ključne besede: druga sholastika, Melchor Cano, teoretična teologija, praktična teologija, španska sholastika, *loci theologici*

The renewal of scholastic theology in Early Modernity saw Melchor Cano² –

¹ The author is grateful for the sponsorship of FONDECYT-Chile, project 1180510.

² Melchor Cano entered the Dominican order in 1523 and studied arts and theology in Salamanca, where he attended Francisco de Vitoria’s lectures. He has been acclaimed as Vitoria’s favorite disciple, but the same has been said of Domingo de Soto and Alonso de la Veracruz.

Melchor de Santa Marta – as one of its protagonists: he inaugurated a new theological method, systematised and ordered the insights of precedent theologians, and elaborated the first great dogmatics of modern Scholasticism (Lang 1962; Vilanova 1991; Belda 2000). Cano, known as ‘the Cicero of the schools’,³ writes at a challenging time for the Church. In Cano’s words, the disintegration of Christianity stemming from the ‘Lutheran disease’, as well as from the poor or null formation of Christians, wreaked havoc and brought upon a terrible doctrinal dispersion both inside and outside the Church (Cano 1871, 514).

Cano articulates Thomistic and Salamancan theology with Aristotelian philosophy, shaping it according to the classical scheme of the ‘topics’. These ‘new topics’, which the tradition calls ‘theological places’, form a complex system that incorporates the Holy Father’s teachings, the ideas of the medieval theologians, the science of the canonists, and the theses of the other Salamancan theologians. Cano does not shut his mind to any current of thought (provided that the adherence to other’s ideas is critically legitimated) since, according to the principles of the scholastic method, science is about truth, and truth can be found anywhere. Now, Cano respects and follows St. Thomas and Francisco de Vitoria and the great scholastics, whose doctrines he expands on (1900a, l. 12 c. 1). For this reason, some scholars have argued that Cano is both a conservative and modern writer, since, on the one side, he belongs to a particular school of thought and, on the other side, he independently argues for his position in dogmatic and practical theology (Belda 2013, 102; Lang 1925, 242).

This paper surveys the theological synthesis of ‘the terrible Cano’, ‘the admiration of Trent’ (Tellechea 2003–2007; Menéndez Pelayo 2006–2007).⁴ After a brief description of theology as the fundamental science, the main aspects of Cano’s speculative and moral theology are exposed, specifically his theory of the theological places, his ideas on the freedom of the Native Americans and the relationship of natural law with positive law, and Cano’s teaching on the law of war. To conclude, this article refers to Cano’s defence of political power.

1. The Theological Science

According to Scholasticism, theology is a rational discourse about God. Natural theology is the metaphysics of God as the last cause, and supernatural theology is the science of God starting from revelation. Accordingly, the knowledge coming

³ Also known as the ‘Quintilian of the theologians’. See Menéndez Pelayo 1994; Menéndez Pelayo 2006–2007; Caballero 1871.

⁴ Besides his intellectual merit, Cano is remembered for his brutal persecution of Bartolomé Carranza and the Society of Jesus. He was convinced that the Jesuits are ‘harmful to the Christian religion.’ Cano deemed heretical both them and Carranza. Witnesses of that persecution abound among the Jesuits; the accusations Cano presented to the Inquisition concerning Carranza’s catechism are also documented. Although some present-day historians try to downplay this persecution, the fact is that Cano was particularly harsh to the Ignatians and Carranza de Miranda. Two examples should suffice. About the Jesuits he wrote: ‘What do I feel about that family? Something very serious, too grave to say it in a letter. I do not write about it, but I fear greater damage than in Germany;’ and about Carranza he says that many of his ideas ‘sounds like heresy.’

from revelation surpasses natural human capacities. (Cano 1900a, l. 12 c. 2)

The formal reason for supernatural theology is the revelation communicated directly by God or through His grace infused in men. This science requires a light superior to the light of natural reason. Mystical theology investigates a double object: primarily God himself, His nature and His attributes, and secondarily men regarding God. Theology exceeds any other science because it is based on divine authority, the safest source of knowledge. (l. 12 cc. 2–3)

Like any science, theology requires evident principles and safe conclusions deduced from principles. Theological principles are hierarchically ordered. First come the most general and fundamental principles, such as »God exists« and »God rewards those who seek him.« The following principles are more determined, as in the articles of faith. Third, some principles are not sought for their own sake but to explain the previous ones. Finally, theology picks some principles from the human sciences. The two fundamental principles, that »God exists« and that »God rewards those who seek him,« are true axioms: if the theological science does not start from them, it cannot unfold. Cano affirms that whoever wishes to acquire supernatural knowledge must have grasped these principles. (l. 12 c. 2)

Not every theological principle is written in the Scripture. Some have been inherited orally through apostolic traditions, providing the best explanation for specific scriptural passages. Concerning the principle »God rewards those who seek him« (Heb 11:6), it declares the nature of God as God. That is, if God did not reward good men, he would not be God because that would mean that he is blind and unjust. (Cano 1900a, l. 12 c. 3)

Theology also studies man, for it is the material creature most similar to God. From the theological perspective, man is a »composite of flesh and spirit, as a midpoint between beasts and angels,« who seeks God as his end and hopes to please him with his acts and decisions (1972, c. 1). Thus, Cano claims that man belongs to theology, a characteristic feature of the School of Salamanca (Belda 2013, 104).

Lastly, theology is practical and speculative, although it is mainly theoretical because the end of man is the vision of God.

2. Theoretical Theology and the so-called Theological Places

Cano's principal contribution to Second Scholasticism —undoubtedly his *masterpiece*— is the *De locis theologicis*, a classic work in fundamental Catholic theology and scholars' opinion, the essential methodological writing of modern theology (Grabmann 1933, 152–153). Cano could not complete his original project; even so, he thought his work was necessary for theology (»/.../ nobody, as far as I know, has carried out something like this«).⁵

⁵ See Cano 1900a, proemium. With this work, the independence of the theological method was established for the first time (Humbert 1911).

The work originates from the Vitorian reforming intention to overcome the ‚verbosity‘ of Late-medieval Scholasticism. It outlines the paradigm for theology until the middle of the 20th century and revolutionises theological epistemology.⁶ It is still useful today. Furthermore, as Schmutz points out, »it is the fundamental writing for understanding the difference between medieval and modern theology« (2010, 117).

Cano did not invent the notion of theological places. Aquinas and Vitoria had already advanced a similar doctrine. Before Cano, Carranza used the expression ‚theological places‘. The same must be said of Soto. Cano posits ten theological places: the authority of Scripture, of the traditions, of the universal Church, of the councils, of the Roman Church, of the Holy Fathers, of the scholastic theologians and canonists, of natural reason, of the philosophers and human history.

‚Theological places‘ are like the Aristotelian topics: just as philosophical arguments stem from the topics, every theological argument is based on theological places. However, the different theological places have unequal importance: the first seven are called ‚proper places‘ and the other three are called ‚foreign places‘. Within the proper places, the first two are »constitutive places of theology« since they designate »the legacy of the faith« (Hünemann 2003b, 165). On the other hand, foreign places are complementary (Cano 1900a, l. 1 c. 3).

The theological places are *domicilia omnium argumentorum theologorum*, in the words of Cano (l. 1 c. 3). They are the principles that epistemologically support theological discussions (Hünemann 2003b). They are instances for defining the faith and sources of Christian truth. They include »all existing ways of arguing in theology« (Cano 1900a, l. 1 c. 3).⁷

3. The Ten Theological Places

3.1 The Authority of Holy Scripture

Divinely inspired authors wrote the Holy Scriptures. These books are the most secure source of theology. Since God, the author of the sacred books, cannot lie to us, their truth is fundamental to the Christian life. These books are like the principles of theological science, for they are necessary for any discourse about the revelation of God to men. (l. 2 c. 1)

The debate about the authority of Scripture relates to the Church’s role in determining the canonicity of the sacred books. Martin Luther and the Protestants deny that this power resides in the ecclesiastical authorities because the Scriptures do not require any kind of approval (l. 2 c. 6). Cano reports the writings of John

⁶ See Belda 2013, 35; Körner 2017, 924–925; Körner 2000, 257–269; Hünemann 2003a, 1–21.

⁷ Cano’s exposition of the theological places remains valid in contemporary research. For instance, the Second Vatican Council has insisted on the importance of history and philosophy, and has concluded that traditions are a firm source of truths of faith.

Calvin, for whom the power to judge on the Scripture cannot reside in anyone but God. However, Cano remarks that the Scriptures cannot be judged by themselves; thus, there must be an adequate judge. (l. 2 cc. 6–7)

Unlike Luther, Cano believes that men, as particular individuals, cannot judge the canonicity of the sacred books. Not even in secular republics do citizens exercise a similar faculty. The only possible court of law is the Roman Church, defining a book as inspired or not revealed. The preceding derives from 1 Tim 3:15, where it is affirmed that the Church is the foundation of truth (l. 2 cc. 7–8).

Cano writes that even Protestants admit that, in *De captivitate babilonica Ecclesiae*, Luther recognises that only the Church can distinguish human from divine words. Therefore, »against their will, the Lutherans accept that the ecclesiastical authority has the power to resolve which are and which are not sacred books« (l. 2 c. 7).

Cano closes his analysis by pointing out that the first responsible for resolving the canonicity of the sacred books are the apostles. Indeed, »there are no other sacred books in the Old and New Testaments than those which the apostles determined as revealed« (l. 2 c. 7). Cano adds that the Church cannot err and that »if we follow the determinations of the Church, we will not be wrong« (l. 2 c. 18). Accordingly, when the Church establishes that a book should be considered canonical, everyone must accept it as legitimate. If the Church does not hold that power, faith could hardly advance.

The Church determines the canonicity of the sacred books through the councils. The conclusions of a council, as we will see later, are firm rules of faith. However, disagreements may arise among the council fathers. The Pope is in charge of resolving such disagreements.

Cano observes that human demonstrations are not decisive in matters of faith. They support faith, but they cannot settle by themselves supernatural problems. We should bear in mind that the Church's binding decisions are legitimate not because they come from the Church but because God has wanted them to be legitimate. For example, the Gospel of Matthew is not true because the Church has willed it, but because God has revealed it as accurate. Cano, then, concludes the following: »we believe that the Holy Spirit has inspired the Church to define the books that should be considered as canonical, but not to determine their veracity or authority.« (l. 2 c. 8)

3.2 The Authority of Traditions

Cano's elucidation about this theological place starts examining the Lutheran objection of the fragility of traditions. According to the testimony of Thomas of Walden, the same criticism was proposed by Erasmus and, before him, by Wyclif. Cano deems it a standard heretical error. Simultaneously, Cano remarks that much in the sacred books is difficult to understand, as seen in the many obscure passages which have been variously interpreted. If diverse readings of a text are offered, which one should we follow? If each reader sticks to his reading as the true one,

wouldn't great chaos ensue? Moreover, without agreement on the meaning of revelation, under which criterion may we determine what belongs to the faith? Only the authority of the Tradition discloses the precise meaning of the Scriptures. (I. 3 cc. 2–3)⁸

Christ and others instituted some traditions by the apostles. The traditions inherited directly from Christ are called perpetual. Nobody may abrogate them, and they are immutable. However, if the apostles have instituted the traditions as ecclesiastical pastors, those traditions can be changed or left without effect. (I. 3 c. 5)

3.3 The Authority of the Universal Church

Cano explains that *ecclesia* is a Greek word that means 'convocation', 'assembly'. In the Church, everyone is gathered together by faith in Christ. The Church is not a physical place. It is the community of Christian faithful, the meeting of all the baptised, be they saints or not. (I. 4 c. 2; I. 4 c. 6)

The Church is a visible institution. That is a typical thesis of the Spanish scholastics against Lutheran theology, which understands the Church as a purely spiritual entity. The faith of the Church cannot err. God endorses everything that the Church believes to be true. Whoever denies the inerrancy of the Church in matters of faith denies thereby the assistance of the Holy Spirit and the power of binding and loosing delivered by Christ to Peter and the apostles. (I. 4 c. 4)

3.4 The Authority of Councils

Cano defines councils as meetings of bishops and priests that define the faith and customs of the Church. Ordinary men should not solve the problems of faith. Christ gave the keys of the Kingdom to the apostles and not to the ordinary people. (I. 5 c. 2)

The acts of a council are jurisdictional. There are three kinds of councils: general, provincial and diocesan. General councils call together all bishops. A general council convoked by the Pope does not lose validity due to the absence of some bishops; it suffices that everyone is summoned. Provincial councils gather the bishops of an ecclesiastical province. Finally, diocesan councils are synods of priests from a particular church that are promoted by the diocesan bishop. (I. 5 cc. 2–3)

General councils not convoked or confirmed by the Pope and provincial councils not confirmed by the Pope can err (but their conclusions can be corrected). Without the Pope's assent, the jurisdictional acts of a council lose validity. Accordingly, general and provincial councils confirmed by the Pope provide certain doctrines in matters of faith. The contrary conclusion, Cano maintains, is heresy.

⁸ The faith of the early Church was not founded on the Scripture —at the beginning, there was no canon of the Scriptures! Furthermore, »not everything belonging to the faith is in the Scripture.« Cano gives the example of the perpetual virginity of Mary, which, he writes, is not formally formulated in the biblical texts. The same must be said of the cult of the martyrs and of the cult of images, traditions that the Church considers as revealed by God.

If councils endorsed by the Pope could err, there would be no way to resolve the problems of faith. Finally, the diocesan councils confirmed by the Pope offer sure arguments. (I. 5 c. 4)

3.5 The Authority of the Roman Church

Cano contends that the Church of Rome cannot err in matters of faith because Peter, who cannot err as a pastor, was constituted as the head and foundation of the Church. When Peter dies, the Church looks for a new head because, as in any society, authorities are required to achieve social goals. Therefore, if it is reasonable to sustain the Church's unity and interior harmony, a ruler with enough power to solve the doubts and discussions that may arise at the intra and extra-ecclesial level is necessary. (I. 6 c. 3)

The Pope is the highest authority in the Church. No norms may be dictated without his approval. Accordingly, the Church of Rome has always prevailed over the rest. This is so established by divine law, which commands that the Roman Church be the foundation of the Universal Church. (I. 6 c. 7)

In the exercise of his functions, the Pope cannot err. That is, the Pope is infallible when he decrees on matters of faith. The ideas of *De locis* are complemented by Cano's handwritten lessons on the art. 8 of the *quæ. 1* of the *Prima Pars*: »the Pope cannot err. If he did, we could not turn to him as a firm judge. It would be necessary to resort to somebody more learned and holier than him. In addition, the Church is built on the Pope, and the Church cannot fall. Consequently, its foundation cannot fall either. Otherwise, the whole building would collapse.« The infallibility of the Pope exists because »the Supreme Pontiff, when defining matters of faith, does not use human power, but is led by the Holy Spirit« (1982a, ff. 13–14).

3.6 The Authority of the Holy Fathers

In dogmatic theology and the Holy Scriptures, the opinion of the Holy Fathers is classed as probably accurate. To overestimate their opinion is imprudence, and to reject it, daring. Cano fosters the respectful reading of the Holy Fathers, although with critical judgment and a certain detachment. They should be followed as teachers, not as lords.

Cano criticises the Protestants saying that »Lutherans have the habit of opposing the common opinion of the Fathers of the Church« Contrary to them, the author considers that the antiquity of the Fathers' ideas is a guarantee of their veracity (1900a, I. 7 c. 3).

3.7 The Authority of the Scholastic Doctors and Canonists

According to Cano, the new Protestants tend to reject the authority of scholastic theologians. Luther, for example, holds that Scholasticism only entangles us in ignorance regarding faith. However, we should remark that Luther's criticism of Scholasticism does not point to Aquinas —contrary to what Cano thinks—but to Gabriel Biel's nominalist theology, in which Luther was educated (I. 8 c. 1).

Cano argues that many heresies are born from the rejection of Scholasticism and suggests that opposing it endangers faith. Cano warns that not all versions of scholastic theology should be followed. It is only beneficial to focus on Scholasticism founded upon the Scriptures. In this context, Cano explains that the scholastic theologians defend truth and reject error »because the error that is not explained is accepted,« what is a severe evil. They reason with precision and discipline and confirm the teachings of Christ with the knowledge provided by human sciences. Among the scholastic theologians, the majority consensus is not an argument. If the thesis of the minority is solid, it can be defended. In this context, Cano writes: »the School allows us to defend any doctrine freely.« (l. 8 cc. 2–4)

Together with the scholastic theologians, we must consider the canonists. Canon law and theology are like ‚sister sciences‘ since the cure of souls requires knowledge of ecclesiastical law, and the work of canonists is ordered to the truth about God. Now, God has wanted canonists to exist. The Holy Spirit has inspired the ecclesiastical laws, and as God does not lack in what is necessary, He put the canonists and theologians side by side (l. 8 c. 7).

3.8 The Authority of Natural Reason

Just as it is a mistake not to consider the arguments provided by theology when examining natural subjects, it is wrong to ignore the arguments of natural reason: neither should reason be worshipped nor banished from theological discourse. Reason and faith are complementary paths (l. 9 cc. 1–2).

To suppose that theological arguments can dispense with reason is tantamount to believing that a man can live without intellectual capacity. Humanity and reason coexist (»by despising reason men cease to be men«). Theology cannot exist without genuine reason. Many tenets of faith are incomprehensible without recourse to it (l. 9 c. 4).

Without natural reason, as expressed in different sciences, faith cannot be protected or interpreted. This *ratio naturalis* is multiform. First, it is expressed in the unprovable principles of human knowledge and then in the conclusions drawn from the principles (Hünemann 2003b).

3.9 The Authority of Philosophers

Philosophers express the authority of natural reason. Luther, an anti-Aristotelian, according to Cano, had sown doubts about the authority of philosophy. In Luther’s opinion, the Scriptures account for themselves and the only science that matters is the experience of the Christian life.

It is worth saying a few words about Luther’s criticism of Aristotelianism. As a general rule, scholars conceive of Luther as a thinker who breaks with the previous Tradition —MacIntyre, for example, speaks of the Lutheran rejection of the classical conception of man (2007, 165–180). The break would be marked by statements such as »the ethics of Aristotle is the enemy of grace« (Luther 1883, 1:226) and »the Holy Spirit matters more than Aristotle« (6:511). An inattentive

reading could lead us to that conclusion. However, there are good reasons to suppose that the reformer is closer to classical philosophy than it seems: Luther's statement that the Holy Spirit matters more than Aristotle is understood when we bear in mind that Luther is discussing not with the great medieval scholastic interpretation of Aristotle, but with polemicists like Prierias, who wrote that the teaching of Aristotle dazzles more than the sun (Svensson 2016a).⁹

Some think that Luther's rupture with Aristotle is due to his criticism of the power of reason, such as it is found in *De servo arbitrio*. However, Luther points out elsewhere that »after sin, God did not remove the greatness of reason, but confirmed it« (Luther 1883, 39/1:175). Even more, he says that intelligence »... is still a good instrument« (Luther 1883, TR 3, 2938b, 105, 15). Thus, the reason is a kind of light, something like a god that illuminates the things of our temporal world. Its apprehensive capacity has not been wholly lost (Svensson 2016b, 102–106; 2019, 1–15). Despite this, Luther emphasises the effects of sin in weakening our intellectual capacity much more than the authors of Late Scholasticism (Contreras 2018).

Returning to the question of the authority of philosophy, it should be noted that not all philosophers are recommendable. On the contrary, only a few philosophers aid theologians. One should only study those who wrote on nature's causes and the essence of moral life (Cano 1900a, l. 10 c. 3).

Paraphrasing Aristotle, Cano points out that those who are driven by the old doctrines do well. He so highlights the truthfulness of an idea based on its antiquity. By the way, Cano dedicates some sections of book X of *De locis* to analyse the philosophy of Aristotle. According to Cano, Aristotle, »wise most of the time,« does not own the truth. Consequently, he argues that the Scriptures must be more profusely read and preferred than Aristotle's doctrine, whose philosophy, anyhow, brings clarity and precision to theological discourse. (l. 10 cc. 4–5)

3.10 The Authority of Human History

Theologians who do not know about history are ignorant (l. 11 c. 2). Secular history is essential for understanding the Scriptures because men must believe that other men do not want to become like beasts, and faith in reports of historical facts is similar to religious faith. Society would be destroyed if friends did not trust each other or if children did not believe their parents. The bond of friendship would be ruined, and nothing could save interpersonal relationships. (l. 11 c. 4)

In this context, Cano notes that God implanted in men a natural tendency to believe, trying to prove so that trust is most necessary for life. Therefore, those who oppose this natural inclination are fools and fight against the gods as if they had the strength to do so. (l. 11 c. 4)

⁹ According to the actual stand of research, Aristotle is not a concern for Luther. He is rather interested in the purification of theology, like Cano. Hence, »Luther's anti-Aristotelianism is not even paradigmatic /... / for his immediate surroundings. Next to him is Melancthon, who, although he yields for a brief time owing to the impression caused by Luther, later profusely comments on Aristotle, presenting his philosophy as the less sophisticated one that the nascent Protestant universities had at hand« (Svensson 2016a, 56).

4. Practical and Legal Questions

Although theology is primarily a theoretical science, the Second Scholasticism profusely enriched practical theology. Proof of this are the monumental treatises *De iure* and *De legibus* written, among others, by Domingo de Soto, Luis de León, Domingo Báñez and Francisco Suárez.

Cano, too, regards theology as a science concerned with concrete social and political problems. The *De locis* presents his incipient legal theory in the section where he argues for the legal formation of theologians and confessors. Thus, he makes a case for law as a theological place. His legal theory will be further developed by writings which, in general, the contemporary scholars have not considered, such as his lessons on the freedom of the Native Americans or the law of war. We will sketch, therefore, the main thrusts of his practical theology and his theology of law.

4.1 Native Americans' Freedom

Cano refers to the Native Americans' rights in *De dominio indorum* (1982b, ff. 28–40). It aims to show that Americans are not slaves by nature, unlike the barbarians of whom Aristotle speaks in the *Politica*. Since they are free, neither the Emperor nor any human authority may deprive the Native Americans' of their goods or enslave them.

According to Cano, slavery consists of being subject to the will of a master and accordingly losing power over one's actions. Cano believes that no man is subject to another by natural right, except children to parents and women to their husbands. For this reason, no one may subjugate the Native Americans. Natural law proves that there is no distinction between one man and another. All are equal. Likewise, no one is by nature a prince but is constituted as such by men. Therefore, no one is subject to another by nature.

Despite the above, there is a reason why a man may rule over another one: his greater intellectual capacity. According to the natural order of things, those who exceed in reason must govern the less wise. That is why man governs beasts, and angels preside over men. For the same reason, Cano points out, brute men should be governed by the most prudent. Furthermore, fools should be led by the wise. Cano, so, proposes the following conclusion: »When it is necessary for the preservation of the republic, I grant that it is of natural law that the weak of mind be governed by others who excel, and if the wise do not do so, they sin against natural law. However, the weak-minded cannot be forced to do so any more the prodigal may be forced to hand over his property.«¹⁰

¹⁰ If a prince wants to benefit the Native Americans, may he subdue them? Cano remarks that beneficence belongs to charity and not to justice, unless it is a duty ensuing from the office. Thereby, a prince may legitimately use force when, for instance, the innocent is harmed in the community of the Native Americans. Only in cases like this is the authority allowed to intervene, because »it is lawful for any person to help those who are driven to death as a consequence of a possible crime. We must know, however, that it is not a question of a title of justice, but of charity, hence it only authorizes to defend, not to conquer them.« (Cano 1982b, ff. 28–40)

4.2 The Distinction between Natural Law and Positive Law

Melchor Cano posits a bipartite division of law like Aristotle and other Spanish scholastics: the law is either natural or positive. Laws that derive from man's nature and express the person's social-rational character are called natural. Such rules cannot be abrogated and are perpetual (1973, ff. 3–4). On the other hand, the norms of positive law are contingent, and each republic dictates different precepts because social circumstances are diverse in different places.

Natural law contains primary or self-evident principles and derived principles. The primary principles are known to everyone with the use of reason. These are rules common to all peoples, and each person recognises them thanks to the light of the agent intellect, which reveals to us what is concordant with nature. These principles, which are immediately known, i.e. without the need of rational discourse, are foundations of practical knowledge; hence, whoever denies them rejects the possibility of proper knowledge in the field of *praxis*.

Intellectual light is the participation of divine reason in our mind. That light is the same in every man. It illuminates everyone with the same intensity to show the fundamental principles of morality. Directing one's life by that light could save us, even without explicit faith (1900b, pars II num. 17).

The natural principles are affirmative and negative. Those who command actions are called affirmative, and those who impose omissions are negative. Within the opposing principles, some are absolute and prohibit acts that are always unlawful. Cano tries to reconcile this doctrine with the problem of so-called natural law's exceptions: how could theft be wrong if God ordered the Jews to take the Egyptian vessels? No one does evil if he acts according to the divine will. Considering this single fact, it seems that taking the Egyptian vessels is justified because God has determined it. The answer, however, is not to suppose that God has wanted something arbitrarily. Instead, this act is lawful because its moral species is not that of theft: there is no theft if God owns everything and gives the vessels to the Jews. This act is legitimate because »the Egyptians had not paid the Jews for their service and had harshly oppressed them with forced labour /.../ and with every kind of servitudes. For this reason, even in times of peace, Jews had the right to keep their own /.../ because there was no other way to claim what they were owed.« (1900a, l. 2 c. 4)

Therefore, Cano implies that the robbery is not justified even if God allows it. Cano thinks that God's transfer of the Egyptian vessels to the Jews cannot be defined as theft. The act of appropriation of the Jews and robbery only have in common their biological or natural species.

Cano goes further than St. Thomas. Where the medieval says that the problem of the Egyptian vessels is resolved by appealing to the infinite power of God, Cano postulates a valid reason of justice to legitimise the behaviour of the Jews. Thus, he escapes from the 'decisionism' that usually characterises the scholastics' solutions and other exceptional cases.

Natural law is necessary by itself; that is to say, republics cannot subsist without natural law. Positive law, on the contrary, is derivatively necessary, according to the circumstances of civil society. This law depends on a variety of places, and it is coercive. It obliges in conscience and orders social life in every point not regulated by natural law. (1982b, ff. 28–40)¹¹

Book VIII of *De locis* reads that most of the norms of life are transmitted in the Scriptures. I think this statement must be qualified. The Scriptures contain several moral norms and an abundant number of precepts of positive law, but they do not contain or transmit all the norms required for achieving a whole social life. They cannot contain them because the adequate norms for each republic are — for the most part — contingent and cannot be anticipated since the problems that will require these laws cannot be anticipated.

4.3 The Law of War

War is a form of legitimate defence between political societies. The authors of the Second Scholasticism discuss the law of war starting from the distinction betwixt the *ius ad bellum* and the *ius in bello*, that is, from the difference between the right to declare war and the justice during the war. The main question in the *ius ad bellum* is the just cause to wage war. Only a severe attack on the common good may legitimate waging war. It must be effective damage, not future, because according to the general rules of self-defence, the defensive action is only justified against current or imminent aggressions. (1981, q. 1)

Cano tries to confront Luther and the pacifist authors. Luther and his followers think that war is always immoral because it causes irreparable damage to the lives of men. However, Luther does not realise that the defence of the innocent or the common good can be a legitimate cause to initiate an armed defence: sometimes war is the only way to preserve social peace.

Neither the disparity of religion nor the war carried out for the sake of the rulers' usefulness or under the pretext of expanding the Christian faith just causes for waging war.

For the *ius in bello*, the means deployed require careful analysis. These means must be proportionate to the end of the defence, and they may not imply the extermination of innocent civilians. Cano, like Vitoria, condemns the voluntary killing of innocents. The innocent may only die *per accidens*, as a collateral effect of the defence. (1981, q. 1)

4.4 Political Authority and Natural Law

Although natural law neither subdues men to each other (for »...they are all born equal,« as Cano writes) nor directly designates the princes, authorities with the power to dictate laws and enforce them are necessary (1982b, ff. 28–40).

¹¹ In Cano's view, positive law includes the *ius gentium*. If the law of nations were natural, »no republic could be exempted from it, since it would compel everyone. Now, it is evident that some republics can exempt themselves from this right, like the Christian republic, which /... / exempts itself from private property, because in the primitive Church all things were common, and even now among the religious.« (Cano 1973, ff. 3–4)

In Cano's opinion, Aristotle's optimal state of nature states that the clever dominate and the strong obey once the political society is formed. Such organisation is the most convenient for the republic.

Those governing must seek the social good and the temporal peace of the republic (1981, q. 1). Cano refers to the nature of authority in the *Parecer sobre la guerra contra el papa Paulo IV*, where he writes that authorities owe their loyalty to their communities (1871, 515). They swore to protect and defend the lands that are under their government »from any person who tries to force and harm them«. The defence of society is a solemn obligation, so not doing so could cause great social evils (515–517).

5. Conclusion

Cano has elaborated a superlative, perhaps second to none, synthesis of scholastic theology. Cano's writings harmonise the Catholic Tradition —the patristic and medieval theologians interpreted through the doctrines of ancient philosophers— with the ideas of the flourishing Salamanca scholastics, more concerned with the social reality than with empty disputations, that ‚sophistic scholasticism‘ so criticised by Erasmus and even by Cano himself (1900a, l. 9 c. 1; l. 9 c. 7).

An issue that especially concerned Cano was the protection of the native Americans' rights. According to Cano, who deemed that the Amerindians were persons like the Spaniards, natural law was an excellent tool for intercultural dialogue and the justification of the rationality and autonomy of the indigenes. Furthermore, many of Cano's doctrines outlined in the *De locis theologicis* remain valid – for instance, his teaching on natural justice – but many others still lack attention in contemporary research. Thereupon is a pending challenge to examine Cano's work and contributions to dogmatic theology, philosophical and theological ethics, spiritual theology, and legal theory in detail.

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Orthodox Reading of Martin Luther: Protestantism as a Pan-heresy according to St Justin Popović¹

Pravoslavno branje Martina Lutra: protestantizem kot vse – herezija po sv. Justinu Popoviću

Abstract: This study suggests a comparison between Orthodox scholar Justin Popović and reformer Martin Luther and focuses on the methodology of how to evaluate Protestantism from the Orthodox perspective. First is explained a historical and a theological context in which Father Justin mentions Protestantism, then the hermeneutical presuppositions of his critique are introduced, third, his methodology is brought under scrutiny; finally, a closer assessment with German reformer Martin Luther is proposed, of their aims, methods, key concepts. It is claimed here that Popović and Luther should be considered brothers in arms and that they are much closer than Justin Popović has been aware of.

Keywords: Serbian Orthodox Theology, Justin Popović, Reformation, Humanism, Priesthood of all Believers, Original Sin

Povzetek: Študija ponuja primerjavo med pravoslavnim učenjakom Justinom Popovićem in reformatorjem Martinom Lutrom, osredotoča se na metodologijo vrednotenja protestantizma s pravoslavnega zornega kota. Na začetku je pojasnjen zgodovinski in teološki kontekst, v katerem oče Justin omenja protestantizem, nato so prikazane hermenevitične predpostavke njegove kritike, temu pa sledi preučitev njegove metodologije. Na koncu pa je predloženo podrobnejše ovrednotenje Popovića v razmerju do reformatorja Martina Lutra, njihovih ciljev, metod in do ključnih pojmov. Tu je zastopano stališče, da je Popovića in Lutra treba obravnavati kot brata v skupnem boju in da sta si medsebojno veliko bližje, kakor se je tega zavedal Justin Popović.

Ključne besede: srbska pravoslavna teologija, Justin Popović, reformacija, humanizem, duhovništvo vseh vernikov, izvirni greh

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1. Introduction

This study further develops a thesis published in an article in *Ostkirchliche Studien* about the theology of tradition in the work and writings of Serbian Orthodox theologian Justin Popović (1894–1979). The following was claimed there (Širka 2018, 340): »It exceeds the possibilities of this short study, but let me strongly confirm that there are not so many differences between Luther and Justin as it seems: quite the opposite, they are very similar in their attitude, in their terminology, and in their theological accents.« This is actually not so apparent as Popović criticized Protestantism in his writings quite sharply and heavily, calling it a pan-heresy. However, if we place a question: Would Justin Popović and Martin Luther understand each other? One must answer positively: yes, they would almost certainly understand each other and might agree on many issues.

Therefore, the starting point is the statement that St. Justin Popović and German reformer Martin Luther (1483–1546) are much closer than may be evident at first sight, as both thinkers share disapproval of sin and desire to improve the world. This contribution aims to provide further details: to analyse Justin's texts as he discusses Protestantism and Luther, as well as to evaluate them from the perspective of Protestant theology. As is assumed from this perspective, they should be considered allies.

When one says ‚an ally‘, we have in mind a similar situation between current Greek Orthodox theologian Christos Yannaras and German philosopher Martin Heidegger. Yannaras finds inspiration in Heidegger's work, from whom he takes his thorough critique of the development of Western philosophy from the time of Plato. In his book *On the Absence and Unknowability of God*, Yannaras uses Heidegger's interpretation of Nietzsche's proclamation of the death of God. He argues that God in the West had been reduced to the best solution, first cause and highest value, all in order to justify Western social structures: papacy, hierarchy, monarchy (Yannaras 2005, 39–58). In other words, Yannaras found an ally *in* the West *against* the West.

2. Martin Luther and His Reformation Theology

Who was Martin Luther? He was a former Augustinian monk, a church reformer against his own will and a professor of theology in Wittenberg. He claimed that the church of his time went astray from the original apostolic and biblical teachings and should return to its roots, *ad fontes*. According to Luther, salvation cannot be earned by our good deeds but is received only as a gift of God's grace through the believer's faith in Jesus Christ as the Messiah. In his theology, Luther challenged the office of the Pope by claiming that the Bible is the only source of knowledge. This is why he translated the Bible into German and made it more accessible to his people, which impacted both the church and German culture.

The most important concept that Luther brought forward was the doctrine of justification, which meant that God declared a sinner righteous by faith alone

through God's grace. Luther summarised his concept in the *Smalcald Articles* (1537) like this (Luther 2021):

»The first and chief article: That Jesus Christ, our God and Lord, died for our sins, and was raised again for our justification (Rom 4:25). And He alone is the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world (Jn 1:29), and God has laid upon Him the iniquities of us all (Is 53:6). /.../ Now, since it is necessary to believe this, and it cannot be otherwise acquired or apprehended by any work, law, or merit, it is clear and certain that this faith alone justifies us.«

In other words, Luther opposes the teaching of the Catholic Church of his day that the righteous deeds of believers are performed in cooperation with God. Instead, he claims that Christians receive such righteousness from outside of themselves, that righteousness is imputed to Christians (rather than infused into them) through faith.

Mentioning Martin Luther and Orthodoxy in one sentence is not unusual, especially in the Finnish Luther research that dates back to the mid-70s. A group of Finnish scholars, led by the Tuomo Mannermaa (1937–2015) from the University of Helsinki, proposed a new way of understanding Luther's teaching on justification with the Orthodox concept of salvation as *theosis* (deification), which builds a theological intersection of two traditions (Jenson 1998; Trueman 2003, 231–244; Briskina 2008, 16–39). In order to explain this new theological reading of Luther and to bring a more ecumenical potential to Lutheran-Orthodox relations than had been assumed, they released a series of publications that challenged the dominant German interpretation of Luther. The external impulse for this new wave of Luther studies came from the ecumenical dialogue between the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and the Russian Orthodox Church. In his work, Mannermaa proves that the current Luther research had been held captive by neo-Kantian ontological assumptions and that Luther had already employed the language of deification, words such as: *vergotten, durchgotten* (Mannermaa 1990, 11–26).

The results of the Helsinki circle reveal the broader contours of this article, which show the ecumenical potential of Luther studies in relation to the Orthodox. However, far more, they show that when we bracket the confessional terminology, such as deification, sanctification, justification and third use of the law, to focus on the content behind those terms, suddenly common ground opens for dialogue. Let us call it ecumenical in the broad sense, to wit, universal.

3. Justin Popović on Luther and Protestantism

Let us now return to Justin Popović and begin with where and how he writes about Luther and Protestantism. The results of our reading can be summarized within several general claims.

(a) Father Justin did not write much about Luther and Protestantism. None of his essays dealt extensively with this topic. Several paragraphs and occasional sentences exist throughout his books; the longest elaboration is an almost three-page discussion concerning original sin in the first volume of his *Dogmatics*.

(b) In certain places, Justin talks about ‚Luther‘, while in others, he chooses the word ‚Protestantism‘ and seems to use them as synonyms. Justin is aware that Luther and Protestantism are not the same and denotes Luther as the father of Protestantism, yet still, they contain the same content. In other words, he believes that Protestantism is what Luther taught. By saying ‚Protestantism‘, he actually means ‚Lutheranism‘, but not as a historical ecclesiological term, but only as the movement that follows Luther. In academic circles, this is called Luther-studies, and by any means, it is not meant Lutheranism or Protestantism, as these have developed over time and in many ways abandoned many of Luther’s ideas.

(c) Justin does not use the word ‚Protestantism‘ as an ecclesiological category, as is commonly done today – an umbrella term for all churches that emerged after the 16th century Reformation. These would include not only the Evangelical Lutheran Church (Augsburg Confession) and Reformed Calvinistic (Helvetic Confession), but also such evangelical denominations and non-conformist churches as Baptists, Methodists, Mennonites and Pentecostals.

(d) Whenever Justin spoke about Protestantism, he spoke about it in connection with Catholicism: more precisely, he started with the critique of Roman Catholicism and papacy and then brought Protestantism into a discussion. The context in which he talks about these two traditions contrasts European humanism and St Savaist (*svetosavski, bogočovečanski*) humanism. Still, but not always, when he writes about Roman Catholicism, he mentions Luther and Protestantism, at least not explicitly. For example, his *Dogmatics* contain the discussion about the *filio-que* and Immaculate Conception of Mother Mary, which do not include the Protestant perspective (Popović 2003, 217; 2004, 288).

A short preliminary evaluation is now in order: (a) Justin’s knowledge of Luther’s teaching was correct but not complete, and (b) the diachronic aspect is missing, as in what happened afterwards, how Luther’s teaching was questioned, discussed and altered. An excellent example of where this is visible is Justin’s text on original sin that included both the Roman Catholic and Protestant perspective (2003, 333–338).

4. Protestantism and the Original Sin

As far as Justin Popović is concerned, he sees the Orthodox position on original sin as lying between the Roman Catholic and Protestant stance. Roman Catholic teaching is too optimistic for Justin since it says that the fall of the first men consisted only in their refusal of outer grace (*iustitia originalis*), which was not the organic part of the spiritual and moral nature of the human being. By doing so,

after the fall, the nature of man remained the same as it was before the fall (334). Justin criticizes this; for him, human nature has been so impaired after the Fall that even those who desire to do good perform evil. He quotes the Apostle Paul from Rom 7:18–20 to support his view (335).

Protestant teaching, as Justin understands it is another extreme, a pessimistic one, as here the consequence of the fall is a totally destroyed image of God, the nature of man became sin (336). Therefore, man is not able to do any good, and all he/she wants and does is sin. The fall entered the nature of human beings up to a level that no power in this world can liberate them from sin, not even baptism.

Father Justin sees this Protestant concept as incorrect, for Protestant teaching identified Adam's nature and the original grace (*prvobitna pravednost*). Justin opposes this by the Holy Scripture, which says that even a fallen human being owns the remains of good, keeps a tendency toward good, a desire to do good, and these remains could not have remained if Adam had received the image of Satan instead of the image of God (see Exod 1:17; Matt 5:46; 7:9; Acts 28:2; Rom 2:14–15).

However, the crucial question that remains reads as follows: Is this really a Protestant, Luther's perspective?

From his early *Lectures on Romans* (1515–1516), where Luther claimed the central aim of the epistle was to expose the pervasiveness of sin, comes his definition of original sin (Luther 2003, 95):

»But what, then, is original sin? According to the Apostle it is not only the lack of a good quality in the will, nor merely the loss of man's righteousness and ability. It is rather the loss of all his powers of body and soul, of his whole outward and inward perfections. In addition to this, it is his inclination to all that is evil, his aversion against that which is good.«

As we see, Luther's commentary includes a critique of self-interest, as deeply rooted in human nature due to original sin. Although nature was created good, it has been so deeply corrupted that such a curving in of human nature upon itself became natural. In his *Disputation Against Scholastic Theology* (1517), where he criticized nominalist theologians who argued that human free will confirms the image of God, Luther stated (Lull 2009, 34–39) that, on account of original sin, we »can only will and do evil« and that our will »is captive.« While in his commentary on Romans, he talks about *inclination*, here he talks about the captive will. Luther recapitulated his ongoing critique of works of righteousness and underscored the fundamental bondage of the will to sin. He abandoned the concept of grace as *gratia infusa* (infused into the human being by God) that works together with free will on its way to the perfection of human nature.

Where do Luther's ideas come from? As an Augustinian monk, the writings of Augustine of Hippo formed his theological training. As Jairzinho Lopes Pereira claims in her latest book, it is precisely Augustine's understanding of human sal-

vation from whom Luther took the notion of a general condemnation in Adam and brought it to radical consequences. In his works *Ad Simplicianum and Confessiones*, St Augustine maintained that the first step a human being makes towards God is itself a divine gift and that the sheer will to believe in God's grace. Still, this assessment constituted a »break with the patristic tradition« (Pereira 2013, 7) on the issue of salvation. In line with Augustine, Luther's teaching of justification by faith alone was also an effort to show that salvation's beginning and accomplishment belongs only to God. The teaching of other Church Fathers, who claimed that human beings begin, and God together accomplish the salvation process, may have seemed to Luther as too similar to the teaching of the nominalist theologians he so vehemently opposed.

Up to this point, it seems that Justin's interpretation of Luther's position is correct. However, two things are missing. First, it is important to point that this is only one side of the coin and that Justin's claim that Luther is too pessimistic does not really stand its ground. Namely, in order to grasp the problem of sinfulness and righteousness within human beings, Luther introduces several concepts, formulated as perfect pairs, such as law and gospel, or alien righteousness (*iustitia aliena*) and the proper righteousness (*iustitia propria*). However, the most important for us at this moment is: *simul iustus et peccator*, absolute sinners and absolutely righteous. What does this mean?

According to Luther, individuals are simultaneously absolute sinners *coram hominibus* (righteousness before men) and absolutely righteous *coram Deo* (righteousness before God). With this understanding, Luther opposed the claim of scholastic theologians that justification depends on the human ability to overwhelm sin with good deeds, as well as the claim that humans are sinners (or righteous) only to a certain extent. While claiming that all people have sinned and lack the glory of God, Luther wanted to show the need to acknowledge the totality of sin in order to reveal the glory of God's grace. In his *Lectures on Romans* (1515–1516), where he stated that humans are simultaneously actual sinners and righteous through God's imputation and promise of complete recovery, he expressed this with a famous sentence (Luther 1972, 258): »They are sinners in fact but righteous in hope.« Elsewhere in his essential writing *On the Freedom of a Christian* (1520), Luther unfolded binary anthropology that discerns between the ,inner' human being, who is righteous through Christ, and the ,outer' human being, who inhabits a world of sin.

A second issue that will complement Justin's interpretation is that the controversy in this particular issue continued after Luther's death, between so-called Gnesio-Lutherans (a party that considered themselves to be authentic Lutherans) and Philippists (followers of Philip Melanchthon) over the issue of free-will. Melanchthon and his followers held that free will cooperates in appropriating the salvation offered by God through the gospel (Kilcrease 2017, 600–602). Against this, the Gnesio-Lutherans maintained Luther's belief in the radical nature of original sin and denied that free will had any ability to cooperate with the grace of God (Lump 2017, 308–310). It should be mentioned that Melanchthon at first

agreed with Luther about the radical nature of original sin, and both agreed that, apart from the supernatural influence of the Holy Spirit in word and sacrament, people are unable to respond to God. Nevertheless, in 1535 (edition of the *Loci Communes Theologici*) Melancthon modified his position (Kilcrease 2017, 600) and added the human will among the list of the causes of conversion, along with the Word and the Spirit.

To summarise in one sentence, what Justin Popović sees as the Protestant position is actually an *incomplete* Luther position, only partly correct, and the awareness of a further discussion and development of this position is missing.

5. Context: Humanism, Papal Infallibility

The context in which the discussion concerning Protestantism appears in Justin's writings is the discussion about humanism or, more precisely, the contrast between two types of humanism: European and St Savaist. Justin already talked about it in 1925, in an article published in the journal *Christian life*, later published in *Philosophical Divides* as „European man on an Incandescent Crossroad“ (Evropski čovek na žeravičnoj raskrsnici). (Popović 1999, 284–90; 2019, 26–35)

Justin's opening position is his observation that Orthodox Serbs live in a geographical and spiritual watershed between two worlds, two cultures, East and West. These two worlds cannot function together. Arguing from a theological perspective, he made a sharp contrast or distinction between the ‚spiritual‘ East, where a sense of community prevails and which offers salvation, and the ‚rationalised‘ and ‚mechanised‘ Europe, where a fragmented society had lost its humanity.

‚European humanism‘ is a term that Justin uses to denote an uncritical trust in human capabilities and possibilities, where humanism is a new salvific Gospel founded on man (Popović 2019, 26). We believe that when Justin says human being or man, he primarily means self-referential *cogito*, and that his words should be understood as a very explicit critique of rationalism and enlightenment. It is the *cogito* that replaced God, that »declared man to become God« (34) and became the measure of »all things visible and invisible« (32).

The results of this event are catastrophic, as he says. Many monsters »roared out from each and every pore /.../ wheezing and shaking the Earth« (26): such are futurists, decadents, anarchists, nihilists, Satanists, and are causing the apocalypse. Let us emphasise that these movements are not what he means by humanism. They are only the result of humanism – humanism is the »father« (26) of these movements. Please note that the word ‚European‘ is often omitted, as he rarely uses this adjective in the previously mentioned article.

According to Popović, the problem is that when negating the existence of God, humanism negates its own value. A model that does not include any highest value inevitably contradicts itself and if all values are relative, this leads to a fight for the highest one. Justin predicts that the only way this can happen is through total

destruction, and nihilism is therefore, the final consequence of European humanism.

Without the God-man, humans are always enslaved to death, slaves to evil and the devil, so human beings voluntarily reduce themselves to a devil-like state of sin. The idea of man as the measure of everything still reigns in the idolatrous and polytheistic unchristian world, even today and even in the Christian Church. From the fetishistic to a papist, all European humanisms are based on the belief that man is alone amid his spiritual situation. This idea synthesises the very spirit of Europe and all its goals, ideals and values (1981, 276).

Protestantism is mentioned very early in Justin's famous article *The Supreme Value and Infallible Criterion*. This highly valued lecture introduces Justin's main theological position, the key to all Christian life and existence, placing God-Man as the »fundamental truth upon which no compromises can be made« (2009, 36). Here he connects humanism with the first fall of man, his first rebellion against God »when man has driven God out« (20) from the immanent to the transcendent sphere and is entirely left with himself and within himself. At the same time, this is where he connects humanism with Christianity, with the spirit of ancient Rome detected in Roman Catholicism, no less even in Protestantism, its faithful collaborator. As Popović writes (33–37):

»In Western Europe Christianity has gradually transformed into humanism. With time and with effort the God-man has been shrunk, and finally reduced to man: to an infallible man in Rome, and to a lesser infallible man in Berlin. Thus there developed a Western Christian-humanistic maximalism—papism—which takes everything away from Christ, and a Western Christian-humanistic minimalism—Protestantism—which seeks very little from Christ, and often nothing at all. In both papism and Protestantism man has replaced the God-man as both the supreme value and the supreme criterion.«

It should be noted that Father Justin does not say that humanism and Western Christianity are the same thing. Then, as we read, they ,gradually transformed' which means that he accepts that there was a period before the transformation, but he fails to give us any further information on this. We do not know when the transformation happened and what were the attributes of the period before the transformation. Further, it is not clear whom he means by a ,man in Berlin', but we know that the infallible man in Rome is meant to be the Pope, and by that he means ,papal infallibility', the dogma of the Roman Catholic Church formally defined in 1870 at the First Vatican Council.

This teaching on papal infallibility states that the Pope is preserved from the possibility of error when speaking *ex cathedra* (from his office and by his supreme apostolic authority), as well as when he defines a doctrine that concerns faith or morals to be held by the entire Church (document Pastor aeternus 1870). However, this is not so unproblematic in the West as Justin thinks. Let us just mention

that a disagreement arose among Catholics over the meaning of papal infallibility, and the dissenters, while still believing that the Councils of the Church are infallible, were opposed to the dogma of papal infallibility. Hence a schism arose between them and the Roman Catholic Church, which resulted in forming communities that became known as the Old Catholic Churches. Another example is the well-known 20th century Roman Catholic theologian Hans Küng, author of *Infallible?*, who refused to accept papal infallibility as a matter of faith and was sanctioned by the Church by being excluded from teaching Catholic theology (Küng 1970).

For Popović, the dogma of papal infallibility (appointing the Pope as vicar of Christ on Earth) means that man has declared himself to be higher than God, and this is the first protest against God, the »first Protestantism« (Popović 2009, 34; 2000, 120), as he cites here the words of the Slavophile thinker Aleksey Khomiakov (2000, 149). Justin uses a play of words here, using the word ‚protest‘ in two meanings. Protestantism as a historical movement is just a second inevitable step, »papism applied in general« »whose basic principle is carried out in life by each person individually« (2009, 34).

Let us note that, for Justin, both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism share this common transfer of the foundation of Christianity from God-man to transitory man. For Justin, every Protestant is »a duplicated infallible man, for he claims personal infallibility in matters of faith. One could say that Protestantism is the vulgarization of papism, but bereft of mysticism, authority, and control.« (34) The result of this transformation of Western Christianity is that it was transformed into humanism and transformed the divine-human religion into a humanistic one. »What a tragic logic, to appoint a vicar and representative for the omnipresent God and Lord« writes Father Justin (34). Western Christianity proclaimed an all-present God as absent, and instead of him, set his deputy in Rome. The Pope usurped for himself the entire jurisdiction appropriated only to God-man and proclaimed himself as ruler of everything.

In his book about ecumenism, Justin writes more about papist humanism and infallibility, which he sees as a »renaissance of atheism and paganism« (2000, 139–51). He calls the Pope a Zeus of the European Pantheon, and more importantly, this is the event that caused the apocalypse of Europe, which has already begun (143). In this regard, he discusses the three falls of Adam, Judas and the Pope because all three share the wish to become good by one’s own efforts, but only the Pope’s fall supplemented the God-man by man (145). As he writes (149–50):

»No other heresy has so radically and so comprehensively risen against Christ the Theanthropos and His Church as papism has through the dogma of infallibility of the Pope, a man. This is undoubtedly the heresy above all heresies. It is the horror above all horrors. It is an unseen rebellion against Christ the God-Man. It is, alas, the most dreadful banishment of the Lord Christ from the earth. It is the repeated betrayal of Christ, the repeated

crucifixion of the Lord Christ, not on a wooden cross this time but on the golden cross of papist humanism.«

The Second Vatican Council of the Roman Catholic Church (1962–1965), though considered as a rebirth of all European humanisms, persisted in maintaining the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope or, as Justin writes (Popović 2000, 148): »re-birth of all European humanism, a renaissance of corpses.«

What about Protestants? Protestants are no different from Roman Catholics, as they accepted this papist dogma and applied it to the teaching of values for each man, where every human is infallible in understanding the Bible. There is no substantial difference between the Vatican and Protestantism, as Protestantism initiated the teaching about »an infinite number of popes throughout Europe« (149). Protestantism is just a consequence of the papacy. A little further in the same book, in the chapter about humanistic ecumenism, one finds a summarizing paragraph describing Protestantism, as (153): »the dearest and most loyal child of papism, blunders from heresy to heresy through its rationalist scholasticism, constantly drowning in diverse poisons of its heretical fallacies /.../ In principle, every Protestant is an independent pope, an infallible pope, in all matters of faith.«

In a sense, Justin considers the Pope the father of Protestantism and Protestantism as the final stage of papism, its child. Was he right?

6. Luther on the Papacy, Universal Priesthood and Interpretation of the Bible

First of all, Father Justin does not seem to sufficiently consider that Protestantism began (also) as a critique of the papacy. In fact, before burning the 1520 Papal bull *Exsurge Domine* that contained his excommunication, Martin Luther was a pious Roman Catholic monk who had a high opinion of the Pope. He actually believed that the problem lay with the curia and those around the Pope rather than with the Pope himself. Even after publishing the 95 theses in 1517 (nailed to the door) and pleading for a public, academic dispute, he hoped to get a hearing with the Pope concerning the need to correct some moral issues and doctrinal errors.

Let us mention at least a few theses that prove this. In thesis no. 5, we see that Luther is mainly concerned with regulating the powers of the Pope, which should be under Gospel standards: »The pope neither desires nor is able to remit any penalties except those imposed by his own authority or that of the canons.« (Noll 1991, 29) The popes cannot give absolution if God has not granted it and can only act within the boundaries set by the Word of God (29): »The pope cannot remit no guilt, except by declaring and showing that it has been remitted by God; or, to be sure, by remitting guilt in cases reserved to his judgment. If his right to grant remission in these cases were disregarded, the guilt would certainly remain unforgiven.« (6)

A bit later on (visible in his writing *Resolutio Lutherana ... de potestate papae* against Johannes Eck in 1519), Luther begins to oppose the claims of the primacy of the Pope with the primacy of Scripture. The authority of the Holy Scripture should be above the authority of popes and Councils, which means that he considers the institution of the Pope to be a historical and human institution. As there is no direct connection between Peter and Pope, Christians are not obligated to obey and follow the popes.

Still, only after his excommunication in 1520, Luther expounded his radical critique of the Papacy. His works are full of references to the Pope as the supreme adversary of the Christian faith and the institution of Papacy as a power structure that no longer serves the cause of the Gospel but exists only for the carnal interests of curia and Pope. The Pope is considered a counterfeit of Christ and, therefore, the Antichrist, preparing his final attack on the Church of Christ.

Luther's *Smalcald Articles* were already mentioned, here he speaks of the Pope's power as »false, mischievous, blasphemous, and arrogant«, mainly interested in »diabolic affairs« (4). Further, he writes (Luther 2021):

»And yet it is manifest that the holy Church has been without the Pope for at least more than five hundred years, and that even to the present day the churches of the Greeks and of many other languages neither have been nor are yet under the Pope. And the Papacy is also of no use in the Church, because it exercises no Christian office; and therefore it is necessary for the Church to continue and to exist without the Pope.«

It is important to emphasise that his critique draws on theological and historical arguments rather than on his personal experience with the Papacy.

The second point, beyond Luther's critique of the Pope, is that when Justin Popović writes about the »infinite numbers of popes«, he has in mind Luther's concept of the universal priesthood, also called the priesthood of all believers. This means that all believers are spiritually equal because of faith and baptism, and it was the reaction opposing the Roman teaching holding that clergy was of a higher estate than lay people. Luther did not have in mind only the hierarchical structure and practical issues but was especially interested in matters of faith. It is those matters of faith that should not be dominated solely by the clergy. As Carin Riswold asserts, Luther wanted to vest the power and authority to all Christian believers (Riswold 2017, 634–35).

There are several consequences of this teaching foundation for Protestantism. The most important is that while ordinary Christians share a common priesthood, they have direct access to God through the mediation of Jesus Christ (Bayer 2004, 15–26). However, this does not mean that each human being can interpret Scripture as one wants and relativise one true meaning (Christological and Messianic in this case), but he points to a personal relation to Christ without mediators. At the very centre of this teaching is the baptism (Thompson 2004, 39), and Luther returns to the creation of human beings according to the image of God (*imago*

Dei) and the idea expressed in 1 Pet 2:9, that »you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people.«

In his essay *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, which is pivotal for his understanding of the priesthood of all believers, Luther talks about the three walls: (a) when the spiritual power is above the temporal, (b) that only the Pope may interpret the Scriptures, and (c) that no one may summon a council but the Pope? (Luther 1966, 11) Luther attempts to challenge and weaken these walls. He calls as »pure invention« (12) the assertion that Pope, bishops, priests, and monks are called the spiritual estate, while princes, lords, artisans, and farmers are called the temporal estate. To that end (14): »Because we are all priests of equal standing, no one must push himself forward and take it upon himself, without our consent and election, to do that for which we all have equal authority.«

One of the major consequences of the teaching of the universal priesthood that best represents the implications of the theological assertion of the priesthood of all believers, and perhaps the one Justin has in mind, is the project of translating the Bible into vernacular languages. The reformer intended to correct what he considered to be the Catholic Church's errors and achieve this by a call to the uniqueness of the authority of the Bible. However, focusing on *Sola scriptura* does not ignore history, tradition, or the Church when reading and interpreting it. Instead, it sees the Church as the *regula fidei* (embodied in the ecumenical creeds) and as the interpretive context.

Therefore, Luther was not so extreme to deny ordained ministry, and the teaching of the priesthood to all believers does not exclude order and authority within congregations and denominational organizations. For example, Lutheranism maintains the biblical doctrine of 'the preaching office' or the 'office of the holy ministry', as stated in the Augsburg Confession in article 14 (Noll 1991, 91): »It is taught among us that nobody should publicly teach or preach or administer the sacraments in the church without a regular call.«

7. Concluding Remarks

First of all, to state our claim, irreconcilability between East and West in Justin's writings should not be understood in the sense of geopolitics or in strictly geographical terms, but as a contrast between the European man (a style developed in Christian Europe) and the *svetosavski* man, as two philosophies and two possibilities concerning how to live the life of Christ. What Justin has in mind is not an opposition between European countries and Serbia in a political or nationalistic manner, nor opposition between Orthodoxy in Serbia and Roman Catholic or Protestant Churches. He talks in strictly theological terms, has in mind opposition between good and evil, God-man and Antichrist.

East and West are theological categories. Due to historical reasons, he sees most of the 'theological' West in the 'geographical' West, but he sees a lot of 'the-

ological' West in the ,geographical' East as well. ,European man' is not really a man who lives on the continent of Europe (West of East of Europe), but ,European man' is a metaphor for a sinful man (Lubardić 2020, 45–47). Hence, the method that Father Justin uses lies in the intertwining of the ontological-theological and historical layers of meaning, using words with primary geographical and historical meanings, but giving them theological meaning.

Therefore, it is evident that the common thing for both is sincere care for others. This is where everything begins and ends both for Luther and Justin – the soul of a Christian. Both were great scholars, but both were publicly active as pastors and preachers, as shepherds of a flock, for each the central place remains Church, liturgy and sacraments. Indeed, many differences exist: whereas Justin moved to the Church Fathers as the authority, Luther focused on an individual's relation with Christ. Luther's equivalent to *sobornost* is *ad fontes*, return to the beginnings, to build the catholicity with the apostolic tradition. Both stressed the importance of Christology: *Sola Christus* and God-Manhood; these two concepts are of the highest importance for each of them, the core of their theology.

It has been shown that Justin's interpretation of Protestantism and Luther's teaching were not errorless; that is the one thing that should not be forgotten. Still, the final evaluation must not put Justin Popović in a negative light, as one must be aware of the methodology he uses (intertwining of historical and theological categories, very typical for Early Church Fathers). Awareness of his methodology will prevent reading his words literally and fundamentalistically. This kind of reading will not only be incorrect, but it will not even be fair to Father Justin. It will prevent fundamentalist Orthodox believers from saying »Pope, Luther, all is from devil,« while at the same time preventing Western believers from saying »Justin had no knowledge about the things he was writing about.« This would not be fair either.

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Martin Perčič

Koncept participacije Karola Wojtyła kot odgovor na medosebno odtujenost

Concept of Participation of Karol Wojtyła as a Response to Interpersonal Alienation

Povzetek: Sodobna virtualna kultura je, kljub mnogim novim možnostim za medsebojno povezovanje, odtujena. Odtujenost pomeni izziv tako za teologijo kakor tudi za antropologijo, saj ta fenomen sega na vsa področja človeškega življenja. Medosebna odtujenost, ki se stopnjuje na različnih področjih bivanja, tako odpira vprašanja o možnostih za iskanje temeljev za ponovno ovrednotenje osebe, medosebnih in socialnih odnosov, to pa je velik izziv, pred katerega smo postavljeni. V prispevku bomo pogledali, kako Karol Wojtyła dojema osebo, medosebne odnose in skupnost, in na podlagi njegovih dognanj poizkušali najti temelj za preseganje odtujenosti. Osredotočili se bomo na koncept participacije, ki ga je razvijal v svojem obsežnem opusu in po našem mnenju daje odlične temelje za odgovore na izzive sodobne kulture.

Ključne besede: oseba, odnos jaz – ti, skupnost, alienacija, solidarnost, nasprotovanje, konformizem, izogibanje, participacija

Abstract: Modern virtual culture is, despite many new possibilities for interpersonal connections, alienated. Alienation poses a challenge to both theology and anthropology, as this phenomenon extends to all areas of human life. Interpersonal alienation, which escalates in different areas of living, thus raises questions about the possibilities of finding the foundations for the re-evaluation of a person, interpersonal and social relationships, which is undoubtedly a great challenge we face. In the article, we will look at how Karol Wojtyła perceives a person, interpersonal relationships, and community, and based on his findings, try to find a foundation for overcoming alienation. We will focus on the concept of participation, which he developed in his extensive oeuvre, and which, in our view, provides an excellent foundation for the answers to the challenges of contemporary culture.

Keywords: person, I-You relationship, we community, alienation, solidarity, opposition, conformism, avoidance, participation

1. Uvod

Razvoj digitalne tehnologije ima korenit vpliv na način življenja sodobnega človeka. Zaradi eksponentnega razvoja sodobne tehnologije in socialnih omrežij sodobna nevrološka znanost že opozarja na nevarnosti socialnih omrežij za človeško osebo (Bauman in Leoncini 2018; Globokar 2019, 17; Spitzer 2017; 2021). Čeprav naj bi socialna omrežja pripomogla k rasti in zorenju odnosov, stroka opozarja, da ni tako, saj prav socialna spletna omrežja vodijo v »socialno osamo in k površnim stikom« (Spitzer 2017, 24). Raziskave so namreč pokazale, da so socialna omrežja prispevala k razmahu alienacije, saj se današnja mladina kljub vsem sodobnim možnostim za povezanost počuti osamljeno in nezadovoljno (Globokar 2019, 27; 77; Spitzer 2021, 117; 119). Sodobna komunikacijska sredstva bolj kakor povezujejo medosebno odtujujejo, to pa vodi v okrnjenost odnosov (Globokar 2018). K temu zagotovo prispeva tudi sodobni način življenja, saj si tako zelo prizadevamo, da bi čimbolj izboljšali svoje življenja, in zato »imamo čedalje manj časa za socialne stike« (Globokar 2019, 77–78; Spitzer 2017, 104). Globokar ob tem izpostavi še drugo problematiko: zaradi uporabe mobilnih telefonov je vse manj komunikacije med ljudmi v neposredni bližini (2019, 81).

Spitzer poudarja, da povečana uporaba digitalnih omrežij zmanjšuje razvoj empatije, saj »zaslonski mediji škodujejo sposobnosti vživljanja ter socialnim sposobnostim in sprejetostim« (2017, 178). Življenja v odnosu se naučimo le ob neposrednem druženju z ljudmi (2017, 103–114). Spitzer navaja rezultate raziskave, ki pravijo »da mladi ljudje izkazujejo tem manj sočutja do staršev in prijateljev, čim več svojega dnevnega časa preživijo ob zaslonskih medijih« (Spitzer 2021, 93; Globokar 2019, 75–76). Prav tako se je pokazalo, da »mladi danes velikokrat kritiko ali negativno sporočilo raje posredujejo v virtualnem svetu, ker se počutijo bolj varne pred čustvenim odzivom druge osebe« (Globokar 2019, 76), saj sta »računalnik in internet neverjetno mogočna pripomočka za brezimnost«, če »nihče ne ve, kdo si, se lahko brez posledic obnašaš neotesano« (Spitzer 2017, 100; 103). Tako bo treba ponovno ovrednotiti etične norme (Globokar 2019, 28), v nasprotnem bo nastopilo popolno razvrednotenje vrednot; temu pa smo ta trenutek nekako priče v virtualnem svetu, ki lahko škoduje moralnemu in socialnemu vedenju (Spitzer 2017, 246).

Na predstavljeno problematiko bomo pogledali s stališča koncepta participacije Karola Wojtyła. Najprej bomo ocenili, v kakšnem razmerju so med sabo oseba, odnos in medosebne skupnosti. Nato bomo videli, kako Wojtyła dojema alienacijo, ob tem bomo predstavili drže, ki jih Wojtyła karakterizira kot avtentične in neavtentične. V sklepu pa bomo odgovorili na vprašanje, zakaj je participacija v skupnostih odgovor na alienacijo, ki se kaže kot posledica razmaha socialnih omrežij.

2. Oseba in skupnost pri Karolu Wojtyłu

2.1 Oseba

Osebno izkustvo je izhodišče antropologije Karola Wojtyła. V izkustvu samega sebe, ki je prvo izkustvo osebe, je oseba istočasno subjekt, ki izkuša, in objekt, ki je izkušan. Ob izkušanju samega sebe pa oseba izkuša tudi druge osebe; to se zgodi drugače kakor pri izkustvu samega sebe. Človekovo izkustvo tako zaobjema notranji in zunanji vidik. Notranji vidik izkustva zadeva izkušanje samega sebe iz notranjosti; to naredi osebno izkustvo edinstveno in neodtujljivo. Zunanji vidik izkustva pa zadeva druge osebe, ki jih oseba izkuša. Wojtyła pravi, da je izkustvo druge osebe povezano z izkustvom samega sebe (1979, 7–8; 1998, 3), hkrati pa poudari, da se izkustvo osebe, ki je subjektivno bitje, razlikuje od izkustva preostale stvarnosti. Kakor pravi, je duhovna narava človeške duše tisto merilo, ki osebo razlikuje od preostalih objektov, to pa opiše v študiji Ljubezen in odgovornost:

»Oseba se razlikuje od stvari v *strukturi in stopnji popolnosti*. Strukturi osebe pripada notranjost, v kateri najdemo elemente duhovnega življenja, in to je tisto, kar nas prisili, da priznamo *duhovno naravo človeške duše*. Oseba ne sme biti postavljena na isto raven kot stvar ali pa kot posamezna žival.« (Wojtyła 2013, 103–104)

Ob tem izpostavi, da se človeška oseba ne more v polnosti izkusiti in razumeti v ločenosti ali nasprotovanju drugim osebam, saj se po svoji naravi v polnosti izkuša v povezanosti z drugimi osebam. Medosebni odnosi so namreč tista entiteta, ki omogoča recipročno izkušanje in razodevanje oseb v njihovi osebni subjektivnosti. V tem recipročnem razodevanju bi se osebe morale sprejemati in potrjevati v resnici o njihovi osebni subjektivnosti (2008, 221; 245). Naravna danost, ki omogoča aktivno vključevanje v odnose, ter sprejemanje in potrjevanje osebne subjektivnosti druge osebe je *participacija*, ki jo Wojtyła razume na dva načina, najprej:

»kot *lastnost osebe*, lastnost, ki izraža zmožnost človeških bitij, da darujejo svoj lastni obstoj in dejavnost z osebno (personalistično) razsežnostjo, ko obstajajo in delujejo skupaj z drugimi. Drugič, ... kot *pozitivno razmerje do človeškosti (humanity) drugih*, pri čemer *človeškosti* tukaj ne pojmem kot abstraktno idejo človeškega bitja.« (1998, 12–13)

Participacija tako zadeva notranjost osebe, ki biva in deluje skupaj z drugimi, to pa omogoča osebno uresničitev. Oseba je namreč prva entiteta v razmerju do skupnosti; to je glavni razlog, da lahko bistvo bivanja in delovanja skupaj z drugimi dojamemo le, če izhajamo iz človeškega bitja kot osebnega subjekta. Za adekvatno razumevanje participacije in problematike alienacije moramo izhajati iz človeka kot osebnega bitja in ne človeka kot posameznika svoje vrste. (1979, 261–264; 1998, 13)

2.2 Medosebne skupnosti

Za razumevanje koncepta participacije je pomembno tudi jasno razlikovanje med skupnostjo in družbo, tudi če sta ta dva pojma v sodobni govorici pogosto enačena. Medosebna skupnost označuje specifično enost množstva mnogih subjektov, ki so edinstveni in neponovljivi jazi, pripadnost skupnosti pa označuje način življenja osebe. Za skupnost je namreč značilno, da nastane prek odnosa posameznih jazov. Tudi če je oseba primarna entiteta, je skupnost bistvena za razumevanje subjektivnosti osebnih jazov, ki so del skupnosti. Ob tem moramo poudariti, da znotraj širše družbe obstoji nevarnost, da postanejo okrnjeni odnosi vzrok za odtujitev oziroma alienacijo (1998, 13; 2017, 358–361). Wojtyła takole oriše razlike med skupnostjo in družbo:

»Skupnost ni preprosto družba in družba ni preprosto skupnost ...V določenem smislu bi bilo mogoče tudi reči, da je *družba to, kar je, zaradi skupnosti njenih članov*. Zdi se, da je *skupnost bolj bistvena resničnost*, vsaj iz zornega kota osebne subjektivnosti vseh članov dane družbe ali družbene skupine ... Skupnost je bistvena resničnost za človeško sobivanje in sodelovanje in v drugem smislu služi kot temeljno merilo za takšno sobivanje in sodelovanje.« (1998, 14)

Wojtyła razlikuje med dvema razsežnostma skupnosti, kot prvo izpostavi odnose jaz – ti, kot drugo pa skupnost, ki jo lahko označimo z zaimkom mi. Oseba najprej vstopa v jaz – ti odnose, ki se nato povežejo v mi odnose. Povedano drugače, oseba iz medosebnih odnosov vstopa v družbeno razsežnost odnosov, ki se izraža z zaimkom mi.

2.2.1 Medosebna skupnost jaz – ti

Medosebna razsežnost skupnosti oziroma jaz – ti odnos je recipročna vez dveh subjektov, to je: pristna povezanost subjektov. Eden glavnih namenov jaz – ti skupnosti je razodevanje osebe in vstopanje v odnos z drugo osebo. Človeška oseba se namreč znotraj jaz – ti odnosa razkriva v najgloblji strukturi, s tem pa hrepeni po uresničitvi. Hrepenenje po uresničitvi v jaz – ti odnosu Wojtyła opiše takole:

»*Ti* stoji pred mojim samstvom kot pravo in dovršeno ‚drugo samstvo‘. /.../ V tej subjektivni strukturi *ti* kot ‚drugo samstvo‘ predstavlja svoje lastno težnjo k samoizpolnitvi. Ta polna struktura osebne subjektivnosti, lastne *jaz-u* kot samstvu in *ti-ju* kot drugemu samstvu, se medsebojno razodeva skozi skupnost, lastno *jaz – ti* odnosu, ker sem zaradi vzajemnosti *jaz – ti* odnosa *jaz* sočasno *ti* za *jaz*, ki je *ti* zame. Na ta način odnos *jaz – ti* kot medsebojno razmerje dveh subjektov ne le privzema pomen, ampak tudi resnično postaja pristna subjektivna skupnost.« (1998, 17)

Glavna značilnost jaz – ti medosebne skupnosti je recipročno razodevanje dveh ali več osebnih subjektov, ki skupaj bivajo in delujejo. V tej jaz – ti skupnosti bi se tako morala izražati medosebna odgovornost subjektov (1979, 169–174; 2008,

245–246). Wojtyła takole oriše medsebojno razodevanje in potrjevanja oseb v jaz – ti odnosu, ki pa hkrati razodeva vidik odgovornosti:

»Skozi *jaz – ti* odnos bi se morala *razodevati* drug drugemu v svoji najgloblji strukturi samoposedovanja in samoobvladovanja. Predvsem bi se morala razodevati v njenem hrepenenju po samoizpolnitvi, ki dosega vrhunec v dejih zavesti in pričuje za presežnost, lastno človeškemu bitju kot osebi. V medosebnih *jaz – ti* odnosih bi se partnerji morali ne le odstirati drug drugim v resnici svoje osebne resničnosti, pač pa bi morali tudi sprejemati in potrjevati drug drugega v tej resnici. Takšno sprejemanje in potrjevanje je izraz *npravnega (etičnega) pomena* medosebne skupnosti.« (1998, 17)

Wojtyła jaz – ti medosebno skupnost razume kot resničnost, ki omogoča, da se jaz prek odnosa s tujem uresničuje in s tem postaja moralna osebnost. V dinamiki postajanja moralna osebnost je drugi jaz tisti, ki prispeva k boljšemu razumevanju mojega jaza, to pa potrjuje tudi sodobna nevrološka znanost (Shaver in Mikulincer 2012; Siegel 2001; 2012).

Odnos med jaz in ti se torej oblikuje v medosebni povezanosti obeh oseb, ki sta udeleženi v odnosu; to pa je proces, ki zahteva, da se osebi odpreta ena drugi in tako razodevata svojo lastno subjektivnost. Kakor pravi Wojtyła:

»Čim globlja, celovitejša in intenzivnejša je vez med jaz in ti v teh medsebojnih odnosih in čim bolj privzema značaj zaupanja, darovanja in kolikor je mogoče, v razmerju ene osebe do druge, posebne oblike pripadanja, tem večja je potreba po medsebojnem sprejemanju in potrjevanju *jaza po tiju*.« (1998, 17)

2.2.2 Družbena razsežnost skupnosti *mi*

Družbena razsežnost skupnosti *mi* drugače od jaz – ti skupnosti poudari množstvo in le posredno njej pripadajoče osebe. *Mi* torej označuje skupek subjektov, ki na kakršenkoli način skupaj bivajo in delujejo. Kljub temu da *mi* poudarja množstvo, je jaz – ti razsežnost medosebnih odnosov resničnost, ki vodi v oblikovanje *mi* odnosov, saj nas:

»*mi* uvede v drug svet človeških odnosov in se nanaša na drugo razsežnost *skupnosti*, namreč na družbeno razsežnost, ki se razlikuje od prejšnje razsežnosti, medosebne razsežnosti skupnosti, utemeljene v *jaz – ti* odnosih.« (1998, 18)

Družbena razsežnost medosebnih odnosov ne nasprotuje *jaz – ti* odnosom, ampak iz njih izhaja, jih povezuje in usmerja k skupnemu dobremu. Kakor pravi Wojtyła:

»*Mi* je veliko človeških bitij, veliko subjektov, ki na neki način obstajajo in delujejo skupaj. Delovati »skupaj« ne pomeni udejstvovanja v številnih de-

javnostih, ki nas nekako spremljajo na vseh straneh. Pomeni, da so te dejavnosti, vzporedne z obstojem teh številnih *jazov*, postavljene v razmerje do ene same vrednote, ki si zaradi tega zasluži, da jo imenujemo *skupno dobro*.« (1998, 18; 2008, 247)

Človeške osebe z vstopanjem v mi odnose na povsem nov način izkušajo same sebe v bivanju in delovanju ‚skupaj z drugimi‘, saj znotraj mi odnosov življenje in delovanje konkretnih oseb nista izničeni ali izgubljeni, spremeni pa se način delovanja, ki je usmerjen v skupno dobro:

»Skozi ta odnos človeško bitje, konkreten *jaz*, odkrije različne potrditve svoje osebne subjektivnosti v tem, kar se pojavlja v medosebnih odnosih. In ta potrditev subjekta *jaz* v skupnosti *mi* se globoko sklada z naravo tega subjekta /.../ V bistvu *mi* nima za posledico zmanjšanja ali izkrivljanja *jaza*.« (1998, 19)

Družbena razsežnost skupnosti tako presega zgolj medosebno razsežnost skupnosti, to pa pomeni, da se *jaz* nekako konstituira v svoji lastni subjektivnosti tako, da biva in deluje ‚skupaj z drugimi‘, in to v različnih oblikah skupnosti *mi*. Prav tako širša skupnost na drugačen način potrjuje subjektivnost človeške osebe, kakor se to zgodi znotraj *jaz – ti* odnosa. Ob tem moramo izpostaviti, da je hkratni odnos več *jazov* do skupnega dobrega posebnega pomena za transcendenco človeške osebe, saj je »skupno dobro bistveno dobro mnogih in v svoji najpopolnejši razsežnosti dobro vseh« (1979, 19).

Na participacijo je tako treba gledati kot na opredelitev človeka, ki izraža svoj lastni obstoj kot osebni subjekt. Biti subjekt bivanja namreč ne pomeni zaprtja človeka v samega sebe, ampak možnost za osebni način odpiranja za druge osebe. Participacija torej omogoča, da človek avtentično izraža svojo osebno transcendenco, to se pravi, da je participacija potrditev personalne vrednosti človeka. Hkrati pa je participacija tudi dolžnost: prizadeva si za uresničitev vsakega človeka, ki je znotraj skupnosti poimenovan kot *jaz* in je s tem v polnosti sprejet kot človek. Pri poimenovanju in sprejemanju človeka nimamo v mislih abstraktnega razumevanja, ampak konkretni *jaz*, ki stoji nasproti mojega *jaza*. Mi odnosi tako v polnosti uresničijo *jaz – ti* medosebne odnose. (1979, 323–328; 2017, 332–337)

3. Odtujitev pri Karolu Wojtyłu

Čeprav bi si morala družba prizadevati za oblikovanje trdnih skupnosti, človeško izkustvo kaže, da ni vedno tako. Odtujenost, ki je stanje, nasprotno življenju v skupnosti, moramo postaviti znotraj konteksta osebe in odnosov, v razsežnostih *jaz – ti* in *mi*. Saj le »ta vidik omogoča dojeti bistveno značilnost človeških *jazov* in njihovega odnosa, tako medsebojnega kot skupnostnega« (1998, 22), to pa je tudi razlog, da Wojtyła za adekvatno razumevanje participacije in alienacije izhaja iz subjekta osebe. Saj se:

»celotna problematika odtujitve (alienacije) ne nanaša na človeško bitje kot individuum vrste in zatorej ne na človeško bitje, kot ga pojmuje opredelitev vrste, pač pa na človeško bitje kot oseben subjekt. Stojim na stališču, da je odtujitev bistveno personalističen problem in v tem smislu tudi humanističen in etičen.« (1998, 23; 2008, 255–256)

Kot antiteza skupnostni naravi osebe se lahko odtujitev pokaže v obeh razsežnostih odnosov:

»V družbeni razsežnosti je navzočnost odtujitvenih dejavnikov očitna, ko je množstvo človeških subjektov, katerih vsak je posamičen *jaz*, nezmožno pristnega *mija*. Družbeni proces, ki bi moral voditi k pristni subjektivnosti vseh, je tedaj zadržan ali celo zaobrnjen, ker se ljudje v tem procesu ne morejo najti kot subjekti. Družbeno življenje se nadaljuje, kakor da bi šlo mimo njih /.../ Sicer obstajajo in celo delujejo »skupaj z drugimi«, vendar se v tem življenju ne izpolnijo, bodisi zaradi tega, ker so postali tuji, bodisi zaradi tega, ker jim družba skozi kakšno napačno strukturo ne daje osnov za samoizpolnitev ali jim celo zanika pravice, ki jih potrebujejo za to.« (1998, 23; 2008, 256)

Odtujitev tako ni zgolj problem *mi* skupnosti, ampak tudi medosebnih odnosov *jaz – ti*, tudi če v manjši meri. Kakor pravi Wojtyła, je lahko alienacija v skupnosti *jaz – ti* še bolj boleča, saj je večina odnosov oblike *jaz – ti*:

»V *jaz – ti* razsežnosti odtujitev /.../ *spodkoplje* živeto izkušnjo resnice človeškosti, resnice bistvene vrednosti osebe v človeškem tiju. Jaz ostaja neprizanesljiv in ločen od tija in tako ni v polnosti razprt niti samemu sebi. V takšnih medosebnih odnosih tudi ‚bližnji‘ izgine, vse, kar ostane, je ‚drugi‘ ali celo ‚tujec‘ ali odkrit ‚sovražnik‘ /.../ *Skupnost* postane v tej razsežnosti izkrivljena in izgine v razmerju z izginotjem živete izkušnje človeškosti, izkušnje, ki na pristen način pripelje ljudi skupaj in jih poveže.« (1998, 24; 2008, 256–257)

Odtujitev tako v svojem bistvu negira subjektivno razsežnost človeške osebe, s tem pa človeško osebo oropa za resničnost, ki ji omogoča bivanje in delovanje skupaj z drugimi. Stanje alienacije tako opustoši odnos *jaz – ti*, okrni možnost izkustva drugega človeškega bitja, s tem pa zavira možnost nastanka *mi* skupnosti (2008, 206). Wojtyła ob tem dopušča, da sama družba spodbuja alienacijo, ki sčasoma osebo osami od drugih oseb. Ob tem pravi:

»Če bi se to kdaj zgodilo, bi bilo treba iskati vzrok na področju razmerja do skupnega dobrega. To razmerje mora biti pomanjkljivo na različne načine – tako s strani človeškega *jaza*, ali več takšnih *jazov*, in s strani tega, kar velja kot skupno dobro za številne *jaze*.« (1998, 19)

Izguba osebne izkustva odnosa *jaz – ti* in skupnosti je za osebo pogubna. Odtujitev namreč omeji človeka v iskanju uresnitve, saj mu ne dovoljuje, da bi pre-

segal samega sebe v iskanju drugih, s tem pa posameznik ne pridobi izkustva mi odnosov oziroma skupnosti. Prav tako pa nasprotuje možnosti personalnega izkustva delovanja in uresničevanja kot oseba v delovanju. Kakor pa pravi Wojtyła, ima človek ‚naravno pravico‘ do opravljanja dejanj in uresničenja v delovanju (1979, 272).

»Odtujitev tako lahko označimo kot stanje, v katerem je človeška oseba oropana možnosti samouresničitve znotraj skupnosti, saj odnosna razsežnost življenja tako rekoč teče mimo človeka, četudi ta biva in deluje skupaj z drugimi ljudmi. Pogosto do te situacije pripelje način družbenega življenja, ki, zaradi pomanjkljivih struktur, osebi ne dopušča osebne uresničitve znotraj skupnosti. Nemalokrat se je celo dogajalo, da so družbeni sistemi neposredno nasprotovali tej nalogi človeške osebe. Odtujitev tako nasprotuje možnosti za bivanje v odnosu, ki osebi omogoča, da drugega prepozna kot ‚jaz‘, kar privede do odpovedi resnični vrednoti osebe v človeškem ‚ti‘. V situaciji, ko drugega ne zmoremo prepoznati in poimenovati, pa ne moremo razumeti niti samih sebe. Posledično drugi postane neznan in v konec koncev tudi sovražnik. Odtujitev namreč ne odvzame človeku narave individuuma v njegovi vrsti, pač pa ogrozi osebo kot subjekt bivanja, s tem pa človeka razčloveči na njegovi transcendentni, torej duhovni ravni. Stanje odtujitve se lahko razvije iz dveh strani: s strani posameznika, ki se v tem primeru iz različnih razlogov odpove bivanju in delovanju ‚skupaj z drugimi‘, ter s strani skupnosti, ki trpi za nekakšno ›sistemsko napako‹, ki onemogoča aktivno participacijo vsake osebe.« (1979, 329)

Ena vidnejših dimenzij medosebne odtujenosti je individualizem, saj lahko postane poudarek na individuumu vir nepredstavljivega egoizma. Stanje egoističnega individualizma povzroči, da postane človek zazrt le v svoje potrebe in zahteve ter s tem zaprt pred drugimi. Wojtyła pravi, da skrajni individualizem vidi v posamezniku vrhovno in fundamentalno dobro, ki mu je podrejena celotna skupnost ali družba. Individualizirani posameznik je namreč osredotočen le nase in na svoje dobro (273–274). Podobno kakor Wojtyła tudi slovenska filozofija vidi, da je temna stran individualizma »osredotočanje na sebe, kar tako sploščuje kot zožuje naša življenja, jih dela revnejša v smislu, in zaradi česar nas manj skrbi za druge ali za družbo« (Pevc Rozman 2002, 33; Jamnik 2012, 78). Za individualizem je tako značilno, da je posameznik oziroma individuom absolutni temelj odločitve, ki se odloča, kako bo živel, kaj bo verjel in ali bo sploh verjel (Muršič Klenar 2020, 577). Skrajni individualizem zagovarja »takšen pojem osebe, pri katerem ni možnosti, da bi vrednote neke družbe in pojmovanje dobrega postali bistveni del posameznikove identitete« (Jamnik 2013, 428), to pa nasprotuje odnosni razsežnosti osebe. Jamnik ob tem izpostavi, da bi kot družba morali oblikovati »takšno pojmovanje osebnosti, ki pri oblikovanju posameznikove identitete poudarja prav pomen dobrega in skupnosti« (428). Podobno kakor slovenska filozofija Wojtyła v individualizmu vidi nevarnost, da postaneta bivanje in delovanje ‚skupaj z dru-

gimi' dojeti kot zgolj nujnost, ki se jima mora posameznik podrediti in sta popolnoma nasprotni naravi posameznika. Individualizem namreč morebitnim oblikovanim skupnostim priznava en sam namen, to je: zaščititi dobro posameznika pred drugimi ljudmi (Wojtyła 1979, 330–331).

4. Način sobivanja: avtentične in neavtentične držē

Karol Wojtyła se je globoko zavedal nevarnosti medosebnega odtujevanja oziroma alienacije, ki je že v sredini prejšnjega stoletja ogrožala podobo osebe, odnosov, skupnosti in družbe, to pa je tudi glavni razlog za oblikovanje koncepta participacije. V nadaljevanju bomo pogledali temeljne značilnosti avtentičnih držē, ki spodbujajo participacijo, in neavtentičnih držē, ki participaciji nasprotujejo (332).

4.1 Solidarnost in nasprotovanje

Solidarnost izhaja iz resničnosti, da oseba živi in deluje skupaj z drugimi, in označuje konstantno pripravljenost za sprejemanje in uresničevanje deleža, ki pripada vsaki osebi v skupnosti. Z uresničevanjem solidarnosti človek izvršuje, kar naj bi izvršil, ne samo zato, ker je del skupnosti, ampak predvsem zaradi skupnega dobrega. Resnična solidarnost tako na neki način preprečuje, da bi človek prevzemal obveznosti in dolžnosti drugih ljudi kot svoje lastne obveznosti in dolžnosti (341). Ker pa je solidarnost poroštvo recipročnih odnosov, iz zavedanja pomena skupnega dobrega izhaja, da oseba v specifičnih okoliščinah preseže zgolj svoj delež v skupnosti, tudi če ji to ne omogoča neposrednega uresničevanja svojega lastnega dobrega. Solidarnost tako v nekaterih primerih označuje prevzemanje nalog in pomoč drugim osebam, saj bi v nasprotnem primeru osebe izkazovale pomanjkanje solidarnosti. Solidarnost je tako prežeta z resnico o skupnem dobrem in z zavedanjem pomena prevzemanja višjega deleža delovanja in odgovornosti kakor navadno. Čut za potrebe druge osebe ali skupnosti je specifičen za solidarno držō, saj tako oseba izrazi razpoložljivost, da s svojim delovanjem dopolni tisto, kar drugi delajo znotraj skupnosti, in tako potrdi medosebno komplementarnost. Medosebna komplementarnost je namreč na neki način notranji del same narave solidarnosti in participacije in osebi omogoča uresničevanje samega sebe v pomoči drugim osebam (342).

Wojtyła ob tem izpostavi, da drža solidarnosti ne izključuje možnosti izražanja nasprotovanja oziroma oporekanja, ki v bistvu ni nasprotno solidarnosti. Ob tem pravi, da oseba, ki izrazi nasprotovanje, ne zavrača solidarnosti z drugo osebo ali skupnostjo niti ne zavrača skupnega dobrega. Pri Wojtyłu zadeva izražanje nasprotovanja predvsem razumevanje in uresničevanje skupnega dobrega, za popolnejše uresničenje solidarnosti (342–343). Ob tem pravi, da mnoga izkustva nasprotovanj, ki so lahko izražena na področju bivanja in delovanja skupaj z drugimi, kažejo, da se ljudje, ki izrazijo nasprotovanje, ne želijo oddaljiti od skupnosti in ji tudi ne nasprotujejo. Prav nasprotno, te osebe iščejo svoje mesto znotraj skupnosti, iščejo možnost participacije in tisto razumevanje skupnega dobrega, ki jim omogoča boljše, polnejše in učinkovitejše bivanje in delovanje v skupnosti (343).

Tako lahko sklenemo, da je drža nasprotovanja pristna prosocialna in solidarna drža, ki izraža potrebo po pripadnosti skupnosti. Kot takšna je izraz zrelosti skupnosti, ki mora dopuščati konstruktivno izražanje nasprotovanja, da bi se tako izboljšale možnosti za participacijo v skupnosti. Skupnost namreč ni zrela, če se ne pokaže konstruktivno nasprotovanje, prav nasprotno. Konstruktivno oziroma solidarnostno nasprotovanje je izraz zrele in normalno delujoče skupnosti, ki omogoča upravičeno nasprotovanje iz želje po uresničevanju skupnega dobrega in pripadnosti skupnosti (343–344).

4.2 Konformizem in izogibanje

Konformizem in izogibanje, ki ju Wojtyła označi kot neavtentični drži, se lahko razvijeta iz avtentičnih drž solidarnosti in nasprotovanja. Avtentične drže lahko gradualno postanejo neavtentične drže, pri tem pa se solidarnost spremeni v konformizem in nasprotovanje v izogibanje. Konformizem in izogibanje nasprotujeta personalni naravi človeka in jaz – ti ter mi odnosom (344–345).

Konformizem označuje težnje po podobnosti in usklajenosti z drugimi ljudmi; to je v specifičnih okoliščinah povsem konstruktivna in kreativna drža. Avtentična drža človeka k ustvarjalnim in kreativnim povezavam z drugimi ljudmi je namreč izraz pristne solidarnosti (345–346). Vendar moramo poudariti, da konformizmu, kljub tem pozitivnim asociacijam, manjka resnična oziroma avtentična solidarnost. Kljub temu da si konformistična drža prizadeva za izogibanje medosebnemu nasprotovanju, je ta drža zgolj površinska in nasprotna osebi, resnični medosebni solidarnosti in skupnemu dobremu. Konformistična drža je izraz nekakšne populistljivosti in pasivne predanosti, v kateri je oseba zgolj objekt procesov in ne subjekt, ki je zmožen oblikovanja stališč, drž in zavezanosti skupnosti. Pasivna predanost procesom tako pomeni, da se oseba odpove aktivnemu soustvarjanju skupnosti, s tem pa dejansko dopušča, da jo vodi in obvladuje družba oziroma kolektiv. Predanost družbi, o kateri govorimo, ne označuje zavestnega vstopanja v odnose jaz – ti oziroma mi odnose, namesto tega izraža notranjo odpoved možnosti za uresničevanje samega sebe v pristni skupnosti. Tedaj lahko celo rečemo, da oseba dopusti skupnosti, da ji odvzame samo sebe (346).

S tem ko oseba dopušča, da jo skupnost odvzame sami sebi, hkrati oseba sebe odvzame skupnosti, saj je konformizem negacija možnosti participacije; resnična skupnost je namreč zamenjana s prividom skupnosti, to pa se izraža v površinskem prilagajanju drugim osebam, brez zaupanja in brez pristne predanosti. S tem je omejena naravna danost osebe za kreativno oblikovanje skupnosti, to pa negativno vpliva na skupno dobro, ki izhaja iz resnične participacije. Konformizem tako označuje nekakšno stanje, nasprotno participaciji, saj ustvarja stanje indiferentnosti, nasprotno skupnemu dobremu. Medtem ko se konformizem izogiba izražanju nasprotovanja, se izogibanje izogiba konformističnemu prilagajanju skupnosti. Vendar je treba poudariti, da izogibanje ni avtentična drža nasprotovanja, saj je izraz zavrnitve možnosti participacije, tega pa ne moremo enačiti z avtentično držo nasprotovanja, pri kateri so kljub vsemu navzoče želje po pripadnosti skupnosti (Wojtyła 1979, 347; Siegel 2012 in 2014). Ob tem moramo poudariti, da je

lahko konformizem tudi ambivalentni izraz individualizma, kakršen za masko zunanje pojavnosti prikriva beg od skupnosti, ki je dojeta kot ogrožajoča za posameznika.

Podobno kakor Wojtyła tudi Daniel Siegel zagovarja stališče: konformistična drža omogoča, da se oseba le na zunaj prilagaja skupnosti, da bi tako imela od nje koristi in bi se s tem izognila neprijetnostim, ki jih za konformistično osebo predstavljajo resnične skupnosti (Wojtyła 1979, 346–347; Siegel 2012; 2014). Konformistična drža je tako izrazito protipersonalna in protisocialna, to pa povzroča nepopravljive izgube tako osebi kakor skupnosti. Druga od neavtentičnih drž, ki jih obravnava Wojtyła in jo v svojih delih izpostavi Siegel, je drža izogibanja. Za to držo se zdi, da je nekakšno nasprotje drži konformizma, ki smo jo pravkar predstavili. Lahko bi celo rekli, da je ta drža malo bolj avtentična kakor konformizem, kljub temu pa ji manjkajo avtentične personalne lastnosti, ki bi ji dale polno avtentičnost. Siegel pravi, da se lahko oseba v odnosnem svetu prilagodi na številne načine, med drugim tudi z izogibanjem, ambivalentnostjo in dezorganizacijo. Saj obstaja veliko okoliščin, v katerih osebe niso na nikogar navezane, to pa se izraža prek izogibanja (Siegel 2014, 120). Pogosto je razlog za izogibanje prav strah pred anihilacijo – popolnim uničenjem in zapuščenostjo (2012, 328).

Izogibanje je tako lahko nekakšna nadomestna drža osebe, ki ne zmore biti solidarna, prav tako pa ne verjame v možnost izražanja nasprotovanja in v možnosti za spremembe v skupnosti. Izogibanje je izraz zavestne odločitve osebe za izogibanje, ob tem pa moramo izpostaviti: povsem možno je, da znotraj skupnosti obstojijo razlogi, ki upravičujejo držo izogibanja. Kadar je participacija v skupnosti nemogoča, potem skupnost ne živi na pravi način. Če člani skupnosti vidijo edino rešitev v umiku, potem je to zanesljiv znak, da je skupno dobro v tej skupnosti napačno zasnovano. (Wojtyła 1979, 347; Siegel 2012 in 2014) Povsem mogoče je, da se konformizem in izogibanje združita in manifestirata v nekakšnem konformističnem izogibanju. Tako združeni drži povzročita, da se oseba povsem odpove hrepenenju po uresničitvi in izpolnitvi v delovanju skupaj z drugimi. Posameznik je prepričan, da mu skupnost preprečuje uresničitev, to je tudi razlog njegovega umika. V konformizmu se nezaupanje v skupnost izraža z ohranjanjem videza povezanosti s skupnostjo, pri izogibanju pa oseba niti ne izrazi zanimanja za skupnost. Obe drži prikrajšata osebo za nekaj bistveno osebnega, to je, za možnosti bivanja in delovanja v pristni skupnosti (Wojtyła 1979, 348).

5. Sklep

Videli smo, da se medosebna odtujenost izraža na različne načine, vsem pa je skupno, da ne dopuščajo osebne uresničitve in izkustva drugega človeka kot osebe. Največja skrb ob porastu alienacije ob napredku virtualne tehnologije je, da človeški osebi odvzame možnost neposrednega sobivanja in sodelovanja z drugo osebo oziroma skupnostjo oseb. Digitalno okolje namreč ne dopušča, da bi osebe v polnosti izkusile svojo lastno človeškost in človeškost drugih ljudi. S tem ko

so osebe medsebojno odtujene, jim je odvzeta možnost medosebnega oziroma skupnostnega življenja. Na neki način je s tem okrnjeno tudi bivanje človeške osebe, saj v medosebni odtujenosti oseba ne more v polnosti izkusiti življenja. Karol Wojtyła je v svoji mladosti globoko izkusil korenine medosebne alienacije, to pa ga je vodilo k oblikovanju koncepta participacije, ki temelji na njegovem dojemanju človeške osebe. To dojemanje lahko strnemo v tri poudarke: človeška oseba ima sposobnost, da daje osebno vrednost svojemu lastnemu bivanju in bivanju skupaj z drugimi ljudmi (1); človeška oseba se more sklicevati na človeškost drugih oseb, ki so prav tako edinstveni in nepriobčljivi jaz (2); medosebna alienacija oziroma odtujenost je nasprotna participaciji in vodi v depersonalizacijo človeške osebe (3). Medosebna odtujenost ni zgolj izziv sodobne virtualne kulture, ampak je to fenomen, ki ima korenine v prejšnjem stoletju in se v obdobju razvoja virtualnega sveta stopnjuje v nepoznane razsežnosti.

Participacija oziroma soudeležnost v življenju drugih oseb, kakor jo razvija Karol Wojtyła, tako odpira mnoge možnosti za izkustva medosebnih odnosov. To človeško osebo vodi k uresničitvi v iskrenem podarjanju samega sebe (CS, tč. 24,3), ki je izraz uresničevanja evangeljske zapovedi ljubezni (Wojtyła 1979, 352–355). Evangeljska zapoved ljubezni je nekakšna alternativa sodobni individualizirani in odtujeni družbi, ki omogoča, da oseba prepozna drugo osebo kot sebi enako in s tem kot osebno vrednoto, ki ne ogroža, ampak omogoča osebi njeno lastno bivanje in uresničevanje. Spoznanje, da je bližnji oseba, ki je vredna ljubezni, bi moralo prevladovati v odnosih z drugimi osebami, v nasprotnem primeru se odnos spremeni v utilitaristično izkoriščanje (Perčič 2018, 72). V občestvu oseb, ki temelji na ljubezni, se človeška oseba odpre in sčasoma v polnosti uresniči.

Ob soočenju s problematiko in izzivi alienacije v obdobju prevlade virtualnega sveta in odnosov je lahko filozofija človeške osebe Karola Wojtyła izhodišče za prepoznavanje narave človeške osebe ter pravih temeljev zrelih medosebnih odnosov in skupnosti, ki bodo omogočale preseganje odtujenosti in s tem ponovno ovrednotile resnične medosebne odnose.

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Marjan Turnšek (ur.)

Stoletni sadovi

Člani katedre za dogmatično teologijo v jubilejnem letu z zbornikom predstavljajo »dogmatične sadove« na »stoletnem drevesu« TEOF v okviru UL. Prvi del z naslovom »Sadovi preteklosti« s hvaležnostjo predstavlja delo njenih rajnih profesorjev. Kako katedra živi ob stoletnici svojo sedanjost in gleda v prihodnost z upanjem, predstavljajo prispevki živečih članov katedre v drugem delu pod naslovom »Sadovi sedanjosti«. Tretji del ponuja »Podarjene sadove«, ki so jih ob jubileju poklonili nekateri pomembni teologi iz tujine, ki so povezani z našo fakulteto (zaslužni papež Benedikt XVI., Hans Urs von Balthasar, Jürgen Moltmann, Bruno Forte, Marino Qualizza in Marko I. Rupnik).

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Nik Trontelj

Frančiškanski misijonarji med slovenskimi izseljenci v Egiptu v 19. in 20. stoletju

Franciscan Missionaries among the Slovene Emigrants in Egypt in the 19th and 20th Centuries

Povzetek: Prispevek predstavi osem slovenskih frančiškanov, ki so v razdobju 70 let delovali med slovenskimi izseljenci v Egiptu. Frančiškani iz Slovenske (kranjske) frančiškanske province sv. Križa so bili navzoči v mestih, kjer sta bili največji skupnosti Slovencev: v Aleksandriji (1894–1957) in v Kairu (1908–1965). Kot apostolski misijonarji so bili odgovorni za ureditev verskega življenja rojakov, obenem pa so skrbeli tudi za ohranjanje njihove narodne zavesti. Zaslužni so bili za ustanovitev slovenske šole in raznih društev in za prihod slovenskih šolskih sester sv. Frančiška Kristusa Kralja iz Maribora, s katerimi so sodelovali pri vodenju azila za brezposelna dekleta. V prispevku smo na podlagi časopisnih objav, strokovne literature in arhivskega gradiva predstavili pastoralno in narodno delovanje frančiškanskih duhovnikov med slovenskimi izseljenci v Egiptu.

Ključne besede: frančiškani, Egipt, Sveta dežela, izseljenci, aleksandrinke, 19. stoletje, 20. stoletje

Abstract: The article presents eight Slovene Franciscans who have worked among the Slovene emigrants in Egypt in the course of 70 years. Franciscans of the Slovenian (Carniolan) Province of the Holy Cross were present in two cities with the most significant communities of Slovenes, namely, in Alexandria (1894–1957) and Cairo (1908–1965). As apostolic missionaries, they were responsible for organising a religious life for compatriots, and at the same time, taking care of preserving their national identity. They were credited with the foundation of a Slovene school, various associations and the arrival of the Slovene School sisters of St. Francis of Christ the King, with whom they were running an asylum for unemployed women. In the article, we presented the Franciscan priests' pastoral and national awakening work among the Slovene emigrants in Egypt based on newspaper articles, professional literature, and archival sources.

Key words: Franciscans, Egypt, Holy Land, emigrants, Alexandrian women, 19th century, 20th century

1. Uvod

V zadnjih desetletjih so mnoge humanistične študije z najrazličnejših vidikov obravnavale zgodovino slovenskega izseljevanja v Egipt. Zanimanje za vprašanje tako imenovanih aleksandrink se kaže v mnogih izdanih publikacijah, v strokovnih srečanjih in v kulturnih prireditvah ter dokumentarnih filmih. Razprave se dotikajo problematike izseljevanja, socialnega in kulturnega pomena ženske emigracije ipd. Razumljivo je, da raziskovalci temu izrednemu zgodovinskemu fenomenu pretežno ženskega izseljevanja namenjajo veliko pozornosti, saj je bilo preseljevanje v deželo ob Nilu množično in dolgotrajno in se je vleklo od zadnje četrtine 19. stoletja do druge svetovne vojne. Na prelomu stoletja je bilo v Egiptu nad 4000 Slovencev, po nekaterih ocenah celo več kakor 7000. (Drnovšek 2001, 11) Kljub široki in celostni obravnavi mnogih vidikov omenjenega znanstvenega vprašanja pa doslej nismo zasledili študije, ki bi več pozornosti namenila delovanju slovenskih frančiškanov. Ti frančiškani so sedemdeset let prebivali s Slovenci v Egiptu in zanje organizirali versko, narodno in socialno oskrbo ter jim tako lajšali preizkušnje izseljenskega življenja v tujini. V tem oziru je o naših duhovnikih še največ napisala Dorica Makuc v temeljnem delu *Aleksandrinke* (Makuc 2006), ki je prvič izšlo leta 1993 in je v njem predstavila nekatere dušne pastirje. Ob ustvarjanju podobe slovenskega izseljenca (ali bolje, izseljenke) v Egiptu, je raziskovalce delovanje duhovnikov torej zanimalo le v njihovi ožji povezavi z življenjem slovenske skupnosti.

Izvirnost našega prispevka je v tem, da bomo v središče zanimanja postavili slovenske duhovnike in njihovo delo med izseljenci. Raziskava vsebuje sistematično predstavitev vseh frančiškanov, ki so med rojaki delovali v dveh največjih egiptovskih mestih. S predstavitvijo posameznih frančiškanov in njihovega delovanja želimo prispevati k osvetlitvi tega poglavja v narodni in cerkveni zgodovini. Cerkev na Slovenskem in domača frančiškanska provinca sta z razširitvijo polja delovanja pozitivno odgovorili na potrebe in izzive slovenske skupnosti v Egiptu, ki je ob koncu 19. stoletja vztrajno prosila za duhovno oskrbo v domačem jeziku. Več generacij frančiškanov je bilo nato do druge polovice 20. stoletja odgovornih za razvejane dejavnosti, ki so Slovincem pomagale ohranjati stik z domom in vero in so jih tudi medsebojno povezovali. V prispevku bomo na podlagi časopisnih objav, arhivskih virov in strokovne literature predstavili posamezne frančiškane. Kot apostolski misijonarji so vodili narodni misijon med egiptovskimi Slovenci in tako izkazali zvestobo svojemu narodu, ki so mu bili kot duhovniki poklicani služiti.

2. Misijon med izseljenci v Egiptu

V Egiptu se je do prihoda slovenskih frančiškanov naselilo že večje število Slovencev, zlasti deklet in žena z Goriške, ki so v večjih egiptovskih mestih (Aleksandrija, Kairo, Port Said idr.) služile kot hišne pomočnice. Slovenci so bili v duhovnem oziru sprva prepuščeni sami sebi, po letu 1890 pa sta skrb zanje v Aleksandriji prevzela dva hrvaška frančiškanska duhovnika za vse Slovence, najprej p. Ivan Jurić iz Bosne,

za njim pa p. Jeronim (Hieronim) Golubović iz Kustodije Svete dežele. (Snoj 1905, 46) Slovenci so se zaradi jezikovne in narodnostne različnosti težje vključili v njuno pastoralno delo. Od leta 1902 dalje je hrvaški frančiškan p. Luka Terzić pastoralno skrb poleg dela med dalmatinskimi Hrvati namenil tudi Slovencem v Kairu (Makuc 2006, 78), a so mu ti ob njegovem odhodu očitali premajhno skrb za vernike zunaj rednih dejavnosti v cerkvi. (D 1908, 236) Postajalo je jasno, da Slovenci po vzoru drugih narodov potrebujejo domačega izseljenskega duhovnika, ki bo poznal in delil usodo slovenskega izseljenstva. Prvi, ki je sprožil pobudo za prihod slovenskega frančiškana,¹ je bil ljubljanski bogoslovni profesor dr. Frančišek Lampe (1859–1900), ki je leta 1891 potoval po Egiptu in po Palestini in v Aleksandriji obiskal frančiškanski samostan sv. Katarine. (Lampe 1892, 47) Želja mnogih Slovencev se je uresničila leta 1894, ko je v Aleksandrijo prišel p. Hubert Rant, leta 1908 pa v Kairo p. Evgen Stanet.² Naši frančiškani, razen v obdobju vojnega ujetništva dveh slovenskih frančiškanov med prvo svetovno vojno, obeh mest niso več zapustili, dokler tam v drugi polovici 20. stoletja ni upadla navzočnost Slovencev. Tako so se v sedmih desetletjih zvrstili naslednji patri: Hubert Rant (1870–1931), Benigen Snaj (1867–1942), Evgen Stanet (1876–1942), Adolf Čadež (1871–1948), Bruno Schiffrer (1893–?), Ferdinand Zajec (1876–1949), Kerubin Begelj (1895–1964) in Jozafat Ambrožič (1903–1970).

Delovne naloge misijonarjev za izseljence so bile posejane na tri temeljna področja: pastoralno delo, narodnobuditeljsko delo, socialno varstvo. Dejavnosti s prvega področja so opravljali v cerkvi³ in v kapelah šolskih sester sv. Frančiška Kristusa Kralja, delo za krepitev narodne zavesti je poleg srečevanja pri bogoslužju potekalo zlasti v organizaciji slovenskih društev, socialno pomoč pa sta zagotavljali zavetišči za brezposelna dekleta in za ostarele žene, ki so ju vodile šolske sestre v Aleksandriji in Kairu. Za razvoj navedenih dejavnosti so bili v največji meri zaslužni sami. Pri tem sta patra Rant in Snaj oralna ledino. (Kolar 1991, 294) Dosegla sta priznanje nedeljske maše za Slovence, (so)ustanovila različna društva in bedela nad poslanstvom zavetišča za brezposelne služkinje. Preostali so nato nadaljevali začeto delo.⁴ Kljub temu da so delovali daleč od doma, so ostajali tesno povezani z domovino. Bili so redni naročniki slovenskih knjig in časopisov, ki so jih širili med izseljenci. Domovino so prosili za darove za slovenski misijon. Velja omeniti, da so pogosto pomagali tudi v nasprotni smeri in namenjali denarno pomoč

¹ Frančiškanom je že v 14. stoletju papež zaupal posebno nalogo za oskrbovanje svetih krajev. Sv. Frančišek se je leta 1219 v Egiptu osebno srečal s sultanom al-Kamilom in nanj naredil dober vtis, zato so lahko Frančiškovi bratje v teku stoletij ostali v muslimanskih deželah in nemoteno opravljali svoje delo. (Salmič 2019, 26–27) Misijonski okraj v Sveti deželi se je postopno razvil v Kustodijo Svete dežele s sedežem v Jeruzalemu.

² Rant je že ob svojem prihodu v Aleksandrijo poudarjal tudi potrebo po slovenskem frančiškaneu v Kairu. (ZD 1895a, 46)

³ Slovenski frančiškani so v Aleksandriji delovali v cerkvi sv. Katarine, v Kairu pa pri sv. Jožefu. P. Jozafat Ambrožič je v Aleksandriji deloval tudi pri sv. Antonu v četrti Moharram Bey, v Kairu pa v cerkvi Marijinega vnebovzvetja v četrti Muski.

⁴ Slovenska šola, ki je bila avstro-ogrška ustanova, je ob začetku prve svetovne vojne prenehala delovati (AM 1941b, 5). Podobno je po vojni zamrlo slovensko društveno življenje (Jagodic 1967, 209). Slovenci so se srečevali v cerkvi in v zavetišču šolskih sester, od leta 1936 dalje pa tudi v Jugoslovanskem domu.

raznim potrebam v domovini: za žrtve požara, za delovanje časopisov, za gradnjo cerkve v Šiški in za obnovo svetogorske bazilike, za slovensko sirotišnico v Gorici itd.

Naši frančiškani so v Egiptu delovali kot apostolski misijonarji, ki jih je na delo poslala rimska Kongregacija za širjenje vere. V samostanu so imeli službo kurata za Slovence, zaradi znanja tujih jezikov in sočasnih potreb pa so pogosto oskrbovali tudi druge Slované in nemško in italijansko govoreče skupnosti. Stanovali so v samostanih, ki so sodili v bližnjevzhodno frančiškansko provinco Kustodije Svete dežele. Tako so delovali na ozemlju tuje province, a so ostali člani matične slovenske province, razen Ambrožiča, ki je bil član beneške province. Nekateri od njih so zasedli pomembna mesta v upravi kustodije. Frančiškani so se med svojim bivanjem vključevali v novo okolje. Hubert Rant se je, denimo, učil arabskega jezika. (ZD 1895b, 87) Sodelovali so s krajevnimi verskimi predstavniki, tedaj zlasti s katoličani drugih obredov. Snój je poročal o svoji navzočnosti pri blagoslovu nove koptske katoliške Cerkve (S 1902, 3), Ambrožič je prejel odlikovanje sirske katoliške Cerkve, Begelj je prihodnost krščanstva v Egiptu videl v obstoju koptskih katoličanov. (NŠAL, Poročila 15. 10. 1955, 62) V pregledanih virih ne zasledimo posebnih stikov z večinskimi muslimani, a so frančiškani sobivali v miru z njimi.

3. Slovenski izseljenski misijonarji v Egiptu

V Egiptu je delovalo osem slovenskih frančiškanov, ki so kot izseljenski duhovniki opravljali svoje poslanstvo med tamkajšnjimi Slovenci. Na misijon so potovali iz Trsta. Praviloma sta v Egiptu hkrati delovala dva slovenska frančiškana, eden v Aleksandriji in drugi v Kairu. V posameznih obdobjih se je njihova zastopanost spreminjala in je bilo v samostanih celo več Slovencev, v krajšem obdobju po prvi svetovni vojni pa tudi manj, ko je slovenski frančiškan deloval le v Kairu. Zasedba je bila povečana zlasti v letih pred prvo svetovno vojno. Viri beležijo tedanjo navzočnost slovenskih frančiškanskih redovnih bratov. Tako je v letih 1909–1911 v Aleksandriji ob slovenskem duhovniku deloval br. Rok Kastelic, v Kairu pa v letih 1909–1912 br. Tomaž Perovšek,⁵ ki je nato odšel v Emavs. V letih 1912–1914 je v Aleksandriji deloval br. Viktorijan Žnidaršič.⁶

V biografskem pregledu slovenskih dušnih pastirjev predstavljamo frančiškane, ki so imeli redno skrb za delo med Slovenci. V tem oziru izpuščamo nekatere hrvaške frančiškane, ki so svoje delovanje začasno razširili med Slovence,⁷ pa tudi

⁵ Br. Tomaž Perovšek (1872–1939) je v Sveti deželi preživel 31 let. Sprva je deloval v Egiptu, nato pa v Palestini. Od leta 1914 dalje je bil zakristan v samostanu Presvetega Odršenika v Jeruzalemu, kjer je po 25 letih delovanja tudi umrl. Pokopan je bil na frančiškanskem pokopališču na Sionu. (CVF 1939, 94–95)

⁶ Podatke vsebujejo koledarji Družbe sv. Mohorja za navedena leta v imeniku naročnikov.

⁷ Med Slovenci so delovali hrvaški patri: Ivan Jurić in Jeronim Golubović (v Aleksandriji po letu 1890), Luka Terzić (v letih 1902–1908 je v Kairu v omejenem obsegu deloval med Slovenci) in Stanko Perović (skrb za Slovence je ob odsotnosti slovenskega duhovnika prevzel dvakrat: leta 1942 v Kairu in po letu 1957 v Aleksandriji).

slovenske duhovnike, ki so slovenskim kuratom pomagali ob posebnih priložnostih ali so se v Egiptu mudili iz drugih razlogov.⁸ Predstavitev je urejena po kronološkem redu službovanja slovenskih pastirjev. Ob koncu dodajamo tudi grafično podobo njihovega delovanja. Večina obravnavnih frančiškanov v prispevku je prvič deležna sistematičnega življenjepisnega prikaza s poudarkom na njihovem delovanju v Egiptu, saj nekateri v dosedanjih študijah s tega področja niso bili niti omenjeni.

3.1 Hubert Rant

Hubert (Avgust) Rant (1870–1931) se je rodil 29. aprila 1870 na Koroški Beli. V frančiškanski red je vstopil na Trsatu, nato pa je živel v samostanih v Kamniku in na Kostanjevici pri Gorici. V Ljubljani je bil 9. julija 1893 posvečen v duhovnika. (Letopis ljubljanske škofije 1894, 206) Po enoletnem duhovniškem službovanju v župniji Marijinega oznanjenja v Ljubljani je sprejel zahtevno delo izseljenskega duhovnika med Slovani v Aleksandriji, kamor je prišel 29. septembra 1894. (Rant 1894, 239) Njegovo delo v župniji sv. Katarine je obsegalo predvsem skrb za slovenske izseljenke, ki so med Slovani iz avstrijskih dežel številčno prednjačile. Rant je v Egiptu z vzpostavitvijo bogoslužja za Slovence in z organizacijo društvenega življenja povezal dotlej razpršene slovenske rojake in jih potrjeval v njihovi verski in narodni istovetnosti. V njegovem času so se Slovenci začeli organizirano zbirati pri nedeljskem bogoslužju v cerkvi sv. Katarine. Rojake je v domačem jeziku prvič nagovoril že prvo nedeljo po svojem prihodu, in to na rožnovensko nedeljo 1894. V začetnem obdobju je pri predstojnikih izkušal nasprotovanje zaradi slovenske besede pri bogoslužju, a je kmalu uveljavil svojo pravico do redne slovenske pridige, ki je izhajala iz njegovega imenovanja za slovanskega kurata. Rimska Kongregacija za širjenje vere ga je v službenem odloku namreč imenovala »curato per gli Slavi« (240). S Slovenci je vsako leto slovesno praznoval god sv. Cirila in Metoda, običaj, ki ga je pozneje nadaljeval tudi njegov naslednik. Rant je bil leta 1895 med ustanovitelji slovensko-hrvaškega društva Sloga (od leta 1898 dalje Slovenska palma ob Nilu), v katerem je opravljal delo društvenega duhovnika. Članice društva so bile v potrebi deležne socialnega in zdravstvenega varstva ter posredovanja služb, drugače pa so se zbirale k razvedrilu in druženju, ki je krepilo domoljubje.

Rantovo šestletno delovanje v Aleksandriji je bilo polno naporov za duhovno in materialno blaginjo Slovencev, ki so se v zahtevnih življenjskih razmerah v tujini srečevali z različnimi preizkušnjami. V svojih dopisih v *Zgodnji danici* je prosil za darove za pomoč posameznikom v denarni stiski. Tako si je, denimo, prizadeval za pomoč slovenski deklenci, ki je zapuščena mati samohranilka ni mogla preživljati (ZD 1895b, 86). Vztrajno je zbiral darove tudi za Jurija Hermina, slovenskega učitelja na frančiškanski samostanski šoli pri sv. Katarini, ki je po njenem zaprtju ostal

⁸ Nekateri slovenski duhovniki v Egiptu: Engelbert Pollak (spovedoval na ljudskem misijonu v Aleksandriji leta 1906), koroški župnik Jurij Trunk (ob večmesečnem zdravljenju tudi pomagal v Aleksandriji leta 1906), neki »p. Kerne« (skrbel za aleksandrijske Slovence leta 1939 – B 1939, 70), ljubljanski škofijski duhovnik Stanislav Natlačen (med drugo svetovno vojno vojaški kurat na Bližnjem vzhodu, leta 1944 v Egiptu) idr.

brezposeln in nato ustanovil manjšo zasebno šolo za preživljanje družine, s katero je živel v Aleksandriji (ZD 1895a, 46; 1895c, 110–111). Za duhovni blagor in sprostitvev izseljencev je skrbel tudi z načrtovanjem slovenskih romanj v Sveto deželo (S 1896a, 1; 1896b, 2). Iz domovine je uredil pošiljanje knjig Mohorjeve družbe in revije *Domoljub*. Rant je kot prvi slovenski duhovnik v Aleksandriji postavil temelje za ureditev verskih, socialnih in kulturnih razmer naših rojakov, zato je bil njegov prihod »neprecenljivega pomena« (Soča 1897, 1). Poleti 1900 je zapustil Egipt in nastopil novo službo vojaškega kurata. Do prve svetovne vojne je bil v Gorici, Innsbrucku, Trstu in v Dubrovniku, med vojno na ruski in italijanski fronti, po vojni pa je kot »jugoslovensko orijentirani narodnjak« deloval v Novem Sadu in se leta 1930 upokojil kot višji vojaški duhovnik (SN 1931, 2). Umrl je novembra 1931 v Leonišču v Ljubljani (B 1932, 20) in bil pokopan pri Sv. Križu na ljubljanskih Žalah.

3.2 Benigen Snoj

Benigen (Franc) Snoj (1867–1942) se je rodil 17. septembra 1867 v Zagorju ob Savi. Leta 1886 je vstopil v frančiškanski red. V samostanih na Trsatu (1887) in v Kostanjevici pri Novi Gorici (1888–89) je nadaljeval gimnazijsko izobraževanje ter leta 1889 v Kamniku vstopil v bogoslovje in tam dve leti študiral teologijo (1889–1891). V drugem letniku bogoslovja ga je 17. decembra 1890 v Ljubljani v duhovnika posvetil škof Jakob Missia (AM 1938, 12). Nadaljnji dve leti teološkega študija je opravil v škofijskem semenišču v Ljubljani (1891–1893), kjer je končal študij. Po duhovniškem službovanju v Kamniku in v Novem mestu je aprila 1901 odšel v Aleksandrijo k sv. Katarini, kjer je postal izseljenski misijonar za Slovence in tam ostal do leta 1909. Pozneje je bil prvi slovenski duhovnik, ki je deloval v Kairu, in to med letoma 1909 in 1913 v novozgrajeni cerkvi sv. Jožefa. Skupaj s predhodnikom p. Rantom velja za glavnega organizatorja slovenskega izseljenskega življenja.

Snoj se je v Egiptu posvečal mnogim pastoralnim in organizacijskim dejavnostim (Trontelj 2019, 788). Versko življenje je spodbujal z vsakoletnimi postnimi duhovnimi vajami (Snoj 1905, 47). Že prvo leto je v Kairu in v Aleksandriji organiziral tudi enotedenski adventni ljudski misijon (Kolar 2018, 151). Med Slovenci je redno širil versko literaturo. Kot zastopnik Družbe sv. Mohorja je urejal naročnine za knjige iz Mohorjeve zbirke. Iz ZDA je pridobil pošiljke *Amerikanskega Slovenca* (AM 1941a, 5), od leta 1903 dalje so v Egiptu iz Ljubljane prejemale revijo *Bogoljub* (B 1903, 16), med aleksandrinkami je širil tudi glasilo *Ave Maria* (AM 1916, 24). Za njihovo duhovno rast se je posebej zavzemal. Dekleta je spremljal ves čas njihovega bivanja, pogosto organiziral romanja, v Kairu je vodil Frančiškov tretji red. Njegova duhovniška skrb za Slovenke je očitna v spisu *Slovenka v Egiptu* (CVF 1910a, 237–241; 1910b, 269–275), v katerem je objavil navodila slovenskim izseljenkam za zgledno versko in domoljubno življenje. Med Snojeve največje organizacijske dosežke uvrščamo pridobitve, ki so naše izseljence povezale tudi v širšem narodnem in kulturnem napredku. Kljub delovanju društva Slovenska palma ob Nilu, v katerem je bil odbornik, je leta 1902 v Aleksandriji ustanovil še društvo Krščanska zveza Slovenk, ki je organiziralo redna pritočasna nedeljska srečanja z veroukom, občasne gledališke predstave, različna praznovanja in dejavnosti. V

Kairu je vodil podobno Društvo sv. Cirila in Metoda, krajši čas tudi Gospejno društvo za varstvo deklet, ki je skrbelo za sprejem deklet in posredovanje služb (NČ 1912, 5–6). Leta 1907 je bil v Aleksandriji med ustanovitelji ljudske šole za slovenske in hrvaške otroke. Spodbudil in uredil je prihod slovenskih šolskih sester sv. Frančiška Kristusa Kralja, ki so od leta 1908 dalje vodile šolo in od leta 1912 dalje tudi (avstrijsko) zavetišče za slovenske služkinje. V začetku leta 1913 je bil iz Kaira poklican v Jeruzalem, kjer je v vodstvu Kustodije Svete dežele kot prvi Slovenec nastopil službo svetovalca (diskreta) za Slovence in Nemce in postal ožji sodelavec kustosa (D 1913, 158). Delo je opravljal do novembra 1914, ko je sprejel vodstveno službo komisarja slovenskih, hrvaških in slovaških bratov v Brooklynu. V ZDA je prišel spomladi 1915 in na različnih postojankah preživel največji del svojega duhovniškega poslanstva in tam ostal do smrti. Umrl je 10. maja 1942 v Lemontu, kjer je pokopan.

3.3 Evgen Stanet

Evgen (Martin) Stanet (1876–1942) se je rodil 23. aprila 1876 v Vurberku na Štajerskem. V frančiškanski red je vstopil oktobra 1895 in bil 25. julija 1901 posvečen v duhovnika. Najprej je nekaj let deloval po frančiškanskih postojankah na Slovenskem, na Sveti Gori pri Gorici, v Kamniku in v Ljubljani. Aprila 1906 je prvič deloval med slovenskimi izseljenci, ko je bil krajši čas na Vestfalskem v Porenju (B 1906a, 187). Leta 1907 je bil določen za apostolskega misijonarja med egiptovskimi Slovenci, ki so tudi v Kairu potrebovali slovenskega duhovnika. Za to delo ga je navdušil Snój, ki je tedaj deloval v Aleksandriji. Stanet je v Egiptu nato služboval vse svoje življenje, skoraj ves čas v Kairu. Dne 2. marca 1908 je najprej prispel v Aleksandrijo, kjer je med 8. in 15. marcem vodil postne duhovne vaje za tamkajšnje Slovence, zatem pa se je preselil v Kairo in tam nasledil predhodnika p. Luka Terzića ter postal prvi slovenski izseljenski duhovnik pri sv. Jožefu. Tam je od 22. do 29. marca že vodil duhovne vaje za številno kairsko slovensko skupnost (D 1908, 236). Decembra 1908 je bilo po prizadevanju Slovenke Elizabete Mrak, dobrotnice naših izseljenk, v Zavodu sv. Elizabete ustanovljeno društvo sv. Cirila in Metoda.⁹ Njegov prvi duhovni voditelj je postal Stanet. Pater je sprva v Kairu ostal le do septembra 1909, ko je bil na njegovo mesto iz Aleksandrije prestavljen Snój, sam pa se je za skoraj štiri leta preselil v Aleksandrijo. V tem času je s Snojem usmerjal delo Rafaelove družbe za izseljence v Egiptu in 27. maja 1911 pripravil praktična navodila za sprejemanje Slovenk in o nadzoru nad njimi (NŠAL, Konkretna navodila za vodstvo Rafaelove družbe v Egiptu 1911). Leta 1913 je znova prišel v Kairo in tam (razen med prvo svetovno vojno) ostal do smrti.

Med prvo svetovno vojno so ga Angleži kot avstrijskega državljana internirali. Leta vojnega ujetništva je preživel v zaporu vojašnice pri palači Ras el Tin na morskem obrežju v Aleksandriji (CVF 1916, 330–331). Tam je z drugimi frančiškanskimi jetniki ob smrti avstrijskega cesarja Franca Jožefa leta 1916 obhajal žalno bo-

⁹ Delovanje društva je bilo med prvo svetovno vojno ustavljeno, leta 1920 ponovno obnovljeno, leta 1929 pa se je zaradi dotrajanosti stavbe zavoda preselilo k šolskim sestram, ki so v Kairu odprle svojo podružnico (Žigon 2003, 15). Društvo so poleg naših frančiškanov odtlej vodile tudi sestre.

goslužje v improvizirani kapeli na hodniku zapora (1917, 156–157). Po koncu vojne se je vrnil v Kairo. Poleti 1921 je šel še v Jeruzalem, kjer je do konca leta štiri mesece opravljal službo v cerkvi božjega groba. Nato se je kljub vabilu za selitev v ZDA raje spet vrnil v Kairo, da bi skrbel za slovensko skupnost (E 1922, 2). Pri svojem dušnopastirskem delu je bil ves na voljo našim izseljencem, zato so mu rekli tudi duhovni oče egiptovskih Slovencev. Slovenska primorska dekleta pa so ga imenovala kar »naš očka« (V 1938, 155). V Egiptu je redno skrbel za širjenje slovenskih časopisov in za ohranjanje stika z domovino. Naročal je *Koledar družbe sv. Mohorja* in *Koledar Goriške matice*. Med Slovenkami so v času njegovega delovanja v Kairu krožili tudi ženski katoliški list *Vigred* in časopisa *Bogoljub* in *Glasnik Srca Jezusovega*. Stanet je za slovenska dekleta v Kairu vodil manjše prosvetno društvo, ki je imelo na voljo oder za gledališke in druge kulturne predstave (J 1935, 5). Za Slovence je v cerkvi sv. Jožefa maševal v nedeljo ob 7. uri zjutraj in imel slovensko pridigo. Popoldne je imel za Slovenke v kapeli šolskih sester skupni blagoslov, nato pa so se izseljenke sprostile ob veselih domačih pesmih (V 1938, 155).

Ob delovanju v Egiptu ni pozabil niti na Slovence v domovini, saj je domov pogosto pošiljal darove za razne potrebe. Kljub oddaljenosti od doma je ostajal povezan z rojaki na Slovenskem. V obdobju med obema vojnama je večkrat prišel na obisk v domovino. Znani so njegovi obiski v Ljubljani v letih 1923, 1929 in 1935, ko je pri frančiškanih preživel krajši oddih. Ob prvem obisku je v Ljubljani 6. avgusta obiskal prostore Družbe sv. Petra Klaverja, ki je skrbel za pomoč misijonom v Afriki, in prevzel razne zvezke afriških igrice za razvedrilo (OA 1923, 103). Drugič je bil na obisku le nekaj dni (CVF 1929, 375). V domovini je bil zadnjič poleti 1935 (R 1935, 7). Umril je 2. (ali 4.) februarja 1942 v Kairu. Pogreba pri sv. Jožefu so se udeležili mnogi Slovenci in visoka predstavnika jugoslovanskega poslaništva (AM 1942, 23). Pokopan je na latinskem pokopališču v Kairu.

3.4 Adolf Čadež

Adolf (Janez) Čadež (1871–1948) se je rodil 4. maja 1871 v Trati pri Gorenji vasi v Poljanski dolini. V frančiškanski red je vstopil 9. januarja 1890 in bil 9. junija 1895 posvečen v duhovnika (NŠAL, Seznam članov province, 2). Novo mašo je obhajal dva dni pozneje v cerkvi Marijinega obiskanja na Rožniku (ZD 1895d, 188). Najprej je služboval v samostanu v Nazarjah, od leta 1902 dalje pa pri frančiškanih v Ljubljani. Čez dve leti se je na prošnjo avstrijske vlade prvič odločil za pot v tujino. Kot misijonar je od novembra 1904 do avgusta 1906 deloval v Carigradu, kjer je bil kaplan v avstrijski bolnišnici v okrožju Galata (CVF 1924, 75). Po vrnitvi v domovino je najprej služboval na Brezjah (B 1906b, 315), nato štiri leta na Kostanjevici pri Novi Gorici, od leta 1910 dalje pa tri leta v Žabnicah v Kanalski dolini.

V Egiptu je deloval v dveh obdobjih. Službo med slovenskimi izseljenci je prvič nastopil pred izbruhom prve svetovne vojne. V začetku leta 1913 je nastala potreba po novem slovenskem duhovniku v Kairu, ker je dotedanji dušni pastir Snój nastopil novo službo v vodstvu frančiškanske kustodije v Jeruzalemu. Čadež je prevzel skrb za Slovenke, ki so tam služile pri bogatih družinah. Po enomesečnem bivanju v Kairu je zamenjal mesto s Stanetom, ki se je vrnil v Kairo, sam pa je do

leta 1914 ostal v Aleksandriji. Julija 1914 je v cerkvi sv. Katarine sodeloval pri maši za ustreljenega prestolonaslednika Franca Ferdinanda in njegovo ženo, avgusta je v kapeli slovenskih šolskih sester maševal ob rojstnem dnevu cesarja Franca Jožefa. (CVF 1928, 152; 155) Sledila so težka leta vojnega ujetništva na Malti, ki ga je preživljal v taboru Verdala in v St. Clemens Camp. V njegovem pismu frančiškanskemu sobratu beremo, da je vsako jutro maševal v improvizirani kapeli in se učil tujih jezikov (AS 1915, 3). V angleškem zaporu na Malti je preživel več kakor pet let, od novembra 1914 do januarja 1920, ko se je vrnil v domovino. Nekaj let je opravljal službe v domači provinci, in to pri Sveti Trojici v Slovenskih Goricah (1920–1922), v Novem mestu (1922–1924) in v Ljubljani (1924–1925). V tem času je bil odgovoren za zbiranje prispevkov za gradnjo cerkve v Šiški. (CVF 1924a, 37–38)

Novembra 1925 je ponovno odšel v Aleksandrijo in opravljal svoje delo med Slovenci in tudi med Nemci in Italijani (B 1925, 282). Bil je spovednik nemških sester iz Družbe sv. Karla Boromejskega. Med svojim drugima bivanjem v Egiptu je objavljal daljše misijonske spomine v revijah *Ave Maria*, *Cvetje in Bogoljub*. Na posebno literaren način je predstavil izbruh okužbe zapoznele ‚španske gripe‘ (virus influence) v samostanu leta 1926. (AM 1927, 215–216) Leta 1926 je prvič obiskal Sveto deželo, od leta 1932 dalje pa je tam do smrti opravljal različne službe v Kustodiji Svete dežele. Najprej je deloval v samostanu Betfage v Jeruzalemu (ponovno leta 1939), nato v Betlehemu (leta 1934), v baziliki božjega groba v Jeruzalemu, v Jafi (leta 1942) in drugod. Umrli je 10. januarja 1948 v Jeruzalemu in bil pokopan na Sionu.

3.5 Bruno Schiffrer in Ferdinand Zajec

Bruno (Kazimir) Schiffrer in Ferdinand (Franc) Zajec (tudi Zajc) sta v Egiptu zaradi različnih razlogov preživela manj časa, kakor je bilo načrtovano. Tedaj je veljalo: misijonar naj bi med izseljenci opravil vsaj šestletni mandat (CVF 1927, 82). Bruno je svoje poslanstvo končal predčasno, ker je zapustil duhovni poklic, Ferdinand pa se je moral vrniti zaradi zdravstvenih težav.

Temeljni vir za predstavitev življenjepisnih podatkov skrivnostnega Bruna Schiffrerja je njegovo pismo predstojnikom ob izstopu iz kleriškega stanu, ki ga je napisal v italijanščini (NŠAL, Curriculum vitae Casimiri Schiffrer 1926). Rodil se je 19. februarja 1893 na Rudniku pri Ljubljani. V frančiškanski red je vstopil oktobra 1908. Noviciat je opravil v Brežicah. V mašnika je bil posvečen 22. junija 1915, še preden je mogel zaradi bolezenskega stanja (nevrašenija) končati teološki študij pri frančiškanih v Ljubljani. Do odhoda v Egipt je po eno leto služboval v samostanih v Brežicah in v Nazarjah, nato je šel v Maribor, kjer je v samostanu končal študij. Zatem je služboval pri Sveti Trojici v Slovenskih Goricah, kjer je bil tedaj gvardijan p. Adolf Čadež, ki je nanj naredil velik vtis. Kmalu je sprejel priložnost službovanja med slovenskimi izseljenci v Aleksandriji, ki že od začetka prve svetovne vojne in Čadeževega ujetništva niso imeli svojega dušnega pastirja. Edini slovenski frančiškan Stanet je namreč deloval med kairskimi Slovenci. Tako je Schiffrer postal prvi slovenski duhovnik, ki je po večletni odsotnosti slovenskega frančiškana pri sv. Katarini v Aleksandriji ponovno zasedel mesto izseljenskega misijonarja med tam-

kajšnjimi rojaki, oskrboval pa je tudi nemško govorečo skupnost. V Aleksandrijo je prišel ob koncu oktobra 1921 in ostal skoraj tri leta. Maja 1922 je bil izvoljen za predsednika odbora jugoslovanske dobrodelne družbe, ki se je zgledovala po drugih izseljenskih narodnih skupnostih, ki so že imele svojo „Société de Bienfaisance“ (S 1922, 3), s katero so skrbele za socialno pomoč rojakom. Zaradi krize posvečenega življenja je 26. avgusta 1924 nenapovedano zapustil samostan sv. Katarine in prek Aten odpotoval na Dunaj, kjer je sprožil postopek laizacije in začel obiskovati tamkajšnjo znano konzularno akademijo. O njegovem življenju pozneje ni veliko znanega. Iz njegovih drugih dopisov, ki jih hrani NŠAL, je razvidno, da se je leta 1927 z Dunaja preselil v Zemun.

Schifferrerja je novembra 1924 v Aleksandriji nasledil Ferdinand Zajec, glasbenik in slikar. Rodil se je 30. maja 1876 v Novem mestu. V red je vstopil 12. septembra 1892, v mašnika pa je bil posvečen 30. oktobra 1898. Dostopni podatki pričujejo, da je bil leta 1904 organist in učitelj pri frančiškanih v Novem mestu (DN 1919, 74). Na podlagi letopisov ljubljanske nadškofije za posamezna leta izvemo, da je bil leta 1909 v samostanu na Tromostovju, v letih 1910–1917 na Viču, leta 1918 v Kamniku, kjer je bil *magister cantus*, leta 1919 pa ponovno v Novem mestu. Pred odhodom v Aleksandrijo je bil nekaj let na Viču, kjer je vodil pevski zbor in dvakrat (leta 1922 in leta 1924) organiziral koncert z orkestrom (Župnija Vič 2021). V Aleksandrijo je odpotoval 10. novembra 1924 in svoje potovanje in življenje v novem okolju opisal v dveh člankih za *Slovenca*, in to v prvem (1924, 3) in drugem delu (1925, 3) potopisa. Kot apostolski misijonar je med Slovenci deloval le eno leto, vendar je s prizadevnim delom pustil pečat v zgodovini duhovne oskrbe izseljencev. Za obdobje njegovega bivanja v Afriki vemo, da je na željo krajevnega škofa, apostolskega vikarja Nutija,¹⁰ in za potrebe župnije sv. Katarine pripravil popis vseh slovenskih rojakov v Egiptu, ki ga je prvi naredil že Benigen Snoj (3). S šolskimi sestrami si je prizadeval za zgraditev Slovenskega doma, ki bi prevzel poslanstvo avstro-ogrskega zavetišča (GS 1925, 75, 2), a načrt ni bil nikoli uresničen. Sestre so od leta 1926 dalje azil vodile v svojem samostanu in ga pozneje preimenovali v Azil sv. Frančiška.¹¹ Zajec je bil ob nedeljah navzoč na rednih srečanjih rojakov v zavetišču, kjer je za Slovenke med drugim vodil pevske vaje in z njimi pripravljaj gledališke predstave (M 1925, 432). Svete maše za Slovence je v cerkvi sv. Katarine opravljal ob nedeljah ob pol sedmih zjutraj. Novembra 1925 se je vrnil v domovino, v Egipt pa je ponovno prišel Čadež (D 1925, 487). Po vrnitvi je veliko pozornosti vzbudilo njegovo pismo o stanju slovenskih deklet v Aleksandriji, ki sta ga objavila časopisa *Cvetje* in *Goriška straža* (CVF 1927, 82–84). V njem je odsve-toval iskanje zaposlitve v daljnih krajih in opozarjal na grešno življenje nekaterih izseljenk. Prizadete Slovenke so v odgovoru za *Goriško stražo* pojasnile razmere in izrazile zaskrbljenost zaradi krivic, ki jih je sprožil Zajčev članek (GS 1928, 3). Po vrnitvi v domačo provinco je deloval v Kamniku (1926) in v Novem mestu (1926), nato v Ljubljani (1930), Novem mestu (1931), pri Novi Štifti (1936), po letu 1944

¹⁰ Nadškof Igino Nuti (apostolski vikar v Aleksandriji v letih 1922–1949) se je julija 1939 udeležil mednarodnega kongresa Kristusa Kralja v Ljubljani in vodil polnočno mašo pri frančiškanih (S 1939a, 1).

¹¹ Šolske sestre so azil odprle tudi v Kairu (1929).

pa ga spet zasledimo v Ljubljani. Umrli je 9. avgusta 1949 v Sodražici. Pokopan je na Žalah v Ljubljani (NŠAL, Seznam članov province, 2).

3.6 Kerubin Begelj

Kerubin (Franc) Begelj (1895–1964) se je rodil 25. julija 1895 v Cerkljah na Gorenjskem. Gimnazijo je obiskoval v Kranju. V frančiškanski red je vstopil 28. julija 1910, v mašnika je bil posvečen 22. aprila 1917 (NŠAL, Seznam članov province, 6). Sprva je deloval v samostanih na Sveti Gori in na Višarjah, nato pa že sprejel zahtevno službo med ameriškimi Slovenci, ko je v slovenski župniji v New Yorku postal kaplan (1925) in župnik (1926) ter tam nasledil prvega župnika, nekdanjega egiptovskega dušnega pastirja Benigna Snoja. Po nekaj letih se je vrnil v domovino in deloval v Kamniku in krajši čas kot kaplan v Ljubljani pri Marijinem oznanjenju (1931). Obogaten z dragocenimi izkušnjami misijonskega dela v ZDA, je sprejel novo nalogo. Maja 1932 je v Aleksandriji nasledil Čadeža, ki je odšel v Palestino (IV 1932, 16). V pismu domači provinci je nekoč zapisal, da je bil že od gimnazijskih let očaran nad egiptovsko deželo in nad tamkajšnjim delom naših frančiškanov (NŠAL, Poročila slovenske frančiškanske province 15. 10. 1955, 61–62). Z odhodom v Egipt se mu je uresničila tiha želja, zato ne preseneča dejstvo, da je med aleksandrijskimi Slovenci preživel kar 25 let.

V letih svojega bivanja na severu Afrike je bil kot njegovi predhodniki tudi sam društvenik Mohorjeve družbe in je skrbel za dobavo slovenskih knjig in časopisov. V pastoralnem oziru je v velikem tednu pred veliko nočjo organiziral tridnevne duhovne vaje. Spodbujal je tudi društveno življenje. Poleg sodelovanja v slovenskem azilu sv. Frančiška, ki je sodil v ožji delokrog naših frančiškanov in je pomenil kraj srečevanja narodne skupnosti, se je do druge svetovne vojne dalje rad udeleževal tudi družabnih in kulturnih dogodkov pod okriljem Jugoslovanskega doma, ki so ga leta 1936 v Aleksandriji ustanovili jugoslovanski rojaki, med katerimi je bilo največ Slovencev.¹² Zaradi njegovega vestnega dela pri razvoju verskega in kulturnega življenja med izseljenci ga je jugoslovanska vlada leta 1939 odlikovala z redom sv. Sava (S 1939b, 4). Ob rednem delu za naše izseljence je bil na voljo tudi slovenskim romarjem in popotnikom. Ob prizadevanju za ohranitev slovenske besede v cerkvi in v družabnem življenju je doživljal veliko nasprotovanja, ki je raslo iz sočasnega uveljavljanja fašizma v mednarodnem prostoru. Po drugi svetovni vojni in zlasti po egiptovski revoluciji (leta 1952) so se tujci iz Egipta postopno začeli izseljevati, zato je začelo upadati tudi število Slovencev. Begelj je leta 1955 poznal le še kakih sto rojakov, ki so v Aleksandriji živeli redno versko življenje. Ti so se ob nedeljskem bogoslužju zbirali v kapeli šolskih sester. Mnogi Slovenci pa so se oddaljili od verskega in narodnega življenja pod okriljem slovenske frančiškanske misije in se porazgubili ali poročili z nekatoličani in drugoverci. (NŠAL, Poročila 15. 10. 1955, 62) Zaradi poslabšanega zdravja in upadanja slovenske navzočnosti v Aleksandriji se je Begelj

¹² Jugoslovanski dom je zaradi političnih delitev začasno prenehal delovati po drugi svetovni vojni. Ponovno je deloval med letoma 1954 in 1970, zatem pa je v Egiptu dokončno zamrlo organizirano slovenstvo. (Žigon 2003, 20–21)

poleti 1957 vrnil v domovino, in to na Kostanjevico pri Novi Gorici.¹³ Sprva naj bi se naselil v samostanu v Ljubljani, a je izrazil željo po nastavitvi v kraju s toplejšim podnebjem, ki se ga je privadil v Egiptu. Na Kostanjevici je do smrti opravljal delo spovednika. Bil je tudi član Cirilmetodijskega društva katoliških duhovnikov SRS (*Delo* 1964, 8). Umrli je 17. avgusta 1964 in bil naslednji dan pokopan na Sveti Gori. Begelj je bil zadnji slovenski frančiškan, ki je v Aleksandriji opravljal službo izseljenškega duhovnika za Slovence. Po njegovem odhodu je za Slovence še nekaj let skrbel p. Ivo (Stanislav) Perović (1913–1995).

3.7 Jozafat Ambrožič

Jozafat (Janez) Ambrožič se je rodil 24. avgusta 1903 v Krnici pri Bledu. Leta 1930 je vstopil v beneško frančiškansko provinco sv. Antona Padovanskega. Študij filozofije je opravil v frančiškanskih šolah v Benetkah in v Padovi ter tudi v samostanu v Kopru, ki je med obema vojnama sodil v beneško provinco. Po ukinitvi klerikata v Kopru je odšel na študij teologije na Antonianum v Rim, kjer je izrekel slovesne obljube za redovno življenje. Po dveh letih študija je leta 1935 kot prostovoljec odšel v Jeruzalem in od blizu spoznaval življenje vzhodnih Cerkva ter čez dve leti končal teološki študij. Jeruzalemski patriarh Luigi Barlassina ga je 18. julija 1937 v Nazaretu posvetil v duhovnika. Novomašne podobice v ruščini pričujejo o Ambrožičevem zanimanju za bizantinsko obredje in o zavzemanju za edinost med slovanskimi kristjani. (CVF 1938, 25)

P. Jozafat je po krajšem delovanju v samostanu pri božjem grobu v Jeruzalemu leta 1938 nastopil službo med številnimi Slovenci v Aleksandriji, kjer se je pridružil dvema slovenskima frančiškanoma, ki sta že skrbeli zanj, Beglju in Kernetu. Naselil se je pri cerkvi sv. Antona v naselju Moharram Bey, ki je bil Slovincem znan, saj je tam do leta 1926 deloval Azil Franca Jožefa. Leta 1939, ob 400. obletnici Marijinih prikazovanj na Sveti Gori, je organiziral slovesno večerno procesijo s svečami po mestnih ulicah s sliko svetogorske Kraljice, ki drugače krasi notranjost aleksandrijske kapele slovenskih šolskih sester sv. Frančiška. Procesija je potekala od samostana šolskih sester do cerkve sv. Antona in nazaj (KG 1989, 6). Menda se nikoli prej ali pozneje v Egiptu ni zbralo toliko Slovencev kakor pri tej pobožnosti. Ambrožič je leta 1943 odšel v Kairo in pri sv. Jožefu nasledil umrlega predhodnika Staneta (1942) in postal kurat za Slovence. Pred Ambrožičevim prihodom je za naše izseljence eno leto začasno skrbel Perović. V Kairu je nato Ambrožič preživel več kakor dvajset plodnih in ustvarjalnih let in skrbel za mnoge Slovence v različnih preizkušnjah. Poleg duhovne in materialne oskrbe naših izseljencev se je med drugo svetovno vojno zanimal tudi za slovenske vojake jugoslovanske kraljeve armade, ki je s kraljem prebegnila v Egipt. Armadi so se po porazu Italije in po angleškem ujetništvu pridružili tudi primorski Slovenci, ki so bili do zloma italijanske afriške ofenzive

¹³ Begljev odhod iz Egipta zaradi upada števila Slovencev po drugi svetovni vojni ni bil osamljen primer, saj so tudi izseljenski kurati drugih narodnosti zapuščali samostan sv. Katarine in se je osebje v samostanu po vojni močno zmanjšalo.

italijanski vojaki.¹⁴ Za zajete vojake je ob koncu leta 1942 ob nedeljah maševal v vojaškem taborišču El Tahag.

V samostanu sv. Jožefa, kjer je bival do leta 1962, je opravljal delo vikarja in knjižničarja (Franciscans 1950, 39). Veliko se je posvečal raziskovalni in pisateljski dejavnosti. Med vojno je kot »cerkveni cenzor« (Novačan 1986, 253) bedel nad izhajanjem slovenskega družbenopolitičnega glasila *Bazovica*, ki je v letih 1941–1944 izhajalo pod vodstvom slovenskega narodnega delavca Ivana Rudolfa v Kairu in skrbelo za dobro moralo v Jugoslovanskem kraljevem gardnem bataljonu¹⁵ (Torkar 2014, 150). Ambrožič je v Kairu sestavil strokovni knjižni deli, *Gorje* (1958) in *Slovenci v Sveti deželi* (nedokončano) (Kolar 2013), a deli javnosti nista dostopni. Napisal je tudi tako imenovano egiptovsko pravljico za otroke o pomenu molitve, ki jo je goriška revija *Pastirček* leta 1974 objavila za postni čas. V duhu zbliževanja vzhodnega in zahodnega krščanstva je pogosto raziskoval po koptskih knjižnicah in zbiral gradivo o vzhodnem krščanstvu. Večkrat so ga gostili menihi na Sinaju. Zaradi ekumenskega delovanja je od patriarha sirske katoliške Cerkve Ignacija Tappounija prejel častni naziv kornega škofa ali prvega kanonika (1947), ki ga vzhodne Cerkve podeljujejo zaslužnim posameznikom (neškofofom) že od prvih stoletij krščanstva dalje.

Kot pastoralni delavec je za Slovence pogosto organiziral romanja in izlete po Sveti deželi in v Egiptu. Med njegovim delovanjem v Kairu so se Slovenci pri sv. Jožefu k bogoslužju zbirali ob nedeljah in zapovedanih praznikih ob 6. uri. Ob 9. uri je maševal tudi v zavodu pri slovenskih šolskih sestrah, vsak dan pa v kapeli usmiljenih sester sv. Karla Boromejskega. (Trontelj 2020, 15) Zadnja tri leta bivanja v Kairu (1962–1965) je preživel kot župnik in gvardijan v četrti Muski, kjer deluje inštitut za vzhodne krščanske študije. Leta 1962 je srebrno mašo praznoval v domači župniji v Gorjah, kjer mu je pridigal provincial p. Benjamin Tomšič. Leta 1965 je sprejel odločitev kustosa Svete dežele za premestitev k sv. Petru v Tiberijo ob Galilejskem jezeru, kjer je pet let vodil obsežno župnijo z majhnim številom katoličanov. V tistih letih je rad sprejemal romarje v Sveto deželo, ki so bili pogosto tudi Slovenci. Umrli je 2. decembra 1970 v samostanu Betfage na Oljski gori. Pokopan je v Jeruzalemu. Do konca je ostal član beneške province, čeprav je vse življenje kot duhovnik deloval v postojankah Kustodije Svete dežele. Bil je zadnji slovenski frančiškan, ki je deloval med slovenskimi izseljenci v Egiptu.

¹⁴ Največ primorskih Slovencev, članov italijanske vojske, se je znašlo v zavezniškem ujetništvu po izgubi bitke pri El Alameinu novembra 1942. Podobno so bili med ujetniki tudi Slovenci iz zajetih nemških enot. (Ajlec 2013, 153) Pridružili so se kraljevi vojski, nekateri so pozneje prestopili v enote NOV in konec vojne pričakali v domovini, drugi pa so ostali v kraljevi vojski in se po koncu vojne naselili po različnih celinah. Tem je pri selitvi v Argentino pomagal tudi Ambrožič. (Kolar 2013)

¹⁵ Rudolfu so pomoč pri njegovem domoljubnem delovanju v Egiptu, ki ga je uresničeval z izdajanjem *Bazovice* in z zavzemanjem za preganjane primorske Slovence v domovini, zagotavljale tudi šolske sestre. (Stanonik 2018, 161; 167)

4. Tabela slovenskih frančiškanov v Egiptu

Tabela spodaj prikazuje grafično sliko službovanja naših frančiškanov v Aleksandriji in v Kairu po kronološkem redu. Prikaz zajema vse frančiškanske duhovnike, ki so delovali kot slovenski kurati med našimi izseljenci in smo jih obravnavali v tem prispevku.

Aleksandrija	Kairo
p. Hubert Rant (1894–1900)	
p. Benigen Snoj (1901–1909)	p. Evgen Stanet (1908–1909)
p. Evgen Stanet (1909–1913)	p. Benigen Snoj (1909–1913)
p. Adolf Čadež (1913–1914)	p. Adolf Čadež (1913)
p. Bruno Schiffrer (1921–1924)	p. Evgen Stanet (1913–1914)
p. Ferdinand Zajec (1924–1925)	p. Evgen Stanet (1920–1942) ¹
p. Adolf Čadež (1925–1932)	p. Jozafat Ambrožič (1943–1965)
p. Kerubin Begelj (1932–1957) p. Jozafat Ambrožič (1939–1943) ²	

Tabela 1: *Seznam slovenskih frančiškanov, ki so v obdobju 1894–1965 delovali v Aleksandriji in v Kairu.*

5. Sklep

Zgodovina slovenske frančiškanske province priča o trdni vezi med frančiškani in slovenskim narodom. Frančiškovi bratje so se v 20. stoletju za rojaki odpravili v vse smeri neba, kjerkoli po svetu so se ti rojaki v iskanju boljšega življenja naselili v večjem številu. Tako provinca še danes ohranja navzočnost med slovenskimi potomci v ZDA in v Avstraliji, kjer so jim redovniki na voljo v različnih postojankah. Dokler je v Egiptu obstajala slovenska naselbina, so svoje pastoralno delo organizirali tudi v Aleksandriji in v Kairu. Za Slovenci so se odpravili, ko je domače okolje ob koncu 19. stoletja z nezaupanjem vrednotilo množično izseljevanje ženskega prebivalstva v Egipt in so posamezni duhovniki v časopisju opozarjali na negativne vidike tega dogajanja (Mlekuž 2016, 167–168). Čeprav so tudi sami redno svarili pred izzivi življenja v tej afriški deželi, so se v edinosti s cerkvenim vodstvom, ki se je zavedalo resnosti problema slovenskega vsesplošnega izseljevanja in se zavzelo za ukrepanje pri ohranitvi vere in slovenskega jezika v tujini (Riman 2020, 135), odločili, da bodo izseljencem sledili. V Egiptu so izseljencem ves čas njihove navzočnosti zagotavljali široko podporo v verskem in narodnem življenju ter jim na mnoge načine pomagali reševati socialne stiske. V prispevku se s hvaležnostjo oziramo na požrtvovalnost in vztrajnost slovenskih frančiškanov pri njihovem dolgoletnem delu za Slovence v deželi faraonov.

¹ Manjka točen podatek o vrnitvi Staneta v Kairo iz ujetništva po prvi svetovni vojni. Leto 1920 je najzgodnejša izpričana letnica, ko je ponovno deloval v Kairu. (GS 1920, 3)

² Begelj in Ambrožič sta v Aleksandriji nekaj let delovala istočasno, a je Begelj stanoval v samostanu sv. Katarine, Ambrožič pa vsaj na začetku pri sv. Antonu.

Ob koncu velja dodati, da so trajne sledi v širšem prostoru Svete dežele pustili tudi drugi slovenski duhovniki, ki so tam na prelomu iz 19. v 20. stoletje in pozneje opravljali pastoralne ali raziskovalne dejavnosti. Koroški duhovnik Martin Ehrlich (1871–1929) je bil v letih 1902–1910 ravnatelj avstro-ogrskega romarskega gostišča v Jeruzalemu. Nekateri duhovniki raziskovalci so izdali potopise: Frančišek Lampe (*Jeruzalemski romar* 1892), Ivan Knific (*Spomini na Sveto deželo* 1902; *Ob piramidah* 1903), Matija Slavič (*V deželi faraonov* 1914), Anton Jehart (*Iz Kaire v Bagdad* 1929) idr. Pozneje sta pomembno delo na Bližnjem vzhodu opravljala frančiškan p. Metod Brlek (1926–2013), od leta 1959 do smrti član Kustodije Svete dežele in profesor na frančiškanskih ustanovah v Izraelu in v Egiptu, in salezijanec Franc Zajtl (1947–2018), študent filozofije in teologije v Betlehemu in poznejši dolgoletni misijonar v Egiptu. Tudi ti pričujejo o pomembni zgodovini slovenske navzočnosti v svetopisemskih deželah, ki so tolikim duhovnikom prinesle navdih za služenje Bogu in ljudem.

Kratice

- AM** – *Ave Maria* (Lemont).
- AS** – *Amerikanski Slovenec* (Joliet).
- B** – *Bogoljub* (Ljubljana).
- CVF** – *Cvetje z vrtov sv. Frančiška* (Gorica-Ljubljana).
- D** – *Domoljub* (Ljubljana).
- DN** – *Dolenjske novice* (Novo mesto).
- E** – *Edinost* (Chicago).
- GS** – *Goriška straža* (Gorica).
- IV** – *Izseljenski vestnik* (Ljubljana).
- J** – *Jutro* (Ljubljana).
- KDM** – *Koledar Družbe sv. Mohorja* (Celovec).
- KG** – *Katoliški glas* (Gorica).
- M** – *Mladika* (Gorica).
- NČ** – *Novi čas* (Gorica.)
- NŠAL** – Nadškofijski arhiv Ljubljana.
- OA** – *Odmev iz Afrike* (Ljubljana).
- R** – *Izseljenski vestnik Rafael* (Ljubljana).
- S** – *Slovenec* (Ljubljana).
- SN** – *Slovenski narod* (Ljubljana).
- V** – *Vigred* (Ljubljana).
- ZD** – *Zgodnja danica* (Ljubljana).

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Monografije FDI - 22



✧ Rojstvo sakralnosti ✧ hrepenenje po Bogu ✧
občutje svetega ✧ vrojenost ideje o Bogu
✧ razlogi za vero in nevero ✧

Psihoanaliza in sakralno izkustvo

Christian Gostečnik OFM



Christian Gostečnik

Psihoanaliza in sakralno izkustvo

Psihoanalitična relacijska paradigma predpostavlja, da imata tako religiozni kot nereligiozni človek svoje psihične razloge za vero oziroma nevero. Zato je pomembno ugotoviti v kakšnega Boga verujoči veruje oziroma v kakšnega Boga neverujoči ne veruje. Tudi religiozna oseba namreč ne veruje v Boga v katerega nereligiozna oseba ne veruje ali ne more verjeti.

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Grzegorz Szamocki

The Universalism of the Spirit of Prophecy in Numbers 11:26-29¹

Univerzalnost preroškega duha v 4 Mz 11,26-29

Abstract: This article attempts to explain and interpret the mention in Num 11:26-29 of the prophesying of Eldad and Medad in the context of the historical-literary formation process of Num 11, the Book of Numbers as a whole, and other texts dealing with the primary history of Israel.

The presented study results suggest that Num 11:4-32 is a coherent story that received its final form in the late Persian period. The passus in Num 11:26-29 is an addition to the already existing story about the murmuring of the Israelites, the quails, and the prophesying of the seventy elders, which was edited in stages. Its presence can be attributed to the universalising rereading presumed in this article as a phase in the text's formation under consideration, which followed the Hexateuchal and the Pentateuchal redaction. This rereading reflects the universalising tendencies present in the theological and social concepts of the post-exilic community of Judah, which was concerned about its identity. In the case of Num 11:26-29, it emphasises the democratisation of prophecy and the universalism of the prophetic Spirit.

Keywords: Old Testament, Numbers, prophecy, Spirit, universalism, identity

Povzetek: Članek poskuša pojasniti in interpretirati omembo iz 4 Mz 11,26-29 o prerokovanju Eldada in Medada v kontekstu literarnozgodovinskega oblikovanja 11. poglavja 4. Mojzesove knjige, te knjige kot celote in drugih besedil, ki obravnavajo prazgodovino Izraela. Rezultati pričujoče študije vodijo k ugotovitvi, da predstavlja 4 Mz 11,4-32 celovito zgodbo, ki je svojo končno podobo dobila v poznem perzijskem obdobju. Odlomek 4 Mz 11,26-29 je dodatek k že obstoječi zgodbi o stiskah Izraelcev, njihovih bojih in prerokovanju sedemdesetih starešin, ki se je urejala v različnih fazah. Obstoje odlomka lahko pripišemo univerzalističnemu ponovnemu branju (reinterpretaciji), ki ga predpostavljamo kot eno izmed faz v oblikovanju proučevanega besedila – sledila je redakcijam šesteroknižja in peteroknižja. Takšno branje odraža težnje k univerzalnosti, prisotne v teoloških in družbenih konceptih judovske skupnosti v skrbi za njeno

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identiteto po izhodu iz Egipta (eksodusu). V primeru 4 Mz 11,26-29 gre tako za poudarjanje demokratizacije prerokovanja in univerzalizma preroškega duha.

Ključne besede: Stara zaveza, 4. Mojzesova knjiga (Numeri), preroštvo, duh, univerzalnost, identiteta

1. Introduction

The story of the Israelites' complaining and the gift of the spirit of prophecy in Numbers 11 has already received various interpretations both in terms of the theological message and the history of the formation of the text, which is related to differences in the perception of the historical becoming of the Book of Numbers and the entire Pentateuch, and also of the books that follow it in the Hebrew Bible. The current text of Num 11 is the fruit of redaction and elaboration. It concerns the Israelites' complaints and murmuring against Moses and God, God's anger and Moses' intercession, and God's response in the form of the gift of quails and the spirit of prophecy to the elders of the people.

The seventy elders came to the tent of meeting, and there, as God foretold, they received the spirit that was on Moses, and they prophesied. In contrast, Eldad and Medad received the spirit of YHWH and began to prophesy as well, even though they had not come to the tent of meeting. Contrary to Joshua's objections to the prophesying of Eldad and Medad, Moses expressed the wish: »Would that all YHWH's people were prophets, that YHWH would put his spirit on them.« (Num 11:29b)

The aim of this study is not so much to discuss the relationship of God's spirit with prophecy or the nature of the prophecy of the elders and their prophetic status in comparison with the status and authority of Moses but to attempt to indicate the historically possible process of formation of the text with the mention of Eldad and Medad in Num 11, along with what conditioned it, and to discover the message addressed to the first recipients of the current text.

2. Num 11:26-29 in the Structure of Num 11

The text of Num 11 as a larger thematic pericope can easily be separated from the preceding and the following context. Num 10 concludes with a mention of the Israelites' three-day march »from the mount of YHWH« after »the ark of the covenant of YHWH« (vv. 33-36). The beginning of Num 11 is a short, schematic presentation of the people's murmuring as they wandered through the desert (vv. 1-3)². The passage mentions the people's murmuring and complaining, the anger of God, Moses' intercession, the cessation of God's anger, and the etiologi-

² The schematic order of this passage and its function as an introduction to the cycle of seven stories about complaints, rebellion and conflict present in the Book of Numbers was indicated by T. Römer (2007, 433-434). In Num 11:1-3, a link is also seen between the image of the ideal situation of the Israelites marching from Sinai (Num 10:11-36) and the story of the grumbling of the people (Num 11:4-12:16) at the beginning of the unsuccessful conquest of the Promised Land from the south side (Num

cal explanation of the name of the place of murmuring (Tabera). The section of Num 11:4-32 provides a more extensive description of the Israelites' complaints and YHWH's solution to the problem. The statement in Num 11:33-34, with the mention of YHWH's anger against the people and the etiology of the place's name (Kibrot-Hattaawa), recalls thematically and terminologically Num 11:1-3, thus closing the entire pericope of Num 11.³ The last verse of the chapter tells us that the people undertook the next stage of their wandering (v. 35). The theme of Num 12 from the very beginning is the rebellion of Miriam and Aaron against Moses.

The complaining scene described in Num 11:4-32 first gives the reason for the people's complaints. This was food. They wanted meat and had only manna (vv. 4-9). The people's cry ignited the anger of YHWH. It did not please Moses either (v. 10). He then turned to YHWH, bemoaning his fate as a leader and the fact that he was unable to give meat to the people for whom he was concerned (vv. 11-15). YHWH responded to Moses' words by announcing that two things would be given: (1) a spirit for the seventy elders to enable them to bear the burden of the people with Moses (vv. 16-17), and (2) meat for all the people to eat (vv. 18-23). The following verses, in addition to the note that Moses made known to the people the words of YHWH (v. 24a), describe the fulfilment of God's announcements (vv. 24b-32): the gift of the spirit (vv. 24b-30) and meat (vv. 31-32).

There are two parts in the passage about the gift of the spirit (vv. 24b-30). The first (vv. 24b-25) concerns the endowment of prophecy to the seventy elders who came to the tent of meeting. The text mentions the gathering of the elders around the tent (v. 24b), the descent of YHWH and the transmission of the spirit to the elders (v. 25a), and their prophesying (v. 25b). The content of the second part (vv. 26-29) is the episode with Eldad and Medad. According to the biblical text, the spirit rested on Eldad and Medad, and they began to prophesy even though they did not come to the tent (v. 26). A young man said to Moses that Eldad and Medad were acting as prophets (v. 27). Joshua, on the other hand, asked Moses to stop them (v. 28). And Moses expressed the wish that all the people would prophesy through the spirit of YHWH (v. 29). After the words of Moses, it is mentioned in the text that he and the elders went back to the camp (v. 30).

Schematically, the entire section of Num 11:4-32 can be presented as follows:

- vv. 4-15 the complaints of the people and the complaints of Moses
- vv. 16-34 God's reaction
 - vv. 16-24a commands and announcements
 - vv. 16-17 announcement of the gift of the spirit for the seventy elders
 - vv. 18-24a announcement of meat for the people
 - vv. 24b-34 fulfilment of announcements
 - vv. 24b-30 fulfilment of the announcement of the spirit

13:1–14:45), a kind of programmed opening of the saga of that unsuccessful campaign (Knierim and Coats 2005, 172–173).

³ Common words: ,anger of YHWH' /,his anger' (*'ap yhw /'appô*), ,burn' (*hârâ /wayyihar*), ,against the people' /,against them' (*bâ'am /bâm*). In Num 11 the same vocabulary is present more in v. 10ba (*wayyihar-'ap yhw m'ôd*).

- v. 24b gathering of the elders around the tent
- v. 25 bestowing of the spirit on the seventy elders
- vv. 26-29 bestowing of the spirit on Eldad and Medad
 - v. 26 the resting of the spirit on Eldad and Medad and their prophesying
 - vv. 27-29 controversy over the prophesying of Eldad and Medad
- v. 30 return of Moses and the elders to the camp
- vv. 31-32 fulfilment of the announcement of meat (quails)

The content-thematic structure of this section of Num 11:4-32 appears ordered and planned. The lamentation of the people and the complaints of Moses provoke God's response through the gift of the spirit of prophecy and the gift of meat. In the structure read this way, the only surprise is the episode with Eldad and Medad (Num 11:26-29).⁴ This element is not necessary for the content completeness of the entire section's utterance: granting the spirit to the seventy elders was sufficient for YHWH's announced relief of Moses. At least, for this reason, the passage presenting the episode with Eldad and Medad can be considered the result and evidence of the historical development of the Num 11 text.

3. Num 11:26-29 in the History of the Formation of Num 11

In the current discussion on the origin of the Book of Numbers, the opinion appears to be correct that the text of Numbers in its last form is the fruit of both redactional work, especially of the post-exilic redactors of the Pentateuch (and even Hexateuch), and numerous so-called *Fortschreibungen*, that is, successive reworkings, re-readings, revisions, updating and additions to earlier texts.⁵ We can see the rise of Num 11 in this context of literary work.

Most commentators see two intertwined stories in Num 11: (1) about the grumbling over the lack of meat, and the miracle of the quails, and (2) about the elders and the spirit bestowed on them. Researchers generally agree on the chronological precedence of the story about complaining and quails, often identifying it as Yahwistic (J). The material about the elders and the gift of the spirit for them would be attached to it a little later (Noth 1966, 75; Seebass 2003, 42-45; Schmidt 2004, 27; Knierim and Coats 2005, 176-178).⁶ So, scholars see Num 11 as a narrative that has grown in stages (Noth 1966, 79-81; Knierim and Coats 2005, 176-177).

For R. Achenbach, the literary foundation of this chapter was not an old Yahwistic, but a narrative fragment of the post-exilic reformulation of the legends about the exodus, speaking about the miracle of the quails (Achenbach 2003, 219-235).

⁴ Structural distinctiveness of the Eldad-Medad element was noticed and emphasized e.g. by Knierim and George in their reading of the narrative structure of Num 11 (2005, 173-177). For more on other different approaches to this issue, see e.g. Milgrom 1990, 83-84; Achenbach 2003, 220; Seebass 2003, 34-38.

⁵ For the main trends in current research on the issue, see e.g. R. Achenbach (2003; 2007, 1-5), H. Seebass (2008, 234-259), T. Römer (2007, 419-445; 2008, 28-34; 2013, 19-20), R. Albertz (2011a, 171-183; 2011b, 336-347), C. Frevel (2013, 6-32; 2014, 255-299), J.L. Ska (2014, 106-108), and also J. Lemański (2014, 148-155).

⁶ Otherwise, e.g. B.A. Levine, who prefers to regard Num 11 as a coherent composition, instead of distinguishing diachronically two themes (1993, 327-328).

This story was later reworked in the Hexateuchal redaction (in the first half of the 5th century BC) into a story about murmuring and rebellion. The redactor of the Pentateuch (in the second half of the 5th century BC), in turn, extended this basic narrative by adding another about the relief of Moses by the seventy elders, which, in terms of content and language, is not closely related to the story about the quails and its negative interpretation. Instead, it was composed as a legend about the origins of the council of elders (237). In substance, this legend would include the lamentation of Moses (vv. 10aβ.bβ.11-12.14-15), the command and announcement of YHWH (vv. 16-17), the gathering of the seventy elders at the tent of meeting (v. 24b), the descent of YHWH and the giving of the spirit to the elders (v. 25), and the episode with Eldad and Medad (vv. 26-29), followed by an ending (v. 30). The event's location at the tent of the meeting is to testify to the post-Priestly (post-P) Pentateuchal redaction of the material (Achenbach 2003, 246–251). Furthermore, the idea of the council of elders does not allow the redaction of the story to be dated before the 5th century BC (251–259). According to R. Achenbach, the history of relieving Moses in Num 11 is part of the reworking that constituted the Torah in the final process of its formation, and the episode with Eldad and Medad (Num 11:26-30) is a necessary haggadic continuation of this story (Achenbach 2003, 262–263).

In the episode with Eldad and Medad, however, suddenly new content elements appear: the names Eldad and Medad, the enlargement of the group of men endowed with the spirit from seventy to seventy-two, the criterion of being among the written, the unjustified absence of Eldad and Medad at the meeting tent. Both these elements and the fact mentioned above that the episode with Eldad and Medad is not necessary for the content completeness of the section's statement on the fulfilment of YHWH's announcement (vv. 24b-34), rather indicate that the fragment about Eldad and Medad is a separate supplement to the already written history.⁷ The observations and analyses presented here, as well as other historical-critical research, however ambiguous, lead to the preliminary opinion that the passage about Eldad and Medad is a compositional supplement to the post-Priestly story about the elders and the alleviation of Moses' burden.

4. Analysis of Some Expressions and Motifs from Num 11:26-29

Verse 26 states that the two men remained in the camp and did not go out to the tent of meeting, even though they »were of those who were written« (*bakk^etubîm* [v. 26]). The list would therefore include seventy-two elders, but only seventy were gathered around the tent, as commanded by YHWH. Some rabbis believed that Moses had a problem with how to appoint seventy elders from among the people. So first, he chose six from each tribe, so seventy-two in all, and then by drawing lots, two of them were excluded (Sanh 17a; Bemidbar Rabbah 15:18-19)

⁷ Some of the arguments for such a position have already been presented by M. Noth (1966, 80), L. Schmidt (2004, 21.27), and also S. Germany (2017,199–200). H. Seebass includes in this addition also v. 25b (2003, 52–53).

(Goldschmidt 1996, 520; Feuer 2020). Eldad and Medad would therefore be those drawn not to be included in the assembly by the tent. According to another interpretation, the term »were written« refers to the entire body of Israel's elders, of whom seventy were selected (Gray 1956, 114). However, if the episode with Eldad and Medad was added by the redactor at a later stage in the development of the text, as stated above, then the supplementation of the number of the gifted elders to make it up to seventy-two can be understood as a literary reflection of a universalising tendency: the spirit was received by two elders from each tribe of Israel. All of Israel was represented by them.

Whatever the reason for Eldad and Medad's absence at the tent of meeting was, »the spirit rested on them (*tānaḥ [nwh] 'ēlêhem hārûaḥ*) /.../ and they prophesied (*wayyitnabb^eû* [nb' - hitp]) in the camp« (Num 11:26). In the Hebrew Bible, there are references to the mighty coming (*šlh /hyh 'al*) of the spirit of God /YHWH, which introduced a prophetic ecstasy. It was experienced by a group of prophets (1 Sam 10:5-6) and by Saul and his messengers (1 Sam 10:10; 18:10; 19:20.23). However, this prophetic rapture was not permanent, nor was it directed towards transmitting God's message.

The narrative of Elijah and Elisha conveys instead that the spirit accompanied the prophetic activity. It was strongly associated with the person of the prophet and could be inherited. There, too, the spirit does not cause words, but only a demonstration of power (2 Kgs 2:9.14-15) (Albertz and Westermann 1993, 749; Tengström 1993, 413-415; Levison 2003, 518; Palmisano 2019, 88-89). This was not the case with Balaam. »The spirit of God came upon him (*t^ehî 'ālāyw*), and he uttered his oracle.« (Num 24:2-3)

Some texts identified as post-exilic clearly indicate the relationship between the spirit of God /YHWH and prophecy and testify that the spirit enabled prophesying (2 Chr 15:1; 20:14; 24:20). Prophetic utterances were inspired by the spirit of God (Neh 9:30; Isa 61:1; Zech 7:12; Mic 3:8) (Albertz and Westermann 1993, 749). Through the prophet Joel, God foretold that he would pour out his spirit on all humanity and all would prophesy (Joel 3:1-2).

There are mentions in the Old Testament that the fruit of endowment by the spirit was charismatic giftedness, which allowed some heroes to take on specific tasks and social roles assigned to them by God, especially leadership. Thus, the craftsman Bezalel, of the tribe of Judah, was filled with God's spirit, that it might guide the work on the construction of a desert sanctuary (Exod 35:30-35). The spirit of YHWH stirred Samson and made him very strong (Judg 13:24-25; 14:6.19; 15:14). This spirit also clothed Gideon when he undertook the mission of delivering Israel from the hand of the Midianites (Judg 6:34), and the spirit was with Judge Othniel and Jephthah (Judg 3:10; 11:29.32). The mighty coming of YHWH's spirit upon Saul was first a sign of his appointment as king of Israel, and then also, as later in the case of David, made him able to carry out his royal duties (1 Sam 10:6.10; 16:13-14) (Tengström 1993, 414-415). Isaiah's prophecy in 11:2 mentions that the spirit of YHWH shall rest upon a future ruler, and the text of Genesis communicates that the pharaoh recognised the presence of God's spirit (*rûaḥ 'elōhîm*) in Joseph when Joseph explained the dream and with his

words proved that God spoke through him (Gen 41:38; cf. 41:16) (Tengström 1993, 413–414; Wenham 2000, 394–395).

According to Num 27:18, YHWH instructed Moses to take Joshua, the son of Nun, in whom was the spirit and laid his hand upon him, to transfer leadership (Num 27:15–23). Joshua qualified as Moses' successor because he already possessed the spirit, which can be understood here as his proper disposition toward YHWH (Milgrom 1990, 235; Block 2004, 810). In Deut 34:9, in turn, we read: »Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom (*rûah hokmâ*), for Moses had laid his hands on him.« Thus, YHWH provided Joshua with the spirit of wisdom when Moses laid his hands on Joshua in the investiture of leadership. This spirit was a divine gift, an extraordinary divine endowment to fulfil a divinely ordained role. It had to enable Joshua to lead the people after Moses in accordance with God's expectations.

If that ritual of investiture involving both Moses' hands resulted in the transference of the divine spirit to Joshua, it means that Moses possessed the same spirit of wisdom (Block 2004, 810–811; Grisanti 2012, 813). This fact is confirmed in Num 11 in the words of YHWH, who announces that he will take of the spirit which is on Moses and will put it on the seventy elders of Israel that they may bear the burden of the people with Moses (11:17). As a result of this transmission of the spirit to those seventy elders, they prophesied (*wayyitnabb^e'û*) and so did Eldad and Medad (*mitnabb^e'îm*) (Num 11:25–27).

The selection of suitable men who had to bear the burden of the people with Moses is also mentioned in Exod 18:13–27 and Deut 1:9–18. Both texts are about taking over Moses's responsibility of judging the people on more uncomplicated matters and the administration. In the first of these texts, such action is the subject of the wise advice of Moses' father-in-law, and in the second, Moses himself takes the initiative in this regard. It is different in Num 11, where YHWH says what to do, and to ease Moses' burden, he gives the chosen men a spirit that enables them to prophesy. By receiving the spirit that was on Moses, they were given a share in the prophetic authority of Moses.

At the end of Num 11:25, after the words mentioning that the seventy elders prophesied, in the Masoretic text there is the clause *lô' yāsāpû*, which is translated as »they did not continue [doing it]«. This addition could mean that this prophesying was just a transient phenomenon that affected the elders on this occasion only in order to provide divine validation for their selection as leaders in the community (Milgrom 1990, 89; Davies 1995, 110; Levison 2003, 519). In such a case, in what exactly would their participation in bearing the burden of the people consist? What would the leadership of the elders come down to? In the verses mentioning the prophecies of Eldad and Medad (v. 26–29), that comment is not made. It is perhaps more legitimate to follow the testimony of targums and the Vulgate, which in v. 25b instead of *yāsāpû* (from *ysp* – ,add, do again, continue') read *yāsupû* (from *swp* – ,cease, come to an end'), and to translate the clause as »they did not cease« (Noth 1966, 74; Scharbert 1992, 50; Seebass 2003, 31; Römer 2007, 438–439). The text of Num 11 only states that the seventy elders, and likewise Eldad and Medad, prophesied. In any case, that prophetic activity may have been less in administering and

judging than in carrying out specific spiritual and pastoral activities, helping Moses to educate the people and strengthening them in faithfulness to YHWH.⁸

According to Num 11:27, the prophesying of Eldad and Medad caused astonishment and stir. This also provoked a reaction from Joshua, who asked Moses to stop them (Num 11:28). Joshua is there referred to as the son of Nun and Moses's assistant (*m^ošārēt*) from his youth. Earlier, in the Book of Exodus, he is depicted as Moses' assistant who served in the tent of meeting (Exod 33:11). This could already explain Joshua's involvement in the prophecy of Eldad and Medad in the camp, some distance from the tent of meeting. The Old Testament texts that follow Num 11 in the biblical canon refer to Joshua as the successor of Moses and the leader of the Israelite community (Num 27:12-23; Deut 3:23-28; Josh 4:14), representative of the Israelites before God YHWH (Josh 7:6-9), and also the messenger of his will (Josh 4:10; 8:30-35; 23: 6-11), his servant (*ʿebed yhw*) (Josh 24:29) and the covenant mediator (Josh 24:25-28). The biblical texts do not directly call Joshua a prophet. However, they allow the conclusion that the portrait of Joshua was made historically more and more prophetic. For example, in Josh 24:2, he addressed all the people with a prophetic formula: »Thus says Yahweh, the God of Israel«. In 1 Kgs 16:34, the narrator speaks about »the word of Yahweh, which he spoke by Joshua the son of Nun«, and in Sir 46:1 Joshua is mentioned as »the successor of Moses in the prophetic office (*en prophēteiais*)«. The role of the prophet was assigned to Joshua clearly in the Apocryphon of Joshua from Qumran (2nd – 1st century BC). In the prophetised image of Joshua, outlined in these texts, he announces the will of God and interprets history in order to form the addressees of his statements (Blumenthal 2008, 90; Ben Zvi 2013, 85–87; Szamocki 2014, 80–87).

Joshua's protest in Num 11:28 was not due to jealousy that the elders prophesied who were not at the tent of meeting and did not receive the spirit of YHWH as he did, through Moses in a ritualistic ordinance. Moses' question in Num 11:29a: »Are you jealous for my sake?« reveals, however, that in the prophecies of Eldad and Medad, Joshua saw a threat to Moses' authority instead. The author /redactor of Num 11:26-29 thus put in Joshua's mouth words that correspond to the deuteronomistic ideology according to which there is a prophetic succession from Moses (cf. Deut 18:15-22) (Auld 2002, 240; Römer 2007, 438). Since Eldad and Medad began to prophesy independently of Moses, Joshua, who represented the institution of the tent, expressed concern about the disregard for the role of Moses. Moses saw the situation differently. For he expressed the wish that all YHWH's people would be able to prophesy by receiving YHWH's spirit (Num 11:29a). This statement by Moses can be seen as a testimony to a concept of prophecy different from what was indirectly expressed in the attitude and words of Joshua. For a feature of the concept reflected in Moses' utterance is the democratisation of prophecy and the universalisation of the spirit of YHWH, which enables and conditions prophecy.

The thought attributed to Moses in Num 11:29 shows a great deal of closeness to the prophetic announcement in Joel 3:1-2: »I will pour out my spirit on all flesh,

⁸ This sort of activity and task was typical for a Mosaic prophet and as such remained in the memories of prophets in the post-exilic period (see e.g. 2 Kgs 17:13) (Scharbert 1992, 50; Ben Zvi 2013, 83).

and your sons and your daughters will prophesy.« However, while Num 11:29 is only about the wish that the entire people of YHWH should prophesy, in Joel 3:1-2, the promise that receiving the spirit of YHWH will enable the people to prophesy is also associated with the abolition of differences in age, gender, and social status. This will begin a new, prophetic existence with a new relationship to God and people (Wolff 1977, 66–67; Seebass 2003, 53).

The Book of Joel received its final form in the late Persian period. During this time, prophecy in Israel was undergoing its transformation and a new phase of development. The biblical texts from that time, especially 2 Chronicles, testify that in addition to the traditional prophecy related to the succession from Moses, there was also a concept of democratised prophecy, founded on charismatic gifting by the spirit of YHWH. Beside the ‚professional‘ prophets, there were temporary prophets who prophesied on certain occasions and in response to various challenges. They took on the role of a prophet for the good of the people when it was needed. That category of prophets could include priests, Levites, laypersons and even non-Israelite kings like Neco and Cyrus (2 Chr 20:14-15; 24:20; 35:20-22; 36:22-23). The spirit of YHWH was the motive force behind their prophetic utterances. The divine inspiration led first of all to the proclamation of a prophetic oracle and God’s will and not to an ecstatic and mantic behaviour. Hence the religious community of the time of Joel spoke more about the role of the spirit in prophecy to emphasise also its divine origin (2 Chr 15:1-2; 20:14-17; 24:20; Isa 61:1; Joel 3:1-2). According to the testimony of 2 Chronicles, the activity of the prophets of that time was also instructive and pedagogical. They encouraged humility and steadfastness, motivated people to be courageous in the face of foreign military threats, and also gave guidance on theopolitics (2 Chr 12:5-8; 15:1-7; 16:7-10) (Barton 1992, 492–494; Knoppers 2010, 395–405). The author/redactor of Num 11:26-29 may have seen the prophecy of Eldad and Medad in these terms. Thus prophesying, they would bear the burden of the people along with Moses (Num 11:17).

5. Final Remarks and Conclusions

The observations and analyses made suggest that in Num 11:26-29, we have a literary reflection of the historical confrontation between the two concepts of prophecy mentioned above. The prophesying of seventy elders (11:25) was dependent on Moses and as such, corresponded to the first concept. Moses gathered the elders at the tent of the meeting, where YHWH took of the Spirit that was on Moses (*yašer min-hārûah* ‘*šer ‘ālāyw*) and put it on them. Joshua is the spokesman for this concept in our text. This was expressed in his reaction to the prophesying of Eldad and Medad and in his request to Moses: »stop them.« In turn, Moses’ answer to this request points to the second concept, which corresponded precisely to the prophesying of Eldad and Medad. Their prophesying was not dependent on Moses. Eldad and Medad were not with Moses at the tent, yet the spirit of YHWH came upon them, and they began to prophesy. In our text, it was Moses who opted for such a prophecy. That is why he said: »Would that all YHWH’s people were prophets, that YHWH would put his spirit on them.« (11:29b)

The passus about Eldad and Medad in Num 11:26-29, as a compositional addition from the late Persian period, is one of the results of the extensive editorial work undertaken by religious writers and redactors to reread and adapt existing and owned sacred texts to a new religious and socio-political context. Num 11:26-29 reflects the confrontation of the concepts of prophecy, and this confrontation was also part of a broader post-exilic debate on the particularism and universalism of God's gifts and blessings (Num 24:1-4; 1 Kgs 8:41-43; 2 Kgs 5) and on exclusivism and inclusivism of the community of the YHWH people (Lev 20:22-26; Josh 2; 6:25; Isa 56:6-7). The idea of the democratisation of prophecy and of the universalism of the prophetic spirit harmonised with the universalism of the gifts of blessing and religious and social inclusivism. Based on these conclusions, it is possible to try to place Num 11:26-29 more precisely in the process of formation of this part of the Bible, which deals with the primary history of Israel.

The analysis carried out allows assuming that before the Num 11:26-27 passage was incorporated into the existing material of Num 11, this already had its post-exilic history of redaction and reworking. The thesis put forward by R. Achenbach appears to be correct in this respect in its basic outline (Achenbach 2003, 221). Namely, in the first half of the 5th century BC, the Hexateuchal redaction (HexRed) composed a story about murmuring and quails. Among other things, it highlights Israel's recurring apostasy and also mentions the presence of strangers in Israel (v. 4). The next phase could be the Pentateuchal redaction (PentRed) in the second half of the 5th century BC. At this stage, the story of Moses' relief by the seventy elders was incorporated into Hexateuch's narrative. The redactors wanted to point out the role of the elders⁹ and, first of all, the exceptional prophetic authority of Moses.

The main objective of the redaction of the whole Pentateuch was to define the identity of the post-exilic Jewish community and rising Judaism. That identity was founded in the Torah, received through the mediation of Moses.¹⁰ Hence the redaction combined Deuteronomistic and Priestly ideas and concepts that emphasised the uniqueness of Israel and its exclusive relationship with YHWH. The prophecy was also perceived and characterised in accordance with this redactional orientation. In Num 11, it is, therefore, a prophecy by virtue of the spirit of YHWH received by a certain group of chosen ones - seventy elders - through Moses and in connection with his prophetic charism (Num 11:24-25).

The passage on the prophesying of Eldad and Medad should be connected with another, not so thorough, phase of the formation of texts about the primary history of Israel, which can be more closely described as a universalising rereading or revision (Rel/RevU). The interference in the text made in the context of this relecture would be a consequence of the theological and social debate held in Judah at the end of the Persian period. In discussions about identity, universalising and inclusivist tendencies

⁹ It cannot be ruled out that - as R. Achenbach claims - this redactional supplement was a legend about the establishment of the council of elders (Achenbach 2003, 237.249-259). However, a detailed discussion of this topic is beyond the scope of this study.

¹⁰ Such a perception of the Pentateuchal redaction is suggested for example by E. Otto (e.g. 2000, esp. 247-250; 2002, 125-155; 2013, 384-385) or T. Römer (e.g. 2011, 28-31).

have emerged again. In their perspective, the prophetic charism enjoyed by Moses would also be available to all members of the Judean community. The spirit of prophecy was not reserved only for some representatives of God's people. Hence, the words of such wishes were put into Moses' mouth: »Would that all YHWH's people were prophets, that YHWH would put his Spirit on them.« (Num 11:29) The universalising rereading also left its traces elsewhere in the text collection on the primary history of Israel. We are likely to find them in, for example, Deut 11:30; Josh 8:32-35; 1 Kgs 8:41-43. Verifying the thesis about this universalising rereading or revision requires further in-depth studies of the texts that may be considered its result.

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The Semantics of Love in the Song of Songs and Directions of Its Interpretation¹

Semantika ljubezni v Visoki pesmi in smeri njene interpretacije

Abstract: The literary structure of the Song of Songs shows a thematic and contextual unity that is founded on the literary structure of the dialogue between the young man and the young woman. This article focuses on poetic dialogue as the two young lovers use metaphors and other literary forms to express their longing and desire for each other. In assessing the literary structure of the Song of Songs, the specific focus is on words expressing love in the original Hebrew text and the Greek and Latin translations (Septuagint and Vulgate) – that is, the two translations that most comprehensively influenced the interpretation of the Song of Songs in Judaism and Christianity. The extensive range of interpretative directions regarding the Song of Songs and the erotic and spiritual dimensions of love allows us to pay greater attention to complementary rather than exclusive aspects. Paying greater attention to approaches that seek aspects of complementarity between erotic and spiritual love allows us to make both a more appropriate assessment of comparative analyses of the Song of Songs concerning the tradition of love poetry in the cultures of the ancient Middle East and to make a more reliable assessment of recent applications of the principle of close reading of individual texts in their literary structures. The complementarity principles and close reading are open to textual and intertextual relationships in the comparative analysis of texts from the same and different cultural and religious frameworks. The full range of textual and intertextual relationships allows for a more reliable assessment of the possibilities and limits of integrative approaches.

Keywords: Song of Songs, love, dialogue, emotion, metaphors, unity of the song, directions of interpretation, close reading

Povzetek: Literarna struktura Visoke pesmi prikazuje tematsko in kontekstualno enotnost, ki temelji na literarni strukturi dialoga med mladeničem in mladenko.

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V prispevku se osredotočam na pesniško obliko dialoga med njima z množtvom metafor in drugih literarnih oblik, s katerimi mladenič in mladenka drug drugemu izrekata svoje hrepenenje in ljubezensko željo. V presoji literarne strukture Visoke pesmi se še posebej osredotočam na rabo besed za izražanje ljubezni v izvornem hebrejskem besedilu in v grškem ter latinskem prevodu (Septuaginta in Vulgata), ki sta najbolj vsestransko vplivala na interpretacijo Visoke pesmi v judovstvu in krščanstvu. Izjemno velik obseg smeri interpretacije Visoke pesmi v zgodovini judovstva in krščanstva v razponu med erotično in duhovno razsežnostjo ljubezni nam omogoča izostritev čuta za večjo pozornost na vidike, ki so komplementarni, ne izključujoči. Večja pozornost na pristope, ki iščejo vidike komplementarnosti med erotično in duhovno ljubeznijo nam omogoča bolj ustrezno presojo primerjalnih analiz Visoke pesmi v razmerju do izročila ljubezenske lirike v kulturah starega Bližnjega vzhoda in bolj zanesljivo vrednotenje novjših aplikacij načela natančnega branja (*close reading*) posameznih besedil v njihovi literarni strukturi. Načeli komplementarnosti in natančnega branja sta odprti za tekstualna in intertekstualna razmerja v primerjalni analizi besedil iz istih in različnih kulturnih in religioznih okvirov. Celoten razpon tekstualnih in intertekstualnih razmerij omogoča bolj zanesljivo presojo možnosti in meje integrativnih pristopov.

Ključne besede: Visoka pesem, ljubezen, dialog, čustvo, metafore, enotnost pesmi, smeri interpretacije, natančno branje, semantična analiza

1. Introduction

In its content and form, the Song of Songs is a unique biblical work. In simple, sensual and passionate language, it praises love. Love is portrayed in the many aspects of its reality – aspects that encompass yearning, invitation, fulfilment, distancing, and perpetual searching. Because of its enormous metaphorical potential, the poetic form of a song naturally conveys emotional experience in a way that touches one more deeply than any other genre. The eight poems of the Song of Songs poetic cycle are composed mainly as a dialogue between two lovers, intermittently joined by a chorus of the women of Jerusalem. The lovers express mutual praise and longing, proffering invitations to enjoyment. We are attentive to the specific literary tools the Song of Songs employs to achieve dramatic effects ranging from the emotional peaks of elation and bliss to their dark counterpoints in the doubts and anxieties of the mutually pursued love relationship.

The Song of Songs uses rich imagery loaded with symbolism and wordplay to communicate intimate feelings and inclinations. Full of passion and longing, love and sadness, the Song uses a simple form of a dialogue between lover and beloved as they trade refined expressions of love. The picturesque style of the Song is rich in metaphors taken from nature (2:8-17; 7:11-13). The imagery pertaining to plants, fruits, products of the field and animals, which showcase the original-

ity of the song, reveal the magnificence of the natural world and resonate with a genuine sense for nature's beauty. The words, selected from literary tradition, derive from common experience and have an intrinsic relation to the objects they designate. The alternation of nearness and distance and the metaphors of admiration of the lovers intensify the moments of mutual dedication.

Any attempt to interpret this unique poem means confronting a distinctly lyrical poetic representation of an intense love dialogue between a young man and a young woman. Ambiguous or indefinite vocabulary is used to express the love relationship between them; this openness is further complicated by the extensive intertextual relationships of love within the Old and New Testaments and extra-biblical sources, as well as by the impenetrably rich history of interpretation in Judaism and Christianity. Since the nature of love does not allow for one-sided definitions but rather encourages us to tap into the breadth and depth of the experience of love in its complementarity and wholeness, no one approach can capture all the potentials of addressing this topic. As a result, most interpreters opt to focus on selected aspects when interpreting this poem, with the inevitable consequence that their interpretations do not cover the totality of the issues that interest most readers. The basic aim of this article is to address the fundamental and ever-present question of the complementary relationship between the traditions of erotic and spiritual love, which have been strongly influenced by allegorical approaches in the history of interpretation.

2. The Love Theme and the Technique of Dialogue

There is something impressionistic and elusive about the language of love in the Song of Songs. The man and the woman long for each other, praise each other and seek each other. They are constantly wrapped in a numinous, theomorphic aura. The basic dialogic form guarantees the unity and inner coherence of the poems. Content and form allow this more or less reliable structure:

- 1:2-6 the introduction, expressing the bride's longing;
- 1:7-2:7 a dialogue between the bride and the bridegroom;
- 2:7-17 the bride describes a visit from the bridegroom and his invitation for her to respond to him;
- 3:1-5 the bride describes seeking her lover to the 'daughters of Jerusalem';
- 3:6-11 a description of a wedding procession;
- 4:1-5:1 the bridegroom praises the beauty of the bride;
- 5:2-6:4 a dialogue between the woman and the 'daughters of Jerusalem';
- 6:5-12 the bridegroom admires the bride;
- 7:1-8:4 the bridegroom admires the beauty of the bride;
- 8:5-14 separate units: lines 5:6-7,8-10,11-12,13-14.

The effect of the dialogue between the lover and the beloved, which progresses in a relationship of seeking, has been noticed by many interpreters, one of the

most famous being Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. In his *West-östlicher Divan*, he speaks of Hebrew literature (1998, 28–129) and comments thus on the Song: »And still the central theme continues to be the glowing attraction of youthful hearts, which search out and find one another, both rebuff and allure, under all sorts of quite simple conditions.« In more recent times, the Song has raised many questions among theologians, literary theorists, philosophers, intellectual historians and psychologists concerning the ‚ontology of love‘ and designating the supreme act of the person: Is love presented in the Song of Songs as a human fiction or as objective truth? Is love apprehended by reason, or is it a feeling that reason cannot describe?

Roland E. Murphy, in his article „The Unity of the Song of Songs“ (1979), analyses the repetition of themes and refrains in the Song of Songs, noting, among other things, that »the man and the woman never tire of saying the same things to each other: how beautiful the other is, personal longing, trysts in the garden and other idyllic places, narratives of visits—all the typical love experiences. This is held together by dialogue and even by what one might call dramatic articulation.« (Murphy 1979, 442) Murphy argues: »What needs to be recognized here is the evidence of the dramatic presentation of love experiences that continually repeat themselves. This constitutes an argument for unity of the poem.« (443)

Recurring groups of words, motifs, and metaphors that express the central theme of love invite close reading of the Song. J. Blake Couey and Elaine T. James take this introductory position in their book *Biblical Poetry and the Art of Close Reading* (2018): »The argument of this volume is that minute attention to the body of the poem itself – careful, sustained attention to the text and its distinctly poetic features, what we are calling ›close reading‹ – is the best way to understand individual poems. The reading of biblical poetry must attend to the form of the poem itself, how it means, not just what it means.« (2018, 1)

In their use of the term ‚close reading‘, the authors are working with the tradition of the New Criticism, which came to the fore in the mid-twentieth century. Tod Linafelt limits his treatment of Song of Songs to a close reading of the first chapter of the poem. He notes that close tracing of the Song of Songs‘ complex and subtle poetic technique can reveal its basic emotional totality and reveal a worthy artistic achievement: »if our close attention to the sound and structure of chapter one of the Song of Songs has revealed anything, it is that this sense of the spontaneous overflow of passion is in fact the product of complex and subtle poetic technique. To attend to such technique is to give the poetry its proper due as the polished, highly constructed literary achievement that it is.« (2018, 130)

Sarah Zang pays special attention to the significance of emotions in reading biblical poetry. Her close reading of the Song of Songs wishes to show how the reader’s emotional integrity enhances rather than hinders one’s interpretation. She glosses ‚emotional integrity‘ in the following manner: »Unlike what is assumed in the conventional distinction between form and content, poetic language is not merely a disposable medium of the message. Serving the original goal of

emotional integrity, poetry embodies the materiality of language more than any other discourse.« (Zhang 2018, 134)

3. Use of Words Denoting ‚Love‘ in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Bibles

In my close reading of the Song of Songs, I have paid attention to the repetitions of the basic vocabulary expressing feelings of love in the original Hebrew text, in the Septuagint as the most influential Greek translation, and in the Vulgate as the most influential Latin translation.

Among the most obvious unifying literary devices of the Song of Songs is the constant use of words denoting ‚love‘ or ‚beloved‘ in various forms, in most cases in conjunction with a pronoun: *dôdîm*, ‚love‘ (5:1); *dôdî*, ‚my beloved‘ (1:13,14,16; 2:3,8,9,10,16,17; 4:16; 5:2,4,5,6,8,10,16; 6:2, 3; 7:10,11,12,14; 8:14); *dôdêk*, ‚your beloved‘ (5:9; 6:1); *dôdâh*, ‚her beloved‘ (8:5); *dôdêkâ*, ‚your love‘ (1:2,4; 5:1; 7:13); *dôdayîk*, ‚your love‘ (4:10 twice); *ra'yâti*, ‚my love‘ (1:9,15; 2:2,10,13; 4:1,7; 5:2;6:4).

The Septuagint translates the Hebrew form *dôdîm*, ‚love‘ (5:1), with the plural *adelphoî*, ‚brothers‘; for *dôdî*, ‚my beloved‘ (1:13,14,16; 2:3,8,9,10,16,17; 4:16; 5:2,4,5,6,8,10,16; 6:2,3; 7:10,11,12,14; 8:14), one constantly sees *adelphidôs mou*, ‚my kinsman‘, sometimes in a different numerus (1:13,14,16; 2:3,8,9,10,16,17; 5:1; 5:2,4,5,6,8,10,16; 6:1,2; 7:10,11,12,14; 8:14); *dôdêk*, ‚your beloved‘ (5:9; 6:1), is translated as *adelphidôs sou*, ‚your kinsman‘ (5:9,17); *dôdâh*, ‚her beloved‘ (8:5), is translated as *tôn adelphidôn autês*; *dôdêkâ*, ‚your love‘ (1:2,4; 5:1; 7:13): *mastoi sou*, ‚your breasts‘ (1:2); *mastous sou*, ‚your breasts‘ (1:4), *adelphoî*, ‚brothers‘ (5:1), *adelphidê sou*, ‚O my kinsman‘ (7:13); *dôdayîk*, ‚your love‘ (4:10 twice): *mastoi sou*, ‚your breasts‘ (twice); *ra'yâti*, ‚my love‘ (1:9,15; 2:2,10,13; 4:1,7; 5:2; 6:4): (*hê*) *plesion mou*, ‚my companion‘ (1:9,15; 2:2,13; 4:1,7; 5:2; 6:3).

The Vulgate omits the equivalent of *dôdîm*, ‚love‘, in 5:1; for *dôdî*, ‚my beloved‘ (1:13,14,16; 2:3, 8,9,10,16,17; 4:16; 5:2,4,5,6,8,10,16; 6:2,3; 7:10,11,12,14; 8:14), one constantly see *dilectus meus*, ‚my beloved‘ or *dilecte mi*, sometimes in a different numerus (1:12,13,15; 2:3,8,9,10,16,17; 5:1; 5:2,4,5,6,8,10,16; 6:1,2; 7:9,10,11,13; 8:14); *dôdêk*, ‚your beloved‘ (5:9; 6:1), is translated as *dilectus tuus*, ‚your beloved‘ (5:9; 6:1); *dôdâh*, ‚her beloved‘ (8:5) is translated as *dilectum suum*, ‚her beloved‘; *dôdêkâ*, ‚your love‘ (1:2,4; 5:1; 7:13) is rendered: *ubera tua*, ‚your breasts‘ (1:1); *uberum tuorum*, ‚of your breasts‘ (1:3), *carissimi*, ‚the dearest ones‘ (5:1), *dilecte mi*, ‚O my beloved‘ (7:13); *dôdayîk*, ‚your love‘ (4:10 twice): *mammae tuae – ubera tua*, ‚your breast – your breast‘; *ra'yâti*, ‚my love‘, in NRSV, ‚my darling‘, in NIV (1:9,15; 2:2,10,13; 4:1,7; 5:2; 6:4) one reads *amica mea*, ‚my friend‘, everywhere (1:8,14; 2:2,10,13; 4:1,7; 5:2; 6:3); in Slovenian translation, *moja ljuba*.

The terms denoting the subjects or objects of mutual adoration and expressions of love between a woman and a man are fairly constant throughout the

poem in the three languages (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin). This is even more true when it comes to using words from the semantic field of ‚love‘. The Hebrew text shows consistent use of the grammatical forms of the root *‘hb*: the noun form *‘āhābāh*, ‚love‘ (2:4,5,7; 3:5,10; 5:8; 8:4,6,7); and its verb forms *‘āhab* (1:3,4,7; 3:2,3,4). This root maintains constant equivalents in the noun and verb forms also in the oldest and most significant Greek translation (Septuagint) – as the noun *agápē* (2:4,5,7; 3:5,10; 5:8; 8:4,6,7) and as the verb *agapōō* (1:3,4,7; 3:2,3,4). In no place does the word *érōs*, so characteristic of classical Greek literature and culture as a whole, appear. Since the translators of the Septuagint were Jews, their consistent choice of the Hebrew root *‘āhab* and the Greek root *agap-* clearly points to a fundamentally spiritual aspect of the expression of love.

The situation is somewhat different in Jerome’s Latin translation. The Vulgate translates the Hebrew noun in all four instances of the chorus’s »I adjure you, daughters of Jerusalem« (2:7; 3:5; 5:8; 8:4) with the adjective form *dilecta/dilectus*, which implies that the translator specifies the indefinite Hebrew meaning of ‚love‘ with the subject of love ‚beloved/lover‘. The state in all three languages is thus: »I adjure you, daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes, or by the hinds of the field, that you not stir up, nor awaken love (*‘et-hā‘ahābāh* – Septuagint: *tēn agápēn*; Vulgate: *dilectam*), until it so desires!« For the Hebrew noun form *‘āhābāh*, ‚love‘ (2:4,5,7; 3:5,10; 5:8; 8:4,6,7) appears in the Vulgate: *caritas* (2:4; 3:10; 8:7), *amor* (2:5; 5:8), *dilecta* (2:7; 3:5; 8:4), *dilexio* (8:6); the verb *‘āhab* (1:3,4,7; 3:2,3,4) appears only in the Latin form *diligo* (1:2,3,6; 3:2,3,4).

Origen does not contrast sensual and spiritual dimensions of love in his major commentary and two homilies on the Song of Songs. In the prologue to his commentary to the Song, he emphasizes the divine origin of a human passion of love and explains: »It is against its nature to love anything corruptible, seeing that it is itself the fount of incorruption.« (Lawson 1956, 33) He states that »some people pervert this faculty of passionate love, which is implanted in the human soul by the Creator’s kindness« (36). He finds existential proof for this crucial argument in the intrinsic unity of love in the sense of a natural destiny for purity and fidelity: »Suppose, for instance, that there is a woman with an ardent passion of love for a certain man who longs to be admitted to wedlock with him. /.../ Will this woman, whose whole heart and soul and strength are on fire with passionate love for that man, be able to commit adultery, when she well knows that he loves purity?« (37)

Origen, in fact, held the view that the study of the Song of Songs was best reserved for the advanced, spiritually oriented reader and knew that the Jewish interpreters promoted the spiritual significance of the Song. In the prologue to the Song of Songs, he writes:

»If any man who lives only after the flesh should approach it, to such a one the reading of this Scripture will be the occasion of no small hazard and danger. For he, not knowing how to hear love’s language in purity and with chaste ears, will twist the whole manner of his hearing of it away

from the inner spiritual man and on to the outward and carnal; and he will be turned away from the spirit to the flesh, and will foster carnal desires in himself, and it will seem to be the Divine Scriptures that are thus urging and egging him on to fleshly lust.« (22)

Origen knows »that with the Hebrews also care is taken to allow no one even to hold this book in his hands, who has not reached a full and ripe age« (23).

Jerome, who had also translated Origen's two homilies on the Song, likewise advocated the spiritual underpinnings of the Song of Songs. Jerome prefaces the translation of Origen's homilies with a prologue addressed to Pope Damasus, saying, »While Origen surpassed all writers in his other books, in his *Song of Songs* he surpassed himself« (Lawson 1956, 265; Fürst and Strutwolf 2016, 26). Alfons Fürst and Holger Strutwolf, in their preface to the significant volume *Origenes: Die Homilien und Fragmente zum Hohelied* (2016), explain that Origen set his homilies in such a way as to lead his listeners from the first stage of spiritual ascension – from ethical cleansing from carnal desire and sin to the final unification of the soul with God (Fürst and Strutwolf 2016, 9). The dramatic structure of the poem likewise expresses a yearning for the Lord. Jerome's translation of Origen's homilies on the Song shows the formulation *spiritalis cupido vel amor* as the expression of the yearning of the soul and all its senses for the understanding of truth and wisdom (19). Referring to Origen's homilies on the Song of Songs, the authors establish: »In this perspective, it fails to counter the Platonic *eros* of the Christian agape and to construct a great ideological contrast through the centuries.« (20) The authors furthermore state: »In the Latin version of the homilies after Hieronymus, as well as the commentary after Rufinus, *amor* (and *cupido*) is used as the equivalent of *ἔρως* as well as *caritas* (and *dilectio*) as a translation of *ἀγάπη*. *Eros* and *Agape* are not contrast terms in the Song of Songs, but synonyms.« (21–22)

4. The Song of Songs in Textual and Intertextual Relations

Early Jewish and Christian interpretive approaches to the origin and nature of love invite a brief look into the venerable history of ancient Near Eastern cultures. The use of motifs and metaphors for love in their love literature is echoed in many aspects of the Song of Songs. On the existential level, similar motifs appear in the depiction of love in the form of monologues and dialogues between lover and beloved, with an underlying theme of longing for encounter and union. In his commentary, Marvin Pope has collected the most extensive comparative material on the history of interpretation of the Song of Songs (Pope 1977, 54–229).

Among the oldest comparable works is the partially preserved Sumerian love poem dedicated to Shu-Sin, fourth ruler of the third dynasty in Ur, from approx. 2000 BC. This poem is narrated by a female character, the goddess Innana. She

addresses the king as a god, flaunting her potent charms in the third person so as to arouse in the divine king a passion for sexual unification in the sacral ritual of marriage (Kramer 1969, 496). In a second poem, the goddess Innana, in two monologues, expresses her gentle affection for the lover Dumuzi (639–640). In yet another ecstatic love poem, Innana and Dumuzi converse sensually as ‚brother‘ and ‚sister‘ (645).

Tremendously rich is the Egyptian love poetry from the 19th dynasty period (ca. 1305–1200 BC) and the early 20th dynasty (ca. 1200–1150 BC). The poems speak of a young boy and girl who are still under the governance of their parents (Foster and Hollis 1995, 162–171; Fox 1997, 125–130; Wilson 1969, 467–469). Contrary to the sacral tradition of Mesopotamian love poetry on a relation between gods and people of royal heritage, the Egyptian poems are earthly in nature, cherishing love between man and woman, sometimes husband and wife, without specifying their hierarchical status. Foster and Hollis, in their introduction to their volume of Egyptian poems, state:

»These poems are the precious legacy of lyrical poetry of the ancient Egypt, setting before the contemporary reader a spark of insight into the intimate emotions and stories of young lives filled with passion and yearning, intrigue and hypocrisy, love and sorrow. /.../ Ancient Egyptians might have loved their gods and kings, yet a special place in their heart was reserved for the closest human being/s.« (Foster and Hollis 1995, 162)

Egyptian love poems express a profound yearning for fulfilment in love, expressed in a thoughtfully composed literary form. Its characteristics are: the interchange of the male and female speaker, the convention of flattery using ‚my brother‘ and ‚my sister‘, a rich array of metaphors from the natural and social environment, and a penchant for wordplay. The ancient Egyptians held a refined sensitivity for literary form, finding a unique substance of elevated thought and emotional expression within it. The poems consist of free verse and a plain, widely accessible language. A popular motive is that of grave obstacles to unification, for example, the crocodile-filled River Nile. The lover is willing to dare the deadly waters to reach his beloved on the other bank. In their union, the boy and girl seek ideals of reciprocal faith and permanent happiness.

In his study *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* (1985), Michael Fox explores the similarities and differences between the Egyptian praise poetry and the Song of Songs while also touching on the love poetry of the other cultures of the ancient Near East in several places. The primary aim of his extensive study is an attempt to interpret the Song of Songs as something unique in the sense of the non-breakable solidity of the thematic and semantic composition that expresses »the qualities of the lovers, and the qualities of their love« (Fox 1985, 237). Fox believes that the »concept of love as it is found in the majority of love poetry is more a proposed ideal of love than its reality« (297). He establishes that all Egyptian love poems are essentially monologues professing the indi-

viduals' love experience, while the Song of Songs features perpetual discourse and true dialogue, upholding the reciprocity of communication between the protagonists.

Fox also comments on the role of lovers in Egyptian love poetry: »What governs the particular aspects of love to appear is primarily the presence or absence of the lovers, or its expectation.« (1985, 323) He posits that a significant difference between the Song of Songs and Egyptian love poetry lies in the fact that the gender equality of the Song of Songs more closely mirrors the metaphysics of love than it does a social reality or even a social ideal. For the Egyptian poets, love was primarily a mode of experience represented by the imagery of relationship harmony and pleasant interaction. In the Song of Songs, love is not merely an emotion but a representation of the coalescence of two souls through dialogue (330).

In his study *Song of Songs: A Close Reading* (2011), Gianni Barbiero describes the Song of Songs as a 'metaphoric' presentation of love. He is of the opinion that the human love which is extolled in the Song of Songs is open to a supernatural, theological dimension because it is not merely human but has in itself a supernatural dimension. He explains:

»If the allegorical interpretation turned the Song into a solely ›spiritual‹ book, eliminating the sexual aspect, the natural interpretation runs the opposite risk, that of considering only the material aspect, and eliminating the spiritual and theological dimensions. Both show themselves to be incomplete. It is necessary to reconstruct the two meanings as two aspects of a single reality which is ambivalent in itself. The Song is not an allegory, but it is a metaphor, a symbol which refers to something higher. It belongs to the logic of the Incarnation: the divine is present in the human and inseparable from it because the love between man and woman is at the same time sensual and spiritual, human and divine.« (41–42)

In his article „The Song of Songs as Allegory: Methodological and Hermeneutical Considerations“ (2015), Ludger Schwienhorst-Schönberger considers the role of the entire biblical context in judging the dilemma of whether to interpret it literally or allegorically. In seeking answers to this dilemma, he considers »the content and unity of the whole Scripture«, as proclaimed in the Constitution on Divine Revelation of the Second Vatican Council (Dei Verbum 12). He concludes: »Someone who is familiar with the Bible or who uses a concordance to get information cannot deny that the Song of Songs is rooted deeply in Holy Scripture. Its correspondences to prophetic texts are particularly remarkable.« (14–15).

Schwienhorst-Schönberger distinguishes five different aspects of context: (1) the context of *language*; (2) the *situational* context; (3) *culture*; (4) *discourse*, and (5) *cognition* or *mentality*. The exegetical school of the history of religions is especially interested in the *cultural* context of the Song. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, however, points to the aspects of the *discursive* and the *mental* context. At this point, he touches on what is probably the most important interpretive dimension

for presenting the topic of love in the Song. In commentaries, we do not often find directions of the sort Schwienhorst-Schönberger approaches in his paper. He asks the important question: »Does the Song wish to deconstruct prophetic sexual metaphors subversively, or develop them affirmatively?« (29) Then he expresses his directions of understanding of the *mental* context in relation to »the source and target domains«:

»The understanding of a text depends, among other things, on the degree to which its recipients have personal and experience-based access to these interacting domains. It also particularly depends on the nature of their experiences of these worlds or domains. In the light of these reflections, it might become obvious that the sometimes energetic exchanges on the question whether the Song should be understood sexually-erotically or mystically-spiritually *also* depend on the question whether the recipients have access to these worlds of meaning and if yes what the quality of their access might be.« (29)

This definition helps us go a step further, as Annette Schellenberg does. She overcomes the heated nature of the discussion about the alternatives (,sexual' or ,spiritual') in the Song by rectifying both alternatives, namely, by acknowledging the elemental force of human sensuality playing a central role in both directions of interpretation. In „The Sensuality of the Song of Songs“ (2016), she rightly recognizes that nobody interprets the Song literally, once she or he agrees that the poem is a »highly poetic text, full of metaphors, which would be completely misunderstood if taken at face value« (Schellenberg 2016, 103). All the more she is obliged to contest the ,overall' allegorical interpretation of the Song: »What makes allegorical interpretations allegorical is the overall interpretation of the Song in a figurative way, namely, the conviction that ultimately it is not about the erotic love between a man and a woman but about something else.« (2015, 103)

Schellenberg rightly points to many people who »experience erotic love and sexuality as transcendent, even ,divine'. /.../ Love is probably the deepest feeling that a human can have, and erotic love especially has an overwhelming power. Thus, it is only natural that humans use the language and imagery of love to describe the intensity and depth of their relationship with the divine.« (107–108) The most obvious argument for insisting on the great value of human love in the Song is this: »the Song does not identify (one of) the lovers as divine.« (111) Therefore, »the Song's sensuality requires attention« (113). She is obviously right also in arguing »that not all allegorical interpreters read the Song allegorically to get rid of its eroticism. On the contrary, many are attracted to the Song precisely *because* of its eroticism, because for them intimacy and sensuality are essential part of the divine-human relationship.« (120) She concludes:

»The relevant point for the exegetical debate on literal versus allegorical interpretations of the Song is the acknowledgment that not all allegorical interpretations are anti-carnal and that it is possible to read the Song in

reference to the divine-human relationship and still do justice to its sensuality and eroticism. In fact, when it comes to the Song's sensuality, allegorical interpretations in the mystical tradition are often more sensitive to the text than many of the literal ones.« (123)

In her book, *Wise and Foolish Love in the Song of Songs* (2019), Jennifer Andruska refers to Fox's study, but with more focus on the dialogical structure of Song of Songs:

»Collections like the Egyptian love songs differ in their *purpose* from the Song of Songs. The Egyptian love songs give different and often incompatible pictures of what love is like, in order to study the full spectrum of *emotions that occur in various types of situations*. In one song, love may be mutual and in another it is unrequited. Yet the Song of Songs presents one consistent picture of its lovers, their personalities, and their relationship throughout. Love is never presented as unrequited or non-exclusive. These are not pictures of love that the Song wishes to demonstrate. It is very intentional in its presentation of love, consistently, as mutual, peaceful, equal, proactive, devoted, desirous, erotic, exclusive, committed, and timeless. This is because the Song of Songs is concerned to present *a particular vision of love displayed in a particular type of love relationship between particular types of lovers*.« (Andruska 2019, 152)

According to Andruska, the goal of the literary presentation of love in the Song is the positive transformation of the readers' lives: »The Song of Songs seeks to transform its readers' perceptions, intentions, emotions, desires and virtue as lovers. It brings the mind and heart, reason and desire together in the transformation process, enabling readers to become lovers like the characters in the Song, with the desire and ability to discern and pursue wise love in their own lives.« (171) The transformative perspective of love, as presented in the Song, helps us to understand Rabbi Akiba's point when he declares the following in *Mishnah Yadayim* 3:5: »For all the Scriptures are holy, but the Song of Songs is the Holy of Holies.«

In fact, the entire Bible is based on 'two ways' (cf. Psalm 1, or Prov 9, etc.), and interpreting the Song of Songs means having to choose between the hardness of heart or transformation. Saint Paul gives the unsurpassable definition of love as a transformative force, which by definition stands in opposition with the potential of subversion of love: »Love (*hē agápē*) is patient; love (*hē agápē*) is kind; love (*hē agápē*) is not envious or boastful or arrogant or rude. It does not insist in its own way; it is not irritable or resentful; it does not rejoice in wrongdoing, but rejoices in the truth. It bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things.« (1 Cor 13:4-7)

5. Conclusion

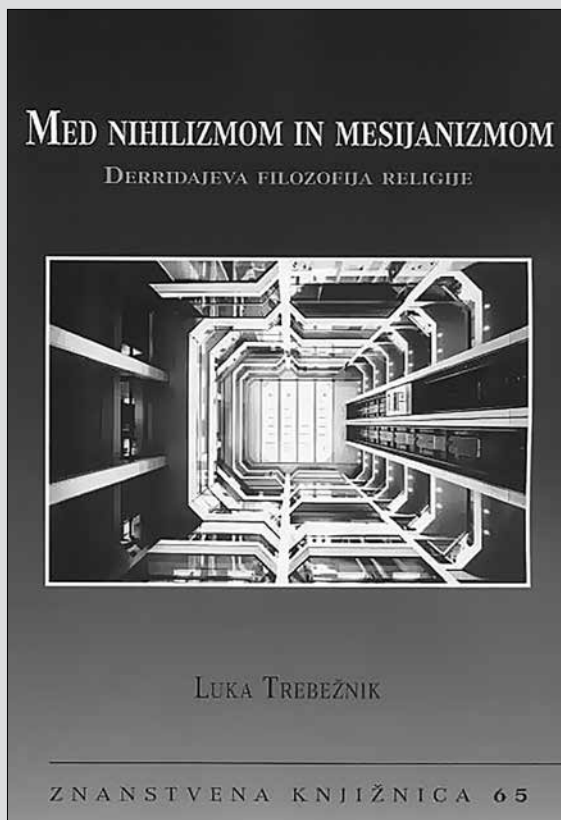
The survey of the use of the vocabulary of love in the original Hebrew text of the Song of Songs and in its ancient translations helps us to understand the directions of the history of interpretation only to some degree. Love, after all, is a word that is ever ambiguous. Even an extensive vocabulary and a thorough knowledge of different languages does not guarantee communicative clarity – lexical acuity does not, for example, free one from using ambiguous, meaningless and misleading words in the span ranging from lust or desire to unrequited parental or spiritual love. As is well known, there were at least three words for love in ancient Greece: *éros*, ‚love‘, usually sexual passion; *philia*, ‚affectionate regard‘, ‚friendship among equals‘; or *agápē*, ‚love as charity‘, especially brotherly love, the love of God for man and of man for God. Love is profound, irresistible, unchosen, unchoosable, entailing attraction and attachment to another person. Spiritual love is an action that springs from a deep affection for something or someone without regard to consequences that are ‚out of time‘.

The Song of Songs is a poem written as a dialogue between a woman and a man that takes place, furthermore, within the context of a dialogue with the surrounding world. The poetic structure of the poem reveals all the dimensions of its reality, namely, in the span of longing, seeking, fulfilling, being alienated and seeking anew. The poetic-literary structure of the poem expresses the existential possibilities that no other mode of representation could express so convincingly. The theme of the Song of Songs and the remarkable plurality of interpretations in Judaism and Christianity in religious and secular circles confirms the correctness of a ‚holistic‘ literary approach to interpreting the poem. The literary representations of the main themes, which concern the emotional and rational worlds of our being, express with utter concreteness the possibilities of man for universal meaning in a world of opposites.

The theme of the Song of Songs and its rich plurality of interpretations in Judaism and Christianity confirm the suitability of a ‚holistic‘ and comprehensive as well as comparative literary examination in the interpretation of the poem. The ‚close reading‘ method may best reveal the splendid range of semantic gradients embedded within the love theme, as concerns their fundamental literary descriptions of love. Special attention has been paid to the use of vocabulary denoting ‚love‘ in the Hebrew original, in the Greek (Septuagint) version and in the Vulgate in order to see how the very use of vocabulary establishes directions of interpretation in the early period of Jewish and Christian interpretation.

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Luka Trebežnik

**Med nihilizmom in mesijanizmom:
Derridajeva filozofija religije**

Derridaju nikakor ne gre za zavračanje obstoja resnice, temveč gre le za sporočilo, da ta nastopa preko razlike. Dekonstrukcija trdi, da ne obstaja zunaj teksta, kar pomeni, da ne obstaja večna resnica. Temu je tako, ker je sleherna resnica inkarnirana v jezik in pripoved. Ta Derridajeva stališča pa so v veliki meri nasprotna tradiciji, ki veruje, da se za tekstom nahaja trden in nesporen smisel. Izmed vsega slovstva je to najočitneje izraženo pri religijah, ki sprejemajo nadnaravni izvor svojih tekstov. Od to sledi, da sta dekonstrukcija in teologija izvorno nerazdružljivi.

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Leon Debevec

Spatial Images In Biblical Texts: Exodus

Prostorske podobe v bibličnih besedilih: eksodus

Abstract: The paper discusses the spatial images of Moses' ritual practices in a block of biblical texts describing his work between God's invitation and the Sinai Covenant. Three aspects guided the analysis of the texts: Moses' relationship with Transcendence, the ritual and dramaturgical characteristics of this relationship, and the physiognomy of the spatial consequences of their interaction. Comparison of the findings with the archetypal architectural matrix of the sacral shows the continuity of the tradition of the Old Testament patriarchs in the spatial arrangements of human communication with God. The latter receives the first complex reinterpretation in the Sinai Covenant in terms of spatial as well as ritual characteristics. Due to its archetypal richness and roundness, it has all the characteristics of a prototype of an Old Testament Jewish sanctuary.

Key words: architecture, sacral complex, Jewish sanctuary, archetype, Moses, Exodus

Povzetek: Prispevek obravnava prostorske podobe obrednih Mojzesovih praks v bloku svetopisemskih besedilih, ki opisujejo njegovo delovanje med božjim povabilom in sinajsko zavezo. Obravnavo besedil so usmerjali trije vidiki: Mojzesov odnos s transcenco, obredne in dramaturške karakteristike tega odnosa in fiziognomija prostorskih konsekvenc njune interakcije. Soočenje ugotovitev z arhitekturno arhetipsko matrico sakralnega pokaže kontinuiteto tradicije očakov v prostorskih ureditvah človekove komunikacije z Bogom. Ta komunikacija dobi v sinajski zavezi prvo, tako po prostorskih kakor tudi po obrednih karakteristikah, kompleksno reinterpretacijo. Zaradi njenega arhetipskega bogastva in zaokroženosti ima vse značilnosti prototipa starozaveznega judovskega svetiščnega kompleksa.

Ključne besede: arhitektura, sakralni kompleks, judovsko svetišče, arhetip, Mojzes, eksodus

1. Introduction

There are few places in biblical texts with such a richness and density of spatial images as are revealed in the story of Moses. From the point of view of dealing with the architectural characteristics of spaces of human communication with Transcendence, two asymmetrical motifs occur in it in terms of scope and complexity. The first appears as a dramaturgical loop, the beginning and end of which are determined by a locality hitherto unknown in biblical texts - Mount Sinai (Exod 3:1–18:27). It enters biblical texts as the site of Yahweh's revelation and 'recruitment' of Moses for the demanding project of freeing the Israelites from Egyptian bondage and, after their successful escape, Mount Sinai is the spatial framework of the most solemn event in Israel's history-making the Covenant with Yahweh. The backbone of the second motif is the journey of the Israelites to the Promised Land (25:1-5;34:12). A time of shaping their relationship with Yahweh that was anything but predictable and non-conflictual, during which the final framework of an otherwise rich set of ritual practices, whose unique spatial core becomes a portable sanctuary, a tabernacle, becomes more apparent. The thematic framework of the article is the first dramaturgical unit, with the aim of highlighting the characteristics of the spatial images of ritual practices and finding possible architectural archetypal elements of the sacral in them. Study of the elements that determine the characteristics of the spatial images of human coexistence with transcendent reality shows at least three interacting layers, each of which deserves separate treatment. The first layer determines Moses' relationship with Transcendence, the second the ritual and dramaturgical characteristics of this relationship, and the third the physiognomy of the spatial consequences of their interaction. The three-dimensionality, presented as a methodological framework for the treatment of selected texts, shows with the help of the descriptive method and literary analysis, particularly architectural analysis, the first spatial features of the future sanctuary complex. Due to the richness of archetypal architectural elements of the sacral, this can be defined as a prototype of the Jewish sanctuary.

2. Moses' Relationship with Transcendence

Already in the first book of the Pentateuch, we are confronted with a dynamically changing relationship between man and Transcendence. Paradisal coexistence is followed, with expulsion, by man's isolation (Debevec 2019, 195–212). In it, he begins to fumble for the restoration of communication, which, in the simple offerings, by Cain of his crops and Abel the firstlings of his flock (Gen 4:4), the first tangible expression appears, as well as selective value, because God is pleased only with Abel's offering. In the tiny but undoubtedly significant glimpses of his presence, the Old Testament Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob recognised God as a mighty authority. He is revealed to them through promises, demanding instructions and expectations, as well as through otherwise rare theophanies that preserve and strengthen the premonition of the special mission and choice of

the people of Israel (Debevec 2020, 233–253). The relationship between man and Transcendence in biblical texts reaches a new level of quality with Moses. The relationship with Yahweh becomes appreciably more real. Those features in the described relationship that are reminiscent of the former coexistence of man in Eden with his Creator are interesting for our discussion. The first encounter of Yahweh with Moses is already a notable step towards this. Its specificity is determined by at least three characteristics. The first concerns Yahweh's idea of liberating Moses' compatriots. Instead of abstract predictions of possession of the Promised Land, Yahweh informs Moses that he has been chosen as the deliverer of the people of Israel, who will lead them out of slavery »unto a good land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey« (Exod 3:8). The second shows Moses' surprising (almost presumptuous) restraint towards God's idea, which establishes an unexpected balance in the dialogue between the two. In it, one cannot overlook the patience with which Yahweh urges Moses to participate in the project of deliverance. Since the fall of man in the Garden of Eden, man has not enjoyed a better, a more excellent status in relation to God, judging by Yahweh's words encouraging Moses not to be afraid to take on the role of ‚deliverer': »and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet« (7:1). The intimacy of Yahweh's affection for Moses is finally shown by the revelation of his name (3:14). Despite Moses' hesitation, which even makes Yahweh angry (4:14), Yahweh does not relent until he obtains Moses' consent. Finally, the meeting in question is characterised by the effectiveness of Yahweh's utterances. With the authority of the lord of history, he presents to Moses the whole scenario of liberation (3:16-20), which also takes into account the problematic arrogance of Pharaoh.

The confidentiality of the relationship between Yahweh and Moses soon becomes apparent to both the Egyptians and the oppressed people of Israel since, in the role of Yahweh's messenger, Moses invocation of afflictions on the Egyptians (7:14-10,29;12:29-34) and, on his way to Mount Sinai, with the miracle of the crossing of the sea (14:15-31), the supply of food (16:1-17) and water (17:1-17), and the obvious help in the conflict with the Amalekites (17:1-17), all point to God's omnipotence. The ‚public' proclamation of the excellence of this relationship is an introduction to the events of Sinai, when Yahweh said to Moses, »Lo, I come unto thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak with thee, and believe thee for ever« (19:9).

3. Dramaturgical Characteristics of Moses' Ritual Acts

In parallel with the presented process of man's coming closer to God again, Moses' ‚story' shows an even more important process for the present discussion: the transition from the individualised ritual practices of former leaders of the Israeli community, initially followed by Moses, to a unified rite at a single shrine.

Ritual acts before Moses are marked by man's own initiative and the associated predictable variety of ritualisations of communication with God. Cain and

Abel brought offerings on their own initiative (Gen 4:3-4). We know nothing about the nature of their ritual. Noah acted similarly, pointing to his selection of ,clean' animals for sacrifice, to the first beginnings of structuring the rite (8:20). Abraham, Isaac and Jacob most often »called on the name of the Lord« in places where they recognised God's proximity. Jacob expanded the previous set of ritual acts by anointing a pillar erected at the site of the experience of God's proximity (28:18) and the ritual cleansing of the people (35:2) for whom he was responsible. In terms of self-initiative, exceptions are God's command to Abraham to give him his firstborn Isaac (22:1-19) and the command to Jacob to set up an altar to him in Bethel (35:1). Moses' encounters with God bring noticeable changes to the ritual. At the first meeting, Yahweh warned Moses, »Draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground« (Exod 3:4-5). The significance of the warning from the point of view of this discussion is that Yahweh, in contrast to the hitherto predominant human self-initiative, himself determines the ,standard' of the ritual conduct of a person who enters into dialogue with him. Yahweh's initiative in shaping ritual acts is a clear step toward creating a ritual that will become an important core of the identity of the future nation of Israel. Moses is no longer merely a God-fearing individual trapped in his own ideas in seeking God's proximity but, although not yet fully committed, is Yahweh's partner in the project of liberating the people of Israel. The privilege of the worldly mediator, by which God's omnipotence will be revealed, is manifested in Moses in the supernatural abilities bestowed by Yahweh (4:2-17). The outward expression of this becomes Moses' staff. With an outstretched hand and staff - a simple ritual gesture - by God's command Moses summoned a disaster of apocalyptic proportions over the land of Egypt (7:19). He divided the sea in the flight from the Egyptians with the same ritual gesture (14:16) and later drowned the Egyptian army with it (14:26). On the way to Mount Sinai, he drew water from a rock with the blow of a stick, thus quenching the thirst of the parched Israelites (17:5-6). Finally, the power of the ritual act in question was revealed in the battle of the Israelites with the Amalekites, which accompanied Moses from the mountain. He held the ,rod of God' in his raised hand and thus ensured the supremacy of the Israelites (17:11).

The rite, as a moment of identification of the entire people of Israel, comes fully to life for the first time in preparation for the flight from Egypt. Yahweh gives Moses detailed instructions for a special rite to be performed by each family of Israel on the night before departure (12:3-14). It consists of three ritual acts: slaughtering a lamb, anointing the door frames of the entrance door with lamb's blood, and eating a roasted lamb with unleavened bread and bitter herbs. As can be concluded from the quoted text, the meaning of the ritual is at least twofold. On the one hand, it provides protection for the Israelites from God's last punishment against the Egyptians - the death of firstborns and, on the other, these actions already show the outlines of the people of Israel as a recognisable entity (Huston 2001, 75). As a new element of the emerging collective consciousness, the Lord Himself proclaims them again with the words: »And this day shall be unto

you for a memorial; and ye shall keep it a feast to the Lord throughout your generations; ye shall keep it a feast by an ordinance for ever!» (Exod 12:14) The further structuring of the ritual acts in which the people of Israel as a whole were involved is reflected in the events under Mount Sinai. In the preparations of the people for the Covenant with Yahweh, the latter determines three ritual acts: a two-day ‚consecration‘ of the people (19:10), purification (19:10-11) and sexual abstinence (19:15).

The conclusion of the Covenant between Yahweh and the liberated people of Israel is an event at which the complexity of the rite is revealed in biblical texts for the first time (Exod 24:5-8). Unlike the preparations for the conclusion of the Covenant, the structure of the rite of its conclusion is not determined by Yahweh. The procession of the people of Israel from the camp to the foot of Mount Sinai under the command of Moses is introduced into the ritual (19:17). An offering follows. It is performed by ‚young men‘. In the presence of the whole people, burnt offerings are first offered, followed by peace offerings (24:5). Moses is then included in the rite, and he distributes the blood of the sacrificed animals. He keeps half in containers and burns the rest on the altar. After that, Moses solemnly reads the Book of the Covenant. The dramaturgical peak of the rite is the solemn commitment of the whole people to be obedient to the commands of Yahweh (24:7). Then Moses sprinkles the people with the blood of the sacrificed animals and thus symbolically connects the people of Israel with Yahweh (Sveto pismo 2014, 175). The final ritual act is Moses‘ ascent of the mountain, together with the representatives of the now ‚holy nation‘ (Exod 19:6), where they perform a ritual meal according to the instructions of Yahweh’s theophany (24:9-11).

4. Spatial Characteristics of the Flight from Egyptian Slavery

According to students of Jewish history, the biblical account of the liberation of the people of Israel from Egypt, which took place in the thirteenth century BC (Sveto pismo 1996, 1931), contains four spatial motifs worthy of more detailed observation. The first such motif is the land of Egypt, the place of exile of the people of Israel. If it can be concluded from the frequent nervousness of the Israelites on their way through the desert, after leaving Egypt, the people of Israel seem to experience the land of Egypt, the land of slavery, as a place of the ‚bearable‘. The arrival of Moses and Aaron interrupts this resignation, submission to destiny and revives the almost forgotten longing for a free life in their own homeland. In the biblical description of the deliverance of the Israelites, Yahweh deliberately intensifies Pharaoh’s intransigence to reveal his power to the people of Israel. He behaves as the master of creation and, through his messengers, Moses and Aaron; he invokes the curse of affliction over the land of Egypt.

Notwithstanding disagreements among interpreters of biblical texts as to whether or not the afflictions have a historical core or not, in their consequences:

the destruction of precious drinking water and the destruction of life on the Nile (Exod 7:20-21), the stench of the land with dead frogs (8:2,9-10), the death of Egyptian cattle from the plague (9:6), destruction of crops and trees by hail (9:25) and locusts (10:15), paralysis of life by temporary cessation of light (10:22-23) and the death of all firstborns (12:29), they transformed the land of Egypt into a place of curse. The disasters fatally affected the space of slavery at its constitutive levels; on the level of religion, as Yahweh showed his superiority over the Egyptian gods, on a political level with the death of Pharaoh's successor and, with a cataclysm (plague, hail...), also on an economic level. The epilogue of the curse is determined by another spatial motif - the crossing of the sea.

The sea is the *topos* of the destruction of the Egyptian army as the last constitutive pillar of the land of slavery (Exod 14:28) and, at the same time, a space for the final liberation of the people of Israel. The purifying power of the water, with which the Israelites finally get rid of their conquerors, connects the spatial motif of crossing the sea with the motif of the universal flood (Gen 7:7-8,19). Noah, together with the firstborn of all life on earth, was protected from destruction by a vessel built according to the Creator's instructions, and here Moses, with Yahweh's help, established a 'space' in the sea - a dry 'corridor' (14:21-22), which is salvation for the Israelites and a disastrous trap for the pursuers.

The spatial framework and the third spatial motif of the first steps of the liberated Israeli people is the contrasting opposites of the crossed sea - desert. The position of the Israelites in the wilderness at the beginning of their journey to the Promised Land is undoubtedly significant. The desert as a space establishes solitude, isolation and exposure to raw natural forces. This helplessness shows all the benefits of Yahweh's closeness and the persuasiveness of his omnipotence, in which he gives the people food (quail and manna), water for survival, and defends them from invaders. The desert thus seems to be a thoughtfully chosen place in which the people of Israel, in the face of the challenges of survival, gradually acquired the characteristics of a homogeneous national entity.

From the point of view of the topic under discussion, in terms of far-reaching meaning and spatial complexity, the last spatial motif, the hitherto unknown mountain Horeb or Sinai, indisputably dominates in the discussed texts (Svetopismo 2014, 136). Early Christian tradition had placed it in the south of the Sinai Peninsula since the early fourth century. Despite the various locations substantiated by exegetes, this remains the most likely (Davies 1972, 152-163). Mount Zion enters the biblical texts as the site of Moses »first encounter with Yahweh«. Significantly, it is not Moses who recognises the mountain as a place of God's proximity. Attention to its significance is drawn by the mysterious theophany of a burning bush that does not burn (Exod 3:2). The Lord Himself calls it holy when He asks Moses to take off his sandals because of its sanctity (3:4-5). The significance of Mount Sinai as a holy place is not yet exhausted, since Yahweh determines it or announces it as a spatial framework - a meeting place with the already liberated people of Israel: »... this shall be a token unto thee, that I have sent thee: When thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon

this mountain.« (3:12) The motif of the mountain as a place of God's proximity is already encountered in the story of the Patriarch Abraham. God commanded him »to sacrifice his firstborn Isaac to him as an offering on one of the mountains in the province of Moriah, which he would show him« (22:2). The mountain (hill) also appears in the story of the march of the liberated people of Israel to Mount Sinai, during which there was a conflict with the Amalekites. Moses' decision to climb to the top of the hill is not an act of fleeing from the enemy but a deliberate strategy that counts on God's intervention. The day before, Moses commanded Joshua, »Choose us men, and go to fight against the Amalek. Tomorrow I will stand on the top of the hill with God's rod in my hand« (17:9). After the battle, Moses marks the top of the hill - the place of God's obvious help - ,architecturally' with the erection of an altar (17:15).

The idea that the gods dwell on a high mountain was very widespread in the cultures of the time. Ancient cultures of Greece, India, China, Japan, Africa, and even America, recognised a mountain as a point of manifestation of Transcendence (Eliade 1996, 41–44). Even the deities of the Canaanite culture from which the people of Israel arose, El and Baal, dwell and appear on a mountain (Clifford 1972, 34–97). The image of the mountain as an attribute of deity is made meaningful by the simple fact that the tops of the mountains are closest to the sky - the sphere of transcendent reality. A mountain always fascinates people with its exposure and, at the same time, with the generally difficult accessibility of its top. Sinai was not Yahweh's ,abode', as mountain tops were the home of the gods in ancient religions, but the place of his encounters with Moses, the place where Moses receives the mighty theophany at the conclusion of the Covenant with the people of Israel, the place where Moses receives a stone tablets with the Commandments and, finally, the place where Yahweh conveys to Moses a plan for a tabernacle — an architectural space for their future encounters and an expression of God's closeness to the chosen people. By its very exposure, a mountain itself establishes a hierarchical quality between its foothills and peak. Thus, on the way from Egypt, the people of Israel encamped in the wilderness »opposite the mountain« (Exod 19:2). The special nature of Mount Sinai is established by Moses at the command of Yahweh: »And thou shalt set bounds unto the people roundabout, saying, Take heed to yourselves, that ye go not up into the mount, or touch the border of it.« (19:12) We learn from Moses' answer that the border was intended to establish the holiness of the mountain. At Yahweh's warning that the people should not go up on the mountain: »for thou chargedst us, saying, Set bounds about the mount, and sanctify it.« (19:23-24). The exception is Moses. Yahweh calls him to the top of the mountain (19:20) and thus shows to the whole people his closeness and affection for their leader. The erection of a border around Mount Sinai is not the only architectural intervention that transforms the hitherto usually profane natural space of the Sinai Desert into a sacral complex. The uniqueness of the rite of making the Covenant described above is also established at the spatial (architectural) level. As can be read in the biblical description of this solemn event, on the day of the Covenant, Moses »set up an altar and twelve

stones under the mountain for the twelve tribes of Israel« (24:4-5). The camp of the people of Israel, set opposite Mount Sinai, the altar bordered by twelve stones, the boundary at the foot of Mount Sinai and the mountain itself, come to life in the rite of the Covenant as a homogeneous spatial whole - a sacral complex. As can be deduced from the description of the rite of making the Covenant. Its architectural core was the altar. The altar under Mount Sinai is the second in a row erected by Moses. The function of the first, on the hill at Rephidim, is not entirely clear. The biblical description shows that it was erected as a sign of Yahweh's (miraculous) intervention in the battle with the Amalekites, i.e., as a symbol of God's presence, as Moses said »the Lord is my standard« (17:15). However, we know nothing about whether the altar also served any ritual.

The significance or primacy of the altar is strengthened by Yahweh's intervention on its ‚architectural‘ image. As can be seen from the biblical record, it is directly related to Yahweh's revelation of the Ten Commandments to Moses, which gives it a special normative weight. At the same time, the very first intervention of Transcendence connected with the spatial arrangement of the place of its interaction with man appears in biblical texts. The prohibition on making images of other gods is followed by God's instruction: »Make me an altar out of the earth, and on it offer your burnt offerings and your peace offerings, your sheep and cattle. In every place where I will remind you of my name, I will come to you and bless you. But if you make me an altar of stone, do not build it of hewn stone! For if you set a chisel on them, you will defile them.« (Exod 20:24-25). In relation to the topic under consideration, at least two important architectural consequences can be identified in this condensed text. The first relates to the spatial placement of altars. The latter is not left to man, much less to chance, but is determined by God's free will to ‚remind man of his name‘ (Moses) or the people of Israel as a whole in a certain place. The setting of the Covenant thus still allows for a plurality of places of worship. Worship is permitted wherever the Lord has confirmed His presence, where He has revealed Himself and has accepted that place into His possession (Sveto pismo 2014, 169). The second consequence concerns the design or constructional aspect of an altar. Yahweh determines two original ‚substances‘ for the design of altars. Earth, which symbolically highlights the importance of fertility and, at the same time, design flexibility, and a stone, in which the symbolism of permanence, timelessness, cannot be ignored. Yahweh's requirement that a stone altar be built (stacked) of unhewn stones is significant. Human creativity and craftsmanship before the Sinai Covenant clearly do not yet have the status of the potential for ‚sanctity‘ (Debevec 2011, 96).

4.1 ‚Spatial‘ Characteristics of the Theophany

In biblical texts describing Moses' forebears, the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, theophanies are relatively rare, brief in ‚temporal‘ terms, like some sort of flashbacks, and predominantly intimate, intended for a chosen individual. Obviously, the significance of the events connected with the liberation of the people of Israel in which Moses is involved also changes the duration and characteristics

of theophanies. Looking at the texts in question, it seems as if Yahweh, with the frequency, duration and power of his revelation, sought finally to convince the people of Israel of safety under his auspices and his care for the people Moses led. Theophanies in the texts under consideration show the common background of a natural phenomenon - storms. This very powerful and important phenomenon was well known to the people of Israel as a Canaanite agricultural community. Strong winds, lightning and thunder, mighty manifestations of the power of nature, were a fairly regular occurrence in the life of an Israelite. Their awesomeness mitigated the benefits of rainfall, which ensured growth and thus survival (Hiebert 1992, 505–511).

A cloud stands out among the motifs of Yahweh's theophanies with distinct spatial characteristics. This does not, of course, mean that Yahweh adopts the visible image of the cloud but as can be seen from the texts under consideration, a cloud is shown as a covering that obscures the majesty of God. This duality appears in several places in the texts under consideration. When the Egyptians follow the Israelites, »the angel of God, which went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them« (Exod 14:19-20). Yahweh reappears in a cloud in front of the entire community of Israel as it murmurs over the famine in the wilderness (16:10). On Moses' ascent of Mount Sinai, its top is covered by a cloud so that »the Majesty of the Lord may descend« (24:15-17). Even on the day of the conclusion of the Sinai Covenant, all Mount Sinai was »altogether in a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly.« (Exod 19:16-18) In all the cases cited, the cloud obscures the mystery of God's majesty. It is very effective as a spatial phenomenon in this role, since at the level of visual perception it acts as a compact mass, almost impenetrable to the eyes but, at the same time, it is intangible despite its materiality. The ever-changing appearance of a cloud in the experienter creates a convincing impression of the turbulent dynamism within him, his own transcendence. No wonder the most common companion of the cloud as God's theophany is the image of fire or flame. In the latter, the dynamism and, simultaneously, intangibility and uncontrollability are escalated to the full. Fire as an element of purification and distinction of transcendent reality from otherworldly profanity is already known from the ,times' of Eden. After man's expulsion from paradise, cherubims guard the path to the tree of life »and a flaming sword, which turned every way« (Gen 3:24). Moses' first encounter with Yahweh is also accompanied by fire, since it appears to him as »an angel of the Lord in a flame of fire from the midst of a bush« (Exod 3:2). When the people of Israel left Egypt, the Lord »went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire« (13:21).

A completely new spatial characteristic of Yahweh's theophanies is given by the record of the ascent of Moses with Aaron, Nadab and Abihu and the seventy elders of the people of Israel at the conclusion of the solemn Covenant (Exod 24:9-10). The God of Israel, who was then seen, was separated from the otherworldly reality by a surface, »and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of a

sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in his clearness» (24:9-10). More significant than its precious materiality, which researchers attribute to authorial literary ‚processing‘ of the semi-precious stone *Lapis lazuli*, then often used in decorating shrines (Huston 2001, 84), is its presence as a demarcation surface between this world and the otherworldly. We will return to the meaning of the latter in the archetypal analysis of the considered texts. Finally, the importance of demarcation for our discussion is all the greater because it is established by an architectural element and not by any other element from nature.

5. Architectural Archetypal Elements of the Sacral in the Spatial Images under Discussion

From the point of view of the presence of archetypal architectural elements of the sacral in the considered spatial images, the spatial arrangement of the solemn conclusion of the Sinai Covenant undoubtedly stands out in terms of richness and complexity. When the characteristics of its arrangement are compared with the model of architectural archetypes of the sacral (Debevec 2011, 202–273), surprisingly, almost the entire register of architectural archetypes is revealed. From the set of spatial envelopes, we are first confronted with ‚location‘. The location of the Sinai Covenant is determined by Yahweh. Its uniqueness is grounded on Mount Sinai since it was here that Yahweh revealed himself to Moses and it was already then called holy (Exod 3:2). The next archetype that can be understood from the arrangement in question is *fanum*. It corresponds to the space directly below Mount Sinai where Moses erected the altar, at which the people of Israel are present at the conclusion of the Covenant. It is, therefore, a place with a ritual character. As has already been shown, Mount Sinai is the materialisation of the ‚holy‘ archetype. Its sanctity in the consciousness of the Israelites is strengthened by Yahweh’s prohibition of climbing the mountain, from which Moses is exempted and, after the conclusion of the Covenant, the elders of the people (Exod 19:23). Thus »the people stood afar off, and Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was« (20:21). The top of the mountain, in appearance and meaning, corresponds to the archetypal ‚holy of holies‘. Such a status is established by Yahweh himself when he descends upon it at the conclusion of the Covenant (19:20).

Most of the archetypes from the set of demarcations can also be extracted from the spatial arrangement of the Sinai complex. The first one is the enclosure. It separates the *fanum* from the rest of the profane space. Its ‚architectural‘ interpretation can be recognised in the placement of the »twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel« (Exod 24:4), establishing a ritual area centred on the sacrificial altar. The demarcation of the areas of the sacred and the *fanum* is determined in the sacral complexes by the archetype of ‚architectural shell‘. It is present in the complex in question, in an extremely simple ‚architectural‘ interpretation, as the border by which Moses, by God’s command, enclosed Mount Sinai (19:2). Although nothing about its architectural image can be learned from

the texts, it is extremely important, as Yahweh points out: »Take heed to yourselves, that ye go not up into the mount, or touch the border of it: whosoever toucheth the mount shall be surely put to death.« (19:12) The archetype of the ‚screen‘ intended to distinguish between the sacred and the most sacred in sacral complexes also has a convincing appearance in the spatial arrangement of the Sinai Covenant. It can be seen in the cloud in which Yahweh is present during the solemn ceremony. The cloud as an imaginative interpretation of the archetypal demarcation of transcendent and immanent reality, as has already been shown, is present even before the Sinai Covenant; on the way out of Egypt. Such a role is also played by the bush in which God first appears to Moses (19:16-18). Moses' ceremonial ascent of the mountain together with the seventy elders of the people of Israel, as the final act of sealing the Covenant, reveals the archetype of the ‚pedestal‘ at God's revelation. The latter is shown as the floor of sapphire plates under God's feet (24:10). as an architectural plan of demarcation between transcendent and immanent reality. The importance of the pedestal as an archetypal element of the sacral complex is also indicated by Yahweh's instruction about the altar, otherwise an obvious expression of later editorial interventions in the texts in question. In it, the Lord warns: »Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon.« (20:26) The quotation points to a later architectural tradition, which emphasised the sanctity of the altar with a foot-shaped pedestal. Although Moses and his companions see the God of Israel, his face remains a mystery. For archetypal analysis, therefore, the record of the burning flame in the middle of the bush, where Yahweh first revealed himself to Moses, is important. The burning flame with which Transcendence enters the human sensory horizon corresponds exactly to the ‚figure‘ as the final archetype from the group of demarcations.

Finally, we can also recognise in the spatial arrangement of the Sinai Covenant the archetypes that determine the specificity of relations between the spatial envelopes or demarcations discussed so far. The first is ‚selectivity of access‘. In the arrangement under discussion, it is established by two restrictions. The first is formed as a border ‚around‘ Mount Sinai, which prevented the Israelites from stepping on its slopes. As already mentioned, only Moses was allowed to cross it, and after the conclusion of the Covenant, Aaron, Nadab and Abihu and seventy elders of the people of Israel. The cloud determines the second border. From Exod 20:20, we learn that Moses ascended the mountain during the Covenant ceremony, but only approached the cloud that covered the majesty of God. At the conclusion of the Covenant, however, Moses and his companions on the mountain ‚saw‘ the God of Israel. From this can be concluded that they were allowed to cross the line between the holy and the Holy of Holies. Undoubtedly, however, Moses crosses this line at God's invitation to the mountain to give him »tablets of stone, and a law, and commandments« (24:12). We read in the text that Moses ascended the mountain and »went into the midst of the cloud« (24:18).

The next archetype from the group of relations that can be understood in the described arrangement is ‚hierarchy‘. It is determined by different height levels.

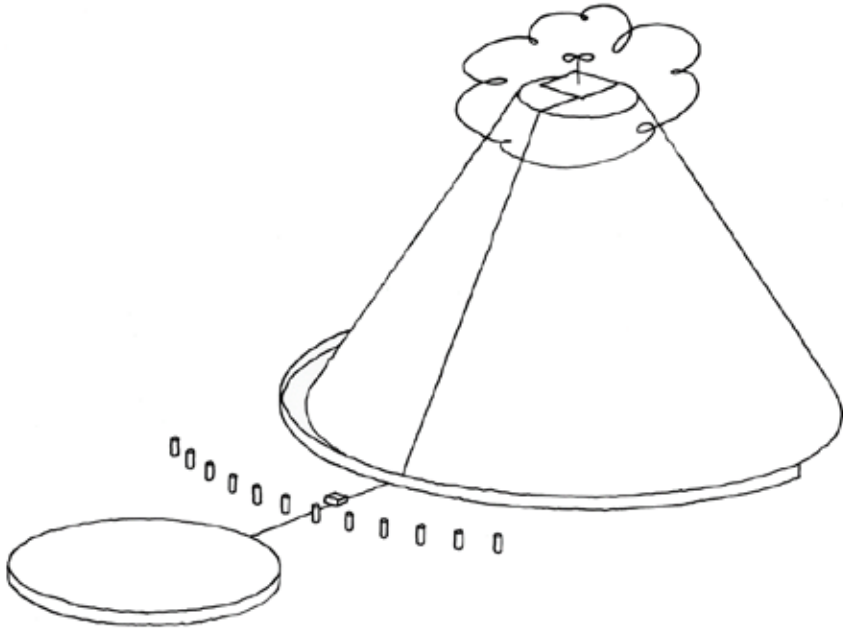


Figure 1: *Sinai Covenant Spatial Planning Scheme.*

In the biblical description, at least three can be distinguished: the area below Mount Sinai, its slope, and its peak. The hierarchy follows the substantive and ritual logic of making a covenant. To Yahweh belongs the top of the spatial composition, to the people of Israel the space under the mountain, and to Moses, as the mediator between the divine and the human, is attributed the slope of the mountain, which physically connects the two realities.

Finally, we can understand the archetype of the 'liturgical axis' in the spatial arrangement of the Sinai Covenant. Its extreme end is the top of the mountain. It is ordained by Yahweh when he descends to the top of the mountain at the conclusion of the Covenant, and later by Moses, who performs a ritual meal here with his entourage. Its starting point is the camp of the people of Israel, set opposite the mountain. From here, as already shown in the analysis of the rite, Moses led the people to the foot of the mountain (24:5-8). We can certainly add to the elements that define the liturgical axis of the altar and the twelve stone stelae beside it.

The analysis of the architectural archetypes of the sacral in the spatial arrangement of the Sinai Covenant shows the presence of almost the entire set of archetypes that co-create the archetypal matrix of sacral complexes as unique entities of building typology.

Although elementally modest in architectural interpretations, they already show the richness of semantics and roundedness, because of which it can be concluded without exaggeration that the spatial design of the Sinai complex has all the characteristics of a prototype of the Old Testament Jewish sanctuary complex. (Figure 1)

6. Discussion

Examination of the spatial images in the considered dramaturgical unit of Moses' story shows two emphases. On the one hand, we witness a continuation of the tradition of the Patriarchs in articulating the relationship with Transcendence. In the post-Eden reality, sacrifice remains the core of this relationship. On the other hand, in the communication between God and man, it is impossible to overlook the important qualitative changes that determine the direction, roughly speaking, from self-talk and awe-inspiring fulfilment of God's will to a balanced dialogue. The latter, between Yahweh and Moses, first takes place through an impenetrable 'shroud' (burning flame, cloud ...), which, for the first time, dissipates for a moment on Moses' ascent of the mountain together with his entourage, at the conclusion of the Sinai Covenant and indicates a whole new quality. Moses experienced it at the top of Mount Sinai as he stepped into the middle of the cloud to receive the stone tablets of the law from Yahweh. Changes in the quality of the relationship also acquire convincing spatial characteristics. These, in the otherwise very simple architectural language of the spatial arrangement of the Sinai Covenant, appear for the first time as a rounded whole, which has all the characteristics of the prototype of the Jewish sanctuary. The semantic, and especially symbolic, value of the considered spatial images is far from exhausted by the present discussion. Their inter-relational structure will be revealed by similar analyses of other Old Testament texts. A specific, and at the same time, the independent problem is identifying the topographic reality of the considered spatial images or research into their natural chronological sequence.

Similarly, determining the degree of autochthony of the considered architectural interpretations in relation to the contemporary traditions of other nations with which the Israeli people came into contact is clearly a completely independent research challenge. All these and many other areas, which are already the subject of in-depth research, do not diminish the value and topicality of spatial images, as they can be found in biblical texts and how they are arranged in them. They indicate an awareness of the timeless effectiveness of spatial arrangements, through which man can perceive even the finest nuances of the mystery of his conditionality with the Surplus.¹

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Crossroads between Islamic Spirituality and the Fourth Industrial Revolution

Presečišče islamske duhovnosti in četrte industrijske revolucije

Abstract: Current research acknowledges the unprecedented effects of the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) on socio-economic development, human interpersonal relations, and day-to-day life. It is worth scrutinising how this shift may cost infrastructural development, economic growth, and human development worldwide, shaping the planet's future. Within the scope of maintaining human's centrality in the era of 4IR, it is critical to draw serious attention to the relevance of spirituality in developing new and existing technologies. This study examines the Muslim framework of spirituality and its proposed pathways for 4IR. This study further concludes that for Muslims, spirituality adds meaning and value to the ethical design, production, and management of 4IR and enables it to better serve the composition of human societies and their emerging needs without harming the well-being of the planet, its resources, or the future of humankind.

Keywords: Fourth industrial revolution, 4IR, Islamic spirituality, Islamic ethics

Povzetek: Sedanje raziskave priznavajo neslutene učinke četrte industrijske revolucije (4IR) na družbenoekonomski razvoj, na medčloveške odnose in na vsakdanje življenje. Vredno je globlje preučiti, kaj bo takšen premik zahteval od razvoja infrastrukture, od ekonomske rasti in od človeškega razvoja po celotnem svetu in kako bo oblikoval prihodnost planeta. Priznavajoč ohranitev osrednje vloge človeka v dobi 4IR, se je nujno resno posvetiti pomenu duhovnosti pri razvijanju novih in obstoječih tehnologij. Naša študija preučuje islamski duhovni okvir in njene smernice za 4IR. Študija nadalje ugotavlja, da duhovnost muslimanom podeljuje smisel in vrednost etičnemu načrtovanju, proizvodnji in upravljanju v razmerah 4IR in ji omogoča koristnejše delovanje v prid človeškim družbam in njihovim porajajočim se potrebam, ne da bi pri tem povzročala škodo blagostanju planeta, njegovim virom ali prihodnosti človeštva.

Ključne besede: četrta industrijska revolucije, 4IR, islamska duhovnost, islamska etika

1. Introduction

The 1st Industrial Revolution of the 18th century marked a new era of human civilisation and was shortly followed by the 2nd Industrial Revolution of the late 19th century, which saw a magnified capacity in heavy industry. The 20th century witnessed drastic digital and computational advancements known as the 3rd Industrial Revolution. The induction of the dot.com internet in the 1990s, also known as the 3rd era, revolutionised mass media, telecommunications, heavy industries, and the medical sector (Shwab 2016). The Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) involves interconnectivity, automation, machine learning, real-time data insights across machines, individuals, organisational sustainability, and forges more holistic, advanced, and interconnected business and organisational ecosystems. 4IR encompasses all additional automation and computerisation deployed by companies to improve production cycles and unify all operations into unified digital ecosystems. It is concerned with interconnectivity across various mediums of automation, industrial and domestic, advanced machine learning, real-time data insights across machines, people, and organisational sustainability (Nagy et al. 2018).

The prospect of global connectivity with unprecedented processing power, storage capacity, and increased access to information, multiplied by emerging technological breakthroughs in fields such as robotics, the Internet of Things, autonomous machines, nanotechnology, biotechnology, material science, energy storage, and quantum computing (Schwab 2016) predicted an imminent revolution of global economy and society beyond recognition. The progress of the 4IR is undoubtedly advantageous to improving the quality of life, the future of cities, research, education, and much of the development sectors. Plutschinski points to 4IR's potential in treating and preventing disease, improving agricultural output, and enhancing the quality of life; however, the breadth and depth of these changes herald the transformation of entire systems of production, management, and governance (2017).

The implications for the questions of meanings, values, identities, relationships, and community are extensive. Furthermore, while 4IR technologies offer humans immense opportunities for better lives, they also pose many ethical challenges to transform the way people navigate their daily lives, economies, and communities. The emergence of a complex ethical environment demands policy considerations of higher management circles, emphasising ethics. This is also a cultivation of strong ethical cultures through ethical policies and exemplary leadership, which sets humanistic precedence (Kim and Thapa 2018). Technologies such as the Internet of Things, artificial intelligence, cyber-physical systems, and automation have all exhibited an evident influence on individual life perceptions, environments, and ethical decision-making processes (Nagy et al. 2018). New technologies such as nanotechnology, artificial intelligence, and many others will create a new system of meaning and a much more intimate relationship with human bodies. They would become so internalised and integrated with the human body that they would expand the human potential to the point of transforming the innermost part of human nature (Platovnjak and Svetelj 2019, 672).

Current research acknowledges the unprecedented and yet sometimes detrimental effects of 4IR. Privacy violations, cyber intrusions, and the use of civil technologies for military purposes are prominent policy issues, alongside specific jobs and human services to grow obsolete (Shahroom and Hussin 2018). The legal considerations of incorporating new algorithmic software into judicial proceedings, securitisation, and law enforcement are also significant. The use of facial recognition software or predictive policing has been called out as a breach of privacy that would usher in an Orwellian era of the surveillance state. In assessing twelve emerging technologies, artificial intelligence and robotics stood out with the highest risk scores with simultaneously some of the highest positive benefits scores (World Economic Forum 2019). Where biotechnology is considered, the design of microorganisms and higher living systems in the 4IR era may assist in meeting the need and demand for biofuel or invaluable medicinal breakthroughs (Terry 2018). However, there have been concerns about harnessing biotechnology to develop micro-organisms for biological weaponry or other disruptive purposes despite the existing potential. These issues might be relentless and repercussions for societies if such technologies are approached without ethical considerations (Hooker and Kim 2018).

Ethical implications are extensive in range, addressing more immediate concerns such as the algorithms used by big Tech corporations resulting in political polarisation to more serious questions of whether gene editing should be creating 'designer babies'. The problem of non-transparency in the many areas of artificial intelligence is not only technical but also ethical. For example, AI algorithmic systems help us during emergencies and the current COVID-19; however, despite their advantages, their often-non-transparent nature raises many questions of ethicality (Strahovnik, Miklavčič and Centa 2020, 321–334). More critically, investigating the socio-economic bias inherent to AI, machine learning and information aggregating processes, and how to design algorithms better to avoid implicit bias. Many studies further indicate an epidemic of depression, a sharp rise in anxiety levels, and an overall feeling of loneliness harboured by unfulfilling interconnectivity. A group of experts gathered by the European Commission delivered a framework to orient the implementation of 'human-centric' AI-based systems intended for any societal good. The inherent assumption in all progressive and development discourses that technology is aimed for the greater good raises the question of whether it genuinely serves the best interests of all its users, or rather only a tiny minority (Savin-Baden and Burden 2018, 102).

Developing communities, in particular, hold the most significant risk of being left behind in the wake of the rapid technological revolution (Business Consultants Inc. 2012). Dalmia and Sharma warn that without advanced preparation, there is a significant risk of losing tremendous autonomy and agency to machines, thus altering the course of humanity without fully grasping the consequences and creating massive global inequality between the 'techno super-rich' and a large underclass (2017). The dissemination of holistic technologies across various sectors to prosper society and the world is more significant than ever. Educational reform

in 4IR shifting would diminish the gap of job incompatibilities that have been replaced by new technologies (Shahroom and Hussin 2018).

The rapid transformative change also poses significant risks to the social fabric if ungrounded in value norms. 4IR now more than ever before begs whether the individualistic standards of empirical science confirmed through superior technology can alleviate the potential ethical concerns and consequences. Although the utopian idea that modern technology can produce the perfect being and perfect world, based on the ideal of unprecedented material well-being, may have been realised partly, this prosperity has been attained at the price of human freedom and the biosphere. Schuurman noted that societies' stand on the edge of a volcano verging on eruption despite our new prosperity (Schuurman 2007). The role of ethics, spirituality, and values is as necessary for guiding 4IR's progression and development as they are for inspiring sustainable long-term solutions to privacy challenges, re-training, unemployment, and re-conceptualising work-life dynamics.

Technology continues to be viewed in terms of the machine model, which guided the application of the power of technology in a tyrannical way. This 'technological culture' subverts the meaning of life and creates a host of problems, the solution to which is impossible so long as we remain thinking and acting within existing parameters of the persisting technical model (Schuurman, 2010). Nevertheless, with so few (if any) ethical or legal guidelines in place for 4IR, it is difficult to predict how the near future of growing technologization will ultimately be traversed or whether the tech industry is capable of uniting to ensure the building of ethical technologies with long term sustainable goals (World Economic Forum 2019). Studies reinforce the link between ethics and organisational growth, providing further rationale for why companies should consider ethical approaches to 4IR technologies; one study found positive correlations between organisations that strongly considered the ethics of 4IR and company growth rates, suggesting positive prospects for such endeavours (World Economic Forum 2019).

The rapid growth and complexity of 4IR and its far-reaching outcomes also alert the critical need for man's spiritual education and self-discipline. Just as there is an urgency to rethink ethical, technological innovation and 4IR, there is also a need to recover the foundational qualities important for biosphere protection, chief among them, gratitude, humility, righteousness, inter and intra human care practices, in addition to the just distribution of resources considerate of the well-being of future generations. In the following, we will first define Islamic spirituality and then discuss the pathways between Islamic spiritual intelligence and 4IR.

2. Overview of Islamic spirituality

Spirituality continues to draw increased scholarly attention as a sign of growing acknowledgement for the inner of man and the need to rethink current approaches to technologisation. There are differing opinions on what spirituality entails,

and it thus far remains restricted to inconclusive definitions of its relation to conventional religious belief and other aspects of the relationship between humans and their experienced life (Lantieri 2001). Levin (2000), Vaughan (2002), Zohar and Marshall (2000), Nasel (2004), King (2008), among others, provided interesting definitions and perspectives on spirituality and spiritual intelligence. However, despite the profusion of their diverse perspectives, they broadly overlook the tools, frames of reference and repertoires practically used in an individual's inter and intra spiritual experience. Such approaches may not necessarily appeal to the Muslim audience or ideally fit their frame of reference and experience.

According to the Qur'an, the domain of the spirit (*ruh*) is inaccessible; humans only have limited knowledge of it (Qur'an 17:85). Taking the term *ruhaniyyah* as the prevalent translation for spirituality, however, Nasr defines it as the inner spiritual dimension of traditional religions dealing with the noumenal and formless that can be directly experienced, extending beyond mental categories, but is not anti-intellectual (Nasr 2006, 209). Islamic spirituality is multi-dimensional and multi-faceted as spiritual intelligence (Utz 2011) and is neither inherited nor bequeathed based on blood, colour, class, race, or sex. Spirituality sets man above all material and is reflected in the presence of a relationship with Allah, affecting individual self-worth, senses of meaning, and connectedness with the other and nature.

Spirituality transcends the pursuit of inner peace to fundamental questions of meaning and ethics. Spirituality seeks to discipline the inner and rewire the self in the face of temptations, probing unchecked attachments to materialism and extravagance while redefining meanings and pathways to satisfaction and happiness. It further allows for self-discovery, self-mastery and unshackles the self from greed. Spiritual discipline is set around core beliefs and requires wariness of intents, motivations, and actions. It begins with the knowledge of the divine and is associated with learning, and hence, should not be viewed as anti-intellectual. Its posited potential and advantage lie far beyond the conventional scientific definitions.

Islamic spirituality upholds the unity of spirit and commands halal life's enjoyment and balanced lifestyle. It promotes community interaction, cooperation, and solidarity. If one's spirituality were to echo into the environment, it would dispel the notion of 'machine master' since technology is now aligned with an intrinsic and human-centric affective, cognitive, material, and spiritual development process. Spirituality views wealth as trust and blessing and calls for sharing the 4IR resources amongst developing and underdeveloped nations and communities.

3. Pathways between Islamic spiritual intelligence and 4IR

Recent literature shows signs of affiliation among several types of intelligence and 4IR, including emotional and ethical intelligence (Oosthuizen 2017). Seemin-

gly, some Islamic spiritual intelligence constructs have prospective relations with cross-functional skills emerging in the 4IR era. Schwab noted that the 4IR could compromise humanity's traditional sources of meaning (work, community, family, and identity) or else can lift humanity into a new collective and moral consciousness based on a sense of shared destiny (World Economic Forum 2019). This points to the need for rethinking the positions of spirituality as a powerful asset for 4IR. In the following section, we shall explore the possible inter-connections found in Muslim spirituality and 4IR.

3.1 Islamic spirituality as a signifier of existential meaning

When considering the ethical issues faced by organisations and corporations working with 4IR, whether related to privacy, algorithmic bias, or lack of inclusivity in technology design (Murphy, Garg and Buckley 2020), Benioff believes a 'trust revolution' is needed if businesses are to embrace the potential of the 4IR fully. For him deploying AI will require a kind of reboot in the way companies think about privacy and security (Devon 2018). 4IR technologies present many ethical challenges with impending changes poised to transform the way we live, work, and interact with each other (Murphy, Garg and Buckley 2020). In terms of the organisational changes, 4IR will affect: 1) Why we work; 2) What we do, especially to the need for constant upskilling and developing of additional skills in creativity and interpersonal skills; 3) How we work, significantly as digital economies will drive new ideas, resulting in expansion and combination of new information and new business; and 4) Where we will work given that the blending of physical and organisational boundaries will continue (Africa 2018).

New perceptions, identities, ethics, communication, production, consumption, behaviours, and standards will form the new reality with newly emerging yet complex and fast-growing technology. At the core of these exceptional developments lies the need to agree on core concepts and values of life that safeguard humanity, honorability, equality, and man's stewardship. In this context, one may appreciate the role of spirituality in identifying essential meanings, values, and boundaries and acknowledging high power and its ability to lead, guide and sustain the human value of 4IR.

The search for meaning and purpose leads individuals to seek meaningful work (Vaill 2000). The purpose pertains to key fundamental questions, while meaning and purpose are construed according to existing beings' web of hierarchical relations. Islam appears to have advanced the meaning and direction of life according to the Unity of God whilst emphasising the responsibility and accountability of individuals and communities. Belief increases the sense of accountability and commitment (Sarif 2015). This is crucial to raising individuals' engagement towards achieving their goals. While spirituality is not immediately recognised as a prime driver of capital growth and technological development, Max Weber devotes considerable attention to the protestant work ethic, which he credits with the rise of capitalism (2003). This is by no means unique to Calvinist theology alone. Spirituality universally speaks against sloth and waste while emphasising the need for

one to situate their work and efforts within a larger context of divine meaning to answer a higher calling.

Islamic spirituality revolves around the principle of *tawhid* (Unity of God) (Al-Faruqi 1986). It helps refine and enrich persuasions, drives, and attitudes people hold by affecting the form and substance of their work and relationships with themselves, families, communities, fellow humans, and surroundings. Spirituality points towards the power that inspires individuals to find a particular purpose that gives meaning to their lives (Javanmard 2012). This represents individuals' continuous struggle to search for the meaning of life, work, world, and ethical system (Meyer and Herscovitch 2001). Spirituality gives individuals their merits before the Creator, meaning to their work while recognising their inner faculties and external circumstances. In Muslim spirituality, what matters most is setting life's goals according to the pursuit of God's will (Musrifah 2019). Spirituality is directed towards responsible production, balanced consumption, and just resource distribution, considering the duty of sharing resources, including digital wealth, and ensuring that none is denied access to fundamental technological rights. Spirituality acts as the yardstick to set man above matter, capitalise on spirit-matter integration and enriches the vision, approach, and application of 4IR.

3.2 Islamic spirituality as a moral compass for 4IR

Morality is the by-product of inner dispositions, manifestations of spirituality, and intellectual ability to observe one's behaviour (Mawdudi 2010, 17). Islamic morality is one of the dimensions of spiritual intelligence (Baharuddin and Ismail 2013). Given the inescapable question of ethicality and morality of 4IR, one cannot ignore the role and effect of spirituality. Spirituality is inherently moral and vice versa. Morality operates hand in hand with spirituality and develops proportionally with the spiritual discipline. This is perhaps why al-Jurjani argued that ethics is a rooted state of the soul by which acts emanate smoothly without the need for reasoning.

Spirituality, however, is a prerequisite for moral investment in 4IR. This should be discussed that spirituality is a gradual yet intelligent undertaking synergising reality with the spirit through purification and moral reform. This results in the business of morality to gain meaningful added value for 4IR, especially when it embraces the inner and outer, individual and community, present and future, and change of motivations, attitudes, and lifestyles. Through spiritual exercises, Muslims are encouraged to work on better states of purity, honesty, integrity, trust, respect, dignity while abstaining from falsehood, deception, manipulation, cheating, stealing, fraud, falsification, slander, mischief, and all forms of harm, aggression, or oppression. Muslims also cultivate better ethics of business and technology for 4IR and ensure fair knowledge sharing and technological dissemination, especially for the underprivileged, while removing socio-economic inequalities and disparities. God's remembrance, gratefulness, and mindfulness reinforce the moral, mental landscape with the self, others, and the environment. Virtues are realised through active community engagement (Omar 2016, 83) and are fulfilled through associations (Miskawayh 1966).

Artificial intelligence only represents the tip of a moral risk iceberg; limited AI already poses moral risks in several areas. A critical problematic example is autonomous weaponized drones, where the decision to take a life can already be technologically passed on to complex decision-making algorithms which are educated through extensive machine learning to optimise strike efficiency, instead of conduct moral evaluations inclusive of bystanders, justification, the rule of law, legality and so forth. While decisions to take a life, remain the token action of a human operator, ethics rooted in changing electorates, fear of public backlash, and the like are generally unable to impede for long the march of technological progress and the imperatives of strategic security when confronted with opponents devoid of moral qualms. A spiritually graded 4IR, however, would provide a more resilient, stable, and cohesive moral approach that does not compromise on quality or primacy but ensures the safeguarding of humanity.

Big data is now a staple of modern decision-making, guiding public policy design, corporate strategy, and informing global value and supply chains, effectively bringing humanity closer in their pursuit of self-fulfilment and actualisation. In the face of rapid development and change, little legislation has been introduced to counter the rising spectra of data for sale, effectively commodifying the violation of privacy, reducing the human to a bundle of commercial potential. Modern jurisprudence is still racing to keep up with the synthesis between big data and accurate psychometrics, which can influence elections, guide consumer choice, and more accurately target demographics. This raises critical moral questions that cannot be engaged with by using a traditional zero-sum cost-benefit toolkit. These include questions surrounding the morality of using deeply personal information or social media manipulation for profit. Spirituality then can provide integral, timeless answers to these critical questions without impeding development but somewhat mitigating risk by providing firm ground for more effective legislation, countermeasures, and corporate culture.

Moreover, while many more new jobs will be created in new sectors of development (Africa, 2018), these jobs are still subject to several societal and ethical consequences affecting beneficiaries, resulting in a global segregated job market of 'low-skill/low-pay' and 'high-skill/high-pay' segments; workforce with job losses; Network Economy, and radical changes to senses of identities whether related to our sense of privacy, notions of ownership, consumption patterns, cultivate our skills, meet people and nurture relationships (Plutschinski 2017).

3.3 Spirituality, 4IR and the Environment

4IR technologies are instrumental to many current and future environmental vital actions. For instance, IoT and Big Data Technologies are critical to many environmental care initiatives that prompt responses and alter waste reduction or carbon footprints control and management. While vastly successful, mitigation of potential risks and unforeseen circumstances should have licensed man as the primary of conscious ethical judgment and decision-making in such a process. He would require holistic attention to personal spiritual, ethical, social, and enviro-

mental discipline. The unfolding of humanity and earth's future remains to be seen; for now, the way to man's spiritual and ethical reform is perhaps the surest path to environmental protection.

One of the significant foundations of environmental sustainability lies within the ethics of stewardship. The latter is defined as »the responsible use (including conservation) of natural resources in a way that undertakes a full and balanced account of the interests of society, future generations, and other species, as well as of private needs, and accepts significant accountability to society« (Worrell and Appleby 2000, 263). Infrastructure, technology, financing, levels of wealth or poverty, rights, knowledge, skills, leadership, and good relations can all support communities' stewardship action (Bennett et al. 2018).

Stewardship depends on intrinsic and extrinsic motivations with the capacity to act, which help define the questions delineating duties, obligations, responsibilities, and scopes of action for stewardship (Bennett et al. 2018). The intrinsic power found in spirituality is set to shape much of the stewards' mindsets, choices, and attitudes. This is not dissimilar to how many education programs and social marketing campaigns look to change people's mental models or alter intrinsic motivations through creating connections with nature and changing people's ethics, values, or beliefs (McKenzie-Mohr et al. 2011; Leisher et al. 2012).

Man's self-connectivity, however, is fundamental to his inter-connectivity with earth and ethical performance. This explains Islam's keen interest in man as the principal driver and catalyst alongside his natural bonding with the earth. Those beliefs and persuasions are expected to propel resilient eco-spiritual capital resistant to self and environmentally negligent and destructive decisions through spiritual practice.

Spirituality acts as a pointer for man's interaction with the earth; it outlines the values for sustained earth ethics. Here, the role of spirituality concerning the fulfilment of Islam's higher objectives becomes visible, with the ensuing law emerging from these maxims as fundamentally interested in man's uprightness in promoting and reinforcing its legal rulings. This notion presumes a natural residual capital set to raise man above optimal ethical functionality standards and conscientiousness, enhancing both man's linkages with earth and connection to the divine. Spirituality is set to reshape the broad ethical vision of 4IR by redefining the concept of man-earth and human inter-relationships within a stewardship framework in progressive technology.

4. Conclusion

This study concludes that spirituality is a viable enabler and drive of 4IR. The research concludes that for Muslim populations, targeting the development of Islamic spiritual intelligence, primarily via education, is critical to the innovation, integration, and management of 4IR. The latter should be approached with an

ethically laden worldview, belief and moral system, and spiritual capabilities. The ethical assessment of 4IR starts with holistic and interdisciplinary education, which best informs the collective on the correct ethical choices and the best innovative, managerial, and applicative choices regarding 4IR. However, the educational landscape in the present day and age needs to be re-assessed in an impending borderless world. Education requires investment in new leadership development to better respond and cope with technology, but more importantly, perhaps, the need to appreciate man's inner consciousness for more meaning-laden human socio-political organisation and civilisation. Specifically, educators should speak critically and hopefully about the challenges of IR 4.0 and help students take responsibility for the future development of IR 4.0 and the world while developing and adopting a comprehensive view of how technology is affecting our lives and impacting our environments (Nguyen et al. 2019, 188).

Spirituality requires both companies and governments to train young workers both in terms of spiritual morality and competency with new pedagogies besides mastering compulsory modules of computer science, automation, and foreign languages, to create a new generation of ‚workers 4.0‘ who possess the hard and soft skills needed to operate within the intelligent factory (Petrillo, De Felice, Ci-offi, and Zomparelli 2018). Failure to formulate and implement policies and safeguards on the ethical usage of technology could mean 4IR's evolution into a means for rapacious, exploitative commercialism, which could even inhibit innovation and financial growth (Murphy, Garg and Buckley 2020). Hopes for a better future located in the unprecedented integration of 4IR assumes universal infallibility in the machine. In contrast, the reality of biased technology risks systemic damage, irreversible chaos, and disintegration of the vital ecosystems of self, community, knowledge sharing and production, economy, and much more. In this critical time window, 4IR needs to adopt a holistic and multi-faceted consideration of human ethics, which emerges from an intrinsically emergent ethical lifestyle and psychology.

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Ivan Platovnjak

Kristjani smemo žalovati!: spodbuda za pastoralo žalujočih

Christians are allowed to grieve! Encouragement for the Pastoral Care of the Bereaved

Povzetek: Avtor se zadnjih deset let posveča žalujočim in tako odkriva mnoge stiske kristjanov, ker ne smejo žalovati tako, kakor čutijo v sebi. Ugotavlja, da se znotraj Katoliške cerkve žal njihova pastorala omeji zgolj na pogrebne obrede. Šele v učenju papeža Frančiška najdemo več spodbud za prenovno te pastoralo, ki bo bolj celostno odgovarjala na potrebe žalujočih. V prvem poglavju predstavi avtor duhovno pomoč Katoliške cerkve, ki jo nudi s krščanskim pogrebnim obredom. Nato prikaže različne stiske, ki jih doživljajo žalujoči kristjani, ker ne zmorejo biti takoj potolaženi zaradi vere v Kristusovo vstajenje in večno življenje rajnih v njem. Na koncu pa pokaže temeljne smernice pastoralo žalujočih, ki jih lahko najdemo v učenju papeža Frančiška. V sklepu poudari, kako pomembno je, da se oblikuje nova pastoralo, ki bo podpirala srca žalujočih in bo zmožna ustvarjati varen prostor, ki ga ti še posebej potrebujejo, a ga tako težko najdejo.

Ključne besede: katoliška Cerkev, krščanstvo, žalovanje, pastoralo žalujočih, pogrebni obred, papež Frančišek, *Amoris laetitia*, stiske in potrebe žalujočih

Abstract: The author has been working for the past ten years with the bereaved, and in this way, he has discovered the many hardships of Christians because they are not allowed to grieve in the way they feel within themselves. He notes that within the Catholic Church, the pastoral care of the bereaved is unfortunately limited to funeral services. It is only in the teaching of Pope Francis that we find more encouragement for a renewal of a form of pastoral care that will respond more integrally to the needs of the bereaved. In the first chapter, the author reviews the spiritual assistance offered by the Catholic Church through the Christian funeral rite. He then illustrates the various forms of distress experienced by grieving Christians who are unable to be immediately comforted by their faith in the resurrection of Christ and the eternal life of the dead in him. Finally, he shows the fundamental guidelines for the pastoral care of the bereaved, which can be found in the teaching of Pope Francis. He concludes

by stressing the importance of creating a new pastoral approach to the bereaved that supports the bereaved in an integrated way and is able to create the safe space that is so badly needed but difficult to find.

Keywords: Catholic Church, Christianity, Grieving, Pastoral Care of the Bereaved, Funeral Rite, Amoris Laetitia, Pope Francis, Needs and Hardships of the Bereaved

1. Uvod¹

Deset let se v svojem pastoralnem delovanju v Ignacijem domu duhovnosti v Ljubljani kot duhovnik in jezuit posvečam tudi žalujočim (Platovnjak 2019, 144–146). Čeprav sem bil predtem kot škofijski duhovnik na različnih župnijah in imel veliko pogrebov, sem se zelo malo zavedal, kaj mnogi doživljajo ob smrti ljubljene osebe, pri slovesu od nje, ob pogrebu in prve mesece po njem, nekateri tudi po več let. Bil sem z žalujočimi, toda nisem jih slišal in zaznal vso neizmernost bolečine, ki so jo doživljali tudi zato, ker pogosto niso bili slišani in sprejeti v njej. Ko sem jih zadnja leta vedno bolj celostno poslušal, sem spoznal, da mnogi doživljajo stiske, ker se od njih pričakuje, da kot kristjani, ki verujejo v Kristusovo vstajenje in posmrtno življenje, ne smejo žalovati. Seveda to ne velja ob smrti, ob pogrebu in prvi mesec po njem. Toda potem, tako se mnogim zdi, bi že morali zaživeti, kakor da se ni nič zgodilo. Če še kdo kar dalje žaluje, ga marsikdaj drugi kristjani čudno gledajo. Prav tako mnogi doživljajo, da duhovniki in verniki, s katerimi so pri sveti maši ali v različnih župnijskih skupinah, ne najdejo več časa zanje, da bi jim prisluhnili in dali možnost, da izrazijo vsa svoja različna občutja in misli. Pogosto jim bolečino žalovanja pomnožuje dejstvo, da nimajo nikogar, s komer bi lahko delili, kar nosijo v sebi, ne da bi imeli občutek, da tega človeka bremenijo ali pa da je brez globokega in pristnega sočutja z njimi. Počutijo se podobno kakor bolnik iz Betesde, ki ni imel nobenega človeka, da bi ga dal v kopel (Jn 5,7), ali pa kakor gobavci, ki so se jih vsi izogibali (Lk 5,12-16; 4 Mz 5,1).

Kaj naredi oziroma kaj lahko naredi Cerkev v svojem pastoralnem delovanju za žalujoče, da bi bilo čim manj tistih, ki bodo doživljali takšne ali podobne stiske? Kaj lahko stori vsak kristjan, da bodo žalujoči dobili takšno pomoč, ki jo potrebujejo?

Čeprav je kar precej cerkvenih dokumentov, ki se posvečajo laikom, družini, trpečim in bolnim, je tema o žalovanju tabu tudi zanje. Prvi cerkveni dokument,² ki o tem spregovori vsaj v nekaj točkah, je posinodalna spodbuda papeža Frančiška

¹ Prispevek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega programa „Etično-religiozni temelji in perspektive družbe ter religiologija v kontekstu sodobne edukacije in nasilje“ (P6-0269), ki ga sofinancira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARRS).

² Pri tem mislimo na dokumente, ki so jih izdali papeži ali pa vatikanske ustanove. Med zbirko Cerkveni dokumenti imamo namreč v Sloveniji tudi prevod Direktorij družinske pastorale za Cerkev v Italiji (1997, 124–125), ki se v dveh točkah posveča vprašanju vdovstva in njegove pastorale.

Radost ljubezni (2016, 253–258).³ Med pastoralnimi smernicami, ki jih daje papež Frančišek, da bi razvili nove metode spremljanja zakoncev in družin na podlagi sinodalnih razprav, spregovori na koncu še o pastoralni žalujočih pod naslovom „Ko družino prizadene smrt“: »Včasih družino prizadene smrt ljubljene osebe. Tedaj moramo ponuditi luč vere in spremljati družine, ki v teh trenutkih trpijo. Ko bi zapustili družino takrat, ko jo je prizadela smrt, bi to bilo veliko pomanjkanje usmiljenja in bi pomenilo, da smo zamudili veliko pastoralno priložnost. Taka drža nam lahko zapre vrata za vsako drugo možnost evangelizacije.« (253)

S tem papež postavi pastoralno žalujočih tako rekoč na prvo mesto, saj jasno pove: če zamudimo to veliko priložnost, ko je družina v stiski zaradi smrti ljubljene osebe, se nam tako zaprejo vrata »za vsako drugo možnost evangelizacije«. Neverjeten uvid in spodbuda, da premislimo svoje pastoralno delovanje za žalujoče.⁴

V tem članku želimo pokazati, kako tudi kristjani, ki osebno in skupaj verujemo v vstajenje mrtvih in njihovo večno življenje, smemo žalovati kakor vsak človek na telesni, čustveni, miselni, socialni in na duhovni ravni. Vera ne odvzame procesa žalovanja, lahko pa pomaga, da nas žalost ne zaduši, ampak se postopoma spreminja v upanje, ki ga podarja vstali Kristus.

2. Pomoč katoliške Cerkve žalujočim s krščanskim pogrebnim obredom

Kristjani vsako nedeljo in ob slovesnih praznikih pri obhajanju svete maše izpovedujemo v nicejsko-carigraski veroizpovedi: »Pričakujem vstajenje mrtvih in življenje v prihodnjem veku.« Tako ozaveščamo, da naše stalno bivališče ni tukaj na zemlji, temveč v nebesih, in da je smrt sestavni del našega življenjskega potovanja v večno združitve s troedinim Bogom v občestvu z vsemi svetimi brati in sestrami (Flp 3,12-21). Izpovedujemo tudi vero v Jezusa Kristusa, ki je postal pravi človek, da bi delil z nami vso pot našega življenja. S svojim življenjem in delovanjem, s trpljenjem, smrtjo in vstajenjem nas je odrešil sužnosti zla, greha in smrti. Kdor vanj veruje in je prerojen po zakramentu krsta v novo življenje v Kristusu, okrepljen z drugimi zakramenti in se trudi živeti v duhu evangelija, je po njem deležen njegovega odrešenja in večnega življenja. Ustanovil je Cerkev, občestvo njegovih bratov in sester, da bi bil po njej lahko z vsakim človekom od začetka do konca življenja na zemlji in vso večnost. Zato Cerkev od vsega začetka zagotavlja Kristuso-

³ Tej temi je leto prej posvetil eno od svojih katehez med splošno sredino avdienco 17. junija 2015 (Frančišek 2015).

⁴ Ko začne papež Frančišek (2016) v 199. točki Radosti ljubezni razlagati nove pastoralne metode, ki so jih spodbudile sinodalne razprave, pove, da jih bo orisal na splošno. Nato pa nadaljuje: »Naloga različnih občestev je, da izdelajo predloge, ki bodo učinkovitejši in močnejše usmerjeni v prakso.« (tč. 199) Vsekakor doslej v Cerkvi na Slovenskem ni bilo kakega vidnega odziva, tudi v posodobljenem besedilu pastoralnih smernic o krščanskem pogrebu leta 2019 ne (SŠK 2019). Temeljna skrb je spoštovanje do teles umrlih ter problematika žarnih pokopov in raztrosa pepela, ne pa, kako čimbolj celostno pomagati žalujočim. Iste poudarke najdemo tudi v pastirskem pismu o krščanskem pogrebu leta 2016 po sprejetju prvega besedila omenjenih pastoralnih smernic (SŠK 2016).

vo odrešensko bližino in pomoč tudi umirajočim in njihovim svojcem ter pokojne pospremi na poti v večno življenje (SŠK 2016).

Pogrebno bogoslužje, ki ga Cerkev zagotavlja, »ni samo izročitev telesa rajnega v kraj zadnjega počitka, v pričakovanju vstajenja od mrtvih, ampak je namenjeno tudi tolažbi svojcev in krščanske skupnosti ter izraža krščansko upanje v večno življenje« (SŠK 2019, 4). Žalujoče tolaži z izbrano božjo besedo, ki je »še posebno pomembna in ozdravljajoča v soočanju s smrtjo in s slovesom od naših najdražjih« (Krajnc 2010, 395), ter z evharistično zahvalno in spravno daritvijo. Zakramentalno ponavzočenje Kristusove smrti in vstajenja, v katerega je pokojni veroval in v katerem sedaj živi in bo vstal poslednji dan, je pravzaprav središče krščanskega pogreba (*Krščanski pogreb* 2006, 1 [poprejšnja navodila]).

Krščanski pogrebni obred zelo jasno izraža velikonočno naravo krščanske smrti (KKC, tč. 1684; Roszak 2016, 215). Vključuje branje božje besede, obhajanje evharistije in obrede (vigilijo, slovo od doma ali vežice, sprevod in ob grobu) z molitvami in mnogimi simboli. Tako kristjani izpovedujemo vero v Kristusovo velikonočno skrivnost, svoje upanje v večno življenje, izkazujemo dolžno spoštovanje telesom rajnih, ki so bila svetišče Svetega Duha, in smo deležni tolažbe po Svetem Duhu Tolažniku. »Da ne bi posamezni obredi izzveneli zgolj s pogledom na večnost, čeprav je to temeljni poudarek slehernega pogrebnega obreda, so v obrede vključene tudi zahvale Bogu za vse tisto, kar je pokojnik dobrega storil za družino, za župnijo in za družbo.« (Krajnc 2010, 410)

Cerkev s pogrebnim obredom priporoča umrle božji usmiljeni ljubezni in prosi za odpuščanje njihovih grehov. S praznovanjem evharistične daritve potrjuje in izraža združitev Cerkve na zemlji z nebeško Cerkvijo v velikem občestvu svetih bratov in sester. Čeprav so mrtvi ločeni od živih, so še vedno eno s skupnostjo vernikov na zemlji in so deležni sadov njihovih molitev in prošenj. S tem obredom kristjani sprejememo ločitev in pokojne izročimo Bogu. Tako priznavamo duhovno vez, ki še obstaja med živimi in mrtvimi, in izpovedujemo vero, da bodo vsi vstali in se zbrali v novih nebesih in na novi zemlji, kjer smrti ne bo več (*Krščanski pogreb* 2006, 1 [poprejšnja navodila]). Smrt ni konec, temveč samo pretrga vezi, ki so bile stkanе v življenju. Odnosi se ne uničijo, temveč samo spremenijo, kakor se tudi življenje ne uniči, temveč le spremeni (Osredkar 2020, 83–86). Z obhajanjem evharistije se tako skupnost vernih, zlasti pa pokojnikova družina, »učí živeti v občestvu s tistim, »ki je zaspal v Gospodu«, ko v svetem obhajilu prejme telo Jezusa Kristusa, čigar živi ud je rajni, in ko moli nato zanj in z njim (KKC, tč. 1689)« (Krajnc 2010, 396).

Kristjani z obhajanjem pogrebnega obreda častimo Boga, ga slavimo in se mu zahvaljujemo za dar življenja, ki je bilo podarjeno pokojnemu in se zdaj vrača k njemu, ki je njegov Stvarnik in izvor ter upanje vseh vanj verujočih. Hkrati pa se k njemu obračamo s prošnjami, da podari pokojnemu, kar zdaj najbolj potrebuje, in vsem žalujočim tolažbo, ki jo more samo on podariti (*Krščanski pogreb* 2006, 8; 10–11).

Pogrebni obred se pogosto končuje z obredom pri grobu, če je bila sveta maša predtem. Izročitev pokojnega v grob je zagotovo najtežji trenutek za njegove svoj-

ce, zato Cerkev v tem trenutku poskrbi za izbrane besede upanja in tolažbe. Voditelj blagoslovi grob z blagoslovljeno vodo in z molitvijo. Tolažeče je zavedanje, da biti izroččen v blagoslovljen grob pomeni, biti izroččen Gospodu in mu vzklikati: »Oče, v tvoje roke izročam svojo dušo!« (Ps 31,6a; Lk 23,46) Krščanski pokop je izročanje pokojnika po Kristusu v Stvarnikov in Očetov objem (SŠK 2019, 3; Krajnc 2010, 398–399). Voditelj sklene obred s sklepno molitvijo, s katero pokojnega priporoči Bogu in prosi, »naj Bog pokojnika pridruži svojemu kraljestvu, žalujoče pa potolaži z upanjem na ponovno snidenje s pokojnikom v nebeški slavi« (Krajnc 2010, 400).

Še posebno je za vse sorodnike pokojnega težak čas takoj po smrti ljubljene osebe. Pogosto je zelo odvisen od načina nastopa smrti, toda zagotovo je vedno bolj ali manj poln zmede, žalosti, srčne bolečine ter različnih drugih čustev in mnogoterih nasprotujočih si misli. Zato se v pogrebni obred vključuje tudi možnost vigilijskega bedenja ob pokojnem (*Krščanski pogreb* 2006, 45–53), ki omogoča čas spominjanja in ubesedenja njegovega življenja. Zgodbe o njem omogočajo žalujočim govoriti o pokojniku v preteklem času. Tako začnejo ločevati spomine od sedanje resničnosti. S tem želi Cerkev nežno spremljati žalujoče v njihovem soočenju z dejstvom smrti in v hromeči žalosti zaradi tega (Larson-Miller 1993, 273).

Cerkev se zaveda pomembnosti tega časa za svojce pokojnih in celotne krščanske skupnosti, zato spodbuja duhovnika, naj se »skrbno in ljubeznivo ozira ne le na osebo vsakega rajnega in na okoliščine njegove smrti, ampak tudi na njegove domače, na njihovo žalost in na potrebe njihovega krščanskega življenja« (*Krščanski pogreb* 2006, 18 [poprejšnja navodila]). Potrebnost posebne pozornosti do žalujočih poudarjajo tudi slovenski škofje v pastoralnih smernicah (SŠK 2019, 9): »Ob smrti naj duhovniki ali drugi pastoralni sodelavci tolažijo svojce s spominjanjem na rajnega; ob pogovoru za pogrebni obred pa naj duhovnik povabi žalujoče svojce k prejemu zakramenta svete spovedi in evharistije, saj sta to zakramenta tolažbe.«

Vsekakor je vidna v pogrebni obredu velika pozornost do žalujočih. Toda omejena je samo na čas slovesa od pokojnega in na pogreb. Navadno se potem obhaja osmi dan po pogrebu sveta maša za pokojne in prav tako trideseti dan. S tem pa se tako rekoč konča navadno pastoralno delo Cerkve z žalujočimi. Naprej morajo sami.

3. Stiske žalujočih kristjanov

Zagotovo so kristjanom, ki so zaradi smrti izgubili svoje drage, v veliko pomoč vera in obredi ob pogrebu, ki jim jih zagotavlja Cerkev. To so potrdile izpovedi mnogih žalujočih, ki sem jih spremljal. Pozitivni vpliv vere kot vir sprejemanja, okrevanja in rasti izpričujejo marsikatero raziskavo, ki so narejene na tem področju (Pargament in Raiya 2007; Reynolds 2017).

Vsak kristjan zmore bolj ali manj verjeti v Kristusovo vstajenje in v večno življenje v njem. Toda tudi tisti, ki globoko in trdno verujejo, da so njihovi pokojni po

smrti združeni s Kristusom in so srečni v objemu večne ljubezni troedinega Boga, doživljajo težke stiske. V sebi namreč čutijo razklanost med vero v vse, kar jim govorijo, in njihovo neizmerno željo, da bi bili pokojni z njimi še vedno fizično navzoči. To bolečino zelo dobro prikaže srečanje med Marto, ki ji je umrl brat Lazar, in Jezusom. Ko pride po njegovi smrti v Betanijo, ga Marta pozdravi s tako rekoč obtožbo: »Gospod, ko bi bil ti tukaj, bi moj brat ne umrl.« (Jn 11,21) Ko ji odgovori, da bo Lazar znova vstal, mu pravi: »Vem, da bo vstal ob vstajenju poslednji dan.« (24). V tem odgovoru lahko zaslutimo tudi besede in občutja, ki niso bila izgovorjena, toda nosila jih je v svoji notranjosti: »Vem, da bo spet vstal, a ti bi lahko preprečil vse to, ker si zares želim, da bi bil živ in bi bil zdaj fizično prisoten!« (Larson-Miller 1993, 270)

Podobno kakor je Marta nosila v sebi razočaranje in napetost med vero v vstajenje in željo, da bi bil Lazar še vedno ob njej, čutijo tudi mnogi verni kristjani. Mnogi se ob tem sprašujejo, kaj je narobe z njihovo vero. Kako je mogoče, da to čutijo, čeprav so vedno trdno verovali v Kristusa in v radost življenja z njim po smrti in da pomeni smrt le izselitev iz telesa in priselitev h Gospodu (2 Kor 5,8). Ko so bili drugi v dvomih, so jih znali zelo dobro spodbuditi in jim pomagati verovati, toda zdaj so povsem nemočni, skoraj obupani. Mnogi si ne upajo tega povedati na glas in stopiti na pot postopnega sprejemanja nove resničnosti, saj se bojijo, kaj bodo drugi rekli. Žal je strah upravičen. Pri svojem spremljanju žalujočih sem pogosto slišal,⁵ kako jih je dodatno prizadela sodba sokristjanov ali duhovnikov, kako lahko to doživljajo, kajti to je znamenje nevere. Naj jih bo sram, da ne morejo povsem verjeti, da je tako, kakor je, za umrle in zanje najboljše. Kdor doživi takšne reči, pade še v večjo stisko, saj mu novi občutki krivde še dodatno povečajo žalost.

To stisko in tudi druge lahko zaznamo v izpovedi verne žene Anice, ki je izgubila svojega moža:

»Po smrti moža, ki so ga vsi poznali, čeprav ni hodil v cerkev, so po nedeljski maši skoraj vsi prišli izreči sožalje, mnogi so mi poslali sožalno vizitko, veliko jih je prišlo na pogreb. Nekaj se jih je udeležilo tudi molitve zanj in darovali so za maše. Vse to mi je bilo v veliko tolažilo. Maša ob osmem dnevu je bila še lepo obiskana, potem pa nič več. S tem se je skrb župnika, župnije in vseh drugih končala. Pogrešala sem kakšen pogovor z župnikom, čeprav se zelo dobro poznamo, kakšno vprašanje s strani župljanov, kako mi je, morda obisk, ker so vedeli, da sem sedaj čisto sama v kraju, povabilo na kavico ali sprehod. Nekoga, ki bi bil vsaj kratek čas z mano ali me poklical. Ko sem po nekaj mesecih svoji zelo verni prijateljici omenila bolečino zaradi izgube moža, se je začudila, ker je mislila, da sem že vse izročila Bogu. Boli me, da je tako malo možnosti, da bi našla prostor, kjer bi lahko izrekla svojo bolečino in bila sprejeta v tem, kar čutim. V mnogih župnijah deluje karitas, od tam bi pričakovala nekaj več posluha ob boleči izgubi.

⁵ Tudi druge stiske žalujočih kristjanov, ki jih opisujem v tem poglavju, povzemam iz svoje lastne izkušnje spremljanja žalujočih v zadnjih desetih letih. Tiste, ki sem jih našel zapisane v kakih razpravah, navajam v referencah.

Na župnijah obstajajo različne skupine, toda nikjer v bližini nisem zasledila skupine za žalujoče. Kako to, da se zanje nič ne naredi.«

Tako kakor Anica tudi mnogi drugi doživljajo težke stiske, ker čutijo, da drugi od njih pričakujejo, da bodo lahko po enem mesecu ali pa vsaj po pol leta, največ pa po enem letu normalno živeli svoje življenje. Toda tega ne zmorejo. Ker čutijo, da ne smejo žalovati tako, kakor žalujejo, v skladu s tem, kakor zmorejo, jim to še dodatno otežuje žalovanje. Prav tako mnogi doživljajo dodatne stiske, ker mislijo, da je z njimi nekaj narobe na področju vere ali psihe. Žal je precej navzoče prepričanje, da je tisti, ki po pol leta oziroma vsaj v enem letu ne dokonča žalovanja, potreben psihiatrične zdravniške pomoči (O'Malley 2017, 67–77).

Mnogi žalujoči kristjani doživljajo težke stiske, ker tudi po pogrebu še kar naprej jokajo ali pa ker sploh ne morejo jokati, pa čeprav v sebi čutijo neizmerno bolečino. Žal je splošno prepričanje, da jok sodi samo v čas pred pogrebom in v čas pogreba. Potem naj bi se veren človek le veselil tega, da je pokojni pri Bogu, kjer ni več solza in so v njem obrisane vse solze (Raz 21,4; Iz 25,8). Občutek, da se je treba solza sramovati, če verujejo, in da njihove solze niso sprejemljive za okolico, jih še dodatno obremeni in žalosti.

Nekateri kristjani, ki doživijo izgubo svojih najdražjih, se pogosto borijo tudi z občutkom ‚jeze‘ na Boga ali pa ‚oddaljenosti‘ od Boga, Cerkve, sokristjanov. Namesto da bi čutili bližino Boga in da jih Bog podpira v njihovi neizmerni stiski, doživljajo nasprotno. Preveva jih občutek, da jih Bog kaznuje, ker niso bili dovolj pobožni ali ker so grešili sami ali njihovi pokojni. Sprašujejo se, kje sta Bog in njegova usmiljena ljubezen, če je to dopustil.⁶ S čim so si to zaslužili? Ali so slabši od drugih, da jih je to doletelo? (Burke in Neimeyer 2014, 1093–1104) Doživljanje Boga ob žalovanju je zelo veliko odvisno od tega, kakšna je njihova podoba o njem in kako razumejo svoje življenje po veri. Žal tudi mnogi kristjani zaradi vzgoje in vpliva okolja nosijo v sebi zelo popačeno podobo, ki pride do izraza prav ob takšnih težkih situacijah in tako še poveča stiske (Lee, Roberts in Gibbons 2013, 298–302). Ta duhovni boj je še posebno težek in povzroča neizmerno stisko, ker odseva pretrgani odnos z Bogom takrat, ko je božja podpora najbolj potrebna. Tako marsikatero raziskavo kažejo, da je nekaterim religija v tem času tudi v breme (Pargament 1997).

Zagotovo so občutki krivde in samoobtoževanja odvisni od tega, kdo je umrl oziroma kakšna je bila navezanost na ljubljeno osebo, kakšne smrti je oseba umrla – nenadna tragična smrt, smrt po dolgotrajni bolezni, samomor, starostna smrt ipd. O mnogih stiskah, ki jih doživljajo žalujoči zaradi samomora, je veliko raziskav (Poštuvan 2014). Posebne stiske doživljajo tudi tisti, ki so dolgo molili za ozdravljenje, a je ljubljena oseba kljub vsemu umrla. Mnogokrat to dojemajo, kakor da jih je Bog zavrnil ali da mu je vseeno ali pa da so imeli premajhno vero, premalo molili, darovali za premalo maš, naredili premalo pokoro, da so nevedni, ker so preveliki grešniki. Zaradi neuslišane prošnje mnogi skoraj zgubijo vero ali se jim

⁶ Kako nevarna so prepričanja, ki jih porodijo dejstva trpljenja, še posebno ‚nedolžnih‘, da Bog ni ljubezen, da nas nima rad ali da ne obstaja, je z veliko prodornostjo in eksistencialno relevantnostjo pokazal Kierkegaard (Žalec 2020a).

zelo omaja ali pa celo povsem zavrnejo Boga in zapustijo vero. Takšni žalujoči tako doživljajo še več stisk ob žalovanju, kakor bi jih, če bi mogli verjeti v božjo ljubezen in verjeti to, kar je obljubljeno vsem, ki verujejo in se trudijo živeti po veri.

Papež Frančišek še posebej govori o stiski zakoncev, ko izgubijo sozakonca, in otrok, ki izgubijo enega ali oba starša. »Razumem tesnobo tistega, ki je izgubil zelo ljubljenega človeka, soproga oziroma soprogo, s katerim oziroma s katero je delil toliko stvari.« (Frančišek 2016, 254). »Otrok, ki je zaradi izgube enega ali obeh staršev ostal sam, trpi na podoben način. Vpraša: ›Kje je moj očka? Kje je moja mama? – No, ona je v nebesih.‹ – ›Zakaj je ne vidim?‹ Ta vprašanja odsevajo agnijo v srcu otroka, ki je ostal sam.« (Frančišek 2015) Ko se posveti žalovanju družine zaradi izgube otroka, pravi:

»Izguba sina ali hčere je, kot da se čas popolnoma ustavi: odpre se prepad, ki požira preteklost in prihodnost. /.../ Smrt se nas dotakne, in ko je otroška, še globlje. Cela družina ostane ohromljena, brez besed. /.../ V teh primerih je smrt kot črna luknja, ki se odpre v družinskem življenju in za katero nimamo razlag. In včasih gremo celo tako daleč, da krivdo pripišemo Bogu. Koliko ljudi – jih razumem – se jezi na Boga, preklinja: ›Zakaj si mi vzel sina, hči? Boga ni, Bog ne obstaja! Zakaj je to storil?‹ To slišimo pogosto. Ampak ta jeza je v bistvu tisto, kar prihaja iz srca z veliko bolečine; izguba sina ali hčere, očeta ali matere je velika žalost. To se vedno znova dogaja v družinah.« (Frančišek 2015)

4. Pastoralna pomoč žalujočim kristjanom – smernice papeža Frančiška

Pastoralna pomoč žalujočim je navadno omejena zgolj na to, kar je povezano s krščanskim pogrebom in s svetimi mašami za pokojne. Seveda je to zelo dragoceeno in pomembno. Toda to ne more biti vse, kar želi Kristus dati žalujočim po svoji Cerkvi. Papež Frančišek je prvi, ki je malo več spregovoril o pastoralni žalujočih (Frančišek 2016, 253–258) in presegel dosedanje okvire.⁷ Prav je, da izpostavimo njegove temeljne smernice.

4.1 Žalovanje je resnično in traja precej časa

Ob smrti ljubljene osebe se pogosto ‚ustavi čas‘ in se odpre »brezno, ki požre preteklost in tudi prihodnost« (254). Žalovanje ima svoj proces. Ni omejeno na neki določen čas (255), še posebno ne zgolj na čas samo okrog pogreba ali na prvih trideset dni, ki se končajo z obhajanjem svete maše za pokojnega. Seveda pa se nekako konča, ko žalujoči zmore ljubiti »pokojnika, ki se sedaj nahaja v onstranstvu. Telesno ne more biti več navzoč, vendar: ›močna kakor smrt je ljubezen‹ (Vp

⁷ Papež Frančišek tukaj ne omenja posebej krščanskega pogreba in svetih maš, ker želi predvsem pokazati, kaj je treba še dodati naši dosedanji pastoralni žalujočih.

8,6). Ljubezen v sebi nosi zmožnost posebnega zaznavanja, to pa ji omogoča, da sliši tisto, kar nima glasu, in vidi, kar je nevidno. To ne pomeni, da bi si ljubljenega človeka predstavljali takega, kakršen je bil, ampak naj bi ga sprejemali spremenjenega, kakršen je zdaj. Ko je prijateljica Marija hotela Jezusa po vstajenju močno objeti, jo je prosil, naj se ga ne dotika (Jn 20,17), da bi jo uvedel v drugačen način srečevanja.« (Francišek 2016, 255) V koliko časa pa se bo to zgodilo, ne vemo vnaprej. Treba se je zavedati: dokler žalujoči kristjan ne dobi potrdila od nas, ki smo z njim, da je popolnoma normalno, da žaluje, oziroma da sme žalovati tako, kakor zmore, doživlja dodatne stiske tudi zaradi občutkov, da ni dober kristjan.

4.2 Potrebnost spremljanja

Treba je spremljati družine, ki trpijo zaradi smrti ljubljene osebe, z velikim usmiljenjem in z lučjo vere (253). To pomeni, sprejeti žalujočo družino in vse njene člane z vsem, kar doživljajo. Razumeti njihovo tesnobo. Po Jezusovem zgledu naj bomo pripravljani biti globoko pretreseni nad bolečino žalujočih in tudi jokati z jokajočimi. Sprejeti jok in solze. »Ne smemo jim odrekati pravice do joka – v žalovanju moramo jokati – tudi Jezus je jokal in je bil globoko vznemirjen ob veliki izgubi družine, ki jo je imel rad.« (Francišek 2015) Razumeti tožbe žalujočih, pripisovanje krivde Bogu, njihovo jezo nanj (2016, 254). Prilagoditi se vsakemu posamezniku in potrebam vsake stopnje žalovanja posebej (255). Poslušati in sprejeti dejstvo, da se skozi celoten proces žalovanja žalujočim zastavljajo različna vprašanja, kakor so: vzroki smrti; kaj bi bil človek lahko storil; kaj doživlja človek v trenutkih pred smrtjo itd. Pomagati jim je treba priti »do uvida,⁸ da morajo, čeprav so izgubili ljubljenega človeka, izpolniti svojo nalogo in da ni dobro, če se podaljšuje žalovanje, misleč, da se s tem rajnemu izkazuje spoštovanje. Ljubljeni človek ne potrebuje ne našega trpljenja niti mu ni do tega, da si uničujemo življenje.« (255) Podpirati jih moramo na poti do spoznanja, da »ni najboljši izraz ljubezni, da se ga vsak trenutek spominjamo in ga omenjamo,⁹ kajti to pomeni, da smo odvisni od neke preteklosti, ki je ni več, namesto da bi ljubili pokojnika, ki se sedaj nahaja v onstranstvu« (255). Usmerjati moramo pogled na tolažbo, ki jo daje spoznanje, »da za tiste, ki umrejo, ni popolnega uničenja, in vera nam zagotavlja, da nas Vstali ne bo nikoli zapustil. Tako lahko preprečujemo, da bi smrt zastrepila naše življenje, razdrila naše zveze in nas pustila pasti v praznino.« (256) Vsekakor pa je pri spremljanju na prvem mestu spoštljivo in celostno poslušanje; to papež Francišek vedno znova poudarja

⁸ Papež Francišek je napisal: »V nekem trenutku žalovanja moramo žalujočim pomagati priti do uvida ...« (255) Te besede si lahko vsak razlaga po svoje. Mnogi so prepričani, da najbolj pomagajo žalujočemu, če pride do tega čimprej. S tem pa povzročajo žalujočemu še dodatne stiske, saj ne upoštevajo njegove poti žalovanja, njegove potrebe in časa, ki ga potrebuje, da bo lahko naredil ta korak. Iz celotnega papeževskega besedila o žalovanju lahko vidimo, da ne omejuje tega na točno določen čas, temveč samo pokaže, do česa naj bi vsak žalujoči prišel.

⁹ Ena od najtežjih stisk, ki jih doživljajo mnogi žalujoči, je prav to, da ne smejo več govoriti o pokojnem niti ga omenjati po preteku pol ali enega leta. Treba je biti pozoren na to, da papež poudari ‚vsak trenutek‘. Torej želi samo opozoriti na nevarnost, če bi se ga ‚vsak trenutek‘ spominjali in omenjali, potem ne bi mogli vzpostaviti novega odnosa do njega in zaživeti novega načina življenja z njim. To pa ne pomeni, da se ga sploh ne bi smeli več spominjati ali ga omenjati. O stiski otrok po drugi svetovni vojni, ki niso smeli niti govoriti o svojih mrtvih starših, glej Erzar 2015.

ter vabi vse pastoralne delavce in kristjane v to temeljno držo (Platovnjak 2020, 366–369; Nežič Glavica 2021, 138–139).

4.3 Pomembnost molitve

Z iskreno in potrpežljivo molitvijo se lahko doseže notranji mir (255). Z molitvijo lahko žalujoči vzdržujejo stik s svojimi ljubljenimi umrlimi. Njihova molitev zanje jim lahko ne le pomaga, marveč tudi napravi njihovo priprošnjo zanje učinkovito (KKC 958; Frančišek 2016, 257). Zelo dragoceno je obhajanje evharistije (Frančišek 2014). V temi, ki jo povzroči smrt ljubljene osebe, je treba klicati z vso močjo: »Moj Bog, razsvetli mi temo!« (Frančišek 2015) Treba se je ustaviti in dovoliti Križanemu in Vstalemu, da spregovori s svojo milino, bližino, krotkostjo, resnico in z upanjem. Prosititi je treba za milost, da bi se naučili pustiti se mu tolažiti. Njegova tolažba ne slepi. Ni anestezija. Je resnicoljubna in odpira vrata upanju (Frančišek 2020). V veliko pomoč so svetopisemska besedila,¹⁰ ki odpirajo temo žalovanja Luči in Upanju. Dragoceno se je zavedati, kako so nekateri svetniki pred svojo smrtjo tolažili svoje ljubljene bližnje z obljubo, da jim bodo blizu s svojo pomočjo. »Sv. Terezija iz Lisieuxa je čutila, da bo iz nebes še naprej delala dobro. Sv. Dominik je zatrdil, da bo »po smrti bolj koristen /.../, bolj mogočen za dobivanje milosti«. To so vezi ljubezni (KKC, tč. 957), kajti zedinjenje potnikov z brati, ki so zaspali v Kristusovem miru, se nikakor ne pretrga, temveč se /.../ s skupno deležnostjo pri duhovnih dobrinah še okrepi (C, tč. 49).« (Frančišek 2016, 258)

4.4 Živeti življenje v povezanosti z umrlimi s pogledom v prihodnost

Naloga žalujočih je, da v ljubezni do umrlih, ki so bili z njimi na poti življenja, rastejo »vse do dne, ko »smrti ne bo več, /.../ ne bo več ne žalovanja ne vpitja ne bolečin« (Raz 21,4)« (Frančišek 2016, 258). S tem se pripravljajo, da se bodo spet srečali s ljubljenimi, ki so že umrli. Zato naj ne tratijo svojih moči s tem, da bi se leta in leta zadrževali v preteklosti. Čim bolje bodo živeli na tem svetu, toliko več sreče bodo lahko v nebesih delili s svojimi ljubljenimi (258).

4.5 Podpora krščanske skupnosti

Ovdovelost je posebno težka izkušnja. »Tiste, ki ne morejo računati na sorodnike, od katerih bi lahko prejeli ljubezen in bližino, mora krščanska skupnost podpreti

¹⁰ Svetopisemski zgledi vere v Boga, ki obuja mrtve, so številni v Stari in v Novi zavezi. Za kristjane je glavna podlaga upanja celota Jezusovega nauka, predvsem njegova velika noč v nezdružljivi povezavi med življenjem, smrtjo na križu in vstajenjem. Jezusova obsodba in brutalna smrt na križu sta bili razlog žalovanja Jezusovih najzvestejših učencev, predvsem pa njegove matere Marije. Irena Avsenik Nabergoj že daljše obdobje načrtno raziskuje načine podoživljanja Marijinega žalovanja in joka ob Jezusovem trpljenju in smrti. Podoživljanje Marijinega sočutja je od 12. stoletja dalje doživelo velik razcvet v asketskih spisih, pridigah in molitvah (Avsenik Nabergoj 2016, 2017, 2019, 2020). Razvila se je posebna zvrst verske literature, imenovana »Marijino jokanje« (*planctus Mariae*): »Raziskovanje izvora in razvoja literarne zvrsti *planctus Mariae* (*compassio, pietas*) odpira kompleksno razmerje med antropološkimi in teološkimi vidiki odnosa med Jezusom in njegovo materjo na Jezusovi življenjski poti vse do Golgote. V času Jezusovega zemeljskega poslanstva v Mariji deluje materinski čut v odnosu do otroka, po Jezusovem vstajenju in poveličanju pa je tudi Marija vzeta v nebo, povišana v »kraljico nebes«. S tem se spremeni subjekt Marijinega sočutja, ki ni več njen sin Jezus, temveč vsi trpeči na zemlji. Božja Mati Marija postane priprošnjica za vsakega človeka v stiski.« (Avsenik Nabergoj 2017, 665–666)

s posebno pozornostjo in jim pomagati, posebno če so v pomanjkanju.«¹¹ (255) Če si žalujoče družine dovolijo, da jih podpira vera v večno življenje v Kristusu, »lahko izkušnja žalosti celo rodi močnejše družinske vezi, novo odprtost za bolečino drugih družin, novo bratstvo družin, ki se rodijo in prerodijo v upanju« (Francišek 2015). Mnoge žalujoče družine lahko črpajo moč za naprej iz preprostega in močnega pričevanja številnih družin, ki so šle s Križanim in Vstalim v novo življenje z njim. Tako so žive priče, da so dela božje ljubezni močnejša kakor dela smrti (Francišek 2015).

5. Sklep

Kristjani smo obdarovani z izredno milostjo, ker smemo verovati v vstajenje Jezusa Kristusa in se lahko soočamo s svojo lastno smrtjo in s smrtjo naših bližnjih z upanjem, ki ga imamo v njem, da je smrt le prehod v večno življenje s troedinim Bogom. Krščanski pogrebni obred nam pomaga, da lahko pri pokopavanju svojih bratov in sester izpovedujemo svoje upanje v večno življenje. Toda pri tem ne smemo zbudati videza, da nimamo razumevanja ali da preziramo »čustva in navade svojih sodobnikov in sorojakov glede rajnih«, nas opozarja pogrebni obrednik (*Krščanski pogreb* 2006, 2 [poprejšnja navodila]). Kaj to pomeni, obrednik ne opredeli. Vsekakor tisti, ki ne verujejo v Kristusa, nimajo našega upanja in tolažbe in morajo iti brez tega skozi proces žalovanja na telesni, čustveni, miselni, socialni in na duhovni ravni. Pri tem iščejo različne načine, ki jim pomagajo na novo odkriti smisel nadaljnega življenja.

Ko premišljujemo o žalovanju kristjanov, se vprašajmo, ali nam more naša vera omogočiti vse, kar potrebujemo kot človeška bitja na telesni, čustveni, miselni in na socialni ravni žalovanja (Roszak 2017, 139). Zagotovo nam lahko zelo pomaga na duhovni ravni, toda ne more nadomestiti tega, kar moremo dobiti samo na ravni medčloveških odnosov. Te odnose tudi Kristus uporabi, da posreduje to, kar nam želi darovati v procesu žalovanja. Končno je tudi zato postal človek, ker je lahko le tako v polnosti razodel Očeta in nas usposobil, da po njem v moči Svetega Duha ponavzročujemo njegovo bližino in odrešujočo ljubezen drug drugemu kot bratje in sestre v občestvu Cerkve (Vodičar 2018, 13).

¹¹ Direktorij družinske pastorale za Cerkve v Italiji se je posebej posvetil vdovstvu in nalogi župnije na tem področju: »Situacija [vdovstva] si zasluži, tako zaradi svoje pogostnosti kakor zaradi svoje zapletenosti in raznolikosti oblik, tudi danes pozornost, ki sta ji jo izkazala Jezus in prva Cerkve. Župnijska skupnost naj si vzame čas za resno in stvarno razmišljanje o resničnosti, pomenu in možnostih vdovstva; naj pomaga tistemu, ki je odovovel, da bo spet osmisli svoje življenje tudi s pomočjo časov molitve, premišljevanja in dejavne in delovne obveznosti v skupnosti; naj ovrednoti in podpira izkušnost skupin in krščanskih vdovskih gibaj. Predvsem v prvem obdobju žalovanja naj se s pomočjo obzirne dejavnosti bližnjih, prijateljskih in pozornih družin udejanjajo oblike duhovne podpore; posebno pozornost naj se posveti mladim vdovcem in vdovam, da bi jim pomagali presoditi njihov položaj in opravljati njihovo vzgojno nalogo do otrok; prizadevajmo si pomagati tem osebam, da bodo živele v čistosti; ko bi se pa nameravale spet poročiti, naj se jih razsvetli in podpira, da bodo o njihovi izbiri odločali pristni nagibi za ljubezen.« (124) »Krščanska skupnost naj tudi ne pozablja vdovstva kot dar, darovan Cerkvi, in prikazati duhovno bogastvo, ki je lastno vdovskemu stanu. Če se namreč s smrtjo enega izmed zakoncev boleče pretrga zakonska ali družinska ‚skupnost‘, pa se ne pretrga ‚povezanost‘, če je res, da umreti pomeni za vernika ›izseliti se iz telesa in se priseliti h Gospodu« (2 Kor 5,8). Gre torej za to, da pomagamo, kdor je in namerava ostati v vdovskem stanu, živeti v prepričanju, da smrt ne uniči ljubezenskih vezi, sklenjenih s poroko, pač pa jih utegne dopolniti in utrditi.« (125)

Če se pastorala žalujočih kristjanov omeji zgolj na pogrebni obred, mnogi doživljajo velike stiske, saj se ne čutijo razumljenih in sprejetih v svojih čustvih in mislih, ki so napolnile njihovo notranjost, čeprav verujejo v Kristusovo velikonočno skrivnost. Mnogi se počutijo povsem sami v svojem žalovanju in v neizmernih stiskah, ker jim ni dovoljeno žalovati po tridesetem dnevu oziroma po enem letu, kakor je bila včasih navada, da se je odložilo črno oblačilo. Zagotovo so stari krščanski običaji ob smrti, ob pogrebu in po njem marsikomu olajšali ta proces. Vprašanje pa je, ali so žalujoči tudi takrat imeli ob sebi človeka, s katerim so lahko delili to, kar so doživljali. Nekako je bil kristjan vedno prepuščen samemu sebi in svojemu odnosu do Boga. Vsekakor pa je bilo žalovanje veliko bolj sprejemljivo in razumljivo.

Današnji čas je prinesel mnogo raziskav o žalovanju z vidika psihologije, zdravstva in sociologije. Vedno bolj se poudarja, kako je pomembno, da se žalujočim omogoči varen prostor, v katerem lahko brez strahu ubesedijo vse, kar nosijo v sebi, in tako prek spoštljivega in empatičnega sprejemanja njihovih čustev in misli počasi odkrivajo smisel vsega, kar se je zgodilo, in njihovega nadaljnega življenja (Pineda-Albaladejo, Puga in Moya-Faz 2020, 211). Takšen prostor omogočajo mnogi hospici in tudi različne terapevtske skupine. Verjamem, da je to znamenje časa, ki spodbuja Cerkev, da na novo premisli svojo pastoralo žalujočih ter jo oblikuje v duhu evangelija in učenja papeža Frančiška. Tako bo lahko odprla srca mnogih žalujočih za evangelizacijo (Frančišek 2016, 253). Bog je po učlovečenju božjega Sina postal Bog z nami, da bi tako skupaj z njim postajali vedno bolj ‚človek z drugimi‘ in ustvarjali varen prostor, v katerem se bodo tudi žalujoči začutili povsem sprejete v vsem, kar doživljajo, in bodo lahko hodili svojo pot žalovanja, ki vodi v polnost življenja (Volek 2019).

Današnja družba, v katero je vpeta tudi Cerkev, ni družba, ki bi spoštovala čas, kakor ga žalujoči potrebuje. Res je, da se mnogi po smrti ljubljene osebe želijo čimprej vrniti v vrvež življenja, saj tako lahko pozabijo in gredo naprej. Toda mnogi potrebujejo več časa, predvsem pa varen prostor, v katerem lahko govorijo o vsem, kar doživljajo. Pogosto mnogim manjka nekdo, ki bi jih spoštljivo in čuteče poslušal in jih sprejel z vsem, kar nosijo v sebi (Smodiš 2020, 2).

Tudi žalujoči kristjani potrebujejo nekoga, ki bi mu bodo lahko pripovedovali o umrlem, o vsem, kar so doživeli ob njem pred njegovo smrtjo, v času smrti, ob poslavljanju od njega in sedaj, ko ga ni več. Tega jim pogosto ne more dati njihov družinski član, ker je tudi sam vpet v stisko žalovanja in hodi svojo pot. Potrebujejo brate in sestre v Kristusu ali pa programe in skupine za žalujoče,¹² v katerih si lahko brez sramu in občutkov, da drugega bremenijo, iskreno, sočutno in spoštljivo delijo med seboj vse, kar nosijo v sebi (Kavčič 2021, 8–9). Ob tem počasi odkri-

¹² V tem trenutku je samo v eni župniji v Cerkvi na Slovenskem redna skupina za žalujoče, objavljena na spletni strani (Župnija Ljubljana Sveti križ 2021). Obstaja še v Ignacijevem domu duhovnosti (2021), tam je tudi edina skupina za ovdovele. Prav tako deluje skupina za žalujoče znotraj Frančiškanskega družinskega inštituta (2021). Zunaj katoliške Cerkve najdemo veliko različnih načinov in oblik pomoči žalujočim, še posebej prek Hospica. Tudi to je spodbuda, da se katoliška Cerkev bolj posveti pomoči svojim žalujočim vernikom.

vajo, kako želijo umrli biti še naprej dar za njihovo življenje in delovanje. Postopoma se osvobodijo tega, da bi videli samo smrt ljubljene osebe in njeno odsotnost. Njihova perspektiva se razširi, to pa omogoči oblikovanje upanja (Žalec 2020b, 272). Naučijo se, živeti drugače odnos ljubezni z njo tam, kjer je. Postopoma se zmorejo veseliti svojega življenja, čeprav občasno še čutijo neizmerno bolečino in žalost. Izkustveno so namreč spoznali in vedo, da žalost in obupna osamljenost ter praznina nikoli nimajo zadnje besede, temveč je to upanje v Vstalem Kristusu.

Kratice

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KKC – *Katekizem Katoliške Cerkve* 2008.
SŠK – Slovenska škofovska konferenca.

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Snežana Brumec in Nikolaj Aracki Rosenfeld

Primerjava življenjskih sprememb po romanju in po obsmrtnih izkušnjah

A Comparison of Life Changes After the Pilgrimage and Near-Death Experiences

Povzetek: Pomembna ugotovitev našega preučevanja romanja Camino de Santiago je, da romarji na poti doživljajo izredne človeške izkušnje. Mednje sodijo tudi obsmrtne izkušnje, tako romanje kakor obsmrtne izkušnje pa potekajo v liminalnosti, ki nedvomno spreminja ljudi. Z vprašalnikom, ki je bil prvotno oblikovan za merjenje življenjskih sprememb po obsmrtnih izkušnjah, smo izmerili spremembe v stališčih in vrednotah po izkušnji romanja in jih primerjali s spremembami po obsmrtnih izkušnjah v metodološko podobni raziskavi. Na podlagi primerjave življenjskih sprememb, pri katerih posameznik hote izstopi iz strukturirane družbe v nestrukturirani, liminalni prostor, z življenjskimi spremembami po obsmrtnih izkušnjah, pri katerih je posameznik v prostor med življenjem in smrtjo potisnjen nehote, ugotavljamo, da so transformativni učinki obeh liminalnih izkušenj podobni. Rezultati kažejo, da govorimo predvsem o porasti spoštovanja do življenja, o povečani skrbi za druge in o večjem samosprejemanju. Edino zmanjšanje smo zabeležili na področju samopoudarjanja in samodoseganja.

Ključne besede: romanje, obsmrtna izkušnja, liminalnost, izredne človekove izkušnje, transformativni učinki, življenjske spremembe, Camino de Santiago

Abstract: An important finding of our study of the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage is that pilgrims experience exceptional human experiences. These include near-death experiences, and both pilgrimages and near-death experiences take place in a liminal space that undoubtedly changes people. We measured changes in attitudes and values after the pilgrimage experience and compared them with changes after the near-death experience in a methodologically similar study using a questionnaire. The questionnaire was created to study the life changes associated with a near-death experience. We found out that the transformative aftereffects of both liminal experiences are similar. The findings were based on a comparison of life changes in which an individual intentionally exits a structured society into an unstructured, liminal space, with life changes after

near-death experiences in which the individual is unintentionally pushed into the space between life and death. Results indicated an increase in appreciation for life, increased concern for others, and greater self-acceptance. The only decrease was in the area of concern with worldly achievement.

Keywords: pilgrimage, near-death experience, liminality, exceptional human experience, transformational aftereffects, life changes, Camino de Santiago

1. Uvod

Romarska pot Camino de Santiago de Compostela v Španiji doživlja zadnja desetletja vedno večje zanimanje. Romanje lahko uvrščamo med izredne človekove izkušnje. Zaradi transformativnega učinka ga moremo primerjati z obsmrtnimi človeškimi izkušnjami, ki so deležne večjega števila raziskav. Število potopisnih pripovedi romanj, posebej v Santiago de Compostelo, je spodbudilo našo raziskavo, s katero smo merili spremembe v vrednotah in stališčih po izkušnjah romanja. Naša razprava s preučevanjem romanja povzema sklepe raziskave o transformativnih izkušnjah romanja in jih primerja z življenjskimi spremembami po obsmrtnih izkušnjah.

2. Romanje – prostor duhovnega izkustva

Človek je že po svoji naravi religiozno bitje, odprto transcencenci oziroma tistemu, ki ga presega. Je tisti, ki išče, sprašuje in se sprašuje. Kot tak je vedno na poti iskanja, poglobljanja in osmišljanja svojega bivanja. Potovanje je za religioznega človeka najprej absolutno konkretno in na videz povsem profano, a je lahko istočasno in celo prvenstveno mistično potovanje, lahko bi rekli liturgično potovanje. Potovanje, ki dobi svoj polni pomen šele iz zavedanja velikega in edinega človekovega potovanja v blaženo bivanje. Takšno razumevanje je zelo živo ob romanjih v svetišča in še bolj na svete kraje, ki simbolizirajo nebeško domovino. (Bernard 1984)

V Svetem pismu so zaradi verske simbolike posebej poudarjena romanja očakov Abrahama, Izaka in Jakoba v Sihem (1 Mz 12,6-7; 33,18-20), Betel (1 Mz 28,10-22; 35,1-15) in Mamre (1 Mz 13,18; 18,1-15), kjer se jim je Bog prikazoval in se zavezal, da jim bo dal 'obljubljeno deželo'. Za Izraelce, ki so izšli iz Egipta, postane gora Sinaj, na kateri se je Bog prikazal Mojzesu (2 Mz 19,20), sveti kraj in potovanje skozi Sinajsko puščavo ima pomen dolge poti v obljubljeno sveto deželo. To je pot iskanja božje in človeške gostoljubnosti, saj nas mnogi, po zgledu Marije in Marte, sprejmejo na svoj dom (Jn 12,1-8). Tako romar okusi gostoljubje ne le dobrih ljudi različnih etničnih, rasnih, socialnih in ekonomskih identitet, ampak tudi gostoljubje Boga samega, ki nas na poti spremlja, nagovarja, vodi ter budi in krepi našo vero in ustvarja srečo in radost življenja (Krajnc 2020, 490–491). Ker pa je gосто-

ljubnost v prvi vrsti nekaj, kar prihaja od znotraj, iz srca in duše, ustvarja dialog ali pot navznoter in navzven (493). Ta pot je blagoslovljena od Boga, ki v skrinji zaveze (4 Mz 10,33-36) in v tabernaklju (2 Sam 7,6) kot znamenjih njegove navzočnosti hodi s svojim ljudstvom, ga vodi in z oblakom varuje (4 Mz 9,15-23). Ko je Jeruzalem postal sedež svetišča in skrinje zaveze, je postal za Jude sveto mesto in vzvišeni cilj zelene ‚romarske poti‘ (Ps 84,6), v katerem romar hodi »z glasom vrisanja in hvale v vrvenju praznične množice« (Ps 42,5), dokler ne »pride do ‚božje hiše‘ in se pokaže pred njegovim obličjem«. Trikrat na leto so morali izraelski možje priti »pred Gospodovo obličje« (2 Mz 23,17), to pomeni: napotiti se v jeruzalemski tempelj. Ta tri romanja so potekala ob prazniku opresnikov (pasha), ob prazniku žetve (binkošti) in ob šotorskem prazniku (De Vaux 1960). Vsaka izraelska družina, tudi Jezusova (Lk 2,41), je vsako leto na pashalni praznik romala v Jeruzalem. Med svojim javnim delovanjem je romal v Jeruzalem tudi Jezus (Jn 11,55-56) (Infante 2010). Evangelist Luka popisuje Jezusovo odrešilno delovanje kot neke vrste romanje (Lk 9,51–19,45), katerega končni cilj je mesijansko mesto Jeruzalem, kraj njegove pashalne daritve in mesto njegovega odhoda k Očetu. »Izšel sem od Očeta in prišel na svet, spet zapuščam svet in grem k Očetu.« (Jn 16,28)

»V prvih treh stoletjih – z nekaj izjemami – romanje v krščanstvu ni imelo bogočastnega pomena. Vsekakor pa so se v teh stoletjih postavili temelji za vnovično obuditev romanj s krščanskim predznakom. Čiščenje mučencev, na grobove katerih so odhajali kristjani, da bi počastili posmrtno ostanke odličnih Kristusovih prič, je postopno in samoumevno poiskalo prehod od »pobožnega obiska« do »zaobljubljenega romanja.« (Kongregacija za bogoslužje in zakramente 2003)

Po sklenitvi Konstantinovega edikta (leta 313) in po odkritju krajev in po najdenju relikvij Kristusovega križa in trpljenja je doživelo krščansko romanje preobrat. Zaradi svojih ‚svetih krajev‘ postane vsa Palestina, z začetkom v Jeruzalemu, Sveta dežela. O tem pričajo poročila slavnih romarjev, na primer Egerijin potopis (*Itinerarium Egeriae*), romarice iz 4. stoletja (Bogataj 2020). V ‚svetih krajih‘ zgradijo znamenite bazilike, kakor sta na primer Anastasis, sezidana nad božjim grobom, in Martyrium na Kalvariji, ki sta postali vabljivi za romarje. Romarski cilji pa so tudi drugi kraji, kakor so opisani v evangelijih, in kraji Stare zaveze, na primer gora Sinaj.

V srednjem veku raste število romarskih središč. Na prvem mestu je Jeruzalem, pa tudi Rim, kjer so romarji (iz naziva Roma) počastili spomin apostolov Petra in Pavla (*ad limina apostolorum*), ter obiskali katakombe in velike bazilike. Med najbolj obiskovanimi romarskimi središči je od 9. stoletja dalje Santiago de Compostela, pa tudi Tours, kjer je grob sv. Martina, Canterbury, kjer je sv. Tomaž Becket prestal mučeništvo, ki je zelo odmevalo po vsej Evropi, Monte Gargano v Apuliji, San Michele dela Chiusa v Piemontu, Mont Saint-Michel v Normandiji, vsa tri posvečena nadangelu Mihaelu.

V novem veku in z reformacijskimi gibanji so romanja stopila nekoliko v ozadje. ‚Pot v daljno deželo‘ se je spremenila v ‚duhovno romanje‘. Z začetkom druge po-

lovice 19. stoletja pa je opazno občutno povečevanje števila romanj, a se spremeni tudi njihova zunanja podoba. V ospredju so božja svetišča, ki so na poseben način izraz verske in kulturne istovetnosti nekega naroda (Altötting, Antipolo, Aparcida, Assisi, Brezje, Caacupé, Chartres, Coromoto, Čenstohowa, Ernakulam-Angamaly, Fatima, Guadalupe, Kevelaer, Knock, La Vang, Loreto, Lurd, Mariazell, Marienberg, Montevergine, Montserrat, Nagasaki, Namugongo, Padova, Pompeji, San Giovanni Rotondo, Washington, Yamoussoukro ...).

V izbiri svetih krajev in v posvečenih časih pogloblja romar, prek znamenj, stik s svetim, s presežnim, z Bogom. Nemir, ki ga sodobnemu človeku povzročata drvenje in sla po spoznavanju in doseganju vsega mogočega, obuja željo po spravi s samim seboj, s svojo usodo in s končno omejenostjo, da bi se potem z novo, božjo močjo vrnil v vsakdanje življenje. K romanju pa ga spodbujajo tudi različne duhovne potrebe, kakor so: želja po slovesnem praznovanju praznika ali pokora za nekatera dejanja, predvsem pa poglobitev vere v Kristusa in čaščenje božje matere Marije ali svetnikov (Krajnc 2019, 163). To je posebej značilno za četrto in tretjo kategorijo romanj po klasifikaciji antropologa Victorja Turnerja (Turner in Turner 1978). Prvi dve kategoriji sta skupni vsem religijam, zadnji dve pa sta značilnost krščanstva. V prvo kategorijo sodijo ‚prototipična romanja‘ oziroma romanja na kraje, ki so s pisnimi dokumenti ali z izročilom določena od religijskega ustanovitelja ali prvih učencev in je njihova značilnost, da manifestirajo pravovernost (npr. Jeruzalem, Rim, Meka ...). ‚Arhaična romanja‘ so na kraje, kjer se lahko zaznajo očitne sinkretistične sledi verovanj in znamenj poprejšnje religije (npr. Glastonbury ...). ‚Sredneveška romanja‘ so romanja na kraje, ki jim daje tipično karakteristiko teološka in filozofska klima obdobja njihovega nastanka (navadno med letoma 500 in 1400 – Canterbury, Santiago de Compostela, Loreto, Čenstohowa, ...). ‚Moderna romanja‘ so romanja na kraje, ki jih karakterizirajo devocionalno ozračje, goreča osebna pobožnost in značilna apologetska skrb. Očitno pa je seveda, da se različni tipi romanj med seboj mešajo, tudi če mesta in kraji ohranjajo svojo originalno podstat (Bernardi 1987).

2.1 Razsežnosti romanja

Nedvomno je romanje, ki ga je Clifford Geertz prišteval med osrednje obrede religije (Geertz 1973, 216), odličen način za spodbujanje doživetij, ki bi jih lahko uvrstili med izredne človekove izkušnje. Že Victor in Edith Turner (Turner in Turner 1978, 6) sta izpostavila prepričanje, da so vsa romarska mesta kraji, kjer so se čudeži bodisi že zgodili ali pa se še vedno dogajajo oziroma se lahko ponovijo. V tem smislu naj bi imelo vsako romanje tudi duhovno komponento; tudi če bi romar zanikal duhovno komponento svojih motivov za romanje, menita, da je potencial ‚duhovnega dogodka‘ med romanjem kljub temu navzoč.

Romanje, a tudi liturgični sprevid oziroma procesija imata simbolični pomen. Prikličeta pot, ki vodi v neki drug kraj in ki izraža željo po spremembi ob sprejemanju napora (Bernard 1984). Romanje je trenutek in prisposoba potovanja božjemu kraljestvu naproti. Duhovna dimenzija izhoda Izraela v obljubljeno deželo odseva v romarski duhovnosti. Romanje kot dogodek manifestira pretekle resnič-

nosti in hkrati razodeva prihodnje. (Aracki Rosenfeld 2017, 350). Izhod Izraela v obljubljeni deželo odseva v romarski duhovnosti. Romar se zaveda, da »tu nima stalnega bivališča« (Heb 13,14). Zato tedaj, ko doseže neposredni cilj romanja, nadaljuje potovanje skozi ,puščavo' življenje proti pravi obljubljeni deželi.

Kongregacija za bogoslužje in zakramente v dokumentu z naslovom Direktorij za ljudske pobožnosti in bogoslužje iz leta 2003 našteva in opisuje značilne razsežnosti romanja, ki so: eshatološka, spokorniška, praznična, bogočastna, apostolska in občestvena (Kongregacija za bogoslužje in zakramente 2003). Spokorniška razsežnost kaže, da je romanje ,pot spreobrnjenja'. Na potovanju romar sledi poti, po kateri stopa, ob zavedanju vezi, ki ga vežejo na minljive in nekoristne stvari, da bi dosegel notranjo svobodo in spoznanje o globokem pomenu življenja. Praznična razsežnost se na romanju tesno prepleta s spokorno razsežnostjo. Veselje ob romanju je podaljšana radost pobožnega izraelskega romarja: »Veselil sem se, ko so mi rekli: »V Gospodovo hišo pojdemo.«« (Ps 122,1) Romanje je prekinitve vsakdanje enoličnosti, je olajšanje teže vsakdanjega življenja in ponuja priložnost za druženje in prijateljstva, za svobodno izražanje pogosto zatrte spontanosti. Bogočastna razsežnost kaže, da je romanje bogočastno dejanje. Romar potuje v božjepotno svetišče, da bi se srečal z Bogom, da bi stopil predenj, mu izkazal spoštovanje s češčenjem in v božjepotnem svetišču opravi številna bogočastna dejanja. Romarjeva molitev ima lahko različne oblike: Boga hvali in časti zaradi njegove dobrote in svetosti; zahvaljuje se mu za prejete darove; izpolnjuje zaobljubo, za katero se je bil obvezal; prosi za milosti, potrebne za življenje; prosi oduščanja za svoje grehe. Apostolska razsežnost kaže, da romarsko popotovanje v nekem določenem smislu ponavlja hojo Jezusa in njegovih učencev po Judeji, ko so označili evangelij. Romar na poti v sveti kraj ali svetišče je v občestvu vere in povezanosti ne le s sopotniki, s katerimi je na ,romarskih poteh' (Ps 84,6)¹ ali pa jih na novo srečuje, ampak tudi v skrivnostnem občestvu z tistimi, ki so skozi stoletja molili v svetišču; z naravo, ki obdaja pot in svetišče, katerega lepoto občuduje in jo čuti naklonjeno; s človeštvom, katerega hrepenenje in upanje se v svetišču kaže na različne načine in katerega trud za lepoto in za umetnost je v njem pustil veliko znamenj.

2.2 Romarska pot ,Camino de Santiago'

Ena najbolj priljubljenih romarskih poti v Evropi je nedvomno Camino de Santiago. Ime navadno velja za različico romarske poti v Santiago de Compostelo, ki je dolga skoraj 800 km in zahteva od štiri do pet tednov hoje. Pri romarski poti Camino de Santiago govorimo torej o dolgotrajnejšem romanju proti cilju, ki je Santiago de Compostela. Leta 813 naj bi na mestu, kjer danes stoji Santiago de Compostela, našli relikvije sv. Jakoba in od takrat dalje je kraj postal cilj številnih romarjev. V srednjem veku je bil za Jeruzalemom in Rimom najpomembnejša romarska smer, ki je povezovala vso Evropo. V 14. stoletju se je začelo število romarjev zmanjševati, dokler ni povsem usahnilo. V devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, leta 1982, je

¹ Ps 84,6: »Blagor ljudem, ki najdejo svojo moč v tebi: v njihovem srcu so romarska pota.«

papež Janez Pavel II. pozval Evropo, naj znova odkrije svoje korenine in se vrne k njim. Svet Evrope je v letu 1987 razglasil Jakobovo pot za evropsko kulturno pot, UNESCO za svetovno kulturno dediščino, število romarjev pa je začelo skokovito naraščati. Od leta 1987 dalje, ko je Svet Evrope razglasil kulturno pomembnost poti, ki prečkajo vso Evropo s ciljem v Santiagu de Composteli, se je število romarjev z manj kakor 2000 povečalo na več kakor 347 578 v letu 2019, od tega je bilo tudi 855 Slovencev. (Pilgrim's Reception Office 2019)

Dominikanec Timothy Radcliffe (2012, 19), ki romanje vidi kot prožno obliko verskega udejstvovanja, za katero pravi, da je »lahko izraz globokega prepričanja kot tudi negotovosti«, prav ob zgledu sodobnih romarjev v Santiago de Compostelo poudarja, da številni sodobni romarji gojijo nejasno, a odločno upanje, da bodo nekaj našli, bodisi med potovanjem ali na koncu poti. Meni, da je romanje potreba, ki je zakoreninjena že v naši človeški naravi, romanje pa nam pomaga raziskovati in osmisliti preobrazbe in napetosti, ki jih prinaša sodobna religioznost. Ocenjuje, da so sodobni romarji po eni strani omahljivi in nezaupljivi do svoje vere in do nauka, po drugi strani pa verjamejo, da morajo to pot opraviti. Govori tudi o ljudeh, ki statistično ne pripadajo nobeni Cerkvi, ne opravljajo verskih obredov, objem kipa sv. Jakoba na koncu poti pa jim kljub temu daje neko določeno ugodje.

Nizozemec Peter Jan Margry (2008) pravi da je Camino de Santiago zgled romanja, ki nakazuje, da je v sodobnosti zelo pomembno vlogo pridobila sama romarska pot. Meni, da je pot postala celo pomembnejša kakor cilj, kamor je romar namenjen. Mnenja je, da so Camino de Santiago »odkrili in na novo izumili duhovni iskanci in ljubitelji kulturne zgodovine in spokojnosti« (24), da je za mnoge romarje pohodnike pešačenje po poti postalo nekakšen individualni obred prehoda ali romanje k samemu sebi.

2.3 Transformativno izkustvo romanja

Zelo pomemben prispevek k preučevanju romanja sta dala Victor in Edith Turner (1969; 1978), s tem ko sta vanj vključila Van Genneпов koncept liminalnosti.² Van Genneпов (2000) opredeli tri temeljne faze, ki so splošno navzoče v obredih prehoda znotraj plemenskih družb: ločitev (predliminalna faza), meja (prag, liminalna faza) in ponovna vključitev (postliminalna faza). Turner in Turner (1978) zastopata stališče, da je enako mogoče obravnavati tudi romanje. V prvi fazi, torej ob odhodu na romanje, se tudi romar loči od družbe in vstopi v liminalno fazo. To je faza, ki leži med predliminalnim in postliminalnim stanjem posameznika in v kateri poteka dejanska osebna preobrazba. V tej fazi je romar večinoma zunaj družbe in kulture ali pa na njenem samem robu. Po sklepnih drugi fazi, opravljenem romanju, se romar vrne domov in se ponovno vključi v družbo. Ponovna vključitev v družbo pomeni tretjo, zadnjo fazo obreda prehoda. Jasno je, da obstaja veliko razlik med romarskim in plemenskim obredom prehoda, prav tako pa lahko obstajajo velike razlike med različnimi romanji in romarji. Vendar to ne spodkopava temeljnega pojma, da se namreč romanje v veliki meri dojema kot transformativna izkušnja,

² Izstop iz strukturiranega družbenega prostora v nestrukturirani, vmesni in začasni prostor.

po kateri se romar vrne nekoliko spremenjen v svoje vsakdanje vloge v družbi. Prav tako v življenju človeka puščajo globoko sled tudi obsmrtni izkušnje, ki so prav tako ena od oblik izrednih človekovih izkušenj. Doživela jo je tudi prej omenjena Rhea White in prav to jo je spodbudilo, da je svoje nadaljnje življenje posvetila preučevanju izrednih človekovih izkušenj.

Prav tako kakor se je v sodobnosti povečalo število romarjev na poti Camino de Santiago, se je povečalo tudi število ljudi, ki poročajo o obsmrtnih izkušnjah. To lahko v veliki meri pripišemo razvoju medicine na področju oživljanja, saj vedno več bolnikov z nenadnim srčnim zastojem preživi.

3. Izredne človekove izkušnje IČI (EHE)

Spontano nastajajoče nenavadne izkušnje, ki so jih raziskovalci in praktiki ločeno obravnavali v različnih disciplinah in jih konceptualizirali kot religiozne (James 2009), mistične (Stace 1960), nenavadne (Cardeña, Lynn in Krippner 2017), vrhunske (Maslow 1994) in ne nazadnje prebujajoče (Taylor in Egeto-Szabo 2017), je Rhea White (1993) zajela pod enotnim pojmom in zanje skovala ime izredne človekove izkušnje (*Exceptional Human Experiences, EHE*). Ločila je med izrednimi izkušnjami in izrednimi človekovimi izkušnjami. Izredno izkušnjo razumemo kot anomalni (nenavadni, posebni) dogodek, za katerega je v tem trenutku v zahodni kulturi malo – če sploh kaj – sprejemljivih racionalnih razlag. To so neobičajne izkušnje, ki niso v skladu s prevladujočo znanstveno paradigmo. Po Whitovi so tovrstne izkušnje raziskovalci navadno zanemarjali zaradi njihove mistične in nenavadne narave. Za znanstveno obravnavo pa so postale zanimive, ko so zaznali njihov vpliv na človekovo dolgoročno vedenje. Zato je Whitova začela ločevati med izrednimi izkušnjami in izrednimi človekovimi izkušnjami (IČI), ki to postanejo šele takrat, ko izredne izkušnje povzročijo transformativne učinke pri posamezniku, ki jih doživi. Danes je široko sprejeto stališče, da so našete vrste izkušenj relevantne za znanstveno preučevanje, da presegajo psihofiziološko patologijo in religijski mysticism, da presegajo geografske meje, nastajajo v vseh kulturah in lahko povzročijo transformativne učinke, ki trajno spremenijo izkuševalčevo življenje.

Rhea White (2000) je identificirala približno 200 vrst IČI, ki jih je reorganizirala v devet razredov, med njimi: razred mističnih in unitivnih izkušenj (v katerih je navzoč močan občutek povezanosti, ki včasih pomeni enost z božanskim), paranormalne izkušnje³ (v katerih spoznavamo ali vplivamo na svet z drugimi sredstvi in ne z navadno priznanimi čutili, motoričnim sistemom ali racionalnim sklepanjem), izkušnje srečanja (s svetovi ali bitji, ki se zdijo tuja ali drugačna) in ne nazadnje nenavadne izkušnje, povezane s smrtjo (obsmrtni izkušnje, nenavadne izkušnje, povezane s trenutkom smrti, prikazovanje mrtvih in različne navidezne komunikacije z mrtvimi).

³ Páranormálen – zadevajoč pojave, ki jih ni mogoče znanstveno pojasniti (*Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika*, s. v. Páranormálen).

3.1 Doživljanje na meji napetosti zavesti

Berger in Luckmann (1988) trdita: ljudje se zavedamo, da je svet sestavljen iz več resničnosti, med katerimi obstaja ena, ki se predstavlja kot resničnost *par excellence*. Pravita, da je to resničnost vsakdanjega življenja, ki ima privilegiran položaj in ji daje pravico do poimenovanja resničnosti. Napetost zavesti je najvišja v vsakdanjem življenju, zato je posameznik nanjo v največji meri pozoren. Vsakdanje življenje doživlja v budnem stanju, normalno in samoumevno sprejemanje resničnosti vsakodnevnega življenja pa pomeni njegovo naravno držo. Ta svet je zanj uporaben, koristen, določa ga predvsem tisto, kar posameznik v njem dela, naredi ali načrtuje. Druge resničnosti zanj niso tako koristne, zato je njegovo zanimanje zanje posredno, manj intenzivno in tudi manj nujno. V prvi vrsti ga zanima kopica predmetov, ki so vključeni v njegovo vsakdanje življenje. Ta uporabni in koristni svet, resničnost vsakdanjega sveta, je hkrati tudi intersubjektivni svet, ki si ga posameznik deli z drugimi. Zavest zdravega razuma je zdravorazumska prav zato, ker velja za svet, ki je skupen mnogim ljudem, in zdravorazumsko znanje je znanje, ki ga posameznik deli z drugimi ljudmi v običajnih, samoumevnih rutinah vsakdanjega življenja. Zato človek tudi resničnost vsakodnevnega življenja jemlje kot resničnost. *Ve*, da je resnično. Čeprav je sposoben dvomiti v njegovo resničnost, je dolžan prekiniti takšen dvom, ker rutinsko obstaja v vsakdanjem življenju.

Med tem zdravorazumskim svetom vsakdanje resničnosti in drugimi resničnostmi pa seveda obstaja neka meja, prek katere ljudje na neki način lahko prehajajo. Luckmann (2007) je opredelil to mejo oziroma vmesno področje kot mejo med življenjskim svetom⁴ in drugimi stvarnostmi.⁵ Pri tem je izhajal iz območja vsakdanje stvarnosti, stvarnosti, v kateri človek lahko deluje in v kateri izkustva potekajo v nenehnem preusmerjanju naše pozornosti v enem in istem območju stvarnosti. V radikalni odvrnitvi od dnevnega življenja v druge stvarnosti (na primer v spanje) pa naj bi človek prestopil mejo neke druge stvarnosti, v kateri ne more delovati. Ta meja ni ostro začrtana, ampak med njima obstaja neko mejno področje, v katerem človek lahko deluje. Mejno področje med dvema različnima stvarnostima, ki je še vedno zunaj vsakdanjosti, vendar se vanjo že vključujejo zavestne dejavnosti, imenuje Luckmann območje napetosti zavesti (92). Znotraj tega območja je človek lahko, vse dokler izvira njegova motivacija iz notranjih predstav in hkrati tudi zunanja situacija dovoljuje nadaljnjo odvrnitev od vsakdanjika. Kot zgled takšnega območja bi lahko dali sanjarjenje. Sanjarjenje, to preseganje Luckmannove »meje napetosti zavesti« in vstop v mejno področje, ki je drugače zunaj vsakdanjosti, kljub temu pa človek v tem prostoru lahko deluje, ker so v tem mejnem področju vključene tudi zavestne dejavnosti.⁶ Človek sanjari, vse dokler ne prekorači zgornje ali

⁴ Življenjski svet Luckmann imenuje tudi stvarnost dnevnega življenja, naravno stanje, vsakdanja stvarnost, vsakdanjik.

⁵ Druge stvarnosti Luckmann imenuje tudi zunajvsakdanje stvarnosti, druge stvarnosti življenjskega sveta, zunajobičajne stvarnosti.

⁶ Sanjarjenje lahko ponazorimo s citatom romarke na poti Camino de Santiago, Nataše Jernejčič: »Zaradi vročine sva se ustavili in počivali v senci pod nekim drevesom. Bili sva kar utrujeni in zaprla sem oči, ne da bi zaspala. Vse se je dogajalo pri polni zavesti. Tako kot pred leti, ko sem bila na regresiji. Vidiš ljudi

spodnje meje napetosti zavesti, ki zamejuje to območje. Zgornjo mejo prekorači takrat, ko zaspi. S tem se premakne v neko drugo resničnost, v kateri ne more delovati.⁷ Spodnjo mejo napetosti zavesti pa po Luckmannu (2007) človek prekorači takrat, ko se vrne v življenjski svet. Meni, da se to zgodi, ko lastnosti doživljajev zdramijo motivacijo, ki izhaja iz okolja in iz neizogibnih zahtev vsakdanjika (seveda drugače od – recimo – sanjarjenja in spanja, od tega se ločijo obsmrtne izkušnje). Če torej romarja med notranjim doživljanjem na »meji napetosti zavesti« zmotijo neki določeni dražljaji iz okolja, ga to lahko povrne v vsakdanjik.⁸ (93)

Doživljanje na meji napetosti zavesti je pogosto tudi pri romarjih na poti Camino de Santiago. Pomembno vlogo pri tej obliki preseganja vsakdanjika oziroma vsakdanjega, običajnega načina doživljanja po našem mnenju sproži dalj časa trajajoča odsotnost številnih neizogibnih zahtev in motečih dražljajev vsakdanjika.⁹

4. Raziskave o izrednih človekovih izkušnjah

Vse od pradavnine dalje priznava človek na različne načine obstoj bivanja onkraj časa in prostora in vidi v smrti smisel, saj »umrješ, da živiš« (Trstenjak 1993). V Sloveniji je opravila raziskavo obsmrtnih izkušenj med srčnim zastojem na terenu Zalika Klemenc - Ketiš (2010). Izhajala je iz opredelitve, da so obsmrtne izkušnje »doživljanja globokih občutkov v smislu izven telesnih doživetij in vstopa v druge dimenzije izven običajnih meja časa in prostora, ki najpogosteje nastopijo, ko je človek soočen z življenjsko nevarno situacijo, je blizu smrti ali pa je celo klinično mrtev« (6). Ugotovila je, da jo med oživljanjem doživi vsak peti bolnik in da je večina med njimi po obsmrtni izkušnji doživela trdno in trajno spremembo prepričanj, stališč in vrednot. Podobno kakor so rezultati raziskav obsmrtnih izkušenj pokazali tudi v drugih državah, je ugotovila, da delujejo kot katalizator duhovnega prebujenja, to pa bolnika, ki jih je doživel, vodi v duhovno rast in v razvoj mnogih fizičnih sposobnosti, ki jih do tedaj ni imel. Takšne vrste izkušenj je Rhea White (1993) preučevala kot izredne človekove izkušnje.

in v tvoji glavi se odvija zgodba, kot bi gledal film. Tudi če bi imela zelo bujno domišljijo, si zgodbe ne bi mogla tako hitro izmisliti.« (Jernejčič 2014, 73)

⁷ V neko drugo resničnost pa se premaknejo tudi ljudje, ki doživijo obsmrtno izkušnjo in jo dokaj podobno opisujejo kot nepopisljivo doživetje. Z. Klemenc - Ketiš (2010) pravi, naj bi bili pogosti elementi obsmrtnih izkušenj premikanje skozi temen predor, srečanja s spiritualnimi ali že pokojnimi osebami in retrospektivni pregled svojega lastnega življenja.

⁸ V ponazoritev smo izbrali citat iz knjige Ranljiva romarke Tjaši Artnik Knibbe, ki takšno stanje na meji napetosti zavesti opiše kot »mir glasbe srca«, ki ga zmoti prihod skupine motoristov: »Medtem ko v miru glasbe srca sedim na leseni klopci, pride mimo gruča motoristov, ki opazujejo prizor s povsem druge perspektive. Tja pridejo kot turisti. Čas je, da se umaknem in s seboj vzamem svetlost trenutka.« (2017, 115)

⁹ Te moteče dražljaje lahko ponazorimo z enim od številnih citatov, ki zadevajo romarjev beg od ljudi, vpetih v vsakdanjik, in od mest, v katerih ljudje izpolnjujejo zahteve tega vsakdanjika. »Množica ljudi, vrvež, zopno zvonjenje mobilnih telefonov, kamorkoli se obrneš, Izložbe, polne luksuznih izdelkov, ki še zdaleč niso namenjeni zgolj preživetju, vse to me je odbijalo. Urbano okolje mi ni dišalo. Čimprej sem hotel ven, nazaj v naravo. Stran od gneče in nore dirke s časom, ki se zdi, če jo opazuješ od daleč in z nekega drugega zornega kota, precej komična.« (Novak 2004, 162)

4.1 Raziskava o romanju Camino de Santiago

V svoji raziskavi smo na romanje Camino de Santiago pogledali skozi lečo izrednih človekovih izkušenj. Za to smo se odločili iz več razlogov. Mogoče je najpomembnejši ta, da so romarji na sami poti izpostavljeni številnim sprožilcem IČI. Nekajtedenska hoja po poti Camino de Santiago je dolgotrajna ponavljajoča se dejavnost, med katero so romarji intenzivno izpostavljeni naravnim lepotam in imajo veliko možnosti za obisk svetih krajev in obredov. Kakor že rečeno, romarji pogosto poročajo, da doživljajo na poti duhovne izkušnje, ki prinašajo neke določene učinke. Prav učinki teh izkušenj so bili drugi razlog, da na romanje Camino de Santiago, ki je že pregovorno transformativni proces, pogledamo z zornega kota IČI, saj vsebujejo transformativne učinke že po definiciji. V svojem dosedanjem delu smo z analizo vsebine 32 potopisnih pripovedi o romanju Camino de Santiago izdelali tudi tipologijo izrednih izkušenj, ki obsega devet različnih tipov izrednih izkušenj. Skupaj s transformativnimi učinki, ki jih te izredne izkušnje prinašajo, smo jih združili v sedem tipov IČI. Najpogostejšo izredno izkušnjo, ki so jo doživljali romarji v naši dosedanji raziskavi, smo poimenovali izkušnja vsepovezanosti. To je izkušnja medsebojne povezanosti z glavnim učinkom večjega poudarka na enosti, na ljubezni in na sledenju srcu. Naj jo prikažemo s citatom:

»Kako poseben občutek! Polno doživetje hoje. Utopljenost v naravo. /.../ Pravim, da hodim sam, pa vendar ni tako. Nikoli nisi sam. Stvarnik je nasul okrog tebe polno znamenj, žive in nežive narave, ki te spremljajo. Po njih ga lahko zaznaš, občutiš ljubezen. Tudi ptice čutijo to povezanost v eno, preletavajo ob meni iz veje na vejo. Ti, Gospod, ki si vse, kar me obdaja, ustvaril, si tudi moj naš Stvarnik.« (Kvaternik 2015, 113)

Po pogostosti zapisovanja v analiziranih potopisnih pripovedih je bila na drugem mestu izkušnja pomiritve z glavnim učinkom razbremenitve, na tretjem pa religiozna izkušnja. Kot glavni transformativni učinek religiozne izkušnje smo za beležili večji poudarek na enosti in ljubezni in na okrepljenih odnosih. Lep zgled religiozne izkušnje lahko razberemo iz citata potopisne pripovedi francoskega poslovneža Potdevina, ki je na romanju Camino de Santiago doživel močno religiozno izkušnjo:

»Nič ne more izraziti Bitja. Napolnil je sobo s svojo navzočnostjo. Bil je tako velik, da se mi je prostor zdel še večji, kot je bil v resnici. /... / To so morale biti oči duše, ki so ga videle, kajti ni bilo oblike, obrisov, barv, površin ali teksture. Samo energija. Njegovo sporazumevanje – pravzaprav bi moral reči združenje – z mojim bitjem je bilo celostno in popolno. /.../ To je bilo najvišje možno stanje zadovoljstva in miru, v katero me je potopil. Radost s primesjo blagega občutka strahu. /... / Ne spominjam se, da bi v življenju kdaj okusil takšen notranji mir in zadovoljstvo. Verjetno je bilo to tisto globoko in pravo veselje. Nič na svetu ne more vzbuditi takšnega stanja.« (2013, 42–43)

Potdevina je izkušnja preobrazila iz ‚nepraktikanta‘, kakor Osredkar (2016) imenuje katolike, ki se ne udeležujejo verskih obredov in pridejo v cerkev samo ob izrednih priložnostih, za cerkvena navodila pa se ne menijo, v ‚praktikanta‘. S citatom iz analizirane knjige z naslovom *Resetiran* ponazarjamo, s kakšnimi besedami ta transformativni učinek romanja opisuje Potdevin sam:

»Seveda bi lahko našel tisto konkretno in na primer razložil, da me iPhone ni več prepoznal, ker sem dal v zaznamke strani z informacijami o urah adoracij in maš po Parizu skozi ves dan. Da sem se naročil na elektronsko dnevno prejemanje božje besede in da zdaj iPhone bolj kot za telefoniranje pravzaprav uporabljam za molitev brevirja – čudoviti trenutki molitve ob psalmih, ki kristjanu dajejo ritem dneva.« (2013, 143–144)

4.2 Novost in prispevek naše raziskave

S to raziskavo smo želeli preučiti življenjske spremembe v prepričanjih, v vrednotah in v stališčih romarjev po izkušnji romanja na poti Camino de Santiago in smo jih primerjali z življenjskimi spremembami ljudi, ki so doživeli obsmrtno izkušnjo. Življenjske spremembe po romanju smo izmerili s spletno anketo, ki je vsebovala 50 vprašanj iz vprašalnika „Popis življenjskih sprememb – revidiran“ (Life Changes Inventory – revised; Greyson in Ring 2004). Podatke o življenjskih spremembah po obsmrtnih izkušnjah smo povzeli po raziskavi Z. Klemenc - Ketiš (2010); uporabila je nerevidirano različico „Vprašalnika za ugotavljanje življenjskih sprememb“, ki ga sestavlja 42 vprašanj.

Anketni vprašalnik (n = 102; april 2019 – junij 2020) smo namenili vsem, ki so prehodili več kakor 500 kilometrov katerekoli različice španske romarske poti Camino de Santiago. Povezava na anketo je bila objavljena na straneh treh Facebook skupin: javne skupine „Pot svetega Jakoba – Camino Slovenija“ in dveh zasebnih skupin – „Pot svetega Jakoba“ – „Camino Slovenija 2“ in Camino bejbe. Z. Klemenc - Ketiš (2010) je podatke o življenjskih spremembah zbrala s pisno anketo pol leta po srčnem zastoju z uspešnim oživiljanjem (n = 11).

Tako romarji kakor bolniki so odgovarjali po 5-stopenjski Likertovi lestvici, ki nam pove, ali so nastale kake spremembe in kako korenita ta sprememba bila (od +2: močno se je povečala do –2: močno se je zmanjšala). Vprašanje, ki se v originalnem vprašalniku glasi: »Radi bi izvedeli, na kakšen način, če sploh, je vaše bližnje srečanje s smrtjo vplivalo na vaše življenje?« in ga je Z. Klemenc – Ketiš (2010) uporabila v svoji raziskavi, smo v naši raziskavi preoblikovali v »Radi bi izvedeli, na kakšen način, če sploh, je romanje vplivalo na vaše življenje?«

4.3 Rezultati raziskave

V vzorcu romarjev (n = 102) je v spletni anketi sodelovalo 56 % anketirancev, ki so enkrat prehodili Camino de Santiago, 44 % pa ga je prehodilo več kakor enkrat. Strukturo anketirancev glede na spol, starostno skupino, vrsto kraja bivanja, stopnjo dosežene izobrazbe, status in glede na zakonski stan prikazujemo v tabeli 1.

Spol	
Moški	30 %
Ženske	70 %
Skupaj	100 %

Starostna skupina	
Do 25	3 %
Od 26 do 35	6 %
Od 36 do 45	16 %
Od 46 do 55	32 %
Nad 55	43 %
Skupaj	100 %

Kraj bivanja	
Mesto	33 %
Primestje	11 %
Manjše mesto ali kraj	27 %
Vas	28 %
Osamljena hiša	1 %
Skupaj	100 %

Najvišja stopnja dosežene izobrazbe	
Osnovna šola ali manj	2 %
Dveletna ali triletna poklicna šola	8 %
Štiriletna ali petletna srednja šola	32 %
Višja, visoka šola	20 %
Univerzitetna izobrazba	32 %
Specializacija doktorat	6 %
Skupaj	100 %

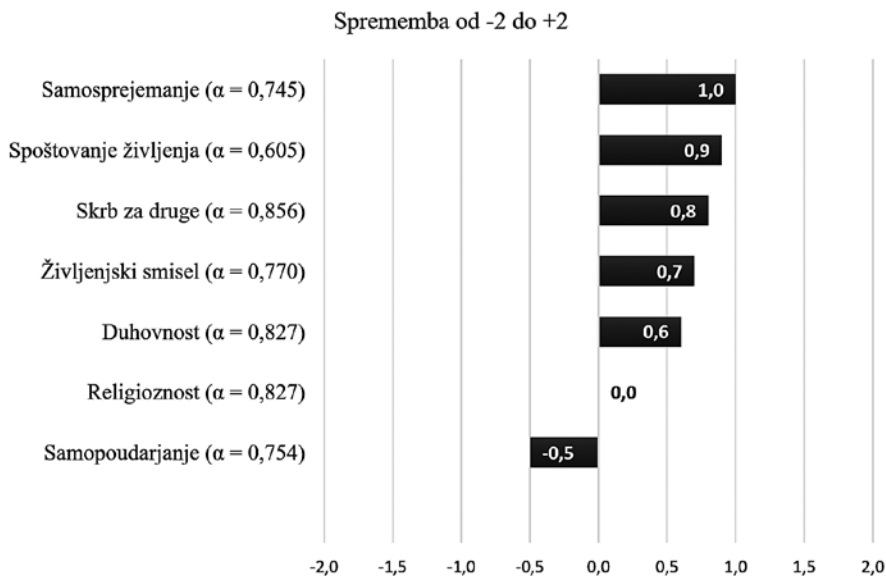
Status	
Šolajoči se	2 %
Aktivni	64 %
Neaktivni	24 %
Brezposelni	10 %
Skupaj	100 %

Zakonski stan	
Samski (nikoli poročen)	17 %
Poročeni	62 %
Ovdoveli	4 %
Razvezani	17 %
Skupaj	100 %

Tabela 1: Anketiranci ($N = 102$) po spolu, starostni skupini, vrsti kraja bivanja, stopnji dosežene izobrazbe, statusu in po zakonskem stanu.

Analizo življenjskih sprememb romarjev smo opravili na podlagi razvrstitve njihovih elementov na različna področja sprememb, ki jih LCI-Revised predvideva. Posamezne elemente življenjskih sprememb smo tako združili v devet skupin in z uporabo koeficientov Cronbach alfa (α) izračunali njihovo notranjo konsistentnost. Skupino elementov z imenom Strah pred smrtjo ($\alpha = -0,011$) in Družbene/planetarne vrednote ($\alpha = 0,218$) smo zaradi prenizke zanesljivosti izločili. Spremembe notranje konsistentnih skupin združenih postavk v razponu od -2 do $+2$ prikazujemo v grafikonu 1.

Največje povečanje smo zabeležili v samosprejetanju, pri katerem so se močno povečali vsi trije elementi, ki skupino sestavljajo. Iz tega lahko sklepamo, da je pomembna življenjska sprememba, ki jo prinaša romanje Camino de Santiago, povečan občutek osebne vrednosti, večje razumevanje in samosprejetanje samega sebe. Prav tako se romarji vrnejo s poti s povečanim spoštovanjem do življenja, ki za porastjo samosprejetanja samo malo zaostaja. Porast skrbi za druge je tretja največja življenjska sprememba, o kateri poročajo romarji. Skrb za druge obsega kar osem elementov, vsi pa beležijo povečanje od 0,6 do 0,8. Romarji so



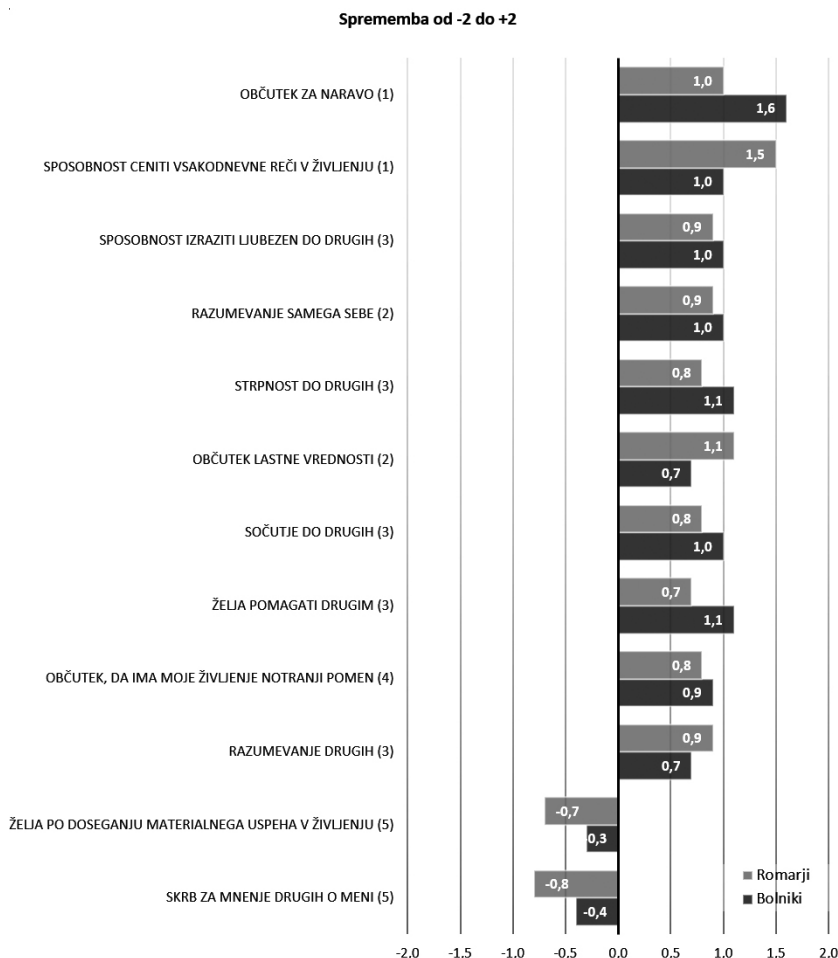
Graf 1: Spremembe združenih postavk iz Vprašalnika o življenjskih spremembah (Greyson & Ring, *The Life Changes Inventory – Revised*, 2004).

* $p < 0,01$

tako po opravljeni poti pripravljene več pomagati drugim, do njih so bolj sočutni, bolj so jih pripravljene poslušati, bolj so strpni in občutljivi za njihovo trpljenje, poleg tega pa druge bolje razumejo, lažje občutijo njihove probleme, poveča se njihova empatija, prav tako pa lažje izražajo svojo ljubezen do drugih. Za porastjo samosprijemanja, spoštovanja življenja in skrbi za druge sledita povečanje življenjskega smisla in duhovnosti. Tudi v sklopu duhovnosti so se povečali vsi elementi, ki v vprašalniku zadevajo duhovnost, to pa so želja po sposobnosti višjega zavedanja (0,6), duhovna občutja (0,7), zanimanje za duhovne stvari (0,5), vera v navzočnost višje sile (0,7) in notranje občutje božje navzočnosti (0,5). Na področju religioznosti v poprečju nismo zabeležili sprememb. V okviru samopoudarjanja smo zabeležili padec pri vseh sedmih elementih življenjskih sprememb – pri želji, postati znana osebnost, pri skrbi za mnenje drugih o sebi, pri skrbi za materialne stvari, pri želji po doseganju materialnega uspeha, pri želji po ustvarjanju dobrega vtisa o sebi, pri ambiciji doseganja višjega življenjskega standarda in pri želji po tekmovanju.

V naslednjem koraku smo življenjske spremembe po romanju primerjali z življenjskimi spremembami po obsmrtnih izkušnjah. Izbrane postavke elementov življenjskih sprememb, pri katerih smo zabeležili največje pozitivne ali negativne spremembe, prikazujemo v grafikonu 2.

Ugotovili smo, da tako bolniki po obsmrtnih izkušnjah kakor romarji po romanju poročajo o povečanem spoštovanju do življenja (občutek za naravo, sposobnost, ceniti vsakodnevne reči v življenju), povečanemu samosprijemanju (povečano



Graf 2: Primerjava sprememb izbranih postavk iz Vprašalnika o življenjskih spremembah (Greyson & Ring, *The Life Changes Inventory – Revised*, 2004) med romarji in bolniki.
** $p < 0,01$

razumevanje samega sebe, povečan občutek osebne vrednosti) in povečani skrbi za druge (sposobnost, izraziti ljubezen do drugih, strpnost in sočutje do drugih, želja, pomagati drugim, razumevanje in sposobnost poslušanja drugih). Tako pri bolnikih kakor tudi pri romarjih pa največje negativne vrednosti dosegajo elementi s področja samopoudarjanja – zmanjšala se je tako želja po doseganju materialnega uspeha v življenju kakor tudi skrb, ki so jo eni in drugi posvečali mnenju drugih o samem sebi. Pri tem elementu smo izmerili največjo negativno spremembo (pri bolnikih $-0,8$ in pri romarjih $-0,4$). Na področju religioznosti nismo zabeležili pomembnejših sprememb.

Opomba: (1) Spoštovanje življenja, (2) samosprejemanje, (3) skrb za druge, (4) življenjski smisel, (5) samopoudarjanje.

5. Sklepne ugotovitve

V luči izrednih človekovih izkušenj, ki izhajajo iz rezultatov naše raziskavi o romanje Camino de Santiago, poteka romanje (podobno kakor obsmrtne izkušnje) v liminalnem prostoru, v neki drugi resničnosti, v prostoru transformacije, ki človeka nekako preobrazi.

Na podlagi svoje raziskave smo ugotovili, da romarji med hojo po poti Camino de Santiago doživljajo izredne izkušnje, ki presegaajo običajno čutno in kognitivno zaznavanje, te izkušnje pa jim prinašajo transformativne učinke (Lavrič in Brumec 2020), ki se pokažejo že na samem romanju in se po opravljenem romanju kot poučinki utrjujejo tudi v vsakdanjem življenju.

V liminalnem prostoru romanja in obsmrtne izkušnje se človek lahko znajde v neki drugi stvarnosti, ki presega vsakdanjo resničnost. V tem vmesnem prostoru romar in klinično mrtvi človek lahko doživljata preseganje običajne fizične ravni in običajnega doživljanja. Zgodi se proces transformacije, ki se udejanji po vrnitvi v vsakdanjik, v življenjski svet. Posamezniki po romanju in obsmrtnih izkušnjah bolje sprejemajo samega sebe, močno poraste njihova skrb za druge, prav tako pa se poveča njihovo spoštovanje življenja. Bolje tudi razumejo smisel svojega življenja in smisel življenja na sploh. Medtem ko na področju religioznosti nismo zabeležili omembe vrednih sprememb, pa lahko rečemo, da tako romanje kakor obsmrtne izkušnje lahko povzročata precejšnje spremembe na področju duhovnosti, ki se kaže v povečani želji po doseganju višje zavesti, v porastu duhovnih čustev, v povečanem prepričanju v višjo silo in v povečanem notranjem občutku božje navzočnosti. Po drugi strani pa obe vrsti izkušenj prinašata zmanjšano željo po samopoudarjanju in doseganju, prav tako pa tudi zmanjšanje zaskrbljenosti posameznikov zaradi materialnih stvari in za mnenje drugih o njih samih. Lahko bi sklenili, da tako romanje kakor obsmrtne izkušnje prinašajo spremembe, ki življenje posameznikov obrnejo na bolje.

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Catechesis in the Church's Dialogue with the World

Kateheza pri dialogu Cerkve s svetom

Abstract: The Church is fulfilling her salvific mission in the world entrusted to her by Christ. She is sent to proclaim the Gospel of Jesus Christ, man's only Saviour. Through her presence in the world, the Church enters into dialogue with it. The Second Vatican Council stressed the need for the Church's dialogical presence in the world. The main issue of this article is the search for an answer to whether catechesis itself has a dialogical structure and whether it is a place of dialogue between the Church and the world. The study first shows the dialogue of salvation as a relationship between God and man. Then it presents the Church's relationship with the world, which is a relationship of dialogue. Since catechesis is at the service of God's dialogue of salvation and is an ecclesial ministry, it is therefore also dialogical and can, in a sense, be a place for the Church's dialogue with the world. There is, however, a particular specificity of this dialogue, which is based on the spirituality of dialogue. The vision of catechesis is contained in the new Vatican Directory for Catechesis, which describes it as a 'laboratory for dialogue'.

Keywords: Church, world, catechesis, dialogue, a spirituality of dialogue

Povzetek: Cerkev v svetu uresničuje svoje odrešenijsko poslanstvo, ki ji ga je zaupal Kristus. Poslana je oznanjevati evangelij Jezusa Kristusa, edinega človekovega odrešenika. Prek svoje navzočnosti v svetu Cerkev z njim stopa v dialog. Drugi vatikanski koncil je poudaril potrebo dialoške navzočnosti Cerkve v svetu. Glavna tema našega članka je iskanje odgovora, ali ima kateheza sama po sebi dialoško strukturo in ali je prostor dialoga med Cerkvijo in svetom. Raziskava najprej pokaže na dialog odrešenja kot odnos med Bogom in človekom. Nato predstavi odnos Cerkve do sveta, ki je odnos dialoga. Ker je kateheza v službi božjega odrešenijskega dialoga in ker je del cerkvenega poslanstva, je obenem dialoška in je lahko nekako prostor dialoga Cerkve s svetom. Ta dialog je resda specifičen, saj temelji na duhovnosti dialoga. Pogled na katehezo je vsebovan v novem vatikanskem Katehetskem direktoriju, ki jo opredeljuje kot 'laboratorij dialoga'.

Ključne besede: Cerkev, svet, kateheza, dialog, duhovnost dialoga

1. Introduction

Jesus established the Church in order to proclaim the Gospel to the world. Those who received it were incorporated into the community through the sacraments of Christian initiation. Living in the Church community, they participated in catechesis to deepen and develop their faith. One of the traditional definitions of catechesis says that it is »education of children, young people and adults in the faith, which includes especially the teaching of Christian doctrine imparted, generally speaking, organically and systematically, to initiate the hearers into the fullness of Christian life« (CT 18). The Church conducts catechesis in a specific cultural, social and religious context (Vodičar and Stala 2019, 1090–1091). Therefore, its understanding, forms and methods are adapted to these diverse contexts. The Directory for Catechesis (DC), published in 2000 by the Pontifical Council for Promoting the New Evangelization, presents catechesis as a dialogical event. This does not contradict the current understanding of catechesis. However, more than it has been the case in the Church's teaching so far, it emphasises the importance of dialogue in catechesis, no longer as one of the possibilities of conducting it, but as a principle that determines its identity. This article will first formulate two prerequisites that condition dialogue in Catechesis: Catechesis is at the service of God's dialogue of salvation and that the Church's presence in the world is dialogical. Then the specificity of the catechetical dialogue will be outlined and the meaning of the spirituality of dialogue will be presented. This spirituality determines the importance of catechesis in the Church's dialogue with the world.

2. God's Dialogue of Salvation

The necessity of dialogue in catechesis arises first of all from the dialogical relationship between God and man. In the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, the Second Vatican Council states: »It pleased God, in His goodness and wisdom, to reveal himself and to make known the mystery of his will /... /. Through this revelation, the invisible God, out of the abundance of His love, speaks to men as friends.« (DV 2) Revelation is, therefore, an encounter and dialogue between God and man.

Faith, being a response to God's revelation, is also dialogical. »Faith is a gift of God and a supernatural virtue that can be born in the depths of the soul as a fruit of grace and a free response to the call of the Holy Spirit, who moves the heart to conversion and directs it to God /... /« (DC 19) Faith is ultimately expressed in the dialogue of love to which God enables. »Jesus, in giving himself totally faithfully to the fulfilment of the Father's will, reorients humanity back to God. Christ restores humanity to the glory of the Father since in him and through him the human being receives God's gift that makes him able to respond to divine love with the loving surrender of his own existence.« (Brugarolas 2020, 561)

This unique relationship between God and man is the basis of the pastoral principle known as the dialogue of salvation. God plays the leading role in this

dialogue because He saves and sanctifies (Polak 2012, 241–245). Catechetical dialogue serves only to help deepen or discover the dialogical redemptive relationship between man and God. Its basis is God, who imparts Himself unconditionally and a man who, in his freedom, can take up or reject God's initiative (Stegu 2020, 429–430).

The dialogue of salvation is a specific type of conversation that God the Father initiated and established with man through Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit (ES 71). Including the principle of the dialogue of salvation in catechesis is primarily expressed in an appropriate pastoral attitude (Dajczak 2001, 40–41). It is manifested by the availability of a catechist, creating appropriate opportunities for interpersonal communication, shaping an atmosphere of trust, and the ability to listen correctly, consisting in reaching the other person without fear and in freedom and offering complete disposal. As Pope Francis teaches: »Only through such respectful and compassionate listening can we enter on the paths of true growth and awaken a yearning for the Christian ideal: the desire to respond fully to God's love and to bring to fruition what He has sown in our lives.« (EG 171) Equally important is patience and gradualness, and the awareness that the fruits of a pastoral encounter are ultimately God's grace. In this context, Francis speaks of an appropriate ,openness of heart' which, in communication with another man, enables closeness »without which genuine spiritual encounter cannot occur« (EG 171). The family plays an essential role in shaping such an attitude of dialogue (Slatinek 2017, 328–330).

In Jesus' attitude, we discover that the thought of forcing anyone to enter into the dialogue of salvation was something utterly alien to Him. He directed an ,appeal' toward man which, »true, imposed a serious obligation on those toward whom it was directed, but it left them free to respond to it or to reject it« (ES 75). Every person has their own story of life with God, and their experience of God is a deeply personal event into which a catechist can introduce man. A catechist can help experience this event but eventually must withdraw to let God speak and grow in this event. This kind of a catechetical (pastoral) dialogue is defined by Francis as a certain ,art of accompaniment', into which the Church will have to initiate priests, religious and laity, and »which teaches us to remove our sandals before the sacred other« (Exod 3:5) (EG 169). The above principle is fundamental in the context of contemporary cultural and social trends that characterise deep individualistic tendencies: »The culture of individualism is reflected in the characteristic of the dominant trends of contemporary Western society such as consumerism, popular culture: mass society goes hand in hand with individualism.« (Bahovec 2015, 339)

Therefore, catechesis is a dialogical event because it is at the service of the dialogue of salvation God conducts with man. The Directory for Catechesis formulates this thesis as follows: »catechesis is inspired by the pedagogy of God already described here. As a result, it becomes a pedagogical activity at the service of *the dialogue of salvation* between God and man.« (DC 165)

3. Dialogical Presence of the Church in the World

Pope Paul VI, in his encyclical *Ecclesiam suam*, indicated a great variety of ways in which relationships between the Church and the world could be effective.

He stated:

»The Church could perhaps justifiably reduce such contacts to a minimum, on the plea that it wishes to isolate itself from secular society. It might content itself with conducting an inquiry into the evils current in secular society, condemning them publicly, and fighting a crusade against them. On the other hand, it might approach secular society with a view to exercising a preponderant influence over it and subjecting it to a theocratic power. But it seems to us that the sort of relationship for the Church to establish with the world should be more in the nature of a dialogue, though theoretically other methods are not excluded.« (ES 78)

Pope Paul VI's statement expresses the message of dialogue sent to the world by the Second Vatican Council (Bahovec 2015, 341). The new Directory for Catechesis, apparently without any doubt or caution, indicates dialogue to fulfil the evangelising mission of the Church. It says: »In the process of evangelisation, the Church /.../ approaches everyone in the attitude of solidarity, sharing and dialogue, thus *bearing witness* to a new way of life.« (DC 31)

God's dialogue of salvation determines the nature of the Church's presence in the world. We read in the Directory for Catechesis: »In the school of the miraculous *dialogue of salvation*, which is a revelation, the Church understands herself better and better as the one called to dialogue with people of her time. The Church should enter into dialogue with the society in which she lives. Thus, the Church takes the form of the word, message and dialogue.« (DC 53) The Church's dialogical relationship with the world is rooted in the Mystery of the Incarnation in which »Jesus enters into an inner dialogue with man, and it is from this dialogue that it assumes its form, taking on its qualities« (DC 53).

The above statement applies to the relationship between the Church and the world. Does it, however, also apply to catechesis? There is no doubt about it. Catechetical activity is one of the forms of the Church's presence globally, its dialogical presence. The Directory for Catechesis puts it in this way: »At the time of new evangelisation, the Church wishes catechesis to emphasise this *dialogical style*, in order to show the face of the Son who, as in the case of the Samaritan woman at the well, stops to talk to each person and gently lead him to discover the living water (Jn 4:5-42) .« (DC 54)

4. The Specificity of a Catechetical Dialogue

Catechesis is, therefore, a space for dialogue. It is true that »the very etymology of the term catechesis indicates the necessity to enter into dialogue between

a catechist and the catechised. This conversation is both an attempt to discover the truth of salvation in front of the catechised, and also serves a catechist to penetrate better the mysteries of faith« (Tomasik 2009, 62), and »the instruction, which is catechesis, is not only one-sided as a lecture but is also realised through dialogue, asking questions and providing answers« (John Paul II 1987, 13–14). Hence, catechesis cannot impose the truth but should refer to freedom (DC 59).

However, it is in catechesis that the truth is preached. The purpose of the proclamation of the truth is a conversion from sin and leading to communion with Christ and the Church. For this reason, dialogue can never replace or weaken the preaching of the truth. Genuine dialogue serves the purpose of transmitting this truth and realising it through the measures left by Christ to the Church in pastoral care (Przybyłowski 2009, 48). Dialogue in catechesis is supposed to convey the truth. However, it also does not exclude seeking it in dialogue because »the truth reveals itself as an interpersonal event among people who open up to each other, to the world, to God. This openness triggers the ability to perceive oneself, others and culture from a different perspective and to evaluate - oneself, others, and culture - according to various criteria« (Kawecki 2009, 269).

Truth and dialogue are not mutually exclusive, although dialogical communication does not always lead to the ultimate discovery of the truth. Becoming sensitive to the truth, the sincere desire to discover the truth, the will to adhere to it, and the willingness to serve it are great lessons in preparing for dialogue. The very pursuit of the truth is, in a sense, a way of discovering it. Therefore, it is essential to shape an openness and arouse the desire to get to know the truth in conducting a catechetical dialogue. A unique role in this respect is to be played by the school, a ‚sacred space‘ of seeking answers to the meaning of life and its secrets (Polak 2015, 414–416).

However, catechesis cannot be understood solely as a dialogue that expresses an attitude of constant search. We read in the adhortation *Catechesi tradendae*: »Certain contemporary philosophical schools, which seem to be exercising a strong influence on some theological currents and, through them, on pastoral practice, like to emphasise that the fundamental human attitude is that of seeking the infinite, seeking that never attains its object. In theology, this view of things will state very categorically that faith is not a certainty but questioning, not clarity but a leap in the dark.« (CT 60)

Taking into account the above relationships between dialogue and catechesis, it can be stated that both school teaching of religion and catechesis constitute an appropriate place of education for the attitude of dialogue because

»/... / teaching religion and catechesis are a very important and essential place of education for this attitude. First, they provide a proper environment for shaping the awareness of one's own identity. They also provide important information in the range of knowledge about cultural and religious diversity, about the need for interreligious and interfaith dialogue. Increasingly frequent contacts with followers of other religions or

denominations are becoming an opportunity to acquire the skills of dialogue and tolerance. Education for dialogue and tolerance is, after all, an essential element of the education of young people carried out at school, especially during religion lessons or catechesis.« (Bagrowicz 2006, 247)

School and parish catechesis are, therefore, a kind of ‚laboratory of dialogue‘. We read in the Directory for Catechesis:

»Church catechesis is an authentic ‚laboratory‘ of dialogue because, in the depths of each person, it encounters vitality and complexity, desires and searches, limitations and sometimes errors of societies and cultures of the contemporary world. Therefore, catechesis should also engage in a pastoral dialogue without relativisms, a dialogue that does not negotiate its Christian identity but wishes to reach the heart of another person, other people who are different from us and sow the seeds of the Gospel there.« (DC 54)

A particular space of this ‚laboratory of dialogue‘ can be constituted by teaching religion at school. Since both student believers, students who are lukewarm in their faith and student non-believers usually participate, it opens up broad perspectives for dialogue in religion lessons. A religious lesson reflects the diversity of personal, cultural and religious attitudes representative of society. Thus, it becomes a meeting place, an opportunity to initiate and deepen a multidimensional dialogue that does not contradict the necessity to achieve the primary goal of catechesis, which is to inspire confidence in faith. Dialogue during religion lessons at school is possible and necessary, although it is not its primary goal (Tomasik 2009, 66).

5. Catechetical Spirituality of Dialogue

In a dialogue in catechesis, the spirituality (culture) of dialogue should be given primacy over the methods or techniques of dialogue. Knowing or even mastering the methods and techniques of dialogue will not ensure the formation of an attitude of dialogue as this requires an authentic spirituality, mentality, or culture of dialogue, because »a culture of genuine dialogue is a way that enables genuine encounters between people and cultures, encourages creativity and thus empowers people« (Bahovec 2020, 890). What is also valid with dialogue is the principle formulated by John Paul II in the Apostolic letter *Novo millennio ineunte* in the context of promoting the communion character of church communities. Concerning the culture of dialogue, it can be described as follows: Before we start planning specific educational undertakings, a new culture or a spirituality of dialogue should be promoted, emphasising its importance as an educational principle wherever a person and a Christian are formed, where altar ministers, priests and consecrated persons are trained, wherever families and communities are being

built up. Let us have no illusions: without such a culture (spirituality) of dialogue, new educational programmes or various methods and means of dialogue will not achieve much. Dialogue with their help will serve a minimal purpose (NMI 43).

The necessary condition for applying the method of dialogue is to adopt the attitude of dialogue. It is expressed in readiness to open up to understanding, closeness, and cooperation concerning the environment and each person, regardless of age, origin, nationality, race, or religion (Dziekoński 2009, 75). The catechetical task is to shape the spirituality or culture of dialogue. It is a challenge closely related to the attitude of a catechist. Only a catechist who shapes the culture or spirituality of dialogue in him/herself and introduces its principles into the catechetical process and meeting can shape the dialogue in the catechised. Authentic dialogue is the principle of the meeting:

»An authentic contact requires true dialogue! The dialogue can occur when people recognise our interconnectivity (personal principle) and the merits of the cultural communities. So, we can say that the quest for dialogue is at the same time a striving for a real personal principle and personalisation (not individualisation) and developing true mutual *Gemeinschaftlike* interpersonal relationships, not merely a contractual society, but a communal spirituality and a culture of fraternity.« (Bahovec 2015, 344)

Shaping the culture of dialogue is a slow process and requires a great deal of educational work because it is not about acquiring competencies or skills, but about changing mentality:

»One cannot change the mentality and deeply entrenched attitudes by some ordinance or administrative injunction. This requires fundamental organic work which, through education not only in the family and school but also through the proper atmosphere of social life, shapes appropriate attitudes and organises the hierarchy of values.« (Bagrowicz 2006, 231)

Besides the proper attitude, catechesis educates people to adopt dialogue by shaping appropriate intellectual and moral competencies. Appropriate intellectual and moral dispositions are the basis of the culture of dialogue. The following dispositions are critical here: honesty, sincerity, truthfulness, patience, prudence, reliability and gentleness. They require self-abnegation, life asceticism and work on oneself, values that do not always characterise a young person's attitude. Human limitations also hamper dialogue not only in moral but also in intellectual and emotional spheres. It is mainly about dogmatism, relativism and shyness, suspicion, and distrust. These limitations constitute a severe obstacle in dialogue (Polak 2015, 418–419).

The proper educational concept that enables dialogue in catechesis is the pedagogy of dialogue. It wants to open up space for a man to shape a proper worldview and life in a pluralist society. Indeed, catechesis, especially for adults, »should support the formation of the distinguishing features of a Christian who is mature

in faith, a disciple of the Lord Jesus, in the bosom of a Christian community capable of going outward, that is, incorporated into the social and cultural reality in order to exercise faith and build the kingdom of God« (DC 261).

6. Conclusion

Thanks to the dialogue conducted in it, catechesis wants to educate people for tolerance without imposing any worldview on others. It also wants to lead to actions to create a fraternal society to make the world space for thinking and living. The pedagogy of dialogue leads to the strengthening of personal identity. It promotes ‚dialogical teaching‘, emphasises the great importance of a good atmosphere during catechesis (atmosphere of dialogue, climate of dialogue), shows the fundamental importance of the teacher’s attitude, supports the formation of conscience focused on action and promotes dialogue with contemporary culture (Bagrowicz 2006, 239–243).

However, dialogue with contemporary culture is certainly not easy. In liberal democratic societies, which are pluralistic, many social, cultural, and religious groups have very different values and sometimes conflict with each other. In this context, a critical task is to look for an appropriate language of dialogue, which would express certain neutrality towards the views of others while at the same time shifting one’s views. This opens up a space for an ‚engaged dialogue model‘, a part of presenting one’s values and beliefs. Dialogue cannot be neutral but should encourage parties to engage (Strahovnik 2017, 271–274; Prijatelj 2017, 304–305).

The premises presented above, formulated in individual parts of the thesis, allow for the conclusion that catechesis fulfils a significant function in shaping the dialogical attitude of the Church towards the world. It is both a space for the intra-church dialogue and the Church’s dialogue with the world, a specific ‚laboratory of dialogue‘.

Abbreviations

- CT** – John Paul II 1979 [Exhortation *Catechesi tradendae*].
- DC** – The Pontifical Council for Promoting the New Evangelization 2020 [Directory for Catechesis].
- DV** – Second Vatican Council 1964 [*Dei verbum*].
- EG** – Francis 2013 [*Evangelii Gaudium*].
- ES** – Paul VI 1964 [*Ecclesiam suam*].
- NMI** – John Paul II 2001 [*Novo millennio ineunte*].

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Vračanje religije v postmodernem kontekstu

Zbornik želi pokazati, da religija ni izginila iz filozofije, kot so napovedovali nekateri razsvetljenski misleci, temveč se vanjo vrača in jo na novo vznemirja. Sicer je to vračanje raznoliko in pogosto nekonvencionalno, vendar pa to ne zmanjšuje njegovega pomena in s tem potrebe po dialogu med postmoderno filozofijo in teologijo.

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The Specific Content of Preaching the Word of God in a Secularized Environment

Specifična vsebina pridiganja o Božji besedi v sekulariziranem okolju

Abstract: The proclamation of the word of God must always consider the unchanging Gospel and the present life of the Church and theology, which constitute the correct interpretation of the revealed word of God. The content of preaching the word of God is the good news about Jesus Christ, Lord and Saviour, and, more broadly, God's revelation and human existential problems. Therefore, the proclamation of the word of God draws its content from the Bible and observation of the world in which contemporary man lives and creates. This study aims to indicate the specific content of preaching the word of God in a secularized environment. This proclamation should lead to faith as a personal encounter with Jesus Christ and show the true God and Jesus Christ – man's only Saviour. At the same time, it should try to answer people's questions and desires.

Keywords: the content of preaching, preacher, secularized environments, preaching to those who seek God.

Povzetek: Oznanjevanje božje besede mora vselej upoštevati nespremenljivi evangelij in sedanje življenje Cerkve in teologije, to pa naredi interpretacijo razodele božje besede ustrezno. Vsebina pridiganja o njej je vesela ali dobra novica o Jezusu Kristusu, Gospodu in Odrešeniku, a tudi širše: o božjem razodetju in o človeških eksistencialnih težavah. Oznanjevanje božje besede tako utemeljuje svojo vsebino na podlagi Svetega pisma in opazovanja sveta, v katerem sodobni človek živi in deluje. Cilj te študije je, pokazati na specifično vsebino pridiganja o božji besedi v sekulariziranem okolju. To oznanjevanje naj vodi k veri kot osebni srečanju z Jezusom Kristusom in kaže na pravega Boga in Jezusa Kristusa, edinega človekovega odrešenika. Obenem pa naj poskuša odgovorjati na vprašanja in hotenja ljudi.

Ključne besede: vsebina pridiganja, pridigar, sekularizirana okolja, pridiganje iskalcem Boga

Preaching the word of God to today's listeners is not preaching new content. The essence of the Gospel remains unchanged because it is still the good news communicated by God. Therefore, in preaching the word of God, one should always consider the unchanged Gospel and the current life of the Church and theology, which is an adequate interpretation of the revealed word of God. The content of preaching the word of God is the good news about Jesus Christ, Lord and Saviour, and, more broadly, God's revelation and human existential problems. Therefore, the proclamation of the word of God draws its content from the Bible and observation of the world in which contemporary man lives and creates. At the same time, Pope Francis confirms the principle that the secondary subject of preaching is the existential problems of contemporary people and the world's affairs. For the Pope, a preacher is a person who listens to people and understands their problems, a person who contemplates Christ and also contemplates the people (EG 154).

The pastoral problem in secularized environments is not only the loss of the monopoly on religion by the Church. Knowledge of the fundamental truths of faith is almost completely lost. It has also become fashionable to question the central message of the Gospel (Herbst 2010, 210–212). Therefore, a secularized environment requires a modification of what is accentuated in the content of the preaching (Pevc Rozman 2017, 291).

This study aims to indicate the specific content of preaching the word of God in a secularized environment. Without giving up the traditional content, the preacher should lead to faith understood as a personal encounter with Jesus Christ. In a secularized environment, the proclamation of the word of God must show the true God and Jesus Christ – man's only Saviour. At the same time, the preacher should try to answer people's questions and desires.

1. Leading to Faith as a Personal Encounter with Christ

The purpose of preaching the word of God is faith and living by faith, and, ultimately, to glorify God and the salvation of people. The Catechism attempted to define the faith of the Catholic Church: »faith is, first of all, a personal adherence of man to God. At the same time, and inseparably, it is a free assent to the whole truth that God has revealed. As personal adherence to God and assent to his truth, Christian faith differs from our faith in any human person. It is right and just to entrust oneself wholly to God and to believe absolutely what he says. It would be futile and false to place such faith in a creature.« (CCC 150) The Christian faith is not only about accepting dogmas but above all about accepting Christ and being spiritually united with Him. The enrichment of faith in the objective, topical sense (the content of faith) is also the enrichment of the faith in the subjective and existential sense (the attitude of faith). Benedict XVI says that it is vital to know the content of faith. Knowing the content of faith helps, with reason and will, agree to what the Church proposes. The knowledge of faith brings the fullness of

the salvific mystery revealed by God. Benedict XVI also notes: »When, instead, man lacks faith in God, the essential collapses because a man loses his profound dignity and what makes his humanity great enough to withstand any form of reductionism.« (Benedict XVI 2012)

As a result of secularization, faith and the Church are reduced to the private and internal spheres, ethical deformation increases, the sense of personal and social sin weakens, and moral relativism gradually increases. The information society provides contemporary people with selective data, which leads to superficial presentation of moral issues. Therefore, proper education is essential, enabling people to think critically and choose the correct values (EG 64). In preaching the word of God to secularized people, the preacher should emphasize that faith in human life is not a trifle but a particular form of hope. Experiencing the presence and love of God, man perceives the meaning of his existence and the goal he is heading toward (Šegula 2018, 459). The awareness of God's presence helps a person heal from excessive self-concern and selfishness. On the other hand, unbelief can lead to loss, weakening of the human spirit, and various kinds of enslavement (Schönborn 2001, 53).

Preaching the word of God regarding faith as a personal encounter with Jesus Christ refers to the mind, free will, and the sphere of sensations and emotional experiences of the listeners. The human mind first gets acquainted with the Christian truth it has heard, then tries to understand it, and finally accepts it or rejects it, or remains indifferent and sceptical to it. The preaching should help the listener rationally accept God's existence and provide them with rational reasons for the existence of God. The preacher of the word of God is responsible for leading people to God. This guidance must be a companionship that will lead both the preacher and the audience to engage in reason to respond positively to God's voice. At the same time, the preacher should be aware that, in the process of transmitting the word of God and accepting it by human reason, God's grace plays an essential role, as it acts mysteriously and incomprehensibly for the speaker and the listener. The preacher's task of God's message is, above all, to bear witness to the Gospel through life and personal faith.

Proclamation of the word of God concerning faith also refers to the free will of man and aims to make this will perform acts of faith and live by faith. The listener should be shown faith as good and a value worthy of acceptance. The proclamation of the word of God also refers to human feelings that can support or weaken reason and will in the act of faith. The preacher should evoke positive feelings because they help to support and enliven the act of faith. The personal involvement of the preacher of the word of God and the manifestation of kindness helps to touch the hearts of the listeners and is an indispensable element of proclaiming the word of God. Joachim Wanke points out that »religious faith is not the result of a raw, purely rational choice from several options, one of which I choose for myself. Rather, religious beliefs arise through the experience of a state of fascination, uncanniness.« (Wanke 2012)

2. Preaching the True God

The Catechism of the Catholic Church, presenting the truth about God the Father, from whom everything comes, presents Him as the Creator of the world, the source of all kinds of life, the Father of »the poor, orphans and widows who are under His loving protection« (Wanke 2012). Catechism emphasizes God's paternal concern, goodness and kindness, while God's providence is realized by keeping the world in existence and preserving it.

Atheism or de-Christianization is based on »sometimes a false image of God. It is about the hypertrophy of some features attributed to God, thus the distortion of God's very idea and image. Sometimes atheism is not a negation of the true God, but a negation of an idol that man has created, a negation of false ideas about God.« (Palumbieri 1998, 152) The Christian image of God the Father is a product of four generally overlapping planes: the biblical, philosophical, and theological approaches and the view resulting from daily piety permeated by life experience. In the human view of God, the Father, the prevailing emphasis results from the perspective that dominates a particular person. God can be seen as perfect, distant, stranger, indifferent, harsh, and punishing; or as a close, merciful, caring, compassionate God who seeks and remembers man. Difficulties in faith and a relationship with God often result from a false vision of God. A distorted image of God makes a healthy, loving relationship between man and God impossible (Thomas 2012, 133–135).

In the practice of preaching the word of God, one can see the phenomenon of the so-called pastoral deism. Although preachers do not deny the existence of God, they do not sufficiently emphasize His constant presence and actions in human life. Taking up the subject of God's providence in proclaiming God's message is practised today much less frequently than in previous centuries. Today's man appeals to his strength and skills rather than God's will. The God of modern preaching is a colourless God, not someone to be feared or loved; He is someone no one fears or loves anymore (Bitter 1987, 17). Joachim Wanke diagnoses the morbid condition of the Church's preaching and notes that today we are threatened with »Christianity without God«. Therefore, the greatest challenge for the Church is not the problem of the Church but the problem of God (Wanke 2001, 15). Stefan Oster notes that the exhortation expressed with the slogan »Good News instead of Threatening News« contributed to the downgrading of Christian teaching to a kind of humanism level.

»Sin is no longer mentioned, there is no need to convert, Hell is out of the question! It doesn't fit in with contemporary times anymore. And it somehow doesn't fit in with the Church today. According to this way of thinking, the message of the Gospel is a nice program of action/behaviour charged a bit by ethics that encourages and calls us to be good to each other, good first of all to other minorities and the poor, good to the world, good to refugees and neighbours. And whoever does this at least to some

extent is already a Christian, or some kind of Christian, someone who claims to know what the Church teaches and somehow participates in it himself.« (Oster 2015)

Although the modern proclamation of the word of God in a secularized environment cannot fail to exhibit courage in exposing all manifestations of idolatry and a false image of God, preachers should emphasize the positive message of saving and liberating love of the Creator for man. It is a mistake to concentrate on apologetics that tries to justify the idea of God and His actual image only on the level of natural proof.

According to the authors of the document *Lettera ai cercatori di Dio*, prepared by the Italian Bishops' Conference, people in search of God do not believe in some private and uncertain life project or in something that gives only a certain sense of security, but in someone who should become the only love of their life. Moreover, discovering God consists of finding a place of silence »in which, by hearing God's word, true hope springs from the coming of God into the human heart« (LcD 2,6).

Preaching to the secularised should refer to the anthropological method, i.e. the description of human experience, the failure of human searches and solutions, and the solution to the problem by opening up to Christian revelation. Such preaching of the word of God aims at making the listeners long for God. The preacher should make their listeners aware that the discovery of the true God helps understand the actual image of man, and the caricatured images of God are a real obstacle to the full development of humanity.

According to Joachim Wanke, »Talking about God is not an instructive expression or indoctrination, but it is discovering the pre-existing, conscious or unconscious relationship of every human being with God« (2012). God is sometimes too quickly reduced to just a formula that explains everything. In principle, in this way, all biblical and old Christian statements about God's transcendence, about His otherness, are not taken seriously enough. You cannot pray to the formula; you cannot cry in front of it; you cannot even curse it. At most, it can be considered false, denied or redundant. Ordinary Christian piety is still far from the radicalism of the Old Testament psalmist, who complained about God, protested against Him, and sometimes doubted Him as well (Wanke 2012). God is not an abstract principle or a precursor who turned his back on the world. He is the writer of salvation, the God of covenant and life. The preacher should deliver the message that the infinitely sublime God makes a covenant with people and makes them his allies and associates (Zollitsch 2016, 270–272). Although God does not fit into the orderly grammatical definition, the preachers of the word of God must convey the critical truth about the mystery of God as a living God who wants to give every human being everlasting life. This message should be one of the central preaching themes (Richardson and Lovel 2011, 206).

3. Jesus Christ – the Only Saviour of Man

The object of the Christian faith is Jesus Christ, who became man for the salvation of people. At the beginning of being a Christian, there is an encounter with the event, with the person who gives life a new perspective and thus a decisive direction. The specificity of Christianity is related to the fact that God is the author of the idea of ‚getting closer‘ to man. The centre of Christian doctrine lies in the fact that the direction of the salvific initiative is top-down: God becomes ever closer to man, and thus, man becomes ever closer to God. This fact distinguishes Christianity from most of the great religions in which there are so-called grassroots movements where people are trying to enter the sphere of the sacred.

Christoph Theobald points to the need for a renewed interest in Jesus. He justifies it with three principal reasons. First of all, thanks to the figure of Jesus, history gains an eschatological and holistic aspect. Second, on the way of Jesus to death and resurrection, man gains the opportunity to understand his mortal existence. Finally, modern man lives in the age of the universal experience of death, which is interpreted in various ways; he lives in the age of paradox (Theobald 2002, 435–400).

Jesus Christ is at the heart of ecclesial preaching. Those who believe in Him testify of Him. By proclaiming the Gospel, the Church leads to the knowledge of Jesus Christ. This knowledge is possible only in an environment of faith. This, in turn, does not equate with the intellectual knowledge about the incarnate Son of God but consists in adhering to Him with love and confirming communion with Him with our life. It is an existential faith that shapes the whole life of the followers of the Crucified and Risen Lord. The teaching content is the mystery of Christ and everything else to the extent that it is related to this mystery.

In the apostolic exhortation on proclaiming the Gospel in the modern world, *Evangelii Gaudium*, Pope Francis emphasizes that the centre of the proclamation of the word of God and its essence are always the same: »the God who revealed his immense love in the crucified and risen Christ.« (EG 11) At the same time, Pope Francis affirms that »there can be no authentic evangelization without explicitly proclaiming that Jesus is Lord« and that Jesus Christ is the basis for proclaiming the word of God in all evangelization activities. The main priority of the Church’s activity should be »the joyful, patient and gradual proclamation of the saving death and resurrection of Jesus Christ« (110).

In the constitutions of the Second Vatican Council, there are two basic methods of presenting Jesus Christ. In the dogmatic constitution on divine revelation, *Dei verbum*, the dogmatic constitution on the Church’s *Lumen gentium* and the constitution on the sacred liturgy, the *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, one can see the deductive-theological method of presenting Jesus Christ. In contrast, in the pastoral constitution of the Church in the modern world, *Gaudium et spes*, the inductive-anthropological method dominates. Thus, in *Dei verbum*, Jesus Christ is shown as the chief Revelator of God; in *Lumen Gentium*, the ecclesiological image of Christ dominates; and in the *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the perception of the mystical

Christ, present and active in the liturgy, comes to the fore. A slightly different image of Jesus Christ is dominant in *Gaudium et spes*. This constitution, addressed not only to believers, presents Christ as help in solving man's existential problems. This man can be understood, and he can understand himself only in the mystery of the incarnate word. The method of proclaiming Christ used in *Gaudium et spes* should be an inspiration for those who preach the word of God in an environment of non-believers and secularized people. Proclaiming Christ in a secularized environment, according to Pope Francis, consists of showing that »to believe in and to follow Him is not only something right and proper but also something beautiful, capable of filling life with new splendour and profound joy, even amid difficulties« (167).

For many contemporary listeners, both unbelievers and weak believers, Christ is a respectable friend of the poor and the oppressed, a great master of the spiritual life, and even the founder of a religion. At the same time, he is rejected as God, who must be trusted and whose teaching one should surrender. The preacher who preaches the word of God in a secularized environment should encourage their listeners not only to accept the truth about Christ but above all to accept the very person of Christ. The recipient of the proclamation should hear the truth that Christianity has a different salvific value than other religions and that Jesus is not only one of the founders of the religion, but above all, He is the only Saviour of man.

4. Answering Human Desires and Questions

The drawback, still noticeable in contemporary preaching, is clothing the truth of God in precise verbal formulas and dogmatic definitions and teaching faith by mastering catechismal truths (Halik 2009, 130). Instead of focusing on the answers, the preacher should teach to ask questions. According to Paul Michael Zulehner, preachers often »answer questions that no one asks, while on topics that people are really bothered by, they say nothing« (2006, 5).

Understanding the existential and spiritual needs of people living today allows us to find the concept of preaching the word of God that is most adequate for today's conditions. The preacher of the word of God must make an effort to get to know another person and take into account human existence and refer to frequent human experiences in their preaching. The Letter to those who seek God reminds us of the truth that the Christian community is the place where special attention is paid to the most subjective and personal aspects of human existence. The Christian community emphasizes the meaning of human life discovered thanks to answers to the most fundamental questions, including the ones about joy, suffering, love, the value of work, and celebration (LcD 1,5). One of the fundamental tasks of today's preachers of the word of God is to try to answer these questions.

When proclaiming God's message in a secularized environment, the preacher should refer to the content of the Christian message that meets today's cultural situation and contemporary man's search. The preacher of the word of God should

arouse in their listeners the need for self-determination and personal development. In the Christian sense, this development means creating an atmosphere of freedom and participation. Christ is a model of responsible and fruitful use of the gift of freedom. In times of moral relativism and uncertainty, pointing to this pattern in preaching is a real help in making important life decisions. True freedom allows one to achieve happiness and helps one to know the goodness and turn towards it.

The issue of love is fundamental in every environment of proclaiming the word of God. Nowadays, there is an excellent risk of falsifying the accurate and complete concept of love because it is easy to go to extremes in defining it. As part of a rationalist attitude, the true meaning of love is underestimated because man is judged only in terms of his technical and rational abilities. Meanwhile, man needs unconditional love to survive all competitions and only be given by God, who loved man immeasurably. That is why it is necessary to proclaim to modern man the love that has its source in God, the love most fully revealed in Jesus Christ. Discovering true love leads to the question of its source, about God.

Another issue that should be the preaching content in a secularized environment is the problem of the meaning of life. Man »remains a being that is incomprehensible to himself. His life is meaningless if love is not revealed to him. Therefore, Christ the Redeemer »fully reveals man to man himself« /.../ In Him man finds his true greatness, dignity and value of his humanity« (John Paul II 1979, 10). Finding the meaning of life allows a person to gain inner peace and, consequently, happiness. The preacher's task is to open the listeners to the Good News, to Christ, who reveals to each person the truth about themselves and their condition and frees them from uncertainty and a sense of nonsense (Lucas 1998, 12).

Another human desire, which should also be the subject of preaching, is happiness. This desire is vividly present in everyday human life. For the believer, Jesus Christ is authentic and genuine happiness. The life of a Christian is that of a happy person who experiences communion with the Crucified and Risen One. Human experience also includes experiencing illness and suffering. The Christian faith helps the suffering person entrust this experience – not entirely understandable to the incomprehensible God. For believers know: »I have someone to whom I can shout my helplessness. The cross is not just an object that aches, but it is an object to which I can look up.« (Zollitsch 2016, 272) On the one hand, the experience of sickness and suffering may result in the verification of the current view on one's own life and openness to the influence of the Gospel, and on the other hand, rejection of suffering and rebellion leads to breaking the relationship with God. In this case, the proclamation of the word of God aims to show Jesus as the first physician able to heal the body and the soul (Busch 2009, 42–43).

In his speech to the Roman Curia delivered on December 21st 2009, Pope Benedict XVI stated:

»I think that today the Church too should open a sort of 'Court of the Gentiles' in which people may in some way latch on to God, without

knowing Him and before gaining access to His mystery, at whose service the inner life of the Church stands. Today, in addition to interreligious dialogue, there should be a dialogue with those to whom religion is something foreign, to whom God is unknown, and who nevertheless do not want to be left merely Godless, but rather to draw near to Him, albeit as the Unknown.« (Benedict XVI 2009)

In response to this appeal, the Pontifical Council for Culture created a special structure called the 'Courts of the Gentiles'. This initiative aims to create meetings between believers and non-believers and engage in dialogue on common problems of humanity, such as the meaning of life, good and evil, the role of love, the meaning of suffering, and human rights and justice. It was found that the best platform for the dialogue between believers and non-believers is the three transcendentals: truth, goodness, and beauty. They are universal human values, and every human being is looking for them, no matter what they believe or do not believe. One of the initiatives preceding the so-called 'Court of the Gentiles' was the meetings of Cardinal Carlo Maria Martini under the auspices of 'The Chair of the Non-Believers' (Martini 2015).

Pope Francis also draws attention to the necessity of proclaiming these values in preaching. He observes that the preacher should base each homily on truth, beauty and goodness, using images to encourage listeners to works of love in everyday life (EG 142; 146). The above issues should be the content of the preaching message addressed to secularized listeners.

Objective truth about the world and man, including the issues of the origin and existence of the world and man and his desires and aspirations, is this proclamation's actual content. Anthropological issues, such as a strong desire to feel that life is meaningful and happy, and the need to fight evil and suffering in the world, are additional components of this content. Dialogue conducted within the 'Court of the Gentiles' also covers the universal problem of good, understood most often as helping and being in solidarity with the needy, and caring about peace and social justice. This subject should be taken up by preachers of the word of God in a secularized environment. These preachers should also refer in the content of their preaching to the third universal value taken up in the 'Court of the Gentiles', which is beauty and its importance for people prejudiced against the Church. Secularized people experiencing a crisis of faith have the right to learn about God seeking man. The preacher's task is to create the so-called foreground of faith, a space of sensitization to values leading to God, such as good, truth, beauty, silence, nature, art, and the culture of the word.

Human desire and questions also touch the essential area, which is God. These questions are asked by both believers experiencing crises of faith and non-believers. Benedict XVI simultaneously addressed both of these groups:

»Those of you who are non-believers challenge believers in a particular way to live in a way consistent with the faith they profess and by your

rejection of any distortion of religion that would make it unworthy of man. Those of you who are believers long to tell your friends that the treasure dwelling within you is meant to be shared, it raises questions, it calls for reflection. The question of God is not a menace to society, it does not threaten a truly human life! The question of God must not be absent from the other great questions of our time.« (2011)

The question of God's existence, the possibility of establishing contact with Him, and the possible influence of God on human life have been bothering people for centuries. This is a characteristic trait of a man who asks about the other side of his life. Also, a secularized society asks about the sources from which visions of humanity, mutual trust, social ties and interpersonal relations are derived (Wanke 2012). The question of the presence of God in human life, in history, and the world takes time to discover the supernatural dimension of human existence. People who seek God are not looking for an undefined life project and a sense of security, but someone who can become the greatest love of their life (LcD 1,5). For God is not only an easy answer to human needs but a response to the desire to meet the eternal Other who helps us understand ourselves.

Joachim Wanke points to an example of an interest in God in eastern Germany:

»This can also be observed in our country: where we cut off from religious traditions, we long for continuity and being at home. When happiness in this life becomes fragile and barren, a new question arises as to what it is that actually satisfies. Where an ideologically tired society plunges into distrust and envy, there is a longing for honesty, for successful interpersonal contacts, for someone who can be trusted, for total devotion and adoration. Shadow can only be found in the presence of light. Hunger and thirst are especially troublesome when one senses the possibility of satisfying them /.../ Here is an outline of what it would essentially mean today to proclaim God in a society that is sometimes lost in doubt, suspicion and distrust: not a threat or intimidation, but an invitation to accept life and trust. This is the only way to overcome fear in life and ingrained distrust. Often, personal faith is more of a longing than a desire to understand and explain everything at all costs!« (2012)

Preaching the word of God to secularized people should begin with arousing a longing for God. An attempt should be made to reach a person's most profound questions and desires and define them precisely. Life without God is characterized by an existence »without a spiritual background«, »a kind of fear of the future«, which often makes »the image of tomorrow colourless and uncertain«, and causes fear rather than a desire for the future (John Paul II 2003, 7). Modern listeners of the word of God often experience dramatic fear and anxiety and the expectation of something or someone different. This expectation is realized in Christ, who gives meaning to human life and satisfies the deepest desires (Douglas J. Davies and Michael J. Thate 2017, 102).

Andreas Wollbold states that »speaking to listeners without delving deeper into and understanding their problems is the fastest-acting poison to a sermon. Therefore, every sermon should remain completely related to the listeners themselves and the specific situation, and it cannot disappear hastily and irretrievably in the theological clouds after a beautiful, but detached-from-life introduction.« (2017, 222) The homiletic literature points to five expectations of the modern listener of the word of God: rescue, especially in difficult life situations; opening to the future, that is, helping to see the way of life and indicating possible steps; critical time signal, ability to recognize the signs of the times; explanation of the situation in which the man found himself based on the biblical message; solidarity, that is, the accompaniment and compassion of a person and a Christian who does not have simple answers ready, but is aware of complex life situations. »Answering questions that no one asks, or catching the listeners' expectations and directing the conversation to the Gospel – it is between these alternatives that the success of the sermon is found and results from them.« (222)

Meeting the above expectations enables contemporary preachers to reach audiences living in a secularized environment. The preacher should lead the audience to a personal encounter with Jesus Christ and answer man's most fundamental questions and desires.

Abbreviations

CCC – *Catechism of the Catholic Church* 2012.

EG – Francis 2013 [Evangelii Gaudium].

LcD – Commissione Episcopale per la Dottrina della Fede 2009 [Lettera ai cercatori di Dio].

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The Human Being Lost in Consumerism: A Polish Perspective and Challenges in Religious Education

*V potrošništvu izgubljeno človeško bitje:
poljski pogled in izzivi verske vzgoje*

Abstract: The contemporary educational context is very diversified, but in most European countries is based on postmodernity with all its conditions, with special emphasis on individualism, consumerism and cultural changes. The predominance of ‚the dictatorship of consumerism‘ leaves most Christian among them Poles in a position where, if they wish to retain their cultural independence, must understand the present challenges and stand against a powerful ideological tsunami. Taking into consideration a variety of challenges and threats arising from ‚liquid modernity‘, among them strong consumerism, it is important in accord with personalistic theory inspirations to support Christian religious education. This article explores the changes that have taken place in Poland in the last 30 years – the transition from a socialist to a capitalist society, with emphasis put on the challenges posed by consumerism. Then, evaluates consumerism and its consequences in the light of Pope John Paul II’s teaching. In the last part presents the most important conclusions for Christian Religious Education in schools, especially the need for more issue-oriented education in order to help pupils to be critical thinkers discerning contemporary social, cultural and moral issues.

Keywords: Christian religious education, consumerism, individualism, personalistic approach, Poland

Povzetek: Sodobni vzgojni kontekst je zelo raznolik, a v večini evropskih držav temelji na postmoderni z vsemi njenimi pogojenostmi, zlasti na individualizmu, na potrošništvu in na kulturnih spremembah. Prevlada »diktature potrošništva« vodi večino kristjanov med Poljaki v položaj, v katerem morajo razumeti sedanje izzive in se upreti močnemu ideološkemu viharju, če želijo ohraniti svojo kulturno samostojnost. Upoštevajoč različne izzive in nevarnosti, ki izhajajo iz ‚tekoče moderne‘, med njimi izrazito potrošništvo, je v skladu z navdihmi personalistične teorije pomembno podpirati krščansko versko vzgojo. Članek obravnava spremembe, ki so se zgodile na Poljskem v zadnjih tridesetih letih – prehod

iz socialistične v kapitalistično družbo s poudarkom na izzivih, spodbujenih zaradi potrošništva. Nato ovrednoti potrošništvo in njegove posledice v luči nauka papeža Janeza Pavla II. V zadnjem delu pa predstavi najpomembnejše sklepe za krščansko versko vzgojo v šolah, zlasti potrebo po bolj tematsko usmerjenem pouku: učencem naj bi pomagal, da postanejo kritični misleci, ki presojujejo sodobna družbena, kulturna in moralna vprašanja.

Ključne besede: krščanska verska vzgoja, potrošništvo, individualizem, personalistični pristop, Poljska

1. Introduction

In the Christian view, the person has its dignity and, at the same time, is called to become who he/she is by ontological nature. A critical analysis of the situation of the contemporary human being, as well as the current educational challenges arising predominantly from the historical, political, ideological, juridical, social, cultural, religious, economic and financial context, leads to some conclusions (Bahovec 2015). Among them, especially one related to the main issue of this article is that in the European society of the 21st century, the human being is inundated with proposals of consumption which has increased to unprecedented extents. ‚A consumer society‘ not only implies that people take, use and consume, as this has always been an indispensable element of life. What has changed is the wide range of products available for consumption. Unlike the productive society that contributes to industry development, contemporary society has enthroned consumption – it is consumption that our social position depends on. In order to function well, today’s society does not seek righteous people, devoted workers, economic farmers or talented innovators, but naive, thoughtless consumers. Thus, the existential dilemma of a contemporary man is as follows: do I consume to live, or do I live in order to consume?

In order to respond to the above dilemma and present challenges, the authors of this article give a critical assessment of Polish socio-cultural reality, then evaluate consumerism through critical reflection in the light of Pope John Paul II’s teaching and consequently give conclusions in order to change Christian Religious Education.

2. From Empty Shelves to Abundant Consumerism

According to Polish educationalist, Furmanek »consumerism is a subjectively and negatively perceived phenomenon of excessive individual consumption of goods« (2020). Scholars such as Gocko and Janowski emphasize that »consumerism is a worldview or attitude based on a selfishly understood concept of happiness /.../ in which the spiritual dimension in man is subordinate to the material one« (Gocko and Janowski 2002).

Consumerism is a phenomenon that goes beyond real needs to the buying and gathering of various material goods and the use of services offered by the market. Inordinate consumption is associated with satisfying our secondary needs, such as the lust for power, gaining prestige or higher social status. Thus consumerism is, on the one hand, enforced by personal factors, and on the other by cultural, civilizational changes. Apart from excessive accumulation of items or availing oneself of services that one perceives as indispensable, consumerism also encompasses building-specific images and promoting new styles of being (Osewska and Simonič 2019, 23–32).

In the period 1944–1989, when Poland was under the political influence of the USSR, we lacked the basic products that were essential for living, so that gaining them was part of a daily struggle to sustain oneself. The dramatic inability to satisfy consumer needs was deeply humiliating – we could not simply buy a product but had to ‚hunt‘ for it, ‚bag‘ it or get it thanks to one’s connections. The goods were not delivered regularly but ‚plumped‘ to the shops. In order to buy certain commodities, one often had to enrol on a special list; there were ‚queue committees‘ meant to keep order as only a few first were lucky enough to get what they had lined up for. In such circumstances, Poles learned how to be frugal and, as it was commonly called, »to make up something out of nothing«. Their creativity was virtually unique.

On the other hand, the situation contributed to forming strong bonds within the family, among friends and neighbours: people had to help each other in order to survive. Personal relationships were intense, authentic and vibrant (in contrast to the superficial actions taken in the public sphere, which were only a facade). The older generation of Poles who lived in a socialist state learned how to settle for little and focused on evolving culture instead (Cobel-Tokarska 2014, 22–37). Consumer revolution took place after the political transformation, especially among young and wealthy inhabitants of big cities. A rampant rush to consume resulted in many people living on credit, taking loans beyond reason in order to get the material goods of their dreams.

The Poles’ experience of Soviet socialism generated distrust and antagonism towards the system imposed on them and aroused an optimistic and even idealistic interest in the societies of Western Europe. Enslaved by the Soviet influence, Poles considered Western societies ideal: their citizens could grow, fully enjoying the rights they did not have under communism. Thus, Poles held great expectations about changing the socio-political system, the shift from enslavement to complete freedom. Unfortunately, the new reality disappointed their hopes as ‚the ideal world‘ on the other side of the Iron Curtain had more drawbacks than expected. The longed-for freedom turned out to be accompanied by political correctness.

Moreover, the free choice related to the realm of consumption proved to be illusive. Initially, Poles relished the chance to shop at supermarkets because they inadvertently assumed that – in contrast to socialism which deceived citizens and

lied to them – capitalism presented the truth, also as far as material goods were concerned. Learning the secrets of advertising mechanisms has been a painful experience for many Poles (Sowa 2003, 4–6). To this day, Polish seniors are easily manipulated by ‚usury companies‘ that present low-quality yet expensive products as healthy and indispensable.

Changes in Polish society manifested themselves in rising sales of many consumer goods, especially after 2004 – Poland formal accession to the European Union (Szlendak 2004). In 2007 purchases of flats and houses, especially in cities centres, received a boost from cheap mortgage credits, whose 2007 value reached 57 billion Polish złotych (18 billion US\$), according to the Polish Banks Association. The most critical factors influencing consumption growth in Poland include an increase in real incomes, appreciation of the domestic currency, easy access to consumer credit, and growing consumer aspirations. The 21st century brought extreme manifestations of consumption of all goods in Poland, supported by the expansion of the Internet, international mobility, a convincing hedonistic pressure in the media and the increasing shopping practice in malls. Another trend characteristic of consumer societies is eating out. In the past, Poles liked eating at home in the family circle. In 2006, eating-out expenditure rose 19% compared to 2004 and is still growing despite the pandemic (Mróz and Janoś-Kresto 2006). Three main trends can be defined: ‚health and safety‘ (growing importance of product origins, quality, meals nutritional value and dietetic aspects), ‚convenience‘ (high demand for ‚fast food‘), ‚pleasure and experience-seeking‘ (interest in ethnic cuisines, attention to interiors design and courses composition, individualization of consumption). These developments demonstrate that consumption and related materialistic values have been gaining ground in Polish society (Kowalczyk and Czarniecka-Skubina 2015, 75–83). On the negative side, Poles noted the increase in individualism, consumerism and weakening of interpersonal ties. Problems connected with the new consumption models should consider the need to preserve natural resources and respect for the system of values (Jastrzębska-Smolaga 2000). Unfortunately, the consumption in Polish society slowly turns into consumerism when it ceases to be the means and becomes the goal of life and such a dominant activity that ‚have‘ is completely subordinated to what ‚to be‘ points out (Marianiński 2006; 2008).

Poles are attached to Christianity. Therefore, currently, in Poland, Christian symbolism is found in shopping centres. However, it is objectified; used as a tool to achieve higher profit. Buying has become an ersatz sacred rite. Shopping centres are built ‚in the image‘ of temples: they are supposed to attract consumers with their grandeur, decorativeness and distinctiveness. Consumers believe the advertising and almost generally consent to the structure of supermarkets going around all spheres of their lives. Thus, this structure becomes the main point of reference to which all other structures are compared (Pieszak 2013, 78–81). The new ‚religion‘ is built on beautiful adornments found in shopping malls: fountains, exotic plants, music, or the shopping calendar that spotlights dates and festivals before which one ought to shop extensively.

In this context, a consumer becomes a valuable member of society: he/she buys quickly, acquires and uses new goods and feels at ease with the world of advertising, companies, brands and products. It seems that the contemporary human has given up the dictum »I think, therefore I am« or »I love, therefore I am« and leans towards »I consume, therefore I am«. A contemporary Pole will work harder and harder, focusing on receiving a higher salary and looking out for his interests in order to strengthen his position as a consumer. A postmodern consumer is not only focused on possessing, hoarding and showing material goods; he also has – hitherto unknown to him – new desires, sensations, pleasures and experiences. The world of the media and carefully targeted advertising only fuels the pressure to gain things faster and more effectively. This violent shift from a productive society to a consumer society has made a breakthrough in all aspects of personal, family, working, social and cultural life (Halawa and Wróbel 2008, 13–19).

Polish expert, Kawecki points out that, in order to satisfy his artificially induced desires, a postmodern man can turn into a workaholic, ruin his health, neglect his family, lie to friends and concede to corruption. He will do all this to be in the centre of consumption, use recognizable brands and impress others. Thus, regular consumption becomes a constant pursuit of material goods and appeasing desires (Kawecki 2011, 23–32). Postmodern consumption entails shopping addiction, hoarding, and drawing attention to oneself. What is more, an ambitious consumer is aware that things are disposable, so that his deepest desires will not be satisfied as there will always be something new, more alluring to get. Life, therefore, becomes a constant striving towards obtaining the new, a social position and recognition.

In contemporary society, people consume goods pervasively because of their symbolic meaning rather than their utilitarian nature (Wątroba 2009, 153). That is why they often choose products advertised by huge, global companies identified everywhere. According to new assumptions, our position and prestige are determined by the logo of recognizable companies – our belonging to a more or less affluent social group depends on it. Moreover, they also carry cultural codes: experts in global corporations use cultural codes to effectively market products that target consumers from various cultures. Especially in Poland, where people did not have easy access to basic commodities, the availability or even overabundance of goods initially contributed to consumers' confusion. Later they learned that a recognizable brand guarantees their distinction in the crowd (Barber 2007). Paradoxically, global companies develop products desired by various social groups. Thus, every consumer will find an item that will be precious to him, recognized and accepted in his in-group.

Consumption propaganda, rapidly developing due to information technologies, creates the impression that one belongs to a particular group only if one buys certain products. In postmodern society, the propaganda is not only about controlling consumer's behaviour but also about creating a consumer's culture mainly through exerting a massive influence on the media by the corporation and bank

presidents. By being in control of creating and publishing content in the media, global corporations have a substantial impact on consumers, which can be perceived as consumer indoctrination (Safamacha 2015, 133; Osewska 2020).

3. Consumerism in the Light of John Paul II's Teaching

Pope John Paul II emphasized the phenomenon of growing consumerism: »The only goal which counts is the pursuit of one's own material well-being. The so-called ‚quality of life‘ is interpreted primarily or exclusively as economic efficiency, inordinate consumerism, physical beauty and pleasure, to the neglect of the more profound dimensions – interpersonal, spiritual and religious – of existence.« (1997b, no. 23)

The pope from Poland underlined the specific problems, challenges and threats emerging in modern societies.

»In earlier stages of development, the human being always lived under the weight of necessity. The needs were few and were determined, to a degree, by the objective structures of his physical make-up. Economic activity was directed towards satisfying these needs. It is clear that today the problem is not only one of supplying people with a sufficient quantity of goods, but also of responding to a *demand for quality*: the quality of the goods to be produced and consumed, the quality of the services to be enjoyed, the quality of the environment and life in general. To call for an existence that is qualitatively more satisfying is of itself legitimate, but one cannot fail to draw attention to the new responsibilities and dangers connected with this phase of history. How new needs arise and are defined is always marked by a more or less appropriate concept of man and his true good. A given culture reveals its overall understanding of life through the choices it makes in production and consumption. It is here that *the phenomenon of consumerism* arises /.../ In itself, an economic system does not possess the criteria for correctly distinguishing new and higher forms of satisfying human needs from artificial new needs which hinder the formation of a mature personality.« (1997a, no. 36)

Referring strongly to the assumptions of personalistic philosophy, John Paul II ceaselessly recalled the primacy of the person over the object, being over having, ethics over technology and love over justice (1997d, no. 15–16). These precepts basically cannot ‚function‘ separately in social life; they are so closely related that the implementation of one is impossible without the others. Since they constitute a system of principles, it is only within this coherent system, in the mutual relations of persons, that they may be accurately formulated and interpreted.

John Paul II contrasts the community of people, which may be called ‚the civilization of persons‘, with the utilitarian ‚civilization of things‘ in which persons are

objects for use just as things. The precept ,to be more' over ,to have more', therefore, must be associated with the conviction that personalization of social life cannot be ,carried out' if we do not respect the person as essentially having a value that is entirely incomparable with the world of objects. That is why it is crucial to stress the spiritual sphere of human life, which will enable the consumer to overcome the egoism that threatens him (1996, no. 8; 1997c, no. 6). In the encyclical letter, *Sollicitudo rei socialis* John Paul II rightly points out that mere possession of things and goods does not, by itself, perfect the person as it does not contribute significantly to enriching his ,being', to fulfilling his human vocation in its entirety (1997e, no. 28, 33; 1997d, no. 15). Indeed, consumerism may provide certain erratic pleasures, yet it does not bring true joy, which may be experienced only in a community where one shares everything with others.

The common good may be the primary factor around which the society of persons is built. When many people refer to the common good in their being and actions, then a new quality appears, which may be called ,we' (Wojtyła 2020). The Polish pope often argued that what Europe needs is not consumers but persons who respect the dignity of the human person and are ready to work for the sake of the common good (John Paul II 2003, no. 99).

John Paul II perceived personalism as the foundation for the actions of the human being and an opportunity to overcome consumerism. At the beginning of the 21st century, the personalistic social message is necessary if the human person is to be sensitive to the good beyond consumption, not only in Poland but also in every country. As John Paul II writes, this »social message will gain credibility more immediately from the *witness of actions* than as a result of its internal logic and consistency« (1997a, no. 57).

Despite a strong dictate that one must fulfil only one's personal, sometimes selfish aspirations mainly related to consumption, many contemporary Poles act for the benefit of others – either on their own or within various charitable organizations supporting people all over the world (Marody and Giza–Poleszczuk, 2004, 337). According to John Paul II, man becomes a fuller human being if he gives himself sincerely to others. Catholic personalism highlights the situation in which man is no longer neighbour-oriented and becomes blind to God, as the love of one's neighbour is one of the paths towards the Creator. Thus, personalism contrasts materialistic consumerism with the culture of solidarity and selfless love (Stala and Vodičar 2019).

Only the culture of love with its sensitivity, empathy, compassion and mercy may resist callous consumerism. When the culture of wealth turns a man into someone insensitive to the other, it becomes indispensable to liberate him in various ways from his egoistic desire to possess. »In our service of charity, we must be inspired and distinguished by a specific attitude: we must care for the other as a person for whom God has made us responsible. As disciples of Jesus, we are called to become neighbours to everyone (Lk 10:29-37), and to show special favour to those who are poorest, most alone and most in need.« (John Paul

II. 1997b, no. 87) An excellent example of this are the activities organised within *Caritas Polska (Caritas Poland)*, a charitable institution established in 1926, abolished by the communists and reactivated in 1990. Since 2004 it has had the status of a public benefit organization. It runs professional care and educational centres: Caritas Nursing Stations, rehabilitation centres, nursing and care facilities, nursing homes, Occupational Therapy Workshops, Single Mother Homes, feeding the poor, daycare centres for children, the elderly and other centres/initiatives. The works of Caritas stem from the idea of helping other people. Caritas engages volunteers (including children, the young as well as the elderly) in many of its activities. In the group of emergency aid organizations, there are Parish Caritas Teams and Caritas School Circles – they function in almost 5,000 parishes, with approximately 63,000 associated members (2014). Among parish organizations that provide emergency aid, one may find: Volunteering, Legal Counseling, Help to the Disabled People, Association of Disabled Adults, Maltese Medical Service, Sick Support Group, Children's Community, as well as volunteering within various congregations and orders (Osewska 2017).

The contemporary human being faces a huge challenge that arises from a meaningless pursuit to enhance his abilities in the sphere of consumption. Inordinate 'dispensability' of material goods of all kinds often turns the human person into someone with a narrow range of perception and experience, a slave of possession and immediate satisfaction. Moreover, consumption has dominated other walks of life, some even as significant as science, morality, art and religion (Jacyno 2007, 56). In this context, educators, especially in Religious Education, need to reformulate their aims within a more educational language responding to the present challenges.

4. Conclusions and guidelines for Religious Education (RE)

Philosophical, theological, pedagogical and existential perspectives show that consumerism contributes to the destruction of the human being in various ways (Vodičar 2016). Constant pursuit to possess absorbs the person, wreaks havoc within the person and their relationships with others. A young person who consumes excessively experiences various limitations to his existence and yet feels that their desires and expectations are limitless even though they are almost entirely reduced to the materialistic realm.

Consumerism fuels egocentrism and hinders human growth; therefore, adequate education is urgently needed, especially a RE that will support the person to resist such enslavement. It is crucial to show that the overabundance of goods translates into human's oppression. Therefore, moral and religious education must help educate the person to follow moral rules when satisfying their needs (Osewska 2020). The young person needs to reflect on what he/she possesses and what he/she truly needs.

»To call for an existence which is qualitatively more satisfying is of itself legitimate, but one cannot fail to draw attention to the new responsibilities and dangers connected with this phase of history /.../ In singling out new needs and new means to meet them, one must be guided by a comprehensive picture of man which respects all the dimensions of his being and which subordinates his material and instinctive dimensions to his interior and spiritual ones. If, on the contrary, a direct appeal is made to his instincts - while ignoring in various ways the reality of the person as intelligent and free - then *consumer attitudes* and *lifestyles* can be created which are objectively improper and often damaging to his physical and spiritual health.« (John Paul II 1997a, no. 36)

Moreover, consumerism highly contributes to the crisis of identity, especially among young Poles who, when confronted with a new reality, struggle with answering the question: »to be or to have? Shall I present myself to my peers as a posh consumer or someone who adheres to values?« This dilemma is a huge challenge for contemporary education in families, schools, and other educational institutions, but it is directly connected with RE in Polish schools. In the case of the Roman Catholic faith, the dominant one in Poland, the curriculum and textbooks are meticulously prepared by Church authorities and made known to the competent state authority. Other confessions and religious associations possess equal rights (Małosa and Zajac 2009). The moral formation is one of the crucial tasks of Catholic Religious Education, which concentrates on forming responsible attitudes of pupils and their capacity for moral judgment based on conscience. The sole knowledge of what is morally good and what is morally wrong is insufficient. On the one hand, moral education opens a human being for love, grace and mercy, shaping the attitude of penance and reconciliation; on the other hand, it exhibits the relationship between freedom and truth. A fundamental norm for moral formation is the command of love (Congregation for the Clergy 1997, no. 23).

Succumbing to consumerism may imply that freedom is misinterpreted, especially by the younger generation of Poles: here, freedom does not serve man's growth but his excessive consumption, not only in the sphere of material goods but also as a stimulant. Therefore, freedom must be shown to be good, which was and still is highly precious to the older generations of Poles. Young generations need to be educated on how to exercise it wisely.

Inordinate consumption leads to focusing on oneself and abandoning the precept of solidarity with the other. This is manifested by throwing away food, clothes, everyday objects that could still serve other people. So parents, teachers, and pedagogues are called to help young Poles be sensitive to their neighbours' needs, show solidarity, and share with others. In Polish schools, there are still initiatives to support those parts of the world in which people suffer poverty and hunger. However, the number of initiatives among children and youth is decreasing with the development of the consumer society. Instead, the older generation of Poles is still very attentive to the needs of others, and in the case of catastrophes and war, in particular, they regularly participate in financial and material fundraising.

A critical analysis of the situation of contemporary consumerism in Poland, as well as the current educational conditions arising predominantly from the political, social, cultural, educational and religious context, leads to the following conclusions:

- a. If the new reality called postmodernity or ‚liquid modernity‘ modifies and mixes the existing assumptions, norms and tenets, then it is crucial to help the young generation to consciously discern and choose so that they do not succumb to the imposed socio-cultural trends, but are capable of making their own deliberate decisions (Platovnjak 2017).
- b. Undermining the significance and potential of human reason for the sake of the domination of feelings, instincts and desires should encourage the family and RE in school to undertake conscious ‚education of emotions‘, showing that a person is not only subject to them but may work to understand better and control emotions. On the other hand, intellectual education should not consist in thoughtless reproduction of mental content but should include preparing young people to present their arguments respectfully towards partners in a discussion. (Vodičar 2017)
- c. Current reinforcement of individualization and consumerism that deepens egocentrism and weakens bonds with others requires a responsible emphasis on the significance of community in human life and growth, as well as a proper introduction to the life of a community (Osewska and Stala 2015).
- d. A characteristic trait of human living in postmodern society is ‚the crisis of meaning‘, which often leads to tragic consumerism, so RE should be focused on supporting young people in their search for comprehensive meaning in life (Crawford and Rossiter 2006).
- e. Faced with marginalization or removal of the virtue of self-giving from popular, contemporary culture, RE needs to emphasize the topic of role models, authorities, and leaders who sacrifice themselves for others and thanks to these role models, children and youth will recognize the significance of these virtues (Horonowski 2020).
- f. In the face of axiological chaos (promoted in postmodernity), which leads to anomie, RE must return to the proper understanding of virtues and values so that they are not another tool to manipulate society or simply conducive to political correctness. This means that RE in schools should cooperate with the family in the axiological sphere and search for suitable education models towards values.
- g. Postmodernity has turned consumption into consumerism, which considers consuming as the primary goal of life, a religion *per se*. While returning to the civilization of love, promoted by Pope John Paul II, in which being always has been a priority over having, it is necessary that the family and school jointly educate humans to discover human dignity regardless of material goods.
- h. In order to save the truth about humans and human dignity in the face of emer-

ging reductionisms of the human into consumer activities, it is necessary to educate in a way that fosters the correct answer to the question: who is human? The texts by Karola Wojtyła / John Paul II may be of great help here as they reveal all the dimensions of the human and human life, emphasizing the dignity of the person as the one created in the image of God, saved by Jesus Christ and constantly transformed by the Holy Spirit. Since it is of prime importance, RE must incorporate the criterion of human dignity and service to the real good of the human being.

- i. RE must be able to access the deepest possible understanding of the religion's convictions, appreciate the demands it makes on believers, but also engage with the actual pedagogical, ideological and socio-cultural challenges. It attempts to understand and engage with the inner world of the religion which cannot be adequately observed from the outside but demands theological knowledge and spiritual sensitivity (Davies 2019).
- j. Consumerism is strongly promoted by global companies and political action, so in order to dispose pupils towards personal change, RE must be authentic, support what comes from within them, and it must have the personal authorship and appropriation of personal change.
- k. Work in the field of education is urgently needed, including the education of young people to be wise consumers in the responsible use of their power of choice, the formation of a strong sense of responsibility, critical thinking and capability to respond to the contemporary challenges.
- l. Responsible education provided in the 21st century should be educationally realistic (recognizing threats and making the right educational decisions) as well as integral, that is, covering all spheres. It is crucial not to miss out on any aspect of the life and growth of a person. In the Christian perspective, an integral education must include not only earthly goals but also the redemptive purpose in life.
- m. Succumbing to consumerism undermines the hierarchy of values – today/at this moment it is the material goods which are on top. It is therefore, reasonable and responsible to educate in the formation of values and, within Christian pedagogy, to also encourage a formation in virtue.
- n. Consumerism is also associated with the destruction of the natural environment as disordered use of things ruins the resources of the planet. That is why it is necessary to make people sensitive to the ecological issue and educate children and youth in such a way that they respect nature both in their immediate surroundings as well as globally (Vodičar and Stala 2018, 415–427; Stala 2012, 41–59).

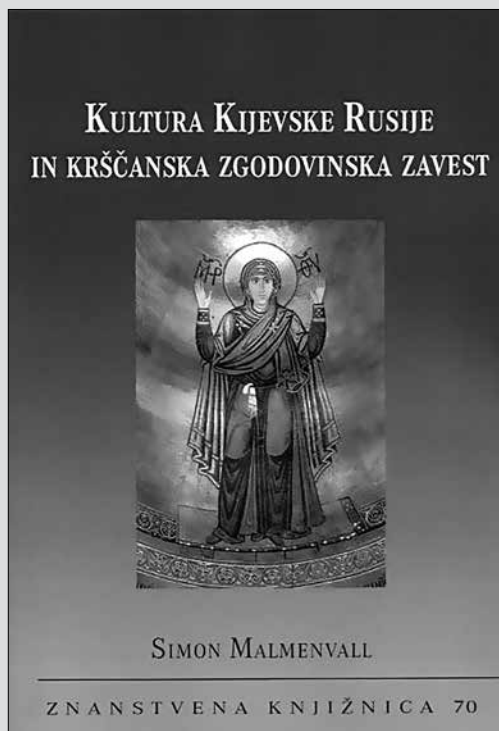
The theory of individualization, according to which the individual is the basic reality, has been strongly associated with consumerism imposed by global companies, as well as neoliberal freedom that is to satisfy the needs of individuals. Gradually, this leads to adopting subjectivism, lawlessness, egocentrism, egoism, emphasis on emotions not only by students but also by many educators, which is

far more dangerous. Consumerism and demoralization are often strengthened by ideological slogans that spread mainly thanks to Information and Communication technology. As a result, theories of education that have been developed over centuries are now being disrupted. Many teachers, educators, parents and priests in Poland understand that the problem is growing, but they are not prepared to face ‚predatory‘ consumerism. Therefore, it is necessary to return to the personalistic assumptions and formation of social virtues: love, solidarity, sacrifice, self-denial, responsibility and temperance in particular.

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Simon Malmenvall
**Kultura Kijevske Rusije
in krščanska zgodovinska zavest**

Monografija spada v okvir kulturno-idejne zgodovine in historične teologije. Gre za prvo celovito osvetlitev oblikovanja krščanske kulture Kijevske Rusije (najstarejše vzhodnoslovanske državne tvorbe, ki je obstajala med 10. in 13. stoletjem) v slovenskemu znanstvenemu prostoru. Pri tem je posebna pozornost namenjena proučitvi zgodovinske zavesti (kot zgodovine odrešenja) takratne staroruske psvetne in cerkvene elite v času neposredno po uradnem sprejetju krščanske vere. Poglavitni del monografije se posveča štirim zgodovinsko-religijskim narativnim virom, sestavljenim med sredino 11. in sredino 12. stoletja: pridigi Beseda o postavi in milosti, letopisu Pripoved o minulih letih, hagiografiji Branje o Borisu in Glebu in potopisu Življenje in romanje Danijela.

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Domen Kušar, Leon Oblak in Manja Kitek Kužman

Lesena sakralna arhitektura v sodobni arhitekturni praksi

Wood in Modern Sacral Architecture

Povzetek: Slovenija je dežela gozdov. Obnovljivi les je ekološko zdrava surovina. To je material, ki prostor naredi domač, gostoljuben, umirjen. V takšnem prostoru lažje najdemo stik s svojo notranjostjo in s presežnim – Bogom. V članku želimo predstaviti sodobno leseno sakralno arhitekturo kot interpretacijo vzdušja časa, kot moderno sakralno umetnost, ki prikazuje skladje med umetnostjo in razvojem tehnike. Obravnavamo evropske krščanske sakralne stavbe, saj določajo sakralno arhitekturo in kulturno okolje Evrope. V predstavljenih zgledih sodobne krščanske sakralne arhitekture prevladuje skupna značilnost, osredotočena na prikaz formalnih, konstrukcijskih in stilnih značilnosti, medtem ko sta njihova teološka in obredna določenost praviloma docela različni glede na prostor in osebno izkušnjo. Uporaba lesa v sodobnih sakralnih stavbah sledi navodilom papeževe okrožnice *Laudato si'*, ki zagovarja racionalno rabo predvsem lokalnega materiala, pa tudi socialni vidik zagotavljanja dela in življenja ljudem, ki od tega živijo.

Ključne besede: sakralna arhitektura, les, bogoslužni prostor, arhitekturna praksa

Abstract: Slovenia is a land of forests. Wood is a healthy, ecological and sustainable material. It is a material that makes the space homely, hospitable, calm. In such a space, it is easier to find contact with our inner self and the superfluous - God. In this article, we want to present modern wooden sacral architecture as an interpretation of the atmosphere of the time, as modern sacral art, which shows the harmony between art and the development of technology. We deal with Christian sacral buildings, as these determine the sacral architecture and cultural environment of Europe. A common feature predominates in the presented examples of modern Christian sacral architecture, focusing on the presentation of formal, constructional and stylistic features, while their theological and ritual specificity are usually quite different in terms of space and personal experience. The use of wood in modern sacral buildings follows the instructions of the Pope's circular *Laudato si'*, which advocates the rational use of mainly local material and the social aspect of providing work and life for the people who live from it.

Keywords: sacral architecture, wood, worship place, architectural practice

1. Uvod

Les, najbolj razširjen naravni kompozit; eden od prvih in osnovnih materialov v arhitekturi. Način gradnje z lesom je bil že od davnine vzor za gradbene konstrukcije z drugimi materiali. Vloga lesa je tesno povezana z zgodovino človeštva. S popolnim poznavanjem tega vsestranskega materiala, s pozornim opazovanjem in s strogo disciplino v izvedbi so nastale po vsem svetu najrazličnejše stvaritve. Les se zaradi zmožnosti prilagajanja različnim geografskim pogojem, zaradi spoštovanja lokalnih arhitektur in njihovega razvoja vsestransko uporablja od preproste lesene opreme do najdražjega pohištva, razvitega v baroku in rokokoju, od preproste kočice do konstrukcijsko zahtevnih lesenih zgradb in inženirskih konstrukcij.

Uporaba lesa je ustvarila arhitekturno govornico, ki se opira na tisočletno tradicijo. Njegova prilagodljivost se izraža v vsestranski uporabi po vsem svetu, tudi v kombinaciji z drugimi materiali, kakor so: kamen, opeka, beton in jeklo.

Vsi, ki les uporabljajo kot gradbeni material, danes iščejo povsem nove odgovore na to, kako se v sodobnem svetu odzvati na še vedno za arhitekturo veljavna Vitruvijeva načela *firmitas*, *utilitas*, *venustas* (uporabnost, trdnost in lepota) (Vitruvius Pollio 2009, 28). Torelli (2012, 10–11) ugotavlja, da se presenetljivi pomen lesa za gradbeništvo zrcali v starodavni zgodovini besed ‚material‘ in angleškega izraza *timber*. Latinska beseda *materia* ali *materies* je v starem Rimu – drugače od lesa za kurjavo – pomenila ‚gradbeni les‘ in pozneje splošno ‚material‘ ali ‚snov‘ (angl. *matter*). Z izrazom *ligna et materia* so Rimljani poimenovali ‚drva in gradbeni material‘. Očitno beseda ‚material‘ prihaja iz latinske besede *mater* ‚mati‘ (njene korenine segajo prek gr. *meter* do indoevropske besede istega pomena, *mater*), ki je prvotno pomenila tudi rojevajoči in hraneči del drevesa (v nasprotju s skorjo in vejami). Španski in portugalski izraz za ‚les‘ je *madera* oziroma *madeira* (tako kakor otok Madeira, ki je dobil svoje ime po nekdanjih čudovitih gozdovih!). Angl. izraz *timber* je prvotno označeval ‚zgradbo‘ in izvira iz predzgodovinskega germanskega *timram*, katerega nemška izpeljanka *Zimmer* (‚soba‘) je ostala bližje njegovim semantičnim koreninam (nemški *Zimmermann* je ‚mizar‘). V slovenščini pomeni cimper (pog.) ‚ostrešje‘. Popularni (vendar jezikovno nedovoljeni izraz) cimprati pomeni ‚delati‘, postavljati kaj, navadno iz lesa. Cimpran, na primer cimprana hiša, pomeni ‚leseno, iz brun narejeno hišo‘! *Timran* prihaja iz indoevropskega *demrom*, ki je izvedenka iz osnove dem-, dom-, graditi; tu je treba iskati tudi izvor družine besed, kakor so slovenski dom, angleško *domestic* in *dome*, pa italijansko *duomo* in nemško *Dom* v pomenu ‚stolnica‘. Pomen besede *timber* (‚zgradba‘) se je postopoma razvil v ‚gradbeni material‘, nato v ‚les za gradnjo‘ in končno v ‚les‘ na splošno.

Simbolni pomen drevesa oziroma lesa sega daleč v zgodovino. Poznamo prostore v naravi, zlasti v gozdovih, ki so zaradi svojih specifičnih lastnosti postali sveti. Tu govorimo o tako imenovanih svetih gajih. Izraz ‚gaj‘ pomeni redek, negovan gozd, torej drevesa (Fran 2021). Tudi izbor posebnih dreves za različne religiozne obrede ima dolgo tradicijo. Čaščenje svetih dreves se še danes nadaljuje pri različnih animističnih in šamanskih ljudstvih, ki so močno povezana z naravo. Tudi

zgodba o Argonavtih pripoveduje, da je bil v ladjo vdelan sveti hrast, ki naj bi jo še posebej varoval. Lesen križ, na katerega so pribili Jezusa, je krščanski simbol trpljenja in odrešenja. V apostolskih delih namreč beremo »Bog naših očetov je obudil Jezusa, ki ste ga vi pribili na križ in usmrtili« (5,30).

2. Slovenija je dežela gozdov in lesa

Les je eden najpomembnejših naravnih virov in za Slovenijo, brez dvoma, najbolj perspektiven material, saj je to edina surovina, ki je imamo v izobilju. Slovenija zaradi naravnih danosti sodi med najbolj gozdnate države v Evropi. To je dežela gozdov in lesa, bogate in še žive dediščine gradnje iz lesa, pa tudi naj sodobnejših tehnologij in dizajna. V Sloveniji imamo 71 drevesnih vrst (Kotar in Brus 1999, 8). Kljub temu da imamo na področju predelave lesa tradicijo, izkušnje, ideje in znanje, pa ga le malo predelamo v izdelke z visoko dodano vrednostjo. Gradbeni sektor je pri nas izredno pomembna gospodarska dejavnost, vendar pa ima les, glede na slovenske naravne danosti, v tem segmentu bistveno premajhno vlogo. V preteklosti smo znali to surovino precej bolje gospodarsko izkoristiti. Les v svetu doživlja renesanso in postaja material 21. stoletja. Vse več držav se zaveda njegove trajnosti in obnovljivosti, pa tudi njegove gradbene in estetske funkcije.

Les je bil temeljno gradivo v slovenskem stavbarstvu vse do 19. stoletja, ko je njegova reprezentančno-simbolična funkcija zašla v očitno nasprotje s praktično naravnano estetiko 20. stoletja. Prve, vsaj deloma zidane stavbe pri nas sodijo v zgodnji srednji vek. Zaradi požarov je država gradnjo v lesu omejila in nadomestila z ognjevarnimi gradivi, resnično pa se je njegova uporaba v gradbeništvu močno zmanjšala šele v 20. stoletju zaradi industrijske proizvodnje novih sodobnih gradiv. Že Valvasor v *Slavi Vojvodine Kranjske* (1689) piše, da so bile hiše pri nas v večini lesene. Nekateri objekti danes še nakazujejo stoletja dolgo razvojno pot našega graditeljstva v lesu, ki se je prilagajalo stilnim razpoloženjem časa, in govorijo o lesu kot o prvem in najbolj razširjenem gradivu v razvojnem procesu našega identitetnega stavbarstva. Sto in več let stare masivne kladne stavbe nakazujejo tedaj visoko razvito kulturo tesarstva – stavbno kulturo v lesu na podlagi izkušenj in bogatega tesarkega znanja.

3. Les v sakralni arhitekturi

Sakralna arhitektura ima v Evropi dolgo zgodovino, ki se začne v predantičnih časih. Zadnji dve tisočletji ji daje glavni pečat krščanska sakralna arhitektura. Glede pomena, ki ga je imela sakralna arhitektura v preteklosti, lahko rečemo, da je odločilno vplivala na razvoj preostale arhitekture tako v simbolnem kakor tudi v tehničnem in tehnološkem pomenu.

Les kot glavni konstrukcijski material se že zgodaj uporabljal v sakralnih zgradbah. Predhodnik grškega templja je bil na primer lesen. Zanimivo je, da je les po-

zneje zamenjal kamen ali kak drug, trajnejši material, saj naj bi sakralna stavba s svojim nastopom simbolizirala večnost. Zato je po svoje razumljivo, da so za gradnjo uporabili trajen in čvrst material (ne lesenega). Ta miselnost se je začela spreminjati v 20. stoletju v skladu s spremembami v družbi, v umetnosti, v tehniki in tudi v dojemanju svetega. Sakralna stavba, ki naj bi pomenila povezavo do Boga (Einspieler 1999, 63), se je danes znašla v vlogi enega od ponudnikov ‚supermarketov svetega‘, med katerimi tekmuje s športnimi centri (stadioni, fitnesi) (Debevec 2011, 84) in še zlasti z nakupovalnimi središči. Že leta 1966 je benediktinec Debuyst predstavil tezo, da je cerkev kot znamenje krščanstva s poudarjeno fasado in zvonikom srednjeveška ideja in kot pozunanjena simbolika obsojena na to, da bo danes njena govornica mrtva oziroma ne bo mogla tekrovati s stolpi pivovarn ali z mercedesovimi zvezdami na najnovejših nebotičnikih (Muck 1966). V luči te trditve ima les kot gradivo, ki zaradi svojih lastnosti (trdnost ob izjemno nizki gostoti, toplotne in izolativne lastnosti, estetske lastnosti in okolju prijazen obnovljivi CO₂, nevtralni energent ob blagodejnem učinku na okolje) teže doseže zunanji monumentalni učinek v primerjavi z drugimi gradivi, bolj enakovreden položaj.

Prvotno lesene sakralne stavbe po Evropi so zaradi požarne nevarnosti in zaradi hitrejšega propadanja zamenjali z zidanimi (opeka ali kamen). Les je ostal le tam, kjer je bil zaradi svojih specifičnih lastnosti neogibno potreben – na primer ostrešje (Kinga 2013, 339). V katoliškem svetu je pripomoglo k zmanjšani uporabi lesa za gradnjo cerkva tudi poenostavljanje v prvem obdobju po drugem vatikanskem koncilu, ki je poleg drugih področij zajelo tudi načrtovanje in gradnjo sakralnih stavb. Podobno kakor na področju graditve drugih stavb je imel tudi pri sakralnih stavbah beton prednost pred lesom. Vendar se je kmalu ugotovilo, da so preproste betonske cerkve prazne, hladne in da človeka odbijajo – podobno kakor sivi realsocialistični bloki (Juhant 1999, 25). Lesene cerkve so se do današnjih dni ohranile predvsem tam, kjer si trajnejšega materiala niso mogli privoščiti ali je bila tradicija gradnje v lesu dovolj močna. V Sloveniji so se lesene sakralne stavbe, zlasti kapele, ohranile predvsem na planinskih področjih (npr. kapeli na Uskovnici in Veliki planini). Med ‚novejši‘ likovno sporočilni in arhitekturno ambicioznejši stavbi iz prejšnjega stoletja lahko uvrstimo spominsko kapelo na Javorci in Plečnikovo cerkev na Barju. Plečnikova je bila leta 2021 vpisana na seznam svetovne dediščine UNESCO. Obe stavbi tudi še dokazujeta, da les ni le material revnih, ampak da je možno z njegovo uporabo doseči visok arhitekturni nivo. Izviren način modificiranja arhetipske podobe ‚svetega gaja‘ prikazuje lesena lopa Brezjanka, ki jo je prav tako postavil arhitekt Plečnik. Pri tem govorimo o uresničenju nekaterih temeljnih izhodišč Plečnikove arhitekture – pri Brezjanki o metamorfozi prvotnega templja. Uporaba masivnih debel kaže na začetke arhitekture v antiki (Ambrožič 2019, 975) in na pomen lesa znotraj arhitekturne prakse.

V Evropi so ohranjene lesene sakralne stavbe značilne zlasti za območja Skandinavije (lesene norveške srednjeveške cerkve *Stavkirke*) ter za dele srednje in vzhodne Evrope (Slovaška, Poljska, Ukrajina, Rusija ...). Nekatere od njih so zaradi arhitekture, zaradi simbolnega pomena, zaradi tehničnih in tehnoloških posebnosti vpisane na UNESCO-v seznam svetovne kulturne dediščine (World Heritage List

2021). Renesansa uporabe lesa, kjer je mogoče z modernimi tehnologijami dez-integracije in reintegracije lesa izločiti naravne ‚napake‘ in tako optimirati lesne lastnosti v obliki lesnih tvoriv (Torelli 2009, 69), je danes navzoča praktično na vseh področjih arhitekture. Žal pa lahko trdimo, da se v Evropi les kot osnovni gradbeni material (za stene, stropne konstrukcije ...) sodobnih sakralnih stavb uporablja bistveno redkeje kakor za preostale vrste stavb. Izjema so morda le manjše sakralne stavbe (kapele), pri katerih je uporaba lesa prevladujoča. Nekaj teh stavb iz tujine, ki so bile prepoznane kot odlična arhitektura, je opisanih v nadaljevanju.

Drugačen razvoj in uporabo lesa ima notranja oprema sakralnih prostorov. Najbolj sveta oprema je v sakralnem prostoru oltar. Ne glede na to, da je po zgodovinskih, predkrščanskih vzorih oltar žrtvenik v bistvu kamnit, saj se je uporabljal za žgalno daritev in je torej moral biti iz negorljivega materiala, so bili v preteklosti glede na liturgične zahteve in glede na dostopni material pogosti leseni oltarji. To posebej velja za področja brez močne kamnoseške tradicije. Les je bil cenejši in ga je bilo lažje obdelovati. Kljub temu so se izdelovalci zavedali (simbolne) pomanjkljivosti v primerjavi s kamnitim oltarjem; to so večkrat nadomestili s površinsko obdelavo – z dekoracijo z barvanjem oziroma ‚marmoriranjem‘ oltarjev. Tako so dali celotni oltarni kompoziciji ‚kamnit‘ videz. Drugi vatikanski koncil je na področju uporabe materialov prinesel spremembe. Za gradnjo oltarjev je dovoljeval tudi uporabo druge snovi, ki je dostojna, trdna in umetniško obdelana. Sodbo o uporabi drugih materialov je morala dati lokalna škofovska konferenca (Načrtovanje novih cerkva 1999). Tudi pri obredni oprepi in predmetih so nastopile spremembe in tako se danes lahko uporablja tudi les. Splošna ureditev rimskega misala (2002) namreč dovoljuje izdelavo obrednega posodja tudi iz drugih primernih materialov oziroma materialov, ki so v lokalnem okolju priznani kot plemeniti. Po besedah Torellija (2008, 22) noben material ni dosegel vrednosti lesa v pokrovu Stradivarijeve violine. Podobno lahko trdimo tudi za cerkev sv. Mihaela na Barju, pri kateri je arhitekt Plečnik v bistvu cenen material oblikovno povzdignil na raven plemenitega (Kušar 2019, 236). Pri obrednih predmetih je zelo pomembna tudi simbolika, zato ne preseneča, na primer, uporaba lesa oljke. Pri drugi notranji oprepi, kakor so: stoli, prižnica, klopi, spovednice in podobno, je les zaradi svojih lastnosti še danes praktično nenadomestljiv.

Sakralna arhitektura se od druge razlikuje po tem, da izraža tudi nekaj metafizičnega; v tem pa je bil mojstrski predvsem Plečnik (Debevec 2008, 213–229). Zaradi svojega edinstvenega smotra je bila sakralna arhitektura vedno predmet skrbnega snovanja ne samo med ustvarjalci, temveč zlasti pri institucionalnem vodstvu posamezne religije, odgovornem za kolikor mogoče neokrnjeno posredovanje ‚zaklada vere‘ človeku (2015, 741–750). Les je bistveni element sodobnega prepoznavnega krščanskega bogoslužnega prostora – duhovnega zatočišča, ki v času in prostoru ustvarja zasebni dialog med stavbo in uporabnikom. Zaznamuje ga svežina umetniškega oblikovanja, kinestetična in teksturna arhitektura s prebujenim spominom na večni čas in z upoštevanjem vedno hitreje spreminjajočih se trendov, ki vključujejo nove tehnologije in prakse v profani arhitekturi.

V sodobnem načinu gledanja na presežnost naj bi bogoslužni prostor sedanjosti in prihodnosti postal topel, ‚domač‘. Verniku naj bi omogočil lažjo izkušnjo bož-



Slika 1: *Ekumenska kapela sv. Henrika v Turkuju na Finskem (2005), arhitektura: Matti Sana-ksenaho in Pirjo Sanaksenah (vir: <https://www.dezeen.com/2015/01/26/best-chapels-architecture-wedding-worship-prayer>).*

je ljubezni, po drugi strani pa tudi občestvenost. Po besedah Papeža Janeza Pavla II. (1981) mora moderno cerkveno stavbarstvo v duhu in stilnem občutju našega časa z vsemi možnimi sredstvi dati podobo in izraz verovanja našega časa in mu pripraviti prostor za udomačenje. Les kot topel, prijeten material z značilnim vonjem ima lastnosti, ki to omogočajo. Prednost lesa pred preostalimi materiali je ustvarjanje zdravega bivalnega okolja, ki ga dosežemo z uporabo masivnega lesa in lesnih materialov (tvoriv). Namen sodobne sakralne stavbe je uravnavanje človekovega odnosa do Boga ter s tem tudi zdravljenja človekovih duhovnih in duševnih ran. Če ta proces poteka v zdravem in spodbujajočem okolju tudi za telo, je bolj učinkovit. Rek, da je za Boga dobro le najboljše velja tudi za les. Gledanje na les, ki je pred desetletji veljal za material revežev (baraka je sinonim za slabo leseno hišo), je danes drugačno. Les danes velja za plemenit, lahko tudi drag material. Hlodi dreves, ki jih prodajajo na dražbi na Koroškem, lahko dosegajo tudi nekaj 10 000 evrov za hlod.

V nadaljevanju želimo te misli potrditi z zgledi inovativne uporabe lesa v sakralnih stavbah, ki omogočajo duhovno izkustvo svetega in jih hkrati arhitekturna stroka priznava kot presežno arhitekturo. Tako želimo pokazati vrednost lesa v sakralnih stavbah in s tem še bolj spodbuditi njegovo vsestransko uporabo.

4. Izbrani zgledi sodobnih sakralnih stavb

Narediti izbor reprezentativnih stavb v katerikoli kategoriji arhitekture je zahtevna in nevhvaležna naloga. Kvalitetna arhitektura mora zadostiti trem osnovnim kriterijem: trdnost, uporabnost in lepota (Vitruvij 2009, 28); če je prva dva še možno nekako objektivno določiti, je ocena lepote navadno subjektivna. Še toliko bolj pa to velja za oceno dojetja samega prostora in doseganja povezave s samim seboj in z Bogom znotraj prostora. Podobno velja tudi za opredelitev pojma ‚lesena stavba‘. Ali to pomeni samo nosilno konstrukcijo ali tudi obloge in notranjo opremo? Ne glede na to, da nekateri predpisi opredeljujejo ‚lesenost‘ stavbe po deležu lesa v nosilni konstrukciji, menimo, da je pri sakralnih stavbah ključna vloga, ki jo ima uporaba lesa v prostoru. Zato so prikazane tako stavbe, ki so praktično v celoti izdelane iz lesa, kakor tudi stavbe, kjer je lesa resda manj, a bistveno opredeli prostor. Pri izboru zgledov smo upoštevali leto dokončane gradnje stavbe. Najstarejša predstavljena stavba je iz leta 2005, najmlajši iz leta 2018, preostale tri pa so bile postavljene leta 2014. Zelo pomemben kriterij je bil prepoznavnost stavb v stroki; kaže se v številu nagrad in priznanj, ki jih posamezna stavba oziroma njeni avtorji prejmejo, in v omembah v arhitekturnih ter drugih revijah in medijih; temu ustrezajo vsi naštetih zgledi.

4.1 Ekumenska umetniška kapela sv. Henrika (Turku, Finska)

Kapelo so postavili v letih 2004–2005 po načrtih arhitektov Mattija Sanaksena in Pirja Sanaksena (Sanaksena Architects Ltd) (DeZeen 2021). Odlikuje jo preprostost in domačnost. Notranjost je narejena iz vidnih reber ukrivljenega lepljenega lameliranega lesa. Poudarja monumentalnost interiera sakralnega prostora, ki ga občutimo s svojim telesom, s svojimi čutili. Njegova pripoved se razteza onkraj njegove fizične navzočnosti, ima tudi svojo mejo, svojo površino, ki jo pomeni obloga lesenega horizontalno položenega opaža. Izbira lokalnega borovega lesa za konstrukcijo, za notranjo opremo in za obloge sledi trajnostnemu modelu finskega načrtovanja z lokalnimi gradivi. Zunanost je krita z bakreno ploščevino. Stoji na vrhu griča v sklopu centra, namenjenega bolnikom z rakom. Bakrena površina kapelice bo sčasoma postala zelena in tako bo stavba usklajena z barvo okoliških dreves. Oblika ribe posnema prasinbol krščanstva in poudarja ekumenski namen stavbe. Notranjost je namenjena meditaciji, osebni molitvi, opravljanju verskih obredov in tudi kulturnim dogodkom (razstave). Ta simbioza vere in umetnosti je dobro poznana že iz renesančnih cerkva in je navzoča tudi danes.

4.2 Kapela (Unterliezheim, Nemčija)

To je preprosta kapela na prehodu med gozdom in travniki. Narejena je iz masivnih hlodov, ki je od daleč videti kot skladovnica posekanih hlodov ob gozdu in spominja na kladno steno brunarice. Človeka doživljajsko usmeri k naravi. K temu pripomore tudi oblika, saj ozki vhod daje vtis gibanja skozi gozd (Pawson 2021). Morda je prav na ta način preseženo primerjanje sakralne arhitekture z medijsko odmevno arhitekturo (nebotičniki, zabavišča), ki je posledica poglobljanja krize



Slika 2: Kapela v Unterliezheimu, Nemčija (2017–2018), arhitektura John Pawson (vir: <http://www.johnpawson.com/works/wooden-chapel>).

krščanske umetnosti po drugem vatikanskem koncilu (Debevec 2011, 82). Skromnost, prvinskost in likovna popolnost z uporabo prvinskega, masivnega, grobo obtesanega lesa te kapele namreč negira cilje sodobne profane družbe po blišču, bahaštvu in moči in se obrača k izviru vsega.

4.3 Gorska kapela (Andelsbuch, Avstrija)

Kapela leži na oblem travnatem vrhu in ob robu alpske planine na višini 1600 m. Vizualno je kapela izpostavljena. Nastala je kot zaobljuba lastnikov, ki sta v ta namen organizirala arhitekturni natečaj (Bergkapelle 2021). Kapela stoji na kamnitem podstavku, ki logično ščiti leseno stavbo pred talno vlago. Po drugi strani pa vstop v svetišče pomeni zapuščanje trdnih tal in vzpon v ‚leseno posodo‘. Prostor je topel in tih, sestavljen iz enega samega materiala – iz masivnega, lokalno posekanega lesa. Svetloba, ki vstopa skozi reže, trajno povezuje notranjost kapele z dnevno svetlobo letnih časov, vremena in ure dneva. Steno za oltarjem krona okno v obliki križa. Smrekov les tvori tako stene kakor tudi strop in tla in s svojo prefinjeno arhitekturno zasnovo dokazuje kvalitete arhitekture Vorarlberga. Kapela je bila nagrajena z nagrado Holzbaupreis leta 2011 v kategoriji inovativne uporabe lesa (Vorarlberger Holzbaukunst 2021).



Slika 3: Kapela v Andelsbuchu v Avstriji (2014), arhitektura: Andreas Cukrowicz, Anton Natchbaur - Sturm, Emanuel Gugele, Christian Schmoelz, Gordian Kley (vir: <https://www.holzbaukunst.at/holzbau/objekt/166.html>).

4.4 Kapela v Osnovni šoli Alojzija Šuštarja, Ljubljana

Postavitev kapele v Osnovni šoli Alojzija Šuštarja se navezuje na arhitekturno tipologijo drugega vatikanskega koncila, ki cerkev opredeli kot hišo med hišami (Kropej 1999). Tu gre arhitekt še dlje, saj je to hiša v hiši. Skrajno introvertiran bel kubus, postavljen nad vhod izrazito odprte stavbe, daje vtis resne in vase zaplajene hiše. Ne glede na relativno majhno uporabo lesa lahko trdimo, da bi bil prostor brez njega hladen, podoben sterilnemu laboratoriju. Les izpostavlja in utemeljuje simbolnost križa: s svojo pretirano širino simbolizira roke Odrašenika, ki ljubeče sprejema vse ljudi. Posebnost te kapele je v minimalizmu, ki na primer zajema prve sončne žarke z vzhoda. Po besedah avtorja, arhitekta in teologa Roberta Dolinarja (Brodar 2014), se tabernakelj napolni s svetlobo edinega okenca na fasadi in jo nato oddaja vso noč. Izbiro smrekovega lesa namesto vrednejšega materiala opredeljuje misel Ignacija Loyolskega, ki pravi, naj Boga iščemo v vseh stvareh in ga je moč tam tudi najti. Vonji enajstih lokalnih vrst lesa in taktlnost ročno obdelanih površin vabijo k uporabi vseh čutov. S tem pa obiskovalce vračajo k naravi in k samim sebi.

Projekt raziskuje nove možnosti uporabe materialov, njihove obdelave, merila in odnosa med arhitekturo in kiparstvom. Pomeni materializacijo razmišljanja o naravi in snovi, o možnostih in mejah človeških posegov vanju in o njunem odnosu do arhitekture. Kapela je bila nominirana za nagrado Piranesi 2016.



Slika 4: *Kapela v Osnovni šoli Alojzija Šuštarja v Ljubljani (2014), arhitektura: Robert Dolinar (vir: http://www.drustvo-dal.si/2016/piranesi_2016).*

4.5 Trg in oltar na Brezjah, Brezje na Gorenjskem

Pri trgu in zunanjem oltarju pred romarsko cerkvijo na Brezjah govorimo o nadaljevanju najboljše tradicije Plečnikovega izročila in njegovega razumevanja arhitekture. Usmeritev trga je v novem projektu zasukana vzdolžno, tako da so verniki blizu dogajanja. Ko je oltar zaprt, cerkveno pročelje z Vurnikovimi mozaiki obvladuje trg (Slovenska arhitektura 2021). Ob večjih dogodkih se odprejo velika temna vrata in novi oltar zasije v popolnoma sodobni interpretaciji, oblečeni v brezov les. Les s svojo obrtniško izdelano teksturo poudarja obod objekta. Izza stropa se prebija naravna svetloba, ki s svojo igro na lesenih površinah ustvarja čisto in spokojno vzdušje. Razporeditev in izbrani materiali v kombinaciji s preprosto škatlasto obliko prostora dajejo pridih finskega oblikovanja in ustvarjajo odlično ozadje za bogato okrašene verske predmete, ki krasijo stene in oltarno mizo. Obenem pa je to tudi simbioza umetnine človeških rok v prvem planu v podobi oltarja in umetnine Stvarnika v podobi slikovitih gorskih vrhov bližnjih Karavank v drugem planu. Kvalitetna ureditev trga in oltarja je bila nagrajena s Plečnikovo nagrado 2009 in s priznanjem Piranesi 2008.

4.6 Poslovilni objekt

To je stavba, ki resda ni strogo sakralna stavba, a ima velik pomen pri dojetju posmrtnega življenja oziroma večnosti. Vas Zgornji Tuhinj leži v osrčju Tuhinjske doline ob vznožju Kamniško-Savinjskih Alp. Staro, v dva nivoja razdeljeno pokopa-



Slika 5: *Trg in oltar na Brezjah, Brezje na Gorenjskem (2008), arhitektura: Maruša Zorec, Martina Tepina (vir: <https://www.arrea.si/projekt/trg-in-zunanji-oltar/51>).*

lišče je na obrobju vasi in je dostopno prek razgledne poti, ki poteka po pobočju hriba s koncem na grebenu. Tesarstvo in mizarstvo sta v Tuhinju lokalna tradicija, zato je osnovna konstrukcija izdelana iz križno lepljenega masivnega lesa. Ker so vežice po osnovnem namenu hladne ‚žalostne‘ stavbe, so arhitekti želeli to preseči in so vse notranje stenske in stropne površine naredili iz oljenega masivnega smrekovega lesa iz domačega okolja (Vošnjak 2015). Zaščito lesene konstrukcije zunaj omogoča tanek sloj ometa, to pa je v skladu z lokalno tradicijo. Kapela leži na vzpetini, zato vpliv močnega vzhodnega vetra zmanjšujejo navpične lesene letve. Po eni strani ustvarjajo igro svetlobe in sence, po drugi strani pa zagotavljajo, da skozi prehaja le nežen vetrič.

Kompozicija arhitekturnih elementov kapele omogoča vsakomur razumljivo dojetje simbolne oblike, ki se navzven zapira pred svetom, navznoter pa odpira proti človeku; to prav posebej omogoča les kot topli in človeku prijazen material.

5. Sklep

Sakralni prostor je prostor, v katerem laže vzpostavimo stik z Bogom. Prostor in oprema prostora naj bi bila izvzeta iz vsakdanjika in naravnana na Boga, da služita njemu, ki je vir vse svetosti (Einspieler 1999, 63). Les se zato v sodobni sakralni arhitekturi umika manifestivnosti in dominantnosti zunanjih lupin sakralnih stavb,



Slika 6: *Poslovilni objekt, Zg. Tuhinj (2014), arhitektura: Jernej Hočevar, Matevž Vrhovnik, Martin Lovrečič, Blaž Česka, Tjaša Justin (vir: <https://outsider.si/poslovilni-objekt-v-zg-tuhinju/>).*

ki ju zaradi svojih omejitev težko doseže. Dobiva pa večji pomen kot gradbeni material manjših stavb, denimo kapel, in zlasti kot del notranjosti sakralnih stavb. Les v sodobni sakralni arhitekturi v človeku zagotovo vzbudi občutek topline, miru in tišine, morda tudi občutek varnosti in domačnosti. V prostorih, kjer se počutimo kakor doma, se radi zadržujemo, saj v njih laže dosežemo notranji mir. V današnjem času nešteti informacij in stresnih situacij, skrbi in razburjenja lahko prav v sodobno oblikovanih sakralnih prostorih, v katerih kot material prevladuje les, najdemo primeren prostor za dialog z Bogom. To je še posebno pomembno v sedanjem času, ko smo priča velikim spremembam na področju družbe, kulture in religije (Bahovec 2020, 888)

Les bo ostal zaradi svojih estetskih, strukturnih in okoljskih značilnosti eden najpomembnejših gradbenih materialov tudi v prihodnosti (Kitek Kuzman 2015, 9). »Veliko naših najglobljih dojemaj sveta in arhitekture izhaja prav iz uporabe lesa. Po tolmačenju nekaterih zgodovinarjev temeljijo proporciji grškega dorskega sloga, ki je utiril estetske kanone zahodne civilizacije, prav na razmerjih drevesa. Vendar sega odnos do lesa in do dreves še globlje v ozadje naše kulturne podzavesti.« (Gabrijelčič 2010, 14–15). Drevo je eden najsplošnejših in najbolj pomenljivih človeških simbolov (Pallasmaa 2009, 108–111). Govorimo o drevesu življenja, o svetem drevesu, o drevesu plodnosti, o drevesu modrosti, o žrtvenem drevesu in podobno. V obliki in v pomenu drevesa so skrite različne asociacije, ki se še danes prenašajo na naš odnos do lesa.



Načrtovanje bogoslužnih prostorov je bila vedno zapletena arhitekturna praksa; sodobne sakralne stavbe skušajo najti način, kako se prilagoditi evoluciji arhitekture. Naši izbrani zgledi imajo, kljub svoji relativni majhnosti, podobne značilnosti: grandioznost, monolitni material, naravni elementi in načrt, kako ta ekskluzivni, religiji posvečeni kraj spremeniti v strukture duhovnosti, manifestacije in fascinacije.

Sodobna slovenska sakralna arhitektura je subtilno umeščena med koordinati časa in prostora; človek ji daje prepoznavni čutno zaznavni izraz, implementacijo vizije in razumevanja načrtovanja svobodnejše oblikovanih bogoslužnih prostorov. Sakralna arhitektura kot interpretacija človekovega najbolj intimnega samogovora o smislu njegovega neminljivega bivanja – utelešenega brezčasa – ohranja poteze človekovega poseganja onkraj meja in ustvarjanje simbolnih bogoslužnih prostorov, ki se dotikajo univerzalne duhovne zgodovine človeštva.

Rabo lesa v sakralnih stavbah spodbuja tudi papeževa okrožnica *Laudato si* (2015), saj je les trajnostni in ekološko sprejemljivi material. V Slovenji je les tudi lokalni material, katerega predelava in obdelava omogoča delo velikemu številu ljudi in pomeni tudi izpolnjevanje socialnega vidika te okrožnice, saj moramo po besedah kardinala Kasperja kristjani zastopati kulturo delitve dobrin, solidarnosti, spoštovanja človekovega naravnega in življenjskega okolja (Šegula 2018, 457). Pri lesu govorimo o konceptu stopenjske oziroma kaskadne (lat. *cadere* = pasti) rabe,

imenovane tudi spiralna raba lesa, ki označuje rabo lesa kot materiala z vsaj dve- ma ali tremi uporabnostnimi cikli (stopnjami, zavoji); najprej je uporabljen kot izdelek, drugič kot material v procesu ponovne rabe in nazadnje za pridobivanje energije.

Les se kot glavni (konstrukcijski) material pri večjih sakralnih objektih v tem trenutku ne uporablja v takšni meri kakor pri drugih stavbah oziroma kakor bi se lahko, a predvidevamo, da bo v prihodnosti drugače. Seveda je sprejemanje večje uporabe lesa dolgotrajen proces. S člankom smo skušali utemeljiti in kot posledico tega spodbuditi večjo rabo lesa v sakralnih stavbah, saj za to danes ni nobenih teoloških ali drugih omejitev, prej nasprotno.¹

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¹ Avtorji se zahvaljujemo za finančno podporo ARRS (financiranje raziskovalnega programa št. P4-0015, „Les in lignocelulozni kompoziti“).

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Tanja Pate

Kronična bolezen v družini

Kronična bolezen pomembno poseže v vsakodnevno življenje posameznika in njegove družine. Bolezen se nepovabljeno vrine pred osnovno nalogo staršev, partnerjev, sorojencev. Celotna družina se mora soočiti z izgubo možnosti, ki bi jih življenje predpostavljalo, spremeniti že vzpostavljene čustvene, miselne in vedenjske vzorce ter razviti nove, ki bodo omogočali prilagoditev na novo situacijo, nadaljnji razvoj in funkcionalnost.

Ljubljana: Teološka fakulteta, 2019. 112 str. ISBN 978-961-6844-72-7, 11€.

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***Von Canisius zum Canisianum: Weltkirche in Innsbruck; Ein Kolleg im Wandel der Zeit.* Peter Übelbacher, Andreas Schermann in Josef Thorer, ur. Linz: Wagner Verlag 2021. 192 str. ISBN 978-3-903040-55-7.**

Cerkev na Tirolskem letos zelo slovesno obhaja 500-letnico rojstva sv. Petra Kanizija (1521–1597), nizozemskega jezuita, pomembne osebnosti prenovitvenega dogajanja v katoliški Cerkvi po tridentinskem cerkvenem zboru. Sestavljen je bil celoletni program praznovanj, ki so ga sprejele škofija Innsbruck – Kanizija ima namreč za svojega škofijskega zavetnika –, in jezuitske ustanove v Avstriji. Kot uvod v praznovanja so pripravili publikacijo *Danes živeti in verovati s srcem in razumom po navdihih Petra Kanizija (Heute. Leben und glauben mit Herz und Verstand inspiriert von Petrus Canisius)*. Na publikacijo *Von Canisius zum Canisianum* lahko gledamo kot na dopolnitev dveh poprejšnjih jubilejnih zgodovinskih izdaj (*Das theologischen Konvikt zu Innsbruck einst und jetzt*, leta 1908; *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier des Theologischen Konvikts Innsbruck 1858–1958*, leta 1958). Zavod *Canisianum* ima zgodovinski pomen tudi za Cerkev na Slovenskem, podobno kakor univerza v Innsbrucku nasploh.

Kaniziju pripada naslov prvega jezuita iz nemškega prostora. Na svojih pastoralnih poteh se je večkrat ustavil na Tirolskem in s to deželo imel tesne stike. Poleg skrbi za pripravo katekizmov in za izvajanje duhovnih vaj je veliko pozor-

nost namenjal širjenju pobožnosti do Jezusovega srca kot močne oblike prenavljanja verskega življenja. Zato je dobil zavod, ki je imel nalogo, izobraževati duhovščino za prenovitveno delo, ime po njem. Zavod *Canisianum* je imel več stoletij poseben pomen za škofije iz celotne habsburške monarhije in v prvi vrsti za škofijo Brixen, katere sestavni del je bila Tirolska vse do sredine 20. stoletja. V zavod so svoje bogoslovce pošiljali tudi škofje, ki so izhajali iz nemško govorečega prostora (npr. v Združenih državah Amerike). Obhajanje 500-letnice Kanizijevega rojstva je bila priložnost, da so pripravili publikacijo, hkrati namenjeno proslavljanju jubileja in ovrednotenju poslanstva, ki ga je zavod *Canisianum* opravljal do leta 2013, ko je dobil drugačen namen.

Svoj pogled na jubilejno leto, na mesto sv. Petra Kanizija v zgodovini Tirolske in na vlogo zavoda *Canisianum* predstavljajo deželni glavar, voditelj škofije in innsbruški župan. Zavod je mestu dajal mednarodno razsežnost in v malem predstavljal svetovno Cerkev, kajti v zadnjem stoletju so v njem študentje iz vseh petih kontinentov. Da je zavod imel svoje domovanje na več krajih, po letu 1911 v veliki namensko zgrajeni stavbi in od leta 2013 dalje v jezuitskem kolegiju, a je hkrati ohranjal svoje izvirno poslanstvo, to je: skrbel za dobre študijske možnosti bogoslovcev in mladih duhovnikov, v svoji spremni besedi poudarila voditelj jezuitske srednjeevropske province in sedanji rektor zavoda.

Prvi sklop prispevkov poseže v zgodovino. Predstavljena sta sv. Peter Kanizij in zavod *Canisianum* od začetka do preureditve njegovega delovanja po letu 2000. Izvemo, zakaj je dobil Innsbruck ime ‚mesto Petra Kanizija‘ in zakaj se teološki konvikt imenuje po njem. Poglobljeno so orisani začetek teološkega kolegija, vključno z obdobjem izgnanstva v Švici v času nacionalsocializma, in temeljne poteze njegovega delovanja v desetletjih po drugi svetovni vojni. Na utrip življenja v ustanovi so močno vplivali različni teološki tokovi, ki so se uveljavljali v Cerkvi v vseh obdobjih, in posebej dogajanje, ki ga je prinesel drugi vatikanski cerkveni zbor. Že med koncilom in še bolj po njem so imeli vedno močnejši delež študentje iz Afrike in Azije, s tem pa je Cerkev v Avstriji začela še bolj izvirno podpirati nastajanje krajevnih Cerkva v teh delih sveta, tudi tako, da je zbirala sredstva za študij in vzdrževanje študentov. Podobno vlogo je imela za krajevne Cerkve, ki so se znašle v objemu komunističnih ureditev vzhodne Evrope.

Vsebinsko obogatitev pomenijo pričevanje študentov, ki so bivali v kolegiju *Canisianum* v letih po drugi svetovni vojni. Iz njihovih vrst je izšlo več voditeljev škofij in samostanskih skupnosti, tako v Evropi kakor drugod. V prispevkih so zapisali vrsto informacij, ki pomenijo izvirno obogatitev zgodovinskega spomina na ustanovo, na razmere v Cerkvi in v tirolski družbi ter na razgibano dogajanje na teološkem področju. Med prispevki izstopa pričevanje nekdanjega innsbruškega škofa R. Stecherja, ki je iz prve roke prispeval dragoceno stran zgodovine zavoda in dela mesta Innsbruck Sagen, v katerem stoji zavod. Zgodovinsko pričevalnost imajo pogovori z

jezuiti, ki so bili med voditelji ustanove, in učitelji na Teološki fakulteti innsbruške univerze. Podoben izviren prispevek so pogledi študentov iz cerkvenih skupnosti, v katerih uporabljajo bizantinski obred.

Kot vrsta drugih cerkvenih ustanov se je po letu 2000 moral z vprašanjem prihodnosti in svoje vloge v okviru cerkvenih izobraževalnih ustanov srečati tudi *Canisianum*. Poglobljeni razmislek o nadaljnjem delu in mestu v Cerkvi so narekovala tako manjše število študentov kakor vprašanje gospodarskega vzdrževanja velike ustanove in pričakovanja cerkvenih voditeljev, ki so do tedaj pošiljali svoje študente v Innsbruck. Tako je dozorela ideja o preoblikovanju semenišča v Mednarodni teološki kolegij, v katerem bi dobili možnost nadaljnega teološkega izobraževanja oziroma specialističnega študija duhovniki in drugi študentje iz škofij, redov in apostolskih skupnosti s celega sveta. Ustanova je dobila novo podobo s študijskim letom 2007/2008. Skupaj s Teološko fakulteto pa so pripravili programe, ki so bolj ustrezali potrebam Cerkva v misijskih deželah, od koder je začelo prihajati vedno več študentov. Nazadnje je bila leta 2013 sprejeta še odločitev, da se skupnost teoloških študentov preseli iz starega poslopja *Canisianuma* v prostore jezuitskega kolegija ob Teološki fakulteti. V istem letu je staro poslopje *Canisianuma* postalo študentski dom, v katerem ima možnost bivanja in študija 160 študentov in študentk.

V zadnjem delu knjige so orisane nekatere izvirne značilnosti teološkega študija v Innsbrucku in skupnosti študentov, ki tam opravljajo svoj podiplomski študij. V besedi in sliki se pokaže bogata mednarodna narava skupnosti,

študijskih tem in povezanosti z vesoljno Cerkvijo. Predstavljena je zgodovina pobožnosti do Srca Jezusovega kot izvirne značilnosti Cerkve, dežele Tirolske in zavoda Canisianum. Dodane so še preglednice vodstva zavoda, škofov, ki so študirali na njem, in nekdanjih študentov, ki so dobili naslov blaženih.

Predstavljena knjiga ni monografija o zgodovini innsbruškega zavoda Canisianum, v kateri bi bili podrobno obravnavani vsi vidiki delovanja ustanove.

Zbrana besedila in ilustrativno gradivo pa vendarle jo razširjen in poglobljen pogled na poslanstvo, ki ga je zavod imel in ga ima v prenovljeni obliki še naprej. Tudi iz slovenskega prostora je v tem zavodu imela možnost pridobivanja akademskih nazivov vrsta uglednih klerikov, zato jo lahko obravnavamo kot eno od izobraževalnih ustanov, ki so vplivale na cerkveno življenje na Slovenskem.

Bogdan Kolar

Stanislav Slatinek. *Temelji kazenskega kanonskega prava*. Ljubljana: Teološka fakulteta, 2021. 152 str. ISBN 9789612651985.

Izr. prof. dr. Stanislav Slatinek, predstojnik Katedre za cerkveno pravo Teološke fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani (TEOF) in vodja Inštituta za kanonsko-pravne vede, je pri TEOF (Znanstvena knjižnica 78) izdal izredno dragoceno in aktualno monografijo z naslovom *Temelji kazenskega kanonskega prava*.

Ena najtežjih sodnikovih nalog, ki sodi v kazenskih in drugih postopkih, je dokazovanje krivde, saj se že ob najmanjši nepazljivosti in nenatančnosti lahko zgodi, da bi se krivda pripisala nedolžnemu ali pa bi bil krivi oproščen. Ob sklepu dokaznega postopka, ki privede do obsodbe, sledi naložitev kazni, ki pa naj ne bo *maior quam culpa sit*. Pa tudi manjša naj ne bo, da se zagotovi pravičnost. Pravo ne more predvideti vseh okoliščin posameznih primerov kaznivih dejanj, so pa okoliščine tiste, ki regulirajo naložitev kazni.

Prvi del Slatinkove monografije je normativni prikaz temeljnih pojmov kazenskega kanonskega prava, v drugem delu se avtor osredotoča na sam potek kazenskega postopka, v tretjem delu pa opozori na pravico do poštenega sojenja pri spolnih zlorabah mladoletnih oseb. Prav to zadnje – spolne zlorabe – povzroča Cerkvi in vsej družbi hude rane, posebno pa še žrtvam tovrstnih dejanj. Papež Frančišek govori o tem, da povzročajo zločini spolnih zlorab telesno, psihično in duhovno škodo žrtvam in da prizadenejo skupnost verujočih. Da se te reči v najrazličnejših oblikah ne bi več ponovile, je po njegovem mnenju potrebno nenehno in globoko sprebrnjenje src, potrjeno s konkretnimi in učinkovitimi dejanji, ki vključujejo vse v Cerkvi, zato da bi bilo prek osebne svetosti in moralne obveze mogoče prispevati k pospeševanju polne verodostojnosti evangeljskega oznanila in k učinkovitosti poslanstva Cerkve. Čeprav je bilo na področju preprečevanja spolnih zlorab v katoliški Cerkvi že veliko storjenega, se moramo iz grenkih izkušenj

preteklosti še dalje učiti, da bi mogli z upanjem gledati v prihodnost.

Prenova šeste knjige Zakonika cerkvenega prava (ZCP) – sankcije v Cerkvi – se je v vatikanskih krogih že lep čas napovedovala. Z velikim veseljem smo junija letos dočakali trenutek, ko se je zares zgodila. Medtem je papež Frančišek posodobil kazenskopravno zakonodajo Države vatikansko mesto: motu proprio o spremembah vatikanskega pravosodnega sistema (8. februar 2021), motu proprio o zaščiti mladoletnih in ranljivih oseb s pristojnostjo nad rimsko kurijo in Državo vatikansko mesto (26. marec 2019), Zakon št. CCXCVII o zaščiti mladoletnih in ranljivih oseb (26. marec 2019) in smernice za zaščito mladoletnih in ranljivih oseb za Vikariat Države vatikansko mesto (26. marec 2019). V zadnjem času so se zgodile posamezne posodobitve tudi na področju kazenskega kanonskega prava za vesoljno Cerkev. Vzrok za to so predvsem spolne zlorabe mladoletnih in ranljivih oseb. Papež Frančišek je tako v letu 2019 izdal tri pomembne dokumente. Apostolsko pismo v obliki motu proprio *Vi ste luč sveta (Vos estis lux mundi)* so posebne norme, ki se uporabljajo ob prijavi klerikov oziroma članov ustanov posvečenege življenja ali družb apostolskega življenja glede kaznivih dejanj zoper šesto božjo zapoved in za ravnanja kardinalov, patriarhov in škofov glede dejanj ali opustitev, katerih cilj je vmešavanje v postopke ali izogibanje civilnim ali kanoničnim preiskavam, upravnim ali sodnim, v odnosu do nekega določenega klerika ali redovnika v zvezi s kaznivimi dejanji. Papež je naročil tudi izdajo navodila *Glede zaupnosti pravič*, ki iz posameznih ovadb, postopkov in odločitev

glede kaznivih dejanj umika papeško tajnost. Navodilo posebej izpostavlja, da se tistemu, ki je predložil prijavo, osebi, ki trdi, da je bila prizadeta, in pričam ne more naložiti nikakršna obveza molčečnosti glede dejstev iz pravde. Nazadnje je papež določil, da se vnesejo spremembe v Določila glede hujših kaznivih dejanj, pridržanih sodbi Kongregacije za nauk vere, kakor izhajajo iz motu proprio *Varovanje svetosti zakramentov sv. Janeza Pavla II.*, iz leta 2001 in nato dopolnjena leta 2010.

Vse omenjeno in še več je v svoji monografiji upošteval pisec. Izredno dragocen za slovensko pravno stroko, tako za tisto, ki se posveča državnemu, kakor tudi za ono, ki zadeva cerkveno pravo, je Slatinkov prikaz poteka kazenskega sodnega in upravnega postopka, vključno s poprejšnjo preiskavo, ki lahko sum storitve kaznivega dejanja spolne zlorabe potrdi ali ovrže. Ker katoliška Cerkev v Republiki Sloveniji pri obravnavi tovrstnih ravnanj sodeluje s policijo in državnim tožilstvom ter z drugimi relevantnimi organi in se oni nanjo v takšnih primerih tudi obračajo, bo monografija lahko v pomoč prav njim, nedvomno pa tudi odvetnikom, zagovornikom, sodnikom in drugim deležnikom iz pravosodja, tako civilnega kakor cerkvenega. Prav tako bo lahko kot učbenik uporabna za študente in ljubitelje prava.

Verjamemo, da bo s to monografijo lažje razumeti, zakaj kazenski sodni in upravni postopki znotraj kanonskoprnega sistema zahtevajo svoj čas. Za ‚medijsko sojenje‘ v njih ni prostora, kakor ga ni tudi v nobenem drugem resnem pravnem sistemu. Vodilo vsega je in mora biti pravičnost, dati vsakomur svoje, kakor pravi Ulpijan, oziroma kar mu gre. Zelo podobno pravi zaslužni papež

Benedikt XVI. v okrožnici Ljubezen v resnici (*Caritas in veritate*): da si namreč vsaka družba izdelava svoj lastni sistem pravičnosti in da božja ljubezen pravičnost presega, ker ljubi in daje, daruje drugemu od ‚svojega‘ – vendar nikoli ni brez pravičnosti, ki nas sili, da dajemo drugemu, kar je ‚njegovega‘, se pravi,

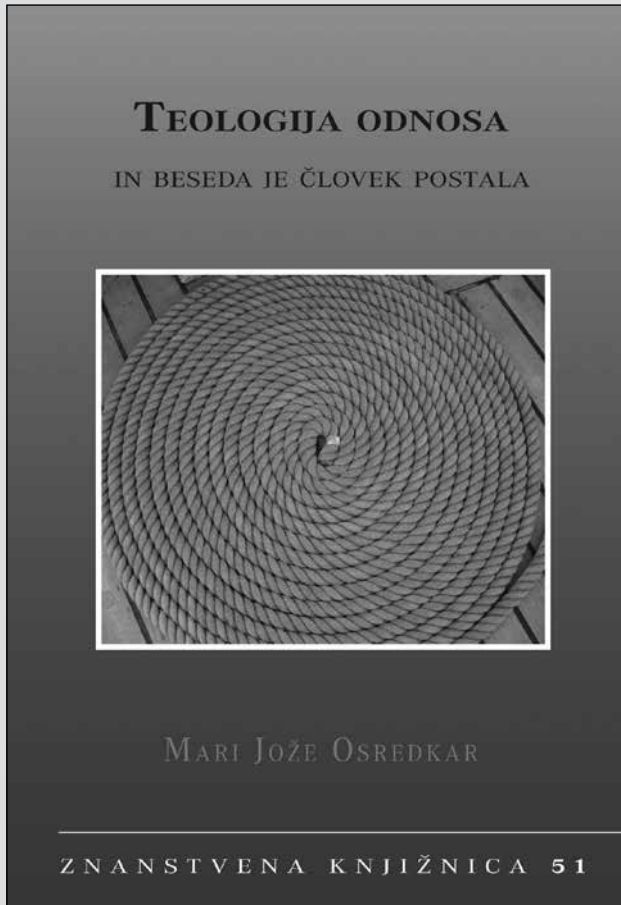
to, kar mu pripada zaradi njega samega in zaradi njegovega dela. Ne morem drugemu ‚darovati‘ od svojega, ne da bi mu prej dal to, kar mu pripada iz pravičnosti. Kdor ljubi druge z božjo ljubeznijo, je do njih predvsem pravičen.

Sebastijan Valentan

Znanstvena knjižnica

1. **Janez Juhant (ur.)** - Na poti k resnici in spravi (1997)
- s.n. **Edo Škulj (ur.)** - Slovensko semenišče v izseljenstvu (1997)
2. **Robert Petkovšek** - Heidegger - Index : (1919-1927) (1998)
3. **Janez Juhant (ur.)** - Kaj pomeni religija za človeka : znanstvena podoba religije (2000)
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14. **Avguštin Lah** - V znamenju osebe (Trinitas; 4) (2008)
15. **Erika Prijatelj** - Psihološka dinamika rasti v veri (2008)
16. **Jože Rajhman (ur.)** **Fanika Vrečko** - Teologija Primoža Trubarja (2008)
17. **Nadja Furlan** - Iz poligamije v monogamijo (2008)
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19. **Janez Juhant** - Idejni spopad : Slovenci in moderna (2009)
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24. **Janez Juhant, Bojan Žalec (ur.)** - Na poti k dialoški človeškosti (2010)
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27. **Ciril Sorč** - Povabljeni v Božje globine (Trinitas; 5, 2 izdaji) (2011, 2012)
28. **Drago Karl Ocvirk** - Ozemljena nebesa : zakoreninjenost religij v kulturi in družbi (2011)
- s.n. **Christian Gostečnik** - Inovativna relacijska družinska terapija (2011)
29. **Janez Juhant** - Za človeka gre (2011)
30. **Peter Sloterdijk** - Navidezna smrt v mišljenju (2012)
31. **Tomáš Halík** - Blizu oddaljenim (2012)
32. **Janez Juhant** - Človek in religija (2012)
33. **Janez Juhant, Vojko Strahovnik, Bojan Žalec (ur.)** - Kako iz kulture strahu? (2012)
34. **Janez Juhant, Vojko Strahovnik** - Izhodišča dialoga v sodobnem svetu (2012)
35. **Mari Jože Osredkar, Marjana Harcet** - Pojem odrešenja in nauki o odrešenju v svetovnih religijah (2012)
36. **Ivan Platonvjak (ur.)** - Karel Vladimir Truhlar : pesnik, duhovnik, teolog (2013)
37. **Roman Globokar** - Teološka etika med univerzalnostjo in partikularnostjo (2013)
38. **Brigita Perše** - Cerkevni management v luči posvetnega (2013)
39. **Maja Lopert** - V iskanju resnice, ki odzvanja v človekovi notranjosti (2013)
40. **Birger Gerhardsson** - Z vsem svojim srcem : o svetopisemskem etosu (2014)

- s.n. **Christian Gostečnik** - So res vsega krivi starši? (2014)
41. **Mateja Cvetek** - Živeti s čustvi : čustva, čustveno procesiranje in vseživljenjski čustveni razvoj (2014)
- s.n. **Polona Vesel Mušič** - Utrip birmanske pastorage v Cerkvah na Slovenskem: ugotovitve in pobude (2015)
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42. **Martin L. Lintner** - Razstrupiti eros : katoliška spolna morala na življenjski način (2015)
43. **Janez Juhant, Mateja Centa (ur.)** - V zvestobi narodu in veri : Lambertu Ehrlichu ob 70-letnici smrti in Filipu Terčelju ob 120-letnici rojstva (2015)
44. **Christian Gostečnik** - Je res vsega kriv partner? (2015)
45. **Maksimilijan Matjaž** - Klic v novo življenje : prevod in komentar Pavlovega prvega pisma Korinčanom (2015)
46. **Barbara Simonič (ur.)** - Relacijska družinska terapija v teoriji in praksi (2015)
47. **Andraž Arko** - Pasijon po Gibsonu (2016)
48. **Robert Petkovšek** - Bog in človek med seboj (2016)
49. **Christian Gostečnik** - Zakaj se te bojim? (2016)
50. **Rafko Valenčič** - Beseda in pričevanje : teorija in praksa oznanjevanja evangelija (2016)
51. **Mari Jože Osredkar** - Teologija odnosa : in beseda je človek postala (2016)
52. **Mari Jože Osredkar** - Božje razodetje v Bibliji in Koranu (2016)
53. **Christian Gostečnik** - Družinske terapije in klinična praksa (2017)
54. **Ciril Sorč** - Iz ljubezni za ljubezen : prispevki k trinitarčni antropologiji (Trinitas 6) (2017)
55. **Bojan Žalec, Vojsko Strahovnik (ur.)** - Religija kot dejavnik etičnosti in medkulturnega dialoga (2017)
56. **Janez Juhant, Mateja Pevec Rozman (ur.)** - Evropska Unija in vrednote (2017)
57. **Slavko Krajnc (ur.)** - Svetloba drami našega duha : znanstvene razprave o delih Zdenke Serajnik (2017)
58. **Christian Gostečnik** - Bolečina ločenosti (2018)
59. **Andrej Šegula (ur.)** - Božje oznanilo sodobnemu človeku : zbornik ob 80-letnici prof. Rafka Valenčiča (2018)
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68. **Branko Klun, Luka Trebežnik (ur.)** - Vračanje religije v postmodernem kontekstu (2019)
69. **Roman Globokar** - Vzgojni izzivi šole v digitalni dobi (2019)
70. **Simon Malmenvall** - Kultura Kijevske Rusije in krščanska zgodovinska zavest (2019)
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72. **Marjan Turnšek (ur.)** - Stoletni sadovi : prispevek dogmatične teologije na stoletnem drevesu Teološke fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani (2019)
73. **Jan Dominik Bogataj** - Preobraženi : zgodnjekrščanska teologija Kristusovega spremenjenja na gori (2020)
74. **Janez Vodičar (ur.)** - V iskanju novega zaupanja v Cerkvah : pastorage in kateheza po razkritju spolnih in drugih zlorab (2020)
75. **Marjan Turnšek** - Slovesni portal v življenje skrivnosti : zakramenti uvajanja v skrivnostno življenje cerkvenega organizma (2020)
76. **Christian Gostečnik** - Nevroznanost in relacijska družinska terapija (2021)
77. **Slavko Krajnc** - Gostoljubnost liturgičnih sodelavcev na Kristusovi gostiji (2021)
- s.n. **Christian Gostečnik** - Govorica telesa v psihoanalizi (2012)



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Bogoslovni vestnik

Theological Quarterly
EPHEMERIDES THEOLOGICAE

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Branko Klun | <i>Vera, upanje in ljubezen v luči fenomenološko eksistencialne analize</i> |
| Ivan Platovnjak et al. | <i>Chronos and Kairos of Hope</i> |
| Anton Jamnik | <i>Med upanjem kot darom in iluzijami samozadostnega subjekta</i> |
| Bojan Žalec | <i>Bivanjsko upanje, smisel in resonanca</i> |
| Mateja Pevec Rozman | <i>Upanje za naravo in človeštvo</i> |
| Stjepan Štivič | <i>Upanje v krščanstvu in transhumanizem</i> |
| Mari Jože Osredkar | <i>Upanje kot teološka krepost v luči relacijske teorije Guya Lafona</i> |
| Vojko Strahovnik idr. | <i>Avtonomija, avtoriteta in zaupanje</i> |
| Stanislav Slatinek | <i>„Navodilo glede zaupnosti pravn“...</i> |
| Janez Vodičar | <i>Odprtost pomenu kot temelj upanja v vzgoji in izobraževanju</i> |
| Iva Nežič Glavica | <i>Zaupam, zato si upam</i> |
| Andrej Šegula | <i>Upanje in zaupanje v kontekstu pastoralne teologije...</i> |
| Tomaž Erzar | <i>Uničeno zaupanje, ustvarjanje pomena ...</i> |
| Jonas Miklavčič | <i>Zaupanje in uspešnost umetne inteligence v medicini</i> |
| Simon Malmenvall | <i>(Mis)Trusting Unification</i> |
| Urška Jeglič | <i>Zaupanje do halal izdelkov in halal proizvodnje pri muslimanih...</i> |
| Marjan Turnšek | <i>Zakramentalnost in dialoškost vere</i> |
| Robert Petkovšek | <i>Kaj je etika in zakaj ravnati etično?</i> |
| Maja Bjelica | <i>Alevijstvo in kultura diha</i> |

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Letnik 81

2021 • 4

Bogoslovni vestnik

Theological Quarterly
EPHEMERIDES THEOLOGICAE

4

**Letnik 81
Leto 2021**

Glasilo Teološke fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani

Ljubljana 2021

KAZALO / TABLE OF CONTENTS**TEMA / THEME****UPANJE IN ZAUPANJE V ČASU GLOBALNEGA OBUPA IN NEZAUPANJA**
HOPE AND TRUST IN TIMES OF GLOBAL DESPAIR AND MISTRUST

- 781** **Uvodnik / Editorial (Robert Petkovšek in Bojan Žalec)**
- 783** **Branko Klun – Vera, upanje in ljubezen v luči fenomenološko eksistencialne analize**
Faith, Hope, and Love in the Light of Phenomenological Existential Analysis
- 797** **Ivan Platovnjak and Tone Svetelj – Chronos and Kairos of Hope**
Chronos in kairos upanja
- 807** **Anton Jamnik – Med upanjem kot darom in iluzijami samozadostnega subjekta**
Between Hope as a Gift and Illusions of a Self-sufficient Subject
- 825** **Bojan Žalec – Bivanjsko upanje, smisel in resonanca**
Existential Hope and Meaning of Life, and Resonance
- 835** **Mateja Pevec Rozman – Upanje za naravo in človeštvo: nekateri etični premisleki**
Is there a Hope for Nature and Humanity: Some Ethical Consideration
- 849** **Stjepan Štivić – Upanje v krščanstvu in transhumanizem**
Hope in Christianity and Transhumanism
- 857** **Mari Jože Osredkar – Upanje kot teološka krepost v luči relacijske teorije Guya Lafona**
Hope as a Theological Virtue in the Light of Guy Lafon's Relational Theory
- 867** **Vojko Strahovnik in José Ignacio Scasserra – Avtonomija, avtoriteta in zaupanje: virus in meje leta 2020**
Autonomy, Authority, and Trust: Virus and the Limits of 2020
- 881** **Stanislav Slatinek – „Navodilo glede zaupnosti pravnih“ kot garancija za večje zaupanje v poštenost cerkvenega sodstva**
„Instruction on the Confidentiality of Legal Proceedings“ as a Guarantee of Greater Confidence in the Integrity of the Ecclesiastical Judiciary
- 893** **Janez Vodičar – Odprtost pomenu kot temelj upanja v vzgoji in izobraževanju**
Openness to Meaning as a Foundation for Hope in Education
- 905** **Iva Nežič Glavica – Zaupam, zato si upam: zaupanje kot temeljna geštalt pedagoška kategorija**
I Trust, Therefore I Dare: Trust as a Fundamental Gestalt Pedagogical Category

917 Andrej Šegula – Upanje in zaupanje v kontekstu pastoralne teologije v času globalnega nezaupanja

Hope and Trust in the Context of Pastoral Theology in a Time of Global Mistrust

925 Tomaž Erzar – Uničeno zaupanje, ustvarjanje pomena ter zdravljenje moralnih ran v sekulariziranem svetu in religioznem soočanju

Shattered Assumptions, Meaning Making, and Healing Moral Injuries in a Secularized World and through Religious Coping

935 Jonas Miklavčič – Zaupanje in uspešnost umetne inteligence v medicini

Trust and Success of Artificial Intelligence in Medicine

947 Simon Malmenvall – (Mis)Trusting Unification: Examples of East Slavic Perception of the Council of Florence

(Ne)zaupljivo zedinjenje: primeri vzhodnoslovanskega sprejemanja florentinskega koncila

963 Urška Jeglič – Zaupanje do *halal* izdelkov in *halal* proizvodnje pri muslimanih v Republiki Sloveniji

Trust in Halal Products and Halal Production among Muslims in Slovenia

DRUGE RAZPRAVE / OTHER ARTICLES

973 Marjan Turnšek – Zakramentalnost in dialoškost vere

Sacramentality and Dialogicality of Faith

991 Robert Petkovšek – Kaj je etika in zakaj ravnati etično?

What Is Ethics and Why Should We Act Ethically?

999 Maja Bjelica – Alevijstvo in kultura diha

Alevi and the Culture of Breath

POROČILO / REPORT

1013 Raziskovalni program „Etično-religiozni temelji in perspektive družbe ter religiologija v kontekstu sodobne edukacije in nasilje“ (P6-0269): poročilo o raziskovalnem obdobju 2015–2021 (**Robert Petkovšek**)

**NOVA DOKTORJA IN NOVE DOKTORICE ZNANOSTI /
NEW DOCTORS OF SCIENCE**

1021 Lidija Božac, Odnos do telesa pri odraslih, zlorabljenih v izvorni družini, ter njegove spremembe v relacijski družinski terapiji (**Tanja Repič Slavič**)

1023 Anthony Ekpunobi, Reflective mimesis and the ethics of the cross in the mimetic theory of René Girard: Towards an inclusive humanism (**Robert Petkovšek**)

1026 Alja Fabjan, Značilnosti čustvovanja in stilov navezanosti pri spolno

promiskuitetnih mladostnikov ter razreševanje promiskuitetnega vedenja v psihoterapevtskem procesu (**Barbara Simonič**)

1028 Anja Kovačič, Poporodna depresija in relacijska družinska terapija (**Tanja Repič Slavič**)

1030 Andrej Lažeta, Vpliv verskih resnic o Mariji na duhovno, moralno in kulturno življenje prekmurskih Slovencev v prvi polovici 20. stoletja (**Anton Štrukelj**)

1031 Tanja Valenta, Učinkovitost razreševanja posledic izgub v izvorni družini in zapletenega žalovanja po modelu relacijske družinske terapije (**Christian Gostečnik**)

1033 Mateja Vrhunc Tomazin, Pomen in učinki procesa fokusiranja v kontekstu relacijske družinske terapije (**Barbara Simonič**)

CELOLETNO KAZALO (2021) / ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY (2021)

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Upanje in zaupanje v času globalnega obupa in nezaupanja

Hope and Trust in Times of Global Despair and Mistrust

Uvodnik

Tematski blok¹ z naslovom „Upanje in zaupanje v času globalnega obupa in nezaupanja“ prinaša rezultate dela raziskovalne programske skupine „Etično-religiozni temelji in perspektive družbe ter religiologija v kontekstu sodobne edukacije“ na Teološki fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani. Tudi letošnja raziskovalno temo je narekovala sodobna duhovna, kulturna in socialna situacija v svetu, za katerega je značilna vedno večja prepletenost med lokalnim in globalnim. Dogodek na lokalni ravni namreč lahko močno odmeva na globalni ravni, dogajanje na globalni ravni pa lahko močno zaznamuje posameznika v najbolj odmaknjenem delu sveta. Ta prepletenost se kaže na vseh področjih, zlasti pa na gospodarskem, političnem in duhovnem področju. Vsa področja povezuje ista rdeča nit – rastoča negotovost. V gospodarstvu se izgublja vera v napredek, brez katerega so v nevarnosti službena mesta; v politiki se izgublja dialog, na mesto katerega stopajo ekstremistična, izključujoča stališča z nevarnostjo globljih in ostrejših konfliktov; duhovnost pa izgublja svojo usmerjevalno vlogo, ker se je marsikje izkazala za premalo poglobljeno, izpodjeda jo tudi sekularizacija.

Splošna negotovost – tako se zdi – ima svoj izvor prav v razvrednotenju duhovnosti in duhovne avtoritete. Viktor Frankl je dokazoval, da je v življenju človeka najpomembnejša prav notranja, duhovna gotovost: človek, ki svoje življenje gradi na smislu in s tem na upanju, je zmožen kljubovati tudi najhujšim preizkušnjam. Podobno Umberto Galimberti pojasnjuje sodobno krizo mladih. Mladi so v krizi, ker so izgubili upanje, z upanjem pa prihodnost. Mladi ne vidijo prihodnosti zase – »Živijo v absolutni sedanosti; s prihodnostjo se nočejo obremenjevati.« Galimberti je v intervjuju za *De/lo* (13. 10. 2009) pritrdil papežu Benediktu XVI.: »Ratzinger hoče poudariti krščanske korenine Evrope in jaz, čeprav nisem kristjan, mu dam povsem prav.« Zakaj se nekristjanu Galimbertiju krščanstvo zdi pomembno? »Krščanstvo je v našo zahodno kulturo vneslo neizmeren optimizem. Zaradi krščanstva smo na prihodnost vedno zri optimistično.« In sedaj? Krščanstvo na Zahodu izgublja svoj vpliv in s tem se je »sesul tudi ves krščanski optimizem«.

¹ Tematski blok je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega programa „Etično-religiozni temelji in perspektive družbe ter religiologija v kontekstu sodobne edukacije in nasilje (P6-0269)“, ki ga sofinancira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARRS).

Rečemo lahko, da je sodobna globalna kultura, ki se je razvila iz zahodne, ta pa iz evropske, ki ima svoje korenine v krščanstvu, kultura upanja. Kultura upanja je bila hrbtenica našega izročila. Krščanstvo, ki živi iz preroškega in evangelijskega duha, je našemu izročilu vtisnilo jasno eshatološko vizijo: zgodovina ima svoj cilj, po katerem najgloblje hrepenita sleherno človeško bitje in stvarstvo. V njem imata svojo dopolnitev in zanj se je vredno odpovedati vsem drugim ciljem. Pred- ali obsvetopisemske kulture tega niso poznale – v svojih mitih se niso ozirale naprej, na dopolnitev ali k novemu stvarstvu in človeku, ampak nazaj k staremu, k izviru, k mitičnim likom. Pri Grkih se ta duh kaže v mitu o Sizifu, ki mora za kazni na vrh gore valiti kamen, a kamen se mu vedno znova zvali nazaj v dolino, na začetek – cilja pred seboj nikoli ne doseže. Ta mit kaže, da se grška kultura ni zmoгла odpreti prihodnosti; ostala je ujetnica preteklosti. Nasprotno Jezus kamen premaga – odvali ga z groba; Jezus ni ujetnik preteklosti, ampak gre naprej v prihodnost. Hrbtenica krščanske in s tem zahodne kulture je upanje, ki izhaja iz jasne vizije poslednjih ciljev. Galimberti dodaja: »Celo psihoanaliza je krščanska: preteklost je travma, sedanost je analiza, prihodnost bo ozdravitev. Vsa zahodna kultura je prežeta s krščanstvom.« S tem, ko krščanstvo znotraj naše kulture izgublja svojo vlogo, svojo moč izgublja tudi upanje – gotovost glede prihodnjih ciljev in »poslednjih reči«. Negotovost glede mesta, ki ga ima človek v prihodnosti – ta se lahko razvije celo do brezupa ali obupa –, pa vpliva tudi na medsebojne odnose. Človek brez jasnega mesta v prihodnosti izgublja zaupanje vase in v druge; nezaupanje v njem spodrine zaupanje.

Upanje in zaupanje, ki veljata za nosilca zahodne in globalne kulture, sta danes v krizi, ker so v krizi temeljne, globalne vizije o mestu človeka v prihodnosti, ki jih človeštvo hrani v religijah. Temu vprašanju, ki tvori hrbtenico naše kulture in je primarno teološko in filozofsko, je posvečen tokratni tematski blok. Raziskovalci so vprašanje upanja in zaupanja ter obupa in nezaupanja osvetlili z različnih vidikov: interdisciplinarno z *vidika različnih teorij in avtorjev*, kakor so relacijska teorija, geštalt pedagogika, mimetična teorija ali eksistencialna analiza ter sv. Avguštin, M. Heidegger, P. Ricœur, G. Lafon ali H. Rosa; z *vidika posebno izpostavljenih ,mest' in vprašanj*, kakor so zgodovina, vzgoja, pastoralna, kazensko pravo, umetna inteligenca ali terapija; z *vidika pravnih in moralnih vidikov*, kakor sta kanonsko pravo ali sodobna liberalistična etika; z *vidika ustanov, idejnih tokov ali sredstev*, ki vplivajo na oblikovanje upanja in zaupanja, kakor so verstva, Cerkev, izročilo, družina, globalizacija, sekularizacija, socializacija, vzgoja, kateheza, pastoralna, transparentnost ali skupno dobro.

Prihodnost je odvisna od upanja in zaupanja. Človek je vedno živel od upanja in zaupanja – o tem priča že pokopavanje pokojnih, ki velja za najstarejše znamenje človeške kulture. Vsekakor globalizirani čas, v katerem živimo, človeka postavlja pred nove izzive, ki zahtevajo nove odgovore – morda pa celo novega človeka. Jasno je, da si tega ni mogoče zamisliti brez upanja. Tu zbrana besedila poskušajo temu temeljnemu antropološkemu pojmu vrniti njegovo prebojno moč, ki odpira vrata iz sedanosti v prihodnost.

Robert Petkovšek in Bojan Žalec,
urednika tematskega bloka

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Branko Klun

Vera, upanje in ljubezen v luči fenomenološko eksistencialne analize

Faith, Hope, and Love in the Light of Phenomenological Existential Analysis

Povzetek: Od sv. Avguština dalje se Pavlova triada vere, upanja in ljubezni, ki zaznamuje krščanski način bivanja, razlaga s pomočjo pojma kreposti, ki prihaja iz grške filozofije in temelji na njenih ontoloških predpostavkah. Heidegger je kritiziral grško ontologijo substance in razvil fenomenološko analizo človekove eksistence, ki v ospredje postavlja njeno dinamično in časovno razsežnost. Naš prispevek uporablja podoben metodološki pristop, ki želi vero, upanje in ljubezen razložiti ne kot lastnosti (kreposti) bivajočega človeka, temveč kot moduse njegovega bivanja. V podobnosti in obenem distanci do Heideggerjeve eksistencialne analize veri, upanju in ljubezni ustrezajo trije modusi časovnosti: v veri človek živi svoj odnos do bivšosti, ki je absolutno pred njim, v upanju človek sega v bodočnost onkraj vsake predstavljive prihodnosti, v ljubezni pa izvršuje svojo prisotnost/sedanost, v kateri se razkriva presežni in neminljivi smisel. Medtem ko Heidegger vztraja na končnosti časa in človekovega bivanja, pa eksistencialna analiza krščanskega življenja kaže njegov odnos do neskončnosti in metafizično poklicanost.

Ključne besede: teologalne kreposti, vera, upanje, ljubezen, Heidegger, eksistencialna analiza

Abstract: From St Augustine onwards, St Paul's triad of faith, hope and charity, which characterises the Christian way of being, is explained using the concept of virtue, which comes from Greek philosophy and is based on its ontological presuppositions. Heidegger criticised the Greek ontology of substance and developed a phenomenological analysis of human existence that foregrounds its dynamic and temporal dimension. This article takes a similar methodological approach, seeking to explain faith, hope and love not as properties (virtues) of human beings but as modes of human existence. In similarity and at the same time distance to Heidegger's existential analysis, faith, hope, and love correspond to three modes of temporality: in faith, man lives his relation to a past that is absolutely before him; in hope, the man reaches into a future beyond

any conceivable future; and in love, man exercises his presence in which a transcendent and timeless meaning is revealed. While Heidegger insists on the finitude of time and human existence, an existential analysis of the Christian life shows its relation to infinity and its metaphysical vocation.

Key words: Theological virtues, faith, hope, love, Heidegger, existential analysis

Če bi želeli na kratko povzeti specifičnost krščanskega življenja, bi verjetno pomislili na troje teologalnih kreposti: vera, upanje, ljubezen. Sv. Pavel jih v svojih pismih prvi omenja, sv. Avguštín pa jih razlaga s pojmom kreposti (vrline), ki ga prevzema iz grške filozofije (Avguštín 1972). Nadaljnja krščanska teologija se je v veliki meri naslanjala na Avguštína – podobno kot je prevzela tudi poglavitna izhodišča grške metafizike. Toda ontologija grške metafizike, ki gradi na pojmu substance (podstat, gr. *ousía*), je v marsičem statična in zlasti v moderni misli se je vedno močnejše pojavljalo vprašanje, ali lahko na takšni ontološki osnovi dinamiko – da ne rečemo kar dramatiko – krščanskega življenja ustrezno razložimo. Ali lahko bivanje v veri, upanju in ljubezni razložimo na način specifičnih sposobnosti (kreposti) človeka kot posebne in odlikovane podstati? Ali je hermenevtično sploh primerno, da človeka razumemo kot podstat, kakor to najdemo v znameniti Boetijevi definiciji osebe? V ozadju gre za na videz teoretska vprašanja, ki se zdijo od konkretne prakse vernika oddaljena. Toda tudi teoretsko razumevanje vpliva na prakso in izvrševanje življenja v veri. V tej luči lahko razumemo našo razpravo, katere cilj je podati drugačen teoretski okvir za razumevanje vere, upanja in ljubezni. Spremenjen teoretski pogled ni sam sebi namen, temveč stremi k temu, da bi skozi globlje razumevanje spodbujal k večji zavzetosti in polnosti življenja v veri. Vsaka teorija (in tudi teologija), ki želi na celovit fenomen krščanskega bivanja ustrezno odgovarjati, mora vsebovati sposobnost motivacije za doseganje tega življenja – oz. to, kar Kierkegaard in duhovna tradicija imenujeta ‚spodbuden‘ (edifikativen) značaj krščanskega razumevanja (pri čemer beseda ‚aedificatio‘ pomeni graditev: namreč graditev in izgradnjo življenja kot poglavitnega cilja vsake krščanske teorije; Kierkegaard 1987, 47).

1. Metodološke predpostavke fenomenološko eksistencialne analize

Fenomenologija se je na začetku prejšnjega stoletja rodila kot filozofski odgovor na naraščajoči vpliv naravoslovnih znanosti (in njihove filozofije ‚naturalizma‘), ki so si hotele podrediti tudi razumevanje človeka. Husserl je pokazal, da človekove zavesti ne moremo obravnavati kot empirični fenomen znotraj sveta in da človek – podobno, kot je to trdil Kant – zunanji svet na poseben način presega. Naše (notranje) zavedanje je tista izvorna izkušnja (subjekta), ki je pred vsakim spoznanjem (objekta) in ki je (transcendentalni) pogoj, da ljudje svet sploh doživljamo in razumemo. To izhodišče je prevzel Heidegger, ki pa je namesto zavesti na metodični začetek postavil življenje (ali eksistenco), kot ga vsakdo živi ‚od znotraj‘. Seveda

razlikovanje med zunaj in znotraj v fenomenologiji nima prostorskega pomena, ker gre prvenstveno za način doživljanja. V našem zavedanju se nanašamo na stvari zunaj, toda to nanašanje (ali intencionalnost) je dejanje, ki ga vsak izmed ljudi vrši od znotraj. Zato se fenomenologija upira poskusu empiričnih znanosti, ki hočejo človeka razumeti kot enega izmed bitij zunanjega sveta in pri tem naivno pozabljajo, da so one same nekaj, kar ima svoj temelj v človekovem zavedajočem se in spoznavajočem odnosu do sveta. Heidegger očita zgodovini filozofije, da je sama podlegla takšni pozabljivosti, ko je dopustila, da ji je temeljne pojme (vključno s kategorijo substance oziroma podstati) narekovalo naivno izkustvo zunanjega sveta. Seveda je človek telesno bitje in kot takšen sebe doživlja med preostalimi bitji zunanjega sveta. Toda njegovega od znotraj živetege življenja ne moremo razložiti na zunanji način. Zato se Heidegger upira na videz samoumevnim postavkam, ki jih privzemamo iz zunanjega sveta in predstavljajo osnovo za naravoslovne znanosti. Zunanji pogled na primer človeka pojmuje kot bitje (substanco), ki se dogaja v času tako, da ,teče' po časovni premici (objektivnega časa) od preteklosti v smeri prihodnosti. Če pa za izhodišče vzamemo notranje izkustvo živetege življenja, vidimo, da se ,časenje' človeka dogaja na zelo drugačen način. Človek namreč hkrati izvršuje vse tri časovne moduse: živi in zasleduje svoje cilje ter namene (prihodnosti), prevzema to, kar je doslej že bil (svojo preteklost oz. ,bivšost') in se zadržuje pri zdajšnjih, trenutnih opravkih (sedanjosti). Način, kako človek sam sebe živi v časovnem smislu, tudi ni opisljiv s pojmovnim parom statičnosti in dinamičnosti, temveč je po Heideggerju ,ek-statičen' (Heidegger 1986, 450). Da smo si vedno ,vnaprej' (prihodnost), da smo obenem tudi to, kar smo doslej bili (bivšost), in da v sedanjosti povsem ,pademo' v tisto, s čimer se ukvarjamo, pomeni, da človekovo življenje nikoli ni točkovna sedanjost (niti ni navzoča bivajočnost), temveč da je človek vedno ,ven iz sebe' (gr. *ékstasis*). Če zavzamemo zunanji pogled na človeka in ga omejimo na njegovo telesno navzočnost, potem se zdi takšna razlaga zgolj opis subjektivnih občutij, ki nimajo nič z ,objektivnostjo' telesne danosti. Že Avguštin je videl, da človeka ne moremo nikoli zvesti zgolj na sedanjost, temveč da je zanj bistven odnos do preteklosti in prihodnosti. To pa pomeni, da za človeka preteklost in prihodnost nista nekaj odstotnega, temveč zahtevata paradoksalno ,posedanjenje' – in sta za njegovo življenje konstitutivni. Empirični znanstvenik bi prav lahko zamahnil z roko in rekel, da gre le za življenje ,v mislih', za dogajanje v možganih, toda prav tu se postavlja temeljno vprašanje, kaj je bolj resnično – moje od znotraj živeto življenje ali objektivacija mene samega v zunanje fizično bitje.

1.1 Heideggerjeva zgodnja fenomenologija religioznega življenja

Če priznamo, da je izkušnja lastnega življenja od znotraj prvotnejša od naknadne objektivacije, potem je treba vse fenomene analizirati glede na to, kako nastopajo oziroma ,se dogajajo' v tem živetem življenju. Heidegger pravi, da je vsebinski smisel (*Gehaltssinn*) katerega koli fenomena potrebno privedi nazaj (*re-ducirati*) na ,dogajajoči se' oziroma ,izvrševani' smisel (*Vollzugssinn*) v konkretnosti življenja (Heidegger 1992, 261; 1993, 60–65; 1995, 63). To lahko interpretiramo kot redukcijo zgolj teoretskega smisla na praktično izvrševanje (Figal 2009, 16). Splošna fe-

nomenološka predpostavka je tako, da se pomen ali smisel česar koli vzpostavlja (konstituira) šele v odnosu do človeka, ki ta fenomen ‚doživlja‘ – o nečem, do česar človek ne bi mogli vzpostaviti nobenega odnosa, sploh ne bi bilo mogoče govoriti. Tudi ‚fenomen‘ Boga je treba zato podvreči fenomenološki redukciji: njegovega izvornega pomena ne gre iskati v teoretskih opredelitvah Boga, temveč v načinu, kako se Bog ‚dogaja‘ v življenju vernika oz. kako vernik Boga ‚živi‘ v konkretni praksi. Na tej metodološki osnovi je Heidegger razvil svojo zgodnjo fenomenologijo religioznega življenja (Heidegger 1995). Njen cilj ni klasično vprašanje glede obstoja Boga, temveč doživljanje njegovega pomena (ali smisla) v religioznem življenju. Pri tem vlada fenomenološka korelacija (soustreznost): pomen Boga je soustrezen s specifičnim načinom življenja vernika. Povedano drugače: šele v določenem načinu življenja (spreobrnjenje) lahko Bog sploh pride do svojega pomena (smisla). Evangeljsko bi se lahko navezali na Janezov stavek (1 Jn 4,20), da tisti, ki pravi, da Boga pozna, pa ne ljubi svojega brata (t. j. ne živi na ustrezen način), Boga ne pozna in je lažnivec.

Heidegger v svojih zgodnjih analizah za zgled jemlje življenje prvih kristjanov, kot ga razbira v Pavlovih pismih in *Izpovedih* sv. Avguština. Kristjan ni nekdo, ki poseduje določena verjetja, temveč nekdo, ki vrši svoje življenje na nov način. Ko prvi kristjani pričakujejo Kristusov drugi prihod (paruzija), se spreminja njihovo doživljanje časa oziroma se ‚časijo‘ na drugačen način, kot če ne bi verovali. Njihovo ‚ek-statično‘ pričakovanje paruzije zaznamuje vsak trenutek sedanosti, ki zato dobiva drugačen pomen – in prav ta novi pomen verniku onemogoča, da bi zapadel sedanjemu ukvarjanju s svetom (Heidegger 1995, 103). ‚Ek-statični‘ odnos pa ne zaznamuje le živete prihodnosti, temveč tudi preteklost, ki skozi dogodek krsta kristjana za vedno zaznamuje. Krst ni dogodek preteklosti, ki je *pretekla* in minila, temveč ga kristjan ek-statično prevzema in živi kot nekaj, kar je sicer bilo (in je zato ‚bivše‘), vendar še naprej določa tako obzorje prihodnosti kot tudi razumevanje sedanosti. Kristjan torej živi svojo ‚bivšost‘ kot svojo krščansko ‚postalost‘ (*Gewordensein*, Heidegger 1995, 93) in živi svojo prihodnost kot prihajajočo polnost odrešenja. Zato kristjan do sedanosti lahko zavzema ek-statično distanciran pogled – tj. vse presoja v luči pretekle ‚postalosti‘ in prihodnje obljube. To obenem prinaša krščansko distanco do sveta, saj zapadati svetu in živeti ‚posvetno‘ pomeni drugačen način življenja, ki vključuje tudi drugačen način ‚časenja‘. Prepoznamo ga v geslu, da je treba živeti sedanji trenutek, ker je edini resničen. Takšen posvetni človek hoče pozabiti preteklost in se otresti skrbi za prihodnost.

1.2 Časovna razlaga eksistence v delu *Bit in čas*

Heidegger se je v razvoju svoje misli od krščanstva oddaljil in pogosto tudi zakrival vpliv, ki ga je krščanstvo nanj imelo. V svojem najodmevnejšem delu *Bit in čas* je tako zasnoval razlago človekovega življenja (tu-bitu), v kateri odnosa do Boga in vere ne najdemo več, najdemo pa mnoge elemente, ki jih je prevzel iz svojih zgodnjih predavanj in jim dal občečloveško razlago. Tako Heidegger krščansko napetost med posvetnim in religioznim življenjem vidi oz. prevaja v napetost med nepristnim (nesamolastnim) in pristnim (samolastnim) življenjem. Ek-statič-

no časovnost krščanskega življenja prevaja v resnobni odnos do lastne smrti, ki je človeku vedno vnaprej, vendar povratno določa vsak trenutek sedanjosti. Tej ultimativni prihodnosti smrti ustreza ek-statični odnos do lastne bivšosti, kajti življenje, v katerem se najdem, me je vedno že ‚prehitelo‘. V vsakem trenutku se moram soočati s tem, kar sem doslej bil, obenem moram prevzeti in živeti svojo bivšost. V zavesti svoje smrtnosti (živeta prihodnost) in sprejemanju svoje bivšosti (živeta preteklost) sem sposoben dosegati samolastno življenje in do sedanjosti zavzeti pristen odnos. Pri tej razlagi človekovega življenja se Heidegger oddaljuje od vsake religiozne razlage: temeljna karakteristika življenja je končnost. Človek je končno bitje, kar pomeni, da njegovo življenje zaznamujejo meje, ki jih ni mogoče odpraviti. Poglavitna meja je smrt, ki predstavlja ultimativni konec življenja. Mejo pa predstavlja tudi vrženost človeka v življenje (kot meja bivšosti) – prav tako so omejene vse zmožnosti in dejavnosti človeka. Toda Heidegger končnosti (in meje) noče razumeti kot nekaj negativnega, temveč kot ‚pozitivno‘ danost. Zaradi končnosti je človekovo življenje dragoceno; šele v luči poslednje meje, ki jo tvori smrt, se razodene pozitiven smisel vsakega trenutka biti. Heidegger pristno življenje vidi v junaškem sprejemanju končnosti in smrtnosti. Pri tem iz svojih analiz izključuje vsak odnos do presežnosti, ki bi se povzpela onkraj življenja in bi človeku omogočala stik z neskončnim smislom. Za Heideggerja je ek-statičnost človekovega življenja nujno končna, zato bi bila besedna zveza ‚neskončno življenje‘ ali ‚življenje brez konca‘ zanj celo protislovna. V tem je globok antimetafizični značaj Heideggerjeve misli.

2. Fenomenološko eksistencialna analiza teologalnih kreposti

Če za Heideggerjevo pristno življenje v delu *Bit in čas* velja, da mora človek junaško prevzeti sebe v svoji končnosti in se v slogu Nietzscheja odpovedati pobegu v kakršno koli onostranstvo, pa je religiozno življenje takšni življenjski drži v marsičem diametralno nasprotno. Religiozno življenje je po svojem bistvu določeno skozi odnos do presežnosti oz. transcendence. Brez tega odnosa o religiji sploh ne bi mogli govoriti. Kritiki religije lahko trdijo, da je transcendenca zgolj iluzija človeka, ki nima nobene ontološke osnove, vendar ne morejo zanikati, da je za vernega človeka ta transcendenca nekaj resničnega, ker se (kot živeti odnos) dogaja v njegovem življenju. Seveda je ontološko vprašanje (*ordo essendi*) še kako pomembno – ni vseeno, ali gre za namišljeno ali resnično presežnost –, toda s fenomenološkega stališča gre najprej za analizo, kako se tovrstna presežnost, ki jo lahko imenujemo Bog, v življenju vernika manifestira (*ordo cognoscendi*) oz. kako odnos do Boga spreminja in oblikuje njegovo življenje. Tudi v tem primeru na prvem mestu ni teoretični razmislek, npr. miselni dokaz za obstoj Boga, ki bi predstavljal osnovo za religiozno življenje, temveč je obratno: ko vernik prepozna Božjo prisotnost v svojem življenju (v dogodkih, ki jih vernik razume kot dane od Boga), se mu v tem izkazuje in na ta način dokazuje, da Bog resnično obstaja. Seveda bi

kdo rekel, da gre tu za verjetje, ki nima razumske gotovosti in da se v njem skriva logični *circulus vitiosus* ali iluzorna samouresničujoča se napoved. Kaj pa če gre v resnici za *circulus virtuosus*? Kaj pa če dejstvo, da se človek Bogu sploh odpre, paradoksalno Bogu ,omogoči', da se v življenju človeka začne dogajati in da ga napolni s svojo odrešujočo prisotnostjo?

Religiozni človek v resnici napravi obrat, ki sicer ni značilen le za religijo, je pa zanj nujno potreben. Religiozni človek prenese središče in temelj ven iz sebe – v tisto ali tistega, kar ga na radikalen način presega. Izkustvo, da nas kaj presega, je v običajnem smislu nekaj vsakdanjega in celo samoumevnega. Vse, kar nisem jaz, me na neki način presega: med drugim vsaka stvar ali dogodek zunanjega sveta. Toda običajna reakcija na presežno drugost je ta, da to drugost *razumem*, da ji njeno drugačnost in tujost odzvamem ter jo tako obvladam. Vsa znanost deluje tako: tisto, kar se v stvarnosti razodeva kot presežno in onkraj našega razumevanja, je treba ,odkriti' in privedi v spoznanje. Tako svojo presežnost izgubi in ostaja v obzorju lastnega, znanega, obvladanega. Radikalna drugost pa pomeni, da je načelno ne morem obvladati in ji njene presežnosti odvzeti. Religiozni človek v sebi izkusi paradoksalni obrat, ker lahko čuti in doživlja, da je njegov temelj zunaj njega samega – da je sam sebi dan, da je nagovorjen, morda celo ljubljen, od nečesa ali nekoga, kar je neskončno večje, kar ga tudi časovno absolutno presega in v odnosu do česar/kogar situacije ne more nikoli ,obvladati' oz. si te presežnosti podrediti. Gre za obrat, ki namesto običajnega prvenstva aktivnosti (jaz kot akter in iniciator) pri človeku kot izvorno izkustvo prepozna pasivnost (jaz kot dan, obdarjen, postavljen) (Dirscherl 2019). Seveda sta v človekovem življenju vedno prisotni obe izkustvi, aktivnost in pasivnost, gre pa za vprašanje, kaj ima zadnjo besedo. To bi lahko prevedli tudi v besednjak avtonomije. Ali je temelj človeka avtonomija, kar zagovarja večji del novoveškega mišljenja, ali pa človeka izvorno določa drugost (presežnost), kar sicer njegove avtonomije ne zanika, jo pa postavlja v drugačen, relativen položaj? Seveda pa je nadvse pomembno, kaj ali kdo je tisti ,drugi' (gr. *héteros*), na katerem heteronomna določenost človeka temelji. Če je to ljubeči stvarnik, ki me podarja v samostojnost (in s tem v specifično avtonomijo) mene samega, je zelo drugače, kot če sem slepi proizvod brezosebne presežnosti, ki ima lahko podobo grozečega božanstva ali pa hladne materije vesolja. Religiozni človek torej sebe razume v odnosu do presežnosti, pri čemer se paradoksalno zamenja utemeljitvena smer tega odnosa: vernik sebe razume v pasivu, v trpnem načinu, ker je akter in iniciator tega odnosa presežnost sama. V teološkem besednjaku to opisujemo s pojmom *razodetje*. Razodetje se zgodi zaradi iniciative presežnosti (»in sua bonitate et sapientia«, DV 2) in je z vidika človeka povsem nepričakovano in presenetljivo (Marion 2019, Rößner 2019). Ko je Abraham doživel klic in s tem razodetje Boga, je bil to nepričakovan dogodek, ki ga ni mogoče obvladati razumsko. Abraham se je znašel v stanju nagovorjenega. Njegovi aktivni svobodi je sicer bilo zaupano, kako bo na klic odgovoril, toda ni bilo v njegovi svobodi in aktivni zmožnosti, da bi spremenil izhodiščno stanje, da se je klic zgodil (pretekli čas). Klic ima v sebi časovno strukturo: ko poklicani klic zasliši, mora priznati, da je bil klic *pred* njim, da pripada preteklosti, ki ga je že vedno pre-

hitela in je ne more obvladati. Seveda se naslovniku Božjega klica porodijo mnoga vprašanja: ali sem bil zares poklican, kdo je klicatelj, ali lahko klicu verjamem oz. ali je klic verodostojen? Vsi ti razmisleki, ki jih vrši človekov razum, spadajo k iskaniju ustreznega odgovora na klic. Toda zadnjo besedo ima vendarle odločitev poklicanega, ali bo klicu in klicatelju poklonil svoje verjetje oz. vero. Naslovnik se pred klicem lahko zapre, lahko ga opredeli za neverodostojnega, lahko skratka ostane v varnih okopih lastnega razumevanja in se na pot vere, ki zahteva tveganje in zaupanje, ne poda. Vera je odgovor na nagovor presežnosti, ki prinaša svojevrstno ukinitvev samo-zaverovanosti in vodi k ,razsrediščenju' verujočega, saj ta prestavi središče v to, kar ga presega in od koder pričinja razumeti tudi samega sebe.

2.1 Vera

Vera je prva od krščanskih teologalnih kreposti. Kot že povedano, so naziv ,kreposti' (lat. *virtus*, gr. *aretē*) dobile skozi dialog z grško filozofijo, za katero je beseda krepost (ali vrlina) temeljnega pomena. Etimološko ima beseda *aretē* isti izvor kot beseda *ariston*, ,najboljše', in pomeni odličnost v kakem delovanju. Ker ta odličnost izkazuje posebno sposobnost ali moč, ji ustreza latinska beseda *virtus*. Krepost torej sugerira ,krepkost' tistega, ki jo izvaja na odličen način. Če Pavlovo triado vere, upanja in ljubezni prevedemo v jezik kreposti, naj bi šlo za ,sposobnosti' vernega človeka, ki na odličen način izvršuje vero, upanje in ljubezen (Žalec 2020, 272). Toda ob tem pride do izraza določena napetost: če so običajne grške etične kreposti, vključno s štirimi kardinalnimi vrlinami, pridobljene odličnosti (drugače kot pri prirojenih sposobnostih), pa težko govorimo o tem, da si je vernik te sposobnosti pridobil skozi lastno prizadevanje in moč. Moč vernika je prav v tem, da središče moči postavi ven iz sebe: da zaupa v Boga, ki je njegova moč. Pavel dobro ponazarja to novo moč vernega človeka, ko pravi: »Vse zmorem v njem, ki mi daje moč.« (Fil 4,13) Zato so teologalne kreposti moči, ki so človeku podarjene oz., kot bi rekel sv. Tomaž Akvinski, so človeku ,vlite' od Boga (»a solo Deo nobis infunduntur«, STh I–II, q. 62, a.1). Moč vere je namreč v tem, da verjamem v ,neverjetno' – sicer je sploh ne bi potreboval. Moč upanja je v tem, da ,upam proti upanju', sicer bi potek poznal – in mi ne bi bilo treba upati. Moč ljubezni je v tem, da ljubim to, kar moje ljubezni ne privlači, kajti sicer bi iskal zgolj lastno zadovoljstvo – ki me žene samo od sebe in zanj posebne moči ne potrebujem. Vlitate kreposti torej poznarjajo paradoksalno naravo krščanske eksistence, ki zaradi svoje utemeljenosti v presežnosti Boga zmogla več, kot bi zmogla s svojimi naravnimi sposobnostmi.

V fenomenološko eksistencialni razlagi pa prihaja do fenomenološke ,redukcije' teologalnih kreposti na živeto eksistenco človeka. Pri pojmu kreposti sicer prav tako srečamo povezavo s pojmom časa, vendar pa ta ni v ospredju. Ko Aristotel govori o krepostih, poudarja, da si jih pridobimo šele v vztrajnem ponavljanju in da »ena lastovka še ne naredi pomladi« (EN 1098a). Latinsko se je krepost opredelilo kot ,habitus', torej kot pridobljeno držo (vedenja, kako ,se imamo', lat. *habere*, gr. *échein*), ki mora postati naša ,habitualnost', naša navada. Krepost si služi to ime šele, če si pridobi vztrajnost in stalnost v času, če postane trajna usposobljenost. Toda ta dinamična razsežnost kreposti ne vključuje povezave z življe-

njem človeka in njegovo ek-statično časovnostjo. Teza, ki jo zagovarjam, je povezava teologalnih kreposti s specifičnim časenjem krščanske eksistence. Vera, upanje in ljubezen so trije (enakoizvorni in hkratni) načini izvrševanja življenja verujočega. Verujoči ni podstat (*substantia*) ali podlaga (*subiectum*), ki bi ji kreposti pripadale kot ‚lastnosti‘, temveč svoje življenje in sam sebe živi skozi izvrševanje (časenje) vere, upanja in ljubezni. Veri, upanju in ljubezni lahko priredimo tri razsežnosti časa, ki zaznamujejo človekovo eksistenco: preteklost, sedanost in prihodnost. Vera je na poseben način povezana s preteklostjo, upanje s prihodnostjo, ljubezen pa s sedanostjo. Tako lahko zasnujemo alternativo Heideggerjevi eksistencialni analizi in pokažemo, kako se eksistenca (tj. živeto življenje) krščanskega vernika vrši na svojski način in predstavlja izziv za Heideggerjevo predstavo izpolnjenega življenja ter za njegovo povezavo med končnostjo in samolastnostjo.

Kot smo videli zgoraj, je vera na poseben način povezana z časovnim modusom preteklosti. Vera se rodi kot odgovor ali – kot pravi sv. Pavel – vera pride iz poslušanja (*fides ex auditu*, Rim 10,17). V poslušanju je implicirana beseda in ne kateri koli zvok. Zato je vernik poslušalec *besede*. Beseda namreč prihaja iz osebnega vira: besedo izreka le oseba, *nekdo*, ki je neskončno drugačen od katerega koli *nekaj*. Zato je beseda izraz medosebnega odnosa in poleg logične ali kognitivne vsebine vključuje tudi druge razsežnosti: drugi mi ‚nakloni besedo‘ in me sploh ogovori. Ko se obrne k meni kot svojemu ‚ti‘, se mi odpre in me povabi v skupnost s seboj. Vsebina govora je vedno manjša od celovitega dogodka pogovora, ker besede kot naslovnik doživljam v potrjenosti sebe samega, ki mi jo lahko nakloni samo osebni ‚ti‘. Tudi če nagovor prihaja v zapisani besedi, preko Svetega pisma, v njem vernik sliši osebni ‚ti‘ – če se tej besedi le odpre. V krščanstvu je vera odgovor na celovit osebni nagovor razodetega Boga. Predhodnost Božjega klika pomeni preteklost, ki je ‚starejša‘ od moje bivšosti in ki jo Levinas (1967, 199) imenuje ‚passé absolu‘ (absolutna preteklost). Vernik se lahko spomni trenutka, ko je Božji nagovor prvič začutil, lahko se spomni svojega krsta in vstopa v zakramentalno krščansko življenje, toda ob tem mora priznati, da je klic prišel od presežnosti – in da nenehno prihaja od absolutnega ‚onkraj‘. Resnična ‚bivšost‘ pripada Bogu – on je tisti, ki je s perspektive vernika vedno že bil na absoluten način. Toda ta bivšost ni ‚stvar preteklosti‘, kajti vernik se čuti (po)klicanega v vsakem trenutku svojega bivanja. Bivšost se dogaja kot stalna *predhodnost* Boga in neprestano odgovarjanje vernika. Lastna zgodovina vernika s tem postane zgodovina odgovorov na ‚godenje‘ (dogajanje, ki je tudi v korenu besede z-god-ovina) Božjega klika.

Bog je absolutni ‚prej‘, je ‚prius‘, ki utemeljuje absolutno Božjo ‚prioriteto‘. V njej temelji tudi izkustvo ustvarjenosti in biblična ideja stvarjenja. Stvarjenje ni v prvi vrsti miselna predstava začetka, s katerim se želi razložiti nastanek sveta, temveč eksistencialna izkušnja vernika, ki *verjame*, da mu je dano biti iz presežnega vira (Klun 2018). Tudi z vidika biblične eksegeze so svetopisemski teksti o stvarjenju napisani pozneje kot teksti, ki govorijo o izkustvu zaveze Izraela z Bogom. Izkustvo Boga kot ‚zaveznika‘ in osvoboditelja izbranega ljudstva je prvotnejše od izkustva Boga kot stvarnika. Osebni odnos je namreč tudi temelj stvarjenja, ki ni

brezosebna stvaritev bivajočega iz nič. Ko in kar Bog ustvarja, to *kliče* v bivanje: tudi stvarjenje ima strukturo klica, zato je za opis tega dogajanja bolj primeren personalni opis: ko Bog daje biti drugemu od sebe, mu podeljuje biti (,communicat esse'; Kuzanski 1997, 36) z osebno ,komunikacijo'. Izkušstvo lastne ustvarjenosti se dogaja v priznavanju, da mi je v vsakem trenutku dano biti, da moje življenje samo sebe ne more vzdrževati – da svoje življenje in sebe samega nenehno prejemam od drugod, od tistega, kar/ki me presega. Absolutna predhodnost, ki jo srečamo v ideji stvarjenja, je torej drugo ime za Božjo bivšost. Pri Bogu namreč ne moremo govoriti o preteklosti, temveč le o predhodnosti in absolutni prioriteti.

2.2 Upanje

Predhodnost Boga pa je mogoče razlagati tudi na časovni način prihodnosti. Predlog ,pred' uporabljamo tudi za tisto, kar nam pred-stoji, kar je pred nami v smislu ,(v)naprej' in kar do nas prihaja. Zato nekomu rečemo, da je *pred* njim še svetla prihodnost. Do tistega, kar prihaja, je prihajajoče, zato ,prihodnje', lahko zavzamemo odnos pred-videvanja in pričakovanja. Po Heideggerju ne bivamo najprej v točkovni sedanosti in se šele pozneje opredeljujemo do prihodnjega, temveč vedno že ek-statično ,segamo' v prihodnost oz. v vsakem trenutku živimo prihodnost na način razumevanja, ki je intencionalno in ima prihodnostno strukturo. Ker pa se po Heideggerju zavedamo, da je smrt zadnja meja naše prihodnosti, je ekstatično seganje človeka v prihodnost zaznamovano s končnostjo. Heidegger sicer hoče pokazati, da je treba mejo smrti vzeti pozitivno, da je to najvišja in najlastnejša možnost naše eksistence (Heidegger 1986, 263–264), toda vprašanja, ali je to mejo mogoče preseči – kot temeljnega človekovega vprašanja, ki je obenem notranje gibalo metafizike – Heidegger s svojim nietzschejanskim patosom ne more kar tako odpraviti. Ali lahko upamo v prihodnost, ki je onkraj razumljene in živete prihodnosti? Ali je smrt konec ali pa dovoljuje novo presenečenje, prihod nečesa povsem novega, nečesa, česar izhajajoč iz nam dostopne izkušnje življenja načeloma ni moč pričakovati in predvidevati? Ta prihodnost onkraj prihodnosti, ki bi jo morda lahko imenovali ,bodočnost' in jo razlikovali od vsega, kar so nam znane možnosti prihodnjega, ta absolutna bodočnost je temelj religiozno živete prihodnosti.

Za prve kristjane je bila paruzija absolutna bodočnost, ki prihaja od transcendece – in ki je ni mogoče zaključiti in predvidevati na osnovi lastnih zasnutkov prihodnosti. Paruzija ni zgolj dogodek prihoda, temveč »življenje v *prihodnjem* veku« (*vita venturi saeculi*). Ker je ta bodočnost onkraj vsakršne predstavljive in v človekovih parametrih možne prihodnosti, je edina možna drža do nje *upanje*. Upanje verjame v nepredstavljivo in – glede na naše izkušstvo – nemogočo bodočnost. Krščansko upanje pričakuje nemogoče, ker zaupa razodetemu Bogu. Upanje je utemeljeno na veri in vera kot zaupanje je osnova za krščansko upanje. Predhodnost Boga, ki me je poklical pred mojo bivšostjo, mi je odprla bodočnost onkraj moje prihodnosti. Božji klic je namreč vedno vseboval tudi obljubo. ,Intencionalnost' Božjega nagovora je obljuba bodočnosti, ki na bistven način pripada klicu in besedi Boga. Transcendenc pred mojo bivšostjo je obenem transcendencia onkraj

moje prihodnosti. Zato razodetje bibličnega Boga prinaša linearno razumevanje časa, ki spreminja grško dojetje cikličnega časa. Cikličnost je na prvi pogled bolj racionalna, ker zmore pojasniti tako gibanje kot mirovanje (ko se nekaj krožno giblje, namreč obenem ostaja isto). Če pa postavimo začetek (lat. *principium*), ta nujno stopi ,na čelo' časovnega dogajanja (princip kot načelo) in mu podeli končni cilj. Začetek in cilj sta korelativna. V grški perspektivi je pojem upanja vezan na ciklično razumevanje časa in ima povsem drugačen status kot v biblični tradiciji. Upanje (gr. *elpís*) sploh ni vrlina, razen če ga povežemo z ustreznim spoznanjem, ki zmore predvidevati in napovedati prihodnost (Klun 2006, 224). Krščanska eksistenca pa je razpeta med vstop transcendence (kot začetek) in njeno obljubo (kot cilj/konec), pri čemer imata tako bivšost Boga kot njegova bodočnost absolutni značaj in sta onkraj človeku znane preteklosti in prihodnosti. Upanje namreč pomeni zaupati razodetemu Bogu do te mere, da je vernik odprt za ,nemogoče'. V tem se razlikuje tudi pojem preroštva v grštvu in v judovstvu: grški prerok je tisti, ki (pred)vidi več in bolje, judovski prerok je tisti, ki močneje zaupa v obljubo Boga in odpira obzorje mesijanskega pričakovanja.

Radikalnost bibličnega upanja in specifičnega ,časenja' bibličnega človeka morda najbolje pokaže filozof Derrida, ki sicer odstrani vero v Boga, vendar pa ohranja strukturo mesijanskega upanja in ji daje občečloveško razlago. Če prihodnost poznamo, potem to za Derridaja sploh ni prihodnost, temveč le podaljšek sedanjosti. Ali je potem resnična prihodnost sploh možna? Če jo poznamo, je ,ni', če pa je ne poznamo, kakšen odnos naj do nje zavzamemo, saj je tudi v tem primeru za nas v resnici ,ni'? V tem vidimo znano Derridajevo aporetičnost (Derrida 1993; Trebežnik 2019), ko je pogoj možnosti – v tem primeru za prihodnost – hkrati pogoj njene nemožnosti oz. ko je nekaj nujno in nemogoče hkrati. Podobno bi lahko zaostri tudi vprašanje preteklosti. Če se preteklosti lahko spomnim, potem sem jo privedel v sedanost in jo s tem ukinil – če pa se je ne morem spomniti, potem o njej sploh ne morem govoriti. To Derridajevo aporijo lahko povežemo tudi s pojmom ustvarjenosti, čeprav je Derridaju ta pojem tuj. Če *vem*, da sem bil ustvarjen, potem v mišljenju svoj začetek lahko ,rekonstruiram' in ustvarjenost svoj radikalni značaj izgubi. Biti ustvarjen prinaša s seboj zahtevo takšne pasivnosti, ki ne more doseči svojega začetka. Če sem zares ustvarjen, bi pomenilo, da o tem ne morem vedeti – če pa ne morem vedeti, kako naj potem o ustvarjenosti sploh govorim? Kot poudarja John Caputo, je za Derridaja odgovor na to paradoksalno in aporetično stanje naše eksistence prav upanje: je pritrjevalna drža do absolutne drugosti, ki prihaja, je odprtost za absolutno presenečenje; je tudi gostoljubnost do nepoznanega, je eksistencialna odločitev spričo brezna nevednosti: »pridi, da, da.« (Caputo 1997, xxiii)

Seveda pri Derridaju osebnega Boga ni, zato ostaja sekularizirana varianta bibličnega upanja, ki predstavlja svojsko alternativo Heideggerjevi junaški držji sprejemanja končnosti. Judovsko-krščanska vera pa verjame v osebnega Boga, ki se je človeku razodel in kjer aporetičnost (ali ,dekonstrukcija') nima zadnje besede: ta pripada zaupanju vanj. Zaupati Bogu ima sicer svojo lastno paradoksalnost, toda ta je zdaj vpeta v osebni odnos. Zakaj so vera, upanje in zaupanje na svoj način aporetični? Ker jih vsaj na prvi pogled vršim jaz, toda nikoli ne morem vedeti, ali

sem res jaz njihov temelj in akter. Ko mučenec izkazuje izjemno moč svojega upanja, ne more reči, da je to v njegovi lastni moči, temveč verjame, da je to moč prejel. Vera, upanje in zaupanje so moji, toda obenem so dar, ki sem ga prejel od drugod. Vedno, ko uporabimo besedo ‚dar‘, smo soočeni s paradoksalnostjo. S Pavlovimi besedami bi lahko rekli: »Kaj pa imaš, česar bi ne bil prejel?« (1 Kor 4,7) Ali nisem prejel tudi vere, upanja in zaupanja, čeprav sem jaz tisti, ki jih vršim? Ko se v veri in upanju ‚časim‘ na način presežnega odnosa do absolutne bivšosti in bodočnosti, sem v aporetičnem stanju, ki ga Pavel opisuje na način, da ne živi več on, ampak v njem živi Kristus (Gal 2,20).

2.3 Ljubezen

In kako je s tretjo teologalno krepostjo, ljubeznijo? Ljubezen je na poseben način povezana s časovnim modusom sedanosti. V veri človek živi svoj *odgovor na klic*, ki je *pred* njim (bivšost), v upanju živi svoje *zaupanje v oblubo*, ki je *pred* njim (bodočnost), v ljubezni pa se človek *preda prisotnosti* (lat. *praesens*), ki je *pred* njim (sedanost). V tem primeru dobi beseda ‚pred‘ pomen nečesa ali nekoga, kar ali kdor stoji pred menoj v smislu soočenosti oz. srečanja. Samarijan se je v nekem trenutku soočil s trpečim človekom, ki se je znašel pred njim (Lk 10,30–35). Na svoji poti je bil Samarijan razpet med svoj cilj (kamor se je podal) in svoj izvor (od koder je prišel), vendar se je pred trpečim človekom povsem ‚predal‘ temu človeku in tedanjemu trenutku. Ek-statično je ‚izstopil‘ iz sebe, da se je lahko ‚dal‘ (in na ta način ‚predal‘) drugemu. Že Heidegger ve, da pristna sedanost ni ždenje v samem sebi in vztrajanje v ‚dolgo-časju‘ zdajšnjega trenutka, temveč ek-statična prisotnost pri stvareh, s katerimi smo in ki v tistem trenutku privlačijo naše delovanje. Toda pristna sedanost za vernika vključuje ljubečo prisotnost: predanost tistemu, kar ali kdor nas kot presežna drugost kliče tukaj in zdaj. Ljubezen zahteva predanost v dvojnem smislu: po eni strani zahteva možnost dajanja (danosti, daru), sposobnost naše podaritve, po drugi strani pa zahteva celovitost in s tem možnost popolne predanosti. V tem smislu je tudi ljubezen paradoksalna, ker se v njej dogaja ‚nemogoče‘: kako naj se jaz, v svoji vezanosti nase, podarim drugemu (Falque 2019)? Kaj, v čem sploh je ‚dar‘ ljubezni? Odgovor se skriva v izkustvu, ki nam je povsem znano. Drugemu lahko podarim svoj čas, ki ob tem ne preneha biti moj lastni čas (moje lastno časenje) – toda obenem je to ‚čas za drugega‘. Moje življenje je v tistem trenutku obenem tudi življenje za drugega. In kaj podarim drugemu? Pravzaprav to ni ‚nekaj‘ – drugemu podarim možnost, da bi on lahko bolj v polnosti postajal in bil on sam. Ljubezen je sposobnost preseganja samega sebe, ki drugemu omogoča, da lahko v večji polnosti je. Ljubezen drugega omogoča (sovrastvo medtem nasprotno drugega onemogoča): ljubezen ne išče svojega, temveč se veseli, ko drugi zmore vse bolj postajati on sam. To ni pridržano le za osebni odnos, temveč nosi širšo poklicanost. Ljubezen do stvarstva na primer zahteva držo, ki bo stvarstvo ‚omogočalo‘, ki mu bo odpiralo nove možnosti – ne pa ga podrejalo egoističnim težnjam človeka, ki stvarstvu prihodnost onemogočajo.

Če je drža predanosti in omogočanja splošna karakteristika ljubezni, pa krščanstvo prinaša bistveno razliko. Ljubezen ni podrejena okvirom končnosti,

pač pa njen odnos do transcendence odpira razsežnost neskončnosti. Tako kot je vera živeti odnos do absolutne bivšosti, kot je upanje živeti odnos do absolutne bodočnosti, tako je ljubezen živeti odnos do neskončnosti – do takšne neskončnosti, ki nazadnje preseže celo meje časa. Zato sv. Pavel pravi, da bosta vera in upanje prešla, da pa ljubezen ne bo prešla. Ljubezen ne bo prešla, ker se v njej dogaja, kar nosi pridih brezčasnosti in kar »nikoli ne mine« (1 Kor 13,8). V ljubezni se razodeva smisel časa: časenje vere in upanja ima svoj poslednji temelj v neminljivosti ljubezni. Zato ljubezen ne le, da ustreza časovnemu modusu sedanjosti, pač pa spreminja pomen tega, kaj sedanjost sploh je. Bistvo sedanjosti je prisotnost. Bistvo prisotnosti je prisotnost drugega, natančneje *osebno* drugega. Osebnost prisotnosti, ki se najvišje manifestira v prisotnosti osebnega Boga, ne moremo zadovoljivo razložiti v prostorsko-časovnih kategorijah. Vzemimo primer prisotnosti ljubljenice osebe pri trpečem človeku. Ko ta v trpljenju, ki mu morda že zatepnjuje zavest, vpraša: »Ali si tu?«, ne gre za vprašanje časovne ali prostorske navzočnosti nekoga, temveč za njegovo odrešujočo prisotnost. Zagotovilo »tu sem« trpečemu prinaša osvobajajoče sporočilo, da ni sam, da je ob ljubeči prisotnosti. Samo takšna prisotnost trpečemu omogoča, da ne obupa, da lahko upa in se pred prihodnostjo ne zapre. To je tudi pomen znanega svetopisemskega odlomka, v katerem Bog Mojzesu razkrije svoje ime (2 Mz 3,14). »Jaz sem, ki sem« ni metafizična utemeljitev Božjega večnega bistva biti, temveč izraz Božje ljubeče in odrešujoče prisotnosti. Jaz sem tu in bom tu za vas. Jaz sem presežna globina vaše sedanjosti, jaz sem prisoten izza vaše sedanjosti, jaz sem absolutna prisotnost. Bog, »ki je bil, ki bo in ki je«, se razodeva kot absolutna bivšost, absolutna bodočnost in absolutna prisotnost.

3. Zaključek

Cilj članka je bil pokazati, da lahko fenomenološko eksistencialno metodo plodno uporabimo za razlago teologalnih kreposti, ki skozi to perspektivo dobijo dinamični značaj izvrševanja vernikovega odnosa do presežnosti. V nasprotju z eksistencialno analizo pri Heideggerju, ki človeka zapira v meje njegove končnosti, življenje v veri, upanju in ljubezni človeka odpira onkraj njega samega: verni človek v svoji končnosti vrši paradoksalni odnos do neskončnosti, s čimer tudi njegovo življenje izpričuje presežni smisel. Ob tem se spreminja razumevanje časa, ki ni več podrejen končnosti, temveč v njem preseva sled neskončnosti in večnosti. In če je Heidegger fenomenološko eksistencialno analizo razumel kot nasprotje vsakršne metafizike, potem živeta praksa vere, upanja in ljubezni pričuje o možnosti drugačne metafizike – ki je Heideggerjeva ontoteološka kritika ne doseže.

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Ivan Platovnjak and Tone Svetelj
Chronos and Kairos of Hope
Chronos in kairos upanja

Abstract: Hope finds its place in moments of negativity as a glimpse beyond the things themselves towards the things to come. Hope is based on a structure of vision that suddenly allows us to see the invisible and the unapparent beautiful in a way that goes beyond chronological time. Even though it refers us to eschatology, this vision of hope exists only in the present time rooted in waiting and should be as such the transforming force of daily life. By referring to Plato, Heidegger, the Old and New Testament, and some ecclesiastical documents, this article presents *Chronos* and *Kairos* of hope.

Keywords: Hope, *Chronos*, *Kairos*, Bible, Kingdom of God, Eucharist, Fulfillment

Povzetek: Upanje v negativnih trenutkih je kot bežen pogled, ki gre onkraj stvari samih v smeri stvari, ki prihajajo. Upanje temelji na strukturi vizije, ki nam nenadoma dopusti videti nevidno in nepojavno kot čudovito na način, ki presega kronološki čas. Čeprav se navezuje na eshatologijo, ta vizija ali upanje obstaja samo v sedanjem času in je ukoreninjena v čakanju. Kot taka je tudi preobražajoča moč vsakdanjega življenja. Opirajoč se na Platona, Heideggerja, Staro in Novo zavezo in nekatere cerkvene dokumente predstavlja ta članek *chronos* in *kairos* upanja.

Ključne besede: upanje, *chronos*, *kairos* Sveto pismo, Božje kraljestvo, evharistija, izpolnitev

1. Introduction

In general, the word *hope* describes a feeling that something desirable is likely to happen. This feeling includes an expectation of obtaining what is desired,¹ which goes beyond simple wishes or longing. This relatively broad description of hope in English gains new dimensions by referring to the Hebrew equivalent word *tikvah* (te-

¹ Desire too, in the Hebrew Bible includes intention, which goes beyond simple wishes or longing. The term desire in the Hebrew Bible covers a wide range of human longings, emotions, and cravings. Although, in the Hebrew Bible, desire is indicated by a variety of lexical forms (roots), the direct and explicit term indicating desire is limited to only two roots – the verb forms of the lexical roots *hmd* and *'wh*, which reflect not only the dynamics of desire occurring in human beings but also those found in God. (Skralovnik and Matjaž 2020, 507)

ek-VAH), translated as a cord, expectation, and hope. The root of this word is *kavah*, which means to bind together, to collect, to expect, to wait (for, on, upon). While hope in English remains an abstract notion, it becomes very visual in Hebrew as a cord or rope that one can see with the eyes and hold in hand. Consequently, hope becomes something that is not out of our reach but real enough that we can cling to it so as to ensure our safety and security. It does not imply, however, that simply by holding the rope one will be automatically safe. This depends on what the rope is tied onto, as well as on waiting, patience, and expectation for the expected outcome. Biblical hope is tied to the promises of God, which are tangible and secure. Prior to digging into biblical-theological dimensions of hope, as will be presented in the second half of this paper, let us analyze hope as a philosophical phenomenon.

2. Hope as a Philosophical Phenomenon

Hope as expectation of something better is that dimension of human existence that is cultivated and nourished in our daily life, and in a particular way in the moments of negativity, despair, and suffering, when we wait for what is beyond our immediate reach, i.e. promised or hoped for safety and security. Hope introduces, then, a glimpse beyond the things-themselves towards the things-to-come (Žalec 2020, 274). This glimpse is rooted in an eschatology that allows us to envision the invisible and the unapparent in a temporality that goes beyond time.

What is the relationship between time and hope, or where does hope take its place, is the first question calling for our attention. Referring to Kierkegaard's statement that »All other media have space as their element. Only music occurs in time« (Kierkegaard 1987, 68), we claim that hope also occurs only in time. As music cannot exist somewhere in space but only in time, so too does hope. Space as such can contain a painting or a sculpture; architecture takes place in a strictly defined place; however, no space can contain music; only time can do so. Of course, every piece of music is performed in a specific space, but it is not the space that contains music; it is time. The same is the case for hope, whose existence cannot be bounded by space but only by time. In addition, for music to exist, one has to perform it; similarly, for hope to exist, one has to live it. Again, this is possible only in time. What time do we talk about?

The Greek distinction of temporality in terms of *chronos* and *kairos* bring us a step deeper. *Chronos* is simply a time of duration and passing by of moments measured in seconds, minutes, hours, days. *Chronos* allows us to count the span of our lives or place historical events within a certain period of our history. Even though it is essential for understanding history, time as such does not exist; it is only an indefinite repetition of ‚nows‘ that cannot be adequately measured. In his Confessions, Book XI, Augustine explains that what is passing cannot be measured because once we start measuring it, it is already the past.

Similarly, we cannot measure the future because it does not exist yet. We cannot measure past and future time because they do not exist. What remains is

the now that comes from nothing and disappears in nothing. Augustine goes even further with his claims that the past, the present, and the future exist only in our minds as memories, sight and expectations (Augustine 2006, 246–247). In his *Being and Time*, Heidegger goes even further and calls such chronological understanding of time vulgar and inauthentic. The idea of time as a linear and infinite series of ‚now‘, based on *Aristotle’s Physics*, is an ordinary conception of time, where priority is always given to the present (Heidegger 1962, 472–473).

In opposition to the chronological understanding of temporality, which is horizontal and based on duration and continuation of ‚now‘, lies *kairos*, which is vertical, discontinuous, and cannot be measured at all since it occurs only at the moment. This one moment or all moments together cannot be measured with categories through which we measure chronological temporality. Each moment of *kairos* presents something unique and irrepeatable in the sense that we cannot create two or more identical moments of *kairos*. In ancient Greek literature, *kairos* was the time of opportunity, calling for decisive and courageous action (Kinneavy 1986, 80). In his *Rhetoric*, Aristotle uses the word *kairos* as the matter of right timing and due measure, which creates the moment when a rhetorical proof will be delivered and consequently, the audience will be prepared to accept the proposed argument. Hence, *kairos* becomes the crucial rhetorical tool or moments in political, legal, ethical discussions, especially in treating emotions and mental confusion (1994, 135–140).

The Ancient Greek understanding of *kairos* finds new dimensions in the Christian liturgical context. The liturgical celebration of the past events, such as Jesus’ death and resurrection, takes place now, i.e., in the time of celebration of the liturgy. Consequently, liturgy is not a memorial event of the past historical events; liturgy is a repetition of the past events in a unique and irrepeatable way that can take place and its actualization only in the ‚now‘, i.e., in the moment of celebration. Even more, the liturgy is at the time of celebration also a connection with a future reality, eternity, that is reaching us in the present. By celebrating Jesus’ resurrection now, we are invited to enter into eternity, an eschatological reality, which is in its fullness awaiting on us at the end of time, but we become part of it already in the present. In Kierkegaard’s words, the understanding of *kairos* reaches new dimensions in Christianity: »The pivotal concept in Christianity, that which made all things new, is the fullness of time, but the fullness of time is the moment as the eternal, and yet this eternal is also the future and the past.« (1980, 90)

Let us return now to the question about the relationship between time and hope. As already stated, hope, like music, can exist only in time. However, this time, if reduced to a chronological understanding of temporality, offers only a partial explanation of the connection between hope and time. It is true that our actualization of hope always resides in time; nonetheless, that actualization can take place only in the present moment (Pineda et al. 2020). Our hopeful and courageous action in the past as such does not exist anymore; what remains of them are more or less inspiring memories imbued in hope. These memories become crucial for the actualization of hope in the present moment as positive energy and encouragement. If one’s mind and past actions were permeated by hope, some-

thing similar would likely happen now and continue in the future. As past events can positively impact our present time, they can also become an unbearable weight conditioning our present. Past events cannot be changed; they are fixed facts conditioning our present identity, our way of thinking, feeling, and acting, following us like a shadow (Vodičar 2020, 263). What can be changed is our relationship with them. One's readiness to change the relationship towards his or her past is already an act of hope that the quality of the past events does not pre-determine the quality of one's present and future. Again, this readiness or hope can take place only in the now; there is no other time.

What seems to be easy to grasp intellectually is hard to practice and actualize in our society, overwhelmed by archaeological memories and the wish to know what happened in the past. Ongoing collections of financial, medical, and police records, transcripts, searching for new achievements in view of improving our resumes, our need for digging into our psyche with the hope of re-discovering remote reasons for present traumas are expressions of an understanding of our existence primarily in chronological dimensions (Terelak 2021). As stated previously, chronological time can be measured, observed, written down in files and recorded, and by doing so, one believes he or she is able to determine the cause for certain effects in the present.

The question is how to transcend such a way of thinking (Roszak 2017). A chronological interpretation of temporality, and within it our actualization of hope, is challenged by a series of events that as such did happen in the past, but their true meaning is revealed only if they are seen from the future. For example, if trying to understand the 'cause' of Jesus' crucifixion, it does not make much sense to look for it in the events of Jesus' life before his death on the cross. The true cause is the resurrection that follows. This resurrection cannot be seen as a result or the effect of Christ's passion; the true meaning of the resurrection is simply much more than that, something that has not come yet. »Even the historical event of our Lord's resurrection would make no sense if there was not to be a final resurrection of all human being in the end: ›if there is no resurrection of the dead, then not even Christ was risen.« (Zizioulas 1999, 7) So, the cause does not lie in the beginning but at the end, staying in the kingdom of God that is the origin of the cause. At this point, we are already in the kairological dimension, which with its verticality cannot be measured chronologically. Kairological reality is complete discontinuation, something unrepeatable and unique. Consequently, hope as such cannot find its grounding in the past events because the past events can provide only positive memories of hopeful acting. The true foundation of hope are the events coming to us from the future. In the Christian context, this is the promise of God's unchanging and unconditional bondage with us human, as this is explained in the second half of this reflection.

Within this framework of eschatology, hope with its gaze fixed on future events that are already taking place in the present, combined with patient waiting, become the transforming forces of daily life. This transformation takes place in a moment that cannot be measured chronologically because it is not bounded by

time. Hope takes place in a moment that is a glimpse of the timelessness which allows us to see the invisible. In this glimpse, hope moves us beyond the things-themselves toward the things-to-come. There are at least two ways to describe this glimpse: Plato talks about *exaiphnes* (ἐξαίφνης), and Heidegger about *der Augenblick*. Both terms should be taken within the tradition of eschatological anticipation of the kingdom's advent and its *kairos*.

Following the interpretation of J. P. Manoussakis, Plato's *exaiphnes* is generally translated with 'suddenly', or 'the instant', or 'the moment' (Manoussakis 2007, 64). In Parmenides (156d-e), Plato himself writes that *exaiphnes* seems to signify that from which something changes to something else.² The preposition *ex'* means the 'from which' or 'from out of', and the second half of the word (*a-phanes*) can be etymologically translated as 'in-visible'. Therefore, the *exaiphnes* is the occasion of 'coming out of what is in-visible'. What is in-visible in this case is what is different, unknown, unforeseen, something that will be revealed only in the future. Since it is hard to foresee it, the translation 'sudden' seems to be appropriate. This appearance of the in-visible cannot be measured chronologically, hence 'in an instant' or 'in a moment.' In any case, on the occasion of *exaiphnes*, the apparent things have to disappear in order to allow the in-visible to appear.

It is Luther who introduced the German word *Augenblick* in his translation of St. Paul's first letter to Corinthians: »We will not all die, but we will all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye /*Augenblick*/, at the last trumpet.« (1 Cor 15:51-52) This moment cannot be described in chronological terms; it is a kairological moment indicating eschatological change that is beyond any historical measurements. Kierkegaard takes it a step further and makes an explicit connection between Plato's *exaiphnes* and *Augenblick*, when he writes: »A blink is, therefore, a designation of time, but mark well, of time in the fateful conflict when it is touched by eternity. What we call the moment [*Augenblick*] Plato calls τὸ ἐξαίφνης. /.../ whatever its etymological explanation, it is related to the category of the invisible.« (1980, 87–88)

Aware of this connection between *exaiphnes* and *Augenblick*, Heidegger in his analysis of the first and second letters to Thessalonians, uses the word *Augenblick* to translate St. Paul's comprehension of *kairos* (Heidegger 1995, 102). *Kairos* becomes the occasion when from the meeting of something temporal with something that cannot be measured chronologically, emerges the invisible at the blink of the eye. That blink of the eye designates a temporality that is beyond time, in which the invisible and the unapparent can be caught.

This short analysis of time in its chronological and kairological dimensions leads us to a deeper understanding of hope as it is presented in the Bible.

² »So, when does it change? For it does not change while it is at rest or in motion, or while it is in time?«
– »Yes, you're quite right.« – »Is there, then, this queer thing in which it might be, just when it changes?«
– »What queer thing?« – »The instant. The instant seems to signify something such that changing occurs from it to each of two states. For a thing doesn't change from rest while rest continues, or from motion while motion continues. Rather, this queer creature, the instant, lurks between motion and rest – being in no time at all – and to it and from it the moving thing changes to resting and the resting thing changes to moving.« (Plato 1997, 388)

3. »The time has come!« (Mark 1:15)

The Bible tells us that God created time for a man by creating the world (Gen 1:14-19). Time, therefore, has a start and is linear (Luke 3:23-28; 21:7-28; Matt 28:18-20; Acts 1:1-11) and will cease when its purpose is fulfilled at the end of time (Gen 8:22; Rev 21:1-6a).³

The Greek word *chronos* used by Septuagint and New Testament means linear or chronological time. This is the quantitative time measured by successive objects, events, or moments (Zodhiates 1992, 1487). However, when God enters time, or when eternity coincides with time, this time becomes *kairos*, which means the time of fulfilment (Luke 21:24; 1 Thess 5:1-2). It is a qualitative time. The most prominent example of *kairos* is the incarnation of the Son of God, of which the apostle Paul speaks in Gal 4:4. In the Old Testament, however, we can see several examples of this time; Abraham's covenants with God (Gen 15:17); the three visitors (18); the sacrifice of Isaac (22:1-18); Jacob fights with God (32:24-32); Moses talks to God in the burning bush (Exod 3:1-4:16); Job's conversations with God (Job 38:1-42:9), etc. In the New Testament, *kairos* can be found in Jesus' baptism (Matt 3:13-17), transfiguration (17:1-13), crucifixion (27:32-56), resurrection (28:1-10), ascension (Mark 16:19-20) and in the future – the Lord's Day (Rev 22). In all these and many other cases, we can see how *chronos* and *kairos* coexist.

In the Old Testament as well as in the New Testament (e.g. Gen 15:17; Mark 1:15), we can see that the true foundation of hope is in God's promise. There is, of course, a progression from the promise towards its fulfilment that does not mean an end, but it makes sense of the whole journey (Globokar 2019, 612-614). In such a view of time, every moment is important. So, time becomes a 'space' where the hope given by God's promise is fulfilled. Time becomes a 'space' of progression towards the novelty that God gives through his Son, in whom God also shows and reveals God-self.

The highest goal of the spiritual life is not the abundance of knowledge, information or the experience of space or things, but the encounter with sacred moments, i.e., *kairos*. The spiritual experience is not about things that are given to man but about the Presence experienced by man (Roszak and Huzarek 2019). The moment of insight, the touch of the eternal in time, happens within the man and not in the place or space where this event took space (Heschel 2013, 17-21; Avsenik Nabergoj 2020, 522-534).

In Mark's gospel, Jesus' first words are: »The time has come! God's kingdom will soon be here. Turn back to God and believe the good news!« (Mark 1:15) These words make it clear that he ended the time of expectation. Now, this moment has been set by God to save mankind. No longer will the law of repetition apply, the law under which man perceives time as circling, as the rhythm of the seasons, as birth to death. Such an understanding of time poisons the entirety of

³ According to the Hebrew conception of time, the history of mankind is like a tree: it has its beginning, its growth and development. This history is goal-oriented, fruit-oriented. It is a progressive, growing and evolving reality (Skralovnik 2021, 130-131).

a man's life and kills him because it takes away his hope. »This natural conception of time stifles hope and history: ›it cuts the wings of every possibility of a path that would lead to something different and positive.« (Fausti 2007, 32)

Jesus first draws attention to the value of the present. Everything is decided in it. A favourable time, *kairos*, comes when a man understands that the moment of choice for God, his kingdom, is now. »The decisive moment«, as Fausti (33) highlights, »is the decision itself. The present is, therefore, the point in which it is flowing, what it was, and from which it comes what it will be, and both are united in a decision that makes sense of the past and the meaning of the future.«

In such an understanding of time, Jesus is faithful to Judaism, which, as Rabbi Heschel (2013, 20) points out, is 'the religion of time': »Unlike a man who is oriented to a space for which time is monotonous, repetitive, immutable and for which all hours are equal, without peculiarities, empty shells, the Bible perceives the varied character of time. Not even two hours are the same. Every hour is unique and the only one which is given to us at that moment, is the first-class and infinitely precious.«

With Jesus came a decisive moment in the history of mankind (Celarc 2019) because with him came the kingdom of God, which makes visible and unites all the expectations of the people of the Old Testament. When we listen to Jesus' teachings and look at his life, we see this kingdom. Fausti (2007, 34) points out that this kingdom is Jesus himself, »God for man and man for God, who fully realizes God's love for man and man's love for God. No one is far from it or excluded from it; everyone enters into it when he turns to him, loves him and follows him on his path by 'following him' and sharing his destiny of cross and glory, struggle and victory (Mark 8:34-38).«

Of course, it is always necessary to have the awareness that when we listen and watch Jesus Christ, we see the Father and his kingdom. Therefore, Jesus focuses all of his proclamation on the coming of the Kingdom of God (Mark 1:14.15.38; 2:10; 9:45-47; 10:25.26). This is good news, a gospel, an announcement of hope – the kingdom of God is for all (for sinners, the poor, the oppressed, the suffering) (Mark 2:9-11; Matt 9:1-8; 11:2-6; 12:18-21). This hope is given to a Christian by invitation to the Kingdom of God. He renews this hope whenever he prays: »Thy kingdom come.« (Sorč 2003, 399–401) The kingdom of God is a free gift of God, but entry is left to man's freedom. Conversion, to which Jesus encourages us, means turning to him and following him on the path he has shown and shows through his Spirit (Prijatelj 2018, 445; Petkovšek 2019).

Christian hope is the entire life of Jesus Christ (Rom 8:1-16; 2 Cor 8:9; Phil 2:6-11), which, due to his resurrection, carries within it the dimension of the end – the eschaton (Rom 6:9.10) (Benedict XVI 2007, no. 6.26-28). This hope comes from the eschatological gift of the Resurrected – the gift of the Holy Spirit (Rom 15:13; 8:2-3; Gal 5:5). The Spirit is the one that awakens in the heart of the faithful son's trust in the Father (Rom 8:1-16; Gal 4:5-7). Through the Spirit, believers are given hope, which does not embarrass, because after him God's love is poured out into their hearts (Rom 5:5) (Sorč 1995, 123–125; Benedict XVI 2007, no. 4–8.50; Doud 2019, 92–96).

The Judeo-Christian faith is not opium, allowing a man to forget the present evil or dream of a good future. It calls every man to live the present moment in its fullness (Godawa 2018, 829–832). We can say that every passage of the gospel contains the promise of God on which hope is based, which does not deceive (Rom 5; Heb 6). For the one who reads it, it becomes ‚reality‘ when he realizes that ‚the time has been fulfilled‘ in which God, through his Son, wishes to do for him in the power of the Holy Spirit what the narrative speaks of if he is willing to ask and accept his free gift with trusting faith.

In a special way, Christians renew and live this hope in the celebration of the Eucharistic sacrifice of thanksgiving on Sunday, which is »a day of blessed hope and a day of hope for ultimate bliss« (Krajnc 2009, 27). The Eucharist makes it possible to taste in advance the taste of Christ’s promises of full joy (John 15:11).

It expresses a trusting expectation of fulfilling the promise of the final arrival of Jesus Christ in glory, explicitly summed up by the mass prayer/embolism of the Our Father: »when we are full of hope we await the arrival of our Saviour Jesus Christ.« (Rimski missal [Roman Missal] 2010) When the Church brings before God everything humanity carries in itself, »joy and hope, sadness and anxiety,« (GS, no. 1), it receives through Christ the indestructible and firm hope (2 Thess 2:13–17) (John Paul II 1998, 42–43).

Sunday is a weekly Easter for Christians when they celebrate the memory of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, the victory over death, evil and sin, and the beginning of the ‚new creation‘ (2 Cor 5:7) (John Paul II 1998, 13). This is the day of remembrance of baptism when every Christian rises to a new life and hope in Christ (Col 2:12; Rom 6:4–6). Through the celebration of Sunday Eucharist, Christians collectively »testify to God’s holiness and their hope of salvation. They strengthen one another under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.« (Catechism of the Catholic Church 1993, no. 2182)

This day is a living memory and thanksgiving for the creation of the world and for God’s blessing of the Sabbath (Gen 1:1–2; 3), and also for the ‚last day‘ when Christ will come to eternal glory (Acts 1:11) and will renovate all creation (John Paul II 1998, 13). This day is a never-ending prediction of the last day, an immortal life (32). Within it, *chronos* becomes the ‚time of grace‘, *kairos* (Krajnc 2009, 17). This is a day for joy when Christians thank God for their rebirth through the resurrection of his Son that gave them hope that never dies. (John Paul II 1998, 17)

This is a festive day that allows a man to become a man of hope. Without festive days, as Krajnc (2018, 800) points out, »hope has no space to exist«. Celebrating Sunday deters Christians from the danger that everyday times could shut them down. With the eucharistic celebration and festive rest, he can direct his view of Christ and his second coming, and so opening the *chronos* to the *kairos* that Christ brought and brings him again and again, especially on this day. When the whole Christian community cries out together, »Maránatha, come, Lord Jesus!« (Rev 22:20), full of hope and expectation of the last day, it revives its hopes and supports the hope of all people (Paul VI 1975, 78).

4. Conclusion

Either in the philosophical reflection or the biblical texts, hope is primarily an invitation to transcend the factual reality measured in terms of horizontal *chronos*, which is also an invitation to find the meaning of life. »Anyone /.../, who seeks to understand temporality without restriction as the necessary mark of human existence will find hidden from him not only the ‚life beyond‘ time, but also the very meaning of life in *time*.« (Pieper 1986, 16–17) Humans reach their deepest expectations, desires, wishes and longing only if rooted in a spaceless *kairos*, which is vertical, discontinuous, and beyond measurement. *Kairos*, as a look into the future, takes place only in the present ‚now‘, which is as such the foundation of hope. While in the philosophical context *kairos* and hope become an encounter with the invisible that is beyond time, the same encounter in the Biblical context presents the fulfilment of God’s promise.

Abbreviation

GS – Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World *Gaudium et Spes* 1965.

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Med upanjem kot darom in iluzijami samozadostnega subjekta

Between Hope as a Gift And Illusions of a Self-sufficient Subject

Povzetek: Po opisu utvare neskončnega napredka v zgodovini, ki temelji na zavračanju eshatološkega krščanskega upanja, predstavljamo dva sodobna predloga oz. iluziji, kako se izogniti popolnemu brezupu. Prvi ohranja upanje v stvarjenje novega človeka s pomočjo znanosti in tehnologije – razumska korupcija krščanske eshatologije; drugi predlaga, da se v celoti osredinimo na sedanost in opustimo vse upanje – filozofija obupa, ki se prepušča absurdu in nihilizmu. Obe utvari temeljita na antropologiji dejavnega subjekta, ki ima stvari pod nadzorom – kar v sodobni razpravi o definiciji osebe in njenih bioetičnih implikacijah bolj ali manj prevladuje – in zavrača antropologijo dovezetnosti, ranljivosti in odvisnosti. Z roko v roki hodita tudi z antropološkim premikom od primata razuma k primatu svobode, razumljene v subjektivnem smislu. Paradoksalno je, da izkušnja brezizhodnih okoliščin (okoliščin, v katerih je človek upravičeno v skušnjavi, da upanje izgubi) omogoča do upanja privilegiran dostop. Takšne so recimo okoliščine postmoderne subjekta, ujetega v svoj ‚mehurček‘ nadzora nad sedanostjo in nad samim seboj, ki primat pripisuje svobodi, omejeni z ničemer drugim kot z njegovo lastno izbiro. Izkušnja soočanja z brezizhodnimi okoliščinami, ki sprožajo obup, je ironično tudi izkušnja, ki človeku dopušča, da ta ‚mehurček‘ predre in se tako odpre za skrajno drugačnost in upanje. Takšno upanje ni upanje, ki ga subjekt doseže z lastnimi močmi, temveč tip upanja, ki je kakor dar – njegov arhetip je eshatološko krščansko upanje. Upanje je krepost, je moč, je junaška odločnost duše. Najvišja oblika upanja pa je premagan obup. V zaključku poudarjamo, da je upanje konkretizacija pristnega človeškega življenja, ki ga določata tako avtonomija kot skrajna dovezetnost oz. sprejemanje daru.

Ključne besede: upanje, obup, krščanstvo, znanost, tehnologija, nihilizem, absurd, sekularizacija, postmoderna

Abstract: After describing the illusion of indefinite progress in history, based on the rejection of eschatological Christian hope, the author presents two con-

temporary propositions or rather illusions on how to avoid total despair. The first one preserves hope into creating a new man with the help of science and technology – Christian eschatology corrupted by reason; the second one suggests that we should entirely focus on the present and abandon all hope – the philosophy of hope which surrenders itself to absurd and nihilism. These two illusions are based on the anthropology of an active subject who has everything under control – which more or less dominates the contemporary discussion on the definition of a person and their bioethical implications – and rejects the anthropology of susceptibility, vulnerability and dependence. They walk hand in hand with the anthropological shift from the primate of reason to the primate of liberty, understood subjectively. Paradoxically, the privileged access to hope is an experience of hopeless circumstances: circumstances in which man is rightly tempted to lose hope. Such are, for instance, the circumstances of the post-modern subject, caught in his own little ‚bubble‘ of control over the present and over himself, who attributes the primate to liberty, limited by nothing else but his own choice. The experience of facing hopeless circumstances which incite despair is ironically also an experience that allows man to burst this ‚bubble‘ and thus open himself to extreme difference and hope. Such hope is not to hope which the subject could acquire with his own strength; it is the sort of hope which is a gift, and its archetype is the eschatological Christian hope. Hope is a virtue; hope is strength; hope is the heroic determination of a soul. The highest form of hope is to overcome despair. The author concludes that hope is the realisation of the authentic human life determined by autonomy and extreme susceptibility or the gift's acceptance.

Keywords: hope, despair, Christianity, science, technology, nihilism, absurd, secularization, postmodern

1. Uvod

Čas, v katerem živimo, nas zaradi naraščajočega občutka nesmisla življenja in obupovanja vse vabi in sili, da vso širino in vrednost upanja znova odkrijemo in iz njega globlje zaživimo. Upanje kot krščanska krepost se namreč bistveno razlikuje od nekakšnega samoniklega in nerazumnega optimizma, ki se izraža v besedah »bo že kako šlo, saj je še vedno tako bilo.« Upanje je krepost, je moč, je junaška odločnost duše. Najvišja oblika upanja je premagan obup. Navadno mislimo, da je upati lahko. Vendar upajo samo tisti, ki so imeli pogum obupati nad slepili in lažmi, za katerimi so se čutili zavarovane – in so to zmotno imeli za upanje. Če hočemo priti do upanja, moramo iti do konca obupa. Samo kadar prideš do konca noči, srečaš novo zarjo. Pa je za upanje v v sodobni in postmoderni filozofiji ter širši kulturi še kaj prostora? Zdi se, kot da se sodobni človek želi upanju povsem odpovedati – ali pa išče različne nadomestke in utvare in se prepušča zablodam obupa in nesmisla bivanja (Jamnik 2018, 154–159).

Ko si človek razmišljanja, kaj ga lahko doleti v posmrtnem življenju, enkrat ne dovoli več, hitro zdrsne v popolno in brutalno brezbržnost do prihodnosti, ki se vse preveč prilagaja človeškim nagnjenjem. Takoj ko izgubi navado, da svoje največje upe polaga v oddaljene dogodke, brez odlašanja začne zadovoljevati tudi najmanjše želje; in takoj ko izgubi upanje, da bo živel večno, običajno začne ravnati, kot da bo obstajal le še en dan (Tocqueville 1994, 149–150). Tako je Alexis de Tocqueville leta 1840 opisal življenjski slog Američanov, ko je zamrlo eshatološko krščansko upanje.

Kategorija upanja, ki je tako prevladovala v 19. in delu 20. stoletja, se je izkazala zgolj za utvaro postmodernističnega subjekta, značilno razočaranega nad razumom razsvetljenstva – ker je ta obljubljal neskončno teženje k popolnosti človeškega bitja na družbeni, razumski in moralni ravni s pomočjo izobrazbe in znanosti. Z drugimi besedami: temeljni »problem sodobnega sveta in našega obdobja je predvsem v tem, da loči samega sebe od tega primarnega, od Bitja samega kot osnove moralnega delovanja« (Jamnik 2017, 280). Upanje sodobne dobe – kar francoski filozof Paul Ricoeur upravičeno opisuje kot »sekularizacija in /.../ razumska korupcija krščanske eshatologije« (Ricoeur 1965, 81) – je temeljilo na zmožnosti razuma, da z lastnimi močmi uspe doseči blaginjo za vse človeštvo znotraj časovnega, vodoravnega okvirja (Žalec 2019, 412–413).

Izkušnja dveh svetovnih vojn in različne krutosti pa so človeštvo vendarle privedle do obupa nad univerzalnim razumom in ‚religijo‘ napredka, jima vzele veljavo in ju označile kot ‚presežno‘ prevaro, goljufijo (Lear 2006, 1–55). Tu bi lahko za nemškimi filozofom Ernstom Blochom ponovili kritiko krščanskega upanja, ki jo je oblikoval pred pol stoletja: soočamo se s »konstruktom /.../ svetohlinskih duhovnikov« (1986, 1198), versko domišljijo in »praznimi obljubami onstranskega sveta« (592). Ali se razočaranje nad zgodovinskim, družbenim in moralnim upanjem – katerega cilj je bil nadomestiti krščansko upanje in govore o eshatologiji – zdaj umika obupu, kot so ga napovedovali filozofi absurda in nihilisti preteklega stoletja? Ali se ne bi raje odpovedali kar vsemu upanju, tako posvetnemu kot krščanskemu, enkrat za vselej, ker je upanje v resnici zastrupljen dar? Da bi dosegli popolno srečo, blaginjo ali ‚zveličanje‘, k čemur je človek vedno stremel – ali ne bi preprosto opustili dolgoročnosti in večnosti ter se osredinili na kratkoročnost, na ta edinstven sedanjí trenutek, ki ga mimogrede lahko tudi nadziramo, in se osvobodili vseh želja, predvsem želje po prihodnosti? Kot je že leta 1795 predlagal francoski moralist Nicolas Sebastien-Roch – ali bi morda morali v resnici spremeniti napis nad vhodom v pekel, ki ga v *Božanski komediji* navaja Dante (Pekel, Tretji spev, 9) »Opustite vsakršno upanje, vi, ki vstopate [Pekel]« (Alighieri 2005, 22), in zapisati: »Vi, ki vstopate [v Raj], opustite vse upanje« (Sebastien-Roch 1982, 93). Če želite biti srečni, nehajte upati – in to vključuje krščansko upanje. Vsi pogovori o eshatologiji, tako posvetni kot tudi presežni, bi torej pomenili zgolj utvaro in popolno razčlovečenje. V končni razčlembi bi bili s človekovim dostojanstvom v popolnem nasprotju.

Po opisu utvare neskončnega napredka v zgodovini, ki temelji na zavračanju eshatološkega krščanskega upanja, predstavljam dva sodobna predloga, kako se

popolnemu brezupu izogniti. Prvi ohranja upanje v stvarjenje novega človeka s pomočjo znanosti in tehnologije; drugi predlaga, da se v celoti osredinimo na sedanjost in opustimo vse upanje. Pisal bom še o tem, da je privilegiran dostop do upanja izkušnja brezizhodnih okoliščin: okoliščin, v katerih je človek upravičeno v skušnjavi, da upanje izgubi. Odpira se nova vizija upanja, ki ga subjekt ne doseže z lastnimi močmi – upanja, ki je kakor dar, njegov arhetip pa je eshatološko krščansko upanje (Miyazaki 2015, 214–218). Ta vizija odpira pot »bratskemu humanizmu, ki temelji na dialogu, prinaša upanje in vključenost, njegov cilj je upanje za vse, obljuba torej, da ne bo nihče ostal izključen iz človeške družine« (Petkovšek, 2019, 249).

2. Zgodovina utvare in nadomestkov ter zavračanja načela upanja

Sodobni subjekt je zaznamovan z aplikacijo razumske kartezijanske metode in programske vizije Francisca Bacona z namenom ukrotiti tako zgodovino narave kot človeka (Lear 2006, 105–108). Ker s tem zavrača možnost, da bi bil subjekt usode ali previdnosti, še manj pa zunanjih moralnih zakonov, ga zaznamuje nadzor nad lastno osebno in zgodovinsko usodo. Popolna izpolnitev človeškega bitja na ravni človeštva bo udejanjena s kombinacijo znanosti in tehnologije, preobrazbo družbenih struktur ter tudi izobraževanjem za kritično razmišljanje in moralnost. Z zanašanjem na lastne moči bo človek prispel – to je cilj upanja – do boljšega sveta znotraj zgodovinskega okvira: v svet, kjer bo popolnoma svoboden in kjer bo vse zlo, ki je ušlo iz Pandorine skrinjice, uničeno. Pri tem zlu moramo omeniti veliko ‚odсотnico‘ sodobnega zahodnega sveta, zakulisni lik, ki ga poskušamo zanikati ali nadzirati na vse mogoče načine: smrt, vrhunsko antiutopijo (Lear 2006, 103–115; Holtzen 2019, 162–191).

Liberalistični mislec, ki meni, da človek lahko ustvari ‚raj na zemlji‘, John Stuart Mills trdi: »In vendar nihče, čigar mnenje si zasluži trenutek premisleka, ne more dvomiti, da je večino velikega pozitivnega zla na svetu samega po sebi odpravljivega, in bo, če se bo človekovo ravnanje v prihodnosti izboljševalo, na koncu uje-to v zelo ozke okvirje.« (1978, 452) Malce naprej piše, da so »na kratko vsi veliki viri človekovega trpljenja v veliki meri, mnogi pa v celoti, obvladljivi s človekovo skrbjo in prizadevanji« (452) – zahvaljujoč izobrazbi, znanosti in človeški pobudi (Jamnik 2018, 97–113).

Táko upanje sodobnega subjekta se je po izkušnji surovosti totalitarnih sistemov preteklega stoletja, demistifikaciji znanosti pod pokroviteljstvom kritične, relativistične epistemologije, in pa v povezavi z nezaupanjem in naraščajočim strahom pred določenim (tehničnim) napredkom po vrsti tehnoloških in podnebnih katastrof izkazalo za povsem neutemeljeno. Postmoderni človek zavrača možnost teoretičnega in praktičnega razuma, da bi se povzpел nad kulturno in zgodovinsko izkušnjo oz. zavest. Obenem pa razum vse bolj krči na raven tehnike, uporabne, preračunljive misli – in to celo v kontekstu izobraževanja, kot je prodorno izposta-

vila Martha Nussbaum (2010, 1–44). Soočamo se z resnično krizo razumnosti, in ta vodi v krizo absolutnih, izvirnih temeljev, ki jih ni mogoče več odkriti, pa tudi v epistemološki in aksiološki relativizem – v položaj, ko sta pojma resnice in objektivnosti utvara podobno kot koncept absolutnih norm, dobrote in lepote. Presežnosti starega sveta zdaj niso več nič drugega kot izrazi subjektivnosti ali kvečjemu intersubjektivnosti. Postmoderni subjekt zaznamujeta, kot opisuje Jean-Francois Lyotard, »propad univerzalnih razprav« (1988, 11) in »nejevernost do nadzgodb« (1984, 7), ki človekov obstoj ne le osmišljajo, temveč tudi (in še posebej) ponujajo vizijo prihodnjega, objekt upanja – podobno kot so ,sekularizirane religije‘ obljubliale umestitev ,Božjega kraljestva‘ na zemlji zgolj s pomočjo vsemogočnega človeškega razuma (Taylor 2004, 3–22; Jamnik 2018, 220–250).

Postmoderni subjekt upravičeno zavrača razumsko razumevanje kot absolutistično in gotovo iz ospredja umika ,psevdobožanski‘ razum sodobnega subjekta, medtem ko se vendarle osredinja na voljo, tj. na avtonomijo, ki je razumljena kot popolna neodvisnost. Takšno novo središčenje subjekta samo po sebi predvideva antropološki obrat, ki osrednje mesto prepušča volji – vendar te ne vodi več razum, spodbujen s poznavanjem resnice. Postmodernega subjekta ne obvezuje nič več drugega kot le tisto, kar si izbere sam. Pri svoji izbiri pa *a priori* ni omejen z ničimer – vse je mogoče, kot je nekoč zapisal francoski filozof Michel Onfray: »Nič ni obvezno in vse je poljubno.« (2003, 82) Še drugače: ni objektivnih meril, s katerimi bi opredelili hierarhijo izbir. Takšna svoboda se sama loči od obzorij smisla, tako da se v končni analizi predstavlja kot izvir smisla. Ker je lahko osmišljena le sama po sebi, si ne more predstavljati obstoja kakršnega koli resničnega smisla, ki bi izviral od kjer koli drugod.

Ta prvobitni kraj svobode zaznamuje dejstvo, da postmoderni subjekt svojo istovetnost oblikuje sam brez sklicevanja na kakršno koli vrsto človeške narave – kar bi mu svobodo onemogočalo. Tako svojo istovetnost lahko kadar koli spreminja – brez sklicevanja na kakršen koli univerzalni simbolni red, ki bi že obstajal, ali kakršno koli izročilo ali dediščino (Arendt 1977, 173–196). To kulturo brez korenin najbolj zaznamuje osredinjenost na sedanji trenutek, v katerem je bila, kot pravi George Orwell, preteklost mrtva, prihodnosti pa si ni bilo mogoče predstavljati (2017, 27–32). Odrezan od preteklosti in potemtakem od svoje dediščine ter prikrajšan za prihodnost človek živi v sedanjosti, živi za ta trenutek, njegova svoboda pa se v neodgovornosti spreminja v samovoljo in lahkotnost bivanja – v lagodje in udobje ter etični relativizem, kar so temeljni postulati liberalizma (Jamnik 2018, 61–77). Edina ,resnica‘, ki za subjekt lahko obstaja, je tista, ki jo izbere sam v avtarkični sedanjosti: brez vsake navezanosti bodisi na preteklost bodisi na prihodnost, ki še prihaja. Ta ,resnica‘ pa se lahko v naslednjem trenutku obrne v nasprotno resnico, če bi si subjekt tako zaželel. Po propadu gotovosti je postmoderni subjekt zadovoljen z zanašanjem nase in z neodvisnostjo, saj je postal edini, ki lahko zagotavlja smisel. Razprava o preobrazbi sveta s tem izgubi vse temelje. Zavedamo se namreč svoje nezmožnosti, da bi na družbeni, kulturni in moralni ravni dosegli človeško srečo z lastnimi močmi, izkušamo trpljenje in smrtnost ter globoko ranljivost v kontekstu zmogljivosti in učinkovitosti za vsako ceno, ob tem

izkušamo nasilje in krize (kar nekateri vidijo celo kot krutost), zato se morda sprašujemo, kje lahko za upanje sploh še najdemo kakršno koli izhodišče. Zdi se, da nad družbo – nad visoko zmogljivostno družbo – visi elegično razpoloženje, pa občutek nesmiselnosti in pomanjkanja izpolnitve v skupnem pehanju za najboljšimi položaji.

Ameriški filozof Cornel West ta položaj dobro povzema takole:

»Grozi nam morebiten jedrski holokavst. Nebrzdan rasizem, vztrajen patriarhat, obsesne razredne neenakosti, kruta zatiranja s strani držav, prefinjen birokratski nadzor in tehnološke zlorabe narave prevevajo kapitalistične, komunistične in neokolonialne države. Nekoč živahno izročilo meščanskega humanizma je postalo puhlo in sterilno. Emancipacijski namen revolucionarnega marksizma je bil ustavljen in ovržen. Osupljivi učinek katastrofičnega nihilizma je zdaj dolgočasen in nezanimiv. Ko se približujemo koncu dvajsetega stoletja, so bogati intelektualni viri Zahoda v veliki zmešnjavi in pred nami je strašljiva prihodnost.« (1985, 259)

Če prihodnost vzbuja strah, če smo ‚odrezani od upanja‘, ki nam ga obljublja prometjske religije napredka in krščanski eshatološki diskurz, če, kot je Eugene Ionesco trdil leta 1972, nam je »zgodovina postregla z lažjo in nas prevarala v upanju« (1979, 64) – kako lahko potem znotraj kulture brez temeljev, oznanjajoče subjekt, ki ne priznava drugega gospodarja kot zgolj sebe, in v okoliščinah, ki se na prvi pogled zdijo kot dokončno brezizhodne (kot nekdo, ki je obsojen na smrt ali neozdravljivo bolan; na kratko: v okoliščinah, ki človeka ženejo v obup ali ga ‚hranijo z obupom‘ (Cottier 1970, 37)), še gojimo upanje?

3. Dva nadomestka in utvari za upanje: vsemogočnost tehnologije in osredotočenje na sedanost brez upanja

Zavedajoč se zgodovinske utvare in usmerjen vase je človek nagnjen k obupu. Sodobna družba predlaga več načinov, kako se izogniti brodolomu, do kakršnega lahko tak odnos privede. Tu ne bomo razpravljali o zelo razširjeni praksi pobega v zabavo, da človek ne bi razmišljal o smrti, ki ga čaka, tudi ne o pobegu v nenehne spremembe, da bi se osvobodil vseh skrbi in kakršnega koli pristnega zanimanja. Večno aktualne pa so besede Blaisa Pascala iz leta 1669, št. 171: »Edina stvar, ki nas tolaži v naši bedi, je razvedrilo, in vendar je to naša največja beda. Kajti prav to nas ovira, da bi razmišljali o sebi in nas spodbuja, da se brezčutno uničujemo. Brez tega bi bili v stanju dolgočasja in to dogločasje bi nas spodbudilo, da bi iskali trdnejše poti za izhod iz njega. Toda razvedrilo nas zabava in nas nezavedno vodi v smrt.« (1986, 88)

Spregovoril bom o dveh predlogih (nadomestkih in utvarah), kako ne zapasti v obup: prvi svoje upanje utemeljuje na vsemogočnosti tehnologije in znanosti ter *a priori* domnevi, da je vse mogoče; drugi trdi, da je ločen od slehernega upanja,

ker se želi osrediniti na edinstven sedanji trenutek. Oba predloga predpostavljata določeno antropologijo, ki jo zaznamujejo tri vrste dualizma: (1) med človeškim telesom in njegovimi strastmi na eni strani in razumom, omejenim na njegove tehnične, preračunljive razsežnosti, na drugi; (2) med tem razumom in voljo, ki jo razumemo kot povsem svobodno – z drugimi besedami, da sami odločamo, kaj je ‚resnično‘ in ‚dobro‘; (3) med zahtevo po nadzoru in udejanjanju t. i. osebnih sposobnosti na eni strani ter dojemljivostjo in dajanjem kot temeljnima razsežnostima človeške osebe na drugi.

3.1 Tehnologija in znanost kot ‚novo stvarjenje‘ za avtonomni pragmatični razum

Prvi predlog predpostavlja, da je prizadevanje dojeti bistveno naravo stvari, ki se skriva za določenimi pojavi, povsem brezupno: ne zato, ker razum do tega sploh ne bi imel dostopa, kot trdi Immanuel Kant, temveč zato, ker narava stvari preprosto ne obstaja – in sem spada tudi in predvsem človeška narava. Pravzaprav ji ni priznana nikakršna brezčasna ali brezgodovinska resnica. Ameriški filozof Richard Rorty pojasnjuje: »Povpraševanje in utemeljevanje imata veliko skupnih ciljev, nimata pa vseobsegajočega cilja, ki se imenuje resnica ... «(1999, 37) »Pragmatisti – tako klasični kot ‚neo‘ – ne verjamejo, da obstaja način, kakršne so stvari v resnici ... (27)« »Descartesov ‚naravni red razuma‘ naj bi sledil, ko upravičimo prepričanja. Nobene dejavnosti ni, ki bi se imenovala ‚vedenje‘, ki bi imela svojo naravo in bi še čakala, da jo odkrijemo ...« (36)

Ob ozadju odprave razločevanja med intrinzično in ekstrinzično razsežnostjo stvari – pa tudi med »stvarnostjo in navideznostjo« (50) – Rorty trdi, da intrinzična narava stvari ne obstaja, obstajajo le ekstrinzični odnosi. Ti so odvisni od človeških ‚potreb‘, pa tudi od človeškega jezika. Merila za razločevanje med stvarmi so tako v njihovi uporabnosti v odnosu do cilja, ki ga svobodno izbere subjekt.

»Če ni znanja, ki bi prevzelo obliko stavčnega odnosa, potem ni ničesar, kar bi morali vedeti o čemer koli, razen o odnosu le-tega do drugih stvari. Vztrajati, da obstaja razlika med nerelacijskim *ordo essendi* [red biti] in relacijskim *ordo cognoscendi* [red vedenja], pomeni, da neizogibno poskušamo poustvariti Kantovsko stvar po sebi. Če naredimo ta korak, potešimo svoje hrepenenje po neposrednosti in željo po odrešenjskem odnosu z nečloveško silo, z utopičnim upanjem, ki ga priporoča pragmatizem.« (34)

Pogled, da obstaja – tako na ontološki kot tudi na moralni ravni – svetovni red, neodvisen od subjektivne volje, je po Rortyjevem mnenju »določena predstava, katere ujetniki smo« (43). Ameriški filozof razglaša skrajno premoč upanja – cilj katerega je dosegljiv s človeško voljo – nad znanjem, ki po njegovem predpostavlja absolutno resnico, ta pa preprečuje sleherno izbiro in s tem tudi sleherno preobrazbo človekovega položaja. Trdi celo, da upanje lahko obstaja le, če človek zavrača možnost univerzalne razumske resnice, kot je recimo možnost Boga. Njegova vera, ki naj bi v postmodernem svetu varovala pred obupom, je opustitev upa-

nja, da bi našli resnico. Zato nasprotuje Paulu Ricoeuru, ki pripominja: »Trdim, da je edinost resnice brezčasna naloga zgolj zato, ker gre najprej za eshatološko upanje.« (1965, 55)

Toda ta opustitev upanja ne pomeni brezupa, temveč odpira pot ,upanju', ki potrjuje širitev domiselne moči, kaj vse bi človek lahko postal v prihodnosti; cilj te poti bo dosežen, če se bo človek zanašal na lastne sposobnosti. Rorty svojo raziskavo zaključuje takole: »To premoč sem pojasnil kot prednostno potrebo po ustvarjanju novih načinov, kako biti človek, in kako naj ta novi človek poseli novo nebo in novo zemljo, onkraj [zastarele] želje po stabilnosti, varnosti in redu.« (1999, 88)

Za stvarjenje tega ,novega neba', kjer da bo človek osvobojen vseh svojih pomanjkljivosti in nepopolnosti in v katerem da bo ustvarjeno popolno telo (Rifkin 1983, 17), se lahko zahvalimo tehnološki, znanstveni evoluciji, ki spreminja naš odnos do narave in do našega lastnega človeškega stanja, evoluciji, ki je »nenehna, hitra, nepredvidljiva in ne *a priori* omejena« (Hottois 1999, 76), kot pojasnjuje Gilbert Hottois. V tem kontekstu upanje temelji na »človeški (tehnični) sposobnosti, da posreduje v stanju, ki je človeštvu dodeljeno z naravno evolucijo, ter da ga postopno spremeni, brez kakršnih koli *a priori* omejitev« (76–77). Naključnost življenja človeka ne nakazuje njegove nespremenljivosti, toda celo v svojem načelu je povsem vodljiva. Za avtonomni subjekt je namreč uresničljivo vse – ni več stvarnosti, ki bi nadzoru subjekta lahko pobegnila.

Osnova t. i. pragmatičnega upanja temelji na načelu utilitarnega, funkcionalnega razuma, skupaj s kategorijo neomejenih možnosti, na kar je opozoril tudi nemški filozof Ernst Bloch v svojem znamenitem delu *Princip upanja*. Ta predlog je povezan s preroško obljubo boljše prihodnosti, ki jo zagovarja filozofija napredka. Te ne moremo doseči s pomočjo izobrazbe ali spreminjanjem družbenega konteksta, v katerem se človek razvija, temveč v preobrazbi, celo evolucijski preobrazbi človeka zaradi tehnološkega napredka. Tako upanje v to, kar nas še čaka, v bistvu temelji na človekovi zmožnosti za lastno spremembo, na moči njegove sposobnosti obvladati in nadzorovati svoje telo, ki da bo le še stroj. Kakršno koli nasprotovanje temu upanju je izraz strahu – temu pa se je treba upreti tako, da razvijemo ,hevristično drznost', ki je po besedah Michela Onfraya del zaželjenega projekta »razkristjanjevalne civilizacije« (2003, 91).

3.2 Postmoderno zavračanje upanja: prepustiti se sedanjemu trenutku in svobodi

Drugi predlog (nadomestek) za pobeg pred brezupom se zdi povezan s pogledom pesimističnih filozofov absurda iz dvajsetega stoletja, za katere je upanje zgolj utvara in celo – če navedem Nietzscheja – največje zlo, saj podaljšuje človekovo trpljenje (2005, 60–69). Nemški filozof določeno interpretacijo Pandorine skrinjice tako obrača na glavo. Na dan poroke z Epimetejem, Prometejevim bratom, je iz radovednosti odprla skrinjico, čeprav ji je bilo to prepovedano. Iz skrinjice se je sprostil vse človeško zlo. Skrinjico je hitro spet zaprla, toda v njej je ostalo

le upanje, ki naj bi ljudem omogočilo, da bi lažje prestali vse bolezni, trpljenje in nasilje, ki jih doletijo v življenju – in predvsem smrt. Za mnoge grške filozofe pa upanje v resnici sploh ni v pomoč; ravno nasprotno, upanje je izvor vsega našega trpljenja, tesnob in strahov.

Francoski filozof Andre Comte-Sponville trdi: »Človek ne ukrepa zaradi upanja, temveč zaradi volje« (2000, 91) – z drugimi besedami: kar si subjekt želi, si lahko pridobi z lastnimi močmi (Rasmussen 2015, 233–240). Sebastian-Rochom ob tem pravi: »Upanje ni nič drugega kot slepar, ki nas nenehno zavaja, zame osebno pa se sreča začne šele takrat, ko upanje izgubim.« (1982, 44) Gre za to, da človeka osvobodimo utvare in obljub upanja, vseh besed o *post mortem* eshatologiji, da lahko končno doživi tako srečo, kakršno lahko doseže z lastnimi močmi. Da bi to šlo, nekateri predlagajo, naj si prizadevamo za zmanjšanje obzorja preteklosti in prihodnosti ter dosežemo edinstveno razsežnost sedanjosti. Sodobni človek – neodvisen in suveren, brez večnosti, brez želje po večnem življenju po smrti – je prikrašan za dolgoročnost; nevtralizira tako preteklost kot prihodnost.

Ta predlog se zelo dobro sklada s sodobno izkušnjo skrajne kompresije časa, predvsem zaradi tehnološkega napredka, pa tudi izgube izročil, ki zagotavljajo strukturo. Prevladujoča logika kratkoročne, takojšnje in neposredne zadovoljitve želja in interesov vodi v ‚kulturo‘, ki je povsem minljiva in negotova. Stephen Bertman to moč sedanjosti dobro povzema takole:

»Če izničimo pogled v preteklost in zanikamo resnični pogled v prihodnost, smo kmalu skrajno izolirani v sedanjosti. Tu obtičimo, lebdimo v začasni breztežnosti, obračamo se na sedanjost kot na svoj edini temelj zadovoljitve in potešitve, edini vir varnosti v kozmosu, kjer so nam bili zaradi nadzemske hitrosti odvzeti vsi drugi viri varnosti. Hitimo skozi čas in se oklepamo trenutka.« (1998, 2)

To krčenje naše pozornosti (njeno odvrčanje od tega, kar nas še čaka) na sedanjosti trenutek, to zmagoslavje ali posvetitev sedanjosti oblikuje bivanje v svetu posameznika, ki je vse bolj zadovoljen s stvarmi, ki delujejo, ki so uporabne in mu prinesejo takojšnje zadoščenje. Logika preživetja in intenzivnega življenja v sedanjosti brez trajanja je prevladala nad ‚logiko‘ upanja – in to tudi na politični ravni. Ta umik v sedanjost, ki ga Gabriel Marcel opisuje kot »začasna insularizacija človeka« (1991, 36), še posebej spodbuja ideal, da človek s tem postane gospodar svojega časa in (še bolj odločilno) zbeži pred eksistencialnimi negotovostmi, ki jih predstavljajo smrt in vprašanja o smislu obstoja (Taylor 2004, 185–189). Resnično, zavedanje, da človekova smrt lahko pride kadar koli, vpliva na odnos do prihodnosti v tolikšni meri, kot so naša dejanja prežeta z negotovostjo glede njihovega uspeha – spremlja jih strah pred razočaranim upanjem.

Andre Comte-Sponville upanje istoveti z »željo, ki ne ve, ali bo izpolnjena ali ne« (2000, 45), in si ga predstavlja kot željo, katere cilj ne more biti uresničen le s človeškimi močmi. Subjekt si nečesa želi, a tega ni sposoben doseči le s svojo voljo. Da ne bi bil odvisen od drugih in bi se izognil začaranemu krogu razočaranja

in trpljenja, ki sta del upanja, francoski filozof sledi nauku stoikov in Spinoze ter predlaga, naj se osredinimo zgolj na to, kar je odvisno od subjekta – na to, kar je odvisno od njegove volje: »Odvisno je od vas: ne gre več za vprašanje upanja, temveč za vprašanje volje!« (48) Takšna volja vključuje tudi sposobnost. Nasprotno pa »upati pomeni želeti si brez lastne sposobnosti« (49). Posledični napotek je, da naj »nehamo upati« (79) in »živimo za dobro, namesto da upamo, da bi živel« (88.) Kar se tiče dejanj, ta upanja ne potrebujejo. Spinoza to ponazarja s podarkom, da bolj ko si prizadevamo, da nas vodi razum, manj smo odvisni od upanja; prizadevamo si, da bi osvobodili strahu – in kolikor je le mogoče, vladali svoji sreči, usmerjali svoja dejanja z zanesljivimi modrimi nasveti (Spinoza 2004, 244).

Cilj bi bil obvladati – v dvojnem smislu nadzora in vladanja – prihodnost s ,programiranjem upanja' ali drugače: zagotoviti si poznavanje prihodnosti. V primeru stvari, ki od naše volje niso odvisne, smo lahko zadovoljni z razumskimi domnevami, dejavno povezavo s prihodnostjo – kolikor je ta prihodnost odvisna od osebe, ki ukrepa v sedanjem trenutku. Takšen odnos je treba razčleniti in mu določiti parametre, ki bodo dopuščali aktualizacijo prihodnjega stanja, z drugimi besedami: »to je načrt, volja, program; to ni upanje.« (Comte-Sponville 2000, 78)

Upanje si predstavljamo kot strast in šibkost, ne pa kot krepost in moč, kar bi vključevalo razum in voljo – kot v srednjeveškem izročilu. Comte-Sponville to vračanje upanja, ki ga opisuje kot »željo, ki se nanaša na nestvarnost« (53), povzema kot »stalno, nenehno, neprekinjeno srečo /.../, ki so pravzaprav zgolj sanje« (83). Ob tem navaja samozadostnost in odvisnost subjekta: »Če si moder človek želi le to, kar je odvisno od njega (njegove volje), ali kar pozna (stvarnost), zakaj bi potreboval upanje?« (49) In po nekaj straneh: »Moder človek /.../ nima več ničesar, na kar bi čakal ali za kar bi upal. Kajti popolnoma srečen je, ničesar mu ne manjka. In ker mu ničesar ne manjka, je popolnoma srečen.« (55) In ker nima upanja, se modri človek tudi ničesar ne boji, trdi Spinoza, kajti ta dva pojma vedno hodita z roko v roki: »Ni upanja brez strahu in ni strahu brez upanja.« (2004, 297)

Po zgledu Spinoze in izročila stoikov Comte-Sponville predlaga, da naj bomo manj odvisni od upanja, da naj se osvobodimo strahu – oboje sta namreč obliki trpljenja – in se osredinimo na sedanost. Osvobožen vezi upanja »človek nima več česa izgubiti, ker je rešen, rešen tukaj in zdaj. V tem življenju. Na tem svetu« (Comte-Sponville 2000, 57). Zato da je nesmiselno upati na večnost, če razumemo, da smo pravzaprav že tam: čas je omejen na eno samo razsežnost sedanosti. Srečo zaznamuje določen obup – ,radostni obup' –, ki ne upa več in je zadovoljen s sedanostjo. Nekdo, ki živi na ta način, »nima več ničesar, za kar bi upal, ker ima vse, kajti sedanost je zanj dovolj, celo več kot dovolj« (61).

Jean-Jacques Rousseau predlog za življenje v sedanosti dobro povzema, ko pojasnjuje: »Moji domišljiji ne preostane ničesar; ničesar si ne želim, zaznavati in uživati sta zame ena in ista stvar; živim naenkrat v vseh osebah, ki jih ljubim, prežet sem s srečo in življenjem: o, Smrt, pridi, kadar želiš! Ne bojim se te več, saj sem živel, pričakoval sem te, nobenih novih občutkov ne morem več izkusiti, ničesar več mi ne moreš odvzeti.« (1977, 566)

Modrega stoika, starodavnega ali sodobnega, Marta Nussbaum opisuje kot ‚samozadostnega‘, (1994, 362), ki ima samega sebe pod posebej popolnim nadzorom. Ta samozadostnost nakazuje popolno odpravo strasti, kar vključuje tudi upanje. Dejanja dobrega, modrega človeka so tako primerljiva z veljavnimi zakoni; z navajanjem Seneke Nussbaumova pojasnjuje, da je modri človek »zavarovan, zvest, zanesljiv, brez strasti – in zanesljiv prav zato, ker je brez strasti in zatorej do skrajnosti sposoben razumskega samoodločanja« (392). Modri človek uresničuje, kar nadzoruje – tako da se osredinja na sedanost, da ga ne bi zmotil pogled v prihodnost, ki ni več pod njegovim nadzorom. Upanje, da bo nekaj dosegel v prihodnosti, ga lahko resnično bremeni, ker ga tako zelo skrbi, kako bi to lahko dosegel, in zaradi trpljenja, ki bi ga moral prestajati, če zaželenega stanja ne bi dosegel (Holzen 2019, 187–192). Nicolas Grimaldi ugotavlja: »Ko se za izpolnitev svojega obstoja zanašamo na prihodnost, nas želja izroči tesnobi, nezaupanju, strahu in žalosti, ker nas izpostavi smrti. Želeti si pomeni postati umrljiv.« (2005, 238–239)

Da se ne bi vznemiril in postal tesnoben, da bi se izognil trpljenju, si modri človek ne sme več želiti ničesar, ne sme več upati – in tako ne bo več umrljiv. Ali kot povzema Chantal Delsol: »Modri človek je tisti, ki je samozadosten. Ki onkraj tega ne išče in si ne želi ničesar. Človek postane moder z omejevanjem, omejitvami, z odpovedjo željam in nespametnemu upanju. Želeti si, kar je, pomeni, da človekovo željo skrčimo na tisto, kar že obstaja, da ne bi podlegli pohlepu in neuslišanemu upanju.« (2011, 18)

Pomembno je, da pojasnimo, da se to neuslišano upanje nikoli ne potopi v nihilizem. Kljub temu pa se postmoderni stoik razlikuje od starodavnega in sodobnega, ker zavrača univerzalni svetovni red – pa tudi sposobnost razuma, da bi takšen red vzpostavil. Postmoderni stoik si predstavlja primat volje nad razumom, saj je prepričan, da so edini cilji tisti, ki izvirajo iz subjektivne svobode. Končnost, ki bi bila neodvisna od subjekta, ne obstaja – tako da cilji niso del ontološkega reda, temveč so zgolj oblika psihološke stvarnosti. Primat subjektivne volje nad razumom nakazuje, da se subjekt vrednotam, ki jih ni sam izbral, ne podreja, kajti takšna podreditev bi bila v nasprotju z njegovo svobodo ali celo njegovim do-
stojanstvom.

3.3 Sodobni čas kot redukcija upanja na tehnološke zmožnosti in postmoderno zatrtje upanja

Če do sedaj povedano povzamemo: lahko bi rekli, da trenuten diskurz o možnosti upanja (in predvsem možnosti eshatološkega diskurza) zaznamuje krčenje upanja – bodisi pri tem, česa je samostojni subjekt znotraj tehnoloških možnosti in dopustnosti sposoben po lastnih močeh, ali pa, ravno nasprotno, v smeri popolnega zatrtja. V nobenem od primerov pa si diskurz ne prizna, da bi lahko obstajala stvarnost, presegajoča znanje človeka, ki bi ga povedla onkraj območja, ki ga pozna in nadzoruje (Klun 2019, 369–371). Če svet ocenjujemo le z vidika funkcionalnosti, z drugimi besedami, kot nekaj, kar je treba nadzirati in si podrediti v smislu uporabnosti, potem v človeškem razumu za skrivnost ni več prostora.

Razum predlaga, da se osredinimo zgolj na to, kar Marcel opisuje kot »problematično« (61), v nasprotju z mislijo o skrivnostnosti, ki ohranja naš obstoj »v stvarnosti, katere korenine segajo globlje od tega, kar bi v ožjem smislu opisali kot problematično«. Smrt je v ta okvir vključena kot uničenje mehanizma, »kot padec v neuporabnost, kot čista in preprosta izguba« (48). Od tod sledi, da vprašanje o smislu smrti in posmrtnega življenja razumemo preprosto kot nekaj odvečnega ali v najboljšem primeru »čudnega« (Asheur 2009).

Napetost med nadzorom nad samim seboj, ujetostjo posameznika v ,mehurček' na eni strani, in na drugi upanjem, pa tudi kontemplacijo in ljubeznijo, razkriva razliko med dvema tipoma upanja, ki se med seboj dopolnjujeta: prvo se zanaša na lastno moč človeškega bitja, drugo pa zaupanje polaga v roke drugega, vključno s popolnimi tujci – z željo uresničiti svoj projekt, v katerega vlaga toliko upov. Postmoderni subjekt drugi tip upanja zavrača, ker sega naravnost v srce njegovega svetovnega nazora, ki ga po Marcelovih merilih lahko označimo kot »željo po dekreciji« (Marcel 1950–1951, 152), po Onfrayu kot voljo po »razkristjanjenju civilizacije« (2003, 101). Ta želja po ,dekreciji' temelji na domnevi, da je nemogoče biti ustvarjen in obenem svoboden ali drugače: biti subjekt stvarnosti, ki se nadzoru volje izmika. Postmoderni človek kartezijansko razumevanje svobode, ki se podreja že ustaljeni ureditvi, ki ga presega in jo je mogoče odkriti, zavrača – saj trdi, da je lahko svoboden le v ustvarjalnosti, kar pomeni, da je vir lastnih vrednot in celo (v skrajnem primeru) svoje prave narave le on sam.

Zares, tip upanja, katerega predmet bi bil človeški moči brez dodatne pomoči nedostopen, je z antropologijo sodobnega subjekta, ki sam sebe določa z absolutno neodvisnostjo (kar na koncu pripelje do nekakšne oblike relativizma), v skrajnem nasprotju. Ob navajanju antropologije, ki obstoj človeške narave zavrača in človeško bitje določa kot »prilagodljivo, spremenljivo, samooblikujočo žival« (Rorty 1998, 170), Rorty podpira ,kulturni relativizem', ki je »povezan z iracionalizmom, ker zanika obstoj moralno relevantnih transkulturnih dejstev« (171), kar vključuje človekove pravice. Nezagodovinska resnica ali racionalnost ne obstajata (176), zato tudi ni meril, ki bi dopuščala, da ideje označimo kot iracionalne ali dejanja kot dobra ali slaba sama po sebi. Ob zavračanju možnosti oblikovanja univerzalne moralnosti fašizmu in rasizmu nasprotuje s pomočjo razuma – le zato, ker ne želi imeti z njima nobenega opravka, in tako uporablja preprosto subjektivno izbiro: »Fašizem, rasizem /.../, vse to se mi gnusi in če se borim proti tem pojavom, tega ne počnem zato, ker jih ,resnica' objektivno obsoja /.../, ampak preprosto zato, ker *nočem* imeti opravka z njimi.« (Comte-Sponville 1989, 140)

Zgoraj opisano nasprotovanje svobodnega subjekta upanju, ki je razumljeno kot dar, je med sodobnimi misleci vse bolj prisotno. Vse pogostejše so trditve o nezmožnosti življenja po smrti – in če se zanašamo na upanje, je to enako, kot če človeka zaupamo varuhu. Filozofija upanja, ki trdi, da v osrčju človekovega obstoja, pa tudi v sami stvarnosti, nekaj velja dar, ki ga moramo sprejeti, skrivnost, čudenje in osuplost ter da uresničitev cilja, v katerega upamo, ne more biti rezultat človeškega dela, dejanj – taka filozofija bi nasprotovala idejam, ki prevladujejo v naši kulturi, zlasti osebnosti, avtonomije in sožitja, ki jih določata spoštovanje in

enakopravnost. Spodbujanje upanja v odraslem človeku bi pomenilo, da ga ne jemljemo kot enakopravnega partnerja. V odraslega vcepiti upe, za katere ni razumskega manevrskega prostora, pomeni, da tega človeka ne obravnavamo kot partnerja v razpravi. Kot bomo lahko videli v nadaljevanju, se takšne misli in razprave v sodobni literaturi pojavljajo vse pogosteje.

Iz te ‚logike‘ sledi, da si upanje avtonomnega subjekta ne zasluži, ker bi bil ta odvisen od drugih (Holtzen 2019, 162–182). Resnično, upati na stvarnost, uresničitev katere ni odvisna od človekove volje, je razvedrilo bolnika, ki je odvisen od drugih. Postmoderni človek se tako s sodobnim človekom strinja glede ene točke: oba ohranjata svojo neodvisnost glede na dar. To izključuje misel, da je sprejemljivost sestavni del polnega človeškega življenja – torej da bi morali človeka obravnavati kot bitje, ki si zastavlja eksistencialno vprašanje o uganki lastnega konca: smrti.

4. Upanje kot dar: Možnost eshatološkega upanja

Postmoderni človek, ki se je zatekel v svoj ‚mehurček‘ sedanosti in postal gospodar samega sebe, vir vseh vrednot in vsega smisla s pomočjo svoje ustvarjalne volje, slej ko prej izkusi svojo globoko ranljivost, ko v njegovo samozadostnost vdrejo trpljenje, bolezen, smrt ali celo ljubezen. Pride trenutek, ko subjekt pred človeškim gorjem ne more več pobegniti, kajti to pride in prevzame njegov sedanji trenutek – njegov ‚mehurček‘. Sovražnik je na položaju moči: trpljenje in smrt, ki jima je skušal pobegniti, tako da ju je nadziral ali zanikal, se vrneta z vso močjo in ga potisneta v položaj, ko mora zavzeti določeno stališče – ko mora izbrati. Ker ko sovražnik enkrat vdre v njegov ‚mehurček‘, subjekt nima več moči in izkusi globoko nemoč. Znajde se v položaju, ko ga mika, da bi obupal; potisnjen je v kot in mora izbirati med brezupom in upanjem, cilja katerega pa ne more doseči z lastnimi močmi. Izbira, da se odpre razsežnosti upanja; predvideva, da se človek strinja z decentralizacijo samega sebe in sprejme stališče, da je minljiv. Ali človek lahko živi v kraljestvu razuma, kot ga razumejo stoiki, se sprašuje Martha Nussbaum, in to upravičeno – »in je še vedno bitje, ki se čudi, ki je žalostno, ki ljubi?« (1994, 358). Ionesco postmodernemu človeku postavlja takšno diagnozo:

»Pozabili smo, kaj naj bi bila kontemplacija. Ne vemo več, kako videti, ne vemo več, kako ustaviti vsesplošno razdraženost, kako se za trenutek umiriti in si to razdraženost ogledati. Ne vemo več, kako si ogledovati naše pivnice, naša tla; nimamo prostega časa za ta trenutek, pa vendar, če se ozremo okoli sebe, če se ozremo vase – na ta način bomo morda opazili, da se bo nekaj pojavilo. Le če bomo pozorno ‚opazovali‘, bomo lahko znova odkrili svežino čudenja, čudenje otroka, zaradi česar bo svet znova postal mlad in nedolžen, kot na prvi dan stvarjenja. Nujno potrebno je, da se znova naučimo čudenja.« (1979, 73)

Seveda pogled na svet s čudenjem nakazuje drugo vrsto odnosa med duhovnimi sposobnostmi človeka in svetom, kot je tisti, ki ga zagovarja razumsko razsve-

tljenstvo ali postmoderna. Prvi ima v mislih razum, ki upravlja in nadzira izbire volje; drugi voljo vidi, kot da je od razuma neodvisna, kajti volja merila resnice in dobrote določa sama zase. Nasprotno pa pristno upanje nakazuje sodelovanje med obema: razum spodbuja voljo, da se odpre svetu, volja pa spodbuja razum, da stori enako. S tega stališča razuma ne označuje obvladovanje znanja z namenom nadzirati svet, temveč bolj odprtost do sveta, ki je dosti večji od samega subjekta: odprtost, ki se izmika njegovemu nadzoru, toda ravno zato pripravlja prostor za razmislek, ki mora biti v odnosu do svojega cilja sprejemljiv. Naloga volje je, da potrjuje, odobrava in se zavezuje v svetu, katerega del je – vendar pa je ta svet dosti bolj prostran od nje same. Njena vloga je torej privolitev, da se je svet dotakne in da se mu podredi, da v ta svet privoli; da je zavezana v in za ta svet.

Ta dvojna odprtost razuma in volje svetu in drugim v tem svetu istočasno pomeni odprtost za upanje, ki ni zgolj krepost, ki naj bi jo pridobili ali celo prejeli, temveč tudi način življenja: dobra navada. Kot tako upanje nakazuje prav skrajno spreobrnjenje posameznikovega pogleda na svet, tako da se ta odpre stvarem, ki od subjekta niso odvisne (ne na ravni razuma ne na ravni volje), ki se mu izmikajo – stvarem, nad katerimi nima nadzora (Žalec 2019, 415–416). Upanje je primer nenadziranja, daru, zastonskega daru v najskrajnejšem pomenu te besede. Edino pristno upanje je tisto, ki se nanaša na to, kar ni odvisno od nas; upanje, katerega gonilo je dar – čista in absolutna darežljivost bivanja.

5. Sklep

Postmoderni poziv k decentralizaciji sodobnega subjekta, ki temelji na racionalističnem *cogito*, protislovno vodi v še skrajnejšo radikalizacijo subjekta, ki sebe določa s svobodo, ‚odrešeno‘ slehernih univerzalnih zahtev – sleherne povezave s presežnim svetom, slehernih univerzalnih vrednot in sleherne človeške narave. Kljub zapiranju v lasten ‚mehurček‘ sedanjega trenutka se v življenju neizogibno pojavijo trenutki, ko se ta ‚mehurček‘ razpoči. Soočen s skušnjavo obupa mora postmoderni subjekt izbirati med obupom in upanjem. Če pri tem predvidevamo, da absolutno prednost daje volji, mora njegova volja dati privoljenje razumu, da ta postane sprejemljiv in dopusti, da stvarnost nanj naredi kakršen koli vtis. Vsemogočna volja mora torej opustiti lasten nadzor in priznati razumu, da ima prav: ne vsemogočnemu racionalističnemu razumu sodobnih filozofov, temveč premišljuječemu razumu, ki je tako skrajno odprt za svet, da se ga ta lahko dotakne (Petkovšek 2019, 21–24). Od tod sledi, da mora postmoderna volja sprejeti odločitev, ki jo bo prejela od drugod – z drugimi besedami, sprejeti mora dejstvo, da ni več gospodar (Miyazaki, 2015, 181–199). Razum pa mora biti pripravljen vstopiti na območje skrivnosti in gostote stvari, ki se njegovemu nadzoru izmikajo. Skratka, postmoderni subjekt mora priznati, da je ranljiv v odprtosti upanja, v kateri njegov obstoj in prihodnost nista več v njegovi pristojnosti. Dopustiti mora, da lahko nad njegovim obstojem ‚bdi‘ druga sila, kot to z metaforo ponazarja C. S. Lewis:

»Smo kot kopalci, ki želijo svoja stopala – ali stopalo – ali nožni palec – ohraniti na dnu, kajti če bi izgubili tla pod nogami, bi to pomenilo, da se morajo vdati veličastnemu padcu v vodo. Posledica slovesa od naše zadnje zahteve po naši neločljivi svobodi/.../ [je] resnična svoboda.« (1960, 149)

Postmoderni subjekt se lahko odzove skušnjavam obupa le tako, da prizna še večje upanje – da si dovoli izgubiti tla pod nogami, da se iz usmerjenosti vase obrne v svet, ki se nadzoru njegove volje in njegovega povsem razumskega znanja izmika (Jamnik 2018, 154–161). Da bi to drugo upanje lahko sprejel, mora biti »povsem osvobojen vezi lastništva v vseh oblikah« (Marcel 1951, 61), pojasnjuje Marcel – vključno z ovirami, ki jih prinaša nadziranje stvarnosti in samega sebe. Josef Pieper ugotavlja, da je človek je sam sebi dolžan »opustiti razumski samonadzor in avtarkijo« (2000, 70). Pravzaprav je ravno ta odpoved obenem tudi odprtost in razpoložljivost za svet – ter preseganje ‚mehurčka‘ sedanjosti. Postmoderni subjekt se mora znova naučiti na stvari gledati drugače: ne le skozi prizmo instrumentalnega in operacijskega razmišljanja, ne le z vidika njihove uporabnosti. Naučiti (ali znova naučiti) se mora videti, poudarja Pieper (1990, 29–36), dovoliti si biti znova navdušen nad skrivnostjo stvari prek posrednika, kontemplativne misli, ki je postala sodobnemu človeku tako zelo tuja. Zares, kontemplacija in čudenje svetu (in sebi) nakazuje temeljni odnos: način gledanja, ki je onkraj pojavov in produktivne razsežnosti. Takšno poslušanje v sedanjem trenutku dopušča pojavitve drugosti, ki se delno razkriva in tako stvarem vrača gostoto bivanja in njihove skrivnosti, njihove »svete neuporabnosti«, tako da jih »vrača /.../ v svet celosti« – kot poudarja Max Picard (Picard 1952, 19). Svoboda najde večjo svobodo, ko pristane na večjo odprtost za svet, ki ga ne nadzira (Gaston 2017, 3–25). Pieper meni, da je človekovo dostojanstvo ogroženo, ko ljudje ne znajo več gledati na svet ‚z lastnimi očmi‘: ko ne znajo več presegati uporabnega in zabavnega in s tem priznati (na sprejemljiv način) globine stvari, ki jo premorejo tudi sami.

»Zavedam se, da obstajajo stvarnosti, ki jih lahko prepoznamo le s ‚poslušanjem‘. Kljub temu ostaja dejstvo, da le z gledanjem, zares le z gledanjem z lastnimi očmi ustvarjamo svojo notranjo avtonomijo. Tisti, ki stvarnosti ne zmorejo več videti z lastnimi očmi, je ne morejo niti pravilno slišati.« (Pieper 1990, 34) Svet se razkriva temu razmisleku o svojih lastnostih dobrote, lepote in resnice, kot pojasnjuje kanadski filozof Kenneth Schmitz. Te lastnosti » /.../ nas vabijo, da pogledamo onkraj njihove domače navzočnosti v skrivnost stvari samih: in ko jih *vidimo na novo*, smo povabljeni, da razkrijemo to prečudovito lepoto, ki povzroča *theorio*. V priznanju naše solidarnosti s stvarmi (*aliquid*) najdemo polnejšo svobodo /.../. Ko stvarem vrnemo njihovo dostojanstvo in globino in jim priznamo, da so upravičene do nas, šele boljše razumemo sami sebe in lastno svobodo.« (Schmitz 205, 126–127)

Enako spreobrnjenje kontemplativnega načina gledanja – ki kaže tudi na ponižno sprejemanje dejstva, da svoboda sama po sebi ni temelj – je osnova človeškega upanja. »Upanje namreč temelji na priznanju določene presežnosti v stvareh, ki nas nosi onkraj nas samih in naše na novo odkrite moči. Predlog je torej, da

povabimo k preišljenemu spreobrnjenju s pristopom do sveta okoli nas, ki se nanj odziva kot na dar in ne kot zgolj na samoumevno danost.« (13)

Takšen odziv na svet kot dar, kot sprejemljivost, najdemo v osrčju eshatološkega upanja. Za kristjane je upanje prav tako dar. Bog človeško voljo in razum sicer v celoti spoštuje, vendar pa zahteva odprtost in decentralizacijo teh dveh zmognosti (Miyazaki 2015, 213–214). Dar upanja zahteva odprtost subjekta, da ga lahko sprejme. John Henry Newman v svojem delu *Apologia pro vita sua* pojasnjuje, da je Bog » ... privolil, pravim, da bi morali ravnati tako, in, kot si to želimo, On z nami sodeluje v naših dejanjih in nam tako omogoča, da počnemo to, za kar nas spodbuja, in nam pomaga naprej, če naša volja želi sodelovati z Njegovo, s takšno gotovostjo, ki sega onkraj logične sile našega sklepanja« (Newman 1968, 157).

Če je človek svoboden, lahko sklenemo, potem je ustvarjen za upanje – upanje kljub vsemu, kar njegovo dostojanstvo ogroža, vključno s trpljenjem, boleznijo in smrtjo. To pomeni, da mora človek, če želi živeti kot človeško bitje, svoj pogled povzdigniti. Ionesco se je te zahteve dobro zavedal, ko je dejal: »Kar je bilo pozabljeno, je osnovna težava, z drugimi besedami, težava našega dokončnega zaključka. In tako smo prišli do tega, da ne vemo več, kam naj se obrnemo. In zato, gotovo zato, ker si tako močno želimo živeti, je to za nas postalo nemogoče.« (1979, 73)

Ravno takrat, ko se soočamo z najhujšimi preizkušnjami, v okoliščinah, ko človek spozna, da ga obdaja tema, se čuti dolžnega svoji svobodi pustiti, da išče svetlobo, da je za upanje odprta (Isaac 2016, 11–21). Če postmoderni svet torej mika, da bi obupal, potem ravno v tem svetu, našem svetu, v človeških srcih lahko vzklije upanje – kot nekakšen dar, ki moči podari njeno lastno moč (Miyazaki 2015, 209–219). In to upanje ne izhaja iz nas samih. Pieper opozarja, da »z eno besedo lahko pride do tega, da nadnaravno upanje preprosto ostane edino upanje, ki je še na voljo« (Pieper 2000, 113). Tudi britanski filozof Peter Geach svoje poglavje, posvečeno upanju, sklene s podobno mislijo: »Edino upanje za človeka, juda ali pogana, je univerzalna ustanovitev Božjega kraljestva. Konkretno podrobne podobe življenja v tem kraljestvu so običajno zavajajoče, zato ne bom spodbujal takšnih predstav: toda naše gotovo pričakovanje je, da Božje kraljestvo bo prišlo, upamo lahko le, da bomo v njem dobili svoj prostor. Drugega upanja ni.« (1977, 65)

Danes, ko je človek poklican k spraševanju o svoji človečnosti, ko se pojavljajo dvomi o dostojanstvu dela njegovih rok, priče upanja morejo in morajo biti pripravljene, da potrdijo upanje, ki je v njih (1 Pt 3,15). Torej še vedno obstaja upanje, da upamo (Jamnik 2018, 292–301). »Odrešeni smo bili namreč v upanju; upanje, ki ga gledamo, pa ni več upanje – kdo bo marveč upal to, kar že vidi? Če pa upamo to, česar ne vidimo, pričakujemo to s potrpežljivostjo.« (Rim 8,24–25). Paradoksalno je, da privilegiran dostop do upanja daje izkušnja brezizhodnih okoliščin, ki povzročajo obup in človeku podarjajo možnost povsem novega in drugačnega upanja. Takšno upanje ni upanje, ki ga človek doseže z lastnimi močmi, temveč vrsta upanja, ki je kakor dar – njegov arhetip je eshatološko krščansko upanje.

Upanje ni prepričanje, da se bo nekaj dobro izšlo, ampak prepričanje, da je prav vse smiselno – ne glede na to, kako se že izide. Kajti upanje poje melodijo brez

besed in se ne konča nikoli. Upanje je torej predvsem stanje duha, ki ni vezano na to, da bi nekdo nekaj imel ali dosegel, ampak da preprosto je – da biva iz čiste za-stonjskosti in darežljivosti.

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Bojan Žalec

Bivanjsko upanje, smisel in resonanca¹

Existential Hope and Meaning of Life, and Resonance

Povzetek: Avtor aplicira teorijo resonance Hartmuta Rosa. Pokaže, da Rosov pojem resonance omogoča teoretsko poglobitev razumevanja bivanjskega smisla in upanja ter njuno koristno osvetlitev. Struktura članka: najprej avtor pojasni fenomene resonance, bivanjskega upanja in bivanjskega smisla. Na tej podlagi utemelji trditev, da bivanjski smisel temelji na resonanci, saj predpostavlja vse bistvene značilnosti resonance. Iz tega izhaja, da je predmet teženja našega bivanjskega upanja resonanca, saj brez resonance ni bivanjskega smisla, ki pa je neposredni ‚predmet‘ teženja bivanjskega upanja.

Ključne besede: Hartmut Rosa, resonanca, odtujenost, bivanjski smisel, bivanjsko upanje

Abstract: The author applies Hartmut Rosa's resonance theory. He shows that Rosa's notion of resonance enables a theoretical deepening of the understanding of the meaning of life and hope, as well as their useful illumination. The article's structure is as follows: First, the author explains the phenomena of resonance, existential hope and meaning of life. On this basis, he substantiates the thesis that the meaning of life is grounded in resonance, as it presupposes all the essential characteristics of resonance. It follows that the object of the aspiration of our existential hope is resonance because without resonance, there is no meaning of life, and this is the direct ‚object‘ of the aspiration of existential hope.

Keywords: Hartmut Rosa, resonance, alienation, the meaning of life, existential hope

¹ Raziskovalni program Etično-religiozni temelji in perspektive družbe ter religiologija v kontekstu sodobne edukacije in nasilje (P6-0269) in temeljni raziskovalni projekt Holistični pristop k spoštovanju človekovih pravic v gospodarstvu – reforma slovenske in mednarodne pravne ureditve (J5-1790) je odobrila in finančno podprla Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARRS). Članek je nastal v okviru omenjenega programa in projekta. Agenciji se za podporo zahvaljujemo.

1. Uvod

Glavni pojmi, okrog katerih se suče razmislek v tem članku, so resonanca, bivanjski smisel in upanje. V tem kontekstu apliciramo teorijo resonance, ki jo je razvil nemški sociolog Hartmut Rosa (Rosa 2016; 2019a; 2019b; 2019c). Takšna zastavitev je izredno relevantna in aktualna, saj je Rosa s svojo teorije resonance v zadnjih letih vzbudil izredno veliko zanimanja (Peters in Schulz, ur. 2017; Kläden in Schüßler, ur. 2017; Wils, ed. 2019; Rosa in Henning, ur. 2019; Klun 2020). Tema resonance je po njegovi zaslugi postala v tem trenutku ena najbolj vročih tem v humanistiki in v družboslovju. To ne preseneča, saj je poglobljeno in pravilno razumevanje resonance odločilnega pomena za razumevanje in reševanje ključnih in temeljnih problemov sodobnega sveta. Ti problemi se kažejo na različnih ravneh. Na najbolj temeljni in globalni ravni lahko omenimo ekološki izziv. Nujno potrebujemo spremembo gole instrumentalne drže do naravnega okolja (Globokar 2018; Nguyen et al. 2020, 181): ne samo na ravni posameznikov in nekaterih skupin, ampak na sociološko relevantni ravni. Resonančni odnos do naravnega sveta pomeni dober temelj za takšno novo držo. Na družbenopolitični ravni lahko omenimo problem antidemokratskih populističnih gibanj, ki ogrožajo našo, zahodno, liberalno demokracijo. Kakor je opozoril Charles Taylor (Taylor 2019, 75–79), teh gibanj ni mogoče ustrezno razumeti brez pojma resonance. Na zasebni in socialni ravni lahko omenimo zaskrbljujočo razširjenost duševnih bolezni, depresije in izgorelosti v moderni družbi gmotne blaginje, ki so posledica odtujenosti kot odsotnosti resonance. Poleg tega za pomemben del Rosove teorije lahko rečemo, da je nekakšna ‚sociologizacija‘ teologije. Kakor je ugotovil že Martin Laube, je skrivnost uspeha, zanimivosti, privlačnosti in popularnosti Rosove teorije resonance v tem, da nekatere pomembne krščanske teološke teme obdela v sociološki preobleki (Laube 2018, 363).²

Lahko razlikujemo več vrst in razsežnosti upanja (Sorč 2003, 393–418; Pieper 2002, 90–93; Davenport 2008, 198; 202). Tudi izraz smisel je homonim. V tem članku nas zanima bivanjsko upanje, ki je upanje, da ima naše življenje bivanjski smisel. V nadaljevanju bomo izraz smisel uporabljali v smislu bivanjskega smisla, izraz upanje pa v smislu bivanjskega upanja. Pokazali bomo, da Rosov pojem resonance omogoča teoretsko poglobitev razumevanja smisla in upanja ter njuno koristno osvetlitev. Struktura članka: najprej pojasnimo fenomene resonance, upanja in smisla. Na tej podlagi utemeljimo tezo, da smisel temelji na resonanci, saj predpostavlja vse bistvene značilnosti resonance. Iz tega izhaja, da je predmet teženja našega upanja resonanca, saj brez resonance ni smisla, smisel pa je neposredni ‚predmet‘ teženja upanja.

² Glede antropoloških vidikov sodobne (duhovne) situacije z vidika teologije glej Petkovšek 2019, z vidika pomena upoštevanja tradicije v kontekstu sekularizacije Vodičar 2020. Poseben izziv pomeni sodobna tehnologija, tudi z aspekta resonance in odtujenosti, še posebno v smislu razpolaganja s človekom (Strahovnik, Miklavčič in Centa 2020). Resonanca je ključni dejavnik človekove rezilience (Žalec 2020, 275), glede pomena slednje z vidika psihologije in psihoterapije glej Erzar 2020. O pomenu resonance v okviru prenašanja vere na otroke glej Platovnjak 2020. Za obravnavo odtujitve v biblijskem kontekstu glej Roubalová et al. 2021, 72.

2. Glavne značilnosti in sestavine resonance in odtujenosti

Rosa je svoj pojem resonance in resonančno sociologijo našega odnosa do sveta predstavil v različnih publikacijah. Najpomembnejša je njegova knjiga *Resonanca: sociologija našega odnosa s svetom* (Rosa 2016; angleški prevod Rosa 2019c). Razvil je odnosno teorijo naše biti-v-svetu. Ta teorija črpa iz različnih virov in združuje tako pridobljene elemente v integralno teorijo. Morda je za nekatere Rosova pripadnost kritični teoriji najbolj opazna, vendar njegova teorija veliko dolguje tudi različnim drugim miselnim tokovom: fenomenologiji, personalizmu in odnosni misli na splošno. Od kritične teorije je treba najprej omeniti Herberta Marcuseja, Theodorja W. Adorna in Ericha Fromma, od fenomenologov Martina Heideggerja in od personalistov Martina Bubra.

Rosa je razvil poseben model biti-v-svetu (Rosa 2019b 197–198; 2019c, 145), ki presega dualizem subjekta in objekta. To nas seveda takoj spomni na Heideggerja, vendar pa je morda glavni predhodnik Rosove teorije Bubrova filozofija jaz – ti in jaz – ono odnosa, ki jo je Buber zasnoval že leta 1907 (Buber 1955, xiii; Buber 1999, 236–237), proslavil pa s svojim odmevnim delom *Jaz in ti* (1923; Buber 1995), ki je izšlo štiri leta pred Heideggerjevim prelomnim delom *Bit in čas* (1927; Heidegger 1997).

Rosa izpostavlja štiri konstitutivne momente resonance (Rosa 2019b, 196): 1. aficiranost, dotaknjenost, da se udeleženca resonance nekaj dotakne (*Affizierung*); 2. lastno učinkovanje (*Selbstwirksamkeit*); 3. preobrazba (*Transformation*); 4. nerazpoložljivost (*Unverfügbarkeit*) (Rosa, 2018; 2019d). Zadnji moment kaže na še neko podobnost med Rosovo teorijo in Heideggerjevo filozofijo.

Aficiranost pomeni, da je resonanca nasprotje ločenosti, nevlivanosti, indiferentnosti, tudi ravnodušnosti. O resonanci ne moremo govoriti, če nista v njej aficirani obe strani v odnosu. Zelo pomembno je, da se zavedamo: resonanca je dvostranski ali obojestranski odnos (Rosa 2019a, 27). To pa nas že napoti na drugi konstitutivni moment, lastno učinkovanje, ki pomeni, da noben deležnik v resonančnem odnosu ni pasiven, ni nedejaven. V resonanci ni noben deležnik zgolj objekt, ampak je vsak deležnik tudi že subjekt. To je še podobnost med resonanco in Bubrovim jaz – ti odnosom. Govorimo o zelo zelo podobni, če ne že kar isti poanti. Po Bubru v jaz – ti odnosu ni bistvo to, da bi mi entiteto, s katero smo v jaz – ti odnosu, samo raziskali kot pasivni predmet raziskave. Pri jaz – ti odnosu se zgodi, da se nam entiteta, s katero smo v odnosu, razpre, odpre, zasvetlika, kakor pravi Buber (1999, 100), v svoji celoti in enotnosti (1995, 120). Entiteta, ki jo ‚odkrivamo‘, je sama aktivna, se nam sama razpira, odnos jaz – ti jo samo pripravi do tega (1999, 100). Dodatna podobnost med jaz – ti odnosom in resonanco je v tem, da imamo lahko oba odnosa, tako jaz – ti odnos, kakor ga pojmuje Buber, kakor resonanco, kakor jo pojmuje Rosa, načeloma do vsake entitete: do žive, nežive, do živali, do stvari, do rastline, do človeka, do sveta kot celote, do Boga itd. (1995, 118) Bubrov jaz – ti odnos sta na primer tudi jaz – ti odnos do stroja (vedno bolj relevanten v današnji tehnološki dobi) in pa odnos do svetovnega dogajanja (1999, 152). Zato

je na dlani pomen razvijanja jaz – ti odnosa oziroma resonančnega odnosa za ekološki odnos do naravnega okolja.

Naslednji konstitutivni moment resonance je preobrazba. Tu se spet izrazi dvostranska narava resonančnega odnosa. Resonanca je odnos, ki preobrazi oba deležnika v njem. Tudi to je skupna točka z Bubrovim jaz – ti odnosom. Naslednja skupna značilnost z jaz – ti odnosom je, da resonance ne moremo poljubno proizvajati in nadzorovati. Resonanca se, tako kakor jaz – ti odnos, izmika kontroli. Resonančni odnos zato pomeni delno izgubo avtonomije. (Rosa 2019a, 27)

Nemožnost nadzora resonance je sestavni del njenega četrtega konstitutivnega momenta, nerazpoložljivosti (Rosa 2019b, 200–201). V pogledu nerazpoložljivosti je pomembna distinkcija med prilaščanjem in prilagojeno preobrazbo (*Anverwandlung*, tudi *anverwandelnde Transformation* (2019a, 22); ang. prevod *adaptive transformation* [2019c]). Prilaščanje je drža oziroma ravnanje, ki želi narediti neko določeno entiteto razpoložljivo. Njeno nasprotje je prilagojena preobrazba, ki je bistvo resonančnega odnosa. Pri prilagojeni preobrazbi govorimo o ‚uglasitvi‘ s svetom oziroma z neko določeno entiteto, s katero smo v odnosu resonance. Ta prilagoditev je preobrazbena, ker preobrazi oba deležnika v odnosu. To je preobrazbeno srečanje (*Begegnung*) med obema. (2019a, 14) Razlikovanje med razpoložljivostjo in prilagojeno preobrazbo je podlaga Rosovega poskusa, da bi resonanco vzpostavil kot središčni pojem za zasnutje in utemeljitev odnosne sociologije in teorije našega odnosa s svetom. (14)

Kakor že rečeno, z resonančnim odnosom ne moremo poljubno razpolagati in ga kontrolirati. Paradigmatična zgleda resonančnega odnosa, ki nam to lahko hitro in jasno ilustrirata, sta vera in ljubezen. Vera je v krščanski tradiciji božja milost, ljubezen pa nas zadene na način, ki je zunaj naše (popolne) kontrole. Prav tako se preobrazbeni učinki resonance izmikajo kontroli. (19) Poleg tega z entiteto, do katere zavzamemo prilaščevalni odnos, odnos golega razpolaganja, instrumentaliziranja, inženirske obravnave, ne moremo biti v resonančnem odnosu. Ustreznik Rosovega prilaščevalnega odnosa pri Bubu je jaz – ono odnos, ki je nasprotje jaz – ti odnosa.

Po Rosi je naš temeljni odnos do sveta v mnogih ozirih lahko *predkognitiven*, vendar pa ni *predsocialen*. To dejstvo odpira obzorje in prostor za pristno sociologijo človekovih odnosov s svetom. (2019c, 144). Rosov projekt je, kakor smo že omenili, zasnutje in utemeljitev takšne sociologije in teorije.

Osnovni kategoriji našega odnosa do sveta sta po Rosi resonanca in odtujitev (*Entfremdung*). Rosa ju definira takole:

»Resonanca je tak odnos do sveta, ki se oblikuje z af ← ektom in čust → vom, intrinzičnim interesom in zaznanim lastnim učinkovanjem, v katerem subjekt in svet aficirata drug drugega in se medsebojno preobražata.

Resonanca ni odmev, ampak odziven odnos, ki zahteva, da obe strani govorita s svojim glasom. To je mogoče le, če so prisotna močna vrednotenja.³ Resonanca implicira vidik konstitutivne nerazpoložljivosti.

³ Kakor vidimo, Rosa na ključnem mestu uporablja pojem Charlesa Taylorja ‚močno vrednotenje‘ (ang.

Resonančna razmerja zahtevajo, da sta subjekt in svet dovolj ‚zaprta‘ ali konsistentna sama s seboj, da vsak govori s svojim glasom, hkrati pa morata ostati dovolj odprta, da drug na drugega vplivata in se dosežeta.

Resonanca ni čustveno stanje, ampak način odnosa, ki je glede na čustveno vsebino nevtralen. Zato imamo lahko radi žalostne zgodbe.« (174)

3. Opredelitev odtujenosti

»Odtujenost označuje specifično obliko odnosa do sveta, v katerem se subjekt in svet soočita v odnosu ravnodušnosti ali sovražnosti (odbijanja) in tako brez kakršnekoli notranje povezanosti. Odtujitev je potemtakem mogoče opredeliti tudi kot *odnos brez odnosa* (Rahel Jaeggi).

Odtujenost je tako pokazatelj stanja, v katerem sveta ni mogoče ‚prilagodljivo preobraziti‘, zato se vedno zdi hladen, tog, odbojen in neodziven. Resonanca torej tvori ‚drugo‘ odtujenosti – njeno antitezo.

»Depresija ali izgorelost se nanaša na stanje, v katerem so vse osi resonance postale neme in gluhe. Oseba lahko ‚ima‘ družino, delo, družabne klube, religijo itd., vendar ji ti več ne ‚govorijo‘. Subjekt ni več zmožen tega, da bi se ga kaj dotaknilo ali da bi bil aficiran in nima nobenega občutka lastnega učinkovanja. Tako svet kot subjekt sta videti brez življenja, mrtva, prazna.« (Rosa 2019c, 184)

Ko smo v odnosu odtujitve s svetom, je svet nem, ne govori z nami in tudi mi ne z njim (2019a, 16). Med nami in svetom ni nobene komunikacije. Pravi odnos oziroma resonanca je komunikacija, še več, preobrazbena komunikacija, medtem ko je odtujenost, brezodnosni odnos nekaj mrtvega. Odtujenost v tem smislu pomeni izgubo sveta (*Weltverlust*) (23); to je izguba sveta kot živega partnerja v živem odnosu, ne kot golega predmeta prilaščanja, razpoložljivosti, uporabe ali izrabe.

Rosa razlikuje tri dimenzije ali osi resonance: horizontalno, diagonalno in vertikalno (2019c, 195ff; 2019a, 24–25). Vodoravna razsežnost obsega socialne odnose do drugih ljudi, na primer prijateljstvo in intimne odnose, pa tudi politične odnose. Diagonalna dimenzija obsega odnos do sveta materialnih stvari. Vertikalna razsežnost (2019c, 258ff) je odnos do sveta kot totalitete, ki obsega ali vključuje človekovo celoto (pre)bivanja in življenja (2019a, 24–25; 28ff).

Nasprotje odtujenosti je, kakor že omenjeno, resonanca. Vendar odnos med odtujenostjo in resonanco ni zgolj nasprotje, ampak dialektično razmerje (2019c,

strong evaluation). Subjekt močnega vrednotenja je bitje, za katero niso vse želje enakovredne, ampak svoje želje hierarhizira. Vključuje imetje potreb in želja, ki samemu subjektu teh želja niso vseč, ki jih nizko ali negativno vrednoti. Prav tako pa ima lahko želje, ki so mu vseč. Močno vrednotenje vključuje tako imenovane želje drugega reda, ki vrednotijo subjektove lastne želje: nekatere pozitivno vrednoti, na primer željo, da bi pomagal svojim otrokom, nekatere pa negativno, na primer željo, da bi na drugega preložil svoje delo. Tako ima lahko potrebo po heroinu, ki je želja prvega reda, ker je odvisnik, vendar mu ta potreba in želja nista vseč, ima željo, da ne bi imel te želje, ki je želja drugega reda. (Abbey 2000, 17–26)

184ff), saj je resonanca možna le na podlagi nemega, odtujenega sveta (190). Resonanca je nasprotje odtujenosti, po drugi strani pa brez odtujenosti ni resonanca; v tem oziru resonanca ni alternativa odtujenosti, ampak le blisk v odtujenem svetu. Rosa razlikuje med bliski resonance, posameznimi prigodnimi izkustvi te resonance, ki se občasno pokaže, na eni strani, in trajno osnovno zmožnostjo in senzibilnostjo za resonanco ter trajnim temeljnim zaupanjem v možnost resonance na drugi. (Laube 2018, 366) Takšna zmožnost, Rosa jo imenuje dispozicijska resonanca, in temeljno zaupanje sta potrebna pogoja in eksistencialni temelj za prigodne in neobstoje resonance, ki jih ni mogoče nadzorovati (367).

Kakor smo že omenili, je velika podobnost med Rosovo teorijo resonance in Bubrovo filozofijo jaz – ti odnosa in na tem mestu lahko naša opažanja o afiniteti med njima še dopolnimo. Za Buba je odnos prvi in temeljni vidik vsega človekovega obstoja. Buber je bil prepričan, da je hrepenenje po odnosu jaz – ti osnovna in glavna človekova potreba (Buber 1995, 6–28; 2002, 31ff; Rosa 2019c, 260–261). Z vidika tematizacije religijskih vidikov resonance se nam zdi pomembno, da na tem mestu dodamo: izkaže se, da je to hrepenenje hrepenenje po Bogu in jaz – ti odnosu z njim (Stres 1999, 282), saj po Bubru človek hrepeni po trajnem jaz – ti odnosu oziroma odnosu resonance, ne le po krhkem, neobstoječem, kakor so njegovi jaz – ti odnosi z ustvarjeninami. Takšen odnos pa je možen le z Bogom. Odnos z Bogom⁴ je temelj in vir vsakega jaz – ti odnosa na svetu ali s svetom. Še več, po Bubrovem mnenju z vsakim jaz – ti odnosom vstopamo bolj ali manj globoko v odnos z Bogom ali vsaj v njegovo preddverje. Dih velikega Ti veje v vsakem jaz – ti odnosu, kakor je zapisal Buber (Buber 1995, 7).

Podobno kakor Buber o jaz – ti odnosu je Rosa prepričan o resonanci, da je temeljna značilnost človeka kot človeka.⁵ Ljudje smo bitja, ki imajo temeljno zmožnost za resonanco in temeljno potrebo po njej.⁶ Tako človeška subjektivnost kakor družbena intersubjektivnost se temeljno oblikujeta z vzpostavitvijo osnovnih resonančnih odnosov in okoli njih (Rosa 2016, 293). Zato sta tako resonanca kakor hrepenenje po resonanci sestavna dela človekove človeškosti in potrebni pogoj njegovega učlovečenja.⁷

Naslednje pomembno dejstvo je, da resonanca ni samo harmonija ali konsonanca, ampak predpostavlja disonanco in razliko. Rosa navaja dialog kot obliko resonančnega odnosa: vsaj za začetek dialoga je potrebna pomembna, netrivialna različnost, ki se manifestira v nasprotju in nasprotovanju. Brez te različnosti ni

⁴ Ta odnos je vedno odnos jaz – ti, ali bolje: jaz – Ti, kajti samo in edino Bog je tisti, ki ne more postati ono (Stres 1999, 280).

⁵ Laube opozarja na Rosovo nedoslednost: Rosa pravi, da ne postavlja trditev o bistvu človeške narave. Vendar ko trdi, da je zmožnost, zadovoljiti antropološko potrebo po resonanci, odvisna od možnosti stabilnih resonančnih osi, bi težko rekli, da jih res ne. (Laube 2018, 367, op. 13)

⁶ Resonanca je bistvena sestavina duhovnosti. Glede velike duhovne lakote v postmoderni kulturi gl. Platovnjak 2017.

⁷ Zdi se, da Rosa s svojo tezo o antropološki potrebi po resonanci podeduje hermenevitično tezo o človekovi antropološki potrebi po smislu, čeprav je Rosa zelo zadržan glede diskurza smisla (Rosa 2016, 303ff). Laube to zadržanost razlaga s tem, da pojem smisla ne more zajeti momenta preobrazbe, ki je tako pomemben za Rosov pojem resonance (Laube 2018, 367, op. 14).

možna nobena resonanca. (2019a, 22) Resonanca ni niti popolno strinjanje, pri katerem se ne more razviti noben pravi dialog in v katerem manjka srečanje z drugim glasom, niti golo prerekanje in obtoževanje, v katerem manjkajo ključni konstitutivni momenti resonance: resnična aficiranost, lastno učinkovanje, medsebojna preobrazba oziroma prilagojena preobrazba in odnos neprilاشčanja oziroma nerazpoložljivosti.

Poudarili smo že, da je resonanca dvostranski, obojestranski odnos. Brez pripravljenosti za resonanco, brez neke določene odprtosti zanjo pri deležnikih v resonanci resonanca ni možna. Vendar je resonanca nerazpoložljiva in je ne moremo imeti pod nadzorom. Zato pripravljenost za resonančni odnos vključuje pripravljenost za tveganje, da se spustimo v nekaj, za kar ne vemo, kakšne posledice bo imelo. Resonanca predpostavlja pripravljenost za tveganje in ranljivost oziroma pripravljenost, da se naredim ranljivega. Prav tako vključuje, kakor že omenjeno, neko določeno izgubo avtonomije in kontrole nad samim seboj. Resonanca torej implicira ne samo, da ne razpolagam z drugim, s katerim sem v resonanci, ampak tudi, da v celoti ne razpolagam s samim seboj, odpoved težnji, da bi popolnoma razpolagal s samim seboj in pristanek na to. V smislu orisane pripravljenosti za resonančni odnos govori Rosa o dispozicijski resonanci oziroma o habitualni pripravljenosti na resonanco. Dispozicijske resonance pa nima tisti – ali pa je zelo nerazvita, poškodovana ali okrnjena –, ki svet dojema kot sovražnega, kajti za čustveno držo, ki ustreza dožemanju sveta kot sovražnega, so značilne čustvena zaprtost, afektivna obrambna naravnost in pripravljenost za konflikt, boj. (Rosa 2019a, 27–28) Zato je Albert Camus, radikalni mislec absurdnosti človekovega položaja v svetu, ki je menil, da vlada med človekom in svetom absolutna odtujenost, katere ni mogoče prevladati, zapisal, da je absurdnost edino, kar ju povezuje. »Spaja ju tako čvrsto, kakor bitja lahko poveže samo sovraštvo.« (1980, 37) Resonančna drža do sveta potrebuje neko določeno mero simpatije do sveta ali ljubezni do sveta in dožemanje sveta ne kot nečesa, kar mi je tuje, ampak kar mi je sorodno. Resonančna drža predpostavlja tudi neki določen optimizem, pogum in zaupanje (Rosa 2019c, 416). To trditev v neki meri potrjujejo tudi Rosove besede: dispozicijska odtujenost je lahko tudi posledica umanjkanja ali pomanjkanja izkušnje svojega lastnega učinkovanja. Kdor na podlagi svojih lastnih življenjskih izkušenj izhaja iz tega, da sam sveta ali ‚drugega‘ ne more doseči, ampak se mora naproti njemu uveljavljati ali se pred njim braniti, bo težko gojil resonančno držo. (2019a, 27–28)

4. Glavne značilnosti smisla

Bistveno za smisel je, da je to nekaj, kar človek načeloma lahko začuti, ‚spozna‘, doživi, izkusi. Govoriti o smislu, ki je načelno spoznavno ali doživljajsko nedosegljiv človeku, je isto kakor reči, da življenje nima smisla. Smisel je nekaj, kar človek načelno lahko odkrije, tako da to dojame ali doživi. Občutje smisla vključuje občutek izpolnjenosti, pristnega bivanja.

Smisel je skupna dobrina. Človek ga ne more uživati sam, ampak samo tako, da je v odnosu z neko entiteto kot deloma avtonomno in odzivno. To nam dokazujejo nešteti zgledi depresije kot krize smisla. Depresije ne more pregnati mačka robot, ker vemo, da nima avtonomnosti, ki jo ima prava mačka (2019c, 201). Še bolj kakor živa mačka pa jo lahko prežene človek, ki ima še večjo avtonomijo kakor mačka.

Naslednja značilnost smisla je, da človek z njim ne razpolaga. To pomeni, da ga ne nadzoruje, da ga ne more inženirsko proizvesti. Inženiring smisla ni možen. To se ujema z našo gornjo tezo, da je smisel dosegljiv samo kot skupna dobrina v odnosu z nekim drugim bitjem kot avtonomnim. Smisel implicira tudi preostale tri konstitutivne elemente resonance: lastno učinkovanje, aficiranost in preobrazbo deležnikov v resonanci. Odnos, v katerem doživimo smisel, mora biti takšen, da se nas v njem nekaj dotakne in nas spremeni; toda ne samo nas, ampak tudi entitete, s katero smo v odnosu. To pa zato, ker smiselnost človeškega življenja implicira, da smo na neki način pomembni, da smo dejavnik, da smo ‚faktor‘. Doseganje smisla torej vključuje aficiranost in preobrazbo obeh udeležencev smisel porajajočega odnosa.

5. Sklep

Ugotavljamo, da lahko smisel interpretiramo kot nekaj, kar temelji na resonanci, saj vidimo, da so zanj bistvene vse štiri glavne značilnosti resonance. Ker je smisel neposredni lastni ‚predmet‘ upanja, po katerem ono teži, lahko rečemo, da je tudi resonanca predmet teženja upanja, saj brez resonance ni smisla.

»‚Proizvodnja smisla‘ se zgodi tam /.../, kjer začnejo vibrirati žice resonance,« je zapisal Rosa (2019b, 199). Resonanca človeku omogoča začuti smisel, ga nanj usmeri in opozori. Resonanca je človekov vodnik k smislu. Skozi resonanco se človeku intuitivno, neposredno, neteoretsko razkriva smisel. Človek lahko svoje intuitivno razumevanje smisla tudi teoretsko predela, nadgradi in poglobi. Vendar pa lahko resnično razumevanje smisla pride samo iz resonance, enako tudi moč, da smisel, ki se nam je razkril, dejansko živimo. V tem smislu sta tako doživljanje in razumevanje smisla kakor tudi življenje smisla, to, da smisel dejansko živimo, neteoretskega izvora. To pa ne izključuje, da lahko prav teoretsko razmišljanje koga privede do tega, da začne v njem vibrirati žica resonance in začuti smisel.

To pojmovanje se ujema z Rosovim pojmovanjem, da so religije obljuba resonance (2019c, 258). Religije so osi resonance oziroma človeku zagotavljajo osi resonance, ki mu omogočajo, da goji resonančne odnose in iz njih živi. To pa pomeni, da so religije tudi obljube smisla. Rosa postavlja v ospredje ugotovitev, da je človek bitje resonance, vendar vidimo, da je še kako pomemben tudi smisel. Človek hrepeni po smislu, ker pa je smisel brez resonance nedosegljiv, hrepeni po resonanci.

Resonanca sama še ni smiselno življenje ali izpolnitev smisla, tako kakor vest oziroma glas vesti še ni moralno življenje. Je pa, tako kakor vest za moralno živl-

jenje, nepogrešljivi in najpomembnejši temelj in vodnik za smiselno življenje. Od-tujenost je problem, ker v njej izgublamo ali izgubimo občutek smisla življenja. Takšen občutek ne temelji na teoretskih podlagah, ampak je predteoretske in – lahko rečemo – tudi transteoretske narave. Zato ga gola teoretska drža ne more proizvesti. To se ujema z že omenjeno ugotovitvijo, da je občutek smisla življenja nerazpoložljiv, saj je tisto, kar lahko teoretsko (povsem) ‚obvladamo‘ in osvojimo, razpoložljivo.

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Mateja Pevec Rozman

Upanje za naravo in človeštvo: nekateri etični premisleki¹

Is there a Hope for Nature and Humanity: Some Ethical Consideration

Povzetek: Človeštvo se sooča z velikimi tehnološkimi in tehničnimi izzivi, ki dajejo človeku občutek nadzora nad življenjem; življenja zunaj nas (obvladovanje narave in naravnih pojavov, kolonizacija vesolja, vesoljsko rudarjenje ipd.) in svojega lastnega življenja² (preoblikovanje telesa, iskanje eliksirja večne mladosti ipd.). Čeprav se je človeštvo od samega začetka ukvarjalo s podobnimi vprašanji (kako razumeti in obvladati življenje), postajajo danes le ta, predvsem pa odgovori nanje, zastrašujoči in skrb vzbujajoči. Razvoj tehnike in tehnologije, predvsem biotehnologije, ki obljublja človeku življenje brez bolečine in malodane raj na zemlji, odpirajo mnoga etična vprašanja, s katerimi se razvojne družbe in korporacije po večini ne ukvarjajo, zahtevajo pa temeljit etični premislek.

Človek je postal gospodar narave, narava, naše okolje pa je vse bolj ranljivo in ogroženo. Danes govorimo o okoljski krizi (Harari 2019, 13), ki ne ogroža le narave; pravzaprav ogroža človeka samega. Človek s svojim potrošniškim načinom življenja bistveno prispeva k neugodnim klimatskim spremembam. V zgodovini planeta Zemlja so se klimatske spremembe sicer ves čas dogajale, a ta naravni tok ciklusov je zadnjih 200 let (od industrijske revolucije dalje) odločno pospešen. Živimo v paradoksnih situaciji, ko je človek postal žrtev in suženj lastnega napredka. Postavlja se nam vprašanje, ali smo na klimatske spremembe pripravljeni in kaj smo pripravljeni narediti, da bomo preživel in ohranili planet Zemljo za bodoče rodove.

V pričujočem prispevku uvodoma spregovorimo o odnosu med človekom in naravo in izpostavimo problematiko tega odnosa. Pogled v predizhodiščno si-

¹ Prispevek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega programa „Etično-religiozni temelji in perspektive družbe ter religiologija v kontekstu sodobne edukacije in nasilje“.

² K temu lahko prištejemo tudi prizadevanje transhumanizma, ki človeku pripisuje sposobnost, da preseže (transcendira) svoje sedanje stanje in doseže novo transhumano oz. posthumano stanje. Pri transhumanizmu je sedanji človek zgolj prehodna forma človeka, ki jo je treba transformirati in izboljšati v smeri novega človeka, pot za dosego tega cilja pa je znanstveni in tehnični razvoj. Znanost in tehnologija bi naj človeku pomagala povečati, okrepiti in intenzivirati njegove sposobnosti, da bi se tako preoblikoval v novo transhumano bitje. (Klun 2019, 589–592)

tuacijo, ko je bila narava zaupana človeku v varovanje in gospodovanje, in odmik od le-te, pomaga razumeti sedanje nezavidljivo stanje, v katerem se je znašlo človeštvo in planet Zemlja. Namen prispevka je pokazati, da so v sodobnem postmodernem času potrebna nova etična pravila, ki bodo zadevala človeške (medosebne) odnose in tudi odnos do celotnega stvarstva. Osrednja teza prispevka je v postavitvi nove etične perspektive, kot jo predlaga Hans Jonas, kjer se etika odgovornosti za drugega kot izvor moralnega čuta dopolnjuje z odgovornostjo do narave, ki ji je ponovno potrebno priznati njeno lastno bistvo in dostojanstvo. V spremenjenem odnosu do stvarnosti in aktivni solidarni odgovornosti vsakega posameznika in celotnega človeštva je moč iskati upanje za preživetje človeka, narave in bodočih rodov.

Ključne besede: človek, narava, ekologija, etika, odgovornost, globalizacija

Abstract: Humanity faces major technological and technical challenges that give a man a sense of control over life; life outside us (mastery of nature and natural phenomena, colonization of the universe, space mining, etc.) and one's own life³ (transformation of the body, search for the elixir of eternal life and youth, etc.). Although from the very beginning humanity has dealt with similar questions (how to understand and master life), today only these, and above all the answers to them, are becoming frightening and worrying. The development of technique and technology intervenes in the field of man and the human environment and opens many ethical issues, which development societies and corporations are mainly not dealing with but require thorough ethical consideration.

Humanity has become the master of nature, but nature and our environment are increasingly vulnerable and endangered. Today, we are talking about an environmental crisis (Harari 2019, 13) that threatens not only nature; it endangers man himself. With his consumer way of life, man contributes significantly to unfavourable climate change. In the history of the Earth, climate change has been happening all the time. Still, this natural flow of cycles has been decisively accelerated in the last 200 years (since the Industrial Revolution). We live in a paradoxical situation where man has become a victim and a slave to his progress. The question arises as to whether we prepare for climate change and what we are willing to do to survive and preserve planet Earth for future generations.

In the present article, we talk about the relationship between man and nature and highlight the issue of this relationship. Looking at the pre-initial situation, when nature entrusted to man in protection and domination, and moving away from it, helps to understand the current unenviable state in which humanity

³ To this can be added the efforts of transhumanism, which attributes to man the ability to transcend (transcend) his current state and achieve a new transhuman or—posthumous condition. In transhumanism, the present man is merely a transitional form of man, to be transformed and improved in the direction of the new man, and the way to achieve this goal is scientific and technical development. Science and technology help a man increase, strengthen, and intensify his abilities to transform himself into a new transhuman being. (Klun 2019, 589–592)

and the planet Earth found themselves. The purpose of this paper is to show that in modern, postmodern times, we need new ethical rules that will concern human (interpersonal) relationships and the relationship to the whole of creation. The paper's central thesis is setting a new ethical perspective, as proposed by Hans Jonas, where the ethics of responsibility for the other as the source of the moral sense complemented by a commitment to nature, which again needs to acknowledge its essence and dignity. In a changed attitude towards reality and active solidarity responsibility of each individual and the whole of humanity, it is possible to look for hope for the survival of man, nature and future generations.

Keywords: human, nature, ecology, ethics, responsibility, globalisation

1. Odnos človeka do narave

Živimo v času, ko je nemogoče spregledati, da je narava zaradi nepremišljenih posegov človeštva ranjena in vedno bolj ogrožena. Če so še do nedavnega obstajali dvomljivci v medsebojno vzročno povezanost človekovih aktivnosti (predvsem na področju razvoja industrije) in narave (globalnega segrevanja), obstajajo danes empirični dokazi, ki to povezanost potrjujejo. To dokazujejo tudi letošnji Nobelovi nagrajenci za fiziko,⁴ ki si delijo nagrado za študije o kaotičnih razmerah v sedanjem svetu in o človekovemu vplivu na podnebne spremembe. Dejstvo je, da človek prekomerno izkorišča naravne vire, uničuje gozdove in onesnažuje zrak, reke in morja. Naravni viri bodo kmalu izčrpani, v mnogih predelih sveta se soočajo s pomankanjem pitne vode, kvaliteta bivanja v svetovnih metropolah je zaradi onesnaženega zraka vse slabša. Ozonska luknja, topla greda, kisel dež, segrevanje atmosfere, taljenje ledenikov in še mnoge druge posledice napredka in razvoja sodobne civilizacije postavljajo pod vprašaj možnost bivanja in obstoja bodočih človeških rodov kot tudi obstoj planeta Zemlja.

Človek post tehnične industrijske družbe je ustvaril pogoje, ki ogrožajo njega samega in njegovo preživetje, zato se v sodobni družbi nahajamo v etični zagati, kako naj človek odslej pravzaprav živi in ravna (Juhant 1993, 125–126). Napredek in razvoj, ki se ne ozirata na človeka, nenadzorovano in prekomerno izkoriščanje narave in njenih virov, svoboda pri znanstvenem raziskovanju, ki ni omejena z etičnostjo in skrbjo za ohranitev človekovega dostojanstva, vse to lahko vodi v strašanske zlorabe, katerih posledice so lahko usodne in nepopravljive.

⁴ Nobelovi nagrajenci za fiziko v letu 2021 so: Japonec Syukuro Manabe (ZDA) in Nemeč Klaus Hasselmann (Nemčija) za prelomna odkritja na področju »fizičnega modeliranja podnebja Zemlje, količinskega določanja variabilnosti in zanesljivega napovedovanja globalnega segrevanja« ter Italijan Giorgio Parisi (Italija) za odkritje »medsebojnega vplivanja motenj in nihanj v fizičnih sistemih od atomske do planetarne lestvice«. (The Nobel Prize Organisation 2021) Gre za odkritja, ki med drugim govorijo o identifikaciji podnebnega odtisa, ki ga pustijo tako naravne kot človeške aktivnosti ter ugotovitve, ki govorijo o tem, v kolikšni meri na podnebne spremembe vplivajo izpusti, ki jih je povzročil človek (STA 2021).

Na problematiko zlorabe moči in človekovih sposobnosti opozarja tudi Kongregacija za verski nauk v dokumentu „Dignitas personae“ (v slovenskem prevodu „Dostojanstvo osebe“) (2009, tč. 39):

»Vendar zgodovina človeštva pričuje, kako je človek v preteklosti zlorabljal in kako še vedno zlorablja moči in sposobnosti, ki mu jih je podaril Bog. S tem pospešuje različne oblike krivičnega razločevanja in zatiranja najšibkejših in najbolj nemočnih. Vsakodnevni napadi na človeško življenje, obstoj velikih območij revščine, kjer ljudje umirajo od lakote in bolezni, prikrajšani za intelektualna in uporabna sredstva, ki so v izobilju na voljo v veliko državah; tehnološki in industrijski napredek, ki ustvarja resnično tveganje za propad ekosistema; uporaba znanstvenih raziskav na področju fizike, kemije in biologije za namene vojskovanja; številne napetosti, ki še vedno delijo ljudstva in kulture; to je na žalost, zgolj le nekaj najočitnejših znakov, kako lahko človek zlorabi svoje sposobnosti in postane sam svoj najhujši sovražnik s tem, ko izgubi zavest o svojem veličanstvem in bistvenem klicu k sodelovanju pri božjem stvariteljskem delu.«

Človeku so podarjene moči, da bi soustvarjal zgodovino odrešenja, napačna uporaba ali zloraba podarjenih mu moči pa ni v skladu z Božjim in načrtom in lahko pomeni grožnjo človeku samemu, bližnjim in okolju oz. naravi. Človek namreč ne živi iz sebe in sam zase, človeško bivanje se »opira na tri med seboj tesno povezana temeljna razmerja: na odnos do Boga, do bližnjega in do zemlje« (LS, tč. 66), prav zemlja pa je zaradi človekovega neodgovornega ravnanja postala ogrožena, s tem pa tudi obstoj človeka.

Ko je človek kot subjekt mislil (si domišljjal), da lahko obvlada vse in vsakogar, da lahko reši vse probleme tega sveta in lahko s svojimi tehnološkimi dosežki uresniči svoje sanje o raju na zemlji (Stres 1998, 17), ga je iz njegovega egocentričnega bivanja predramila realnost, ki se je izkazala za vse drugo kot domišljavo pričakovani raj na zemlji: človeka prizadene kriza osebne identitete, utrujen je od pehanja za dobičkom, izgublja se v potrošniški družbi in utaplja v smeteh. Preplavljata ga nelagodje in tesnoba, strah pred negotovo prihodnostjo in širjenjem novih bolezni (pandemije). Tudi narava in bivanjsko okolje se izkažeta kot tista, ki ju človek vendarle ne more popolnoma obvladati in nadzorovati. Narava je tista, ki se ne pusti obvladati in je tista, ki še vedno obvladuje človeka (čeprav jo človek ogroža), kar se kaže v vse pogostejših ekstremnih vremenskih pojavih (močno deževje, poplave in erozija nižinskih in obalnih predelov, orkanski veter, vročinski vali ipd.) Veliko težavo za človeka predstavljajo hitre podnebne spremembe, na katere se tako človek kot tudi druga živa bitja le s težavo prilagajajo.

2. Nova opredelitev odnosa med naravo in družbo

O odnosu človeka do narave spregovori nemški sociolog Ulrich Beck v svojem delu *Risikogesellschaft (Družba tveganja)*. Družbo dvajsetega stoletja označi kot ‚vulkan civilizacije‘, ki je tik pred izbruhom.

Beck pravi, da industrija pospešeno razgrajuje ekološke in naravne osnove življenja. V družbi se odvija nepojmljiva dinamika družbenega in političnega razvoja, ki nima primera v zgodovini. Ta zahteva novo definicijo odnosa med naravo in družbo. Konfrontacija narave in družbe je konstrukt 19. stoletja, ki izvira iz želje in namena, da bi človeštvo naravo obvladalo, toda ob tem jo hkrati prezre. Posledice tega prezrtja so jasne in očitne. V začetku 21. stoletja je narava zapostavljena in izčrpana. S tehnično-industrijskimi spremembami in uvajanjem tržišč širom sveta, z globalizacijo, je postala narava del industrijskega sistema. Globalizacija ima s svojimi znamenji⁵ mnogo učinkov in vpliva na vsako človeško bitje in tudi na naravo. Človeštvo kot celota se sooča z ekološkimi težavami (Žalec 2008, 9), rešitve pa vsekakor niso enostavne. Slovenski filozof Janez Juhant opozarja, da so v ozadju globalizacije predvsem ekonomski interesi (2008, 22) in zdi se, da je ekonomski dobiček v ospredju globalizacijskih premikov, kar zahteva previdnost. Dejstvo je, da je vpliv globalizacije na življenje ljudi in na naše okolje velik in se mu ni mogoče izogniti. Globalizacija se dotika vsakega človeka in vseh vidikov našega življenja (Lah 2008, 87), pospešeno pa vpliva tudi na onesnaženost in prekomerno izčrpavanje naravnih zemeljskih virov. Kaj se bo zgodilo z odnosi v družbi, z našimi medosebnimi odnosi in naravo? Kakšna prihodnost čaka človeštvo in naš planet?

V sedanjem globaliziranem svetu je težko predvideti nadaljnji razvoj dogodkov in njihov vpliv na človeka in naravo. Zaskrbljujoče dejstvo je, da ekološki odtis⁶ presega obnovitveno sposobnost Zemlje, konkretnije: človeštvo trenutno porabi 60 odstotkov več virov, kot jih je mogoče obnoviti, kar pomeni, da živimo tako, kot bi imeli na voljo 1,6 planeta (Varčujem z energijo 2020). Dejstvo je, da se mora onesnaževanje ustaviti ali vsaj zmanjšati, na novo moramo premisliti naš odnos do narave. Odvisnost od potrošnje in tržišča danes sicer na nov način pomeni odvisnost od narave, ta odvisnost tržnega sistema od narave pa postaja osnova življenja v industrijski civilizaciji (Beck 2001, 13–14). Beck trdi, da moramo končno priznati, da je narava *družba* in da je tudi družba narava. Gre za novo definicijo odnosa med naravo in družbo, za odnos, ki bistveno spremeni pogled na stvarnost. Tisti, ki danes govorijo o naravi kot o ne-družbi, govorijo v kategorijah nekega drugega obdobja, ki nima povezave z našo stvarnostjo. Narava, ki kroži in se izkorišča znotraj družbenega sistema, je postala politična celo v objektivnih rokah znanstvenikov. Kar znanost predpostavlja, meri in preverja, vpliva na izboljšanje ali poslabšanje zdravja, ekonomske interese, politične interese, lastniške odnose, odgovornosti ali pooblastila. Beck pravi, da se znanstveniki, ki danes preučujejo naravo, nahajajo v močnem politično-ekonomsko-kulturnem magnetnem polju. To nas navaja k misli, da so v pogojih podružbljene narave, naravne in tehnične znanosti postale »v številke odeta podružnica politike, etike, gospodarstva in pra-

⁵ Ekonomija prostega trga, zaposlovanje tuje in cenejše delovne sile, večja produktivnosti in dosegljivost dobrin, večja povezanost med ljudmi (internet), po drugi strani pa vedno večje razlike med revnimi in bogatimi, med bogatimi in revnimi narodi, potrošništvo, onesnaževanje, nacionalizmi, izginjanje tradicije, kulturne in religiozne dediščine. (Phan 2007)

⁶ Ekološki odtis je eden najbolj celostnih kazalcev trajnosti na področju okolja. Izraža porabo naravnih virov in obnovitveno sposobnost površin, ki jo prebivalstvo potrebuje za ohranjanje svojega načina življenja. Ekološki deficit nastane, če porabimo več od obnovitvene sposobnosti narava.

vosodja» (119). Za vse veje znanosti bo po Becku ključno spoznanje, da potrebujejo institucionalno podkrepjeno in zaščiteno moralno politično osnovo, da bi sploh lahko opravljalo kakšno koli veljavno raziskovanje. Predvsem pa je potrebno spremeniti miselnost ljudi, vzpostaviti bi morali etičen odnos do narave, jo spoštovati in jo skušati ohranjati, kjer je mogoče (Štaudohar 2021, 10). O resnosti težav sodobnega sveta spregovori tudi slovenski filozof Robert Petkovšek, ki opozori, da se je svet »v zadnjem stoletju globaliziral in dokončno ustvaril vse možnosti za samouničenje« (2014, 591). V tej situaciji po njegovem mnenju nobena od dosedanjih etik ne zadošča več, izjema je evangelijska etika odpovedi mimetični želji, ki jo človek nosi v sebi. »Samo evangelijska etika je zmožna človeka rešiti pred apokaliptičnim samouničenjem.« (591)

Svet se je v zadnjem stoletju močno spremenil in človek je ustvaril vse možnosti za samouničenje. V tej novi situaciji smo pred resno dilemo, katera etika je še lahko ustrezna pri reševanju nastalega stanja, zagotovo pa se mora človeštvo odpovedati prekomernemu izkoriščanju in egoističnemu zadovoljevanju zgolj osebnih potreb; potrebno bi se bilo vrniti na začetke človekovega samozavedanja, ko mu je bila narava podarjena kot vir življenja in zaupana v varovanje.

3. Pred-izhodiščna situacija (izročilo Svetega pisma)

V Svetem pismu je v prvem poročilu o stvarjenju zapisano, da Bog ustvari človeka po svoji podobi in mu zaupa, naj si podvrže zemljo (1 Mz 1,28) in gospoduje nad njo (1,26) v drugem poročilu o stvarjenju pa je dodano še, naj človek edenski vrt obdeluje in varuje (2,15). Človek se razlikuje od drugih ustvarjenih bitij in ima privilegij, da je edinstven in se dviga nad vso zemljo; človek je vrh stvarjenja in vrh vidnega stvarstva. S tem, ko je Bog vzel človeka in ga postavil v edenski vrt, da bi ga obdeloval in varoval in mu dal oblast nad deli Božjih rok in vse položil pod njegove noge (Ps 8,6-9), je človeka postavil v izjemen položaj. Ta izjemen položaj človeka ni le v tem, da je ustvarjen po Božji podobi (1 Mz 1,26-27) temveč v tem, da je, kot beremo v Pastoralni konstituciji o Cerkvi v sedanjem svetu:

- edino bitje, ki ga je Bog ustvaril zaradi njega samega (CS, tč. 24) in
- je postavljen za gospodovalca nad vsemi zemeljskimi stvarmi; za človeka je ustvarjeno vse stvarstvo (CS, tč. 12).

Poseben položaj človeka se razodeva tudi v njegovi nalogi, ki mu jo je Bog zaupal in to je obdelovanje in varovanje edenskega vrta. Človekovo gospostvo govori o tem, da ima človek oblast nad vsem stvarstvom⁷ in da s kraljevsko močjo vlada vsemu, kar je Bog ustvaril (Strehovec 2007, 134). Toda antropocentričen pogled na svet je Svetemu pismu tuj, govorimo o teocentričnem pogledu. Govorimo lahko o moči odgovornega gospodovanja nad stvarstvom, ki izhaja iz človekove de-

⁷ »Dal si mu oblast nad deli svojih rok, vse si položil pod njegove noge: vse ovce in goveda, in tudi poljske živali, ptice neba in ribe morja, vse, kar se giblje po morskih stezah.« (Ps 8,7-9)

ležnosti na božji moči in je znamenje slave in časti, ki ju je človek prejel od Stvarnika (EV, tč. 42). Gospodovati tako ne pomeni ravnati s stvarstvom kot bi želeli, temveč zanj skrbeti. Zato je človek tudi odgovoren Bogu za svoje ravnanje z naravo in živimi bitji v njej (Singer 2003, 202). »Človek, poklican, da obdeluje in varuje vrt sveta (1 Mz 2, 15), ima posebno odgovornost nad območjem življenja, oziroma nad stvarstvom, ki ga je Bog postavil v službo njegovega osebnega dostojanstva, njegovega življenja: v odnosu ne samo na sedanost, temveč tudi na prihodnje rodove.« (EV, tč. 42) Človek je poklican k odgovornosti, ki izključuje kakršno koli samovšečno držo superiornosti ali domišljavo prepričanje, da mu je kot človeku vse podrejeno in podvrženo.⁸ Prav nasprotno: odgovornost se nanaša na tukaj in sedaj in vključuje misel na jutri, misel na to, kako bodo naša človeška dejanja danes vplivala na življenje (narave in bodočih rodov) jutri.

O krhkosti narave in človeka, o človekovi odgovornosti ter o premisleku in skrbi za naš skupni dom, razmišlja papež Frančišek v okrožnici „Laudato si“ („Hvaljen, moj Gospod“), ki jo lahko poimenujemo okoljska okrožnica. V njej papež izpostavlja človekovo neločljivo povezanost s stvarstvom in razmišlja o pomenu gospodovanja nad stvarstvom. Nanašajoč se na Asiškovo pojmovanje zemlje kot naše sestre, papež Frančišek poudarja, da je narava zaradi našega napačnega pojmovanja gospodovanja (ki se je sprevrglo v ropanje), izčrpana in opustošena (LS, tč. 2), zato jasno poziva vso človeško družino k skupnemu iskanju vzdržnega in celostnega razvoja (LS, tč. 13), da bi naš skupni dom zavarovali.

V okrožnici papež Frančišek kritično opozarja, da ustvarjenost po božji podobi in dejstvo, ki izhaja iz svetopisemske pripovedi o stvarjenju (1 Mz 1,28), ne pomeni polne prevlade nad drugimi ustvarjenimi bitji. Drugo poročilo o stvarjenju govori o obdelovanju in varovanju edenskega vrta (2,15), pri čemer se obdelovanje nanaša na oranje ali prekopavanje zemlje, varovati pa pomeni »ščiliti, negovati, braniti, ohranjati, čuvati. To vsebuje razmerje odgovorne vzajemnosti med človekom in naravo. Vsaka skupnost naj prejema od obilja zemlje, kar potrebuje za lastno preživetje, a je tudi dolžna varovati in zagotavljati trajnost njene rodovitnosti za prihodnje rodove.« (LS, tč. 67)

Pri tem velja izpostaviti papeževu preferenčno opcijo za uboge, ki jo umeša v okvir t. i. celotne ekologije. Izhodiščna ideja celotne ekologije je v medsebojni povezanosti vsega (čas in prostor, narava in družba, človek in okolje, gospodarstvo in politika) (tč. 138–139; 141), kar pomeni, da je potrebno pri reševanju okoljske krize reševati tudi družbeno in obratno. Skrb za varstvo narave in stvarstvo tako ne more biti ločena od skrbi za uboge in za celotno družbo, prav tako pa mora skrb za človeka in boj proti revščini vključevati skrb za naravo (tč. 139), ki jo je potrebno ohranjati za bodoče rodove, saj »zemlja, ki smo jo prejeli, pripada tudi njim, ki bodo prišli« (tč. 159). Ali je sodobni človek še zvest svetopisemskemu izročilu?

Prevladujoča značilnost sodobnega sveta je bil gospodarski, znanstveni in tehnološki proces globalizacije. Pod tem vplivom so tudi kulturne in moralne vredno-

⁸ S tem, ko človek nad seboj ne priznava več nobene oblasti, temveč vidi le samega sebe, se začenja uničevanje stvarstva (LS, tč. 6).

te doživele globoko preobrazbo, kar je spodbudilo nov znanstveni, tehnični in gospodarski napredek. Gospodarstvo, znanost in tehnologija so prevladali nad kulturnimi, tradicionalnimi in moralnimi vrednotami. Vsi vidiki (post)moderne življenja (sodobna politika in etika) so pod prevlado zakonov svetovnega trga. (Petkovšek 2008, 59) Sodobni človek se znašel v vrtincu nakupovanja, »potrošniška obsedenost je primer, kako tehnično-gospodarski vzorec vpliva na posameznika« (LS, tč. 203). Gospodarstvo išče najboljše rezultate (dohodek) z najmanjšimi vložki⁹, kar pomeni, da moralne in etične vrednote ne igrajo primarne vloge pri odločanju, kako živeti in kako ravnati z naravo.

V tem smislu lahko trdimo, da postmoderni človek (sodobni človek) ni več zvest božjemu naročilu, naj skrbi za ves ustvarjen svet. Sodobni človek ne razume več pravilno pomena besede *gospodovati*. Gospodovati ne pomeni izkoriščati do skrajnih meja možnega temveč varovati. Dober gospodar je tisti, ki skrbi za svoje premoženje in ga obrača tako, da ga ohranja in povečuje njegovo vrednost. Moder gospodar varuje svoje imetje. Narava ni nikogaršnja last, toda človeku je zaupana v varstvo. Zato jo je človek kot odgovorno bitje dolžan zaščititi in skrbeti zanjo. »Človek je prav zaradi svojega edinstvenega dostojanstva in obdarjenosti z razumom poklican k spoštovanju stvarstva in njegovih notranjih zakonov, kajti ›Gospod je z modrostjo postavil zemljo‹ (Prg 3,19).« (LS, tč. 69)

Ali je narava danes še varna pred človekom? Težko bi odgovorili pritrdilno. Sodobni človek, ki hlasta¹⁰ po imetju, se je precej oddaljil od tradicionalnih vrednot, tudi od Božjega naročila, naj gospoduje nad naravo. Po drugi strani tudi narava vrača udarec. Nasilje, ki ga človek izvaja nad naravo, mu je začelo groziti. Poplave, ozonska luknja, segrevanje planeta ... vse zlo, storjeno proti naravi se vrača človeku kot protitudarec, ki ga mnogokrat v določenih predelih sveta človeštvo ne more več prenesti (preživeti). Zato se še posebej močno v tem času zastavlja vprašanje, kakšna etična načela naj odslej uravnavajo človekovo razmerje do okolja. In posledično: kakšen status naj ima okolje, da bomo zavzeli do njega resen in odgovoren odnos.

4. Človekova etična odgovornost za naravo

Priznati moramo, da vprašanje odgovornega ravnanja z naravo ne zadeva toliko narave same, temveč predvsem človeka: kaj bomo pustili za prihodnje generacije in ali bo obstoj prihodnjih rodov zaradi nas in našega delovanja še sploh mogoč? Če nimamo pri vseh naravovarstvenih akcijah pred očmi predvsem človeka, njegovega dostojanstva in dostojanstva vsega ustvarjenega, lahko vsa ‚green-peace‘

⁹ Papež Frančišek v okrožnici „Laudato si“ zapiše, da je načelo maksimiranja dobička, ki običajno spregleda drugačno gledanje, v bistvu popačenje pojma gospodarstva. Navede primer krčenja gozda, ki povečuje proizvodnjo, in opozori, da nihče v ta obračun ne šteje izgub, ki nastanejo zaradi upoštevanja tal, uničenja biotske raznovrstnosti ali večje onesnaženosti, kar ni etično. (LS, tč.195)

¹⁰ V tem smislu lahko trdimo tudi, da postmoderni človek (sodobni človek) posledično ni več zvest božjemu naročilu, naj ne ‚hlasta‘ po imetju drugega, ki je vsebovano v deseti Božji zapovedi (po Judovskem štetju). V Svetem pismu ‚želja po imetju‘, ‚posedovanje‘, sama po sebi ni grešna, v kolikor ne postane edino merilo in cilj človeškega življenja in ravnanja (Skralovnik in Matjaž 2020, 505–518).

prizadevanja izzvenijo kot zgolj romantično nostalgičen klic. Splošno etično načelo namreč zahteva, da ne iščemo zgolj tega, kar je dobro za nas, temveč tudi to, kar je dobro za drugega in drugih stvari (stvarnosti).

Moderna doba, v kateri se je začel razmah industrializma in tehnološkega razvoja, je do narave zavzela odnos ‚lastnika‘, ki ima pravico, da si naravo podjarmi in se z njo čimbolj okoristi. Ker je narava začela vračati udarec, se je človek postmodernizma »stresnil« in postal občutljiv za ekološko problematiko. Za spremenjen odnos do narave ni dovolj strah pred nevarnostjo ekološke katastrofe in s tem (samo)uničenja človeka. Postmodernizem nas sicer res navaja k drugačnemu pojmovanju narave, kot so ga zavzemali prejšnji sistemi (npr. marksistična ideologija je poudarjala nadvlado človeka nad naravo v smislu neomejenega izkoriščanja naravnih dobrin), zato bo najprej potrebno spremeniti odnos do sebe in premisliti katere vrednote so tiste, ki resnično osmislijo življenje in dajejo kvaliteto bivanja. Slovenski filozof Anton Stres meni, da dokler bodo ljudje videli smisel življenja v čim večji potrati in porabi in vsesplošnem uživanju, kjer si lahko človek privoščičim več, se odnos do narave ne bo bistveno spremenil (1993, 13).

5. Nova etična perspektiva

Dosedanja etika je temeljila na predpostavkah, da je stanje človeka, ki mu je po naravi dano, enkrat za vselej postavljeno in da se na tej osnovi lahko zlahka in gotovo ugotovi, kaj je dobro za ljudi. Doseg človeškega delovanja in posledično doseg človekove odgovornosti je ozko omejen. Hans Jonas, filozof nemškega rodu dokazuje, da te predpostavke danes ne veljajo več in da je potrebno zgoraj navedeno postaviti v odnos s človeškim moralnim položajem. Vsebina človeškega delovanja se je namreč zaradi razvoja znanosti in tehnike povsem spremenila. Posledica te spremembe se mora nujno odražati tudi znotraj etike. Gre za povsem novo dimenzijo značaja etike, ki ni bila predvidena v stališčih in kanonih tradicionalne etike (Jonas 1990, 13). Človek s svojo močjo nasilno prodira v kozmični red, izvaja obširno invazijo na različna področja narave; pojem civilizacije je postal drugi izraz za nasilje nad naravo. Problem sodobnega načina civiliziranja je, da bodo glavne posledice vidne šele v prihodnosti in le delno že danes. Nova etika ne sme obsegati zgolj odnosa človeka z njim samim in do drugih ljudi, ampak njegov odnos do celotnega stvarstva, v katerem se je rodil. Da lahko etiko na novo definiramo, je potrebno naravi priznati njeno dostojanstvo, hkrati pa je potrebno naravi priznati njeno lastno bistvo.¹¹

Sodobna etika ne more več iskati in utemeljevati norm, ki bodo urejale zgolj medčloveške odnose, temveč mora najti ustrezne rešitve pri opredeljevanju tega, kar je dobro tudi za druge stvari, celotno stvarstvo. Človek ne more biti odgovoren zgolj zase in za drugega, temveč tudi za svet, ki mu je zaupan v odgovorno ravnanje.

¹¹ Papež Frančišek v „*Laudato si*“ vabi, da »tudi drugim živim bitjem priznavamo, da imajo lastno vrednost pred Bogom in ga »s svojim preprostim obstojem hvalijo in slavijo,« kajti Gospod se veseli svojih del (Ps 104, 31)« (tč. 69).

Leta 1979 je Jonas izdal svojo najodmevnejšo knjigo *Das Prinzip Verantwortung (Načelo odgovornosti)*, s katero je »bistveno prispeval k razširitvi ekološke zavesti in opozoril na dolgoročne posledice sodobnega načina življenja« (Globokar 2019, 616). Knjiga je med publiko uspešno razširila morečo zavest o ogroženosti naravnega okolja. V tem delu je opozoril na podiranje naravnega ravnovesja, na katerem je utemeljen obstoj vseh živih bitij. Nov način razmišljanja spodbode zavest o moči, ki jo je današnji človek sposoben pokazati v odnosu do obkrožajoče narave. Jonas predvsem zanimajo t. i. miroljubni posegi v naravo, ki na videz služijo le napredku in izboljšanju kvalitete življenja, v resnici pa imajo dolgotrajne in predvsem trajne škodljive posledice za celotno naravo. Jonas se sprašuje, kaj to pomeni za obstoječe pojmovanje etičnega obnašanja. Ali so dovolj tradicionalne etične vrednote, kot ljubezen do bližjega, poštenje, empatija ipd.? Gotovo le-te ne zadoščajo za rešitev tega problema. Problem, ki nastane v prihodnosti kot posledica današnjih dejanj (moči nad obvladovanjem narave), ni rešljiv z naborom etičnih dejanj, ki učinkujejo le na današnji trenutek. Nabor etičnih dejanj je potrebno razširiti in jim tako podaljšati ‚rok uporabe‘. Jonas pravi, da je potrebno ljudem ‚vcepiti‘ ustrezno količino strahu, da bi se zavedeli resnosti položaja. Bodoče posledice sedanjega ravnanja z naravo je potrebno predstaviti zelo nazorno in v največjem možnem obsegu. Človeku, ki nima takšnega občutka strahu, je nemogoče zaupati našo skupno usodo.

Odgovornost je kompleksen pojem. Ne nanaša se zgolj na posledice določene ravnanja ali dejanja, temveč se razprostira na to, kar je potrebno storiti: »Prvenstveno nisem odgovoren za svoje obnašanje in posledice tega obnašanja, temveč za stvar, ki ima pravico do mojega delovanja.« (1990, 133) Tako se na primer odgovornost za dobrobit drugih razteza ne le na namene dejanj v smislu moralne dopustnosti, ampak zavezuje k ravnanju, ki ni usmerjeno v noben drug namen. Biti ‚odgovoren za‘ pomeni biti odgovoren za to, kar je zunaj mene, in vendar v delnem področju mojih moči in pristojnosti. Stvar postane moja, ker je moja moč vzročni odnos prav do te stvari. Moč postane objektivno odgovorna za to, kar ji je zaupano. (134) V kontekstu Jonasovega pojmovanja odgovornosti, ki se nanaša tudi na to, kar bi morali narediti za neko stvar, misli predvsem na odgovornost za prihodnost, za potomstvo. Odgovorni smo predvsem naravi in bodočim generacijam. Odgovornost je za Jonasa n recipročno razmerje (136), podobno, kot pri Levinasu. Prezeti odgovornost pomeni, da ne pričakujemo povračila za neko uslugo ali dejanje skrbi. In na tem mestu pridemo do radikalnega premika. Jonas kot osebo, kot drugega, ki mu namenjamo odgovornost, pojmuje tudi naravo. Jonas se vpraša: »Ali je pri tem dejstvu, da ‚se me drugi tiče‘, pomembno, da se jaz sam v tem prepoznam?« (1997, 233–234). Problem je v dokazovanju tega, kako nas to vse zadeva. Ni dovolj, da nekaj vzamemo le na znanje, temveč se moramo tudi ustrezno odzvati.

Potrebno je torej ravnati tako, da posledice naših dejanj ne bodo ogrozile dostojnega obstoja človeške vrste na Zemlji. Zato potrebujemo etiko solidarne odgovornosti, ki bo danes »nadela uzde galopirajočemu napredku« (1990, 310). Toda Jonasu ne gre le za preživetje človeške vrste in njegovega naravnega okolja, ampak

je zanj pomembno, da narava (zopet) dobi svoje lastno bistvo in njej lastno dostojanstvo. Človeška vrsta mora nanjo gledati s spoštovanjem. Ker je v miselnosti modernega človeka narava izgubila to dostojanstvo, se je pojavila grozeča nevarnost za propad naravnega okolja in človeka.

Ideja o lastnih pravicah in lastnem bistvu narave je v pojmovanju zahodne civilizacije (za razliko od nekaterih ostalih civilizacij, npr. indijska ljudstva v Ameriki) povsem tuja. Drugače je urejeno pojmovanje človeka. Le-ta se rodi z njemu lastnim dostojanstvom; človeku so določene pravice že prirojene in niso od nobene družbe podarjene. Ta posebnost človeške vrste ima za posledico pojmovanje o privilegiranem položaju človeka na Zemlji, o človeku, ki je prvi med bitji na Zemlji. Človek postane iztrgan iz narave in mu pripada absolutna vrednost. Tak privilegiran položaj postane jedro problema; postane glavni krivec za sedanjo ogroženost narave. Narava služi za zadovoljevanje človekovih interesov. Takšno stanje so pomagale vzpostaviti naravoslovne in tehnične vede, katerih razvoj je naravo dokončno oddaljil od priznanja njenega lastnega bistva. Jonas zavzame stališče, da bistvo in pravice ne pripadajo le ljudem, ampak tudi ostalim bitjem narave. Naravo je potrebno varovati, ker ima lastno pravico do obstoja. Jonas poizkuša priti do takšne teorije narave, ki bi omogočila, da etične norme ravnanja z njo izvedemo iz nje same (iz njenega bistva), ne da bi bilo potrebno sklicevanje na Boga ali subjektivne vrednote. Jonas vztraja na možnosti naravoslovno utemeljene etike. Prav tako pa je potrebno vnesti te ideje v ustrezno zakonodajo.¹²

Med drugim Hans Jonas razmišlja:

»Pogosto me sprašujejo tole: »Odgovoren si samo *pred* nekom; *pred kom* smo torej odgovorni? Na to bi lahko odgovoril: pred rodovi. Če pa mi ugovarjajo, češ da prihodnji rodovi ne bodo obstajali in torej ni nikogar, pred komer bi bili odgovorni, je moj odgovor naslednji: odgovorni smo pred bitjo. /.../ Nagibam se k ideji, da znanstveno razumevanje tistega, kar se dogaja v vesolju in pa kozmologija, ki iz tega izhaja, nimata zadnje besede. Nasprotno: iz biti, kolikor je preizkušena v vseh svojih razsežnostih, izhaja dolžnost. /.../ Etika je lahko utemeljena na neki ontologiji, na določenem mišljenju biti.« (1997, 230).

Utemeljitev dolžnosti bi po Jonasovem mnenju lahko prinesla le celotna teorija biti, iz katere bi izhajale vse potrebne etične zahteve. Jonas skuša pokazati, da je »človek odgovoren za sprejetje odgovornosti za bit. Odgovornost razume kot povezavo med človekovo svobodo in vrednostjo biti.

¹² Rešitve po njegovem ne ponujata ne zahodni demokratični večstrankarski politični sistem (ki je preveč razdrobljen za pridobitev širokega konsenza, ki bi bil potreben za takšne korake), ne totalitarni politični sistem. Jonas tudi ne najde odgovora na vprašanje – kaj bi ljudi pripravilo do odločitve za takšno spremembo življenjskega sloga, ki bi omejila pretirano razkošje, ki uničuje naravno okolje. Kakšna politika bi volivce pripravila do tega? Zaveda se, da nazaj ni mogoče. Ljudje sploh več ne bi mogli preživeti brez sedanjega načina življenja! Čeprav nas sodobni trenutek že navaja k temu, da se bomo morali navaditi na skromnejši način življenja (na to nas je posebej opozorila tudi epidemija koronavirusa, ki je za nekaj časa zaustavila kolesje gospodarstva), bo potreben resen premislek, in tudi dejanja, v zvezi z omejitvijo nebrzdane in pretirane potrošnje.

/.../ Zadnji vzrok za prevzem odgovornosti za bit Jonas najde v človekovi sposobnosti za odgovornost. Golo dejstvo, da človek *lahko* prevzame odgovornost za nekaj, po njegovem prepričanju že vsebuje obvezo, da jo tudi prevzame.« (Globokar 2019, 618) Tako bi morala filozofija po Jonasovem prepričanju »nekaj storiti, da bi po možnosti pospeševala pravično ravnanje« (1997, 230).

Glavi razlog za ogroženost okolja vidi Jonas v udobnem načinu življenja, ki je gibalo ali vsaj želja vseh sedanjih človeških družb. Edina rešitev je v slovesu od takšnega načina življenja¹³. Jasno je, da so tovrstne ideje danes nekoliko utopične. Pravilna smer razvoja dogodkov bi bila zmerna sprememba načina življenja. Sredstvo za doseganje tega cilja je predvsem pogovor – dialog. Ne gre le za preživetje človeštva, temveč predvsem za človeka dostojno življenje; to pa je veja, ki si jo žagamo s potrošniškim načinom življenja in izkoriščevalskim pogledom na okolico.

6. Sklepne misli: etična kultura in etika odgovornosti kot rešitev za človeštvo in naravo?

Če se želi človeštvo izogniti katastrofalnim posledicam, ki mu pretijo zaradi neodgovornega ravnanja, če želi ohraniti naravo čim bolj neokrnjeno (kolikor je to sploh še mogoče) tudi za bodoče rodove, mora nujno premisliti svoje ravnanje, obstoječe etične norme ustrezno dopolniti in tako preoblikovane praktično uporabiti v družbenem življenju. Potrebno je, da se v ljudeh, v vsakem posamezniku, prebudi ekološka zavest, pri čemer je lahko v veliko pomoč razvijanje ekološke duhovnosti, h kateri nas spodbuja papež Frančišek v „*Laudato si'*“ (Platovnjak 2019, 80–86). Človek mora spoznati svojo povezanost in odvisnost od narave ter spoštovati njene zakonitosti. Človek se mora odpovedati želji po lagodnem življenju, ki za dosego le-tega dopušča uporabo vseh sredstev. Tudi narava mora imeti status drugega in ne sme biti sredstvo za doseg tega cilja. Skušnjava posedovati čim več ali celo vse stvari je skušnjava sodobnega človeka, ki v viharju postmodernih časov pravzaprav išče samega sebe in zmotno misli, da se bo našel, če bo posedoval stvari. Lahko bi rekli, da zmedeni sodobni človek ponovno stoji pred dilemo *imeti* ali *bit* (*haben* oder *sein*). Slovenski filozof Edvard Kovač se v svoji knjigi *Oddaljena bližina* preroško sprašuje, ali posedovati stvari, vse stvari, še sploh pomeni živeti. »Zagotoviti si življenje z oblastjo nad vsem svetom, ne oziraje se na srečo drugih, ali je to še življenje?« (2000, 27) Zagotovo ne.

Kako se torej zaščititi pred samodestrukcijo in kako zaščititi naravo pred popolnim propadom? Kako živeti, da bo naše življenje res dostojanstveno in da pri ureničevanju samih sebe ne bomo ogrožali drugega in narave kot našega drugega?

¹³ Za spremembo življenjskega sloga se zavzema tudi papež Frančišek v okrožnici „*Laudato si'*“ in opozarja na družbeno odgovornost porabnikov. Nakupovanje ni le ekonomsko, ampak tudi moralno dejanje, vprašanje uničevanja okolja obtožuje obnašanje vsakega posameznika. Zato je potrebno preseči individualizem, da bo mogoče vzpostaviti drugačen, alternativen slog življenja in bo mogoča tudi bistvena sprememba družbe. (LS, tč. 206-208)

Skupaj z Aristotelom lahko zavzamemo stališče, da je potrebno živeti v skladu z vrlinami, krepostmi, kar pomeni, ravnati, kot bi ravnal moder človek; moder človek pa bi ravnal v skladu z razumom in tako kot je prav (Pevec Rozman 2009, 72–73). V soočanju z okoljsko krizo to pomeni, da je prav, da človek prevzame odgovornost ne le za svoja dejanja ampak tudi za drugega (naravo) in za bodoče rodove. S takšno držo odgovornosti bo človek pokazal in upravičil svoje dostojanstvo. Živeti in delovati je potrebno odgovorno, skrbeti za vse tiste in vse tisto, kar potrebuje zaščito zaradi svoje ranljivosti (Grmič 1996, 287). Morda je lahko to tudi pot odkrivanja dobroti, ki jo je Bog Stvarnik vtisnil v vse stvarstvo, in nas vabi, da bi jo odkrili in zaživel v vseh razsežnostih življenja, tudi v odnosu do stvarstva, ter začeli zavestno razvijati kulturo dobrote (Platovnjak 2017, 84–89), ali kot je dejal matematik in fizik Albert Einstein, brez etične kulture ne bo rešitve za človeštvo (1956, 39), in dodajmo, niti za naravo.

Kratice

- CS** – Koncilski odloki 2004 [pastoralna konstitucija O Cerkvi v sedanjem svetu / *Gaudium et spes* (1965)].
EV – Janez Pavel II. [*Evangelium Vitae*].
LS – Francišek 2015 [*Laudato si'*].

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Upanje v krščanstvu in transhumanizem

Hope in Christianity and Transhumanism

Povzetek: Upanje je večplasten pojem. Navadno zadeva stanje osebe, ki si – glede na dane okoliščine – želi dober izid. Upanje v krščanstvu ne ovrže navedenega pomena upanja, ampak ga vključi in ga prestopi. To upanje velja za obljubo, razodeto v Jezusu Kristusu. Čeprav njegova polna vsebina presega realnost, je na izkustveni ravni delno navzoča v krščanski eksistenci. Transhumanizem, priljubljeno ideološko gibanje današnjega časa, ponuja izpolnitev vsebine človeškega upanja – nesmrtnosti in odprave trpljenja – v zgodovinskem okviru z uporabo človeških moči. Avtor v središče postavlja pojem upanja v krščanstvu in prikazuje njegovo nespojiljivost s transhumanistično podobo človeka in njegove prihodnosti. V krščanstvu upanje pomeni pričakovanje, ki je odnos med dajalcem obljube in sprejemnikom. Krščanska misel opozarja na krizo upanja v sodobni družbi in navaja simptome, ki jih je mogoče prepoznati v transhumanizmu. Transhumanizem temelji na ideji progressa, ki bo skozi sodobno tehnologijo kot orodje uresničil človekovo upanje – nesmrtnost in odpravo trpljenja. Način doseganja vsebine upanja je predružačenje biološkega temelja človeka.

Ključne besede: krščansko upanje, kriza upanja, transhumanizem, pričakovanje, progress, tehnologija

Abstract: Hope is a layered concept. However, hope usually refers to the condition of a person in which a good outcome is desired regarding given circumstances. The hope in Christianity does not refute the stated meaning of hope but includes and transcends it. That hope refers to the promise revealed in Jesus Christ. Although its full content transcends reality, it is partially present in Christian existence on an experiential level. Transhumanism, a popular ideological movement of today, offers the fulfilment of the content of human hope – immortality and the abolition of suffering – in a historical framework through human powers. The author puts the notion of hope in Christianity at the centre and shows its incompatibility with the transhumanist image of man and his future. In Christianity, hope is about expectation, which is the relationship between the giver of the promise and the acceptor. Christian thought gives attention to a crisis of hope in modern society and lists symptoms that can be recognized in transhumanism. Transhumanism is based on the idea of progress, which will realize man's hope – immortality and abolition of suffering – through modern technology as a tool. How the content of hope will be achieved is a reshaping of the biological basis of man.

Keywords: hope in Christianity, the crisis of hope, transhumanism, expectation, progress, technology

1. Uvod

Pojem upanja je večplasten. Poleg razprav v teologiji in filozofiji večplastnost pomena kaže potrebo, da fenomen upanja preučujemo z različnih znanstvenih vidikov. Na pojem upanja seveda naletimo tudi v bogati vsakdanji jezikovi rabi. Pravimo, da upanje lahko dobimo, gojimo, izgubimo ali komu damo (SSKJ 2014: ‚upa-ti‘; ‚nadejati se‘). Poleg različnih pristopov ima upanje vselej pomen emocije in emotivnega stanja osebe, ki upa na dober izid težkega stanja ali izziva. Krščansko pojmovanje upanja te dimenzije ne spodbija, temveč jo vključuje in nadgrajuje (Cessario 2007, 41–42).

Krščansko upanje izhaja iz človekovega obstoja, ki je med vero v milostnega Boga in nepopolnimi okoliščinami v svetu, med trpljenjem in smrtjo. Izhaja iz človeka kot bitja, ki se obrača k prihodnosti – to je *ens sperans*. Znotraj tega okvira je upanje dinamika, ki jo konstituirata razodetje, izpolnjeno v Jezusu Kristusu, in njegova obljuba. Govorimo o temeljni značilnosti krščanske eksistence, ki je ne moremo omejiti na osebno hotenje, saj njena dinamičnost izhaja iz osebnega odnosa – dajalca, dane obljube in njenih prejemnikov. Ta odnos ima svojsko temporalnost in se kaže kot pričakovanje dane obljube. Ne govorimo o linearnem pojmu časa (*futurum*), marveč o času osebnega odnosa zaupanja in predanosti (Šagi-Bunić 1981, 286–291).

Transhumanizem je sodobno ideološko gibanje, ki zagotavlja rešitev brezupnemu stanju trpljenja in umiranja v svetu. Današnji pojem je v svojem programskem in ideološkem smislu nastal konec osemdesetih let, izpod peresa britanskega filozofa Maxa Mora, v krogu časopisa *Extropy* in inštituta Extropy Institute. Konec devetdesetih sta filozof Nick Bostrom in matematik David Pearce ustanovila Svetovno transhumanistično organizacijo (pozneje *Humanity +*), ki jo utemeljuje „Transhumanistična deklaracija“. Dandanes v številnih deželah poznamo transhumanistične politične stranke. Transhumanizem v razpravah o človekovi prihodnosti in o prihodnosti sveta predvideva tehnološko predrugačenega človeka. Pot do tega cilja je postopno predrugačenje telesa, ki se bo sklenilo v obliki nekega novega obstoja (Bostrom 2005, 14–15). Tudi če ni neposredno govora o upanju, transhumanizem problem definira in ponudi rešitev. Rešitev človeškega stanja, ki izhaja iz biološkega temelja, se z uporabo tehnologije objavi kot zmaga nad biološko smrtjo. V transhumanizmu je mogoče o upanju govoriti zgolj pogojno, saj računa izključno na zaris prihodnosti, to pa tvori linearni čas progressa.

2. Krščansko upanje

Govoriti o krščanskem upanju pomeni, govoriti o mestu, ki ga ima v življenju verujočih naznanjena obljuba, namenjena vsem ljudem (Leon-Defour 1969, s.v. „upanje“). Krščansko razodetje je razodetje osebnega Boga človeku v Jezusu Kristusu (Heb 1,1-4). Na formalni ravni to razodetje tvorijo eksistencialni napotki in obeti. Za krščansko upanje sta značilni dve temeljni obljubi: Kristusov ponovni prihod in obljubljeni

večno življenje po smrti. Krščansko existenco zamejuje napetost med zavestjo o skrbnemu Bogu, ki je izvir življenja,¹ ter minljivostjo in ranljivostjo človeka.²

Nastanjenost človeka – med skrbnim Bogom in težavnostjo, strnjeno v biblijskih vrsticah – naznačuje pojem *status viatoris*.³ Pojem naznači scenarij potovanja k prihodnji blaženosti (Rim 8,18-21). Glede na to se upanje javlja kot posledica odgovora na vprašanja o tem, kaj je vsebina prihodnje blaženosti in sprejemanja te vsebine. Na tej poti se človek giblje med zgrešenimi cilji in predanostjo obljubi (Cessario 2007, 43; 52). Predrazumevanje naznanjenih obljub je v vsebini razodetja, da je Jezus Kristus, utelešeni Bog, razodel Boga Očeta kot ljubezen. Jezus Kristus se je utelesil zaradi človeka – vstopil v njegovo trpljenje in umiranje –, da bi človeku z vstajenjem odprl blaženo življenje pri Bogu. Vstajenje življenjskih tegob ne uniči, temveč jih osmisli v Bogu, ki jih je sam izkusil in še vedno sodeluje v človeškem trpljenju in smrti (Mt 25,34-46; Jn 3,16-21).

Torej, učinek sprejemanja razodete obljube je upanje. S sprejemanjem obljube nastopi odnos tistega, ki kaj obljubi oziroma obljubo da, in tistega, ki obljubo sprejme. Popolna izpolnitev obljube se zgodi po smrti (1 Kor 15,26). Upanje je eshatološko, saj njegov predmet prestopa stvarnost. Predpostavlja osebni odnos (Gal 4,6; Cessario 2007, 42; 47). Tu je človeški razum pred skrivnostjo, saj je Bog sam Bog upanja (Rim 15,13), kot predmet upanja in kot izvor upanja in osebni Bog, ki se nada dovršitve svojega stvarstva (Fisichella 2001, 71). To je upanje na obljubo, ki človeka reši (Rim 8,24; 1 Tes 5,8). Vendar rešitev tu ni prihodnji dogodek na lenti časa, temveč ima zase značilno temporalnost. To je čas pričakovanja, neposredni čas, ki ga prebija krščanska existenca. Svoj čas živi iz tega, kar pričakuje (*ex-spectare*), vendar tako, da obljubljeni čaka na način, da je nekako že tu. Krščansko upanje ne načrtuje svoje prihodnje vsebine, temveč svoj *novum* živi v danih razmerah (Štivić 2016, 49). To temelji na stališču, ki ga najdemo v pismu Kološanom, da so namreč tisti, ki so verovali v Kristusovo vstajenje, sovstali (συνυπερβητε) z njim, tu in zdaj (Kol 2,12; 3,1). To temporalnost utemeljuje osebni odnos zaupanja in predanosti.

Pri razpravi o upanju ima v filozofsko-teološki tradiciji posebno mesto Tomaž Akvinski. Tomaž uvidi večplastnost upanja kot fenomena, čeprav meni, da je upanje v bistvu upanje v Boga kot izvor dobrega in darovalca večne blaženosti. Tudi če velja, da je upanje darovano kot milost (STh II–II q. 17, a.1; 2; 6), drugje pravi, da je up vselej delno utemeljen v izkušnji (STh I–II q. 40, a.5). Na podlagi teh lastnosti lahko pristopimo k Tomaževi analizi strukture upanja, ki vključuje: dobro (*bonum*), to dobro je prihodnje dobro (*bonum futurum*), prihodnje dobro je težko doseči (*bonum arduum*), prihodnje in težko dosegljivo dobro je možno dobro (*bonum possibile*).

¹ »S kožo in z mesom si me oblekel, s kostmi in kitami si me sklenil. Podelil si mi prijazno življenje in tvoja skrb je varovala mojega duha.« (Job 10,11-12)

² »Sedemdeset let traja naše življenje, osemdeset let, če je krepko; kar je bil njihov ponos, je muka in beda, hitro mine in mi odletimo.« (Ps 90,10)

³ Pojem je uvedel nemški filozof Josef Pieper (1904–1997). Pieper je z izrazom *status viatoris* mislil človekovo existenco kot življenjsko pot do blaženosti, ki se dopolni v smrti oziroma v posesti blaženosti, to je: *status comprehensoris* (Malović 2008, 70). Pojma *status viatoris* in *status comprehensionis* drugače najdemo pri Tomažu Akvinskem, v tekstu *De passionibus animae* na primer.

Predmet upanja je uresničenje možnega dobrega (STh I–II q. 40, a. 1). Akvinski razlikuje dvojno gibanje upanja k možnemu dobremu – nadejanje in pričakovanje. Nadejanje (*sperare*) je, ko človek upa, da bo nekaj dosegel s svojimi lastnimi napori. Pričakovanje (*expectare*) pa je, ko človek upa, da bo kaj dosegel s tujo pomočjo (STh I–II q. 40, a. 1). Zadnje zadeva upanje v polnem smislu. Njegova predmeta ne omejujeta rok in prostor (Trstenjak 1985, 52). Filozofsko rečeno, takšno upanje je transcendentno, saj njegov predmet prestopa zemeljsko-zgodovinsko, je pa tudi transcendentalno, saj je njegov predmet darovan in delno izkusljiv in kot takšen vpliva na zgodovinsko raven *hic et nunc*. Drugače rečeno, krščansko upanje stvarnega sveta ne izničuje, le da bi zgradilo nov in boljši svet. Krščansko upanje razpira pot od obljubljenega (prihodnjega) dejanskosti glede na zdajšnje možnosti. Upanje v smislu rešitev omogoča razumevanje in sprejemanje stvarnosti (Barišić 2001, 11; SS tč. 15).

V okrožnici *Spe salvi* papeža Benedikta XVI. najdemo poglavje *Ali je krščansko upanje kaj individualnega?* (SS tč. 13–15) Vprašanje izvira iz stvarne potrebe, da krščansko upanje razmejimo glede na dihotomijo individualno in komunitarno. Krščansko upanje je individualno, vendar samo zato, ker jo omogoča *communio*, prostor vstopanja v vsebino obljube. Odgovor na zastavljeno vprašanje najdemo v povzetku vere, ki ga beremo v besedah: »Ljubi Gospoda, svojega Boga, z vsem srcem, z vso dušo in z vsem mišljenjem. To je največja in prva zapoved. Druga ji je podobna: Ljubi svojega bližnjega kakor samega sebe.« (Mt 22,37-39) Na teh besedah počiva krščansko razumevanje upanja – njegove transcendentne in transcendentalne narave.

3. Kriza upanja

V preteklem stoletju je bilo upanje ena od osrednjih tem filozofskih in teoloških razprav, raztegnilo se je v naš čas, na to je kot dejstvo vplival mejnik novega tisočletja (Malović 2008). Upanje je v krščanstvu konstitutivno za človeka toliko, da ga lahko določimo kot *ens sperans*. V apostolski postsinodalni spodbudi *Ecclesia in Europa* Janeza Pavla II. je upanje središnji pojem premisleka oznanjanja evangelija v evropskem kontekstu novega tisočletja. Prvo poglavje spregovori o sodobnem stanju oziroma o krizi upanja. Pri tem krizo lahko razumemo dvojno. Prvič, kriza je stanje, na katero upanje na svoj način odgovarja, v tem smislu je kriza za upanje konstitutivna. Drugič, kriza obstaja v tem smislu, kakor to definira Friedrich Mordstein, ki zapiše: »Kriza označuje nevarno stanje, v katerem je nekaj, kar ne bi smelo biti, in ni nečesa, kar bi moralo biti.« (1966, 7) Kriza upanja zadeva to zadnje, in v tem smislu pravimo:

»Vzrok izgubljanja upanja je v *poskusu uveljavljanja antropologije brez Boga in brez Kristusa*. Ta način mišljenja je privedel do tega, da naj bi ‚človeka‘ videli kot absolutno središče vsega bivanja. Zmotno ga postavlja na mesto Boga in ob tem pozablja, da ni človek ustvaril Boga, ampak je Bog ustvaril človeka. Pozabljanje Boga je vodilo v propadanje človeka.« (EE, tč. 9)⁴

⁴ V okrožnici *Spe salvi* papež Benedikt XVI. raziskuje razvoj pomena upanja od Francisa Bacona (1561–

V krščanski perspektivi kriza upanja v prvi vrsti pomeni antropološki problem. Krščanska antropologija ima človeka za središče vsega, kar je ustvarjeno – v smislu odgovornega upravljavca drugih bitij –, to pa se ne zlije s podobo narcisoidnega tirana (Globokar 2018, 362). Problem se kaže v tem, da človek zanika izvorni ‚predmet‘ upanja oziroma živi, *etsi Deus non daretur*. Vendar človek svoje usmerjenosti k prihodnjemu ne more zanikati (EE tč. 11). To gledanje se naprej pokaže v želji in potrebi, nadkriliti sebe samega in svet, prevladati vse omejitve in utesnitve (Šagi-Bunić 1981, 287). V tako vnaprej omejenem upanju uzre besedilo dokumenta razlog bistvene spremembe kulturnega, religijskega in znanstvenega konteksta:

»Mnogi potrebujejo upanje in menijo, da bodo našli mir v minljivih in krhkih stvareh. Tako transcendenci zaprto, v *prostor tega sveta* omejeno upanje enačijo z rajem, ki ga obljubljata znanost in tehnika; z različnimi oblikami mesijanizma, z uživaško srečo, kot jo ponuja porabništvo, ali z namišljenim občutkom sreče, ki ga umetno povzročajo mamila; tudi z različnimi oblikami milenarizma, z mamljivostjo vzhodnih filozofij, z iskanjem oblik ezoterične duhovnosti in z različnimi tokovi nove dobe (*new age*).« (EE, tč. 10)

Potreba upanja, ki se vnaprej omejuje na metode tehnoznanosti oziroma njenih kulturnih izpeljank, je vnaprej obsojena na neuspeh. Kritika počiva na stališču, da se upanje, tudi če je minljive narave, izpolni onstran smrti. Tu se dogaja obrat oziroma poskus udejanjenja upanja v času. Pri tej preobrnitvi se ne računa več na razodeto obljubo, temveč edinole na progres človekove sposobnosti razpolaganja z življenjem. Obljuba, ki jo naznanitev daje, postane vera v človekovo neomejeno moč. Govorimo o stanju *aversio o Deo*, ki ga povzroča stališče *conversio ad creaturam* (Cessario 2007, 55). Končno pa – v novih oblikah scientističnega redukcionizma – človek kot *ens technologicus* – upanja ne potrebuje, saj bo v pogledu svojih možnosti s svojimi lastnimi silami postal *ens perfectum et immensum*. Prav ta sprememba naznani ‚človekov propad‘.

4. Upanje v transhumanizmu

Krščansko upanje in transhumanizem se ne zmoreta poistovetiti, saj temeljita na različni antropološki podlagi. Transhumanizem ne pozna ideje Boga ali transcen-

1626) dalje. Po odkritju povezave eksperimenta in znanstvene metode se zavest postopno spremeni; glede izgubljenega raja pa človek lahko uporabi vse znanje, da bi ga sam obnovil. Odnos zveze znanosti in prakse je človeku odprl možnost razpolaganja s stvarmi. Možnost znanstvenega razpolaganja s stvarmi, ki jo daje praksa znanosti, je ustvarila idejo progressa. Progres je vero in upanje v oznanjene razodete obljube zamenjal z vero v človekov razum in svobodo, ki sta ostala pojmovno nedorečena. Razpad ideje linearnega progressa je postal očiten v preteklem stoletju – ob atomskih bombah, zločinih totalitarnih sistemov –, danes pa je vse bolj pereč ob različnih zgledih tehnoinženirskega razpolaganja in spreminjanja človeka in narave. Torej, progres znanstvene prakse in etična dimenzija življenja nista identična (SS, tč. 16–23).

Problem lahko uzremo tudi *ad intra* kot krizo oznanjevanja, ki se kaže kot šibka vez med odgovorom na smisel življenja in božjim rešiteljskim delovanjem v zgodovini (Šarčević 2001, 102). Z drugimi besedami: »Ali verjame Cerkev, ali verjamemo mi, sedanji kristjani, da je Kristus živ, da je živ zdaj?« (Šagi-Bunić 1981, 240)

dence zunaj človeka samega. Transhumanizem razpolaga z idejo dizajna človekove prihodnosti in razprostrta človekove moči s ciljem nadaljnega krotjenja mehanizma evolucije in njene končne dovršitve v novi različici človeka (provoculija). Konferenca francoskih škofov je že v naslovu dokumenta iz leta 2013 zaslutila bistvo te razlike: »Transhumanizem ali ko se uresniči znanstvena fantastika«. ⁵ Iz te perspektive je transhumanizem zgolj namišljeno upanje. Problem razodeva spoznanje dejstva, da je to lažno upanje praksa tehničnih znanosti. Dokument zato postavi vprašanje: Kam gre človeštvo? (Singbo 2021, 301–306) Krščansko upanje izhaja iz antropoloških danosti in ostaja znotraj okvira človekovega biološkega temelja. Rečeno v jeziku transhumanizma: pobožanstvenje človeka se kot krščanski *enhancement* dogaja v okviru sholastičnega gesla *gratia praesupponit naturam*. Transhumanizem, tudi če izhaja iz naturalizma, jemlje človeško naravno stanje kot problem. Mnenja je, da se mora biološka zasnova človeka strukturno spremeniti s konvergentnimi tehnologijami – z nanotehnologijo, z biotehnologijo, z informacijsko in kongitivno znanostjo. Konvergentne tehnologije omogočajo strategijo transhumanizma, da človek – ko aktivno oblikuje svojo evolucijo – prestopi tudi to in vstopi v posthumano stanje (Young 2006, 251; 396; 371–372).

Med različnimi vplivi se transhumanizem zarisuje predvsem religijsko in popularno znanstveno. Religijsko nit bomo opisali s primerjavo transhumanistične terminologije s krščanskimi koncepti. Ob naštevanju na drugo mesto vpisujemo krščanske pojme: *homo cyberneticus* – *homo viator*; singularnost – *parousia*; *uploading* možganov – *metanoia*; *cyberspace*/virtualnost – *transcendenda*; telesnost – *greh*; tehnična transformacija – *odrešenje*; kronika – *vstajenje*; *life extension* – *večno življenje*; futurologija – *eshatologija*; *homo Deus* – *soteriologija*; dizajnirana evolucija – *upanje* itd. V teh podobnostih uzremo, da lahko religiološko gledamo transhumanizem kot sekularno zgodovino odrešitve, saj njegovi pojmi spominjajo na temeljne krščanske koncepte. Ta soteriologija ne računa na usmiljenega Boga, temveč na moč svojega lastnega proizvoda, ki bo svojega proizvajalca v nekem določenem prihajajočem trenutku rešil iz biološke omejenosti. Ta narativ je na nivoju (avto)sugestije ali neke vrste kolektivne avtosugestije z uporabo prozelitišičnega delovanja. ⁶ Ob tem poslanstvu se tehnoznanstveni uspehi in dosežki uporabljajo za razlago logosa transhumanističnega upanja (O’Giebyln 2017).

Druga popularnoznanstvena korenina transhumanizma vodi k ideji kibernetike N. Wienerja (1894–1964) (Singbo 2021, 128). Kibernetika je s svojimi metafizičnimi predpostavkami omogočila, da se znanstvena fantastika udejanji. Kibernetika pri-

⁵ Cerkevno stališče do ideologij, kakor je transhumanizem, je moč razbrati iz vrste enciklik, na primer *Fides et ratio* (1998) v tč. 5, 46, 81, 88; *Caritas in veritate* (2009) v tč. 7, 8, 14, 16, 68–71, 75, 77 itd., ali pa iz različnih drugih dokumentih (npr. *Lettera Placuit Deo ai Vescovi della Chiesa cattolica su alcuni aspetti della salvezza cristiana* (22.2. 2018) in *Lettera del Santo Padre Francesco al Presidente della Pontificia Accademia per la vita in occasione del XXV anniversario della sua istituzione* (11 febbraio 1994 – 11 febbraio 2019)).

⁶ »Transhumanizem ne čuti potrebe niti nima volje za globlji razmislek o svojih ontoloških predpostavkah. Svojo interpretacijo človeka jemlje kot samoumevno oziroma verjame, da ima takšno razumevanje povsem splošno veljavo zaradi sprejetosti znanosti in tehnologije v družbi.« (Klun 2019, 594) Zapisana avtosugestija je besedilo transhumanista Nicka Bostroma, *A History of Transhumanist Thought* (2005), v katerem avtor transhumanistične ideje vpisuje v preteklost in ustvarja vtis, da gre za nekaj takega kot je *transhumanismus perennis*.

stopi k bivajočemu – ne glede na to, ali je to človek, žival ali stroj – z vidika treh pojmov: sistem, informacija in kontrola (Wiener 1989, 16). Kibernetika njihove razlike briše in meni, da bistvenih razlik ni, v funkcionalnem smislu je vse to isto – različna je le stopnja zapletenosti. Sistem, tukaj človeka, je mogoče omejiti na informacijske procese, ki jih lahko posredujemo in kontroliramo (Greguric 2018, 85–87). Tako bi se načelno lahko – meni Wiener – proces človeškega telesa prenesel in utelesil v novi snovi, in to tako, da se ohranita integriteta in kontinuiteta identitete. Človekovo identiteto najdemo v informacijskih procesih, ki so porok spremembe mentalnih in fizikalnih sprememb v sistemu. Transhumanizem ima na voljo prav tako podobo človeka (Wiener 1989, 96).

Transhumanistična podoba človeka je empirična, zaklenjena v imanentni razvoj človeške stvarnosti. Razvoj človeka je – glede na to, kar se bo odigralo – izključno posledica človekove kontrole in ne-kontrole, to je: biološke spontanosti, ki ji človek hlapčuje. Narava ima svoj spiralni, kronološki red porajanja in propadanja, človek pa linearni čas progressa (*futurum*), ki naj premaga naravno strukturo reda. Ta vizija izgublja možnost upanja kot pričakovanja. Obstaja zgolj oblikovanje, dizajniranje, ki se izvaja v linearnem času progressa (Peters 2011, 148; 161–163). Upanje se kot odnos do prihodnjega preobrne v brezup zaradi dejstva, da se lahko zadeve spreobrnejo – govorimo o eksistencialnem riziku (Bostrom 2001).

5. Sklep

Pojem upanja je večplasten pojem. Nanj naletimo v vsakdanjem govoru in ga navadno doživljamo kot duševno stanje osebe, ki si – soočena z izzivom – želi dober izid. Krščansko upanje vključuje vsakodnevno rabo pojma, a jo prestopa. Krščansko upanje je obenem izkustvena usmerjenost na prihodnje dobro, hkrati pa razume tudi doseganje dobrega, na katero ni mogoče popolnoma vplivati. Popolna vsebina krščanskega upanja je onkraj smrti, a dosegljiva, zaradi vstajenja Jezusa Kristusa.

Glede na koncepcijo krščanskega upanja pomeni transhumanizem lažno upanje, saj so njegovi cilji uresničljivi v času. Transhumanizem ima religijska obeležja, pravzaprav je to neznanstveno stališče, da bo tehnologija rešila vse človekove probleme. Radikalno povedano: govor je o samorešitvi človeka v procesu samo-re-kreacije. Ideja prihodnjega je omejena na avtodizajniranje človeka, kot proces prestopanja trenutnih bioloških omejitev, ki so razlog trpljenja in smrti. Človekov odnos do prihodnjega se omeji na uresničenje ‚načrta‘ v zgodovini. Tako želi transhumanizem dovršiti in izpopolniti človeka (človeka kot *ens sperans*) v časovnem okviru skozi tehnologijo.

Tudi če obstaja pojmovna podobnost krščanskega upanja in transhumanizma, sta oba bistveno nespojiljiva. Krščanskega upanja ni možno spojiti z idejo človeka boga. Krščansko upanje snuje svojo misel na odnosu do oblube večnosti ob popolnem Bogu. Transhumanizem gradi popolnega človeka na temelju tehnostvenih dosežkov, vendar so kriteriji njegove vizije znanstveno nedosegljivi. Krščanstvo si ne utvarja, da je znanost, in razlog svojega upanja zagotavlja v osebnem

oznanilu, od začetka do danes. Krščansko upanje se ne giblje v linearnem času progressa in biološkega trpljenja in smrti ne izključi kot dela življenja. Transhumanizem nima zagotovila, da človek ne bo več načrtoval, ne glede na to, kako tehni-ziran in napreden že bo. Ustrezno je vprašati, ali bo človek, če ne bo upal več, postal nemisleče, nemiselno, brezupno, nečloveško bitje?

Kratice

EE – Janez Pavel II. 2003 [Cerkev v svetu / Ecclesia in Europa].

SS – Benedikt XVI. 2008 [Rešeni v upanju / Spe salvi].

SSKJ – Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika.

STh – Tomaž Akvinski 1920 [Summa theologiae].

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Upanje kot teološka krepost v luči relacijske teorije Guya Lafona

Hope as a Theological Virtue in the Light of Guy Lafon's Relational Theory

Povzetek: Evangeljsko upanje obravnavamo skupaj z vero in ljubeznijo. Tri teološke kreposti, ki odsevajo vernikov odnos do Boga, opredeljujemo z uporabo relacijske teorije, ki jo je v teologijo uvedel Guy Lafon. Vero opredelimo kot sposobnost prepoznavanja prisotnosti v odsotnosti (D)drugega. Upanje je, prav nasprotno od vere, sposobnost uvida, da (D)drugega, kljub veri, ne moremo popolnoma spoznati in ne imeti v lasti. Ker upanje omogoča in spodbuja nenehno iskanje Boga, je hkrati sposobnost ohranjanja zmožnosti v nezmožnosti, to pomeni: ohranjanje hrepenenja po Bogu kljub že prepoznani božji prisotnosti. Odnos do Boga se namreč nenehno spreminja. Vztrajanje v odnosu do vedno ‚drugачnega Boga‘ imenujemo ljubezen, ki se kaže v odnosu do slehernega človeka.

Ključne besede: vera, upanje, ljubezen, evangelij, Guy Lafon

Abstract: We represent the Gospel hope in connection with faith and love. The three theological virtues that reflect the believer's relationship to God are defined by the Relational theory introduced into theology by Guy Lafon. Faith is defined as the ability to recognize the presence in the absence of (A)another. Hope is, in stark contrast to faith, the ability to see that (A)another, in spite of faith, cannot be fully known and possessed. Because hope enables and encourages the constant search for God, Hope is at the same time the ability to maintain capacity in disability, that is, to maintain a longing for God despite the already recognized presence of God. The relationship towards God is constantly changing. Perseverance in relation to the always ‚different God‘ is called love, which is reflected in relation to every human being.

Keywords: Faith, Hope, Love, Gospel, Guy Lafon

Krščanska teologija govori o veri, upanju in ljubezni kot o krepostih. Slovenski teologi se še nismo odločili, kako bi te kreposti poimenovali, teološke ali teologalne. Filozof Bojan Žalec jih v članku „Rezilienca, teologalne kreposti in odzivna Cerkev“ (2020) v eni vrstici poimenuje teološke, v naslednji pa postanejo teologalne. Ni edini, ki se srečuje s to dilemo. V našem prispevku jih bomo imenovali teološke kreposti. Kakorkoli že, naš namen je spregovoriti o evangeljskem pomenu upanja. To krepost bomo obravnavali z uporabo relacijske teorije, ki jo je v teologijo uvedel francoski mislec Guy Lafon. Ker pa o treh teoloških krepostih ne moremo govoriti ločeno oziroma ker je posamezna krepost razumljiva le v kontekstu in v povezavi z drugima dvema, bomo upanje opredelili z vero in z ljubeznijo.

Človek je materialno in duhovno bitje. Človek najprej živi v času in prostoru, hkrati pa živi tudi v odnosih. Praktično ni možno, da bi človek obstajal ‚zunaj odnosa‘, človeško bivanje je namreč možno le v odnosu do (D)drugega¹ (Osredkar 2020a, 81–82). V svojem razmišljanju se bomo osredotočili predvsem na odnos do Drugega, torej do Boga, čeprav lahko v vsakem odnosu do drugega najdemo vero, upanje in ljubezen. Zato tudi o treh teoloških krepostih, ki so med seboj ne- ločljivo povezane, ne moremo razmišljati zunaj zakonitosti odnosa. Izhodišče našega razmišljanja je torej predpostavka, da se vera, upanje in ljubezen ‚zgodijo‘² le v odnosu do (D)drugega. Teoretično vzeto, izolirana oseba, ki ne bi bila v odnosu z nikomer, ne bi mogla verovati, upati in ljubiti. To pa ni mogoče; človek, ki biva, se je znašel³ v odnosu. Torej lahko vsak človek, na temelju tega, da biva, tudi veruje, upa in ljubi.

Da bo branje tega prispevka bolj zanimivo, bomo takoj na začetku na kratko orisali opredelitve treh teoloških kreposti. Poimenovali jih bomo sposobnosti oziroma primerjali jih bomo s talenti; vera, upanje in ljubezen so nadarjenosti, ki so človeku podarjene zgolj zaradi dejstva, da je človek, oziroma zgolj zaradi dejstva, da je v odnosu z drugim. Ljudem so sposobnosti podarjene že ob rojstvu, potem pa je od človeka odvisno, ali jih razvija, se z njimi ukvarja oziroma ali jih v življenju uporablja ali pa jih zapostavi. Človek ima različne sposobnosti. Oblikujejo njegovo osebnost. Nekdo je domač s tujimi jeziki, drug je večč matematike, tretji ima sposobnost lepega petja, nekemu pa telo omogoča uspehe na športnem področju. Kakor je človeku podarjeno življenje, tako so mu podarjene tudi sposobnosti verovanja, upanja in ljubezni. Ker se omenjene kreposti ‚zgodijo‘ le v odnosu, odnos pa je nenehna izmenjava razmerja med prisotnostjo in odsotnostjo med osebki, vero opredeljujemo kot sposobnost prepoznavanja prisotnosti (D)drugega v njegovi odsotnosti. Upanje je, prav nasprotno od vere, sposobnost prepoznavanja odsotnosti v partnerjevi prisotnosti, ali drugače zapisano, sposobnost ohranjanja zmožnosti v nezmožnosti, to pomeni: ohranjanje hrepenenja po partnerju kljub njegovi prisotnosti. Ljubezen pa je sposobnost ohranjanja različnosti drugega. Ker

¹ Izraz ‚(D)drugi‘ opredeljuje odnos do Boga in do drugega človeka.

² Izraz ‚zgodijo‘ pove, da teoloških kreposti oseba ne more načrtovati po svojih željah, temveč so človeku podarjene.

³ Značilnost razmišljanja Guya Lafona je, da človek ne vstopa v odnose, ampak se v njih znajde. S tem želi povedati, da oseba nima svojih lastnih zaslug za odnos, temveč mu je odnos podarjen.

te opredelitve zagotovo marsikomu niso popolnoma razumljive, jih bomo v nadaljevanju podrobneje razložili. V središče prispevka pa bomo postavili pomen upanja za človekovo bivanje in za krščansko življenje.

1. Vera

Kaj pomeni, da je vera sposobnost prepoznavanja prisotnosti (D) drugega v njegovi odsotnosti? Kakor smo že omenili v uvodu, je človeško življenje neločljivo povezano z odnosom. Odnos je to, kar nas, osebe, torej mene, tebe in njega, povezuje med seboj. Še več kakor to. Odnos v bistvu porodi mene, tebe in njega! Kot oseba sem začel obstajati takrat, ko sem se znašel v odnosu oziroma ko me je nekdo poklical po imenu, ko me je nagovoril s ,ti'. Takrat sem se rodil kot ,jaz' (Lafon 1982, 17). Dve osebi lahko svojo identiteto (in svoj obstoj) ohranjata le tako, da ohranjata povezanost na način, da druga drugo vedno znova nagovarjata s ,ti'. Preprosto povedano, dokler se ljudje kot osebe pogovarjamo, dokler se nagovarjamo oziroma komuniciramo na različne načine, smo v odnosu, torej živimo.

V svetu odnosov obstajata samo dve dimenziji: prisotnost in odsotnost. Odnos je nekaj ,živega' oziroma se spreminja, ker se v njem spreminja razmerje med prisotnostjo in odsotnostjo. So obdobja, ko v odnosu med dvema osebama prisotnost prevladuje nad odsotnostjo, pride pa čas, ko odsotnost prevlada nad prisotnostjo, ob biološki smrti na primer. Takrat se zdi, da je odsotnost premagala prisotnost. Toda veren človek je sposoben tudi v odsotnosti sočloveka prepoznavati njegovo prisotnost. Kristjani nagovarjamo s ,ti' tudi osebe, ki so zapustile materialni svet in jih, na primer, v pobožnosti litanij nagovarjamo: »Prosi za nas Boga!« Pa ne samo razglašeni svetnikov. Tudi svoje drage pokojne, s katerimi smo živeli skupaj v materialnem svetu, kličemo s ,ti'; svoje starše, prijatelje ... S tem pa ohranjamo odnos z njimi. S smrtjo se odnos spremeni, ne pa uniči. (Morciniec 2020, 211) Ob grobu ima človek dve možnosti. Lahko ,potegne črto' in reče: »Te osebe ni več! Konec je najine povezanosti!« V tem primeru ne prepozna prisotnosti v pokojnikovi odsotnosti in ,konča' odnos. Lahko pa odsotno ljubljeno osebo še vedno kliče s ,ti'. Ne le to! Človek se lahko čuti nagovorjenega tudi od osebe, ki je odsotna. Nagovarjajo ga predmeti, ki so mu pripadali, prostor, kjer je z njim živel, ali besede, ki jih je odsotna oseba izgovorila ali napisala. Razmerje med dimenzijama se od sedaj dalje resda spreminja le v odtenkih, ampak dinamika prisotnosti in odsotnosti se ohranja in z njo tudi odnos. Dejstvo, da prisotna oseba kliče odsotno osebo ,ti' in se čuti od nje nagovorjena, je znamenje, da se med njima odnos ohranja. Ker pa živeti pomeni: biti v odnosu, se torej ohranja tudi življenje. Dejstvo, da človek odsotno osebo kliče ,ti', pomeni, da se je znašel v veri. Tako tudi Kristus, ki ga ne vidimo telesno prisotnega, kristjani v molitvi nagovarjamo s ,ti' in prepoznavamo, kako nas na različne načine on nagovarja. Pravzaprav je molitev prepoznavanje Kristusove ali božje prisotnosti v njegovi odsotnosti. Katoliška vera za lažje prepoznavanje Kristusove prisotnosti v njegovi odsotnosti daje zakramente, posebno evharistijo, ki je vidno in učinkovito znamenje *par excellence* njegove pri-

sotnosti med nami. Vera torej omogoča prepoznavanje božje prisotnosti; prepoznavanje božje prisotnosti pa hkrati pomaga verniku ohranjati odnos z Bogom, torej mu pomaga ohranjati in poglobljati vero.

Sposobnost prepoznavanja božje prisotnosti v njegovi odsotnosti verniku omogoča tudi prepoznavanje božje volje in božjega posredovanja v človekovem življenju. Teologija prvo obravnava pod poglavjem „Razodetje“, drugo pa v poglavju „Odrešenje“. Človek, ki ni sposoben prepoznavati božje prisotnosti, bo v svetopi-semskem besedilu videl le človeško besedo; dejstvo svojega bivanja bo pripisoval sosledju naključij ali potekov v naravi. Vernik pa v človeški besedi prepozna božjo besedo in v stvarstvu božjo stvariteljsko moč in se za življenje Bogu zahvaljuje. Skratka, opredelitev vere kot sposobnosti prepoznavanja božje prisotnosti v njegovi odsotnosti bi torej lahko razširili v sposobnost komuniciranja z Bogom. Vernik ne le da Bogu reče »ti«, temveč tudi prepozna božjo pomoč, njegove nasvete, skratka, njegovo Besedo. Krščanska vera je pravzaprav prepoznavanje Boga v osebi Jezusa Kristusa.

Evangeljsko pojmovanje odnosa do Boga pa ne stoji ali pade zgolj na sposobnosti prepoznavanja božje prisotnosti v njegovi odsotnosti. Če nadaljujemo razmišljanje o zakramentih, ki so katoličanom v pomoč pri prepoznavanju božje prisotnosti v njegovi odsotnosti, naletimo na nevarnost malikovanja. V odnosu do Boga bi teoretično pri verniku, ki bi zelo pogosto prejemal zakramente, božja prisotnost ‚izrinila‘ odsotnost do te mere, da bi si vernik domišljjal, da je postal popolnoma eno z Bogom. Vernik bi bil prepričan, da Boga pozna do potankosti oziroma da ga mora zato Bog v vsem poslušati, celo postati njegov služabnik, ker sta pač eno. To bi se lahko zgodilo, če ne bi odnos do Boga – poleg vere – vseboval tudi upanja.

2. Upanje

Upanje smo v uvodu opisali kot nekaj nasprotnega od vere, kot sposobnost prepoznavanja božje odsotnosti v njegovi prisotnosti. Kako to razumeti? V prejšnjem poglavju smo spoznali temelj odnosa do Boga, sposobnost prepoznavanja božje prisotnosti v njegovi odsotnosti, in to smo poimenovali vera. Toda v odnosu človek ne more prisotnosti (D) drugega prepoznati enkrat za vselej! Ker se razmerje med prisotnostjo in odsotnostjo v odnosu nenehno spreminja, je prepoznavanje prisotnosti (D) drugega permanentna dejavnost. (D) drugega namreč osebek prepozna vedno v ‚novi luči‘, vedno drugačnega. ‚Ti‘, ki ga izgovarjam danes, ni enak tistemu, ki sem ga izgovoril včeraj, in jutrišnji bo zopet drugačen. Odnos je v bistvu nenehno prepoznavanje tega ‚ti‘. Mož in žena lahko skupaj živita petdeset let, pa še vedno ugotavljata, kako drug drugega presenečata oziroma se prepoznavata v novi luči. Človek nikoli ne more reči: »Takšen si! Saj te že poznam.« Tako tudi vernik Boga vedno znova prepozna v drugačni podobi. Kristjan se zaveda, da je Bog drugačen, kakor si ga sploh lahko predstavlja. Tomaž Akvinski je zapisal: »Ker naš razum ne dojame božjega bistva, ostaja to, kar je samo božje bistvo, vedno

večje kakor naš razum in zato za nas neznano. Zato je vrhunec človekove povezave z Bogom v tem, da človek ve, da v osnovi o Bogu ničesar ne ve, kolikor spoznava, da to, kar je Bog, presega vse, kar človek razume o njem.« (*Quaestiones disputatae de potentia Dei* q. 7, a. 5, ad 14) Sposobnost, ki omogoča verniku spoznanje, da ‚Ti‘, ki ga je prepoznal, ni Bog, ampak le božja podoba, poimenujemo upanje. To je uvid, da vernik Boga ne more spoznavno zaobjeti. Upanje je sposobnost vernikovega priznanja, da kljub njegovi sposobnosti Bogu reči ‚Ti‘, Boga še ne pozna oziroma je Bog še daleč od njega. Ker vernik Boga še ne pozna, mu upanje omogoča ohranjanje vere, to je: nenehno prepoznavanje božje prisotnosti v njegovi odsotnosti, ki ga lahko imenujemo tudi iskanje Boga. Po zaslugi upanja se vernik ne zaustavi v iskanju; nenehno išče novo božjo podobo, ki ga bo v ‚novem dnevu‘ bolj spodbujala k etičnemu življenju, kakor ga je podoba včerajšnjega dne. Kristjan je torej vernik, ki tudi upa; je tisti, ki išče Boga, ne tisti, ki si domišlja, da ga je našel. Upanje stori, da se prepoznavanje oziroma iskanje Boga nikoli ne konča, ker se vera, ki je sestavni del odnosa do Boga, zaradi nenehnega spreminjanja razmerja med prisotnostjo in odsotnostjo nenehno spreminja. Kdor se zaustavi v tem iskanju in si želi za zmeraj ‚prisvojiti‘ neko določeno božje, zapade v malikovanje. Vernik prepoznava *Dei Verbum* vedno bolj zrelostno, vedno popolneje, a ga nikoli ne spozna popolnoma. Zato prepoznavanje božje volje v veri nenehno zori in se izpopolnjuje. Nikar pa si ne predstavljajmo, da je cilj iskanja Boga kopičenje informacij o Presežnem. Nikakor ne. Cilj vere ni ‚védenje‘ o Bogu. Cilj vere je ohranjanje, vedno prenavljanje odnosa z Bogom. Še bolje rečeno, vera je vedno novo rojevanje vernika (in božje podobe) v odnosu. Po zaslugi upanja je vera odnos, ki zori. Človek, ki bi proces zorenja vere končal (ki bi bil prepričan, da sedaj pozna Boga; ki bi izgubil upanje) – ponavljamo –, bi vero spremenil v malikovanje, Boga pa v malika. Upanje tako verniku omogoča, da kljub poglobljanju vere ohranja in celo večja svoje hrepenenje po Bogu. Brez upanja bi namreč ‚posesivnost‘ Boga izničila hrepenenje. Če človek nekaj ‚ima‘, po tem več ne hrepeni! V kakšnem smislu bi vernik lahko imel Boga v lasti? Navedli bomo dva primera: ‚predrzno zaupanje‘ v Boga in poveličevanje védenja o Bogu.

Evangelij spodbuja k zaupanju v božjo pomoč, kakor lahko razberemo iz besedil: »Prosite in vam bo dano!« (Mt 7,7; Lk 11,9; Jn 16,24) Ali: »Tako vam bo Oče dal, karkoli ga boste prosili v mojem imenu.« (Jn 15,16) Vendar se tu srečamo z nevarnostjo, da zaupanje v Boga spremeni vero v malikovanje. Vzvišeno prepričanje, da Bog mora poslušati vernika, želi božje posredovanje podrediti človekovim željam, Boga spremeni v malika in vero v malikovanje. Po logiki bi namreč lahko sklepali, da ima več vere (bolj ko vernik čuti ali prepoznava božjo prisotnost v svojem življenju) za posledico tudi več božjega uslišanja vernikovih prošenj. To drži le deloma. Srčika evangeljskega sporočila ni obljuba, da bo Bog pokoren verniku, temveč da je Kristusov učenec tisti, ki izpolnjuje božjo voljo tudi takrat, ko je treba sprejeti ‚križ‘, oziroma tudi, ko se božja volja ne ujema z vernikovo; kakor je Kristus na Kalvariji izpolnil Očetovo voljo, jo sprejema tudi Kristusov učenec. (Mt 26,42; Lk 22,42) Prepoznavanje božje prisotnosti v absolutnem smislu bi namreč privedlo do človekove vzvišenosti nad Bogom. Bog bi postal človekov služabnik oziroma

malik, kakor smo že omenili. Da se to ne zgodi, upanje preprečuje popolno zedinjenje med človekom in Bogom oziroma ohranja božjo odsotnost v njegovi prisotnosti. Vernik to dejstvo praktično doživlja tako, da vse njegove prošnje niso uslišane na način, kakor bi sam želel. Svetniki, ki so se od jutra do večera trudili živeti po božji besedi, so vsi po vrsti priznavali, da so še daleč od Boga, in so se trudili predvsem sprejemati božjo voljo; upanje kot prepoznavanje božje oddaljenosti jim je vlivalo hrepenenje po še bolj striktnem izpolnjevanju božje volje. Upanje torej verniku odpira možnost nadaljevanja prizadevanja, nadaljevanja življenja. Vera mu daje izkušnjo Boga v takšni meri, da lahko upa, da torej zahrepeni po prihodnosti; ne na temelju svojih sposobnosti, temveč na podlagi vere v Boga. Evangeljsko upanje pa verniku omogoča nadaljevanje življenja, ki temelji na odnosu do Boga. Upanje je torej sposobnost pričakovanja prihodnosti, hrepenenja po Bližini, tudi če vernik že prepozna božjo bližino. Čeprav se je že oklenil Boga, še vedno hrepeni po njem.

Prilaščanje Boga se pokaže tudi pri poveličevanju védenja o Bogu. Po zadnjem vesoljnem cerkvenem zboru teologi še vedno priznavajo, da vero vedno spremlja tudi védenje, torej da sta vera in védenje zaveznika. Toda hkrati poudarjajo, da to še ne zadostuje za odnos do Boga oziroma da odnos do Boga ni identičen védenju. Védenje je namreč osredotočeno na objekt opazovanja. Ni problem, če subjekt spozna neki objekt, ki ostaja zgolj objekt. Če pa je ta objekt hkrati oseba, s katero se je osebek, ki spozna, znašel v odnosu, potem védenje z določanjem, fiksiranjem vsebine (D) drugega onemogoči odnos. V odnosu namreč (D) drugega vsak trenutek spoznavamo drugačnega. Teoretično bi popolno poznanje objekt absolutno približalo subjektu. Vera kot védenje Boga približa človeku. Toda odnos do Boga vsebuje tudi upanje, ki odločno ohranja razdaljo; upanje namreč vernika opominja, da je njegovo spoznanje o Bogu le božja podoba in da je Bog popolnoma drugačen, kakor ga človek spozna, kakor smo že zapisali. Človeški um lahko Boga spozna samo v podobah, on sam pa mu je nedosegljiv! Tudi Kristus je podoba Boga (2 Kor 4,4; Kol 1,15). Kajti Boga »le delno spoznavamo« (1 Kor 13,9). Odnos namreč ne gleda na objekt in ne določa nobene vednosti o drugem, niti o Bogu ne. Bistvo odnosa do Boga torej ni neka določena predstava⁴ Boga, čeprav ga ta predstava vedno spremlja, kakor smo že zapisali. Ko Guy Lafon pravi: »Verniki neke religije si pogosto postavljajo, ne da bi to želeli, konkretne predstave, začeni s predstavo Boga,« (1982, 85) ima v mislih takšno vez med vero in védenjem. Védenje namreč želi odpraviti odsotnost, upanje pa, popolnoma tuje védenju, izhaja iz želje in hrepenenja, ki predpostavljata ohranitev odmika, ker drugače niti želja niti upanje nimata moči (88). To je razlog, da se odnos do Boga predstavlja tudi kot upanje.

Vernikova nesposobnost popolnega spoznanja in prilastitve Boga (upanje) torej verniku omogoča nenehno iskanje Boga. Kdor je sposoben priznati, da je Bog še daleč od njega, bo v prihodnosti še hrepenel po Bogu. V nasprotnem primeru bi se njegovo hrepenenje in iskanje Boga končalo. Zato upanje kot sestavni del od-

⁴ Ko si verniki ustvarijo o Bogu točno določeno predstavo, preidejo s področja vere na področje védenja.

nosa do Boga omogoča zmožnost v nezmožnosti. V lanskem letniku Bogoslovnega vestnika smo obravnavali zmožnost in nezmožnost v kontekstu debate med filozofom Georgesom Bataillem in francoskim katoliškim mislecem Jeanom Daniéloujem. (Osredkar 2020, 335–344) To, kar je človek že dosegel, se ne more več spreminjati. Oseba ima zmožnost oblikovanja prihodnosti, ki je še odsotna, ki jo pričakuje in po njej hrepeni. Človek si lahko lasti svojo preteklost (nezmožnost spreminjanja), prihodnost pa je v božjih rokah (zmožnost). Prisotnost je torej nezmožnost, odsotnost pa ima še vse možnosti. Ko človek v odnosu do Boga v njegovi prisotnosti prepozna tudi njegovo odsotnost, v bistvu v svoji nezmožnosti popolnega poglobljanja, razvijanja in ohranjanja odnosa do Boga uvideva zmožnost nenehnega poglobljanja, razvijanja in ohranjanja odnosa do Boga. Bog ponovno daje človeku zmožnost iskanja sebe na temelju dejstva, da je on tudi odsoten. To ni optimizem, češ saj mi bo uspelo (s svojimi močmi in sposobnostmi)! Upanje kot prepoznavanje zmožnosti v nezmožnosti temelji na veri v Boga, ne na človekovih sposobnostih. Ker je Bog v svoji prisotnosti tudi odsoten, lahko hrepenimo po njem in zaupamo, da bomo ohranili in poglobili odnos z njim.

Prepoznavanje božje prisotnosti (vera) omogoči prepoznavanje možnosti božjega posredovanja v človekovem bivanju (upanje). Kdor veruje v Boga, bo upal na božjo pomoč v svojem življenju. Božje posredovanje po zaslugi upanja ni podrejanje Boga človekovim željam. Ko se v reševanju življenjskih problemov človeku zdi že vse izgubljeno, mu upanje odstre luč na koncu tunela v podobi božje zmožnosti, ki premaga človekovo nemoč. Francoski jezuit Daniélou je prepričan: Bog človeka ne rešuje tako, da bi ga osvobodil slabosti oziroma nezmožnosti, temveč ga rešuje tako, da ga sprejema kot slabotnega človeka. V bistvu ga rešuje po milosti na način, ki si ga vernik sploh ne zna predstavljati; to pa je zastonski dar, ki je daleč od tega, da bi ga utrdil v samozadostnosti. Nasprotno. Vedno bolj človeka usmerja k zavedanju, da v prisotnosti potrebuje tudi odsotnost (D) drugega, da torej potrebuje odnos (Daniélou 1948, 113–122). Šele v kontekstu upanja lahko razumemo pomen nezmožnosti za človekovo bivanje. V zavedanju svoje nezmožnosti se v vernem človeku aktivira sposobnost upanja, zaupanja v Boga namreč. Vernega človeka (povezan z Bogom) Bog odrešuje (omogoča nadaljevanje bivanja) tako, da mu omogoča, da v zavedanju svoje nesposobnosti in omejenosti prepozna zmožnost nadaljevanja odnosa (življenja) zaradi božje odsotnosti.

3. Ljubezen

Spoznali smo funkcije vere in upanja v kristjanovem odnosu do Boga. Kakor smo tudi že spoznali, gre zahvala za to, da se vsak odnos ohranja, nenehnemu spreminjanju razmerja med prisotnostjo in odsotnostjo. V odnosu do Boga prvo dimenzijo omogoča vera, drugo pa upanje. Vera in upanje sta nenehno severni in južni pol, ki na našem planetu omogočata ravnovesje. Tako istočasno ohranjanje prisotnosti in odsotnosti omogoča odnos med vernikom in Bogom. Vendar vera in upanje ne zadostujeta za ohranitev odnosa z Bogom. Človek namreč živi v materialnem

in duhovnem svetu hkrati, zato kristjanov odnos do Boga ne more biti ločen od odnosa do človeka. Še več, zato je odnos do Boga identičen z odnosom do človeka oziroma se rodi in ohranja v odnosu do človeka (Lafon 1983, 9). V nadaljevanju bomo najprej predstavili, kako se odnos do Boga rodi v odnosu do človeka, nato pa, kako se odnos do Boga ohranja v odnosu do človeka; končno bomo razložili v uvodu postavljeno opredelitev kreposti evangelijske ljubezni.

Medčloveški odnos je človekova prva izkušnja presežnosti. Lahko bi dejali, da je odnos sam nekaj presežnega, nekaj, kar ni del materialnega sveta. Odnosa namreč ne moremo otipati ali izmeriti. V odnosu lahko samo ‚smo‘. In ker se je človek znašel v nečem, kar presega materialni svet, v njem lahko izkuša, da obstaja še nekaj različnega od materialnega sveta. V odnosu do človeka zato oseba ne išče le človeka, temveč v tem odnosu prepozna še nekaj več: prisotnost Odsotnega. Človek veruje v Boga, torej išče Boga, ker je bitje odnosov. Če se, teoretično vzeto, človek ne bi znašel v odnosu do drugega, ne bi mogel biti ‚homo religiosus‘; ne bi imel izkušnje odnosa do Boga. Ker pa je bitje odnosov, v odnosu do človeka izkuša odnos do Boga in v tem istem odnosu išče Boga, torej veruje. Ker v odnosu do človeka lahko prepoznamo odnos do Boga, lahko tudi v človeških besedah prepoznamo božjo besedo. S spreminjanjem odnosa do sočloveka se spreminja tudi odnos do Boga, zato verniki tudi Boga prepoznavamo vsakokrat na nov način. Odnos do Boga torej izhaja iz odnosa do sočloveka. Naredimo še korak dlje in pogledjmo, kako evangelij enači ta dva odnosa in hkrati daje navodila, kako lahko človek ohranja odnos do Boga.

Prisotnost sočloveka omogoča etično komponento odnosa. Preprosto povedano, prisotnost omogoča, da drugega vidimo in slišimo. To velja tudi v odnosu do Boga. Ker pa je ‚(D)drugi‘ v prisotnost vedno tudi odsoten, sta vera in upanje sestavni del vsakega odnosa. Ker v odnosu do slehernega človeka lahko prepoznavamo odnos do Boga, je ‚Drugi‘ hkrati ‚sleherni drugi‘. To pomeni, da lahko vsak odnos postane prostor odnosa z Bogom. V odnosu do slehernega drugega se živi ali izraža odnos do Boga. Tako, kakor beremo v 25. poglavju Matejevega evangelija: »Karkoli ste storili enemu od teh mojih najmanjših bratov, ste meni storili.« (v. 40) Ne moremo torej ločiti odnosa do Boga od odnosa do človeka. Ne moremo reči, da ljubimo Boga, če sovražimo človeka, ki živi poleg nas. Ni dveh ljubezni. Ljubezen do bližnjega ni ločena od ljubezni do Boga. Tudi tisti, ki tega ne priznava ali ne izpoveduje vere, v odnosu do drugega obenem živi, čeprav se ne zaveda, odnos do Boga. Ob vnebohodu je Jezus rekel: »Z vami bom ostal do konca sveta!« (28,20) Pa ne samo v zakramentih. Kristjani lahko prepoznavamo božjo prisotnost v bolnikih, v revežih ali v vsakem človeku, ki ga srečamo. Ko namreč beremo omenjeno 25. poglavje Matejevega evangelija, tega ne razumemo samo v smislu, da mi prepoznavamo Boga v slehernem drugem. Tudi Bog, ki je ‚popolnoma Drugi‘, se je poistovetil s ‚slehernim drugim‘. Tako, da je postal enak ljudem v vsem, razen v grehu. Ker je Bog postal človek, se v človekovem odnosu do kateregakoli drugega izraža odnos do Boga. Božje učlovečenje je dogodek, po zaslugi katerega etični odnos postane hkrati teologalni odnos, obenem pa teologalni odnos postane etični odnos. Živeti odnos z ‚Drugim‘ v odnosu do ‚slehernega drugega‘ omogoča ver-

niku ohranjati odnos z Bogom. Nespoznavni se pusti najti v odnosu do slehernega drugega in ostaja nespoznan. Tako se prek ljubezni do bližnjega izraža in ohranja človekov odnos do Boga.

Ljubezen, kakor že prej upanje, ne pozna lastništva. Lastništvo je obema sovražno. Tako ljubezen kakor upanje hranita pričakovanje in pomanjkanje (Lafon 1980, 90). Toda ljubezen, nasprotno kakor upanje, dovoljuje srečanje: »V ljubezni je srečanje tista točka, ki ne izniči želje, temveč jo ohranja in jo neprenehoma krepi.« (90) Guy Lafon v nadaljevanju spregovori o tretji teološki kreposti takole: »Ljubezen predpostavlja različnost, razdaljo, ločitev in si istočasno prizadeva, da bi to troje izničila, toda prizadeva si v veselju, da tega ne bo dosegla. Ker ne more obstajati drugače kot v ohranjeni razdalji, je ljubezen iz reda želje.« (90). Upanje omogoča veri, da človek (D) drugega vedno spoznava v novi luči, vedno drugačnega. Ljubezen, ki dopušča srečanje z drugačnim, vedno znova in znova, ne more tega delati drugače, kakor da sprejema drugačnost drugega. Ljubezen torej ne le predpostavlja različnost, ljubezen sprejema različnost. Zakaj je ljubezen sposobnost ohranjanja različnosti drugega? Zato, ker upanje v odnosu ohranja oddaljenost, ki je različnost. V odnosu ima človek skušnjavo, da bi svojega (P)partnerja, pa naj bo to človek ali Bog, poistil, skratka, si ga prisvojil (vera). Vedno je tu skušnjava, da bi sočloveka ali Boga oblikovali po svojih željah in potrebah. Takšen odnos postane posesiven in partner v odnosu ni več oseba (subjekt), temveč postane predmet (objekt). Temu se izognemo samo tako, da drugemu dopuščamo oddaljenost oziroma različnost (upanje), da ostane to, kar je; z vsemi svojimi vrlinami in slabostmi. V odnosu se teološki kreposti vere in upanja združita v evangeljski ljubezni, ki je ohranjanje odnosa do drugačnega in do drugačnosti. Takšno držo lahko razvije nekdo, ki veruje in upa! Nekdo, ki je sposoben (D) drugega prepoznati tudi v njegovi odsotnosti, oziroma ki je sposoben s svojim partnerjem ohranjati odnos tudi, ko se partner popolnoma spremeni in je v tem ‚novem partnerju‘ sposoben prepoznati možnost nadaljevanja odnosa. Lahko zapišemo, da se iz hkratnega verovanja in upanja rodi ljubezen.

4. Upanje izhaja iz vere, obe kreposti omogočata ljubezen

Preizkusni kamen krščanstva je smrt bližnjega. Mnogo je krščenih, ki priznavajo obstoj Boga, ki hodijo v cerkev in molijo, ampak pravo krščanstvo se preizkuša ob grobu. Ko izročamo zemlji, kar je njenega, pri marsikom ne ostane nič, pri kristjanu pa ostane vera. In vera rešuje človeka oziroma mu daje življenje. Kljub temu da ljudje biološko umiramo, se naše srečevanje in komuniciranje ne končata. V veri smo še vedno skupaj, čeprav na drugačen način, in ta ista vera nam daje upanje, da se bo naša sreča uresničila v polnosti ob ponovnem srečanju. Življenje se nadaljuje, ker se vez med nami, ki omogoča življenje, ob smrti ne pretrga. Ker že sedaj verujemo, nas vera že sedaj osvobaja groze pred ločitvijo in nas še močneje povezuje z ljudmi okoli nas. Ateist, ki ne prepoznava božje prisotnosti v njegovi

odsotnosti, govori o Bogu, o pokojni ženi. Vera je sposobnost, da v odsotnosti (D) drugega prepoznamo njegovo prisotnost, to pa se kaže v dejstvu, da vernik govori z Bogom in s pokojno ženo. Vera je torej sposobnost, da (O)odsotnega še vedno nagovarjamo s ,ti'. Upanje pa je sposobnost uvidenja, da je (D)drugi kljub omejenemu dejstvu še vedno odsoten in vernik lahko še vedno hrepeni po združitvi z njim. Na ta način upanje omogoči trajanje vere oziroma odnosa z (D)drugim. Vera in upanje, istočasno, omogočata alternanco med prisotnostjo in odsotnostjo v odnosu med človekom in Bogom ter v odnosu med še živečimi in rajnimi osebami. Vera in upanje na takšen način rojevata sposobnost sprejemanja novega odnosa med osebami, kajti odnos se bistveno spremeni. Nadaljevanje odnosa, ki se popolnoma spremeni (ne pa izniči), oziroma nadaljevanje odnosa z osebo, ki se popolnoma spremeni, imenujemo ljubezen, ljubezen pa v srečanju omogoča srečo pričakovanja, a se hkrati ne iztroši. Ljubezen je »odnos *par excellence*«, ker ima za dobro, da nikoli ne pridemo do cilja, ki bi ljubezen pokončal (Lafon 1980, 89–90).

5. Sklep

Izražanje teoloških kreposti lahko primerjamo z učenjem tujega jezika. Ko se človek začne učiti tuji jezik v šoli, se seznanj z osnovami in zna nekaj malega tudi povedati v tem tujem jeziku (kakor vera, ki je sposobnost prepoznavanja božje bližine). Marsikateri študent se na tej stopnji ustavi in si misli, da že obvlada jezik. Ko pa ga začne uporabljati v komunikaciji, hitro uvidi, kako nepopolno je njegovo znanje in poznanje jezika in si zaželi, da bi mu postal bolj domač (upanje omogoči uvid nepopolnosti in šibkosti in spodbudi k nadaljnjemu izobraževanju). To pa lahko v največji meri uresničiš, če greš živeti v okolje, kjer ljudje ta jezik govorijo kot materne oziroma se srečaš z njimi (ljubezen).

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Vojko Strahovnik in José Ignacio Scasserra

Avtonomija, avtoriteta in zaupanje: virus in meje leta 2020

Autonomy, Authority, and Trust: Virus and the Limits of 2020

Povzeteke: Sodobni liberalizem v izhodišče postavlja posameznikovo avtonomijo. Zato ni presenetljivo, da sta leto 2020 in pandemija, ki ga je zaznamovala, razkrila pomembne meje tega pogleda, posebej ko je šlo za omejevanje svoboščin, ki so se pred tem mnogim zdele samoumevne. Članek obravnava povezani temi. Prva je ustrezno razumevanje pojma avtonomije – tu nasproti liberalističnemu pojmovanju postavlja kantovsko razumevanje avtonomije. Slednje je mnogo bolj prikladno, če želimo razumeti čas, v katerem živimo, in najti poti iz pogostih slepih ulic, ki so v povezavi z pandemijo nastale. Druga tema je zaupanje, ki se je tudi pokazalo kot izjemno krhko. Avtorja ponujata razumevanje zaupanja kot moralne in spoznavne vrline in hkrati izpostavljata, da so avtonomija, avtoriteta in zaupanje relacijski pojavi, saj presegajo razumevanje posameznika kot neodvisnega in razumnega delovalca in predpostavljajo drugega. Še več – predpostavljajo, da moramo biti kot posamezniki v deljenem, skupnem prostoru (političnem, moralnem, spoznavnem ipd.) z drugimi. Vrline, tako moralne kot spoznavne, nam pri orientaciji in delovanju v takšnem prostoru pomagajo. Problem sodobnega liberalizma je tudi v tem, da je privedel do pomanjkanja takšnih skupnih prostorov in pomanjkanja poudarka na ustreznih vrlinah, ki bi presegle vrline ,avtonomnih, racionalnih in neodvisnih‘ posameznikov.

Ključne besede: liberalizem, avtonomija, avtoriteta, razum, vrline, zaupanje, pandemija

Abstract: Modern liberalism places the autonomy of the individual as a starting point. Therefore, it is not surprising that the year 2020 and the pandemic that marked it revealed significant limits of this view, especially as it concerns the restriction of freedoms that many had taken for granted before. The article deals with two related themes. The first is a proper understanding of the notion of autonomy, where we propose Kant's understanding of autonomy as opposed to the notion of autonomy as defended by liberalism. The former is much more helpful if we want to understand the times in which we live and

find ways out of the frequent impasses that have arisen in connection with the pandemic. The second is the topic of trust, which has also proven to be highly fragile. We offer an understanding of trust as a moral and epistemic virtue while at the same time emphasizing that autonomy, authority, and trust are all relational phenomena. They disprove the understanding of the individual as an independent, isolated and rational agent. They presuppose the other.

Moreover, they assume that we as individuals must be in a shared, common space (political, moral, cognitive, ...) with others. Virtues, both moral and epistemic, help us to orient and function in such a space. The problem of modern liberalism is that it has led to a lack of such shared spaces and to a lack of emphasis on appropriate virtues that would go beyond the virtues of an 'autonomous, rational, and independent' individual.

Keywords: liberalism, autonomy, authority, reason, virtues, trust, pandemics

1. Uvod

V letu 2020 je bilo človeštvo potisnjeno do svojih meja – in za sedaj ostaja tam. Ne samo zaradi pandemije virusa COVID-19, ampak tudi zato, ker se zdi, da je ta zdravstvena kriza še poglobila gospodarske, politične in družbene krize, ki so bile v večini predelov sveta že navzoče. Priča smo bili razvrednotenju valut, zaprtju podjetij, zniževanju plač, naši bližnji pa so zbolevali in umirali (United Nations 2020). Hkrati so ti negativni dogodki sprožili številne glasove – vsi so želeli izraziti svoje mnenje o dogajanju: krivda da je na strani Kitajske, krive so tržnice, živali, juhe ipd.

Samodejni odziv večine držav je bila uvedba ukrepov, ki so pomenili tudi omejitve svoboščin posameznika. Druženje oz. zbiranje ljudi je bilo za širjenje COVID-19 glavni vzrok, zato so se javne izobraževalne in kulturne ustanove, podjetja in zabavišča zaprli. Izobraževanje, trgovina, turizem, tudi zabava so morali v prizadevanju za preprečevanje zrušitve nacionalnih zdravstvenih sistemov počakati.

Tako so države omejile številne svoboščine, ki so jih deli družbe prej imeli za samoumevne. To ni zahtevalo le pomembnih biopolitičnih odločitev in ukrepov, ampak tudi precej samoomejevalnih praks ljudi – tako na individualni ravni kot na ravni skupnosti. Leto 2020 je s tem na preizkušnjo postavilo skorajda hegemonistično ideologijo zahodne civilizacije: liberalizem. Z liberalizmom misliva filozofsko perspektivo, ki metafizične, etične in politične temelje postavlja na posamičen in avtonomen subjekt. Običajno ta utemeljitev stoji na nekaterih lastnostih, ki jih mora liberalizem pri takem subjektu predpostaviti: njegov razum (Descartes), voljo (Rousseau) ali enakost glede zmoglosti (Hobbes). Tako so politične in etične strukture razumljene kot rezultat takšne temeljne artikulacije posameznikov – in ne obratno.

Ni presenetljivo, da je s potrebo po omejitvi svoboščin posameznika, da bi dosegli 'večje dobro', ta ideja doživela globoko krizo. Kako lahko stari Leviatan razlo-

ži bitju, ki ga je ustvarilo, da nečesa ,ne sme' narediti? Da bi lahko udejanjanje njegovih ali njenih individualnih svoboščin povzročilo resne zdravstvene težave – da bi sam lahko zbolel ali ogrozil zdravje ali življenje tistih, ki jih ima rad? Ob teh izzivih se zdi, da je treba idejo o ,avtonomnem subjektu' ponovno premisliti.

Poplava (zmotnih) informacij, (lažnih) novic in čustvena ekonomija pandemije, ki so jo ustvarila družbena omrežja, predstavljajo dodatne težave zaradi krize, ki jo še vedno preživljamo. Videli smo (in še vidimo), da samoomejujoča dejanja in drugi odzivi na pandemijo niso ravno sledili modelu razumnega odziva – k temu pa so prispevale tudi lažne novice, zavajajoče informacije, mehurčki družbenih omrežij, tudi politična čustva in strast (Ahmed idr. 2020). Vendarle pa vse to za pojave, ki smo jim priča (gibanje proti zaščitnim maskam in teorije o njihovi neučinkovitosti, trditve o neškodljivost virusa itd.), ne more biti edini razlog. Zato je prav kontekst pandemije in odzivov nanjo posebna priložnost za premislek konceptov avtonomije, avtonomnega subjekta ter razuma, avtoritete in zaupanja. V tem kompleksnem kontekstu ima filozofija nalogo organizirati nekatere koščke sestavljanke, ki je pred nami. Najin namen je predstaviti dve refleksiji, ki bi lahko k dokončanju te sestavljanke prispevali.

Najprej nameravamo ponovno premisliti temelje avtonomije v okviru filozofije Immanuela Kanta. Najina hipoteza je, da je (tudi pri filozofu, kot je Kant) možna interpretacija, da je takšen temelj politične in etične misli že naznanil – oz. še naznanja – meje (sodobnega) liberalizma. To zahteva nadaljnji razmislek, pri katerem najprej predstavlja nekatere poteze avtonomije znotraj liberalne tradicije. V navezavi na Kantov spis *Kaj je razsvetljenstvo?* nato izpostavlja načine, kako slednje deluje v odnosu do ideje zasebnega in javnega uma. Uporablja strategijo, pri kateri se najprej premaknemo od ontološke osnove liberalizma do njegovih političnih posledic, potem pa nazaj od političnega razsvetljskega projekta do njegove ontološko kantovske zasnove. S tem razvojem izpeljujeva način konstruiranja in utemeljevanja avtoritete kot deljenega in skupnega načela – in ne kot ,individualne svobode', posredovane z razumom (O'Neill 2015, 55).

Drugi razmislek bo k prvemu dodal razsežnost zaupanja. Zaupanje se je v času pandemične krize pokazalo kot še en ogrožen oz. redek pojav – vključno s perspektivo zaupanja avtoriteti. V tem kontekstu razumeva zaupanje kot eno izmed spoznavnih in moralnih vrlin. Glavni cilj bo pokazati, da so avtonomija, avtoriteta in zaupanje vse relacijski pojmi. Kot takšni predpostavljajo drugega – obenem pa tudi, da moramo biti kot posamezniki v deljenem, skupnem prostoru (političnem, moralnem, spoznavnem ipd.) z drugimi. Tako moralne kot spoznavne vrline nam pri orientaciji in delovanju v takšnem prostoru pomagajo – da bi te vrline (vključno z zaupanjem kot vrlino) dosegli, je potrebna vključenost v tak skupen prostor. Pri tem trdimo, da obstajata dva problema liberalizma (v navezavi na trenutno stanje sodobnega sveta), in sicer pomanjkanje takšnih skupnih prostorov in pa pomanjkanje poudarka na ustreznih vrlinah, ki bi presegle vrline ,avtonomnih, racionalnih in neodvisnih' posameznikov.

2. Liberalizem in avtonomija

Kot že izpostavljeno, je sodobni čas utemeljen na ideji, da je subjekt izhodišče in osnova. Temelj se tako od ‚narave‘ ali ‚Boga‘ premakne k racionalnemu subjektu z voljo. Ta premik običajno pripisujemo *Razpravi o metodi* Renéja Descartesa. V njej avtor med drugim postavi tezo, da je razum oz. zdrava pamet »od vseh stvari na svetu najpravičnejše porazdeljena« (Descartes 2007, 9). Tako ima subjekt, ki je postavljen za osnovo vseh razmišljanj, svojstveno lastnost, in sicer razum. Ta predpostavka je bila iz metafizike v politiko prenesena brez večjih premen. Celotna tradicija zagovornikov družbene pogodbe zato temelji na ideji subjekta, ki je glede družbenih in političnih povezav predpostavljen kot že dano in določeno bitje. Sledeč temu predpostavljenemu stanju stvari ima tak subjekt nekatere lastnosti oz. zmožnosti, ki mu pripadajo *a priori* – npr. razum, svobodo in avtonomijo. Ob predpostavki obstoja subjekta z določenimi lastnostmi še pred vzpostavitvijo družbene vezi liberalna tradicija izhaja iz te nove utemeljitve filozofije, ki jo je zasnoval Descartes. To je cena za premik temelja družbe stran od Boga. Če suverenosti ne razlagamo več kot rezultat božanskega posega, potem jo je treba postaviti na racionalni subjekt z voljo.

Hobbesov *Leviathan* je odličen primer. Prvi del knjige ima naslov „O ljudeh“ – Hobbes najprej opisuje osnovni gradnik celotnega družbenega telesa. V znamenitem 13. poglavju pravi: »Narava je ustvarila ljudi tako enake po telesnih lastnostih in sposobnostih, da četudi se najde človek, ki je včasih očitno močnejšega telesa ali hitrejšega uma kot nekdo drug, da vendar, ko smo vsi zbrani skupaj, razlika med človekom in človekom ni tako velika, da bi si lahko en človek pridržal kakršnokoli prednost ali zmožnost, ki je drugi ne bi mogel imeti prav v isti meri.« (1998, 82) Ta formulacija nam lahko služi za prikaz predpostavk liberalizma. Individualnost, ki vključuje bolj ali manj enako porazdeljeno moč in bistrornost, je treba predpostavljati še pred družbeno pogodbo. A Hobbes ugotavlja, da je ta posameznik lahko nevaren in poln nasprotujočih si lastnosti – in s tem ustvarja svoj glavni filozofski problem: kako lahko temu bitju legitimno vladamo?

Z vidika take ontološke podlage moramo družbeno povezavo razumeti kot rezultat individualnosti. Sodobni misleci, ki se sklicujejo na ‚družbeno pogodbo‘, so poskušali ustvariti različne modele, v katerih bi to individualnost lahko artikulirali. Toda da bi prišli do družbene pogodbe, mora imeti ta posamezni subjekt nekaj lastnosti, ki jih lahko izkazuje, ne da bi predpostavili tudi drugega. Na ta način so te izvirne lastnosti univerzalne, *a priori*, ‚naravne‘ itd. Zagotavljajo, da se posameznik za družbeno pogodbo odloči svobodno. Z avtonomnim gibanjem razuma ali svobodne volje se ta subjekt za sodelovanje v družbeni pogodbi hkrati nečemu odreče. Tako se vprašanje avtonomije znotraj liberalne tradicije vzpostavlja kot glavni problem.

Uganka, kako avtonomijo razumeti in kakšna je njena vloga, je pomembna za presojo, ali jo lahko v okviru liberalne tradicije sploh ustrezno razumemo – in kakšne so njene meje. Gerald Dworkin izpostavlja približno ducat konceptov avtonomije in pri tem prihaja do minimalnega zaključka, da sta »edini lastnosti, ki sta

stalni od enega avtorja do drugega, ti, da je avtonomija lastnost oseb in da je to lastnost, za katero je zaželeno, da jo imamo.« (Dworkin 1988, 6) Včasih nastopa kot »ekvivalent svobode /.../, kot ekvivalent samovlade ali suverenosti, včasih kot identična svobodi volji« (6). Avtonomija se v razpravah pojavlja kot vrednota, za katero se moramo zavzemati – in sicer ne glede na to, ali jo razumemo kot ‚naravno‘, univerzalno ali *apriorno* lastnost ali kot konstruirano. V okviru sodobnega liberalizma je avtonomija tako razumljena »kot ideal značaja in ne kot lastnost določenih dejanj« (O’Neill 1989, 66). Ta smer izvira v mislih liberalnih filozofov sedemnajstega stoletja, nato jo srečamo še pri Millu in celo Rawlsu. Cilj te tradicije je najti način, da bi se subjekt tem ‚naravnim‘ lastnostim za vzpostavitev družbe odrekel prostovoljno. Kako potem to bitje omejiti?

Težava takega pojmovanja je, da je dejanje odrekanja glede samega sebe odvisno od avtonomnega vzgiba posameznikov. Ni važno, ali je stvar, ki se ji je treba odreči, svoboda ali pravica do lastnine določenih stvari – v vsakem primeru mora liberalna tradicija najti avtonomen vzgib subjekta, ki zagotavlja, da je družbena povezava zgrajena na legitimnih temeljih. Tako avtonomija postane lastnost, ki zagotavlja, da se lahko drugim lastnostim (odvisno od avtorja) odrečemo. Liberalizem zagovarja model individualne avtonomije (Globokar 2020, 384). Avtonomija posameznika je za sodobni liberalizem temeljna vrednota, ki jo je treba privzeti in zaščititi, saj vzpostavlja temelje za razumno oblikovanje in izražanje vidikov posameznika (identitete, drž, naravnosti, ciljev ipd.) (Christman 2001).

Z drugimi besedami – avtonomijo je treba predhodno predpostaviti logično in ontološko. Toda če je avtonomija osnova družbene povezave, ali se ji sploh lahko odrečemo? To se kaže kot problem, s katerim se spopada liberalna tradicija. Ker je bilo njeno izhodišče iskanje posamezne točke, ki bi utemeljila družbeno oz. politično povezavo, mora predpostavljati avtonomno dejanje, ki zagotovi odpoved nekaterim pravicam – ne pa tudi sami pravici do avtonomne odpovedi. Zato se zdi, kot da o avtonomiji ni mogoče razpravljati ali je omejevati. To zagonetko liberalnega subjekta kot avtonomnega bitja, ki mu ni mogoče vladati, so obravnavali različni filozofi, kot so Kant, Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche, Derrida. Iris Murdoch na te probleme opozarja s pomenljivim opisom takšnega bitja: »ta človek, oropan borgega metafizičnega ozadja, ki mu ga je bil Kant pripravljen priznati, še vedno je z nami, svoboden, neodvisen, osamljen, močan, racionalen, odgovoren, pogumen, junak tako številnih romanov in knjig o moralni filozofiji. /.../ Je idealen državljani liberalne države, opozorilo tiranom.« (Murdoch 2006, 94) Po njenem mnenju svobodni in avtonomni subjekt lahko pripisujemo celo Kantu in Nietzscheju. Če je avtonomija zgolj stvar posameznikove neodvisnosti, potem moramo njen etični status postaviti pod vprašaj (O’Neill 2015, 105). Njena kritika ponovno vzpostavlja transcendenco, izgubljeno z vzponom liberalizma. Najino zanimanje se v tej točki sicer razlikuje od njenega. Kritike liberalne tradicije ne razvija v imenu transcendence – na neki način je liberalizem, da bi postavil osnove družbenega življenja, s predpostavljanjem nekaterih naravnih danosti posameznikov zgradil novo področje transcendence, ki je zdaj postavljena v subjekt. Kot je pomenljivo dejal Heidegger: *hypokeimenon* postane *sub-jectum* (Heidegger 2001). Ta ontološka predpo-

stavka ni problematična le s teoretičnega, ampak tudi s političnega vidika: če je avtonomija posameznika bistvena lastnost, na kateri temelji družbena vez, o njej ni mogoče razpravljati. In to niti sredi pandemije in zdravstvene krize.

Morda obstajajo še druga pojmovanja avtonomije, ki bi jih bilo treba ponovno premisliti. Ne strinjava se z domnevo Iris Murdoch, da ima politični subjekt, o katerem razmišlja Kant, v posesti avtonomijo kot eno svojih danih lastnosti. V nadaljevanju bova poskusila misliti avtonomijo onkraj ontoloških predpostavk liberalizma. Kot rečeno, je liberalizem povezan z modelom individualne avtonomije – s tem pa izključuje vprašanje avtoritete razuma. Če je glavna ideja liberalizma, da nekatere značilnosti subjekta, ki predstavlja temelj družbe, predpostavlja, pa je mogoče razločiti liberalno in ne-liberalno pojmovanje avtonomije – glede na to, ali avtonomijo razumemo kot bistveno lastnost ali pa kot vrednoto, ki jo naj zgradimo oz. ki se konstituira. Z drugimi besedami, če vztrajamo pri razumevanju avtonomije kot neposredno dane lastnosti, bo ta delovala kot nekaj, česar ni mogoče postaviti pod vprašaj – in to ne glede na kontekst. Nasprotno, če bomo avtonomijo razumeli kot rezultat procesa konstrukcije oz. posredovanja, tedaj o njej bo mogoče razpravljati – še posebej v času svetovne zdravstvene krize. Meniva, da je to zamisel mogoče najti že pri Kantu.

3. Avtonomija in razum s kantovske perspektive

Eno temeljnih besedil o avtonomiji in njeni vlogi je Kantov esej *Kaj je razsvetljenstvo?* (1987). Kot je znano, je bilo to kratko besedilo napisano za objavo v reviji za širše bralstvo, ki je pozvala različne avtorje, naj odgovorijo na vprašanje v naslovu. Običajno se razlaga kot apologija svobode govora, vendar se – kot poudarja Onora O’Neill – razumevanje, ki bi se opiralo samo na ta vidik, izogiba osrednji uganki besedila, in sicer razliki med javnim in zasebnim umom (O’Neill 2015, 30), hkrati pa spregleduje, da Kant pravzaprav svobodo govora zelo omejuje.

Po mnenju Kanta je razsvetljenstvo emancipacija oz. izhod ljudi iz stanja nedoletnosti, ki so ga zakrivali sami. Takšna nezrelost je opredeljena kot »nezmožnost posluževati se svojega razuma« (1987, 9). Zaradi lenobe ali pomanjkanja poguma so ljudje oblikovanje svojih misli in idej prenesli na knjigo, duhovnika, zdravnika ipd., namesto da bi razmišljali sami. Tej ideji pa nasprotuje geslo razsvetljenstva: »Sapere aude!« – Imejte pogum in uporabljajte lasten razum. Glede na teme, ki sva jih izpostavila, lahko med Kantovo perspektivo in liberalno tradicijo že vidimo prvo napetost. Razum, prej za izgradnjo legitimnosti samoumeven, je sedaj razumljen kot nekaj problematičnega, kot nekaj, kar je treba doseči in braniti. Toda tudi če in ko je takšna raba razuma dosežena, se mora Kant soočiti s problemom – zakaj bi to avtonomno in razumno bitje ubogalo? Za spopad s tem vprašanjem Kant oblikuje obrambo uporabe lastnega razuma v okviru kar najbolj nevtralnega in nenevarnega jezika (Denker 1974, 10) – s tem lahko svoj razsvetljenski projekt uskladi s politično poslušnostjo. Da bi to dosegel, Kant razlikuje med javno in zasebno rabo uma. Ta delitev omogoča tudi razmislek o možnosti in utemeljitvi samoomejitve.

Javna raba uma mora biti v celoti in ves čas svobodna, saj je edina raba, ki lahko razsvetljenstvo prinese med ljudi in ga med njimi uveljavi (Kant 1987, 10). Kant ima v mislih um, ki ga učenjak uporablja pred vsem svetom. Po drugi strani je lahko zasebna raba lastnega uma pogosto precej omejena, ne da bi to napredek razsvetljenstva posebej oviralo. Zasebna raba se nanaša npr. na zaupani položaj ali službo. Ta delitev zagotavlja delovanje skupnosti, hkrati pa podeljuje svobodo govora razsvetlenskemu govoru, ki mora do politične oblasti vzpostavljati distanco in kritiko. Da bi lahko skupnost izboljševali, ne pa je uničevali, se je treba te razlike zavedati. Je namreč edino, kar jamči, da bo skupnost šla po razsvetlenski poti.

Do te točke je mogoče poudariti, da je tako v liberalni tradiciji kot v tem besedilu o razsvetljenstvu glavni element, ki zagotavlja delovanje družbene povezave, razum. A liberalna tradicija temelji na nekaterih metafizičnih predpostavkah, ki so po navadi osnovane na kartezijanski metafiziki – to pomeni, da je individualni razum oz. um ontološko pred družbeno povezavo. Avtoriteta razuma ni sploh na nobeni točki postavljena pod vprašaj, tudi če avtonomijo liberalizem razume kot razumno avtonomijo, torej kot omejitev, da morajo biti naše avtonomne odločitve ali dejanja razumna (tj. premišljena in sprejeta na podlagi širokega nabora informacij). Pri Kantu pa se razum razkriva kot problem – kot nekaj, kar moramo šele doseči. Tako obstajajo razprave o tem, ali je treba Kantova politična besedila razumeti kot izolirane teze ali pa kot praktično implementacijo vseh njegovih teoretičnih oz. kritičnih projektov. Medtem ko del interpretov trdi, da Kant glede praktičnih zadev uporablja drugačna izhodišča in kriterije kot pri teoretičnih (Fetscher 1974, 28), pa drugi – npr. Michel Foucault (2010) ali Onora O’Neill (1989; 2015) – menijo, da so njegova politična besedila razplet tega, kar je bilo že prisotno pri projektu kritik. V nadaljevanju se bova zato osredotočila na interpretacijo O’Neillove, saj skuša razumeti Kantov politični projekt na podlagi ontologije, za katero je razum vprašljiv – in ga ne jemlje kot nekaj samoumevnega.

V delu *Constructions of Reason* (1989) je tako glavni cilj O’Neillove razmislek o Kantovi etiki v kontekstu njegovega lastnega pojmovanja uma. To se razteza tudi na njegovo politično misel. S perspektive O’Neillove so Kantovi kratki politični eseji del njegove ‚sistematične filozofije‘, kar jo vodi v razmislek, da ima »celotni kritični projekt določen *političen* značaj« (1989, 29). Zato bo razumevanje kantske sistematične filozofije na način branja besedila o razsvetljenstvu vsekakor imelo določen vpliv. Izhodišče je potreba, da kritiko uma jemljemo resno. »Filozofija se mora začeti z nalogo, da pokaže, zakaj bi morali imeti vsi standardi ali postopki za usmerjanje našega mišljenja za nas avtoriteto in šteti za merila uma« (ix). O’Neillova si torej prizadeva za ‚politično‘ interpretacijo, ki se začinja tako v antiracionalističnem kot v antifundacionalističnem prostoru (3).

Takšno izhodišče vodi v razlikovanje med Descartesom in Kantom. Če Descartes razvijanje svoje metode lahko začne prosto, saj verjame v svoj introspektivni dostop do razuma, mora Kant izhajati iz razuma kot naloge (8) – in metodo šele razviti. V nasprotju z jasnostjo in razločnostjo kartezijske filozofije je pri Kantu um »lahko (v celoti ali delno)« v »vsakem udeležencu«, vendar ga ni mogoče odkriti z introspekcijo – opozarja O’Neillova. Naša naloga torej ni najprej introspekcija,

ampak načrtovanje. Kant vztraja, da smo sami sebi nepregledni oz. netransparentni. To trditev močno podpira vloga, ki jo imajo transcendentne ideje v transcendentni dialektiki. Če je duša ena od idej, ki ne morejo biti predmet naše vednosti, potem lahko trdimo, da obstaja razsežnost nas samih, ki nam ni dostopna. Kopernikanska hipoteza, ki prevladuje v *Kritiki čistega uma*, je po mnenju O’Neillove oblikovana kot poskus. »Kant ne dokazuje, ampak predlaga. Predlog pa je nekaj, kar je potrebno preizkusiti.« (O’Neill 1989, 10) Um torej ni predpostavljene ali samoumeven.

To O’Neillovo usmerja v izpostavitev posledice Kantove filozofije:

»Elementi človeške vednosti se ne konstruirajo sami; vedno jih je treba sestaviti po takšnem ali drugem načrtu. Celotni načrt ni vgraviran v vsakega od nas, ampak moramo oblikovati načrt, ki združuje različne elemente. Ta načrt ne sme predpostavljati nedostopnih zmožnosti usklajevanja, na primer vnaprej vzpostavljene harmonije med vsemi, ki uporabljajo razum, ali vsakomur, ki uporablja razum, in transcendentno resničnostjo.« (19–20)

Sledeč razumevanju, da kantovska metafizika besedilo o razsvetljenstvu podpira in torej kot začetne točke ne predpostavlja uma, temveč njegovo kritiko, lahko besedilo o razsvetljenstvu s temeljne perspektive liberalne tradicije vendarle zamejimo: razsvetljenski projekt lahko obravnavamo kot nekaj, kar je treba zgraditi, in ne le kot izraz tistega, kar se v subjektovem, individualnem umu pojavi neposredno. Podobno lahko vidimo, ko skušamo razumeti Kantovo pojmovanje avtonomije. Za Kanta avtonomija ni stvar oz. značilnost posameznika ali posameznih dejanj, ampak stvar določitve volje, kar pomeni hkrati načel in razuma (2015, 110). »Kantovska avtonomija ni stvar neodvisnosti oseb (čeprav je Kant seveda menil, da so osebe do določene mere neodvisne, saj lahko svobodno izbirajo). Ne, avtonomija je stvar privzeta načel, ki so neodvisna od njim zunanjih predpostavk, ki lahko konec koncev veljajo le za nekatere, ne pa tudi za vse.« (117) Pristna avtonomija je v sledenju načelom, ki jih ne morejo privzeti le nekateri – tisti ki bi nekritično predpostavili avtoriteto določene želje ali vzgiba, dogme ali oblasti, kajti to vodi zgolj do heteronomnih načel. Načelo delovanja je torej tisto, ki predpostavlja zgolj samo sebe, ne pa (liberalističnega) subjekta ali njegovega razuma – pri avtonomiji gre za specifično razumevanje javne rabe uma in ne za neodvisnost posameznikov (110; 117; 138). Zrelost in avtonomija se ne izkazujeta v neomejenosti glede mišljenja ali govora, temveč v skrbnem premisleku o načelih in mejah (rabe) razuma. Avtonomija kot avtoriteta razuma ni razumljena individualistično, kot vezana na posameznika, temveč kot nekaj, kar je vezano na upravičene načel, ki jim sledimo. Je torej reflektivna (118). Na tej točki bi dodala, da avtonomije ne gre razumeti le reflektivno, temveč tudi odnosnostno – če želimo, da ji lahko sledimo in jo uveljavimo.

„Samooomejevanje“ je torej po Kantu vgrajeno v sam pojem avtonomije. Če želimo storiti dejanje v skladu z dolžnostjo, moramo svoje strasti omejiti. Podobno velja tudi za politični prostor: da bi zgradili razsvetljeno skupnost, moramo svoj

um omejiti v njegovih zasebnih vlogah, a ohraniti nekaj prostora za njegove javne izraze, kadar je to potrebno. Zato je glavno skupnostno načelo, ki ga moramo konstruirati (in ne razumeti kot samoumevna), v samoomejevanju načel življenja v skupnosti, ki jih ponuja kritika uma. S tega vidika lahko avtonomijo in avtoriteto postavimo v širši okvir skupnih načel, ki vežejo določenega državljana, in ne kot nekakšne ‚naravne‘ lastnosti vseh ljudi ali vladarja. Tako posameznikove svoboščine niso več razumljene kot temelj družbe, ampak kot njen rezultat – kar nam pomaga, da jih upoštevamo ali omejimo v resni in težavni zdravstveni krizi, ki jo trenutno doživljamo.

4. Avtoriteta, zaupanje in vrline

Eden izmed načinov razumevanja (sodobnega) liberalizma in njegovih meja – zlasti tistih, ki so povezane z avtonomijo in avtoriteto – je s poudarjanjem, da moramo preseči pojem »avtonomnega, racionalnega in neodvisnega« posameznika ter opozoriti na odnostnostne in skupnostne vidike našega bivanja in dobrobiti. Z vidika etike in politične filozofije je to nalogo že opravil Alasdair MacIntyre, zlasti v svoji knjigi *Odkritje racionalne živali* (2006). V tem razdelku se želiva bolj osredotočiti na epistemične oz. spoznavne vidike in jih povezati s problemom zaupanja.

Glavni poudarek v MacIntyrovem delu so vrline priznane odvisnosti. MacIntyre namreč želi pokazati, da je eden od osrednjih vidikov človeškega življenja razsežnost ranljivosti in nemoči ter odvisnosti od drugih – ranljivost in odvisnost sta razumljena kot najpomembnejša ključa, ki nas odpirata za razumevanje moralnosti. V zvezi s tem MacIntyre trdi, da odnos določene skupnosti do njenih najbolj ranljivih, bolnih in odvisnih članov najbolje odraža moralo skupnosti kot celote. Hkrati se potrjuje tudi, da vrline, ki jih moramo razviti od našega začetnega živalskega stanja do stanja neodvisnih razumnih bitij oz. neodvisnih mislecev, in vrline, s katerimi se moramo soočiti in se odzivati na našo ranljivost, potencialno tudi invalidnost, pripadajo istemu nizu vrlin. Ravno zato ta skupek vrlin MacIntyre označuje kot vrline odvisnih razumnih živali.

MacIntyre dodaja tudi, da se vrline odvisnih razumnih živali razvijajo v okviru družbenih odnosov, zlasti odnosov dajanja in prejemanja. »Norme dajanja in prejemanja so torej v veliki meri pogojene s našimi čustvenimi vezmi in tržnimi razmerji. Če jih v družbeni praksi ločimo od te tihe predpostavke, se izrodi tako dajanje kot prejemanje: po eni strani v romantično, sentimentalno precenjevanje čustvenosti kot take, po drugi strani pa v poenostavljanje človeške dejavnosti na ekonomijo.« (2006, 128) Opozarja na zmoto tradicije moralne filozofije, ki pojav moralnih zahtev vidi le kot posledico racionalne izbire, ko je postavljena pred drugega kot potencialnega partnerja pri sodelovalnih pogajanjih in doseganju dobrega. Lasten razcvet in dobrobit lahko dosežemo le pod pogojem, da drugi vzamejo naše dobro zase ter nam pomagajo skozi obdobja odvisnosti in invalidnosti. Zato je tako pomembno prepoznati in vzpostaviti vrline priznane odvisnosti. Pri tem MacIntyre seveda močno črpa iz Aristotelove misli in je v pomembnem smislu del

iste tradicije etike vrlin. Tako je dobro opaziti, da celostna teorija vrlin vključuje tako moralne kot epistemične oz. spoznavne vrline. Vendar so vidiki teh zadnjih pri MacIntyru (2006) nekoliko spregledani in predstavljajo nedokončan projekt. Zato bova skušala pokazati, kako so epistemični vidiki vrlin priznane odvisnosti eden od načinov razmišljanja o možnosti premagovanja zagate, v kateri je sodobni liberalizem glede avtoritete, avtonomije in zaupanja. Slednje se bo razkrilo kot spoznavna vrlina (Horgan, Potrč in Strahovnik 2018), ki izhaja iz avtonomije, pomaga avtoriteto prepoznati in v skladu z njo delovati.

Obstajata vsaj dva glavna gradnika splošnega zaupanja kot vrline. Prvi omogoča, da postanemo in se pokažemo kot zaupanja vredni (biti vreden zaupanja), drugi pa je v tem, da lahko prepoznamo, komu, kako, v čem, kdaj in v kakšni meri (ustrezno) zaupati. Tudi z vidika spoznavnih vrlin lahko trdimo, da so značilnosti, ki nam pomagajo biti vredni zaupanja, in te, ki so pomembne za ustrezno zaupanje, močno povezane. Tu se lahko vrnemo k Onori O'Neill in njeni tezi, da zaupanje zajema kompetentnost, poštenost in zanesljivost (glede tega, da smo zaupanja vredni), pa tudi ranljivost, kar je zelo pomembno (2018). Zaupati pomeni ponuditi in sprejeti, da smo ranljivi za druge (Žalec 2020).

Na tem mestu lahko na kratko izpostavimo vprašanje zaupanja v avtoriteto. Ključni del je najti odgovor na izziv, kako avtoriteto prepoznati in kako ji ustrezno slediti. To v prvi vrsti zadeva vidik spoznavne vrlosti. Avtoriteta v povezavi z zaupanjem odpira prav poseben problem, saj vključuje gradnik prepričanja oz. prepričanosti, kar pa pri drugih vidikih zaupanja ni nujno. Zaupanje v avtoriteto torej vključuje vrline, ki nam pomagajo avtoriteto prepoznati in ji ustrezno slediti. V kantovskem smislu in v skladu s tem, kar sva trdila zgoraj, lahko izpostavimo, da je avtoriteta nekaj, kar je vzpostavljeno v prostoru z drugimi. Vrline prepoznavanja in priznavanja avtoritete so tako nekaj, kar je mogoče razviti le v takšnem skupnem spoznavnem in moralnem prostoru.

Če pogledamo nazaj na pomanjkljivosti liberalizma in na njegove omejitve, razgaljene v času pandemije, je mogoče postaviti naslednjo diagnozo našega trenutnega časa: liberalizem spremlja pomanjkanje skupnih prostorov, tako moralnih in spoznavnih kot tudi političnih, ki bi jih delili z drugimi. Znanstveni diskurz (kot kontekst znanstvenega prostora) je pogosto izven dosega polnega razumevanja navadnih ljudi. Politični prostor je močno prežet z nezaupanjem – pogosto do te mere, da zaupanja sploh ni mogoče več vzpostaviti oz. začeti graditi. In prostor običajnega razuma oz. zdrave pameti je v pomembni stopnji odpravljen z družbenimi omrežji in potrošništvom. V okviru tega procesa lahko izpostavimo tudi privatizacijo pomembnih vidikov življenja (npr. izobraževanje ali zdravstvo), ki smo ji bili priča v zadnjih petdesetih letih – zlasti v južnoameriških državah (Scasserra [pred izidom]). Potem ni presenetljivo, da je zaupanje (posebej v avtoriteto) v sedanjem kontekstu pandemije tako težko vzpostaviti. Vsi prostori, ki bi gojenje zaupanja kot vrline lahko omogočili ali pri tem pomagali, so bili izbrisani. Liberalizem je ta gordijski vozal ustvaril sam, saj je predpostavljal in zagovarjal potrebo zgolj po nekakšnih abstraktnih oz. zamišljenih prostorih. Nihče pa ne more postati vrl v nekem ‚abstraktnem‘ prostoru, saj takšni prostori gojenja vrlin

ne omogočajo. Liberalizem zvede skupne in skupnostne prostore na takšne abstraktne prostore – to pa ima za zaupanje katastrofične posledice.

5. Zaključek: samoomejevanje in zaupanje v avtoriteto v času pandemije

V tem prispevku sva poskušala ponovno premisliti nekatere glavne ideje moderne političnega in metafizičnega razmišljanja, da bi takó razpravo osredotočila na vprašanja avtoritete in zaupanja. Izpostavila sva, da liberalna tradicija temelji na ideji o individualnem subjektu, ki je družbeni skupnosti predhoden in zanjo ustvarja podlago. Za predstavitev nasprotnega pogleda sva uporabila Kantova besedila o razsvetljenstvu in tudi širši kantovski okvir, da bi pokazala, kako je treba za izpeljavo razsvetljenškega projekta upoštevati ‚samoomejenost‘ pri individualnih svoboščinah. Ponoven premislek kantovske metafizike z vidika dela Onore O’Neill razkriva, da tega kritičnega projekta ni mogoče razumeti ali obravnavati resno, če kot samoumevne privzamemo določene značilnosti individua, kot sta na primer njegov razum in avtoriteta tega razuma.

Ti razmisleki se morda zdijo daleč od naše vsakodnevne resničnosti. Prepričana pa sva, da so bili na delu v veliki večini javnih razprav v letu 2020. Za kulturo, ki temelji na ideji, da država ni nič drugega kot rezultat dogovora avtonomnih posameznikov, je zelo preprosto oblikovati misel, da zmanjšanje individualnih svoboščin ni (in ne more biti) nič drugega kot zloraba moči. V tem okviru torej ni čudno, da mnogi sploh ne pomislijo na omejitev lastnih hotenj glede zabave ali potrošnje zaradi nadvse upravičenih razlogov, ki se tičejo zdravja drugih in javnega zdravja nasploh. Enako velja za vidik avtonomije – če je ta individualizirana in v liberalizmu postavljena kot sicer razumna avtonomija, je to še vedno lahko premalo. Kdo bi dejal, da takšna avtonomija zagotavlja, da morajo biti naše odločitve in dejanja preiščeni in utemeljeni na dobri informiranosti – kar bi izključevalo pojave, ki smo jih omenili: znikanje obstoja virusa, nasprotovanje razumnih ukrepom in teorije zarote. To sicer deloma lahko drži, vendar pa liberalizem nima načina, da bi zarisal mejo med enim in drugim. Hkrati pripadniki omenjenih pogledov zase (s svojega subjektivnega vidika) verjamejo, da so njihova prepričanja o pandemiji zelo preiščena in z vidika informiranosti dobro utemeljena – celo bolj od ostalih. Tukaj naletimo na meje individualizirane avtonomije in z njo povezanega razumevanja avtoritete razuma. Težava je tudi, če takšno razumno avtonomijo privzamemo kot vredno samo po sebi – in prav to dela sodobni liberalizem, namesto da bi zanjo pridržal zgolj status instrumentalne vrednosti (O’Neill 2015, 108).

Kot družbena in politična bitja lahko uspevamo le, če sodelujemo z drugimi. Zaupanje je mogoče razumeti kot relacijsko (odnosno), vzajemno in sodelovalno vrtilino. Najin ključni poudarek je tako, da so tako avtonomija kot avtoriteta in zaupanje relacijski pojmi, in da moramo torej biti v prostoru (političnem, moralnem, spoznavnem ipd.) z drugimi, da jih dosežemo – kot vrtiline nam pomagajo pri orientaciji in delovanju v teh prostorih. Pri liberalizmu (skupaj s stanjem sodobnega

sveta) lahko v tem smislu izpostavimo vsaj dva problema: (i) pomanjkanje takšnih skupnih prostorov in (ii) pomanjkanje poudarka na ustreznih vrlinah, ki bi prese-gale vrline ,avtonomnih, racionalnih in neodvisnih' posameznikov.

V javni sferi vsak dan naraščajo občutki nezaupanja, panike in zanikanja trenu-tnega stanja. Ena od razlag je lahko nepreglednost vladnih odločitev, postopkov, ukrepov ali celo načinov delovanja sistemov umetne inteligence, ki se uporablja-jo za obvladovanje epidemije (Strahovnik, Miklavčič in Centa 2020). Toda množe-nje teorij zarot, ki smo mu bili priča leta 2020, terja tudi druge razlage. V nedavnem prispevku Karen Douglas izpostavlja, da se teorije zarote pojavljajo zlasti takrat, ko osnovne telesne, čustvene in duševne potrebe niso ustrezno zadovoljene (Do-uglas 2021, 271). Nujnost artikulacije, iskanje skupnega jezika o pristopih in strag-tegijah pri obvladovanju epidemije, usklajevanje med različnimi političnimi in druž-benimi sektorji ter zamisel o skupnem cilju v boju proti pandemiji so liberalna načela postavili pod pritisk. Da glavni cilj družbe ni več zgolj razvoj posameznika, temveč doseganje skupnega dobrega, je nekaj, s čimer se temelji našega trenu-tnega sveta preprosto niso bili pripravljene soočiti. To deloma pojasnjuje gibanja zanikovalcev COVID-19, nasprotovanje karantenskim ukrepom ipd.

O'Neillova v luči analize uporabnosti Kantovega razumevanja avtoritete opozarja na naslednje:

»Prepogosto se govori, da potrebujemo več in boljšo komunikacijo na nekem področju življenja, vendar predlagana sredstva niso ustrezna za komunikacijo niti z omejenim občinstvom, kaj šele z odprtim občinstvom. Poenostavljeni, kaj šele prikrojeni tokovi informacij, oblikovani za široko 'potrošnja' javnosti, neomejenemu občinstvu morda ne bodo ponudili možnosti razumevanja sporočenega in ne bodo nudili resničnih priložnosti za odziv in interakcijo, preverjanje ali izziv ali ustreznih načinov presojanja resničnosti ali zaupanja.« (2015, 150)

Takšno stanje lahko preseže le oblikovanje skupnih moralnih in spoznavnih pro-storov ter vrlosti. Ena glavnih gonilnih sil v času naše sedanje krize so bili seveda mediji (Dhanani in Franz 2020), vključno z družbenimi omrežji (Ahmed idr. 2020). Obseg pomanjkljivih informacij in (lažnih) novic, ki smo jim bili priča glede našega zdravja, je bil zelo velik. S tem, ko zagovarjava elemente kantovske razsvetljske tradicije, ne nameravamo zagovarjati prepovedi pretoka informacij. Poudariti pa želiva, da moramo za ustrezno delovanje skupnosti razmisliti o dveh rabah razuma – javni na eni in zasebni na drugi strani. Pandemična kriza nas spodbuja k premi-sleku: ali drugi moje stališče o nečem potrebujejo? Ali je res primerno javno za-govarjati mnenje za katero od cepiv ali proti njemu? Ali je primerno zagovarjati preventivne metode, ki niso bile znanstveno preizkušene?

V poplavi informacij in političnih gibanj, ki pandemijo zanikajo, spodbujajo te-orije zarote ali spodbujajo paniko glede cepiv, najdemo na žalost tudi del filozof-skega diskurza – kar kaže, da je razum v današnjih časih zašel v krizo. Prevladuje maksima posamične kaprice. In če nameravamo to krizo preseči in se iz sedanjega

položaja rešiti, bomo morali na novo zgraditi javna in skupnostna načela, ki lahko delujejo kot merila za javno razpravo – vključno s skupnimi prostori, kjer se ta in posamezniki lahko vzajemno razvijajo.¹

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¹ Prispevek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega programa P6-0269 *Etično-religiozni temelji in perspektive družbe ter religiologija v kontekstu sodobne edukacije in nasilje*, ki ga sofinancira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije iz državnega proračuna (Vojko Strahovnik) ter štipendije za mlade gostujoče raziskovalce v okviru *Ameriško-slovenske izobraževalne fundacije* (ASEF) (José Ignacio Scasserra).



Marjan Turnšek (ur.)

Stoletni sadovi

Člani katedre za dogmatično teologijo v jubilejnem letu z zbornikom predstavljajo »dogmatične sadove« na »stoletnem drevesu« TEOF v okviru UL. Prvi del z naslovom »Sadovi preteklosti« s hvaležnostjo predstavlja delo njenih rajnih profesorjev. Kako katedra živi ob stoletnici svojo sedanjost in gleda v prihodnost z upanjem, predstavljajo prispevki živečih članov katedre v drugem delu pod naslovom »Sadovi sedanjosti«. Tretji del ponuja »Podarjene sadove«, ki so jih ob jubileju poklonili nekateri pomembni teologi iz tujine, ki so povezani z našo fakulteto (zaslužni papež Benedikt XVI., Hans Urs von Balthasar, Jürgen Moltmann, Bruno Forte, Marino Qualizza in Marko I. Rupnik).

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Stanislav Slatinek

„Navodilo glede zaupnosti pravn“ kot garancija za večje zaupanje v poštenost cerkvenega sodstva

„Instruction on the Confidentiality of Legal Proceedings“ as a Guarantee of Greater Confidence in the Integrity of the Ecclesiastical Judiciary

Povzetek: V želji, da se Cerkvi povrne zaupanje glede poštenosti cerkvenega sodstva, je papež Frančišek sredi decembra 2019 objavil „Navodilo glede zaupnosti pravn“, s katerim je iz nekaterih faz v kazenskih postopkih proti klerikom, ki so bili obtoženi kaznivih dejanj zlorabe mladoletne osebe, odpravil papeško tajnost in tako omogočil, da se s temi podatki lahko seznanijo širša javnost. Navodilo je kratko in vredno velike pozornosti, ker se osredotoča na bistveno – na krščanski pogled in odnos do žrtev spolnih zlorab. Papež Frančišek je v teh primerih odpravil papeško tajnost glede samih postopkov in tudi končnih odločitev v obliki sodbe ali izvensodne odločbe. S tem je vsebinsko dopolnil in prenovil nekatere dokumente svojih predhodnikov ter omogočil, da se o tej globoki rani spolnih zlorab mladoletnih spregovori javno – in ponovno vzpostavi zaupanje v poštenost cerkvenega sodstva. Čeprav študije o pojavu spolnih zlorab razkrivajo, da je glavno prizorišče nasilja domače okolje, je boleča resnica, da so tudi številni duhovniki »izdali milost zakramenta posvečenja s tem, da so popustili najhujšim izrazom skrivnosti zla – *mysterium iniquitatis*«. Zato je Navodilo revolucionarna novost, ki pomeni, da *Ecclesia semper reformanda* poteka v iskrenosti in transparentnosti.

Ključne besede: kazenski postopek, Navodilo, kaznivo dejanje, kazen, zaupanje.

Abstract: In an effort to restore to the Church greater confidence in the integrity of ecclesiastical justice, in mid-December 2019, Pope Francis published the „Instruction on the Confidentiality of Legal Proceedings“, which removes the pontifical secret from certain phases of criminal proceedings against clerics accused of crimes of abuse of a minor, thus allowing this information to be made known to the broader public. The Instruction is short and worthy of great attention because it focuses on the essential, on the Christian view and attitude towards victims of sexual abuse. Pope Francis has lifted the pontifical secret when it comes to the denunciation of clerical offences, on the proceedings themselves and the final decisions in the form of a judgment or an out-of-court decision. In do-

ing so, Pope Francis has added to and reformed some of the documents of his predecessors, allowing this deep wound of sexual abuse of minors to be spoken about publicly and restoring confidence in the greater integrity of the Church's judiciary. Although studies on the incidence of sexual abuse reveal that the main scene of violence is the home environment, the painful truth is that many priests have also betrayed the grace of Ordination in succumbing even to the most grievous forms of the *mysterium iniquitatis* at work in the world. This is why the Instruction is a revolutionary innovation and means that *Ecclesia semper reformanda* takes place in honesty and transparency.

Keywords: penal trial, Instruction, delict, penalty, confidence.

1. Uvod

Skrb papežev za dostojanstvo in pravice otrok je v KC prisotna že dlje časa.¹ Šele v relativno novejšem času pa so se zaradi večje občutljivosti javnega mnenja problemu zaščite mladoletnih posebej posvetili zadnji trije papeži (Janez Pavel II. 1985; 1995; 2001; Benedikt XVI. 2005a; 2005b; 2008b; 2011; Frančišek 2014b, 2017; 2018a; 2019a). Zaščita mladoletnih oseb se razume kot odgovornost, ki zadeva predvsem papeža, škofo in tiste, ki pred Cerkvijo prevzemajo naloge v službi krščanskega ljudstva, kot so duhovniki in posvečene osebe. Še posebej močno si je v zadnjem času v tej smeri prizadeval papež Frančišek. V želji, da se povrne zaupanje v poštenost cerkvenega sodstva, je sredi decembra 2019 objavil „Navodilo glede zaupnosti pravnih“ (Istruzione sulla riservatezza delle cause), s katerim je iz nekaterih faz v kazenskih postopkih proti klerikom, ki so bili obtoženi kaznivih dejanj zlorabe mladoletne osebe, odpravil papeško tajnost in tako omogočil, da se s temi podatki lahko seznanijo širša javnost.²

Navodilo GZP je kratko in vredno vse pozornosti.³ Papež Frančišek je v teh primerih odpravil papeško tajnost glede samih postopkov, pa tudi končnih odločitev

¹ Družbeni nauk Cerkve vztrajno opozarja, da je dostojanstvo in pravice otrok treba spoštovati. Še vedno ostajajo v svetovnem merilu nerešena nekatera zelo težka vprašanja: trgovina z otroki, delo mladoletnikov, izkoriščanje otrok za oborožene spopade, poroka mladoletnih deklet, zlorabljanje otrok za trgovino s pornografskim gradivom itd. Za poglobitev gl. Kompendij družbenega nauka, tč. 244.

² Pojem „širša javnost“ se pogosto uporablja v novinarstvu in vključuje občane, krajane, prebivalce, novinarje, državne organe (policija, državno tožilstvo) itd. V primeru kleriške spolne zlorabe mladoletne osebe pa vključuje tudi domnevno žrtev in njene odvetnike.

³ Navajamo vsebino navodila GZP: »1. Pod papeško tajnostjo niso ovadbe, postopki in odločitve glede kaznivih dejanj iz: a) 1. člena motu proprio VELM z dne 7. maja 2019; b) 6. člena Določil glede hujših kaznivih dejanj, pridržanih sodbi Kongregacije za nauk vere, kot izhajajo iz motu proprio SST sv. Janeza Pavla II. z dne 30. aprila 2001 in iz nadaljnjih sprememb. 2. Odprava papeške tajnosti velja tudi v primerih, ko so bila ta kazniva dejanja storjena skupaj z drugimi kaznivimi dejanji. 3. V pravnih iz tč. 1 se informacije obravnava tako, da se zagotovi varnost, integriteta in zaupnost v smislu kann. 471, tč. 2 ZCP, in 244 § 2, tč. 2 ZVC, z namenom zaščite dobrega imena, podobe in zasebnosti vseh vpletenih oseb. 4. Službena tajnost ne ovira izpolnjevanja dolžnosti v vseh krajih, ki so določeni z državnimi zakoni, vključno z morebitno dolžnostjo prijave, kakor tudi izvršitve pravnomočnih zahtev državnih sodnih oblasti. 5. Tistemu, ki je podal prijavo, osebi, ki trdi, da je bila prizadeta, in pričam se ne more naložiti nikakršna obveza molččnosti glede dejstev iz pravde.« (SS 2019)

v obliki sodbe ali izvensodne odločbe. S tem je vsebinsko dopolnil in prenovil nekatere dokumente svojih predhodnikov, še posebej motu proprio „Varovanje svetosti zakramentov“ (Sacramentorum sanctitatis tutela) in „Vi ste luč sveta“ (Vos estis lux mundi), ter tako omogočil, da se o globoki rani spolnih zlorab mladoletnih, ki je v preteklosti veljala za tabu (kar pomeni, da so zanjo vsi vedeli, nihče pa ni o tem govoril), spregovori javno in s tem ponovno vzpostavi zaupanje v večjo poštenost cerkvenega sodstva.

Čeprav študije o pojavu spolnih zlorab razkrivajo, da je glavno prizorišče nasilja domače okolje, je boleča resnica, da so tudi številni duhovniki »izdali milost zakramenta posvečenja s tem, da so popustili najhujšim izrazom skrivnosti zla – *mysterium iniquitatis*« (Janez Pavel II 2002, 22). Zato je Navodilo GZP za KC revolucionarna novost, saj se sme z vsebino besedil, ki niso več pod papeško tajnostjo, seznaniti tudi širša javnost (zlasti pa domnevna žrtev in njeni odvetniki) – v skladu s tem, da velja glede teh pojavov v večini sveta ničelna toleranca.⁴

2. Pojem papeške tajnosti

V pravni stroki se omenjajo različne tajnosti – od naravne, obljubljene, storitvene, uradne ali službene tajnosti do poklicne tajnosti, ki implicitno izhaja iz opravljanja določenega poklica (npr. poklic zdravnika, odvetnika, farmacevta, notarja, pravnika, duhovnika itd.). Naša razprava želi opozoriti, da so uradna, službena ali poklicna tajnost vedno nekaj dobrega. Najvišja oblika tajnosti v kanonskem pravu se imenuje spovedna molčečnost (*sacramentale sigillum*), ki jo je duhovnik spovednik vedno dolžan strogo varovati in ohranjati (kan. 983 § 1). Vsaka prelomitev je težko kaznivo dejanje, ki je za presojo pridržano apostolskemu sedežu.⁵

ZCP (1983) omenja predvsem službeno tajnost (*secretum officii*), ki so jo dolžni ohranjati sodniki in vsi drugi sodni uslužbenci (npr. branilec vezi, pravdnik, notar, odvetniki, zagovorniki strank in drugi – kan. 1445 § 1). Pri vseh sodnih dejanjih, še zlasti v kazenskih postopkih, se tako zavarujejo dejstva in informacije, zmanjša se tudi nevarnost škodovanja dobremu imenu vpletenih oseb. Službena tajnost vedno zavezuje tako moralno kot pravno. Sodnika, ki službeno tajnost prelomi, lahko pristojni škof škofije ali pa moderator metropolitanskega cerkvenega sodišča kaznuje, tudi z odvzemom funkcije (kan. 1457 § 1),⁶ medtem ko lahko druge uslužbenice sodišča kaznuje sodnik sam (kan. 1457 § 2).

Pojem papeška tajnost (*secretum pontificium*) se nanaša na resnico, ki ni bila objavljena in mora ostati skrita, ali pa na resnico, ki jo pozna le ena ali nekaj oseb in mora pred drugimi osebami ostati skrita, ali tudi na objektivno skrito stvar, ki je ni dovoljeno

⁴ Tudi SŠK je na svoji 21. redni seji sprejela Navodilo o uveljavljanju ničelne stopnje tolerance do spolnih zlorab (2019, 106–107).

⁵ Apostolska penitenciarija je pri tem izdala posebno Noto o pomembnosti notranjega področja (*foro interno*) in nedotakljivosti spovedne molčečnosti (Apostolska penitenciarija 2019, 200–204).

⁶ Norme sodišča Rimske rote navajajo dolžnost ohranjanja službene tajnosti. Prelomitev te obveznosti je sprožila zagroženo kazen (Romanae Rotae Tribunal 1994, čl. 41 § 1–2).

razkriti in zahteva subjektivno obveznost molčanja – in končno na skrito stvar z obveznostjo, da se je ne razkrije ali sporoči drugim (Schwenderwein 2004, 717).

Pojem papeške tajnosti je 1. decembra 1709 uvedel papež Klemen XI. za sodišče svetega oficija (Perlasca 2013, 91). Obveza popolne papeške tajnosti je vezala kardinale sodišča svetega oficija in tudi vse druge podrejene uslužbenke. Vsaka prelomitev papeške tajnosti je pomenila kaznivo dejanje – storilca je zadela vnaprej izrečena in apostolskemu sedežu pridržana kazen izobčenja (*excommunicationem latae sententiae Sedi Apostolicae reservatam*). Tudi naslednik Klemena XI., papež Klemen XIII., je 1. februarja 1759 za sodišče svetega oficija potrdil nujnost papeške tajnosti (Perlasca 2013, 93). Papež Pij X. je 28. junija 1908 z „Apostolsko konstitucijo Sapiienti Consiglio“ uvedel nekaj sprememb in za nekatera sodniška opravila svetega oficija predpisal samo službeno tajnost (Pius X 1909, 7–19). Kljub temu pa je papeška tajnost s sodišča svetega oficija počasi prešla tudi v druge ustanove rimske kurije (+kan. 232–233; Paolo VI. 1965, 952–955). Prvo uradno besedilo o papeški tajnosti je „Navodilo Državnega tajništva Secreta continere“ iz leta 1974 (SS 1974, 88–92). Besedilo je kratko in zadeve, ki spadajo pod papeško tajnost, osebe, ki so nanjo vezane, ter kazni, ki lahko zadenejo kršitelja, našteva v nekaj členih. V sklepu navodila je še kratka formula prisege, s katero so se morali uslužbenci zavezati k spoštovanju te dolžnosti. Papeška tajnost je bila namenjena predvsem zaščiti ugleda in slovesa posameznih oseb in skupin. Vsebina papeške tajnosti pa so bile tudi obtožbe klerikov glede kaznivih dejanj proti veri in morali ter kazniva dejanja proti zakramentu pokore. Obtoženi klerik se je z vsebino obtožbe sicer lahko seznanil – vendar samo toliko, kolikor je bilo treba za njegovo obrambo.

Papeško tajnost omenjajo tudi nekateri kasnejši dokumenti. Omeniti je treba motu proprij SST Benedikta XVI. iz leta 2010, v katerem papež navaja, da so hujša kazniva dejanja klerikov »podvržena papeški tajnosti. Kdor iz kakršnihkoli razlogov ali iz hude malomarnosti papeško tajnost prekrši ali povzroči dodatno škodo obtožencu ali pričam, je na zahtevo oškodovane strani ali tudi po uradni dolžnosti kaznovan s primerno kaznijo« (CDF 2010, čl. 30 § 1–2).

3. Družbeni kontekst Cerkve pred objavo „Navodila glede zaupnosti pravd“

Po letu 1980 so se v javnosti pojavile številne informacije o kleriških zlorabah mladoletnih oseb. Domnevne žrtve in njihove priče so s pomočjo odvetniških pisarn začele vlagati tožbe v zvezi s kaznivimi dejanji klerikov zoper vero in moralo, zlasti zoper šesto Božjo zapoved – zloraba mladoletne in ranljive odrasle osebe –, ter kaznivimi dejanji zoper zakrament pokore. KC je bila ob številnih obtožbah zelo osramočena, a so bila uradna cerkvena poročila o prejetih tožbah in kaznivih dejanjih klerikov zelo skopa. Mnogi škofje in višji redovni predstojniki so glede tega iskali pomoč v Rimu ali pa so obtoženega klerika preprosto predstavili z enega na drugo delovno mesto. Vse do leta 2000 je v cerkvenih krogih veljalo prepričanje, da gre za osamljene primere, ki jih bodo cerkvene oblasti rešile interno – brez

obveščanja širše javnosti. Veljalo je prepričanje, da se bo tako zadostilo pravici in ohranilo dobro ime klerika. Čeprav je ZCP (1983) v takih primerih že svetoval uvedbo predhodne preiskave (kan. 1717), so se izvajale le redko – Cerkev je bila namreč do teh pojavov zelo zadržana. Takšno držo so podpirali tudi papeški dokumenti, ki so obtožbe klerikov uvrščali na področje papeške tajnosti. Stanje duha v tistem času je zelo drzno opisal zaslužni papež Benedikt XVI.:

»Vprašanje pedofilije /.../ je postalo žgoče šele v drugi polovici osemdesetih let. Pedofilija je v ZDA postala že javni problem. Škofje so iskali pomoč v Rimu, ker se cerkveno pravo, kakor je zapisano v novem Zakoniku, ni zdelo zadostno, da bi sprejeli ustrezne ukrepe. Rim in rimski pravniki so se sprva težko spoprijeli s to zadevo. /.../ Prenova in poglobitev zavestno ohlapno izdelanega kazenskega prava novega Zakonika sta si morali šele počasi utirati pot. /.../ Za prestopke duhovnikov je sicer pristojna Kongregacija za kler. Ker pa je tedaj v njej zelo obvladoval položaj garantizem, sem se s papežem Janezom Pavlom II. sporazumel, da je primerno dodeliti pristojnosti za te delikte Kongregaciji za nauk vere, in sicer pod naslovom *Delicta maiora contra fidem*. S to dodelitvijo je bila dana tudi možnost za najvišjo kazen, se pravi za odslopitev iz kleriškega stanu.« (Benedikt XVI. 2019, 13–14)

Ocena tistega časa, ki jo je podal zaslužni papež Benedikt XVI., je sprožila številne odzive – od izrazito pritrdilnih do skrajno kritičnih. Čeprav je njegov prispevek sprožil silovite viharje, je skušal pokazati, da se je v letih od 1960 do 1980 dotlej veljavna spolna morala popolnoma sesula – nastala je velika zmeda, h kateri je spadala tudi popolna spolna svoboda, ki ni dopuščala nobenih norm več (Seewald 2016, 20). Dejstvo je, da brez kritične ocene družbenega konteksta tistega časa problem pedofilije, spolnih zlorab mladoletnih in papeške tajnosti ni razumljiv.

4. Vsebinske novosti „Navodila glede zaupnosti pravn“

Navodilo GZP v prvi točki navaja, da pod papeško tajnostjo niso več ,ovadbe, postopki in odločitve‘ glede kaznivih dejanj klerikov. Na prvem mestu so ovadbe (*notitia de delicto*). Gre za naznanilo suma kaznivega dejanja oz. za obtožbo. Tisti, ki prijavi sum oz. nekoga ovadi in ga s tem obtoži, da je domnevni storilec kaznivega dejanja, s prijavo ni vezan na nobeno tajnost: ovadba se sme zaupati tudi širši javnosti. Prijava je dolžnost škofov (da v svojih delnih Cerkvah vzpostavijo stabilen, dostopen in varen sistem za sprejemanje ovadb) in mora biti v skladu z navodili ŠK. Prijava kaznivega dejanja je tudi dolžnost klerikov, redovnikov in laikov – če imajo za domnevo, da je bilo storjeno kaznivo dejanje, utemeljene razloge. Vsaka prijava mora tudi zagotoviti primerno zaščito za prijavitelja oz. domnevno žrtev. Osebam, ki kaznivo dejanje prijavijo, ob tem ni mogoče naložiti nobene obveze, da informacije ne bi smele zaupati policiji, državnemu tožilstvu ali medijem – gre za osebe, ki trdijo, da so bile prizadete, oz. za njihove priče (VELM 4 § 3).

Navodilo GZP je ukinilo papeško tajnost tudi v ,postopkih in odločitvah‘. Gre za kazenske postopke (kot je npr. sodni ali upravni kazenski postopek) in odločitve

(npr. sodba sodišča ali izvensodna odločba), s katerimi se kazenska zadeva zaključí oz. se sporna zadeva pravnomočno razsodi. Papeška tajnost je bila odpravljena tudi v primeru, ko sovpadе več kaznivih dejanj. Klerik namreč lahko stori več različnih kaznivih dejanj proti isti osebi ali več različnim osebam – zagreši lahko kaznivo dejanje zoper šesto Božjo zapoved z mladoletno osebo in hkrati isti ali drugi osebi pri grehu zoper šesto Božjo zapoved podeli še zakramentalno odvezo. Gre za dve različni kaznivi dejanji, ki sovpadata. Čeprav CDF za obe kaznivi dejanji ni pristojna, se kljub temu o vsem tem seznaní – in tako velja, da je zaradi sovpadanja papeška tajnost odstranjena iz postopkov in odločitev glede obeh kaznivih dejanj. Obstajajo še drugi zapleteni primeri, ko je iz postopkov in odločitev papeška tajnost prav tako odstranjena – npr. če klerik pri spovedi ali ob priložnosti spovedi mladoletno osebo zapeljuje h grehu proti šesti Božji zapovedi. Tudi v tem primeru gre za dve različni kaznivi dejanji, in sicer za kaznivo dejanje zapeljevanja ter za kaznivo dejanje zlorabe mladoletne osebe – papeška tajnost pa je glede postopka in odločitve zopet odpravljena.

Odprava papeške tajnosti pomeni, da se od tedaj smejo informacije glede ‚ovadb, postopkov in odločitev‘ zaupati državnim oblastem (npr. policiji, državnemu tožilstvu), pa domnevni žrtvi, domnevnemu storilcu in njihovim odvetnikom. Seveda je treba pri posredovanju informacij ohranяти službeno tajnost (VELM 4 § 1). Navodilo GZP posebej navaja, da »službena tajnost ne ovira izpolnjevanja dolžnosti /.../ prijave, kakor tudi izvršitev pravnomočnih zahtev državnih sodnih oblasti« (tč. 4). Informacije se torej posredujejo tako, da se zagotovi »varnost, integriteta in zaupnost /.../ z namenom zaščite dobrega imena, podobe in zasebnosti vseh vpletenih oseb« (tč. 3). Z odpravo papeške tajnosti se še bolj izpostavlja službena tajnost, to je varovanje dobrega imena domnevne žrtve, storilca in vseh vpletenih. Kdor bi ogrozil dobro ime katerekoli vpletene osebe, se lahko tudi kaznuje. Gre za varovanje zasebnosti oseb, ki so bile v kak kazenski primer neposredno vpletene. Pri tem je treba ohranяти pravilno zadržanost glede informacij, ki se pridobijo v zakramentu sprave – glede kaznivih dejanj tako škofijskih kot tudi redovnih klerikov ali laikov (CDF 2011, 408). K čim večji transparentnosti je cerkvene oblasti pozival tudi papež Frančišek (Astigueta 2020, 527–530).

Pod papeško tajnostjo medtem še naprej ostaja predhodna preiskava (kan. 1717): gre za uvodno preverjanje resničnosti prijave ali naznanila suma kaznivega dejanja. V tej fazi se dejstva in njihova verjetnost, včasih s priznanjem obtoženca, včasih pa z zbiranjem materialnih dokazov, namreč šele ugotavljajo. Ker ta preverjanja in pogovori z osebami, ki se čutijo prizadete, niso del kazenskega postopka, niso materija, o kateri bi bilo treba seznanjati širšo javnost. Papeška tajnost je v tej fazi smiselna, ker se tako ščiti pravna norma, ki določa, da obtoženi uživa status nedolžnega, vse dokler se mu krivda ne dokaže (*Quilibet innocens censetur donec contrarium probetur* – kan. 1321 § 1).⁷ Če se sum kaznivega dejanja v fazi preiskave potrdi in postane verjeten, večina dokumentov predhodne preiskave postane del kazenskega

⁷ Obtoženi se v kazenskih postopkih lahko počuti kot ‚žrtev‘. Simon Malmenvall opisuje ‚krščanski pogled‘ na človeka, ki se izrisuje v razmerju do drugega – »krščanski pogled predpostavlja ljubezen do vsake osebe in jasno priznava nedolžnost žrtve« (2020, 461), seveda, dokler osebi ni dokazana krivda.

postopka – potem papeška tajnost nad podatki, kot so »ovadbe, postopki in odločitve« (GZP, tč. 1), preneha. Ko se uvede kazenski postopek, je treba s posebno odločbo vanj vpeljati vse gradivo predhodne preiskave. Če pa sum storitve kaznivega dejanja ni potrjen in ni verjeten, papeška tajnost ostaja v veljavi še naprej – kazenski postopek ni uveden in dokumentacija predhodne preiskave se zgolj shrani v arhiv. Temu sicer širša javnost pogosto nasprotuje, ker želi pridobiti čim več informacij že ob naznanitvi suma kaznivega dejanja (Astigueta 2009, 200–215).

5. Sklepna ocena „Navodila glede zaupnosti pravn“ in njegov prispevek k večjemu zaupanju v poštenost cerkvenega sodstva

Z objavo Navodila GZP se je v ravnanju KC ob sumu storitve kaznivega dejanja kleriške zlorabe mladoletne osebe zgodil velik premik. Če se namreč obtožbe klerikov ne rešijo, temveč pometejo pod preprogo ali potisnejo v podzavest, se lahko s svojim molkom Cerkev spremeni v sokrivca za hude napake, grehe in kazniva dejanja. Ta preteča nevarnost je bila premagana z objavo Navodila GZP in pomeni za Cerkev prihodnosti velik izziv.

Navodilo GZP je nastalo v želji, da se Cerkvi vrne zaupanje, izgubljeno zaradi prepočasnega odzivanja na obtožbe klerikov. Navodilo je tako prekinilo večletno prakso, ki je kazniva dejanja klerikov varovala s papeško tajnostjo (SS 1974, 88–92).

Pojem ‚papeška tajnost‘ je nastal v določenem zgodovinskem obdobju in je branil katoliško vero, cerkveni nauk ter hkrati varoval ugled klerikov. Postavitev papeške tajnosti je zato treba presoјati v tem duhu. Z leti se je praksa te tajnosti še poglobila. Pred širšo javnostjo so bila tako zaščiteni ne samo nekatera opravila cerkvenih ustanov, ampak tudi kazniva dejanja klerikov. Šele konec 20. stoletja, ko so mediji številne nepravilnosti klerikov, zlasti zlorabe mladoletnih oseb, objavili, se je zahteva po priznanju in obsodbi vseh zlorab, ki so jih v preteklosti zagrešili kleriki, vse bolj stopnjevala. Velik odmev so v javnosti povzročile prve tožbe klerikov v ZDA in kasneje na Irskem. Odmevni so bili tudi dokumentarni filmi o kleriških zlorabah mladoletnih.

Odzivi papežev so bili glede tega odločni. Sledila so prva dejanja za popravo krivic. Izdani so bili številni dokumenti, ustanovljeno posebno sodišče v okviru CDF, sledile so prve poglobljene analize o ravnanju klerikov (Celarc 2020a, 745) – tudi obsodbe kardinalov, škofov, duhovnikov in vernikov laikov v cerkvenih službah. V nekaterih državah so mladoletne žrtve spolnih zlorab s pomočjo odvetniških pisarn vlagale odškodninske tožbe in pogosto dosegle sodno poravnavo z izplačilom zahtevanih vsot.

Okoliščine, ki so objavo Navodila GZP o odpravi papeške tajnosti glede nekaterih informacij iz življenja klerikov pospešile, so bili pozivi s številnih koncev sveta, ker so posamezni javni organi v nekaterih državah sodno dokumentacijo pridobili prisilno, ko Cerkev v to ni privolila prostovoljno – v nekaterih škofijah je prišlo do zaplomb kanonične dokumentacije. To so bila dejanja, za katera so mnogi jav-

ni organi menili, da so potrebna za seznanitev s tem, kar bi sicer ostalo skrito. Šlo je za nasilen dostop do procesnih aktov, ki pa niso bili izbrani sistematično – in so bili zato v nekaterih primerih številni nekoristni. Tako se je papež Frančišek odločil, da pri nekaterih procesnih aktih tajnost odpravi – in omogoči, da do nekaterih informacij dostopa širša javnost.⁸

Ko pretresamo zgodovinske dogodke in okoliščine, ki so objavo Navodila GZP sprožili, lahko navedemo dejstva, ki pomenijo prispevek k večjemu zaupanju v poštenost cerkvenega sodstva:

Do neke mere je treba upoštevati zgodovinsko miselnost, ki je papeško tajnost sprožila (Valentan 2019, 20–22). Pomislimo samo na zakonodajo, ki je zagovarjala privilegije klerikov. Ravnanje takratnega vodstva Cerkev je treba presojati v tem duhu. Razumljivo je, da je KC po letu 1980 – ko se je cerkvena zakonodaja revidirala – postala doslednejša tudi pri kaznivih dejanjih klerikov. Gre za posebno obdobje, ko je v KC do klerikov še veljala zaščitniška drža. Šele v začetku drugega tisočletja se je odnos do teh pojavov začel močno spreminjati – papeži so tudi prisluhnili svetu in zahtevali večjo preglednost (Coronelli 2013, 15–50).

Moralnih zdrsov v kleriških vrstah in nešteti kaznivih dejanj zoper mladoletne osebe ni mogoče nikoli opravičiti. Očitki o tem so z leti postali vse glasnejši in so upravičeni. S hudo sprevrženimi dejanji klerikov po vsem svetu sta se prva soočila papeža Janez Pavel II. in Benedikt XVI., nato še papež Frančišek. Čeprav je razumljiva ogorčenost že ob eni sami kleriški zlorabi mladoletne osebe in je sleherna zloraba vredna obsodbe, bi si kljub temu ob odkritju takih dejanj lahko upravičeno želeli razumnejšega pristopa – pri domnevnih žrtvah (predvsem zaupanja v pošteno cerkveno in civilno sodbo) kakor tudi pri širši javnosti, še posebej medijih. Če kje, potem ravno ob najbolj perečih točkah upravičeno pričakujemo, da bodo vsaj katoličani oz. verni predani iskrenemu iskanju resnice, zaupanju v pošteno cerkveno sojenje in nenazadnje v moč odpuščanja (Celarc 2020b, 762).

Dejstvo je, da od nekoga, »ki je po krivici veliko trpel, ne smemo zahtevati /.../ odpuščanja« in »ga ni mogoče zapovedati niti z dekretom zapreti ran ali s plaščem pozabe pokriti krivice. /.../ Ganljivo je, ko vidimo, da so nekateri zmožni odpuščanja, ne glede na škodo, ki so jo utrpeli, vendar je treba po človeško razumeti tudi tiste, ki tega ne morejo storiti.« (Frančišek 2020, tč. 246)

Navodilo GZP je revolucionarna poteza papeža Frančiška: zavzel se je za večjo transparentnost podatkov v zvezi z zlorabo mladoletne osebe. Odločil je, da pod papeško tajnostjo niso več ‚ovadbe, postopki in odločitve‘.

Zaradi izredno kratke vsebine Navodila GZP so se pojavila številna ugibanja glede njegove avtentične razlage. Škofje so nenehno prosili Državno tajništvo za dodatna pojasnila. Pa tudi domnevne žrtve in njihovi zagovorniki so si želeli jasne razlage posameznih členov Navodila GZP. Prepričani so bili, da jim Navodilo GZP

⁸ Nasilna zablemna cerkvenih sodnih dokumentov se je zgodila v različnih škofijah v Čilu in Avstraliji (Visioli 2020, 731).

nudi vpogled v celotno sporno dokumentacijo obtoženega klerika. Prav tako so od cerkvenih oblasti zahtevali, da se jim posredujejo prepisi oz. kopije vseh procesnih aktov (Arrieta 2019, 4–5).

Glavni namen Navodila GZP je bil odpraviti papeško tajnost glede nekaterih informacij in omogočiti domnevnim žrtvam, da se s temi informacijami seznanijo. Navodilo GZP je mogoče razumeti kot iskren poskus, da se z odpravo papeške tajnosti s ključnih informacij, ki zadevajo kazniva dejanja klerikov zoper mladoletne in ranljive odrasle osebe, zopet povrne zaupanje v poštenost in iskrenost cerkvenega sodstva.

Ker Navodilo GZP v procesne dokumente omogoča zgolj selektivni vpogled, se ga mnogi niso razveselili. KC se nenehno očita, da za popoln obračun s kaznivimi dejanji klerikov in popolno vzpostavitev pravičnosti še vedno stori premalo, saj večji del vsebine procesnih dokumentov še vedno drži pod papeško tajnostjo. Razlog je preprost: zaščita vrednot zasebnosti, zaupnosti in dobrega imena. Temu mnogi nasprotujejo in papeško tajnost razumejo le kot prikrivanje oz. kot obstrukcijo resnice. Očitno papeška tajnost danes ne more biti več ključ do ohranjanja dobrega imena klerikov in vernikov laikov v cerkvenih službah.

Papeška tajnost se pozitivno razlaga samo v primerih, ko se domnevna žrtev odloči, da bo vložila ovadbo, in želi, da se ji glede njenega imena in izjav zagotovi popolna zaupnost. V takih primerih se s papeško tajnostjo strinjajo vsi in jo tudi odločno podpirajo. Pri tem nastopi težava, kako ohraniti zaupnost podatkov in hkrati njihovo preglednost – obstaja dilema, ali se s tem, ko se državne organe o prejeti ovadbi obvesti, zaupnost podatkov domnevne žrtve že ogrozi.⁹

KC je glede teh perečih vprašanj vsekakor vodilna ustanova in zgled vsem drugim ustanovam. Zgled ne samo po resnosti norm, nenehni reviziji in koreniti odločitvi, da se ta problematika čim prej premaga, za nazaj ozdravi in za naprej prepreči, da se podobne stvari sploh ne bi več dogajale. V tej perspektivi lahko z odobravanjem omenimo obžalovanje, ki so ga izrekli papeži glede nešteti zlorab mladoletnih oseb, ki so jih zagrešili tako škofijski kot redovni kleriki,¹⁰ prav tako pa

⁹ Valentan v svoji razpravi omenja, da bi »papeško tajnost lahko primerjali stopnji tajnosti ‚strogo tajno‘ v državni zakonodaji« (2019, 22).

¹⁰ Papež Benedikt se je za spolne zlorabe opravičil na obisku v Avstraliji. Pri maši v Sydneyju 19. julija 2008 je vernike nagovoril z besedami: »Cari amici, possa questa celebrazione, alla presenza del Successore di Pietro, essere un momento di ri-dedicazione e di rinnovamento dell'intera Chiesa in Australia! Desidero qui fare una pausa per riconoscere la vergogna che tutti abbiamo sentito a seguito degli abusi sessuali sui minori da parte di alcuni sacerdoti e religiosi in questa Nazione. Davvero, sono profondamente dispiaciuto per il dolore e la sofferenza che le vittime hanno sopportato e le assicuro che, come loro Pastore, io pure condivido la loro sofferenza. Questi misfatti, che costituiscono un così grave tradimento della fiducia, devono essere condannati in modo inequivocabile. Essi hanno causato grande dolore ed hanno danneggiato la testimonianza della Chiesa. Chiedo a tutti voi di sostenere e assistere i vostri Vescovi e di collaborare con loro per combattere questo male. Le vittime devono ricevere compassione e cura e i responsabili di questi mali devono essere portati davanti alla giustizia. E' una priorità urgente quella di promuovere un ambiente più sicuro e più sano, specialmente per i giovani.« (Benedetto XVI. 2008) V pismu irskim vernikom je leta 2010 je papež Benedikt XVI. svoje obžalovanje izrazil takole: »Avete sofferto tremendamente e io ne sono veramente dispiaciuto. So che nulla può cancellare il male che avete sopportato. È stata tradita la vostra fiducia, e la vostra dignità è stata violata. Molti di voi avete sperimentato che, quando eravate sufficientemente coraggiosi per parlare di quanto vi era accaduto, nessuno vi ascoltava. Quelli di voi che avete subito abusi nei convitti dovete aver percepito che non vi era modo di fuggire dalle vostre sofferenze. È comprensibile che voi troviate difficile per-

tudi opravičila, ki so jih izrekli številni škofje po vsem svetu.¹¹

Objava Navodila GZP je eden izmed praktičnih ukrepov papeža Frančiška, da se dá žrtvam spolnih zlorab prednost v vseh pogledih. Treba je namreč spremeniti miselnost in se spopasti z držo obrambe institucije. Zaradi zaščitniške države do klerikov so bila njihova kazniva dejanja vrsto let varovana s papeško tajnostjo. Z Navodilom GZP je papež Frančišek ta privilegirani molk končno prekinil in omogočil, da se s podatki oz. informacijami, ki obravnavajo kazniva dejanja zlorabe mladoletnih oseb, seznanijo tudi širša javnost (predvsem domnevne žrtve in njihovi odvetniki). Gre za pomemben korak v smeri krepitve zaupanja v iskrenost in poštenost cerkvenega sodstva.

Kratice

AAS – Acta Apostolicae Sedis.

CDF – Congregatio pro doctrina fidei [Kongregacija za verski nauk].

GZP – Segretaria di Stato 2019 [Navodilo glede zaupnosti pravn].

KC – Katoliška Cerkev.

SS – Segretaria di Stato [Državno tajništvo].

SST – Janez Pavel II. 2001 [Sacramentorum sanctitatis tutela].

SŠK – Slovenska škofovska konferenca.

VELM – Frančišek 2019 [Vos estis lux mundi].

ZCP – Zakonik cerkvenega prava 1983.

donare o essere riconciliati con la Chiesa. A suo nome esprimo apertamente la vergogna e il rimorso che tutti proviamo.« (Benedetto XVI. 2010) Papež Frančišek se je med sprejemom za člana Mednarodnega katoliškega urada za otroštvo (BICE) v Vatikanu opravičil žrtvam, ki so jih spolno zlorabili katoliški duhovniki, in jih prosil za odpuščanje. »Ma mi sento chiamato a farmi carico di tutto il male che alcuni sacerdoti – abbastanza in numero, ma non in proporzione alla totalità - a farmene carico e a chiedere perdono per il danno che hanno compiuto, per gli abusi sessuali sui bambini. La Chiesa è cosciente di questo danno. E' un danno personale e morale loro, ma di uomini di Chiesa. E noi non vogliamo compiere un passo indietro in quello che si riferisce al trattamento di questo problema e alle sanzioni che devono essere comminate. Al contrario, credo che dobbiamo essere molto forti. Con i bambini non si scherza!« (Francesco 2014) Papež Frančišek je aprila 2018 v pismu čilskim škofom priznal, da je pri oceni in dožemanju situacije glede spolnih zlorab katoliških duhovnikov v Čilu zagrešil resne napake. Zato se je v pismu žrtvam opravičil z besedami: »Per quanto mi riguarda, riconosco, e voglio che lo trasmettiate fedelmente, che sono incorso in gravi errori di valutazione e percezione della situazione, in particolare per mancanza di informazioni veritiere ed equilibrate. Fin da ora chiedo scusa a tutti quelli che ho offeso e spero di poterlo fare personalmente, nelle prossime settimane, negli incontri che avrò con rappresentanti delle persone intervistate.« (Francesco 2018a)

¹¹ V intervjuju za Družino je nadškof Stanislav Zore v imenu duhovnikov žrtvam izrekel opravičilo. Zatrdil je tudi, da z žrtvami globoko sočustvuje. »Kar so doživele, je strašno. Boli me bolečina, ki jo vidim v njihovih očeh in v njihovih besedah. Opravičil sem se jim in se jim znova opravičujem.« (Zore 2020) Nadškof Alojzij Cvikel se je pri krizmeni maši pri Sv. Trojici leta 2021 opravičil vsem žrtvam spolnih zlorab. »Medtem ko Cerkev izraža svojo skrb za žrtve, smo mi danes poklicani, da na dan posvečenja vse žrtve spolnih zlorab prosimo odpuščanja za grehe, ki so jim bili storjeni s strani članov klera. Hkrati pa se zavežemo, da bomo delali za resnično spremembo, da bi naša krajevna Cerkev postala varen dom in izkoreninila vse oblike individualizma in zlorab.« (Cvikel 2021)

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Odprtost pomenu kot temelj upanja v vzgoji in izobraževanju

Openness to Meaning as a Foundation for Hope in Education

Povzetek: Vzgoja in izobraževanje sta vedno povezana z upanjem. Vendar je to v konkretni vzgojno-izobraževalni cilje vključeno redko. Članek s pomočjo razumevanja telesa in procesa spoznavanja pri Paulu Ricoeurju izpostavlja možnost vzgoje za upanje. To je mogoče le v možnosti odpiranja lastnih perspektiv, ki izhajajo iz osnovnih pomenov. Še posebej kateheza mora v konkretni telesnosti ter ujetosti v prostor in čas odpirati potrebo po upanju. Iz poziva papeža Frančiška po globalnem vzgojnem dogovoru je izpeljana potreba po preseganju vzgoje, ki se osredotoča zgolj na izobraževanje. Prenovljena vloga učitelja, ki bo gradil na zaupanju s pomočjo poglobljenega osebnega odnosa, je dober začetek vzgoje za upanje. Kakor ravna Jezus ob srečanju s Samarijanko, tako lahko deluje tudi katehet – da bo vodil k spremembi omejene perspektive in gradil na upanju, ki zavezuje.

Gljučne besede: upanje, vzgoja za upanje, kateheza, globalni vzgojni dogovor, P. Ricoeur, pomen, odprta perspektiva

Abstract: Education is always associated with hope. However, it is rarely integrated into concrete educational goals. This article uses Paul Ricoeur's understanding of the body and the process of cognition to show the possibility of educating for hope. This is only possible in the possibility of opening up one's own perspectives, which are derived from fundamental meanings. In particular, catechesis must open up the need for hope in concrete corporeality and entanglement in space and time. Pope Francis's call for a Global Compact on education derives the need to go beyond an education that focuses only on schooling. A renewed role for the teacher, built on trust through a deepened personal relationship, is an excellent start to education for hope. Just as Jesus did when he encountered the Samaritan woman, the catechist can act to bring about a shift in limited perspective and build on the hope that connects.

Keywords: Hope, education for hope, catechesis, Global Compact on Education, P. Ricoeur, meaning, opened perspective

1. Uvod

Vzgoja in tudi izobraževanje sta vedno usmerjena v prihodnost. »Poznamo preobrazajočo moč vzgoje: vzgajati pomeni staviti in sedanjosti dati upanje, ki razbija determinizme in fatalizme, s katerimi se hočejo sebičnost močnega, prilagodljivost šibkega in ideologija utopista velikokrat vsiliti kot edina možna pot.« (Frančiček 2020) Vsak učitelj, naj bo še tako usmerjen na učenca, ima tako kot papež določeno podobo učenca ali skupine, ki jo želi doseči. Cilji so temeljni koncepti, ki poganjajo celoten proces vzgoje in izobraževanja. Vzgojitelj svojega gojenca vodi po poti primerno njegovim zmožnostim in pričakovanjem, a k določeni podobi, ki jo kot odgovorna oseba pred sabo vidi kot vodilo, vendarle teži. Zato si procesa vzgoje in izobraževanja ne moremo zamisliti brez upanja, ki ga ima posamezen pedagoški delavec in celoten izobraževalni sistem. Zato je zanimivo, da se pojem upanja v celotni „Beli knjigi vzgoje in izobraževanja v Republiki Sloveniji“ pojavi le enkrat. Upanje ni pojem, ki bi ga odgovorni pri nas pripisovali nosilcem vzgojno-izobraževalnega procesa, ampak je ozko usmerjeno zgolj na učenca: »Zelo pomemben vidik globalne vzgoje je spodbujanje osebne iniciative posameznika, da bi imel upanje na svetlejšo prihodnost in bi se dejavno vključil v izgradnjo boljšega sveta.« (Krek in Metljak 2011, 44–45) V navedenem je upanje nekaj samoumevnega. Vzgoja torej mora odpirati možnosti za upanje v prihodnost, sicer ne bi sledila temeljnemu namenu: razvoju osebnega potenciala (Globokar 2019, 612). Papežev poziv k globalnemu vzgojnemu dogovoru je za druge, za razbijanje sebičnosti in pravo družbo solidarnosti veliko bolj odprt.

V novem katehetskem načrtu se upanje pojavi štirikrat. Temeljni pomen uporabe besede upanje, ki ga bralec lahko razbere, je upanje v samo prenovo kateheze pri nas. Tako se načrt sklicuje na prenovo v katehezi »in iskanje različnih alternativnih oblik kateheze, ki vnašajo v katehetsko prizadevanje na različnih starostnih nivojih, od najmlajših do osnovnošolcev in mladih, novo upanje« (Slovenska škofovska konferenca 2018, 19). Prav tako je omenjeno, kako se tudi med mladimi pojavljajo nove oblike, pri katerih Cerkev »v zadnjih letih zaznava znanja upanja« (19). Uvodni del se zaključuje s samoumevnim, kot zgoraj omenjena „Bela knjiga“, a z razliko odprtosti za druge, za skupnost: »Evangelij je še vedno in za vedno vir veselja, moči in trdnega upanja za vse narode – tudi za slovenski.« (20) Pri ciljih je upanje navedeno le enkrat, in še to le pri katehezi odraslih na področju odpuščanja in sprave z namenom pričevanja v svoji okolici: »Kadar je potrebno, »pove razlog svojega upanja« (1 Pt 3,15).« (59) Drugače kot državno pedagoško razmišljanje je katehetski načrt usmerjen v odpiranje drugim – če drugega ne, vsaj za pričevanje drugim. A opazimo lahko, da ni zaslediti velike potrebe, da bi nosilce kateheze na to opozarjali, jih usmerjali in vodili – niti ni podana pobuda za didaktični pristop k vzgoji za upanje pri katehezi.

Skupaj s Halpinom ugotavljamo, da je govoriti o vzgoji brez upanja nemogoče, vendar pa težko opredelimo, kaj sploh je in kakšno mesto naj mu bo v sistemu izobraževanja (naj bo to splošno ali versko) dano. Nobeno od vprašanj glede upanja ni enostavno, »saj je jasno, da pojem upanja odločilno vpliva na razmišljanje, čustva

in dosežke ljudi, verjetno pa tudi na učitelje bolj kot večina drugih, a je bilo upanje samo po sebi le redko v središču podrobnih raziskav tako teoretičnega pretresa kot intenzivnih empiričnih raziskav« (Halpin 2003, 12). Naš namen je postaviti temelje za upanje v celotni zavesti o človeku, ki v proces izobraževanja vstopa. Hkrati bi to antropološko izhodišče radi ponudili kot nekakšen temelj potrebe po vzgoji za upanje, kjer bi bilo determinizme, ki jih omenja papež, mogoče operativno razbijati. Temelj, ki odpira človekovo zavest upanju v široki antropološki zasnovi, bomo skušali utemeljiti s filozofijo Paula Ricoeurja, saj je njegov pogled na človeka vedno usmerjen v odprto prihodnost – čeprav ne zanemarija njegove preteklosti. Upanje, bi lahko rekli skupaj z G. Marcelom, je »spomin o prihodnosti.« (1951, 53) Pri našem iskanju nas vodi prepričanje, da izgradnja osebnosti (najsibo državljana ali kristjana) nujno vključuje odnos do drugega, bližnjega, ki mora spodbujati k novemu upanju. »Brez prisotnosti dejavnega drugega bodo brezpravni, brezupni, revni in brezposelni izgubili sposobnost, da bi se odprli za zdravo življenje smiselnega obstoja. Takšna oseba bo izgubila pogled na to, kar zagotavlja eksistencialni pomen, in bo izgubila upanje v svojo prihodnost.« (Grapner Hernandez 2011, 135)

2. Vloga upanja v vzgoji in izobraževanju

Upanje, kot ga razume večina ljudi in tudi tradicija, je drža, ki nas ob težkih razmerah varuje pred padcem v brezvoljnost. To je razlog, zakaj vzgojitelji in učitelji pri svojem delu vzgoje za upanje v vsej svoji odgovornosti ne morejo opustiti. Ne le, da morajo upanje jemati resno in si prizadevati, da bi ga utelešali v svojih dejanjih, temveč morajo najti načine, kako ga spodbujati pri svojih učencih in sodelavcih – zlasti zdaj, ko v našem svetu (zasebnem, nacionalnem in globalnem) toliko stvari zaznamuje kronična negotovost.

»Še več, trdim, da učiti, kako živeti brez gotovosti, a ne da bi bili ohromljeni, je morda ena glavnih stvari, ki jih dobra izobrazba ponuja. Podobno pravi Mary Warnock, da med vsemi lastnostmi, ki bi jih rada videla pri svojih otrocih ali učencih, je »lastnost upanja visoko, celo na vrhu mojega seznama. Izgubiti upanje pomeni izgubiti sposobnost, da bi si karkoli želel ali želela; pravzaprav izgubimo željo po življenju.« (Halpin 2003, 26)

Prav tako si globalne vzgoje brez razsežnosti upanja ne more predstavljati papež: »Vzgoja je vedno dejanje upanja, ki vabi k sodelovanju in preoblikovanju sterilne in hromeče logike brezbržnosti v drugačno logiko, ki bo sposobna sprejeti našo skupno pripadnost.« (Francišek 2020)

Naloga vzgoje in izobraževanja je torej graditi upanje, ki pa ima štiri sovražnike: cinizem, fatalizem, relativizem in fundamentalizem. Vzgoja in izobraževanje morata izpodbijati lažno zavest cinizma, ugovarjati konservativnosti fatalizma, relativizmu pokazati na pomanjkanje moralne in politične volje ter kritizirati fundamentalistično zaslepljenost s tradicijo, ki se pogosto uporablja kot ovira za drugačno mišljenje in odprto prihodnost (Halpin 2003, 30).

Če pogledamo samo praznovanje tridesete obletnice neodvisnosti Slovenije, ko so številni trdili, da se pričakovanja niso uresničila, to zatrjevanje ne pomeni zgolj ugotovitve, ampak predvsem prepričanje, da ta država truda in žrtvovanja ni vredna. Pesimističen pogled vodi v cinizem, ki se je pogosto odražal tudi v spopadanju s pandemijo. Izguba upanja pomeni tudi brezvoljnost, ki se še kako pojavlja pri mladostnikih. Zato je cinizem, ki ima sicer lahko za svojo upravičenost zelo trdne in jasne temelje, nevaren za konstruktivno držo do sebe in celotne družbe – po papežu Frančišku celo za vse človeštvo. Iz tega sledi, da čeprav glede hitrega reševanja trenutnih težav lahko nismo pretirano optimistični, pa naj vendarle še vedno upamo, da se bo dolgoročno neka rešitev ponudila. Dejansko je upanje v takšnem primeru pogosto v jedru iskanja pozitivnega izida, ker je tako prav – ne glede na omejitve trenutne situacije in zato, ker bi bilo treba to uresničiti v prihodnosti. Vendar je obenem tudi pomembno, da kratkoročno ali dolgoročno ne vztrajamo pri upanju v nekaj, kar je očitno izgubljeno. Tako ravnanje je namreč zapravljanje časa in energije, ki bi ju lahko koristneje uporabili za bolj konstruktivne in potencialno uresničljive projekte (20).

Čeprav optimizem za upanje ni nujen pogoj, pa fatalizem nedvomno deluje proti njemu in njegovim posledicam. Ker fatalizem pomeni popolno ali skoraj popolno prepričanje v potek in pojav dogodkov, ima lahko najbolj destruktivne in razdiralne učinke – posebej v kontekstu izobraževanja, ki se tako zelo zanaša na upanje, da bi vedno lahko ravnali boljše. V vzgojno-izobraževalnih kolektivih je pogosto slišati, da tako pač je in da se tako in tako ne da nič zares spremeniti. Zato je spopadanje s fatalizmom nujno, če želimo, da lahko proces vzgoje in izobraževanja poteka v smeri zastavljenih ciljev. Če upanje razumemo v smislu krščanstva, je vdanost v usodo izguba vere. Zato je še posebej v katehezi nujno odpirati upanje – absolutno upanje, ki zmore premagati še tako ujetost v razmere, ki se zdijo brezizhodne (Stegu 2020, 428). Franklovo izhodišče nujnosti smisla kaže na nevarnost fatalizma in kliče po vzgoji, ki bo v svojem pristopu odpirala miselnost za nove možnosti (Lukas 2017, 40).

Medtem ko fatalizem kaže na nemoč za upanje kot tako, se relativizem, zlasti v postmoderni, izogiba vsakršni zavezanosti in pušča človeka v zadregi glede tega, kaj je smiselno pričakovati, upati.

»Pri tem je težava v osrednjih miselnih načelih postmoderne države. Ta vključujejo tri vrste zavrnitev: prvič, zavrnitev vseh na bistvo vezanih in transcendentalnih konceptov človeške narave; drugič, zavrnitev enotnosti, homogenosti, totalnosti, zaprtosti in identitete ter, tretjič, zavrnitev možnosti neke trdne resnice in gotovosti. Namesto njih sta nam na voljo prigodnost in razdrobljenost, posebnost in razlika.« (Halpin 2003, 21–22)

Gotovo je taka miselnost veliko pripomogla k demokratizaciji in premagovanju klišejev, ki so se nakopičili v določeni tradiciji. Po drugi strani je vzgoji in izobraževanju zmanjkalo temeljev za sklicevanje na vrednostno lestvico. In vsem vpletenim v proces vzgoje motivacije za prizadevanje za napredek k boljšemu, tehtnejšemu

– končno aktivni zavzetosti za družbo in njeno prihodnost. Naloga vzgoje je, da skuša premagati koncept ‚*anything goes*‘ – vse je dovoljeno, saj to prave motivacije za poskus spremembe obstoječega stanja ne daje. Vzgoja in izobraževanje bi v tej postmoderni pluralnosti morala ohraniti odprtost za raznolikost in lastno vrednost ter se obogatiti s pozornostjo do vrednot celotne skupnosti.

Medtem ko nas relativizem pušča na cedilu pri tem, kar bi lahko upali, pa fundamentalizem pomeni slepo privrženost tradiciji – ki zamejuje to, česar bi se lahko veselili. Določena zavezanost tradiciji je v procesu vzgoje in izobraževanja nujna. Brez nje ni ne izhodišča in ne izkušenj, iz katerih bi lahko rasli. Vendar je razumevanje tradicije v izobraževalnem kontekstu lahko ali vključujoče ali izključujoče – to drugo je lahko za vizionarje na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja omejujoče (24). Čeprav ne dvomimo, da so vse tradicije podvržene hitrejšemu ali počasnejšemu spreminjanju, je naše izhodišče, da bi bilo bolje, če bi se spremembe dogajale na podlagi argumentov in poglobljenih razprav namesto s sklicevanjem na domnevno avtoriteto z besedami, da se je tako vedno živelo in delalo. Za vzgojo in izobraževanje, ki bo upanju odprta, je treba tradicijo znova in znova tehtati, po eni strani zagovarjati in ob tem presejati v zavesti, da obstajajo različni načini, kako kaj početi in živeti.

3. Ricoeurjev temelj upanja

Ricoeur v svojih zgodnjih delih poskuša vzpostaviti fenomenološko podobo človeka v vsej njegovi celoti. Pri tem se ne izogiba skrajnosti med hotenim in nehotenim, dobrim in zlim, končnostjo in neskončnostjo. To ga je preko simbolov in metafore pripeljalo do hermenevitične poti, ki mu omogoča, da človeka razume kot rastočega v svoji celoti. Upanje je temelj usmeritve in motivacije tako posameznika kot družbe. Vseskozi ga spremlja tudi biblična govorica in moč človekove usmerjenosti na Boga – in na vse, kar so različne civilizacije pod tem razumele in udejanjale. V poglavju dela o zgodovini in resnici (Ricoeur 1955, 112–130) izhaja iz trditve: »Bog je rekel: »Naredimo človeka po svoji podobi, kot svojo podobnost!« (1 Mz 1,26) Pri tem človeka razume ne le kot nekoč vtisnjeni posnetek Boga, ki vedno bolj blede, ampak se človek prav v ustvarjalnosti odkriva kot bogopodoben (Huskey 2009, 89). »Še nekaj: kje najlažje poiščemo ta odtis? V intimnosti posameznika, v subjektivnosti. Božja podoba je po našem prepričanju prav osebna in samosvoja moč mišljenja in izbire; je intimnost.« (Ricoeur 1955, 113) Nadaljuje s sklicevanjem na cerkvene očete, na svetega Ireneja, ki človeka primerja z odraščanjem. Saj mora najprej biti, spoznavati in ustvarjati, da v Kristusu doseže polnost božje podobnosti (Šegula 2020, 435). Predlaga pogled na sposoben subjekt, ki nadaljuje in raste v božji ustvarjalnosti. Ta ustvarjalnost, pozitivno izhodišče, prinaša tudi nevarnosti. Ricoeur predlaga, da se držimo Kantove antropologije, ki je hkrati priročna, didaktična ter blizu najbolj naravnim in trajnim potezam človeške resničnosti in zgodovine, »ki nas po eni strani postavlja v središče zelo močno individualiziranih čustev in strasti, strasti posedovanja, vladanja in ponosa (*Habsucht, Herrschsucht, Ehrsucht*), po drugi strani pa v središče treh institucionalnih sfer, ki so za odno-

se med ljudmi zelo pomembne: gospodarsko področje, politično področje moči, kulturno področje vzajemnega priznavanja« (116). Nobena od teh strasti sama po sebi ni slaba. Tako npr. strast po imeti Adamu pomaga, da zemljo obdeluje, da se preko vzpostavljanja odnosa prisvajanja jaz razširi v moje. To nam omogoča zavest o sebi in drugem, zunanjem. S pomočjo tega se zavedamo pripadnosti – a kljub nedolžnemu izhodišču je v tem skrita ena največjih pasti. Že stari moralisti so trdili, da če se omejim na ,imeti', me moja lastnina na neki način poseduje, izgubim svojo avtonomijo – zato Jezus mladeniča povabi, naj proda vse in gre za njim (117). Podobno je s strastjo po moči, ki se razteza na področje političnega, družbenega, kjer božja podoba prerašča v podobo občestva, skupnosti (120). Pri zadnji strasti, potrebi po ponosu, gre za intimnejšo medosebno razsežnost. Smo to, kar smo po priznanju, potrditvi drugih – ki nas cenijo, odobravajo ali pa ne. Reflektirajo nam podobo naše lastne vrednosti. Identiteta subjekta je vzajemna z mnenjem, spoštovanjem in priznanjem bližnjih. »Drugi mi dajejo smisel tako, da mi vračajo pretresljivo podobo o meni.« (121) Ta hrepenenja, ta strastnost so že od vsega začetka ambivalentna. Zato človek v sebi vseskozi nosi hrepenenje po odrešitvi. »Odrešitev pred zablodami po imeti, po moči in po vrednosti, kot odgovor na padeč človeških strasti, je več kot le odgovor, več kot mašilo, ki bi zapolnila vrzel, ki jo puščajo človeške pomanjkljivosti. Ricoeur nas usmeri na Pavlovo trditev iz 5. poglavja Pisma Rimljanom ,toliko bolj': če človeška zmotljivost prinaša zablode, greh, toliko bolj močan je odgovor Božje milosti.« (Huskey 2009, 90) Upanje, ki se ob tej človekovi razklanosti in potrebi po odrešenju poraja globoko v človeku, je treba gojiti – človek mora s pomočjo božje pedagogike vedno bolj rasti h Kristusu, v iskanju bogopodobnosti in veri, da lahko hodi za Njim – in mu je vedno bolj podoben (Petkovšek 2019, 24; Platovnjak in Svetelj 2018, 383–385).

Da lahko drugemu pri negovanju upanja pomagamo – naj gre za osebo, ki jo dobro poznamo ali pa le naključno mimoidočega –, moramo prepoznavati možnosti, ki so na voljo za dobro in razvijanje takih dejavnosti, ki bodo to dobro uresničevale. Raznolikost in zapletenost negovanja upanja je tako velika kot število odnosov, ki obstajajo med posamezniki. K zapletenosti gojenja upanja pri drugem človeku prispevajo tudi različne predstave o dobrem, ki jih posameznik ali skupina ima. To, za kar mislim, da bi bilo za drugega dobro, se lahko od njegove predstave o dobrem precej razlikuje. Vendar nas ta težava odgovornosti do drugih ne odvezuje – ne kot posameznike ne na ravni skupnosti (Huskey 2009, 95). Da bi to usmerjenost na dobro, temeljni pogled na življenje, odprli za upanje, je treba začeti pri temeljih naših perspektiv. Te so rade ujete v našo zmotljivost in pa omejenost, ki jo pogosto pripisujemo človekovi (ne)zmožnosti zaznavanja.

4. Telo kot odprtost in mišljenje kot preseganje

Če hočemo razumeti razkorak, ki nastane med zaznavanjem in konkretno razglašeno življenju, je treba pretresti celoten spoznavni proces. Po Ricoeurju se v zvezi s spoznanjem ter človekovim obratom v zmoto in zlo težave

pojavnajo zaradi neskladja naše končne perspektive in neskončne moči ustvarjanja pomenov. Vendar to isto neskladje kaže na tisto, kar to presega: na sintezo dajanja pomenov in njihove izraznosti, ki se nanaša na konkreten predmet spoznanja. Ta zmožnost sinteze pomena iz omejene perspektive v nas vzbuja določeno upanje, pričakovanje – da morda pa je možna skladnost omejenosti izhodišča in neskončne zmožnosti ustvarjanja pomenov. To pričakovanje je ena od sestavin upanja. Ricoeurjev izraz ‚končna perspektiva‘ preprosto nakazuje, da imamo omejen pogled, ki je vezan na vsakega posameznika, njegovo izhodišče in zlasti usmeritev, intenco. Vsak zase ima svoje ‚osnovno izhodišče‘, čeprav si lahko s pomočjo komunikacije hkrati le predstavljamo, kako bi bilo, če bi imeli kakšno drugo perspektivo. Dan za dnem pričakujemo, da se bomo zbudili s perspektivo, kot smo jo imeli prejšnji dan. To odpiranje v svet po lastni perspektivi nas v določen odnos do sveta sicer postavlja, obenem pa nas od njega ločuje (Huskey 2009, 47). Človekov temelj vsake perspektive je telo (Platovnjak in Svetelj 2019, 673–680). Preko njega segamo izven sebe in se hkrati sebe zavedamo. »Na začetku našega raziskovanja o perspektivi smo rekli, da je naše telo prvotno – to je, preden smo opazili njegovo perspektivno vlogo – odprtost v svet.« (Ricoeur 1986, 40) Tudi pozneje, ko raziskuje človekovo zavest identitete, Ricoeur to dvojno strukturo telesa jasno izpostavlja. Telo je fizična realnost, ki jo lahko opazujemo, hkrati pa v zaznavanju sebe pripada sferi lastnega, saj govorimo o mojem ali tvojem telesu:

»kot telo med telesi predstavlja en del izkušnje sveta; kot moje pa deli status ‚jaza‘, ki ga vzamemo kot referenčno točko meje sveta; z drugimi besedami, telo je dejstvo sveta in istočasno organ nekega subjekta, ki ne pripada objektom, o katerih govori. Ta nenavadna zgradba lastnega telesa se od subjekta izjavljanja razširi na sam akt izjavljanja: kot glas, ki ga dih potisne navzven in ki ga artikulirajo govorni organi, izjavljanje deli usodo materialnih teles. Kot izražanje smisla, ki ga ima v mislih govoreči subjekt, je glas prenosnik izjavljanja glede na to, da napotuje na ‚jaz‘, središče nezamenljive perspektive na svet.« (Ricoeur 2011, 84)

Telo, ki je izhodišče, nas odpira svetu zunaj; meni samemu in drugim. Tako nam naša telesa ne govorijo najprej o naši končnosti, temveč o svetu tam zunaj in naši odprtosti za ta svet. Ne glede na to, kako se fizično počutimo omejeni, je svet zunaj naših teles vedno že prisoten kot naš prostor usmerjenosti, odprtosti (1986, 24). Lahko se vprašamo, zakaj lahko razglasimo telo za temeljno izhodišče naše perspektive. Ricoeur daje odgovor z dejstvom premakljivosti telesa. Vsak lahko jasno opazi, da se perspektiva zamenja, če se premaknemo, zamenjamo zorni kot. Hkrati pri tem tudi zaznamo aktivno vlogo subjekta in pasivno vlogo objekta spoznanja (22). Te različne perspektive človek poskuša povezati, uskladiti in osmisliti z govorico. Beseda naš pogled združuje in presega. »Ko označujem, povem več, kot vidim.« (28) Lahko bi trdili, da gre pri govoru le za zgoščen končni rezultat našega zaznavanja, od videza do okusa itd. Vendar šele beseda ponudi celoto, različne čute združi v eno – in z govorico subjekt do zaznanega tudi zavzame aktivno držo, svoj pogled na spoznavano izrazi.

Poimenovanje stvari nam omogoča povezovanje različnih lastnih pogledov, pa tudi preseganje lastnega pogleda, saj je poimenovanje vedno usmerjeno v komunikacijo. Pri tem gre za preplet končnega z neskončnim. Če poimenujem drevo, druga oseba ve, kaj sem poimenoval, a (lahko) gleda na to z druge perspektive. Tako lahko pod isto besedo vključimo neskončno perspektiv. Še posebej glagol je tisti, ki povezuje in nakazuje na različne samostalnike. Z glagolom tudi zavzamem aktivno držo zatrjevanja resnice ali podelim vrednost, ki jo zame poimenovano ima (Huskey 2009, 48–49). »V dvojni intenci glagola trditev hkrati najde združitev pomena in zmožnost izražanja resnice in zmote. Glagol je tisti, ki omogoča, da trditev ‚drži skupaj‘, saj določi pripisani pomen subjektu pripisovanja s pomočjo svojega dodanega pomena.« (Ricoeur 1986, 32)

Stvari zaznavanja so nam dane. Ubeseđenje teh perspektiv omogoča izražanje in s tem tudi že interpretacijo lastnega pogleda, kar odpira meje, ki so določene s telesom. Prav tako omejenost, ki smo jo zaznali ob srečanju s perspektivo drugega, presegamo s trditvijo, ki v moči glagola lahko sega tudi v čisto domišljijo. Interpretacija posreduje »med nesorazmernostjo ‚glagola‘, s katerim se izražamo, in videzom, ki je vezan na perspektivo« (Huskey 2009, 50). Zato je problem, ki nastane med podeljenim pomenom in samim zaznanim, nemogoče razrešiti (to lahko le pojasnjujemo) – saj je ta vedno pogojen s konkretno perspektivo in tudi zmožnostjo izražanja. Človek je tako večni mediator, posrednik med končnim pogledom in neskončnim pomenom (Ricoeur 1986, 46) – še posebej, ker se z glagolom uvaja časovna perspektiva. Pripovedovanje je tisto, ki čas vključuje v perspektivo trenutka in ustvarjalno presega (2000, 13). Človekovo zaznavanje je že delovanje, interpretacija, v možnosti različnih pomenov prebujajoča potrebo po spreminjanju – to postane možno zaradi našega spomina in časovne perspektive. Telesna perspektiva, ki jo lahko spreminjam, sproža tudi željo po delovanju, spreminjanju zaznanega. Z govorjenjem, ko oblikujemo pomen, poskušamo uresničiti ideal in se odzivati na poglede drugih. Z vstopom drugega v moj svet zaznavnega moram do nje ali njega zavzeti stališče. Ta drugi ni jaz, zato me sooča z drugačno perspektivo, ki lahko vnaša konfliktnost interpretacij – hkrati pa v tej konfliktnosti tudi odkrivam nove možnosti bivanja. Neskončnost pomenov, ki se v tem procesu poraja, kliče po uskladitvi s končno perspektivo. Ricoeur uvaja pojem karakterja kot končnega izhodišča in neskončne možnosti, ki jo ustvarja domišljija – in jo razume pod pojmom sreče. Da bi oba pola povezal, od Kanta prevzema pojem spoštovanja. S spoštovanjem lahko ustvarjalno domišljijo presežemo in jo na neki način vrnemo k izhodišču, telesu kot temelju lastne biti. »V spoštovanju sem ubogljiv subjekt in ukazujoč suveren.« (1986, 75) Gre za dvojno pripadnost, pripadnost čutnemu svetu in hkrati razumskemu. Sebstvo, ki smo ga začeli iskati z odprtostjo našega telesa, je večno v procesu. Pridejo trenutki, ko začutimo kanček zadovoljstva, užitka ali počitka, a ti so le kratkotrajni in minljivi. Če se vrnemo k trem strstem, lahko trdimo, da ne moremo biti nikoli prepričani, da imamo ali smo ravno to, kar si želimo. Nikoli ne moremo biti prepričani, da smo dovolj močni ali da to uporabljamo na pravi način. Nikoli ne moremo biti prepričani, da ustrezno cenimo prave stvari ali da nas drugi cenijo tako, kot bi nas morali (Huskey 2009, 57). Gre

za iskanje samorazumevanja v celoti procesa interpretacije med danimi pomeni in lastno ustvarjalnostjo. Pri tem je pomembno naše izhodišče: odprtost. »Navkljub temu, da se notranjost življenja potrjuje sama pred seboj, je sestvo v bistvu odprtost v svet, njegov odnos do sveta je, kot trdi Brague, odnos totalne prizadetosti: vse me zadeva. In ta prizadetost se pne od biti-v-življenju do bojevitega mišljenja, vmes pa se dotakne še *praxis* in dobrega življenja.« (Ricoeur 2011, 430)

Ta osnovna odprtost telesa v svet tam zunaj se v procesu poimenovanja, ustvarjalne domišljije vedno bolj odpira neskončni perspektivi, ki je nikoli ne moremo zaobjeti. »Ta filozofija mej odpira prostor zmožnosti sprejetja besede, ki prihaja od Drugega.« (Thomasset 1996, 233) Ricoeur se sooča z mejami mišljenja preko t. i. mojstrov dvoma, kamor prišteva Nietzscheja, Marxa in Freuda. Vsi trije samopostavljajoči se subjekt razbijajo. V tem krhkem subjektu, ki v upanju sebe sicer presega, a tega ne more nikoli zares doseči, ne gre za umeščanje kakšnega postmodernega šibkega Boga, ampak za šibkega človeka (Raschke 2006, 2). Šibki človek je še vedno svoboden ravno zaradi upanja, ki se mu odpira v konkretni življenjski situaciji v procesu, ki ga poimenuje »kot ustvarjalno domišljijo možnega« (Ricoeur 1969, 399).

To možno, ki se ustvarja v domišljiji, ne more biti zgolj nekaj sanjskega ali umetniškega. Iz razumevanja vloge glagola vemo, da človek z interpretacijo zavzema tudi držo do časovne omejitve, zato domišljija prebujajo upanje, ki vključuje zavezanost – zavezo (2003, 458). Vsaka interpretacija izključi druge in posvoji to ali ono. Starozavezne obljube, ki izhajajo iz interpretacije izvolitve, vključujejo tudi možnost izpolnitve – v obliki vere v mesijanske čase. Mesijanstvo osvobaja pred ujetostjo v pogled zgolj v „čebulo in lonce, polne mesa“ – vzbujajo upanje na osvoboditev iz egiptovske sužnosti. Preteklost, ki je omejena, a edina preverljiva, najde svojo izpolnitev v eshatološkem času, v procesu domišljije, ta svoj izvor v prvem. Vsako plodovito upanje tako vključuje tudi preteklost. Preteklosti ne moremo zanikati, lahko jo samo različno interpretiramo. Vsaka interpretacija me zavezuje, da za njo stojim, in je vezana na mojo predstavo prihodnosti. Ricoeur to ponazarja s (prevzetim po Moltmannu) latinskim izrazom *promissio*, ki po njegovem nujno vključuje *missio* (Huskey 2009, 40). Obljuba – upanje, ki bi bilo brez vsake obveznosti, bi bilo prazno in hkrati osamljeno. Šele zaveza, napotilo (Ricoeur 2003, 454–456), vzpostavlja mejo med zdravo in bolno domišljijo. Mojzes ob gorečem grmu v svoji domišljiji presega možno človeško perspektivo, a njegova zavezanost poslanstvu mu omogoča novo svobodo – po upanju v moč božjega delovanja. Subjekt, ki zmore iz telesne odprtosti posegati v možno prihodnost, bo zvest sam sebi le ob zavezanosti tej poklicanosti. Negativno izhodišče telesnih strasti, ki jih Ricoeur povzema po Kantu, v tej časni perspektivi zavezanosti dobi moč polnega pomena uresničene osebe skozi proces spoštovanja.

Lahko zaključimo, da je upanje prisotno v vsej svoji negotovosti prav zato, ker smo sposobni prepoznati svojo krhkost. Tako kot ne bi imeli pojma neskončnega, če se ne bi zavedali lastne končnosti, kot ne morem trditi, da sem jaz, če ni prisoten drugi, tako tudi svoje krhkosti ne bi mogli dojeti, če ne bi imeli moči, da jo izboljšujemo. »Ravnovesje med močjo in krhkostjo je občutljivo; upanje je treba skrbno gojiti in negovati, da ne oslabi in usahne.« (Huskey 2009, 59)

5. Zaključek: vzgoja za upanje iz zaupanja

Izobraževanje v strogem pomenu besede samo po sebi predpostavlja odprtje lastnega sveta perspektivi drugega, kot to izpostavlja papež Frančišek in razume Ricoeur. Pri tem načrtovalci učnih načrtov pogosto pozabljajo na posameznika in njegovo temeljno izhodiščno perspektivo. Pokazali smo, kako Ricoeur utemeljuje odprtost posameznika za pomene in možnosti srečanja z drugimi v človekovi telesni razsežnosti. Telo je na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja v kurikulum vključeno le malo in neučinkovito, še manj ga načrtovalci učnih načrtov jemljejo kot izhodišče intelektualnega razvoja. Če učitelj učencev ne more izzvati v njihovem telesu, jim sporočiti, da jemlje resno njihovo izhodiščno perspektivo (ki je vezana na občutke telesa), jih bo težko soočil s pogledom, ki bi jim odprl nove možnosti – tako jih ne bo nagovoril, še manj presenetil v njihovem ‚svetu‘. V svetu, kjer pogosto le gledamo, kako potešiti svoje potrebe, nujno potrebujemo vzgojo, ki bo odpirala vabljive nove možnosti. Te možnosti morajo biti po Ricoeurjevem razumevanju upanja usmerjene v eksistencialno razsežnost – nove možnosti bolj polnega bivanja posameznika (Roberts 2016, 4). Človeška krhkost se pod vplivom konzumizma raje zateka k bližnjicam zadovoljevanja treh najglobljih potreb – po čim več imeti, biti močan in slaven. Trg nam ponuja sorazmerno lahke nadomestke za naša najgloblja hrepenenja. Otroci in mladi so tu še toliko bolj v nevarnosti. Hitre rešitve, ki zameglijo pogled v dolgoročni razvoj življenja, jih v času, ko še nimajo širše perspektive, zasvojijo in omejujejo. Sanje po imeti, biti uspešen in od vseh pohvaljen so se v vzgojno-izobraževalne ustanove naselile v preveliki meri. Zato bi se morali vedno bolj zavedati, da je proces vzgoje in izobraževanja, če hoče odpirati nova upanja, za udobje posameznika pač nujno nevaren. »Kaj je tisto, kar je ogroženo, ko se podredimo procesu izobraževanja? Kot je ugotovil Kierkegaard, smo to mi sami.« (18) Zato pri celotnem procesu vzgoje in izobraževanja nikakor ne smemo pozabiti na izgradnjo trdnega posameznika, ki bo znal in zmozel stati in svoja stališča utemeljiti, se soočiti s stranpotmi svojih treh temeljnih hrepenenj – in bil sposoben prenesti frustracije, ki izhajajo iz zavrnitev takojšnjih potešitev (Nežič Glavica 2019, 198).

Za spopad z motom ‚vse je dovoljeno‘, ki se vedno bolj širi tudi v vzgojno-izobraževalne ustanove (in ne samo, da ogroža prenašanje znanja in veščin ter mladih ne spodbuja k naporom soočanja z drugačnim, presežnim, ampak slabi tudi proces gradnje samozavesti), je ključna prav vloga učitelja (Globokar 2018, 559). Šele ob trdni in prepričljivi perspektivi drugega, avtoritete, ki zanjo pričuje tudi s svojo zavzetostjo (in tako svojega učenca lahko opogumi, da se poda na drzno pot spreminjanja lastnega pogleda), bo resnično vzgojna (Mayes 2005, 19). Površna skrb, da bi se učenci dobro počutili in ne izkusili svoje šibkosti, potrebo po upanju ubija. »Ko je vse v redu, upanja ne potrebujemo, ko pa smo na dnu, se lahko bolj kot kdaj koli prej zavedamo, da je treba graditi upanje. Takrat upanje ne postane stvar praznih govoričenj, temveč oblika premišljenega in usmerjenega delovanja.« (Roberts 2016, 22) Ne gre za to, da bi uvajali šolo, ki bi umetno povzročala težave – treba je le življenje vzeti resno in si ne zatiskati oči pred težavami, ki so jim (ali jim

še bodo) učenci v življenju izpostavljeni. Še posebej, če vzamemo resno edini navede o upanju iz „Bele knjige“, ki smo ga izpostavili na začetku. Učitelj, ki v svoje učence zna in zmore zaupati, bo ob problemskem pristopu s pravo mero odpiral upanja za boljšo prihodnost. Hkrati nas to vse zavezuje, da skrbimo za ustrezno širše učno in vzgojno okolje. »Takšna vzgojna naložba, ki sloni na mreži človeških in odprtih odnosov, bo morala vsem zagotoviti dostop do kakovostne vzgoje, ki bo na višini dostojanstva človekove osebe in njene poklicanosti v bratstvo.« (Papež Frančišek 2020) Globalni vzgojni dogovor je nova perspektiva, ki iz upanja gradi in upanje daje.

Pri tem vedno bolj stopa v ospredje potreba po prazaupanju. Upanja ni, če nikomur in ničemer ne zaupamo. Učiti se ‚sedeti pri nogah drugega‘ pomeni odpo-vedati se zgolj lastni izbiri, pa čeprav le za nekaj časa. Naslednji korak je, da si upamo vedeti in da se vprašamo o tem, kaj od drugih dobimo. Ali je to, kar so me naučili, pravilno? Spraševati moramo samega sebe. Nato se vrnemo k ‚učitelju‘, da zberemo še več znanja, več podatkov, ki jih bomo znova preverili sami. Ta proces se nadaljuje, pri čemer obstaja naravna in plodna napetost med sprejemanjem in spraševanjem. Še posebej, ko uvajamo v vero. Razodetje terja proces, ki ga je ob Samarijanki najbolje ponazoril Jezus sam (Jn 4,5-30). V potrebi po vodi, kjer je izhodišče telo in skupna potreba, odpre globljo potrebo po resnici, ki osvobaja. Jezus pri tem Samarijanki najprej pokaže možnost drugačne perspektive: »če bi ti vedela ...« Upanje ob živi vodi Samarijanko presenetiti in hkrati utrdi. Hoče več, kot je bila vajena doslej: »daj mi te vode!« S to novo perspektivo se upa soočiti s svojo v telesu pogojeno resnico: nimam moža. Sprememba pogleda jo spodbudi, da nagovori še druge. Potreba po imeti – voda; po moči – zajemati drugemu; po spoštovanju – biti sama sredi opoldanske vročine je sedaj usmerjena v željo po imeti živo vodo, pomagati drugemu – in z veseljem sprejeti svojo javno podobo v dobro sebi in drugim. Kateheza je namenjena prav temu: preoblikovanju omejenih in zavajajočih rešitev v pristne in presegajoče. Spreobrnjenje se zgodi, ker Samarijanka upa, da lahko pride do vode, ki odžeja v polnosti. Jezus ji odpre pravi vir, jo nagovori v tem, kar je – vzame za izhodišče njeno telo: daj mi piti (in mož, ki ni pravi), ter ji ponudi novo perspektivo, ki jo hitro širi naprej. Kateheza prav s to usmeritvijo v posameznika, njegovo telesno razsežnost in prežetost z duhom odpira možnost preseganja v perspektivi Razodetja. Upanje se ne vsiljuje, ampak organsko raste iz žive vode oznanila – in zato je potreben globalni vzgojni dogovor.

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Zaupam, zato si upam: zaupanje kot temeljna geštalt pedagoška kategorija

I Trust; Therefore, I Dare: Trust as a Fundamental Gestalt Pedagogical Category

Povzetek: Geštalt pedagogika se s samim terminom zaupanja in njegovo vlogo v pedagoškem procesu sicer ne ukvarja, ga pa v svojih principih poučevanja in učenja implicitno predpostavlja. Pri tem se naslanja na predstavnike reformske pedagogike, ki v zaupanju vidijo predpogoj za ustvarjanje in ohranjanje tako pedagoške interakcije kot tudi pozitivne učne klime, ki stimulira učenčevo pripravljenost za učenje in potenciale za osebno rast. Zato v edukativnem procesu uporablja pristope učenja in poučevanja, ki so osredinjeni na učenca. V ospredju takšnih pristopov je predvsem odnosa komponenta, ki so jo mladi v času epidemije še posebej pogrešali, kar potrjujejo izsledki raziskav. V času poučevanja na daljavo so se na to potrebo ustrezno odzivali le redki učitelji in kateheti – ti so bili sposobni vzpostaviti interpersonalne odnose in učencem ponuditi vsebine, s katerimi so nagovarjali njihove aktualne izzive in jim v nepredvidljivih časih vivali zaupanje.

Ključne besede: zaupanje, geštalt pedagogika, na osebo osredinjeno učenje, odnosa komponenta

Abstract: Gestalt pedagogy does not deal with the very term trust and its role in the pedagogical process but implicitly presupposes it in its principles of teaching and learning. In doing so, it relies on representatives of reform pedagogy, who see trust as a prerequisite for creating and maintaining both pedagogical interaction and a positive learning atmosphere that stimulates students' readiness for learning and potential for personal growth. For this reason, it uses student-centred learning and teaching approaches in the educational process. At the forefront of such approaches is the relational component, which was particularly missed by young people during the epidemic, as confirmed by research findings. During distance learning, only a few teachers and catechists responded to this need, able to establish interpersonal relationships and offer them content to address their current challenges and instil confidence in them in these unpredictable times.

Keywords: trust, gestalt pedagogy, person-centred learning, relational component

1. Uvod

„Zaupam, zato si upam“ je bil naslov mladinskega počitniškega programa oz. oratorija, ki je bil namenjen otrokom in mladim po izkušnji prvega vala pandemije covid-19 (Salezijanci 2020). Ta pomenljivi naslov oratorija me je kot geštalt pedagoginjo spodbudil k razmišljanju o pomenu in vlogi zaupanja v pedagogiki oz. geštalt pedagogiki – ter kako to držo zaupanja spodbujati pri učencih v samem pedagoškem procesu, zlasti v časih, ko je covid-19 močno zaznamoval njihovo kvaliteto življenja, pa tudi način poučevanja nasploh.

Čeprav se zaupanju v pedagoški teoriji kot praksi od antike naprej pripisuje velik pomen, se je pedagogika kot edukativna znanost s pojmom ‚zaupanje‘ pričela sistematično ukvarjati šele v 20. in 21. stoletju. Na podlagi interdisciplinarnih prizadevanj v okviru filozofije, psihologije, sociologije in teologije je ponovno postala pozorna na zaupanje kot temeljno pedagoško kategorijo. Tako je Bartmannova na podlagi zgodovinskih izsledkov in dosedanjih raziskav razdelila razprave o zaupanju znotraj pedagoške znanosti na tri področja: prvo se nanaša na interpersonalno zaupanje med učitelji in učenci; drugo se navezuje na splošno zaupanje v izobraževanje kot vrednoto; in tretje na sistematično zaupanje v izobraževalne ustanove in pedagoško strokovnost (Bartmann idr. 2014).

Geštalt pedagogika kot reformska pedagogika se s samim terminom zaupanja in njegovo vlogo v pedagoškem procesu sicer ne ukvarja, ga pa v svojih temeljnih principih poučevanja in učenja, ki slonijo na interpersonalnih odnosih med učencem in učiteljem, implicitno predpostavlja. To zadnje so v edukativnem procesu začeli poudarjati predstavniki reformske pedagogike od razsvetljenstva naprej (Bormann 2015, 157).

2. Vloga in pomen zaupanja pri predstavnikih reformske pedagogike

2.1 Rousseaujev pogled na zaupanje

Jean Jacques Rousseau je svoje pedagoške nazore opredelil v vzgojnem romanu *Emil ali o vzgoji*. V romanu značajske opisuje svojega gojenca Emila in ga primerja z otroki, ki njegove vzgoje niso deležni. S tem želi Rousseau po eni strani pokazati, v čem je prednost njegovih vzgojnih pristopov, po drugi pa opozoriti, da pomanjkanje vzgoje, nevzgojenost in razvjenost otroka lahko pripelje do izgube samozaupanja ter nizke samopodobe (Rousseau 1959, 1:87).

S pojmom zaupanja, ki ga na alegoričen način razlaga z različnih perspektiv, se Rousseau ukvarja predvsem takrat, ko opredeljuje odnos med vzgojiteljem in gojencem. Rousseau je gojenca, »ki je vzgojiteljem veljal kot nadloga, s katero se pač morajo otepavati in boriti pri svojem delu, predstavil kot nekaj pozitivnega, ki daje vzgojnemu prizadevanju vedrino, lepoto in vrednost« (9). Tako se je oddaljil od tedanje avtoritarne pedagoške prakse, ki je navadno temeljila na kasarniški disciplini, formalizmu in verbalizmu ter začel v vzgojno-izobraževalnem procesu zago-

varjati globoko naklonjenost in zaupanje med gojencem in vzgojiteljem. Po njegovem bi bilo idealno, če bi bil vzgojitelj čim mlajši, »/.../ da bi bil še otrok, da bi bil kot njegov tovariš v igrah in bi se z njim zabaval in s tem pridobil njegovo zaupanje. Med otroštvom in zrelo dobo je premalo skupnega, da bi se kdaj mogla razviti pri tej razliki trajna medsebojna naklonjenost« (50).

Po Rousseauju je lahko ravno ta starostna razlika vzrok, ki vodi v nerazumevanje otroka. Če se učitelj otroku ne zna dovolj približati in se pri svojem presojanju ne distancira od načel razmišljanja, ki veljajo za odrasle, ne pa otroke, začne njihovo zaupanje izgubljati (1959, 2:18). V tem kontekstu je za Rousseauja pomembno, da zna učitelj priznati svoje napake, kajti le na tak način bo lahko učenčevo zaupanje krepil (18) – s tem učitelj svoje moči in avtoritete ne izgublja (89). Emilovo zaupanje v učitelja temelji na objektivni poslušnosti in ne na slepem zaupanju.

»Zaupanje, ki ga mora imeti do svojega vzgojitelja, je druge vrste: sloneti mora na avtoriteti razuma, na premoči znanja in na tistih prednostih, ki jih lahko mladenič pozna in za katere čuti, do so mu koristne. Dolge izkušnje so ga prepričale, da njegov vodnik ljubi, da je moder in razgledan mož, ki mu ne želi le srečo, temveč tudi ve, kako mu jo bo preskrbel. Vedeti mora, da je v njegovo lastno korist, da posluša nasvete svojega vodnika.« (89)

V naslednjih poglavjih začne Rousseau postopoma razkrivati svoje ambivalentno razumevanje zaupanja. V svojem bistvu si ne prizadeva samo za pristen, zaupanja vreden odnos, temveč tudi za odnos, ki pod krinko zaupanja stremi po nadzoru učenca: »ne varčujte z ničimer, da postanete njegov zaupnik; samo na ta način boste v resnici njegov gospodar.« (172) Pri tem se je pripravljen nadzoru tudi odreči in učencu dopustiti svobodo, ki pa je v bistvu lažna. Rousseau torej zaupanje razume kot odnos, v katerem je manipuliranje z namenom lažjega usmerjanja in vodenja otrok dovoljeno. »Ničesar ne bom opustil, da si čim bolj trdno zagotovim njegovo zaupanje in da postanem zaupnik njegovega srca in razsodnik v njegovih zabavah. Daleč bom od tega, da bi pobijal njegova nagnjenja, njegove strasti, raje bom pri njih iskal sveta, kako bi si pridobil oblast nad njimi; vživel se bom v njegove nazore, da ga bom lahko vodil ...« (174)

Čeprav je Rousseaujev koncept zaupanja ambivalenten in je v luči današnje pedagogike v posameznih segmentih vprašljiv, je njegov pogled na odnos med vzgojiteljem in učencem v pedagoškem smislu pomemben. Opredeljuje ga kot temelj pedagoških odnosov med dvema neenakima poloma, ki mora v vzgojno-izobraževalnem procesu izhajati iz otrokove narave oz. upoštevati njegove razvojne stopnje. S tem je Rousseau postal vodilni mislec in vzgled drugim razsvetljenjskim pedagogom.

2.2 Pestalozzijev pogled na zaupanje

Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi je pri svojem pedagoškem delu sledil motu ,učenje z glavo, roko in srcem' ter na takšen način poudarjal pomen celostnega razvoja otroka. Svojo ,pedagogiko srca' je predstavil kot metodo moralne vzgoje, ki po Rousseaujevem vzgledu prav tako temelji na ljubezni in zaupanju.

Po Pestalozziju mora poučevanje izhajati iz samospoznavanja, ki se nanaša na poznavanje človekove fizične narave in poznavanje njegovega notranjega sveta – kot npr. samostojnosti, zavedanja lastne volje, spodbujanja lastnega zadovoljstva/blagra in dolžnosti biti zvest svojim spoznanjem. Ker pa v otrokovem čutnem in izkustvenem načinu dojemanja za uresničevanje teh vidikov ni dovolj motivov, otrok že po sami naravi brezpogojno zaupa v svojo mater (Pfeffer 1961, 41). Pestalozzi je že v 18. st. pričel razvijati idejo o temeljnem zaupanju kot otrokovi naravni kompetenci, ki jo je kasneje razvil Erik Erikson. Pestalozzi tako govori o odnosu, v katerem je otrok materi 'voljno poslušen', se orientira na podlagi njenega vedenja in delovanja ter si pridobiva sposobnosti in spretnosti, ki jih na podlagi lastnih zmožnosti in prepričanj matere potrebuje za življenje.

V knjigi *Kako uči Gertruda svoje otroke* se je ponovno posvetil primarnemu odnosu med materjo in otrokom v zgodnjemu obdobju otroštva. Ob tem se je vprašal: »Kako naj ljubim ljudi, jim zaupam, se jim zahvaljujem in jih ubogam? Na kakšen način pridejo v mojo naravo čustva, na katerih slonijo človeška ljubezen, hvaležnost in zaupanje /.../?« (187) Za razumevanje njegovega koncepta zaupanja so ta vprašanja pomembna, ker kažejo, da pojem zaupanja opredeljuje zlasti s pozitivnega vidika in ga povezuje s čustvenimi komponentami. Po njegovem mnenju zaupanje ni stvar kognitivne odločitve, temveč posledica pozitivnih čustev, ki se porajajo med otrokom in materjo. Pri tem na materin odnos do otroka gleda kot na nekaj prvobitnega (kar je globoko zapisano v njeno naravo), otrokovo zaupanje kot naravno danost pa delno relativizira, saj ga razlaga kot rezultat njunega medsebojnega odnosa.

V delu *Wesen und Zweck der Methode* Pestalozzi razmišlja o krhkosti zaupanja, ki pa ga ne reflektira v luči odnosa mati – otrok, temveč z vidika družbenih vplivov; ti se lahko kažejo v nepristnem moralnem vedênju in hlinjenem zaupanju. Pestalozzi se zaveda, kako je lahko v pedagoškem procesu zaupanje, ki temelji zgolj na besedni artikulaciji, ne pa tudi na dejanjih, problematično: »Če takšno pretvarjanje še okrašiš z množico besed in na teh nakopičenih besedah gradiš prestol svoje morale – potem so tvoje besede kot pesek, nič drugega kot zgolj pesek.« (216) S tem opozarja, da smo ljudje tudi kot verbalna bitja ranljivi. Vzgoja, ki temelji npr. na dvoličnem pristopu, se pogosto kaže v problematičnem vedenju otrok in mladostnikov. V takšnih odnosih je ravno verbalno izražanje tisti neposreden in prvi izraz ambivalentnosti, ki otroka pripelje do nezaupanja tako do lastnih staršev kot tudi drugih oseb, npr. učiteljev, vzgojiteljev. To povzroči, da se zaupanja vredni odnosi, ki so za otrokov razvoj temeljnega pomena, ne morejo vzpostaviti in razvijati (Müller 2017, 58).

Pestalozzijev pomen za pedagoško delovanje se kaže predvsem v poudarjanju zaupanja, ki da se začne razvijati že v zgodnjem odnosu med otrokom in materjo. Spoznal je, da je to zaupanje osnovnega pomena, saj oblikuje otrokov nadaljnji razvoj in mu omogoča ustrezno orientacijo v svetu.

2.3 Nohlov pogled na zaupanje

Herman Nohl, predstavnik nemških duhoslovnih oz. kulturnih pedagogov, je pojem zaupanja opredelil v okviru pedagoškega odnosa (*pädagogische Bezug*), ki

je eden bistvenih elementov duhoslovne pedagogike. Po Nohlu gre za duhovni odnos med dvema komplementarnima in neenakovrednima vlogama. Nohl govori o »strastnem odnosu zrelega človeka do nastajajočega človeka, in sicer zaradi njega samega, da bo dosegel lastno življenje in lastno podobo« (1963, 134). S strastnim odnosom, ki povsem izključuje kakršno koli seksualno razmerje med njima, opredeljuje vzgojni proces, »v katerem učenec s pomočjo učitelja razvija svoje duhovne in kulturne potencialne, ter se tako vzpostavi kot samostojna, svobodna in kritična osebnost« (Šmidhofer 2018, 103). Vzgojitelj tako v svojem odnosu otroku izkazuje ljubezen in avtoriteto, učenec pa se odziva z zaupanjem in poslušnostjo, ki izhaja iz njegove prostovoljne podreditve. Sprva je Nohl v pedagoškem odnosu zagovarjal enostransko brezpogojno zaupanje, ki ga goji učenec do učitelja (Nohl 1927, 74), kasneje pa vzajemno oz. obojestransko zaupanje, ki lahko pripelje tudi do navezanosti.

2.4 Bollnov pogled na zaupanje

Otto Friederich Bollnow se je s pojmom zaupanja v ukvarjal v svojem delu *Die pädagogische Atmosphäre*. Zaupanje je opredelil kot nepogrešljiv predpogoj za človekov razvoj, vzgojo in izobraževanje. Razvijati se začne od prvih interakcij in izkušenj, ki si jih otrok pridobi v odnosu z materjo oz. starši. Slednje mu omogočajo, da se razvija in sproščeno raziskuje svojo okolico ter postaja postopoma vedno bolj kompetenten. Toda otrokov notranji občutek varnosti in zaupanja se na podlagi njegovega razvoja in okoliščin, v katerih odrašča, tudi spreminja. Ko otrok enkrat spozna meje, slabosti in pomanjkljivosti ljubljene osebe, na katero je navezan, se – po Bollnowu – to absolutno zaupanje v starše skrha. Takrat mora vzgoja prevzeti težko nalogo in »otroka voditi čez ta razočaranja in ga pripeljati do novega, splošnega zaupanja v življenje, ki ni vezano na eno osebo in ga razočaranja ne morejo zamajati« (Bollnow 1964, 5).

Zato je pomembno, da vzgojitelj v pedagoškem procesu ustvarja varno okolje in izkazuje otroku ljubečo pozornost, iz katere se lahko razvije vzajemno zaupanje. Po Bollnowu učitelj izkazuje učencu zaupanje na dva načina, ki ju opredeljuje z besedama *Zutrauen* in *Vertrauen*. Pojem *Zutrauen* se v nemščini navezuje na zaupanje v določene individualne sposobnosti, lastnosti oz. talente posameznika (*Deutsches Universalwörterbuch*, s. v. „Zutrauen“). Za Bollnowa je učiteljevo zaupanje v učenčeve sposobnosti oz. talente predstopnja vzajemnega zaupanja, saj ni nujno, da se otrok – kljub temu, da učitelj vanj zaupa – tudi res bo odzival. »Tudi če to zaupanje ne sloni na vzajemnosti /.../ deluje na tistega, ki mu zaupajo, spodbujajoče in opogumljajoče. Zaupanje, ki mu je bilo izkazano, krepi njegovo samozavest in ga (podzavestno) žene k temu, da ga upraviči.« (Bollnow 1964, 11) Zaupanje v sposobnosti učenca je po Bollnowu pri vzgoji zelo pomemben dejavnik, saj povečuje otrokovo učinkovitost in krepi njegov razvoj.

Pojem *Vertrauen* oz. zaupanje Bollnow povezuje z moralnim karakterjem človeka. Pri tem razlikuje med zaupanjem, ki se nanaša na moralni značaj (kreposti in lastnosti) človekove volje, in splošnim zaupanjem v človeka v vsej njegovi nedeljivi celoti. V prvem primeru gre za pričakovanja, ki jih imajo ljudje v odnosu do

drugih, oz. mnenja, ki si jih drugi o njih ustvarijo. Slednja so za razvoj posameznika po Bollnowu izrednega pomena, saj se posameznik oblikuje v skladu s podobo, ki mu jo daje okolje, in vlogo, ki mu je v družbi dodeljena (12). Pri tem poudarja, da je zlasti vzgojiteljeva vera v otroka tista, ki krepi njegove dobre lastnosti, njegova nevera oz. nezaupanje v otroka pa prva, ki lahko naredi otroka slabega. S temi vzročnimi povezavami želi na poenostavljen način poudariti učiteljevo odgovornost in potrebo po dobrohotnem in pozitivnem odnosu do učenca – ob tem pa spregleduje avtonomijo učenčevih dejanj, vedenj in nenazadnje tudi njegovo lastno voljo, da se učitelju zoperstavi (Müller 2017, 67).

Pod pojmom splošnega zaupanja v človeka kot nedeljivo celoto opredeljuje Bollnow zaupanje kot »nepogrešljivo predpostavko vsake vzgoje« (1964, 12). To je osnovna drža, ki od učitelja zahteva velik napor, saj bo »v svoji dobri veri in zaupanju v otroke z njihove strani vedno znova razočaran in ob tem razočaranju bo moral v svoji duši vedno znova nabrati moči, da bo ponovno zaupal, kajti brez tega je vzgoja nemogoča« (12). Pri tem od učitelja ne zahteva, da v učenca slepo zaupa, temveč da je dober poznavalec otrok. Dober učitelj je tisti, ki pozna tako dobre kot slabe plati svojih učencev in bo tvegala, saj jim želi vedno znova zaupati in jim stati ob strani kljub njihovim slabostim. Na tak način lahko učenci ob njem rastejo in se spreminjajo. Razumljivo je, da takšna drža učitelja izčrpa in lahko vodi tudi v izgorelost. »Nenehno vzpostavljanje zaupanja zmore le tisti učitelj, ki tudi v svojem življenju izhaja iz temeljnega zaupanja do samega sebe in sveta. V krščanskem jeziku je mogoče takšno zaupanje primerjati z božjim zaupanjem, ki vzdrži vsa razočaranja.« (13)

2.5 Bubrov pogled na zaupanje

S pojmom zaupanja se je tako v filozofskem kot pedagoškem kontekstu ukvarjal tudi Martin Buber. Vzgojno-izobraževalni proces je opredelil kot dialoški odnos med učencem in učiteljem (Buber 1986, 40). »Vzgoja, ki je vredna tega imena, je v bistvu vzgoja značaja. Pravi vzgojitelj se namreč ne ukvarja le s posameznimi funkcijami svojega gojenca, kot to počne tisti, ki ga želi naučiti le določenega znanja ali spretnosti, ampak se vedno ukvarja s celim človekom, in to s celim človekom v njegovi sedanji resničnosti, v kateri živi pred vami, kot tudi v njegovi možnosti, v kaj se lahko razvije.« (65) Pri tem se Buber zaveda, da na otrokov oz. mladostnikov razvoj vplivajo številni dejavniki, med katerimi je tudi učitelj. Seveda se učitelj od drugih dejavnikov razlikuje predvsem po *volji*, saj je pri oblikovanju otrokovega značaja pripravljen sodelovati, in po *zavesti*, da otroka sooči z izbiro njegove *biti*, ki je »prava in zanj zavezujoča« (69). V učiteljevi *volji* in *zavesti* se po Buberu kaže njegovo temeljno poslanstvo oz. poklicanost. Takšna drža od učitelja zahteva veliko: prvič, ponižnost, saj je le eden izmed mnogih, ki na učenca vplivajo; drugič, trezen razmislek in odgovornost, saj želi s svojo navzočnostjo (eksistenco) oblikovati učenčev značaj; tretjič, pri učitelju se predpostavlja spoznanje, da se lahko celostna vzgoja odvija šele takrat, ko mu bo otrok zaupal. »Zaupanje predstavlja za mladega človeka, ki je prestrašen in razočaran nad nezanesljivim svetom, osvobajajoče spoznanje, da obstaja človeška resnica, resnica človeške eksistence. Tako

se na ravni zaupanja namesto odpora proti vzgoji prične odvijati poseben proces: gojenec prične sprejemati vzgojitelja kot osebo.« (70) Pri tem Buber zaupanje opredeljuje kot eksistencialno resnico, ki ji v vzgojno-izobraževalnem procesu pripisuje zelo visok, če ne celo najvišji pomen. Pri razlagi zaupanja ne izhaja iz idealnih razmer, saj svet predstavlja kot stvarnost, ki je lahko tudi nezanesljiva in zastrašujoča. Negativno dojetje sveta, ki se pri otrocih in mladostnikih z vedenjskimi težavami pojavlja pogosto, vodi do izkušnje nemoči, ki se v vzgojnem odnosu po Bubu kažejo ravno v njihovem upor. Samo z učenčevim zaupanjem mu lahko učitelj pomaga negativne izkušnje preseči. Tako lahko učenec ob njem spozna, da mu lahko zaupa, da učitelj na njem ne izvaja le zgolj svoje ‚obrti‘, temveč želi biti del njegovega življenja, ga želi prej potrjevati kot nanj vplivati (70). Se pa Buber zaveda, da z zaupanjem vseh protislovij ni mogoče rešiti. Zaupanje ni ključ za reševanje vseh življenjskih težav, temveč v večini primerov ustvarja varen prostor, v katerem se lahko z njimi šele začnemo ukvarjati (72).

V pedagoških znanstvenih diskurzih so se do humanističnega razumevanja zaupanja vedno pojavljali kritični pogledi. Opozarjajo predvsem, da lahko zaupanje zaradi močne afektivnosti učitelju onemogoča profesionalni pristop in posledično v jedru avtonomijo učitelja in učenca tudi otežuje. V ‚pretesnih‘ pedagoških kontaktih vidijo možna tveganja za razpad pedagoškega odnosa ali pa nevarnost, da bi učitelji z zaupnimi odnosi na podzavestni ravni z učenci lahko manipulirali in ter jih na podlagi svojih osebnih ambicij ali potreb po bližini ovirali v njihovem procesu osamosvajanja (Helsper idr. 2007; Graßhoff idr. 2006; Uhle 1997). Istočasno pa v uspešnem odnosu med učiteljem in učencem vidijo tudi številne priložnosti, npr. odpiranje razvojno produktivnega okolja, znotraj katerega si učenec pridobiva izkušnje na emocionalni, kognitivni in socialni ravni. V idealnem primeru se lahko ta podpora uporabi za reševanje težav zunaj šole in družinskih primanjkljajev, za ustvarjanje posebnih umetniških in intelektualnih izzivov, pa tudi za spodbujanje drugih učenčevih razvojnih potencialov (Schweer 2017, 528). Zato še posebej pedagogi, ki izhajajo iz humanistične tradicije, pomen zaupanja v vzgojno-izobraževalnem procesu poudarjajo vse pogosteje (Czerepaniak-Walczak in Perzycka 2013; D'Andrea 2013). Pri tem jih podpirajo tudi izsledki raziskav s področja sociologije (*Social-Support-Research*), ki dokazujejo, da se pri vzgojno-izobraževalnih procesih ob zaupanju v razredu in ustrezni pedagoški podpori učenčeva samozavest krepi in da odnosi, ki temeljijo na zaupanju, pozitivno vplivajo na učinkovitost tako preventivnih kot intervencijskih pristopov (Raufelder 2010; Colarossi in Essles 2003).

3. Vloga zaupanja v geštalt pedagoškem konceptu poučevanja

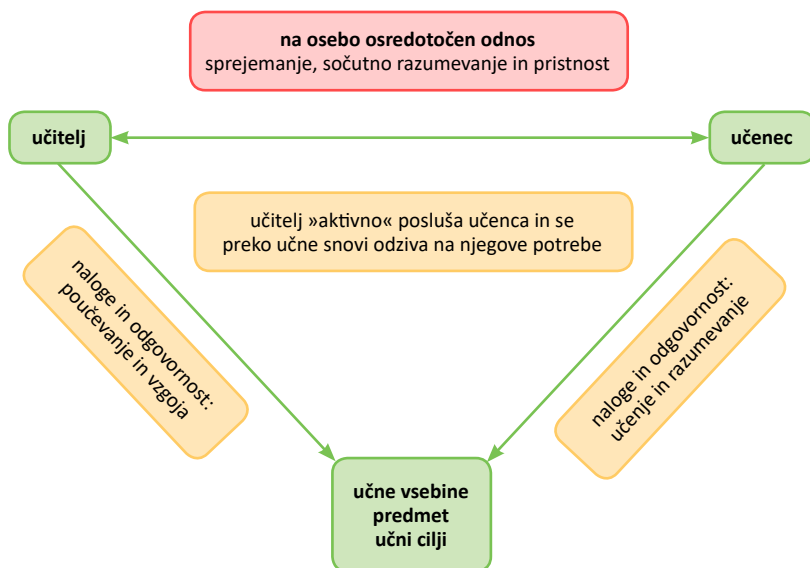
Zgoraj navedeni pogledi na zaupanje v njem vidijo temelj za ustvarjanje in ohranjanje tako pedagoške interakcije kot tudi pozitivne učne klime, ki spodbuja učenčevo pripravljenost za učenje (Fabel-Lamla, Tiefel, in Zeller 2012, 801). Takšno razumevanje zaupanja predpostavlja tudi geštalt pedagogika, ki v procesu učenja

in poučevanja uporablja predvsem tako imenovane transformacijske pristope. Gre za učenje, ki učencu ne želi posredovati zgolj ‚distanciranega‘ poznavanja in razumevanja učnih vsebin, pač pa mu z različnimi didaktičnimi pristopi omogoča samostojno iskanje, razmišljanje, smiselne dialoge v skupini, tudi postavljanje in preizkušanje hipotez ipd. (Marentič Požarnik 2003, 12). Tako učenje učenca navorja celostno, saj aktivira njegove kognitivne, afektivne, pa tudi operacijske komponente. Ponuja vsebine, ki so za učenca osebno relevantne in ga spodbujajo k ozaveščanju njega samega – da bo lahko lažje prepoznava bistvo dogajanja oz. učne snovi in postajal za učenje bolj motiviran. Na tak način učenec vzpostavlja stik sam s sabo in lahko sproti miselno predeluje svoje čustvene reakcije, si krepki samozavest in samospoštovanje, s katerima bo lažje obvladoval vsakodnevne življenjske izzive (Ščuka 2007, 7). Takšen pouk »ni več transmisija, ampak transakcija – množstvo smiselnih interakcij med učiteljem in učenci ter med učenci samimi – in končno transformacija – spreminjanje pojmovanj o svetu in tudi spreminjanje osebnosti« (Marentič Požarnik 2003, 12).

Zato je za geštalt pedagogiko interakcija med učiteljem in učencem temeljnega pomena. V središču njene pozornosti je učenec kot oseba. V pedagoškem kontekstu govorimo o t. i. učenju in poučevanju, ki je osredinjeno na osebo. Takšen pristop je geštalt pedagogika povzela po Carlu Rogersu in njegovi na klienta usmerjeni pogovorni psihoterapiji. Na osebo oz. učenca osredinjeno učenje se po Rogersu izraža predvsem v zaupanju, da je učenec v svojem temelju naravnano pozitivno (Roger 1995, 27) in da v sebi nosi konstruktivne sile, predispozicije oz. geštalte, ki težijo k njegovi samoaktualizaciji. »Kaže se v težnji človeka, da reorganizira svojo osebnost in svoj odnos do življenja, da bi ta postal zrelejši /.../ Ta težnja je sicer lahko skrita pod plastmi otrdelih psiholoških obramb; lahko je skrita za dovršeno fasado, ki zanika njen obstoj, vendar obstaja v vsakem posamezniku in čaka le na primerne pogoje, da se izrazi.« (35)

To temeljno zaupanje v učenčeve težnje po samouresničevanju od učitelja predpostavljajo, da opusti vlogo ‚formalnega organizatorja‘ učnega procesa in postane učenčev mentor, vodnik, motivator, svetovalec ipd. V praksi to pomeni, da otrokom in mladostnikom v prvi vrsti zaupa ter jim znotraj pedagoškega procesa omogoča dovolj svobode in odgovornosti pri sprejemanju odločitev. Nadzor, pogoste kritike, neutemeljene omejitve in nejasne meje ugodnih pogojev za učenčevo osebno rast ne ustvarjajo. Po Rogerjevem mnenju je mogoče učenčev konstruktivni potencial v pedagoškem procesu razvijati le v odnosu, ki temelji na sprejemanju, sočutnem razumevanju (empatiji) in pristnosti (kongruenci) (Fleischer 2016, 25).

S sprejemanjem učitelj izkazuje učencu naklonjenost in ustvarja odnos, v katerem se bo učenec počutil pomembnega in vrednega – in to ne glede na svoje vednje. To pomeni spoštovanje in sprejemanje učenca v učnem procesu kot osebe v vsej njeni eksistenci. Pri tem ne gre le za sprejemanje učenca v vlogi učenca, kar je v praksi pogosto, temveč sprejemanje tudi v drugih vlogah, ki jih v življenju prevzema. Gre za celostno sprejemanje učenca v vsej njegovi organski enosti čustev, mišljenja in delovanja, ki je vedno – tudi v razredu – navzoča in jo je treba vedno upoštevati (Burow in Scherpp 1981, 140).



Slika 1: Na učenca usmerjena komunikacija (Fleischer 2016, 16).

S pomočjo sočutnega razumevanja (empatije) je učitelj sposoben in pripravljen, da se živi v učenčevi izkušnje, občutke in motive. Pri tem ne gre le za interpretacijo njegovega notranjega sveta, temveč za pozorno opazovanje in ‚aktivno poslušanje‘, ki izhaja iz učenca (Fleischer 2016, 57). Tako bo lahko učitelj na podlagi učenčevih potreb, interesov in vzgibov učno snov intenziviral, reduciriral, razvejal in kanaliziral ... Če učenca učna snov ne bo zanimala, bo moral iskati načine, kako jo aktualizirati in predstaviti kot problem, ki bo za učenca relevanten – in ga bo izzval ter spodbudil k aktivni drži v učnem procesu.

Pristnost (kongruenca) predpostavlja, da se učitelj v odnosu do učenca svojih lastnih občutij zaveda in jih v komunikaciji z učencem ne skriva, temveč jih je sposoben ubesediti (Žalec 2012) – še zlasti v konfliktnih situacijah ali primerih, ko doživlja lastne meje. Za geštalt pedagogiko je tudi učitelj celostna oseba, ki poleg posredovalne vloge vključuje še emocionalno raven, kar pomeni, da je v odnosu do učencev odkrit in iskreno pove, kaj se v njem dogaja, kaj si v odnosu do učencev želi in česa se boji. Učitelj je tisti, ki mora (drugače kot učenec) biti v kongruentnem stanju.

Vsi trije naštetih dejavniki, ki se v pedagoškem procesu realizirajo v odnosu učitelj – učenec, ustvarjajo zaupno ozračje, v katerem se lahko učenci razvijajo, učijo in posledično prevzemajo te dejavnike kot lastno držo v odnosu do drugih. »Pouk mora temeljiti na dialogu, ko učitelj spodbuja kritičnost, izhaja iz konkretnih izkušenj učencev in izziva ustvarjalno iskanje novih možnosti.« (Vodičar 2019, 702) Dejstvo je, da takšnega odnosa v pedagoškem procesu ni mogoče izsiliti niti od učitelja niti od učenca. V razredu se lahko v polnosti razvije le takrat, ko je učitelj

pripravljen, da se tudi sam – s pomočjo različnih izpopolnjevanj – poda v proces transformacije tako na osebni kot na strokovni ravni. Osebnostne in zlasti odnosne kompetence je s pomočjo zgolj enkratnih ali kratkih usposabljanj težko učinkovito poglobljati. Raziskave so namreč pokazale, da na kratki rok ustaljenih vzorcev učenja in delovanja učiteljev ni mogoče spremeniti (Lipowsky 2011, 402). Kompetence, ki jih predpostavlja na osebo osredotočeno učenje, je možno kvalitetno poglobljati le znotraj večletnih izpopolnjevanj – ker od učitelja predpostavljajo izkustveno predelovanje njegove biografije, vzorcev mišljenja in ravnanja, ki ga ovirajo tako v profesionalnih odnosih kot pri uresničevanju njegove poklicne vizije, ciljev in novih možnosti.

4. Namesto sklepa

Ob pregledu izsledkov zadnjih raziskav o vplivu covid-19 na kvaliteto življenja je mogoče zaslediti tudi podatek, da je po več kot enem letu po vsej Evropi med drugim upadlo predvsem zaupanje v mnoge institucije, npr. nacionalne vlade, EU, v potrebnost in učinkovitost cepiva proti covidu-19 itd. Takšno splošno nezaupanje vpliva tudi na duševno zdravje, ki je od začetka pandemije pred več kot enim letom v vseh starostnih skupinah doseglo najnižjo raven (Ahrend). To se še posebej kaže pri mladih, ki se soočajo z višjo stopnjo osamljenosti, anksioznostjo, depresijami, motnjami hranjenja, ob tem še različnimi oblikami družinske disfunkcionalnosti ipd. (Baumkirher, 6–8). Epidemija je na zelo stvaren – v mnogih primerih tudi zelo krut – način izpostavila težave, ki so dejansko obstajale že pred njo.

Tako v šolstvu kot pri katehezi je stopilo v ospredje ozko in kvantitativno pojmovanje učenja, ki je vzgojno dimenzijo potisnilo v ozadje. To se je še posebej pokazalo v načinu poučevanja na daljavo. S pospeševanjem t. i. bulimičnega učenja (kratkoročno prenašanje z znanjem, ki ga potem učenec spet hitro izpljune in pozabi) so številni učitelji – pa tudi kateheti – spregledali, da so učenci oz. veroučenci posamezniki, vsak v svoji življenjski situaciji, in se na njihove potrebe niso ozirali. Le redki učitelji in kateheti so znali iz togih okvirov izstopiti in izbirati učne vsebine, s katerimi so se lotevali aktualnih problemov in izzivov, ki so otroke in mlade v času karantene zaposlovali (Erzar 2020). Tako so kljub uporabi IKT znali v ospredje postaviti odnosno komponento, po kateri so mladi zelo koprnili, kar dokazuje raziskava MSS-ja (Baumkirher, 6). Znali so jim prisluhni, jih videti kot osebe in z njimi vzpostaviti pristen in iskren odnos, ki je učence oz. veroučence spodbujal, jim vlival zaupanje (in samozaupanje) v teh nepredvidljivih časih.

Pandemija nam je na ravni vzgoje in izobraževanja jasno pokazala, kar navajajo sistematične raziskave že od zgodnjih 60. let 20. stoletja: »Raven odnosov vpliva na raven vsebine.« (Juul 2014, 16) Tako v šoli kot pri katehezi ni pomembno samo, *kaj* učimo, temveč na *kakšen* način učimo. Iz tega sledi, da so učiteljeve strokovne kompetence zelo pomembne, a še ne zadoščajo, da bi bil pouk uspešen. Če Watzlawickovo teorijo komunikacije prenesemo na proces vzgoje in izobraževanja, je učenčeva uspešnost v 20 % odvisna od učiteljeve strokovnosti, v preostalih 80 %

pa od kakovosti odnosov med učitelji in učenci. »Pogoj za uspešen pouk v najboljšem smislu besede so torej dobri, zaupni odnosi med učitelji in učenci.« (16) Zato bo v prihodnje že v času strokovnega izobraževanja in po njem učiteljem in katehetom treba ponuditi vsebine in pristope, ki bodo tako na teoretični kot na praktični ravni razvijali njihove odnosne in osebnostne kompetence. Le z njimi bodo namreč v pedagoškem procesu lahko vzpostavljali in ohranjali interpersonalne odnose.

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Upanje in zaupanje v kontekstu pastoralne teologije v času globalnega nezaupanja

Hope and Trust in the Context of Pastoral Theology in a Time of Global Mistrust

Povzetek: Pandemija covida-19 je v življenje Cerkve prinesla mnogo sprememb, ki se kažejo na različnih področjih pastoralnega delovanja. Govorimo o stvareh, ki jih je korona odnesla, na drugi stran pa o spremembah, ki se kažejo kot dobre. Ob vsem tem se v človeku naselijo tudi strah, negotovost, morda celo obup in nezaupanje. Ko govorimo o zaupanju oz. nezaupanju, ne moremo mimo dejstva, da Slovenci Cerkvi zaupajo zelo malo, prav tako pa zelo malo zaupajo duhovnikom (raziskava Valicon 2019). Človek v današnjem svetu dobi občutek, da Boga ne potrebujemo. Kljub situaciji pastora išče izhod. Nekateri slovenski pastoralisti se navdihujejo ob primerih dobre prakse kanadskega duhovnika Jamesa Mallona, ki je s svojim izvirnim pristopom presegal temeljne paradigme obstoječe pastore. Sam pravi, da so se njegove župnije spremenile, ko je v središče prizadevanja za evangelizacijo postavil tečaj Alfa. Pri tem njegove ‚reforme‘ ne zadevajo samo struktur, ampak segajo tudi na duhovna področja. Primer dobre prakse v slovenskem prostoru vidimo denimo v Slovenj Gradcu, kjer so postavili nove temelje pastoralnega delovanja. In ti premiki dajejo upanje, da tudi Cerkev zapušča držo ‚vzdrževalca‘ struktur in se usmerja k misijonu.

Ključne besede: pandemija, obup, zaupanje, nezaupanje, James Mallon, pastora, Alfa

Abstract: The coronavirus has brought many changes in the life of the Church, which are reflected in various areas of pastoral activity. We are talking about the things that the ‚corona‘ has taken away, and on the other hand, about the changes that are proving to be good. With all these changes, fear, insecurity, maybe even despair and mistrust merge in a person. When we talk about trust or distrust, we are surprised by the facts that indicate that Slovenes trust the Church very little and also trust priests very little (Valicon 2019 survey). In today's world, man gets the feeling that we do not need God. Despite the situation, pastoral care is looking for a way out. Some Slovenian pastoralists are inspired by the examples of good practice of the Canadian priest James Mallon, who, with his original approach, went beyond the basic paradigms of the existing pastoral care.

He considers that his parishes changed when he put the Alpha course at the center of the evangelization effort. His ‚reforms‘ do not only concern structures but also reach spiritual areas. We see an example of good practice in Slovenia in Slovenj Gradec, where new foundations for pastoral work have been laid. Moreover, these shifts are the hope that the Church, too, is abandoning the position of ‚maintainer‘ of structures and moving in the direction of the mission.

Keywords: pandemic, despair, trust, distrust, James Mallon, pastoral, Alpha

1. Uvod

Praktična pastoralna teologija je vpeta v prostor in čas. Dogodki v družbi in v svetu vplivajo tudi na življenje, delo in poslanstvo na področju pastore in pastoralne teologije. To se jasno kaže tako ob prerezu zgodovine kakor tudi ob bežnem pogledu v dogodke današnjega časa. Kot je za svet pomembno, da prizna Cerkev kot družbeno stvarnost in kot njen kvas, tako tudi Cerkvi ni neznan, koliko je prejela iz zgodovine in razvoja človeštva (CS, tč. 44,1). Zgolj ob celostnem pogledu lahko začutimo obup in nezaupanje. Pri tem ne smemo spregledati statusa, ki ga ima glede zaupanja Cerkev v družbi (raziskava Valicono 2019), vendar je hkrati treba upoštevati situacijo in razmere, v katerih živimo. Pandemija covid-19 je namreč zbegala tako kristjane kot nekristjane, verujoče in neverujoče. Mnogo tega, na kar smo se doslej zanašali, se je sesulo ali zamajalo – in to ne glede na naš svetovni nazor ali vero (Lennox 2020, 19). Kako naj vse to sprejmemo in premagamo, kako naj obrnemo kazalnike od obupa in nezaupanja v smer upanja in zaupanja? Mor-da drzna, a smiselna pot je v obratu k občestvu. »Prilagoditi se mora izrednim razmeram današnjega človeka, njegovi zmožnosti dojemanja, krhkosti, saj le tako omogoči odrešenju, da zares deluje.« (Vodičar 2020, 101)

2. Problem zaupanja v odnosu do Cerkve

Pastoralna konstitucija o Cerkvi v sedanjem svetu govori tudi o neravnovesju v današnjem svetu. V notranjem svetu osebe same pogosto nastopa neravnovesje med sodobnim praktičnim umovanjem in teoretičnim načinom mišljenja, ki mu ne uspeva, da bi celoto svojih spoznav obvladal in jih uredil v zadovoljive sinteze. Prav tako nastajajo neravnovesja zaradi napetosti med prizadevanjem za praktičen uspeh in zahtevami nravne vesti, mnogokrat pa tudi zaradi nasprotja med razmerami kolektivnega življenja in težnjami po osebnotnem mišljenju ali celo po kontemplaciji. Končno nastaja neravnovesje med razdrobljenostjo človeške dejavnosti in celostnim gledanjem na stvari (CS, tč. 8,2).

V Katekizmu Katoliške cerkve je beseda o skrivnosti Cerkve, ki pravi, da ima Cerkev svoje mesto v zgodovini, a jo hkrati presega. Samo ‚z očmi vere‘ moremo v njeni vidni stvarnosti videti hkrati duhovno stvarnost, nositeljico božjega življenja (KKC, tč. 770).

Odnos Cerkve do družbe je treba definirati po delih. Gre za različne poglede – od tistih uradnih, statističnih, pa vse do tistih na ‚terenu‘: med ljudmi, po župnijah (Kraner 2019). Leta 2019 je družba Valicon izvedla raziskavo z vprašanjem, komu Slovenci najbolj zaupajo. Kar se tiče zaupanja v institucije, Slovenci najbolj zaupamo malim slovenskim podjetjem, na tretjem mestu je policija, na četrtem vojska, na sedmem šolstvo, na osmem predsednik republike, na enajstem RTV Slovenija, na sedemnajstem sodišča, na devetnajstem mediji, na dvajsetem vlada in na enaindvajsetem mestu Cerkev. Za Cerkvijo so samo še stranke vladne koalicije, državni zbor – in na zadnjem mestu stranke opozicije.

Pri tem se človeku zastavi vprašanje, zakaj je Cerkev kot institucija zdrsnila tako ‚globoko‘. Kateri ‚madeži‘ so povzročili tako situacijo?

Naslednje vprašanje v raziskavi se je nanašalo na zaupanje v poklice. Tudi tukaj so bili odgovori presenetljivi. Na prvo mesto so anketiranci postavili gasilce, na drugo medicinske sestre, na tretje znanstvenike, na osmo učitelje, na enajsto univerzitetne profesorje, na šestnajsto tožilce. Šele na dvaindvajseto mesto so postavili duhovnike. Za duhovniki so še samo vladni ministri (23. mesto) in politiki na splošno (24. mesto). Trend rasti se je sicer v letih 2012–2019 rahlo dvignil. Duhovnikom zaupajo do 7 % bolj in Cerkvi 9 % (raziskava Valicon 2019). Toda še vedno sta zaupanje v Cerkev in duhovnike na dnu lestvice.

Ob pogledu na temeljno poslanstvo Cerkve in rezultate raziskave Valicon 2019 se zastavlja mnogo vprašanj. Kaj povzroča tako stanje in položaj Cerkve? Človek lahko najprej pomisli na škandale v Cerkvi – finančni kolapsi, spolne zlorabe ipd. Branko Cestnik je naredil primerjavo s Španijo, kjer je stanje primerljivo z izsledki slovenske raziskave – na vrhu so prostovoljna združenja, policija, šolstvo. Na sredini sodstvo in novinarstvo. Na dnu lestvice pa sindikati, politika in Cerkev. Tako je španska situacija primerljiva z rezultati slovenske raziskave. Prav tako je dejstvo, da se tradicionalnim institucijam in tradicionalnim ponudnikom političnega in svetovnonazorskega smisla ne zaupa več. Raziskave so pokazale, da se najbolj zaupa onim, ki delajo brezplačno, takoj za njim so tisti, ki so za pomoč vedno pri roki. To pa verjetno pomeni, da hierarhična Cerkev v zavesti modernega človeka še vedno uteleša pojem velike tradicionalne institucije, ki ni priljubljena (Cestnik 2019).

Človek v današnjem svetu in času dobi občutek, kot da Boga ne potrebujemo več. Govorimo, da je Bog mrtev (Nietzsche) ali o Božjem mrku (Buber), govorimo o milenijcih (rojenih nekje v letih 1981–1999) kot o najbolj neverni generaciji v zgodovini Zahoda. In v tem kontekstu rezultate raziskav in mesto zaupanja v Cerkev in duhovnike lažje razumemo (Cestnik 2019).

V obdobju zadnjih deset, petnajst let opažamo, da se je v slovenskem prostoru odnos do Cerkve močno spremenil. Če izhajamo iz raziskave Slovensko javno mnenje 2011,¹ ugotovimo, da gre za najnižje zaupanje v Cerkev v času samostojne

¹ Slovensko javno mnenje (SJM) 2010 je raziskava, ki je bila opravljena kot del Evropske družboslovne raziskave 2010 (ESS 2010). ESS je akademsko vodena mednarodna anketa, ki je bila do sedaj izvedena že v več kot 30 državah.

Slovenije – veliko ali precejšnje zaupanje v Cerkev izraža le 25 % Slovencev. Eden od bistvenih dejavnikov, ki so na tako stanje (izrazito) vplivali, je gotovo finančni polom v Mariborski škofiji. Posamezni analitiki na osnovi raziskave ugotavljajo, da je zaupanje v Cerkev upadlo tudi med cerkveno vernimi oz. rednimi obiskovalci verskih obredov. Vsa ta dogajanja, ki so zaupanje v Cerkev načela, pa nimajo vpliva samo na sedanjo situacijo, ampak tudi na prihodnost.

Dejstvo je, da z nezaupanjem pada tudi statistika vernikov v naših občestvih, v naših župnijah. Po podatkih Statističnega urada RS je imela Slovenija 1. januarja 2020 2.095.861 prebivalcev. Po podatkih slovenskih škofij pa je bilo v navedenem obdobju katoličanov 1.509.986 – kar je 72,11 % delež (Letopis 2020).

3. Današnji kontekst – pandemija koronavirusa

Svet, v katerem živimo, je zaznamovan s pandemijo covid-19 in njenimi posledicami (Žigon 2020, 765–781). Ob tem se pojavlja vprašanje, če je med zaupanjem, nezaupanjem in obdobjem pandemije kakšna povezava. Dejstvo je, da je pandemija zaznamovala čas in življenje, pa tudi pastoralno življenje in delovanje. John C. Lennox piše, da je eden od glavnih učinkov epidemije vsesplošni občutek ranljivosti in nebogljenosti. Mnogi so se navadili na stabilen svet, v katerem je življenje razmeroma predvidljivo. Zdaj pa se zdi, da vse razpada – tega, na kar smo se vedno zanašali, ni več (Stegu 2020). Občutek imamo, kot da smo izpostavljeni silam, nad katerimi nimamo nadzora. Ljudje se bojijo za svoje zdravje, tako telesno kot duševno, za svoje sorodnike in prijatelje, za svoje ostarele, za preskrbo s hrano, za službe, ekonomsko varnost (Lennox 2020, 22).

Pandemija je ‚napadla‘ občestvo. V Konstituciji o svetem bogoslužju beremo, da se je treba truditi, da se razcvete zavest župnijskega občestva zlasti v občestvenem obhajanju nedeljske maše (B, tč. 42). Pandemija je onemogočila prav ta segment aktivnega verskega življenja. Zaprle so se cerkve, učilnice, župnijske pisarne. Na prvi pogled je župnijsko versko življenje ugasnilo – tam, kjer se je prej dogajalo pastoralno življenje, je nastal mrtev prostor. Nekateri verniki (ne pa vsi) so se zavedali, da je v novonastali situaciji praktično krščansko življenje v njihovih rokah. In čez noč se je rodila ‚domača‘ Cerkev, malo občestvo. Dejstvo je, da je to ‚zaprtje‘ vernike presejalo. Mnogi so ‚dobili opravičilo‘, se umaknili in se nazaj v občestvo niso več vrnili. Zastavlja se vprašanje, ali gre tudi v teh primerih za nezaupanje v Cerkev kot institucijo.

Druga stvar, ki jo je pandemija ‚napadla‘, pa je oznanjevanje, ki je eno izmed pomembnejših področij naše pastorale. Lahko bi rekli, da smo, ker oznanjamo. In tudi tukaj vidimo, da nas je pandemija zadela tam, kjer smo bili živi, kjer smo bili potrjeni. Mediji, ki smo jih še ‚včeraj‘ odsvetovali, so čez noč postali naša rešitev (Spitzer 2016, 232) – ravno ta sredstva so postala edini kanal komunikacije in oznanjevanja (Šegula 2020, 21–23).

Pravzaprav je Cerkev reševala nastalo situacijo – in v tem reševanju je bilo veliko spontanega. Virtualno oznanjevanje se je pojavilo čez noč. V tem kontekstu

lahko vidimo, da so se nekateri ‚izgubili‘, ker sodobne medijske tehnologije niso večji. Nekateri so o ‚resničnosti‘ tega načina oznanjevanja dvomili – in tako sta se znova pritihotapila dvom in nezaupanje, ki sta občestva oklestila.

Vse to potrjujejo tudi številke, ki kažejo na številčni upad članov naših skupnosti.

4. Vizija upanja na področju pastoralne teologije

Vsak poskus nečesa novega, novega pastoralnega pristopa je neko upanje, da bomo kazalnike usmerili navzgor. O svoji negativni izkušnji piše Thomas Frings, ki se je službi župnika leta 2016 odpovedal in odšel v samostan – neke vrste odmik od aktivnega pastoralnega življenja in dogajanja. V knjigi govori o nepravilnostih, o zgrešenostih, o neuspehu pastoralnega delovanja (Frings 2018). Zapustil je župnijo, zapustil je pastoralno delo – ker se je čutil neuspešnega in neučinkovitega. Po eni strani dobi človek občutek obupa, po drugi strani pa gre za iskanje novih poti.

Ob pregledu literature, ki opisuje pozitivne pastoralne izkušnje, ne moremo spregledati knjige, ki opisuje dobro prakso kanadskega duhovnika Jamesa Malloona. Po uspešni, temeljiti duhovni in pastoralni prenovi svoje župnije je izredno cenjen svetovalac pri prenavljanju župnijskih struktur in uresničevanju vizije nove evangelizacije. Napisal je tudi knjigo z naslovom *Božja prenova*, kjer z bralci deli številne razmisleke o možnostih za poživitev župnijskih skupnosti. Izhaja iz lastnih pastoralnih izkušenj. Našo pozornost usmerja na prehojeno pot, na vrednotenje sedanjega stanja, hkrati pa nam poskuša pokazati poti in možnosti za prihodnost. V svojem bistvu je Cerkev misijonska, zato James Mallon opominja, da morajo župnijska občestva postati zbor Jezusovih učencev, ki pogumno oznanja in deli radostno sporočilo evangelija z vso okolico (Družina 2021).

James Mallon je pri svojem pastoralnem delu razmišljal, kako priti do ljudi. Ne gre zgolj za tiste, ki so že v Cerkvi (ki so praktični kristjani), ampak predvsem za oddaljene. Zanj je bil tečaj Alfa pravo odkritje. Sam pravi, da nikoli ni doživel takih sadov ‚učencevstva‘. Po metodi tečaja Alfe je uspel nagovoriti ljudi različnih ozadij in stopenj vernosti. Sam pravi, da so se njegove župnije spremenile – da so doživele preporod, ko je tečaj Alfa postavil v središče prizadevanja za evangelizacijo. Tako je tečaj Alfa v njegovi župniji na široko odprl vrata nove evangelizacije. Istčasno je potekalo osem vzporednih tečajev z več kot tristo petdeset udeleženci, od katerih je bilo približno tretjina takih, ki v cerkev ne hodijo (Mallon 2021, 189).

Gre za reformo, ki je začela spreminjati podobo župnije, pa tudi pogled ljudi samih na župnijo kot občestvo, kot institucijo. Mallon ni želel le reforme struktur, ampak celostno transformacijo, ki vključuje tako strukture kot tudi duhovno sfero. V knjigi predstavlja analizo petih sistemov, ki vključujejo čiščenje, evangelizacijo, učencevstvo, občestvo in služenje. Avtor se naslanja na dokument iz Aparecide, ki ne postavlja le teologije za oblikovanje ‚misijonarskih učencev‘, ampak ponuja tudi podroben opis procesa, ki ga za to potrebujemo. Prav ta dokument predlaga »pet te

meljnih vidikov v procesu oblikovanja misijonarskih učencev« (42). Prvi vidik je češčenje, ki dobi glavni poudarek v obhajanju evharistije. Češčenje lahko vključuje še molitvena srečanja in pa slavljenje v manjših skupinah. Drugi temeljni vidik je evangelizacija. Avtor pravi, da gre za oznanilo ali kerigmo, za veselo novico Božje ljubezni, ki se je razodela v Jezusu, in odrešenje, ki nam ga je podaril po križu in vstajenju – in to oznanilo je namenjeno tistim, ki Jezusa ne poznajo. Namen je pripeljati ljudi do odločitve, da Jezusu zaupajo, da mu sledijo in postanejo njegovi učenci. Tisti, ki na ta klic odgovorijo, jih evangelizacija pripelje do zakramenta krsta in sprave. Tako se evangelizacija ne ukvarja toliko z ljudmi ,znotraj' Cerkve, ampak je usmerjena na ljudi zunaj. Prav tako je pomemben tretji vidik – to je učenčevstvo. Gre za vseživljenjski proces rasti, dozorevanja in učenja. Učenčevstvo je povezano z evangelizacijo – vključuje katehezo, prav tako pa rast v veri, spoznavanju, molitvi in odkrivanju od Boga danih darov. Četrty vidik je občestvo – po Novi zavezi je to koinonija ali skupno življenje. Občestvo ni samo množica ljudi, ki se ne pozna, temveč prav nasprotno – ljudje, ki se poznajo in ljubijo, se med sabo kličejo po imenu in podpirajo v klicu k svetosti. Vezivo takega občestva je ljubezen in odgovornost drug za drugega. Zadnji, peti poudarek je služenje bližnjim. Namen tega procesa je, da pripeljemo človeka do točke, ko začuti svojo poklicanost k služenju. James Mallon meni, da pravo merilo služenja v župniji ni število bralcev pri maši, ampak delež služb, ki odhajajo na ,eksistencialno obrobje', kot ga je imenoval Bergoglio (290–291).

Ta model kaže na uspešen, celostni pristop. Župnijska pastorala je lahko po teh korakih doživela preporod na vseh področjih, v vseh segmentih. Avtor James Mallon je gost mnogih pastoralnih srečanj, kjer te korake na področju župnijske pastorale predstavlja. Organizira tudi seminarje v Kanadi – v svoji župniji. Udeleženci prihajajo z vsega sveta.

5. Upanje v slovenski pastorali

Na stanje v naši slovenski pastorali je smiselno pogledati z več strani. En vidik je zaskrbljujoča raziskava, ki smo jo predstavili v tem članku, hkrati pa je treba videti dobre, pozitivne stvari po naših župnijah, na terenu. Vidimo, da stvari niso črno-bele. Če pogledamo slovensko statistiko v grobem, ugotovimo, da imamo v Sloveniji približno 10 % praktičnih kristjanov. Okoli 70 % slovenske populacije se opredeljuje za kristjane. Izziv za slovensko pastoralo vidimo v iskanju vstopnih mest. Kje in kako priti do teh kristjanov? V praksi vidimo več poskusov: krsti, pogrebi, poroke in neformalna srečanja. Vse to so ,vrata' do ljudi ,zunaj'.

Jamesu Mallonu je uspel preporod med drugim s tečajem Alfa. Ob pregledu stanja v Sloveniji vidimo, da so tudi pri nas – po zgledu modela Jamesa Mallona – narejeni prvi koraki. Rezultati so pozitivni, ponekod pa kar presenetljivi. V kontekstu prenove pastoralnega delovanja lahko izpostavimo primer pastoralne zveze v Slovenj Gradcu, kjer so postavili življenje župnije (zveze župnij) na nove temelje. Ne gre le za strukturno reformo, temveč za celostno preobrazbo. Nosilci te preobrazbe so ,odkrili' model Jamesa Mallona, se ob njem navdušili in ga ,preve-

dli' slovenskim razmeram ustrezno. Preporod se začneja z duhovnim življenjem – Jezusa Kristusa zavestno postavljajo v središče. Sledijo tudi vsem drugim vidikom: delo s praktičnimi kristjani (učencevstvo), ustvarjanje občestev, pa vse do služenja (dati se na razpolago).

V času pandemije (popolnega zaprtja) se je oblikovala skupina duhovnikov (župniki, kaplani), ki so na dva tedna skupaj prebirali knjigo Jamesa Mallona *Božja prenova* in iskali navdihe za svoje konkretno pastoralno delovanje. Povabljeni so bili tudi drugi pastoralni sodelavci, ki so se srečevali v svoji skupini na Zoomu – da na področju pastoralnega delovanja poiščejo svoj prostor, svoje mesto.

In ti premiki so upanje, da tudi Cerkev v Sloveniji zapuša držo ,vzdrževalca' struktur in gre v smeri misijona. Pomenljiv je podnaslov knjige Jamesa Mallona, ki pravi: od vzdrževanja do misijona v župniji, ki bo v luči ozaveščanja vedno bolj omogočal tudi spremembo stvarnosti, v kateri živimo (Vodičar 2016, 378).

6. Sklep

V prvem delu članka smo predstavili raziskavo, ki nam kaže stopnjo zaupanja oz. nezaupanja družbe do Cerkve in duhovnikov. V nadaljevanju pa smo želeli pokazati na primer dobre prakse. Gre za primer kanadskega duhovnika Jamesa Mallona, ki je uspel – kljub mnogim negativnim trendom – obrniti kazalnike v pozitivno smer. Njegov model pastoralnega delovanja je dokaz, da so premiki možni. Ob tem modelu so se navdušili tudi nekateri slovenski pastoralisti in prvi sadovi so že vidni (pastoralna zveza).

Vsekakor nam pri tem prizadevanju prihaja naproti tudi sinoda o sinodalnosti, ki so jo nekateri poimenovali ,sinoda od spodaj navzgor'. Glavni namen je, da bi sinodalnost, za katero se papež Frančišek zavzema že od začetka pontifikata in ki je tudi glavna tema sinode, vsi verniki tudi v praksi zaživelii še pred začetkom sinodalnih razprav na zborovanju oktobra 2023 – in sicer s posvetovanji in razločevanjem najprej na škofijski in celinski, šele zatem na vesoljni ravni. Kot poudarja sinodalni načrt poti, se bo celoten sinodalni proces verodostojno uresničil le, če bodo vanj vključene krajevne Cerkve (Pogačnik 2021).

V vseh teh procesih ne gre ne za amerikanizacijo, niti ne za vaticanizacijo slovenske pastorale – temveč za iskanje načinov in oblik, ki so uresničljive v konkretnih pastoralnih situacijah (od spodaj). Temelj vsega pastoralnega prizadevanja je evangelij – gre torej za drugo ali pa celo že za tretjo evangelizacijo.

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Uničeno zaupanje, ustvarjanje pomena ter zdravljenje moralnih ran v sekulariziranem svetu in religioznem soočanju

Shattered Assumptions, Meaning Making, and Healing Moral Injuries in a Secularized World and through Religious Coping

Povzetek: V prispevku analiziramo štiri pojme, s katerimi je psihološko raziskovanje človekove ranjenosti poskušalo pojasniti, zakaj je osebna pot do okrevanja in polnega življenja v sekulariziranem svetu dolga – in zakaj se na tej poti odpirajo tudi vprašanja medosebne in kolektivne povezanosti, vere in duhovnosti. Izjemne travmatične situacije porušijo človekovo zaupanje v svet, sebe in druge, sprožijo proces osmišljanja ali ustvarjanja pomena ter povzročijo globoke osebne in kolektivne moralne rane. Tu zagovarjamo mnenje, da je raziskovanje in zdravljenje teh ran v socialni psihologiji in psihoterapiji pokazalo, da se sekularizirani svet danes po številnih desetletjih zanikanja ter življenja v obupu in nesmislu zaveda, da zdravljenje človekove ranjenosti vključuje oblikovanje pristnih življenjskih pripovedi o odrešitvi – in da je zdravljenje osebni, medosebni, kolektivni in duhovni proces.

Ključne besede: stiska, uničeno zaupanje, ustvarjanje pomena, moralna rana, sekularizirani svet, pripoved o odrešitvi, religiozno soočanje.

Abstract: In this paper, we analyze four concepts used by psychological research of human woundedness to try to explain why the personal path to recovery and full life in a secularized world is long and why questions of interpersonal and collective connection, faith and spirituality also arise on this path. Extreme traumatic experiences destroy a person's trust in the world, themselves and others, trigger the process of making sense or meaning, and cause deep personal and collective moral injuries. We argue that research and treatment of these injuries in social psychology and psychotherapy has shown that the secularized world today, after many decades of denial and living in despair and meaninglessness, has come to understand that healing human woundedness is a life-changing personal, interpersonal, collective and spiritual process which involves creating authentic life narratives of redemption.

Keywords: distress, shattered assumptions, meaning-making, moral injury, secularized world, redemptive life narrative, religious coping.

1. Uvod

Današnji čas je po splošnem prepričanju čas stiske in frustracije; tako zasebno kot v javnosti se pojavlja občutek prelomnosti, usodnosti, kar še povečuje zaskrbljenost in negotovost, ki jo sprožajo naravne nesreče, spremembe podnebja, mnenjski kaos in politična apatičnost. Papež Frančišek tako govori o ‚spremembi dobe‘. V nadaljevanju bomo poskušali s pomočjo štirih psiholoških pojmov analizirati, v kakšni meri k tem občutjem prispeva dejstvo, da v sodobni sekularizirani zahodni družbi dolga desetletja ni bilo načina, kako bi kot družba osmislili in izrazili stiske in trpljenje ljudi, ozdravili njihove moralne rane in moralno ranjenost celotnih družb.

2. Stiska, porušeno zaupanje in sekularizirani svet

Ljudje lažje prenašamo stiske in frustracije, če doživljamo, da imajo naše težave nek pomen – da so del nekega procesa, ki ima svoj smisel in nam koristen zaključek. Viktor Frankl je že pred desetletji po koncu grozot druge vojne ugotovil, da mora trpljenje, če naj ga sploh prenašamo, imeti smisel – mora služiti nekomu ali nečemu, kar je večje od nas samih in za kar je vredno trpeti (1959). Zelo naravno je, da se ljudje drug za drugega žrtvujemo, kadar situacija to zahteva in kadar to naredimo, ne da bi računali na kako neposredno korist zase. Toda včasih je trpljenje videti nesmiselno, nepotrebno in krivično – če npr. neozdravljivo zbolimo, ali če je prizadet otrok.

Da bi opisali šok in grozo, ki ju človek doživlja ob travmatičnih dogodkih in v nebo vpajočih krivicah, v socialni psihologiji uporabljajo poseben izraz, ki bi ga lahko prosto prevedli kot ‚porušeno zaupanje‘ (Janoff-Bulman 1992). Izraz *shattered assumptions* namreč dobesedno pomeni razbite predpostavke in opisuje notranje doživljanje žrtev travmatičnih dogodkov in drugih preživelih, ki zaradi soočenja z grozo, nemočjo in nedopovedljivostjo krivice izgubijo tla pod nogami – ker ne morejo več spontano verjeti v svet in vase, kot so lahko verjeli pred tem. Gre za tri predpostavke tega nevidnega in komaj prepoznavnega zaupanja v domačnost in prijaznost sveta in nas samih v njem: 1) da v svetu vladata pravičnost in dobrota, 2) da ima svet oz. življenje smisel in 3) da sem varen in vreden. Ta temeljna prepričanja delujejo kot varna podlaga našega življenja in udejstvovanja v svetu ter kot varna podlaga naših odnosov, zato je eden od temeljnih ciljev okrevanja tudi njihova obnovitev. Obnoviti zaupanje v svet pomeni med drugim najti pomen krivic, vojn, trpljenja in zlorab – kar je bila prav naloga Franklove logoterapije.

Z vidika empiričnega proučevanja tega pojava v socialni psihologiji in psihoterapiji je dobro opozoriti na dve dopolnitvi pojma razbite predpostavke: prvič, pri

predpostavkah o varnem svetu ne gre za zavestna, le kognitivna prepričanja, ampak globoko čustveno, neprepoznano in neosveščeno držo, ki jo bolje opišemo kot zaupanje, ki nas usmerja v delovanju in iniciativi (Folkman in Moskowitz 2007); drugič, to zaupanje se gradi v času odraščanja v družini in zato ni stvar posameznega uma ali srca, ampak je dediščina odnosov, ki jo je Bowlby poimenoval notranji delovni model; aktivira se v stiski in odraža v načinu iskanja opore v odnosih (Bowlby 1969; Lapore 2001, 101). Kot bomo videli, ti dopolnili prvotni domet izraza bistveno razširjata. Nakazujeta, da je porušeno zaupanje tako stvar ocene in vrednotenja, ki ga zunanjemu dogodku pripišemo, kot tudi stvar notranje drže do sebe in soljudi na podlagi preteklih izkušenj. Podobno velja za iskanje pomena: to ne more biti zgolj kognitivno prepričevanje ali iskanje vzorov in razlag za vsako ceno (Davis 2001).

Številni raziskovalci opozarjajo, da je obnova zaupanja v opisanem pomenu v sodobnem sekulariziranem svetu še posebej težka naloga, ker se ljudje ne morejo opreti na določen sprejet način razlage sveta in težav tega sveta (Petkovšek 2019, 29; Žalec 2019, 632). Ko gre za to, kako naj si pojasnijo pretekle in sedanje katastrofe, travme, vojne, trpljenje ali okoljske grožnje, so ljudje današnjega sveta prepuščeni sami sebi. Kakor se sicer zdi, da ima sodobni človek pri iskanju pomena večjo svobodo, pa od te svobode nima veliko koristi, ker je ustvarjanje pomena proces, ki presega zavestni napor posameznika in kjer posameznik računa na pomoč drugih in pogovor z njimi (Schwartz 2020). Zdi se, da sekularizirani svet te možnosti ne daje in poskuse religioznega iskanja pomena v razsvetljenskem stilu pogosto napada ali smeši (Strehle 2018).

Na prepoznaven način se je na to stanje izgubljenega zaupanja odzvala umetnost z začetkov 20. stoletja. V številnih izrazih te umetnosti, ki so nastali na ozadju globalnih travm 20. stoletja, so v namreč ospredju ironija, sarkazem, poudarjanje absurda in eksistencialnega obupa. V sekulariziranem svetu Bog temu kopičenju katastrof brez konca ne daje več pomena. Sodobni človek nima več zgodbe, v kateri bi poleg njega nastopal še kdo – te zgodbe ne more povedati nikomur in te zgodbe nihče ne posluša, tudi če bi jo človek vendarle ubesedil (Lyotard 1985, xxiv).

3. Sestavljanje raztreščenega sveta ali osmišljanje stiske

Kot odgovor na pojav razbitih predpostavk je raziskovalka Crystal Park v letih 2000–2010 razvila pojmovni model, ki pojasnjuje proces osmišljanja ali iskanja in ustvarjanja pomena (ang. *meaning making*, prim. pregled raziskav v Park 2020). Ugotovila je, da travmatični dogodki v doživljanju žrtve povzročijo razkorak med globalnimi prepričanji in vrednotami ter pomenom in vrednotami oz. vrednotenjem travmatične situacije. Tako npr. nenadna bolezen raka pri nas samih ali pri nekom, ki nam je blizu, nehote stopi v nasprotje z našim prepričanjem, da je svet varen in pošten (in da se poštenim ljudem ne more zgoditi nič slabega). To nasprotje ali razkorak povzroči stisko, ki sproži naša prizadevanja, da bi razkorak zmanjšali – prav to pa je definicija ustvarjanja pomena. Prva možnost za zmanj-

šanje razkoraka je, da človek globalno prepričanje o poštenosti sveta opusti, kar bi lahko v najslabšem primeru pomenilo, da ostane zagrenjen in živi vlogo žrtve (Park, Edmondson, Fenster in Blank 2008). Druga možnost je, da bolezensko situacijo razume kot izziv ali priložnost, in ne kot popolno zanikanje poštenosti sveta – v tem primeru se je pokazalo, da ima nad boleznijo večji nadzor in je lahko pri zdravljenju bolj aktiven (Maliski, Heilemann in McCorkle 2002).

Ljudje poskušamo razkorak med oceno travmatične situacije in našimi globalnimi prepričanji, verovanji in držo zmanjšati na številne načine. Tuhtanje, premlevanje, vsiljevanje neprijetnih misli in drugi posttravmatski simptomi so znak, da se je ta proces ustavil, da ni bil učinkovit in da morda sploh ne bo učinkovit (Silver in Updegraff 2013). Prav tako ni učinkovito, če se proces iskanja pomena osredotoči zgolj na iskanje vzrokov in racionalnih ali nenavadnih iracionalnih razlag – ali pa na prevzemanje že izdelanega pomena, ki ni ponotranjen oz. čustveno podprt (Davis 2001).

Pals (2006) ugotavlja, da proces ustvarjanja pomena vsebuje dva koraka: najprej procesiranje ali poglobitev v negativno izkušnjo, spremljajoča čustva, misli in vedenje, nato pa ubesedenje lastnega notranjega procesa, ki je pripeljal od trpljenja do rešitve. V zvezi s tem so raziskovalci dognali, da sta okrevanje in prilagoditev novi situaciji pozitivno povezana z občutkom nadzora nad lastnimi spomini in doživljanjem (Beike in Crone 2012) – kar je mogoče samo, če negativni dogodek za življenje prizadete osebe dobi določen pomen. Tako lahko na primer otrokova smrt za starše pomeni opomin, nauk ali nasvet, naj živijo polno in vredno življenje ali naj se posvetijo pomoči drugim otrokom (Klass 2001, 90).

Raziskovanje povojnih travm je še izpostavilo, da proces iskanja in ustvarjanja pomena ne more biti naloga zgolj izoliranega posameznika, ampak je medoseben, medgeneracijski in socialen – kolikor odmeva in zajame neko družbo v celoti (Možina, Toth in Kompan Erzar 2020; Weiss in Berger 2010).

4. Ustvarjanje pomena v religiozni drži

Za doživljanje izjemne stiske vojakov na fronti med prvo svetovno vojno je veljalo, da ‚v jarkih ni ateistov‘. Človek se v trenutkih izjemnega trpljenja in strahu pred smrtjo zateka k sili, za katero upa, da je močnejša od brezizhodne situacije, ki ga ogroža. Toda tako zatekanje je za učinkovito soočanje s stisko in utrditev vere največkrat brez dolgoročnih koristi. Nasprotno v primerih, ko gre za zdravje ali varnost najbližjih, človekova vera na proces iskanja in ustvarjanja pomena dokazano močno vpliva. Po eni strani vpliva na to, kako si bo človek pojasnil svojo trenutno situacijo, po drugi strani na to, kako bo to situacijo uskladil s svojo podobo Boga (Van Tongeren idr. 2019). Če na primer vera v dobrega in naklonjenega Boga pri nekom izključuje možnost, da izgubi ljubljeno osebo, bo ta razkorak najverjetneje pripeljal do velikih sprememb na obeh straneh. Človek se bo moral hkrati spoprijeti s tem, da dobri Bog očitno tako izgubo dopušča, kakor tudi s tem, da mu bo mor-

da ta izguba dolgoročno koristila. Ljudje v stiski, ki ni izjemna, večinoma preinterpretiramo stisko samo – in naših globalnih prepričanj ali vere ne postavljamo pod vprašaj. Tako na primer bolezen s časom razumemo kot izziv ali priložnost. Toda kadar je izguba, ki jo utрпи človek, izjemna, dolgoročno nepopravljiva ali travmatična, jo je težko preinterpretirati in uskladiti z običajno vero v Božjo previdnost ali dobroto. Takrat je sprememba glede globalnih verskih prepričanj nujna: človek se bo morda potolažil s tem, da je Božja volja skrivnostna in da o svoji usodi ne more odločati sam – lahko pa bo vero v Boga in Božjo naklonjenost povsem opustil. Številni rakavi bolniki pravijo, da so vero v Boga izgubili (Gall in Cornblat 2002).

Izguba motivacije za iskanje in ustvarjanje pomena, s katerim lahko razkorak med trenutno stisko in globalnimi prepričanji premostimo, vodi v poglabitev stiske in stresa, povečanje negotovosti, depresivnosti in strahu pred smrtjo ter posledično večja tveganja za fizično zdravje (Edmondson, Park, Chaudoir in Wortmann 2008). Na drugi strani globoko verni ljudje v stiski in obupu svojo pozornost lahko preusmerijo na pozitivne vidike situacije in morebitne pozitivne posledice soočenja s situacijo. Eden od pomembnih momentov verskega ustvarjanja pomena je tako preoblikovanje pogleda na vir stresa, ki ga verni človek ne doživlja več kot sovražnega in naprejenega proti njemu osebno, temveč kot priložnost, ki jo bo z Božjo pomočjo obrnil sebi v prid in se z Bogom tako še bolj povezal (Vishkin, Bloom in Tamir 2019). Ta notranji proces preoblikovanja je pri vernih ljudeh dosti bolj pogost, kot se zdi, in malo raziskan.

Verska prepričanja, čeprav v zavesti ljudi kognitivno močno zasidrana in tudi javno izražena, še niso garant uspešnega osmišljanja stiske. Ni dovolj, da človek samo misli, da je svoje težave osmisлил in z molitvijo trpljenje prebrodil, ampak se mora ta proces odraziti v njegovih dejanjih – v prvi vrsti v večjem sočutju in socialni angažiranosti. Nekatere raziskave opozarjajo, da si ljudje o tem, kako so nas stiske spremenile in izboljšale, pogosto ustvarimo pretirano pozitivno sliko, medtem ko se ta rast v objektivnih kazalcih in mnenju naše okolice ne odraža (Frazier idr. 2009). To je še posebej pomembna ugotovitev za razumevanje reakcij sekulariziranega sveta na krščansko osmišljanje trpljenja. Sekularizirani svet kristjanom že dolgo ne verjame na besedo, ampak jim z nietzschejanskim krikom obupa odgovarja: »Še premalo ste odrešeni!« (De Lubac 2001, 85–90).

5. Moralna rana sodobnega človeka

Travmatični dogodki povzročijo v doživljanju prizadetih raztreščenje nekega domnevnega domačega sveta, s tem pa poškodujejo njihovo vero v pravični in pošten svet, ki je za okrevanje in polno življenje nujna. To poškodbo lahko opišemo s pojmom moralne rane, ki jo zadnja leta prepoznavajo in proučujejo pri vojnih veteranih sodobnih spopadov. Pojem je postal zanimiv za različne discipline, ki poskušajo razumeti, kako travme odmevajo v notranjosti sodobnega človeka – opozarja namreč, da je v jedru vere v svet in sebe nekakšen občutek zase, ki se opira na etične temelje, in da je poškodba tega moralnega čuta pogosto osrednja

težava soočanja s travmatičnimi izkušnjami (Litz idr. 2009). Drescher idr. definira moralno rano kot »motnjo v posameznikovem zaupanju in pričakovanjih glede sebe in drugih, da želijo in so sposobni delovati pravično in etično« (2011, 9). V definicijo moralne rane sodi tudi nezmožnost, da bi človek svoja ali tuja dejanja moralno opravičil, toleriral izdano zaupanje, trpel krivico ali prevaro.

Moralna rana je razkorak med lastnimi dejanji in etično podobo o sebi. Je poškodba tihega in neopaznega zaupanja, ki človeka povezuje s svetom in soljudmi. Ni nujno, da oseba kaj zagreši, lahko je samo priča kakemu dejanju, ki njen moralni občutek poškoduje, ali pa doživlja, da je kriva, ker ni preprečila kake krivice. Tipične reakcije, ki nakazujejo moralno rano, so občutja krivde (»Naredil sem nekaj slabega«), osramočenosti (»Sem slab človek, ker dopuščam zlorabe«), gnusa (kadar gre za kršitev telesne ali spolne integritete) in jeze (kadar je človek ob krivici nemočen). Še druge značilnosti moralno ranjenih oseb so nepopustljivost do sebe, samodestruktivnost, nezmožnost, da bi si odpustili. Ljudje z moralnimi ranami so nagnjeni k depresiji in samomorilnosti; ker živijo pod stalnim pritiskom, ne morejo živeti polnega in zdravega življenja – kar seveda zadeva tudi njihove najbližje in širšo skupnost.

Danes psihologi brez zadrege govorijo o tem, da moralna rana poškoduje ne le posameznikovo duševnost, temveč tudi dušo – torej odnos do presežnega, na katerega se pri vernih osebah opira moralni čut. V tem smislu ni vseeno, kako moralno rano ljudi razume širša skupnost in kakšen pomen lahko taki poškodovanosti svojih članov dá. Lep primer za to je dolgoletna zgodovina nerazumevanja oz. postopnega razumevanja travmatskih motenj, ki so bile sprva razumljene predvsem skozi telesne poškodbe in smrtno ogroženost – šele pozneje skozi psihične blokade, strah in sram (Fisher 2017). Stalna težava ljudi, ki trpijo zaradi moralne rane, je, da se v družbi počutijo osamljene in izolirane, čeprav bi lahko s psihoterapevtskega vidika zagovarjali, da ti ljudje občutijo krivičnost tudi namesto tistih, ki jo povzročajo, zanikajo ali ignorirajo. Tipičen primer takega ignoriranja je odnos domače javnosti do vojnih veteranov in moralnega pomena njihovih dejanj: javnost si glede tega zatiska oči ali pa jih bolj ali manj prikrito krivi za vojne tragedije in poraze (Litz idr. 2009).

Lahko bi rekli, da je s pojmom moralne rane sekularizirani svet paradokсно odkril, da je ranjen v duši – v svojem duhovnem jedru. Dolga desetletja je to ranjenost potiskal v sfero zasebnega, neracionalnega, nevrotičnega, fiktivnega. Religiozne poskuse reševanja je zato imel za sterilno projiciranje človekovih težav v nebo. Toda kot smo pokazali, pojem moralne rane razgrinja, da moralno ranjeni niso samo posamezniki, ampak celotna skupnost, ki teh individualnih ran ne prepozna, še manj pa svoje povezanosti, vključenosti in prepletenosti z njimi – kar pomeni, da ne prepozna in zato ne more zdraviti svoje moralne ranjenosti. Raziskovanje procesov sprave in odpuščanja je pokazalo, da moralne rane storilcev in žrtev ležijo v duši celotne družbe, čeprav se ta tega ne zaveda in za svoje stanje nima ustreznih izrazov ali pojmov (Kompan Erzar 2020). Pa vendar največja moralna rana 20. stoletja v krščanskem občestvu nemške družbe ni ostala brez izraza: prav v teologiji trpečega Boga je nemški kristjan našel izraz, s katerim je premostil razkorak med občutji strahote nacizma in vero v Boga Jezusa Kristusa (Moltmann 1993, 9).

6. Sekularizirani svet potrebuje pristne zgodbe o ozdravitvi moralnih ran

McAdams ugotavlja, da je iskanje pristnih izrazov oz. pripovedi, s katerimi si ljudje osmišljamo svoje tako negativne kot tudi pozitivne izkušnje, proces, ki ga sooblikujejo kulturne norme in celotna kulturna dediščina neke družbe. Ljudje, pravi, smo soavtorji svojih življenjskih zgodb in veliki posnemovalci (2006). Rezultati tega procesa so po njegovem t. i. pripovedi o odrešitvi, saj soočanje s izjemnimi stiskami ljudi spremeni do te mere, da doživljajo, da niso več stari jaz, ampak novi jaz, ki ga brez tega procesa nikoli ne bi bilo. Sposobnost oblikovanja odrešilnih življenjskih zgodb ni le v besedah in glavah, povezana je s psihičnim blagostanjem, psihosocialno zrelostjo in družbeno angažiranostjo (McAdams in Guo 2015). Še več, v takih zgodbah izraz odrešitev največkrat ni mišljen metaforično, temveč v pristnem duhovnem in verskem pomenu.

Svet po drugi svetovni vojni ni imel veliko priložnosti, da bi za nakopičene travmatične izkušnje našel pristne javne izraze. Nasprotno so danes zgodbe o osebni odrešitvi ter premagovanju stisk in trpljenja kulturni *mainstream*. Ljudje iščejo in se navdihujejo ob pristnih pripovedih o osebni rasti, ki je izšla iz take ali drugačne ranjenosti. Na ozadju tega trenda lažje razumemo, kaj je svet izgubil, ko je zavrnil ali opustil iskanje pomena v okviru krščanske vere v Boga Očeta. Ta zavrnitev je imela dvoje razloge: na eni strani je bila ranjenost, izoliranost in ogroženost ljudi prevelika, da bi jo znali sprejeti in izraziti, na drugi strani pa je krščanstvo ponudilo premalo izrazov in premalo pristnih modelov, da bi se ljudje ob njih navdihovali.

De Lubac ugotavlja, da je moderni humanizem ali ateizem nastal in se še ohranja iz občutka krivice. Človek doživlja, da mu je nekaj odvzeto, da je za nekaj prikrajšan, in če bo odstranil Boga, bo – tako upa – vse dobil nazaj (2001, 15). Posledica tega je, da stoletje in pol po mislecih, ki so se navduševali nad idejo odstranitve Boga in odprave vzrokov za to iluzorno projekcijo človeka v nebo (Feuerbach, Strauss, Marx), moderni človek nima nikogar, s komer bi o svojem občutku krivice, zapuščenosti, nesmisla in obupa govoril. Najbrž bi tu morali iskati tudi vzroke za to, da Evropa in svet nista nikoli zmogla povedati pristne, trajne zgodbe o svojih vojnah, na katero bi se lahko ljudje naslonili ter pokopali in odžalovali svoje mrtve. Črno-bele ideološke zgodbe so ljudem odvzele upanje, da bi se lahko oprli na družbeno podprto pripoved o smrti svojih najbližjih. V tem pogledu je zahodni svet ob vstopu v 20. stoletje postal družba, v kateri navadno propadejo vsi poskusi pristnega govorjenja o krivicah, moralnih ranah, globoki travmiranosti in zapuščenosti, duhovni praznini in nesmislu – kot bi bile te teme in ta občutja premočni in preveč razdiralni in kot da bi bile vse zgodbe obsojene na to, da se bodo iztekle v izumetničeno ponujanje cenениh rešitev.

7. Sklep

Naša analiza štirih pojmov, s katerimi poskušajo v zadnjih desetletjih sociologi, psihologi in psihoterapevti opisati človeško soočanje z izjemnimi stiskami, krivi-

camii in trpljenjem, je pokazala, da se sodobni človek s svojo ranjenostjo odpira tako soljudem kot duhovnim virom. Ti pojmi – uničene predpostavke, ustvarjanje pomena, moralna rana in pripovedi o odrešitvi – niso nastali na podlagi teoretičnih premis ali religiozних idej, ampak so rezultat empiričnega preiskovanja, ki beleži dejanske spremembe v življenju ljudi, ki po travmatičnih izkušnjah iščejo pot v polno življenje. Zato lahko utemeljeno trdimo, da razvoj teh pojmov odraža proces sprememb v doživljanju in samorazumevanju postmodernega človeka in sveta. V tej luči se ateistična paradigma kaže kot poskus reševanja krivice, ki temelji na uporu in jezi ter se izteče v naraščajoči brezup in nezaupanje, medtem ko oblike religioznega soočanja modernemu človeku omogočajo, da na krivice zre z vidika duhovne rasti ali odrešitve in polnega življenja.

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Monografije FDI - 22



✧ Rojstvo sakralnosti ✧ hrepenenje po Bogu ✧
✧ občutje svetega ✧ vrojenost ideje o Bogu ✧
✧ razlogi za vero in nevero ✧

Psihoanaliza in sakralno izkustvo

Christian Gostečnik OFM



Christian Gostečnik

Psihoanaliza in sakralno izkustvo

Psihoanalitična relacijska paradigma predpostavlja, da imata tako religiozni kot nereligiozni človek svoje psihične razloge za vero oziroma nevero. Zato je pomembno ugotoviti v kakšnega Boga verujoči veruje oziroma v kakšnega Boga neverujoči ne veruje. Tudi religiozna oseba namreč ne veruje v Boga v katerega nereligiozna oseba ne veruje ali ne more verjeti.

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Jonas Miklavčič

Zaupanje in uspešnost umetne inteligence v medicini

Trust and Success of Artificial Intelligence in Medicine

Povzetek: Evropska komisija je aprila 2021 izdala predlog pravilnika, ki bo omogočil regulacijo umetne inteligence (UI). Mnogi kompleksni algoritemski sistemi, ki v medicini ponujajo največ upanja za drastičen napredek, strogih kriterijev, ki jih v svojem predlogu navaja Evropska komisija, pogosto žal ne dosegajo – npr. ne delujejo transparentno. Kot enega izmed kriterijev za presojanje etičnosti uporabe UI tako predlagam kriterij uspešnega delovanja, saj bi morda lahko sistemom, ki konsistentno delujejo uspešno, zaupali tudi, če kriterija transparentnosti ne bi dosegali. Tu naletimo na problem odnosa med zaupanjem in uspešnostjo. Ne le, da je naše zaupanje v odnosu do UI odvisno od uspešnega delovanja sistemov, pač pa je tudi uspešnost njihovega delovanja odvisna od našega zaupanja – saj njihova odličnost temelji tudi na uporabi podatkov, ki jim jih zaupamo v učne namene. Morda je edini način za rešitev tega krožnega problema ta, da sistemom zaupamo, tudi ko ti zaupanja še niso povsem vredni.

Ključne besede: umetna inteligenca, medicina, transparentnost, zaupanje, uspešno delovanje

Abstract: The European Commission has proposed legislation to enable the regulation of artificial intelligence (AI). However, many complex algorithmic systems that offer the greatest hope for dramatic advances in medicine often fail to meet the strict criteria of the European Commission – e.g. they often do not operate transparently. As one of the criteria for assessing the ethical use of AI, I propose the criterion of successful performance since perhaps systems that work consistently well could be trusted even if they do not meet the criterion of transparency. Here we encounter the problem of the relationship between trust and performance. Not only does our trust in AI depend on the successful operation of the systems, but the success of their operation depends on our trust since their performance also relies on the use of data we provide for algorithm's learning. Perhaps we need to trust the systems before they can be trustworthy.

Keywords: artificial intelligence, medicine, transparency, trust, successful performance

1. Uvod

S povečevanjem vpliva, ki ga ima umetna inteligenca (UI) na vsakdanje življenje ljudi, se povečuje tudi potreba po njeni pravni ureditvi, ki mora – če želi biti ustrezna – temeljiti tudi na tehtnih premislekih, ki se tičejo vprašanj, vezanih na moralno filozofijo in na naravo umetne inteligence same. V prispevku želim izpostaviti specifične etične vidike, ki – če bo prikaz uspešen – očitno temeljijo na pomembnih tehničnih vidikih tehnologije, ki prodira na ključna družbena področja, tudi v medicino. Če že ne njegova vzpostavitev, pa vsaj prikaz jasne potrebe po interdisciplinarnem pristopu k reševanju situacije, v kateri smo se znašli, predstavlja glavni cilj tega prispevka.

Posebej bi rad izpostavil, da v pričujočem prispevku področje medicine služi predvsem kot platno; nanj je mogoče na relativno jasen način projicirati problem-ski sklop, iz katerega izhajajo vprašanja, ki jih odpiram – še zdaleč pa medicina ni edino področje, ki se ga tovrstna vprašanja tičejo.

V prispevku si bomo najprej ogledali nekaj za našo razpravo ključnih točk, ki jih Evropska komisija navaja v svojem novem predlogu pravilnika – ta naj bi predvidoma omogočil regulacijo umetne inteligence v Evropski uniji. Izpostavili bomo tudi, zakaj so nekateri v predlogu zastavljeni kriteriji, ki bi jih morali dosegati sistemi UI z visoko stopnjo tveganja, morda vendarle nekoliko prestrogi. V nadaljevanju bomo predlagali kriterij uspešnega delovanja, ki bi se morda lahko izognil kriteriju transparentnega delovanja sistemov, ki žal pogosto ni dosegljiv. V osrednjem delu prispevka bomo pokazali, kako je naše zaupanje sistemom predpogoj za njihovo uspešnost, v zadnjem pa še, da lahko to zaupanje v osnovi izhaja le iz čistega upanja, da umetna inteligenca življenja dejansko lahko rešuje. In zdi se, da moramo tu sodelovati vsi.

2. Predlog Evropske komisije

Evropska komisija je 21. aprila 2021 izdala predlog pravilnika, ki bo v prihodnje urejal področje umetne inteligence v Evropski uniji. Namen regulacije je omogočiti ,zaupanja vredno umetno inteligenco' in zagotoviti pravni okvir za njeno etično uporabo. V prihajajočih mesecih bosta Evropski parlament in Svet predlog ločeno pregledala, dopolnila in po potrebi spremenila, nato pa sledijo še pogajanja o končnem zakonu. Dejanski ureditvi področja torej verjetno še nismo blizu, gotovo pa je nakazana smer obetavna. Storjeni prvi koraki so ključni že zato, ker odražajo jasno željo, da tako pomembno področje začnemo regulirati čim hitreje – da končno omogočimo uporabo zaupanja vrednih sistemov in hkrati onemogočimo uporabo tistih, pri katerih tveganja ne moremo upravičiti.

Predlog zakona temelji na delitvi sistemov umetne inteligence v štiri skupine,¹ ki naj bi odražale stopnjo tveganja, ki ga uporaba sistemov prinaša. Lahko si predsta-

¹ V predlogu so sistemi pravzaprav razdeljeni v tri skupine, a za lažjo preglednost sledim delitvi na štiri skupine, ki jo Evropska komisija v povzetku predloga navaja na svoji spletni strani (European Commission 2021).

vljamo piramido s štirimi nivoji. Na njenem dnu je največ sistemov – in ti po mnenju Evropske komisije predstavljajo minimalno stopnjo tveganja. V to skupino sodijo npr. umetna inteligenca v videoigrah in t. i. *spam* filtri, ki v nabiralniku naše elektronske pošte neželjeno pošto ločujejo od zelene (European Commision 2021). Na drugem nivoju piramide so sistemi, ki predstavljajo omejeno stopnjo tveganja in zato zanje Evropska komisija predlaga dodatno varovalo – te sisteme umetne inteligence zavezuje posebna dolžnost, ki je vezana na zagotovitev transparentnosti.² Tovrstni sistemi bodo morali (kljub temu, da načeloma ne predstavljajo velikega tveganja) uporabnika vsaj opozoriti na to, da ima opravka s sistemom umetne inteligence. Ko po spletu komuniciramo z banko, vse pogosteje govorimo s t. i. *chatboti* (stroji, ki simulirajo komunikacijo s človeškim svetovalcem) – in predlog zakona vključuje zahtevo, da je uporabniku eksplicitno dano vedeti, da govori s strojem in ne z živo osebo (European Commision 2021) – saj mu to omogoča, da lahko sprejme informirano odločitev, ali tak pogovor želi nadaljevati. Podobno bo veljalo tudi za t. i. ‚globoke ponaredke‘ (*deepfakes*) (Evropska komisija 2021, 15). Na vrhu piramide so sistemi, ki predstavljajo nesprejemljivo tveganje. Teh sistemov je sicer najmanj, a njihova uporaba varnost, dobrobit in pravice ljudi tako močno ogroža, da predvidoma ne bodo dovoljeni v nobenem kontekstu in pod nobenimi pogoji. V to skupino prepovedanih sistemov Evropska komisija uvršča npr. sisteme družbenega točkovanja³ (Evropska komisija 2021, 22) in otroške igrače z glasovno asistenco, ki temelji na umetni inteligenci in pri otrocih lahko spodbuja nevarno vedenje (European Commision 2021).

Drugi najvišji nivo na piramidi vključuje sisteme z veliko stopnjo tveganja. Ti sistemi so za etiko umetne inteligence največji izziv. Gre za sisteme, ki so lahko odlični in posledično zelo uporabni, a prav zaradi vrste njihovega namena in področij, na katerih jih uporabljamo, lahko predstavljajo veliko stopnjo tveganja. Nekatera področja uporabe takšnih sistemov so npr. kritična infrastruktura (avtomatizirana vozila), izobraževanje (avtomatizirano ocenjevanje testov), pa tudi zaposlovanje (avtomatizirano pregledovanje in rangiranje življenjepisov) in policija (skeniranje obrazov) (European Commision 2021). V to skupino spada seveda tudi medicina (postavljanje diagnoz in odločanje o poteku zdravljenja).

Ti sistemi, ki predstavljajo visoko stopnjo tveganja, bodo za vstop v kategorijo *zaupanja vredne umetne inteligence* morali dosegati posebno stroge pogoje (Evropska komisija 2021; High-Level Expert Group on Artificial Intelligence 2019). Pogoji, ki bodo morali biti izpolnjeni, so (European Commision 2021):

- Ustrezna ocenitev stopnje tveganja in dodatni sistemi za zmanjševanje tveganja.
- Visoka kvaliteta vhodnih podatkov za minimaliziranje tveganja in diskrimina-

² Nekoliko nerodno je v predlogu Evropske komisije (in tudi sicer v širšem diskurzu o umetni inteligenci) uporabljen izraz ‚transparentnost‘, ker se uporablja za različne fenomene – kar govor o umetni inteligenci dela manj jasnega in preglednega. Kot bomo videli, na tem mestu ‚transparentnost‘ pomeni zagotovitev, da uporabnik ve, da ima opravka z umetno inteligenco, v nadaljevanju pa bo ‚transparentnost‘ zagotovitev, da uporabnik ve, kaj in kako sistem umetne inteligence dejansko deluje.

³ Na Kitajskem v omejeni obliki že uporabljajo sistem, ki naj bi beležil, kaj prebivalci kupujejo, s kom se družijo, katere knjige berejo itd. Na podlagi ‚družbenih točk‘, ki so odvisne od njihovih dejavnosti, pa jim nato določene družbene ugodnosti ali pripadajo ali so jim odvzete (Kshetri 2020).

tornih rezultatov.

- Beleženje dejavnosti sistema za zagotovitev sledljivosti rezultatov.
- Podrobna dokumentacija, ki zagotavlja vse informacije o sistemu in njegovem namenu, da avtoriteta lahko oceni njuno skladnost.
- Jasne in adekvatne informacije za uporabnika.
- Ustrezen človeški nadzor za minimaliziranje tveganja.
- Visoka stopnja robustnosti, varnosti in natančnosti.

Za naš prispevek sta relevantni predvsem druga in peta točka teh sedmih zahtev. Drugi točki tu ne bomo posvečali posebne razlage, ker bo njena pomembnost ob branju prispevka postala očitna neodvisno od dodatnega pojasnila, peto točko pa si oglejmo nekoliko podrobneje. Peti kriterij, ki ga Evropska komisija predvideva kot pogoj, ki ga sistem iz skupine sistemov z veliko stopnjo tveganja mora izpolnjevati, od sistema med drugim zahteva, da uporabniku na zanj ustrezen način zagotovi transparentno poročilo o tem, kako je opravil svojo nalogo (npr. sprejel odločitve, če gre za sisteme algoritemskega odločanja). Čeprav obravnavana točka izraza ‚transparentnost‘ ne vsebuje, se v predlogu Evropske komisije ta izraz v povezavi s peto točko omenja pogosto.⁴ V predlogu je tako zapisano:

»Za odpravo neprepustnosti [*opacity*], zaradi katere so nekateri umetno-inteligenčni sistemi fizičnim osebam morda nerazumljivi ali zanje preveč zapleteni, bi bilo treba za umetno-inteligenčne sisteme velikega tveganja zahtevati določeno stopnjo preglednosti [*transparency*].« (Evropska komisija 2021, 31)

Podrobneje je peta točka predstavljena v razdelku z naslovom „Preglednost in zagotavljanje informacij uporabnikom“, ki med drugim pravi:

»Umetno-inteligenčni sistemi velikega tveganja so zasnovani in razviti tako, da je njihovo delovanje dovolj pregledno [*transparent*], da lahko uporabniki razlagajo izhodne podatke sistema in jih ustrezno uporabijo.« (50)

Sistemi, ki zaradi področja uporabe (npr. medicina) predstavljajo veliko stopnjo tveganja, bodo tako morali delovati dovolj transparentno, da bodo uporabniki njihove izhodne podatke lahko prav interpretirali. Smiselno se zdi izpostaviti problematičnost te formulacije. Ne le, da izraz ‚dovolj pregledno‘ sam ne pove veliko o zahtevani stopnji preglednosti (kriterij, »da lahko uporabniki razlagajo izhodne podatke sistema«, se problemu relativnosti ne izogne), pač pa Evropska komisija predvideva tudi, da ni dovolj, da so sistemi transparentni le načeloma (npr. za programerje teh algoritemskih sistemov), ampak morajo biti dovolj transparentni, da jih lahko na pomenljiv način interpretira uporabnik sam – doseči takšno stopnjo interpretabilnosti pa je pogosto, kot bomo videli, nemogoča naloga. Še posebej nenavadno je formuliran prav problem transparentnosti. Zapisano je namreč, da mora biti *delovanje* sistema dovolj pregledno, da uporabnik lahko interpretira *rezultat*

⁴ V slovenski različici predloga se uporablja izraz ‚preglednost‘, a sam ohranjam kar ‚transparentnost‘, ker je v preostali sodobni literaturi o umetni inteligenci ta izraz najbolj uveljavljen.

(izhodne podatke). Gre za dve povsem različni točki v procesu in naj poudarimo, da z interpretacijo izhodnih podatkov (rezultata) težav navadno sploh ni – težave so pri interpretaciji procesa, ki je do rezultatov vodil. Čeprav je zelo pomembna, pa lahko težavnost te formulacije v tem prispevku na srečo nekoliko zanemarimo. Ključno je le, da Evropska komisija predvideva, da je za zagotovitev zaupanja vredne umetne inteligence – kar je pogoj za njeno etično uporabo – potrebna tolikšna stopnja transparentnosti, da je sistem za uporabnika pomenljivo pregleden.

Sistemi, ki temeljijo na navadno zelo kompleksnih modelih umetne inteligence (npr. nevronske mreže), pogosto delujejo dobro, a žal ne transparentno. To preprosto pomeni, da sistemu damo določeno nalogo in učne podatke, na katerih se bo nalogo naučil opravljati (Zhau in Chen 2018) – na primer zelo veliko fotografij šimpanzov in nalogo, naj se nauči šimpanze prepoznavati. Stroj se nato sam (na) uči prepoznavati vzorce, ki mu bodo v prihodnosti omogočili na fotografijah identificirati šimpanze. V naslednjem koraku vstavimo (vhodni podatki) nabor fotografij različnih živali – in če je bilo učenje uspešno, bo iz nabora fotografij s precejšnjo natančnostjo izbral tiste, na katerih je šimpanz. Problem je, da pri nekaterih podobnih nalogah nimamo vpogleda v to, kako je prepoznavanje vzorcev med učenjem in nato izbiranje fotografij s šimpanzi dejansko potekalo. Tega vpogleda zaradi netransparentne narave kompleksnih sistemov pogosto nimajo niti sami strokovnjaki, ki so algoritem oblikovali – kaj šele uporabniki (Mittelstadt et al. 2016). V medicini prepoznavanje slik poteka na zelo podoben način kot v zgornjem primeru šimpanzov. Računalniški vid se v medicini uporablja na primer za pregledovanje rentgenskih slik, s čimer sistem, ki se je naučil prepoznavati odstopanja od normale, pomaga zdravniku pri postavitvi ustrezne diagnoze.

3. Kriterij uspešnega delovanja

Kriteriji, ki jih predlaga Evropska komisija, so tako strogi, da uporabo netransparentnih sistemov povsem izključujejo. Problem je, da so večinoma netransparentni sistemi prav tisti algoritmi, ki so sicer res najkompleksnejši, a za hiter in drastičen napredek v medicini pogosto predstavljajo največ upanja. Sistemi navadno delujejo zelo dobro – diagnoze pogosto postavljajo vsaj tako dobro kot zdravniki, praktično vedno pa hitreje (Sidney-Gibbons et al. 2019).⁵ Ob upoštevanju vseh naštetih prednosti se rešitev, da jih zato, ker kriterija transparentnega delovanja ne dosežajo, preprosto ne bi uporabljali, ne zdi optimalna.

Ključno vprašanje je torej: ali obstaja kak drug kriterij, ki bi etično uporabo netransparentnih sistemov lahko omogočil? Iskanje kriterija, ki bi bil dovolj močan, da bi nekatere druge etične kriterije v njegovem imenu zanemarili, se kaže kot relativno težka naloga. Zdi se namreč, da takšnih kriterijev ni veliko, a po mojem

⁵ Poznamo kar nekaj primerov, ko zdravniki sistemom niso več kos. Poleg neverjetne natančnosti in zmožnosti pregledovanja velike količine podatkov algoritemski sistemi preglede opravljajo tudi po 24 ur na dan, ne da bi (na primer med nočno izmeno) njihova uspešnost kakorkoli upadla (Gui in Chan 2017, 77).

mnenju obstaja vsaj eden – kriterij uspešnega delovanja. Kriterij uspešnega delovanja – preprosto povedano – pomeni, da če bi obravnavani sistemi konsistentno delovali uspešno,⁶ reševali življenja ter celostno izboljšali kakovost življenja mnogih ljudi, morda vpogled v podrobnosti njihovega delovanja ne bi bil tako zelo ključen. Ker je uspešnost kategorija, za katero je značilen določen razpon, imamo lahko sisteme, ki so uspešni bolj ali manj. Zato bi bil verjetno dober kriterij za ‚zadostno uspešnost‘ ta, da algoritmi nalogo konsistentno opravljajo uspešneje kot človeški zdravniki – in to ni redkost (Gui in Chan 2017).

Predlagani kriterij uspešnega delovanja ni neproblematičen. Čeprav so sistemi umetne inteligence v medicini pogosto zelo uspešni, pa nemalokrat tudi niso – in medicina ni področje, kjer bi si lahko privoščili veliko napak. Poznamo veliko primerov, kjer so bili sistemi uporabljeni testno – in če ne bi šlo le za test, bi pacienti lahko utrpeli resne posledice, v nekaterih primerih tudi smrt.⁷ Razlogov, zakaj mnogo sistemov še vedno pogosto deluje relativno neuspešno, je več. Uspešnost algoritmov je odvisna npr. od tega, ali je algoritem spisan ustrezno, da napak ne dela že kar sam po sebi. Slabo spisan algoritem bo namreč dajal slab rezultat ne glede na zelo dobro izbrane učne podatke in brežhiben način uporabe algoritma. V precejšnji meri pa je uspešnost odvisna tudi od količine in kvalitete učnih podatkov.⁸ Potrebni so namreč zelo veliko dobrih podatkov, na katerih se sistem (na)učni prepoznavati vzorce, ki jih kasneje pri svojem odločanju uporablja (Tauli 2019). Trenutno v medicini teh podatkov še ni prav veliko (Maier 2020; Willeminck et al. 2020). Problem podatkov (‚the data problem‘) je v medicini – in tudi na mnogih drugih področjih – zaradi obsega problemov celo svoje področje raziskovanja. Jennifer Bresnick med problemi navede nekaj največjih: podatke v medicini je težko pridobiti, izčistiti, shraniti, zavarovati, nato za njih skrbeti, jih posodobljati in uporabljati (Bresnick 2017) – problematično je lahko marsikaj. Ustrezno shranjevanje, varovanje in posodabljanje so kot problemi sicer pomembni, a ker so tehnične narave, bodo glede na hitrost tehnološkega napredka, ki smo mu priča v sodobni družbi, po mojem mnenju v bližnji prihodnosti razrešeni. Pridobivanje podatkov je medtem bolj zapleteno vprašanje. Ne le zato, ker so od rešitve tega problema odvisni vsi nadaljnji koraki in z njimi povezana problematika, temveč ker ima (ob zanimivi tehnični plati)⁹ problem pridobivanja podatkov tudi pomembno etično komponento. Eden od razlogov, da je do dobrih podatkov v medicini težko priti, je namreč tudi, da so učni podatki v medicini osebne

⁶ Kot ‚uspešno delovanje‘ razumem predvsem delovanje sistema, ki naloge opravlja v skladu z zastavljenim ciljem. Če sistem, katerega naloga je, da na fotografijah živali išče fotografije šimpanzov, te fotografije tudi dejansko poišče, je nalogo opravil uspešno – in upravičeno trdimo, da deluje uspešno. Izbrani izraz namenoma uporabljam zato, ker ga lahko navežemo na t. i. ‚success rate‘, ki je v tu nakazanem smislu objektivno izmerljiv.

⁷ IBM-ov *Watson Health's Algorithm* za prognozo pri rakavih obolenjih je pri testnih poskusih zelo pogosto predlagal načine zdravljenja, ki so se izkazali za hudo napačne in bi morda vodili v smrt pacienta (Grote in Bernes 2020, 208).

⁸ »Garbage in, garbage out problem« govori o tem, da slabi učni podatki vodijo v slabe rezultate ne glede na brežhibnost algoritma.

⁹ Pridobivanje podatkov je tehnično zahtevno med drugim zato, ker podatki pogosto niso dostopni (lahko jih preprosto ni, lahko pa obstajajo, a ne v digitalni obliki) ali pa niso strukturirani na način, primeren za algoritmično obdelavo (Willeminck 2020).

narave (saj gre za zdravstvene kartoteke) in tako zavarovani s pravicami pacientov (Maier 2020). Ljudje osebnih podatkov v učne namene sistemov prostovoljno ne želijo (ali pa potencialno ne bi želeli) zaupati. V nedavni raziskavi, ki jo je izvedlo podjetje KPMG, se je izkazalo, da približno 91 % anketirancev s področja zdravstva verjame, da bo umetna inteligenca področje medicine sicer res drastično izboljšala, a kar 75 % vprašanih je prepričanih, da bo morda istočasno ogrozila zasebnost pacientov (McGrail 2020). Nenaklonjenost prostemu deljenju svojih osebnih podatkov je seveda pričakovana in razumljiva. Pomislimo, da poleg rabe izraza ‚zaupanje‘ v smislu, da zaupamo *nekomu* ali *nečemu*, poznamo v slovenščini tudi rabo, da nekemu zaupamo *nekaj*. Osebi A zaupam ključe svojega avtomobila, če osebi A zaupam – če se mi kaže kot zaupanja vredna. In povsem razumljivo je, da ljudje svojih osebnih podatkov sistemom, ki trenutno – vsaj po kriterijih Evropske komisije – še niso zaupanja vredni (ker na primer ne delujejo transparentno), ne želijo zaupati.

Preden nadaljujemo s prikazom nekaterih posledic tega, da ljudje svojih podatkov v učne namene sistema ne želijo zaupati, naj omenimo še, da bi pacienti prav mogoče to bili brez težav pripravljeni storiti, če bi iz nabora podatkov, ki jih zdravstvena kartoteka vključuje, izbrisali njihovo ime (Maier 2020). Če iz zdravstvene kartoteke ni razvidno, da gre za moje podatke, ti podatki v pomembnem smislu dejansko niso več moji – in mnogim bi bilo verjetno precej vseeno, kaj se s takšnimi podatki dogaja. Zdi se, da je tako težava pravzaprav rešljiva dokaj preprosto, a posebej moramo poudariti dva pomembna vidika oz. zadržka. Prvi je tehnične narave. Sodobni algoritmski sistemi so dovolj napredni, da v večini podobnih primerov, ko jim manjka en podatek (v tem primeru ime lastnika kartoteke), na voljo pa je dovolj drugih, manjkajoči podatek brez težav poiščejo (Taulli 2019, 35). Brž ko ima stroj dostop do neke širše baze podatkov, zakrije imena brez zakrivanja tudi npr. datuma in kraja rojstva ne bo zadostno, da stroj kartoteke ne bi mogel povezati z mojim imenom. Študija, opravljena na MIT-ju, je pokazala, da so podatki, ki se zdijo relativno anonimni (ali pa jih anonimne skušamo narediti), pogosto vse prej kot to. Raziskovalci so ugotovili, da je rekonstruirati manjkajoče podatke – in identificirati posameznike – relativno lahko. Pri tem so uporabljali sistem združevanja dveh različnih naborov podatkov. Na primeru Singapurja so tako uporabili podatke iz mobilne mreže (predvsem GPS-sledenja mobilnim napravam) in podatke lokalnega transportnega sistema – po enajstih tednih analiz je raziskovalcem uspelo identificirati kar 95 % posameznikov, ki so uporabljali Singapurski transportni sistem (35). Izbris imena iz zdravstvene kartoteke tako po vsej verjetnosti – če je naš cilj, da kartoteka gotovo ostane za vedno anonimna – ne doseže veliko. Drug pomemben vidik pa ni tehnične narave, temveč se dotika dejstva, da to, da bi ob zakritju imena lastnika kartoteke ljudje svoje podatke strojem bili pripravljeni zaupati, lahko razumemo, da bi zaupanje strojem bilo možno, če določeni vhodni podatki ne bi bili transparentni. Zanimiv obrat se torej skriva v tem, da bi ravno določena stopnja netransparentnosti morda lahko omogočila celo večjo stopnjo zaupanja. Podobnih primerov, kjer popolna transparentnost povzroča nezaupanje, je veliko – pomislimo lahko na spletno plačevanje in podobne primere, kjer je skritost določenih podatkov prav pogoj za naše zaupanje. To izpostavljam zato, ker je po mojem mnenju na mestu posebej poudariti, da

sta transparentnost in zaupanje vsaj včasih v obratnosorazmernem odnosu – in cilj, da moramo zagotoviti kar največjo stopnjo transparentnosti, če želimo zaupanja vredno umetno inteligenco, vsaj ni absolutna zapoved, vsaj ne drži vselej, če ni celo kar vprašljiv. Zdi se, da ne zgrešimo preveč, če rečemo celo, da vsaj v nekaterih primerih, ko je npr. govora o osebnih podatkih in o ogrožanju zasebnosti, popolna transparentnost lahko vodi v neetično uporabo umetne inteligence.

4. Uspešnost in zaupanje

Ljudje torej svojih osebnih podatkov ne želijo (ali pa v prihodnosti, ko bo to množično potrebno, morda ne bodo želeli) ponuditi v učne namene strojev (algoritemskih sistemov). Pri tehtanju ustreznosti predlaganega kriterija uspešnega delovanja sistemov in dejstva, da ljudje sistemom UI še ne zaupajo povsem, se hitro izkaže, da sta uspešnost in zaupanje v nekaterih primerih v zelo zanimivem krožnem odnosu. Naj ponazoritev tega odnosa začnem drugje. Zelo velik problem, s katerim se soočajo v ZDA, je razreševanje umorov. Od šestdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja delež umorov, ki so bili uspešno raziskani (storilca so odkrili, prijeli in predali sodstvu), vztrajno pada iz leta v leto (Hargrove 2019).¹⁰ Statistika je precej nenavadna glede na to, da se zdi, da smo vse bolj v dobi, ki zaradi našega puščanja digitalnih sledi na vsakem koraku dobro zakritje naših dejavnosti vedno bolj onemogoča. Razloge za upadanje uspešno raziskanih umorov je tako mogoče iskati v mnogočem. Vsaj delno lahko morda predvidevamo, da je bilo v šestdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja več primerov, ko je bil nekdo (lahko) obtožen po krivem – po nesreči ali namenoma (pomislimo na primere, ki so podobni t. i. ‚šerifovemu scenariju‘ H. J. McCloskeya, ki ga poznamo v moralni filozofiji). Morda je bilo veliko umorov izpeljanih tudi manj sofisticirano. A mnogi trdijo tudi, da je vsaj delno problem v tem, da ljudje policiji ne zaupajo več zaradi njene neuspešnosti (Bier 2018; Sweeney in Groner 2020). V Chicagu, ki povprečje neraziskanih umorov v ZDA drastično znižuje, kar polovica ljudi, ki so bili ustreljeni in so preživeli, po dogodku o njem s policijo ne želi govoriti (Bier 2018). Ker ne morejo pričakovati, da bo policija storilca uspešno prijela, s svojim pogovorom s policijo (in tako kršenjem osnovnih ‚uličnih pravil‘) žrtve enostavno tvegajo preveč. Zanimivo je, da nekateri avtorji navajajo, da je chikaška policija med drugim tako zelo neuspešna vsaj delno tudi zato, ker ji ljudje pač ne zaupajo (Bier 2018). Gre za relativno težko rešljiv problem – saj ljudje policiji ne zaupajo zaradi njene neuspešnosti, neuspešnost policije pa je vsaj delno tudi posledica nezaupanja ljudi.

Pri algoritmih v medicini naletimo na zelo podobno težavo, le da sta tu uspešnost in zaupanje prepletene še bolj neposredno in tesneje. Sistemom – povsem upravičeno – še ne zaupamo zaradi njihove pogoste neuspešnosti (ali vsaj vprašljive uspešnosti), vsaj delno pa je njihova neuspešnost tudi posledica ravno na-

¹⁰ Statistika od vira do vira nekoliko variira (tudi, ker pogosto ni poenoteno, katere vrste ubojev/umorov so v statistiko vključene, in posebej še, kakšni so kriteriji, da umor velja za ‚raziskan‘), a številke večinoma ne odstopajo veliko. Leta 1965 je bilo v ZDA raziskanih približno 83 % umorov, leta 1975 78 %, leta 1985 72 %, 1995 65 %, 2005 62 %, 2019 58 % (Hargrove 2019).

šega nezaupanja: ker je uspešnost delovanja sistema odvisna od količine in kvalitete učnih podatkov, ki jih v učne namene algoritmov zaupamo, s svojim nezaupanjem uspešnost njihovega delovanja neposredno zaviramo. Povedano preprosteje: ne zaupamo jim, ker niso dovolj uspešni, in vsaj delno niso uspešni, ker jim še ne zaupamo dovolj. Kako torej rešiti ta krožni problem? Zdi se, da ga bomo pri algoritmičnih rešitvah le stežka, saj ti brez naših podatkov, ki bi jih uporabili v učne namene, enostavno ne bodo nikoli dovolj uspešni, da bi jim lahko upravičeno zaupali. Ne ostaja nam drugega, kot da krog prekinemo sami – pri nezaupanju.

V skladu s povedanim trdim, da če želimo povsem zaupanja vredno umetno inteligenco, ji bomo morda morali zaupati tudi, ko zaupanja še ne bo povsem vredna.

5. Upanje kot ključni vir zaupanja

Reševanje problema, kako zaupati stvari, ki zaupanja še ni vredna, je seveda težava naloga. Eden od možnih pristopov bi lahko bil, da začnemo zaupanje do umetne inteligence graditi postopoma, po korakih. V prvem koraku bi lahko poskusili pridobiti splošno zaupanje do umetne inteligence pri sistemih, ki so vsaj načelno pregledni, transparentni – da bi ljudje videli, kako zelo so nam lahko v pomoč in da – vsaj v osnovi – hujših groženj ne predstavljajo. V tem smislu se nekoliko strožji kriteriji, kot jih predlaga Evropska komisija, dejansko kažejo kot zelo uporabni. V naslednjem koraku lahko sledi postopno testno uporabljanje sistemov v medicini. V tem koraku ti sistemi o ničemer še ne odločajo, le vzporedno in neodvisno od zdravnikovega odločanja jih uporabljamo toliko, da preverjamo njihovo uspešnost. Morda v tretjem koraku nato sledi uporaba sistemov na področjih medicine, kjer posledice napak niso velike in si jih nekaj morda lahko privoščimo. In tako naprej.

Seveda je problem kompleksnejši, ker tudi drugi dejavniki, npr. dodelitev odgovornosti, ko gre pri odločanju nekaj hudo narobe,¹¹ in druge pravne ureditve, za katere moramo še poskrbeti, morda kažejo na dodatne korake k popolnemu zaupanju. Vojko Strahovnik poleg potrebnosti ureditve pravnega okvira odgovornosti v primeru napak dobro izpostavlja še, da transparentnost v primeru zelo dobro delujočih algoritmov morda res ni ključna, a gotovo ni zanemarljiva – in vseeno ostaja ideal, kolikor je pač dosegljiva:

»/... / vsekakor pa se je smiselno vprašati, kakšno raven transparentnosti lahko v teh postopkih od takšnih sistemov pričakujemo (kljub njihovi zanesljivosti oziroma natančnosti, ki morda prekaša človeške odločevalce) in kako je z odgovornostjo v primeru napak oziroma zmot.« (Strahovnik 2019, 602)

V vsakem primeru bo po mojem mnenju – ne glede na postopnost grajenja zaupanja – na določeni točki potreben nek *leap of faith*. Neizogibno se mi torej zdi,

¹¹ V predlogu Evropske komisije je zaenkrat predvideno, da splošno odgovornost za dajanje sistemov na trg in v uporabo prevzame ponudnik sistema, tudi če sistema ponudnik ni zasnoval ali razvil sam (Evropska komisija 2021, 32).

da se nam bo umetna inteligenca, ker je pogosto odvisna od našega zaupanja, morala vsaj zdeti zaupanja vredna, *preden in da sploh* bo lahko zaupanja vredna. In kot kaže, se bo to naše uvodno, še neupravičeno zaupanje moralo napajati iz čistega upanja, da umetna inteligenca življenja dejansko lahko rešuje – ali vsaj izboljša njihovo kakovost.

6. Neizogibnost netransparentnosti?

Kljub temu, da primerov, ko nekomu ali nečemu moramo zaupati, še preden se ima ta priložnost izkazati za zaupanja vrednega, ne primanjkuje,¹² pa kaže dodatno izpostaviti posebnost primerov umorov v Chicagu in algoritmov v medicini. Ne gre torej za to, da bi na vprašljivo zaupanje pristali vnaprej in povratno informacijo, ali je oseba/sistem zaupanja vreden (in je bilo torej naše zaupanje upravičeno), dobili kasneje, pač pa za to, da z vnaprejšnjim vložkom zaupanja, ki *zagotovo še ni upravičeno, prav omogočimo*, da bo v prihodnosti naše zaupanje lahko upravičeno. Pri algoritmih prav to, da jim zaupamo, ko jim še ne bi smeli, omogoča, da lahko postanejo zaupanja vredni.

Če koncept transparentnosti razumemo nekoliko širše, kot le dejstvo, da jasno in razločno vidimo, *kaj dejansko je na delu*, se pojavi zanimiv problem. Ker pri algoritmih nekoliko lažna percepcija situacije (najprej se pretvarjamo, kot da jim lahko zaupamo) omogoča, da ta ista percepcija začne odražati realnost in ni več lažna (končno lahko priznamo, *kaj dejansko je na delu*), vidimo, da če je vsaj včasih za zagotovitev upravičenega zaupanja najprej nujna določena mera neupravičenega zaupanja, je prav za zagotovitev transparentnosti najprej nujna določena mera netransparentnosti. To pa nas vrača na že omenjeni odnos med transparentnostjo algoritmov in njihovo etično uporabo. Transparentno delovanje algoritmov pomeni, da imamo vpogled v to, kaj se s podatki, ki jih pri svojem odločanju algoritem uporablja, med procesom odločanja dejansko dogaja. V praksi to po navadi pomeni, da vidimo, katerim podatkom algoritem med svojim odločanjem pripisuje težo in kolikšna ta teža je. To pa namiguje, da morajo biti podatki vsaj načelno vidni. Kot sem nakazal že zgoraj, je za zaupanje včasih torej morda res potrebno, da niso vidni prav vsi podatki – in to je dober znak, da zgornja izpeljava, da je morda določena stopnja netransparentnosti (če v prihodnje želimo povsem zaupanja vredno in transparentno UI) nujna postojanka na poti do izgradnje našega upravičenega zaupanja do teh naprednih sistemov, ni daleč od resnice.

7. Zaključek

Zdravstvene krize, kakršna je tudi pandemija COVID-19, nas vse hitreje silijo v globok premislek o vlogi, ki bi jo pri reševanju življenj lahko imela najnovejša tehnolo-

¹² Eric M. Uslaner takšnemu zaupanju pravi ‚strateško zaupanje‘, saj je odločitev, da nekomu bomo zaupali, v tem smislu v osnovi strateška (Uslaner 2002, 17).

logija. Zastavljajo se tudi bolj temeljna vprašanja, ki se tičejo denimo odnosa med novo tehnologijo in telesom (Štivič 2020) ter vprašanja, ali in kako se lahko kriterij transparentnosti v kriznih situacijah spreminja (Strahovnik et al. 2020). Ravno v kriznih situacijah, ko so v igri naša življenja, se namreč kakršna koli možnost drastičnega napredka kaže kot smer, ki ji moramo slediti.

A zasledovanje napredka seveda ne sme potekati za vsako ceno in na kakršen koli način. Umetna inteligenca res neizogibno prihaja na ključna področja človeškega delovanja, vključno z medicino, in Michael Forsting se ne moti, ko pravi:

»Dejstvo je, da – tako kot tisti, ki so izdelovali konjske vprege, niso bili vprašani, ali jim je bil všeč pojav avtomobilov – tudi nas kot zdravnikov, ki pregledujemo slike, ne bodo vprašali, ali nam je ta sprememba všeč ali ne. Odločimo se lahko le, ali želimo pri spremembi sodelovati ali pa jo poskusimo ignorirati.« (Forsting 2017, 358)

Tudi humanistika se lahko odloči le, ali želi pri spremembi sodelovati. Verjetno ne moremo vplivati na to, ali se sprememba bo zgodila, lahko pa s tehtnim premislekom prispevamo k zarisovanju čim bolj ustreznih smeri in načinov implementacije kompleksnih sistemov UI. Nenazadnje to sovпада tudi s ciljem teologije, kakor ga razume Robert Petkovšek: »Cilj, ki si ga zastavlja, ni obvladovati sodobno kulturo, ampak spodbujati univerzalne človeške vrednote in delo za skupno dobro.« (2019, 29) Cilj je torej skupno dobro in naš prispevek zagovarja, da je premišljeno sodelovanje pri etični implementaciji sistemov umetne inteligence v medicino pot do hitrega napredka in s tem do skupnega dobrega. Roman Globokar se strinja:

»Ponovno poudarjamo, da ne nasprotujemo novim tehnologijam /.../, če le te tehnologije podpirajo celostni razvoj posameznika in družbe in ne ogrožajo sedanjega in prihodnjega pristnega človeškega življenja, ki se izraža v avtonomiji, svobodi, osebni odgovornosti in v zmožnosti za sodelovanje pri gradnji skupnega dobrega v družbi.« (2019, 627)

Vstopa umetne inteligence v medicino torej ne moremo preprečiti in menim, da ga tudi ne bi smeli želeti preprečiti – lahko pa filozofi in teologi svojo dolžnost prepoznavamo v tem, da poskusimo sodelovati pri izbiri ustreznosti njenega vstopa in njenih etičnih omejitev.

Če bo naš prispevek vsaj delno uspešen, pa se bo izkazalo tudi, da bodo morali pri implementaciji umetne inteligence na ključna področja družbenega življenja na koncu sodelovati vsi. Brezbrižnost in morda celo upor nista (več) na mestu. Na vrsti je dialog.

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UI – Umetna inteligenca.

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Simon Malmenvall

(Mis)Trusting Unification: Examples of East Slavic Perception of the Council of Florence

(Ne)zaupljivo zedinjenje: primeri vzhodnoslovanskega sprejemanja florentinskega koncila

Abstract: This article discusses the religious and cultural background of the ambivalent reception of the Council of Florence (1437–1439) among the East Slavic (Rus') ecclesiastical and political elite of the time, which was characterized by (mis)trust towards the late Byzantine pro-Western stance and unified Christianity under the authority of the pope. The author of this article accentuates the establishment of two separate (Orthodox) ecclesiastical and cultural centers, Kyiv and Moscow, as the main long-term consequence of the council in Eastern Europe. Here, special attention is given to the role of Isidore, the metropolitan of Kyiv, and two narrative texts from the mid-fifteenth century concerning the events during and after the council. The first is the polemical treatise *Isidore's Council* written by the presbyter Simeon of Suzdal, while the second is the anonymous travel diary *Journey to Florence*. The former is defined by its 'anti-Latin' polemical tone, which decisively influenced the later East Slavic, particularly Muscovite, perception of unionism. On the other hand, the *Journey*, with its lack of any theological problematization of the council decrees, represents the first East Slavic travel diary describing social and cultural features of Central and Southern Europe.

Keywords: Council of Florence, medieval ecclesiastical history, literature of Rus', Orthodoxy, unionism

Povzetek: Članek se posveča verskemu in kulturnemu ozadju dvoumnega sprejemanja florentinskega koncila (1437–1439) med takratno vzhodnoslovansko (starorusko) cerkveno in politično elito, ki je bilo obarvano z (ne)zaupanjem do Zahodu naklonjenega stališča poznega Bizanca in do zedinjenja krščanskega sveta pod papeževim vodstvom. Avtor članka poudarja vzpostavitev dveh ločenih (pravoslavni) cerkvenih in kulturnih središč, to je Kijeva in Moskve, kot glavno dolgoročno posledico koncila na ozemlju vzhodne Evrope. Tu so posebej pozorno obravnavani kijevski metropolit Izidor in dve pripovedni besedili iz sredine 15. stoletja, ki zadevajo dogodke med in po koncilu. Prvo besedilo je

polemični spis *Izidorjev zbor*, katerega avtor je duhovnik Simeon iz Suzdalja, drugo pa je anonimni potopis *Potovanje v Firence*. Prvo opredeljuje ‚protilatinska‘ polemična ost, ki je odločilno vplivala na kasnejše vzhodnoslovansko, zlasti moskovsko, (ne)sprejemanje uniatskega pojava. Po drugi strani *Potovanje* z odsotnostjo teološkega problematiziranja koncilskih odlokov predstavlja prvi vzhodnoslovanski potopis, ki prinaša oris družbenih in kulturnih značilnosti srednje in južne Evrope.

Ključne besede: florentinski koncil, srednjeveška cerkvena zgodovina, staroruska književnost, pravoslavje, uniatsko vprašanje

1. Introduction

This article discusses the religious and cultural background of the ambivalent reception of the Council of Florence (1437–1439) among the members of the East Slavic (Rus') ecclesiastical and political elite of the time, which was characterized by (mis)trust towards the late Byzantine pro-Western stance and unified Christianity under the authority of the pope. Similarly, the ongoing contacts with several official attempts to restore unity between the local Churches under the supreme authority of Rome and Constantinople since the so-called Great Schism of 1054, particularly after the sack of the imperial capital in 1204 at the beginning of the Fourth Crusade, were decisively marked by mutual political and theological scepticism, mostly based on deeply rooted cultural divergences and historical resentments. (Chadwick 2003) The ecclesiastical dignitaries and secular authorities involved in this process were usually unable to comprehensively reconcile the specific understandings of dogmatical definitions and disciplinary practice of the separate Churches and, in turn, trust each other in terms of readiness to (partly) hand over the control over interpretation to another, which is associated with attitudes of positive reaction (Domenicucci and Holton 2017). Using the post-modern theoretical concepts, it can be said that both sides experienced a lack of sincere dialogical engagement in seeking the truth (Osredkar 2018; Bogataj 2018, 958–959).

The author of this article argues that one of the most important long-term consequences of the council was the establishment of two separate (Orthodox) ecclesiastical and cultural centers in Eastern Europe, Kyiv in the south-west and Moscow in the north-east. In this article, special attention is given to the role of Isidore, the metropolitan of Kyiv, and two narrative texts from the mid-fifteenth century: the polemical treatise *Isidore's Council* written by the presbyter Simeon of Suzdal and the anonymous travel diary *Journey to Florence*. Both texts can be regarded as representative due to their rich content and stylistic expressivity, which enables their placement in the wider historical and cultural context pointing to the complex East Slavic attitude towards Europe and the Catholic Church. The reception of the Council of Florence among the East Slavic elite, particularly on the territory of the Great Principality of Moscow, was substantial and vibrant. Based on the disillusion-

ment over the Byzantine ‚betrayal‘ of the Orthodox faith and the fall of Constantinople under the rule of the Ottoman Turks in 1453, the Council of Florence strongly influenced the emergence of the notion of Moscow as the Third Rome. This notion argued for Moscow as the only independent Orthodox polity in the world, also oriented towards the unification of other Orthodox Slavic territories in Eastern Europe, and served as a justification of the subsequent creation of its first own emperor (tsar) in the person of Ivan IV (1547–1584), resembling the former Byzantine monarchs with their role of the protectors of Orthodoxy worldwide. (Kirillin 2008, 459; 467–468; Maletto 2005, 67; Malmenvall 2014, 396; Petruško 2018, 117)

The general chronological and political traits of the reception of the Council of Florence among the East Slavs are well documented in several scholarly works, such as a synthetic monograph by the British ecclesiastical historian Joseph Gill (1901–1989) (1959), a classical study on the beginnings of the unionist movement by the Polish-American historian Oscar Halecki (1891–1973) (1958), and a detailed study concerning the council’s aftermath on the territory of present-day Ukraine and Belarus leading to the Union of Brest (1596) by the Ukrainian-American ecclesiastical historian Borys Gudziak (2001). The most comprehensive collection of East Slavic texts on the council is covered in the Church Slavic-Latin critical edition prepared by the Czech ecclesiastical historian Jan Krajcar (1915–1992) (1976), while the image of the lands of the ‚Latin‘ Christendom expressed in Rus’ late medieval literature is analyzed in the monograph of the Russian cultural historian Natalia Kazakova (1915–1984) (1980).

2. Council and Roots of Unionism

The last major development representing an attempt at the unification of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches at a general and formal level occurred at the closing of the ecumenical council in Florence (1438–1439), when a decree of union was signed by Emperor John VIII Palaeologus (1425–1448) on behalf of the ‚Greek‘ side and Pope Eugenius IV (1431–1447) on behalf of the ‚Latin‘ side. The principal reasons why the union was accepted by the Orthodox camp were the role of the Byzantine intellectual elite, which, due to its sympathy for Western theology, was a supporting factor in drafting compromise formulations of orthodoxy, and the rapid advance of Ottoman Turks into the central areas of Europe, which threatened the existence of Byzantium. During the first half of the fifteenth century, the Byzantine Empire was in a deep political and economic crisis: its territory was diminished to several enclaves around Thessaloniki and Constantinople, which was highly depopulated, and the province of Morea in the Peloponnesus with islands in the Marmara and Aegean Seas. From the Byzantine perspective, the union was the first step towards an expected papal call for mounting a crusade to save the Christian empire in the East. Such aid from the West never materialized; the Byzantine trust in the Western Christian world proved unfounded. (Malmenvall 2014, 387; 389; 2018, 79; Gudziak 2001, 10–11; Petruško 2018, 101)

The greatest share of discussions at the council meetings was focused on the *Filioque* controversy, resulting in the adoption of a compromise solution that was closer to the Catholic view. The insertion »from the Father and the Son« was adopted as valid, while the older, and also Orthodox, formulation (»from the Father«) was countenanced as a complementary mode of expressing the same content. (Malmenvall 2014, 390; 2018, 79–80) The council activities also brought about an extensive cultural exchange. The discussions were accompanied by familiarization with the views of the opposing side and the transmission of certain works by Eastern Church Fathers and ancient pagan authors—especially Plato and Aristotle—hitherto unknown to the West, which contributed to the further development of the humanist movement. (2014, 390–391; 2018, 79–80) The Byzantine conservative majority, where the most prominent role was played by monks, rejected any change to the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. The conservatives' victory was affirmed by Constantinople falling under the Ottoman rule in 1453. In their eyes, this negated the view of any political meaningfulness of the union and gave the impression, at the spiritual level, of representing ‚Divine retribution‘ for submitting to ‚Latin errors.‘ (2014, 395–396; 2018, 80)

The mid-fifteenth century was marked by a break in the history of the metropolitanate of Kyiv by its division into western Rus' (Ruthenian) and Muscovite (Russian) jurisdictions. Isidore (1433–1458), the metropolitan of ‚Kyiv and all Rus',‘ was, like the majority of Kyivan metropolitans during the Middle Ages, of Greek origin. He was also one of the prominent spokesmen among the Orthodox hierarchy negotiating for ecclesiastical unification with the Catholic Church prior to, during, and after the Council of Florence. Isidore came to Moscow in 1437 to represent the Church of Rus' and lead its delegation composed of bishops, priests, and laymen at the ecumenical council convoked to reach a theological and organizational accord between the patriarchal sees of Rome and Constantinople and other centers of the Christian East. Additionally, the metropolitan of Kyiv, following a previous mandate from Constantinople, signed the union decree also on behalf of Dorotheus, the absent patriarch of Antioch (1436–1454), which implies Isidore enjoyed high esteem¹ within the entire Orthodox world. (Gudziak 2001, 43; 1994, 48; Gill 1964, 65–78; Petruško 2018, 105; 109)

The most acute and most persistent resistance to the Council conclusions came from Muscovy under grand prince Vasily II (1425–1462). After the Kyivan metropolitan Isidore, who was based in Moscow² and was the supreme leader of Ortho-

¹ On the role of Isidore in the Orthodox Church in general and various types of reception of the Council of Florence, see: Akišin 2011.

² The metropolitanate encompassed East Slavic Orthodox Christians; its name („of Kyiv“) perpetuated the symbolic status of Kyiv as the original political and religious center of Rus', thus emphasizing the religious-cultural unity of East Slavs (Malmenvall 2018, 80). The title ‚metropolitan of Kyiv and all Rus',‘ was first used in 1347 by the Byzantine emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–1354) regarding metropolitan Theognostos (1327–1353) (Gudziak 2001, 287; Miklosich and Müller 1860, 261; 265). This title became standard at the time of metropolitan Cyprian (1390–1408). For a discussion on the evolution of the Kyivan metropolitan's title, see: Pritsak 1986. With the wider ecclesiastical territory of the Kyivan metropolitanate, divided between three polities (Muscovy, Great Duchy of Lithuania, and Kingdom of Poland), it was in the interest of each to press its case before the Patriarchate of Constantinople regarding the residence and jurisdiction of the Kyivan metropolitan. Moscow enjoyed Constantinople's favor, and

dox Christians in Muscovy and Poland-Lithuania, celebrated the liturgy in the Kremlin in 1441 at which he commemorated the pope, Vasily accused him of heresy and had him locked away in Chudov Monastery in the Moscow Kremlin, allowing him to escape later that year. In 1448, the grand prince committed an even more daring act: without the consent of Constantinople, which the territory of the Orthodox East Slavs had belonged to in ecclesiastical terms ever since its official Christianization at the time of grand prince Vladimir Sviatoslavich (980–1015) and the establishment of the metropolitanate of Kyiv in the mid-eleventh century (Gudziak 2001, 1), he appointed a native, the Ryazan bishop Iona (Jonah), as the head of the newly established metropolitanate ,of Moscow and All Rus’ through elections by a council of bishops from the territory of Muscovy. This decision of the Muscovite episcopate, supported by the grand prince, was not entirely unexpected and was not meant to be schismatic since their position was also based on the fact that Iona had already been sent to Constantinople in 1436 after the death of metropolitan Gerasimus (1433–1435) to become the new head of the all-Rus’ Church. This stance was expressed in various letters issued by metropolitan Iona and grand prince Vasily during the late 1440s and early 1450s. However, in the meantime, Patriarch Joseph II had already pragmatically chosen Isidore, a highly educated man, an admirer of contemporary Italian humanism and public supporter of the union, while Iona was sent back to Ryazan with the promise to succeed Isidore as metropolitan after his death. The patriarch did not wish to leave the leadership of the metropolitanate of Kyiv, his richest, most populous and, in terms of territory, the vastest local Church, in the hands of a less-renowned hierarch who might not be keen to sign the politically promising accord with Rome.

On the other hand, the ecclesiastical and political dignitaries of Muscovy were encouraged by the Orthodox council in Jerusalem, where the main Middle-Eastern authorities, the patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch, revoked the Florentine union. Furthermore, the position of Moscow and exile of Isidore received their support in 1442 by a letter of the monks of Mount Athos, which praised Vasily’s resoluteness to defend the ,true’ faith. The relatively late appointment of the new metropolitan was also a result of the internal political situation, as Vasily was occupied with another problem—he had to wage wars against the Tartars and local pretenders to the Muscovite throne. (Fennel 2006, 183–188; Gudziak 2001, 45; 1994, 49–50; Petruško 2018, 100–101; 103–104; 123–125; 137; Malmenvall 2018, 80)

The proclamation on establishing the new metropolitanate entailed the beginning of the autocephaly of the Church of Moscow.³ The process of autocephaly of

the patriarchate generally maintained a policy of appointing only one metropolitan for all East Slavic Orthodox lands. Consequently, for most of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth centuries, the Orthodox Church in Lithuania and Poland was nominally subject to the metropolitan residing in Moscow. (Gudziak 2001, 2–3) Among the likely reasons for the patriarchate’s inclination towards Moscow was the fact that, at least until the end of the fourteenth century, the Lithuanian grand princes were pagans and later converted to the Latin (Roman) branch of the Catholic Church (Meyendorff 1981, 271–272).

³ The autocephaly of the Church of Moscow was not recognized by the patriarch of Constantinople until 1589, when it was elevated to the patriarchy of ,Moscow and all Rus’.

the Church of Moscow, however, was not conditioned by the local aspirations to achieve ecclesiastical independence *per se*, but emerged as a reaction against the presupposed ‚heresy‘ of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate and found its justification in extraordinary measures to ensure the continuation of the ‚true and unchangeable‘ Orthodox Church. The new metropolitan changed his title from ‚metropolitan of Kyiv and all Rus‘ to ‚metropolitan of Moscow and all Rus‘. This marked an important symbolic shift, a *translatio Ecclesiae* of sorts. Since then, Moscow, not Kyiv, was the primary symbol of the spiritual unity of Rus‘ in the eyes of the Muscovite elite. *Inter alia*, this entailed a further deterioration of relations with the neighbouring Poland and Lithuania,⁴ which endeavoured to bring the same Orthodox population under their wings in political terms and subject it to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome. In order to avoid exacerbating this tension, the Polish king Casimir IV (1447–1492) recognized two East Slavic metropolitan sees in 1451: the Orthodox Moscow and the unionist Kyiv within the Polish-Lithuanian state. (Malmenvall 2014, 396; 2018, 80–81; Pliguzov 1991, 344; Petruško 2018, 100; Fennel 2006, 177–182, 186–188; Gavrilov 1958, 21–22) Similarly, in 1458 Pope Pius II (1458–1464), after the death of the unionist Constantinopolitan patriarch Gregory III Mammas (1443–1451), who in 1451 had left his see and moved to Rome due to the pressures of the conservative line of his monks and clergy, appointed Gregory II (1458–1472), a Bulgarian aide of Isidore’s, as the new head of the metropolitan Church of Kyiv. According to the papal bull, the territory of the Muscovite state (Lat. *Russia Superior*) under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of metropolitan Iona was not considered a part of the new unionist Kyivan metropolitanate. Therefore, from the Roman perspective, the influence of the Eastern Catholic Kyivan see was perceived in a line of political realism, limited to the borders of the Polish and Lithuanian crowns. (Gudziak 1994, 50; Halecki 1956, 21; Petruško 2018, 127)⁵

3. Two Modes of Perceiving the Council

The Council of Florence received a strong response in the preserved East Slavic narrative texts (Kirillin 2008, 459–460).⁶ Among others, two texts created in Muscovy address the Council of Florence: *Journey to Florence (Хождение во Флоренцию)*, a travel diary by an unknown Suzdalian, and *Isidore’s Council and His Journey (Исидоров собор и хождение его)*, a polemical treatise by a presbyter, Simeon of Suzdal (Kirillin 2008, 459; Krajcar 1976, 77; Droblenkova 1989, 335; Borozdin 1904, 459). Their creation can be placed between 1440 and 1460. The travel diary by the unknown Suzdalian, which was probably written before 1445, is considered the earliest of all East Slavic texts on the Council of Florence. These

⁴ On the chronology and political circumstances of the reception of the council in the Kingdom of Poland, see two classical works: Lewicki 1899; Chodyncki 1934.

⁵ This papal bull is studied in: Wawryk 1963.

⁶ For the main traits of Muscovy’s reaction against the union of Florence, see: Krajcar 1979; Alef 1962.

texts are accounts written by Rus' participants in the council and reflect the Muscovite elite's view on the agreed union. (Kirillin 2008, 459–460; Krajcar 1976, 3; 47; 77; 112; Gavrilov 1958, 13)

Isidore's Council is a first-person polemical treatise directed against Catholic ,conceitedness,' which was supposedly reflected in the overly prominent role of the pope and modifications to the ,pure' Christian teachings, but most of all against metropolitan Isidore, who had supposedly convinced the Rus' delegation to accept the Catholic views through bribery and threats. *Isidore's Council* professes a wholly different attitude towards Mark Eugenikos, the metropolitan of Ephesus; as the only hierarch at the council who did not sign the union decree, he is elevated to a personification of the fight for orthodoxy. Vasily II, the grand prince of Moscow, is presented as a parallel positive character at the secular level. This ruler plays a central role in *Isidore's Council*, as the work also ends with a eulogy in his honour. Simeon attributes courage and care for defending the faith of their ancestors to the grand prince, juxtaposing the steadfast Muscovite state with the unreliable Byzantine Empire. Simeon's polemical treatise thus also acts as religious and patriotic self-assertion of Muscovy within the Orthodox world. One of the major features of *Isidore's Council* is Simeon's apologetic stance, as he repeatedly emphasizes his non-cooperation with the Catholic side and with the Orthodox faction sympathetic to Catholicism. Simeon presents himself as a victim of Isidore's intrigue and, as such, a martyr to the ,true faith.' (Malmenvall 2018, 81–82; Gavrilov 1958, 7; 10; Droblenkova 1989, 334–336; Kazakova 1977, 47–48; Alpatov 1973, 135–138)

On the way to Italy and during the council sessions, Simeon accompanied his bishop, Abraham. By his own account, once the council had ended, he openly expressed his disagreement with Isidore's unionist standpoint while in Venice, resulting in the metropolitan having him put in jail. Simeon subsequently escaped and, at his own wish, set off for his homeland, i.e., Novgorod, ahead of the other delegation members. There he was received by bishop Evfimii (Euthymius), who soon, however, (perhaps naively) handed him over to the prince of Smolensk, Yury Semenovich-Lugvenevich, a supporter of unionist policy who was under Isidore's influence. The prince of Smolensk had Simeon put in chains and sent to Isidore, who then brought him to Moscow to grand prince Vasily II in 1441. As Isidore's unionist policy was met with resistance in Moscow, the grand prince released Simeon. Even so, the grand prince apparently considered Simeon a controversial person, as after his initial release, Vasily ,preventively' moved him to Chudov Monastery and later to the Trinity Sergius Lavra⁷ to the north-east of Moscow, from where Simeon again turned to Euthymius, the bishop of Novgorod, where he stayed until 1450. (Gavrilov 1958, 7–10; Droblenkova 1989, 334–335; Borozdin 1904, 458; Alpatov 1973, 134–135) The reason for this unfriendly treatment of Simeon could be his stance, emphasized in his treatise, that the Orthodox side

⁷ The Holy Trinity Lavra of Saint Sergius (*Свято-Троицкая Сергиева лавра*) was an extensive monastery complex and the spiritual center of Muscovy.

had signed the union decree in Florence out of greed—in exchange for entering the union, most of the Orthodox bishops had allegedly accepted a hefty bribe from the pope (Malmenvall 2018, 83–84). Simeon's life after the Council of Florence, as described above, can lead to the conclusion that it was his unfortunate circumstances that prompted him to write *Isidore's Council* as an apologetic and polemical account.

Striking a completely different note in terms of genre, the *Journey* by the unknown Suzdalian describes the voyage of the Rus' delegation from Suzdal to Florence and back between 8 September 1437 and 29 September 1440. This literary text can be categorized as a later-type Rus' travel diary;⁸ this type first appeared in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries alongside traditional pilgrims' travel diaries about holy sites, especially Jerusalem and Constantinople—its first-person narrators are no longer pilgrims, but merchants or emissaries of the state or Church. (Prokof'ev 1984, 19) The author of the travel diary in question was a member of the Muscovite delegation, either clergyman or layman, who accompanied Abraham, the bishop of Suzdal, to the Council of Florence. The travel diary by the unknown Suzdalian contains no overt polemical element reflecting a mistrust towards the Catholic Church. The author of the *Journey* presents the creation of the union through factual formulations, discussing it as an expected course of action. In fact, the *Journey* avoids discussing the Council of Florence itself—the reasons for its convocation, the theological differences, and the course of the meetings. The bulk of the text focuses on the journey of the Rus' delegation to Italy and back, and within this context, particularly on the economic and cultural characteristics of European lands and towns. Based on this, the *Journey* is important primarily as the first extensive Rus' literary representation of the European-Catholic world, as one of the earliest written 'encounters' between Rus' and the West. (Gavrilov 1958, 13–14; Maletov 2005, 36; 105–106; 112; 119–120; 153–157; Alpatov 1973, 139–141; Prokof'ev 1984, 11; 13) The inarticulate attitude towards the Council of Florence in the *Journey* is not reason enough to conclude that a (significant) part of the Muscovite elite initially met the creation of the union with neutrality or even approval. This could simply be the result of the conventions of the genre or of the author's choices in structuring the narrative. It can, however, be claimed that the union did not trouble the unknown Suzdalian enough to make him draw attention to its contentiousness contrary to the genre conventions. (Malmenvall 2018, 82–83)

In a confessional context, a significant difference between the *Journey* and *Isidore's Council* can be observed: the anonymous Suzdalian recognizes the validity of the union established at the council, thus considering both Churches spiritually equal. This is revealed in a passage of the *Journey* that describes the proclamation of the union in the papal liturgy in Florence. The passage reads: »And then the whole Latin council and all the people started singing and rejoicing, as

⁸ A thorough overview of East Slavic medieval travel diaries from the perspectives of literary theory and literary history is provided in the following monographic study: Seemann 1976.

they had received forgiveness from the Greeks.« (Kirillin 2008, 480) It is quite telling that despite the lack of a polemical stance against Catholics, the Rus' travel writer perceives the council from the Orthodox point of view. Indeed, he interprets the developments as if the 'Latin' Church had returned to the 'Greek' one and thus received its forgiveness for the schism. He apparently considers the union to be an Orthodox victory and the achievement of a reconciliation benefiting both sides. (Malmenvall 2018, 85)

Contrary, *Isidore's Council* turns its attention to Isidore's triumphant arrival to Moscow, which supposedly agitated both the grand prince and the local clergy, on the one hand, as well as the common people, on the other (70–72). *Inter alia*, Simeon claims the following:

»Metropolitan Isidore came /.../ to grand prince Vasily Vasiliyevich /.../ with great Latin arrogance and injustice and conceitedness, carrying in front of him a [Catholic] cross (кръж) and a silver staff. He bore the [Catholic] cross in place of the [Orthodox] cross (кръст), preaching the Latin faith, and bore the staff as a symbol of Latin arrogance and conceitedness. Whoever did not kneel before the cross was struck with the staff; the order was to kneel as is done with the pope. /.../ And the pope gave him [Isidore] much gold, and all the lands fell under papal authority, and he [Isidore] came to the land of Lithuania and to Kyiv and to Smolensk.« (70–71)

According to this text and other Muscovite polemical literature, Isidore's entry with the Latin cross is presented as a great offence (Gudziak 2001, 45). The author of *Isidore's Council* emphasizes that, against Isidore's expectations, the grand prince was able to see the 'deviousness' of unionist policy, as he proved himself as a brave ruler loyal to the faith of his ancestors (Krajcar 1976, 72). After that, Simeon's report on the rejection of Isidore's intentions turns into a eulogy in honour of the grand prince. He highlights Vasily's extraordinariness also by comparing him to the first Christian Roman emperor, Constantine the Great, and grand prince Vladimir Sviatoslavich, who introduced Christianity as the state religion of Kyivan Rus' in the late tenth century. (73) Simeon concludes the eulogy by drawing a contrast between the spiritually weak Byzantium, which fell into the grasp of the union, and the steadfast Orthodox Muscovy, which can be characterized as an expression of patriotic and religious self-assertion of his homeland (Malmenvall 2018, 87–88).

4. Council and Itinerary across Europe

The anonymous travel writer acts as the first-person narrator of his work. He starts his travel diary by mentioning that »at the birth of Holy Theotokos [8 September 1437], metropolitan Isidore departed from Moscow, came to Tver /.../, accompanied by bishop Abraham of Suzdal« (Hoždenie 1999, 464; 572). The delegation, led by Isidore, then arrives to Novgorod, where it is ceremoniously received and hosted by bishop Euthymius (464; 572). From there, they depart for the

Baltic lands, the territory of the Teutonic Order of knights (464; 466; 572). There, they are ceremoniously received and hosted by a Catholic bishop⁹ from Dorpat (466; 572). Then the Rus' delegation arrives in Riga, where it is ceremoniously received and hosted by the local archbishop (466; 572). After that, the delegation arrives in the north German city of Lübeck on 19 May, the name day of the martyr Patrikios (466; 468; 572).¹⁰ The travel writer then indulges in fascination with the splendours of this city.

»And we saw the splendid city and there were /.../ lovely gardens and splendid palaces, gilded roofs, and its monasteries are splendid and big. And it is full of merchandise of any kind. There are waters routed to the city, flowing in all streets through pipes, while others [flow] over towers, cool and fresh. And [Isidore] visited churches on the Feast of the Ascension, and we saw gold and silver liturgical objects and an abundance of saints' relics. And monks visited and started inviting the lord [Isidore] to go see their monastery. He went and they showed him an unutterable abundance of liturgical objects and an abundance of valuable golden garments with precious stones and pearls. /.../ And they led us to their refectory and brought various wines and many different appetizing dishes, while they showed great honor to the lord [Isidore] here.« (468; 470; 572)

In general, 'waters' are the aspect of European cities the travel writer expresses most admiration for, mentioning it most frequently (concerning canals, waterworks, fountains, etc.). All this is likely to have been a new experience for him. It is thus possible to assume that care for 'waters' in the towns of Muscovy was less technically developed at the time. (Malmenvall 2018, 88)

The next major stop is the city of Nuremberg. When the travel writer describes Nuremberg, he distinguishes between the land or territorial political unit (*земля*), the language or linguistic community (*языкъ*) and the religion (*вѣра*), comparing the linguistic-cultural characteristics to the Slavic world known to him. »And this city of Nuremberg stands in the middle of the Alamannian land. The Alamannian land does not have another faith nor another language, but the same Latin faith, and the language [there] is German, though different; as are the Rus' in relation to the Serbs, such are they [/the Alamannians] in relation to the Germans.« (472) After that, the delegation arrives in Augsburg. The travel writer claims this city »surpasses all the previously described cities in size« (472). The next stop is Innsbruck, near which the delegation members cross the Alps and then descend to the Italian town of Pavia, from where they arrive to Ferrara, where the first part of the council meetings takes place (472; 573).

⁹ This and all the subsequent mentions of the hospitality of 'Latins' towards Orthodox Christians show that despite doctrinal differences, personal relations between Catholic and Orthodox representatives were not hostile, but stiff at worst.

¹⁰ The route through the Baltic lands to modern-day northern Germany was the central transport link between Eastern, Central, and Northern Europe in the Middle Ages and the early modern era (Maletto 2005, 93).

The anonymous author then describes Ferrara, where he is enthralled the most about a mechanical angel holding a trumpet in the clock tower in the main town square (474). The travel writer then reports on the relocation of the council from Ferrara to Florence. The description of Florence is the climax of the anonymous *Journey*—not only because of the central event, i.e., the formation of the union, but also because of the splendid appearance of the city, which seems to surpass all the others. »This renowned city of Florence is very big, unlike anything we had seen in the previously described cities. It has magnificent and big churches and it has palaces built of white rock, very tall and skillfully [built].« (476; 573) After describing the sights of the city, he focuses his attention on the formation of the union and, in this context, also describes the liturgy during which the union was ceremoniously proclaimed:

»With him [/the pope] [there were] twelve cardinals and ninety-three bishops /.../. The Greek emperor, John, who sat in the appointed place, watched their service, and all boyars with him; and here in the appointed places sat the metropolitans along with all the clergy.¹¹ /.../ And after the service, the pope and his people started chanting a prayer, and after the prayer, he sat in the middle of the council on a tall, gilded throne prepared for him, and a pulpit had been raised near him. And among the Latins, a cardinal named Julian [Giuliano Cesarini] stood up, along with the Nicene metropolitan, Bessarion [among the Greeks], and they brought the council documents, and Julian started reading the Latin document aloud, and then the metropolitan started reading the Greek document. And when the reading of the documents was done, the pope blessed the people.« (478; 480; 573)

After that, the travel writer reports that on 6 September 1439, the Rus' delegation set off for home, first heading to Venice (480). The author again expresses his enthusiasm about European cities, this time for Venice, about which he writes, *inter alia*:

»This city stands on the sea; there is no dry road to it, as it stands on the sea thirteen miles from shore [/land]. It is crossed by ships and craft, and all streets are full of water; they move around by boat. This city is very large and has splendid palaces, some gilded. And it is full of merchandise of any kind, as it is frequented by ships from every land /.../. This city has a stone church of Saint Mark the Evangelist, which has stone columns of colorful marble of all kinds, and the icons there are magnificent.« (480; 482; 574)

This is followed by the final part of the travel diary describing the way home. The travel writer first mentions sailing from Venice to Parenzo (Poreč), then a land route from Parenzo to Pola (Pula) on the Istrian peninsula, and from there a sea voyage

¹¹ The travel writer conveys the message that the concluding liturgy by the altar was conducted by the 'Latin' side, while the Orthodox one, which supposedly only observed the event, apparently found itself in a symbolically subordinate position.

to Senj, from where the delegation arrives by land to Brinje in modern-day Lika, Croatia. Here, the travel writer explicitly mentions Croats, comparing them to his own people: »And these towns are populated by Croats [ховратянь]; their language is like that of the Rus' [Русь], and their faith is Latin.« (482) Then the travel writer mentions the route via Modruš and Jastrebarsko to Zagreb, about which he writes: »This city is large and splendid. This [city] is under the authority of the Hungarian tsar [/king]. And in this city, we saw the Serbian tsar despot¹² with his tsarina and children; his tsardom had been conquered by the Turkish tsar, Murat.« (482; 484; 574) After that, the travel writer mentions the route from Zagreb to the Drava river, leading through Križevci and Koprivnica. Here he writes the following: »There is a mile between Koprivnica and the Drava river. This river is located on the border between the Slavic/Slovene [словѣньска земля] and the Hungarian [угорьска земля] lands.« (484) The travel writer goes on to mention the route from Szeged to Budapest and then to their destination, Suzdal. He pays no particular attention to towns on the way from Budapest to Suzdal, mostly only enumerating them. It can thus be assumed that these towns were of no interest for the travel diary, as he probably considered them already familiar to Rus' readers.

5. Conclusion

Isidore's Council by the Suzdalian presbyter Simeon and the *Journey* by an unknown Suzdalian are first-person accounts that are key to understanding the attitude of the (ecclesiastical) elite of late medieval Muscovy towards Europe and the Catholic Church. Among the earliest texts on the Council of Florence created in the Muscovite territory in the mid-fifteenth century, these accounts stand out for their comprehensive content as well as for the difference in genre between them. Thus, they complement both Latin and Greek writings about the council and therefore attach even greater international importance to this event, also lending a diverse literary expression to its reception. With its 'anti-Latin' polemical stance and the praise of Muscovy, *Isidore's Council* had a decisive impact on the later East Slavic perception of the council and of the related issue of unionism. The anonymous *Journey*, on the other hand, represents the first East Slavic travel diary focusing on the economic and cultural characteristics of Catholic Central and Southern Europe.

Although theological considerations were not irrelevant, it was primarily the political context in Muscovy that conditioned the resolutely negative response and polemics. The Grand Principality of Moscow could not be favourable towards unionism, primarily due to its association with the long-lasting rivalry with Lithuania, which had, like the emerging state of Moscow, territorial aspirations over East Slavic polities and had been, since the end of the fourteenth century, officially part of the Catholic Church. This contrasted with the attitude towards Flor-

¹² The despot in question is Đurađ (George) Branković (1427–1457), who had been defeated by the Ottoman sultan Murat II (1421–1451), which marked the end of the existence of the medieval Serbian state.

ence in the lands of present-day Ukraine and Belarus. The ambivalence in the (reduced) Kyivan metropolitanate towards the confessional divide was clear in the post-Florence decades. (Gudziak 2001, 49; Petruško 2018, 116–117)

After the death of Iona, the new Moscow metropolitan Theodosius (1461–1465) used the shortened title ‚metropolitan of all Rus’;‘, dropping the suspicious invocation of (temporarily) unionist Kyiv and, presumably, recognizing the practical inability, although not the (nominal) aspirations, to unify all East Slavic Orthodox Christians, in order to exert his jurisdiction over the (former) Eastern Orthodox lands within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Kingdom of Poland. On the other hand, Gregory, the (uniatic) metropolitan of Kyiv, declared his allegiance not only to Rome but also to Constantinople, writing a petition to the patriarch seeking his approval to renew the jurisdiction of the metropolitan Church over all East Slavic lands as it had been before the division caused by the council. In February 1467, in a transitional period before the official and final rejection of the Florentine union by patriarch Simeon I (1482–1486), patriarch Dionisius I (1466–1471) granted Gregory’s request and confirmed him as the only all-Rus’ hierarch and Kyiv as the reunified metropolitan see, at the same time reprimanding the Muscovite bishops and Iona for causing ecclesiastical and territorial division. (Gudziak 1994, 51; Ščapov 1976, 145–147; Petruško 2018, 150) In practice, the existing borders between the two metropolitan sees stayed in force following the political division until the beginning of the sixteenth century.

It is also worth mentioning that the Church of Kyiv, from its emergence in the mid-eleventh century until the early modern period, was rarely involved in theological disputes between Rome and Constantinople, the only noteworthy exceptions being several tracts¹³ against Latin ‚heresies’ translated from Greek in the twelfth century—moreover, their authors were mostly of non-Slavic origin, Kyivan metropolitans or monks coming from Byzantium. A clearer attitude of the ecclesiastical intellectuals on the territory of present-day Ukraine and Belarus towards the Catholic Church and its unionist endeavours, either *pro* or *contra*, was established only around and after the union of Brest in 1596. (Gudziak 1994 52) Furthermore, one of the most important long-lasting consequences of the Council of Florence on the East Slavic late medieval and early modern culture can be recognized in the gradual decline of the ‚all-Rus’“ ethnocultural sense of identity, which had survived the political disintegration of Kyivan state at the beginning of the thirteenth century. It had been fostered without interruption by the ecclesiastical elites, accentuating the perception of the common faith with a common Church Slavonic liturgical-literary language and members of the common Rurikid dynasty confessing Eastern Orthodoxy, since the official Christianization within a unified East Slavic (Kyivan) metropolitanate. In the council’s aftermath, two diverse East Slavic ethnocultural communities began to emerge—Muscovite (Russian) in the north-east and Ruthenian (Western Rus’) in the south-west, the latter serving as

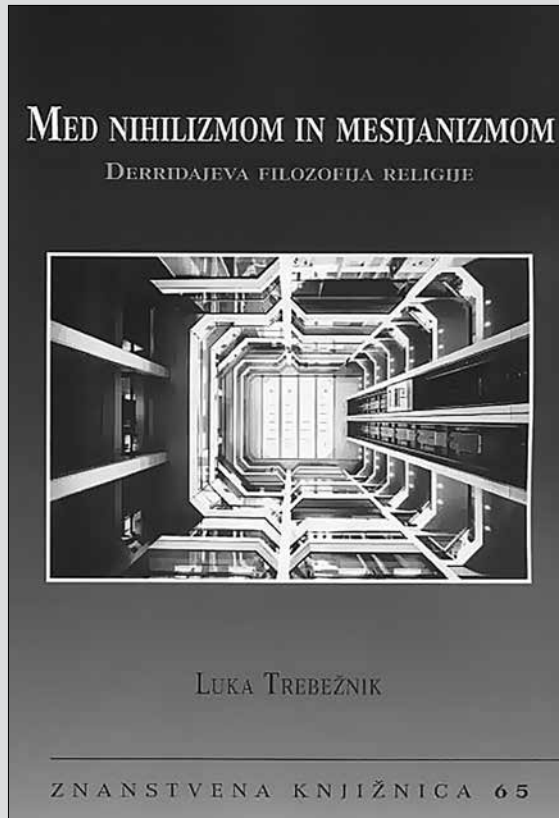
¹³ On anti-Latin polemics in the Kyivan Rus’, see: Podskalsky 1982, 170–185; Senyk 1993, 298–326; Danilevskij 2018.

a basis, although in very different social circumstances, of the subsequent modern Ukrainian and Belarus nations. (Plokyh 2006, 104; 134–136; 146–149; 153; 157–159; 162–163; Lur'e 2009)

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Luka Trebežnik

**Med nihilizmom in mesijanizmom:
Derridajeva filozofija religije**

Derridaju nikakor ne gre za zavračanje obstoja resnice, temveč gre le za sporočilo, da ta nastopa preko razlike. Dekonstrukcija trdi, da ne obstaja zunaj teksta, kar pomeni, da ne obstaja večna resnica. Temu je tako, ker je sleherna resnica inkarnirana v jezik in pripoved. Ta Derridajeva stališča pa so v veliki meri nasprotna tradiciji, ki veruje, da se za tekstem nahaja trden in nesporen smisel. Izmed vsega slovstva je to najočitneje izraženo pri religijah, ki sprejemajo nadnaravni izvor svojih tekstov. Od to sledi, da sta dekonstrukcija in teologija izvorno nerazdružljivi.

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Urška Jeglič

Zaupanje do *halal* izdelkov in *halal* proizvodnje pri muslimanih v Republiki Sloveniji

Trust in Halal Products and Halal Production among Muslims in Slovenia

Povzetek: *Halal* industrija je začela počasi cveteti pred tridesetimi leti, ko se je na svetovnem trgu začelo množično uveljavljanje *halal* inšpekcij in posledično izdajanje *halal* certifikatov ter označevanje izdelkov z njim. V začetku 21. stoletja je Islamska skupnost v Republiki Sloveniji podelila prve certifikate slovenskim podjetjem, med katerimi prevladujejo podjetja z mesno industrijo. Vsi muslimani v Sloveniji se prehranjevanja po *halal* predpisih ne držijo. Prav tako vsi muslimani ne kupujejo izdelkov s *halal* certifikatom. Članek predstavlja stanje zaupanja muslimanov v Sloveniji v *halal* izdelke in *halal* industrijo. Na podlagi opravljene raziskave je mogoče reči, da glede na zaupanje v *halal* izdelke in *halal* proizvodnjo obstajajo tri različne skupine muslimanov.

Ključne besede: *halal*, *halal* certifikati, *halal* izdelki v Sloveniji, *halal* prehrana, zaupanje muslimanov

Abstract: The *halal* industry began to flourish 30 years ago with the mass introduction of *halal* controls and the subsequent *halal* certification and labelling of products. At the beginning of the 21st century, the Islamic Community in the Republic of Slovenia awarded the first certificates to Slovenian companies operating mainly in the meat industry. Not all Muslims in Slovenia adhere to the *halal* diet. Also, not all Muslims buy *halal*-certified products. This article presents how Muslims in Slovenia trust *halal* products and the *halal* industry. Based on the research conducted, we observe that there are three distinct groups of Muslims in terms of their trust in *halal* products and a *halal* production.

Keywords: *halal*, *halal* certificate, *halal* products in Slovenia, *halal* diet, the trust of Muslims

1. Uvod

Islam se po številu vernikov na svetu uvršča na drugo mesto, takoj za krščanstvom. Število njegovih pripadnikov se ocenjuje na 1,6 milijard, od tega jih v Evropi živi 45 milijonov. Od 232 svetovnih držav je islam državna religija v 57 državah. Muslimane v Evropi je mogoče razdeliti na tri skupine: avtohtone evropske muslimane (prim. Balkan) in celoto migrantov, ki so registrirani bodisi kot tujci bodisi kot državljani države, v kateri živijo in delajo (Khader 2016, 174). Večina slovenskih muslimanov ima svoje korenine v Bosni in Hercegovini, Črni gori, Albaniji in Severni Makedoniji ter na Kosovu. Skupaj s sezonskimi delavci bi naj v Sloveniji živel 70.000 muslimanov (Grabus 2011).

Prehranjevanje po *halal* predpisih je ena izmed najbolj prepoznavnih islamskih verskih praks. Temelji zanjo so postavljeni v Koranu, verska izročila pa so v prvih generacijah podala jasnejše smernice, katero hrano je muslimanom dovoljeno jesti in katere ne. V zaključku bomo videli, da se prehranjevalne navade muslimanov razlikujejo, različno pa je tudi zaupanje muslimanov v *halal* proizvodnjo.

2. Halal prehrana

Beseda *halál* (arab. حلال, *ḥalāl*) pri muslimanih označuje vse stvari, ki so glede na pravne predpise dopustne, *harám* (arab. حرام, *ḥarām*) pa pomeni prepovedi. *Halal* je vse, s čimer je Alah zadovoljen, kar vključuje tudi vsa etična dejanja, najpogosteje pa se v neislamski literaturi povezuje s hrano, ki jo muslimani smejo uživati. Omeniti je sicer treba, da obstajajo določene vrste hrane, pri katerih lahko vsak musliman sam izbere, ali jih bo užival ali ne. Takšna vrsta hrane se imenuje *mubah* (arab. مباح). Zadnja kategorija je prehrana *makruh* (arab. مكروه), ki je zavržna, ni pa prepovedana, kar pomeni, da jo je bolje ne uživati.

Večina islamskih učenjakov se strinja, da je prepovedano vse, kar je del prašiča: meso, mast, koža, dlake in kosti. Po Koranu (6, 145) je svinjina nekaj odvratnega in grešnega. Mleko drugih kopenskih živali se lahko uživa le, če so čiste. Poseben status ima pri *halal* hrani čredna živina: ovce, koze, govedo, kamele (K 6, 134-44; 16, 5). Kopitarje, med katere prištevamo konje, osle in mulo, obravnava Koran kot živali, ki so namenjene za ježo ali so za okras (K 16, 8). Nikjer v Koranu pa ni zapisano, ali jih je jesti dovoljeno ali ne, zato so mnenja glede tega ambivalentna. Velja tudi, da se ne sme jesti živali s členki (lev, tiger, volk, medved, lisica itn.). Dovoljeno je uživati tudi ptice, mnenja pa si nasprotujejo glede ujed. Koran dovoljuje uživanje vseh vodnih živali (K 5, 96; 35, 12), a med pravnimi šolami obstajajo različni pogledi – mnenje ni enotno glede uživanja morskih živali, ki niso ribe (sipe, lignji, školjke, raki, drugi morski sadeži), in glede mrtvih rib, ki so poginile brez znanega razloga (Pollak 2007, 34–36). Da muslimani meso živali lahko jedo, morejo biti te zaklane po islamskih predpisih. Žival se zakolje tako, da se ji venska žila in karotidna arterija prereže z ostrim nožem, saj se na takšen način doseže največji pretok krvi, posledično žival tudi najmanj trpi. Med klanjem živali je treba izgovoriti Allahovo ime.

Koran (5, 3) pravi, da je vernikom prepovedano jesti »meso poginule živali, svinjsko meso in vse, kar je zaklano v imenu koga drugega, in ne Alaha, ter žival, ki je poginila zaradi davljenja, udarcev, padca z višine ali zaradi vbodov z rogovi, in to, kar je načela zver, razen če še živo zakoljete, ter to, kar je zaklano na oltarjih.« Med *haram* prehrano se prištevajo tudi alkoholne pijače in jedi, ki vsebujejo alkohol. Če se alkohol spremeni v kis, ga je dovoljeno uživati, ni pa dovoljeno piti sadnega soka, če ta zavre (Pollak, 2007, 33). Zavračanje alkoholnih pijač temelji na prepričanju, da je alkohol sam po sebi nečist, saj vinjenost vernike omejuje pri molitvi. Če človek uživa alkohol, je lahko torej kaznovan (prav tam, 37). Po drugi strani je bil v zgodovini odnos do alkohola veliko bolj dinamičen, o čemer razpravlja tudi Shahab (2017).

Islam pozna še eno zapoved, povezano s prehrano – post. Ta tretji steber islama je zapovedan za vse zdrave muslimane od pubertete naprej. »Cilj vsakega muslimana je, da bi ugajal Bogu in dosegel nebesa. Ugajati Bogu pomeni ljubiti ga, se ga bati in ga ubogati.« (Osredkar 2019, 661) Lahko bi rekli, da je prehranjevanje po islamskih predpisih za muslimane ena od poti za ugajanje Alahu. Toda bolj sekularizirani muslimani se predpisov islamskega prehranjevanja ne držijo, ker v omenjeni zapovedi ne vidijo smisla.

3. *Halal* certifikati

Muslimani so se več kot tisočletje prehranjevali po predpisih *halal* prehrane, ne da bi bila ta označena s *halal* certifikatom – prehranjevali so se zlasti z lokalno hrano. Označevanje hrane s *halal* certifikatom je začelo postajati smiselno po prodoru zahodnega tipa oglaševanja tudi v islamske države in z migracijami muslimanov v nemuslimanske države. Pri tem je glavno težavo predstavljalo kupovanje mesa, saj se v zahodnih državah živali ne kolje po islamskih predpisih. Tudi pri nas 25. člen Zakona o zaščiti živali prepoveduje, da bi se žival usmrtilo brez vnaprejšnje omamitve. Muslimani so tako sprva zahajali v trgovine s košer prehrano.

Rekli bi lahko, da so na *halal* proizvodnjo najprej vplivale množične migracije, zanemariti pa ne gre niti, da so *halal* certifikati v zadnjih 20. letih postali dobičkonosen posel tudi v islamskih državah. Konec 20. stoletja so k rasti *halal* industrije pripomogle tudi bolezn živali, predvsem bolezn krav in fibromuskularna displazija.

Izdelki s *halal* certifikatom imajo na svoji embalaži odtisnjen ustrezen logotip. Ker za izdajo certifikatov obstaja več inšpekcij, je na svetovnem trgu možno najti paleto različnih logotipov, ki pa večinoma nosijo napis *halal* v arabščini in polmesec. *Halal* certifikat označuje, da produkt ne vsebuje nobenih surovin prepovedanih živali in da so bile živali ubite po *halal* predpisih. Ob tem velja tudi, da izdelek ne vsebuje niti ene *haram* sestavine in med svojo izdelavo ni prišel v stik z ničemer, kar bi lahko bilo *haram*. To med drugim pomeni, da mora biti oprema, s katero se *halal* prehrana pripravlja, temeljito očiščena.

V Sloveniji za izdajo *halal* certifikatov skrbi Islamska skupnost v Republiki Sloveniji, pod okriljem katere deluje komisija za *halal* standarde. *Halal* certifikat ima

tako več slovenskih podjetij (Perutnina Ptuj, Pivka, Kras, Panvita Agromekur, Mesnine dežele Kranjske, Pomurske mlekarne, Celjske mesnine, MP Alpe); osredotočena so sicer zlasti na tuji trg in v promocijo *halal* izdelkov ne vlagajo. V javnosti so se pojavila tudi vprašanja, ali so certifikati usklajeni s slovensko zakonodajo, saj so izdani v arabskem in angleškem jeziku. Pravilno bi bilo, da bi bili izdani tudi v slovenščini (D. M. 2019). Ko smo o tem povprašali vodstvo Islamske skupnosti, so nam odgovorili (NOVA24 TV), da se izdelki izdelujejo za tuji trg, posledično so tudi podatki na njih zapisani v angleškem in arabskem jeziku.

Pridobitev *halal* certifikata je zahteven in dolgotrajen proces. Na našem geografskem področju igra vodilno vlogo Islamic International Documentation and Certification GmbH (IIDC), ki je mednarodna neodvisna internacionalna pooblaščenca inšpekcija in obenem center za izdajanje *halal* certifikatov. Sedež ima v Avstriji. IIDC priznava, da so *halal* produkti v zadnjih petnajstih letih postali priljubljeni. Na njihovi spletni strani je opisan tudi postopek za pridobitev *halal* certifikata, ki se začne z oddajo prošnje. Po preverjanju ustreznosti *halal* izdelka glede na *halal* standarde se začne aplikacija. Če kakšen od zahtevkov ni izpolnjen, se prošnja zavrne oz. vrne v dopolnitev. Ponovno sledi preverjanje in revizija poročila. Ko *halal* komite prošnjo odobri, inšpekcijska služba izda *halal* certifikat. Po pridobitvi *halal* certifikata je podjetjem dovoljeno, da na svoje izdelke natisnejo ustrezen logotip. Komisije naj bi redno skrbela za pregledovanje *halal* izdelkov in opreme ter pogojev, v katerih so narejeni. Če določeno podjeje pogojev ne izpolnjuje več, se mu *halal* certifikat odvzame.

To se je zgodilo slovenskemu podjetju Košaki TMI (Malanović 2013). Švedski znanstveniki so namreč aprila 2013 ugotovili, da je bila v *halal* salami prisotna svinjina, ki jo je muslimanom prepovedano uživati. Svinjine naj bi bilo okoli 10 %, prepovedano pa je, da bi bila vsebnost v hrani več kot 1 % (Šoštarčič, 2013). Na to se je odzvala tudi Islamska skupnost, ki je sporočila, da jih je takratni direktor podjetja Košaki TMI Jure Bojnec že januarja obvestil, da podjetje ne more več omogočati pogojev za izdelovanje *halal* hrane in da v prihodnje teh produktov več ne bodo izdelovali. Kljub temu je koordinator za *halal* standarde izrazil ogorčenost muslimanov, saj do česa takega ne bi smelo priti (Škandal v zvezi z odkritjem švedskega laboratorija 2013).

V pogovorih z muslimani smo večkrat slišali, da je ponudba *halal* izdelkov v Sloveniji slaba, le redke pa notranja želja po pravilnem prehranjevanju vodi v nakup *halal* izdelkov v tujini (zlasti v Avstriji, BiH in na Hrvaškem). Treba je omeniti, da se je v Sloveniji v zadnjih desetih letih izbor ponudbe *halal* izdelkov, ki pa ne zajema zgolj mesnin, povečal. Podjetje Jaffa pod *halal* certifikatom izdaja piškote Jaffa v različnih okusih in piškote Munchmallov – piškoti tako vsebujejo rastlinsko želatino. *Halal* je tudi ABC sveži kremni sirni namaz. *Halal* proizvode tujih proizvajalcev je mogoče kupiti v trgovinah E. Leclerc, Interspar, Mercator, Hofer in Tuš.

V Sloveniji sicer obstaja nekaj manjših *halal* mesnic, najbolj znana je Halalko v Ljubljani, ki ima vzpostavljeno tudi e-trgovino. Delovati je začela 19. junija 2008 (Osredkar 2011, 94). *Halal* meso za kebabe proizvaja kranjsko podjetje Halal Guda

Doner Kebap, s katerim sodeluje ljubljanski FM Center d. o. o. V Ajdovščini je *halal* izdelke možno kupiti v trgovini Su-sud. Znotraj Slovenske muslimanske skupnosti¹ je registrirano podjetje Halal d. o. o., Halal družba za trgovino in posredništvo. Leta 2018 se je na Zaloški cesti v Ljubljani odprla turška trgovina Atlas, ki prav tako ponuja *halal* izdelke. V Novi Gorici, Ajdovščini, Velenju, Jesenicah, Kopru in Ljubljani je mogoče najti tudi kioske s *halal* ponudbo.

Muslimani, ki se izpolnjevanja verske prakse držijo bolj dosledno, v Sloveniji pogrešajo restavracijo, v kateri ne bi bilo *haram* hrane. Očitno nekateri muslimani v Sloveniji ponudbe *halal* restavracij ne poznajo dovolj dobro, saj nihče izmed vprašanih obiska teh restavracij ni omenil. Večina jih zunaj je vegetarijansko hrano, preventivno izbirajo tudi veganske in suši restavracije – a zadnje le pod pogojem, da se pri ribah ne ozirajo na postopek zakola. Drži pa, da je vseh devet slovenskih restavracij, ki imajo *halal* certifikat, v osrednjeslovenski regiji. Od tega jih je osem v Ljubljani (Behar, Safran, Saraj restavracija, Arabska restavracija Habibi, Yildiz Han, Šeherezada, Fari's, Dunaya Doner), ena pa v Kamniku (Tsnim restavracija).

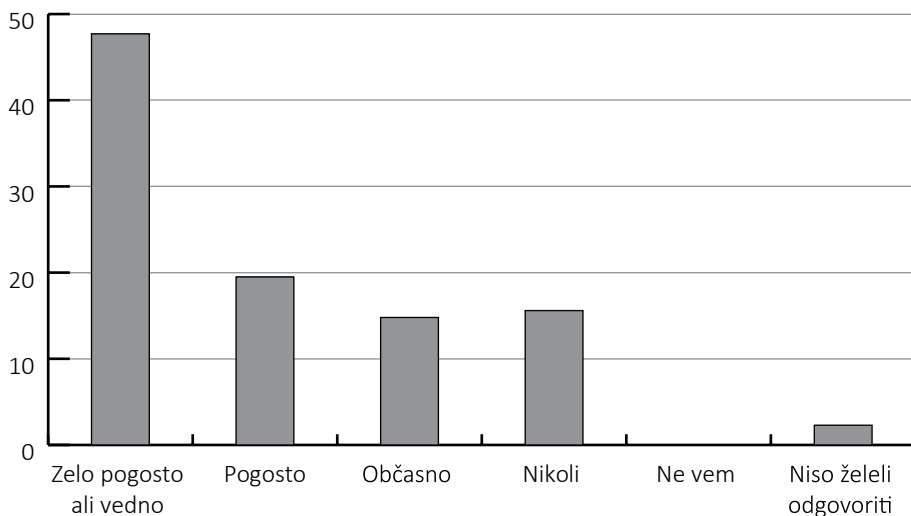
4. Zaupanje v *halal* proizvodnjo v tujini

Preden na primerih predstavimo, kakšno je zaupanje v *halal* proizvodnjo v tujini, je treba opredeliti, kaj je na porast *halal* industrije in njeno prodajno moč vplivalo. Strokovnjaki za tovrstno področje menijo, da je *halal* hrana predvsem bolj kakovostna, njeno poreklo je bolj pregledno, poleg tega pa naj bi zahtevni postopki za pridobitev *halal* certifikatov pripomogli k večjemu zaupanju ljudi v *halal* proizvode.

Po drugi strani Gojali (2020) meni, da je v posameznih državah zaupanje v *halal* industrijo in proizvode s *halal* certifikatom različno. Na to vpliva tudi, da nekatere nemuslimanske države veljavna pravila spreminjajo. V Avstraliji za pridobitev *halal* certifikatov ni treba izpolnjevati pogoja, da moral biti žival zaklana po islamskih predpisih, klanje živali po verskih predpisih pa je prepovedano v Belgiji, Islandiji, na Norveškem, Švedskem in Danskem. Koen De Praetere (v Rarick idr., 2012, 84) pravi, da v Evropi mnogim podjetjem, ki se ukvarjajo s *halal* industrijo, bolj diši denar kot pa pošteno delo. Tako v Evropi kot tudi v islamskih državah (npr. Pakistan) potrošniki veliko raje kupujejo dražje meso pri lokalnih mesarjih kot pa cenejše izdelke s *halal* certifikatom (Bonne in Verbeke 2006; Yunos, Balish in Che 2017).

Yunos (2017) je na podlagi raziskave, opravljene v Maleziji, ki v *halal* industriji velja za vodilno državo, ugotovil, da večje kot je zaupanje v *halal* izdelke, več denarja so muslimani pripravljeni zanje odšteti. Prav tako ugotavlja, da *halal* izdelkom bolj zaupajo muslimani z višjo stopnjo izobrazbe. Isti avtor tudi omenja, da je najpogostejši dejavnik za nakup *halal* izdelkov religioznost, sledijo mu zadovoljstvo, subjektivne norme, *halal* certifikati, interes, zaupanje in na zadnjem mestu *halal* ozaveščenost.

¹ V Sloveniji so registrirane tri islamske verske skupnosti: Islamska skupnost v Republiki Sloveniji, Slovenska muslimanska skupnost, Slovenska islamska skupnost milosti.



Graf 1: Pogostost prehranjevanja po halal predpisih pri muslimanih v Republiki Sloveniji.²

Kljub zgoraj omenjenemu pa ne moremo prezreti dejstva, da trg *halal* industrije bliskovito narašča. Leta 2019 je bil trg certificiranja živil ocenjen na 14,55 milijarde ameriških dolarjev. Napovedi kažejo, da naj bi *halal* proizvodnja živil ob rasti s stopnjo CAGR 4,9 % do leta 2025 dosegla 19,36 milijarde ameriških dolarjev. *Halal* industrija sicer ne zajema le prehranjevalne verige, ampak tudi kozmetiko, zdravila, čistila in tekstilno industrijo.

5. Muslimani v Sloveniji in *halal* prehrana

Prehranjevanje po *halal* predpisih je prisotno tudi pri slovenskih muslimanih – najbolj so sicer pozorni na prehrano, medtem ko pri kozmetiki in zdravilih ne pazijo zelo, ali so zares *halal*. Pri tem v slovenskih lekarnah zdravil s *halal* oznako niti ni možno kupiti, farmacevti pa trdijo, da do sedaj po tem še ni bilo nobenih povpraševanj.

Graf 1 (spodaj) prikazuje, kako pogosto se muslimani v Sloveniji prehranjujejo po islamskih predpisih. V intervjujih z imami in nekaterimi islamskimi verniki smo ugotovili, da se nekateri muslimani predpisov *halal* prehranjevanja ne držijo. Opažamo tudi, da nekateri muslimani sicer ne jedo svinjine, pijejo pa alkohol, drugi pa ravno obratno. Na podlagi opravljene raziskave o prehranjevanju s *halal* izdelki lahko muslimane v Sloveniji razdelimo na tri skupine: a) muslimane, ki se predpisov *halal* prehranjevanja držijo; b) muslimane, ki ne jedo svinjine in ne pijejo alkohola, a izdelkov s *halal* certifikatom ne kupujejo; c) muslimane, ki kupujejo izdelke s *halal* certifikatom.

² Anketna raziskava je bila narejena v okviru doktorske disertacije leta 2020.

Prvo okolje, v katerem se otrok sreča s *halal* prehrano, je družina. Ko odrastejo, lahko nekateri muslimani družinsko tradicijo – in s tem *halal* prehranjevanje – opustijo ali pa se sami začnejo prehranjevati po *halal* predpisih, čeprav se njihovi starši niso. Vpliva družinske tradicije torej ne gre zanemariti. Človek preko tradicije podoživlja različne spomine (pogosto vezane na mladost) in skozi doživlja množico časov (Nežič Glavica 2019, 196). Vodičar (2020, 262) dodaja, da slednji »daje priučenim navadam določeno težo avtoritete in odprtosti.« Hkrati sledenje tradiciji prinaša večjo samozavest in naposled trdnejšo predstavo o svojem moralnem in epistemološkem položaju v utelešenih in zgodovinskih kontekstih.

Takšna odločitev je pogosto povezana z osebno vero in pravno šolo, ki ji sledijo. Muslimani, ki izpolnjujejo *halal* predpise bolj dosledno, so po navadi strožji tudi pri izpolnjevanju drugih verskih predpisov – pogosteje molijo in se postijo. Na prehranjevanje po *halal* predpisih vpliva tudi to, kateri generaciji priseljencev verniki pripadajo in katero pot prilagoditve življenja so izbrali (asimilacija, integracija, segregacija), kakor tudi navade, ki so veljale v krajih njihovega izvora.

Muslimani v Sloveniji so že večkrat opozorili na nerešena vprašanja glede možnosti nudenja *halal* obrokov v javnih ustanovah, predvsem v vzgojno-izobraževalnih zavodih. Ker omenjeno področje v Sloveniji ni pravno urejeno, so izkušnje posameznikov različne, prav tako se lahko vsaka vzgojno-izobraževalna ustanova sama odloči, ali bo muslimanskim vernikom možnost *halal* obroka omogočila – in pod kakšnimi pogoji. Grabus (Grah 2014) je omenjeno situacijo povzel z besedami:

»Po drugi strani imamo v islamski skupnosti notranji problem. To je strah, ki je močno razširjen med muslimanskimi starši. Zaradi strahu si problema prehrane v šoli niti ne upajo načeti. O njem ne govorijo, ker se bojijo stigmatizacije. Stigmatizacija muslimanov je večji problem kot to, kdaj bodo otroci jedli šolsko malico brez svinjskega mesa. Hkrati si ne gre zatiskati oči pred tem, da je precej muslimanskih staršev že popolnoma asimiliranih in niti ne pomislijo, da bi uživanje svinjskega mesa lahko bilo sporno. Del muslimanov pa to težavo ima in najbolje jo je reševati na osebni ravni. Zato pozivam odgovorne v vrtcih in šolah, naj razumejo, da gre za vprašanje vrednot.«

6. Zaupanje v *halal* izdelke in *halal* proizvodnjo pri muslimanih v Sloveniji

V prispevku smo želeli pokazati, kakšno je zaupanje muslimanov v Sloveniji v *halal* proizvodnjo in *halal* industrijo. Ugotavljamo, da lahko muslimane, ki se prehranjujejo po *halal* predpisih in kupujejo *halal* izdelke (zgoraj omenjena kategorija c), razdelimo v tri skupine. V prvo skupino spadajo muslimani, ki zaupajo tako slovenskim kot tujim proizvajalcem *halal* izdelkov. Naslednja kategorija muslimanov zaupa le *halal* izdelkom iz tujine. Zadnja skupina muslimanov, ki uporablja *halal* prehrano, pa zaupa zgolj sama sebi in ozkemu krogu ljudi, zato si živali za zakol priskrbi sama in obredno klanje živali tudi sama organizira. Ta pristop je najbolj značilen za salafite.

Muslimani, ki zaupajo tako slovenskemu kot tujemu *halal* trgu, so pri svojih nakupih najbolj pozorni na to, da imajo izdelki *halal* logotip. Veliko jih kupuje ali naroča hrano tudi v *halal* mesnici. Po pogovorih z muslimani predvidevamo, da je tovrstna skupina najmočnejša. S tem ali je izdelek resnično *halal* ali ne, si ne belijo glave. Po islamskem učenju musliman, ki zaužije *haram* hrano v nevednosti, ne greši. Hkrati muslimani v Sloveniji omenjajo, da se v večjih krajih *halal* ponudba širi. V eni izmed velenjskih trgovin Spar npr. režejo mesnine z ločenimi meso-reznicami in noži – tako poskrbijo, da *halal* meso ne pride v stik s svinjino.

Druga skupina muslimanov, ki se prehranjuje po *halal* predpisih, zaupa zgolj tujemu trgu. Hrano najpogosteje nakupujejo v Avstriji, Italiji, na Hrvaškem ter v Bosni in Hercegovini. Najpogostejši razlog za to je slabo razvit *halal* trg na slovenskih tleh, zaradi česar da obstaja tudi večja možnost za kršitve. Člani Slovenske muslimanske skupnosti in Slovenske islamske skupnosti milosti izražajo tudi dvome v pravilnost upoštevanja *halal* standardov, ki jih izdaja Islamska skupnost v Republiki Sloveniji. Na tem mestu je treba omeniti, da so v ozadju večkrat osebni razlogi in *a priori* nasprotovanja med različnimi muslimanskimi skupnostmi v Sloveniji.

Muslimani v Sloveniji večinoma sledijo hanifejski pravni šoli. Manjšina (tudi npr. Slovenska islamska skupnost milosti) sledi salafitski pravni šoli, ki priznava le nauk prvih treh generacij. Njihovo učenje je konzervativno, izpolnjevanje verske prakse doslednejše, toleriranje odstopanj pa skorajda nično. To se odraža tudi pri zaupanju v *halal* industrijo. Zadnja skupina muslimanov slovenskim in tujim certifikatom težko zaupa, saj jim podjetja ne omogočajo popolnega pogleda v pridobivanje porekla o izdelkih. Predvsem mesnine tako kupujejo pri lokalnih, preverjenih muslimanskih kmetih ali pa si živali celo sami redijo in jih nato sami tudi obredno zakoljejo. Omenjena skupina muslimanov je v Sloveniji najmanj številčna.

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Branko Klun, Luka Trebežnik (ur.)

Vračanje religije v postmodernem kontekstu

Zbornik želi pokazati, da religija ni izginila iz filozofije, kot so napovedovali nekateri razsvetljenski misleci, temveč se vanjo vrača in jo na novo vznemirja. Sicer je to vračanje raznoliko in pogosto nekonvencionalno, vendar pa to ne zmanjšuje njegovega pomena in s tem potrebe po dialogu med postmoderno filozofijo in teologijo.

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Marjan Turnšek

Zakramentalnost in dialoškost vere

Sacramentality and Dialogicality of Faith

Povzetek: Vprašanje vere je v sodobni kulturi zelo raznoliko obravnavano. Razprava pokaže, kako je podoba vere predstavljena v dokumentu mednarodne teološke komisije „Vzajemnost med vero in zakramenti v zakramentalni ekonomiji“ (2020; komisija deluje v okviru Kongregacije za nauk vere). Izpostavljeni so nekateri vidiki vere, ki so bili v preteklosti manj navzoči: predvsem zakramentalnost in dialoškost, ki poudarjata osebnostno noto vere kot odnosa med božjimi osebami in človekom kot osebnim bitjem. Ti teološki obrisi vere so bližje pojmovanju vere, ki ga poznamo iz začetne dobe krščanstva, kakor morda poimenovanjem iz srednjega veka. To kaže, da je kulturno-verska občutljivost sodobnega človeka bližja takratni občutljivosti in zato zahteva tudi podoben pristop. Ta ugotovitev je pomembna za pastoralno delovanje, ne le na področju priprave na zakramente, marveč za celotno posredovanje vere novim rodovom.

Ključne besede: vera, zakramentalnost vere, dialoškost vere, zakramenti, Mednarodna teološka komisija

Abstract: The question of faith is treated very differently in modern culture. The discussion shows how the image of faith is presented in the document of the International Theological Commission, „The Reciprocity between Faith and Sacraments in the Sacramental Economy“ (2020; the commission works within the framework of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith). Some aspects of faith are highlighted that have been less present in the past: especially sacramentality and dialogicality, which emphasize the personal touch of faith as a relationship between the essential unity of God in three persons and man as an individual being. These theological outlines of faith are closer to the notion of faith we know from the early days of Christianity than perhaps to those of the Middle Ages. This shows that the cultural-religious sensitivity of modern man is closer to the sensitivity of that time, and for this reason, therefore, requires a similar approach. This observation is essential for pastoral activity, not only in preparation for the sacraments but also in the whole transmission of faith from one generation to the next.

Keywords: faith, the sacramentality of faith, dialogicality of faith, sacraments, International Theological Commission

1. Uvod

Vprašanje vloge vere in njenega izraza pri obhajanju zakramentov, še posebno zakramenta svetega zakona, je v razkristjanjenem svetu že nekaj časa vprašanje, ki vznemirja tako s teološkega kakor s pastoralnega vidika. Zato ni naključje, da je Mednarodna teološka komisija (MTK), ki deluje v okviru Kongregacije za nauk vere, v svoji deveti petletki preučevala odnos med katoliško vero in zakramenti. Delo je potekalo v podkomisiji, ki jo je vodil p. Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao. Dokument Vzajemnost med vero in zakramenti v zakramentalni ekonomiji (VVZ) je nastajal med letoma 2014 in 2019 (International Theological Commission 2019). Besedilo je z večino glasov članov nato sprejela komisija, potrdil njen predsednik, kardinal Luis F. Ladaria Ferrer, prefekt Kongregacije za nauk vere, papež Frančišek pa je dal pozitivno mnenje dne 19. decembra 2019. Dokument je bil objavljen dne 3. marca 2020.

V raziskavi želimo izpostaviti in predstaviti podobo vere, kakor jo oriše dokument pri svoji obravnavi osnovne teme vzajemnega odnosa med vero in obhajanjem zakramentov. Posvetiti se želimo podobi vere kot takšne v dokumentu, ne zgolj v odnosu do zakramentov, a je treba, da za začetek predstavimo celoten dokument, zaradi bolj celostnega pogleda na dožemanje vere v njem.

2. Predstavitev dokumenta MTK

V predstavitvi dokumenta bo najprej opredeljen njegov namen, nato pa predstavljena vsebina po poglavjih.

2.1 Namen dokumenta

Dokument teži k poglobitvi zavedanja zakramentalne narave krščanske vere in zakramentov kot vrhunskih izrazov vere.¹ Krščanska vera je zakramentalna. Zato ni mogoče sprejeti ločitve med vero in zakramenti: ne v smislu vere, ki ne želi zakramentalnega izraza, ne v smislu zakramentalne prakse, ki ji manjka vera. V pastoralnem delovanju srečujemo oboje. Besedilo preiskuje vzajemnost med vero in zakramenti, ki je danes v pastoralnem življenju občestev marsikdaj problematična; posebej analizira posledice te situacije za obhajanje zakramentov uvajanja in zakramentalnega zakona. Pomemben del besedila je posvečen teološkemu

¹ Pri predstavitvi upoštevamo tudi predstavitev ob objavi dokumenta v časniku *L'Osservatore Romano* z dne 2. – 3. marca 2020: Serge-Thomas Bonino, „Un parere della Commissione teologica internazionale: Il matrimonio tra battezzati non credenti“; Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao, „Significato e piano del documento: Reciprocità tra fede e sacramenti nell'economia sacramentale“.

vprašanju, katerega pastoralne posledice že dolgo obstajajo: namreč vprašanju zakramentalne vrednosti zakona ‚krščenih nevernih‘. Ta izraz pomeni krščene, ki se pozneje v življenju veri oddaljijo, tako da njihova vera ni več katoliška, ampak le nekakšen približek, ali pa se nekateri razglašajo morda celo za neverne. Besedilo vključuje problematiko v širši teološki okvir in izpostavi nujnost notranje zveze med vero in obhajanjem zakramentov. Dokument govori tudi o ‚fluidni‘ veri, ki ni usidrana v cerkvenem življenju in v zakramentalni praksi, in o ‚magičnem‘ pojmovanju zakramentov, katerih obhajanja so ločena od življenja vere v skupnosti.

2.2 Vsebina dokumenta

Dokument sestavlja najprej pojasnilo (kdaj in kdo je dokument pripravljal) in štiri poglavja ter sklepe; celota je členjena v 195 točk.

Prvo poglavje, „Vera in zakramenti: pripadnost in aktualnost“ (VVZ, tč. 1–14), izpostavlja temeljno obravnavano problematiko. Korenine ločitve med vero in zakramenti so prikazane z različnih zornih kotov: s teološko-filozofskega, z vidika sodobne splošne izkrivljenosti vere in z zornega kota cerkvenih napak. Sledi utemeljitev, zakaj so izbrani le točno določeni zakramenti: zakramenti uvajanja in zakrament zakona. V njih so izpostavljena vprašanja najbolj očitna; imajo pa tudi temeljno vlogo pri graditvi Kristusovega telesa.

Drugo poglavje, „Dialogalna narava zakramentalne ekonomije odrešenja“ (15–79), pomeni teološko srčiko dokumenta. Postavlja soliden katoliški doktrinalni temelj konstitutivni recipročnosti med vero in zakramenti. Predstavljen je božji načrt odrešenja v njegovi nedvomni zakramentalni razsežnosti, ki izhaja iz celotnega Svetega pisma. Pod zakramentalnostjo dokument razume nujno korelacijo med označujočo resničnostjo, zunanjo vidno razsežnostjo – na primer integrirana človeškost Jezusa Kristusa –, in simbolno označeno resničnostjo, ki ima nadnaravno naravo, nevidno razsežnostjo torej, na primer božanskost Kristusa (16). Troedinemu Bogu, ki se vrhunsko razodene v učlovečeni Besedi, je mogoče odgovoriti le z vero po milosti daru Svetega Duha. Torej obstaja najtesnejša soodnosnost med trinitaričnim razodetjem, ki je zakramentalne narave, in vero, ki ima tudi notranjo zakramentalno razsežnost. To dokument imenuje ‚dialogalna narava‘ ekonomije (oekonomije) odrešenja. Sledi predstavitev celotne zgodovine odrešenja v luči te zakramentalne in dialoške logike. Zakramentalnost zaznamuje celotno krščanstvo. ‚Zakramentalno‘ v dokumentu opredeljuje prepričanje, da se zgodovina Boga z ljudmi uresničuje v zgodovinsko dojemljivih dogodkih, dejanjih in srečanjih. V njih se Bog ‚pokaže‘ ljudem in se jim ‚približa‘ na njim dojemljiv način. Nenadkriljivo ‚znamenje‘ Boga v novi zavezi je človeška narava Jezusa Kristusa. Iz njegovih besed in dejanj lahko dobesedno spoznamo, kaj dela Bog za človeka. Sam zagotavlja, da dela, kar vidi pri Očetu. Jezus ima torej zakramentalno strukturo (Kristus kot osnovni zakrament); Jezus je ‚realni simbol‘ druge božje osebe. Inkarnacija je središče, vrhunec in ključ zakramentalne ekonomije (30–32). Zgodovinska otipljivost milosti, ki je postala navzoča v Jezusu Kristusu, se najizraziteje nadaljuje v Cerkvi. K ‚biti Cerkev‘, ki služi posredovanju nevidne milosti, kakor jo je prejele od Kristusa in jo prenaša naprej v moči Svetega Duha, sodi vidna in zgodovinska

struktura. Obstaja pomembna analogija med Cerkvijo in učlovečeno Besedo (CS, tč. 8; B, tč. 2). Iz teh predpostavk sodobna teologija označuje Cerkev kot temeljni zakrament (koreninski, univerzalni zakrament) v liniji dojemanja Cerkev na drugem vatikanskem koncilu kot ‚zakramenta odrešenja‘ (VVZ, tč. 33–34).

Drugi del tega poglavja se bolj konkretno dotika recipročnosti med vero in zakramenti vere. Začenja z evangeljskim temeljem, ki je v veri učencev, in daje nekatere pomembne pastoralne smernice. Jezusova znamenja se nadaljujejo prek učencev v Cerkvi (čudežna znamenja, polaganje rok, maziljenje ...). Najbolj izpričana obreda in tudi teološko najbolj obravnavana v novi zavezi sta krst in evharistija. Nekatera posamezna dejanja prve krščanske skupnosti postanejo znamenja, kolikor skupnost po njih oznanja Jezusa in ga doživlja navzočega. Evangeliji nam pričujejo, da se najgloblje srečanje z vstelim Kristusom lahko zgodi samo prek točno določenih znamenj. Tako je hotel Kristus in zato zaupal Cerkvi znamenja, ki nadaljujejo njegove čudeže, njegove odrešenjske kretnje ... Zakramenti imajo vedno cerkvenostno naravo. V tem je temelj zakramentalne strukturiranosti vere; to dokument pokaže z analizo odlomka o učencih na poti v Emavs (Lk 24). Ko vernik ne vidi več Gospoda, ga Beseda povabi, da ga ponovno najde v simbolnih kretnjah, ki jih Cerkev dela v njegovem imenu, predvsem v obhajanju evharistije.

Dokument pokaže, da ima vprašanje odnosa med vero in zakramenti (VVZ, tč. 42–64) nedvomno dolgo izročilo: vse od prvih dni – vsekakor v Janezu, v Pavlovih pismih, v Apostolskih delih – se najde že izrecno tematizirano vprašanje odnosa med zavestnim zaupanjem veri (*kerygma*) in njenim obrednim obhajanjem (zakramenti, obredi). Že v Apostolskih delih razberemo tesno vez med oznanjanjem božje besede, vero in obhajanjem zakramentov.

Nato dokument preide na bolj teološko-tehnična vprašanja, ki zadevajo strukturiranje odnosa med vero in zakramenti vere, z uporabo klasičnih konceptov zakramentalne teologije, kakor so učinkovitost, rodovitnost in namen (65–71). Dialogalna narava ekonomije odrešenja je tako izpostavljena še z drugega zornega kota in s tem je potrjen tudi bistveni pomen recipročnosti med vero in zakramenti (72–77).

To poglavje posreduje doktrinalni temelj konstitutivni vzajemnosti med vero in zakramenti, katerega bistvena struktura se izrazi v petih med seboj notranje povezanih tezah:

- 1) Božja trinitarična ekonomija odrešenja je zakramentalna, ker je učlovečenjska.
- 2) Zakramentalna ekonomija je po naravi nujno dialogalna.
- 3) Zaradi zakramentalne narave ekonomije odrešenja je krščanska vera resnično zakramentalna, saj je sestavni del ekonomije odrešenja.
- 4) Zato h katoliški veri sodi zakramentalnost z vrhuncem v zakramentih.
- 5) Za približanje zakramentom je potrebna vera, kakor uči drugi vatikanski koncil: »Zakramenti /.../ ne samo predpostavljajo vero, ampak jo z obrednimi besedami in gestami tudi hranijo, utrjujejo in izražajo; zato se imenujejo ‚zakramenti vere‘.« (B 59)

V tem dialogalnem vidiku je vera del strukture zakramentalnega dejanja. To

velja za vsakega od sedmerih zakramentov Cerkve, čeprav se v vsakem udejanja specifično. MTK je obdelala s tega vidika tri zakramente krščanskega uvajanja (VVZ, tč. 80–131) in kot poseben zgled zakrament zakona (132–182).

V tretjem poglavju, „Vzajemnost med vero in zakramenti krščanskega uvajanja“, so trije zakramenti uvajanja obravnavani po isti metodologiji (80–131). Zelo sintetično je vsak zakrament zajet s petih vidikov s potrebnimi prilagoditvami: biblični temelj, medsebojna povezanost obravnavanega zakramenta in vere za njegovo primerno obhajanje, aktualni pastoralni problemi, nekatere osvetlitve z vidika ključnih trenutkov v tradiciji in končno pastoralni predlog.

Glede treh zakramentov uvajanja je podčrtano, da njihovo obhajanje vključuje misijsko naravo. Z zakramentalnim obhajanjem se Cerkev utrjuje kot Kristusovo skrivnostno telo, njeni člani pa so pričre vstalega Jezusa Kristusa sredi sveta. Podčrtano je tudi, da je globina vere, ki se zahteva pri posameznih zakramentih, različna. Pri krstu je primerno zagotoviti navzočnost dialoških prvin, ki karakterizirajo zgodovino odrešenja in odnos z Bogom. To ne pomeni problema pri krstu odraslih. Za otroke pa je treba zagotoviti bližnje osebe, starše, botre, dedke in babice, kakega drugega družinskega člana, da bi zagotavljal v konkretnem primeru krščansko vzgojo, ki bo privedla do osebnega dialoga krščenega z Bogom v organizmu Cerkve.

Pri birmi MTK vztraja na zahtevani zrelosti za bolj odraslo in odgovorno vključitev v krščansko skupnost tako v notranjem odnosu do grajenja cerkvene skupnosti kakor v smislu misijona navzven. Posebej je poudarjena pomembnost osebne odnosa z Gospodom prek molitve.

Evharistija je zakrament vere po antonomaziji. V njej se vera uresničuje in se hrani. Zahtevata se večja osebna priličenost odnosu vere in osnovna skladnost s krščanskim življenjem.

Četrto poglavje, „Vzajemnost med vero in zakonom“, obravnava zakrament zakona (132–182) Poglavje je sestavljeno iz treh delov. Prvi sledi skupni metodologiji, kakor je uporabljena pri zakramentih uvajanja, in osvetli soodvisnost med vero in dobrinami zakona v duhu katoliškega pojmovanja. Drugi in tretji del pa se osredotočita na kontroverzno vprašanje zakona med ‚krščenimi nevernimi‘. Sledeč uporabljeni shemi pri obravnavanih zakramentih, dokument opiše naravo in zakramentalno naravo krščanskega zakona (135–142). Nato se dokument na dolgo zaustavi pri teološkem in pastoralnem problemu, ki ga ustvarja zakon med ‚krščenimi nevernimi‘ (143–182). Glede na to, da je krst zakrament vere, je izraz ‚krščenimi neverni‘ najmanj paradoksen. Toda govorimo o dejanskem stanju, ki na žalost ni redko. Pri obravnavi takšne situacije dokument svari pred dvema možnima pastoralnima napakama. Prva je zakramentalni avtomatizem: pod ‚teološko‘ predpostavko, da je vsak zakon med krščenima sam po sebi že zakrament, pušča ob strani osebno vero ženina in neveste; ta napaka lahko vodi v lažna obhajanja, ki ne gradijo ne posameznika ne občestva. Druga skrajna napaka pa dela iz Cerkve elito in postavlja izredno visoke zahteve v zvezi s stopnjo zahtevane vere. S tem se dokument dotakne zelo občutljive pastoralne teme: kako ‚izmeriti‘ vero prosil-

cev za zakrament zakona. Zato vidi nalogo dušnega pastirja oziroma pastoralnega delavca bolj v tem, da pomaga ,razžariti' žerjavico vere, ki jo odkrije morda skrito pod sekularističnim ali kakim drugim ,pepelom'. Z večjo jasnostjo je mogoče presoditi namen, ki je povezan z vero. Pri ,krščenih nevernih' ločimo dva možna tipa: takšne krščene, ki so glede vere ostali ,kakor otroci' in pozneje niso nikoli osebno pritrdili veri, in takšne, ki zavestno negirajo vero in jo zavračajo. Pristop k obojim je, samoumevno, različen.

Po sami postavitvi vprašanja so v tem poglavju prikazani dosedanja pomembnejši doktrinalni posegi: od dokumenta MTK o zakonu (1977), v katerem je bil argument že izpostavljen, vse do učenja zadnjih papežev in kanonskega prava, vključno s sodbami rimske rote (VVZ, tč. 146–165). Dokumenti so pregledani glede na tezo, ki jo MTK sprejme, razvija in brani, namreč: popolno pomanjkanje osebne vere vodi v dvom o veljavnosti zakramentalnega zakona v tolikšni meri, v kolikršni ta odsotnost ogrozi nujni minimalni namen sklenitve naravnega zakona. Kajti obstoj naravnega zakona je nujni pogoj za resničnost zakramentalnega zakona. V duhu teološkega aksioma, da milost predpostavlja naravo, je razvidno, da zakon kot zakrament predpostavlja obstoj ,naravnega' zakona, ki je nato povzdignjen v nadnaravni pomen in s tem v vzročnost milosti. Če resničnosti naravnega zakona ni, tudi zakramenta ne more biti.

MTK pokaže tudi na globoke sodobne spremembe v kulturnem dojemanju, ki vplivajo na stanje teh teološko relevantnih dejstev. Resnica o naravnem zakonu je neločljiva od jasne osnovne teološke antropologije, v kateri se človek ne dojema kot ,posameznik' (*individuum*), ampak kot oseba (*persona*), ki je določena z odnosom, torej kot občestveno bitje; v to je zajeta tudi zakramentalnost človeškega spolno opredeljenega telesa ... Samo v tej viziji človeka, ki je svetopisemsko-krščanska, so razložljive in opravičljive lastnosti, ki definirajo naravni zakon: nerazveznost, zvestoba in dobro sozakonca, odprtost za življenje ... Ta resnica o človeški osebi je na splošno dosegljiva človeški izkušnji. Dejansko pa imajo ljudje v konkretnih zgodovinskih situacijah potrebo, da jo potrdi in varuje vera. V tem trenutku je iz zahodnega upadanja krščanske vere in še iz kakega drugega razloga razvidno, da ta resnica ni več splošno sprejeta kot referenčna točka za družbo in za posameznike. Še več, ne le da jo mnogi posamezniki zavračajo, marveč jo nekatere antropologije povsem negirajo; hkrati pa so ti drugačni pogledi na človeka postali zelo vplivni, če ne že prevladujoči v kulturnih, pravnih in političnih institucijah zahodne družbe. Splošna sprejemljivost ločitve zakona, razširjenost kontraceptivne miselnosti, zatemnjevanje spolne različnosti (*gender* teorije), radikalni način dojemanje smisla življenja kot individualistične uresničenosti samega sebe – vse to in še kaj sodeluje pri slabljenju ali celo izginjanju iz javnosti omenjene teološko-antropološke vizije, na kateri temelji razodeta resnica o naravnem zakonu.

Ob izginjanju živete osebne vere je vedno bolj realno dvomljivo, vsekakor pa ne več samo po sebi umevno, da bi zaročenci imeli namen narediti to, kar ima Cerkev namen, ko obhaja zakrament zakona; zato je legitimno dvomiti o veljavnosti obhajane zakramenta v takšnih okoliščinah. Seveda ne smemo podcenje-

vati čudovite moči narave, ki se je sposobna zoperstavljati tolikim kulturnim deformacijam, kakor se je že ničkolikokrat pokazalo v zgodovini Cerkve. Ostaja pa dejstvo, da je dojemanje krščanske resnice o zakonu v nevarnosti, če je ne kultivirata osebno in skupnostno okolje živete vere.

Principi, ki jih MTK v dokumentu razlaga, lahko dajo dragocene usmeritve, temelječe na človeški in krščanski resnici o človeku in zakonu. Dokument predvideva občutljivo nalogo dušnih pastirjev in vseh vključenih v zakonsko pastoralo, da bodo pomagali prihodnjim zakoncem rasti v osebni veri, predvsem v smeri dojenja tega, kar zakon pomeni v razodetju. V dokumentu „Katoliški nauk o zakramentu zakona“ (1977) je MTK že izrazila, da odsotnost vere, pojmovane kot razpoložljivost za verovanje, kompromitira veljavnost zakramenta, še posebno če ni želje po milosti in odrešenju (2.3). Sv. Janez Pavel II. je po dolgem in postopnem študiju zatrdil: »Kadar, nasprotno, kljub vsem poskusom, zaročenci kažejo na ekspliciten in formalen način, da zavračajo to, kar ima namen Cerkev, ko se obhaja zakon med krščeni, jih dušni pastir ne sme pripustiti k obhajanju.« (1981, tč. 68) Dokument sledi tudi Benediktu XVI. in začenja pri dejstvu, da vera določuje antropološke koncepte na vsakem področju življenja, vključno s tem, kar zadeva zakon. Zato si dokument legitimno postavlja vprašanje, ali konzistentna odsotnost vere pri tistih, ki se lahko imenujejo ‚krščeni neverni‘, vpliva na njihovo pojmovanje zakona, še posebno ker mnogokje splošno razumevanje zakona, tudi takšnega, ki je bil civilno legalno sklenjen, kaj šele zunajzakonske zveze, ne vključuje nerazveznosti (za vedno), zvestobe (izključnost in dobro sozakonca) in odprtosti za potomstvo. Zato je pri ‚krščeni nevernih‘ realno sklepati, da ni nujno vedno zagotovljen namen sklenitve resničnega naravnega zakona. Brez naravnega zakona pa ni resničnosti, ki bi mogla biti dvignjena v zakramentalni zakon: torej ni zakramentalnega zakona.

Predstavitev ponujene rešitve, kakor smo videli, sledi smeri različnih nagovorov papežev Frančiška, Benedikta XVI. in sv. Janeza Pavla II., čeprav naredi še *korak naprej*, ko spodbuja debato med dogmatično teologijo, pastoralo, kanonskim pravom in razločevanjem dušnih pastirjev.

Dokument tako omenja še nerešena vprašanja, ki jih bodo ‚svete znanosti‘ morale razjasniti. V prvi vrsti je to latinski koncept neločljivosti pogodbe in zakramenta, ki je tuja konceptu zakona vzhodnih katoliških Cerkev, kakor je izpostavil papež Frančišek (*Amoris laetitia*, tč. 75). Poudarjeno je tudi, da bo treba mesto in pomen vere v zakramentu zakona še poglobiti, ker različni dokumenti niso usklajeni. V poprejšnjih določbah *Obrednika za zakon* (16) je rečeno: »Dušni pastirji sprejemajo zaročenca v duhu Kristusove ljubezni in predvsem pospešujejo in poživijo njuno vero: zakrament sv. zakona namreč vero predpostavlja in zahteva.« Pri tem se sklicuje na B 59. Kljub temu pa definicija zakona v KKC 1601, ki citira ZCP kan. 1055, par. 2, ne omenja vere, ampak samo krst. Napetost med obema izjavama zahteva poglobitev dojenja vloge vere v zakramentu zakona in ne le vloge krsta, ki je izvor daru vere kot ‚vlite kreposti‘.

Dokument se končuje s kratkim sklepom, „Vzajemnost med vero in zakramenti v

zakramentalni ekonomiji“ (VVZ, tč. 183–195), ki je sinteza obravnavane problematike.

3. Teologija vere v dokumentu MTK

V nadaljevanju bomo izluščili temeljne teološke značilnosti kreposti vere, kakor jih izpostavi obravnavani dokument.

3.1 Vera je osebna pritrnitev

Dokument začne opisovati krepost vere z dogodkom med Kristusom in krvotočno ženo, ki ji prav vera omogoči, da se njen dotik spremeni v dogodek ozdravitve, simbol odrešenja celotnega človeka. Vera je resničnost, ki žubori iz srečanja z osebo in daje življenju nov horizont ter mu omogoči zavzeti točno določeno smer. S tem dokument takoj postavi vero v območje medosebnih odnosov in pokaže, da odrešitvska učinkovitost Jezusovega delovanja ni avtomatična. Odrešitveni proces vključuje tudi sebi primeren odgovarjajoči stik, ki je ponižen, presečen in zato odprt odrešitvskemu daru. V tem kontekstu se izkaže, da je vera najbolj adekvatno sredstvo, praktično edino primerno, za sprejetje zastojno podarjenega odrešenja. To je »osebna pritrnitev človeka Bogu« (VVZ, tč. 1) in je zato njena izpoved nujno pred obhajanjem zakramentov (2.15).

Z upoštevanjem klasične ločitve na osebni dej vere (*fides qua*) in njeno pojmovno predstavitev vsebine (*fides quae*) (4) lažje dojamemo nevarnost reduciranja vere na čustveno raven, ki vero zoži na subjektivno zaupanje, ki jo usmerja subjekt sam in se s tem oddalji od objektivne logike vsebin krščanske vere (7). To lahko privede nekatere do sklepa, da je ‚substancia vere‘ le v ‚živetem evangeliju‘, zatemni pa vlogo obredja, zlasti zakramentov, ker se s tem izgubi stik z dejstvom, da zakramenti utrdijo in hranijo močno izkušnjo evangelija. Tako se pokaže nujnost soodvisnosti in soodnosnosti med vsemi tremi elementi krščanskega življenja, ki izhajajo iz vere: *martyria*, *leitourgia*, *koinonia*. (8) Kjer te skladnosti ni, nastane velika nevarnost ritualizma brez vere (pomanjkanje notranje globine, zgolj družbeni status, tradicija) ali pa privatizacija vere (omejitev zgolj na notranjost: osebna vest in čustva), to pa odseva v razkoraku med osebno vero in obhajanjem zakramentov (9). Pojem vere zato mora vključevati osebni odnos z umrlim in vstelim Gospodom, ki v Cerkvi naprej govori in deluje kot stvariteljska in učinkovita božja beseda, zakramenti pa so vrhunski jezik te medosebne komunikacije, po kateri v moči Svetega Duha božja Beseda naprej deluje (38). Tako prepoznavamo v zakramentih tudi osebno uresničitev vere Cerkve (39).

Dokument s poudarjanjem vere kot ‚osebne pritrnitve‘ želi preseči teološko členjenje resničnosti vere na subjektivni in objektivni vidik in ju spet neločljivo povezati. Vera je res osebna pritrnitev, a pritrnitev komu, do katerega pa je mogoče priti le prek njegove navzočnosti v občestvu Cerkve, ki je objektivna danost v zgodovini. In v tej danosti je tudi Kristus zgodovinsko učlovečeno objektivno dejstvo, ki si ga posameznik ne more krojiti zgolj po ‚svoji meri‘.

3.2 Dialoškost vere

Drugi pomembni poudarek glede vere MTK postavi na dialoškost vere. Izhajajoč iz dialoške narave zakramentov v ekonomiji odrešenja, dokument izvede nujnost oblike vere, ki ustreza tej naravi obrednega obhajanja (15). V evangelijih odkrivamo, da je vera tista resničnost, ki v srečanju z Jezusovo človeškostjo omogoči hkrati tudi srečanje z učlovečenim Logosom. Zato tudi srečanje z Jezusom ljudi brez vere pusti nespremenjene. Dialog je nujno komunikacija, ne le informacija, za komunikacijo pa je potrebno tudi sprejetje sporočila in odziv, ne le poslanje sporočila. Če nihče ne bi sprejel Očetove besede v Jezusu Kristusu, se odrešenjski dialog med Bogom in človekom ne bi mogel zgoditi. (17) Vera se s tega zornega kota razodeva tudi kot sprejetje Besede v dialoškem dogodku: to je dialoško sprejetje razodetja, ki se dogaja po zakramentalni logiki. Zato ni mogoče ločiti Jezusove človeškosti od božje Besede, a tudi ne od njenega sprejetja pri verniku – z vero. Tako Jezusova prvotna zakramentalnost kakor tudi zakramentalnost Cerkve in sedmerih zakramentov v njej so zasidrane v trinitarični veri, ki nam je bila v Jezusu Kristusu razodeta in posredovana na dialoški način. Dialoškost kot srečanje dveh osebnih bitij sodi k samemu bistvu biblično-krščanske vere, pa naj jo motrimo kot dar ali kot pojmovno vsebino; oboje je treba opredeliti kot ‚sredstvo‘ za komunikacijo med božjimi osebami in človekom kot osebo. (18)

3.3 Zakramentalnost vere

Zakramentalni prvini morata prevevati tudi vero, to pa pomeni, da sta v njej jasno poudarjena in vsebovana ‚sprejetje‘ razodetja in ‚odgovor‘ nanj (BR, tč. 5). Zakramentalnost je resničnost, v kateri je vera rojena, oblikovana, raste in se izrazi. Ta zakramentalnost se dogaja v srečanju živega Boga, ki se zgodi po posrednikih, po katerih se Bog odloči podarjati se človeku. Dokument zato zakramentalnost imenuje tudi ‚hiša vere‘, vera sama pa se v tej perspektivi pokaže kot ‚vrata‘ (Apd 14,27) dostopa do področja zakramentalnega, torej do srečanja in odnosa z Bogom. Zakramentalni simboli brez vere ne morejo aktualizirati svojega pomena in preprosto ostanejo nemi. (VVZ, tč. 19) Tisti, ki zakramente obhajajo, pa menijo, da mora biti obhajanje osebno izražanje vere Cerkve (39).

Zakramentalna razsežnost vere je zakoreninjena v sredništvu Cerkve, ki omogoča veri, da sprejme zakramentalno strukturirano razodevanje Boga v zgodovini in nanj odgovori. Vera se izrazi in hrani zakramentalno, in ni mogoče drugače, če želi ostati krščanska. Vzajemno s tem pa so tudi zakramenti dojeti kot dejanja vere Cerkve, ki je pred vero vsakega posameznika, saj jo rojeva, podpira in hrani (21.39). Vera je zgrajena po zakramentalni logiki in ima zato nujno zakramentalni izraz, ki pride do vrhunca v obhajanjih zakramentov. Zakramenti so nekakšno »anamnetično reprezentiranje, ki vero aktualizira in jo naredi vidno« (21). V tem tiči temelj vzajemnosti (recipročnosti) med vero in zakramenti.

Zakramentalnost božje ekonomije odrešenja usmerja k veri, saj je odrešenje lahko samo v njej sprejeto, gojeno in po njej naseljuje zgodovino. Brez tega dejstva si ni mogoče predstavljati učlovečenja božje Besede, po kateri postane božji načrt

odrešenja zgodovinsko ‚otipljiv‘, viden in tako za človeka sprejemljiv; pa tudi si ni mogoče predstavljati delovanja Svetega Duha, ki ohranja Kristusove darove trajne v odrešenjski milosti, utelešeni v zakramentalnih simbolih. Hkrati si tudi ni mogoče predstavljati Cerkve kot zgodovinske ustanove, ki posedanja Kristusovo delo z obhajanjem zakramentov, da hrani in utrjuje in pogloblja vero vernikov. (41)

Prenos vere zatorej ne vključuje le miselne doktrinarne vsebine, ampak tudi bivanjsko vključitev v tkivo zakramentalne ekonomije Cerkve: skrivnosti vere so namreč v zakramentih vidno predstavljene in aktualizirane. Da je to mogoče, je nujno predpostavljati: vera ima »zakramentalno strukturo« (41). Vera se prebujata prav prek vznika novega zakramentalnega pomena človekovega življenja in kristjanovega bivanja, v katerem se odkrije, da se »vidno in materialno odpira v smeri večne skrivnosti« (41). Iz tega jasno sledi, da je struktura zakramentalne ekonomije dialoška in da vanjo sodi tudi vera, zato mora po svoji naravi biti vera naravnana dialoško, da omogoča človekov odgovor na božji dar, in to na isti način, kakor je dar sprejet.

3.4 Vera je dinamična osebna resničnost

Vera kot odnosna resničnost je nekaj živega, dogajajočega se, zato k njej sodijo rast, zorenje, lahko seveda tudi slabljenje in izginjanje. Sveto pismo z osebnimi liki in njihovo zgodbo kaže na to značilnost vere. Zgovoren zgled rasti in zorenja v veri je apostol Peter. Njegova začetna vera se razvija do brezpogojne pripadnosti Kristusu, v okviru katere se izoblikujejo tudi vsebinski, doktrinarne vidiki (42). Razvoj je opaziti predvsem v cerkvenostnih in zakramentalnih razsežnostih vere, ki sodijo k njenemu jedru (44). Dokument predstavi vitalnost vere z dinamiko rasti: vstop je *začetna vera*, ki ima velik pomen; sledi vera na poti zorenja, ki želi napredovati v poznanju Boga in zato vključuje več različnih še nerazrešenih vprašanj in pomislekov – torej *nepopolna vera*, ki ima težave z nekaterimi razodetimi vsebinami; in končno vera dozori do *popolne vere*: skupaj z doktrinalnimi vidiki vključuje vernikovo priličenje Kristusu, ki je umrl in vstal (45). Pastoralno poslanstvo pa je, da skupnost vsakemu pomaga razvijati vero od tiste stopnje dalje, na kateri je v tistem trenutku.

Osebna vera vključuje različne vidike. S teološkega gledišča je njena posebnost v tem, da je izrecno vsebovana v odnosih z Bogom. Dej vere v svoji integralnosti vključuje tri razsežnosti: ‚credere Deum‘ (*fides quae*) vključuje kognitivni element vere, torej to, kar verujemo, in nas usmerja k Bogu – zato je vera *teocentrične* narave; ‚credere Deo‘ vključuje razlog osebnega pristanka Bogu (*fides qua*), ki je Bog sam – in to daje veri *teologično* naravo, saj je Bog hkrati predmet vere in razlog vere; a brez ‚credere in Deum‘ sta prejšnja vidika nepopolna, saj mora vključevati še vidik volje, ki teži (hrepeni) k Bogu in v tej smeri ‚giblje‘ vernika; to pa je začetek poti, ki se bo dopolnila v eshatološki resničnosti – tako k celovitemu deju vere sodi tudi *teoeschatološki* vidik, ki nujno vključuje prejšnja dva. (47)

‚Verovati v Boga‘ pomeni popoln osebni odnos in vključuje upanje in ljubezen; pomeni ‚biti združen z Bogom‘ in dobro sodelovati z njim (sv. Avguštin). »Obrazca

,verujem v Boga' ne moremo omejiti le na izpoved neke veroizpovedi in nekega prepričanja, ampak izraža proces spreobrnjenja in prepustitve, vernikovo pot vere.« (48) Vera v troedinega Boga vključuje osebni odnos z vsemi tremi božjimi osebami, saj v veri prek sredništva Jezusa Kristusa in v moči Svetega Duha prepoznavamo Očetov načrt za nas in stopimo na pot izpolnjevanja njegove volje glede sebe, zgodovine in celotnega stvarstva (49).

Dokument izpostavi, da je sodobna teologija o veri pod močnim vplivom personalizma izbrala »smer enostranskega subjektivizma«. Bolj poudarja osebni odnos zaupanja (vera v nekoga) in manj doktrinalni vidik vere (vera v nekaj). (50) A je treba težiti k uravnoteženosti obeh vidikov vere.

Odgovor vere mora imeti zakramentalno logiko, ki jo vodi Duh. Ne obstaja zgolj subjektivno dožemanje vere (*fides qua*), ki ne bi bilo vezano na avtentično resnico o Bogu (*fides quae*), posredovano po razodetju in ohranjeno v Cerkvi. Obstaja globinska enost med dejem vere in vsebinami, ki jim dajemo pristanek. Ni mogoče misliti vere brez zakramentalnega izraza (proti privatizaciji vere) niti zakramentalne prakse brez vere Cerkve (proti ritualizmu). Kadar osebna vera izključuje identifikacijo z izpovedovanjem vere Cerkve in z življenjem Cerkve, takrat vera ni več vključitev v Kristusovo skrivnostno telo in zato vodeni. Poleg skušnjave privatizacije vere obstaja nasprotna nevarnost: pozunanjena vera. Ta vera resda besedno pristaja na veroizpoved Cerkve, je pa ne naredi za svojo z osebnim sprejetjem (molitev). Subjektivna privatizacija in ritualizem sta dve nevarnosti, ki ju je treba nenehno premagovati. (51)

Vse to jasno razodeva, da je vera dinamična resničnost, ki se spreminja. Osebna vera vsakega posameznika se lahko znajde na različnih stopnjah z dveh vidikov: glede intenzivnosti odnosa z Bogom, a tudi glede jasnosti vsebin. Raste ali slabi lahko na obeh področjih. Glede resnic vere lahko rasteta njihovo poznavanje in njihovo osebno sprejemanje; glede odnosa z Bogom pa lahko rasteta zaupanje Bogu in odločitev, da vse svoje bivanje usmerjamo na podlagi tega osebnega odnosa. (52) Teologija je večkrat izpostavljala nujni minimum vere glede vsebine vere in pri tem upoštevala tudi tako imenovano implicitno vero (vera malih) (53); a sv. Tomaž Akvinski je izrazil tudi pomen eksplicitne vere glede vsebine členov veroizpovedi (54); seveda pa ne spregleda, da je vera vlita, nadnaravna krepost in je možna zaradi milosti, vendar jo je mogoče izpopolnjevati in da se pokaže tudi navzven v načinu, stilu življenja (61). Nasprotja vere dokument ne prepoznava v pomanjkljivem poznavanju vere, ampak v »ostrem zavračanju nekaterih verskih resnic in indiferenci« (55). Ključni element vere je upanje na prihodnje dobrine (Heb 11,1), ki mora biti sposobno, usmerjati človekove odločitve in dejanja.

Brez vere ostajajo zakramenti magične kretnje in brez osebne rodovitnosti, saj je vera nujna za vitalen stik z Odrešenikom. Poveljani Kristus nas doseže ne le notranje, ampak v konkretnosti našega zgodovinskega bivanja tako, da nekatere temeljne trenutke našega življenja dvigne na zakramentalno raven in jih naredi za nosilce odrešenja. (VVZ, tč. 57) Ker je vera dinamična resničnost, ni zagotovljena enkrat za vselej, ampak potrebuje negovanje, in to z uresničevanjem ljubezni (*ca-*

ritas), z molitvijo, s poslušanjem božje Besede, s skupnostnim življenjem, z vzgojo, in nadvse pomembno, z obhajanjem zakramentov (58). Drugače je nevarnost, da vera ostane ‚generična‘, to pa pomeni, da resda pritrjuje razodetju, a brez upanja v Boga in brez ljubezni do njega; to je stopnja, ki še ni bistvena za vero: preprosta želja verovati (*fides informis*) še ne utemeljuje življenjske skupnosti s Kristusom, še ni notranje oblikovana z osebnim odnosom s Kristusom in ni odgovor na poprejšnjo Jezusovo ljubezen; za to je potrebna oblikovana vera (*fides caritate formata*), ki je notranje oblikovana z osebnim odnosom ljubezni do Kristusa (62) in kot takšna pomeni začetek večnega življenja v verniku (63).

Z združitvijo kreposti vere (*virtus fidei*) in osebnega deja vere vernika (*actus credendi*) postane odrešenjski dogodek Jezusa Kristusa učinkovit v verniku. A iz nauka Cerkve in teologije sledi, da ne predpostavljajo vsi zakramenti vere, ki jo oblikuje ljubezen. Če takšno vero predpostavlja obhajanje evharistije, je povsem razvidno, da je zakrament pokore in sprave ali krst ne zahtevata v enaki meri. (63) Vendar pa je pri zakramentih vidni element odločilno potreben, ker predstavljajo tudi javno cerkvenostno dejanje, ki vključuje izrecen namen (to pa je nujni minimum za osebno obhajanje zakramenta kot zakramentalnega udejanjenja milosti (69)), izpoved vere in zvestobo krstnim obljubam v življenju. (64) Prejemnik tako ne sme izrecno zavračati učenja Cerkve glede tega, kaj mu je z zakramentom podarjeno (*fides qua*) po posredovanju Cerkve, in verovati v vsebino vere (*fides quae*) (68). Živa vera nujno vključuje oba teološka elementa, oziroma bolj: vidika vere.

Ker je vera osebno dogajanje, prepoznavamo v njej različne stopnje intenzivnosti, kakor smo izpostavili zgoraj. Glede zakramentov je odločilna pozitivna razpoložljivost, sprejeti to, kar zakrament po učenju Cerkve pomeni in uresničuje. Vsako rodovitno obhajanje je dejanje komunikacije, je del dialoga med Kristusom in posameznim vernikom (68), drugače bi se sprevrglo v magijo ali obredni avtomatizem (69). Jezusova simbolna dejanja so ob uporabi materialnih elementov služila utrjevanju vere kot notranje vizije in posvečevanju v moči te vere; to vodi k utrditvi vere, ki se mora prevesti v izpoved vere prek pričevanja krščanskega življenja sredi sveta (70). Vera namreč omogoča prepoznavanje zakramentalne narave razodevanja Boga; saj je osebni odnos s troedinim Bogom odgovor na njegovo milost, na njegovo naklonjenost človeku. Iz tega je spet razvidno, da je vera bistveno in konstitutivno dialoška resničnost: dinamična resničnost, ki spremlja celotno življenje vernika in ima istočasno osebni in cerkvenostni pečat. Vera posamezne osebe, ki je udeležena pri veri Cerkve, vzame za svojega tudi specifični namen Cerkve glede obhajanja zakramentov. S tem se razodeva tudi, da sama vera ima v svojem bistvu naravno teženje, da se zakramentalno izrazi in hrani. (78)

Vera sestavlja dialoški odgovor na zakramentalno božje spraševanje, na božji klic. Vera se v verniku oblikuje in izrazi v različnih pomembnih življenjskih okoliščinah, v katerih Cerkev obhaja zakramente. Krščanska vera je zakramentalna po svoji bistveni zgradbi. Vera in zakramentalnost sta si sonaravni. Temeljni dinamizem vere je v njenem zakramentalnem izrazu: govorimo o načinu, kako se hrani, utrjuje, bogati, uresničuje in kaže. V zakramentalnem izrazu vere sta vključeni tako osebna (subjektivna) kakor eklezialna (objektivna) razsežnost. Z rastjo se osebna

vera vedno bolj združuje in identificira z vero Cerkve. Vzajemnost med vero in zakramenti izključuje, da bi bilo neko obhajanje zakramenta povsem tuje veri Cerkve (vsaj namen mora biti realen). Za vero značilna zakramentalnost vedno vključuje tudi neki določen misijonski dinamizem, saj vernika aktivno vključi v dinamiko božje ekonomije odrešenja in ga z milostjo usposobi za evangelizacijsko poslanstvo v svetu, v katerem živi. (79)

4. Sklep

Dokument MTK obravnava pojav vere celovito, s posebno občutljivostjo za sodobno kulturo, to pa je izjemnega pomena, kajti pri posredovanju vere sodobnemu človeku ni mogoče mimo njegove kulturne (ne)občutljivosti, ki v marsičem določa njegovo dožemanje. Zato vizija vere v obravnavanem dokumentu resda izhaja iz dosedanjih teoloških poudarkov in členitev, ki so nastajali v različnih zgodovinskih obdobjih in kulturnih miljejih ter so bili kdaj tudi močno ločeni med seboj, dokument pa jih vključuje in povezuje v celostno danost procesa vere v človeku.² Prav ta celostni pogled na resničnost kreposti vere je ponovno na bibličnih in patrističnih temeljih izpostavil drugi vatikanski vesoljni cerkveni zbor, kakor ugotavlja že Strle:

»Gre za povratak k bibličnemu in patrističnemu razumevanju vere kot celostne odprtosti za Boga, da bo Gospod vladal v vsem našem življenju. Če to upoštevamo, takoj vidimo, da je treba več pozornosti, kakor se je v splošnem dogajalo doslej, posvečati temu, kar imenujemo ‚fides qua‘. Ne smemo se enostransko ustavljati preveč le pri ‚fides quae‘ (da bi čim bolj vsestransko poznali verski nauk) in s tem tudi ustvarjali vtis, kakor da med razodetimi resnicami ni nikakršnega hierarhičnega reda, kakor da so vse verske resnice enako pomembne in središčne. Tudi je treba posvečati večjo pozornost ‚neracionalnim‘, izvenrazumskim in nadrazumskim prvinam vere. Zavedati se je namreč treba, da bomo le tedaj globoko verovali in vztrajali v veri, če bomo iskreno živeli po vesti, če bomo torej poslušali Boga z vsem bitjem, ne le z razumom, in pa, če bomo gojili molitev, dialog z Bogom.« (Strle 1988, 62)

Tudi dokument MTK izhaja iz pogleda na vero kot osebno pritrnitev, ki je nujno dialoška resničnost, saj osebne dejavnosti brez tega elementa preprosto ni.

»Vera ni v ‚deklamiranju‘ obrazca veroizpovedi, ampak v živem osebnem in dialoškem razmerju med tremi božjimi osebami, ki so storile in še delajo vse, da bi prišle v človeški stik z nami, in človekom, ki tudi temeljno hrepeni po odnosu z živim Bogom, tudi če trenutno ni zavestno zaznavno. A prav človek hkrati potrebuje tudi v človeških besedah izražene skrivnosti, čeprav se že v istem trenutku, ko jih izrazi, tudi zaveda, da v njih skrita

² Za večpomenskost izraza ‚vera‘ in za svetopisemsko in zgodovinsko pojavljanje vere glej v Sorč 2003, 343–392.

Skrivnost neizmerno presega izrazno sposobnost določenega človeškega jezikovnega izraza. In prav v tem je dinamična lepota odnosa med Bogom in človekom. Dinamičnost se kaže tudi v tem, da lahko vsak člen veroizpovedi v različnih zgodovinskih obdobjih in tudi različnim ljudem v različnih situacijah razkriva nova obzorja duha in izvablja nove vidike krščanske vere, kakor jih potrebuje vsakokratni duh časa in prostora. Zato so lahko izziv in primerna snov za molitveno razmišljanje vsakemu in v vsakem času.« (Turnšek 2010, 6)

Nadalje dokument v veri prepoznava in močno izpostavlja vidik zakramentalnosti, ki ga zahteva odrešenijsko dogajanje, v katero človek vstopa z vero, in se lahko udejanja med Bogom in človekom le na zakramentološki način. V tem vidiku močno izstopi vera kot dinamična osebna resničnost. Kot takšna nujno vključuje celoto človeka, srce in razum, in se integrira v eksistenco, v način življenja v celoti. Razvidnost vere zato ni zgolj racionalna razvidnost, saj zahteva tudi vključitev volje, da se lahko uresniči, kakor je ugotavljal Tomaž Akvinski (STh II–II, q. 2, a.1, ad 3). Prav zaradi tega subjektivnega dela sta vera in seveda tudi pomanjkanje vere zelo kompleksna fenomena. Zlasti ob sinodah o družini (2014 in 2015) se je vprašanje vere ponovno odprlo z vso živostjo (predvsem v odnosu do zakramenta zakona). Na kompleksnost tega vprašanja je opozarjal papež Frančišek in tudi sami udeleženci obeh sinod. Iz razprav je predvsem izstopila zavest o veliki različnosti možnih stopenj vere krščenih, ki so lahko: nevedni, takšni, ki ne živijo po veri, takšni, ki so izgubili vero, a ohranili neko religioznost, takšni brez vsake religioznosti, takšni, ki poznajo razumevanje verskih resnic, a jim nasprotujejo, takšni, ki zavračajo vsako svetost in versko institucionalnost (Ruyssen 2018, 433).³

Takšen celosten pristop k razumevanju vere upošteva vse tri glavne principe vere: hierarhijo verskih resnic, razvoj nauka vere in živeto vero. Dokument poudarja pomembnost občutljivosti za govorico sodobnega človeka, če mu želimo vero oznaniti, jo pomagati ohraniti in jo poglobiti; za to pa se velikokrat pokaže priložnost prav pri pripravi na obhajanje zakramentov tistih, ki zanje prosijo, a so globinsko ‚otroci svojega časa‘ glede dojetanja resničnosti vere in njenega izražanja. Papež Frančišek pogosto opozarja na ta izredno pomembni vidik pri uresničevanju poslanstva, ki ga ima Cerkev sredi sveta:

»Velikanske in hitre kulturne spremembe zahtevajo nenehno pozornost, da bi skušali trajne resnice izraziti v govorici, ki dopušča, da prepoznamo trajno novost resnice. V zakladu krščanskega nauka je namreč »ena stvar bistvo /.../, drugo pa je način, kako ga izrazimo«. Ko poslušamo povsem pravoverno govorico, ki jo verniki sprejemajo, to včasih ne ustreza pravemu evangeliju Jezusa Kristusa zaradi govornice, ki jo verniki uporabljajo in razumevajo. Z najboljšim namenom, da bi jim posredovali resnico o Bogu in o človeškem bivanju, jim včasih dajemo napačnega boga ali človeški ideal, ki ni pristno krščanski. Na ta način smo sicer zvesti formulaciji, a ne

³ Glede tega vidika vere na sinodah glej tudi Slatinek 2018, 405–408, in Saje 2016, 600.

posredujemo bistva. To je največja nevarnost. Ne pozabimo, da je izraz vere lahko mnogovrsten in da je prenova izraznih oblik nujna, zato da bi današnjemu človeku predajali evangeljsko oznanilo v njegovem nespremenljivem pomenu.« (Francišek 2014, tč. 41)

Pomembno je upoštevati, da dinamična napetost med razvidnostjo vere in razvidnostjo razuma ne more biti nikoli dokončno presežena. Dej vere ne odpravi teženja razuma, da bi dojel to, kar nekdo veruje; razlikovanje med ‚verovati‘ in ‚misliti‘ je treba ohranjati, a po drugi strani ohranjati tudi zavest notranje povezanosti, ki korenini v človeku kot subjektu obojega. Vernik kot oseba je namreč živa vez med tema dvema elementoma, med razumskim zavedanjem in vero, ki sta seveda lahko kdaj v napetosti med seboj. A prav ta napetost, ki vabi k iskanju in poglobljanju, je znak, da je vera živa; medtem ko ‚mrtva vera‘ duši razliko med ‚misliti‘ in ‚verovati‘, ker predstavlja nauk kot nekaj, česar ni možno adekvatno prevesti v drugačne izrazne oblike; takšno stališče lahko pomeni izkrivljanje resnic vere, saj jih poistoveti z nespremenljivimi teološkimi formulacijami. (Gamberini 2018, 119–120) Ker imajo veroizpovedi simbolni pomen, ni nepomembno, da se začnejo z ‚verujem‘.

»Poudarek je torej na glagolu, ki izraža delovanje, dinamiko, živost, gibanje, življenje. Ko kristjani izpovemo, da verujemo, ne mislimo predvsem na obrazec veroizpovedi (pa če tudi izhaja od apostolov, le-ta ni naša vera), ampak izrazimo dejstvo, da smo s celoto svojega bivanja v živem razmerju z Bogom, iz katerega ni izvzeto prav nič, kar smo in kar imamo. Ne z besedo, ampak s tem skrivnostnim razmerjem radikalno priznavamo obstoj živega in osebnega Boga. Ko rečemo, verujem, izpovemo, da smo bitje, ki je po Nekom nošeno nad breznom nič in zla, in ne mislimo najprej na verske resnice, ki jih moramo verjeti, ampak na celoto, na vse in na dejstvo, da smo pri tem življenjskem skoku v brezno, ki mu ne vidimo dna, kar vera gotovo je, izbrali vse in ne nič.« (Turnšek 2010, 9)

Med resničnostmi objektivne (*fides quae*) in subjektivne (*fides qua*) vere je treba prepoznavati nekakšno prešinjajoče (perihoretično) gibanje, tako da je objektivnost dogmatične trditve (veroizpoved) znotraj in navzven dej vere (verovati). Brez bivanjske vključitve ni mogoče pravilno dojemati in interpretirati verskega nauka. Resničnost dogmatične formulacije ni nekaj azgodovinskega, zgolj ‚objektivnega‘ in ‚ločenega‘ od vsega, kakor nekaj zunaj procesa ‚verovanja‘ in neodvisnega od svobodnega pristanka ali soglasja subjekta, ki jo izpoveduje. Formulacija resnice vere izgubi svojo učinkovitost in tudi smiselnost, če ni sposobna v verniku prebuditi deja vere (Gamberini 2018, 120). Krščanska vera ni kak hermetično zaprt sistem, ki ne bi mogel postavljati novih vprašanj, roditi dvomov, dilem ..., ampak je živa v smislu, da more še vedno vznemiriti, navdušiti, bivanjsko premakniti tudi sodobnega človeka. Kakor se je izrazil papež Francišek: »Prav tako le s težavo dopustimo vernikom, ki po svoji vésti odgovarjajo na evangelij, kakor spričo mnogih omejitev najbolje morejo in razvijajo svojo sposobnost razločevanja v

situacijah, v katerih odpovejo vsi vzorci. Poklicani smo k temu, da vest ljudi oblikujemo, ne pa da jo skušamo nadomestiti.« (Frančišek 2016, tč. 37) Ker je skrivnostna resničnost troedinega Boga zajeta v odnose treh božjih Oseb, ki so v svojih odnosih en Bog, je logično, da je osebno razmerje bistvo tudi človekove vere.

»Kot verniki svobodno priznavamo obstoj Drugega. /.../ Stopamo v razmerje z živo Osebo, ki jo z ljubeznijo priznavamo; priznavamo, da je tu, zdaj, za nas in da je Ljubezen, da je svobodna, tudi od in do nas in naših potreb ter želja. /.../ Ko rečemo: verujem, izjavimo, da se svobodno z ljubeznijo predajamo Bogu-Ljubezni, brez omejitev in rezerve. Ne izročamo se samo nekemu absolutnemu bitju, niti prvemu počelu, še manj etičnemu načelu ali moralni normi, ampak živi Osebi, Očetu, poosebljeni Ljubezni. Izročiti se (= verovati) Ljubezni pa pomeni, biti zajet od Ljubezni, ki privabi odgovor ljubezni. V tem odgovoru dvignemo pogled s sebe in ga usmerimo k Drugemu in drugemu ter se šele tako prepoznamo takšni, kot v resnici smo. Vera je zato stvarno obstoječe ljubezensko razmerje med dvema, ki resnično obstajata. Vera nima nič opraviti z iluzijami, domišljijo ali platonsko resničnostjo, je samo toliko resnična, kolikor je stvarno ljubeče razmerje, ki vključuje vse, prav vse! Zato v takem odnosu vere koreninijo vsi drugi odnosi. Iz tega osnovnega razmerja se napajajo vsa druga, ki jih vsak dan živimo: do sozakonca, do otrok, do staršev, do sosedov, prijateljev, sovornikov in nevernikov, sodelavcev, do predpostavljenih in podrejenih, do bogatih in revnih, do žrtev in rabljev.« (Turnšek 2010, 10–11)

Takšna kompleksna odnosna resničnost vere vključuje ne le vse teološko prepoznane elemente vere (kakor jih je odkrivala teologija), ampak je tudi ni mogoče ločiti od preostalih dveh božanskih kreposti upanja in ljubezni. Ker pa so to kreposti, ki jih vedno živi le konkretna oseba, so dejansko lahko uresničene v različnih stopnjah, intenzivnostih. Ob tem dejstvu tudi dokument MTK ugotavlja, da ni za obhajanje vseh zakramentov potrebna enaka stopnja živete vere. Prepoznavanje in razločevanje teh stopenj je pa že pastoralna naloga konkretnega cerkvenega občestva in pastoralnih delavcev v njem. To nakazuje, da je vera tudi občestvena, eklezialna resničnost, saj se v njej nujno prepleta vera posameznika z vero Cerkve.

»Zunaj edinstvi Cerkve v Kristusu vera izgubi svoje merilo, ne najde več svojega ravnovesja, potrebnega prostora, da bi se nanj oprla. Vera ima nujno cerkvenostno podobo. Izpovedujemo jo iz notranjosti Kristusovega telesa kot uresničeno občestvo verujočih. /.../ Vera ni zasebna stvar, ni individualistično pojmovanje, ni subjektivno mnenje, ampak izhaja iz srca in je namenjena temu, da se izrazi in postane oznanilo. Vera napravi kristjana udeleženega na poti Cerkve, ki v zgodovini roma proti dovršitvi. Za tistega, ki je bil na ta način preobražen, se odpre nov način gledanja, vera postane luč za njegove oči (LF 20–21).« (Ferkolj 2016, 174–175)

Teološki obrisi vere, kakor jih izpostavlja obravnavani dokument MTK, so vsekakor bliže pojmovanju vere iz začetne dobe krščanstva kakor morda tistim iz sre-

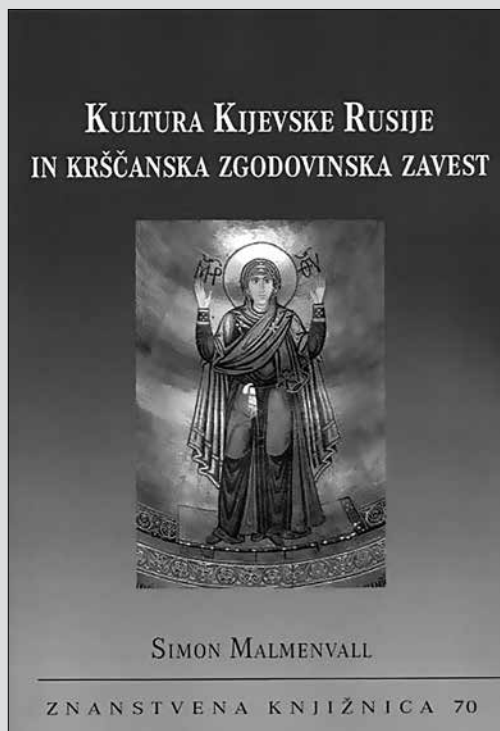
dnjega veka (čeprav srednjeveških ne izključuje). To kaže na verjetnost, da je kulturno-verska občutljivost sodobnega človeka bližja takratni občutljivosti in zato zahteva tudi podoben, ne enak, pristop. Začetna teološka razmišljanja prve Cerkve so težila za »vednostjo, ne toliko, kdo je abstraktno bil Jezus, marveč kaj se je konkretno za nas spremenilo zaradi njega, ali z drugimi besedami, kaj je dogodek ‚Kristus‘ nosil v sebi za usodo sveta« (Spada 1985, 14). Podobno tudi sodobnike ne prepriča več toliko spekulativno razmišljanje o Bogu in Kristusu, ampak bolj spremembe življenja, ki jih v vernikih, v občestvih in tudi v sebi prepoznajo zaradi živetege odnosa s Kristusom, mrtvim in vstalim.

Kratice

- B** – *Koncilski odloki* 1980 [Konstitucija o svetem Bogoslužju / Sacrosanctum Concilium (1963)].
- BR** – *Koncilski odloki* 1980 [Dogmatična konstitucija o Božjem razodetju / Dei Verbum].
- CS** – *Koncilski odloki* 1980 [Pastoralna konstitucija O Cerkvi v sedanjem svetu / Gaudium et spes (1965)].
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- VZZ** – International Theological Commission 2019 [Vzajemnost med vero in zakramenti v zakramentalni ekonomiji].

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Simon Malmenvall
**Kultura Kijevske Rusije
in krščanska zgodovinska zavest**

Monografija spada v okvir kulturno-idejne zgodovine in historične teologije. Gre za prvo celovito osvetlitev oblikovanja krščanske kulture Kijevske Rusije (najstarejše vzhodnoslovanske državne tvorbe, ki je obstajala med 10. in 13. stoletjem) v slovenskemu znanstvenemu prostoru. Pri tem je posebna pozornost namenjena proučitvi zgodovinske zavesti (kot zgodovine odrešenja) takratne staroruske psvetne in cerkvene elite v času neposredno po uradnem sprejetju krščanske vere. Poglavitni del monografije se posveča štirim zgodovinsko-religijskim narativnim virom, sestavljenim med sredino 11. in sredino 12. stoletja: pridigi Beseda o postavi in milosti, letopisu Pripoved o minulih letih, hagiografiji Branje o Borisu in Glebu in potopisu Življenje in romanje Danijela.

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Robert Petkovšek

Kaj je etika in zakaj ravnati etično?¹

What Is Ethics and Why Should We Act Ethically?

Povzetek: V prispevku na podlagi delne raziskave moralne filozofije Roberta Spaemanna poskušamo odgovoriti na vprašanje »Zakaj ravnati etično?« – nanj odgovarjamo na podlagi raziskave temeljnih vprašanj etike, kakor so razlika med etiko in moralo, etika kot praktična, in ne teoretična veda, etika kot filozofska refleksija v razmerju do znanosti, predmet etike, tipi etike in kriteriji etičnega vrednotenja. Namen prispevka je približati etično refleksijo delu na različnih strokovnih področjih.

Ključne besede: etika, moralna, človečnost, tipi etike, kriteriji etičnega vrednotenja

Abstract: This paper aims to answer to the question “Why should we act ethically?” on the basis of an investigation on Robert Spaemann’s moral philosophy. The answer to the question will be provided on the basis of analysis of fundamental ethical questions, such as the difference between ethics and moral, ethics as a practical and not a theoretical science, ethics as a philosophical reflection in its relationship with science, the object of ethics, the types of ethics, and the criteria of ethical valuation. The main aim of the paper is to make ethical reflection accessible to the readership from different areas of expertise.

Keywords: ethics, moral, humanity, types of ethics, criteria of ethical valuation

Etika je filozofska disciplina, ki je danes v središču filozofske abstrakcije, obenem pa odgovarja na vprašanja, kako *naj* človek kot človek ravna v konkretnih situacijah – to je, kako *naj* se uresničuje v svoji človečnosti, v svoji etični razsežnosti (Klun 2019, 369–371; Dirscherl 2019; Mensch 2019; Esterbauer 2019). Etika človeka počlovečuje, zato tudi za trenutek ne moremo opustiti vprašanja, kaj je etično prav in etično dobro. Človek brez etičnega čuta – amoralist – se ne oblikuje človečno (= etično). Na možnost nečlovečnosti je opozoril Alain Finkielkraut v knjigi *Izgubljena človečnost: esej o 20. stoletju* (1996, 7–11). Njen opis je našel v delu *Če je to človek* (1947) italijanskega Juda – kemika in pisatelja – Prima Levija in pri filozofu

¹ Prispevek je rezultat delnih raziskav na temo moralne filozofije nemškega filozofa Roberta Spaemanna (1989; 1996; 2001; Nissing 2008) v okviru raziskovalnega programa P6-0269 (ARRS). Predstavljen je bil na 4. simpoziju etike v intenzivni medicini v organizaciji Univerzitetnega kliničnega centra Ljubljana in Slovenskega združenja intenzivne medicine (12. 5. 2021).

Emmanuelu Lévinasu. Oba sta preživela holokavst. Levi je zaslišanje v Auschwitzu pred zasliševalcem dr. Pannwitzem opisal z besedami: »Njegov pogled ni bil pogled človeka drugemu človeku; če bi lahko razložil naravo tega pogleda, izmenjanega kakor v akvariju prek stekla med bitjema, od katerih vsako pripada drugemu svetu, bi istočasno razložil bistvo velike norosti tretjega rajha« (Levi 1987, 138) – in takšen odnos je izničil vezi, ki ljudi povezujejo v človeško skupnost. Finkelkraut je zasliševalca označil z besedo »nečlovek«. Podobno izkušnjo je opisal Emmanuel Lévinas: »Drugi mimoidoči ljudje, ki se jim je reklo »svobodni« in so nam dajali delo in ukaze, so nas slačili iz človeške kože. Le ubogi notranji vzdih so nas spominjali na naše razumsko bistvo. A mi sami nismo bili več v svetu.« Nekega dne se je med taboriščniki prikazal pes, ki so ga taboriščniki v svojih sanjah o Ameriki poimenovali Bobby – zjutraj na zboru ali ob vračanju z dela jih je pozdravljal z mahajočim repom in laježem. »Njemu je bilo nesporno jasno: bili smo ljudje.« Po nekaj tednih so ga stražniki prepodili in tako je bil izgnan – končuje Lévinas (1976, 201; 202). Ti dve izkušnji opisujeta človeka, ki je izgubil človečnost in je postal nečlovek. Pot od nečloveka k človeku je etika; etika ,proizvaja' človečnost.

1. Etika ni morala

Izraz ,etika' ne označuje istega kot ,moralá! Morala označuje navade, to je ustaljene načine vedénja in medsebojnih odnosov, ki so se skozi zgodovino izkazali za zmožne, da določeni skupnosti zagotovijo preživetje. Morala ni nujno etična – lahko je nepravična. Tako sta nacizem in komunizem imela vsak svojo moralo, a je bila ta že v jedru neetična. Pogled antropologov na človeško zgodovino ugotavlja predvsem dva dejavnika, ki sta oblikovala moralo: eden je bil mehanizem ,grešnega kozla', drugi pa pojav ,zlatega pravila'. Arhaičnim družbam je preživetje omogočal mehanizem grešnega kozla. Rušilne konflikte v skupnosti je ustavljal z žrtvovanjem grešnega kozla. Ta je bil naključno izbrana nedolžna žrtev, na katero je skupnost prenesla kolektivno krivdo. Žrtvovanje je delovalo kot odvod nasilja iz skupnosti – sprto skupnost je povežalo in ji vrnilo mir. Skupnost je torej preživela na račun nedolžne žrtve. (Girard 2004; 2006; 2011; Petkovšek 2015a; 2015b; 2016; 2018a) V vseh svetovnih kulturah in verstvih pa najdemo tudi ,zlato pravilo', ki je omejevalo krivico. Sveto pismo ga ubeseduje takole: »Vse, kar hočete, da bi ljudje storili vam, tudi vi storite njim!« (Mt 7,12) To je že pravo etično načelo. (Du Roy 2012)

V osni dobi,² ko se v človeški zgodovini uveljavi razum, je človek postal razumsko kritičen (Assmann 2008, 76–89; Petkovšek 2018b, 244–248). Iz tega se je raz-

² James D. Whitehead in Evelyn E. Whitehead (v: Assmann 2008, 76) sta osno dobo opredelila takole: »Obdobje 600–300 pr. Kr. priča o eksploziji človeške zavesti. Istočasno so se v geografsko neodvisnih kulturah Kitajske, Indije in sredozemskega območja zastavila nujna vprašanja o smislu človekovega življenja. Konfucij, Sokrat, Buda, Jeremija so se poglobljeno srečali z ugankami človeškosti: Kakšen je namen življenja? Ali nad našimi življenji vlada kaj več kot usoda? Za kaj smo odgovorni? Kako lahko osmislimo življenje in smrt?« Izraz označuje dobo, v kateri so v različnih kulturah istočasno in neodvisno odkrili kritični razum. Tega je Benjamin Schwartz (1975, 3–4) opisal kot zmožnost »stopiti nazaj in pogledati onkraj« (*standing back and looking beyond*).

vila filozofija in z njo etika, ki se je tudi vprašanja morale lotila z razumske, kritično-radikalne, filozofske univerzalne perspektive. Etike ne zanimajo navade, ki bi družbi omogočile preživetje, ampak ravnanje v skladu s tem, kar je etično prav in dobro samo po sebi – in ni odvisno od posameznika, časa in prostora; tu merilo ni korist, ampak resnica. Iz tega se razvije avtonomna misel o dejanjih, ki počlovečujejo. Od koristi je misel naredila korak k temu, kar je etično dobro in prav samo po sebi: od morale k etiki. Tudi danes človek v svojem ravnanju niha med koristjo in resnico, med moralo in etiko.

2. Etika ni teoretično, ampak praktično védenje

Etika je praktično védenje. Že Aristotel (EN VI) je razlikoval med teoretičnim in praktičnim védenjem (Petkovšek 1996). Teoretično védenje je po Aristotelu objektivno védenje o nespremenljivih zakonitostih nekega predmetnega področja; to védenje nosilca spoznanja etično ne spreminja: védenje o nastanku vesolja astrofizika etično ne spremeni. Drugače od teoretičnega védenja pa praktično védenje, katerega predmet je po Aristotelu etično delovanje (*praxis*), nosilca spoznanja vključuje in spreminja: spoznanje, da obrekovanje ni etično, veleva, naj z obrekovanjem takoj preneham in se poboljšam. Drugače kot nespremenljive zakonitosti predmetnega sveta je etično delovanje v nenehnem spreminjanju. Temu delovanju etika nalaga norme ter ga tako usmerja in ustvarja. Teoretično védenje torej opisuje, etično pa zapoveduje – etičnih resnic zato ne motrimo, ampak jih živimo; spoznanje se tu ne pretvarja v teorijo, v opis, ampak v izvrševanje, v *praxis*. Etika je ustvarjalna misel, ki človeka dela človeka, zato zanjo velja enačba: spoznati = živeti (Petkovšek 2004, 683); tu se »razumevanje neha kazati kot preprost način spoznanja in postane način biti ...« (Ricœur 1986, 76).

3. Etika ni znanost, ampak filozofska refleksija

V sodobnem svetu prevlade znanosti moramo poudariti, da etika ne misli znanstveno, temveč filozofsko refleksivno. Predmet znanosti je to, kar je v svetu – *bivajoče*, razdeljeno v predmetna področja. ‚Predmet‘ filozofije pa je to, kar je *pred bivajočim*, to, kar bivajoče dela bivajoče: kar je *onstran* oziroma *presežno*. Po Aristotelu so to prva počela (*arche*) in celota vsega bivajočega (*to holon*), po Heideggerju bit. Znanost se drži znanstvenih metod, filozofija refleksije. Misel obeh je ‚stroga‘, vendar različna. Vsaka znanost ima svoje predmetno področje, ki ji postavlja meje in določa njeno metodo, filozofija pa misli presežno. Filozofija se giblje v brezmejnem prostoru, meje si določa sama, je svobodna – po Platonu gre za »védenje, lastno svobodnim ljudem« (*Sofist* 253c7), po Aristotelu za védenje zaradi védenja, ki ni ničemur podrejeno in je zato privilegij svobodnih ljudi (*Metaph.* 982b24–28). Znanost si svoje predmete prisvaja, jih objektivira in ustvarja teorije. Filozofija pa si presežnega ne more prisvojiti; presežno misli refleksivno

z oddaljenosti kot predpostavko, ne v mitični govorici, ampak v kritični, radikalni miselni razumski obliki.

Sodobna znanost potrebe po filozofiji ne ukinja. Sodobna astrofizika nastanek vesolja razloži bolje kot Aristotel, še vedno pa je potrebna filozofska refleksija o *presežnem*, o vprašanju na primer: »Zakaj je raje nekaj kakor nič?« (Leibniz) Tudi medicina, ki na svojem področju dela čudeže, ni zmožna odgovoriti na vprašanja o trpljenju in smrti, ki si jih zastavlja človek kot presežno bitje. Nanje odgovarja filozofija – misel, usposobljena, da *skrivnost* presežnega misli neobjektivirajoče, neteoretično, refleksivno. Teh bivanjskih vprašanj na meji z onstranskim ni mogoče objektivirati. Izraz ‚objektivirajoč‘ namreč označuje zmožnost misli, da si svoj predmet prisvoji v obliki teorije. Filozofija pa presežnega ne more spremeniti v pred-met in si ga prisvojiti; misli ga z oddaljenosti, z vso odgovornostjo – prosta metod in svobodna. »Alfa in omega vse filozofije je svoboda,« je Schelling zapisal Heglu. (1969, 22)

To velja tudi za etiko. Za človeka, ki je ‚predmet‘ etike, pravi Aristotel, da »biva zaradi sebe in ne za nekoga drugega« (*Metaph.* 982b27). Človek je torej svoboden; ni ‚podaljsek‘ sveta in mu ni podrejen. Zato ga ni mogoče razložiti iz bivajočega – nasprotno, razložiti ga je mogoče iz tega, kar je onstran bivajočega, iz presežnega. Človečnost, ki človeka dela človeka, svobodnega in drugačnega od drugih bitij, ima svoj izvor v presežnem. Ta človečnost v svoji presežnosti je ‚predmet‘ etike – kakor filozofija je etika svobodna in refleksivna misel. (Petkovšek 2012)

4. Človečnost kot predmet etike

Ob pogledu v zgodovino imamo pred očmi dva velikana človečnosti: Jezusa Kristusa in Sokrata. V trenutkih križanja je Jezus preganjalcem odpustil; Sokrat je raje umrl, kakor da bi prekršil zakon. Človek se po naravi brani. Sokrat in Jezus pa se nista branila – dala sta življenje. Razlogov za to nista našla v tem svetu, v svoji naravi, temveč v presežnem: Jezus v nebeškem Očetu, Sokrat v *dobrem*, ki ni od tega sveta. Tako sta ‚proizvedla‘ človečnost, zgled, iz katerega živimo poznejši rodovi.

Izraz ‚človečnost‘ označuje dejanja/ravnanja, ki človeka delajo človeka; označuje tudi rezultat teh dejanj – humanost. Prostovoljec, ki brezdomcu pripravi kosilo, ne ‚proizvede‘ samo juhe, ampak tudi človekoljubnost; iz izrazom človečnost ne označujemo le njegovega dejanja, temveč tudi to, kar je ustvaril. Vsako dejanje je dvoplastno: strokovno in človečno/etično. Kot *strokovnjak* zdravnik ‚proizvaja‘ zdravje, kot *človek* človečnost.

Dejanje sestoji iz treh elementov: védenje, namen in rezultat.

	dejanje		
	védenje	namen dejanja	rezultat dejanja
strokovna raven (kot strokovnjak)	strokovno znanje	delovati strokovno	dobrina (strokovni izdelek)
etična raven (kot človek)	etična refleksija	delovati etično dobro/slabo	človečnost (etični izdelek)

Strokovnjak pridobi strokovno védenje (ki je lahko tudi slabo ali zmotno), ker želi ustvarjati določene dobrine; čevljar se čevljarstva ne izuči, da bi delal mize, ampak čevlje – dobre, in ne slabe; slabe dela, če je slab čevljar. Strokovnjak pa deluje tudi na človečni ravni in nima nujno vedno dobrih namenov; lahko namreč želi škodovati. Joseph Mengele je medicinsko znanje uporabil nečlovečno. Ta možnost, da strokovno znanje uporabimo tudi protičlovečno, narekuje etično refleksijo o človečnih dejanjih; stroka je zavita v etično ovojnico. (Spaemann 1989, 15–31)

„Človečnost“ torej označuje človečna dejanja in njihov „proizvod“. Človečna dejanja so na primer pravičnost, zmernost, solidarnost ali ljubezen. Vsako dejanje ima etično razsežnost – naredimo ga z dobrim ali slabim namenom, iz solidarnosti, ljubezni ali, nasprotno, iz hudobije, sovraštva in podobno.

5. Človečnost dejanja

Kaj naredi etično dejanje etično, človečno? Tri vrste etik dajejo vsaka svoj odgovor: a) dejanje, ki je etično samo po sebi, b) etičen rezultat, c) kreposten človek.

Po *deontološki etiki* ustvarjajo človečnost *dejanja*, ki so etična sama po sebi. Ta so tudi edina dopustna. Načelo »Govori resnico!« je tako treba udejanjati tudi za ceno življenja. Dejanja, etična sama po sebi, lahko ponovi kdorkoli; so univerzalni zakon. Šibka stran deontološke etike je načelnost – neupoštevanje morebitnih neetičnih izidov dejanja.

Po *teleološki etiki* človečnost ustvarjajo *etični rezultati*: za dosego čim večje mase dobrin za čim večje število ljudi so dovoljena (tudi) dejanja, ki sama po sebi niso etična; če z lažjo rešimo življenje, je ta dovoljena. Šibka stran teleološke etike je njena pragmatičnost – neupoštevanje morebitne neetičnosti dejanja.

Deontološka in teleološka etika človeku jemljeta svobodo in odgovornost – prva s tiranijo načel, druga s tiranijo zunanjih ciljev. Danes se zato vrača stara aristoteljska etika kreposti, ki gradi na svobodi in odgovornosti etičnega subjekta – na etični kreposti. Etična odločitev ni premočrten, algoritemski podaljšek etičnih načel ali dobrin, ampak svoboden in odgovoren preudarek etičnega subjekta. Ta v celostni življenjski situaciji svobodno in odgovorno povezuje etična načela z etičnimi cilji, to je formalno naravo dejanja z materialno naravo rezultatov. Po Aristotelu bistvo etike ni v načelih ali v ciljih, ampak v tem, da ureja „človeške stvari“ in ustvarja „dobro življenje“. To predpostavlja kompromise med načeli in cilji. Ta etika se imenuje *etika kreposti*, ker gradi na kreposti etičnega subjekta, ki se odloča. (Quante 2013, 126–142)

Človečnost, ki jo ustvarjajo človečna, etična dejanja, na splošno opredeljujemo z idejo dostojanstva (Petkovšek 2014, 26–29). Prav na njej temeljijo „Splošna deklaracija o človekovih pravicah“ (1948), državne ustave (npr. nemška) in zdravstveni dokumenti (npr. „Oviedska konvencija“). Idejo dostojanstva je opredelil Immanuel Kant:

»Človečnost je sama v sebi dostojanstvo /.../ Nihče – niti drug človek niti sam – ne more človeka uporabiti zgolj kot sredstvo, ampak ga mora imeti vedno za cilj.« (Kant 1968, 6:462)

»To, kar ima ceno, je mogoče zamenjati z nečim drugim v višini protivrednosti; človek pa je to, kar je nad vsako ceno in zato nima protivrednosti, ima pa dostojanstvo.« (Kant 1968, 4:434)

6. Zakaj ravnati etično?

Človečnost razodeva človeka v njegovem enkratnem dostojanstvu. To narekuje, da imamo do vsakega človeka človečen, etičen odnos – in da drug drugega spoštujemo ne glede na raso, spol ali kulturo. O tem načeloma obstaja splošno soglasje. Na to, zakaj je pojem ‚dostojanstvo‘ normativen, pa različni filozofski tokovi odgovarjajo različno.

Prvi menijo, da etično ravnanje nima racionalnih temeljev. Etično ravnamo na podlagi dobre vzgoje, pozitivnih čustev, zapovedi (božjih in družbenih) ali preprosto zato, ker smo se tako odločili. Nagibi za etično ravnanje so čustva, vera ali odločenost (*emotivizem*, *eksercitizem* in *decizionizem*). Drugi etično ravnanje utemeljujejo racionalno. *Subjektivni etični racionalizem* ga utemeljuje na subjektivnem interesu. Ker neetično ravnanje škoduje subjektivnemu interesu, je bolje ravnati etično. Ker onesnaženje narave škoduje zdravju, je naravo bolje varovati. Etično ravnanje tu brani subjektivni interes. *Etični objektivizem* pa izhaja iz razuma. Razum je zmožen etično ravnanje utemeljiti iz razuma. Povsem razumska je zahteva po enakopravnosti vseh, ki so vključeni v razpravo, če naj bodo rezultati razprave objektivni, to je za vse sprejemljivi. *Etični realizem* etične razloge išče v stvareh samih: človeka je treba spoštovati, ker je vrednota sam po sebi, in ne zato, ker smo glede tega dosegli soglasje. (Globokar 2019, 613)

Vsako od omenjenih stališč na svoj način odgovarja na vprašanje: »Zakaj ravnati etično?« Etični skepticizem pa ima že to vprašanje za nesmiselno. Skepticizem trdi, da si je etiko izmislil človek in da zanjo ni nobenih potreb. Skeptikom odgovarja Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), ki meni, da lahko človek podvomi v vse, ne more pa se odreči etičnemu ravnanju. Njegovo misel Janez Janžekovič (1978, 123) povzema takole: »Tudi Fichte je menil, da si Jaz postavlja predse ne-jaz. ... Eno je nesporno, v tem smo si s Fichtejem edini, da smo se v tem svetu dolžni izoblikovati v čim popolnejše npravne osebnosti ter zgraditi družbo čim boljših ljudi. Delaj dobro, ne stori nič slabega, to načelo je tako izvestno kakor načelo protislovja.« V tem svetu lahko torej zdvomimo o resničnosti vsega – ne pa o dolžnosti, da moramo biti dobri, človečni, etični ljudje. Tudi če ne verjamem v splošno sprejeto prepričanje, da vsak človek nosi v sebi nedotakljivo dostojanstvo, moram z njim ravnati, kakor da ga nosi. Nikoli ne bo mogoče dokazati, da človek v sebi nima nedotakljivega dostojanstva. Po načelu negativnega dvoma lovec v grmovje, v katerem zašelesti, ne sme ustreliti toliko časa, dokler jasno ne spozna, da za grmovjem ni človeka. (Quante 2013, 40–126)

7. Za sklep

Odgovor na vprašanje »Kaj je etika in zakaj ravnati etično«? ostaja nedorečen, vendar gotov. Gotovo je, da je vsako človeško dejanje tudi etično in da človek mora delovati etično, saj tako delovanje človečnost ustvarja, ohranja in izboljšuje. Človeku torej ni dopustno ravnati neetično, nečlovečno – to bi bilo nelogično. Tudi če idejo, da se človek od drugih živih bitij razlikuje po dostojanstvu, razvrednotimo v zgolj domnevo, je treba reči, da je že zgolj ta domneva zadostni razlog za etično ravnanje. Te domneve namreč ni mogoče ovreči in dokazati, da človeku status dostojanstva ne pripada. Tudi če neki človek tega statusa ne kaže, iz tega ne moremo sklepati, da ga nima, in mu ga odreči – zato moramo vedno ravnati, kakor da ga ima. Pokazali smo, da človek nobenega dejanja ne stori, ne da bi ob tem deloval (ne)etično. Vsako dejanje ima etično razsežnost; vsako dejanje ga počlovečuje ali razčlovečuje, kriterij dejanja pa je, ali je v skladu s človekovim dostojanstvom ali ne. Etična ravnanja delajo dostojanstvo človeka vidno, neetična pa ga zakrivajo in teptajo. Dostojanstvo človeka postaja vidno že v etičnem delovanju, najbolj pri svetnikih ali herojih. Izraža pa se tudi v naslovniku teh dejanj, na primer pri ubogih, ki jim misijonarji in prostovoljci strežejo in se zanje darujejo. Kaj je torej etika? Etika je ‚proizvajalka‘ človečnosti – to je ravnanj, ki človekovo dostojanstvo postavljajo za osrednjo točko vseh naših odnosov –, obenem pa je tudi prostor, v katerem se razodeva človekovo dostojanstvo.

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Maja Bjelica

Alevijstvo in kultura diha

Alevi and the Culture of Breath

Povzetek: Prispevek prevprašuje vlogo diha v alevijski verski in življenjski praksi. S pregledom nekaterih rab turške besede za dih, to je *nefes*, ter z umestitvijo dihanja na eno osrednjih mest alevijske obredne prakse besedilo ponuja nekatere vzporednice z mislijo Luce Irigaray, ki zagovarja pomen kultivacije diha, pri kateri imajo ženske bistveno vlogo. Na osnovi predstavljenih skupnih točk je mogoče razpoznati nekatere temeljne značilnosti irigarayjske kulture diha, ki alevijsko skupnost delajo še posebej ugodno okolje za razvijanje naklonjenih medsebojnih odnosov na osnovi poslušanja in sprejemanja ter nenazadnje strpnega medkulturnega sobivanja.

Ključne besede: alevijstvo, dih, Luce Irigaray, kultura diha, antropologija religije

Abstract: The article inquires into the role and significance of breath in the religious and life praxis of the Turkish Alevi. By reviewing some uses of the Turkish word for breath, i.e. *nefes*, and by placing breathing at the centre of Alevi ritual practice, the text offers some parallels with the thought of Luce Irigaray, who advocates the importance of breath cultivation in which women play an essential role. Some of the discovered characteristics of the Alevi breathing experiences are also recognised as fundamental elements of Irigaray's culture of breath. These make the Alevi community a particularly favourable environment for developing favourable interpersonal relationships based on listening and acceptance and tolerant intercultural coexistence.

Keywords: Aleviness, breath, Luce Irigaray, the culture of breath, anthropology of religion

1. Uvod: okoliščine raziskave in vzporejanja duhovnih svetov

Raziskava turškega alevijstva¹ temelji na antropologiji religije, ki z razvijanjem zavesti o svoji lastni evropocentričnosti in orientalističnosti, torej pristranskosti, ponuja razpiranje znanstvenega prostora za upoštevanje in priznavanje religijske drugosti. Znanstvenoraziskovalno delo je privedlo do uvidov o izmuzljivosti identitete turških alevijev (Bjelica 2017), do raztiranja alevijske težnje k družbeni pravičnosti² (Bjelica 2018), do ugotovitev o alevijski verski praksi kot okolju, ki spodbuja medsebojno poslušanje in medreligijski dialog³ (Bjelica 2020a), in do spoznanja ključnega pomena etnografske metode oziroma terenskega dela pri obravnavi neortodoksnih verskih skupnosti, kakršna je alevijska (Bjelica 2020b). Alevijstvo je zaradi njegove raznolikosti⁴ mogoče raziskovati z različnih teoloških in drugih humanističnih vidikov. Tukajšnje besedilo se osredinja na razpiranje vpogleda v pomen diha in v njegovo imanentnost alevijstvu.

Za alevijsko skupnost je bilo mogoče opaziti mnoge značilnosti, ki jih filozofinja Luce Irigaray prepoznava v religioznem, in pa tudi elemente, ki jim omogočajo nekatere prakse kultiviranja diha. Aleviji se trudijo in v svojem vsakdanu delajo za zблиževanje z božanskim in za doseganje človeške popolnosti tudi prek skrbi za kultivacijo diha, to pa jim zagotavlja postopno združevanje telesnosti in duhovnosti. Tukajšnje besedilo se tako posveča vzporejanju Irigarayjine filozofije diha in alevijskih dihalnih praks, pri tem pa je obema skupno to, da vodijo v poduhovljenje, celo pobožanstvenje človeka.

Sprva je predstavljeni okvir misli Luce Irigaray, ki napoveduje tako imenovano ‚dobo diha‘, ob nastopu katere naj bi človeštvo ponovno prepoznalo pomen in vlogo dihanja, in jo avtorica povezuje z religioznim. Nato je ponujena splošna predstavitev alevijstva, kateri sledi poglavje o alevijskih dihalnih praksah, ki jih je mogoče tako rekoč razumeti kot utelešanje kultivacije diha, h kateri poziva Irigaray. Besedilo se sklene s poglavjem, v katerem so eksplicitno izpostavljeni specifični elementi alevijskih obrednih praks, ki sovpadajo z značilnostmi in zahtevami kultivacije dihanja.

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² Družbeno pravičnost alevijske skupnosti ne utemeljujejo zgolj v okviru islamskega prava, kateremu sledi večina ortodoksnih islamskih skupnosti. Interpretacijah islamskega prava se posveča v nedavnem prispevku Aldona Piwko (2021).

³ Medreligijskega dialoga alevijske skupnosti ne pogojujejo nujno z iskanjem oziroma prepoznavanjem skupnih lastnosti različnih verskih skupnosti (Leskova 2019), temveč so pripravljene medse sprejemati tudi drugače misleče osebe.

⁴ Raznolikost alevijskih skupnosti je večinoma posledica zgodovinskega konteksta, saj je bila kolektivizacija ritualnih praks nemogoča zaradi njihovega izvajanja za zaprtimi vrati, to pa je takrat in pozneje dovoljevalo mnogo različnih interpretacij. Vse to je privedlo do mnogih notranjih razlik med pripadniki te skupnosti. (Hanoğlu 2017, 19)

2. Luce Irigaray: doba diha in religiozno

Luce Irigaray v svoji filozofiji poudarja bistveno vlogo diha in kultivacije dihanja ter poziva k ozavestitvi njunega pomena. V eseju *Doba diha* (Irigaray 1999)⁵ avtorica napoveduje prihajajočo dobo diha kot tretjo dobo naše tradicije, v kateri bo mogoče preseči nasprotja med matriarhatom in patriarhatom ter spremeniti odnos z naravo, nad katero dominira monosubjektivna zahodna kultura. Vznik dobe diha je utemeljen na vzpostavljanju avtonomne ženske subjektivnosti, ki goji svojo notranjost z uporabo kultivacije diha, in na poduhovljenju, pobožanstvenju človeštva. (1999, 9e–11e) To tretjo dobo judovsko-krščanske tradicije Irigaray poimenuje doba Duha. Svoj uvid razloži s temeljnim mitom te tradicije, to je: pripovedi o genezi: o prvi dobi, ko je Bog *vdahnil* življenje v človeka, v materijo (vanje je poslal svoj dih), sledi druga doba, doba odrešitve s pomočjo ženske, Marije, in moškega, Jezusa, v kateri morajo ljudje težiti k ponovni pridobitvi svoje božanskosti, ki so jo izgubili zaradi izvirnega greha. V tretji dobi, po odrešitvi, je naloga človeštva, postati božanski dih. (12e–13e)

Življenje nam ne pripada samodejno, pravi Irigaray (2011, 38–40), ampak nam je podarjeno predvsem od matere in nam je vedno znova dodeljeno od narave. Zato se do življenja ne moremo vesti preprosto kot potrošniki zraka in drugih potrebnih snovi, ampak moramo zanj prevzemati odgovornost in ga kultivirati, skupaj z dihom. Svoja življenja moramo razvijati v polnosti, pri tem naj ima dih svojo konfiguracijo, naj zaseda prostor, ki ga osvetljuje naša ljubezen in tako dosega specifično individualizacijo. K soustvarjanju človeštva namreč pripomoremo prav tako, da vsak med nami utelesi svoj lastni dih, ki naj ne ostaja zgolj v duhu, ampak tudi v telesu, mesenosti. Človeški dih je različen od živalskega in rastlinskega, pravi Irigaray (2013, 244), saj predpostavlja kultivacijo, ki naša telesa in telesne izmenjave naredi duhovne, to pa omogoča večjo intimnost in možnost sodeljenja. Telo je posrednik za obstoj in postajanje, za katero je potrebna kombinacija diha in ljubezni, da bi omogočalo svoje lastno življenje in odnos z drugo, z drugim, z drugimi.

Zanimivo in upoštevanja vredno je, da Irigaray kultivacijo diha umešča na področje religioznega, ki naj bi vzpostavljalo novo in enotno energijo, saj je »religiozno tisto, kar združuje, povezuje skupaj« (2004b, 149). Irigaray zatrjuje, da mora religiozno sovpadati z načinom dovršitve človeškega, in to z združevanjem, zbiranjem sebstva v sebi in z vzpostavljanjem vezi z univerzumom in z drugim. Opozarja pa, da religiozno, kakor je to dojemano tradicionalno v zahodni kulturi, opisane ne omogoča zaradi privilegiranja nadnaravnega Boga, ki paralizira želeno postajanje. Tako je pojmovanje religioznega pustilo človeštvo inferiorno svoji lastni naravi ter onemogočilo njegovo duhovno in božansko postajanje, saj je človeško identiteto umetno ločilo od božanske identitete in obenem pustilo nepriznano dejstvo, da je postajanje božanski(-a) skladno s postajanjem popolnoma človeški(-a). Da bi to priznali in omogočili tovrstno božansko postajanje človeka, je potrebne veliko potrpežljivosti za odpiranje še zaprtih horizontov ter tudi precej drznosti in samozavesti pri jemanju človeštva v svoje lastne roke. (2003, 7–8)

⁵ Esej je bil izdan v štirijezični različici, ki je poleg francoskega izvirnika vključeval še italijanski, nemški in angleški prevod.

»Božje je povezano z zrakom, z dihanjem. Tisti, ki je v našem izročilu poimenovan Bog, ustvarja s svojim dihom, in tisti, ki uporabljajo duhovne moči, so povezani z zrakom, z vetrom, z izvirom in gibanjem življenja. Na drugi strani je diabolično zadovoljno z zaprtostjo, boji se zračnih tokov. Oponašalec življenja ne diha ali ne diha več: zrak jemlje drugim, svetu. Na neki način smo božji po rojstvu, vendar se zaradi zanemarjanja našega dihanja zgublja tudi naša božjost/božanskost. /.../ Krepitev lastnega dihanja prinaša prebujenje, vodi k spoznanju božjega v nas, medtem ko oddajevanje od sebe, da bi spoznali druge, povzroči, da se božje zgubi in se ustvari diabolično.« (2012, 10)

Svobodni dih duše nam je tako na voljo za dihanje, ljubezen, poslušanje, govor in tudi za avtonomno mišljenje. Nenehno spreminjanje življenjskega diha v duhovnega, ki ostaja v službi misli, dovoljuje prisluhniti drugi(-emu). Irigaray poudarja, da ‚deviško‘ duševno stanje ne obstaja samo v tradiciji religije, ampak jo predstavlja prav avtonomna in živa duša, ki jo je mogoče ohranjati in oživljati s kultivacijo diha, meditacijo in koncentracijo. Ravno v sebi, prek samonaklonjenosti (Škof 2017), pa lahko varujemo in kultiviramo življenje, da ga lahko delimo z drugimi. Z nenehno prakso dihanja, izvajano v miru in tišini, po možnosti v naravnem okolju in z ozaveščeno telesno čutnostjo, pa očiščujemo dih.

Avtonomni dih, pravi Irigaray (2013, 222–223), omogoča prevzem nadzora nad svojim lastnim življenjem ter ponovno povezavo in poenotenje kulturne in naravne pripadnosti. Zrak je ključni element za preseganje te ločitve in prehoda v prihodnost, a je na žalost tudi najbolj spregledan, največkrat pozabljen v zahodni tradiciji. Pozaba se je zgodila najverjetneje zaradi samoumevnosti zraka in njegove nevidnosti. Zahodna tradicija je namreč utemeljena na pojavih in predstavah, ki so zaznani kot takšni predvsem, če so očitni, vidni, zato je zaznava zraka precej problematična. Kultivacija odnosa do zraka je bila opuščena, razen morda v pri kultivaciji oziroma vzgoji petja in pri vračanju k ekologiji. Ozaveščanje pomena elementa zraka je ključno za človeško zaznavo in čutenje.⁶

Dih je vedno že odnosnostni in kulturni, z novo kultivacijo pa lahko dih postane tudi božanski, po Irigarayinih besedah (219), lahko poduhovljenje dihanja privede do pobožanstvenja človeštva. Z dihom je namreč mogoče postopno spreminjanje bitja, v njegovi globalni naravi, v dušo, in to z modifikacijo materialnosti telesa, z animiranjem in z oživljenjem tega s fluidnim, ustvarjajoč živo, subtilno, spremenljivo in sodeležno, medsebojno deljivo telo. Pri tem imata veliko vlogo tudi pozornost za duhovno devištvo diha, ki predstavlja pot k samodovršitvi in sodelitvi z drugimi, in pot, ki predpostavlja spoštovanje narave in živečega sveta ob prevzemanju človeške odgovornosti. To je način bivanja, ljubljenja, mišljenja in delovanja (220–221), ki lahko omogoči izmenjave med različnimi duhovnimi tradicijami.

⁶ V zadnjem času je na področju filozofije, tudi po navdihu misli Luce Irigaray, opaziti porast obravnave diha, dihanja in zraka. V slovenskem prostoru je osrednji predstavnik ‚respiratorne filozofije‘, kakor jo je s sodelavci sam poimenoval, Lenart Škof, ki je napisal in uredil več publikacij na temo dihanja (Škof 2012; Škof in Holmes 2013; Škof in Berndtson 2018). Z dihanjem, zrakom, dihom se ukvarjajo različne znanosti, od okoljevarstva do religiozije, a ta tema presega obseg tega prispevka.

3. Spoznavanje turškega alevijstva

Ena od duhovnih tradicij, za katero je mogoče ugotoviti, da ni v celoti pozabila na kultivacijo diha, je tradicija turškega alevijstva. Definicije alevijstva, ki so navadno tudi politično ali vsaj narodnostno obarvane, umeščajo alevijstvo med heterodokse islamske verske skupnosti, ki naj bi sodile pod šiitsko vejo islama. Ne samo da dihotomno razločevanje med ortodoksnim in heterodoksnim ali sunitsko in šiitsko platjo islama ni ustrezno za alevijstvo (Shankland 2010, 229–230), od islama ga je mogoče celo ločiti kot povsem samosvoj verski sistem, saj naj bi se na območju Anatolije in Mezopotamije oblikoval še pred nastopom islama v 7. stoletju (Hanoğlu 2017, 13–14; Issa 2017, 1). Alevijstvo je tako »primer verskega sinkretizma« (Mélikoff 2003, 1). Kot tako je predstavljeno v mnogih virih, saj naj bi pomenilo združitev različnih srednjeazijskih prepričanj in verskih kultov ter islama. Na veroizpoved alevijev so vplivale tudi raznolike anatolske folklore in predvsem ustno ohranjana tradicija verske prakse. Res in pomenljivo je tudi, da je povezava z islamom utemeljena zgolj na čaščenju Alija,⁷ prerokove družine (*Ehlibeyt*) in dvanajstih imamov (Hanoğlu 2017, 17), a to čaščenje je temelj alevijskih praks, zato ga ni mogoče spregledati. Kljub temu pa je mogoče naleteti na eksplicitna zanikanja pripadnosti šiitski veji islama, ne da bi pri tem zanikali čaščenje Alija.

Čaščenje *Ehlibeyt*,⁸ to je: prerokove družine, ki jo z Mohamedom na čelu predstavljajo še Ali, njegova žena Fatima (obenem prerokova hči) ter njuna dva sinova Hasan in Husein, vpliva tudi na sam pomen družine v alevijskih skupnostih, ki so podlaga za oblikovanje gospodinjstev in tudi meddružinskega povezovanja znotraj skupnosti. (Shankland 2003, 193–195) Čaščenje dvanajst imamov, med katerimi so bili poleg Alija sami njegovi krvni nasledniki, torej tudi Hasan in Husein,⁹ pa določa potomsko linearnost rodbin: tradicionalno naj bi vsi pripadniki in pripadnice alevijstva izhajali iz rodov (*ocak*)¹⁰ potomcev dvanajstih imamov, to pa naj bi jih v okviru tovrstne kozmologije postavljalo bliže Bogu. Danes alevijske skupnosti medse sprejemajo tudi posameznike in posameznice, ki drugače izhajajo iz nealevijskih rodbin, saj formalističnim vidikom svoje religije ne dajejo prednosti pred ponotranjenim verskim prepričanjem, ki dovoljujejo individualizirano povezovanje in združevanje z Bogom. To povezovanje vernike in vernice pušča svobodne pri izbiri njihovih izvajanj religijskih obredov.

Za alevijsko duhovnost je osrednjega pomena koncept celote, celovitega, popolnega človeka (*insan-ı kâmil*), to pomeni združitev notranjega pomena (*Batın*) in formalne vsebine (*Zahir*). S tem je povezana tudi skladnost *iman* in *ikrar*, pri

⁷ Ali Ibn Abi Talib, Mohamedov bratranec in zet, pomeni za alevijstvo predvsem duhovnega vodja, ne glede na njegovo zgodovinsko vlogo kalifa, ki je za ortodokсни šiizem v ospredju. Aleviji so ponotranjili njegov lik s poimenovanjem *Şah-ı Merdan Ali*, to je: ‚graditelj poti‘. (Hanoğlu 2017, 17; 24, op. 25)

⁸ Izg. Ehlibejt.

⁹ Vseh imamov nekatere šiitske skupnosti niso priznavale in zato so se dogajala razhajanja tudi znotraj šiizma. Več o dvanajstih imamih in o delitvi v šiitski veji Islama predvsem v monografiji Primoža Šterbenca (2005, 115–254).

¹⁰ Izg. odžak. To ime za rodbino v turškem jeziku lahko pomeni tudi ognjišče, peč, gospodinjstvo, družino, prostor srečanja, združevanje, srečanje, središče.

tem to pomeni zaprisega, za alevijske značilna oblika razumevanja načina in koncepta duhovnega čaščenja, ki zavrača formalistične in običajne ustaljene oblike. (Hanoğlu 2017, 19) Ob prisegi se posameznik zaveže, da bo stopil na pot (*yo!*) duhovne rasti k doseganju popolnosti. To pot postopnega doseganja notranje vednosti v okvirih verske in moralne usmeritve določajo tako imenovana »štiri vrata in štirideset stopenj« (*Dört kapı kırk makam*), ki zarisujejo korake notranjega vedenja, katere član skupnosti opravlja na izbrani poti. (24–25 op. 33)

Osrednji verski obred alevijskih skupnosti je poimenovan *cem* (izg. džem); to pomeni združevanje, prihajanje skupaj. Govorimo o kolektivnem srečanju neke določene alevijske skupnosti, v kateri se ženske, moški in otroci združijo v skupni molitvi, v recitaciji mističnih formul, v čaščenju svetnikov in v izvajanju ,dihalnih vaj' z imeni Boga in z drugimi besedami. Osrednje mesto v teh obredih zaseda glasba, saj se noben obred ne izvede brez igranja turškega *saza* oziroma *bağlama* (turška ljudska kratkoprata lutnja), brez skupnostnega petja in brez poslušanja alevijske uglasbene poezije. Večino obredov spremlja tudi gibanje, plesu podobno vrtenje skupine vernikov oziroma vernic, imenovano *semah*.

Obstajajo različne vrste *cemov* in vsaka je namenjena izpolnjevanju točno določenih funkcij v družbi: nekateri potekajo enkrat na leto, tako na primer *görgü cemi*, ki se ga udeležijo zgolj že zapriseženi *musahipi*, jedro skupnosti, pred zimo, *nevruz cemi* pa je *cem* ob začetku pomladi, to je: ob Alijevem rojstnem dnevu (21. marca); nekateri *cemi* so vezani na izkustvo kakega posameznika, na primer *ikrar verme cemi*, katerih bistvo je zaprisega zvestobe alevijski poti, in pa *musahip tutma cemi*, ki trajajo dolgo v noč – takšni so na primer *muhabbet cemi*, pri katerih je ključno skupno druženje, navadno ob glasbenem udejstvovanju. (Shankland 2003, 121; Ayışit Onatça 2007, 35–40)

Večina *cemov* poteka v noči s četrтка na petek, ker to obeležuje Alijevo rojstvo. Nekoč so se *cemi* izvajali skrivaje, saj je bilo alevijstvo preganjano, poleg tega pa se niso izvajali v poletnih mesecih, ko je bilo veliko dela na poljih (Shankland 2003, 121). Med spremljanjem sprememb v obredu *cem*, ki so potekale v drugi polovici 20. stoletja, je Fahriye Dinçer ugotovila, da se te spremembe ujemajo tudi z družbeno strukturo alevijske skupnosti. »*Cem* bi lahko bil zamišljen kot javno zbiranje alevijskih množic, ki niso mogle izraziti sebe in lastne identitete znotraj okvira prevladujočega družbenega reda in so tako živele zunaj slednjega.« (Dinçer 2000, 34) Spremembe so se zgodile že v 50. letih 20. stoletja, predvsem zaradi migracije alevijev v urbana področja Turčije in zaradi njihove identifikacije z manj značilnimi političnimi nagibi (35). V letih 1997 in 1998 je raziskovalka lahko razpoznala, da *cemi* niso bili več skrivni, temveč odprti vsem, tudi nealevijem, da so bili izvajani tudi ob nedeljah (in ne strogo ob četrtek, kakor je bilo to tradicionalno določeno).

Za izvedbo vsakega *cema* je bila potrebna razdelitev tako imenovanih ,12 dolžnosti', ki so bile po eni strani vzpostavljene v čast 12 čaščenim imamom, po drugi strani pa določene predvsem zato, da bi se *cem* lahko izvedel. Vse nosilce oziroma vse nosilke teh dolžnosti blagoslovi *dede*, duhovni vodja obreda in starosta skupnosti. Poleg *dedeja* so tukaj še dolžnosti namestnika (*rehber*), čuvaja (*gözcü*), vra-

tarja (*bekçi*), svečarja (*çerağci*), točaja oziroma razdeljevalca vode (*sakka, ibrikar*), strežnika (*sofracı, kurbancı, lokmacı*), privrženca (*pervane, semahçı*), čistilca (*fer-raş*), oskrbnika (*iznikçi*), obveščevalca (*haberçi*) in glasbenika (*zakir*), ki skrbi za glasbo na *cemu*, saj je glasba ključnega pomena tako rekoč pri vseh dejavnostih (Özdemir 2015). Ker večina teh vlog ni več bistvenega pomena za samo izvedbo obreda, se zdi, da se dodeljujejo predvsem zaradi ohranjanja njihovega simbolnega pomena, ki spominja na čase, ko je bilo treba obrede izvajati v tajnosti, se medsebojno na skrivaj obveščati (obveščevalec), imeti nameščene čuvaje v okolici obrednega prostora, imeti vratarja, ki je člane skupnosti spuščal v prostor, zagotoviti osvetljava prostora (svečar) in podobno. Danes se torej te dolžnosti dodeljujejo predvsem simbolično oziroma z vzgojnega oziroma ohranjevalnega vidika, tako da te vloge večkrat prevzemajo mladi člani skupnosti.

Znova je mogoče izpostaviti izsledke raziskovalke Fahriye Dinçer (2000, 34–35), saj se ujemajo tudi s stanjem na opazovanih *cemih*: glasba in ples imata na obredu prevladujočo vlogo. Zelo očitna je bila pomembnost *zakirja*, to je: instrumentalista in pevca na obredu. Udeleženci *cema* so mu izkazovali enako spoštovanje kakor samemu *dedeju*, njihovemu verskemu vodju (37–38). Reči je mogoče, da *zakir*, v sodelovanju z *dedejem*, ustvarja specifično atmosfero na *cemu* prav z izbiro glasbe in besedil, ki navajajo neko točno določeno zgodbo ali sporočilo. Prav v okviru teh obrednih skupnostnih glasbenih dejavnosti vernice in verniki združujejo duhovno plat teženja k božanskemu s telesno platjo. Dosegajo globoko čustvena, celo ekstatična stanja, in to predvsem prek molitve, zibanja, gibanja, petja, in ne nazadnje, tudi prek dihalnih praks, ki so integrirane v njihovo molitev.

4. Nefes: dih alevijstva

Zelo pomemben element alevijskih obredov, *cemov*, je tudi *dhikr*, to je ponavljane različnih poimenovanj Boga, ki se lahko razlaga tudi kot ritmične dihalne vaje. Klicanje imen svetnikov in Boga poteka namreč večinoma družno, in zaradi usklajenosti vzklikov je to precej ritmizirano, obenem pa zagotavlja hkratne vdihne in izdihne vseh navzočih na obredu. To nekako nakazuje, da v opisanih mističnih ritualih ni pomembna zgolj duhovnost, temveč tudi sama telesnost, ki se z uporabo teh dejavnosti, torej s petjem ob glasbi in *dhikra*, poduhovlja.

Dejstvo, da je najsplošnejša oziroma najbolj razširjena oblika alevijske glasbe poimenovana *nefes*, ki je turška beseda za dih, je prav tako nespregledljivo. Zdi se, da sta dih in dihanje zelo pomembni plati alevijske tradicije in prakse, bodisi kot pojem ali kot dejavnost.

Turška beseda za dih je *nefes*; hkrati je to tudi poimenovanje za alevijske pesmi, ki tematsko niso specifično določene. Beseda *nefes* naj bi bila sposojenka iz arabskega jezika in naj bi pomenila dihanje, vdihavanje, vdihovanje, aleviji pa so z njo poimenovali pesem, ki govori o njihovem svetovnem nazoru in o religijski predanosti. Po neki legendi naj bi namreč eden od znamenitih *aşıkov*, ljudski podeželski

potujoči pevec, Yunus Emre, »vdihnil navdih svetih« za ustvarjanje himn in hvalnic Bogu. (Sipos in Csáki 2009, 60) V svojem prispevku o alevijski glasbi Leyla Neyzi (2002, 108) pravi naslednje: »V mnogih kulturnih tradicijah ‚dih‘ pomeni življenje. V alevijstvu se *nefes* (dih) nanaša na pesmi, ki izražajo alevijski način bivanja v svetu.« Dejstvo, da so omenjene glasbene oblike poimenovane ravno kot ‚dih‘, posredno kaže na osrednje mesto koncepta diha v življenju alevijev oziroma na integriranost diha v njihovo versko in bivanjsko prakso. Tradicija alevijske modrosti tako priznava, bodisi zavestno ali ne zavestno, pomen dihanja, ki je ključna dejavnost vsakega bitja, ne samo človeškega. To priznavanje oziroma integriranost dihanja pa je razvidno predvsem iz nekaterih elementov verskega obredja.

Poleg poimenovanja tako za literarno zvrst kakor za glasbeno obliko se beseda *nefes* uporablja tudi za denotacijo »srca osvobajajoče duhovne moči« (Korkmaz 2008, 288) verskega voditelja, osveščevalca. To isto besedo pa uporabljajo na *cemih* kot označevalca za »sakralno dožemanje človeške osebnosti in karakterne usmerjenosti« (288) – govorimo torej o neke vrste določitvi ‚verske narave‘ posameznega vernika. Obe tukaj navedeni rabi se nekako oddaljujeta od biološko-fizičnih pomenov diha – lahko bi rekli, da se gibata na duhovni in psihološki ravni: prva zadeva moč, silo, ki lahko spreminja in osvobaja, dodaja ‚zračnost‘ razpoloženju in pripomore k temu, da človeku ‚odleže‘ oziroma da si lahko ‚oddahne‘. Druga raba pa določa posameznega človeka, njegovo držo – ne nazadnje ne samo na psihološki, ampak tudi moralni (etični) ravni. Beseda za diha, *nefes*, tako v zamenjanem pomenu označuje različne vidike alevijske verske prakse – ne samo njihove pesmi, ampak tudi duhovne sile in življenjske smernice. Tovrstne rabe diha v metonimičnem pomenu nakazujejo na precejšen pomen, ki mu ga pripisujejo, hkrati pa kažejo na njegovo univerzalnost – vsak človek, vsako bitje, ima svoj diha – in obenem na njegovo specifičnost – vsaka oseba ima svoj *partikularni* diha.

Redna dejavnost alevijskih obredov je torej tudi *dhikr* ali *zikir*, ki so ga tuji, ne-turški preučevalci označili kot dihalne vaje, a ga verniki ne dojemajo tako preprosto; to je predvsem spominjanje, obujanje spomina na Boga, ki se izvaja predvsem s ponavljajočim se vzklikanjem imen za Boga. Protagonisti tega vzklikanja so lahko tudi različne čaščene osebe, na primer Mohamed, Ali ali kdo drug od dvanajstih šiitskih imamov (Korkmaz 2008, 321). Zagotovo pa je mogoče reči, da je ob klicanju imen čaščenih subjektov pri vernikih več intenzivnejšega dihanja, ki največkrat privede do neke vrste ekstatičnega stanja, v katerem se verniki prepuščajo povezovanju z Bogom in iskanju usmeritve na svoji poti. Ugotoviti je mogoče, da so nekatera božja imena zelo zračna in da jih je mogoče ustrezno izgovarjati le z neposrednim dejanjem diha(nja). Alah, *hak* in *šah* (izg. šah) so na primer trije od najbolj uporabljanih vzklikov k Bogu, ki se izrekajo med molitvijo *dedeja*, predvsem pa med izvajanjem verskih pesmi, bodisi *nefesov* ali drugih glasbenih oblik. Ime Alah se v turščini zapiše *Allah*, pri tem pa dvojna črka ‚l‘ zahteva nekoliko daljši postanek na tem fonemu in tako omogoči oziroma postavi naglas na zadnji zlog besede, na ‚ah‘. Kombinacija teh dveh fonemov, ‚a‘ in ‚h‘, tako pri besedi Alah kakor pri obeh drugih dveh, dela te besede zračne in odprte: fonem ‚a‘ turški jezikoslovci uvrščajo med ‚odprte samoglasnike‘, glas ‚h‘ pa je zelo mehek, včasih celo

neslišen – ni poudarjan kakor pri slovenski besedi hiša ali hrana na primer, ampak se ga zvočno oblikuje prav s samim dihanjem, predvsem z izdihom. To je mogoče ponazoriti že s poudarjenim izdihom skozi usta, ki sledi globokemu vdihu – tudi če ne izrečemo ničesar, se ob tem sliši zvok, ki najbolj spominja na glas črke ,h'.

Beseda *šah* se ne uporablja samo za klicanje Boga, ampak se s to oznako poimenujejo tudi drugi »veliki poznavalci poti« (305), na primer že omenjena Mohamed in Ali, lahko pa tudi kateri od pesnikov, ki so v svojih himnah vernikom zapustili modrosti in vodila za ustrezno alevijsko življenje. To besedo verniki na *cemu* izgovarjajo posamično, kadarkoli zaslišijo ime katerega od zanje pomembnih osebnosti – katera osebnost to je, je odvisno predvsem od posameznika, posameznice, saj se vsakdo z nekaterimi poistoveti bolj, z drugimi manj. Podobno je še z drugimi vzkliki, kakor sta na primer *Hû* (izg. hu, pri tem je ,h' mehak in ,u' ozek) in *ya* (izg. ja), pa tudi *eyvallah* (izg. ejvalah, pri katerem je ,h' precej neslišen, kakor že razloženo zgoraj, naglas pa je na zadnjem zlogu). Vse tri besede bi lahko uvrstili med medmete, ki se uporabljajo ob specifičnih priložnostih. Besedo »vznesenega, entuziastičnega vzklikanja« *ya* (318) verniki največkrat, če ne celo izključno, izgovarjajo ob točno določenih imenih oziroma poimenovanjih. Najpogosteje jo je mogoče slišati ob zaporednem izgovarjanju imen čaščene trojice: »Ya Allah, ya Muhammed, ya Ali!« Pri tem je medmet *ya* vedno poudarjen in tako se oblikuje neke vrste ritmični vzorec, ki je poudarjen tudi z dihanjem. Drugi dve besedi (*Hû* in *eyvallah*) lahko nastopata tudi samostojno, vzklikajo ju verniki med molitvijo ali pesmijo, predvsem ko bi radi nečemu pritrdili oziroma poudarili strinjanje ali resničnost nečesa izrečenega, to pa ju približuje uporabi besede ,amen' v krščanski tradiciji. Z besedo *Hû* se je mogoče obračati tudi neposredno na Boga (261), mnogokrat je umeščena na konec molitve oziroma pesemskega izvajanja, ko jo verski voditelj in oziroma ali verniki izgovorijo s podaljšanim samoglasnikom. Tovrstna raba bi imela lahko funkcijo pomiritve ob sklepu *dhikra*, saj je za daljšo izgovorjavo te besedice potreben tudi daljši izdih. Beseda *eyvallah*, poleg tega, da jo vsak vzklika individualno po potrebi, se zelo pogosto najde tudi v verskih pesmih alevijev, kjer ima svoje stalno mesto, s svojimi tremi zlogi pa zagotavlja tudi specifično ritmizacijo. Pomeni pritrdjevanje, strinjanje in potrjevanje izrečenega, storjenega ali prikazanega, lahko izraža privolitev oziroma ubogljivost, priznanje, pa tudi prepustitev ali zavezo nečemu (247). Zanimivo je, da se ta beseda uporablja tudi zunaj verskega konteksta, v vsakdanjem pogovoru in z istim pomenom. Poleg navedenih denotacij se lahko uporablja namesto besed ,hvala', ,prosim' oziroma ,malenkost', kot odgovor na zahvalo, to pa dela to besedo ljudsko, besedo skupnosti in medsebojne naklonjenosti.

Podobna kakor za besedo *eyvallah* je raba besede *estağfurullah*,¹¹ saj se uporablja tako kakor vzklik na obredih, pa tudi kot odziv v nekaterih kontekstih vsakdanjega sporočanja. Med molitvijo je mogoče slišati verujoče, ki skupaj vzklikajo »Estağfurullah, estağfurullah, estağfurullah!«, torej kar trikrat zapored, to pa

¹¹ Tudi ta beseda izvira iz arabščine, izvorno pa naj bi pomenila prošnjo Bogu za odpuščanje oziroma milost ob neki izvedeni napaki ali grehu. Izg. *esta'f'ula'*.

znova zveni zelo ritmično. Da bi to izrekanje izpeljali v eni sapi, morajo verniki dodobra vdihniti pred začetkom izrekanja. To je klic k Bogu po milosti, enakosti, odpustitvi, vendar se beseda uporablja na različne načine v vsakdanjem življenju. Največkrat jo je mogoče slišati kot odgovor za zahvalo in mogli bi tudi reči, da je v tem primeru sorodna z odgovorom ‚malenkost‘ v slovenskem jeziku, prav kakor beseda *eyvallah*. Poleg tega pa je zanimiva še neka druga specifična raba, in to takrat, ko se neka oseba poniža oziroma graja samo sebe, druga oseba, ki to poslušša, pa izreče »estağfurullah« kot zanikanje te izražene manjvrednosti. In narobe: če oseba prejme pohvalo oziroma je z besedami nekoga prikazana kot večvredna, bolj sposobna, ta oseba, da bi to skromno zanikala, izreče »estağfurullah«. Zdi se, da je to neke vrste izjavljanje »nič nisi slabša od mene (ali drugih)« v prvem primeru oziroma »nisem nič boljša od tebe (ali drugih)« v drugem. Kakor da bi osebe, ki izrekajo to besedo, želele vzpostaviti neke vrste ravnovesje v odnosu, ki je bilo porušeno s poprej izraženo samograjo ali pohvalo. Mogoče je reči, da se s tem izrazom oziroma vsakdanjo rabo tega ohranjata in spodbujata enakovrednost in solidarnost v medsebojnih odnosih.

Dihanje je torej v alevijski praksi vseprisotno, tako konceptualno kakor izvajalsko, reči je mogoče, da ji je imanentno, in to ne zgolj kot fizična nuja za življenje. S tem ko je dihanje del obrednih običajev, aleviji povezujejo duhovnost in telesnost, ki je drugače pri večini verskih praks ločena. Zavedajo se enotnosti telesa in duha in tako tudi delujejo v verskih praksah in ne nazadnje tudi vsakdanjem življenju.

5. Alevijstvo kot (Irigarayjina) kultura diha

Opisane okoliščine in izvajanje alevijske religijske prakse nekako kažejo, da je med aleviji ‚pozaba diha‘, o kateri je bil govor v okviru filozofske misli Luce Irigaray, veliko manj navzoča kakor v zahodnih tradicijah. Tudi če aleviji samemu dihu kot takšnemu eksplicitno ne pripisujejo posebnega pomena, je mogoče reči, da dihanje in dihanje zasedata eno osrednjih mest v njihovi verski praksi. Tako je mogoče na tem mestu vzpostaviti nekatere bolj ali manj očitne povezave s pomenom diha za človeštvo, kakor ga zagovarja Luce Irigaray v nekaterih svojih delih. V delu *Doba diha* avtorica za dihanje pravi, da je to »prva avtonomna gesta človeškega življenja« in da »ni mogoče biti božanski, ne da bi bili avtonomni glede na mater in očeta, ljubljeno osebo, otroka in na druge na sploh, ženske in moške« (1999, 1e). Navedeno se ujema s poprej predstavljenim partikularnim dihom posameznega alevijskega vernika, ki s svojo osebnostjo in značajskimi smernicami določa svoj lastni dihanje ter svoj posebni odnos do Boga. Vsak alevi pa obenem združevanje z Bogom, torej svojo lastno božanskost, dosega prav prek različnih dihalnih praks.

Luce Irigaray v omenjenem besedilu naznanja ‚doba Duha‘, ki prihaja. Označi jo kot tretjo dobo judovsko-krščanske tradicije, v kateri naj bi se človeško združilo z božanskim prav prek kultivacije kulture diha. Avtorica pri tem poudarja vlogo ženske in njene zvestobe do osebne ženskosti, saj naj bi bil njen dihanje tesno povezan z dihom veselja.

»Za žensko, svet, začeniš z njo samo, bo odrešen in obujen ne samo jutri, v nebesih, kakor pravijo, ampak od danes naprej, na Zemlji. Ženska bi morala, neustavljivo, ponovno združevati zemljo in nebo preko diha, tega sredstva duše, z voljo po doseganju tega prehoda na vse boljši način, brez nobene druge posrednosti.« (8e)

Znova je mogoče najti nekaj vzporednic med Irigarayino mislijo ter alevijskimi prepričanji in versko prakso. Aleviji si prek svoje obredne dejavnosti in vsakdanje moralne (etične) drže prizadevajo za združitev z Bogom; to delajo tudi z v molitev in obred integriranimi dihalnimi vajami. V svojih prepričanjih resda eksplicitno ne povečujejo vloge ženske pri doseganju povezave med človeškim in božanskim, bolj poudarjajo enakopravnost med ženskimi in moškimi, tako na obredu, pri katerem je ključno, da sta navzoča oba spola, kakor tudi v vsakdanjem življenju, saj zakonski par pomeni vzajemno komplementarnost. Poleg tega je mogoče pokazati na sorodnost tudi prek alevijske težnje doseganja božanskega že na ‚tem sve-tu‘, to ni čakanje na izpolnitev obljube o popolnem življenju ‚na drugi strani‘.

Irigaray v obravnavanem tekstu nadalje pravi: »Bog je mi, mi smo božanski, če smo ženska in moški na popoln način.« (16e) Tudi aleviji verjamejo, da lahko prepoznajo Boga v sebi, če sledijo svojemu življenjskemu in moralnemu idealu, ki ga imenujejo *insan-i kâmil*, to pa se, kakor navedeno, prevaja kot popoln človek, tudi zrel, sposoben, celosten človek. Pri doseganju tega ideala govorimo o stopnjevit-tem dviganju k Bogu človeka brez pomanjkljivosti (Korkmaz 2008, 266). Obe težnji je mogoče prepoznati kot sorodni predvsem v želji po doseganju božanskosti, poudariti pa je treba, da se aleviji pri tem osredotočajo na koncept človeka kot tistega, ki se lahko približa božanskemu prek svoje lastne duhovnosti.

In vendar bi glede na nekatere aspekte alevijstva lahko trdili, da je pomen ženske, njenega diha, ženskosti in s tem morda tudi priznavanje spolne razlike kot temeljne, tako kakor diha, intrinzični aspekt alevijske tradicije in prepričanj. Ko Irigaray pravi, da so »za grajenje mostov med različnimi tradicijami ženske privilegirane mediatorke«, to trdi predvsem zaradi dejstva, da zanje »niti dogme niti obredi, ali celo niti reprezentacije niso nujne za pristop k božanskemu« (1999, 18e). Avtorica govori tudi o tem, da bolj ženstveno interpretacijo (resda krščanske) religije omogoča »poslušanje duha namesto črke« (2004b, 146).¹² Obe trditvi se nekako ujemata s poprej nakazano neskeptičnostjo alevijske tradicije, saj ta tradicija daje več na človeško modrost kakor na besedo Korana in drugih svetih besedil. Obenem je mogoče trditi, da alevijska tradicija ni ustaljena v dogmi, obredi pa so spremenljivi in različni med skupnostmi in tako neustaljeni.

Ne samo da je ženska obravnavana enakopravno, ali bolje, da ni obravnavana kot lastnina ali kot manjvredna od moškega, zdi se tudi, da je med aleviji tudi njena razlika priznana, to pa je razvidno iz dejstva, da je potrebna na vsakem obredu kot komplementarni del moške energije. Ni mogoče reči, da je dejansko razumlje-

¹² Ženstvena interpretacija o imenenci in transcendenci Boga kot neizključujočih je značilna tudi, na primer, za (eko)feministično teologijo (Furlan Štante 2017).

na kot ženska subjektiviteta, kakor od kulture diha zahteva Irigaray, je pa mogoče opaziti, da so ženske spoštovane, ker so ženske, kot ženske. Zaslediti je mogoče tudi, da so moški člani alevijskih skupnosti še posebno pozorni in skrbni do počutja in varnosti ženskih članic.

Zagotovo se zahteve in opisi Irigarayine kulture diha z alevijsko kulturno in versko prakso ne ujemajo v celoti, in da bi bila razhajanja med njima kritično prepoznana, bi potrebovali mnogo več prostora. A vendar je smiselno opozoriti: tudi pri alevijskih skupnostih je mogoče slutiti, da je komunikacija med dvema ločenima subjektivnostima, med moško in žensko, ki zagotavljata celoto človeštva, nekoliko prekinjena oziroma otežavljena, predvsem zaradi vsiljenih ortodoksnih (muslimanskih) norm o spolni segregaciji. Držanje za roke in objemanje med vrtenjem pri *semah*, ki je bilo za alevije zelo značilno, se ne izvaja več pogosto, tudi med *cemi* se je uveljavila navada ločenega sedenja,¹³ ki pa ni zapovedana in ima mnogo izjem. Zdi se, da so te norme aleviji prevzeli predvsem zaradi njihovega lažjega sprejetja v javnosti, ki je večinsko ortodokсно sunitska

Trditi je mogoče, da so aleviji s svojo pozornostjo za dih in za redno dihalno prakso veliko bližje razumevanju potrebe po enotnosti duha in telesa. Obenem jim je treba priznati, da se približujejo zahtevi po prepoznavanju spolne razlike kot temeljne za razumevanje ustroja celote človeštva iz dveh ločenih, a enakovrednih subjektivitet. Kot takšne so alevijske verske skupnosti zagotovo najbližje med potencialnimi kandidati, ki bi bili sposobni udejanjati kulturo diha.

6. Kultivacija dihanja

Alevijsko vero in življenjsko filozofijo je mogoče izpostaviti kot enega od načinov (s)poznavanja, predvsem prek glasbe, pomena diha, ki določa naš obstoj. Dih, ki je venomer intrinzično navzoč v alevijski obredni praksi, je pred vsakršnim ustaljenim ritualom ali dogmo, saj se to dvoje v alevijskih praksah kaže predvsem kot fluidno, to pa se, ne nazadnje, ujema z Irigarayino mislijo o premoščanju in sprejemanju medkulturnih razlik:

»Dih obstaja pred in onkraj katerihkoli reprezentacij, besed, oblik, vsevrstnih specifičnih upodobitev ali celo idolov, vseh vrst obredov ali dogem, ter tako dovoljuje sporazumevanje med kulturami, spoli in generacijami. Dihanje lahko ustvarja mostove med različnimi ljudstvi in kulturami, spoštujejoč njihove razlike.« (2004a, 146)

Reči je mogoče: tudi če aleviji eksplicitno ne pripisujejo posebnega pomena dihu, ima dih osrednjo vlogo v njihovih religijskih praksah, katerim je tako rekoč intrinzičen, in zato nepriznan kot ključen za razumevanje alevijske kulture in reli-

¹³ Pri opazovanih *cemih* je bilo mogoče zaznati, da so moški večinoma sedeli ločeno od žensk in otrok. To ni predpisana obveza, zdi se bolj navada, saj ločitev ni zelo stroga, kajti sodelujoči se tudi mešajo, a redko. Sama sem večkrat sedela ob moškem članu skupnosti kakor pa ob ženski članici.

gije. Zaradi temeljne samoumevnosti in intrinzičnosti diha ostaja njegov pomen v virih o alevijstvu neizrečen oziroma neizpisan. Prepričanja, tradicija, religija, filozofija, modrost in svetovni nazor alevijev so medsebojno neločljivi in to dejstvo otežuje delo raziskovalcev, ki bi želeli v celoti razumeti njihovo identiteto v okviru zahodne racionalnosti in znanstvenega jezika. *Cem*, osrednji alevijski verski obred, kakor smo pokazali, zelo intenzivno angažira telo vernikov predvsem prek izvajanja *dhikra*, glasbenega udejstvovanja in poslušanja, ki poudarja slušni čut, in tudi pleša in tako bistveno prispeva k (ponovnemu) združevanju telesa in duha, ali pa celo, kakor pravi Irigaray, k (ponovnemu) poduhovljenju telesa.

Kakršenkoli definitiven in enopomenski sklep o verski in kulturni tradiciji alevijev je praktično nemogoč, saj vsak odgovor prinese več novih vprašanj, kakor dokazuje verodostojnost trditve o fluidnosti njihove identitete. Integriranost diha v alevijsko versko in bivanjsko prakso je v tukajšnjem besedilu le nakazana z nekaterimi specifičnimi uvidi, ki na žalost (še) ne zagotavljajo njene zanesljive resničnosti. Po drugi strani pa prav ta negotovost omogoča priznavanje realne možnosti, da je alevijstvo mogoče dojemati kot rodovitno okolje obstoja in razvoja kulture diha.

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Raziskovalni program „Etično-religiozni temelji in perspektive družbe ter religiologija v kontekstu sodobne edukacije in nasilje“ (P6-0269): poročilo o raziskovalnem obdobju 2015–2021

31. decembra 2021 poteče šestletno obdobje delovanja raziskovalnega programa „Etično-religiozni temelji in perspektive družbe ter religiologija v kontekstu sodobne edukacije in nasilje“ (P6-0269), ki ga je odobrila in financirala Javna agencija za raziskovanje Republike Slovenije v letnem obsegu 2,03 FTE. Nosilka programa je Teološka fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani.

Raziskovalni program (2015–2021) je deloval interdisciplinarno in medinstitucionalno. To pomeni, da je povezoval humanistiko (teologija, religiologija, filozofija, zgodovinpisje, kulturologija) in družboslovje (psihologija, sociologija, pravne in kanonske vede, vzgoja in izobraževanje ter politične vede); vključeval je raziskovalce/predavatelje z drugih ustanov – npr. Józef Niewiadomski (Univerza v Innsbrucku), Stephan Rothlin (Riccijev inštitut v Macau, Kitajska), Walter Schaupp (Univerza v Gradcu), Hans Otto Seitschek (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München), Albert Bressand (Institute for Global Prosperity, University College London), Christoph Hübenthal (Radboud University), Erika Prijatelj (Boston College, ZDA) in drugi. V skupini je delovalo 28 raziskovalcev, od tega so trije že upokojeni, sedem pa je bilo mladih raziskovalcev. Našteti po abecedi: Mateja Centa, Tomaž Erzar, Stanko Gerjolj, Roman Globokar, Anton Jamnik, Janez Juhant, Branko Klun, Simon Malmenvall, Jonas Miklavčič, Mari Osredkar, Robert Petkovšek, Mateja Pevec Rozman, Ivan Platovnjak, Borut Pohar, Janez Potisek, Erika Prijatelj, Stanislav Slatinek, Tadej Stegu, Vojko Strahovnik, Tadej Strehovec, Andrej Šegula, Stjepan Štivić, Ivan Janez Štuhec, Janez Vodičar, Bojan Žalec, Urška Lampret, Ana Martinjak Ratej in Peter Rožič. Kljub različnim profilom raziskovalcev so delo povezoval in usmerjal skupne letne raziskovalne teme.

1. Raziskovalni okvir

Osrednje raziskovalno vprašanje je bilo nasilje, ki je eden temeljnih antropoloških izzivov, ključnih tako na osebni in družbeni kot na lokalni in globalni ravni. V sodobnosti se je problem nasilja zaostril. Ta zaostritev se kaže tudi v današnji globalni kulturi, ki je rezultat modernizacije v njenih pozitivnih, hkrati pa negativnih razsežnostih. Pri raziskovanju smo se bolj posvečali problematičnim, negativnim

vidikom sodobne kulture, posebej tistim, ki so na presečišču religije, etike in ideologije. V sodobnosti so vedno večjo vlogo dobivale ideologije, zlasti „znanstveni svetovni nazor“, ki je religijo izpodrival, jo naredil za družbeni problem in jo celo opredelil za nasilno; ideologije so tako prevzele psevdoreligijsko in izključevalno vlogo. Temeljni idejni okviri so se začeli prepletati in hitro menjavati; to je sprožilo negotovost, rastočo tekmovalnost za kulturno in družbeno prevlado, ideološke spore in totalitarizme, revolucije, moderne vojne, radikalne oblike politike, ne nazadnje religijo trga. Nekdanja krščanska duhovna podlaga družbe je začela slabeti, razraščati so se začeli imperializmi in nacionalizmi.

2. Raziskovalna vprašanja in hipoteza

Opisana situacija in nakazani problemi so narekovali vprašanja o vzdržnosti sistema sodobne družbe s toliko nasprotji in o možnostih sodobne družbe, da se na osnovi idejnega dialoga preoblikuje na lokalni in globalni ravni v želji vseh po mirnem sobivanju. Odprla je vprašanje o mirovnem potencialu religij, o njihovi (ne) imunosti za nasilje, vrednostnih osnovah tako vernih kot nevernih, novem »ateizmu«, o sprejemanju idejne različnosti, usposabljanju za sobivanje, za dialog, za popravo krivic, pa za izpeljavo procesov (ob)žalovanja in sprave. Ne nazadnje je narekovala tudi kurativna vprašanja o premagovanju travm in pregrad, ki so jih za seboj pustile vojne in idejne, religijske ali ideološke čustvene usedline.

3. Cilji

Na podlagi opisanega problema in vprašanj si je program zastavil za cilj odkrivati in razlagati nasilne mehanizme v različnih oblikah odnosov, zlasti ko gre za vprašanje oblasti v različnih oblikah (civilna, religijska ipd.) v odnosu do različnih oblasti podrejenih subjektov (posamezniki, skupine, narodi) in z različnimi posledicami (zlorabe, vojne, revolucije, totalitarizmi ipd.). Še posebej pomemben cilj je bil raziskovati medsebojni vpliv vojn, revolucij in ideologij/religij na lokalni ravni; ob tem narediti vidne in učinkovite tiste vidike religij in svetovnih nazorov, ki so ali bodo zmožni paradigmo oblastnega, tekmovalnega, izključevalnega nasilja zamenjati s paradigmo dialoga in sobivanja, ob tem z empatijo, vključevanjem, s solidarnostjo in pravičnostjo s posebnim poudarkom na iskanju nove globalne pravičnosti in medsebojnega priznavanja edinstvene vrednosti različnosti – tudi ko gre za svetovne nazore in religije; hkrati okrepiti transformativno vlogo spominjanja v odnosu do konfliktnih vidikov preteklosti, v odnosu do prihodnosti pa odpirati možnosti človeškega sobivanja in razvoja.

4. Področja raziskovanja

Glavna področja raziskovalnega programa so bila: filozofsko, antropološko-religiološko, moralno in kanonsko-pravno teološko; edukacijsko, katehetsko in pastoralno; duhovno, zgodovinsko, psihološko-terapevtsko področje.

S filozofskega vidika – natančneje, z vidika metafizike, etike, aplikativne etike, socialne filozofije, filozofije kulture in spoznavoslovja – so temeljno raziskovalno vprašanje obravnavali Klun, Pohar, Jamnik, Juhant, Pevec Rozmanova, Petkovšek, Miklavčič in Štivič. S filozofskega vidika so razvili dodatne cilje, hipoteze in rešitve. V nasprotju z razširjeno tezo postmoderne filozofije, za katero je metafizika kot miselna podstat zahodnega izročila volja do moči (Heidegger) in zato nasilna ter etično sporna (Derrida, Vattimo), je Klun dokazoval možnost neontološke metafizike (Levinas, Marion), ki pojem transcendence razume etično, in ne ontološko. Zato ne-ontološki, na etiki utemeljen pojem transcendence daje metafiziki nenasilno vlogo. Moderno sekularistično zavračanje konstitutivne vloge religije v kulturi si prizadeva preseči tudi Pohar s pripravo teoretskega analognega modela kognitivnih dejavnikov. Drugače kot novoveško scientistično zavračanje religije ugotavlja analogno povezanost med različnimi oblikami človeškega védenja, na katerih je utemeljen tudi dialog med znanostjo in religijo, nujen za vzpostavljanje miru. Strahovnik je z etičnega vidika raziskoval pomen in razsežnosti globalne pravičnosti, vrste pravičnosti, ki jih globalna pravičnost vključuje (razdelilna, prispevalna, statusna, obnovitvena, spoznavna idr.), univerzalne standarde pravičnosti, moralna nesoglasja in moralni dialog, pa akterje globalne pravičnosti, vlogo vrlin, čustev in odzivnih naravnosti (sram, krivda) v spravni procesih, medkulturni in medreligijski dialog, vlogo intelektualne ponižnosti in spoznavne pravičnosti ter kulturo strahu in verske (ne)strpnosti. Povezovalna tema teh ciljev je bila (ne)pravičnost kot eden najpomembnejših etičnih izzivov sodobnega sveta. V raziskavah je vzpostavil povezanost med različnimi vrstami pravičnosti. Zlasti je izstopala pomembnost statusne in spoznavne pravičnosti, ki jih tradicionalne razprave o pravičnosti niso poudarjale. Pokazal je na pomen moralnih in intelektualnih kreposti v kontekstu medkulturnega in medreligijskega dialoga, pa da dosedanji modeli vzpostavitve globalne pravičnosti niso dovolj upoštevali akterjev pravičnosti in dodelitve vlog pri vzpostavljanju pravičnosti ter na vlogo religij kot virov za vzpostavljanje pravičnosti (analiza vidikov ponižnosti v krščanstvu in pojmov gostoljubja ter skupne človeškosti). Z vidika socialne filozofije in filozofije kulture so Juhant, Jamnik in Pevec Rozmanova obravnavali vprašanje, kje v današnjem globalnem svetu se danes odpirajo možnosti dialoga in dela za najbolj ogrožene in koliko je lahko védenje, ki ga imajo o antropoloških in etičnih temeljih človeka velika svetovna izročila, izhodišče dialoga ter prizadevanj za mir, trajnostni razvoj in spoštovanje človekovega dostojanstva. Za cilj so si zastavili raziskati temeljne (neo)liberalne in komunitarne, zlasti tehnicistične vidike sodobne družbe, proučiti pristope k večini dialoga in sočutja, ki iz individualizma vodijo v občestvenost, ovrednotiti vlogo kulturnih in religioznih izročil, občutek pripadnosti skupnosti in prizadevanja za skupno dobro. Njihova analiza kaže, da stanje sodobne družbe – osamlje-

nost, pasivnost, apatičnost – na religioznem in etičnem področju omogoča manipulacijo. Nasprotno komunitarni pogled na človeka uveljavlja občestvenost, pomen dobrega, vrlin, jezik svobode in milosti ter skupno dobro. Posebno mesto imajo tu civilna družba, socialna dejavnost in skrb za kulturno dediščino. Poudarjati je treba tudi temeljno vlogo resnice in sočutja, ki sta medsebojno povezana in sta pogoj za sprejemanje drugačnosti ter spoštovanje človekovega dostojanstva. Juhant se je posebej posvečal vprašanju sočutja kot izhodišča sprave in ureditve slovenske tranzicije. V iskanju etičnih osnov sodobne družbe se Miklavčič in Štivič posvečata dvema temeljnima mejnima etičnima izzivoma: umetni inteligenci (UI) in kiborgizaciji človeškega telesa. Miklavčič je raziskoval vprašanje transparentnosti pri odločanju v UI, ki z etičnega vidika ni zadostno opredeljena. Ker se v UI ni mogoče odreči niti netransparentnemu algoritemskemu ‚odločanju‘ niti ne etični zahtevi po transparentnosti, raziskuje kriterije za oceno zadostne transparentnosti pri odločanju v UI. Štivič se medtem posveča interdisciplinarnemu raziskovalnemu vprašanju razumevanja ter kiborgizacije človeškega telesa in si v fenomenološki perspektivi prizadeva nadomestiti novoveško kartezijansko paradigmo razumevanja telesa, na kateri temelji tehnicistično, nepersonalistično razumevanje telesa.

Z antropološko-religiološkega vidika so raziskovalno vprašanje obravnavali Žalec, Osredkar, Petkovšek in Potisek. Žalec je izhajal iz hipoteze, da družba, ki preveč zapade v instrumentalizem (človek je sredstvo in ne cilj) in individualizem, hkrati pa ne raste iz ustreznih duhovnih podlag, ki so predpolitične (Habermas), presežne in odnosne narave (Buber), ne more razvijati ustreznih odnosov niti na ravni posameznikov niti na širših ravneh – od skupnosti do globalne ravni. Človek je v vseh pogledih in na vseh ravneh odnosno bitje, pristni odnosi pa niso instrumentalistične narave, ampak stvar primerne duhovnosti (Buber). Zato imajo religije izjemno pomembno vlogo pri ustvarjanju dobrega življenja tako posameznika kot družbe. S posebnim poudarkom na religiji kot vplivnem dejavniku in hkrati podlagi je pokazal, da je relacijsko razumevanje človeka ključ za razumevanje človeka in obenem za doseganje človeku primernega življenja in družbe; to je utemeljeval na eksistencialni in personalistični relacijski antropologiji. Obdelal je različne razsežnosti odnosov, kot so vertikalni (transcendenca), horizontalni (družba), diagonalni (odnos do naravnega okolja) in končno individualni (razvoj lastnega sebstva). Raziskal je tudi dejavnike dobrega življenja (umetnost življenja) in odprte, vključevalne, dialoške, pravične in humane, človečne družbe. Načelna merila takšne družbe so: personalnost (človek kot cilj), skupno dobro, solidarnost, subsidiarnost, družbena pravičnost, spoštovanje človekovih pravic. Ob upoštevanju zmožnostnega pristopa (Nussbaum, Sen) je odgovarjal na izzive sodobne, po vrednotah heterogene družbe, v katerih dialog in pošteno sodelovanje (Rawls) igrata odločilno vlogo. To vključuje spoštovanje drugačnosti, spoštovanje racionalnosti drugega, zavest o partikularnosti racionalnosti, razlikovanje med trivialno in eksistencialno racionalnostjo. Da pa bi verske ustanove svoje poslanstvo lahko uspešno opravljale, morajo same razviti času in prostoru primerne dialoške načine in resonanco z okoljem. Religije imajo zaradi svojega pomena velike etične potenci-

ale tako v pozitivnem kot tudi v negativnem pogledu (Beck). Omenjene raziskave in ugotovitve so aplicirane tudi na slovensko okolje. Osredkar je izhajal iz medkulturnega in medreligijskega pluralizma v sodobnem svetu. Zastavil si je vprašanje o možnosti sobivanja kristjanov in muslimanov v Evropi in postavil hipotezo, da je dialog obeh skupnosti (medreligijski dialog na več ravneh) nujen – pogovarjajo se verniki in voditelji različnih religij –, ni pa možen dialog med nauki ene in druge religije. Cilj raziskave je spodbujati srečevanja med pripadniki različnih ras, kultur in religij. Med rezultati raziskave je bila tudi mednarodna znanstvena konferenca na temo dialoga med kristjani in muslimani, organizirana ob 800. obletnici srečanja med sv. Frančiškom Assiškim in sultanom al-Malikom al-Kāmilom. Potisek je kot raziskovalno vprašanje primerjal vlogo nasilnega jezika v svetih spisih mono-teističnih religij (Jan Assmann) in v jo vzporejal sovražnemu govoru v sekularni družbi, ki naj bi po nekaterih teorijah imel izvor v religijskem jeziku nasilja. Dokazoval je hipotezo, da njuni vlogi nista primerljivi. Dokazoval je, da pravilno razumljena religiozna besedila niso nujni sprožilec nasilja, temveč je pravi vzrok nasilja fundamentalizem oziroma zloraba religije.

Z moralno in kanonsko-pravnega teološkega vidika so raziskovali Globokar, Štuhec, Strehovec in Slatinek. Globokar je izhajal iz hipoteze, da krščanska etika spodbuja spoštovanje človekovega dostojanstva s posebnim poudarkom na najbolj ranljivih skupinah, podpira prizadevanje za odgovoren odnos do naravnega okolja in zagovarja vesoljno bratstvo/sestrstvo vseh ljudi – zato je relevanten sogovornik pri vzpostavljanju pravične in miroljubne družbe. Glede na specifične cilje, ki si jih je zastavil, je pokazal, da ima sočutje pomembno mesto pri reševanju statusa ločenih in ponovno poročenih v Katoliški Cerkvi; da ima zarodek status človeške osebe od spočetja dalje; da nadomestno materinstvo predstavlja veliko možnost popredmetenja nadomestnih mater; da svetopisemska besedila človeka predstavljajo kot oskrbnika in ne kot gospodarja stvarstva; da je medverski dialog ključen za večje spoštovanje in strpnost v družbi; da imajo nacionalne države pomembno vlogo pri reševanju kriz, če le ostanejo odprte za dialog na globalni ravni in če si prizadevajo za globalno solidarnost. Problem nasilja sta v doktorskih disertacijah obravnavali Lampretova in Martinjakova. Lampretova je pokazala, da je dogajanje v času komunistične revolucije bistveno vplivalo tako na stanje kot na razumevanje sodobne slovenske družbene situacije. Pri tem se je oprla na Girardovo mimitično teorijo in teorijo o grešnem kozlu. Martinjakova je medtem prikazala totalitarizem kot skrajno obliko kršenja osnov personalizma. Totalitarizem je posledica izkrivljenega razumevanja religije; personalizem pa kaže pot iz totalitarizma. Slatinek je raziskoval pojem verske nestrpnosti, zlasti med zakonci, ki je potisnjena v anonimnost in ima različne vzroke. Iskal je odgovore na vprašanje, koliko pripomorejo k verski strpnosti zakoncev v versko mešanih zakonih predlogi kanonskega in civilnega prava in teologije: kultura dialoga, kultura sprave, kultura odpuščanja. Civilnopravni, kanonski zakoniki in drugi mednarodni dokumenti namreč zagovarjajo temeljno pravico človeka do verske svobode. Katoliška Cerkev je zaščitnica temeljnih človekovih pravic in poziva k spoštovanju verske svobode – še posebno verske svobode med zakonci. Da bodo zakonci lahko živeli v ozračju verske svobo-

de, je treba ljudi učiti medsebojne ljubezni, ki temelji na strpnosti in dobrohotnosti. Vera je za kakovost partnerskega odnosa pomembno področje.

Z vidika duhovne teologije je Platovnjak dokazoval, da napačno razumevanje žrtvovanja kot zadoščevanja krščansko duhovnost pači. Ta je pristna, osvobajajoča in rodovitna takrat, ko žrtvovanje razumemo v luči evangelija kot darujočo se ljubezen. Takšno razumevanje, ki se v dialogu s kulturami in religijami še okrepi, človeka dela solidarnega in ga usposablja za odnose z drugimi in s stvarstvom. Raziskoval je tudi anateizem, ki v sekulariziranem svetu duhovno teologijo dela bolj odzivno za iskanja sodobnega človeka. Raziskoval je tudi izzive transhumanizma in rezilientnosti za duhovno teologijo. Globoko osebna in celostno živeta krščanska duhovnost v povezanosti z občestvom Cerkve v Svetem Duhu človeku pomaga presežati strah pred stiskami in krizami in ga usmerja v polnejše življenje.

Z zgodovinskega in ekumenskega vidika je Malmenvall raziskoval krščansko razumevanje vpliva ideje (samo)žrtvovanja in enega (monoteističnega) Boga, ki gre v ljubezni do človeštva ‚do konca‘, na pojav svetništva in dojemanje zgodovine kot odrešenjske zgodovine v različnih obdobjih (zlasti v srednjem veku) ter v različnih konfesionalnih in kulturnih oblikah. V tem okviru si je za cilj zastavil razbrati in predstaviti zgodovinski kontekst, teološko podlago in družbene implikacije posameznih pojavov iz zgodovine krščanstva, zlasti iz obdobja pokristjanjevanja (vzhodnih) Slovanov, in vzpostavljanja novih skupnostnih identitet, ki kažejo na minljivost ‚zemeljskih dobrin‘ – in tek časa umeščajo v posvečeni kozmos odrešenjske zgodovine.

Z vzgojnega, katehetskega in pastoralnega vidika so temeljno raziskovalno vprašanje obravnavali Gerjolj, Vodičar, Stegu, Centa, Prijatelj in Šegula. Gerjolj je izhajal iz hipoteze o pomanjkljivosti tehnicistično-kognitivističnih procesov na vzgojno-izobraževalnem področju ter pri tem raziskoval humanistično-holistične pedagoške in didaktične pristope, ki učencem omogočajo ne le pridobivanje znanj, ampak tudi njihovo osmišljanje in osebno rast. Vodičar je izhajal iz hipoteze, da hermenevtični pristop omogoča nove razsežnosti razumevanja Boga – to pa omogoča tudi predrugačenje vzgoje. Raziskoval je, kako hermenevtični pristop vpliva na podobo Boga in na proces vzgoje. Ugotavljal je pomembnost razumevanja geneze božje podobe in vloge, ki jo ima ta v vsakdanjem življenju. To razumevanje omogoča boljšo vzgojo, medverski dialog in vključevanje v pluralno družbo. Stegu je pri homiletiki in katehezi raziskoval vprašanje, koliko odsevata koncilsko teologijo žrtve, ki Kristusovo žrtev razume v funkciji odrešitve človeka. Ugotovil je, da veroučni učbeniki žrtvovanje predstavljajo v tem koncilskem duhu, medtem ko homilija žrtvovanja v koncilskem duhu pogosto ne osmišlja. Prav tako je dokazoval, da krščanska teologija iz razlogov, zaradi katerih ni mogla sprejeti manihejskih in pelagijanskih idej, tudi transhumanističnih eshatoloških pogledov na človeka ne more sprejeti. Centa je raziskovala vprašanje odnosa med čustvi ter vrednotami oz. vrednostnimi sodbami (kognitivna teorija čustev). V svojem raziskovanju je začrtala temeljne poteze filozofije, teologije in antropologije čustev in ovrednotila kognitivne teorije čustev; opredelila je odnos med etiko, vrednotami, izkustvenim in celostnim učenjem ter geštalt pedagogiko (kakšno vlogo ima doživljanje,

izražanje, razumevanje in oblikovanje čustev pri vzpostavljanju dobrega življenja) ter izpostavila teološke ter filozofske vidike izbranih izzivov sodobne družbe in kulture. Pomemben rezultat je predlagani model, ki povezuje kognitivne teorije čustev in geštalt pedagogike (kognitivno-izkustveni model čustev in čustvenosti). Šegula je na pastoralno-katehetskem področju raziskoval odnos med direktivami in smernicami, ki jih Cerkev oblikuje, ter sodobnimi usmeritvami družbe – s ciljem oblikovati katehetske smernice v pomoč pri uresničevanju poslanstva Cerkve v sodobnem svetu.

S psihološko-terapevtskega vidika je Erzar raziskoval, kakšni so koraki v procesu odpuščanja v medosebnih in družbenih konfliktih in ali obstajajo podobnosti med procesom odpuščanja, kot ga pojmujeta in obravnavata psihoterapija in psihologija, na eni ter krščanskim novozaveznim modelom odpuščanja na drugi strani. Izdelal in testiral je merski instrument za odpuščanje v družbenih skupinah, objavil rezultate primerjalne analize modelov odpuščanja v psihoterapiji in v krščanskem izročilu ter preveril korake odpuščanja v terapevtski obravnavi ranljivih skupin moške zaporniške populacije.

5. Metode in referenčni avtorji

Raziskave so se metodološko osredotočile časovno zlasti na 19. in 20. st., prostorsko na idejne tokove v Evropi ter na ozemlje Slovenije. Temeljno raziskovalno vprašanje so obdelovale interdisciplinarno, kritično, zgodovinsko sistematično – s ciljem izdelati izvirno hermenevtiko novoveških ideologij, svetovnih nazorov in religij z vidika njihove vloge pri oblikovanju družbene (ne)pravičnosti.

V večjem delu so temeljile na kvalitativnih metodah. Podatke so primarno zajemale v fenomenološki in analitični perspektivi: znanstveno-kritična analiza temeljnih del, teoretska in pojmovna analiza, analiza jezika (semiotično-diskurzivna metoda, specifične filološke-tekstološke metode, etimologija), vzročno-posledična metoda analitičnega zgodovinopisja. Uporabljene so bile tudi ankete – intervjuji (npr. dialog s predstavniki verskih skupnosti, zaslišanja strank v pravnih procesih) – in kvantitativne metode (eksploratorno statistične in eksperimentalne študije). S primerjalno metodo so bili pridobljeni modeli ovrednoteni v luči praktičnih posledic za sodobni svet. Izsledki so se razlagali hermenevtično. V jedru so raziskave sledile dvema temeljnima razlagalnima usmeritvama: filozofski univerzalnosti, usmerjeni dialoško, in teološki radikalnosti, usmerjeni personalistično.

Med avtorji, na katere so se raziskovalci najpogosteje sklicevali, so: Arendt, Asmann, Audi, Balthasar, Bauman, Beck, Bellinger, Benhabib, Bostrom, Buber, Caputo, Demmer, Fisichella, Florovski, Fukuyama, Gaita Hollenbach, Gallagher, Gardini, Habermas, Halík, Heidegger, Vattimo, Kearney, Kierkegaard, Lafon, Levinas, MacIntyre, Marion, McGrath, Merleau-Ponty, Milbank, Murdoch, Nussbaum, Plantinga, Rawls, Ricoeur, Rosa, Sarah, Sen, Schockenhoff, Siedentop, Solomon, Solovjov, Špidlik, Taylor, Volf, Wittgenstein, Wojtyła in drugi.

6. Rezultati in diseminacija rezultatov

Raziskovalna skupina je vsako leto izvedla po eno interno in eno mednarodno konferenco z letno raziskovalno temo: 2021 „Upanje in zaupanje v času globalnega obupa in nezaupanja“; 2020 „Etika rezilientnosti: ranljivost in preživetje v času pandemij in globalne negotovosti“; 2019 „Trans-telo in nasilje: transhumanizem kot izziv za etiko in religijo“; 2018 „Etične implikacije enega boga“; 2017 „Religija: dejavnik medkulturnega dialoga“; 2016 „Žrtvovanje: od izvirov kulture do sodobnih življenjskih izzivov“; 2015 „Resnica in sočutje“. Vsako leto je bil izdan zbornik predavanj s konference. V tem obdobju so člani skupine objavili 180 izvirnih znanstvenih člankov, 46 preglednih znanstvenih člankov, 127 strokovnih člankov, 152 samostojnih znanstvenih sestavkov v monografskih publikacijah, 23 znanstvenih monografij, 6 strokovnih monografij in 4 univerzitetne učbenike z recenzijo. Na tujih univerzah so izvedli 66 predavanj, opravili 51 mentorstev pri doktorskih disertacijah, magistrskih in diplomskih nalogah ter gostovali so v medijih. Skupina ima h-indeks 10. Člani so bili tudi nosilci drugih raziskovalnih projektov, organizirali so še druge konference in mednarodne poletne šole (npr. Bioethics and Politics).

Raziskave skupine so tako obdelale temeljno raziskovalno vprašanje in odgovorile na hipotezo, da brez poznavanja antropoloških, etičnih in duhovnih podlag velikih svetovnih izročil (tako religijskih kot nereligijskih) in dialoga med njimi v sodobnem svetu ni mogoče uspešno vzgajati za mir, premagovati nasilja ter zagotavljati demokracije, svobode in trajnostnega razvoja ne na lokalni ne na globalni ravni. Člani so izdelali in implementirali tudi psihoedukativne in terapevtske modele za preseganje tovrstnih družbenih konfliktnosti. S tem je raziskava zastavljene cilje uresničila.

Po šestletnem obdobju je bil raziskovalni program ocenjen pozitivno in odobren za naslednje šestletno obdobje z začetkom 1. 1. 2022. Nagrajen je bil z dodatnim številom raziskovalnih ur, v novo obdobje pa stopa s spremenjenim imenom „Religija, etika, edukacija in izzivi sodobne družbe“.

Robert Petkovšek

Lidija Božac

Odnos do telesa pri odraslih, zlorabljenih v izvorni družini, ter njegove spremembe v relacijski družinski terapiji. Doktorska disertacija. Mentor: Tanja Repič Slavič. Univerza v Ljubljani, Teološka fakulteta. 2021. XVI, 404 str. <https://repozitorij.uni-lj.si/IzpisGradiva.php?id=134102&lang=slv>

Doktorska kandidatka Lidija Božac je v svoji doktorski disertaciji raziskovala odnos do telesa pri odraslih, ki so v otroštvu doživeli zlorabo ali zanemarjanje v izvorni družini. Glavni cilj izvirnega znanstvenoraziskovalnega dela z naslovom „Odnos do telesa pri odraslih, zlorabljenih v izvorni družini, ter njegove spremembe v relacijski družinski terapiji“ je bil prepoznati in opisati značilnosti odnosa do lastnega telesa pri odraslih, ki so doživeli zlorabo, predvsem pa prispevati k raziskovanju sprememb tega odnosa v procesu relacijske družinske terapije. Rezultati predstavljajo pomemben prispevek k praktičnemu znanju, h klinični praksi in k učinkovitosti uporabe relacijskega družinskega terapevtskega modela.

Uvodni, teoretični del disertacije prinaša kritičen pregled znanstvene literature in predstavlja prispevek k poglobljenemu razumevanju posameznih oblik zlorabe in zanemarjanja v otroštvu ter njihove povezanosti s težavami na različnih področjih v odraslosti, s poudarkom na odnosu do lastnega telesa. Predstavljeni so najpomembnejši vidiki tega z zlorabo zaznamovanega multidimenzionalnega konstrukta in tudi njegove najpogostejše manifestacije. Uvodni del zaključuje predstavitev teoretične podlage modela relacijske družinske terapije s poudarkom na telesnem vidiku v terapiji.

Empirični del disertacije sestavljata tako kvantitativni kot pretežno kvalitativni del raziskave. V kvantitativni del raziskave je bilo vključenih 350 udeležencev. V splošnem so rezultati pokazali, da se v otroštvu doživeta antipatija in zanemarjanje povezujeta s posameznimi vidiki negativnega odnosa do telesa; da obstajajo razlike v posameznih vidikih odnosa do telesa med odraslimi, ki so v otroštvu doživeli fizično ali spolno zlorabo, in tistimi, ki teh izkušenj nimajo.

Pretežno kvalitativni del raziskave je bil izveden v okviru srečanj terapevtske skupine sedmih udeležencev, kjer je delo potekalo po metodi relacijske družinske terapije. Terapevtska srečanja so potekala osem mesecev enkrat tedensko po uro in pol. Pri zaznavanju sprememb so bili uporabljeni trije viri podatkov: dnevnik posameznih srečanj, pisni izročki udeležencev in dva vprašalnika – eden o izkušnji zlorabe in zanemarjanja v otroštvu, drugi pa o odnosu do lastnega telesa v sedanjosti; na vprašanja v obeh so udeleženci odgovarjali tako na prvem kot na zadnjem srečanju skupine. Prva dva vira sta namenjena obširnejšemu, kvalitativne-

mu delu analize, kjer sta uporabljeni metodi osnovane teorije in analize vsebine, tretji vir pa je v pretežni meri namenjen kvantitativnemu delu analize.

Rezultati so pokazali, da je po terapevtskem procesu večina udeležencev poročala, da je v posameznih segmentih odnosa do lastnega telesa prišlo do pozitivnih sprememb – kar se je med drugim odražalo na področju samopodobe, zavedanja telesnih sporočil in zadovoljevanja telesnih potreb ter opuščanja škodljivih ravnanj.

Pri posploševanju izsledkov je nujno upoštevati omejitve, in sicer nereprezentativnost vzorca in odsotnost kontrolne skupine – ob drugačnem vzorcu bi lahko prišlo do pojava dodatnih in drugače zasičenih kategorij, prav tako pa je pri poročanju o spremembah treba upoštevati vidik subjektivnosti.

Doktorska disertacija obravnava do sedaj še neraziskano problematiko spremljanja odnosa do lastnega telesa pri odraslih, zlorabljenih v izvorni družini, in njegovih sprememb v okviru relacijske družinske terapije. S tem predstavlja pomemben prispevek na področju teoretičnih spoznanj, pa tudi klinične prakse v psihoterapiji.

Tanja Repič Slavič

Anthony Ekpunobi

Reflective mimesis and ethics of the cross in the mimetic theory of René Girard: towards an inclusive humanism. Doktorska disertacija. Mentor: Robert Petkovšek. Univerza v Ljubljani, Teološka fakulteta. 2020. IV, 271 str. <https://repositorij.uni-lj.si/IzpisGradiva.php?id=128395>

Tema doktorske disertacije, ki jo je 7. junija 2021 na Teološki fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani zagovarjal Anthony Ekpunobi (Nigerija, sedaj Velika Britanija), je mimetična teorija Renéja Girarda (1923–2015), ki velja za enega najvplivnejših sodobnih filozofov in antropologov. Disertacija ima naslov: „Refleksivna mimesis in etika križa v mimetični teoriji Renéja Girarda: k vključujočemu humanizmu“. Aktualnost mimetične teorije danes je nesporna, poznana pa je predvsem po analizi pojava grešnega kozla, ki je skupni imenovalec vseh svetovnih kultur. Pojav grešnega kozla, ki pomeni žrtvovanje nedolžne žrtve, je le ‚vrh ledene gore‘, pod katero se skriva mimetična želja. V mimetični želji ima svoj izvor človeštvo, torej simbolni in kulturni red, ki tvorita substanco človeškosti. Mimetična želja zato vzpostavlja okvire in temeljne zakonitosti človeške kulture. Naloga tako posega v izvor človeške kulture.

Disertacija ima sedem poglavij, razdeljenih v dva dela: v prvem delu avtor mimetično teorijo predstavlja, v drugem delu pa podaja njeno kritiko in predlaga rešitev. Želja – osrednji predmet mimetične teorije – je želja po posnemanju, po ‚biti to, kar so drugi‘ oziroma po ‚imeti to, kar imajo drugi‘. V svojem bistvu je želja ‚želja po posnemanju‘ (= mimetična želja). Želja, ki je želja po ‚biti kakor‘, vodi v tekmovalnost, rivalstvo, izključevanje, končno v smrtonosne konflikte, v umor. Prav o tem – o umorih med brati, fratricidih – govorijo tako imenovani ustanovni miti (angl. *foundational myth*), kot so miti o Kajnu in Abelu, Romulu in Remu, Arjuni in Karnu v *Mahabharati* in drugi. V teh mitih so velike kulture izražale intuicijo o svojih izvorih. Ti miti govorijo o rivalstvu med brati, med dvojčki – med posamezniki, med katerimi ni razlik, ki bi jih varovale. Posnemanje, ki je vir učenja in napredka, dela posnemovalca in posnemani model vedno bolj podobna, enaka (kakor so si podobni dvojčki), tako med njima ukinja razlike in meje, ju izpostavlja drug drugemu – in s tem nevarnosti konflikta, ne nazadnje umora. Kot Freud tudi Girard vidi začetek človeške kulture v ustanovnem umoru (angl. *foundational murder*). Po Girardu je mimetična želja kot temeljno antropološko gibalo obenem izvor učenja in napredka, a hkrati polje konfliktov in umora; mimetična želja je ambivalentna: generira človeškost, v svojem bistvu pa je smrtonosna.

Po Girardu velika literarna dela v svojem jedru govorijo o mimetični želji. Mimetično željo je proučeval v mitih, Svetem pismu, pri klasikih svetovne literature (npr. Shakespeare in Dostojevski). Mimetična razmerja, ki jih ta dela prikazujejo, se zaostrijejo do nasilja, ki ogroža obstoj skupnosti. V arhaičnih kulturah so to uničujoče nasilje zaustavljali žrtvovanjski obredi; ti so z žrtvovanjem nedolžne žrtve – grešnega kozla – ‚vojno vseh proti vsem‘, značilno za družbeni kaos, preusmerjali v žrtvovanje oziroma linčanje, tj. v ‚vojno vseh proti enemu‘. Prenos vse-

splošnega družbenega nasilja na posameznika, razglašena za krivca, je v resnici prenos krivde na nedolžno žrtev, ki naj družbi vrača spravo in mir. Značilnost mitov je, da nedolžnost žrtve prikrivajo (žrtev krivično prikazujejo kot krivca), kot to vidimo v *Kralju Ojdipu*, v katerem zbor Ojdipa prikazuje kot krivega. Tako so tudi Kristusa množice razglašale za krivega. V evangelijskem prikazovanju Jezusovega žrtvovanja pa se zgodi epohalen preobrat: ta Jezusa prikaže kot nedolžnega. Ljudstvo ga prikazuje kot krivega, evangelij pa kot nedolžnega. Bralec ob branju mita o Ojdipu v Ojdipu vidi krivca, ob branju evangelija pa Kristusa vidi kot nedolžno žrtev. Evangelij omogoča prepoznati nedolžnost žrtve, ki jo množice v linčanju po krivem razglašajo za krivca. Mit resnico izkrivlja in nedolžnega prikazuje kot krivega, evangelij pa resnico poudarja in žrtev prikazuje kot nedolžno. Optika mita in evangelija delujeta nasprotno: prvi resnico izkrivlja, drugi pa jo prikazuje. Evangelij je mehanizmu grešnega kozla, ki je imel moč v mitu, to moč odvzel. Moč, da prikaže resnico, pa je evangeliju dal Kristus sam. Kristus svojim preganjalcem odpušča; Kristus ne vstopa v mimetični krog maščevanja, ki ustvarja iluzijo in neresnico: Kristus se je mimetični želji odpovedal. Njegovo odpoved mimetični želji imenujemo etika križa. Na antropološki problem je Girard odgovoril kristološko – odgovora ne najde v človeku, ampak v Kristusu. Po njegovem je na problem nasilja, ki je človeški mimetični naravi inherenten, mogoče odgovarjati edinole s posnemanjem Kristusa, ki se je mimetični želji in maščevanju odpovedal. To se kaže v odpuščanju, ki je po mnenju filozofov, kakor so Hannah Arendt, Jacques Derrida ali Paul Ricœur, ‚Kristusovo odkritje‘ oziroma ‚iznajdba‘. To evangelijsko razkritje je mehanizmu grešnega kozla, katerega funkcija je bila iz skupnosti odvajati nasilje ter vračati vanjo mir in spravo, odvzelo moč. Sedaj je znano, da žrtev v resnici ni kriva, zato razbite skupnosti kot ‚grešni kozel‘ ne more več združevati okoli sebe in vanjo vračati mir in spravo. Pojav ‚grešnega kozla‘ je z razodetjem, s Kristusom, izgubil svojo moč. Pač pa je Kristus na križu dal alternativo zdravilo za nasilje – odpoved, to je: odpoved mimetični želji in njeni smrtonosnosti. Ta drža, ki odpira pot v prihodnost, se imenuje etika križa. Naj izpostavimo še enkrat: na antropološki problem je Girard odgovoril s kristološkim odgovorom. Odgovora ne najde v človeku, ampak v Kristusu. Ekpunobi to imenuje ‚kristološka dogma‘.

Ta kristološka dogma je predmet Ekpunobijeve kritike, saj sam poskuša na antropološki problem najti antropološki odgovor. V tezi je razvil idejo, ki jo je našel pri Girardu, a je Girard ni razvil. Po prepričanju Girarda se je človeška narava najbolj izrazila v romanu (Dostojevski, Proust, Stendhal, Cervantes). Ti so razumeli, da želja izvorno ni usmerjena na objekt, na predmet, ki je v lasti druge osebe, ampak prav na to drugo osebo – na model. Želja v svojem bistvu posnema drugo osebo, model, natančneje – posnema željo svojega modela. Naše želje torej niso avtonomne, ampak so sposojene pri modelu, ki ga posnemamo. Želimo si to, česar si želijo naši modeli. O tem govori tudi interindividualna psihologija. Mimetična želja je konfliktna, ker živi v zmoti – v iluziji, v laži, da je avtonomna, izvorna in prvotna. Interindividualna psihologija pa izhaja iz spoznanja, da se želja učim od drugih, da so sposojene in torej drugotne. To spoznanje nam prinaša refleksija, ki je misel-v-dejanju; refleksija je zmožna misliti dejanje v njegovem razvoju. Refle-

ksija upošteva tiho védenje (angl. *tacit knowing*), ki je obenem utelešeno védenje. Zmožnost refleksije, da misli mimesis, to je mimetično željo v njeni genezi, v njenem nastajanju, je zmožnost, da jo prepozna kot ‚željo-med‘ (angl. *desire-between*). Želja ni samo moja želja, ampak je želja, ki jo delim z modelom, ki ga posnemam; ta želja pripada nama obema – subjektu in modelu –, je deljena, konsubstancialna, Takšno refleksivno spoznanje zaustavlja rivalstvo, željo po ‚biti prvi‘ – je spoznanje o tem, da je moja željo nekdo pred menoj že imel in ji zato ne pripada prvo mesto. V tem spoznanju želja samo sebe spozna kot ‚željo-med‘ – to pa jo odvrča od rivalstva in ji omogoča, da vidi model kot model, in ne kot rivala oziroma tekmeča, ki ga je treba uničiti.

To spoznanje omogoča v etiki ključen preobrat. Refleksivna mimesis omogoča etično držo, ki ne temelji na posnemanju Kristusa, ampak izhaja iz refleksivne analize mimetične želje, njenega nastanka in razvoja. Mimesis torej lahko ozdravi mimesis – sebe. Ta razširitev mimesis, na katero je po Girardu edini odgovor Kristus, v refleksivno mimesis se zdi utemeljena. Ekpunobi odgovora ne išče zunaj mimetične želje. Bistvo njegovega odgovora je v tem, da je mimetična želja zmožna sama refleksivno spoznati, da ni prvotna, temveč drugotna. S tem sama sebe ‚detroneza‘ in se na ta način odvrča od zaostrovanja do skrajnosti. Tako Ekpunobi na antropološki problem odgovarja antropološko – in dopolnjuje Girardovo kristološko rešitev.

Robert Petkovšek

Alja Fabjan

Značilnosti čustvovanja in stilov navezanosti pri spolno promiskuitetnih mladostnikih in razreševanje promiskuitetnega vedenja v psihoterapevtskem procesu. Doktorska disertacija. Mentorica: Barbara Simonič. Univerza v Ljubljani, Teološka fakulteta. 2021. IX, 261, II str. <https://repozitorij.uni-lj.si/IzpisGradiva.php?id=134099&lang=slv>

Doktorska disertacija z naslovom „Značilnosti čustvovanja in stilov navezanosti pri spolno promiskuitetnih mladostnikih in razreševanje promiskuitetnega vedenja v psihoterapevtskem procesu“, ki jo je pripravila kandidatka Alja Fabjan, je izvirno znanstvenoraziskovalno delo, ki se posveča obravnavi promiskuitetnega vedenja pri mladostnikih. Pri tem poseben poudarek namenja raziskovanju teh vidikov v okviru relacijskega konteksta in čustvovanja in iskanju psihoterapevtskih smernic pri obravnavi tveganega promiskuitetnega vedenja pri mladostnikih.

Delo se osredotoča na obdobje mladostništva, ki je polno svežine, ustvarjalnosti, rasti in zorenja, obenem pa nemira, kaosa in tudi tveganega vedenja. Pri tem daje vsebinski in raziskovalni poudarek spolnosti (socioseksualni orientiranosti) mladostnika, ki je v tem obdobju, tudi zaradi razvojnih značilnosti in razvojnih nalog mladostnika, v posebnem fokusu. Čeprav lahko na odnos do spolnosti in na spolno prakso pri mladostnikih (pa tudi drugače) gledamo naturalistično, je dejstvo, da je spolnost veliko več kakor le zadovoljevanje telesnih potreb – to je izrazito relacijska dimenzija, v kateri se zrcali tudi psihodinamika posameznika in njegova (ne)spособnost za odnose. V spolnem vedenju posameznika srečamo različne aspekte, ki jih uvrščamo med bolj funkcionalne ali manj funkcionalne – manj funkcionalni še posebej nagovarjajo strokovnjake psihološke stroke in prakse in zahtevajo poglobljeno obravnavo, ki presega podatke o njihovem nastopu, ampak tudi razlaga, kaj je v ozadju tveganih spolnih praks. Mednje se uvršča tudi spolna promiskuiteta, ki je opredeljena kot prakticiranje pogostih spolnih odnosov z različnimi partnerji, pri tem pa se navadno ne razvije globoka čustvena intima. Spolna promiskuiteta pri mladostnikih, ki so v obdobju zorenja, je lahko rizično vedenje, ki morda vodi v dolgoročne negativne posledice, tako pri telesnem kakor pri psihičnem zdravju, pa tudi ustvari popačeno predstavo o čustveni intimi in pristnih partnerskih odnosih. Ozadje za promiskuitetno vedenje mladostnikov je lahko več, v tej disertaciji pa kandidatka raziskuje fenomen promiskuitete pri mladostnikih in luči kvalitete navezanosti, regulacije afekta in kvalitete odnosa s starši. S tem ustvarja možnost za razlago promiskuitete pri mladostnikih v kontekstu globljih relacijskih dimenzij.

Alja Fabjan je z doktorsko disertacijo izkazala sposobnost poglobljene razlage pri raziskovanju omenjenih dimenzij. Doktorska disertacija ima obsežen teoretični del, v katerem so celostno predstavljeni vsi temeljni koncepti doktorske disertacije (obdobje mladostništva, pomen odnosov med starši in mladostniki, navezanost, regulacija afekta, teološko-biblični pogled na promiskuiteto in psihotera-

pevtski koncepti obravnave promiskuitetnega vedenja). V empiričnem delu, ki je sestavljen iz treh raziskovalnih delov, so poglobljeno raziskani vidiki promiskuitetnega vedenja pri mladostnikih. Pomemben prispevek raziskave je v tem, da ne prinaša podatkov le o fenomenu promiskuitetnega vedenja pri mladostnikih, ampak v povezavi s tem pokaže na globlja relacijska in psihološka ozadja, to pa je omogočeno z različnimi raziskovalnimi metodami in s smiselno sintezo posameznih ugotovitev. V kvantitativnem delu raziskuje povezanost med kakovostjo odnosa s starši, z različnimi stili navezanosti, z načini regulacije afekta in s spolno promiskuiteto pri mladostnikih oziroma njihovo socioseksualno orientiranostjo. Ti podatki so dopolnjeni z vsebinskim vpogledom, ki ga predstavlja drugi del raziskave, v katerem so bili opravljeni in analizirani intervjuji z mladostniki o njihovem odnosu s starši, o načinih regulacije afekta, o partnerskih odnosih, o spolnem vedenju in o njihovem odnosu do spolne promiskuitete. Ta del raziskave razkriva, da je pri nagnjenosti k bolj promiskuitetnemu vedenju mogoče opaziti nekatere elemente nevarnih stilov navezanosti in manj uspešne strategije za regulacijo afektov. V tretjem raziskovalnem delu pa je z uporabo metode študije primera nakazana možna pot preoblikovanja promiskuitetnega vedenja pri mladostnikih v psihoterapevtskem procesu, ki je doseženo prek ustvarjanja v spremembe v funkcionalnosti odnosa s starši, v preoblikovanju ne-varne navezanosti in v izboljšanju čustvenega procesiranja.

Doktorska disertacija prinaša kar nekaj pomembnih ugotovitev, uporabnih tako za starše kakor za širšo strokovno in znanstveno javnost, ki se srečuje z mladostniki in z njihovimi starši. Ugotovitve kažejo, da so pri spolno promiskuitetnih mladostnikih nižje nekatere vrednosti v kvaliteti odnosa s starši, predvsem poročajo o več čustvene hladnosti in manj čustvene bližine s starši ter kažejo več izogibajoče se navezanosti. Psihoterapevtska obravnava in intervencije, kakor so metode integrativne psihoterapije in relacijske družinske terapije, pa so učinkovit način za spremembe v smeri bolj varne navezanosti, v boljšemu stiku s čustvi in v njihovi regulaciji in kot posledica tega v zmanjšanju spolno promiskuitetnega vedenja pri mladostnikih.

Disertacija je v slovenskem prostoru prvo tovrstno delo, saj se osredotoča na tematiko, ki je pri nas razmeroma redko obravnavana, fokusira pa se na ranljivo skupino mladostnikov. Promiskuitetno vedenje z multidisciplinarnim pristopom osvetljuje z različnih zornih kotov in mehanizmov iz ozadja, to je tudi glavni prispevek disertacije. Ugotovitve o psihološkem in relacijskem ozadju spolne promiskuitete in prikazi različnih načinov psihoterapevtske pomoči mladostnikom pomenijo pomemben in izviren znanstveni prispevek na tem področju. Kažejo tudi na to, da je v ozadju promiskuitetnega vedenja bolečina, ki se regulira s tem vedenjem. Kompulzivna seksualnost pravzaprav pomeni obrambni mehanizem, katerega namen je, prikriti in izničiti tesnobo osamljenosti in strah pred bližino, po kateri pa v resnici posameznik vedno hrepeni.

Anja Kovačič

Poporodna depresija in relacijska družinska terapija. Doktorska disertacija. Mentor: Tanja Repič Slavič. Univerza v Ljubljani, Teološka fakulteta. 2021. IX, 240, II str. <https://repozitorij.uni-lj.si/IzpisGradiva.php?id=134097&lang=slv>

Doktorska disertacija z naslovom „Poporodna depresija in relacijska družinska terapija“, ki jo je pripravila kandidatka Anja Kovačič, je izvirno znanstvenoraziskovalno delo, ki se posveča obravnavi sprememb poporodnega depresivnega razpoloženja in značilnosti procesa relacijske družinske terapije. Rezultati pomenijo pomemben prispevek k praktičnemu znanju, h klinični praksi in k učinkovitosti uporabe relacijskega družinskega terapevtskega modela.

V teoretičnem delu disertacije je zajet pregled znanstvene literature in s tem prispevek k razumevanju in razjasnitvi poporodne depresije v povezavi z izvirno družino, s partnerskim odnosom in s starševstvom. Poleg tega je predstavljena tudi teoretična podlaga modela relacijske družinske terapije.

Empirični del je zajemal tako kvalitativni kakor kvantitativni del. V kvantitativni del raziskave je bilo vključenih 245 udeleženk, od katerih je polovica izražala simptome poporodnega depresivnega razpoloženja. Udeleženke je avtorica dobila s pomočjo zdravnikov, ginekologov, babic in različnih centrov za mame po porodu po vsej Sloveniji. V splošnem so rezultati pokazali, da udeleženke s poporodno depresivno simptomatiko prihajajo iz družin, v katerih je funkcioniranje manj zdravo, in so manj zadovoljne s partnerskim odnosom v primerjavi z udeleženkami brez poporodne depresivne simptomatike.

Kvalitativni del raziskave je obsegal terapevtski proces petih parov, pri katerih je partnerka izražala simptome poporodne depresije. Terapevtska srečanja so potekala tri mesece, enkrat tedensko po 50 minut. Nekaj težave je bilo zaradi pogošte odsotnosti partnerjev, zato je bil terapevtski proces z vidika celovite partnerske obravnave otežen in omejen. V procesu terapije so bile tako bolj v ospredju udeleženke s poporodno depresijo in njihovo delo na sebi.

Za prepoznavanje sprememb in značilnosti terapevtskega procesa so bili uporabljeni zapiski udeležencev, dnevniki srečanj in psihometrične lestvice. Kvalitativne vsebine so bile analizirane z metodo osnovane teorije. Rezultati so pokazali, da so se po sklepu procesa terapij pri vseh udeleženkah simptomi poporodnega depresivnega razpoloženja zmanjšali ali izginili, ni bilo pa pomembnih sprememb v zadovoljstvu s partnerskim odnosom. Pokazale so se tudi pozitivne spremembe na področju materinstva in družinskih odnosov.

Pri posploševanju izsledkov je treba upoštevati, da je bilo v klinični skupini malo udeležencev, kontrolne skupine pa ni bilo. Prav tako je bilo pogosto izostajanje partnerjev pri terapiji in sočasno obiskovanje podporne skupine za matere po porodu.

Svojevrsten znanstveni prispevek se kaže v spoznanjih o ključnih trenutkih terapevtskih sprememb, pa tudi v pozitivnih spremembah, povezanih z njimi, na

številnih področjih življenja udeleženk; to doslej še ni bilo narejeno. Vse to omogoča bolj celovito razumevanje terapevtske obravnave po relacijskem družinskem terapevtskem modelu pri predelavi simptomov poporodne depresije. Prav tako imajo lahko rezultati raziskave in obširni teoretični pregled pomembno vlogo pri nadaljnjem raziskovanju področja poporodne depresije.

Tanja Repič Slavič

Andrej Lažeta

Vpliv verskih resnic o Mariji na duhovno, moralno in kulturno življenje prekmurških Slovencev v prvi polovici 20. stoletja. Doktorska disertacija. Mentor: Anton Štrukelj. Univerza v Ljubljani, Teološka fakulteta. 2021. IX, 409 str. <https://repositorij.uni-lj.si/IzpisGradiva.php?id=134100&lang=slv>

Doktorand Andrej Lažeta (rojen 1. 7. 1989 v Celju) je pod mojim mentorstvom leta 2014 izdelal in uspešno zagovarjal diplomsko nalogo z naslovom „Posvetitev Mariji v spisih dr. Antona Strleta“. Diplomsko naloga je bila nagrajena na Tomaževi proslavi za poseben dosežek na področju dogmatike. Vsebinsko je predstavil na simpoziju o božjem služabniku Antonu Strletu in v tisku.

Istega leta je vpisal doktorski študijski program tretje stopnje Teologija, področje teologija. Dispozicijo doktorske disertacije je oddal 20. 8. 2015, Senat Teološke fakultete jo je potrdil 9. 5. 2016, Komisija za doktorski študij Univerze v Ljubljani pa 7. 2. 2017. Za mentorja je bil imenovan prof. dr. Anton Štrukelj.

Doktorand se je takoj zavzeto lotil študija. Zbiral je gradivo in mi sproti pošiljal posamezna poglavja. Skrbno je raziskoval, kako so štiri verske resnice o preblaženi Devici Mariji vplivale na duhovno, moralno in kulturno življenje prekmurških Slovencev v prvi polovici 20. stoletja. Pri izdelavi disertacije je pokazal vnemo, samostojnost in kritičnost. Hkrati je vsako leto objavljal članke in razprave. V celoti je doslej objavil 46 enot. Najpomembnejše so:

- „Zgodovinska središča Marijinega češčenja na ozemlju današnjega Prekmurja“ (*Bogoslovni vestnik* 78, št. 2:543–556),
- „Vpliv kajkavskih molitvenikov na prvi prevod Marijinih litanij v staro knjižno prekmurščino“ (*Bogoslovni vestnik* 78, št. 4:1051–1073 [soavtor dr. Domen Krvina]),
- „Pomen Jožefa Klekla za priključitev Prekmurja h Kraljevini SHS“ (*Res novae* 4, št. 2:39–66),
- „Doprinos soboške škofije v severovzhodni Sloveniji oz. Pomurju“ (*Acta Ecclesiastica Sloveniae* 42:193–200),
- Samostojna publikacija (2019): *Povsod pokažimo, da smo Slovenci: Kaj se je v Prekmurju godilo leta 1918 in do poletja 1919?*

Kandidat je doktorsko disertacijo oddal dne 11. 1. 2021, Senat Teološke fakultete pa je dne 21. 6. 2021 potrdil pozitivne ocene in imenoval komisijo za zagovor doktorske disertacije.

Anton Štrukelj

Tanja Valenta

Učinkovitost razreševanja posledic izgub v izvorni družini in zapletenega žalovanja po modelu relacijske družinske terapije. Mentor: Christian Gostečnik. Doktorska disertacija. Univerza v Ljubljani, Teološka fakulteta. 2021. XIV, 292 str. <https://repozitorij.uni-lj.si/IzpisGradiva.php?id=134096&lang=slv>

Doktorsko disertacijo z naslovom „Učinkovitost razreševanja posledic izgub v izvorni družini in zapletenega žalovanja po modelu relacijske družinske terapije“ je pripravila kandidatka Tanja Valenta. To izvirno znanstvenoraziskovalno delo se posveča obravnavi izgub v izvorni družini in značilnosti procesa relacijske družinske terapije pri obravnavi teh izgub tako ob zapletenem žalovanju kakor pri obravnavi nerazrešenih izgub. Rezultati pomenijo pomemben znanstveni prispevek k praktičnemu znanju, klinični praksi in učinkovitosti uporabe relacijskega družinskega terapevtskega modela.

V teoretičnem delu disertacije je zajet pregled znanstvene literature in tako prikazan prispevek k razumevanju in razjasnitvi izgub v izvorni družini v različnih življenjskih obdobjih, nerazrešenih izgub v povezavi s funkcioniranjem v odrasli dobi in travmatične izgube. Predstavljena je tudi teoretična podlaga modela relacijske družinske terapije.

Empirični del obsega tako kvalitativni kakor kvantitativni del. Rezultati so pokazali, da so udeleženci z več izgubami statistično bolj pomembno izražali simptome kronično samodestruktivnega vedenja in je bila njihova samopodoba statistično pomembno nižja kakor pri udeležencih brez doživetih izgub v izvorni družini.

Kvalitativni del raziskave je bil razdeljen na dva dela: na področje zapletenega žalovanja, ki ga je avtorica raziskovala v okviru skupine za žalujoče, in na področje v okviru individualnih terapij.

Za raziskovanje in prepoznavanje sprememb in značilnosti terapevtskega procesa so bili v obeh raziskovalnih skupinah uporabljeni zapiski terapevtskih dnevnikov, zapiski sklepnih intervjujev in psihometrične lestvice. Kvalitativne vsebine so bile analizirane z metodo analize vsebine z elementi osnovane teorije. Rezultati so pokazali, da so po sklepu procesa terapij vsi udeleženci terapevtske skupine za žalovanje izražali bistveno manj simptomov zapletenega žalovanja. Prav tako so se pri udeležencih individualni terapevtskih procesov izboljšali simptomi v sedanjem funkcioniranju.

Pomemben in svojevrsten znanstveni prispevek se kaže v praktičnem prikazu uspešnosti delovanja modela relacijske družinske terapije pri razreševanju travmatičnih izgub v okviru terapevtske skupine za žalujoče. Travmatična izguba zaradi težkih čutenj, povezanih s smrtjo, namreč onemogoča proces žalovanja. V okviru terapevtskega procesa v skupini za žalujoče pa je bilo z začetno regulacija težkih čutenj, povezanih s travmatično izgubo, omogočeno posameznikom, da so pozneje lahko začeli proces žalovanja, to pa doslej v okviru relacijsko družinskega modela še ni bilo narejeno.

Vse opisano omogoča bolj celovito razumevanje terapevtske obravnave po relacijskem družinskem terapevtskem modelu pri obravnavi nerazrešenih izgub v izvorni družini in pri zapletenem žalovanju. Prav tako imajo lahko rezultati raziskave in obširni teoretični pregled pomembno vlogo pri nadaljnjem raziskovanju področja izgub v izvorni družini in na področju zapletenega žalovanja.

Christian Gostečnik

Mateja Vrhunc Tomazin

Pomen in učinki procesa fokusinga v kontekstu relacijske družinske terapije. Doktorska disertacija. Mentorica: Barbara Simonič. Univerza v Ljubljani, Teološka fakulteta. 2021. XIV, 352, XXXIII str. <https://repozitorij.uni-lj.si/lzpisGradiva.php?id=134098&lang=slv>

Doktorska disertacija Mateje Vrhunc Tomazin z naslovom „Pomen in učinki procesa fokusinga v kontekstu relacijske družinske terapije“ je izvorni znanstveni prispevek na področju raziskovanja relacijske družinske terapije, obenem pa je v slovenskem prostoru tudi temeljno delo o pristopu fokusinga in o njegovemu križanju s psihoterapijo in o integraciji vanjo.

Fokusing je proces (metoda), ki spremeni pristop k realnosti, tudi ko realnosti ni mogoče spremeniti. Osredotočen je na brezpogojno sprejemanje in neobsojanje tega, kar občutimo, ko prisluhnemo modrosti telesa, ki spregovori prek občutenih zaznav. To je izrazito izkustveni in implicitni proces, ki bi ga lahko opredelili kot utelešeno zavedanje, prav zaradi te izkustvene dimenzije pa je zelo težko najti natančen opis, ki bi v polnosti opredelil to, kar fokusing je. Za avtorja fokusinga, E. Gendlina, je fokusing povsem naravni notranji akt, neprekinjena osredotočenost, s katero posameznik usmeri svojo pozornost navznoter. V tem procesu navežemo stik s posebno vrsto notranjega zavedanja, ki mu lahko rečemo občutena zaznava.

Namen doktorske disertacije je, predstaviti možnost uporabe metode fokusinga v psihoterapevtskem procesu, natančneje: v relacijski družinski terapiji. To je utemeljeno na ugotovitvah, da so v psihoterapiji bolj ‚uspešni‘ tisti klienti, ki nekaj naredijo na ravni izkušanja, ko v notranjosti (v implicitnem) doživijo neki premik in spremembo. Fokusing je zato mnogokrat pristop, ki ga že lahko vključujejo različni psihoterapevtski pristopi, obstaja tudi ‚na fokusing usmerjena psihoterapija‘. V doktorski disertaciji je raziskana možnost povezovanja uporabe fokusinga in procesa relacijske družinske terapije, vendar ne kot nadgradnja, ampak kot dodatna možnost za poglobitev stika, za predelavo in za regulacijo čustev prek telesnega zavedanja.

Doktorska disertacija ta namen dosega tako s predstavitvijo pomembnih konceptov v teoretičnem delu kakor tudi v zelo kompleksnem raziskovalnem delu. V teoretičnem delu so celovito in poglobljeno predstavljeni teoretični temelji in koncepti, ki zadevajo odnos med psihoterapevtskim procesom in procesom fokusinga, saj je pomen celotnega dela, preučiti možnosti povezovanja in križanja fokusinga in procesa relacijske družinske terapije. Predstavljeni so subtilni vidiki terapevtskega procesa s poudarkom na implicitnem področju in spremembah, nato pa konceptualni in procesni gradniki fokusinga. Disertacija tudi predstavi prepletanje fokusinga z duhovno prakso in vključevanje fokusinga v različne psihoterapevtske usmeritve, v katerih privede tudi do predstavitve možnosti integracije relacijske družinske terapije in fokusinga. Z izčrpno predstavitev dosedanjih raziskav s področja fokusinga pa še dodatno utemelji smiselnost in nakaže možne smeri nadaljnega raziskovanja.

Drugi del disertacije je empirične narave in pomeni nov znanstveni prispevek na področju zakonske in družinske terapije, pa tudi pri raziskavah na področju fokusinga. Temelji na dveh medsebojno dopolnjujočih si raziskovalnih delih, v katerih je z uporabo kvalitativne in kvantitativne metodologije v kontekstu relacijske družinske terapije opisan, raziskan in umeščen proces fokusinga. V prvem raziskovalnem delu je raziskava osredotočena na doživljanje procesa fokusinga, drugi del raziskave pa na preverjanje tega, kako se učinki procesa fokusinga kažejo na posameznih področjih posameznikovega delovanja po končanem procesu obravnave po modelu relacijske družinske terapije. Ugotovitve kažejo, da proces fokusinga, ki vodi k pristnemu in uglašemu stiku s sabo, omogoča tudi po procesu relacijske družinske terapije doseganje še boljše regulacije afekta in vstop v stik z implicitnimi vsebinami, ki jih lahko predeluje, doseže spremembe v pripisovanju pomena telesu in bolj pristne, varne in zadovoljujoče odnose z drugimi. Raziskava tako potrjuje pozitivne možnosti, ki bi jih bilo mogoče doseči z nadaljnjo integracijo procesa fokusinga v terapevtski proces relacijske družinske terapije.

Celotno doktorsko disertacijo zaznamuje avtoričina sposobnost natančnega, poglobljenega in občutenega opisovanja in prepletanja posameznih vsebin, ki so predstavljene izredno tankočutno, a na zelo visokem znanstvenoraziskovalnem nivoju. Avtorica pregledno metodološko in jezikovno korektno obravnava izvirno tematiko ter jo znanstveno obdela in interpretira. Doktorsko delo je tako poglobljena razprava o temeljnih vidikih procesa fokusinga in o inovativnih možnostih za njegovo vključevanje v že obstoječe oblike psihoterapevtske obravnave, prav tako pa nagovarja in vabi, da prisluhnemo modrosti telesa, ki je tempelj Duha, ki nas nagovarja in je z nami v vsakem trenutku.

Barbara Simonič

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TEMA / THEME

- Hieronymus noster: Divinarum Scripturarum interpres et tractator – atque theologus?** [2:265–552]
- Upanje in zaupanje v času globalnega obupa in nezaupanja** [4:781–971]
Hope and Trust in Times of Global Despair and Mistrust

RAZPRAVE / ARTICLES

- Avsenik Nabergoj, Irena** **Hieronimova in sodobna spoznanja o literarni kakovosti Svetega pisma** [2:447–490]
Jerome's and Contemporary Findings on the Literary Quality of the Bible
- **The Semantics of Love in the Song of Songs and Directions of Its Interpretation** [3:641–653]
Semantika ljubezni v Visoki pesmi in smeri njene interpretacije
- Bensaid, Benaouda, and Tajulashikin Jumahat** **Crossroads between Islamic Spirituality and the Fourth Industrial Revolution** [3:669–680]
Presečišče islamske duhovnosti in četrte industrijske revolucije
- Bjelica, Maja** **Alevijstvo in kultura diha** [4:999–1012]
Alevi and the Culture of Breath
- Bogataj, Jan Dominik** **Jerome's Interpretation of the Transfiguration in the Light of Some Recent Patristic Discoveries (Origen, Fortunatian, Chromace)** [2:309–323]
Hieronimova razlaga Kristusovega spremenjenja v luči nekaterih nedavnih patrističnih odkritij (Origen, Fortunacijan, Kromacij)
- Božič, Anja** **»Movere et delectare« after St. Jerome: Pier Paolo Vergerio's Fifth Sermon pro Sancto Hieronymo** [2:525–538]
»Movere et delectare« po sv. Hieronimu: Vergerijev peti govor pro Sancto Hieronymo
- Bret, Florence** **Fondation et transmission dans la Vita Pauli et la Vita Hilarionis** [2:357–367]
*Ustanovitev in prenos v Vita Pauli in Vita Hilarionis
Foundation and Transmission in Vita Pauli and Vita Hilarionis*
- Brumec, Snežana, in Nikolaj Aracki Rosenfeld** **Primerjava življenjskih sprememb po romanju in po obsmrtnih izkušnjah** [3:695–710]
A Comparison of Life Changes After the Pilgrimage and Near-Death Experiences
- Ciglencečki, Jan, in Nena Bobovnik** **Blue Deserts: Jerome and the Origins of Insular Monasticism in the Adriatic** [2:437–452]
Modre puščave: Hieronim in izvori otoškega menišтва na Jadranu

- Contreras-Aguirre, Sebastián** **Speculative and Practical Theology in the Second Scholasticism: Melchor Cano (c. 1507–1560)** [3:569–582]
Spekulativna in praktična teologija druge sholastike: Melchor Cano (ok. 1507–1560)
- Cvetek, Robert** **Videti sence, strmesti v Sonce: travma, potravmatska rast, bivanjska vprašanja in varanje samega sebe** [1:9–21]
Seeing Shadows, Staring at the Sun: Trauma, Post-traumatic Growth, Existential Questions and Self-Deception
- Dávila Pérez, Antonio** **St. Jerome versus Sanctes Pagnino in the Reception and Inquisitorial Process of the Polyglot Bible of Antwerp (1568–1577)** [2:539–552]
Sv. Hieronim vs. Sanctes Pagnino v recepciji in inkvizitorskem procesu Biblia Polyglotta iz Antwerpna (1568–1577)
- Debevec, Leon** **Spatial Images In Biblical Texts: Exodus** [3:655–668]
Prostorske podobe v bibličnih besedilih: eksodus
- Derhard-Lesieur, Gina** **»Monachum ecclesia peperit postumum« (Hier., Ep. 66.4.2): Metaphors of Conversion to Asceticism in Jerome's Letter 66** [2:379–389]
»Monachum ecclesia peperit postumum« (Hier., Ep. 66.4.2): Metafore spreobrnjenja k asketskemu življenju v Hieronimovem Pismu 66
- Erzar, Tomaž** **Uničeno zaupanje, ustvarjanje pomena ter zdravljenje moralnih ran v sekulariziranem svetu in religioznem soočanju** [4:925–933]
Shattered Assumptions, Meaning Making, and Healing Moral Injuries in a Secularized World and through Religious Coping
- Gams, Matjaž, in Mari Jože Osredkar** **Katoliški nauk in znanost o demografskih vprašanjih** [3:555–567]
Catholic Doctrine and Science on Demographic Issues
- Grandi, Giorgia** **Narrating the Ascetic Model, Its Context and Its Hero(in)es: A New Proposal for Jerome's Letters and Lives** [2:391–401]
Pripovedovanje asketskega vzora, njegov kontekst in junaki/junakinje: nov predlog za Hieronimova Pisma in Življenja
- Gregorčič, Rok** **Sokratska prevara za resnico kot Kierkegaardov prehod med iracionalnostjo in racionalnostjo** [1:35–46]
Socratic Deception in Service of the Truth as Kierkegaard's Pathway between Irrationality and Rationality
- Jamnik, Anton** **Med upanjem kot darom in iluzijami samozadostnega subjekta** [4:807–824]
Between Hope as a Gift And Illusions of a Self-sufficient Subject
- Jeglič, Urška** **Zaupanje do halal izdelkov in halal proizvodnje pri muslimanih v Republiki Sloveniji** [4:963–971]
Trust in Halal Products and Halal Production among Muslims in Slovenia
- Joksimović, Milena** **Adulter Vs. Moechus: Jerome's Use of Terms for Adultery in Vulgate** [2:337–355]
Adulter Vs. Moechus: Hieronimova raba pojmov za prešuštvo v Vulgati
- Keller, Rebecca J.** **Jerome, Vigilantius, and the Cults of the Saints** [2:283–292]
Hieronim, Vigilancij in kult svetnikov

- Klemenčič Mirazchijski, Eva, in Plamen V. Mirazchijski** **Stališča osmošolcev v Sloveniji o vlogi vere pri vplivu na družbo: analiza podatkov ICCS** [1:185–197]
Attitudes of Eighth-Graders in Slovenia on the Role of Religious Influence in Society: An Analysis of ICCS Data
- Klun, Branko** **Vera, upanje in ljubezen v luči fenomenološko eksistencialne analize** [4:783–795]
Faith, Hope, and Love in the Light of Phenomenological Existential Analysis
- Kocjančič, Klemen** **Ne samo vez z Bogom: razvoj vloge in dolžnosti vojaških duhovnikov skozi zgodovino** [1:103–113]
Not Only a Connection with God: Historical Development of Roles and Duties of Military Chaplains
- Kolarič, Boštjan** **Pravna opredelitev zatiranja verske svobode in nasilja nad verskimi skupnostmi** [1:149–161]
The Legal Classification of the Repression of Freedom of Religion and the Violence against Religious Communities
- Košćak, Silvo** **Saint Jerome in *Liber officialis* of Amalaric of Metz (775–850) and *Rationale divinarum officiorum* of William Durand (1230–1296)** [2:515–523]
Sv. Hieronim v delu Liber officialis Amalarja iz Metz (775–850) in v spisu Rationale divinarum officiorum Vilijema Duranda (1230–1296)
- Krajnc, Aljaž** **Vloga Abrahama v koranski historiografiji** [1:75–89]
The Role of Abraham in Qur'ānic Historiography
- Kraner, David** **Medijske reprezentacije kot odsev problema institucionalizacije Cerkve** [1:163–183]
Media Representations Reflect the Problem of the Institutionalisation of the Church
- Krašovec, Jože** **Izvori Hieronimovih pogledov na prevajanje in razlaganje Svetega pisma** [2:453–463]
Origins of Jerome's Views on Translation and Interpretation of the Bible
- Kritzinger, Jacobus P. K.** **The Interpretation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son by Two Latin Patristic Authors, St Jerome and St Peter Chrysologus** [2:299–308]
Razlagi prilike o izgubljenem sinu dveh latinskih patrističnih avtorjev, sv. Hieronima in sv. Petra Krizologa
- Kušar, Domen, Leon Oblak in Manja Kitek Kuzman** **Lesena sakralna arhitektura v sodobni arhitekturni praksi** [3:747–761]
Wood in Modern Sacral Architecture
- Majtán, Ľubomír** **È vero che Timoteo sostituisce Paolo a Tessalonica in 1 Ts 3,1-10?** [1:47–56]
Ali drži, da Timotej nadomesti Pavla v Tesalonikah v 1 Tes 3,1-10?
Is It True that Timothy Substitutes Paul in Thessalonica in 1 Thess 3,1-10?
- Malmenvall, Simon** **(Mis)Trusting Unification: Examples of East Slavic Perception of the Council of Florence** [4:947-961]
(Ne)zaupljivo zedinjenje: primeri vzhodnoslovenskega sprejemanja florentinskega koncila

Mantel, Emmanuelle	La lettre de consolation chez saint Jérôme <i>Tolažilno pismo pri sv. Hieronimu</i> <i>Letter of Consolation in St. Jerome</i>	[2:491–501]
Marinić, Marko, in Nimac Ćrković	The Correlation of Some Characteristics of Religious Identity with the Quality of Life of Persons with Disabilities <i>Povezanost posameznih značilnosti religiozne identitete s kakovostjo življenja oseb z invalidnostjo</i>	[1:225–239]
Miklavčič, Jonas	Zaupanje in uspešnost umetne inteligence v medicini <i>Trust and Success of Artificial Intelligence in Medicine</i>	[4:935–946]
Misiarczyk, Leszek	Impassibilitas et impeccantia: Jerome's Misunderstanding of Impassibility and Sinlessness in Evagrius Ponticus <i>Impassibilitas et impeccantia: Hieronimovo napačno razumevanje brezstrastnosti in brezgrešnosti pri Evagriju Pontskem</i>	[2:271–281]
Movrin, David	Holy Aemulatio: Vita Hilarionis and Jerome's Efforts to Outdo the Life of Antony Sveto posnemanje: Vita Hilarionis in Hieronimovi napori pri preseganju Antonovega življenjepisa	[2:369–378]
Nežič Glavica, Iva	Gešalt pedagogika v službi oblikovanja duhovno-religiozne dimenzije življenja <i>Gestalt Pedagogy in the Service of Shaping the Spiritual and Religious Dimension of Life</i>	[1:135–147]
---	Zaupam, zato si upam: zaupanje kot temeljna gešalt pedagoška kategorija <i>I Trust; Therefore, I Dare: Trust as a Fundamental Gestalt Pedagogical Category</i>	[4:905–916]
Osewska, Elżbieta, and Józef Stala	The Human Being Lost in Consumerism: A Polish Perspective and Challenges in Religious Education <i>V potrošništvu izgubljena človeško bitje: poljski pogled in izzivi verske vzgoje</i>	[3:733–745]
Osredkar, Mari Jože	Upanje kot teološka krepost v luči relacijske teorije Guya Lafona <i>Hope as a Theological Virtue in the Light of Guy Lafon's Relational Theory</i>	[4:857–866]
Perčič, Martin	Koncept participacije Karola Wojtyła kot odgovor na medosebno odtujenost <i>Concept of Participation of Karol Wojtyła as a Response to Interpersonal Alienation</i>	[3:597–609]
Petkovšek, Robert	Kaj je etika in zakaj ravnati etično? <i>What Is Ethics and Why Should We Act Ethically?</i>	[4:991–998]
Pevc Rozman, Mateja	Upanje za naravo in človeštvo: nekateri etični premisleki <i>Is there a Hope for Nature and Humanity: Some Ethical Consideration</i>	[4:835–848]
Piccolino, Giovanna Martino	La regola educativa di S. Gerolamo: esempi di institutio christiana nell'Epistolario geronimiano (Ep. 107 e 128) <i>Hieronimovo vzgojno pravilo: institutio christiana v Hieronimovih pismih (Ep. 107 in 128)</i> <i>The Educational Rule of St. Jerome: Examples From institutio christiana in His Epistolography (Ep. 107 in 128)</i>	[2:465–475]

Piwko, Aldona	Contemporary Islamic Law between Tradition and Challenges of Modernity: Some Examples Worth Consideration <i>Sodobno islamsko pravo med tradicijo in izzivi modernosti: nekaj upoštevanja vrednih primerov</i>	[1:91–101]
Platovnjak, Ivan	Kristjani smemo žalovati!: spodbuda za pastoralo žalujočih <i>Christians are allowed to grieve! Encouragement for the Pastoral Care of the Bereaved</i>	[3:681–694]
Platovnjak, Ivan, in Tone Svetelj	Chronos and Kairos of Hope <i>Chronos in kairos upanja</i>	[4:797–806]
Polak, Mieczysław	Catechesis in the Church's Dialogue with the World <i>Kateheza pri dialogu Cerkve s svetom</i>	[3:711–719]
Roubalová, Marie, Roman Králik, Natalia A. Zaitseva, George S. Anikin, Olga V Popova and Peter Kondrla	Rabbinic Judaism's Perspective on the First Crimes Against Humanity <i>Prvi zločini proti človeštvu z vidika rabinskega judovstva</i>	[1:57–74]
Sales-Carbonell, Jordina	Jerome and Western Monasticism: Asceticism, Evergetism, and Orthodoxy in the Late 4th Century Hispania <i>Hieronim in zahodno meništvo: asketicizem, evergetizem in ortodoksnost v Hispaniji poznega 4. stoletja</i>	[2:425–436]
Seibert, Felix	Integrating Pagan Knowledge: The Virgilian Quotations in Jerome's Letters <i>Vključevanje poganskega znanja: Vergilijanski navedki v Hieronimovih pismih</i>	[2:503–514]
Slatinek, Stanislav	„Navodilo glede zaupnosti pravnih“ kot garancija za večje zaupanje v poštenost cerkvenega sodstva <i>„Instruction on the Confidentiality of Legal Proceedings“ as a Guarantee of Greater Confidence in the Integrity of the Ecclesiastical Judiciary</i>	[4:881–892]
Strahovnik, Vojko, in José Ignacio Scasserra	Avtonomija, avtoriteta in zaupanje: virus in meje leta 2020 <i>Autonomy, Authority, and Trust: Virus and the Limits of 2020</i>	[4:867–879]
Synodinos, Chris	Jerome's <i>Contra Johannem</i> and ps.-Basil's <i>De consolatione in adversis</i> on Resurrection and Disability <i>Hieronimov <i>Contra Johannem</i> in ps.-Bazilijev <i>De consolatione in adversis</i> o vstajenju in telesnih okvarah</i>	[2:325–336]
Szamocki, Gregorz	The Universalism of the Spirit of Prophecy in Numbers 11:26–29 <i>Univerzalnost preroškega duha v 4 Mz 11,26–29</i>	[3:629–640]
Szewczyk, Leszek	The Specific Content of Preaching the Word of God in a Secularized Environment <i>Specifična vsebina pridiganja o Božji besedi v sekulariziranem okolju</i>	[3:721–732]
Šegula, Andrej	Upnanje in zaupanje v kontekstu pastoralne teologije v času globalnega nezaupanja <i>Hope and Trust in the Context of Pastoral Theology in a Time of Global Mistrust</i>	[4:917–924]

- Širka, Zdenko** **Orthodox Reading of Martin Luther: Protestantism as a Pan-heresy according to St Justin Popović** [3:583–596]
Pravoslavno branje Martina Lutra: protestantizem kot vse – herezija po sv. Justinu Popoviču
- Špelič, Miran** **Jerome and Victorinus: A Complex Relationship Between the Compatriots** [2:293–298]
Hieronim in Viktorin: zapleten odnos med rojakoma
- Štivič, Stjepan** **Upanje v krščanstvu in transhumanizem** [4:849–856]
Hope in Christianity and Transhumanism
- Tkáčová, Hedviga, Martina Pavlíková, Miroslav Tvrdoň, and Alexey I. Prokopyev** **Existence and Prevention of Social Exclusion of Religious University Students due to Stereotyping** [1:199–223]
Obstoj in preprečevanje družbenega izključevanja vernih študentov zaradi stereotipizacije
- Trontelj, Nik** **Frančiškanski misijonarji med slovenskimi izseljenci v Egiptu v 19. in 20. stoletju** [3:611–627]
Franciscan Missionaries among the Slovene Emigrants in Egypt in the 19th and 20th Centuries
- Truong, Anh Thuan** **The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris and Building Indigenous Missionary Force: A Study on Vietnam during the 17th and 18th Centuries** [1: 115–134]
Pariška družba zunanjih misijonov in vzpostavljanje domorodne misijonarske sile: študija o Vietnamu v 17. in v 18. stoletju
- Turnšek, Marjan** **Zakramentalnost in dialoškost vere** [4:893–904]
Sacramentality and Dialogicality of Faith
- Valenčič, Rafko** **Where are you, Stridon?** [2:403–424]
Kje si, Stridon?
- Vodenko, Konstantin V., Yulia N. Sushkova, Nikolay N. Kosarenko, Olga V. Popova, Anton S. Skotnikov, and Elmira R. Khairullina** **The Reception of Aristotle in Martin Luther's Late Theological Writings** [1:23–33]
Sprejemanje Aristotela v poznih teoloških delih Martina Lutra
- Vodičar, Janez** **Odprtost pomenu kot temelj upanja v vzgoji in izobraževanju** [4:893–904]
Openness to Meaning as a Foundation for Hope in Education
- Žalec, Bojan** **Bivanjsko upanje, smisel in resonanca** [4:825–834]
Existential Hope and Meaning of Life, and Resonance

UVODNIK / EDITORIAL

- Bogataj, Jan Dominik, Rajko Bratož, Alenka Cedilnik, David Movrin, Miran Špelič and Rafko Valenčič** **Hieronymus noster: Divinarum Scripturarum interpres et tractator – atque theologus?** [2:265–269]
- Petkovšek, Robert, in Bojan Žalec** **Upanje in zaupanje v času globalnega obupa in nezaupanja** [4:781–782]
Hope and Trust in Times of Global Despair and Mistrust

OCENE / REVIEWS

al-Niffarī, Abd al-Ġabbār	Knjiga mističnih postajališč in nagovorov (Aljaž Krajnc)	[1:243–246]
Dragnea, Mihai	Christian Identity Formation Across the Elbe in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries (Simon Malmenvall)	[1:250–252]
Godawa, Marcin, in Bojan Žalec, ur.	Image and Man – Correlations (Urška Jeglič)	[1:246–250]
Potz, Maciej	Political Science of Religion: Theorising the Political Role of Religion (Klemen Kocjančič)	[1:241–243]
Slatinek, Stanislav	Temelji kazenskega kanonskega prava (Sebastijan Valentan)	[3:765–767]
Übelbacher, Peter, Andreas Schermann in Josef Thorer, ur.	Von Canisius zum Canisianum: Weltkirche in Innsbruck; Ein Kolleg im Wandel der Zeit (Bogdan Kolar)	[3:763–765]

POROČILO / REPORT

Raziskovalni program „Etično-religiozni temelji in perspektive družbe ter religiologija v kontekstu sodobne edukacije in nasilje“ (P6-0269): poročilo o raziskovalnem obdobju 2015–2021 (Robert Petkovšek)	[4:1013–1020]
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NOVA DOKTORJA IN NOVE DOKTORICE ZNANOSTI / NEW DOCTORS OF SCIENCE

Božac, Lidija	Odnos do telesa pri odraslih, zlorabljenih v izvorni družini, ter njegove spremembe v relacijski družinski terapiji (Tanja Repič Slavič)	[4:1021–1022]
Ekpunobi, Anthony	Reflective mimesis and the ethics of the cross in the mimetic theory of René Girard: Towards an inclusive humanism (Robert Petkovšek)	[4:1023–1025]
Fabjan, Alja	Značilnosti čustvovanja in stilov navezanosti pri spolno promiskuitetnih mladostnikih ter razreševanje promiskuitetnega vedenja v psihoterapevtskem procesu (Barbara Simonič)	[4:1026–1027]
Kovačič, Anja	Poporodna depresija in relacijska družinska terapija (Tanja Repič Slavič)	[4:1028–1029]
Lažeta, Andrej	Vpliv verskih resnic o Mariji na duhovno, moralno in kulturno življenje prekmurskih Slovencev v prvi polovici 20. stoletja (Anton Štrukelj)	[4:1030–1030]
Valenta, Tanja	Učinkovitost razreševanja posledic izgub v izvorni družini in zapletenega žalovanja po modelu relacijske družinske terapije (Christian Gostečnik)	[4:1031–1032]
Vrhunc Tomazin, Mateja	Pomen in učinki procesa fokusiranja v kontekstu relacijske družinske terapije (Barbara Simonič)	[4:1033–1034]

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