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The Psychological Traits of Catholics in Vietnam During Ancestral Worship Practices

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Abstract: Catholicism made its way into Vietnam quite early and has since amassed a sizable following, distinguishing itself among other religions in the region. It has deeply intertwined with the indigenous beliefs and religious practices, creating a unique tapestry of faith and tradition. Ancestral worship, a widespread belief among the Vietnamese, stands as a testament to the nation's enduring spiritual life. This tradition, deeply embedded in the Vietnamese way of life, sees families across the country paying homage to their ancestors with reverence during festivals and holidays. Guided by the Church's teachings and the nation's cultural heritage, Vietnamese Catholics frequently partake in these ancestral remembrance rituals within their homes. In engaging with these ceremonies, Catholic devotees exhibit distinct psychological characteristics that set them apart from their non-religious counterparts.

Keywords: Vietnamese Catholics, psychological traits, ancestral worship, Vietnamese culture

1. Introduction

According to the General Statistics Office of Vietnam, Catholics represent the largest religious group in Vietnam among all the religions present. Out of the 13.2 million people who adhere to a religion, 5.9 million are Catholics, accounting for 44.6% of the religious population and 6.1% of the total population of the country (General Statistics Office, 2019).¹ Since its introduction, Catholicism has taken root and become deeply ingrained in the lives of its followers, enriching the spiritual life of the Vietnamese people. To thrive and grow, Catholicism has deeply integrated with indigenous beliefs and religions. Notably, the practice of ancestor worship among the Vietnamese continues to be upheld in Catholic households and clans. In this study, we explore some fundamental psychological characteristics of Vietnamese Catholics during the practice of ancestral worship to uncover similarities and differences between Catholics and non-Catholics in Vietnam when engaging in this act.

This paper is organized into four main sections, each designed to explore different aspects of this topic. The first one is *Vietnamese Ancestral Worship Beliefs*. Here, we begin by setting the stage with a portrayal of ancestral worship in Vietnam. Drawing on extensive surveys by the Institute for Religious Studies and insights from researchers like Ngô Đức Thịnh and Đào Duy Anh, we uncover the deeply rooted tra-

¹ TỔNG CỤC THỐNG KÊ [General Statistics Office]. „Thông cáo Báo chí kết quả Tổng điều tra dân số và nhà ở năm 2019.“ [online]. 2019. <https://www.gso.gov.vn/su-kien/2019/12/thong-cao-bao-chi-ket-qua-tong-dieu-tra-dan-so-va-nha-o-nam-2019/>. (accessed February 23, 2024).

dition where honoring ancestors is seen as a duty but also as a core aspect of familial and societal life. The section depicts a culture where the spirits of ancestors are believed to actively participate in the lives of their descendants, offering protection and guidance. Next comes a section on *Catholics and Ancestral Worship*. This section dives into the nuanced dynamics of how Catholicism, with its global doctrines, intersects with the local practice of ancestral worship in Vietnam. We explore the historical debates within the Church about this practice, highlighting the diverse viewpoints from figures like Alexandre de Rhodes to Bishop Pigneau de Behaine. The narrative unfolds to reveal a journey towards integration, guided by documents like the “Directory on Popular Piety and The Liturgy” and specific instructions from the Vietnamese Episcopal Council, showcasing how the Church has evolved to embrace these local customs while maintaining its core teachings.

In the section that follows, we examine the *Psychological Traits in Ancestral Worship*. This is arguable the most intricate part of our exploration. We focus here on the psychological underpinnings that distinguish the Catholic approach to ancestral worship. This section aims to explore the nuanced differences in perception and practice between Catholic worshippers and those who do not identify as Catholic. It delves into the communal bonds that connect the faithful to their national identity and examines the distinct ways in which Catholics incorporate these practices into their spiritual lives. Finally, the conclusion offers a reflective synthesis of our findings, weaving together the threads of tradition, faith, and cultural identity. We contemplate the beautiful complexity of how Catholic Vietnamese maintain a harmonious balance between their faith and the ancestral worship practices, creating a tapestry of spiritual life that is both deeply Vietnamese and authentically Catholic. Our overall goal is to provide a comprehensive understanding of how Catholicism and ancestral worship coexist in Vietnam, reflecting a broader narrative of cultural adaptation and spiritual harmony.

2. Vietnamese Ancestral Worship Beliefs

For the Vietnamese people, the tradition of ancestral worship is a deeply rooted and significant belief. Surveys conducted by the Institute for Religious Studies from 1995 to the present day reveal that an astounding 98% of Vietnamese engage in ancestral worship annually. Ngô Đức Thịnh, in his research on Vietnamese beliefs, places ancestral worship (which includes family, lineage, and national ancestors) at the pinnacle of religious practices, followed by personal and deity worship.² Researcher Đào Duy Anh emphasizes the paramount importance of ancestral veneration within family rituals, stating, “Honoring ancestors is more important than anything else.”³

This practice is grounded in the traditional belief that humans consist of both body and soul. While the body may perish, the soul lives on eternally, continuing to watch over and care for their descendants. In times of joy and sorrow alike, it is believed that the spirits of ancestors partake in the family’s experiences. The intimate bond between a family and the spirits of their ancestors necessitates the reg-

² NGÔ, Đức Thịnh. Tín ngưỡng trong sinh hoạt văn hóa dân gian. Hà Nội: NXB Thời đại, 2012, p. 21.

³ ĐÀO, Duy Anh. Việt Nam văn hóa sử cương. Hà Nội: NXB Thế giới, 2014, p. 189-190.

ular offering of homage to these forebears. The act of ancestor worship serves not only to ease the spirits' sufferings but carries a deeper meaning: it's a way to express gratitude for the gift of life bestowed by ancestors and to ensure the continuation of the family lineage. From this perspective, we observe a society that blends the physical and metaphysical aspects, where the act of paying tribute to ancestors is deeply ingrained in the everyday existence, emphasizing the deep reverence and appreciation that saturates Vietnamese familial and communal connections.

In the heart of Vietnamese culture lies the cherished tradition of commemorating ancestors. This practice is deeply ingrained as a fundamental act of filial piety. For the Vietnamese, honoring ancestors during death anniversaries is more than a ritual; it is rather a profound expression of gratitude and respect towards their forebears. This tradition acts as a vital thread that intricately weaves the past with the present, symbolizing the enduring connection between the departed souls and their living descendants. In a way, this practice bridges the realms of the seen and the unseen.

Furthermore, these memorial ceremonies provide as significant occasions for families to convey their sincere gratitude for the care and upbringing bestowed upon them by their parents. The meticulousness and genuineness with which these rituals are performed provide great tranquility and comfort to the relatives, strengthening the connections of affection and reverence that surpass the limits of existence and mortality. Phan Kế Bính's studies highlight the versatility and depth of these ancestral offerings, revealing that they are performed on various significant occasions—“be it during seasonal transitions marked by the harvest of new crops, on anniversaries, or during pivotal family events, both joyous and somber. The offerings can range from elaborate feasts to simple yet sincere presentations of fruits, cakes, or even a humble bowl of rice and fish, reflecting the principle that the essence of the ritual lies not in its grandeur but in the genuineness of the intent.”⁴

In Vietnamese culture, ancestors cross the veil between life and death to attend most family celebrations. More than a ritual, lighting incense and reporting to the ancestors is a passionate expression of veneration, a method to pay homage, and a way to connect newer generations to their heritage. This ritual reminds people of their ancestors' presence in their daily lives. Author Đặng Nghiêm Vạn eloquently captures the essence of this tradition, asserting, “Ancestor worship consolidates the unity of the community, linking the clan from the past to the present and even into the future.”⁵ Moreover, he highlights the integral role of ancestor worship in bridging indigenous religious and cultural communities with foreign influences, suggesting that without this connective tissue, “other religions might feel alien.”⁶ The Vietnamese honor their past and construct a rich narrative of unity and continuity through

⁴ PHAN, Kế Bính. *Việt Nam phong tục*. Hà Nội: NXB Hồng Đức, 2014, p. 18.

⁵ ĐẶNG, Nghiêm Vạn (ed.). *Về tôn giáo tín ngưỡng Việt Nam hiện nay*. Hà Nội: NXB Khoa học xã hội, 1996, p. 317.

⁶ ĐẶNG, Nghiêm Vạn (ed.). *Về tôn giáo tín ngưỡng Việt Nam hiện nay*. Hà Nội: NXB Khoa học xã hội, 1996, p. 347.

these activities, ensuring that the ancestors' legacy and lessons continue to shape subsequent generations' values and identity.

The Vietnamese have a deep tradition of establishing holy spaces for ancestral worship to respect their heritage, bridge the physical and spiritual worlds, and preserve their ancestors' legacy in their hearts and homes. In the heart of every Vietnamese household lies a sacred space dedicated to ancestral worship—a shrine that serves as both a memorial for the departed and a miniature realm where the spirits of ancestors reside. Families construct these altars with deep respect and reverence, creating a physical manifestation of their bond with those who have passed. For larger clans, communal ancestral halls are established, often entrusted to the eldest male lineage bearer, who becomes the keeper of the family's spiritual heritage. Individual branches within the clan may also set up their own sanctuaries, allowing for a personalized homage to their direct ancestors.

The placement of the ancestral altar is of great significance, occupying a place of honor within the home. Yet, interestingly, there are no strict guidelines on how these altars should be designed or decorated. The diversity of Vietnam's cultural landscape means that each family tailors their shrine to reflect their unique circumstances, traditions, and practices. This customization extends to the rituals and offerings as well; there is no one-size-fits-all approach, but rather a fluid tradition that adapts to each family's preferences and means. When it comes to the offerings, Vietnamese families might present vegetarian dishes or more lavish spreads, adhering to the philosophy of "as it is on Earth, so shall it be in the spirit realm." The preparation of these offerings is undertaken with meticulous care and sincere intention, ensuring that the act of worship is not just a formality but a genuine expression of filial piety and respect.

Therefore, ancestral worship is strongly ingrained in Vietnamese spirituality and is a widely held notion. Vietnamese families unanimously agree that it is crucial to respect and reverently offer offerings to their ancestors on festivals and holidays, even if there are no set rules governing the ceremonies and sites of worship. In order to ensure the safety of their ancestors and the continuity of the family and lineage, they make heartfelt offerings to give to them.

3. Catholics and Ancestral Worship

The integration of ancestral worship within Catholicism presented a complex challenge as the religion spread to East Asian countries, including Vietnam. Popes and missionaries from various religious orders held differing views on this matter. Despite numerous objections, many clergy members took the time to understand the Vietnamese ancestral worship rituals and came to accept this aspect of Vietnamese culture. Father Alexandre de Rhodes noted, "I have described some rather lengthy ceremonies in 'Histoire du royaume de Tunquin.' In fact, while some of these ceremonies, if performed by Christians, would be sinful, most are not. We believe that these rituals can be retained without contradicting the holy teachings."⁷

Bishop Pigneau de Behaine also did not support the prohibition of ancestral worship rituals and defended the native practices. The Bishop wrote, "All that is

said about the way of worshiping the dead, the idolatrous cult (culte d'idonatrie) attributed to this worship, is nonsense and unacceptable to those who have lived in these lands. The apostles and those who have come here to preach have never criticized the customs of these lands... Please inform the Church that, until the end of my days, I will maintain my stance on the respect shown before the remains of the parents of the people of East Asia.”⁸ Despite numerous debates within the Church, ancestral worship continued to be a part of the lives of the faithful. To integrate and develop, the Catholic Church provided specific guidelines for the Asian churches on this issue. In the “*Directory on Popular Piety and The Liturgy: Principles and Guidelines*,” the Church affirmed, “The term ‘popular piety’ designates those diverse cultic expressions of a private or community nature which, in the context of the Christian faith, are inspired predominantly not by the Sacred Liturgy but by forms deriving from a particular nation or people or from their culture” (The Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, 2024),⁹ recognizing that rituals stemming from traditional cultures contribute to the devotion of the faithful. Later, the instruction *Plane compertum est* (1939) by the Church once again removed the barriers in practicing ancestral worship rituals by the faithful in Asian countries. The Vietnamese Episcopal Council provided specific instructions to the faithful to continue expressing respect for ancestors according to traditional rituals with the *Statement on Honoring Ancestors* (1965). The Statement clearly expresses: “Gestures, attitudes, and ceremonies of a secular, polite, and social nature are not only not prohibited by the Catholic Church but are also desired and encouraged to be expressed through unique gestures of each country and region, depending on the situation. Therefore, gestures, attitudes, and ceremonies, whether inherent or due to circumstances, that clearly have a secular meaning aimed at expressing patriotism, filial piety, reverence, or commemoration of ancestors and national heroes (such as hanging portraits, erecting statues, bowing in respect, displaying flowers and lamps, organizing memorial and anniversary days...) are actively to be carried out and participated in” (Vietnamese Episcopal Council, 1965).¹⁰ In a sense, the practice of these traditional rituals contributes to the maintenance and spread of the faith: “While the integration of faith occurs in the liturgy, the grassroots morality carries the faith deeper into the daily life of a particular culture. Grassroots morality has an irreplaceable role in bringing worship into the everyday life of peoples from different cultures and eras, signaling the rooting of faith in the soul of a nation, touching everyday life.

⁸ PHẠM, Huy Thông. Ảnh hưởng qua lại giữa đạo Công giáo và văn hóa Việt Nam. Hà Nội: NXB Tôn giáo, 2012, p. 141-142.

⁹ THE CONGREGATION FOR DIVINE WORSHIP AND THE DISCIPLINE OF THE SACRAMENTS. „Directory on Popular Piety and The Liturgy: Principles and Guidelines.“ [online]. Last modified May 13, 2002. http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/rc_con_ccdds_doc_20020513_vers-direttorio_en.html. (accessed February 23, 2024).

¹⁰ HỘI ĐỒNG GIÁM MỤC VIỆT NAM. „Thông cáo của Hội đồng Hội Đồng Giám Mục Việt Nam về việc tôn kính tổ tiên.“ [online]. 1965. <https://www.simonhoadalat.com/hochoi/giaoluat/honnhangiadinh/Phuluc1.htm>. (accessed on January 20, 2024).

Thus, the integration of grassroots morality into culture is a powerful means of proclaiming the Gospel” (Father Paul Nguyen Minh Chinh, 2022).¹¹

Guided by the Church’s instructions and stemming from national tradition, Vietnamese Catholics regularly engage in ancestor worship within their families. In performing these rituals, Catholics exhibit distinct psychological characteristics of the Catholic faithful, differing from those of non-religious Vietnamese. This veneration for ancestors within the Catholic community is not simply a continuation of tradition; rather, it is a significant adaptation, where the spiritual intercedes with the ancestral, imbuing these ceremonies with a layered significance. This is something that Vu Thi Hong Van and Nguyen Trong Long (2019) shed light on.¹² Nguyen Trong Long and Vu Thi Hong Van (2020)¹³ expound upon the dynamic character of these practices, demonstrating their adaptation and tenacity in the face of contemporary obstacles. Their study demonstrates how the practice of ancestor worship has been impacted by globalization and shifting social standards, but it has not decreased. This suggests that cultural manifestations can be flexible enough to suit both reverence and modern lifestyles. And finally, an interesting case study on the development of these customs in urban environments may be found in Trang Ngo and Antoine Wallet’s (2017)¹⁴ investigation of ancestral worship rituals in peri-urban Vietnam. According to Ngo and Wallet (2017), their research reveals an intriguing interaction between urbanization and traditional practices, wherein the urban environment and spatial limitations alter but do not completely eradicate the remembering rites. This flexibility is characteristic of the Vietnamese spirit, in which respect for ancestors is an essential part of spiritual life, even as it changes to suit different circumstances.

The existing studies highlight the deep regard Vietnamese Catholics have for their ancestry and heritage, where remembering one’s ancestors goes beyond ceremonial customs to serve as a symbol of continuing familial ties and cultural identity. This synthesis of ancestral worship inside Vietnamese Catholicism not only illustrates how well faith and tradition can coexist, but it also tells a larger story of how resilient and adaptable Vietnamese culture is.

¹¹ NGUYỄN, Minh Chính Phaolô. Lòng đạo đức bình dân hội nhập văn hóa để rao giảng tin mừng. [online]. 2014. <https://www.simonhoadalat.com/HOCHOI/TaiLoanBaoTinMung/32DaoDuc-BinhDan.htm> (accessed on August 23, 2022).

¹² VU, Thi Hong Van and NGUYEN, Trong Long. Identify the Values of Ancestor Worship Belief in the Spiritual Life of Vietnamese People. In: *International Journal of Philosophy*, vol. 7, no. 4 (2019), p. 160-166. <https://doi.org/10.11648/J.IJP.20190704.14>.

¹³ NGUYEN, Trong Long, and VU, Hong Van. Ancestor worshipping beliefs in the beliefs and religion life of Vietnamese people: nature, values, and changes of it in the current period. In: *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology*, vol. 17, no. 3 (2020), p. 370-388.

¹⁴ TRANG, Thu Ngo, and WALLET, Antoine. The ancestor worship practices’ evolutions in Peri-Urban Vietnam a case of study in Ho Chi Minh City. In: *Journal of Historical Archaeology & Anthropological Sciences*, vol. 2, no. 2, (2017), p. 45-50.

4. Fundamental Psychological Traits

4.1 *Desire to Remain Integrated with the National and Cultural Community*

Despite being Catholics, individuals are born and raised in a nation whose spiritual life is deeply intertwined with indigenous beliefs. Upon adopting a new religion, they inherently wish not to detach from the spiritual life of their community, aiming not to lose touch with their roots and origins. Research by Nguyễn Hồng Dương reveals that Catholics, whether living in isolated religious communities or among those of different faiths, consistently maintain cordial relations with people of other religions. Beyond their economic and social interactions, they share in the joys and sorrows of their community, celebrating together in times of happiness and providing support during times of grief, regardless of religious differences. Catholics in many rural areas embody the principle of „drinking water, remembering its source,“ showing gratitude towards those who contribute to the community, irrespective of their religious affiliations (Nguyễn Hồng Dương, 2010).¹⁵ Ancestral worship is a cherished tradition, and for the faithful, honoring ancestors is a duty they never forget. Thus, Catholics have continued the ritual of ancestral worship even when it was once discouraged by the Church. They have been willing to express their concerns and struggles to the Holy See, facing ridicule and ostracism from their non-Catholic community members for fear of being labeled as disrespectful for not honoring their parents and ancestors. “This prohibition has caused us great distress,” they appealed to the Holy See for reconsideration.¹⁶ Over time, with a series of documents and guidelines from the Church, Catholics have been granted the freedom to practice ancestral worship. This can be seen as a significant step in integrating and developing Catholicism in Vietnam. While believers have faith in God, they are still able to retain the traditional spiritual cultural traits of their nation. Commemoration days continue to be observed fully, demonstrating the gratitude and filial piety of descendants towards their ancestors.

However, in practicing ancestral worship rituals, Catholics exhibit some distinctive differences. For instance, when setting up altars, Catholics always place the ancestral altar below the altar dedicated to God, only adorning it with photos of the deceased, flowers, and incense burners, omitting other offerings. Moreover, unlike the traditional custom of lighting incense on the 1st and 15th of each lunar month, Catholics typically light incense during significant anniversaries, festivals, or major family events. Despite these variations in expression and timing, lighting incense for ancestors by Catholics is still a profound act of remembrance and a wish for ancestors to intercede on behalf of their descendants. Beyond these acts of remembrance and prayers for the deceased, Catholic funeral rituals also bear the hallmark of traditional beliefs, such as announcing a community member’s passing by tolling the church bell nine times for a woman and seven times for a man, alongside rituals of preparation, burial, and commemoration at specific intervals after death—3 days,

¹⁵ NGUYỄN, Hồng Dương. *Nếp sống đạo của người Việt Nam*. Hà Nội: NXB Từ điển bách khoa, 2010.

¹⁶ HỒNG NHUỆ. *Văn thư quốc ngữ trong văn khố của Hội truyền giáo nước ngoài Paris, sao lục và giới thiệu*. Tài liệu bản thảo, 2001, p. 138.

100 days, 1 year, 3 years... Despite these unique Catholic features, many aspects intertwine with the cultural imprints of the Vietnamese, showcasing a harmonious blend of faith and heritage.

4.2 *Belief in Ancestral Support*

Unlike the traditional Vietnamese belief in ancestors' ability to protect and intervene in current life, Catholics place their faith solely in God, the Supreme Being with the ultimate authority over all matters. Therefore, when Catholics engage in ancestral worship, they do not seek direct protection or blessings from their ancestors. Instead, they direct their prayers to God, with ancestors acting as intermediaries conveying their prayers to the Divine. This act of "conveying messages" holds significant meaning for the living, believing that through the intercession of their departed loved ones before God, they may receive blessings indirectly through their ancestors' prayers.

Catholics hold the view that upon death, the souls of ancestors return to God and are accountable for their actions in life. Praying for these souls to swiftly ascend to Heaven, a place of eternal peace for the faithful, is of great importance. Once in Heaven, these souls become Saints capable of interceding on behalf of their descendants to God. Every November, Vietnamese Catholics dedicate time to pray for all souls that have passed away, including their ancestors. Visiting cemeteries (grave visiting) and praying for the deceased are common practices aimed at benefiting the souls of the departed. Particularly on November 2nd and during the Lunar New Year celebrations, Catholics attend Mass held at cemeteries to pray for ancestors within their lineage and for deceased members of their parish community. On these occasions, families typically clean and decorate the graves with purple flags bearing the cross, light incense, and place flowers on the tombstones. For Catholics, the month of November serves similarly to the traditional practice of grave tending for their departed loved ones.

Regarding the offerings used in rituals, as per the regulations of the Vietnamese Episcopal Council, Catholics "shall not engage in religious activities that are inconsistent with Catholic doctrine (such as any ceremony that displays subservience and dependency on a created being as to God), or clear superstitions (like burning votive paper), or conducted in places specifically reserved for worship... such participants should not partake or attend" (Vietnamese Episcopal Council, 1965).¹⁷ However, in honoring ancestors, especially during death anniversaries, Catholics, while not preparing elaborate feasts (meat, fish, chicken, sticky rice...), still light incense, display flowers, and at times, lay out some fruits. Catholics also refrain from burning votive paper or items for the deceased, choosing instead to offer prayers through requesting Masses or prayers in the church. This demonstrates that in conducting ancestral worship rituals, Catholics in Vietnam adhere to the Church's rules and guidelines to avoid "sinning" or violating God's commandments. They perform these rituals, vows,

¹⁷ HỘI ĐỒNG GIÁM MỤC VIỆT NAM. "Thông cáo của Hội đồng Hội Đồng Giám Mục Việt Nam về việc tôn kính tổ tiên." [online]. 1965. <https://www.simonhoadalat.com/hochoi/giaoluat/honnhangiadin/Phuluc1.htm>. (accessed on January 20, 2024).

and prayers for their ancestors with heartfelt sincerity and a desire for ancestral assistance, further requesting their prayers before God.

4.3 Teaching Children Filial Piety and Remembrance of Roots

For Vietnamese Catholics, being a follower of the faith does not precede their identity as Vietnamese, carrying the cultural traditions of their ancestry. Even upon embracing Catholicism, the principle of filial piety remains a paramount moral value, and showing respect is a duty every child owes to their parents. The act of ancestral worship, therefore, is not out of fear of ancestral retribution, as commonly seen in the broader Vietnamese culture, but is carried out in the Catholic way with the sole purpose of praying for the ancestors' swift ascent to Heaven. Thus, the actions taken by Catholics in this regard are primarily to express respect and remember their origins.

By honoring their ancestors, Catholic parents also educate their children on the importance of gratitude and always remembering those who gave them life. This aligns with the Fourth Commandment taught by the Lord: "Honor your father and your mother." This doctrine is crucial, obligating every Catholic to fulfill this responsibility. Caring for and attending to parents, both in health and sickness, pleases God. Catholics believe that human existence is a grace bestowed by God, and children must always appreciate the care and upbringing provided by their parents, for this is not only their duty but also a moral act offered to their parents and, ultimately, to God. The Bible recognizes the happiness of a family where parents love their children, and children obey and show filial piety towards their parents. This forms the foundation for Catholic parishioners to practice ancestral worship. Observing these respectful rituals helps the younger generation understand their roots and the connection between generations. Praying for the deceased and attending Mass at cemeteries remind everyone of life's cyclical nature: just as one prays and remembers their ancestors now, future generations will do the same.

5. Conclusion

Honoring ancestors is a lively part of Vietnamese culture, valued by all faiths, including Catholicism. Vietnamese Catholics' adaption of ancestral worship rites shows the culture's resilience. These sacred ceremonies integrate their faith with their communal and national identity, not just a national tradition. While setting up altars, lighting incense, and praying are traditional Vietnamese rites, Catholic ancestral remembering has particular subtleties. Catholic customs are based on filial piety and a deep wish for ancestors to be heavenly advocates, not ancestral punishment. This subtle method emphasizes a deeper spiritual discourse where the living journey with their ancestors in memory and together. This practice also teaches newer generations about spiritual continuity and filial duty. Thus, ancestor devotion becomes a heavenly directive that promotes a cycle of respect and recollection, passing down the values of gratitude, respect, and familial love. Thus, ancestral worship in Vietnamese Catholic practice is a magnificent blend of religion and tradition that enhances Vietnam's spiritual and cultural landscape. It shows how tradition can sur-

vive while embracing the intricacies of a faith that transcends geographical and cultural barriers. This tradition commemorates the dead and strengthens community, faith, and family for future generations.

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Potreba zrozumiteľnosti náboženského textu na príklade Spišákovho prekladu božskej liturgie

The Need for the Intelligibility of a Religious Text on the Example of Spisak's Translation of the Divine Liturgy

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Abstract: *The celebration of liturgical rites in an understandable language is today seen as a matter of course in the church setting. In this paper we deal with the first translation of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom into the Slovak language. This translation was made by priest Pavol Spišák over 90 years ago. We recall the historical circumstances of its creation as well as the creation of other Slovak translations of liturgical texts. However, the primary goal is a linguistic comparison of Spišák's text and the Slovak translation used today. Using concrete examples, we point out the development of language and the need to have a cultured translation of a religious text in its practical use. Especially when it comes to the Byzantine Catholic Church, whose character is most significantly manifested in the liturgy.*

Keywords: *Translation. Liturgy. Text. Language. Byzantine Catholic Church.*

Úvod

V súčasnosti je už všeobecne prijímaný fakt, že za úspech prvej evanjelizácie našich predkov vďačíme misii solúnskych bratov, ktorí svoju misijnú činnosť medzi Slovanmi vykonávali v zrozumiteľnom jazyku. Okrem toho z Byzancie priniesli aj najdôležitejšie liturgické texty preložené z gréčtiny do staroslovienčiny a aplikovali ich vo svojej misijnej práci. Tým len nadviazali na osvedčenú metódu a potvrdili starobylú prax východných cirkví, ktoré pri kristianizácii rôznych národov používali domáci zrozumiteľný jazyk (sýrčinu, arménčinu, gruzínčinu, koptčinu atď.). Západná cirkev na rozdiel od kresťanského Východu odolávala tomuto inkulturačnému prístupu až do Druhého vatikánskeho koncilu (1962 – 1965). V liturgickej konštitúcii *Sacrosanctum concilium* sa už popri latinčine jasne dovoľuje zavedenie schváleného prekladu liturgických textov do národného jazyka (porov. SC, 36).¹ S tým však vznikajú aj nové otázky a problémy. Totiž náboženský text už svojou povahou nie je ľahký ani ľahko pochopiteľný. S pravovernosťou obsahu a jedinečnosťou štýlu sa v ňom obvykle spája aj používanie archaizmov, hebraizmov, grécizmov a iných cirkevne ustálených slov a názvov, s ktorých tlmočením sa musí komisia prekladateľov popasovať. Len tak je možné očakávať, že liturgický text bude čo najviac zrozumiteľný a prínosný pre recipientov.

¹ Preklad do národného jazyka musí schváliť príslušná cirkevná autorita.

V Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi na území dnešného Slovenska sa vo východnej liturgii po stáročia používala cirkevná slovančina zapisovaná cyrilským písmom. Tento cirkevný (liturgický) jazyk sa transformoval do viacerých redakcií podľa lokality používateľov. Takto sa k nemu u veriacich, ktorí ho v liturgii používali, vyvinula istá citová väzba,² ale obsahovo a lexikálne ostal málo zrozumiteľným. S postupným etnodiferenciačným procesom jazykových skupín Slovanov vznikla aj potreba uvedenia národného, čiže plne zrozumiteľného jazyka do liturgie. Spomenutý etnodiferenciačný faktor sa prejavuje hlavne na území Zemplína, pretože toto územie je multikonfesionálne a multietnické. Priekopníkom v oblasti prekladov gréckokatolíckych liturgických textov do slovenčiny bol vzdelaný gréckokatolícky kňaz Pavol Spišák, rodák z Telgártu (okres Brezno).

Stav výskumu problematiky

Problemátike prvého prekladu božskej liturgie sv. Jána Zlatoústeho do slovenčiny z historického hľadiska sa venoval gréckokatolícky kňaz a slavista Andrej Škoviera. Na túto tému publikoval viacero štúdií. Vo svojom príspevku *Pavol Spišák – prvý prekladateľ bohoslužobných textov do slovenčiny* predstavil zaujímavý životný príbeh Pavla Spišáka a poukázal na nepravdivé okolnosti spojené s vydaním útlej knižky Spišákovho prekladu božskej liturgie. Za spracovanie archívnych materiálov týkajúcich sa predmetného obdobia vďačíme aj univerzitnému knihovníkovi Michalovi Glevaňákovi.

Po stránke jazykovej úrovne lexiky i syntaxe sa nastolenou témou zaoberal slovenský jazykovedec Štefan Švagrovský. V zborníku *Slavica slovaca* (1999) publikoval svoj príspevok s názvom *Z histórie slovenských prekladov byzantských liturgických textov*. Išlo o vzácny vklad do problematiky prekladania liturgických textov v čase, keď normatívny preklad božskej liturgie Jána Zlatoústeho do slovenčiny bol schválený iba jeden rok.³ Vo svojej knihe *Vezmite a jedzte sa jazyku liturgického textu* okrajovo venuje aj autor tohto článku. V tomto príspevku zhrnieme doterajšie historické okolnosti vzniku a načrtujeme jazykovú komparáciu vybraných textov Spišákovho prekladu s dnešným schváleným textom liturgie. Zaujímá nás predovšetkým lingvisticko-pastoračné hľadisko. Lebo jazyk je živý jav, ktorý sa za ostatných deväťdesiat rokov vývinovo posunul vo svojej kráse a praktickosti.

Okolnosti vzniku Spišákových prekladov

Pre gréckokatolíckych Slovákov v Uhorsku, neskôr v Československej republike i v období vojnovnej Slovenskej republiky nebolo ľahké ani jednoduché presadzovať do byzantskej liturgie namiesto cirkevnej slovančiny spisovnú slovenčinu, pretože rusínska zložka tohto cirkevného spoločenstva za podpory vedenia Gréckokatolíck-

² Cirkevná slovančina plnila v liturgickom živote podobnú jednotiacu funkciu pre slovanské východné cirkvi ako latinčina na Západe. Jazykovej roztrieštenosti gréckokatolíkov a literárnym pamiatkam týkajúcim sa byzantskej liturgie sa venuje slavista Peter Žeňuch vo svojom článku: *Slováci a ich miesto v systéme byzantsko-slovanskej duchovnej a písomnej kultúry* (VEGA 2/0013/2013-2016, s. 76 – 131).

³ Preklad s názvom *Svätá božská liturgia nášho otca svätého Jána Zlatoústeho* schválený Kongregáciou pre východné cirkvi dekrétom č. 45/78 zo dňa 14. septembra 1997.

keho prešovského biskupstva to odmietala. Akoby v tomto prípade už nemali platiť slová apoštola Pavla z Prvého listu Korinťanom, na ktoré sa odvolával sv. Konštantín-Cyril na začiatku evanjelizovania našich predkov, že na cirkevnom zhromaždení radšej poviem päť slov zrozumiteľných, aby som druhých poučil, než desaťtisíc slov v (cudzom) jazyku.⁴

Aj za tejto nepriaznivej situácie pre slovenských gréckokatolíkov začala časť nižšieho kléru nastoľovať otázku prekladu byzantskej liturgie do slovenčiny. Kňazi v slovenských farnostiach, najmä na Spiši a v Gemeri, odôvodňovali potrebu slovenského prekladu tým, že veriaci cirkevno-slovanským liturgickým textom nerozumejú alebo rozumejú len zdanlivo a často ich komolia. Prvé praktické kroky sa urobili koncom medzivojnového obdobia a za vojnovnej Slovenskej republiky (1939 – 1945).

Za priekopníka prekladu božskej liturgie do slovenčiny sa, ako sme už uviedli, považuje o. Pavol Spišák (1901 – 1975), gréckokatolícky kňaz, tit. kanonik a uvedomelý Slovák. S pomocou cára Ferdinanda I. Coburga študoval v Sofii, Plovdive a v malom seminári pre byzantských katolíkov v Adrianopole (dnes Edirne v Turecku). Posvätnú teológiu už absolvoval v Prešove, vysvätený bol v roku 1927. Po ustanovení do farnosti Vernár začal pracovať na slovenských prekladoch. Jazykovo bol veľmi nadaný, ovládal francúzštinu, bulharčinu, cirkevnú slovančinu, latinčinu, taliančinu, ruštinu, nemčinu a maďarčinu.⁵ Ako prvý preložil text Liturgie svätého Jána Zlatoústeho do slovenčiny. Vydal ho v náklade 5 000 exemplárov v roku 1933 v Nitre pod názvom *Svätá služba Božia (liturgia – omša) svätého Jána Zlatoústeho, arcibiskupa carihradského*. Imprimatur, čiže povolenie k tlači, získal od rímskokatolíckeho biskupa Karola Kmeťka v Nitre, keďže v Prešove neboli priaznivo naklonení tejto iniciatíve. Na schvaľovaní textu liturgie participovali Alojz Miškovič, profesor

SV. SLUŽBA BOŽIA (LITURGIA-OMŠA).

SVÄTÉHO JÁNA ZLATOÚSTEHO,
ARCIBISKUPA CARIHRADSKÉHO.

PRELOŽIL:
PAVEL SPIŠÁK,
KŇAZ BISKUPSTVA PREŠOVSKÉHO.

NA VERNÁRI NA DEŇ SV. CYRILA A
METODA AP. SLOVANSKÝCH R. 1932.

N I T R A,
Tlačiareň J. Rišňovského
1 9 3 3.

Obr. 1 Titulný list Spišákovho prekladu

⁴ Porov. ŠVAGROVSKÝ, Š.: Z histórie slovenských prekladov byzantských liturgických textov. In: *Slavica slovacca*. Roč. 34, č.1/1999, s. 42-43. Dostupné aj na: https://www.ilonas.net/valal/pdf/Svagrovsky1999_slov_prekl_byz_tex.pdf

⁵ Zásluhou Spolku sv. Cyrila a Metoda spolu s Bratislavskou eparchiou bola o. P. Spišákovvi odhalená pamätná tabuľa na priečelí Chrámu Najsvätejšej Trojice v Telgárte v roku 2016. Pri tejto príležitosti preosv. vladyka Peter Rusnák posvätil aj obnovený pomník P. Spišáka na miestnom cintoríne.

učiteľského ústavu na Spiši, Irenej Kondratovič, gréckokatolícky farár a konzistoriálny radca Mukačevskej eparchie, Karol Ďurček, rektor kňazského seminára v Nitre, a Anton Bartoššik, generálny vikár Nitrianskej diecézy. Knižka obsahuje len časti pre ľud bez tichých modlitieb kňaza, pričom uvádza paralelne cirkevnoslovanský a slovenský text, čo bolo charakteristické aj pre neskoršie Spišákove preklady. Slovenský text v tejto knižke bez akýchkoľvek menlivých častí nebol určený na liturgické použitie, ale bol uvedený len ako vysvetľujúci text, aby veriaci lepšie porozumeli liturgii slávanej výhradne v cirkevnej slovančine.

O štyri roky neskôr (1937) vyšiel preklad Liturgie sv. Jána Zlatoústeho v učebnici rímskokatolíckej liturgiky s názvom *Verejné bohoslužby* v Banskej Bystrici. Išlo o kompletný text liturgie vrátane proskomídie a všetkých tichých modlitieb kňaza. Pavol Spišák je autorom aj čiastkových prekladov večierne, utierne, sobáša, pohrebu a ďalších textov do slovenčiny.

Pavol Spišák dokončil druhé doplnené a opravené vydanie predchádzajúcej modlitebnej knihy 30. novembra 1941. V prvý vianočný deň, 25. decembra 1941, bolo schválené druhé vydanie modlitebnej knižky *Chváľme Boha – kniha modlitebná, poučná, obradná a spevácka v liturgickom slovienskom a slovenskom jazyku pre kresťana katolíckej Cirkvi grécko-slovanského obradu*. Na titulnej strane je uvedený rok vydania 1942. Kniha má 656 strán. Formát knihy bol 14 x 8,5 cm. Náklad bol okamžite rozobratý. Podľa zachovanej korešpondencie správcu Jednoty sv. Cyrila a Metoda Dr. Jána Murína s P. Spišákom ju z kapacitných dôvodov nebolo možné vytlačiť v tlačiarňi Jednoty v Michalovciach. Nakoniec bola kniha vytlačená v Ružomberku. Za hlavný cieľ tejto modlitebnej knihy považuje Spišák najmä to, aby „slovenský gréckokatolík porozumel cirkevnej reči, porozumel obradom a poznal ich krásu. Preto preložil som do slovenčiny všetky najčastejšie a najužívanejšie bohoslužobné čiastky a sv. liturgie.“⁶

„Okrem prekladov bohoslužobných textov do slovenčiny boli práce Pavla Spišáka prevratné ešte z druhého aspektu, a tým je prepis cirkevnoslovanských textov do latinky. Pavol Spišák sa snažil vytvoriť samostatnú redakciu cirkevnej slovančiny.“⁷ Po obnove miestnej gréckokatolíckej cirkvi v roku 1968 sa ukázalo žiaduce sláviť liturgiu v živom jazyku. Spišákov preklad bol preto neskoršie одобrený a následne zavedený do čiastočného používania.

Komparácia textov (Spišákov preklad a súčasný text)

V tejto časti komparačne poukážeme na lingvistické rozdiely v slovách alebo slovných spojeniach v liturgických textoch z dvoch písomných prameňov: *Svätá Služba Božia (liturgia – omša) sv. Jána Zlatoústeho*, ktorú preložil kňaz Pavol Spišák, knižne vydaná v r. 1933, a *Božská liturgia nášho otca svätého Jána Zlatoústeho* z r. 1998, ktorá sa používa dodnes. Obidve znenia sú považované za pracovné verzie slo-

⁶ Porov. GLEVAŇÁK, M.: Etnodiferenčný proces Slovákov v gréckokatolíckej cirkvi od roku 1918 do 1. polovice 70. rokov 20. storočia na pozadí prekladov liturgických textov do slovenčiny. In: FRANKOVÁ, L. – DOMENOVÁ, M. (eds.): *Spoločnosť a kultúra východného Slovenska (knižná kultúra, udalosti a osobnosti)*. Prešov: Prešovská univerzita v Prešove, 2014, s. 81.

⁷ ŠKOVIERA, A.: Pavol Spišák – prvý prekladateľ bohoslužobných textov do slovenčiny. In: HOSPODÁR, M. (ed.): *Od prameňa k nádeji*. Košice: BYZANT Košice, s. r. o., 2016, s. 139.

venského prekladu slúžiaceho na liturgické slávenie v gréckokatolíckom obrade. Novšia verzia sa v Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi na Slovensku používa doposiaľ.

Pri lingvistickej komparácii sa pridržujeme kodifikačných príručiek, a to *Pravidiel slovenského pravopisu* z r. 1931, ktoré vydala Matica slovenská ako prácu svojej pravopisnej komisie, taktiež upravených *Pravidiel slovenského pravopisu* z r. 2000, red. M. Považaj a kol., vydaných vo vydavateľstve Veda.

Kodifikácia spisovnej slovenčiny sa zavádzala do praxe po vyjdení *Pravidiel slovenského pravopisu* v r. 1931 s abecedným pravopisným slovníkom. Táto prvá príručka vychádzala z Czambelovej kodifikácie s typickým príklonom k češtine, pričom sa pripúšťalo slovenské i české znenie.

V r. 1932 prevzal starostlivosť o zachovanie osobitosti a svojskosti reči časopis *Slovenská reč*. V hláskosloví a tvarosloví slovenčiny sa mal dodržať matičný úzus, syntax a frazeológia, vzorom mala byť ľudová reč a jazyk v dielach významných spisovateľov. Pracovalo sa s ideou, že slovník sa má budovať z domáceho fondu a slovám českého a germánskeho pôvodu sa treba vyhýbať. Mali sa používať slová zaužívané v slovenčine, pretože slová z nárečí robili v dorozumívaní ťažkosti. Rozdiely v gramatike i pravopise pri tvorbe písaných jazykových prejavov od r. 1931 po súčasnosť môžeme badať aj v uvedených liturgických textoch. Všimli sme si rozdiely v slovoslede, štylistike, syntaxi, v staršom texte sme vyhľadali pravopisné odchýlky a porovnávame ich so súčasnými pravopisnými normami.

Všimli sme si, že v staršom vydaní *Sv. Služby Božej* z r. 1933 je v štylizácii viet typická zmena poradia slov vo vete. Slovenčina nemá pri tvorbe viet záväzné poradie vetných členov, najbežnejšie poradie je podmet – prísudok – predmet. Prvoradá je však zrozumiteľnosť. Používajú sa tu niektoré české slová. V písaní zdomácnených cudzích slov sa kolíše medzi fonetickou i etymologickou zásadou. Odlišný je pravopis v písaní y, ý/i, í. Podľa *Pravidiel slovenského pravopisu* z r. 1931 nadpisy, tituly kníh, názvy časopisov majú na konci bodku ako ukončený oznamovací vetný celok, no podľa súčasných *Pravidiel slovenského pravopisu* sa bodka za názvami alebo nadpismi už nepíše.

Konkrétne príklady a ukážky textov

Najprv porovnáme titulné strany oboch textov liturgie:

SVÄTÁ SLUŽBA BOŽIA (LITURGIA – OMŠA). PRELOŽIL: PAVEL SPIŠÁK, KŇAZ BISKUPSTVA PREŠOVSKÉHO. NITRA, Tlačiareň J. Rišňovského 1933.	SVÄTÁ BOŽSKÁ LITURGIA NÁŠHO OTCA SVÄTÉHO JÁNA ZLATOÚSTEHO Prešov 1998
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Pri porovnávaní obidvoch textov medzi liturgiou z r. 1933 a liturgiou z r. 1998 nájdeme tieto lingvistické rozdiely:

Ukážky z liturgických textov:

Požehnaný Boh náš vše, teraz i vždy i na veky vekov. (str. 9)	Požehnaný Boh náš teraz i vždycky, i na veky vekov.
Pane, smiluj sa. (str. 11)	Pane, zmiluj sa.

... za pokoj celého sveta... (str. 11)	... za mier na celom svete...
... blahobyť svätých cirkví božích... (str. 11)	... za blaho svätých Božích cirkví...
... sjednotenie všetkých... (str. 11)	... zjednotenie všetkých...
Za svätého všeobecného arcikňaza... (str. 11)	Za veľkňaza všeobecnej cirkvi...
... bohamilujúceho biskupa nášho... (str. 11)	... bohumilého otca biskupa...
... jeho počestné kňazstvo, diakonstvo v Kristu... (str. 11)	... za ctihodných kňazov a diakonov v Kristovi...
Za služebníka Božieho a na jeho blahú pamäť... (str. 13)	Za Božieho služobníka, za jeho blaženú pamiatku...
... aby mu boli odpustené všetky hriechy vedomé i nevedomé... (str. 13)	... za odpustenie všetkých vedomých i nevedomých prehrešení...
Aby bez odsúdenia dostavil sa pred strašný súd Kristov... (str. 13)	Aby obstál pred prísny Kristovým súdom...
... a duša jeho bola umiestená medzi živými... (str. 13)	... a vošiel do krajiny živých...
... kde všetci svätí a spravodliví odpočívajú... (str. 13)	... kde v pokoji odpočívajú všetci spravodliví svätí...
... k Pánovi pomodlime sa... (str. 13)	... modlime sa k Pánovi...
Blahoslavení, ktorí lačnejú a žiznia po spravodlivosti... (str. 19)	Blažení lační a smädni po spravodlivosti...
Blahoslavení pokojamilovní... (str. 19)	Blažení tí, čo šíria pokoj...
Radujte sa a plesajte, lebo vaša mzda je hojná v nebesiach. (str. 20)	Radujte sa a jasajte, lebo máte hojnú odmenu v nebi.
Pokoj ti. (str. 25)	Pokoj s tebou!
... uslyšme sväté evanjelium. (str. 25)	... počúvajte sväté evanjelium.
... uslyš nás a smiluj sa. (str. 27)	... vypočuj nás a zmiluj sa.
Prepáčenie a odpustenie hriechov a pokleskov našich, od Pána prosme. (str. 35)	Odpustenie a oslobodenie z našich hriechov a previnení prosme si od Pána.
Aby sme skončili ostatný čas života nášho v pokoji a pokání... (str. 35)	Aby sme zostávajúce dni nášho života prežili v pokoji a kajúcnosti...
... Trojicu jednej podstaty... (str. 36)	... nedeliteľnej Trojici...
... v jednej podstaty s Otcom, skrze ktorého je všetko učinené. (str. 37)	... jednej podstaty s Otcom. Skrze neho bolo všetko stvorené.
... s neba zostúpil... (str. 37)	... zostúpil z nebies...
... svätú obetu prinášali v pokoji... (str. 38)	... v pokoji prinášali sväté vďakyvzdávanie...
Hore májme srdcia! (str. 38)	Hore srdcia!
... sbor anjelov... (str. 41)	... zbor anjelov...

Príjd' kráľovstvo Tvoje... (str. 45)	... príď kráľovstvo tvoje...
... jako v nebi... (str. 45)	... ako v nebi...
Chlieb náš vezdajší... (str. 45)	Chlieb náš každodenný...
Chváľte Pána s nebies... (str. 47)	Chváľte Pána z nebies...
V pokoji vzdial'me sa... (str. 49)	V pokoji sa rozíďme!
... požehnaj dedictvo svoje... (str. 50)	... požehnaj svoje dedičstvo...

Záver

V článku sme sa zamerali najmä na text Liturgie sv. Jána Zlatoústeho v jeho preklade do slovenčiny. Nepochybne išlo vtedy o priekopnícky čin, ktorý začal dláždiť cestu ďalším prekladom liturgických textov až po súčasnosť. Pavol Spišák je týmto prekladateľským počínom natrvalo zapísaný v dejinách národného a cirkevného sebauvedomenia slovenských gréckokatolíkov. Pri prekladoch, čiže pri prevode textu z jedného jazyka do druhého, je dôležité predovšetkým zachovanie významu samotného textu.⁸ Spisovný jazyk sa musí vedome kultivovať, t. j. zdokonaľovať, inak by neplnil svoju základnú dorozumievaciu úlohu. Na sv. liturgii si človek neuvedomuje, ako sa postupom času mení národný jazyk aj kodifikačné príručky. Preto bolo zaujímavé upriamiť pozornosť aj na lingvistickú stránku cirkevných textov, medzi ktorými je dnes 90-ročný časový odstup. Zmysel každého prekladu posvätného textu je plnšie zapojenie modliaceho sa do liturgie, čo je vlastne napĺňaním cyrilo-metodskej tradície.

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⁸ Keď hovoríme o preklade, tak máme na mysli kompletný pôvodný text sv. božskej liturgie podľa rímskeho vydania a nie jeho svojvoľnú úpravu, skracovanie, ba až deformáciu.

Kierkegaard a Wittgenstein: harmonie víry s paradoxy současné epistemologie

Kierkegaard and Wittgenstein: Harmony of Faith with Paradoxes in Contemporary Epistemology

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Abstract: The aim of the article is, with reference to the still current and discussed problem of the relationship between reason and religious faith, to point out the surprising harmony of the philosophical positions of Kierkegaard and Wittgenstein, emphasizing the a-rationality of belief in an infinite God and in his ‚absurd‘ incarnation into the ‚finite‘, with experimentally proven ‚irrational‘ conclusions of modern quantum philosophy, focusing on ironic ‚irrationality‘ of modern science. Kierkegaard's underlining the subjectivity of belief in the ‚absolute paradox‘ is in strong congruence with Wittgenstein's ‚necessary silence‘ before the the ‚Ineffable‘, mystical and transcendent ‚Point beyond the world‘, God, who reveals himself through the miraculously created universe. The common denominator of both philosophical positions is the mandatory prioritization of orthopraxis over orthodoxy in matters of subjective faith and over objective rational ‚proofs‘ of divine existence.

Keywords: Paradox. Mystics. Transcendent. Quantum.

„Paradox víry je tento: že jednotlivec je vyšší než univerzální,
že jednotlivec určuje svůj vztah k univerzálnímu prostřednictvím
svého vztahu k Bohu, nikoli svůj vztah k Bohu prostřednictvím
univerzálního...“

Sören Kierkegaard: *Bázeň a chvění*

Něco je přece nevyslovitelné.

To, co se ukazuje, je tím, co je mystické, mimo svět...“

Ludwig Wittgenstein: *Tractatus* 6.522

„Jak nádherné, že se potkáváme s šokujícím ‚paradoxem‘ kvanta.

Nyní máme nějakou naději udělat pokrok...“

Niels Bohr: *Člověk, věda a svět, který změnili*

Úvod

Přesvědčovat mladého člověka v současné době o víře nebo se účastnit *apologetických* debat na půdě sekulárních univerzit nepřináší vždy úspěch s odvoláním se na logické myšlení či *metafyzické* ‚důkazy‘ Boha. Žijeme v době, kdy věda otevírá stále rychleji nové ‚dveře‘ k poznání podstaty rozpínajícího se vesmíru, a zdá se, že

filozofie i teologie musejí držet krok k udržení svých pozic, především *epistemologie*. Mají-li víra a rozum zůstat i nadále 'dvě křídla, na nichž se lidský duch zvedá ke kontemplaci pravdy a dospět tak k plnosti Pravdy', je nutné se otevřít novým náhledům a možnostem nekončícího filozoficko-teologického bádání nekonečného a věčně udivujícího Stvořitele vesmíru. V tomto smyslu, je velmi pravděpodobné, že tak jako se poznatky Galileia a Newtona progresivně zařadily do většího rámce relativistické fyziky Einsteina, a později i Einsteinova teorie byla vstřebána do širšího pohledu *indeterministické* kvantové mechaniky, bez toho, aniž by předchozí teorie byly změněny či zavrženy, tak se i filozofie náboženství spojená se statickým a často *dogmatizujícím* myšlením musí zařadit do většího úhlu pohledu díky novým objevům v biblistice, antropologii, psychologii a hlavně kosmologii. Překvapivě, subjektivující 'vášeň' víry v 'Absolutní paradox' u Kierkegaarda, a na něj později navazujícího Wittgensteina s jeho zdůrazňováním *a-racionality* a nevyslovitelnosti mystického aspektu stvoření, se přibližují k moderním závěrům kvantové mechaniky mnohem více než všechny předcházející tendence racionalizovat náboženskou víru. Zatímco Kierkegaard vyzývá k absurdnímu 'skoku víry', Wittgenstein nabádá k povinnému 'tichu' před nepochopitelným a paradoxním 'Nekonečnem'. Oba intuitivně předpověděli 'iracionálnost' kvantové reality, před níž i moderní věda musí pokorně přiznat limity vlastního rozumového myšlení.¹ Co je nejzajímavější a nejvýznamnější v porovnání filozoficko-náboženského myšlení dvou géniů je jejich překvapivá aktuálnost a aplikovatelnost jejich uvažování právě na závěry soudobé fyziky.

Wittgenstein: filozofické konvergence s 'iracionalitou' kvantové filozofie

Wittgensteinova filozofie vrhá světlo na současné debaty o *indeterminismu* a subjektivitě/objektivitě v kvantové teorii. Tim Andersen došel ve své studii *The Infinite Universe* k závěru, že „klasické interpretace kvantových jevů, které se žádným experimentálně ověřitelným způsobem neodchylovaly od existující sto let staré kvantové teorie, nedokázaly vlastně nic vyřešit, protože byly *tautologické*. Nepřidali do vědy nic nového, než aby nám připomněli to, co už víme.“² Je tudíž evidentně cennější přemýšlet 'absurdně', jako to dělá příroda, než se snažit 'přetahovat' kvan-

¹ Søren Kierkegaard (1813-1855), dánský zakladatel existencialismu a jeden z největších filozofů náboženství, zanechal po svém krátkém životě jedinečný koncept 'skoku víry' do nekonečného božského 'Mystéria', spolu s důrazem na intimní subjektivitu v osobním vztahu k rozumově nedosažitelnému Bohu. Tím otevřel cestu k novému pohledu na víru, zaměřenému ne na intelektuální 'dokazování' Boží existence scholastickou *metafyzikou*, nýbrž na křesťanský život skrze aktivní *ortopraxi* víry.

Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951), rakouský filozof, žák Bertranda Russella a obdivovatel Kierkegaardova díla, došel k podobným závěrům ve filozofii náboženství skrze svou analýzu náboženského jazyka neschopného vyjádřit *transcendentní* realitu nekonečného Boha.

² Srov. s: ANDERSEN, Tim, 2022. Wittgenstein, Feynman, and the Limits of Intuition and Objectivity in Quantum Theory. [online]. In: *The Infinite Universe*, 2022/10, s. 2. [cit. 29.12.2023]. Dostupné na: <https://medium.com/the-infinite-universe/wittgenstein-feynman-and-the-limits-of-intuition-and-objectivity-in-quantum-theory>.

tovou teorii zpět do říše klasické intuice.³ Že důsledky, prokázané experimentálně a vyplývající ze závěrů kvantové mechaniky, jsou paradoxní a z hlediska formálně-logického myšlení 'absurdní', definoval již Richard Feynmann, spolu se zakladateli kvantové teorie Bohrem a Schrödingerem.⁴ Předností kvantové fyziky je, že se pokusila zodpovědět tu nejpodstatnější otázku 'co je realita?' na základě seriózního a trvalého vědeckého výzkumu. Tradičně bylo hledání základní povahy reality součástí *metafyziky* ve filozofii. Kvantová teorie je svým způsobem zapojena do tohoto *metafyzického* zkoumání konečné povahy materiální reality a vrhla na tento problém velmi cenné světlo. Tento případ ukazuje, že *metafyzika* se nemusí omezovat na abstraktní, spekulativní oblast filozofie. Vědecké poznatky kvantové mechaniky odhalily (ironicky) vážnou omezenost samé vědy, která není 'absolutní', nemůže si nárokovat absolutní jistotu, a hlavně nemůže poskytnout přesnou předpověď na charakter jsoucna, o kterou se snažila aristotelovské *metafyzika* či klasická newtonovská mechanika.

Richard Feynman, na rozdíl od mnoha jeho současníků jako John Wheeler, David Bohm a jeho předchůdce Albert Einstein, se nezajímal o záchranu kvantové fyziky a z ní vyplývající nové filozofie před 'absurditou'.⁵ V každodenním životě triumfuje pragmatismus často nad *ontologií*.⁶ Pokud však zaujmeme Feynmanův postoj, břemeno odpovídání na filozofické otázky 'proč?' zůstává, i přes obrovské úspěchy vědy a technologie. Totéž naznačil i pozdní Wittgenstein skrze svá zobrazení 'jazykových her' (*Sprachspiel*) ve 'Filozofických zkoumáních'.⁷ Problém subjektivity/objektivity v poznání reality nastává, když se hluboce podíváme na to, jak 'fakta' vůbec vznikají. Wittgenstein myslel vážně, že nemůžeme mluvit o věcech, které nejsou ve 'světě'. I kdybychom mohli mluvit o kvantové mechanice z hlediska částic, měření a výpočtů, jakékoli filozofické atributy, které připisují význam tomu, co můžeme pozorovat jako 'skutečné', jsou 'nesmysl'. Ústředním bodem *wittgensteinovského* rámce je nutný předpoklad vytvoření měnících se systémů pro 'klasifikaci' před získáním příslušných faktů.⁸ Systém pro 'fakta' je lingvistická kon-

³ Více v: REICHENBACH, Hans, 1944. *Philosophic Foundations of Quantum Mechanics*. New York: Dover Publications, s. 12-14.

SAKURA, J. John, 2000. *Modern Quantum Mechanics*. New York: Addison-Wesley.

LEWIS, J. Peter, 2016. *Quantum Ontology: A Guide to Metaphysics of Quantum Mechanics*. Oxford: University Press.

⁴ Většina vědců a filozofických škol se dnes hlásí s odvahou a zájmem k novému pohledu na vědu, poznání, a důsledkem i na spirituální pohled na svět.

⁵ Jeho cílem bylo spíše zabránit lidem, aby se snažili porozumět kvantové realitě z hlediska jejich každodenní intuice, alespoň dokud nezískají náhled ze studia matematiky kvantové teorie, jazyka vlnových funkcí a operátorů. V tomto postoji byl Feynman velmi realistický a pragmatický. Více v: FEYNMAN, P. Richard, 1998. *The Meaning of it All: Thoughts of a Citizen-Scientist*. Basic Books.

⁶ „Jsme daleko od toho, abychom naznačovali, že realismus je jediným praktickým přístupem v životě... utíkáme do 'úkrytu' pod *nominalismus* a jako realisté vycházíme pouze tehdy, když to naše sociální prostředí vyžaduje.“ Srov. s: ANDERSEN, Tim, 2022..., s. 3.

⁷ Více v: WITTGENSTEIN, Ludwig, 2019. *Filozofická zkoumání*. Filosofía Praga, s. 21-22.

⁸ Více v: FLOYD, Juliet, 2016. *Chains of Life: Turing, Lebensform, and the Emergence of Wittgenstein's Later Style*. [online]. In: *Nordic Wittgenstein Review* 5 (2) 2016, s. 7-88. Dostupné na: <https://doi.org/10.15845/nwr.v5i2.3435>.

strukce (*wittgensteinovská* 'jazyková hra'), které se učíme účasti v systému, v aktuálním případě v kvantovém systému pravděpodobnosti, *indeterminismu* a pravděpodobnostních (*stochastických*) jevů.⁹ Nová filozofie kvantové mechaniky vyžadovala nový jazyk, novou 'jazykovou hru'. Byla požadována nová adjektiva a podstatná jména, nová schémata, nová 'racionalita' připouštějící logické rozpory s klasickým pojetím světa. Z Wittgensteinova hlediska je to jedno, protože názvy, které dáváme polím jako 'elektromagnetické', 'gravitační' a podobně, jsou jen součástí 'jazykové hry' kvantové fyziky, 'hry' nabízející množství subjektivních 'lokálních' interpretací v nekonečném množství různých náhledů na pravděpodobnostní vlnovou funkci 'existence'.¹⁰

Pokud se nám podaří získat intuici z kvantové teorie, otázkou zůstane, jestli této 'absurdní' teorii budeme skutečně 'rozumět'. To bude záležet na tom, co rozumíme pod pojmem 'rozumět'. Wittgensteinův pohled byl takový, že 'rozumět něčemu' znamená vědět, jak dobře 'hrát jazykovou hru', nevylučuje všechny alternativní 'jazykové hry', jak by si přáli 'hrát' mnozí kvantoví filozofové.¹¹ Závěr z toho je, že Wittgensteinův tichý respekt před 'nevyslovitelnou' a mystickou dimenzí kvantové existence, spojený s předchozím Kierkegaardovým odkazem na 'paradox', se jen málo liší od nadpřirozených vysvětlení náboženství. Veškerá lidská řeč a činnost jsou rituální, mající 'význam' svou propojeností. Je nemožné se ptát v dnešní fyzice, co znamená 'vlnová funkce', aniž by se specifikovaly jednotlivé (*diskrétní*) činnosti v jejich konkrétních individuálních bodech. Tudíž aktivní (subjektivní) 'činnost' jednoho okamžiku praktické víry (*ortopraxe*) nemůže dát přesně popsatelný, matematicky definovatelný a objektivní model náboženské víry. Kvantová filozofie nabídla možnost přemýšlet o světě nikoli jako o světě plném ostře definovaných pravd, ale spíše jako o místě obsahujícím nesčetné možnosti, z nichž každá, jako možnost v rámci samotné vlnové funkce, může být současně pravdivá i nepravdivá. Podobně ani matematika a její jazyk nereprezentují 'realitu', ale slouží jako důvěryhodný nástroj, který lidem pomáhá orientovat se ve světě. Neurčitost a nemožnost definitivního poznání nejen obohacuje jazyk matematiky s pojmy 'fuzzy' ('zamžené') logiky, ale zároveň otvírá více 'dveří' k náboženské víře v Boha, 'Paradoxu' všech paradoxů.

Co nejvíce fascinuje dnešní filozofy v *ontologickém* hledání 'reality', jež koresponduje s nejnovějšími objevy současné fyziky, je objevená synchronizace mezi pohledem Wittgensteina a zakladatele kvantové filozofie, Nielsem Bohrem.¹² Bohr

⁹ Ve dvacátých letech minulého století vynalezli kvantoví teoretici nové systémy pro popis polí pomocí pokročilých matematických konceptů, jako jsou nekonečně rozměrné vektory nazývané 'vlnové funkce'. Obvyčejná fakta byla nahrazena nekonečně dimenzionálními operátory na vlnových spojitých funkcích. Více v: ANDERSEN, Tim, 2022..., s. 4-5.

¹⁰ Názvy ve vytváření nových filozofických systémů nejsou o objektivní realitě, ani o subjektivních smyslových dojmech. Spíše fyzikům říkají, jak mají 'hrát' danou 'hru'.

¹¹ Jen málokdo byl ve 'hře' s fyzikou lepší než Feynman. Je možné, že právě on se nejvíce aproximálně přiblížil k porozumění 'nepochopitelného' světa, stvořeného nepochopitelným 'Nekonečnem'.

¹² Více v: STENHOLM, Stig, 2011. *The Quest for Reality: Bohr and Wittgenstein, Two Complementary Views*. Oxford: University Press, s. 213-215.

i Wittgenstein kladou velký důraz na roli, kterou hraje jazyk v našem přístupu k realitě. Oba zažili stejný pocit, když odborné pohledy na svět nebylo snadné vyjádřit slovy; ve skutečnosti oba zoufali z omezené možnosti vyjádřit cokoli podstatného slovně. Výchozím bodem pro analytické srovnání myšlenek dvou velikánů byl pokrok vědy, zejména fyziky, který nás postupně vedl od newtonovského determinismu do současné 'neurčitosti', *kontraintuitivnosti* a paradoxnosti, což jsou vše rysy plynoucí z kvantové mechaniky.¹³ 'Nejistota' vznikající v kvantové teorii zaručeně otvírá nové horizonty našeho poznání reality. Jak vědecká 'zabezpečenosť' nabízená v devatenáctém století, tak *scholastická* neměnnost *ontologicko-rozumových* argumentů byly pohlceny novým poznáním a staly se speciálním (klasickým) případem v rámci mnohem širšího, navíc zjevně a-racionálního *paradigmatu* vidění světa a vesmíru.

Hlavním představitelem změny filozofického myšlení od 'statického/diskrétního' do 'dynamického-spojitého' je bezesporu právě Ludwig Wittgenstein, jehož 'Traktát' jako by formálně uzavřel svět logickým způsobem.¹⁴ Všechno, co lze říci, má být řečeno a zbytek je povinné 'ticho' (*silentium*). Jako logicko-rozumová konstrukce se zdá, že jeho dílo zachycuje svět v jeho celistvosti, ale i hlubší uvažování vyvolává potřebu jít za hranice logicky 'bezpečného' a mluvit o tom, co je považováno za nevy-slovitelné, i když v nutné tichosti.¹⁵ Svět kvantové fyziky musí mít nějakou existenci, ale jeho charakter se zdá být dán výhradně jeho reakcemi na lidská rozhodnutí. Einstein jako první zničil trvalost prostoru a času; kvantová fyzika potom odstranila zbý-vající zbytky naděje zachytit realitu ve spojení formálně-logicky zavedených symbo-lů. Extrémně úspěšná kvantová teorie neposkytuje popis naší zkušenosti jako uzavře-né totality. Klasický vesmír Newtona a Maxwella byl nahrazen Bohrovým *efemérním* popisem lidského vědění jako *epistemologické* konstrukce, jejíž vztah ke skutečnosti je přinejlepším 'roztržštěný'. Uvažování o Wittgensteinově přeměně z přísné logické analýzy na vyšetřovatele lidské komunikace se všemi možnostmi a omezeními běž-ného jazyka vede k obrazu transformačního světa moderní fyziky, jejímž 'prorokem' byl právě Bohr, jenž obhajoval neúplnou představu o ne-lokálnosti kvantového svě-

¹³ Vývoj nás vede od plně kauzální Maxwellovy teorie, přes statistický chaos tepelné fyziky. „Kvantová filozofie, kterou je těžké pochopit či 'rozumně' vysvětlit, způsobuje i zhroucení logických struktur předpokládaných pozitivisticky nakloněnými staviteli dobře uspořáda-ných světů.“ Srov. s: STENHOLM, Stig, 2011..., s. 214.

¹⁴ Více v: PIREDDA, Patrizia, 2023. Quando a linguagem sai de férias: Relaxao sobre problemas linguisticos em QM através da filosofia de Wittgenstein. [online]. In: *Perspectivas: Revista da Filosofia*, 8/1 2003, s. 263-281. DOI: 10.20873/rpv8n1-67. [cit. 28.12.2023]. Dostupné na: <https://www.researchgate.net>.

ISHIKAWA, Shiro, 2020. Wittgenstein's Picture Theory in the Quantum Mechanical Worl-dview. In: *Journal of Quantum Information Science*, 10(04), s. 104-125. [online]. [cit. 28.12.2023]. DOI:10.4236/jqis.2020.104007. Dostupné na: <https://www.scirp.org/journal/jqis>.

OMNÈS Roland, 1995. A new interpretation of quantum mechanics and its consequences in epistemology. [online]. In: *Foundations of Physics* 25 (4) /1995, s. 605-629. [cit. 4.1.2024]. Dostupné na: <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02059008>.

¹⁵ Možnost 'uzavřeného' konzistentního logického rámce měla být demonstrována založením matematických systémů Russellem a Fregem. Poslední překážku v cestě postavil však Kurt Gödel svým teorémem o neúplnosti formálních axiomatických systémů, čímž se očekávaná 'jistota' při podrobném zkoumání definitivně vypařila. Ztráta 'naivního' chápání byla v pří-rodních vědách ještě zřetelnější.

ta. I když byl jeho *epistemologický* pohled mnoha způsoby zpochybňován, přesto, že prokázal svou užitečnost, žádný konkurent jej nedokázal zatím nahradit.¹⁶ Vývoj od logicky a rozumově 'uspořádané' jistoty k ne-logickým a a-rationálním charakterům existence nám zanechává svět 'nejistý' a možná *sémanticky* nedokonale definovaný, ale jak zdůrazňuje opakovaně fyzik Lawrence Krauss: „Vesmír zde není proto, aby se nám líbil.“¹⁷ 'Spolupráce' mezi Wittgensteinem a Bohrem v mnoha ohledech účinně popisuje celek lidské zkušenosti. I když mnozí považují strukturu kvantové mechaniky za logicky 'nevyhovující' (počínaje samotným Einsteinem), *epistemologicky* zamlženou a *ontologicky* otevřenou, je nutné tuto novou realitu přijmout s překvapením, ale i povděkem za to, že Stvořitel nabízí svět, který je stále novější, nepochopitelnější, záhadnější, více fascinující, a především nikdy 'nudný'. *Ontologii* neurčuje zjevně ani ta nejpěšnější *epistemologie*.¹⁸

Kierkegaard a moderní kosmologické myšlení

Je vysoce pravděpodobné, že filozoficko-teologické 'uchopení' existujícího vesmíru a přiblížení se k myšlení a jednání jeho Stvořitele nebude pravděpodobně možné uspokojivě a definitivně 'rozhodnout' jednou provždy *scholastickými* postuláty, odvolávajícími se převážně na 'rationální' schopnosti myslícího člověka. A to právě díky kvantové revoluci a vědeckého pokroku za posledních sto let. Stejně jako Wittgenstein, i Kierkegaardova reflexe má co říci k mysterioznímu chování a struktuře vesmíru, otvírajíc další nové pohledy na zázrak stvoření, jehož původní model v klasické mechanice se stává speciálním případem eventuálně nekonečně širšího pojetí stále bohatější 'Existence'.¹⁹

Slavný fyzik Steven Hawking zápasil ve své knize '*Brief History of Time*' s problémem 'proč' existuje vesmír, ale stejně jako mnoho jiných před ním, se nikdy nevyhnul možnosti, že nekonečný *prostorčas* má svůj počátek ve stvořitelské '*Ideji*'.²⁰ Když se podíváme pozorně na Kierkegaardovy spisy a dokumenty, je zcela jasné, že autor předpokládá vesmír definitivně stvořený Bohem.²¹ Na rozdíl od Hawkinga se však nesnaží vysvětlit vesmír pomocí vědy. I když připouští platnost urči-

¹⁶ Wittgenstein a Bohr přinesli analogické reformy metodologie výzkumu. Oba končí přesvědčením, že veškeré skutečné znalosti musí být založeny na běžném jazyce fungujícím jako komunikační prostředek mezi jednotlivci. Bez jazyka nemohou být výsledky experimentů deklarovány veřejně a bez přímé komunikace mezi nimi by skončil vědecký pokrok. Tudiž, Bohr a Wittgenstein velmi podobně deklarují svou vizi *epistemické* aktivity lidí.

¹⁷ Srov. s: KRAUSS, Lawrence, 2023. *The Edge of Knowledge: Unsolved Mysteries of the Cosmos*. Post Hill Press, s. 9.

¹⁸ To ponechává scénu otevřenou různým modelům 'reality'. Nic dnes nevyklučuje ani ta *nejesoteričtější* vyznání a náboženství. To, co víme, nepodporuje vše, co si myslíme, že víme. To tušili a vyznávali Kierkegaard i Wittgenstein, i když upřednostňovali křesťanství jako pravou cestu k 'Pravdě'. Situace není zdaleka filozoficky uspokojivá, ale může to být nakonec ten nejlepší obraz světa, jaký je k dispozici našemu omezenému intelektu.

¹⁹ Více v: KHAN, Abraham, 2018. Kierkegaard Americanus: towards establishing a comparative analysis unit. [online]. In: *XLinguae* 11(4):2-10. [cit. 16.5.2024]. DOI:10.18355/XL.2018.11.04.01.

²⁰ Více v: WATKIN, Julia, 1997. *Kierkegaard's God and Hawking's Universe*. [online]. Religious Experience Research Centre. [cit. 30.12.2023]. Dostupné na: <https://repository.uwtsd.ac.uk/id/eprint/359/1/RERC2-006-1-WAT.pdf>.

²¹ V tom se Kierkegaard i Wittgenstein shodují s premisou scholastické filozofie.

tých vědeckých snažení, je podezřívavý k pokusům vědců vysvětlit lidskou existenci, a místo toho dělá teologicko-filozofický 'skok ve víře' k uznání Boha, který stvořil svět z 'ničeho' (*ex nihilo*).²² Kierkegaardův vesmír je proto velmi odlišný od vesmíru Hawkinga. Pro Kierkegaarda i slovo 'vesmír' znamená něco jiného:

„Celé stvoření slouží a ukazuje pouze na jediného Boha, který je pánem všech možností, bedlivě bdí nad stvořením a je do něj zapojen, čímž ukazuje, že základní silou vesmíru je 'láska', kterou nyní Bůh může přijímat i dávat skrze zjeveného Krista. I nekonečná Boží 'Láska' může používat k vyjadřování jazyk vědy a kvantovou filozofii.“²³

Přesto lze identifikovat shodu mezi Kierkegaardem a Hawkingem v určitých bodech, i když na různých základech. Oba souhlasí, že vesmír není ani svévolný, ani deterministický, ale Kierkegaard hovoří o možnosti a nutnosti existence Boha, stvořitele, jenž má poznání, ale nepředurčuje budoucnost. Oba myslitelé se shodují, že lidstvo je konečné, omezené, pokud jde o vědění: Hawking poukazuje na faktor Heisenbergovy nejistoty, ale také si uvědomuje, že nárůst specializace ve vědění neznamená, že lidé jsou schopni obsáhnout více než jen malé oblasti poznání.²⁴ Jedinec zaujímá své místo v Hawkingově vesmíru jako součást probíhajícího 'proudu' hmoty a energie, zatímco zajímavá 'singularita' spojená s lidskou jedinečnou osobností, je ignorována. Právě zde si však Kierkegaard přijde na své v tom, že ve svém uvažování objasňuje další otázky, které si Hawking klade bez odpovědi.

Za prvé, Kierkegaard velmi pečlivě rozlišuje mezi 'subjektem' a 'objektem'. Nejenže pohlíží na 'objektivní pravdu' jako objektivně 'nejistou', ale pečlivě rozlišuje mezi subjektivní pravdou skutečného 'závazku víry' a nejistotou 'objektivní pravdy'. Aby také zabránil záměně objektivní pravdy matematiky s objektivní historickou pravdou, činí rozlišení mezi logickým a existenciálním systémem: logika nás odvádí od intelektuálních pokusů dospět ke konečnému historickému 'proč' ohledně vesmíru. Podle Kierkegaarda nevzniká otázka 'proč vesmír' jako problém v oblasti objektivního poznání skrze formálně-logické dokazování. Takže zatímco Hawkingova kniha je prostoupena otázkou, zda lze odpovědět na otázku konečného původu vesmíru, Kierkegaard s ohledem na představu Boha-stvořitele objasňuje, že Boží existence se předpokládá jako základ víry pro existenciálně-etický náboženský život. Snaha 'dokázat' existenci Boha je pro Kierkegaarda 'absurdní', tudíž posouvá původce vesmíru ze sféry objektivní do sféry intimně-subjektivní.

Pokud se někdo rozhodne věřit v osobního Boha, pak jím není 'Věc' v dalekých oblastech časoprostoru nebo za ním, ale 'Subjekt'. Tudíž 'bytosť' Kierkegaardova Boha je bytosť čistě, nesobecké, osobní, milující subjektivity. Bůh a lidé patří do říše subjektu, ačkoli jako syntéza časného a věčného se lidstvo podílí i na objektivním, materiálním aspektu stvoření. Existuje kvalitativní rozdíl mezi Bohem a člověkem, což s sebou nese 'paradox', že Bůh je jak nekonečně blízko, tak zároveň nekonečně daleko. Způsob, jakým může lidská bytosť najít Boha jako 'Subjekt' a mít k němu

²² Více v: KIERKEGAARD, Sören, 1967. *Journals and Papers*. Ed. H. Hong. Indiana University Press. Sv. 3/s. 2806-2818.

²³ Srov. s: WATKIN, Julia, 1997. *Kierkegaard's God and Hawking's Universe...*, s. 5.

²⁴ *ibidem*, s. 6-7.

vztah, je pouze na základě osobního vztahu. Aby člověk našel cestu k Bohu, musí jedinec podniknout cestu do 'nitra', sám do sebe, aby objevil a čelil tomu, co činí Boha tak nekonečně vzdáleným, totiž faktor vlastní hříšnosti.

Tím, že Kierkegaard rozlišuje mezi dočasností a věčností a mezi subjektivitou lidské bytosti a objektivitou, poukazuje na možnost jiných nehmotných energií a sil a upozorňuje na význam lidského 'já' (*ego*) pro Hawkingovo myšlení. Na jedné straně nechává prostor další velmi reálné síle, která v popisech pocházejících z oblasti teoretické fyziky vůbec nefiguruje, totiž 'síle lásky' pramenící z říše věčnosti milujícího Ducha. Na druhé straně nastoluje jeho analýza vlastní existence zpochybnutí otazník Hawkingovým zdánlivým předpokladům, že člověk jako 'pozorovatel' formuluje zákony a činí objevy pouze prostřednictvím čistě intelektuální nebo myšlenkové stránky osobnosti. Dle Kierkegaarda, moderní tendence upřednostňování významu 'mysli', vnímané exkluzivně jako uvažující nebo racionalizační činitel, je zásadní chyba.²⁵ Kierkegaardův náhled může osvětlit Hawkingovo hledání jednoduchého sjednocujícího 'principu' ('teorie všeho'), i když jiným směrem než zkoumání čtyř základních fyzikálních sil. Namísto hledání sjednocení sil v přírodě by se pro Hawkinga mohlo ukázat jako plodnější prozkoumat pojem Kierkegaardových dvou základních říší vesmíru: 'Nekonečné' dalo základ materiálnímu vesmíru a stalo se 'konečným' (člověkem) v 'Paradoxu' vtělení (*inkarnace*). Kierkegaardův obraz vesmíru nabízí představu 'víry' a ukazuje cestu od intelektuálního pozorování k možné volbě existenciálního závazku a zkušenosti ve 'skoku víry'.

'Iracionalno' kvantové reality: Søren Kierkegaard a Niels Bohr

Rekonstrukce evoluce západní fyziky považovala Kantovo postavení za ústřední pro pochopení ostatních odvětví (racionální) vědy. Niels Bohr však vycházel z předpokladů, které již byly mimo *kantianismus* a které jej už nepovažovaly za povinný odkaz k následování nebo kritice.²⁶ Bohr vychází z filozofie Kierkegaarda, jenž vyměnil abstraktní kantovský subjekt vědeckého, *transcendentálního*, ideálního a univerzálního poznání s jeho intelektuálními kategoriemi a *apriorními* formami, za konkrétně existující 'subjekt', zcela ponořený do jedinečnosti své čisté zkuše-

²⁵ Zejména prostřednictvím svých pseudonymů '*Climacus*' a '*Anti-Climacus*' nastiňuje Kierkegaard své 'já' jako syntézu těla a duše, bytost, která cítí, myslí a chce. Dále, toto počáteční 'já' má potenciál pro věčný život, který může být realizován prostřednictvím správného eticko-náboženského vztahu k ideálnímu 'já' na základě vztahu k Bohu. Kierkegaardův '*Climacus*' by mohl reagovat na Hawkinga, když lituje tendenci učinit intelektuální aspekt sebe sama, totiž racionální myšlení, nejvyšším prvkem v osobnosti jedince. Poukazuje na to, že v existenci jsou myšlení, představivost a citění koordinované, zatímco '*Anti-Climacus*' naléhá na důležitost schopnosti představivosti ve vztahu k '*Idealitě*', ale zdůrazňuje, že vůle je nakonec rozhodujícím prvkem naší osobnosti. Více v: KIERKEGAARD, Søren, 1985. *Philosophical Fragments*. Princeton: University Press.

KIERKEGAARD, Søren, 2009. *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*. Cambridge: University Press.

²⁶ Více v: GIANNETTO, Enrico, 1994. *Something is rotten in the State of Denmark: Søren Kierkegaard, Niels Bohr e la nascita della fisica quantistica*. [online]. Bergamo: Università degli Studi. [cit. 30.12.2023]. Dostupné na: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-6784-2048>. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.13130/2035-7680/12152>.

nosti.²⁷ Co se existence individuálního subjektu týče, základní zkušeností konkrétně existujícího subjektu je zkušenost víry, v níž Kierkegaard *anti-metafyzickým* způsobem získává výsledky teologického 'voluntarismu', víry, jejíž zkušenost je zkušeností absolutní lidské 'konečnosti', a která zdůrazňuje hranice lidského rozumu.²⁸

Kierkegaard tak rozvíjí radikální filozofii přírody, jejíž chápání vyplývá z absolutní lidské konečnosti a limitovanosti rozumu, kdy křesťanská existenciální zkušenost odhaluje strukturu lidské 'existence'. Kierkegaardovo pojetí reality nemá tedy specificky *teisticko-metafyzickou* konotaci, ale je taková, kterou lze nastínit po odstranění všech *metafyzických* předpokladů, a proto je přijatelná i pro ateistu, jako byl Bohr. Kierkegaardova perspektiva tak předčí i Hegelovu historickou konkretizaci lidského vědění; skutečné nelze nijak racionalizovat do té míry, do jaké racionalizace spočívá v reprezentacích nutných souvislostí. 'Stát se' je vždy částečným 'zničením' možností nahrazených realitou ('kolaps' vlnové funkce nekonečných potencialit bytí). Minulost není nutná ani poté, co se stala, jinak by byla nutná i budoucnost; 'nutné', typické pro neměnné bytí, nezahrnuje možnost 'stát se', avšak opak je pravdou.²⁹

V Bohrově modelu atomu je zdůrazněna neurčitost mezi elektromagnetickými a mechanickými proměnnými. V jeho 'planetárním modelu' atomu mohou elektrony rotovat kolem atomového jádra pouze na určitých drahách s kvantovaným momentem hybnosti, které představovaly stacionární stavy. Elektron je možné 'zachytit' pouze ve stacionárních (*diskrétních*) stavech atomu a nikdy v přechodu z jednoho stavu do druhého, což nelze popsat nepřetržitými matematickými funkcemi nebo předvídatelnými kauzálními souvislostmi. Některá obvinění proti kvantové filozofii neberou v úvahu, že její konceptuální původ spočívá právě u Kierkegaarda v přijetí rozporů, které se projevují ve skutečnosti, ve snaze je vyřešit v nové syntéze, tudíž v odmítnutí jejich zkreslující racionalizace.³⁰ Ani princip *non-kontradikce* nelze *apriori* aplikovat na fyzikální realitu a jeho porušování musí být konstituováno v nové experimentální logice. To vše našlo protějšek v Heisenbergově principu neurčitosti, který je považován za efektivní *ontologickou* neurčitost, spojenou

²⁷ Kierkegaard se vrátil ke kritice Huma, s níž Kant začal, ale od níž se pak distancoval. Bohr však odmítl pojmout Kierkegaardův konkrétně existující 'subjekt' jako fyzickou 'subjektivitu' tvořenou množstvím vědeckých nástrojů, které vždy přesahují lidskou zkušenost, spolu s jeho možnou přímou intuicí viditelné fyzikální reality.

²⁸ Nevyzpytatelnost Boží vůle neznamená pouze *apriorní* nepoznatelnost stvořené přírody pouhým rozumem, ale také jistou nahodilost uvnitř stvoření ve všech jeho částech a aspektech: není možné stanovit žádnou nutnost přirozeného 'stávání se', tedy žádný *determinismus* nebo *kauzalitu* mezi událostmi, přesně jak ukázala kvantová fyzika. To otvírá další prostor k následné filozofické debatě o svobodě a svobodné vůli.

²⁹ Více v: KIERKEGAARD, Sören, 1997. *Filosofické drobký aneb Drobátko filosofie*. Přkl. M.Thulstrupová. Votobia, s. 82-93.

³⁰ Jak Kierkegaard, tak Wittgenstein byli nařčeni z *fideismu*, což bylo mnohými prokázáno jako nepravdivé. Více v: EVANS, C. Steven, 2008. Kierkegaard and the Limits of Reason: Can There Be a Responsible Fideism? [online]. In: *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, 64 (2/4):1021-1035 (2008)2008/64. [cit. 25.10.2023]. Dostupné na: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40419599>. FABRO, Cornelio, 1948. Foi et raison dans l'oeuvre de Kierkegaard. [online]. In: *Revue de sciences philosophiques et theologiques*, sv. 32, No. 3/1948. [cit. 4.11.2023]. Librairie Philosophique. Dostupné na: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44410576>.

s *epistemologickým* omezením. Mnohé pokusy byly učiněny o 'racionalizaci' kvantového chování, ale zatím se je nedařilo zrealizovat.

Změny energetických stavů jsou podle Bohra konfigurovány jako Kierkegaardovy 'skoky' mezi různými stavy (sférami) lidské existence. Bohr znal dobře dílo dánského filozofa a měl v oblíbě myšlenku spojenou s *kierkegaardovskou* idejí 'sfér' existence, jejíž tři stupně jsou vnímány jako soustředné sféry. Volný elektron odpovídá stádiu 'náboženského' života, skutečné svobody; elektron v základním stavu odpovídá 'estetickému stádiu' vázanému na dočasné požitky, a elektron ve vyšším excitovaném stavu koresponduje dokonalejšímu stádiu 'etického' života vedoucímu do sféry víry. Mezi jednou a druhou fází života a elektronem je stejná propast a elektron musí udělat 'skok', stejně jako lidská bytost v případě 'skoku' víry. Elektron může přejít do vyššího stavu pouze prostřednictvím 'světla', které ho osvětluje a dává mu energii, stejně jako při přechodu z etického do náboženského života člověka, který není možný bez potřebného 'Světla' milosti. Tato zajímavá úvaha není srozumitelná racionálně. 'Světlo' k dodání energie jak pro elektron, tak pro člověka, je stejně nepředvídatelné jako 'Milost' (*Gratia*). Při přechodu do vyššího stupně nabývá chování elektronu/jedince 'singularity' a není z hlediska pravidel 'srozumitelné'. Jedinečnost existence, jak ji křesťanství chápe, představuje pochopení jedinečnosti existence částic, jež tvoří strukturu hmoty.³¹ V Kierkegaardově myšlení je to křesťanství, které odhaluje strukturu lidské existence, a podle Bohra strukturu *mikrofyzické* existence, jež skrze unikání přímé viditelnosti a zkušenosti, je určitým způsobem předmětem víry.³² Pro Kierkegaarda lze tak představit realitu mezi (časťovou) 'Přírodou' a (božskou) Milostí, které jsou 'opačné', ale prezentují se jako doplňkové aspekty jednoho nepochopitelného a nepopsatelného '*Mysteria*'.

Závěr

Kierkegaard, spolu s Wittgensteinem, intuitivně poukázali, že víra není primárně záležitostí intelektu, nýbrž 'vášně', která utváří osobní 'charakter' v duchovním životě. I když tento fakt znala už Scholastika, objev kvantově indeterministické podstaty reality potvrdil, že lidský rozum, jako nejvyšší autorita vědy a pýcha ateismu, je nucen pochybovat sám o sobě a otevřít dveře do světa nekonečných možností vedoucích k nepochopitelnému a intelektuálně nedosažitelnému '*Mysteriu*'. Existencialismus a intimně osobní vztah k Bohu nabízí dnes pravděpodobně účinnější a přitažlivější cestu k náboženství a víře než *metafyzické* 'důkazy' božství. Nicméně, z faktu, že víra není *a priori* intelektuální, nevyplyvá, že víra nemá intelektuál-

³¹ Srov. s: GIANNETTO, Enrico, 1994. *Something is rotten in the State of Denmark...*, s. 184.

³² Víra má specifické významy nejen v náboženském, nýbrž i v sekulárním kontextu. Častokrát mluvíme o tom, že věříme někomu nebo něčemu. Mluvíme o tom, že máme víru v osobního lékaře, víru v politického *leadera* nebo víru ve vědu. Také hovoříme o víře jako o jistém aspektu nebo 'stupni' nejistoty. V náboženském kontextu je termín 'víra' častokrát použit jako synonym pro náboženství. Víra se používá k popisu určité množiny charakteristik týkajících se právě náboženství. Mnozí také myslí, že víra znamená dobrovolné podřízení se individuálním náboženským příkazům a ustanovením. Víra v křesťanském smyslu zahrnuje především důvěru, víru a poslušnost. Je pochopitelné, že víra v náboženském smyslu vyžaduje propozice, i když 'propozice víry' nedefinují kompletně náboženskou víru.

ní důsledky. Podle Kierkegaarda je víra aspektem celé osobnosti jedince, esenciální k nabytí náboženského poznání. Navíc, lidský rozum má svoje limity a je rozumné tyto limity rozpoznat a přijmout samotným rozumem. To jsou základní dvě témata Kierkegardova postoje ohledně filozofie náboženství. Cílem úvahy nebylo ponížít rozum či eliminovat racionálně z diskuze o filozofických aspektech náboženství u Kierkegaarda a Wittgensteina. Lidský rozum má určitě své hranice a bylo by velmi nereálné a 'nerozumné' snažit se tyto hranice nějakým způsobem přirozeně determinovat. V náboženské víře jde o víru hluboce individuální, která se soustřeďuje především na důvěru v to, co Bůh řekl a ustanovil.

Jak zdůrazňuje Kierkegaard, zájem náboženské víry se týká 'Nekonečna'. To znamená, že zapojení náboženské osoby do úsilí o věčnost má nelimitovaný charakter vyplývající z touhy po 'Nekonečnu'. Pro takový druh nekonečného zájmu by dokonce i minimální možnost chyby mohla být problémem, jelikož se jedná o možnost spásy. Lze říci, že se jedná o neměřitelnost mezi touhou individua po jistotě, po evidenci, s rozumem, který by takovou evidenci nabídnul.³³ Víra a rozum jsou tedy nesouměřitelné, ve smyslu, že nemají společnou 'míru' umožňující je nějakým způsobem spojit dohromady.³⁴ Stejně i důsledky kvantové filozofie jsou nekompatibilní s formálně-logickým uvažováním lidského rozumu. Více jak po sto letech od objevu kvantové existence nebyla ještě nalezena metoda k jejímu vyvrácení.³⁵ Důvodem její *a-rationality*, stejně jako v případě náboženské 'paradoxní' víry, by mohl být fakt, že v obou případech se 'konečno' setkává s 'Nekonečnem'. Církev dnes cítí nutnost najít nové cesty k evangelizaci, mnohem obtížnější než kdykoliv předtím, spolu s předtuchou nadcházejících mnohem radikálnějších změn ve společnosti a v pohledu na vesmír, s nimiž se filozoficko-teologické myšlení bude muset nevyhnutelně konfrontovat. Intuitivně se o limitovanosti lidského rozumového poznání vyjádřila jedna z nejstarších knih Bible, kde Job říká: „Až sem můžeš dojít, ale dál ne, tady se musí tvé hrdé vlny zastavit“ (Job 38:11).

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³³ Ani ti nejlepší odborníci nemohou překonat propast mezi 'kvantitativním' charakterem této evidence a 'kvalitativním' charakterem závazku, který pravá víra vyžaduje. I historické poznání samo o sobě přináší pouze aproximaci, nikdy stoprocentní 'jistotu'. Tato argumentace je tudíž znakem nesouměřitelnosti mezi vírou a rozumem, protože na bázi tohoto argumentu je právě tvrzení, že víra požaduje druh 'jistoty', která nemůže být dána čistým rozumem.

³⁴ Srov. s: EVANS, C. Stephen, 1998. *Faith Beyond Reason: a Kierkegaardian Account*. Michigan: Grand Rapids/W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, s. 12.

³⁵ Hlavním důvodem pro Kierkegaarda a Wittgensteina, proč rozum a víra jsou nesouměřitelné, je, že náš rozum je 'poškozen' lidskou hříšností, což je také důvod teologický. Jestliže hovoříme o Bohu jako 'Pravdě' a hledáme kategorie k nalezení 'Pravdy', ty musí být dány 'zvenčí', darovány Bohem.

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Chancellery, Registry and Parish Archives in the Old Polish Period (12th-18th centuries)

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Abstract: The subject of this publication is the chancellery, registry and parish archives in the Old Polish period (XII-XVIII). The aim is to attempt a comprehensive view and a fairly exhaustive study based on publications (particularly Polish) on the above-mentioned issue. The publication attempts to answer the question: did the organisation and functioning of the chancellery, registry and parish archive in the Old Polish period have any impact on its functioning and development in the following centuries? The publication begins with an explanation of the terms used: *parafia*, *kancelaria* and *registratura parafialna*. It then presents the types of documentation originating from the parish office and registry and stored in the parish archive. The principles and models developed in the Old Polish period (12th-18th centuries) for the organisation and functioning of the parish chancellery, registry and archive provided a solid basis for the further work and functioning of these three parish units and were a point of reference in matters of training and preparation of office staff in Polish Roman Catholic parishes.

Keywords: Catholic Church in Poland. Old Polish period from the 12th to the 18th century. Chancellery. Registratura and archives of Polish Roman Catholic parishes.

Introduction

The subject of this publication is the chancellery, registry and parish archives in the Old Polish period (XII-XVIII). The aim is to attempt a comprehensive view and a fairly exhaustive study, based on publications (especially Polish), of the above-mentioned issue. The publication is intended to answer the question: did the organisation and functioning of the chancellery, registry and parish archive in the Old Polish period have any impact on its functioning and development in later centuries? A method of synthesis and analysis was used in the writing. After the introduction, the more important concepts used in the work are given. In the first part of the publication listed types of oldest documents stored in the church archives. In addition to the documents, there were entry books, which are mentioned in the second part. The church archives also held loose files and office aids. The church chancellery and its equipment were then described.

Concepts

The word “parokia” comes from the Greek word “paroikeo” - to be among someone, to be close to someone, to be a sojourner somewhere, to dwell temporarily in this life. Parokia means to stay in a foreign country or to be on the road¹.

¹ Griechisch-Deutsches Schul-Wörterbuch... von Dr. Gustav Eduard Benseler, 10th ed. op. by Dr. Adolf Kaegi, Leipzig 1896, p. 649.

Originally, the term *parokia* had a double meaning. Firstly, it denoted the Christian community presided over by the bishop, and secondly, it denoted the episcopal church at which the bishop lived together with his priests, called the episcopal presbytery. The clergy of the various ranks gathered only around the bishop and ministered only in direct communication with him².

Today, a parish is defined as a community of the faithful, permanently established in a particular Church, over which the pastoral care is exercised by a parish priest under the authority of the diocesan bishop. The parish constitutes a community, defined by the demarcation of territorial boundaries. The signs of the stability of a parish community are:

- the erection decree of the diocesan bishop,
- worshippers connected to the parish territory through permanent or temporary residence,
- own pastor (parish priest),
- an appropriate sacred place for the performance of worship.

The beginnings of chancelleries, registries and parish archives³ are most often linked to the resolutions of the Council of Trent. However, traces of their existence in the Polish lands are much earlier and date back to the 13th century. As soon as the first parishes were established, the so-called recipient archive⁴ began to function. It was not an archive in the modern sense of an institution that stores and secures records, but referred to a place, most often it was the church treasury, where various documents, including those of an economic nature, were kept⁵.

1. Documents

Among the parish documents kept were the foundation and erection privileges⁶. A church that had been built and endowed by its founder became, by virtue of the privilege of canonical erection, an ecclesiastical legal person, the subject of parish rights and the endowment of the parish priest and other ecclesiastical ministers. The canonical erection of the parish church and the benefice belonged to the diocesan bishop and the permission of the cathedral chapter⁷. Resolutions of the synod of Łęczyca of Archbishop Jakub Świnka in 1285 directed that all evidence of foundation

² R. Kaminski, Parish as a community and an institution, in: „Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne” 1985, vol XXXII, z. 6, p. 16; J. Popot and D. Aime-Azam, *La paroisse*, Paris 1965, p. 41.

³ Before the Council of Trent, no distinction was made in church law between registry and archive. The term parish registry began to be used from the second half of the 16th century. W. Wójcik, Archiwum i biblioteka kapituły w Sandomierzu, in: „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne” (cit. ABMK) 1963, vol. 7, p. 10.

⁴ S. Olczak, Kancelaria, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka* (cit. EK), vol. 8, ed. by B. Migut [and others], Lublin 2000, k. 554.

⁵ F. Lenort, Z dziejów organizacji i zasobu Archiwum Archidiecezjalnego w Poznaniu, in: ABMK 1967, vol. 15, p. 14.

⁶ These were so-called diplomas, or parchments with or without seals. Diplomas were also called later handmade paper documents with watermarks and hanging seals, T. Grygier, Z zagadnień archiwistyki kościelnej na przykładzie archiwum parafialnego, in: ABMK 1971, vol. 22, pp. 49-50.

⁷ W. Góralski, Erection, in: EK, vol. 4, ed. by R. Łukaszyk [and others]. Lublin 1985, k. 1068-1069.

and endowment should be carefully recorded in writing, sealed by the bishop and patron and carefully stored. In the 1420 Synodal Statutes of Wieluń and Kalisz, Archbishop Mikołaj Trąba decreed, among other things, that each parish archive should contain an accurate description or inventory of the privileges, estates and revenues of a given benefice. The statutes also instructed parish priests and vitrines to prepare income books in which the names of donors, the date and the amount donated to the church were recorded. The books were written in two copies: one was kept in the parish archives and the other was kept by the vitrines, who assisted the parish priest in managing the benefice⁸. Resolutions of the Peterborough synod of 1511 ordered parish priests to transfer original foundation and erection documents to the cathedral archives for security⁹. The oldest surviving privileges concerning church erections and foundations (e.g. in the archdiocese of Poznań) date back to the 13th century¹⁰. Parishes also kept copies of deeds of erection¹¹ and records of indulgences granted to churches¹². Indulgence privileges were usually copied in multiple copies, after which copies were posted on church doors and read from pulpits¹³.

In the parish archives were kept the erection documents of existing parishes, schools, confraternities¹⁴ and hospitals¹⁵. Among the documents that were kept in the parish in the original version or in a copy are, for example: acts of erection (e.g. of the hospital in Słupia Nowa from 1682), monarchical acts of endowment (e.g. of the hospital and altaria in Ćmielów from the 16th century), papal permission (e.g. to the abbot of Sulejów for the erection of the hospital in Skrzynie from 1525), bishop's approval of foundations (of the hospital in Momin from the 17th century)¹⁶.

⁸ F. Lenort, *From the history of ...*, op. cit. pp. 15-16.

⁹ J. Kwolek, Scientific organisation of church archives, in: „Theological Review” 1930, r. XI, z. 1, p. 15.

¹⁰ Several privileges of churches from the 13th century have been preserved in the Archdiocese of Poznań. They concern the following churches: Służewo, Nieparcie, Mieszków, Lusowo and Winna Góra. The earlier ones have been irretrievably lost. J. Nowacki, *Archidiecezja poznańska w granicach historycznych i jej ustrój*, Poznań 1964, vol. 2, p. 340.

¹¹ The parish archive in Jarosław has a copy of the erection of the collegiate church from 1523. J. Makara, *Jarosław parish archive*, in: ABMK 1963, vol. 6, p. 15.

¹² The Sandomierz archives contain, among other things, a deed granting indulgences to the church in Chlewiska by the College of Cardinals in 1471. W. Wójcik, *Archive ...*, op. cit. p. 22.

¹³ Ibid, p. 13.

¹⁴ H. E. Wyczawski, *Introduction to Studies in Church Archives*, Warsaw 1956, p. 94; H. E. Wyczawski, *Polish Church Archives*, in: *Księga tysiąclecia katolicyzmu w Polsce*, pod red. M. Rechowicza, Lublin 1969, part II (*Kościół a nauka i sztuka*), ed. by A. Wojtkowski and C. Zgorzelski, p. 71.

¹⁵ At the end of the 15th century, the diocese of Kamień Pomorski in Western Pomerania had the largest number of hospitals - 143, the diocese of Wrocław - 121, the diocese of Warmia - 48, the diocese of Poznań - 46, the diocese of Chełmno - 38, the diocese of Włocławek - 21 and the diocese of Gniezno - 20. At this time, the first hospitals were established in the dioceses of Lithuania and in the dioceses of the metropolis of Lwów. Each hospital had pastoral care. H. E. Wyczawski, *Introduction to Studies...* op. cit., p. 140.

¹⁶ The records mentioned are held in the Sandomierz Chapter Archives. W. Wójcik, *Archive ...*, op. cit., pp. 22-27.

In the parish, in addition to schools and hospitals, there were various prebends, confraternities and guilds¹⁷, which did not keep their own chancelleries¹⁸. The documents of their endowments and activities were mostly collected by the parish priest, although there were cases where the records of the confraternities were kept in the vicars' archives¹⁹. Among others, the following types of documents have been preserved: records of erections of altaries²⁰, erections of confraternities²¹, approvals of erections and granting of indulgences to confraternities²², grants of laws to guilds²³ and other records relating to confraternities²⁴. Books of confraternities and reports on the activities of parish associations²⁵ have also been preserved. The Synod of Poznań of 1642 stipulated that each superior of a confraternity was obliged to keep four books, entering in detail the personal matters of the members (e.g. number of members, social background)²⁶, an inventory of goods and individual legations, a list of outgoings and creditors, and a detailed description of all confraternity property²⁷.

Visitation, which was a kind of pastoral control and had been known since the beginning of the universal Church, played an important role in parish life. Visitation was divided into general, archdeacon and dean visitations. General visitations were carried out by the archbishops or bishops of the diocese by virtue of the authority derived from their office and, from the second half of the 16th century (from

¹⁷ Guilds in Poland began to organise in the second half of the 13th century. They were groups of an economic and religious nature. The greatest activity of brotherhoods occurred in the 16th and 17th centuries. K. Kuźmak, *Bractwo kościelne, konfraternia*, in: EK, vol. 2, ed. by F. Gryglewicz [and others], Lublin 1985, k. 1014.

¹⁸ Information on the brotherhoods and guilds that were located in Kamień Pomorski, for example, is available from the local church archive. G. Wejman, *Outline of the history of the Church Archive in Kamień Pomorski*, in: ABMK 2000, vol. 74, p. 461.

¹⁹ For example, in 1663 it was reported that a parchment document containing the statutes of a priestly confraternity existing at the collegiate parish was kept in the archives of the vicars of the Wieluń collegiate church. S. Zabaniak, *Bractwa w Wieluniu w okresie przedrozbiorowym* (Brotherhoods in Wieluń in the pre-partition period), in: ABMK 2001, vol. 76, p. 423.

²⁰ E.g. the altar of St. Stanislaus in Jarosław from 1533, issued by the consistory of Przemyśl. J. Makara, *Archive...*, op. cit. p. 8.

²¹ E.g. the brotherhood of St. Anne in Chlewiska (16th century). W. Wójcik, *Archive...*, op. cit. p. 26.

²² E.g. approval of the erection of the brotherhood of weavers at the church of St. John in Radom and at the parish church in Koprzywnica (15th century), granting of indulgences to the literary archconfraternity in Koprzywnica, the brotherhood of St. Anne in Sieciechów, Divine Providence in Piekoszów, Passion of the Lord in Borkowice and Holy Rosary in Wojciechowice (18th century). Ibid, pp. 26-27.

²³ E.g. Laws for the furriers' guild at the Kunów parish church (17th century). Ibid, pp. 26-27.

²⁴ E.g. the document on the unification of three confraternities in the parish of Jarosław, issued by the chancery of Bishop Wawrzyniec Goślicki in 1598; the document of Bishop Stanisław Sieciński of 1610 on the rights of confraternities in the diocese of Przemyśl. J. Makara, *Archives...*, op. cit. p. 8.

²⁵ E.g. the book of the confraternity of Our Lady, the confraternity of St. Anne, the confraternity of St. Tekla, the confraternity of St. Iwona in the parish of St. Paul in Lublin. F. Stopniak, *Archiwa parafialne dekanatu lubelskiego*, w: ABMK 1964, vol. 9, p. 19.

²⁶ S. Zabaniak, *Brotherhoods...*, op. cit. p. 426.

²⁷ F. Lenort, *From the history of ...*, op. cit. pp. 20-21.

the Council of Trent), by their delegates, who could be archdeacons or other clergy - suffragans, office-bearers, prelates, canons, deans and metropolitan chaplains by virtue of the authority of the Ordinary. The rank of a general visitation did not come from the size of the area inspected, but was determined by the solemnity of the authority of the visitor, the need in which the inspection was carried out and the decrees of reformation, which could only be issued by the visitor general himself. General visitations were held every few or several years and covered all or part of the diocese²⁸. At the end of the 16th century, the best and most extensive general visitations were conducted under bp. Hieronim Rozrażewski (c. 1546-1600) in the Diocese of Włocławek, and Bishop Philip Padniewski (1565-1570) and Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł (1591-1600) in the Diocese of Kraków. Exemplary visitations in the 17th century include the visitation of the Gniezno archdeaconry in 1608 and the Włocławek archdeaconry in 1639. In the 18th century, more of these were conducted and were very extensive. These include the following visitations: Bishop and then Archbishop Hieronim Wacław Sierakowski (1699-1780) to the Diocese of Przemyśl and the Archdiocese of Lwów (first half of the 18th century), Bishop Józef Rybiński (1745-1806) to the Diocese of Włocławek (1777-1781), and Archbishop Ignacy Raczyński (1741-1823) to the Archdiocese of Gniezno in the years 1810-1812²⁹.

Archdeacon visitations were held by archdeacons in their own territory or by visitors equivalent to them, e.g. prefects of chapters - all by virtue of the authority flowing from their offices, however exercised in the place of the bishop or archbishop. Archdeacon visitations often took place in the Middle Ages, when archdeacons held great power. They generally took place every three years, before each diocesan synod. Archdeacons and their equivalent visitors were generally not allowed to issue Reformation decrees, which were issued in these cases by the bishops. The latter, however, recommended that these decrees be entered in their records or in separate visitation books. The oldest archdeacon visitation in the metropolis of Gniezno is the one held in 1602³⁰. In the Diocesan Archive in Sandomierz, three volumes of visitation protocols from 1676-1694, a description of the archdeaconry's income from the 17th century and two volumes of archdeacon Rafał Rościcki's records from 1706-1713 remain from the archdeacons in Sandomierz³¹. The Archdiocesan Archive in Poznań has the visitation protocols of sixteen archdeacons who visited the Poznań, Śrem and Pszczew archdeaconry in the 17th and 18th centuries³².

Deanery visitations were carried out by deans in their own deaneries by virtue of the authority granted to them by the bishops and always on their behalf. The deans visited their deaneries on average once a year. These visitations did not require any Reformation decrees. Alongside these, there were extraordinary (extra-ordinary)

²⁸ S. Librowski, Repertorium aktów wizytacji kanonicznych dawnej archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej, cz. 1 (Akta przechowywane w Archiwum Diecezjalnym we Włocławku), z. 1, in: ABMK 1974, vol. 28, pp. 47-48.

²⁹ S. Librowski, Sources for monumentology in church archives, in: ABMK 1963, vol. 6, p. 215.

³⁰ S. Librowski, Repertorium..., op. cit. p. 48.

³¹ W. Wojcik, Archive ..., op. cit. p. 22.

³² F. Lenort, From the history of ..., op. cit. pp., 45-46.

visitations, carried out by deans in their own territory, but at the specific instruction of the Ordinary. The main reason for them on the part of the Ordinary was the desire to know the state of affairs of the diocese entrusted to him³³.

There was a specific scheme for each type of visitation. In the case of a general visitation, the bishop announced its scope and date. He would then announce the articles of visitation and sometimes give the liturgical method of conducting the visitation. At its conclusion, he would issue a reform decree. In the case of a general visitation conducted by archdeacons or other persons delegated by the Ordinary, the procedure was more elaborate. The Ordinary would announce the visitation, specifying its territory and the time of its commencement, followed by the appointment of the visitors who, after a certain period of time, were obliged to remind the deans and parish priests of the forthcoming visitation and ordered them to present the documentation of the last visitation and to prepare the churches and the faithful accordingly. The Ordinary then issued the articles of visitation personally or with the help of his curia. Sometimes, with the permission of the Ordinary, the visitor himself arranged the order of the visitation. Upon completion, he would write up the minutes and deliver the visitation book to the Ordinary, informing him that the task had been completed. The reform decree was issued by the Ordinary or the visitor³⁴.

The dean would notify the clergy in writing of the planned deanery visitation and, when it was completed, would write up the minutes. Deanery visitations did not have reform decrees. In the case of an extraordinary visitation, the bishop instructed the dean to conduct the visitation according to the plan prepared by the bishop. The dean would send back the visitation file to the bishop or consistory with information on the completion of the task³⁵.

The questionnaires for conducting the visitation were kept in the parish chancelleries. From the twelfth to the nineteenth century they bore various names, including *articuli*, *exhortatio*, *formulare*, *instructio*, *interrogationes*, *interrogatoria*, *modus*, *ordo*, *puncta*, *ratio visitationis*. They instructed the visitors on how to conduct the visits and contained detailed questions to the witnesses about the state of the church and the parish benefice, about the life of the clergy and the faithful³⁶.

Reformation decrees (post-visitation recommendations) were also kept in the parish, based on the visitation protocols. The minutes varied in size: from quite short in the Middle Ages to large in the 18th century. They were mostly written down on the spot or, more often, on the basis of notes, and were done neatly in the offices of the visitors³⁷. The minutes had the following common features: the name of the locality, the legal and social rank (town, village), the enumeration of the own-

³³ S. Librowski, *Repertorium...*, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

³⁴ S. Librowski, General introduction to the Visitation, in: *ABMK* 1964, vol. 8, pp. 123-124.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 125; An example of such regulations (instructions) can be found, for example, in the visitation book written by Ignacy Gniński in 1672 after the visitation of the Śrem archdeaconry (Poznań archdiocese). The instruction is entitled: „*Modus visitationis perficiendae*“. S. Olczak, Akta wizytacyjne jako podstawa źródłowa do badań nad sieci szkół parafialnych (na przykładzie archidiekanatu śremskiego), in: *ABMK* 1972, vol. 24, p. 297.

³⁷ S. Librowski, General introduction..., op. cit. p. 131.

ers, the name of the parish priest, the type of parish church (collegiate, monastic, abbey church), the call of the church, other churches and chapels, the current state of the pastoral ministry (e.g. number of believers and dissenters), existing schools and hospitals and the date of the visitation³⁸. The visitation reports were accurate and detailed³⁹. In their descriptions, the visitators devoted much space to the topography of the parishes and churches, the appearance of the chapels (public, private, hermitages), altars, paintings, monuments and relics⁴⁰. During the visitation, parsons were also inspected on their credentials. They had to present letters confirming that they had been ordained and that they had been nominated for their positions. It was also the parish priests' duty to present to the visitor the metrical books and other records and documents kept in the chancery and archives⁴¹.

In parish archives, in addition to the decreta reformationis, it is possible to encounter full extracts of the parish visitation protocols⁴². In some parish chancelleries there were so-called „parish files“ containing copies of the visitation protocols. Many such files are kept, for example, by the Diocesan Archive in Włocławek⁴³.

Sometimes, the visitators made remarks in the parish missals or breviaries. These remarks were for the benefit of the parish concerned only, and not for the clerical authority, which required a separate report from the visitor⁴⁴.

In the group of files kept in parish chancelleries are the resolutions of church synods. Synods were convened by the Ordinary in order to take important decisions concerning pastoral care. The fruit of the synod's work were resolutions which became binding in the diocese after their approval by the Ordinary. Parish chancel-

³⁸ S. Librowski, *Repertorium...*, op. cit. pp. 80-85.

³⁹ The records of visitations carried out in the 17th-18th centuries in the Śrem archdeaconry provided detailed information on, for example, the teacher's salary, the condition of the school room, other people who taught at the school (organist, churchwarden, town clerk, wheelwright and farmer) and cases where the school building was unusable due to lack of pupils or the teacher could not teach due to lack of a school room. S. Olczak, *Akta...*, op. cit. pp. 298-300.

⁴⁰ The visitations of Bishop J. Rybiński and Archbishop I. Raczyński also dealt with archives, libraries and church treasures. S. Librowski, *Źródła do zabytkoznawstwa w archiwach kościelnych*, w: ABMK 1963, vol. 6, p. 215; np. the minutes of the visitation of the parish of Abramowice (Lublin deanery) from 1595 mention that metrical records have been accurately kept since 1583, and the minutes of the visitation of this parish from 1800 contain as many as 35 documents and registers from the years 1398-1789. F. Stopniak, *Archiwa parafialne...*, op. cit. p. 8.

⁴¹ M. Kosman, *Archives of the Vilnius Chapter*, in: „*Archeion*” 1976, vol. LXIV, pp. 50-51.

⁴² E.g. the Parish Archive in Jarosław has a copy of the general visitation of the local collegiate church and chapter from 1743. The original visitation book is in the Diocesan Archive in Przemyśl (syg. 168). J. Makara, *Archive...*, op. cit. p. 13; there is a copy of the visitation conducted in 1724 in the Wolsztyn Parish Archive. The copy dates between the second half of 1775 and October 1777. The consistory notary Tomasz Jągrowski transcribed the text, and the general officiate of Poznań, Rev. Canon Wojciech Wyskota Zakrzewski confirmed the document's reliability with his seal. A. Weiss, *Wizytacja parafii Wolsztyn w 1724 roku*, in: ABMK 2000, vol. 73, p. 439.

⁴³ W. Kujawski, *Repertorium of the visitation books of the diocese of Kujawsko-Kalalisz stored in the Diocesan Archive in Włocławek*, in: ABMK 2000, vol. 74, p. 265.

⁴⁴ This was the custom of the canon of Włocławek, Stanisław Dabrowski, who visited Kujawy in 1545. S. Librowski, *Wizytacje...*, op. cit. p. 143.

leries collected copies of synodal resolutions⁴⁵. There was a practice of reading out synodal resolutions during meetings of church confraternities⁴⁶.

The parish chancellery also kept the bishop's pastoral letters and curenda, as well as the circulars of the archdeacons. Of particular note is the *Epistola pastoralis ad parochos* written in 1601 by Cardinal Bernard Maciejowski (1548-1608). The work consists of 26 chapters and is a pastoral and legal compendium based on the decrees of the Council of Trent. Initially, it served as a Kraków diocesan document. After the Piotrków synod held by Cardinal Bernard Maciejowski in 1607, it acquired binding force in all Polish ecclesiastical provinces⁴⁷.

In addition to ecclesiastical documents, parish chancelleries also housed currencies and other documents of secular authorities (*foreign files*)⁴⁸. Secular documents were placed in the church chancelleries for safekeeping to save them from destruction and theft. Quite often the church was the only brick building in the town. The laity, besides, trusted in the inviolability of sacred places and in the archival professionalism of the clergy, who sometimes served as notaries in secular offices and thus co-produced civil documents⁴⁹.

2. Entry books

The parish archives have a relatively large number of property and financial and economic records of various contents, both in the form of books and fascicles of loose files. At the forefront of the parish records was the *Liber beneficiorum*. The parish priests described all kinds of parish landed estates in detail, specifying their exact area and boundaries (*delineatio granicierum*). In the book of benefices they recorded income, both from tithes and various types of rent. Revenues were recorded separately each year, noting individual receipts, multiple crops and harvests,

⁴⁵ Among the more important Polish synods are: the synod of Łęczyca by Archbishop Jakub Świnka in 1285, the synod of Wieluń and Kalisz by Archbishop Mikołaj Trąba in 1420, the synod of Piotrków in 1511, the provincial synod of Piotrków in 1564, the provincial synod of Wrocław in 1589, and the provincial synod of Chełm in 1589. Mikołaja Trąba in 1420, the synod of Piotrków in 1511, the provincial synod of Lwów in 1564, the provincial synod of Piotrków in 1589, the synod of Chełmno in 1605, the synod of Vilnius in 1613, the synod of Przemyśl in 1621, the synod of Żmudź in 1639, the synod of Poznań in 1642, the synod of Łuków in 1726, the synod of Płock in 1733 and the synod of Kiev in 1762. J. Kwolek, *Naukowa...*, op. cit. pp. 15-19; F. Lenort, *Z dziejów...*, op. cit. pp. 15-16.

⁴⁶ S. Zabraniak, *Brotherhoods...*, op. cit. pp. 423-424.

⁴⁷ The St Agnes parish archive in Lublin preserves a scroll containing the pastoral letters of Bishop Józef Lenčzewski, suffragan of Lublin. Also preserved in the archives of the Lublin deanery is an instruction by Bishop Wojciech Skarszewski (1805-1827) on archival issues. F. Lenort, *Z dziejów...*, op. cit. pp. 17-18; The parish archive in Gietrzwałd has a *Liber Processum*, which contains bishop's circulars from 1699-1796. M. Hlebionek, *The parish archive in Gietrzwałd until 1890*, in: „*Archiwista Polski*” 2001, no. 1, p. 70.

⁴⁸ E.g. The Diocesan Archive in Sandomierz has the „Diary” of the Grodno Sejm from 1744, the distribution of hibernia in the Cracow and Sandomierz voivodeships from 1675, the list of offerings for the standing army from the secular and clerical revenues of the Sandomierz powiat from 1789, municipal records of Lasocin from 1763-1811, Zawichost from 1767-1798, alderman and tax records of Słupia Stara and Nowa from 1431-1809, and tax and cash records of Sandomierz guilds and organisations from 1500-1921. W. Wójcik, *Archiwum...*, op. cit. p. 23.

⁴⁹ J. Kwolek, *Scientific...*, op. cit. p. 14.

separately from each village and settler. All privileges of the church, documents of endowments and donations were also entered. Statutes of the Poznań synod of bp. Krzysztof Szembek of 1720 imposed a fine of 10 fines on the account of the dean's treasury for those parish priests who did not comply with the regulations concerning the keeping of benefice books⁵⁰.

Subsequently, there were various types of inventories in the chancery⁵¹. For example, in the Lublin deanery, the parish of Dys has an inventory *fundi instructi*, which runs to 79 pages. The inventory contains a description of the church, a brief history of the church and the inventory proper. In the archive of the parish of Zemborzyce there are inventories from 1693, *fundi instructi*⁵² from 1812 and an inventory of the Zemborzyce vicarage together with the branch church in Krężnica from 8 March 1814. In the parish of St. Agnes in Lublin, there is an „Inventory of cast citizens in the St. Nicholas manor and rents with the measurement of the cubit of their yards by the last visitation established, written down in 1782“⁵³. The parish archive in Gietrzwałd has an inventory book, the oldest entry of which was made around 1680.⁵⁴

Property and economic records were complemented by other files. These include. These included, among others, lists of income and outgoings of the parish church, records of tithes, serfdom and tax duties, wine excise duty records, records of rents from tenements and country estates to the church, records of donations and obligations (lists of foundation masses), economic records of parish farms (sowing, harvesting and threshing of grain), records of obligations imposed by the government (silver seizure, military conscription, tributes for road construction, lease of land for military training)⁵⁵.

The chancelleries also collected extracts from diocesan benefice books. The *Libri beneficiorum* of the diocese of Cracow from the second half of the 15th century, of the diocese of Poznań from 1510, of the archdiocese of Gniezno from around 1521

⁵⁰ F. Lenort, *From the history of ...*, op. cit. p. 21.

⁵¹ The word 'inventory' comes from the Latin 'invenio, inventarium' and means an inventory, survey, list, compilation of all that is found where with whom. There are two types of inventories: ecclesiastical and beneficial. The ecclesiastical estate is administered by the parish priest and the beneficial estate is administered by the beneficiary. L. Figarski, *Projekt wzoru sporządzania inwentarza kościelnego i beneficjalnego*, in: *ABMK 1959/60*, vol. 1, z. 2, pp. 16-17.

⁵² It is an inventory of things belonging to the order of a landed, private or social estate (e.g. church, monastery, benefice, parish, etc.). *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁵³ F. Stopniak, *Archives...*, op. cit. pp. 12-15.

⁵⁴ M. Hlebionek, *Archive ...*, op. cit. p. 70.

⁵⁵ J. Makara, *Archive...*, op. cit., 11-12; the parish archives of the Lublin deanery are in possession of, among others, files on the conversion of sheaf tithes into korcowa tithes from 1818-1825 (par. Czerniejów), files on the cemetery and the construction of a fence around it from 1833-1857 (par. Dys), files on the church repairs from 1887-1892 (par. Dys), files on the subsidii charitativi tax from 1775 and the lustration of the income of par. Krężnica from 1784 (par. Zemborzyce), deeds of aldermen, privileges, bequests, and endowments from the 18th century (par. św. Agnieszki in Lublin). F. Stopniak, *Archiwa...*, op. cit. pp. 10-15; in the Diocesan Archive in Sandomierz there is, among others, a confirmation of a tithe settlement between the church in Drzewica and in Nieznamierowice from 1440 and a will of Lucjanna wife of Michael from the town of de Valle in France for church purposes from 1269. W. Wójcik, *Archive ...*, op. cit. pp. 27 and 29.

and of the diocese of Włocławek from the years 1526-1527 are considered to be the oldest. These books contain detailed bills and expenses for various construction and maintenance works of cathedrals, churches, palaces, manors, chapels, altars, monuments, paintings and sometimes the names of their executors⁵⁶.

Among the archival records collected in some parish chancelleries were separate copybooks of their own documents⁵⁷. In the copiers were entered all documents, court judgements and decisions, excommunications and other files that had to do with the rights and privileges of the ecclesiastical benefice. The prepared file copier was presented to the Ordinary for approval⁵⁸.

Litigation files have been preserved in the parish chancelleries. The most common subject of litigation was property and economic matters⁵⁹. It was up to the Ordinary to pass judgements in these cases. The rulers of the churches also had disputes with the nobility and the magistrate over the boundaries of landed estates and various property rights. Cases with the laity were decided by the king after consulting his delegates. Copies of ecclesiastical and secular judgments were sent to the parish archives⁶⁰. The parish archives also held documents relating to trials for the adjudication of the veneration of saints⁶¹.

Among the most common items in parish registries are metric records⁶². In the Polish lands they began to be used in the 15th century⁶³. The Council of Trent, at its

⁵⁶ S. Librowski, *Źródła do zabytkoznawstwa...*, op. cit. p. 216.

⁵⁷ M. Niwiński, Copier of the parish church of St. Nicholas in Bochnia, in „Ateneum Kapłańskie” 1938, vol. XLI, pp. 293-298.

⁵⁸ F. Lenort, From the history of ..., op. cit. p. 20.

⁵⁹ E.g. the vicar of Samborzec in the 14th century had a dispute with Elisabeth of Zajeziarz over the lake. As a result of this conflict, 19 trial documents were produced. W. Wójcik, *Archive...*, op. cit. p. 27; parish priest Błażej Wągrowski of Czeniejewo litigated with Rev. Adam Pieńkowski, parish priest of Bychawka, over tithes in 1645. F. Stopniak, *Archiwa...*, op. cit. p. 10; the collegiate parish of Sandomierz had a dispute with the parish of St. Peter's over a school in 1434 and over the settlement of a conflict over tithes in 1523. W. Wójcik, *Archive...*, op. cit. p. 27.

⁶⁰ W. Wojcik, *Archive ...*, op. cit. pp. 24-25.

⁶¹ E.g. in the Diocesan Archive in Sandomierz there are records of a trial to declare the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Tuligłowy as miraculous from 1747. *Ibid*, p. 23.

⁶² S. Chodyński, *Metryki kościelne*, in: *Encyklopedia Kościelna*, Warsaw 1881, vol. XIV, pp. 224-231; B. Kumor, *Metryki parafialne w archiwach diecezjalnych*, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” 1966, no. 14, pp. 65-75; J. Szymański, *Nauk pomocnicze historii*, Warsaw 2001, p. 467.

⁶³ The Synod of Przemyśl in 1418 ordered parish priests to compile lists of excommunicated persons. In 1459, Tomasz Strzemiński (1398-1460), Bishop of Kraków, ordered that marriage registers (*Libri copulatorum*) be kept in the diocese. In the 16th century, baptismal registers (*Libri natorum et baptizatorum*) also appeared. The oldest existing baptismal registers are believed to be those of Silesia (1547), St Mary's Church in Cracow (1548), the parish of Bochnia (1559), the collegiate church of Tarnów (1576) and the parish of Łask (1590). S. Olczak, *Kancelaria...*, op. cit. k. 554-555; K. Dobrowolski, *Znaczenie metryk kościelnych dla badań naukowych*, in: *Rocznik Towarzystwa Heraldycznego we Lwowie* 1922, vol. V, pp. 90-110; K. Kaczmarczyk, *Literatura archiwalna odrodzonej Polski (1918-1926)*, in „*Archeion*” 1928, vol. III, p. 69; W. Dworaczek, *Genealogia*, Warsaw 1959, pp. 65-66; H. E. Wyczawski, *Wprowadzenie do studiów...*, op. cit. p. 95.

The Diocesan Archive in Częstochowa holds „*Metrices ecclesiae S. Martini conventualis in Clobuczko diocesis Cracoviensis*” from 1581 and „*Metrices baptizatorum ex mandato ... Sta-*

24th session held on 11 November 1563, by direct injunction made the compilation of baptismal and marriage registers in parishes common throughout the Church. Parish priests were obliged to keep books of the baptised, in which, among other things, they recorded the names of parents and witnesses. During the period in question, several types of books were kept for the baptised: „Liber natorum et baptisatorum“ - for those baptised within the parish, „Liber natorum et baptisatorum pro extraneis“ - for those baptised outside the parish, „Liber natorum et baptisatorum pro adultis“ - for those baptised several years after birth or in adulthood and „Liber natorum et baptisatorum pro conversis“ - for converts, i.e. those born of non-Catholic parents and those who left Catholicism and later returned to it. In contrast, converts, e.g. Jews, Mohammedans and others, were not entered in the book ‚pro conversis‘, but in ‚pro adultis‘⁶⁴. The parish priests were also required to keep books of the nuptials, giving the names of the spouses and witnesses, as well as the day and place of the marriage. The pre-wedding announcements had to be recorded in a special book (*Liber bannorum*). Engagements were recorded in a separate book (betrothal book)⁶⁵. The books drawn up in this way had to be kept carefully in the chancellery. The Ordinary was given the right to punish those parish priests who were found to have neglected the chancery. The Council did not issue a specific provision concerning the books of confirmation. However, it is clear from the content of the second article ‚De reformatione matrimonii‘ that confirmation had to be recorded in a special book with rubrics, giving the name of the confirmed, the date and place of confirmation, the minister of this sacrament and the names of the witnesses in order to prove spiritual affinity as an obstacle to marriage. The Council, on the other hand, made no mention of the obligation to keep books of the dead (*Libri mortuorum*), which in some parishes were written according to customary law⁶⁶. In 1780, the Bishop of Płock, Michał Jerzy Poniatowski (1736-1794), ordered the keeping of lists of children joining the First Holy Communion. The Sejm constitution of 1789, in order to carry out a general census of the population in Poland, obliged parish priests to provide the civil-military commissions with copies of the metrics: baptisms, marriages and funerals, as well as censuses of parishioners, indicating sex, age and place of residence (*Liber status animarum*). During the Partitions of Poland, Austria, Prussia and Russia recognised the registration made in parish chancelleries as civil status records⁶⁷. Pre-Tridentine metric records are very rare in Polish parish archives. There are also few parish registers from the immediate post-Tridentine period. From the 17th century onwards,

nisłai Karnkowski Archiepiscopi Gnesnensis“ from the parish of Jedlno (Brzeźnicki decanate) from 1586. The above title shows that Archbishop Stanislaus Karnkowski (1520-1603), Primate of Poland, ordered the rulers of churches in the Gniezno archdiocese to keep metric books. J. Związek, Inventory of Latin metric books of the Diocesan Archive in Częstochowa, in *ABMK* 1978, vol. 37, pp. 179-180; W. Patykiewicz, Establishment of the Diocesan Archive in Częstochowa, in: „Częstochowskie Wiadomości Diecezjalne“ 1969, r. 43, pp. 91-94.

⁶⁴ Instruction on the parish chancellery, in: IV Synod of the Diocese of Tarnów 1982-1986, ed. by P. Gajda, Tarnów 1990, p. 270 (hereinafter *Instruction*).

⁶⁵ T. Grygier, Z zagadnień archiwistyki kościelnej..., op. cit. p. 50.

⁶⁶ J. Kurpas, The origins of metric books, in: *ABMK* 1961, vol. 2, z. 1-2, pp. 21-25.

⁶⁷ S. Olczak, Chancellery..., op. cit, p. 555.

metrics began to proliferate, and by the 18th century they were already generally found in every parish. It is worth mentioning that in the 17th and 18th centuries, in the margins of the metrical books, parish priests included additional information of a personal nature in the form of scattered notes, e.g. about natural disasters, wars, political events and local⁶⁸. This information could also be found on loose sheets of paper that were attached to the metric books⁶⁹. In pre-partition times, there was no uniform system of keeping metric books. The system was only established under the rule of the partitioners. Special forms made it possible to standardise records, and metric books were subject to the control of state and church authorities⁷⁰.

3. Loose files

The chancelleries held files on pastoral activities, e.g. schools, hospitals, confraternities, societies, prisons, the army. In addition, pastors kept official and private correspondence with ecclesiastical and secular authorities. The group of loose files also included various types of bills, receipts, etc.⁷¹.

4. Clerical Aids

In the chancelleries, the parish priests collected (in the form of a handy book collection) books for school use, preaching books, penitential manuals, theological, legal and philosophical studies. There were missals, antiphonaries, talkies, psalters, rituals and books of the breviary office. An ornate copy of the Bible was not to be missed⁷². There were also lives of saints and prayer books⁷³.

Parish chancelleries also contained specific pastoral aids⁷⁴. The rubrics, or liturgical calendars, were an aid to the clergy in the celebration of the liturgy. They gave practical indications of church law regarding the recitation or singing of the breviary, Mass or other services for each day of the year - from 1 January to 31 December. Rubrics were known in Poland as early as the 14th century and probably passed on from the practice of the universal Church. The oldest Polish printed rubrics date from the 16th century and contain two to four pages. During the 17th and 18th centuries, their volume steadily increased and reached 100 pages in the 19th century. Rubrics bore various names, the most popular being *directorium*, *ordo* and *rubri-*

⁶⁸ These accounts gave rise to parish chronicles, which became widespread in the second half of the 19th century. J. Kracik, *Parish chronicles yesterday and today*, in: „Gorzowskie Wiadomości Kościelne“ 1978, no. 5-6, p. 173.

⁶⁹ W. Tokarz, *W sprawie archiwów parafialnych i klasztornych*, in: „Ateneum Kapłańskie“ 1936, z. 3, vol. 37, p. 304.

⁷⁰ H. E. Wyczawski, *Polskie archiwa kościelne...*, op. cit. pp.71-72.

⁷¹ W. Wojcik, *Archive ...*, op. cit. p. 12.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 28-33.

⁷³ For example, in the Polish lands in the 11th century the „Life of St. Otto of Bamberg“ was known. B. Kumor, *History of the Church*, Lublin 2001, vol. 2, p. 132; also known was the „Prayer Book of Gertrude“, daughter of Mieszko II. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139.

⁷⁴ These include textbooks: for example, Andrew of Kokorzyn (+1435) wrote the textbook „Speculum sacerdotum“ with rural pastors in mind, and Nicholas of Blonie (+1438) was the author of „Tractatus sacerdotalis de sacramentis“, a popular parish liturgical textbook. The collected books gave rise to later parish libraries. B. Kumor, *History of the Church*, Lublin 2001, vol. 4, p. 129.

cella. In the second half of the 18th century, they were given an appendix, including lists of members of cathedral and collegiate chapters and deceased priests in the diocese. The supplement to the rubricella was the 'beginning of the schematism', which became separate at the end of the 19th century and was published separately⁷⁵.

5. General characteristics and equipment of the Registry

In the Middle Ages, church rulers did not distinguish between the registry and chancellery and the archive. They treated the collection of documents in their possession as a whole (the recipient's archive), serving as an aid to the smooth running of the parish, safeguarding its property and rights and privileges. Over time, they also began to care for the records and books of the individual benefices associated with the parish. Initially, they kept all the files together with the money in the sacristy or in the church in a massively wrought-iron and artfully locked box called the 'treasury'. They then moved the files and books to specially prepared church rooms, placing them in cupboards or chests of drawers. The most valuable diplomas went into individual labelled drawers and were stored with great care⁷⁶.

It should be mentioned that the parish priests of the collegiate and monastic parishes also produced the records⁷⁷. They were elected from among the members of the collegiate chapter and the monastic convent. They had their own independent parish chancelleries. On the other hand, when a case was completed, the files went to the archives of the collegiate chapter and the archives of the monastic convent, where they were stored separately. Deans who were parish priests had their own chancelleries where they separated the deanery files from the parish files. When a case was completed, they kept the documents in the parish archive⁷⁸.

A very important element of chancellery work was the material on which the activities of the chancellery were documented. From the 12th century in Poland, documents were drawn up on parchment, which was made from animal skins. It was an imported commodity. In Poland, from the 14th century onwards, the production of parchment became an artisanal occupation (e.g. the pergamists of Kraków). Purple, yellow, blue and black parchments were used for liturgical purposes. For reasons of economy, parchment was reused after the old text had been scraped off. The oldest Polish parchment document dates from the late 11th century. It was issued by Ladislaus Herman to the Cathedral of Bamberg regarding the redemption and return of two golden crosses to the cathedral. The second basic medium of information in chancellery work was paper, which came to Poland at the beginning of the 14th century. The first paper mills on Polish soil were established after the 14th century. Writ-

⁷⁵ S. Librowski, *Katalog rubrycel i schematyzm diecezji i zakonów historyczne Polski znajdujących się w księgozbiory podręcznym Archiwum Diecezjalnego we Włocławku*, part 1 (Rubrycele i schematyzmy diecezjalne), in: ABMK 1971, vol. 23, pp. 213-214.

⁷⁶ The cathedral and chapter archives were the model for the field archives. W. Wójcik, *Archives...*, op. cit. pp. 6-11.

⁷⁷ S. Librowski, *Sources...*, op. cit. pp. 219-220.

⁷⁸ H. E. Wyczawski, *Polskie archiwa kościelne...*, op. cit. pp. 69-85; J. Pater, *Dopływ materiałów archiwalnych z placówki terenowych do archiwum archidiecezjalnego*, in: ABMK 1993, vol. 62, pp. 49-50.

ing instruments were used to record texts. They can be divided into those made of natural or artificial material. Natural materials include reed and bird feathers, and artificial ones include pencils and metal styluses. Geese and swan feathers, which had to be sharpened, were used to write on parchment. Pencils were used to mark lines on the parchment to keep the writing even. Text was applied with ink (also called incaust). Ink was obtained by boiling a decoction of oak bark, concentrated sulphuric acid and wine. Initials and rubrics were written using minutiae or multi-coloured inks. The art of decorating writing was carried out by illuminators. Latin was used in written language and in official pronouncements on Church and State matters⁷⁹.

Parish documents bore the seals of churches or vicars, which appeared in Poland in the 13th century. Archbishop Bodzanta in 1387 urged parish presbyters to return ordinances and circulars sent to them in writing with their seals affixed (i.e. that they had read their contents). The seals of vicars were mostly small and pointed. From the 15th century onwards, they became rounder and had a variety of imagery. Initially, they were portrait images, with the figure of the seal owner standing or sitting at the feet of the Madonna or a patron saint. In the 14th century, heraldic images appeared. Clergy holding various ecclesiastical functions used several seals. Parish offices began to use their seals from the 17th century onwards. These replaced the previous seals of churches and parsons. Catholic parish seals were usually in Latin (sometimes in Polish) and bore the image of a cross, a chalice or a patron saint of the church. Sometimes they had only an inscription part. During the partition period, parish offices were replaced by church superintendents, who used seals of state character with the emblem and inscription in the language of the partitioning power (e.g. in the Russian partition - a two-headed eagle)⁸⁰.

In summary, there were three forms of chancellery in the Old Polish period:

- Documents (12th-14th century),
- Books of entry (14th-18th centuries),
- Loose files, so-called 'papers' (appeared in the 16th century, more numerous in the 17th and 18th centuries)⁸¹.

During the period mentioned, the total parish documentation can be divided as follows:

- Diplomas (foundation and erection privileges, foundation documents of various prebends, confraternities, hospital, church and altar consecration documents, indulgence brevia),
- Reformation decrees (*Decreta reformationis*) left by episcopal visitators, archdeacons and deans, total extracts from parish visitation reports from the *Libri visitationum*,

⁷⁹ S. Nawrocki, *Rozwój form kancelaryjnych na ziemiach polskich od średniowiecza do końca XX wieku*, Poznań 1998, pp. 25-27.

⁸⁰ M. Gumowski, *Sfragistyka polska*, in: *Sfragistyka*, ed. by M. Gumowski, M. Haisig and S. Mikucki, Warsaw 1960, pp. 215-217.

⁸¹ K. Chojnacka, I. Radtke, *Opracowanie materiałów archiwalnych z okresu staropolskiego*, in: *Metodyka pracy archiwalnej*, pod red. S. Nawrockiego i S. Sierpowskiego, Poznań 2001, p. 71.

- Pastoral letters and currenda of bishops, statutes of synods, circulars of archdeacons, circulars of lay authorities,
- Property books of various contents, including copies of endowment documents, a description of the benefice estate (*Delineatio granicierum*), copies from episcopal records, from the Crown Metric, from municipal records relating to the benefice estate, inventories, accounts, lists of serfs and servants, records of ongoing property trials, extracts from the *Liber beneficiorum* of the diocese,
- Metric books: baptised (*Libri natorum et baptizatorum*), married (*Libri copulatorum*), deceased (*Libri mortuorum*), announcements (*Libri banorum*), statistical lists (*Libri status animarum*),
- Records of ministries and pastoral activities, e.g. schools, hospitals, fraternities, societies, prisons, military,
- Official and private correspondence with ecclesiastical and secular authorities,
- Various private documents deposited, e.g. wills, pedigrees,
- Liturgical books and pastoral manuals.

In the Old Polish period, archives were given a great deal of care, as the possession of valuable collections was an indication of the social rank and wealth of the archive owner. Collections constituted material security. Their loss was tantamount to the worst calamity in life. Provincial and diocesan synods ordered parish priests to establish archives and take care of them. According to the regulations of the Chelm synod of 1745, there was to be an archive at every parish church, or at least a suitable locked cupboard in the sacristy. In the parish archive, among other things, the following had to be deposited:

- Books of the baptised,
- Nuptial books,
- Books of the dead,
- Soul condition books,
- Books of celebrated masses,
- Inventory books,
- Documents relating to income, estates, privileges, relics and obligations,
- Indulgence permits,
- Decrees of canonical visitation⁸².

Completion

During the period in question, many valuable documents (it is impossible to enumerate them) were lost as a result of various events (natural disasters, looting, wars, partitions), among others. Some collections of church archives were exported and ended up in the archives of the partitioners⁸³.

⁸² K. Dębiński, *Practical Handbook of Pastoral Theology*, Warsaw-Lublin-Łódź 1914, vol. I, p. 381.

⁸³ S. Ptaszycki, *Encyclopedia of auxiliary sciences of history and Polish literature*, Lublin 1921, pp. 240-245.

The publication entitled. „Kancelaria, registratura i archiwum parafialne w okresie staropolskim (XII-XVIII w.)“ does not exhaust all the issues related to the presented topic. The author believes that it would be possible to give an even broader and more exhaustive treatment to the issues discussed, taking into account, for example, foreign literature. Reaching out to publications, as well as translating and scientifically compiling them, is a task for others in the future.

It is also worthwhile to look into further organising and inventorying parish resources, which can shed new light on issues of chancery and archives.

This publication attempts to answer the question: did the organisation and functioning of the chancellery, registry and parish archive in the Old Polish period have any impact on its functioning and development in later centuries? The principles and models for the organisation and functioning of the chancellery, registrar's office and parish archive developed in the Old Polish period (12th-18th centuries) provided a solid foundation for the further work and functioning of these three parish units and were a point of reference in matters of training and preparation of chancery staff in Polish Catholic parishes.

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Metaphysical Character of Thomas Aquinas' Moral Theology as It Is Related to Moral Judgement

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Abstract: Moral theology of Thomas Aquinas is constituted on the metaphysical foundations that make a right moral judgment possible. These foundations are based on the understanding of evil as privation of a certain good which is required by nature of a specific human action. The aim of this article is to present how a choice of certain actions involves a movement toward the good which is its end. Normally, the choice includes a selection of appropriate means in order to achieve a desired end. The virtues (especially prudence) are necessary for a right choice of action, judged according to the particular circumstances and dispositions of the agent, and made with unavoidable knowledge of the hierarchy of natural ends. The existence of this hierarchy, even without knowing it by an agent, necessarily orients any natural being to determinate ends by means, which are naturally predetermined. This order of ends is per se non-variable and therefore non-deliberative and arises once again from the nature of subjects. Right moral judgment follows a careful consideration of the object of a human act. In the judgment of conscience which precedes judgment of election, the acting person applies all available knowledge to evaluate the morality of an act.

Keywords: Human action. Moral judgment. Evil. Conscience. Metaphysical foundations. Thomas Aquinas.

Our world today often denies that objective truth exists. It denies that reality is real. It rejects claims to real truth about true reality.² How can one find a “moral compass” in this situation? With an appeal to Ps 4:6, St. Thomas Aquinas identifies the first principle of practical reason, and the first directive of the natural law, i.e., good must be sought and done, and evil must be avoided.³ This principle serves as

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² Cf. LOVÁS, P. S.: Question of Dispensation of the *Intrinsically Evil Acts* According to St. Thomas Aquinas. In: *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Theologica*, 2022, vol. 12, no. 1, p. 140: “Relativism enforces the principle that ‘truth’ is a fluid concept that is determined by one’s own subjective preferences, experiences, and perspectives.”

³ THOMAS AQUINAS: *Summa theologiae. Opera omnia iussa edita leonis xiii p.m.*, vol. 4 – 12. Rome : Typographia polyglotta, 1888 – 1906 (hereinafter referred to as “STh”), I-II, q. 94, a. 2: “The first principle of practical reason is one founded on the notion of good, and that is ‘good is that which all things seek after.’ Hence this is the first precept of law, that ‘good is to be done and pursued, and evil is to be avoided.’ All other precepts of the natural law are based upon this.” See also THOMAS AQUINAS: *Summa contra gentiles. Opera omnia iussa edita leonis xiii p.m.*, vol. 13 – 15. Rome : Typographia polyglotta, 1918 – 1930 (hereinafter referred to as “ScG”), III, q. 2, no. 6.

the foundation for all other injunctions of the natural law and prompts the work of justice, which is the basis for the virtuous life:

“Hence the Psalmist after saying: ‘Offer up the sacrifice of justice,’ as though someone asked what the works of justice are, adds: ‘Many say, who will show us good things?’ in answer to which question he says: ‘The light of Your countenance, O Lord, is signed upon us’: thus implying that the light of natural reason, whereby we discern what is good and what is evil, which is the function of the natural law, is nothing else than an imprint on us of the Divine light.”⁴

Thus, Aquinas’ moral teaching based on solid metaphysical principles provides thoughtful answers to difficult questions of these days. Our actions proceed from our deliberations that reflect our ontological composition. This article presents metaphysical foundations of morals, especially as they refer to moral judgment according to the understanding of *the Angelic Doctor*. For this reason, this article connects theology and philosophy.⁵ We will advance in three steps. First, we will show a specific difference between good and evil as a basis of St. Thomas’ moral thought. Second, on this level we will discuss a moral judgment with regards to human action. Third, we will look at the judgment of our conscience. It is precisely our conscience that makes moral judgments according to one’s knowledge, and that proceeds from a habitual disposition of *synderesis*.

1. Good in Human Action

The whole of human life is full of actions. One cannot not act. However, we must distinguish a human act (*actus humani*) from an act of a human being (*actus hominis*). An act of a human being can be found in human beings but is not attributed to man as man. Acts like digestion, breathing or growth are called natural rather than human. Truly human acts, on the contrary, proceed from reason and will, which are the faculties proper to a human being.⁶ Are there any human acts that escape moral judgment because they are in their essence morally neutral? Every human act (*actus humanus*) as such, is either good or bad.⁷ While non-divine actions often do not enjoy the fullness of being, they do not necessarily have a defect. The goodness of

⁴ *STh*, I-II, q. 91, a. 2. For quotations of *STh* in this article, we will use the *Translation of the Fathers of the English Dominican Province*, originally published by the Benziger Brothers in New York, 1981.

⁵ Philosophical principles of Aquinas are common feature of both philosophy and theology of the tradition that follows Thomas’ teaching, generally known as the Thomistic tradition; cf. CESSARIO, R. – CUDDY, C.: *Thomas and the Thomists: The Achievement of Thomas Aquinas and His Interpreters*. Minneapolis, MN : Fortress Press, 2017, pp. xiv – xvii.

⁶ Cf. *STh*, I-II, q. 1, a. 1: “Man is master of his actions through his reason and will; whence, too, the free-will is defined as ‘the faculty and will of reason.’ Therefore, those actions are properly called human which proceed from a deliberate will. And if any other actions are found in man, they can be called actions ‘of a man,’ but not properly ‘human’ actions, since they are not proper to man as man.”

⁷ MCINERNEY, R. M.: *Ethica Thomistica: The Moral Philosophy of Thomas Aquinas*, rev. ed. Washington, DC : The Catholic University of America Press, 1997, p. 5.

anything is to be distinguished not insofar as it is in potency, but rather as it is in act in relation to the nature in which the potencies reside.⁸

It is important to distinguish between potency and privation. While potency can lead to evil, it is not evil itself; only privation is evil. In the case of created beings, it is always possible that a deficiency occurs in an action that does not have its required integrity. Even if the action itself is perfect, an effect of that action can be deficient. The mode of action of every subject follows its mode of being.⁹ Why is this general principle of such importance? It is because of the nature of a thing. Such as a thing is, so is the act that it produces. Each thing has as much good as it has being (of a certain nature), since good and being are convertible. That means that every human action is good if it effectuates the integral fullness of elements which it should have.

We need to place the morality of human behavior within the context of the metaphysical goodness of being, because if we base our consideration on moral goodness alone without considering the metaphysical nature in which morality exists, we will always evaluate the good against evil as the two components of a moral act in an overly abstract way. Thomas Aquinas does not present evil primarily as a transgression of a law which one's conscience would reproach, but as the absence of good that one's nature requires:

"Good and evil are not constitutive differences except in morals, which receive their species from the end, which is the object of the will, the source of all morality. And because good has the nature of an end, therefore good and evil are specific differences in moral things; good in itself, but evil as the absence of the due end. (...) Hence evil is not a constitutive difference as such, but by reason of the good that is annexed."¹⁰

An act, as such, has goodness, insofar as it has being, and every being possesses a certain goodness. But this goodness does not have primarily moral but ontological character. The order of good in human actions is analogous to the order of goodness in natural things, and the structure of good in human acts generally follows St. Thomas' reflection and analysis of the transcendental good.¹¹ What do we mean by that? The goodness of an action's being is fourfold: the first concerns a genus of an action, that is the action as such; the second is defined by its species, which means a suitable object; the third is derived from its circumstances as the accidents; the fourth comes from its end.

As natural things are specified by their form, every action is specified and measured by its object. The essence of an action comes from its object. So, the primary

⁸ Cf. *STh*, I-II, q. 56, a. 3: "And since good, and, in like manner, being, is said of a thing simply, in respect, not of what it is potentially, but of what it is actually."

⁹ Cf. *STh*, I, q. 89, a. 1: "the mode of action in every agent follows from its mode of existence."

¹⁰ *STh*, I, q. 48, a. 1, ad 2.

¹¹ *STh*, I, q. 5, a. 1. See also ASHLEY, B. M.: *The Way Toward Wisdom: An Interdisciplinary and Inter-cultural Introduction to Metaphysics*, 2nd ed. Notre Dame, IN : University of Notre Dame Press, 2009, pp. 335 – 337.

goodness of a moral action is derived from its suitable object.¹² The suitable object of an action is derived from the substantial form and nature of a thing and its goodness. The fullness of its goodness also includes its appropriate circumstances, mainly those of place and time, which play a role similar to accidents, for example the color and shape in the case of natural things.¹³ Finally, the goodness of an action comes from its end, and the relation to the end of human actions is also dependent upon a moral agent's nature and substance.¹⁴

In these previous dimensions of the fourfold goodness of an action, there can be various defects in human actions. However, human action requires integrity, which comes firstly from reason. Action is good if it is in accordance with reason because "the good of man is to be in accordance with reason."¹⁵ Since the essence of a human action is defined by its object, the action is good when its object is in accordance with the order of reason. Even though moral acts must be voluntary, the will itself is not a criterion for an action's goodness. The will has to be regulated by reason.¹⁶ That is why the essential feature of St. Thomas' ethics is the correlation between morality and rationality.¹⁷ Being is the first to be known in the absolute sense, but good and doing good is the first concept of practical reason. The character of moral goodness is practical rather than theoretical for it is proper to practical reason to lead to certain action. However, each practical reality presupposes and includes reality itself, which can be considered theoretically.

¹² *STh*, I-II, q. 18, a. 2. For an illuminating analysis of the object of a moral act, see LONG, S. A.: *Teleological Grammar of the Moral Act*, 2nd ed. Ave Maria, FL : Sapientia Press of Ave Maria University, 2015, pp. 76 – 90.

¹³ *STh*, I-II, q. 18, a. 3. Cf. AERTSEN, J. A.: Thomas Aquinas on the Good: The Relation between Metaphysics and Ethics. In: MACDONALD, S. – STUMP, E. (eds.): *Aquinas's Moral Theory: Essays in Honor of Norman Kretzmann*. Ithaca, NY : Cornell University Press, 2008, p. 245. For more information see also JENSEN, S. J.: *Good and Evil Actions: A Journey through Saint Thomas Aquinas*. Washington, DC : The Catholic University of America Press, 2010, pp. 103 – 116.

¹⁴ Cf. *STh*, I-II, q. 18, a. 4, where Aquinas also quotes the principle of DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE: *De divinis nominibus*, c. IV, s. 30: "evil results from any single defect, but good from the complete cause."

¹⁵ *STh*, I-II, q. 18, a. 5, where Aquinas quotes DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE, *De divinis nominibus*, c. IV, s. 32.

¹⁶ In Aquinas' understanding the will is a rational *appetitus*, cf. *STh*, I, q. 78, a. 1, which means that it is really different from the reason (cf. KURIC, M.: *O ľudskej slobode podľa Tomáša Akvinského [On human freedom according to Thomas Aquinas]*. Bratislava : Lúč, 2005, pp. 29 – 32) but not independent. A Latin term "appetitus" comes from the words *ad* ("towards") and *petere* ("to aim at, to desire"), cf. RAMÍREZ, S. M.: *De passionibus animae in I-II Summae Theologiae divi Thomae expositio* (qq. xxii – xlviii). *Obras completas de Santiago Ramirez*. Madrid : Instituto de Filosofía Luis Vives, 1973, p. 88. And the main meaning of the word is "to reach for something," cf. STUMP, E.: *Aquinas*. London – New York: Routledge, 2003, p. 496. This "reaching for something" presupposes an apprehension of the reason.

¹⁷ Cf. *STh*, I-II, q. 19, a. 1, ad 3: "Good is presented to the will as its object by the reason: and in so far as it is in accord with reason, it enters the moral order, and causes moral goodness in the act of the will: because the reason is the principle of human and moral acts."

2. Relation between Good and Evil

As we wrote elsewhere, "St. Thomas interprets the good in a transcendental sense by referring to its convertibility with being."¹⁸ In our opinion, this is a crucial point to understand his moral concept. However, there are other opinions on the moral theory of Aquinas. Proponents of what has been called "the New Natural Law," such as John Finnis, Germain Grisez and Robert George, argue that an analysis of practical reason without an ontological foundation is sufficient for morals fully compatible with the insights of St. Thomas.¹⁹ That is the reason why they put too much emphasis on the importance of intention for moral consideration against the physical and causal structure of a human action.²⁰ We have addressed Aquinas' well-balanced position on this issue elsewhere.²¹

The greatest objection against the convertibility of goodness and being as was described in that previous text arises from the experience of evil. If everyone has the experience of evil in a being, and evil is opposite to good, how can it be said that good and being are really identical? Aquinas responds:

"Every being, as being, is good (...). No being can be spoken of as evil, formally as being, but only so far as it lacks being. Thus, a man is said to be evil, because he lacks some virtue; and an eye is said to be evil, because it lacks the power to see well."²²

A thing is evil when its potentiality is deprived of its proper act.²³ Evil is not a pure negation; it is a privation of what is proper to the nature of a certain thing.²⁴

¹⁸ LOVÁS, P. S.: Moral Conversion: The Agent and the Consequences of Morality According to Thomas Aquinas. In: PANSTERS, K. – TEN KLOOSTER, A. (eds.): *Moral Conversion in Scripture, Self, and Society*. Berlin : Walter de Gruyter, 2023, p. 125-138.

¹⁹ LISSKA, A. J.: The Metaphysical Presuppositions of Natural Law in Thomas Aquinas: A New Look at Some Old Questions. In: DI BLASI, F. – HOCHSCHILD, J. P. – LANGAN, J. (eds.): *Virtue's End God in the Moral Philosophy of Aristotle and Aquinas*. South Bend, IN : St. Augustine's Press, 2008, p. 67.

²⁰ FINNIS, J. – GRISEZ, G. – BOYLE, J.: "Direct" and "Indirect": A Reply to Critics of our Action Theory. In: *The Thomist*, 2001, vol. 65, no. 1, pp. 1 – 44. See also FINNIS, J.: Object and Intention in Moral Judgements according to Aquinas. In: *The Thomist*, 1991, vol. 55, no. 1, pp. 1 – 27; and BOYLE, J.: *Praeter Intentionem* in Aquinas. In: *The Thomist*, 1978, vol. 42, no. 4, pp. 649 – 665. Critics of this position include LONG, S. A.: Natural Law or Autonomous Practical Reason: Problems for the New Natural Law Theory. In: GOYETTE, J. – LATKOVIC, M. S. – MYERS, R. S. (eds.): *St. Thomas Aquinas and the Natural Law Tradition: Contemporary Perspectives*. Washington, DC : Catholic University of America Press, 2012, pp. 165 – 193; and Fundamental Errors of the New Natural Law Theory. In: *The National Catholic Bioethics Quarterly*, 2013, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 105 – 131; DI BLASI, F.: *God and the Natural Law: A Rereading of Thomas Aquinas*. South Bend, IN : St. Augustine's Press, 2006. They insist that apart from the intention, the substantial form of the act, the physical character of what is done, cannot be excluded.

²¹ LOVÁS, P. S.: Good intentions and bad actions: Thomas Aquinas on the intention in our acting. In: *ACTA facultatis theologiae Universitatis Comenianae Bratislaviensis*, 2022, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 44 – 48.

²² *STh*, I, q. 5, a. 3.

²³ AERTSEN, J. A.: *Medieval Philosophy and the Transcendentals: The Case of Thomas Aquinas*. Leiden – New York : Brill, 1996, p. 331.

²⁴ Cf. *ScG*, III, q. 6, no. 1: "Evil is in a substance because something which it was originally to have, and which it ought to have, is lacking in it." Translated by BOURKE, V. J. in Notre Dame, IN : University of Notre Dame Press, 1975.

This quasi-definition of evil as a privation does not mean a denial of its existence as one could deduce from the convertibility of good and being. As Aquinas says, “experience teaches, and reason shows the fact (of the existence of evil).”²⁵

What is thus a mode of evil’s existence? Although evil has neither substance nor any positive nature, it has a material cause that is found in a subject through whom it can “exist.” Properly speaking, the subject’s existence is affected by a particular privation (evil). This is the material—or even subjective—principle of evil. Evil only exists in relation to the good. Two basic characteristics of evil stemming from what has been said are: 1) evil is a type of non-existence, and 2) evil affects its subject, sometimes terribly. In this sense, evil “exists.” It acts in this indirect manner, namely by its subject.²⁶ Evil is the result of a deficient application of efficient causality. An efficient cause is defined by a potency to make some modification to a being, to produce some positive change, something which is absent in the case of evil. Everything good comes about through the efficiency of an agent, while any committed evil is a result of a disordered deficiency in efficient causality, away from a truly good end.²⁷

Regarding the existence and the being, we have to specify that according to Aristotle and Aquinas, being is an analogical notion that covers different *genera* and modes of existence.²⁸ Aristotle distinguishes two modes of being.²⁹ 1. “Being outside the mind.” In this mode, evil does not exist outside the mind. 2. “Being as what is true.” This mode deals with the truth in relation to a subject and its predicate. In this sense, being is everything about which a true proposition can be stated. In this mode, evil exists and can be called being, and its privative character is affirmed, like when we speak of blindness as being in the eye, or of any other privation (although it is neither a positive reality, nor does it have any independent nature or essence).³⁰

The very fact that on the moral level evil constitutes a specifying principle does not contradict, but rather presupposes, the privative character of evil. The privative feature of evil does not consist in a human action having no object, but in the lack of conformity of this object to reason.³¹ An evil act is deprived of the order of reason, which is the good of the human person. Also, evil resides in the good as its subject, because if there is no good there would be no being, and thus there would be nothing. The evaluation of a human act as evil does not mean that there is something which is intrinsically evil in the sense of its essence. That is why, technically spea-

²⁵ THOMAS AQUINAS: *Scriptum super Sententiis Magistri Petri Lombardi*. Paris : Lethielleux, 1929 – 1956, II, d. 34, q. 1, a. 1.

²⁶ LABOURDETTE, M.: *Cours de théologie morale, Tome 1: Morale fondamentale*. Paris – Les Plans sur Bex : Parole et Silence, 2010, p. 172.

²⁷ For a thoughtful analysis of causality and existence of evil see JOURNET, C.: *Le mal: essai théologique*, 3e éd. Saint-Maurice : Saint-Augustin, 1988, pp. 45 – 50.

²⁸ GARDEIL, H.-D.: *Initiation à la philosophie de S. Thomas d’Aquin IV: Métaphysique*, 3e éd. Paris : Cerf, 1960, pp. 40 – 44.

²⁹ ARISTOTLE: *Metaphysics*. Loeb Classical Library 271, vol. I, books 1 – 9. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1933, b. V, p. 7.

³⁰ THOMAS AQUINAS: *Questiones disputatae de malo. Opera omnia iussa edita leonis xiii p.m.*, vol. 23. Rome : Typographia polyglotta, 1982, q. 1, a. 1, ad 12, and *STh*, I, q. 48, a. 2, ad 2: “No privation is a being, and neither therefore is evil a being.”

³¹ Reason (rationality) is the measure of morality as we wrote in the section 1.

king, one must understand the phrase “intrinsically evil” as synonymous with the precise description of acts as “objectively evil”—since evil has no proper intrinsic content. It is in this precise and nuanced sense that we interpret and employ the phrase “intrinsically evil acts.”³²

Thus, how is an evil act constituted? Regarding human actions, we speak about good and evil in a specific sense. If we say that some action is morally evil, for example blasphemy, we exclude all the moral goodness from it. By this, we do not want to claim that an act of blasphemy does not exist. This act keeps some physical goodness in the sense that it is real, but it suffers from a real deficient moral disorder. It is morally evil in its essence, according to its species, because its moral privation shapes its objective character. Its disorder defines the act at its core. Such an act is not only affected by evil; it is formed by evil.³³ The evil shapes the formality and the identity of the action itself. Blasphemy is not just a privation of due praise. Praise and blasphemy are opposing like two extremes within the same moral genus.³⁴

Between a dog and a corpse of a dog, there is an opposition that has a privative character of evil. But a carcass does not represent the opposite to a dog in their common genus. There is a specific difference between those two—they are not in the same genus and their opposition is possible only as for the things of the same genus.³⁵ A sin, an evil human act, comprises an object opposing the requirements of reason that was freely chosen. It does not cease to be moral in the way that a cadaver ceases to be alive. It is a privation of goodness, being a contrary species of the same genus, namely, that of morality. However, the species of a sin cannot be defined by a privation, but rather by an opposition that serves as the context for this privation.³⁶

Now, somebody may ask: What about human acts that are in their essence morally neutral? Actions like going for a walk, choosing chocolate rather than vanilla ice-cream, or wearing a red dress (rather than a blue one). Do they escape moral judgment? Or how are they defined in terms of what has been said so far? There are two aspects under which this matter can be considered. If we consider actions strictly in relation to their essence, we must judge their object. If we abstract from everything else, like circumstances, an end or intentions, morally indifferent acts do exist in their species.³⁷

³² John Paul II with the tradition of the Church uses the term “intrinsically evil” in *Veritatis splendor*. Rome : Libreria Editrice Vaticana, August 6, 1993, aa. 80 – 81. The term “intrinsically evil” is questioned, however in a slightly different sense, in PINCKAERS, S. T.: *Ce qu'on ne peut jamais faire: La Question des actes intrinsèquement mauvais, Histoire et discussion*. Fribourg – Paris : Editions Universitaires Fribourg – Cerf, 1995, p. 43.

³³ For more on the nature of moral evil see PUTALLAZ, F.-X.: *Le mal*. Paris : Cerf, 2017, pp. 173 – 185.

³⁴ LABOURDETTE, M.: *Les actes humains, « Grand cours » de théologie morale: Tome 2*. Paris – Les Plans sur Bex : Parole et Silence, 2016, p. 175.

³⁵ ScG, III, qq. 8 – 9.

³⁶ LABOURDETTE, M.: *Vices et péchés, « Grand cours » de théologie morale: Tome 4*. Paris – Les Plans sur Bex : Parole et Silence, 2017, pp. 48 – 49.

³⁷ Cf. *STh*, I-II, q. 18, a. 8: “But it may happen that the object of an action does not include something pertaining to the order of reason; for instance, to pick up a straw from the ground, to walk in the fields, and the like: and such actions are indifferent according to their species.”

But human actions are actualized only in certain specific, concrete conditions which include the circumstances, the end, and the relation of reason. Under particular conditions, the acts that are morally indifferent in their object become good or bad. A free and human act must be oriented to the real ends of human life. Even an act with an indifferent object must be done for a reasonable end. If it is so, this might be sufficient grounds for calling it good. On the other hand, if this connection to the last end of the human life is missing, it is sufficient to render such an act evil.³⁸

That is why eating ice-cream or wearing a certain dress will not be just metaphysically but also morally good, since it contributes to the fullness of a certain being if there is no privation because of the circumstances of this action. In every concretely performed act, there is a morality which can be either good or evil. There is nothing like a mixed morality that would be partially good and bad at the same time.³⁹ Nor is it possible for there to be any mixture of a morality that is good or evil with an indifferent morality. The first and decisive criterion for a right moral judgment about a certain act is the accordance with reason. There are, of course, various degrees of conformity or of discrepancy with reason which will set certain degrees of goodness or badness, but an act in itself can only be either good (in accord with reason) or evil (because of a rational disorder). Almsgiving made by vanity is not partially good and partially evil; it is bad as a whole because the bad end (not compatible with a rational good) destroys the goodness of the act's object (and on this account of the act as such).⁴⁰ It is all the more so for actions with indifferent objects.

3. Judgment of Conscience

After having discussed the nature of Aquinas' moral theory, we can turn our attention to the accomplishment of moral choice that is based on a judgment of our conscience. Performance of human acts is based on the general knowledge of an agent. This knowledge is applied to a human action by the judgment of conscience.⁴¹

When talking about conscience, Aquinas refers first to the meaning of the word itself:

"Conscience, according to the very nature of the word, implies the relation of knowledge to something; for conscience may be resolved into '*cum alio scientia*,' that means the knowledge applied to an individual case."⁴²

He claims that the conscience is an act of the application of an agent's knowledge to a particular action, by which the agent pronounces on 1) whether the act exists

³⁸ Cf. *STh*, I-II, q. 18, a. 9: "if an action that proceeds from deliberate reason be not directed to the due end, it is, by that fact alone, repugnant to reason, and has the character of evil. But if it be directed to a due end, it is in accord with reason; wherefore it has the character of good."

³⁹ *STh*, I-II, q. 20, a. 6.

⁴⁰ See also LONG, S. A.: A Brief Disquisition Regarding the Nature of the Object of the Moral Act According to St. Thomas Aquinas. In: *The Thomist*, 2003, vol. 67, no. 1, pp. 45 – 71.

⁴¹ This is also the very reason why a conscience can be erroneous, as we will show in the end of this section.

⁴² *STh*, I, q. 79, a. 13.

or has existed, and 2) whether it is correct or not,⁴³ i.e., it examines the moral value of an act that is to be done, was already done, or will be done—if it is conformed or opposed to the moral rule, which is the reason.⁴⁴ The second function (moral evaluation of an act) comprises the conscience in the strict sense of the word.

According to St. Thomas, conscience is not an independent faculty of the soul. Conscience differs from a *habitus* residing in a faculty of a soul, but it is not completely independent from the powers of the soul.⁴⁵ For example, as seeing presupposes the power of sight, and the act of sight is dependent on a seeing faculty, so conscience is an act of human reason. It is the act of evaluation and judgment that precedes in action a judgment of election (choice) and proceeds from a habitual disposition that determines our intellect, which is called *synderesis*. Thus, there are three integral elements to the conscience: a particular action, the agent's knowledge, and the act of "application," which is an act of the intellect that gathers and applies to a particular case all knowledge that can serve to enlighten it.⁴⁶

If the agent's knowledge is applied to a present or to a future act, conscience leads the agent and can "prod, or urge, or bind."⁴⁷ Regarding application to a past act, conscience may either 1) "accuse or cause remorse, when that which has been done is found to be out of harmony with the knowledge according to which it is examined," or 2) "defend or excuse, when that which has been done is found to have proceeded according to the form of the knowledge"⁴⁸ that the agent applied. According to its very nature, conscience is subjective and individualist in its judgments.⁴⁹

Synderesis, on the other hand, is a habitual disposition of a human agent which shapes the acts of conscience. It refers to general moral principles, especially the first principle of moral acting which is "good is to be done and evil is to be avoided,"⁵⁰ and applies them (through the judgments of conscience) to an action. *Synderesis* also inclines an agent towards the good in general because it originates from the inclination of human nature to the good. Aquinas states clearly the fact that *synderesis* cannot be mistaken at any time and is "of unwavering integrity."⁵¹ It also cannot

⁴³ THOMAS AQUINAS: *Questiones disputatae de veritate. Opera omnia iussa edita leonis xiii p.m.*, vol. 22. Rome : Typographia polyglotta, 1970 – 1976 (hereinafter referred to as "*De veritate*"), q. 17, a. 1.

⁴⁴ As it was explained in the sections 1 – 2.

⁴⁵ MARGELIDON, P.-M. – FLOUCAT, Y.: *Dictionnaire de philosophie et de théologie thomistes*, 2e éd. Paris – Les Plans sur Bex : Parole et Silence, 2016, pp. 84 – 85.

⁴⁶ About the important role of social information in forming the judgment of conscience, see COTTIER, G.: *Humaine raison: Contributions à une éthique du savoir*. Paris : Lethielleux, 2011, pp. 317 – 322.

⁴⁷ *De veritate*, q. 17, a. 1.

⁴⁸ *De veritate*, q. 17, a. 1.

⁴⁹ For further consideration see PINCKAERS, S. T.: *L'Evangile et la morale*. Fribourg – Paris : Editions Universitaires Fribourg – Cerf, 1990, pp. 261 – 262.

⁵⁰ *STh*, I-II, q. 94, a. 2, as was explained in the section 1.

⁵¹ *De veritate*, q. 16, a. 2: "There must be some permanent principle which has unwavering integrity, in reference to which all human works are examined, so that that permanent principle will resist all evil and assent to all good. This is *synderesis*, whose task it is to warn against evil and incline to good."

undergo any change, which is why it serves as the basis for all moral determinations about individual moral laws. The individual judgments of conscience are coordinated with the universal principles of *synderesis*. In this regard, the *synderesis* makes moral consideration possible:

“For example, if the judgment of *synderesis* expresses this statement: ‘I must not do anything which is forbidden by the law of God,’ and if the knowledge of higher reason presents this minor premise: ‘Sexual intercourse with this woman is forbidden by the law of God,’ the application of conscience will be made by concluding: ‘I must abstain from this intercourse.’”⁵²

An error in a judgment of conscience can arise then either from bad knowledge about what is just and what is not or due to an incorrect application of an agent’s knowledge to an act.⁵³ However, the judgment of conscience may conclude rightly, but the free choice⁵⁴ may decide to act in contrary fashion because of certain elements (for example, a pleasure) present in such an action.

Conclusion

Every rational creature has not only an active participation (natural law) but also a passive participation in the eternal law, which means having a nature that is ordered towards the ends determined by God in the creature’s fundamental ontological constitution (imitation of and union with Him). Active participation in the eternal law is based on and presupposes passive participation, which is given to every creature simply by its existence and by having a nature that is ordered toward certain ends. Passive participation does not in itself constitute the natural law, but the universe is and behaves as it does through this participation subject to the law that was written into it by God.⁵⁵

The existence of a natural being is *per se* ordered to a determined end which is the cause of a predetermination of the kinds of means consonant with this end. Such determination is non-changeable, and thus non-voluntary, and arises from the intrinsic characteristics of the nature of a being. This is an unavoidable context for human acts that are authentically human because they are accomplished through the dynamics of human nature, which gives them their minimal necessary orienta-

⁵² *De veritate*, q. 17, a. 2.

⁵³ Our knowledge about a legal norm that should be applied in the specific situation might be erroneous, too. In which manner even a bad conscience binds, see MCINERNY, R. M.: *Aquinas on Human Action: A Theory of Practice*. Washington, DC : The Catholic University of America Press, 1992, pp. 92 – 95; HOFFMANN, T.: Conscience and Synderesis. In: DAVIES, B. – STUMP, E. (eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of Aquinas*. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 257 – 262; and MERKELBACH, B.-H. – LABOURDETTE, M. – BEAUDOUIN, R.: *Conscience: Four Thomistic Treatments*. Providence, RI : Cluny Media, 2022, pp. 177 – 187.

⁵⁴ How the functioning of conscience differs from that of the free choice (*liberum arbitrium*) St. Thomas explains in *De veritate*, q. 17, a. 1, ad 4: “The judgment of conscience consists simply in knowledge, whereas the judgment of free choice consists in the application of knowledge to the inclination of the will.”

⁵⁵ LOVÁS, P. S.: Prírodná teleológia ľudského konania ako jadro morálneho učenia Tomáša Akvinského [The natural teleology of human action as the substance of the moral teaching of Thomas Aquinas]. In: *Studia theologica*, 2022, vol. 24, no. 3, p. 3.

tion. Being humans, we did not make ourselves need oxygen, water, or food. We did not create our need for wisdom and knowledge to avoid confusion and ignorance. We simply are that kind of beings.⁵⁶ This is our basic ontological constitution which is also on the natural level a primary source of our actions. Aquinas' moral theology is built on these grounds.

Someone may object: "But what is the place of God in all this?" God exists in fullness and in complete simplicity. Human experience (especially the one that comes from our senses) offers contact with complex realities. "Simple", in a negative delimitation, means something which is not composed from any parts.⁵⁷ In the case of God, simple is a quality of the source par excellence.⁵⁸ The fullness of being carries with it absolute goodness. There is not a single mark of evil in God.⁵⁹

On the contrary, since the integrity of a contingent being requires a harmony of different parts, a deficiency of one kind or another is always possible. This is the case with all creatures, including the purely spiritual. Unlike God, a creature is not its own being; its created essence requires completion in existence. This can happen only through its proper good acts. That constitutes a creature's second perfection.⁶⁰ In this manner, the metaphysical character of Aquinas' moral teaching, contrary to current relativizing tendencies, is not only capable of expressing the intrinsic character of morality, but also may help to lead its adherents to their perfection.

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⁵⁶ LONG, S. A.: Natural Law, the Moral Object, and *Humanae Vitae*. In: HÜTTER, R. – LEVERING, M. (eds.): *Ressourcement Thomism: Sacred Doctrine, the Sacraments, and the Moral Life*. Washington, DC : The Catholic University of America Press, 2010, pp. 286 – 288.

⁵⁷ Cf. *STh*, I, q. 10, a. 1, ad 1: "Simple things are usually defined by way of negation; as 'a point is that which has no parts.' Yet this is not to be taken as if the negation belonged to their essence, but because our intellect which first apprehends compound things, cannot attain to the knowledge of simple things except by removing the opposite."

⁵⁸ More about the simplicity and perfection of God is to be found in BONINO, S.-T.: *Dieu, « celui qui est »*. Les Plans-sur-Bex : Parole et Silence, 2016, pp. 229 – 243.

⁵⁹ *STh*, I, qq. 3 – 5.

⁶⁰ To read about *perfectio prima* and *perfectio secunda* see LICHACZ, P.: *Did Aquinas justify the transition from 'is' to 'ought'?* Warszawa : Instytut Tomistyczny, 2010, pp. 278 – 287.

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Systematizácia farností Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi po jej obnove v roku 1968

Systematization of Parishes of the Greek Catholic Church After its Renewal in 1968

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Abstract: This essay endeavors is a historical-religious analysis in to clarify the position of the Greek Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia following its reinstatement in 1968. A key objective of this study is to unveil the practical challenges the Greek Catholic Church encountered during this period. It delves into the resolution of outstanding obligations with other churches after eighteen years of clandestine activities by the Greek Catholic Church, and explores the resultant insights into the workings of the Greek Catholic Ordinariate in this context. The examination of this issue is conducted through a focused lens on select parishes within the Presov Eparchy, offering a narrative glimpse into the lived experiences and responses of these religious communities during a time of transition and renewal.

Keywords: Greek Catholic Church. Refresh. Change. Status. Parish.

Úvod

Cieľom predloženej štúdie je historicko-religiózna analýza v spojitosti s predstavením pozície Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi v Československu po roku 1968 kedy bola oficiálne Gréckokatolícka po 18. ročnej neexistencii opätovne povolená. Pri písaní predloženej štúdie boli použité viaceré metódy, ktoré nám chcú skúmanú problematiku čo najfaktografickejšie popísať. Pri spracovaní štúdie sme použili teoretický historicko-kritický výskum, v ktorom sme zamerali našu pozornosť najmä na metódu historickej a obsahovej analýzy archívnych dokumentov.

Vysporiadanie pomerov Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi v Československu po roku 1968

K problematickým oblastiam daného obdobia patrilo spoločné užívanie chrámov. Pravoslávna cirkev sa zasadzovala o používanie chrámov vo všetkých obciach. Gréckokatolícka cirkev však chcela uplatniť spoločné použitie chrámov iba v obciach, kde bolo aspoň 40 % veriacich, pričom museli mať súhlas gréckokatolíckych veriacich. Pravoslávna cirkev sa cítila v tomto smere utláčanou. Preto prišla s návrhom užívania spoločných chrámov v obciach, kde bol počet obyvateľov do 200, pričom aspoň 30 občanov sa muselo hlásiť k Pravoslávnej cirkvi. Tento návrh chcela uplatniť aj pri obyvateľstve obcí, ktoré malo nad 200 obyvateľov, pričom počet pravoslávnych

veriacich tu musel byť aspoň 60.¹ Gréckokatolícka cirkev chcela dosiahnuť prinavrátenie sa do stavu pred 28. aprílom 1950, Pravoslávna cirkev žiadala zostať pri „terajšom stave“.² Pravoslávna cirkev sa v roku 1968 nádejala, že Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi budú prinavrátené iba farnosti, kde neprijali pravoslávne duchovenstvo a prečkali tak dobu neexistencie Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi.³

Vyriešenie pomerov bolo primárnou otázkou tak pre Gréckokatolícku, ako aj Pravoslávnu cirkev a tak využívali rôzne prostriedky k podpore zo strany vedenia štátu. Ten však v danej dobe čelil ďalším problémom a tak problematiku týchto dvoch konfesií zatláčal do úzadia. Na druhej strane sa však snažil o zavedenie vládneho nariadenia z júna 1968 v čo najväčšom meradle do praxe. Aj preto dostal minister kultúry v marci 1969 nasledovné úlohy:

1. Vyriešenie problému dočasného ordinára a následne ukončenie činnosti Akčného výboru.
2. Rýchle vyriešenie sporov s Pravoslávnu cirkvou- aplikovanie ekumenického spoluzitia, znášanlivosti a tolerance.
3. Vytvorenie komisie zloženej z najvyšších predstaviteľov Gréckokatolíckej a Pravoslávnej cirkvi, ktorá bude riešiť dôležité úlohy- spoločné používanie chrámov, celkové spoluzitie.
4. Prípady marenia dohôd považovať za marenie vládneho nariadenia.⁴

V júli roka 1969 vydal Mons. Ján Hirka v obežníku aj stanovisko k problematike vyriešenia pomerov medzi Gréckokatolíckou a Pravoslávnu cirkvou. Okrem prijatia jednotlivých noriem a zákonov dotýkajúcich sa konsolidácie pomerov poukázal na snahu ordinariátu pri uzatváraní jednotlivých dohôd. V tomto liste navrhol hneď niekoľko požiadaviek vedúcich k vyriešeniu pomerov:

1. *Prevedenie registrácie veriacich.*
2. *Stanovenie minimálneho ich počtu, ako podmienku pre nárok na spoločné užívanie.*
3. *Stanovenie rozpočtu v jednotlivých farnostiach (majúc na mysli vecné a bohoslužobné náklady).⁵*
4. *Vymedziť pomer finančných príspevkov pre chod.*
5. *Stanovenie postupu pri delení finančných darov, resp. zbierok.*
6. *Zavedenie hmotnej zodpovednosti pre správcu a administrátora väčšiny farnosti.*
7. *Vylúčenie možnosti súčasného užívania kostola na bohoslužobné úkony.*

¹ PEŠEK, J. – BARNOVSKÝ, M.: *Pod kuratelou moci. Cirkvi na Slovensku v rokoch 1953 – 1970*. Bratislava : Veda, Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2004. s. 200 – 201.

² ŠTURÁK, P.: *Dejiny Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi na Slovensku v rokoch 1945 – 1989*. Prešov : Petra, n. o., 2018. s. 195 – 196.

³ LUPČO, M.: Hľadanie spoločného „modus vivendi“. In: CORANIČ, J. – KOPRIVNÁKOVÁ, J. – ŠTURÁK, P. (eds.): *Gréckokatolícka cirkev na Slovensku vo svetle výročí II*. Prešov : Prešovská univerzita v Prešove, Gréckokatolícka teologická fakulta, 2012. s. 173.

⁴ PEŠEK, J. – BARNOVSKÝ, M.: *V zovretí normalizácie. Cirkvi na Slovensku 1969 – 1989*. Bratislava : Veda, Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2004. s. 35 – 40.

⁵ AGAP, Vypracovanie rozpočtu sa malo uskutočniť na základe pokynom vy vyplnenie kňazského formulára, ktorý vyšiel ako príloha ordinariátneho listu.

8. *Vypracované podmienky zveriť správcovi farnosti, resp. administrátorovi po konzultácii s veriacimi.*
9. *Prostredníctvom ordinára predložiť dohodu na schválenie Okresného národnému výboru.*
10. *Dohodu, ktorá bude vypracovaná promulgovať patričným spôsobom.*
11. *Vypracovať podmienky vedúce k zrušeniu dohody.⁶*

Prevzatie jednotlivých farností narážalo na odpor. To možno vidieť napríklad vo farnosti Veľká Poľana, kde bol od 15. septembra 1968 vymenovaný za správcu farnosti otec Ósz. Viackrát žiadal o odovzdanie farskej agendy, inventáru a farskej pokladne. Avšak bez úspechu. Narážal na odpor dovtedy tam pôsobiaceho kňaza Vladimíra Petraška.⁷

V niektorých farnostiach sa veriaci rozdelili do dvoch táborov jedna časť bola ochotná uznať nanovo vymenovaného farára pre svoju farnosť a ďalšia časť sa síce hlásila ku Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi, ale chceli bývalého pravoslávneho kňaza.⁸ Preberanie chrámov prebiehalo v jednotlivých farnostiach rozdielne. Vo svojom svedectve otec Vojtech Havaši spomína, že po príchode do svojej farnosti vyzval veriacich, aby sa v prípade, že sú pravoslávni prihlásili. Po negatívnej odpovedi zostal pre nich slúžiť a celá farnosť sa vrátila ku Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi.⁹

Niekedy muselo byť vyriešenie pomerov medzi Gréckokatolíckou a Pravoslávnu cirkvou potvrdené rozhodnutím Okresného súboru, napríklad v obci Úpor. Súd konštatoval, že nástupcom Pravoslávnej cirkvi sa stala Gréckokatolícka cirkev.¹⁰ Sporných bolo hneď niekoľko farností, príkladom je farnosť Chotča. Veriaci sa rozhodli v roku 1967 začať stavať kostol a dokončili ho v roku 1969, potom prešla naspäť celá dedina ku Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi. Avšak na základe rozhodnutia štátu malo dôjsť k tomu, že obe cirkvi mali používať chrám spoločne, aj keď v obci sa nikto nehlásil ku Pravoslávnej cirkvi. Až do vyriešenia situácie však chrám zostal uzamknutý.¹¹

Pred Gréckokatolíckou cirkvou bol po jej neexistencii rad náročných a veľkých úloh. V niektorých dokumentoch však možno nájsť prvok veľkej viery. Príkladmi sú farnosť Zvala, ktorá adresovala Gréckokatolíckemu biskupstvu svoju žiadosť 28. septembra 1968.¹² Podobne farnosť Hromoš, kde sami veriaci napísali 30. septembra 1968 list Gréckokatolíckemu biskupstvu vo veci administrovania ich farnosti.¹³

⁶ In: *Ordinariálny list 1969*, 1969, č. 4.

⁷ AGAP, List otca Ósza z Veľkej Poľany adresovaný Gréckokatolíckemu biskupskému úradu sídlia-
ciemu v Košiciach zo dňa 17. októbra 1968.

⁸ AGAP, List otca Jána Sitkára adresovaný Gréckokatolíckemu biskupskému úradu sídlia-
ciemu v Košiciach zo dňa 11. októbra 1968.

⁹ BABJAK, J.: Mons. Vojtech Havaši, tit. kanonik. BABJAK, J.: *Zostali verní 8. Osudy gréckokatolí-
ckych kňazov*. Košice : Slovo, 2001. s. 27.

¹⁰ AGAP, Rozhodnutie vo veci oznámenia vyriešenia pomerov zo dňa 13. októbra 1968

¹¹ HLINKA, A.: Trpký osud gréckokatolíkov na Slovensku. In: *Slovenské hlasy z Ríma*, 1987, roč.
XXXVI., č. 2, s. 15 – 16.

¹² AGAP, List kurátorov farnosti Zvala adresovaný Gréckokatolíckemu biskupskému úradu sídlia-
ciemu v Košiciach zo dňa 28. septembra 1968.

¹³ AGAP, List gréckokatolíckych veriacich z farnosti Hromoš adresovaný Gréckokatolíckemu bis-
kupskému úradu sídlia- ciemu v Košiciach zo dňa 30. septembra 1968.

Vysporiadanie pomerov Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi v Československu po roku 1969

V nasledujúcom období sa snažil ordinár Ján Hirka viackrát pôsobiť na kňazov, aby v jednotlivých farnostiach pôsobili pokojne a konsolidačne, pričom sa majú pri-pôsobiť daným možnostiam.¹⁴ K problémom medzi cirkvami bol vydaný aj *Ohlas pri príležitosti Veľkonočných sviatkov* 1969. Svojím obsahom konštatuje viaceré nepoko-je, ku ktorým došlo na východe krajiny a ktoré zasahujú do spoločensko-nábožen-ského života. Predstavitelia cirkví¹⁵, ktorí vydali tento ohlas poukázali na ustanove-nie medzicirkevnej komisie zloženej z najvyšších predstaviteľov týchto cirkví. Ich snahou malo byť riešenie sporov v duchu intencií II. vatikánskeho koncilu. Aj tento list obsahuje zmienky o možných ťažkostiach, ku ktorým by mohlo dôjsť.¹⁶

V rámci stretnutia s ministrom kultúry Váľkom, ktoré sa konalo 26. januára 1970, ordinár Ján Hirka spomínal súčasnú pozíciu a aktivity Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi. Vo svojom vstupe hovoril o krivde, ktorá sa stala gréckokatolíckym veriacim, ktorí do roku 1950 tvorili 90 % veriacich na východnom Slovensku. Hovoril o duchovných potrebách, ktoré mali a o ktoré sa v plnej miere nemohla postarať Pravoslávna cirkev, nakoľko veriaci nepoznali jej tradíciu. Okrem toho spomenul, že ku Gréckokatolíc-kej cirkvi sa prihlásilo 200 farností a nemala ani biskupskú rezidenciu a naďalej ani seminár. V tomto vstupe spomenul aj farnosti kde došlo k dohode a k spoločnému užívaniu chrámov a to v Medzilaborciach, Krásnom Brode a Ubli, Šapinci. Na druhej strane neboli uvoľnené tam, kde sa obyvatelia väčšinou prihlásili ku Gréckokatolíc-kej cirkvi napríklad Miková či Šarišské Čierne.¹⁷

Viaceré svedectvá kňazov odkazujú na to, ako fungovalo spoločné užívanie chrámov s Pravoslávnu cirkvou a že dochádzalo k nezhodám. Jedným z nich je aj svedectvo o. Vojtecha Boháča pastoračne aktívneho v tomto prelomovom období. Vo svojich spomienkach uvádza hneď niekoľko nezhôd prameniach z spoločného užívania. Jedna a aj druhá strana mala pridelený presný čas užívania chrámu. Lepšie podmienky však boli práve na strane pravoslávnej strany a pri ukončení obradov, či liturgii Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi, pravoslávni veriaci už očakávali koniec a niekedy hanlivo urážali veriacich Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi.¹⁸

Po obnove Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi sa pomaly začal rozvíjať aj duchovný život v podobe vyučovania náboženstva na základných školách. Príkladom je farnosť Tichý Potok, kde začalo vyučovanie náboženstva 17. septembra 1968 a v Žakovciach 21. septembra 1968. Vyučovanie prebiehalo v piatok a v sobotu po 2-3 skupinách.¹⁹

¹⁴ AGAP, Zápisnica dekanskej schôdze prešovského okresu do dňa 17. marca 1970.

¹⁵ AGAP, Biskup Dr. Ambróz Lazík (za Rímskokatolícku cirkev), biskupi Dr. Vasil Hopko a Ján Hirka (za Gréckokatolícku cirkev) a metropolita Dorotej (za Pravoslávnu cirkev)

¹⁶ AGAP, Ohlas Rímskokatolíckej – Gréckokatolíckej a Pravoslávne cirkvi k veri-aci-om z príležitosti veľkonočných sviatkov 1969.

¹⁷ AGAP, Zápisnica zo stretnutia s ministrom kultúry Váľkom zo dňa 16. januára 1970.

¹⁸ BOHÁČ, V.: Spomienky na „bratské“ spolu-užívanie cirkví s pravoslávny-mi. In: HOSPODÁR, M. (ed.): *Vďační za dar viery a vzkriesenia Cirkvi*. Michalovce : Spolok sv. Cyrila a Metoda, 2018. s. 148 – 149.

¹⁹ AGAP, Správa správcu farnosti v Tichom Potoku o započatí vyučovania náboženstva adresova-ná Gréckokatolíckemu biskupskému úradu sídlacemu v Košiciach zo dňa 24. septembra 1968.

Podobný stav hlásil aj správca farnosti v Olke, kde rovnako prebiehalo vyučovanie náboženstva vo štvrtok dve hodiny pre mladšiu skupinu a v piatok pre staršiu skupinu opäť dve hodiny od 16tej hodiny.²⁰

Podľa nariadení museli mať kňazi pre administrovanie jednotlivých farností platný štátny súhlas a predchádzala mu oficiálna žiadosť. Možno ju vidieť aj v liste otca Štefana Ujhélyiho adresovanému Okresnému národnému výboru v Košiciach. V ňom žiadal o kladné stanovisko pre otca Jozefa Molčányiho, ktorý mal spravovať farnosť v Repejove, otec Nicefora Petrašoviča, ktorý mal spravovať farnosť v Rafajovciach, otca Myróna Podhajeckého, ktorý mal spravovať farnosť vo Veľkej Poľane, otca Gabriela Kopčayho, pre spravovanie farnosti v Ľagove, otca Mikuláša Szigetiho pre spravovanie farnosti v Čertižnom a otca Michala Šutaja pre spravovanie farnosti v Humennom.²¹ Prví kňazi, ktorým bol udelený štátny súhlas dňa 30 júla 1968 boli otcovia Andreja Timkoviča, Dezidera Tinka a Michala Čintalu.²²

Výber systematizácie farností Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi

Na základe Krajskej správy cirkevnej komisie pri Východoslovenskom krajskom národnom výbore v Košiciach bola schválená nasledovná systematizácia farských úradov Gréckokatolíckej a Pravoslávnej cirkvi vo Východoslovenskom kraji:

Tabuľka 1 Systematizácia farských úradov Gréckokatolíckej a Pravoslávnej cirkvi vo Východoslovenskom kraji z 30. júla 1968

Za Gréckokatolícku cirkev:

Okres	Farnosť
Bardejov	1. Andrejová
	2. Bardejov
	3. Beloveža
	4. Becherov
	5. Cigelka
	6. Giraltovec + Kobylnice
	7. Hrabské
	8. Chmeľová
	9. Kružlov
	10. Malcov
	11. Nižný Tvarožec
	12. Ortuťová
	13. Rešov
	14. Snakov
	15. Šarišské Čierne

²⁰ AGAP, List správcu farnosti v Olke adresovaný Gréckokatolíckemu biskupskému úradu sídlia-
cemu v Košiciach zo dňa 8. októbra 1968.

²¹ AGAP, List otca Štefana Ujhélyiho za predsedníctvo adresovaný Okresnému národnému výbo-
ru v Humennom zaslaný dňa 1. júla 1968.

²² AGAP, List vedúceho odboru školstva a kultúry ONV v Michalovciach adresovaný Gréckokato-
líckemu biskupskému úradu sídlia-
cemu v Košiciach zo dňa 30. júla 1968.

SYSTEMATIZÁCIA FARNOSTÍ GRÉCKOKATOLÍCKEJ CIRKVI PO JEJ OBNOVE

Okres	Farnosť	Okres	Farnosť
Humenné	1. Borov	Michalovce	1. Bežovce
	2. Čabalovce		2. Blatné Revišťa
	3. Čertižné		3. Dúbravka
	4. Habura		4. Hlivišťa
	5. Horný Rokytov		5. Choňkovce
	6. Hostovice		6. Ináčove
	7. Humenné		7. Jasenov
	8. Kolonica		8. Jovsa
	9. Krásny Brod		9. Klokočov
	10. Olka		10. Koromľa
	11. Pčolinné		11. Laškovce
	12. Porúbka		12. Lekárovce
	13. Radvaň		13. Ložín
	14. Repejov		14. Malé Zálužice
	15. Roškovce		15. Michalovce
	16. Snina		16. Michalovce- Topoľany
	17. Svetlice		17. Petříkovce
	18. Topoľa		18. Podhorod'
	19. Ubľa		19. Porostov
	20. Uličské Krivé		20. Pusté Čemerné
	21. Vyšná Poľana		21. Rakovec nad Ondavou
	22. Zubné Zvala		22. Slavkovce
Košice – mesto	1. Košice		23. Sobrance
Košice – vidiek	1. Belža		24. Strážske
	2. Cestice		25. Trhovište
	3. Košický Klečenov		26. Trnava nad Laborcom
	4. Kráľovce		27. Vôľa
	5. Nová Bodva		28. Vysoká nad Uhom
	6. Sady nad Torsou		29. Vyšná Rybnica
	7. Slanské Nové Mesto		30. Vyšné Nemecké
	8. Hačava		31. Zemplínska Široká
		Poprad	1. Osturňa
			2. Ľubica
			3. Žákovce
			4. Ihľany
			5. Vernár

Okres	Farnosť
Prešov	1. Fulianka
	2. Drienov
	3. Drienica
	4. Ďačov
	5. GERALTOV
	6. Klenov
	7. Ľubovec
	8. Ľutina
	9. Miklušovce
	10. Okružná
	11. Prešov
	12. Renčišov
	13. Ruská Nová Ves
	14. Sabinov
	15. Tichý Potok
	16. Varhaňovce
Spišská Nová Ves	1. Helcmanovce
	2. Kojšov
	3. Levoča
	4. Nižné Repáše
	5. Olšavica
	6. Poproč
	7. Slovinky
Stará Ľubovňa	1. Čirč
	2. Jakubany
	3. Kamienka
	4. Kremná
	5. Kyjov
	6. Legnava
	7. Litmanová
	8. Malý Lipník
	9. Matysová
	10. Orlov
	11. Sulín
	12. Šambron
	13. Šarišské Jastrabie
	14. Údоль
	15. Veľký Lipník
	16. Vislanka

Okres	Farnosť
Svidník	1. Bodružal
	2. Breznička
	3. Brusnica
	4. Bukovce
	5. Černina
	6. Havaj
	7. Hrabovčik
	8. Korunková
	9. Krajná Bystrá
	10. Lodomirova
	11. Lomné
	12. Miňovce
	13. Mlynárovce
	14. Nižná Písaná
	15. Stropkov
	16. Svidník
	17. Šapinec
	18. Šarišský Štiavnik
	19. Vyškovce
	20. Vyšná Olšava
	21. Vyšný Orlik

SYSTEMATIZÁCIA FARNOSTÍ GRÉCKOKATOLÍCKEJ CIRKVI PO JEJ OBNOVE

Okres	Farnosť
Trebišov	22. Bačkov
	23. Brezina
	24. Cejkov
	25. Čelovce
	26. Čičarovce
	27. Dobrá
	28. Dvorianky
	29. Kuzmice
	30. Lastovce
	31. Matovce
	32. Nižný Ruskov
	33. Nižný Žipov
	34. Novosad
	35. Polany
	36. Pribeník
	37. Sečovce
	38. Stanča
	39. Stankovce
	40. Streda nad Bodrogom
	41. Trebišov
	42. Veľaty
	43. Veľká Tíňa
	44. Vyšné Slemence
	45. Vojčice
	46. Zbehov
	47. Zemplín
	48. Zemplínska Široká
	49. Zemplínske Hradište

Za Pravoslávnu cirkev:

Okres	Farnosť
Bardejov	1. Becherov
	2. Lukov
	3. Livov
	4. Kurov
	5. Varadka
	6. Mikulášová
	7. Bardejov
	8. Gerlachov

Okres	Farnosť
Humenné	1. Čertižné
	2. Medzilaborce
	3. Krásny Brod
	4. Oľšínkov
	5. Svetlice
	6. Humenné
	7. Stakčín
	8. Osadné
	9. Uličské Krivé
	10. Nižná Polianka
	11. Vyšná Jablonka
	12. Čukalovce-Parihuzovce
	13. Starina
	14. Ruské
	15. Ulič
	16. Zboj
	17. Ladomírov
	18. Kalná Roztoka
	19. Výrava
	20. Vydraň
	21. Zbudská Belá
Košice – mesto	1. Košice
Michalovce	1. Beňatina
	2. Falkušovce
	3. Hažín
	4. Lastomír
	5. Markovce
	6. Michalovce
	7. Pozdišovce
	8. Ruský Hrabovec
	9. Strážske
	10. Úbrež
	11. Zemplínska Široká
Poprad	1. Ľubica
	2. Vernár
Prešov	1. Bajerovce
	2. Ľutina
	3. Milpoš
	4. Prešov
	5. Sabinov

Okres	Farnosť	Okres	Farnosť
Spišská Nová Ves	1. Gelnica	Svidník	1. Breznička
	2. Levoča		2. Driečna
	3. Slovinky		3. Kečkovce
Stará Ľubovňa	1. Jarabina		4. Kružľová
	2. Údol		5. Ladomírova
			6. Medvedzie
			7. Miková
			8. Olšavka
			9. Pstrina
			10. Soboš
			11. Stročín
			12. Stropkov
			13. Vápeník
			14. Vyšný Mirošov
			15. Vyšný Orlík
			16. Svidník
		Trebišov	1. Byšta
			2. Cejkov
			3. Zemplínske Hradište

(Zdroj: AGAP, *Krajská správa cirkevnej komisie pri Východoslovenskom krajskom národnom výbore v Košiciach o schválení systematizácie farských úradov Gréckokatolíckej a Pravoslávnej cirkvi vo Východoslovenskom kraji zo dňa 23. júna 1969*)

V danom období zostali sporné farnosti: Pichné, Klenová, Čabiny, Sukov, Ubl'a a Šmigovec za okres Humenné; Závadka a Torysky za okres Spišská Nová Ves; prešetriť sa mala aj situácia v Jakubanoch za okres Stará Ľubovňa.¹

Po skončení činností Krajských cirkevných komisií zostalo vyriešenie pomerov medzi Gréckokatolíckou a Pravoslávnu cirkvou v kompetenciách Okresných národných výborov.

Na území okresu Vranov nad Topľou schválil Okresný národný výbor 24. júla 1969 pôvodnú systematizáciu Gréckokatolíckych farností:

¹ AGAP, Zápisnica zo zasadnutia krajskej cirkevnej komisie zo dňa 23. júna 1969.

Tabuľka 2 Systematizácia Gréckokatolíckych farností v okrese Vranov nad Topľou

1. Banské	7. Hlinné	14. Rudľov
2. Cabov	8. Matiaška	15. Ruská Poruba
3. Čemerné	9. Pakostov	16. Ruský Kazimír
4. Čičava	10. Petkovce	17. Sačurov
5. Dávidov	11. Poša	18. Sečovská Polianka
6. Ďurďoš	12. Rafajovce	19. Sedliská
	13. Remeniny	20. Štefanovce

(Zdroj: AGAP, *Systematizácia gréckokatolíckych farností v okrese Vranov nad Topľou* potvrdená Okresným národným výborom vo Vranove nad Topľou zo dňa 24. júla 1969)

Pri preberaní jednotlivých farností dochádzalo k cirkevno-náboženským problémom, aj preto počas leta 1971 upravil Okresný národný výbor na území okresu Humenné stav medzi jednotlivými farnosťami dočasne nasledovne:

Gréckokatolícka cirkev spravovala tieto farnosti:

1. Borov	7. Hostovice	14. Repejov
2. Čabalovce	8. Kolonica	15. Roškovce
3. Čertižné	9. Krásny Brod	16. Svetlice
4. Habura	10. Olka	17. Šmigovec
5. Humenné	11. Pčolinné	18. Topoľa
6. Humenský Rokytov	12. Porúbka	19. Veľká Poľana
	13. Radvaň	20. Zubné

Tabuľka 3 Systematizácia Pravoslávnych farností v okrese Vranov nad Topľou

1. Čabiny	9. Nechválková Polianka	18. Sukov
2. Čukalovce	10. Olšinkov	19. Svetlice
3. Humenné	11. Osadné	20. Ubľa
4. Kalná Roztoka	12. Palota	21. Ulič
5. Klenová	13. Pichné	22. Vyšná Jablonka
6. Krásny Brod	14. Runina	23. Výrava
7. Ladomírov	15. Ruské	24. Zboj
8. Medzilaborce	16. Stakčín	25. Zbudská Belá
	17. Starina	26. Zvala

(Zdroj: AGAP, *Predbežná systematizácia farností Gréckokatolíckej a Pravoslávnej cirkvi v okrese Humenné* zo dňa 25. júna 1971. V roku 1972 v rámci vysporiadania pomerov)

Medzi jednotlivými cirkvami na území okresu Humenné schválil Okresný národný výbor v Humennom nasledujúcu systematizáciu farností:

Tabuľka 4 Systematizácia farností v okrese Humenné

cirkev	farnosť	cirkev	farnosť
Gréckokatolícka cirkev	1. Čabalovce	Pravoslávna cirkev	1. Čabiny
	2. Čertižné		2. Čukalovce
	3. Habura		3. Humenné
	4. Hostovice		4. Krásny Brod
	5. Humenné		5. Klenová
	6. Kolonica		6. Kalná Roztoka
	7. Krásny Brod		7. Ladomírov
	8. Medzilaborce-Borov		8. Medzilaborce
	9. Olka		9. Nechválková Polianka
	10. Pčolinné		10. Olšinkov
	11. Porúbka		11. Osadné
	12. Radvaň nad Laborcom		12. Palota
	13. Repejov		13. Pichné
	14. Rokytov pri Humennom		14. Runina
	15. Roškovce		15. Ruské
	16. Svetlice		16. Svetlice
	17. Šmigovec		17. Sukov
	18. Topoľa		18. Stakčín
	19. Veľká Poľana		19. Starina
	20. Zubné		20. Ulič
Rímskokatolícka cirkev	1. Dlhé nad Cirochou		21. Vyšná Jablonka
	2. Hrubov		22. Výrava
	3. Humenné		23. Ubľa
	4. Jankovce		24. Zboj
	5. Kamenica nad Cirochou		25. Zbudská Belá
	6. Lieskovec	Reformované kresťanské cirkvi	1. Humenné
	7. Ľubiša		
	8. Medzilaborce		
	9. Ohradzany		
	10. Papín		
	11. Ptičie		
	12. Snina		
	13. Udavské		
	14. Vyšný Hrušov		
	15. Zbudské Dlhé		

(Zdroj: AGAP, Príloha k uzneseniu rady Okresného Národného výboru v Humennom o schválení systematizácii farností zo dňa 21. júla 1972)

Na základe úlohy o správe systematizácie farností a cirkevných zborov, ktorú rozposlal Krajský národný výbor v Košiciach všetkým biskupským úradom, informoval aj Gréckokatolícky ordinariát v Prešove k začiatku roka 1979 o prehľade jednotlivých neobsadených farností. Pričom išlo o 32 farností:

Tabuľka 5 Prehľad neobsadených farností

okres	farnosť	okres	farnosť
Bardejov	1. Nižný Tvarožec	Stará Ľubovňa	1. Kremná
	2. Snakov		2. Legnava
Humenné	1. Čertižné		3. Litmanová
	2. Sopkovce		4. Matysová
	3. Svetlice	Svidník	1. Korunková
	4. Zbojné		2. Vyškovce
Michalovce	1. Ložín	Trebišov	1. Čelovce
	2. Malé Zálužice		2. Dvorianky
	3. Podhorod'		3. Maťovce
	4. Pusté Čemerné		4. Zemplín
	5. Vyšná Rybnica		5. Zemplínske Hradište
	6. Vyšné Nemecké	Vranov nad Topľou	1. Petkovce
Prešov	1. Okružná		2. Rafajovce
	2. Renčišov		3. Sedliská
	3. Ruská Nová Ves		4. Vranov nad Topľou (kaplánske miesto)
	4. Varhaňovce		
Spišská Nová Ves	1. Nižné Repaše		

(Zdroj: AGAP, Správa Gréckokatolíckeho ordinariátu o neobsadených gréckokatolíckych farnostiach adresovaná Krajskému národnému výboru v Košiciach zo dňa 4. januára 1979)

Záver

Podľa platnej legislatívy a právneho poriadku Slovenskej republiky je za dospelú osobu považovaný jedinec, ktorý nadobudol vek osemnásť rokov. Vtedy je už právne zodpovedný. Osemnásť rokov je osoba vychovávaná a formovaná a to hlavne rodinou, kultúrou a prostredím. Osemnásť ročné formovanie na nej zanechá bezpochyby veľký vplyv a ma veľké dôsledky aj na jeho budúcnosť. Gréckokatolícka cirkev v Československu si rovnako prešla 18 rokmi „vývinu“, žiaľ bezpochyby toto súhrnné obdobie nemôže vnímať z pozitívneho pohľadu. Nádej roka 1968 vystriedal rad ťažkých a zložitých úloh, ktoré stáli pred touto cirkvou. Obnoviť a vzkriesiť niečo, čo osemnásť rokov oficiálne neexistuje, si vyžadovalo veľkú dávku odvahy, práce, angažovanosti a nezlomnosti.

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The Preservation and Promotion of Vietnamese National Values and Religious Tolerance in the New Context

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Abstract: This article explores the dynamics of cultural exchange and acculturation in enriching Vietnamese national values, emphasizing the assimilation of progressive elements and the development of modern values. It addresses the challenge of preserving these national values amidst globalization and technological advancement, highlighting the balance between upholding cultural identity and adapting to change. A special focus is placed on the role of religious tolerance and inclusivity, demonstrating how these aspects contribute to social harmony and reflect Vietnam's open-minded approach in a globally interconnected environment. The authors aim to provide a consolidated understanding of the evolution of Vietnamese national values, advocating for a dynamic approach that respects historical legacies while innovatively adapting to the demands of the modern era. They offer insights into how these values continue to be a cornerstone in shaping Vietnam's identity and development path in the global landscape.

Keywords: Vietnamese culture. National values. Cultural exchange. Religious tolerance. Globalization.

Introduction

Vietnam is a nation with a rich cultural and historical heritage. It has always been at the crossroads of diverse civilizations and cultures. We believe that Vietnam today stands at a unique juncture of history and culture, a confluence where numerous values converge, shaping the soul of a nation and its people. This study examines what constitutes Vietnamese values, exploring their multifaceted nature and profound impact on the development of individuals and society. It formulates what the authors understand to be the 'essence of values' and attempts to see which values can or should be considered of national importance. The authors also attempt to explore the dynamics of cultural exchange and acculturation in enriching Vietnamese national values, emphasizing the assimilation of progressive elements and the development of modern values.

Throughout this study, we will explore these values in the context of Vietnam's rich history, its present opportunities and challenges, and the promising path it treads towards the future. Our exploration has significance that goes beyond an academic exercise. We like to think of it as a journey into the heart of what it means to

be Vietnamese, to understand the values that have sustained us through difficult times and that continue to guide us in an era of rapid change and global integration. In this context, a vital aspect of our national values that warrants special attention is religious tolerance. Vietnam's history is a testament to a pluralistic religious landscape, where multiple belief systems have coexisted harmoniously. This religious diversity is not just a mere historical fact but a living reality that continues to shape our national consciousness.¹ The integration of religious tolerance into the framework of Vietnamese national values reflects our commitment to unity in diversity, a principle that has been the bedrock of our societal harmony. Therefore, our paper aims to explore how religious tolerance, as an intrinsic part of our national values, can be preserved and promoted in contemporary Vietnam, ensuring that our cultural heritage continues to be a source of strength and unity in a rapidly changing world.

Our methodology combines a thorough review of historical documents, cultural analyses, and contemporary sociological research. We employ qualitative methods, including textual analysis of historical records and literature, to understand the evolution of Vietnamese values over time. Surveys of the ideas of relevant cultural experts, historians, and philosophers form a crucial part of our approach, providing diverse perspectives on the current embodiment of these values in society. Additionally, we analyze the influence of global trends and international cultural exchanges on Vietnamese values, employing a comparative approach to understand their impact and integration. This methodology allows for a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted nature of Vietnamese national values, ensuring a balanced and in-depth exploration of their significance and evolution.

The Essence and Diverse Forms of Values

Values, in their essence, are the compasses that guide us. They are the intangible threads weaving through our interactions with nature, society, and our inner selves. These values manifest in diverse forms, embodying not only the spiritual and material dimensions but also encompassing both subjective and objective realms.² Also, they are the bedrock upon which our collective consciousness rests and evolves. In other words, values are the essence of our existence, encompassing a broad spectrum of things, phenomena, and processes that hold significance for the movement and development of individuals and societies. Values shape and are shaped by the cultural, social, and historical contexts in which they emerge.

When a value takes form, it becomes a powerful force, influencing and directing the way individuals think, act, feel, and believe. It acts as a compass, guiding personal decisions and societal norms, and is reflected in every facet of human life. As we mentioned above, the scope of values is wide and varied, encompassing relationships with nature, society, and the self. This rich diversity includes (i) specific values,

¹ LQ'I, L.: Traditional Religious Culture in the Spiritual Life of Ethnic Minorities in the Mountainous North of Vietnam Today. In: *American Journal of Educational Research*, 2018, vol. 6, no. 10, p. 1421-1429.

² ROKEACH, M.: Understanding human values. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2008, p. 24-28.

which are unique to certain contexts or communities; (2) universal values, which transcend cultural and geographical boundaries; (3) personal values, which define individual character and ethics; (4) community values, which foster social cohesion; and (5) national values, which form the bedrock of a nation's identity.

Furthermore, values evolve with time, reflecting the dynamic nature of human societies. They encapsulate (1) human values, which represent the core principles of humanity; (2) cultural values, which convey the distinctiveness of cultural heritages; (3) moral values, which dictate notions of right and wrong; and (4) aesthetic values, which appreciate beauty in its diverse forms. In the Vietnamese context, these values are not only a reflection of our rich history and cultural legacy but also a guiding light for our collective aspirations and endeavors in the modern world. The richness of Vietnamese values lies in their diversity – an intricate mosaic reflecting the unique blend of specific and universal values, personal and community ideals, and the enduring principles that define our national character. They encompass the full spectrum of human experience, from the cultural to the moral, the aesthetic to the temporal. Each value, be it in the realm of nature, economy, knowledge, politics, aesthetics, or religion, contributes a distinct hue to the vibrant tapestry of our national identity.

Author Hoang Vinh, in his discerning analysis,³ categorizes these values into seven key areas of human life (nature, economics, knowledge, politics, aesthetics, religion, and belief), offering a comprehensive framework to understand their depth and breadth. Similarly, the authors of 'Preserving, Enriching, and Promoting the Traditional Cultural Values of Vietnam in Innovation and Integration'⁴ provide a nuanced perspective, viewing values as the crystallization of human mental and creative endeavors. They define values as a system of human assessments, aligning with the timeless pursuit of what is necessary, good, and beautiful, when they write:

"Values are the system of subjective human assessments of any natural, social and mental phenomenon in the direction of what is necessary, nice, good and beautiful, in the way of the Western philosophers of one time, which is what man considers to be good, fine, beautiful, which affirms and enhances the nature of man. Once these values are formed and shaped, they dominate the way people think, believe, behave and feel."⁵

Professor Tran Ngoc Them in his book "The Vietnamese Value System from Tradition to Modernity and the Path to the Future" offers the following definition: "Values are the properties of objects that are judged as positive in comparison with objects of the same type in a specific space-time context."⁶

³ HOANG, V.: Cultural issues in contemporary Vietnamese social life. Hanoi: Information Culture Publishing House, 2006, p. 56-57.

⁴ NGO, D. T. (Ed.): Preserving, enriching and promoting Vietnamese traditional cultural values in innovation and integration. Hanoi: Social Science Publishing House, 2010.

⁵ NGO, D. T. (Ed.): Preserving, enriching and promoting Vietnamese traditional cultural values in innovation and integration. Hanoi: Social Science Publishing House, 2010, p.22

⁶ TRAN, N. T.: Vietnamese value system from tradition to modernity and the road to the future. Ho Chi Minh City: Culture and Arts Publishing House, 2016, p. 39.

Another author, prof. Pham Minh Hac, in the book “Axiology - Theoretical basis contributes to summarizing and building common values of Vietnamese people today,”⁷ has analyzed and clarified the fundamental concepts of value, value systems, value scales, and measures of value. He speaks of a human value system, including common human values (humanity, human love, values of truth, goodness, beauty); global values (peace, security, friendship, cooperation, non-infringement of sovereignty and national independence); national values (national spirit, taking national identity values such as patriotism and community responsibility as a standard); family values (harmony, filial piety, attaching importance to family education); self-worth (personality value and personal value). According to Pham Minh Hac, the values of truth, goodness, and beauty; vital values; labor values; and family values are common values of all humankind.⁸

We can see the diversity of Vietnamese values as a testament to the richness of our culture. It's a culture where harmony with nature, social cohesion, personal integrity, national pride, aesthetic appreciation, and religious inclusivity are not just valued but celebrated. Values are thus not just abstract concepts but living principles that have guided our nation through centuries of history, from resisting foreign invasions to the modern era of development and integration.⁹ This section sets the stage for a deeper exploration of these values in the context of Vietnam's historical evolution and contemporary society.

Value Division in Human Life

Our probing of Vietnamese culture has shown us that values are not monolithic but are divided across various spheres of human life. The multidimensional approach to values offered by Hoang Vinh¹⁰ (first introduced in the previous section) provides a comprehensive understanding of their role and impact in shaping the Vietnamese way of life.

1. **Natural Values:** Vietnam's relationship with its natural environment is profound and sacred. This value system is evident in our deep respect for the land, rivers, and forests, which is not only essential for survival but also revered as sources of life and spirituality. Practices such as sustainable farming, reverence for natural landmarks, and conservation efforts reflect our commitment to living in harmony with nature.

⁷ PHAM, M. H.: Axiology - Theoretical basis contributing to summarizing and building common values of Vietnamese people today. Hanoi: Dan Tri Publisher, 2012.

⁸ PHAM, M. H.: Axiology - Theoretical basis contributing to summarizing and building common values of Vietnamese people today. Hanoi: Dan Tri Publisher, 2012.

⁹ As the Late General Secretary Le Duan aptly said: “Vietnamese people have thousands of years of history, have our own language, custom, business, way of life and long-standing culture. All of that forms the traditions, the personal feelings of our people.” As quoted by Phan Huu Dat. See: PHAN, H. D. (ed.): Some urgent theoretical and practical issues related to current ethnic relations. Hanoi: National Program Publishing House, 2001, p. 16.

¹⁰ HOANG, V.: Cultural issues in contemporary Vietnamese social life. Hanoi: Information Culture Publishing House, 2006, p. 56-57.

2. **Economic Values:** The Vietnamese economic ethos is characterized by hard work, innovation, and a spirit of entrepreneurship. These values are rooted in a history of resilience and adaptability, enabling us to navigate through various economic challenges and opportunities, from traditional agrarian systems to modern market dynamics.
3. **Knowledge and Educational Values:** The pursuit of knowledge and education holds a place of high esteem in Vietnamese culture. Values such as diligence in learning, respect for teachers, and the quest for intellectual growth are ingrained from a young age, reflecting our belief in education as a pathway to personal and national development.
4. **Political Values:** In the political sphere, values of patriotism, national unity, and public service are paramount. These values guide our governance systems and political processes, reflecting a collective aspiration for a society that is democratic, fair, and just.
5. **Aesthetic Values:** Vietnamese aesthetic values are deeply embedded in our arts, crafts, and traditions. The appreciation for beauty, whether in the simplicity of a folk song or the intricacy of temple architecture, mirrors our cultural identity and artistic heritage.
6. **Values in the Field of Religion and Belief:** Our approach to religion and belief is marked by openness and inclusivity. The coexistence and mutual respect among different religious practices illustrate a broader societal value of tolerance and harmony. This aspect of Vietnamese life enriches our spiritual landscape and fosters a sense of community and shared humanity.

Through this delineation of values across different areas of life, we see how they collectively form the backbone of Vietnamese society. Each area, while distinct, contributes to a holistic understanding of what it means to be part of this vibrant and evolving culture. This section paves the way for a deeper exploration of these values in the context of Vietnam's historical evolution and contemporary societal opportunities and challenges.

National Values in the Vietnamese Context

In the heart of Vietnam's ethos lies a rich array of national values, which have been the guiding stars of our nation's journey through time. These values, deeply embedded in our collective consciousness, represent the constitutive spirit of Vietnam and serve as the bedrock for our stability, development, and identity. Upon a closer inspection, it becomes apparent that Vietnamese national values are a unique blend of historical legacy and contemporary aspirations. They are imbued with the wisdom of our ancestors, shaped by centuries of cultural evolution, and enlivened by the vibrancy of our modern society. These values encapsulate the resilience and tenacity of the Vietnamese people, our deep-rooted patriotism, and our unwavering commitment to community and social harmony.

Historically, these values have been our guiding lights through periods of difficulty and transformation. They have instilled in us the strength to preserve our

sovereignty and cultural identity in the face of foreign invasions and colonial rule.¹¹ However, all attempts by the superpowers to assimilate, dominate and subdue the Vietnamese people have failed.¹² In contemporary times, these values continue to steer us as we navigate the complexities of a rapidly changing world, embracing modernization while upholding our cultural heritage.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, national values have been further refined and articulated, aligning with the goal of building a society that is rich, strong, democratic, equitable, and civilized. Core values such as (1) patriotism, (2) community responsibility, (3) tolerance, and (4) humanity have been emphasized, ensuring that our national identity remains vibrant and relevant. National values affect the stability, existence, and development of our country.¹³ If they are not clearly identified, actively cultivated, and promoted effectively, our society is bound to become less stable and prosperous. As Huy Can rightly observes, “Value, firstly, is the national value which is recognized by the nation; and the highest national value can contribute to the common capital of mankind.”¹⁴

These values are not static; they are continually reinterpreted and rejuvenated in response to the evolving landscape of global integration and technological advancement. For instance, the fusion of traditional values with modern principles is evident in our approach to governance, education, and social welfare, reflecting a balance between maintaining our cultural essence and embracing progressive ideals. The promotion and preservation of national values are important tasks. They go beyond a cultural endeavor; they are integral to our nation’s soul. They inform our policies, influence our social interactions, and inspire our collective aspirations. By nurturing these values, Vietnam, on the one hand, fortifies its own identity but, on the other hand, also contributes to the global tapestry of cultural diversity and mutual understanding.

National Values: Contemporary Role and Challenges

In an era marked by rapid globalization and technological advancements, the role of Vietnamese national values becomes ever more crucial, yet challenging to uphold. As Vietnam strides confidently on the path of development and integration into the global community, it faces the dual task of preserving its rich cultural

¹¹ HOANG, T.: Exchange of Vietnamese Culture: Russia and Problems Made in Integration Period. In: Scientific Research and Development - Economics, 2020, Vol. 8, no 4, p. 51-54.

¹² NGUYEN, C. B. (Ed.): Vietnamese culture in the context of international economic integration. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House, 2010, p. 73-74.

¹³ This is clearly defined in the document of the 13th Congress, the Communist Party of Vietnam defined: “The motivation and important development resources of the country are to arouse strongly the spirit of patriotism, the will to strengthen national self-reliance, the power of great national unity and the aspiration to develop the country prosperous, happy,” which further states that “Strengthening the education of patriotic pride, national tradition and history, the sense of social responsibility for the strata of the people, especially the youth.” COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIET NAM: Document of the 13th National Party Congress, Vol.1. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House, 2021, p. 34 and 143.

¹⁴ HUY, C.: Thinking about national cultural identity. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House, 1994, p. 8.

heritage while adapting to an increasingly interconnected world. The contemporary landscape presents a complex matrix of opportunities and challenges for the preservation of national values. The advent of digital technology, the explosion of information, and the pervasive influence of global media have opened new horizons for cultural exchange and knowledge sharing.¹⁵ These developments offer unprecedented opportunities for Vietnam to showcase its culture and values on the global stage, fostering international understanding and collaboration.

However, these opportunities come with significant challenges. The rapid influx of foreign ideas and lifestyles can sometimes create a tension between traditional values and modern influences. There is a delicate balance to be struck between embracing beneficial global practices and preserving the core elements of our national identity. As a developing country, Vietnam must navigate these waters carefully, ensuring that its cultural essence is not overshadowed by external influences.¹⁶ Moreover, the pressures of environmental degradation, climate change, and economic shifts add another layer of complexity. These global challenges require a response that is rooted in our national values – a response that emphasizes sustainability, community solidarity, and innovative problem-solving. Pham Minh Hac rightly expresses his concern in this regard, stating:

“Now the situation emerges as the value scale is reversed, there is a crisis situation, many signs of recession and some consider it a tragedy. It is true that the reform approach has brought many good achievements to the people and the country, but it has also raised many pressing and hot issues, including the value issue, especially the values of dignity and personality.”¹⁷

In his address at the National Cultural Conference, General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong highlighted significant challenges within the realm of cultural development.¹⁸ He noted the inadequacies in showcasing Vietnamese culture internationally, stating that efforts to introduce and promote our cultural heritage globally are lacking in strength and impact. Furthermore, he observed a limited engagement with the global cultural elite, suggesting a need for more proactive measures in embracing and integrating worldwide cultural advancements. He emphasized the insufficient emphasis on preserving, protecting, and promoting the valuable cultural values of the nation. General Secretary Trong also expressed concern over the unselective imitation of foreign cultures, often leading to practices that are disdain-

¹⁵ NGUYEN, T. T. & JOHANSON, G.: Culture and Vietnam as a Knowledge Society. In: *The Electronic Journal of Information Systems in Developing Countries*, 2017, vol. 33, no. 1, p. 1-16.

¹⁶ NGUYEN, M. T. & NGUYEN T. D.: Impact of the industrial revolution 4.0 on Vietnamese cultural development. In: *Linguistics and Culture Review*, 2022, vol. 6, no. 1, p. 43-54.

¹⁷ PHAM, M. H.: *Axiology - Theoretical basis contributing to summarizing and building common values of Vietnamese people today*. Hanoi: Dan Tri Publisher, 2012, p. 29-30.

¹⁸ MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM (Bo Cong thuong): General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Nguyen Phu Trong spoke in National Cultural Conference opened on November 24, 2021. Hanoi, 2021. Available at: <https://moit.gov.vn/tin-tuc/hoat-dong/toan-van-phat-bieu-cua-tong-bi-thu-nguyen-phu-trong-tai-hoi-nghi-van-hoa-toan-quoc.html> [cit. 2023-11-10].

ful and derogatory towards our own culture, potentially undermining our cultural integrity.

The Communist Party of Vietnam, recognizing these challenges, has placed a strong emphasis on the education of patriotic pride, national tradition, and social responsibility.¹⁹ This approach is integral to maintaining the relevance and vitality of our national values in the face of global changes. It is a call to action for every Vietnamese citizen to contribute to a society that is not only economically prosperous but also culturally rich and socially responsible. In this new context, the preservation and promotion of national values are not just about maintaining cultural artifacts or traditions; it is about infusing these values into every aspect of our daily lives. We can see this reflected in the Resolution of the Fifth Conference of the 8th Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam which declares that:

“[t]he general direction of the cultural cause of our country is to promote patriotism and the tradition of great national unity, sense of independence, self-reliance in building and defending the socialist Fatherland, building and developing an advanced Vietnamese culture imbued with national identity, absorbing the quintessence of human culture, penetrating the whole life and social activities, each person, each family, each collective and community, each residential area, and all areas of daily life and human relations with culture, and creating in our country a high spiritual life, high intellectual level, scientific development in order to effectively serve the cause of industrialization and modernization for the sake of a rich people, strong country, fair and civilized society, taking a firm step forward to socialism.”²⁰

In any case, we believe that, in the current context, the preservation and promotion of national values are not just about looking inwards but also about engaging proactively with the world. It is about striking a balance between steadfastness to our core principles and openness to new ideas and perspectives. This kind of thinking entails profound consequences. Among them is the imperative to stay open to dynamic changes. Our values, therefore, are not static relics but dynamic tools that help us navigate, adapt, and contribute in an ever-changing global landscape.

Cultural Exchange and Acculturation

Vietnam’s cultural landscape is a testament to the dynamic interplay of exchange and acculturation, a process that has enriched the nation’s values and broadened its cultural horizons. Throughout history, Vietnam has been both a recipient and a contributor in the global cultural exchange, demonstrating a remarkable ability to absorb, adapt, and reinvent foreign influences while steadfastly maintaining its unique cultural identity. The historical cross-cultural interactions of Vietnam are as

¹⁹ A recent document from the 12th National Party Congress states in this regard: “improving the quality and efficiency of cultural activities; mobilizing the strength of the whole society in order to preserve and promote the traditional cultural values of the nation; encouraging the creation of new cultural values, absorbing the quintessence of human culture, and enriching the national culture.” COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIET NAM: Documents of the 12th National Party Congress. Hanoi: Office of the Party Central Committee, 2016, p. 129.

²⁰ COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIET NAM: Documents of the Fifth Conference of the 8th Central Committee. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House, 1998, p. 54-55.

varied as they are profound. From the early days of trade routes connecting Vietnam with the ancient civilizations of India and China to the more recent influences of French colonialism and modern global interactions, each epoch has left its imprint on Vietnamese culture. This fusion is evident in our architecture, which seamlessly blends traditional Vietnamese designs with Chinese, French, and modern aesthetics. It is reflected in our culinary arts, where local ingredients and cooking techniques are combined with foreign flavors to create a cuisine that is uniquely Vietnamese yet globally appreciated.²¹

One of the most remarkable aspects of Vietnam's cultural exchange is its ability to selectively integrate external elements while preserving the core of its traditional values. This selective acculturation is not a passive process but an active, conscious effort to enrich the national culture without losing sight of its essence. It is seen in the way Vietnamese language has evolved, incorporating foreign words yet retaining its fundamental structure, and in the way traditional festivals adapt new elements while upholding their historical significance. Moreover, the Vietnamese approach to religious and philosophical influences is a prime example of this selective integration. The assimilation of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism, along with elements of Christianity and indigenous beliefs, has resulted in a unique spiritual landscape that is inclusive and diverse.²² This religious and philosophical pluralism is not just a feature of our history but a living element of our cultural fabric, demonstrating the Vietnamese inclination towards tolerance and harmony. As assessed by the authors of the book *Vietnamese Culture in the Context of International Economic Integration*:

"If we only integrate Buddhist culture, our country will turn into a Buddhist country like Thailand. If we only integrate Confucianism, our country can not escape from the map of the Han - Tang empire. The advantage of the three religions is to attract much cultural quintessences of humanity to complement and enrich each other."²³

In the contemporary era, the process of cultural exchange and acculturation continues, shaped by the forces of globalization and international integration.²⁴ We are participants in this process, vigilant but open to new impulses. As Vietnam engages more deeply with the global community, it faces the dual challenge of embracing new ideas and technologies while preserving its cultural heritage. This engagement

²¹ As Truong Chinh puts it: "We have to admit that, under French rule, we have learned some scientific ideas and methods of working. Our literature, painting, music, drama, architecture, etc., have carried traces of progressive French literature and art." TRUONG, C.: On culture and art, Vol.2. Hanoi: Literature Publishing House, 1985, p. 112.

²² SEN, V. V. & THO, N. N.: Crossing Boundaries and State-building: Harmonisation and Tolerance in Vietnamese Religions. In: International Journal of Asia Pacific Studies, 2020, Vol. 16, no. 2, p. 59-83. On this matter, see also: NGUYEN, Q.: The Vietnamese Values System: A Blend of Oriental, Western and Socialist Values. In: International Education Studies, 2016, Vol. 9, no. 12, p. 32-40.

²³ NGUYEN, C. B. (Ed.): Vietnamese culture in the context of international economic integration. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House, 2010, p. 75.

²⁴ NGUYEN, S.T. & VU, H.V.: Vietnamese Cultural Identity in the Process of International Integration. In: Journal of Advances in Education and Philosophy, 2020, Vol. 4, no. 5, p. 220-225.

offers opportunities for cultural enrichment, allowing Vietnam to share its cultural treasures with the world and in turn, absorb the best of global culture – an opportunity which should not be wasted.

Preserving and Promoting National Values

In an era characterized by rapid transformations and global interconnectedness, the preservation and promotion of Vietnamese national values acquire a renewed sense of urgency and importance. As Vietnam navigates the currents of modernization, industrialization, globalization, and digitalization, these values serve as a compass, ensuring that progress and development are anchored in the nation's cultural ethos and ethical principles. The task of preserving national values is intertwined with the challenge of promoting them in a way that resonates with both the current generation and those to come. It involves a careful balance of safeguarding traditional practices and beliefs while ensuring their relevance in a contemporary context. This endeavor is not merely about conserving cultural artifacts or rituals; it is about keeping the spirit and essence of our national values alive and vibrant.

In this section of our paper, we would like to take a look at the tools we have at hand that can help us accomplish this noble task. First of all, education appears to play a crucial role in this process. By embedding national values in educational curricula and initiatives, we ensure that the younger generations understand and appreciate the rich heritage from which these values stem. Moreover, integrating these values into everyday life, through media, arts, and public discourse, makes them a living part of the Vietnamese experience.

The next element we would like to highlight is that of international promotion. Promoting national values also involves showcasing them on the global stage. As Vietnam increases its presence in international affairs, our values of peace, cooperation, and mutual respect become part of our global identity. By sharing our cultural values with the world, we contribute to the global cultural mosaic, learn from the values and experiences of others, and become active stakeholders in the global arena. Undoubtedly, this enriches our own understanding and practice. Nevertheless, in the face of modern challenges – such as environmental issues, the digital divide, and social inequalities – these values are more than cultural touchstones; they are practical guides for policy and action. They inform our approach to sustainable development, technological adaptation, and social equity, ensuring that progress is both inclusive and respectful of our cultural heritage.

Exploring Religious Values and Promoting Religious Toleration

As we consider the rich mosaic of Vietnamese national values, a special focus must be given to the aspect of religious values and tolerance. As we have already mentioned, Vietnam's religious landscape is marked by a diverse array of beliefs and practices, reflecting the country's history of religious pluralism and syncretism. Hence, the significance of religious tolerance in the life of our society.

Upon a closer inspection we observe that the value of religious tolerance in Vietnam is deeply rooted in our history. The Vietnamese approach to religion has

traditionally been characterized by an inclusive and syncretic nature, where different religious practices and beliefs coexist and often intertwine. From the coexistence of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism to the later integration of Christianity and other faiths, Vietnam has demonstrated a longstanding tradition of religious harmony.²⁵ We are not speaking here merely of a passive coexistence but an active appreciation and respect for diverse religious traditions.²⁶ History has proven that such coexistence strengthens the social fabric of our country. In contemporary Vietnam, religious tolerance continues to be a cornerstone of social harmony and national unity. It is evident in the peaceful coexistence of major religions, the celebration of various religious festivals, and the respectful dialogue between different faith communities. This inclusive approach to religion plays a crucial role in fostering a sense of shared humanity and mutual respect among the Vietnamese people. It assumes new significance especially as Vietnam increasingly engages with the global, religiously diverse community. We are convinced that our path is essential for international cooperation and peace.

Moreover, the promotion of religious tolerance aligns with broader national values such as peace, understanding, and respect for diversity.²⁷ It is a reflection of Vietnam's commitment to human rights and freedom of belief, as enshrined in our constitution and legal framework. It aligns with the constitutional guarantees of religious freedom, illustrating Vietnam's commitment to upholding these values. By promoting religious tolerance, Vietnam strengthens its internal unity and projects a positive image on the world stage, showcasing its rich cultural heritage and progressive social policies.

Conclusion

Our exploration of Vietnamese cultural substrate and Vietnamese national values has made it evident that these values are not mere relics of the past, but vibrant and living principles that continue to guide and shape our nation's journey. In an era marked by rapid global changes and technological advancements, the importance of preserving and promoting these values becomes ever more critical. Vietnam's history is filled with resilience and perseverance. As such, it has bequeathed us a legacy of values that are deeply rooted in our cultural identity. These values, from the community spirit and national pride to the profound respect for nature and commitment to social harmony, have steered Vietnam through challenges and triumphs alike – and continue to do so in our contemporary age. As we stand at the crossroads of tradition and modernity, it is these enduring principles that provide a compass, guiding us towards a future that is prosperous, equitable, and harmonious.

²⁵ NGUYEN, Q.: The Vietnamese Values System: A Blend of Oriental, Western and Socialist Values. In: *International Education Studies*, 2016, Vol. 9, no. 12, p. 32-40.

²⁶ LQ'I, L.: Traditional Religious Culture in the Spiritual Life of Ethnic Minorities in the Mountainous North of Vietnam Today. In: *American Journal of Educational Research*, 2018, vol. 6, no. 10, p. 1421-1429.

²⁷ VU, H. V.: Religious Trends before the Impact of Globalization and Vietnam's Religious Policy. In: *Religación*, 2020, Vol. 5, no. 24, p. 131-141.

Vietnam does not wish to isolate itself from the global world, nor does it wish to assume a hypercritical or uncritical stance toward modern technologies. On the other hand, in embracing the challenges of the modern world, Vietnam does not shy away from its traditions and cultural heritage. Instead, we seek to adapt and evolve, ensuring that our values remain relevant and resonant in the contemporary context. This adaptive approach is not a departure from our roots but an affirmation of our ability to grow and thrive amidst change. It is a testament to the dynamic and progressive spirit of Vietnam, a nation that respects its past while boldly facing the future. Furthermore, our commitment to religious tolerance and inclusivity stands as a reminder of our progressive outlook. It exemplifies our dedication to a society where diversity is not just tolerated but celebrated, where different beliefs coexist in harmony, enriching our national fabric. This commitment to inclusivity and respect for diversity is more than just a cultural trait; it is a strategic imperative in a world that is increasingly interconnected.

In the end, we are convinced that the preservation and promotion of our national values are not just a cultural endeavor but a journey towards realizing the fullest potential of our nation. It is a journey that respects our history, celebrates our present, and eagerly anticipates our future – a future that is as bright and promising as the values that guide us.

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On Christianity and Notions about Extraterrestrials: in the Labyrinth of Multiplicity, Eschatology, Myths and Historical Consciousness

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Abstract: Usually, Christianity is not the first thing that comes to people's minds, when they think of extraterrestrial intelligence. However, (not only) for Christendom, it is important to realize that several Christian elements have already left a significant footprint on the notions about ETI and it matters to pay more attention to the topic from religious standpoints for many reasons. Analyzing the Christian viewpoints and impact, in this regard, reveals the need to deal with the profound questions concerning the nature of the universe and our place in it, the relationship between humans and God, the future of religion, the way we treat the world and reflect our culture. Contexts of the thought about ETI shed very unique light on these questions.

Keywords: Extraterrestrial intelligence and Christianity. Science and religion. SETI and Christendom.

A challenge to religion

At first glance, in recent decades, it may seem that the majority of relevant assumptions concerning questions associated with extraterrestrial intelligence neglected contexts of the Abrahamic religions. The most widely recognized ideas, when it comes to the ETI topic, exist in the area of natural science or science-fiction literature, sometimes enriched by the sphere of New Age thought.

Nevertheless, since the Abrahamic religions pursue to explain the origin and purpose of the existence of man and the universe, the traditional religious thought plays a significant role in the ETI topic as well. It is only necessary to look deeper into our collective notions in this regard. As Christianity remains the dominant religion in the West, this text intends to present numerous forms of Christian elements that found their way into many ETI-related questions, alongside arguments stressing the importance of the religious dimension in this field.

Fragments of Christianity, which were often overlooked in the past, can be found in certain researchers' and fiction writers' expectations, despite the fact that many of these individuals do not (or did not) belong to any religious organization. And besides that, many comments have been made by the members of the clergy targeting the possible (non)existence of ETI or life on other planets, some of them very seriously, such as by Jesuits from the Vatican Observatory collaborating with the METI (messaging extraterrestrial intelligence) initiative.

In the long-term perspective, we observe an occasional, spontaneous and often strong convergence between the ETI topic and Christianity caused by, aside from

other factors, lively heterogeneity of opinions. In this case, we need to look at Christianity in a broader sense as it is a complex milieu.

David Wilkinson, an expert on the thought about extraterrestrials, criticized mainstream Christian theology for not being engaged enough as he sees Christendom still being busy with other profound science-religion questions. He very accurately touched this pressure point by claiming: “Faith communities still working through relationships between Big Bang and creation narratives, natural selection and God’s purpose, neuroscience, and what it means to be human, could be hit by tidal questions following indications of success in SETI.”¹ Therefore, while naturalists seeking aliens do not have to be concerned by religious implications yet, any success of the SETI initiative could lead certain Christian opinion-makers to an intellectually uneasy crossroad, likewise it happened to some with Copernicus’, Darwin’s, or Lemaitre’s conclusions.

Many naturalists assume that the fast technological progress allowing better exploration of the universe raises the odds of finding our extraterrestrial neighbors. A breakthrough discovery of this kind can suddenly push Christendom into the strange position of just a passive spectator. Of course, this view could seem perhaps too simplified to some because numerous famous Christian savants dealt with the topic (e.g. George Coyne, Paul Tillich, Karl Rahner, etc.).² Therefore, whether Christians are doing “enough” in this field is, of course, in a way, a subjective matter. Nevertheless, this text aims to support Wilkinson’s argument and encourage Christendom to take the topic more seriously.

There is no doubt that the question of extraterrestrial life creates difficult dilemmas for Christendom. However, it is fair to highlight that instead of rethinking elementary Christian standpoints from the scratch, these challenges may rather be confronted by a broader comprehension of existing theological views from Christian history. In other words, certain ideas accumulated in the memory of Christendom can be used to rethink the current questions.

Size and multiplicity in space as threats to the Christian viewpoint?

Carl Sagan — a famous and hardworking face of the SETI — made a couple of critical statements about fundamentals of Christianity, when speaking of the ETI topic, in order to emphasize the obsolescence of the religious tradition in contrast to the unimaginable size of the universe as we know it today.

On this matter, the following words are very eloquent: “...a general problem with much of Western theology in my view is that the God portrayed is too small. It is a god of a tiny world and not a god of a galaxy, much of a universe. [...] It is a god of one small world, a problem, I believe, that theologians have not adequately addressed.”³

¹ WILKINSON, D.: *Science, Religion, and the Search for Extraterrestrial Intelligence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 2.

² PETERS, T.: The implications of the discovery of extra-terrestrial life for religion. In: *Philosophical Transactions: Mathematical, Physical and Engineering Sciences*, February 13, 2011, Vol. 369, No. 1936, (644-655), pp. 651-652.

³ SAGAN, C.: *The Varieties of Scientific Experience: A Personal View of the Search for God*. New York: Penguin Books 2007, p. 30.

It does not necessarily indicate that the scholars employed in SETI were, or still are, biased against Christians. Although, some of their findings — based on summarization of other surveys — suggest that within the Abrahamic religions, unlike the main East Asian spiritual teachings, there are many believers who would likely see the discovery of ETI as a threat to their faith or religion. Albert A. Harrison, who has written a paper thinking through the social impact of the desired contact with ETI, assured that varied reactions are expected among other social groups as well. He pointed out that religions could be “a useful ally” in response to the discovery of alien intelligence.⁴

Of course, it is not difficult to argue that the Book of Genesis outlines a very geocentric understanding of the created world, but this viewpoint implicitly arises from particular (often pre-Copernican) exegetical approaches and is outdated for a large number of believers. Nowadays, a lot of Christians understand the universe as a big space without a center and filled with countless planets, some of which probably share quite similar attributes to the Earth. And the popular “multiverse” hypothesis attempts to push this direction of thinking to an even higher level.

The realization of the unimaginable space magnitude is nothing new among Christians. In the 1790s, astronomer William Herschel looked at our cosmos as flooded with life. For him, even stars were considered habitable⁵ since God with infinite wisdom would not have wasted the space.⁶ To reveal another widely known way of adjustment of the Christian teaching to the extremely or infinitely large environment which extraterrestrials may be sharing with us, Wilkinson used a much older paradigm of influential renaissance thinker Nicolas of Cusa who presented our space as infinite and yet created by the Christian God. In this space, the uniqueness of human is designated by God’s special, not exclusive relationship to people.⁷

From the Christian perspective, the main problem related to the size of the universe, respectively to the multiplicity of the habitable planets and the hypothetical existence of ETI, is the question of Christ’s unique Earthly incarnation.⁸ The Christian past encompasses diverse views that strive to deal with the multiple Earth-like worlds hypothesis: by meditating on Christ’s arrivals in the flesh on various planets

⁴ HARRISON, A. A.: After Contact – Then What?. In: SHUCH, H. Paul (ed.), *The Frontiers Collection: Searching for Extraterrestrial Intelligence: SETI Past, Present, and Future*. Heidelberg — Dordrecht — London — New York: Springer, 2011, (pp. 497-514) p. 507.

⁵ See HERSCHEL, W.: On the Nature and Construction of the Sun and Fixed Stars. In: *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, vol. 85, 1795, (pp. 46-72) pp. 67-68.

⁶ CROWE, M. J.: Astronomy and Religion (1780-1915): Four Case Studies Involving Ideas of Extraterrestrial Life. In: *Osiris*, vol. 16 (Science in Theistic Contexts: Cognitive Dimensions), 2001, (pp. 209-226), p. 215.

⁷ WILKINSON, D.: *Science, Religion, and the Search for Extraterrestrial Intelligence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 19 and 146.

⁸ McMULLIN, E.: Persons in the Universe. In: *Zygon*, vol. 15, no. 1, 1980, (pp. 69-89) p. 70.

and the subsequent salvation of alien inhabitants,⁹ by the spreading out the Gospel¹⁰ (e.g. via radio waves), or by the reasoning of whether inhabitants of the universe are descendants of Adam and Eve (and whether they have souls and are capable of sin).

These and many other ideas serve as the vanguard paving the way for the future adaptation of religion to potential discovery associated with ETI. Ergo, it is worth emphasizing that Sagan's objection toward Christianity was a matter of theological solutions a long time before it was articulated by the American astrophysicist in the 1980s.

The "anthropic principle" — based on the belief that constants of nature purposely allow the existence of human beings — is often valued by many Christians as a piece evidence for a reasonably designed fine-tuned universe,¹¹ and it is logical that it simultaneously works as a strong argument for the presence of extraterrestrials.

However, no ETI has been discovered to this day. Therefore, we should not exclude the possibility of being alone in the universe. The hypothesis of the "misanthropic principle", a modern perspective of the Earthly uniqueness, is certainly also embraceable for a lot of Christian believers. Even though the universe is huge, the idea presumes that life on Earth is a rare- or absolutely unique phenomenon due to specific and elsewhere maybe improbable conditions such as: the suitable distance of the planet from the star, the proper size of both the star and the planet, the convenient character of the planet's atmosphere and tectonic processes, the moderate planet's axial tilt, and so on.¹²

Apocalypse and salvation, a layer of eschatology

Avi Loeb, a famous popularizer of the ETI hypothetical existence, who described himself as non-religious,¹³ presented the willingness to contact aliens as a variant of "Pascal's Wager" (originally a deeply theological argument). He postulates that there is not much to lose, even if visitors from space are not peaceful, since we are losing a lot already as we are heading to a catastrophe (threats of a nuclear war, global warming, pandemics).¹⁴ Loeb's vision represents a wider pattern, typical for other thinkers. In 2009, Czech writer Jan A. Novák built his argument on the similar logic, but more radically, when he wrote: "If we cover our ears from cosmic intelligence,

⁹ The idea was mentioned by a number of savants, in recent decades, for example, by POLKINGHORNE, J.: *Science and Providence. God's Interaction with the World*. Philadelphia — London: Templeton Foundation Press, 2005, p. 104.

¹⁰ This concept called "interplanetary salvation" has been used, for instance, by E. A. Milne in the mid-20th century.

¹¹ E.g. George Coyne and John Lennox.

¹² See SMITH, H. A.: Alone in the Universe. In: *American Scientist*, July–August 2011, vol. 99, no. 4, pp. 320–327.

¹³ See interview of Avi Loeb. CHOTINER, I.: Have Aliens Found Us? A Harvard Astronomer on the Mysterious Interstellar Object 'Oumuamua. In: *The New Yorker Magazine*. January 16, 2019. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/q-and-a/have-aliens-found-us-a-harvard-astronomer-on-the-mysterious-interstellar-object-oumuamua>

¹⁴ LOEB, A.: *Extraterrestrial: The First Sign of Intelligent Life Beyond Earth*. Boston — New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2021, p. XIII.

it could be our last mistake.”¹⁵ This view appears to be largely influenced by Sagan’s thoughts because a statement, not far from a sort of advantageous wager, was presented in Sagan’s book from 2006. He claimed:

“My deeply held belief is that if a god of anything like the traditional sort exists, our curiosity and intelligence are provided by such a god. We would be unappreciative of those gifts [...] if we suppress our passion to explore the universe and ourselves. On the other hand, if such a traditional god does not exist, our curiosity and our intelligence are the essential tools for managing our survival.”¹⁶

All this needs to be understood in the context of Sagan’s fear of the “technological adolescence” of humanity (a long-lasting heritage of the Cold War) in which the military power of unprecedented scale poses an existential danger to the whole human race. What we are observing here is a form of psychological pressure caused by the combination of two elementary factors: the rational fear of people themselves and passion for discoveries.

However, neither we ought to overlook the inversion of this scenario, where our willingness to contact ETI could be seen as an enormous threat. After all, we have heard serious warnings from popular savants in the last few years. “Such advanced aliens would perhaps become nomads, looking to conquer and colonize whatever planets they could reach,” warned Stephen Hawking in 2010.¹⁷ Eleven years later, Michio Kaku used quite similar argumentation when advising humanity not to “gamble” on an option of friendly aliens.¹⁸

Hawking and Kaku have certainly recognized the risk of the nuclear holocaust, as their previously mentioned colleagues did. However, they did not find much hope in speculations about ETI either and instead, they rather anticipated humanity’s colonization of other planets. In such context, Loeb’s form of Pascal’s wager may no longer be considered valid.

It is not easy to maintain an optimistic view of the future when one is exposed to the warnings that aliens or humans themselves can abruptly destroy Earth, but none of these eschatologically sounding dangers must necessarily occur. In terms of psychology, the emerging uncertainty leads to two protective mechanisms to avoid very real pessimism about the future of mankind. The first is the belief that we may be visited and saved by friendly intelligence from space. The second is the idea that we can manage the global technological progress ourselves and settle in other places in our solar system.¹⁹ To put it more extremely, some have referred that the hope that

¹⁵ NOVÁK, J. A.: *Život ve vesmíru*. Řitka: Daranus, 2009, p. 299.

¹⁶ SAGAN, C.: *The Varieties of Scientific Experience: A Personal View of the Search for God*. New York — London: Penguin Press, 2006, p. 31.

¹⁷ The thought was articulated in the documentary series *Into the Universe* with Stephen Hawking (2010).

¹⁸ ANTHONY, A.: String theorist Michio Kaku: ‘Reaching out to aliens is a terrible idea’. In: *The Guardian*, April 3rd, 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/science/2021/apr/03/string-theory-michio-kaku-aliens-god-equation-large-hadron-collider>

¹⁹ For further reading, see REJMAN, D.: O jaderné zbraně se zajímá ještě někdo: O vztahu témat jaderné hrozby a UFO. In: *Dingir* 3/2022, pp. 74-76.

technological improvements, whether invented by us or brought by aliens, can offer us redemption or salvation is an instance of “unconscious religion”.²⁰

Overall, such regimes of thinking (apocalypse and salvation — both caused by humans or aliens) indirectly reveal a religious (Christian-like) pattern, based on the awaiting of dramatic eschatological events, often somehow implicating a chance for being saved or doomed, whatever it means. In a similar sense, Stephen Baxter appropriately used the terms “paranoia” and “pronoia”,²¹ representing extreme poles of people’s notions about encounters with ETI. We may also look at the two categories, named by theologian Ted Peters, “celestial saviour model” and “alien enemy model” along with his words: “What may be significant here is that alien enemy model dominates fictions, whereas the celestial saviour model is much more familiar to UFO believers and to scientific researchers.”²²

An image from the mythical sphere

To understand the scale of the roots of modern scientific thought on (to this day still supposed) beings in space, we must broaden our perspective to the entire Western civilization. Some scholars have marked these notions as variants of modern myths that reflect our collective imagination. Hence, we can perceive certain testimonies of alleged encounters with ETI as widely shared associations resulting from something reminiscent of a common Rorschach test, consisting of our fears, worries, wishes, hopes, et cetera, which do not hesitate to penetrate the sphere of the paranormal. Carl Gustav Jung was not far from this opinion, as he wrote in the 1950s:

“...when people are beginning to see that everything is at stake, the projection-creating fantasy soars beyond the realm of earthly organizations and powers into the heavens, into interstellar space, where the rulers of human fate, the gods, once had their abode in the planets.”²³

Robert Plank, a literary critic, has formulated a kind of similar idea in 1968, this time emphasizing folklore nature. He interpreted people’s descriptions of ETI as successors of older visions concerning demons, angels, goblins, fairies, and so on. According to him: “Their disappearance left the heavens empty and the romantics’ hearts distressed. But there must be an ineradicable desire to see the skies filled with

²⁰ See DENNING, K.: Being Technological. In: SHUCH, H. P. (ed.): *The Frontiers Collection: Searching for Extraterrestrial Intelligence: SETI Past, Present, and Future*. Heidelberg — Dordrecht — London — New York: Springer 2011, (pp. 477-496) p. 483.

²¹ BAXTER, S.: SETI in science fiction. In: SHUCH, H. P. (ed.): *The Frontiers Collection: Searching for Extraterrestrial Intelligence: SETI Past, Present, and Future*. Heidelberg — Dordrecht — London — New York: Springer, 2011, (pp. 351-372) pp. 359-361.

²² PETERS, T.: The implications of the discovery of extra-terrestrial life for religion. In: *Philosophical Transactions: Mathematical, Physical and Engineering Sciences*. February 13, 2011, vol. 369, no. 1936, (pp. 644-655), p. 650.

²³ JUNG, C. G.: *Flying Saucers: A Modern Myth of Things Seen in the Skies*. Princeton: University Press, 1979 (second printing 1991), p. 14.

life!”²⁴ ²⁵ It is hard to disagree, especially when we often find UFO themes alongside reports of alleged sightings of Bigfoot or ghosts.

Interestingly, there was an author who has placed this paradigm into the Christian context. In the 1970s, Catholic scholar Andrew M. Greeley watched Steven Spielberg’s blockbuster *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*, a film presenting images of mesmerizing light effects of flying saucers, abduction by aliens, and a complex impact of this on human society in terms of politics, religion, and science. In this movie, Greeley found Jungian “collective unconscious”, “preinconscious imagination” or “raw material of mythological symbols”. He openly referred to a layer of Christianity by pointing out that the story is: “...deeply religious right up through a ritual ending as reverential as a Byzantine pontifical high mass.” He did not even hesitate to compare aliens to angels.²⁶ His words not only confirm that people project their deeper feelings into the ETI topic, but they have also revealed a great potential of an old tradition finding its own way to perceive a hardly imaginable scenario. Admitting the strong historically settled proximity between spheres of myths and religion, one must concede that if thoughts about aliens go hand in hand with mythology in the West, neither is the most common religion far away from this process.

The historical consciousness of the European civilization

Our collective conscience is undoubtedly an integral constituent of both myths and religion, and the Western historical consciousness, with feelings of historical guilt of the Christian civilization, is another perspective to understand notions about ETI. The earlier described hypothetical predictions made by Hawking and Kaku are inspired by the painful lessons from the history of the West. They refer to the cruelty of European colonization of America when it comes to the analogy of possible contact with extraterrestrials. While Hawking was reminding just bad consequences of Christopher Columbus’ meeting with Native Americans, Kaku went further and spoke about the conquering rampage of Hernán Cortés.²⁷ One of the most publicly seen proponents of the SETI project, astronomer Seth Shostak, when promoting the importance of SETI, compared the unpredictability of outcomes of contact with aliens to the situation of Columbus who would have hardly guessed what his arrival to America could have caused in the long-term perspective.²⁸ The frequent references to the interventions of Europeans in America are so common since it is a very

²⁴ PLANK, R.: *Emotional Significance of Imaginary Beings*. Springfield: Charles Thomas, 1968, p. VII.

²⁵ This rather pagan line of interpretation is known for long also to the SETI researchers. See BAXTER, S.: SETI in science fiction. In: SHUCH, H. P. (ed.): *Searching for Extraterrestrial Intelligence: SETI Past, Present, and Future*. Heidelberg — Dordrecht — London — New York: Springer, 2011, (pp. 351-372) p. 359.

²⁶ GREELEY, A. M.: When Religion Cast Off Wonder, Hollywood Seized It. In: *The New York Times*, November 27, 1977. p. 99, also available online: https://www.nytimes.com/1977/11/27/archives/when-religion-cast-off-wonder-hollywood-seized-it-wonder-movies.html?_r=1

²⁷ For further reading, see REJMAN, D.: Přírodovědci a kontakt s vesmířany. Mezi koloniálním traumatem a existenciální výzvou implikující náboženské kontexty. In: *Dingir*, 3/2021, pp. 74-76.

²⁸ SHOSTAK, S.: *ET is (probably) out there — get ready*. June 2012. https://www.ted.com/talks/seth_shostak_et_is_probably_out_there_get_ready#t-506270

unique case among intercultural contacts. (Here and there, we come across other historical situations as analogies to the hypothetical contact with ETI, e.g. encounters of tribes in the stone age.)²⁹

The colonial comparison is nothing new in this area. Since 1898, an influential factor has been the novel *War of the Worlds* by Herbert George Wells which brought forth very suggestive images of the dominant Victorian society, an important colonial power, being invaded by scary Martian tripod machines. Later on, this motif has been elaborated into the endless line of other sci-fi stories while their inherited core often remained the same. That raises two questions without satisfactory answers: to what extent is Christianity involved in this narrative pattern, and what role did religion play in violent supremacy of conquerors over the native inhabitants?

And in addition to the fear of colonial looting, there is another repeatedly articulated trauma tied with stories about extraterrestrial beings in Western culture: medical investigations, mostly happening along with abductions. Although this was not a phenomenon that most scientists took too seriously, it largely reflected the scientific *modus operandi* which sometimes ignored ethical issues.

On the one hand, abducted people were, as they said, involuntarily examined in various ways while aboard spacecraft. The images of the abductions were subsequently imprinted in pop culture, besides other things, thanks to the film *Fire in the Sky* from 1993, based on a horrifying and allegedly authentic testimony, and because of some episodes of the *X-Files* series. Along with these cinematographic impulses, dozens of people informed the media about stressful events of abductions, biological inspections, and surgical impacts; in their words, all done by aliens often using mysterious flying spacecraft.

On the other hand, imagination in the West also works with an opposite scene — the human interest in studying bodies of aliens. A crucial example is the viability of the conspiracy thesis about analyzing a humanoid torso found in a crashed flying saucer in New Mexico in 1947. Another example of the captivity of an intelligent alien was later introduced to the world in the famous film *ET Extraterrestrial* from 1982, directed by Spielberg, where the ethical aspect of a friendship between children and alien eventually overpowered the scientific curiosity of the state authorities.

The First Book of Genesis depicts nature as an environment for the benefit of man, and the message of the story of Noah's Ark presents the view on animals which pictures them as the representatives of species rather than individualities. Thus, based on the traditional biblical anthropocentrism combined with scientific curiosity, it was exceptionally permissible to legitimize a cruel experimental treatment of animals. But at the same time, similar manipulations with living or dead human for science's sake were often unthinkable for the majority of Christendom; medical autopsies of human bodies were mostly considered ethically problematic in the early modern- and medieval eras.

This cultural scheme may have contributed to the shocking charge of modern legends about abductions, detentions, and physical examinations of both

²⁹ DICK, S. J.: Anthropology and the search for extraterrestrial intelligence: A historical view. In: *Anthropology Today* 22(2), 2006, pp. 3-7.

humans and aliens. In such fantasms, the dread is exacerbated by the realization that this time, the object being involuntarily and invasively studied and harmed is the one traditionally superior among created beings, or that a highly sensitive-intelligent being can be reduced to only a specimen of a species. In both cases, agents of the scene are fully aware of the cold-blooded distance between a researcher and a researchee. Some sci-fis, introducing aliens as truly hostile technologically dominant monsters with no marks of morality, hunting people as a prey or trophy and using highly developed equipment,³⁰ implicitly reflect our view on other living creatures in nature as well.

Under certain circumstances, such scenes can partly erode the biblical foundation of universal anthropocentrism. And in an extreme regard, future speculations or myths about cruelties done by extraterrestrials may even redefine some of our attitudes on animal treatment, or, at least, it could shift the global society closer to modern biocentrism.

Conclusion: Christianity at risk of marginalization

In today's media, notions about extraterrestrials emanate in countless forms, many of which are openly associated with religion. In some cases, an image of highly developed beings from space is used as a projection of the alleged point where the momentum of evolution can reach. This is based on the assumption that we are an evolving interstage of something greater rather than the ultimate goal. Such views, nowadays often very popular among certain globally influential celebrities,³¹ are easier to identify with when we dismiss Christian pre-understanding.

Career- and academic-wise, a child of Sagan's ideas and currently one of the best-known advocates of SETI Jill Tarter seems quite distant from the world religions, but she was not able to avoid religious themes completely. In 2000, she came up with daring speculations that the discovery of the ETI existence "...will be inconsistent with the existence of God or at least organized religions," or religion, as we know it, will be "outgrown". However, in the same article, she also acknowledged the possibility of a very different scenario in which the message from ETI could be "a missionary appeal to try to convert us all."³²

Her detachment from the world religions was amplified (perhaps unfairly in this case) thanks to the movie *Contact* from 1997, based on the fictional story from 1985, written by Sagan and introducing SETI activity to the global audience. The film's main character — passionate researcher Eleanor Arroway — is inspired by Tarter herself. A significant part of the plot's dynamics is achieved by the discrepancy over religion between Doctor Arroway, representing a cold scientific rationalist, and her friend-opponent Christian thinker Palmer Joss. It is important to not underestimate the impact of the movie on general opinion in the West since in many

³⁰ As the mentioned novel *War of the Worlds* or famous movie *Predator* (1987).

³¹ This idea was mentioned at the Joe Rogan Experience podcast by the host. The episode has dozens of millions views on Youtube. *Joe Rogan Experience*, 1315th episode, June 21, 2019.

³² TARTER, J.: SETI and the Religions of Extraterrestrials. In: *Free Inquiry*, volume 20, no. 3, 2000, pp. 34-35.

respects, the film is firmly tied with the reality of those days. In the end, doctor Arroway talked about feelings of “awe”, “humility”, and “hope”, when publicly testifying about her personal encounter with ETI. The alien being was personified in the body of her beloved father, who was by that time already dead,³³ standing in a sort of paradise scenery.

Not long ago, Loeb also stepped into the profoundly religious area with an immodest statement: “It’s possible that that civilisation could create life in its laboratories. It would bring the concept of God [...] into reality — it will unify science and religion in some sense.”³⁴

The impact of the mentioned thoughts, among many, pours into a melting pot called the search for ETI where connotations of religion, myths, and ethics have already leaked in numerous, sometimes partly unseen, ways. These factors interact and overlap on various levels and must be understood as a collective lens, resulting in views that are undeniably rooted in our historical consciousness.

This accumulated and in a sense dynamic knowledge connected with the past can be replanted into more general meanings which many agnostics or atheists could find useful. The questions of the soulfulness of creatures from different corners of the universe implicitly lay the foundations for mutual respect. The axiom of a purposely created universe by a merciful omnipotent entity anticipates the ability of the ones who live in it to care for each other. Frequent reminders of the crimes of European colonists serve as a warning that even a society with robust ethical principles and good intentions can easily produce intolerant individuals who cause harm and misunderstandings in newly discovered lands.

The religious dimension of the ETI fascination, regarding the opinions of the general public, still appears confused, mixing up many attitudes. However, it is possible that prevalent spiritual teaching related to the topic will arise from the current substrate and dominate in this field. The rich tradition of Christianity as we know it, if Christians will not be active enough in this quest for deeper comprehension, is risking to be further diminished in the light of possible future scenarios, which may seem unimaginable now and are labeled by some as ones of the most important in the human history.³⁵

Wilkinson has concluded that scholars, including himself, can perceive (Christian) theology as a useful aspect in connection with our search for-, notions about-, and hypothetical contact with ETI.³⁶ Nevertheless, perhaps we should think even bigger and dare to ask ourselves to what extent religious standpoints, in a form which we are not able to anticipate yet, can happen to be the common ground for estab-

³³ Lively images of people, who in fact were dead, as mediators of an ET entity to interact with humans also occurred in the famous Stanislaw Lem’s fiction *Solaris*.

³⁴ READ, F.: The Harvard professor who thinks aliens exist: Avi Loeb makes the case for extraterrestrial life. In: *UnHerd*. March 27, 2023. <https://unherd.com/2023/03/the-harvard-professor-who-thinks-aliens-exist/>

³⁵ E. g. cosmologist Martin Rees and biologist João Pedro de Magalhães referred to the hypothetical discovery of ETI in such manner.

³⁶ WILKINSON, D.: *Science, Religion, and the Search for Extraterrestrial Intelligence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 173-178.

lishing communication between humans and extraterrestrial beings. Even though it appears to be beyond the horizon of the thinkable.

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Kresťanská iniciácia a podávanie Eucharistie deťom. Pokus o náčrt problematiky v kontexte učenia Cirkvi Christian Initiation and Administration of the Eucharist to Children. An Attempt to Sketch the Issue in the Context of the Church's Teaching

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Abstract: *The sacraments of initiation are the sacraments which incorporate a person into the Church, his life and into the full experience of Christianity. But a distinction must be made between the concept of initiation (incorporation or introduction), which is rarely found in the New Testament, just as the concept of sacrament is, and the thing that is called by that term. The sacraments of Christian initiation are the sacramental means by which we receive the adoptive sonship of God and are incorporated into the mysterious body of Christ. Through these sacramental rites we receive participation in the Kingdom of God here on earth, which is the Church of Christ. The sacraments of Christian initiation include baptism, chrismation (called confirmation in the Western rite), and the Eucharist. Interpreting the sacraments of Christian initiation according to ancient tradition is another step in discovering fidelity to one's own liturgical traditions, taking advantage of their richness and removing that which would alter their authenticity. The aim of the article, which mainly used analysis and synthesis, as well as the comparative method, is to point out the importance and validity of giving the Eucharist to children, as this topic is often confronted even today in the sense of comparing Latin and Eastern traditions.*

Keywords: *Christian initiation. Tradition of the Catholic Church of the Eastern (Byzantine) Rite. The celebration of the Eucharist to children. Canon Law.*

Pojmová oblasť iniciácie zohráva v Novom zákone nepatrnú úlohu. Pojem „iniciácia“ označoval prevažne pohansko-náboženský významový obsah: ríty prijatia do nábožensko- spoločenského sveta dospelých alebo do tajných klubov a mystérióznych kultov.

Keď v starých cirkvách nastal spor s mystérióznymi kultmi, ktoré priniesli niektoré vecné a terminologické prevzatia pre teologické chápanie sviatosti krstu a Eucharistie, našli sa tiež (zvlášť od 4. stor.) prijaté prvky pojmovej oblasti iniciácie, no v novom zoradení. Dôležitejšia je skutočnosť, že videli, praktizovali a uvažovali o vnútornej súvislosti krstu, myropomazania a Eucharistie.¹ Tieto sviatosti boli udeľované spoločne dospelým a deťom. Na Východe sú v cirkvách dodnes iniciálne sviatosti udeľované spolu, a to aj dojčatám (pod spôsobom prijatia malého množstva konsekrovaného vína), zatiaľ čo na Západe sa jednota týchto sviatostí už od stredo-

¹ Porov. JERUZALEMSKÝ, C.: *Mystagogické katechese*. Velehrad : Refugium, 1997, s. 47.

veku síce rozpadla, no v posledných desaťročiach bola znovu objavená. Dosvedčuje to aj CIC², v ktorom sa o iniciačných sviatostiach dočítame toto: „*Sviatosti krstu, birmovania a Eucharistie sú tak úzko a vzájomne späté, že sa vyžadujú k plnej kresťanskej iniciácii*“ (porov. CIC, kán. 842 § 2). Spoločným slávením troch iniciačných sviatostí sa uskutočňujú tri momenty jediného tajomstva, totiž uvedenie do Kristovho tajomstva. Teda kresťanská iniciácia – kresťanský začiatok je zrod nového života s Ježišom Kristom, v Ježišovi Kristovi a pre Ježiša Krista.³

Krstom je človek oslobodený od hriechu, znovuzrodený do nového života, oblečený do Krista a začlenený do Cirkvi. Mazanie posväteným olejom katechumenov je spomienkou na mazanie olejom kňazov, kráľov a prorokov v starom zákone, predanie krstného odevu je symbolom darovaného života z vody a zo Svätého Ducha a sviečka pripomína veľkonočné svetlo, ktorým je Kristus. Charakter anamnézy krstu pripomína nespásny stav celého ľudstva po uskutočnení prvotného hriechu a zároveň Božiu iniciatívu vedenú k záchrane človeka a k stvoreniu nového Božieho ľudu (porov. 1 Kor 12, 13).

Myropomazaním je človek označený pečaťou daru Svätého Ducha. Myropomazanie má charakter anamnézy (spomienky) a pripomína pôsobenie Svätého Ducha v ľudských dejinách. Jeho dary sú pomocou Božou pri prekonávaní nespásnej situácie. Udeľovanie myropomazania je anamnézou na Ježišov krst v Jordáne a jeho pomazanie Svätým Duchom. Myropomazanie nie je chápané ako nejaká doplnujúca sviatosť, ale ako prvý plod sviatosti krstu, jej naplnenie. Ak sa vo sviatosti krstu Svätým Duchom udeľuje človeku nové narodenie, potom za novým narodením musí nasledovať nový život, ktorý je darom Svätého Ducha. Nový život spočíva práve v tom, že plynie vo Svätom Duchu.

Kresťanská iniciácia je ukončená prijatím *Eucharistie*. Táto sviatosť je nielen spoločenstvom jednotlivcov s Kristom, hlavou mystického tela, ale aj spoločenstvom medzi všetkými veriacimi, členmi tela, ktoré žije nový život v Kristovi. V Eucharistii sa kresťan stretáva so zvláštnou a jedinečnou Kristovou prítomnosťou. Pri Eucharistii si veriaci spomínajú a sprítomňujú udalosti pri Poslednej večeri a tiež v nej nachádzajú vrchol dejín spásy, ktorý ich neprivádza iba k pohľadu do minulosti, ale tiež do budúcnosti – k životu v spoločenstve svätých.⁴ Eucharistia pôsobí sama svojou mocou. Sviatosti však nie sú magické sily. Sú ako liek, ktorý prijíma živí organizmus podľa svojej osobnej dispozície. Zaujímavé prirovnanie v tomto uvažovaní nad Eucharistiou ponúka kardinál Tomáš Špidlík. Eucharistiu prirovnáva k slnku a dušu k domu. Byť sa prehrejete a presvieti slnkom, ak otvoríte dokorán okenice, ak odstránime to, čo by lúče zadržalo.⁵

Všetky spomínané obrady a sviatosti sú dôležitým a nezameniteľným prvkom života Cirkvi, čo potvrdzuje aj dekrét Druhého vatikánskeho koncilu: „*Katolícka Cir-*

² CIC – lat. *Codex iuris canonici* (Kódex kánonického práva).

³ Porov. TIRPÁK, P.: *Teologicko-katechetické impulzy pre pastoračnú prax vysluhovania iniciačných sviatostí*. Prešov : GTF PU, 2013, s. 31.

⁴ Porov. ILKO, M.: *Iniciácia – aspekty iniciačných sviatostí*. In: <http://www.zoe.sk/?zoepedia&heslo=Inici%Eacia%96%20aspekty%20inicia%E8n%FDch%20sviatost%ED> (5.8.2013).

⁵ ŠPIDLÍK, T.: *Pramene svetla*. Trnava : SSV, 2000, s. 165.

kev má vo veľkej vážnosti ustanovizne, liturgické obrady, cirkevné tradície a spôsob života východných cirkví. Keďže tieto Cirkvi vynikajú úctyhodnou starobylosťou, prejavuje sa v nich apoštolská tradícia, ktorú máme od Otcov, a ktorá tvorí časť Bohom zjaveného a nedeliteľného dedičstva Cirkvi.⁶

Na druhej strane sv. Ján Pavol II. v apoštolskom liste *Orientale Lumen* vyzýva na počúvanie východných cirkví, žijúcich interpretov pokladu tradície, ktorí uchovávajú a v jeho kontemplácii vidia prvky veľkého významu pre plnšie a integrálne pochopenie kresťanskej skúsenosti. Oproti akejkolvek inej kultúre má totiž kresťanský Východ jedinečné a privilegované postavenie, lebo predstavuje pôvodný kontext rodiacej sa Cirkvi. Autor listu okrem toho charakterizuje tiež východného kresťana ako človeka, ktorý má vlastnú metódu ako vnímať a chápať svoj vzťah k Spasiteľovi, a preto aj pôvodný spôsob tento vzťah žiť.⁷

Z naznačených charakteristík možno vycítiť nezameniteľnú hodnotu tradícií vo východných cirkvách, ale zároveň aj pozvanie k osvojeniu si všeobecných princípov a praktických noriem týkajúcich sa rozličných hľadísk cirkevného života.

Obnova požadovaná autoritou Cirkvi

V spomínanom dekrete Druhého vatikánskeho koncilu o východných cirkvách *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* je uvedené vyslovené želanie, aby východné katolícke cirkvi plnili svoje poslanie s obnovenou apoštolskou silou. To však nevyklučuje ďalší vývoj. Veď žiadna cirkev, východná ani západná, nikdy nemohla prežiť bez toho, aby sa stále neprispôbovala meniacim sa podmienkam života. Určite však koncil pozýva východné cirkvi k návratu k starootcovským tradíciám.⁸ Jednou z tradícií východnej Cirkvi bolo aj podávanie svätého prijímania deťom. Podľa pohľadu teológov je Eucharistia chlebom života a deti sa týmto chlebom majú živiť stále, teda už od krstu aj ďalej, aby tak mohli duchovne rásť.

V súčasnej dobe nastal vo východnom (byzantskom) obrade návrat k tejto tradícii, preto je vhodné všimnúť si aspoň niektoré cirkevné dokumenty zaoberajúce sa touto problematikou obnovenia starobylej praxe, ktorá, zdá sa, dostáva i dnes mnohých do mylnej predstavy, že ide o návrat, či akési pomyselné opakovanie obradov Pravoslávnej cirkvi.

Pri skúmaní historických prameňov neexistuje veľké množstvo dokumentov, ktoré by sa priamo zaoberali problematikou podávania Eucharistie malým deťom. V minulosti to však bola bežná prax vo východných cirkvách. Až v neskorších časoch, pod vplyvom rôznych historických a teologických skutočností, sa objavujú aj konkrétne nariadenia ohľadom tejto problematiky. Počas 12. a 13. storočia sa na kresťanskom Západe prestala podávať Eucharistia pod spôsobom vína. Dôsledkom bolo, že sa celkom prestala podávať malým deťom. Dôvodom tohto kroku bolo prijatie kon-

⁶ DRUHÝ Vatikánsky koncil: *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, čl. 1. Trnava : SSV, 2008.

⁷ Porov. JÁN PAVOL II.: Apoštolský list *Orientale Lumen*, 5. In: <https://www.kbs.sk/obsah/sekcia/h/dokumenty-a-vyhlasenia/p/dokumenty-papezov/c/orientale-lumen> (30.04.2017).

⁸ DRUHÝ Vatikánsky koncil: *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, čl. 5 – 6. Trnava : SSV, 2008.

ceptu o užívaní rozumu a veku rozvážnosti ako podmienky na dôstojné prijímanie Eucharistie. Tento krok však možno považovať za pastoračný, nie za doktrínálny.⁹

Veľmi dôležitým dokumentom v historickom kontexte je bula pápeža Leva X. z roku 1521 s názvom *Accepimus nuper*, ktorá pojednávala o katolíkoch byzantského obradu v Uhorsku. Okrem iného môžeme v bule čítať aj to, že tí, ktorí prijali sviatosť manželstva pred prijatím samotného kňazského stavu, aj tí, ktorí si nechávajú rásť bradu, môžu vysluhovať sviatosť pod oboma spôsobmi všetkým, aj deťom. A taktiež, že grécki kňazi nemajú vysluhovať sviatosť pod obidvoma spôsobmi nikomu, ani spomínaným deťom.¹⁰

Otázky obradu východnej Cirkvi sa začali riešiť aj na *Zamojskej synode*, o ktorú sa mnohí teológovia pri vyvodzovaní určitých záverov ohľadom liturgických otázok opierajú. Tu je nutné poznamenať, že dlhší čas však nebolo celkom jasné (ani medzi odborníkmi na cirkevné právo), aký vzťah či záväznosť majú ustanovenia tejto synody pre východných katolíkov byzantského obradu mimo územia bývalého poľského kráľovstva. V období jej konania žili všetci východní katolíci byzantského obradu Uhorska pod správou mukačevskej gréckokatolíckej eparchie a v tom čase sa aj územie prešovskej eparchie nachádzalo v závislosti na rímskokatolíckom jágerskom biskupstve.¹¹

Znenie formulácie Zamojskej synody je možné považovať za protirečiace. Na jednej strane sa dovoľuje, aby prijímanie detí zodpovedalo starej a ustálenej východnej praxi, kedy Eucharistia je pre deti jedlom a nápojom pre duchovný život. Avšak na druhej strane je citovaný tridentský text pojednávajúci o nie nevyhnutnosti tejto sviatosti pre deti, ktoré kvôli ich veku nie sú schopné stratiť posväcujúcu milosť obdržanú v krste. Zaujímavá je klauzula, ktorá podmieňuje aplikáciu synodálneho rozhodnutia o vylúčení detí od prijímania, na základe ktorej je zjavné, že zákonodarca si bol vedomý radikálnej zmeny praxe udeľovania Eucharistie deťom, čo by mohlo spôsobiť dokonca pohoršenie medzi veriacimi.¹²

Z hľadiska liturgického vývoja bolo 19. storočie poznačené viacerými protichodnými tendenciami. Gréckokatolíci sa nachádzali v tomto období v pozícii podriadenej menšiny po stránke etnickej a taktiež obradovej. Cirkevný život bol jedným z mála verejných prejavov ich kultúrneho a spoločenského života. Logicky sa v ňom teda premietali aj niektoré spoločensko-politické tendencie a pomery. Veľmi zjednodušené sa niekedy označujú ako prúd maďarizačný, prúd latinizačný a rusofilný prúd.

V tomto období však môžeme vidieť aj veľký vplyv v liturgickej situácii. Rozšírený počet kníhtlačiarň umožnil častejšie vydávanie liturgických i rôznych pomocných obradových kníh (v mnohých knihách bol prevedený prepis rozličných mod-

⁹ TIRPÁK, P. – ILKO, M.: Podávanie Eucharistie deťom a nemluvňatám po krste. Prešov : Vydavateľstvo Petra, 2017, s. 10.

¹⁰ Porov. LEV X.: *Accepimus nuper*. In: http://www.grkat.nfo.sk/Texty/lev_x-1521.html.

¹¹ Porov. ŠTURÁK, P.: *Dejiny Gréckokatolíckej Cirkvi v Československu v rokoch 1945–1989*, Prešov : Petra, 1999, s. 18 – 20.

¹² Porov. SYNODICON ECCLESIAE RUTHENAE. Krakov : Typis Universitatis Jagiellonicae, 1880, 51 – 52.

litieb do latinky), v ktorých sa tak mohli zaznamenávať rozličné liturgické zmeny a zvyklosti.

Veľmi zaujímavý poznatok uvádza Mons. Cyril Vasil' o udeľovaní Eucharistie deťom v 20. storočí: „Tak si všímame, že na začiatku XX. stor. eucharistické prijímanie detí sa nepraktizovalo alebo dokonca bolo zakázané pomocou zvláštnych zákonov prakticky vo všetkých východných katolíckych cirkvách.“¹³

Magistérium Cirkvi nabáda k obnove starobylej praxe

Medzi najvýznamnejšie udalosti uplynulého 20. storočia, tak pre život Katolíckej cirkvi, ako aj vtedajšieho sveta, patrí v poradí 21. všeobecný snem, pre ktorý sa od začiatku používal úradný názov *Druhý vatikánsky koncil*. Jeho konanie, priebeh a publikovaných 16 dokumentov boli manifestáciou jednoty a kresťanského univerzalizmu okolo 2500 biskupov. Možno konštatovať, že väčšina jeho záverov našla svoje uplatnenie v živote Cirkvi tak vo svete, ako aj v Cirkvi na Slovensku.

Konštitúcia o posvätnéj liturgii *Sacrosanctum concilium* odporúča zachovať zdravú tradíciu, aby sa pritom otvorila cesta k oprávnenému vývoju. Revíziu jednotlivých častí liturgie má vždy predchádzať dôkladný teologický, historický a pastoraálny výskum.¹⁴

Koncil zároveň pozýva východné cirkvi k návratu k starootcovským tradíciám, pričom o vysluhovaní sviatostí môžeme čítať nasledovne: „Svätý všeobecný cirkevný snem potvrdzuje a schvaľuje dávnu sviatostnú disciplínu, ktorá jestvuje vo východných cirkvách, ako aj spôsob, akým sa sviatosti slávia a vysluhujú; a želá si, aby sa - ak treba - táto prax obnovila“¹⁵

Ďalším významným dokumentom v živote východných cirkví je CCEO.¹⁶ Promulgovaný bol 18. októbra 1990 rímskym biskupom Jánom Pavlom II. a do platnosti vstúpil 1. októbra 1991. Kánony kódexu učia veriacich východných cirkví ako prežívať svoju vieru a aj svoju liturgickú identitu v rámci Katolíckej cirkvi.

V Apoštolskej konštitúcii s názvom *Sacri canones*, ktorou bolo CCEO promulgované, rímsky biskup Ján Pavol II. píše: „Povzbudzujeme preto všetkých milovaných synov, aby ustanovenia dané takto na vedomie zachovávali s úprimným duchom a ochotnou vôľou, nemajúc pochybnosti, že východné cirkvi sa vďaka horlivej disciplíne starajú o dobro duší veriacich v Krista, čoraz viac sa budú rozvíjať a im zverenú povinnosť budú plniť pod ochranou slávnej a požehnanej Márie, vždy Panny, ktorá sa správne nazýva „Bohorodička“ a žiari ako vznešená Matka všeobecnej Cirkvi.“

V Kódexe kánonov východných cirkví v otázkach kresťanskej iniciácie a podávania Eucharistie deťom môžeme nájsť aj tieto kánony:

Kánon 697 – Sviatostná iniciácia do tajomstva spásy sa dovršuje prijatím božskej eucharistie, a preto sa má božská eucharistia po krste a pomazaní svätým myrom

¹³ VASIL, C.: *Eucharistické prijímanie detí predtým ako začnú užívať rozum. Rozdiely vo sviatostnej praxi medzi Východnou a Západnou Cirkvou – motív rozdelenia alebo príležitosť ekleziálneho prehlbenia a rastu?* In: http://www.zoe.sk/pub/doc/theologos/t_eucharisticke_prijimanie_deti.pdf. (11.04. 2017)

¹⁴ DRUHÝ Vatikánsky koncil: *Sacrosanctum concilium*, čl. 23. Trnava : SSV, 2008.

¹⁵ DRUHÝ Vatikánsky koncil: *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, čl. 6, 12. Trnava : SSV, 2008.

¹⁶ CCEO – lat. *Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium* (Kódex kánonov východných cirkví).

vyslúžiť kresťanskému veriacemu čím prv podľa normy partikulárneho práva vlastnej cirkvi *sui iuris*.

Kánon 710 – Ohľadom účasti detí na božskej eucharistii po krste a pomazaní svätým myrom majú sa dodržiavať, za prijatia vhodných opatrení, predpisy liturgických kníh vlastnej cirkvi *sui iuris*. Teda tu už hovoríme aj o partikulárnom práve.

Dňa 7. decembra 1992 pápež Ján Pavol II. slávnostne schválil a odovzdal Cirkvi *Katechizmus Katolíckej cirkvi*. V ňom má veriaci človek nájsť pomoc, ako pochopiť a sprostredkovať vieru ako celok, ako živú stavbu. Katechizmus má byť cestou k radosti z krásy a k úžasu nad životnou silou viery. Pre veriacich má byť „bezpečnou normou učenia Cirkvi“ a pomôcť im lepšie spoznať svoju vieru, hlbšie ju žiť a presvedčivejšie odovzdávať. Aj Katechizmus Katolíckej cirkvi ponúka pohľad na vysluhovanie sviatostí kresťanskej iniciácie a podávania Eucharistie deťom. V časti *Ako sa slávi sviatosť krstu?* Uvádzanie do kresťanského života čítame: „Dnes sa teda vo všetkých latinských i východných obradoch uvádzanie dospelých do kresťanského života začína ich vstupom do katechumenátu a vrcholí v jedinom slávení troch sviatostí: krstu, birmovania a Eucharistie. Vo východných obradoch sa uvádzanie detí do kresťanského života začína krstom, po ktorom bezprostredne nasleduje birmovanie a prijatie Eucharistie, kým v rímskom obrade toto uvádzanie detí pokračuje viacročnou katechézou a neskôr sa končí birmovaním a Eucharistiou, ktorá je vrcholom ich uvádzania do kresťanského života.“¹⁷

Ďalej v časti *Ako sa slávi sviatosť krstu?* Mystagógia slávenia zasa čítame: „Prvé prijímanie Eucharistie. Keď sa novopokrstený stal Božím dieťaťom a obliekol si svadobné rúcho, je pripustený na «Baránkovu svadobnú hostinu» a prijíma pokrm nového života, Kristovo telo a krv. Východné cirkvi si uchovávajú živé vedomie jednoty uvádzania do kresťanského života, a preto dávajú sväté prijímanie všetkým novopokrsteným a birmovaným, a to aj malým deťom, pamätajúc na Pánove slová: «Nechajte deti prichádzať ku mne. Nebráňte im...» (Mk 10, 14). Latinská cirkev vyhradzuje prístup k svätému prijímaniu tým, čo dosiahli vek používania rozumu a zameranie krstu na Eucharistiu vyjadruje prinesením novopokrsteného dieťaťa k oltáru na modlitbu «Otče náš».“¹⁸

Kongregácia pre východné cirkvi vydala v roku 1996 *Inštrukciu na aplikáciu bohoslužobných predpisov Kódexu kánonov východných cirkví* ako pomôcku východným cirkvám, ktoré sú v jednote s Rímskou cirkvou, v ich úsilí dať bohoslužobným sláveniam centrálné miesto, ktoré im patrí v cirkevnom živote, a to v úplnej vernosti duchu ich vlastných tradícií.

Ciele tejto Inštrukcie sú jasne zhrnuté v úvode:

- viesť k lepšiemu prehĺbeniu chápania nesmierného bohatstva, ktoré je vlastné autentickým východným tradíciám, a ktoré sa má úzkostlivo chrániť a odovzdávať všetkým veriacim;
- zložiť harmonický obraz bohoslužobných noriem, platných pre všetky východné katolícke cirkvi a obnoviť, tam kde je to nevyhnutné, východ-

¹⁷ KATECHIZMUS KATOLÍCKEJ CIRKVI. Trnava : SSV, 1999, (č. 1233), s. 322.

¹⁸ KATECHIZMUS KATOLÍCKEJ CIRKVI. Trnava : SSV, 1999, (č. 1244), s. 323.

nú bohoslužobnú autenticnosť podľa tradície, ktorú každá východná cirkev zdedila od apoštolov cez otcov;

- povzbudiť na zorganizovanie permanentnej bohoslužobnej formácie na pevných základoch tak kléru (v seminároch a formačných inštitútoch), ako aj Božieho ľudu prostredníctvom škôl mystagogickej katechézy;
- vymenovať spoločné princípy na vypracovanie bohoslužobných direktórií jednotlivých cirkví *sui iuris*.¹⁹

Inštrukcia na aplikáciu bohoslužobných predpisov Kódexu kánonov východných cirkví sa venuje aj otázkam vysluhovania sviatostí kresťanskej iniciácie a podávania Eucharistie deťom.

V kapitole VII. *Sviatosti kresťanskej iniciácie* čítame o jednote medzi sviatosťami kresťanskej iniciácie: „Jedným z usmernení CCEO, ktoré sú v protiklade k časťým zvykom, ba dokonca aj partikulárnym legislatívam ostatných storočí, je jednoznačné potvrdenie úzkeho vzťahu, ktorý je medzi tromi sviatosťami kresťanskej iniciácie, takže tento vzťah musí byť viditeľný aj zo spôsobu ich slávenia. Iniciácia je v skutočnosti jednotné a nedeliteľné slávenie vstupu do života v Kristovi, do spoločenstva, ktoré v ňom žije. Tento vstup, ktorý sa začína prvým povoláním k viere, dosahuje svoj vrchol v paschálnom tajomstve Krista, do smrti ktorého sme boli ponorení, aby sme vstali z mŕtvych v jeho vzkriesení, ktoré nás robí Božími synmi a chrámami Svätého Ducha. „Pomazaní” Svätým Duchom pre dielo Kráľovstva stali sme sa hodnými zúčastňovať sa na hostine Kráľovstva. Tu je motív znenia kánonov 695 a 697, ktoré predpisujú spojené alebo časovo len málo vzdialené udelenie troch sviatostí: krstu, myropomazania a svätej Eucharistie.

Podľa náuky a praxe prvej cirkvi, inšpirovanej Novou zmluvou, veriaci, ktorý prijímal eschatologický dar Ducha Zmŕtvychvstalého, prijímal aj to, aby ten istý Duch bol činný v jeho osobe a pripodobňoval ho Kristovi Pánovi. Krstné znovuzrodenie na Božie deti, dedičov Kráľovstva, ospravedlnených, vykúpených a posvätených nieslo so sebou aj plnoprávne začlenenie do spoločenstva Božieho ľudu. Najvyšší „znak” tejto udalosti bol v pripustení k hostine v Kráľovstve. Preto bolo nevyhnutné, aby tieto sviatosti boli udelené v čo najužšej spojitosti, neoddelene, v kontexte jediného slávenia. Od tohto momentu bol veriaci začlenený do Božieho ľudu so všetkými titulmi a funkciami, ktoré mu jeho nový život v Kristovi a vo Svätom Duchu (porov. Rim 8, 9) dával bez výnimky. Jediné slávenie bolo vyjadrením toho, že také je aj jediné nerozdeliteľné dielo Otcovho a Synovho Ducha. Takáto bola prax v živote všetkých cirkví prvých storočí.

Západná cirkev túto prax opustila z rozličných historických a kultúrnych príčin, takže krstná iniciácia sa v nej udeľovala deťom v rôznych súvislostiach a časových momentoch. Na Východe sa však pôvodný zvyk zachoval neporušený. Jednota týchto sviatostí je tam taká silná, že v mnohých súvislostiach sa termínom „krst” rozumejú zvyčajne všetky tri fázy kresťanskej iniciácie. Toto je titul, ktorý sa im dáva v mnohých rukopisných alebo tlačných euchológiách.

¹⁹ KONGREGÁCIA PRE VÝCHODNÉ CIRKVI: *Inštrukcia na aplikáciu bohoslužobných predpisov Kódexu kánonov východných cirkví*. Vatikán : Liberia editrice Vaticana 1998, s. 8.

V ostatných storočiach sa však aj v rôznych východných katolíckych cirkvách táto prax zmenila, a to najmä vplyvom vonkajších tlakov, vychádzajúcich zo zmien pastoračných a duchovných postojov Západu, ktoré sú síce pochopiteľné, ale z hľadiska východného dedičstva sú cudzie a sú mimo línie dynamizmu vlastného východného dedičstva. Tam, kde sa tradičná prax stratila, kódex vyžaduje ozajstnú reformu a aplikáciu predpísaných noriem podobne, ako si to pre latinskú Cirkev vyžadovala koncilová Konštitúcia o posvätnnej liturgii. Bezpodmienečne sa musí zariadiť predovšetkým hlbšie štúdium starej praxe. V tom môže napomôcť porovnávanie rukopisov a tlačených liturgických kníh, vydaných východnými katolíkmi, ale aj pravoslávny-
mi. To je prvá časť prípravy. Ďalej treba mať na zreteli aj stále používanú prax v Pravoslávnej cirkvi. Takisto sa treba postarať o nevyhnutnú výuku, aby dôvody týchto zmien pochopili všetci: klérus, teológovia, kresťanský ľud. Zatiaľ čo sa bude zavádzať obnovená prax, je potrebná nevyhnutná katechéza neoiniciovaných detí, len čo budú schopné priblížiť sa k chápaniu tajomstiev viery a pokračovať v nej, až kým nedospejú. Už účasť detí, hoci krátka, ale pravidelná, na bohoslužobných sláveniach je drahocenným prvkom katechézy, pretože ich konkrétnym spôsobom vovádza do života Cirkvi. Táto iniciácia je možno málo pojmová alebo rozumová, avšak účinne ich začleňuje do „klímy“ slávenia, pričom vykonávané gestá a znaky ich naozaj vovádzajú do neviditeľných skutočností. Celý proces vyžaduje tvorivé úsilie, aby sa primerane prešlo k novej praxi v nadväznosti na súčasný život. Ide o neľahký, ale nevyhnutný zásah, ak skutočne chceme oživiť vlastné dedičstvo na úžitok celej Cirkvi.²⁰

Ohľadom podávania Eucharistie deťom v tej istej kapitole čítame: „V kán. 697 CCEO sa predpisuje, aby sa Eucharistia udeľovala čo najskôr po krste a pomazaní svätým myrom podľa noriem každej cirkvi sui iuris. Kán. 710 sa vracia k argumentu, ktorý vyžaduje, aby sa novopokrstené deti zúčastňovali na Eucharistii, a odporúča, aby sa pri jej udeľovaní dodržiavali predpisy liturgických kníh každej cirkvi sui iuris. Táto legislatíva, špecifická pre východné cirkvi, vyžaduje si niektoré spresnenia.

Z dôvodov, ktoré sme už vysvetlili, normy, týkajúce sa prijímania Eucharistie u neofytov, nenachádzajú sa v legislatíve niektorých východných katolíckych cirkví, ktoré často odďaľovali prvé prijímanie na dosiahnutie školského veku. Bude preto úlohou kompetentných autorít prijať vhodné úpravy na návrat k pôvodnej praxi a vypracovať normy, ktoré najlepšie zodpovedajú vlastnej tradícii.

Pokiaľ ide o predpisy liturgických kníh, treba upozorniť, že vo väčšine prípadov, napr. takých, aké spomíname, týka sa to však aj cirkví, ktoré zachovali pôvodnú tradíciu, tieto knihy neobsahujú presné smernice, keďže rituál krstu bol zvyčajne koncipovaný pre dospelých a len následne sa vo východných cirkvách používal bez akejkoľvek úpravy pre deti. Týmito vecami sa obyčajne zaoberali pastoračné príručky na vysluhovanie sviatostí. Niektoré praktické návrhy možno získať aj z praxe ortodoxných cirkví. V konečnom dôsledku - udelenie Eucharistie deťom neofytom nie je ohraničené na samu chvíľu slávenia iniciácie. Eucharistia je chlebom života a deti sa ním majú živiť stále, totiž od krstu aj naďalej, aby mohli duchovne rásť. Spôsob ich účasti na Eucharistii bude zodpovedať ich schopnosti: najprv bude odlišná od účasti dospe-

²⁰ KONGREGÁCIA PRE VÝCHODNÉ CIRKVI: Inštrukcia na aplikáciu bohoslužobných predpisov Kódexu kánonov východných cirkví. Vatikán : Liberia editrice Vaticana 1998, s. 36 – 38.

lých, nevyhnutne bude menej vedomá a menej rozumová, ale postupne sa skrze milosť a pedagogiu sviatosti rozvinie, aby rástla „až do stavu dokonalosti a úplnej zrelosti v Kristovi“ (Ef 4, 13). Sviatosť je dar, ktorý vždy pôsobí účinne, ale vždy iným spôsobom, pretože i osoba je vždy iná. Osobitné slávenia, ktoré zodpovedajú jednotlivým etapám ľudského rastu, môžu azda byť nejakú užitočné pre pedagogiu viery a sprevádzať povinnú katechézu detí a mládeže, ale musí byť jasné, že iniciácia do Kristovho tajomstva je úplná už od prijatia prvých troch sviatostí.“ (porov. Inštrukcia na aplikáciu bohoslužobných predpisov Kódexu kánonov východných cirkví, 51).

Záver

Všimajúc si v histórii znaky strácania autenticity, odbúravanie východných zvláštností a odklon od starootcovských tradícií možno považovať výzvu Druhého vatikánskeho koncilu k lepšiemu prehĺbeniu chápania nesmierného bohatstva východných tradícií, ich ochranu a odovzdanie všetkým veriacim, priam za odrazový mostík obnovy Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi na Slovensku, a to bez akýchkoľvek snáh vytvárania väzieb s nekatolíckymi východnými cirkvami, ako sa niektorí nazdávajú. Vysluhovanie sviatostí kresťanskej iniciácie podľa starobylej tradície je ďalším krokom objavovania vernosti vlastným bohoslužobným tradíciám, využíjúc ich bohatstvo a odstrániac to, čo by pozmenilo ich autenticitu. Netreba zabúdať tiež na to, že v ranej Cirkvi sa sviatosť Eucharistie udeľovala novonarodeným deťom hneď po krste pod spôsobom niekoľkých kvapiek vína.²¹

Je však veľmi dôležité si uvedomiť, že koncil sa neuspokojuje len s potvrdením a chválou starej doktríny platnej vo východných cirkvách, ale žela si, aby bola obnovená tam, kde bola ochudobnená alebo odstránená. Preto je potrebné vrátiť sa ku všetkým prvkom bohoslužobného slávania, ktoré sa stratili.

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Uniatská kanonická vizitácia z roku 1748

Uniate Canonical Visitation from 1748

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Abstract: *The protocol of the canonical visitation from the Ung county captures a state in forty-one parishes of the county. In a translated text we prepared a diplomatic description of the protocol as well as a transcript of a whole archive document. In a diplomatic description we focused on an external and internal description of the document, as well as on a genesis of the visitation of the Ung county in the 40s in the 18th century. For the purposes of the second part of the text – transcript, we explained in detail a method of the transcript as well as our marking. We made the transcript according to common practices in relation to visitation protocols. A content side of the transcript can be used in further research.*

Keywords: Source. Visitation. Uniats. Ung county. 18th century.

Skúmaný archívny prameň, ktorý je približený odbornej verejnosti, poskytuje širšiu mieru vyťaženia ako jeho krátka interpretácia. Práve z tohto dôvodu sme siahli po prepise prameňa, ktorý v našej historiografii dosiaľ nebol spracovaný. Pochopiteľne, otázka protokolov kanonických vizitácií neostáva na Slovensku nespracovaná. V kontexte výskumu je však dôležitá konfesia, ako aj lokalita. Naša historiografia ponúka široký diapazón rímskokatolíckych, evanjelických, ako aj reformovaných vizitačných protokolov, ktoré sú buď prepísané, prerozprávané, resp. interpretované.¹ Pochopiteľne, v slovenskej historiografii absentujú uniatské, resp. gréckokato-

¹ LOPATKOVÁ, Zuzana. Kanonická vizitácia ako prameň k dejinám školstva. In KOHÚTOVÁ, Mária (ed.). *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia XVIII : cirkevné dejiny - súčasť národných dejín*. Kraków: Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce, 2016, s. 133-140., LOPATKOVÁ, Zuzana. Kanonická vizitácia - k jej interpretácii, limitom a metodologickým otázkam v historikom výskume. In FERIANCOVÁ, Alena – GLEJTEK, Miroslav (eds.). *Prameň - jeho funkcia, význam, interpretácia a limity v historickom výskume*. Nitra: Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre 2010 s. 69-77., LOPATKOVÁ, Zuzana. „Baťaniovská“ kanonická vizitácia Smoleníc z r. 1782. In DOBROTKOVÁ, Marta (ed.). *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia IX.-X.* Kraków: Spolok Słowaków v Polsku; Trnava: - Katedra histórie Filozofickej fakulty Trnavskej univerzity, 2010, s. 382-424., ŠIMONČIČ, Jozef. Lúky pod Makytou v kanonických vizitáciách 1688 - 1797 (Katalogizačný záznam) In RÁBIK, Vladimír (ed.). *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia XVII : pramene k dejinám cirkevnej správy*. Trnava: Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity, 2015, s. 227-249. ŠIMONČIČ, Jozef. Kanonická vizitácia farnosti Veľká Franková roku 1832. In FETKO, Filip – Števík, Miroslav (eds.). *Pocťa Ivanovi Chalupceckému*. Levoča: Spišský dejepisný spolok, 2012, s. 147-164., ZUBKO, Peter. Kanonická vizitácia Košickej kapituly (1808). In HIŠEM, Cyril – FEDORČÁK, Peter (eds.). *Kanonické vizitácie po Tridentskom koncile*. Prešov: Vydavateľstvo Ivana Vaška, 2007, s. 168-176., ZUBKO, Peter- ŽEŇUCH, Peter. *Barkóciho vizitácia Šarišského archidiakonátu (1749) rímskokatolíci, gréckokatolíci a evanjelici podľa latinskej vizitácie*. Bratislava: Veda, 2017, 188 s., HIŠEM, Cyril. Vizitácia kňazského semi-

licke vizitačné protokoly.² Z hľadiska lokalít môžeme konštatovať, že Užská stolica ostáva nepreskúmaná, nakoľko územne patrí (slovenská časť) do Košickej eparchie až od 20. storočia.³ Preto sme sa rozhodli pripraviť prepis kanonickej vizitácie aj jej protokolu, ktorý je datovaný k roku 1748.

Archívny dokument je v súčasnosti lokalizovaný v Štátnom archíve Zakarpatskej oblasti (Державний архів Закарпатської області) na Ukrajine. Dokument je súčasťou fondu 151 Správa Mukačevskej gréckokatolíckej eparchie, mesto Užhorod (Правління Мукачівської греко-католицької єпархії, м. Ужгород), v prvom opise (inventár) s číslom 1042. Dokument nesie pomenovanie a krátku charakteristiku ako *Súpis farností Užskej stolice* (Перепись приходов Ужанской юрты). Je dato-

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² V slovenskej historiografii sa často používajú práce od Hadžegu, ktoré tlmočia informácie z vizitačných protokolov v rusinskom jazyku. Prof. Peter Zubko vo svojich publikáciách sumarizoval informácie z vizitačných protokolov, ktoré patria do administratívnej činnosti jágerských biskupov. Avšak ide o pramene latinskej provinencie viažuce sa k územiu Košickej diecézy z roku 1804.

³ Do roku 1945 bolo územie Užskej stolice jurisdikčným územím Mukačevskej diecézy so sídlom v Užhorode. Neskôr po zmene štátnych hraníc administroval územie stolice prešovský biskup. V roku 1997 bol erigovaný Košický exarchát so sídlom v Košiciach. V roku 2008 bolo nahradené exarchátne provizórium riadne erigovanou Košickou Eparchiou. Východná časť je stále spravovaná mukačevským biskupom.

vaný do roku 1748, čo vychádza z vnútornej kritiky archivára. Nie je možné bližšie určiť obdobie vzniku, nakoľko sa v dochovaných správach medzi jágerským biskupom Františkom Barkóczyom a mukačevským vikárom Manuelom Olšavským spomína len plánovaná cesta jágerského biskupa po stoliciach Sabolč, Satmár, Ugoča, Marmaroš a Bereh.⁴ Nakoľko v inventári absentujú archívne dokumenty z mesiaca júl, predpokladáme, že cesta bola vykonaná v letných mesiacoch v roku 1748. Dokumentácia vznikla počas vizitačnej cesty po stoliciach Zemplín, Uh a Bereh.⁵

Dokument je tvorený 17 listami handrového papiera, ktoré sú popísané z averzu i reverzu. Listy nie sú dvojhárkami, ale boli pracovníkmi archívu vlepené do archívárskej zložky. Na spojenie boli použité lepivé papiere, ktoré boli spojené s listom vždy z ľavej strany averzu. Rozmery strán sú 297 mm výška a 213 mm šírka, okrem listu 11, ktorý bol vložený dodatočne (1775), ale pracovníkmi archívu bol paginovaný ako súčasť archívnej zložky. Listy sú opatrené vodotlačou. Na listoch sa nenachádzajú pečate či podpisy, nakoľko to povaha dokumentu nevyžaduje. Titulná strana vizitácie chýba, dokonca sa nedá určiť ani počet chýbajúcich strán. Posledná strana – 17r obsahuje len regest, ktorý určuje rok a lokalitu vizitácie. Na každej strane sa nachádza mnoho preškrtnutého textu, ktorý pôsobí rušivo. Posledná strana (17r) obsahuje číselné záznamy, ktoré sme neprepisovali, nakoľko táto strana slúžila ako pomocný papier pri bežných výpočtoch.

Text je písaný výlučne latinkou a latinsky, absentuje akýkoľvek cyrilský text. Z pohľadu povahy prameňa ide o koncept, čo vysvetľuje úprava textu, ako aj prečiarknuté slová. Čistopis sme v archívnom fonde nenašli. Údaje sa nezhodujú s inými protokolmi vizitácie z daného fondu či s údajmi viažucimi sa s touto lokalitou. Prepis textu sme vykonali podľa vopred stanovených pravidiel s prihliadnutím na zaužívanú formu. Pri prepise sme postupovali podobne ako team doktora Tamása Véghseő, ktorí edične spracoval uniatské vizitácie z roku 1741, 1747 a 1752. Neprihliadali sme na úzus prepisu pri stredovekých listinách, nakoľko neoznačujeme značkami //, resp | koniec riadka. Rovnako nepresúvame ani preškrtnutý text do poznámky pod čiarou či prípadne za celý text. Konáme tak z viacerých dôvodov, akými sú dĺžka štúdie a estetickosť textu. Preškrtnutý text sme ohraňovali znakmi <>. Časti textu, ktoré sme pre preškrtnutie či machule nemohli prečítať, sme označili značkou [---]. Časť venovanú štólnym príjmom sme prepísali do tabuľky, bez viditeľných čiar, aby sme sa tak držali pôvodnej myšlienky zapisovateľa. Text obsahoval viacero častí, kde po preškrtnutí vety, bola nová veta napísaná vyššie a tak vtlačená do úzkej časti. Takto nadpísané časti sme zapísali horným indexom za text, nad ktorým sa nachádzali. Slová, ktoré boli zapísané zmenšene a javili sa ako dolný index, sú zapísané v prepise dolným indexom. Keďže prepisujeme listinu do riadku, časti, ktoré sú podčiarknuté, označujeme podčiarknutím danej časti, prípadne riadku. Slová *florenos*, *denarios* a ich obmeny sme rozpísali a označili kurzívou. Ostatné slová, ktoré sme rozpísali, sme uviedli ako naše doplnenia v hranatých zátvorkách []. Každú stra-

⁴ Державний архів Закарпатської області–ДАЗО (ďalej ŠAZO), f. 151 Правління Мукачівської греко-католицької єпархії, м. Ужгород. (ďalej 151/1 inv. č. 1045.

⁵ ŠAZO, 151/1 inv. č. 1039., ŠAZO, 151/1 inv. č. 1040., ŠAZO, 151/1 inv. č. 1042.

nu (aj averz aj reverz) odčleňujeme slovom pag v hranatých zátvorkách s označením averzu, resp. reverzu, ako aj čísla strany tak, ako ho označili v archíve.

Strany 1a až 9r obsahujú vždy vizitačný zápis len k jednej farnosti. Následne strany 10a až 17a obsahujú zápis k farnostiam priebežne. V štruktúre textu je dodržiavaná postupnosť *názov farnosti* (Parochia Possessionis (dedina) s krátkou informáciou o filiálkach, chráme a jeho vybavení. Následne pokračuje časť týkajúca sa *výnosu chrámu* (Ecclesiae Proventus), ktorý je vo väčšine prípadoch nulový, prípadne sa ani nespomína. Jedine pri farnosti Porostov sa spomína 50 florénov ako rezerva. Najrozsiahlejšie informácie sú zaznamenané o *príjmoch farára* (Parochi Proventus). Táto časť obsahuje v závere aj štólarne výnosy, ktoré sú uvedené aj s výškou poplatku za daný úkon. Následne je vyčíslený celkový príjem. Každá farnosť mala svojho patróna, ktorý mal k nej určité povinnosti, ako vyčleniť farskú pôdu alebo podieľať sa na financovaní opráv miestneho chrámu. Táto informácia je uvedená pri každej farnosti po sumári celkového zárobku. Posledná časť protokolu pre danú farnosť obsahuje informácie o *príjme učiteľa*, respektíve *kantora* (Proventis Ludi-Magistri). Zvyčajne sú to základné informácie o majetkovom postavení a príjme z jeho činnosti. Konečné časti obsahujú informácie o príjme farára, kde sa spomína svetský patrón a informácie o príjme učiteľa. Vizitácia niekedy obsahuje aj informácie požadujúce zabezpečenie imunity či pozemkov. V tomto kontexte vnímame aj úlohu vizitátora, ktorý požaduje zabezpečenie pre tieto osoby v službe oltára. V protokole absentujú mená presbyterov, ako aj kantorov.

Územie Užskej stolice bolo súčasťou dvoch archidiakonátov – Užského a Mukačevského. Do Užského patrili Užhorodský, Turianský a Bereznianský dištrikt a do Mukačevského zase Serednianský.⁶ Protokol vizitácie obsahuje informácie výlučne k Užskému archidiakonátu – k Užhorodskému a Bereznianskému dištriktu. Užský dištrikt tvorilo 26 farností a Bereznianský dištrikt 24 farností. V protokole z roku 1748 sa nachádza 17 farností z Užského dištriktu, pričom absentujú lokality Užhorod, Radvánka, Korytnany, Galóč, Maťovce, Bezovce, Vyšné Nemecké, Nevicke a Domanince. K Bereznianskému obvodu sa v protokole nachádza 24 farností, na základe čoho predpokladáme, že informácie k tomuto obvodu sa zachovali celistvé. Všimli sme si, že niektoré lokality sú zapísané duplicitne. Predpokladáme, že nejde priamo o chybu, ale o existenciu dvoch chrámov a presbyterov v jednej lokalite, čo utváralo akoby samostatnú farnosť. Tieto dediny boli dlhé, usadené v horách, roztrúsené, často aj s viacerými presbytermi v jednej lokalite. Špecifický prípad mohol nastať len v súvislosti s lokalitou Bistra, ktorá je uvedená dvakrát. V Užskej stolici sa skutočne nachádzali dve lokality, ktoré sú v 18. storočí pomenované ako Bistra – dnešná Bistra Verchovina a Turja Bistra. Na základe spomínaných okolitých lokalít sme obe Bistré stotožnili s dnešnou Bistrou Verchovinou. Turja Bistra patrila do Turianského dištriktu, nachádzala sa v jeho strede a ani jedna z lokalít v protokole nepatrila do tohto dištriktu. Preto nepredpokladáme, že by zapisovateľ uviedol jedinou z lokalít tohto dištriktu.

Význam skúmaného prameňa spočíva v sprostredkovaných informáciách. Práve 40. roky 18. storočia boli pre Užskú stolicu zvlášť špecifické častými vizitáciami.

⁶ ŠAZO, 151/1 inv. č. 1127.

Prvá uniatská vizitácia sa uskutočnila v roku 1741⁷, latinskú vizitáciu vykonal František Barkóczy v roku 1746.⁸ Druhá a tretia uniatská vizitácia sa uskutočnila v roku 1747⁹ a 1748¹⁰, druhá Barkóczyho cesta, ktorá bola zameraná na uniatské farnosti sa uskutočnila v roku 1749.¹¹ Štvrtá uniatská vizitácia sa konala v roku 1752.¹² Význam textu je v zachytení stavu. Protokol nemá sumarizačný charakter za určité obdobie, ale je konštatovaný taký stav, aký bol v čase návštevy vizitátora. Záznamy v protokole z roku 1748 poukazujú na mnohé nedostatky ako materiálne zabezpečenie - zvlášť stav bývania, ale aj vybavenie chrámu. Konštatuje sa bohatosť chrámu, niekedy bývajú i vymenované jednotlivé predmety. Otvára sa aj otázka vzdialenosti, teda to, ako dlho trvá cesta z farnosti k filiálke. O chráme sa konštatuje matéria zhotovenia, čo poskytuje východiskovú anabázu pre lokalizáciu už neexistujúcich drevených chrámov. V protokole absentujú pastoračné otázky. Väčšmi sa dbá na zabezpečenie kantorov a ich postavenie v miestnej štruktúre. Špecifická je výrazná variabilita štólarňných poplatkov. Ich výška sa vo farnostiach líši. Najnižší príjem je v severnejších oblastiach v Bereznianskom dištrikte.

Protokol zaznamenáva výrazne odlišnú informáciu od ostatných konfesijných typov vizitácie, a to otázku dreva. Drevo v bežnom živote zohrávalo významnú úlohu. Práve drevo bolo stavebným materiálom, ale aj palivom na kúrenie. Z protokolu vyplýva, že ťažbu dreva vykonával aj sám presbyter. Je možné, že aj sám zabezpečoval materiál na opravu chrámu.

Prameň

Державний архів Закарпатської області-ДАЗО, фонд № 151 Правління Мукачівської греко-католицької єпархії, м. Ужгород., Опись № 1, Перепись приходов Ужанской жупы. Начато – 1748 год. Окончено – 1748 год. на 17 листах. [pagina]

Parochia Possessionis Ternavka¹³

<Habet> Filialem habet nullam, Ecclesiae Structura lignea antiqua Scandulis bene tecta ap[p]aramentis, ut Sunt: Albæ, stolæ, manipuli, Casulæ, Calix cum patenula Staneus his mediocriter provisa.

⁷ VÉGHSEŐ, Tamás – TERDIK, Szilveszter – SIMON, Katalin. *Források a magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez Az egri egyházmegye területén szolgáló görögkatolikus papok 1741. évi javadalom-összeírása*. Nyíregyháza: Szent Atanáz Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, 2014, 576 s.

⁸ Szarmári Püspöki és Káptalani Levéltár, fond Visitatio Canonica, Ungvar 1746.

⁹ VÉGHSEŐ, Tamás – TERDIK, Szilveszter. *Források a magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez Az 1747.évi javadalom-összeírás*. Nyíregyháza: Szent Atanáz Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, 2015, 640 s.

¹⁰ ŠAZO, 151/1 inv. č. 1039., ŠAZO, 151/1 inv. č. 1040., ŠAZO, 151/1 inv. č. 1042.

¹¹ ZUBKO, Peter. Skrutínia uniatských presbyterov z roku 1749. In *Slavica Slovaca*, 2015, ISSN 0037-6787, roč. 50, č. 3, 102 s., ŠAZO, 151/1 inv. č. 1125.

¹² VÉGHSEŐ, Tamás et al. *Források a magyarországi görögkatolikus parókiák történetéhez Olsavszky Mihály Munkácsi püspök 1750-1752. évi egyházlátogatásainak iratai*. Nyíregyháza: Szent Atanáz Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, 2015, 800 s.

¹³ Trnava pri Laborci [SK, okres Michalovce], 1773, 1786 Terna, 1808 Tarna, Tarnawa, 1863–1913 Tarna, 1920 Trnava, Tarnava, 1927–1948 Tarnava.

Ecclesiae Proventus

Haec Ecclesia Proventus in fixo habet nullus, præter quam ligationem fadulium
Parochi Proventus.

Habet Domus suas proprio aere aedificatas, in Fundis alienis <preter> per se. amptis.
Hortum habet nullum. Pratum nullum Agrosnullos. Hospites <7> 8 habet in Mat-
re quorum quilibet anuatim præstat metretas duas Simul faciunt met. 16 loci præ-
eti aestimando a *denariis* 17 faciunt *florenos* 4 *denarios* 32 Hortenus Sylva fuit libera
modo verò qualibet lignatorum tannem pro faco ex non fructiferis cuibitus curavit.
Præter hos, exceptis industrialibus, nullus alios qualiter apositos percipit proventus.
Stolam percipit sequentem.

A Baptismo cum Introductione	<i>denariis</i> 24	
A Matrimonio cum Benedictione Neo Nuptae	<i>denarii</i> 50	annum
A Sepultura Majori	<i>denarii</i> 51	circiter
á Sepultura minori	<i>denarii</i> 24	

Totus itaq[ue] <Stol Stolæ annarum> proventus annuus Suma facit: *florenos* 5
<præmiss Accidentibus> facit simul *florenos* 9 *denarios* 30
Jus Patronatus prætendit D[ominus] Illus[trissimus] C[ommes] Emericus Starai de
Nagy Michaly.

Proventus LudiMagistri

Domum habet nullam præter eundutam are proprio Solutionem ab Il Infixo nullum
cum sit Frater Germanus Parochi aut quod ex Gratia Frater Parochusei constituit aquid
Ex Baptismo et Matrimonio præter offertorii 3na partem
a funere majori : *denarii* 12 indupale facit *denarios* 24
a funere minori *denarii* 6 annue facit *denarios* 12
Totus itaq[ue] Cantoralis proventus constituit *denarios* 36
Egeret itaq[ue] tum Parochus tum Cantor Domi, Pratis, Agris et Sylvis, etc. [pagur]

<Parochia Possessionis Sólmos¹⁴

Filiales habet duas unam sid ili et Jasztrab¹⁵>

Possessio Klokocsov¹⁶

Filiales habet duas utraq[ue] uni bono quadrante visitat a Matre Ecclesiæ Structura
lignea antiqua Secundalis tecta Aparamentis ut Sunt albæ, stolæ manipuli, Casulæ,
Calix cum patenula Staneus his mediocriter provisa.

Ecclesia Proventus

Ecclesia hæc proventus habet nullos.

¹⁴ Iňačovce [SK, okres Michalovce], 1773, 1877–1913 Solymos, 1786 Scholymosch, 1808 Solymos, Jeňassowce, 1863 Sólýmós, 1873 Sólýmós, 1920–1927 Iňačovce, Jaňačovce.

¹⁵ Jastrabie pri Michalovciach [SK, okres Michalovce] 1773, 1786, 1863, 1888–1902 Jesztreb, 1808 Jesztreb, Jestreb, 1873–1882 Magyarjesztreb, 1907–1913 Alsókánya, 1920 Jastrebie, 1927–1960 Jastrabie.

¹⁶ Klokocsov [SK, okres Michalovce], 1773 Klokocso, 1786 Klokocscho, 1808 Klokocsó, Klokocšov, 1863–1902 Klokocsó, 1907–1920 Hajagos.

[illegible]

Parochi Proventus.

Domus Parochialem habet <in loco Lingorus> sine fundo Colonico. Hortum nullum, Agros nullos, Prata nulla. Habet á qualibet Domo quod sunt 3 in Matre in Filiali una nomina Kusin¹⁷ 5q In Kallus¹⁸ 2da quinque pariter. In Matre peregrnit á 3bus mett. 6. et in Filiali una quinq[ue] in alia per duas simul facit 10 præterea duas non et simul facit 16 á *denariis* 6 simul facit *florenos* 1 *denarios* 36

Metratæ veró in simul sunt 20 et una á *denariis* 17 ex quis limitando eveniunt *florenos* 5 *denarios* 57

Lignationem pro foco, habet liberam.

Præter hos, exceptis Industrialibus nullos alios Idealiterappositos percipit proven-tus.

Stolam percipit sequentem.

A Baptismo cum Introductione	<i>denarii</i> 20		<i>denarios</i> 42
A Matrimonio cum Benedictione	<i>denarii</i> 51	<i>annue</i>	<i>florenos</i> 1. <i>denarios</i> 42
N[eo] Nuptae		<i>circiter</i>	
A Sepultura majori	<i>denarii</i> 51		<i>denarios</i> 51
á Sepultura minori	<i>denarii</i> 24		<i>denarios</i> 24

Totafus itaq[ue] Stolæ Proventus præmis accidentibus facit : *florenos* 10 *denarios* 53
<Ex [---] Stoæ Salutio.> Ex ejus veró proventibus cantoram evutant tertialitate.

Jus Patronatus Prætendit Ill[ustrissi]mus Com[m]es Emericus Staräy ageret Fundo Pratis agrit pro sui Praestatione.

Proventus Ludi Magistri

Ludi Magister ut subditus in Fundo sed et Dominali. [pag2a]

Parochia possessionis Solmos¹⁹

Filialem habet unam <á D> in distantia á Matre mediæ Horæ Ecclesiæ lignea struc-tura nova Secundalis tecta, Aparamentis ut Sunt : Albæ, Stolæ, Casulæ, manipuli, calix cum patenula staneus minus provisa.

Ecclesiæ proventus nullus.

Parochi Proventus.

Domum habet nullam <pro> habet locum ^{Fundi} <desiganptum> á Parochianis emptum proprio aere. Hipotycarium. Hortum pro rebus culinariis plane exiguum. Agros et prata <die at nu> et Sylvas hic et nunc [---] non habet quouid non ita[que] quidem ad Parochiam novam intro. Ductus sit habet spem equidem post mediam Sessionem aquirenædi Colonicalem <quouid nobis non Constat qout et quanto.> Habet á qualibet Domo ut sunt Hospites in Matre numero 6. Totidem metratas á[n] ni á quois Hospitili metretas etiam 5. Simul facit metretas II Simul computamd[o] eveniunt *florenos* 3 *denarios* 23

¹⁷ Kusín [SK, okres Michalovce], 1773, 1786, 1863–1902 Kuzsin, 1808 Kuzsin, Kusýn, 1907–1913 Hara-pás, 1920–1927 Kušín.

¹⁸ Kaluža [SK, okres Michalovce] 1773, 1863 Kaluzsa, 1786 Kalusza, 1808 Kalusa, Kalussa, 1873–1882 Kalussa, 1888–1902 Kalusa, 1907–1913 Ungtavas, 1920–1927 Kaluša.

¹⁹ Iňačovce [SK, okres Michalovce], 1773, 1877–1913 Solymos, 1786 Scholymosch, 1808 Solymos, Jeňassowce, 1863 Sólýmós, 1873 Sólymos, 1920–1927 Iňačovce, Jaňačovce.

Praeter hos *florenos* exceptio Industrialibus nullos Idealiter apositos percipit proventus.

Stolam percipit sequentem.

A Baptismo cum Introductione	denarii 15		<i>florenos 1 denarios</i> <32>12
A Matrimonio cum	denarii 51	<annue	< <i>florenos 1</i> >
Benedictione Neo Nuptae		totus>	<i>denarios</i> <42>51
A Sepultura Majori	denarii 51	Stola	<i>florenos 1 denarios 42</i>
á [Sepultura] minori	denarii 24		<i>Denarios 48</i>
Totus itaq[ue] Stolæ proventus cum praemissis accidentibus facit Suma <i>florenos</i>			
<1>9 <i>denarios 20</i>			

Jus Patronatus praetendit Ill[ustrissi]mus L. B. Ladislaus Vejcei ageret adhuc pro sui et ultertri per Domo Agris, pratis et Horto.

Proventus Ludi Magistri

Domum habet nullam cogitur aliunde Sibi procurare. Habet in privato Framenti metritas 6 á <i>denariis 17</i> exquibus venit	<i>florenos 1 denarios 44</i>
<Totius>A Baptismo et matrimonio	<i>denarii 6</i>
<a matrimonio> a funere majori	<i>denarii 12</i>
a funere minori	<i>denarii 6</i>
Tota stola illus facit	<i>denarios 36</i>
<Totus itaq[ue] Stolæ proventus facit>Totus itaq[ue] annuli proventus facit	<i>florenos 2 denarios 20</i>

[pag2r]

Parochia Possessionis Josza²⁰

Falialem habet nullam. Ecclesiae Structura nova scandulis bene tecta Apparamentis ut Sunt Albæ, Stolæ, manipuli, Casulæ, Calix cum patenula Staneus, agré provisa.

Ecclesiae Proventus

Ecclesiae Proventus nullus.

Parochi Proventus

Domum habet Squilidam maximæ ruinæ <S>Sine Fundo. Hortum habet exiguum pro rebus culinariis Pratum <unum> habet unum <pro> unius Currus á *denariis* <per> exceptis propriis laboribus pro itaq[ue] Palcatura *denarios 17*

Agros nullos. Habet ei qualibet Domo in Matre quarum sunt 10 per metratum annum simul faciunt met[retam] 10. á *denariis 17*. Simul huici Fundo eveniunt *florenos 2 denarios 33*

Lignationem habet Liberam cum Communitate. Praeter hos exceptis Industrialibus alios nullos, Idealiter appositos percipit proventus.

²⁰ Jovsa [SK, okres Michalovce] 1773, 1786 Josza, 1808 Jósza, Jósa, 1863–1920 Jósza.

Stolam percipit sequentem.

A Baptismo cum Introductione	<i>denarii</i> 18	<i>denarios</i> 36
á Matrimonio cum Benedictione N[eo] Nuptae	<i>denarii</i> 51	<i>annue denarios</i> 51
á Sepultura majori majori	<i>denarii</i> 51	<i>circiter</i>
á Sepultura minori	<i>denarii</i> 18	<i>denarios</i> 36
Totus Itaq[ue] Stolæ proventus Annum Simul computando facit	<i>florenos</i> 3	<i>denarios</i> 53

Jus Patronus prætendit Ill[ustrissi]mus Comes Emericus Staray Indigeret pro Sui Susten[tat]ione Fundo, Agris, pratis Sylvis.

Proventus Ludi Magistri

Domum habet nullam modo conduetus á Communitate	5q metratis á <i>denariis</i> 17.
simul limitendo facit	<i>florenos</i> 2 <i>denarios</i> 23
A majori et minori Sepultura simul percipit	<i>denarios</i> 18
Totus itaq[ue] Proventus Cantoralis constituit	<i>florenos</i> 2 <i>denarios</i> 41
Indigeret Domo, Agris, Pratis <Agis, Sylvitate> [pag3a]	

Parochia Possessionis Ubres²¹

Filiales habet <4>3 videlicet: FekisHaza²² in distentia media horæ Hnojna²³ pariter in aquali distantia, Reviste²⁴ in distantia unius Hora. Ecclesia Structura Lignæ Com-
moda Scandualis commode tecta, Apparentis ut Sunt : Casulæ, Stolæ, manipuli,
Albæ, Cinguli, his Calix cum patenula Argenteus his <bene> omnibus bene provisa.
Fidelium.

Haec Ecclesiae Proventus habet nullos præter prios aliquando Legationem.

Parochi Proventus

Habet Domum Parochialem in Fundo Parochiali ligneam antiquam. Comoda Hortum ager Hortum pro rebus Culinarÿs exceptis arboribus satis <minus> Com[m]odum. Pratum unum Curuum zumo exenato, aestimando á *denariis* quamlibet 17 aestimando. *denarios* 51

Agros habet ad unam calcaturam Sex Jusminite Metretarum 12 in Simul quarum una á *denaris* 17 insimul faciunt *florenos* 4. *denarios* 23

Habet in Matre Hospites 8to In una Filiali 6 in 2da 5 in 3tia 25. quorum Sum[m]a facit <om> Nru 24 á quibus annuatim percipit unum matrem cum Cantore Simul ex quibus defaleatis 8to <abveniunt> abveniunt Parocho 16 metritæ aestimando á *denariis* 17. Suma Sumarum facit *florenos* 4 *denarios* 53

Lignationum habet liberam. <Provetus>Proventus alios Idæaliter appositos ut Superius attactum est percipit nullos.

²¹ Úbrež [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773 Ubris, 1786 Ubricsch, 1808 Ubres, Ubryš, Ubreš, 1863 Ubrics, 1873–1877 Ubris, 1882–1920 Ubrezs.

²² Fekišovce [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773 Fekécsháza, 1786 Fekecschháza, 1808 Fekésháza, Fekussowce, 1863–1920 Fekésháza.

²³ Hnojné [SK, okres Michalovce] 1773 1786, 1863–1913 Hanajna, 1808–1920 Hanajna, Hnojná.

²⁴ Blatné Revištia [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773 Sáros-Revisce, 1786 Schárosch-Rewischcsche, 1808 Sáros-Revisce, Blatné Rewistě, 1863, 1888–1902 Sárosrevisce, 1877–1882 Sárosrevisce, Alsó-revisce, 1907–1913 Sárosrőcse, 1920– 1927 Blatné Revište.

Stolam percipit sequentem.

A Baptismo cum Introductione	denarii 18		denarios 36
A Matrimonio [cum Benedictione Neo Nuptae]	denarii 51	annue circiter	florenos 1 denarios 42
a Sepultura majori	denarii 51		florenos 1 denarios 42
á [Sepultura] minori	denarii 18		denarios 18
Totus itaq[ue] Stolæ Proventus cum praemissis accidentibus			florenos 12 denarios 43
Totu Jus Patronatus R[everendissimi]. <P[atri]. Jesuitae. >S[ocietatis] J[esu] Collegiae Ung[hvariense] <D[ominus]. P[ertinem] Gabriel Tabodi> inter reliquos amposituras.			

Proventus Ludi Magistri

Domum habet cum Parocho, Simul habet a qualibet Domo Tertialitatem, in Simul metretas 8 á denariis 17 faciunt florenos 2 denarios 16

A Baptismo est offerto Tertialitatem

A Matrimonio denarii 6	Annue Stolæ circiter	florenos 1 denarios 46
a Sepultura majori		denarii <18>12
a minori sep[ultura]		denarii 6
Totus itaq[ue] insimul Cantoralis Proventus		florenos 4 denarios 27
Egerut stimulum Parochus ei Culture pro Sui Stolam Tert[ialita]tem Agris et Pratis. [pag3r]		

Parochia Possessionis Gesiny²⁵

Filiales habet 5q Videlicet : Csecseha²⁶, Verboc²⁷, Nagy Zalacska²⁸, Kiss Zalacska²⁹, Lucska³⁰, In distantia unius quadrantis. Ecclesiae Structura lingnea, bene tecta scandulis, et aparamentis ut Sunt: Calix argentus cum patenula inauratus, alii duo Stannei, cum patenulis. Casulæ novæ pulchræ, stolæ, manipuli, Cinguli, his honeste provis.

Ecclesiae proventus nullus praed piam legationem fidelium.

Domus habet in Parochiali loco nulla | : Sed conchus fuit ære proptio alibi procurare, in qua nunc usidet actualis Parochus[:|], Hortus pro rebus culinaribus Com[m]

²⁵ Hažín [SK, okres Michalovce] 1773 Gészeny, 1786 Geszény, 1808 Gezsény, Hažín, Hassín, 1863–1873, 1888–1913 Gézsény, 1877–1920 Gezsény.

²⁶ Čečehov [SK, okres Michalovce] 1773 Csecseho, 1786 Cschecho, 1808 Csecsahó, Csecsó, Čečahow, Čečow, 1863 Csecsahó, 1873–1902 Csecsehó, 1907–1920 Zuhogó.

²⁷ Michalovce část Vrbovec [SK, okres Michalovce] od 1960 zlúčené, 1773 Verbocz, 1786 Werboocz, 1808 Verbócz, Wrbowce, Wrbowec, 1863–1902 Verbóc, 1907–1913 Kisverbóc, 1920 Vrbovce, Verbocce, 1927–1960 Vrbovec.

²⁸ Zalužice [SK, okres Michalovce] od 1973 zlúčené, 1773 Nagy-Zalacska, 1786 Nagy-Zalacschka, 1808 Nagy-Zalacska, Welké Zalužice, 1863–1913 Nagyzalacska, 1920 Veľké Zálužice, 1927–1972 Veľké Zalužice.

²⁹ Zalužice [SK, okres Michalovce] od 1973 zlúčené, 1773 Kis-Zalacska, 1786 Kisch-Zalacschka, 1808 Kis-Zalacska, Male Zalužice, 1863–1902 Kiszalacska, 1907–1913 Zalacska, 1920 Malé Zálužice, Zalužice, 1927–1972 Malé Zalužice.

³⁰ Lúčky [SK, okres Michalovce] 1773, 1863–1902 Lucska, 1786 Lucschka, 1808 Lúcska, Lúčka, Lúčky, Laučky, 1907–1920 Vámoslucska.

odum. Pratam nullam, Agros ad unam Calcaruam quiq quod qualibet a duaquilio metretis Computando, faciunt quinq[ue], excepto labore proprio et Semine potest qvasi in duplo, æstimando qualibet á *denariis* 15. [---] septemdecim Cujus Summa facit *florenos 5. denarios 40*

Ad alteram vero Calcaturam nihil, praed industrialis proprias. In Matre habet hospites 8 quod quilibet solvit metretas 1 insimul faciunt 8. In filiali Csecsehov hospites 4 quod quilibet praestat parochi metretas una in mixturae facit 4. In Verboc hospites 7. quilibet eod[em] praestat Parochi metretam unam. Quod simul sumptum facit 7. Nagy Zalacska habet hospites <10 7> 10 singulos eod[em] metretam unam. Simul facit metretas totid[em]. Kis Kalacska hospites 10 qui toti[dem] metretas pendunt. Luscka hospites 3 pendunt metretas 3 Quad qualibet metreta æstimando a *denarii* 17 faciunt metretas 4 2. [---] Summa summar[um] facit *florenos 12 denarios 54*
<Præter hos, exceptis industrialibus, nullos alios idealiter percipit proventus>

Stolam percipit sequentem.

A Baptismo cum Introductione *denarii* 12 *florenos 4*
in matre | : quoniam plus 3; aliis
dotvant: | In filialibus ut supra
a *denariis* per 15[:|] *annue*

A Matrimonio cum Benedictione *denarii* 51 *circiter florenos 6 denarios 49*
Neo Nuptae

A Sepultura majori *denarii* 51 *florenos 4 denarios 15*
á Sepultura minori *denarii* 24 *florenos 4 denarios 22*

Totus itaq[ue] Stolæ Proventus cum praemissis accidentibus facit Summa Summa[rum] totius anni facit *florenos 38 denarios 6*

Allios ut Supra attactum á proventus nullos Idæaliter percipit apportos.

Jus Patronatus præterdit Ill[ustrissim]us D[ominus]. Supremus Comes Emericus Staray.

Egeret ad hui pro Sui Sustentatione, agris, pratis et Sylvis.

Proventus Ludi Magistri.

Domum nullum habet, cogitaq[ue] inquilinum opere apud parochum loci. Habet a D[omi]no Parochi ex propria Sua Stolla metretas annualim 13. et ex omni ofertorio 3am partem.

A Baptismo, matrimonio nihil.

A Sepultura majori *denariis. 12*

a minori vero una cum parti campanor[um] *denariis 6.*

Totius anni Stolla <exuptia> impostat Cantori eor[um] *flor[enos] 2.*

In pocato frumenti mixti: percepit metretas apretiando quam Solata á *denariis* 17 facit *florenos 3 denarios 5.*

Summa summaris totius facit *florenos 5 denarios 41.*

Alios ut Sepra Indælo qustor proventus nullos. Egeret itaq[ue] per Jus Patronate Sui <domo> quis parochi. [pag4a]

Parochia Possessionis Porosztó³¹

<Hanc administrat.> Filiales habet nullos. Ecclesiae Structura Ligna minus Tecta. Apparamentus Sunt Calix cum patenula Staneus, Casulae, Stolae manupuli, Albæ, Cinguli his notabiliter egeret novis <quomiun>

Ecclesiae Proventus

Haec Ecclesia habet flo[renos]. Ung[aros] 50 pro reserva. Praeterea nihil <proterca Pratum Cuxumm sex mediocrium>

Parochi Proventus.

Domum habet Parochialem ligneum Satis com[m]odam in loco indiferenti et Com[m]uni. Hortum pro rebus Culinariis absq[ue] arboribus Satis com[m]odum. Pratum habet unum ad unam Calcaturam Cur[r]um duorum mediorum pratis loci æstimando *denarii 17* excepto labore insimulantem faciunt *denaros 34*

Agros proprios nullos ex industria veró propria, habet ad unam Calcaturam 3 metretarum 3um. <a 6 *denarii*> ad aliam Calcaturam duos metretarum 4tor. excepto Semine potest <ha> Sperare in duplo et ex opis pretio loci æstisimando *denarii 17* quæ Seminatura metritas facit 14 pro utraq[ue] Anno Suma intotu facit

florenos 4 denarios <18 59> 52

Habet Hospites 8 quorum quilibet Solvit per unum metretam qui faciunt Simul 8to á *denariis 17* faciunt flo[renos] <2 *denarios 16*> *florenos 2 denarios 16*

lignationem habet liberam cum Com[m]unitate [e]t Araturaturam, messem. Comer-tionem frugum ipsemet procurat. Præter hos alios nullos Idæaliter appositos percipit proventus.

Stolam percipit sequentem.

A Baptismo cum Introductione *denarii 18*

a Matrimonio cum *denarii 51*

Benedictione Neo Nuptae

annue florenos 2. denarios 2
circiter

á Sepultura majori *denarii* <12 24 51> 51

á Sepultura minori *denarii 24*

Totus <itaq[ue]> suma an[n]ulias facit flor[enos]. insimul *florenos 8 denarios 58*.

Jus Patronatus quoniam Sunt Domini plurimi conpossesores aut Sunt : D[ominum].

Comes Staray. D[ominum]. P[erillustrem]. N. Fekette. D[ominum]. L. Ibranyi. et

D[omi]nus Pent. Pribek. Egerat adhuc pro Sui his sustentatione Agris et pratis.

Proventus Ludi Magistri.

Domum habet nullam á qualibet domo medium ^{nutex} in mixturæ quadquarum 4to insimul facit Metretas 4tor. æstisimando petravat *denarios 8*

<á Baptis> Ex omni offertorio prætera Tertialitatem. a sep[upltura]. Majori

denarii 12

a [sepultura] minori

denarii 6

a matrononio

denarii 6

Summa facit Totius Stola Annualis egeret Domo Agris pratis. [pag4r]

³¹ Porostov [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773, 1786 Porosztó, 1808 Porosztó, Porostow, 1863–1913, 1939–1945 Porosztó, 1920 Porostovo, Porostov, 1927–1939, 1945– Porostov.

Parochia Possessionis Uj Ribnicze³².

Filiauls habet unas, utraq[ue] in distantia<rum> mediæ Horæ Ecclesiae Structura lignea nova scandulis bene tecta. Calix cum patenula Staneus apparamenta ut Sunt. Casulæ, Stolæ manipuli, Albæ, Cinguli, his mediariter provisa.

Probatio Ecclesæ Proventus

Ecclesiae proventus Certus nullus.

<Parochi P> Parochi Proventus

Domum habet antiquam Lignæm proximæ ruinæ quid Comunitas reparare et ut de novo aedificare tecto. Hortum pro rebus Culinariis habet exiguum Sui anbonibi Sui [---]. Pratum habet unum Cu[r]rum mediorium á *denariis* 17 qui excepto labore faciunt *denarios* insimul *denarios* 34

Agros habet 4tor pro utraq[ue] Calcatura Sæpibj circum datur metretarum in simul computando 4tor defalcato Semine [proc]reantum potest Sperat in duplo Simul æstimando faciut 8to á *denariis* 17

Summa facit Totus in Simul <flor[enos] duas> *florenos* 2. *denarios* 6.

Hospites habet in Matre 7 In Filiali vero Szobrancz³³ exceptis Inquilinis habet 4. In Filiali alia Baskocz³⁴ dicta 6 á qualibet Hospite Metretam una percipit <quarum facit Suma> á *denariis* 17 quod Suma facit Simul conpatendo *florenos* 2 *denarios* 98

Alius ut Superius attactum <[---]at> Proventus nullos percipit Idæaliter Ex propria Industria extirpavit in Sylus Pratum unum. Cu[r]rum 4tor ordinando excepto fatigio proprio aestimando á *denariis* 17 faciunt in simul <6> *florenos* 6 *denarios* 68 Agros ex decima in alio Teritorio <ubi> procurare putovit Si vult.

Stolam percipit sequentem.

A Baptismo cum Introductione *denarii* 24

A Matrimonio[cum Benedictione *denarii* 51 *florenos* 2. *denarios* 6

Neo Nuptae]<5> *annue*

A Sepultura majori *denarii* 51 *circiter*

á [Sepultura] minori *denarii* 24

Totus itaq[ue] anni proventus simul cum stola Computando facit

florenos 8. *denarios* 26

Jus Patronatus pertinet D[om]inum Il[lustrissimum] Draveccky.

Egeret pratis Agris

Proventus Ludi-Magistri

Domum habet nullam Tantum Inquilinum agit. <A qualibet tertia Domo>Parochus Solus ex Suo proventu quorum Solus cogitq[ue] Sibi procurare Cantorem. Solus Solvit Tertia <ta> á Baptismo Matrimeo percepit nihil <pro> præter Sepulturam majorem

³² Nižná Rybnica [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773, 1786 Uj-Ribnicze, 1808 Új-Ribnicze, Nowé Rybnice, 1863–1902 Alsóribnyice, 1907–1913 Alsóhalas, 1920 Nižná Rybnica, Nižné Rybnice, 1927–1939 Nižná Rybnica, 1939–1945 Alsóribnice, 1945– Nižná Rybnica.

³³ Sobrance [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773 Szobrancz, 1786 Sobranz, 1808 Szobráncz, Sobraněc, 1863–1913, 1939–1945 Szobránc, 1920–1939, 1945– Sobrance

³⁴ Baškovce [SK, Sobrance] 1773 Baskóc, 1786 Baschkóc, Basskowce, 1808 Baskóc, Basskowce, 1863–1902 Baskóc, 1907–1913, 1939–1945 Alsóbaskóc, 1920–1939, 1945– Baškovce., Ide pravdepodobne o chybu, nakoľko táto dedina bola súčasťou inej farnosti. Pravdepodobne šlo o dedinu Komárovice, ktorá je dnes súčasťou mesta Sobrance.

et minorem una cum pulsu 6 et 8to insimul æstimando pro toto Anno nec minus
denarios 17
 Egeret ad hic uterq[ue] Domo Pratis et Agris.[pag5a]

Parochia Possessionis Remete³⁵

Filialem habet nullam. Ecclesiae Structura lignea antiqua. Ap[p]aratione indigeret
 aparamentis ut Sunt Albæ, Stolæ, manipuli, Casulæ, Calix Staneus cum patenula his
 <[---]> minus provisa.

Ecclesiae Proventus:

Ecclesiae Proventus nullus.

Parochi Proventus

Domum habet absq[ue] Fundo inter Salices. Hortum nullum. Agris nullos. Prata
 nulla. Habet á qualibet Domou na metretum quad Sunt 4tor. á *denarii 17. ex quibus*
limitendo evenit. florenos 1 denarios 8
 <A Baptismo Ligne> Sylam habet liberam. Praeter hoc| ex agri| Industrialibus nullos
 alios Idæliter
 percipit Proventus.

Stolam percipit sequentem.

A Baptismo cum Introductione	<i>denarii 18</i>		<i>denarios 18</i>
á Matrimonio cum Benedictione N[eo] Nuptae	<i>denarii 51</i>	<i>annue</i>	<i>denarios 51</i>
á Sepultura majori	<i>denarii 51</i>	<i>circiter</i>	<i>denarios 102</i>
á minori Sepultura	<i>denarii 18</i>		<i>denarios 36</i>
Totus itaq[ue] Stolæ Proventus cum præmissis accidentibus annum facit			
		<i>florenos 3. denarios 30</i>	

Cantor autem quoniam sit Filias penitus nullam habet Solutionem.
 Egerent, Agris, Pratis et Fundo. [pag5r]

Parochia Possessionis <ór>Német Poruba³⁶

Filialem habet nullam. Ecclesiae Structura com[m]odam Scandulis tecta. Ap[p]a
 aramentis ut Sunt Albæ, Stolæ, Casulæ manipuli, Calix cum patenula Staneus. his
 medioriter provisa.

Ecclesiae Proventus

Haec Ecclesia Proventus habet nulus.

Parochi Proventus.

Domum habet novam quolibet ædificio comparatam per Se quoniam Ecclesiae fun-
 dum nullum habet. Agros nullos. Prata duo Simul Cur[r]us 7 mediorum á *denarii 20.*
 Simul limitando faciut. excepto pro prio labores *florenos 1 denarios 20*

³⁵ Vyšné Remety [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773 Felső-Remete, 1786 Felschő-Remete, 1808 Felső-Reme-
 te, Wyssní Remjaty, 1863–1902 Felsőremete, 1907–1913, 1939–1945 Jeszenőremete, 1920–1939,
 1945– Vyšné Remety.

³⁶ Poruba pod Vihorlatom [SK, okres Michalovce] 1773 Németh-Poruba, 1786 Német-Poruba, 1808
 Német-Poruba, Německá Poruba, 1863–1902 Németsporuba, 1907–1913 Németsvágás, 1920–1948
 Nemecká Poruba, 1948– Poruba pod Vihorlatom.

Habet á qualibet Domo quis Sunt 9: per metretam frumenti in <Silingum> á *denarii*
 17 Simul computendo faciunt *florenos 2 denarios 33*
 <Lignati> Sylvam habet Liberam cum comunitate. Prater his exceptis Industrialibus
 nullos alios Idæliter nullos percipit proventus.

Stolam percipit sequentem.

á Baptismo cum Introductione *denarii 15 denarios 30*
 á Matrimonio cum Benedi[ctione] N[eo] Nuptae *denarii 51 annue denarios 51*
 á Sepultura majori *denarii 51 circiter denarios 102*
 á Sepultura minori *denarii 24 denarios 48*
 Totus Ita[ue] Stolæ Proventus cum præmissis accidentibus facit
florenos 7 denarios 44

Jus Patronatus protendis Ill[ustrissi]mus Comes Emericus Starai.
 Indigeret Fundo, Agris, Pratis et.

Proventus Ludi-Magistri

Proventis Ludi Magistri nullus quoniam ipsius filius sit Sequentem hic. [pag6a]

Parochia Possessionis Honykocz³⁷

Filiáles habet 4tor Tibava³⁸, Vonyatina³⁹, Konyus⁴⁰, Prikopa⁴¹. <Quod> Quam una
 nempe Prikopa distat unius Horæ Aliæ Tres mediæ. Ecclesiæ Structura lignea Scan-
 dulis bene tecta, Ap[p]aramentis ut Sunt Alba, Stola, manipuli, Casulæ, Calix cum
 Patena Staneus his mediocriter provisus.

Ecclesia Proventus

Hoc Ecclesia proventus habet nullos.

Parochi Proventus

Domum habet ligneam Parochialem in Matre. Hortum exiguum pro culinarijs pra-
 tum nullum. Agros nullos. Habet á qualibet Domo ut Sunt in Matre N[ume]ro 20. á
denariis 17 qui limitando faci : *florenos 5 denarios 40*

In una Filiali quinq[ue] Hospites Metreta totidem á *denariis 17 qui limitando*
faciunt florenos 1 denarios 28

In secunda veró Filiali Hospites 3 metretas totidem á *denariis 17 qui limitando*
faciunt denarios 51

In 3tia véro <Paro> Filiali 15 metretas totitem limitando faciunt
florenos 4 denarios 15

In 4ta 12 metretas totidem limitando faciunt *florenos 3 denarios 24*
 Suma fiucit *flo[renos] 51*

³⁷ Choňkovce [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773, 1786 Hunkócz, 1808 Hunkócz, Chonikowce, 1863–1902 Hunkóc, 1907–1913, 1939–1945 Alsóhunkóc, 1920–1939, 1945 Choňkovce.

³⁸ Tibava [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773, 1786, 1863–1913, 1939–1945 Tiba, 1808 Tiba, Tybawa, Cybawa, 1920 Cibava, 1927–1939, 1945– Tibava.

³⁹ Vojnatina [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773, 1863–1902, 1939–1945 Vajnatina, 1786 Vajnatina, 1808 Vajnatina, Woňatina, Woňacyna, 1907–1913 Vajna, 1920–1939, 1945– Vojnatina.

⁴⁰ Koňuš [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773, 1863–1882, 1898–1902, 1939–1945 Konyus, 1786 Konyusch, 1808 Konyus, Koňussice, 1888–1895 Kónyus, 1907–1913 Unglovasd, 1920–1939, 1945– Koňuš

⁴¹ Priekopa [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773, 1786, 1863–1873 Prekopa, 1808 Prékopa, Priékopa, Překopa, 1877–1902, 1939–1945 Prikopa, 1907–1913 Kapás, 1920–1939, 1945– Priekopa.

Ex 4tor Filialibus Tertialitas venit Cantori Parocho obveniunt <10>

florenos 10 denarios 22

Sylvam habet liberam. Mater hos excerptis Industrialibus nullos <h>alios Ideæliter appositos Percipit Proventis.

Stolam percipit sequentem.

A Baptismo cum Introductione	denarii 18		<i>florenos 8 denarios 2</i>
A Matrimonio cum B[enedictione]	denarii 51		<i>florenos 5 denarios 6</i>
N[eo] Nuptae		annue	
A Sepultura majori	denarii 51	circiter	<i>florenos 6 denarios 41</i>
á Sepultura minori	denarii 18		<i>florenos 3</i>

Stolam Percipit Sequentem

Totus Itaq[ue] Stolæ Proventus sum an[n]ulati Qulotione facit

florenos 32 denarios 11

Jus Patronatus pertinet ad D[omi]num Ill[ustrissi]mum Comitem Emericem Staräy Sed quodie id Sunt plures Compos sesores. Egeret pro Sui sustematione pars agris.

Proventus Ludi Magistri.

Domum habet simul cum Parocho. Habet á Domibus simul Sumptis

florenos 5 denarios 11

Præterea ex Stola proventibus annuatim percipit circiter

florenos 4 denarios 36

Indigeret Domo Pratis Agris. Suma Sumarum facit

florenos 9 denarios 47.

[pag6r]

Parochia Possessionis Hliviste⁴²

Filialem habet unam Baskocz⁴³ dictam duorum quadrantum distantem á Matre. Ecclesiæ Structura lignea Scandulis tecta antiqua. Ap[p]aramentis ut Sunt Albæ Sto-læ manipuli Casulæ Calix cum Patenula Staneus his minus provisa.

Ecclesiæ Proventus

Hac Ecclesia Proventus habet nullos.

Parochi Proventus

Habet Domum Parochialem in Matre in Fundo Parochiali. Hortum pro rebus culi-narris in Seminandis plane exiguum. Agros habet pro <utroq[ue]> una Calcatura Metretarum 7 ad alium 8 excepto proprio labore Sperare potest induplo æstimando á denariis 17 ex quis limitando venisunt Simul *florenos 4 denarios 15*
Pratum habet unum unius dumtaxat á denariis *denarios 17*
Sylvam habet liberam. In Matre percipit ut Sunt Hospites 10, totidem Metretas

florenos 3. denarios 7

á Filiali non nisi sex Cu[r]rus fæni proprio ^{ex pepto} labore <Comprenda : ad veniunt.> æstimando á 17 denariis ad veniunt. *florenos 1 denarios 32*

Mater hos exceptis Industrialibus nullos alios Idæaliter percipit ap[p]osias proven-tus.

⁴² Hlivištia [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773 Hliviscse, 1786 Hliwischce, 1808 Hlivistye, Chliwisstě, 1863–1902, 1939–1945 Hliviscse, 1907–1913 Hegygyombás, 1920 Hlivište, 1927–1939, 1945– Hlivištia.

⁴³ Baškovce [SK, Sobrance] 1773 Baskócz, 1786 Baschkócz, Basskowce, 1808 Baskócz, Basskowce, 1863–1902 Baskóc, 1907–1913, 1939–1945 Alsóbaskóc, 1920–1939, 1945– Baškovce.

Stolam percipit sequentem.

A Baptismo cum Introductione	denarii 18	florenos 1 denarios 30
á Matrimonio cum B[enedictione]	denarii 51	denarios 51
N[eo] Nuptae		annue
á Sepultura majori	denarii 51	circiter florenos 1 denarios 42
á Sepultura minori	denarii 18	denarios 51
Totus Itaq[ue] Stolæ Proventus cum Præmissis accidentitibus fa facit.		
		florenos 12 denarios 29

Jus Patronatus Prætendis Ill[ustrissi]mus Com[it]es Emericus Staräy.

Egeret pro Sui sustentatione Agris Pratis etc.

Proventus Ludi-Magistri.

Cantor eum Sit Inquilinus Parochi nix aliquid percipit nisi Aliquid ex Gratia Parochi.
Egeret Domo Fundo Agris Pratis etc. [pag7a]

Parochia Possessionis Jeszenov⁴⁴

Habet filialem unam Ruszko⁴⁵ dictam distat á Matre media Hora I. Ecclesiæ Structura lignea antiqua Scandulis tecta ap[p]aramentis ut Sunt Albæ Stolæ Casulæ manipulo Calix cum Patenula Staneus his minus provisus.

Hac Ecclesia Proventus habet nullos.

Parochi Proventus

Domum habet Ligneam. In Matre absq[ue] Fundo. Hortum prorsus nullum. Agris nullos pratem nullum. Habet á qualibet Domo quod Sunt Simul cum Filiali 9 Metretas Totidem á denariis 17 Sitam Simul limitando veniut florenos 3 denarios 53
Sylvam Habet libera. Præter hos exceptus Industria[li]bus nullos alios Idæaliter ap[p]ositos percipit proventus.

Stolam percipit sequentem.

á Baptismo cum <denarii 18> ^{Introductione}	denarii 18	denarios 18
á Matrimonio cum B[enedictione]	denarii 51	denarios 51
N[eo] Nuptae		annue
á Sepultura majori	denarii 51	circiter denarios 51
á Sepultura minori	denarii 24	denarios 24
Totus Itaq[ue] Stola proventus cum præmissis accid[ent]ibus facit		
		florenos 5 denarios 17

Jus Patronatus Pratendit D[ominus] P[er]illustrus Adamus Szemere.

Proventus Ludi Magistri

Ludi nullos penitus habet Proventy nisi ex Gratie aliquod Parochi. [pag7r]

⁴⁴ Jasenov [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773 Jeszenő, 1786 Jeszeni, 1808 Jeszenő, Jesenow, 1863–1913, 1939–1945 Jeszenő, 1920 Jasenov, 1927–1939, 1945–1948 Jesenov, 1948–Jasenov.

⁴⁵ Ruskovce [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773 Ruszkocz, 1786 Ruskócz, 1808 Ruskócz, Russkowce, 1863–1902 Ruszkóc, 1907–1913 Törökruszká, 1920 Ruskovce, Ruškovce, 1927–1939 Ruskovce, 1939–1945 Törökruszkóc, 1945–Ruskovce.

Parochia Possessionis Felső Ribnicé⁴⁶

Filialem habet nullam. Ecclesiae Structura lignea Scandulis mediocriter tecta. Ap[p]aramentis ut Sunt Albæ Stolæ Calulæ manipuli Calix cum Patenula Staneus. His mediocriter provisa.

Ecclesiae [Proventcus]

Hæc Ecclesiae Proventus habet nullos.

Parochi Proventus

Domum habet parochialem ad rivulum Sine fundo in loco indeterminato. Hortum habet nullum. Pratum nullum. Agros nullos. Habet á qualibet Domo quod Sunt 4tor decim totidem metretas Simul á *denariis* 17 Computendo faciunt

florenos 3 *denarios* 38

Sylvam habet liberam cum Com[m]unitate. Præter hos exceptis Industrialibus nullos alios Idæaliter ap[p]ositos percipit Proventus.

Stolam percipit sequentem.

A Baptismo cum Introductione	<i>denarii</i> 18		<i>denarios</i> 36
á Matrimonio cum Ben[edictione]	<i>denarii</i> 51	<i>annue</i>	<i>florenos</i> 1 <i>denarios</i> 42
N[eo] Nuptæ		<i>circiter</i>	
A Sepultura majori	<i>denarii</i> 51		<i>florenos</i> 1 <i>denarios</i> 42
á Sepultura minori	<i>denarii</i> 24		<i>denarios</i> 48
Totus Itaq[ue] Stola Proventibus cum præmissis accidentibus facit unius Anni			<i>florenos</i> 9 <i>denarios</i> 6

Jus Patronatus Prætendit S. D[omi]nus Draveccky. Egerit pro Sui Sustentatione Agris Pratis Fundo etc.

Proventus Ludi Magistri

Ludi Magister ex Gratia insemittit quoniam his Subdiuonix aliquid percipit. [pag8a]

Parochia possessionis Podhragya.⁴⁷

Filialem habet unam Bisztra⁴⁸ dictam á Matre una hora distantem. Ecclesiae Structura lignea Scandulis bene tecta. Ap[p]aramentis ut Sunt Albæ Stolæ manipuli Casulæ Calix cum patenula Staneus His mediocriter provisa.

[Ecclesiae Proventus]

Ecclesia hac nullos habet nullos.

Parochi Proventus

Domum habet ligneam Antiquam proxima ruinæ in Fundo emptito. Hortum habet exiguum pariter in Agros nullos, Pratum nullum. Sylvam habet liberam. Habet á

⁴⁶ Vyšná Rybnica [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773 Felső-Ribnicze, 1786 Felső-Ribnicze, 1808 Felső-Ribnicze, Horní Rybnice, 1863–1902 Felsőribnyice, 1907–1913 Felsőhalas, 1920 Vyšná Rybnica, Vyšné Rybnice, 1927–1939 Vyšná Rybnica, 1939–1945 Felsőribnice, 1945– Vyšná Rybnica.

⁴⁷ Podhorod' [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773 Várallya, 1786 Wárallya, Podhrazza, 1808 Várallya, Podhradce, Podhorodje, 1863 Várallja, 1873–1902 Várallja, 1907–1913, 1939–1945 Tibavárallja, 1920 Podhradie, Podhorodie, 1927–1939, 1945– Podhorod'.

⁴⁸ Ruská Bystrá [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773 Orosz-Bisztra, Oros-Bistra, 1786 Orosz-Bisztra, 1808 Orosz-Bisztra, Russké Bystré, 1863, 1888–1902, 1939–1945 Oroszbisztra, 1873–1882 Oroszbisztra, Alsóbisztra, 1907–1913 Oroszsebes, 1920 Ruské Bystré, 1927–1939, 1945– Ruská Bystrá, Zemplínska stolica.

qualibet Domo ut Sunt in Matre 16duas Metretas Avenæ Simul faciunt <3> 32 á denariis 12 æstimando Simul faciunt *florenos 8 denarios 4*
 In Filiali habet Hospites <sex totidem M> Sex á quibus 12 duodecimi metretæ veniunt Simul faciunt *florenos 2 denarios 24*
 Præter hos exceptis Industrialibus nullus alios Idæaliter ap[p]ositos percipit proventus.

Stolam percipit sequentem.

A Baptismo cum Introductione	denarii <22>10		<i>florenos 1</i>
A Matrimonio cum Ben[edictione]	denarii <51>10		<i>denarios 20</i>
N[eo] Nuptae		<i>annue</i>	
á Sepultura majori	denarii <51>17	<i>circiter</i>	<i>denarios 34</i>
á Sepultura minori	denarii 15<24>		<i>denarios 45</i>
Totus Itaq[ue] Stolæ Proventus cum præmissis accidentibus facit			
			<i>florenos 3 denarios 41</i>

Jus Patronatus prætendit S. D[omi]nus Ladislaus Draveccky. Egeret agris Pratis etc.

Proventus Ludi Magistri

Nullus fiucis Stolam quid dat <Pres> Presbiter ex sua benevolentia. Domumculam habet in Angulo uno in ter[ris] Salius. Egeret Agris Pratis Hortum Fundis etc. [pag8r]

Parochia Possessionis Benyatina⁴⁹

Filialem habet nullam. Ecclesiae Structura Ligna nova Scandulis bene tecta. Ap[p]aramentis ut Sunt Albæ Stolæ, Casulæ manipuli Calix cum Patenula Staneus his ut cunq[ue] provisa.

Ecclesiae Proventus

Haec Ecclesia Proventus habet nullos.

Parochi Proventus

Domum Parochialum nulla habet sed proprio ære sibi comparavit in Fundo libero. <Agro>Hortum nullum. Agros nullos. Pratum nullum. Habet a qualibet Domo quod sunt 15 per metretas duas Avenæ <á denarii> Simul facit 30 æstimando loci pretio á denariis 12 limitando faciunt *florenos 6*

Sylvam habet liberam cum Com[m]unitate. Præter his exceptis Industrialibus alios nullos Idæaliter percipit proventus.

Stolam percipit sequentem.

A Baptismo cum Introductione	denarii 12		<i>denarios 24</i>
A Matrimonio cum B[enedictione]	denarii 9		<i>denarios 9</i>
N[eo] Nuptae		<i>annue</i>	
A Sepultura majori	denarii 17	<i>circiter</i>	<i>denarios 17</i>
á Sepultura minori	denarii 12		<i>denarios 12</i>
Totus Itaq[ue] Stolæ proventus cum præmissis accidentibus facit			
			<i>florenos 7 denarios 2</i>

⁴⁹ Beňatina [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773, 1863–1902 Benetine, 1786 Benethnie [I], 1808 Benetine, Beňatiná, 1907–1913 Vadszsfalva, 1920–1939 Beňatina, 1939–1945 Benatina, 1945– Beňatina.

Jus Patronatus <Pærtend D[ominum]. Per[illustrem]. L. Szemere.> ad sunt pluras perfomerae. Indigeret Agris, Pratis, Fundo.

Ludi Magister est ipsuis Filius adeoq[ue] in his determinenti habet. [pag9a]

Parochia Possessionis Korumlya⁵⁰

Filales habet duas á Mátra 3um quadratum distantes. Ecclesiæ Structura lignea bona nova Scandulis bene tecta. Ap[p]aramentis ut Sunt Alba Stola Casulæ cinguli manipuli Calix cum patenula Staneus. his mediocriter minus provisa.

Ecclesiæ Proventus

Hæc Ecclesia proventus habet nullos.

Parochi Proventus

Habet Domus antiqua ligneam proximam liniæ in non coloniali Sed Tantum in certo Spatio ad fluvium. Hortum nullum, Agros nullos, Pratum nullum. Habet á qualibet Domo quod Sunt 20 á quolibet Hospite unum metretam excepta Cantoris Tertialitate, á *denariis* 17 faciunt *florenos 3 denarios 44*

In Filiali imam Kolubabocz⁵¹ dicta quilibet quis á *denariis* 17 limitando faciunt *florenos 1 denarios 25*

In 2da veró Filiali Porubka⁵² dicta Hospites 4tor <Fundum metretas á *denariis*> metretas <t> tres excepta cantoris Simul facit *denarios 34*

Sylvam habet liberam cum Com[m]unitate. Præter hos exceptis Industrialibus nullos alios Idæaliter

ap[p]ositos percipit proventus.

Stolam percipit sequentem <stola>

a Baptismo cum Introductione	<i>denarii</i> 18	<i>florenos 3 denarios 36</i>
á Matrimonio cum B[enedictione]	<i>denarii</i> 51	<i>florenos 3 denarios 24</i>
N[eo] Nuptae		<i>annue circiter</i>
á Sepultura majori	<i>denarii</i> 51	<i>florenos 3 denarios 24</i>
á Sepultura minori	<i>denarii</i> 12	<i>denarios 48</i>
Totus Itaq[ue] Stolæ Proventus cum Præmissis accidentibus facit <i>florenos 17 denarios 52</i>		

Compossessores hujus loci Sunt nulli egeret Fundo, Agris Pratis etc.

Proventus Ludi Magistri

Domum habet nullam proprium sed in Arendæ Solvit. Habet Simul ab omnibus 10. metretas á *denariis* 17 Simul limitando facit *florenos 2 denarios 30*

⁵⁰ Koromľa [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773, 1786, 1863, 1877–1902 Korumlya, 1808 Korumlya, Koromla, Korumla, 1873 Korumja, 1907–1913 Koromlak, 1920–1939 Koromľa, 1939–1945 Koromlya, 1945–Koromľa.

⁵¹ Kolibabovce [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773 Kolibabocz, 1786 Kolibabócz, 1808 Kolibabócz, Kolibabce, 1863 Kolibáboc, 1873–1882 Kolibabóc, 1888 Krlibabóc [!], 1892–1902, 1939–1945 Kolibábóc, 1907–1913 Bölcsős, 1920 Kolibabovce, Kolibabce, 1927–1939, 1945–Kolibabovce.

⁵² Porúbka [SK, okres Sobrance] 1773 Ördög-Poruba, 1786 Oerdög-Poruba, 1808 Ördög-Porubka, Porubka, 1863–1902, 1939–1945 Ördögporuba, 1907–1913 Ördögvágás, 1920–1939, 1945–Porúbka.

á Baptismo annuatem	<i>annue circiter</i>	<i>denarios 12</i>
A Sepultura [majori]		<i>denarios 36</i>
á Matrimonio		<i>denarios 18</i>
á Sepultura minori		<i>denarii 18</i>
Simul facit	<i>florenos 3. denarios 54 [pagor]</i>	

Parochia Possessionis Perecsin⁵³

Metr[---]Filialem nullam. Ecclesia lignea in Statu[s] misero. Ap[p]aramentis pariter misere provisa.

[Ecclesiæ Proventus]

Ecclesiæ Proventus nullos habet.

Parochi Proventus

Domum habet miseram per Prædecessores Suos in fundo Sui proprio aere comparato <ad ædificatam.> Hortum habet Sufficientem. Prata habet ad Cu[r]rus 3 quem libet æstimando á denariis 51 *florenos 2 denarios 33*

Agros habet ad utramq[ue] Calcaturam metretarum 16. Avenæ quamlibet æstimando á denariis 9. facit in parata *florenos 2 denarios 24*

Lignationem habet liberam cum Com[m]unitate, quam uti et Araturam falcaturam messem Collecturam et Convecturam frugum ipse procurat. Hospites <18> 17 á Singulo Hospite percipit unam Metretam Siliginis in Simul 17 quamlibet æstimando á denarii 17 simul facit *florenos 4 denarios 41*

Præter hos exceptis Industrialibus alios Idæliter ap[p]ositos percipit. Proventus nullos.

Quae Omnia præmissa loci pretio æstimata faciunt *florenos 9 denarios 38*

Stolam percipit sequentem

A Baptismo cum Introductione	<i>denarii 18</i>		<i>denarios 36</i>
A Matrimonio cum	<i>denarii +51</i>		<i>florenos 1 denarios 42</i>
<Int>Bene[dictione] N[eo] N[uptae]		<i>annue circiter</i>	
A Sepultura majori	<i>denarii 51</i>		<i>florenos 1 denarios 42</i>
A Sepultura minori	<i>denarii 24</i>		<i>denarios 48</i>

Totus Itaq[ue] Stolæ Proventus cum præmissis accidentibus facit *florenos 14 denarios 26*

Jus Patronatus pertinet ad Dminium Ungvariense.

Judigeret Agris Pratis Domo pro Sui con adiori Liberirentia.

Proventus Ludi Magistri

Cantor residet in Fundo Coloniali nullam prorus præstationem habet in Com[m]unitate unice a funere cum pulsa Campanarum *denarii <12> 6*

Indigeret Agris, pratis liberis. [pagioa]

⁵³ Перечин [UA, Перечинський район] 1782 Perecsený, 1819-1869 Perećen; Peretsény, 1869-1907 Perecseny, 1907-1920 Perecseny, 1920-1939 Perećin; Перечин, 1939-1944 Perecseny; Perecsin, 1945- Перечин.

Possessio Zaricsov⁵⁴

Ecclesia lignea in Statu mediocri. Apparamentis mediocriter Provisa.

[Ecclesiæ Proventus]

Ecclesiæ Proventum habet nullum.

Proventus Parochi

A Singula Domo quarum Sunt 30 percipit unam metretam <framenti> ^{Siliginis} in Simul
 30 quamlibet limitando á *denarii* 17 facit *florenos 8 denarios 20*
 Item percipit á Singula Domo duos panes in Simul 60 quamlibet limitando á *denarii*
 3 facit *florenos 3*

Stolam percipit sequentem

A Baptismo cum Introductione	<i>denarii</i> 12		<i>denarios</i> 36
A Matrimonio cum B[enedictione]	<i>denarii</i> 12		<i>denarios</i> 36
N[eo] N[uptae]		<i>annue</i>	
		<i>circiter</i>	
A Sepultura majori	<i>denarii</i> <1>51		<i>florenos 2 denarios 36</i>
A Sepultura minori	<i>denarii</i> 24		<i>florenos 1 denarios 12</i>
Totus Itáq[ue] Stolæ Proventus cum Præmissis accidentibus faciunt			<i>florenos 16</i>
			<i>denarios 20</i>

Cantor rediset in Fundo Coloniali nullom prorus præstatonem habeus á Com[m]unitate excepta im[m]unitate. Accipit tanem a x Stolaribus á funere Singulo *denarii* 9 á Baptismate *denarii* 3 á Matrimonio *denarii* 3 præterea nihil.

<Possessio Zavisinei⁵⁵>Possessio Kis Berezna⁵⁶Filialem habet unam Zaricsov⁵⁷ Supra dictam. Ecclesia lignea in Statu ruinato. Apparamentis intere provisa.

[Ecclesiæ Proventus]

Ecclesiæ proventus habet nullos.

Parochi Proventus

Domum habet Com[m]odam in Fundo emptitio per Prædecessores Suos ædificatam. Cujus etiam Sarta tecta Conservat. Habet Hortum pro Culinaribus rebus Sufficientem. Prata habet ad Cur[r]us 7 quamlibet limitando 3 á *denarii* 51 in simul faciunt *florenos 5 denarios 57*

⁵⁴ Запiчово [UA, Перечинський район] 1782 Zaricso; Diuskousz, 1819-1869 Zariczowa; Zaricso; Piatka, 1869-1907 Zaricso, 1907-1920 Drugetháza, 1920-1939 Zářičí; Запiча, 1939-1944 Drugetháza; Zaricsovo, 1945- apiчово.

⁵⁵ Завосина [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Zaussina, 1819-1869 D. Zaussina, 1869-1907 Zavosina, 1907-1920 Szénástelek, 1920-1939 Zavosina; Завосина, 1939-1944 Zavosina; Sénástelek, 1945- Завосина

⁵⁶ Малий Березний [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Kis Bereszna; Kis Berezna, 1819-1869 Mala Berezna; Kis Berezna, 1869-1907 Kis Berezna, 1907-1920 Kisberezna, 1920-1939 Malý Berezny; Малий Березный, 1939-1944 Kisberezna; Maloje Bereznoje, 1945- Малий Березний

⁵⁷ Запiчово [UA, Перечинський район] 1782 Zaricso; Diuskousz, 1819-1869 Zariczowa; Zaricso; Piatka, 1869-1907 Zaricso, 1907-1920 Drugetháza, 1920-1939 Zářičí; Запiча, 1939-1944 Drugetháza; Zaricsovo, 1945- apiчово., Predpokladáme chybné uvedenie.

Prætum habet Inpignorum Cur[r]us unius *denarios* 51
 [pagior] Te[r]ras Arabiles ad utramq[ue] Calcaturam Cubulorum 12 quarum Annue
 una insinuatatur Cubulis 6 *florenos* 9 *denarios* 38
 Lignationem habet Liberam cum Com[m]unitate quam uti et Araturam falcaturam
 Collecturam <messem> et Convecturam frugum ipse Parochus Procurat. A singula
 Domo quarum Sunt 10 percipit unam Metre tam Silignis in Simul 10 quamlibet limi-
 tando á *denarii* 17 simul fa[cit] *florenos* 2 *denarios* 50
 Item percipit unum panem in Simul 10 intoto facit *denarios* 30
 Idem unum messorum á Singula Domo Seu *denarii* 3 Simul fa[cit] *denarios* 30
 Præter hos exceptis Industrialibus alios Idæaliter ap[p]ositos percipit Proventus nul-
 los.

Stolam percipit sequentem

A Baptismo et Introductione	<i>denarii</i> 17	<i>denarios</i> 17
A Matrimonio cum	<i>denarii</i> 51	<i>denarios</i> 51
B[enedictione] N[eo] N[uptae]	<i>annue</i>	
A Sepultura majori	<i>denarii</i> 51	<i>denarios</i> 51
A Sepultura minori	<i>denarii</i> 24	<i>denarios</i> 24
Totus Itaq[ue] Stolæ Proventus cum præmissis accidentibus facit		
	<i>florenos</i> 13	<i>denarios</i> 36

Jus Patronatus pertinet ad Dominium Unghvariense.

Cantor Inquilium agit apud Presbyterum nullam provisam. Præstationem a Com[m]unitate unice á funere *denarii* 6. Egeret proinde Agris Pratis Fundo etc.

Possessio Dubrinics⁵⁸

Filialem habet Pasztyilka⁵⁹ dictam uni circiter quadrante á Matre distantem in qua
 datur Ecclesia Lapidea in Statu mediocri. Apparamentis misere provisam. In Matræ
 Ecclesia Ligna in Statu Com[m]odo. Apparamentis misera provisam.

[Ecclesiæ Proventus]

Ecclesia utramq[ue] Proventum habet nullum.

Proventus Parochi

Domum habet miserum per Se ædificatam in Fundo Parochiali quam etiam Conser-
 vat. Hortum habet pro Culina Com[m]odum. Prata habet ad Cur[r]us 3 quemlibet
 limitando á *denarii* 51. in Simul facit *florenos* 2 *denarios* 33
 Agros habet ad utramq[ue] Calcaturam 12 <ad utramq[ue]> ^{inseminatæ} Calcatu Cubulo-
 rum 12 etiam facit *florenos* 9 *denarios* 36

⁵⁸ Дубриничі [UA, Перечинський район] 1782 Dubrinics, 1819-1869 Dubrinicz; Dubrinics, 1869-1907 Dubrinics, 1907-1920 Bercsenyifalva, 1920-1939 Dubriniče ДубриничѢ, 1939-1944 Bercsenyifalva; Dubrinics, 1945- Дубриничі.

⁵⁹ Пастілки [UA, Перечинський район] 1782 Kis Paszthely, 1819-1869 Mala Pasztelka; Kis Pasztely, 1869-1907 Kis Pasztély; Mali Pasteli, 1907-1920 Kispásztély, 1920-1939 Pastilky; Пастѣльки, 1939-1944 Kispásztély; Pasztyilyki, 1945- Пастілки

Lignationem habet liberam et. A Singula Domo quarum Sunt 15 percipit nihil. [pagia]⁶⁰ [pagia] Ex Filiali que numerat hispites 8 percipit unam Metre tam Avenæ in Simul 8 quamlibet limitando á *denarii* 12 Simul facit *florenos* 1 *denarios* 36 Præter hos etc.

Stolam percipit sequentem

A Baptismo cum Introductione	<i>denarii</i> 13 ½		<i>denarios</i> 27
A Matrimonio [cum	<i>denarii</i> 51	<i>annue</i> <i>circiter</i>	<i>florenos</i> 1 <i>denarios</i> 42
Benedictione Neo Nuptae]			
A Sepultura Majori	<i>denarii</i> 51		<i>florenos</i> 1 <i>denarios</i> 42
A Sepultura minori	<i>denarii</i> 24		<i>denarios</i> 48
Totus Itaq[ue] Stolæ Proventus cum Præmissis accidentalibus facit			<i>florenos</i> 8 <i>denarios</i> 48

Jus Patronatus pertinet ad D[ominum] Gabrielem Orosz

Egeret proinde Agris Pratis etc.

Cantor Inquilium agit apud Parochum nullam penitus præstationem habet á Com[m]unitate egeret omnibus. [---]

Possessio Zavisina⁶¹

Filialem habet unam in qua Ecclesia in mater dicta mediocri per aparamentes provisa. Ecclesia Ligneá reparatione egeret. Apparamentis <medior> misere provisa.

[Ecclesiæ Proventus]

Proventus Ecclesiæ utr[a]q[ue] habet nullos.

Proventus Parochi.

Domum habet in Fundo Coloniali per Dominum assignato Co[m]modam propriis Sum[p]tibus er[r]ectam, Cujus Sarta tecta ipse procurat. Hortum habet bonam pro Culina Sufficientem. Prata habet ad 3 Cur[r]us foni quamlibet limitando á *denarii* 51 in Simul facit *florenos* 2 *denarios* 33

Agros habet ad utramq[ue] Calcaturam Cubulorum 12 <colter um tem> alterum tantum est <pm> Computandum facit *florenos* 9 *denarios* 36

⁶⁰ Listoček = Infrascriptos præsentium Tenore testor, recongnosco, quod videlicet Anno 1744 die 28n Mensis Martij Basilius Gorso ex Parre de rillussvi Domino Demetrio Gorso Matre vero Dnae Mariae Posta nobilibus personis Natas, per Parochum Græci Ritus Unitorum Possessionis Mororasziensis Incluso Comitatus Szathmariensi ingremiatae Theodorum nempe Papp Saerb. Baptismate, et una Confirmatione [---] rite imitatus habeatur, adstartibus Perillustri Domino Patrino Joanno Kis ex Patrina P[er]illustrima]. D[omi]na Theresia Odoka, in quorum fidem propria Manus subscriptione ex consveto Sigillo manitas hus ex tca dandas duxi Sig Szathmar die 1m 8bis Anno 1771 Michael Wolosinovszky legitime Parochus et ViceArchi = Diacus Szatmaries [pagia] lecti July sub 30a Augusti cum Subsriptione 15a Pater D Vestras Instantiam quemadmodum Paterne [pagina destructa]ctiones, ab quas Districtum sub Nomine Nagy= Mihalyensis. [pagina destructa]fucis oblini ora sublimere viris et absentes male aulica dulcedines. qui votes este pius ? Lucanus. [pagina destructa]m sua sibona norint ipsa procul discuordibus armis [pagina destructa] em victum pustissima tellus virgatus

⁶¹ Завосина [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Zaussina, 1819-1869 D. Zaussina, 1869-1907 Zavosina, 1907-1920 Szénástelek, 1920-1939 Zavosina; Завосина, 1939-1944 Zavuszina; Sénástelek, 1945- Завосина.

Lignationem habet liberam etc. In Matre habet Hospites 9 á quibus percipit nihil. In Filiali habet 10 <9> Hospites á quibus percipit Metretas 13 et 1/8 *florenos 2 denarios 36* <52>

Percipit item panes á Singulo 2 in Simul *denarii* <28>28 facit *denarios 56*
Præter his etc.

<Totus Itaq[ue] Stolæ Proventus cum præmissis accidentibus faci[t]>

Stolam percipit sequentem

A Baptismo cum Introductione	<i>denarii 10 ½</i>		<i>denarios 10 ½</i>
A Matrimonio cum	<i>denarii 51</i>		<i>denarios 51</i>
Ben[edictione] N[eo] N[uptae]		<i>annue</i>	
A Sepultura majori	<i>denarii 51</i>	<i>circiter</i>	<i>denarios 51</i>
A Sepultura minori	<i>denarii 17</i>		<i>denarios 17</i>
Totus Itaq[ue] Stolæte		<i>florenos 8 denarios 28 ½</i>	

Cantor Inquilinum agit apud Parochum nullam Prostationem habeus.[pag12r]

Possessio Mircsa⁶²

Ecclesia Ligna noviter erecta. Apparamentis misere provisā.

[Ecclesiæ Proventus]

Proventum habet nullum.

Habet Filialum Csornoholova⁶³ dictam.

Parochi Proventus

Domum in Fundo Parochiali muserum Sumptibus propis erectam quam Co[m]munitas reparant tineretur. Hortum mediocrem. Prata habet ad Cur[r]us 2. limitando facit *florenos 1 denarios 42*

Agros habet ad unam Calcaturam tantum. Cubulorum duos. Ppostquemlibet Cubulum Interimaliter procreantur Speratur 4. quamlibet limitando metretam á *denarii 12* in simul fac[it] *florenos 3 denarios 12*

Lignationem cum Com[m]unitate habet liberam quam etc. Hospites habet in Matre <4tor> 6. á quibus nihil percipit excepto unico pane á Singulo Avenæ á *denarii 2* in Simul facit *denarios 12*

Ex Filiali, quæ numerat Hospites <4>14. percipit á Singulo unam metretam Avenæ in Simul 14 quamlibet limitando loci pretio á *denariis 12* In Simul faciunt.

florenos 2 denarios 48.

In Filiali Ecclesia est lignea reparatione agens. Apparamentis misere provisā. Filiales distans á Matre <6 circiter qua>drantum duarum circiter horarum. Præter hos etc.

⁶² Мирча [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Mircse 1819-1869 Mirča; Mirtse, 1869-1907 Mircse, 1907-1920 Mércse; 1920-1939 Mirča; Мирча, 1939-1944 Mircse; Mircsa; Mércse, 1945-Мирча.

⁶³ Чорноголова [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Csernoholova, 1819-1869 Czernoholovej; Csornoholova, 1869-1907 Csornoholova, 1907-1920 Sóhát, 1920-1939 Černohlava; Чорноголова, 1939-1944 Csernoholova; Sóhát, 1945- Чорноголова.

Stolam percipit sequentem

A Baptismo cum Introductione	denarii 17		denarios 17
A Matrimonio cum B[enedictione]	denarii 51	annue circiter	denarios 51
N[eo] N[uptae]			
A Sepultura majori	denarii 51		denarios 51
A [Sepultura] minori	denarii 24		denarios 24
<Totus Itaq[ue] Stola etc.> Proventur			florenos 10 denarios 15
Ex Filia autem Stolae Proventus			florenos 2 denarios 23
Adeoq[ue] in simul faci			florenos 12 denarios 38
Jus Patronatus in Matre Pertinet ad D[ominum] P[er]illustrem]. Gabrielem Orosz.			
In Fialiali ad Dominium Unghvarensis.			
Cantor est Colonus qui nullam penitus proffationem habet. In Filiali autem Cantor			
resident in Fundo Dominali á quo D[omi]no Ter[r]estri Proffat Censumo.			

Possessio Novoszelicza⁶⁴

Filalem habet nullam. Ecclesiam habet Lapideam noviter er[r]ectam, non tanem ad perfectionem deductum. Apparamentis necduicriter provisá.

[Ecclesiae Proventus]

Ecclesiae Proventus habet nullos.

Parochi Proventus.

Domum habet commodum in Fundo Parochiali propriis Sumtibus ædif[f]icientum. [pag13a] Cujus etiam Sarta tecta ipse Conservat. Hortum habet pro Culinari Neces-sitate Sufficientem. Prata Parochiali habet nulla falcet tamen in pratis arendatiis ad Curs 4 á denarii 51 Computando facit florenos 3 denarios 24 Ter[r]as ad Calcaturam Utramq[ue] per p[r]æcedentores Emptit[i]as Cubu[lo]s 6 ex quibus prosperat an[n]ue Cub. 6 ¼ Computando á 12 facit florenos 4 denarios 48 Ligneatisnem Cum Com[m]unitatis Liberam quam etc. Hospites 10 Singulus ¼ Ave-næ á 12 compu[tando] florenos 2 Parcet An[n]ue á Singulo 2 Avenaceos á 2X. Compu[tando] denarios 40 Præter hos exceptis Industrialibus etc.

Stolam percipit sequentem

A Baptismo cum Introductione	denarii 10 ½		denarios 10 ½
A Matrimonio [cum Benedictione]	denarii 51	annue circiter	denarios 51
Neo Nuptae]			
A Sepultura Majori	denarii 51		denarios 51
A Minori Sepultura	denarii 24		denarios 24
fa[ci]t proventus			florenos 13 denarios 08 ½
Jus patronatus pertinet ad I[llustrissime]. D[omi]nu L. B. Emericus Horváth.			

⁶⁴ Новоселиця [UA, Перечинський район] 1782 Nova Sielicz; Nova Szedlicza, 1819-1869 Nowo-sedlica; Uj Kemencze, 1869-1907 Novoselica; Uj Kemencze, 1907-1920 Újkemencze, 1920-1939 Novoselica; Новоселиця, 1939-1944 Ujkemence; Novoszelica, 1945- Новоселиця.

Cantor in fundo Coloniali residet á quo Centum aliosque rustica nos laborat pstare Cogitur quod an[n]ue Constituit. A Com[m]unitate habet nihil, a Funere tanem Majori habet *denarii* 9.

Possessio Nagy Berezne⁶⁵

Ecclesia una Lapidea <alia veró> nondum ad perfectionem defucta alia veró lignea in Statu misero. <qu> Lapidea ap[p]aramentis curet est enim combusta. Lignea habet est mediocriter provisa.

[Ecclesiæ Proventus]

Ecclesia utraq[ue] proventum habet nullum.

Parochi Proventus

Domum habet Com[m]odam Ligneam^{<in Fundo cum tetio>} ecclesiæ per Se aedificatum cujus etiam reparationem ipse procurat. Hortum habet post eundem Fundum pro Culinari necessitate Sufficientem. Ter[r]as habet arabiles ad utramq[ue] Calcaturam Cubulorum 8 ex quibus an[n]ue prosperat Cubulos 8to Avenæ Limitando á *denarii* 12 Simul facit

florenos 6 denarios 24

Lignationem habet liberam cum Com[m]unitate. Hospites habet 30 á quibus percipit nihil moter 2 panes á Singulo Hospite in Simul *denarii* 60 in Simul faciunt

florenos 2

Præter hos Proventus aios nullos, etc. [pag13r]

Stolam percipit sequentem

A Baptismo cum Introductione	<i>denarii</i> 10 ½		<i>denarios</i> 31 ½
A Matrimonio cum Benedictione	<i>denarii</i> 51	<i>annue circiter</i>	<i>florenos 2 denarios 33</i>
N[eo] N[uptae]			
A Sepultura majori	<i>denarii</i> 51		<i>florenos 2 denarios 33</i>
A Sepultura minori	<i>denarii</i> 18		<i>denarios 54</i>
Totus Itaq[ue] Proventus facit			<i>florenos 14 denarios 55</i>

Jus Patronatus pertinet ad Dominium Unghvarinse

Cantor residet in Fundo Parochiali in quo Præcedentores ejus ære proprio ædificant Domum.

Hortum habet <nullum>uti et <agros> ^{Rustifentum pro culinari necessitate.} Agrus nullos.

Præstationem habet nullam unice á funere aucipit *denarii* 6.

N[onta]B[ene] Possessio Kosztyova Pasztely⁶⁶

Filialem habet nullam. Ecclesia Lignea in Statu bono. Apparamentis pariter bene provisa.

⁶⁵ Великий Березний [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Nagy Berezna, 1819-1869 Welka Berezna, 1869-1907 N. Berezna, 1907-1920 Nagybereszna, 1920-1939 Veľký Berezny; Великий Березний, 1939-1944 Nagybereszna; Velikoje Bereznoje, 1945- Великий Березний.

⁶⁶ Костева Пастіль [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Paszthely Kosztowa, 1819-1869 Kostorva Pasztél; Kosztova Pasztély, 1869-1907 Kosztyova-Pasztély, 1907-1920 Nagypasztély, 1920-1939 Kostova Pastil; Костьова Паст'Бль, 1939-1944 Kosztovapasztély; Nagypasztély, 1945- Костева Пастіль.

[Ecclesiæ Proventus]

Ecclesia Proventum habet nullam.

Parochi Proventus

Domum habet Com[m]odam in Fundo propis Nobilitam Sumtibus propriis erectam quam etiam Solus conservant. Hortum habet ad unum in Fundum pertinentem Com[m]odum. Prata habet ad Cur[r]us 20 quamlibet limitando á *denarii 51* Simul fac[it] *floreño 17*

Agros habet ad utramq[ue] calcaturam Cubulorum 30 Avenæ ex quibus an[n]ue prosperat Cubulos 30 loci pretio limitando faciunt *florenos 24<28>*

Lignationem habet liberam, quarum Solus procurat. Hospites numerat 8 á quibus nihil panitus percipit Præter hos exceptis Industrialibus aliis alios Idæaliter apositos percipit proventus nullos.

Stolam percipit sequentem

A Baptismo cum Introductione	<i>denarii 12</i>		<i>denarios 12</i>
A Matrimonio cum B[enedictione]	<i>denarii 51</i>		<i>denarios 51</i>
N[eo] N[u]ptae]		<i>annue circiter</i>	
A Sepultura majori	<i>denarii 51</i>		<i>denarios 51</i>
A Sepultura minori	<i>denarii 24</i>		<i>denarios 24</i>
Suma Totalis facit		<i>florenos 43</i>	<i>denarios 18</i>

Jus Patronatus ad D[omi]num pertinet Adam Horvath.

Cantor habet Domum in Fundo Coloniali et præstationem nullam. [pag14a]

Possessio Solya⁶⁷

Habet 3 [filiales:] Stricsava⁶⁸, Domasin⁶⁹, Knyahinya⁷⁰. dictas mediæ circiter hora distantes á Matre in quibus dantur Ecclesiæ in Statu Co[m]modo. Ap[p]aramentis tanem misera provisæ. In Matre Ecclesia Ligna in Statu Bono. Ap[p]aramentis mediocriter provisa.

[Ecclesiæ Proventus]

Ecclesia Proventus habet nullum.

Proventus Parochi

Domum Co[m]modam habet in Fundo per Dominium excisso per Se ædificatam quam etiam Conservat. Hortum habet Sufficientem pro rebus Culinariis. ad Cur[r]us 4 *florenos 3 denarios 24*

Prata habet nulla nisi emptitio Ter[r]as habet ar[r]abiles ad utramq[ue] Calcaturam Cubulorum 6 exquo prosperat an[n]uatam 6. faciunt *florenos 4 denarios 48*

⁶⁷ Сіль [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Szol'ya, 1819-1869 Solu; Szolya, 1869-1907 Szolya, 1907-1920 Soslak, 1920-1939 Sol; Суль, 1939-1944 Soslák; Szol'ja, 1945- Сіль.

⁶⁸ Стричава [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Sztricsava, 1819-1869 Stritsava; Hutirkcsok, 1869-1907 Sztricsava, 1907-1920 Eszterág, 1920-1939 Stričava; Стричава, 1939-1944 Sztricsava; Eszterág, 1945- Стричава.

⁶⁹ Домашин [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782-1907 Domasina, 1907-1920 Domafalva, 1920-1939 Domašin; Домашин, 1939-1944 Domasina; Domafalva, 1945- Домашин.

⁷⁰ Княгиня [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Knyahinya, 1819-1869 Knahinya, 1869-1907 Knyahina, 1907-1920 Csillágfalva, 1920-1939 Kňahynín; Княгинин, 1939-1944 Knyahina; Csillágfalva, 1945- Княгиня.

Lignationem habet liberam cum Com[m]unitate quad uti et alia Solus praestat. In Matre habet Hospites novem á quibus percipit nihil Singulus tanem praestat duos panes <á denári> in Simul 12 á 2 *denarii* facit Simul *denarios* 36
Præter hos etc.

Stolam percipit sequentem

A Baptismo cum Introductione	<i>denarii</i> 12		<i>denarios</i> 12
A Matrimonio[cum Benedictione	<i>denarii</i> 51		<i>denarios</i> 51
Neo Nuptae]		<i>annue</i>	
A Sepultura majori	<i>denarii</i> 51	<i>circiter</i>	<i>denarios</i> 51
A Sepultura minori	<i>denarii</i> 24		<i>denarios</i> 24
Totus Itaq[ue] Stola proventus facit			<i>florenos</i> 7 <i>denarios</i> 42

Jus patronatus pertinet ad Dominium Unghvariensem.
Cantor subditus est in Fundo Coloniali qui praestat Labores Dominales et Salutio-
nem nullam.
Unice á funere *denarii* 6
In Filialibus numerat Hospites 26 á quibus percipit nihil. ex Stolaribus tanem pro-
sperat *annue circiter* *florenos* 3
Sum[m]a Totus Intratae *florenos* 10 *denarios* 42
[pag14r]

Possessio Begengyad Pasztely⁷¹

Filialem habet <unam> duas Rosztoka Pasztely⁷² et Mocsar⁷³ dictanso media circiter hora distantem á Matre In qua datur. Ecclesia Ligna in Statu Com[m]odo. Apparamen-
tis misere provisiva. In Matre Ecclesia Ligna in Statu Comodo Apparamentis misere
provisiva.

[Ecclesiae Proventus]

Ecclesiae hac Proventum nullum habet.

Proventus Parochi.

Domum habet miserum et ruinæ proximæ obnoxiam in fundo Scultetiali quam
reparare tenerentur Parochium. Hortum habet Sufficientam pro Culinariibus. Prata
habet nulla. Agros ad utramq[ue] Calcaturam Cubulorum 3 X quibus prosperat 3.
faciunt *florenos* 2 *denarios* 24

⁷¹ Бегендяцка Пастіль [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Paszthely Begindyath, 1819-1869 Begendiat Pasztél; Begengyat Pasztely, 1869-1907 Begendját-Pasztély, 1907-1920 Alsópásztély, 1920-1939 Begindatská Pastil; Беріндяцка Пастѣль, 1939-1944 Begengyátpasztély; Alsópásztély, 1945- Бегендяцка Пастіль.

⁷² Розтоцька Пастіль [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Rosztoka Pasztely, 1819-1869 Rosztoka Pastély, 1869-1907 Rosztoka Pasztely, 1907-1920 Felsőpásztely, 1920-1939 Roztocská Pastil; Розтоцька Пастѣль, 1939-1944 Rosztokapásztély; Felsőpásztély, 1945- Розтоцька Пастіль.

⁷³ Руський мочар [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Orosz Mocsar, 1819-1869 Orosimocsár, 1869-1907 Orosz Mocsár, 1907-1920 Oroszmócsár, 1920-1939 Močár; Мочар, 1939-1944 Oroszmocsár; Ruszkij Mocsar, 1945- Руський мочар.

Lignationem habet <et> Libertam quam uti et alia Solus præstat. Hospites habet 18 á quolibet habet per metretam Avenæ á *denarii* 12 loci pretio æstimando faiunt

florenos 3 *denarios* 36

á quolibet Hospite habet 2 panes á *denarii* 2 Simul faciunt <2> *denarios* 4

Præter hos etc.

Stolam percipit sequentem

A Baptismo cum Introductione *denarii* 9 *denarios* 9

A Matrimonio cum B[enedictione] *denarii* 51 *denarios* 51

N[eo] N[u]ptae] *annue*

A Sepultura majori *denarii* 51 *circiter* *denarios* 51

á Sepultura minori *denarii* 24 *denarios* 24

Totus Itaq[ue] Stolæ Proventus facit *florenos* 9 *denarios* 19

In Filialibus habet 18 Hospites á quibus percipit per unam Metre Avenæ á *denarii* 12

Simul Computando faciunt *florenos* 3 *denarios* 36

<Stolam>

Fiallum Stola exit <ad> an[n]uatam ad 2 *florenos* 2

Jus Patronatus pertinet In Matre ad D[ominum] Emericum Cesetho. In Filialies una ad Societalem Jesu. In 2da vero ad D[ominum]. Antonium Petrovaĵ.

Cantor á Singulo Hospite 16 in Simul facit *denarios* 54

Inquilinum agit apud Colonom. A Sepultura habet *denarii* 6 de reliquo nihil. [pagi5a]

Possessio Szmerekova⁷⁴

Filias Ultintrensis. Ecclesia lignea in statu mediocri. Ap[p]aramentis misera provisa.

[Ecclesiæ Proventus]

Proventus habet nullum.

Proventus Parochi

Ab hospitibus 8 percipit toti due metretas Avenæ Loci pretio facit

florenos 1 *denarios* 36

A Singulo hospite percipit unam panem Avnenaceum a *denarii* 2 facit *denarios* 16

Stolam percipit sequentem

A Baptismo[cum Introductione] *denarii* 6

A Matrimonio[cum Benedictione Neo Nuptae] *denarii* 6 *annue*

A Sepultura majori *denarii* 51 *circiter*

A [Sepultura] minori *denarii* 12

Jus Patronatiis <ad familia Horocstianam> ad R[e]l[i]ctam D[omini]. Adami Horvath

Viduam [---] Cantor Subditus est prætut omnia Dominalie p[ræ]Stationem autem

nullam habet unice á funere *denarii* 6.

⁷⁴ Смереково [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Szmerekowa, 1819-1869 Smrkowa; Szmerekowa, 1869-1907 Szmerekova, 1907-1920 Szmerekŏ, 1920-1939 Smrková; Смерекова, 1939-1944 Szmerekova; Szmerekovo; Szemerekŏ, 1945- Смереково.

Possessio Kostrina⁷⁵

Ecclesia Ligna in statu mediocri. Ap[p]aramentis mediocriter provisa.
[Ecclesiæ Proventus]

Proventum habet nullum.

Proventus Parochi

Domum habet in fundo Coloniali [i]pse ædificantum quam etiam Conservat. Hortum habet exiguum. Prata Parochialia nulla. Emptitie ad Cur[rus] 3 facit

florenos 2 denarios 33

Agros proprios nullos Arendatitios fanem miSeriunt Annue Cub[ulos]. 5 ex quibus Prosperat cub[uli] 10 m[etretas] perata facit

florenos 8

Lignationem cum C[ommu]nitte habet liberam etc. A Singulo hospite quod sunt 8 percipit $\frac{1}{4}$ avenæ á denarii 12

florenos 1 denarios 36

Idem Panes 16 á denarii 2

denarios 32

Præter hos etc.

Stolam percipit sequentem

A Baptismo et Intr[oductione] *denarii 12* *denarios 12*

A Matrimonio[cum Benedictione Neo Nuptae] *denarii 17* *annue denarios 17*

A Sepultura majori *denarii 51* *circiter denarios 51*

A [Sepultura] minori *denarii 18* *denarios 18*

Sum[m]a t[o]t[a]lis *florenos 14 denarios 19*

Jus patronates pertinet ad D[omi]nium Ungvariense.

Cantor Inquilinum agit apud Parochum nullam prorsis habet præstationem.

Possessio Viska⁷⁶

Ecclesia lignea in statu Com[m]odo. ap[p]aramentis mediocriter provisa.
[Ecclesiæ Proventus]

Proventum habet nulum.

Proventus parochi

<Domum habet nullos> ^{Parochus nullos} nec fundus nec agris nec alia ap[p]ertinentiæ dantur. A Singulo hospite quod Sunt 18 p[er]cipit totidem metretas avenæ facit

florenos 3 denarios 36

reliquam nihil.

⁷⁵ Кострина [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Kosztrina, 1819-1869 Kostrina; Kosztrina, 1869-1907 Kosztrina, 1907-1920 Csontos, 1920-1939 Kostrina; Кострина, 1939-1944 Csontos; Kosztrina, 1945- Кострина.

⁷⁶ Вишка [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Viszka, 1819-1907 Viska, 1907-1920 Viharos, 1920-1939 Výška; Вышка, 1939-1944 Viska; Viharos, 1945- Вишка.

Stolam percipit sequentem

A Bap[tismo cum Introductione]	denarii 9		denarios 18
A Matri[monio cum Benedictione Neo Nuptae]	denarii 15	annue circiter	denarios 30
A Sepultura maj[ori]	denarii 51		florenos 1 denarios 42
[A Sepultura] minori	denarii 18		denarios 36
Sum[m]a totalis			florenos 6 denarios 39
Jus patronatus pertinet D[omi]nium Ungvariense.			
Cantor resident in fundo Coloniali caested pro parate vivit [pag15r]			

Possessio <Lyuta⁷⁷> Tycha⁷⁸

Filialem habet Lyutam⁷⁹ Dictam una $\frac{1}{2}$ circit[er] hora distant[em] a Matre in que datur Ecclesia misera separata agens. In Matre Ec[c]lesia lignea in statu mediocri Ap[p]aramentis Comode provisa.

[Ecclesiae Proventus]

Proventum habet nullum.

Proventus Parochi

Domum habet commodam per Se ædificatam in fundo Coloniali quod etiam ipse Conservat. Hortum habet suffieient. Prata habet nulla. Arendat tanem ad Cur[rus] 2 in parate facit florenos 1 denarios 42
 Habet Ter[r]as ad utramq[ue] Calcaturam ad Cub[ulos] 3 facit florenos 2 denarios 24
 Ligationem habet liberam quam uti etc. A Singulo hospite quod Sunt N[umer]o 24 percipit totidem $\frac{1}{4}$ avenæ facit florenos 4 denarios 48

Stolam percipit sequentem

a Baptismo cum Introd[uctione]	denarii 9		denarios 18
a Matrimonio[cum Benedictione Neo Nuptae]	denarii 51	annue circiter	florenos 1 denarios 42
a Sepultura majori	denarii 51		florenos 1 denarios 42
a Sepultura minori	denarii 24		denarios 48
Jus patronatus ad D[omi]nium Ung[hvar]i[ensem] quo Solvit Rhenenses florenos 1 denarios 42			
Summa facit			florenos 13 denarios 24
Cantor inquilinus eget apud Parochum & nihil habet.			
Ex filiali in qua numerat hospites N[umer]o 35 a quibus Cipit $\frac{1}{8}$ in Simul 15 facit in parate florenos 8 denarios 20			
Stola ut in Matre ex qua prosperat Annue florenos 1 denarios 15			
Suma t[o]t[alis] florenos 9 denarios 35			

⁷⁷ Люта [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Lŷutta, 1819-1869 Lutta; Lyutta, 1869-1907 Lyutta, 1907-1920 Havasköz, 1920-1939 Ljutá; Люта, 1939-1944 Lyuta; Havasköz, 1945- Люта.

⁷⁸ Тихий [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Ticha, 1819-1869 Tichá, 1869-1907 Ticha, 1907-1920 Tiha, 1920-1939 Tichý; Тихий, 1939-1944 Tiha; Ticha, 1945- Тихий.

⁷⁹ Люта [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Lŷutta, 1819-1869 Lutta; Lyutta, 1869-1907 Lyutta, 1907-1920 Havasköz, 1920-1939 Ljutá; Люта, 1939-1944 Lyuta; Havasköz, 1945- Люта.

Cantor habet Domum Com[m]odam cum apertinetys á qua Solvit
Rhenenses florenos 2 denarios 30.

Possessio Szuha⁸⁰

Ecclesia lignea in s[t]atu bono. Ap[p]arametis misere provisa.
 [Ecclesiæ Proventus]

Proventus habet nullam.

Proventus Parochi

Domum habet Com[m]odam in dunfo D[omi]nali per prædecessores Suos erecta
 quam Conterunt. Hortum habet exigum. Prata habet Currus 1. facit *denarios 51*
 Ad utramq[ue] Calcaturam agros habet ad Cub 2. exceptis prosperat Cub[ulos] 2.
 facit *florenos 1 denarios 36*
 Lignationem habet liberam quam etc. A Singulo hospite quod Sunt N[umer]o 10
 percipit panes 2 in Simul 20 facit *denarios 40*

Stolam percipit sequentem

a Baptismo[cum Introductione]	<i>denarii 9</i>		<i>denarios 9</i>
a Matrimonio[cum Benedictione]	<i>denarii 51</i>		<i>denarios 51</i>
Neo Nuptæ]		<i>annue</i>	
		<i>circiter</i>	
a Sepultura Majori	<i>denarii 51</i>		<i>denarios 51</i>
a Sepultura Minori	<i>denarii 24</i>		<i>denarios 24</i>
Sum[m]a t[o]t[ali]			<i>florenos 5 denarios 28</i>

Jus patronatus ad D[o]mi[ni]um Ung[hvariensem]
 Cantor inquilium egit nulla p[ræ]stationem habet.

Possessio Huszna⁸¹

Ecclesia lignea in [s]tatu Com[m]odo. Ap[p]arametis ut cunq[ue] provisa.
 [Ecclesiæ Proventus]

Proventus habet nullus.

Proventus Parochi

Domum habet in fundo D[omi]nali p[er] Colonum erectam quam actualis parochus
 conservat.
 Hortum habet sufficient[em]. Prata nulla habet tamen excisum a Colonis ad Cur[rus]
 2 facit *florenos 1 denarios 42*
 Ad utramq[ue] Calcaturam habet agros ad Cub[ulos] 2 ex quo prosperat 2 facit
florenos 1 denarios 36
 Lignationem habet liberam. A Singulo hospite quod 6 percipit nihil.

⁸⁰ Сухий [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Suha, 1819-1869 Sucha, 1869-1907 Szuha, 1907-1920 Szuhapatak, 1920-1939 Suchý; Сухий, 1939-1944 Ungszuha; Voloszejanka; Szuhapatak, 1945- Сухий.

⁸¹ Гусний [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Huszna, 1819-1869 Husna; Huszna, 1869-1907 Huszna, 1907-1920 Erdőludas, 1920-1939 Husný; Гусный, 1939-1944 Huszna; Erdőludas, 1945- Гусний.

Stolam percipit sequentem

A Baptismo et Intr[oductione]	denarii 6		denarios 6
A Matrimonio et Bened[ictione]	denarii 6		denarios 6
Neo Nuptae]		annue circiter	
A Sepultura majori	denarii 51		denarios 51
A [Sepultura] minori	denarii 24		denarios 24
Jus patronatus ad D[o]mi[ni]um Ung[hvariensem] Cui Solvit	Rhenenses	florenos 2	
denarios 34 et præteræ hymat et velt D[omi]nales. Summa [totale]		florenos 4 denarios 45	
Cantor egit filius Presbyteri qui in uno Pane p[ræ]stationem nullam habet. [pag16a]			

Possessio Usok⁸²

Ecclesia moviter erecta lignea ap[p]aramentis misere provisiva.

[Ecclesiæ Proventus]

Proventus nullum.

Proventus Parochi

Domum habet in fundo D[omi]nali. P[er] Prædecessores erectam reparatione agens.
Hortum habet Sufficientem. Prata nulla. Arendat tamen ab alys ad cur[rus] facit

florenos 1 denarios 42

Agros insemnaturæ habet ad utramq[ue] Calcaturam Cub[ulorum] 2 quibus prosperat 2

florenos 1 denarios 36

Lignatio libera. A singulo hospito quod Sunt 8. percipit nihil.

Stolam percipit sequentem

a Baptismo[cum Introductione]	denarii 9		denarios 9
a Matrimonio[cum Benedictione]	denarii 6		denarios 6
Neo Nuptae]		Annue [circiter]	
a Sepultura majori	denarii 51		denarios 51
a Sepul[tura] minori	denarii 24		denarios 24
Jus Patronatus ad D[o]mi[ni]um Ung[hvariensem] Cui Solvit Censum percunia Rhe-			
nenses florenos 1 et unam Ulnam telæ á denarii 6 Summa t[o]t[ale]		florenos 3 denarios 57	
Cantor egit filius Presbýteri in Simul habitans cum eo nullam p[ræ]stationem h[ab]			
it [---]			

⁸² Ужок [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1773-1869 Uszok, 1869-1907 Uzsok; Uzsok, 1907-1920 Uzsok, 1920-1939 Užok; Ужок, 1939-1944 Uzsok, 1945- Ужок.

Possessio Ó Sztuzicza⁸³

Filialem habet Zahorb⁸⁴ dicta media circiter hora distant[em] á Matrem que datur E[c]clesia misera ap[p]aratum est misere p[ro]visa. In Matre Ec[c]lesia lignea in statu misero ap[p]aramentis utcunq[ue] provisa.

[Ecclesiae Proventus]

Proventus habet nullam.

Proventus parochi

Domum habet Com[m]odam in fundo D[omi]nali p[er] se erectam quam etiam ipse Conservant. Hortum habet emptitium Satis Com[m]odam. Prata nulla. Arendat tamen prata ad Currus 2 facit *florenos 1 denarios 42*

Agros habet ad unam tantum Calcaturam $\frac{1}{4}$ 5 prosperat interimaliter 10 *florenos 2* ad aliam Calcaturam Conducit ad Cub[ulos] 2 ex quibus prosperat 16 facit *florenos 3 denarios 12*

Lignatio libera. A Singulo hospite quod Sunt 20. percipit $\frac{1}{2}$ avenæ in Simul Sunt *denarii 10 . faciunt florenos 2*

Item Singulo pro pane *denarii 3* in Simul *florenos 1*

Stolam percipit sequentem

a Baptismo et Intr[oductione] *denarii 12 denarios 24*

a Matrimonio et Bened[ictione] *denarii 51 annue florenos 1 denarios 42*
Neo Nuptae] *circiter*

a Sepultura majori *denarii 51 florenos 1 denarios 42*

a Sepultura minori *denarii 18 denarios 36*

Jus Patronatus ad D[o]mi[ni]um Ung[hvariensem]

Summa t[ot]t[alem] *florenos 14 denarios 18*

Cantor inquilinus agit nihil habeus unice a funeri *denarii 6*. In filiali numerat hospites 8 a quibus p[er]cipit nihil. Stola ut in Matre ex qua prosperat flor 1 Annum *florenos 1*

Cantor habet Domum p[er] Se ædificantam ad exiguo horto & agrit pariter erignit p[ræ]stationem autem nulla habet.

Possessio Uj Sztuzsica⁸⁵

Filialem habet Zboj⁸⁶ = Novaszelicza⁸⁷ in Cottu Zempliersis dicta media Circiter hora disant. In qua datur Ec[c]lesia bona. Ap[p]aramentis misera provisa. In Matre Ecclesia lignea moviter erecta. Ap[p]aramentis tamen misere provisa.

⁸³ Стужиця [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Stara Sztussicza, 1819-1869 Stara Sztuzsica; O Sztuzicza, 1869-1907 O Sztuzsica, 1907-1920 Patakófalú, 1920-1939 Stará Stuzica; Срапа стужиця, 1939-1944 Osztuzsica; Sztara Sztuzsica; Patakófalú, 1945- Стужиця.

⁸⁴ Загорб [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1773-1907 Zahorb, 1907-1920 Harárhegy, 1920-1939 Záhorb; Загорб, 1939-1944 Határhegy; Zahorb, 1945- Загорб.

⁸⁵ Нова Стужиця [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 UjSztuzsica, 1819-1869 Nowa Sztuzsica, 1869-1907 Uj Sztuzsica, 1907-1920 Patakújfalu, 1920-1939 Nová Stuzica; Нова Стужиця, 1939-1944 Újsztuzsica; Nova Sztuzsica; Patakújfalu, 1945- Нова Стужиця.

⁸⁶ Zboj [SK, okres Snina] 1808, 1863-1902, 1920-1939 Zboj, 1907-1913, 1939-1945 Harcos, 1945- Zboj.

⁸⁷ Nová Sedlica [SK, okres Snina] 1773 Novoszelicza, Novoselicza, 1786 Nowoszedlicza, 1808 Novoszelicza, Nowosedlica, 1863-1902 Novoszedlica, 1907-1913 Újszék, 1920 Novosedlica, 1927-

[Ecclesiae Proventus]

Proventum habet nullam.

Proventus Parochi

Domum habet miseram in fundo D[omi]nali p[er] Se erectam. Cujus Contervatio-
nem ipse procurat. Hortum habet 2 Culina Sufficientem. Prata habet nulla Conducit
pro necessit[a]te Sua ad Cur[ris] 6 quam habet limitando á denarii 51 facit

floreos 5 denarios 6

Ter[r]as ad unam Calcaturam tantum Cubu[los]. 2 ex quibus iterimaliter prosperat
Cub[ulis] 4. floreos 3 denarios 12

A qvatuor hospiteles percipit nihil. Ex solvitus annuatim nihil. ad D[omi]nium
Ung[hvariensem] Cui Sol_{vit} Rhenenses floreos 2

Ex filiali ab 8 hospitibus percipit 8 metretas avenæ floreos 1 denarios 36

Item Singuo panes 2 á denarii 2 in Simul denarios 32

Jus Patronatus ad D[ominus] Szirnaj pertinet.

Cantor in fundo D[omi]nali habet Domum cum ap[p]ertinentiis et [reli]quis solvit
Rhenenses floreos 1 denarios 18

P[ræ]stationem nullam habet. [pagi6r]

Possessio Sztavna⁸⁸ NB. Filialis Viska⁸⁹ qua pertinet.

Ecclesia lignea in statu mediocri Ap[p]aramentis misera provisa.

[Ecclesiae Proventus]

Proventus nullus.

Proventus Parochi

Domum habet ruinatam in dunfo Coloniali p[er] prædecesores Suis erectam. Hor-
tum pro culinaribus Sifficientum habet. Prata hebat ad Cur[r]es 3 facit

floreos 2 denarios 33

Ter[r]as aditramq[ue] Calcatura[m] Cub[ulorum]. 3 quadem una insemnatur 6 ¼
ex quibus prosperat

12 in Simul facit floreos 2 denarios 24

Lignatio libera etc. A Singulo hospite quod Sunt 8 percipit ¼ avenæ facit

floreos 1 denarios 36

A Panes 8 á denarii 2 denarios 16

Stolam percipit sequentem

a Baptismo et Intr[oductione]	denarii 12		denarios 12
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a Matrimonio et Benedi[ctione]	denarii 51		denarios 51
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Neo Nuptae]		annue	
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a Sepultura Majori	denarii 51	[circiter]	denarios 51
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a Sepultura minori	denarii 18		denarios 18
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1939 Nová Sedlica, 1939–1945 Novaszedlica, 1945– Nová Sedlica.

⁸⁸ Ставне [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Sztavna; 1819–1869 Stavna, 1869–1907 Sztauna; Stavna, 1907–1920 Fenyvesvölgy, 1920–1939 Stavné; Ставное, 1939–1944 Fenyvesvölgy; Sztavna, 1945– Ставне.

⁸⁹ Вишка [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Viszka, 1819–1907 Viska, 1907–1920 Viharos, 1920–1939 Vŷška; Вышка, 1939–1944 Viska; Viharos, 1945– Вишка.

jus Patronatus D[o]mi[ni]um Ung[hvariensem]
Cantor inquilinum agit apud Parochum & nihil habet. Summa t[o]t[ale]
florenos 9 denarios 31

Possessio Voloszanka⁹⁰
Ecclesia lignea in [s]tatu misero. Ap[p]aramentis peniter misera provisa.
[Ecclesiæ Proventus]

Proventum habet nullum.

Proventus Parochi
Domum habet miserem in fundo D[omi]nali per Prædecessores Suos erecta. <Pra>
Hortum habet Sufficientem. Prata ad Currus 2 *florenos 1 denarios 42*
Agros ad unam Calcaturam tantum ad Cub[ulos] 2 ex quibus prosperat 4 cub[ulis].
florenos 3 denarios 12
A Singulo hospite quod Sunt N[umer]o 18 percipit panes 2 in Simul *denarii 24 facit*
denarios 48

Stolam percipit sequentem
á Baptismo et Intr[oductione] *denarii 9 denarios 18*
á Matrimonio et Bened[ictione] *denarii 51 florenos 1 denarios 42*
Neo Nuptae] *annue*
circiter
a Sepul[tura] Majori *denarii 51 florenos 1 denarios 42*
a [Sepultura] minori *denarii 24 denarios 48*
Jus Patronates ad D[o]mi[ni]um Ung[hvariensem]
Cantor inquilinum agit præ[s]tationem nullam habet. Sum[m]a facit
florenos 10 denarios 42

Possessio Bisztra⁹¹
Ecclesia lignea in [s]tatu mediocri. Ap[p]aramentis misere provisa. Proventum habet
nullum.

Proventus Parochi
Parochus inquilinum agit prater infectionem prestiferam exista. Hortum habet nul-
lum conditium. Prata nulla. Agri nulli. Habet tamen arendatitium ad Cub[ulos] 6
facit *florenos 5. denarios 6*
Prater annuatim in terris Arendatitys Seminat Cub[ulis] 3 avenæ facit
florenos 4 denarios 48
A singulo hospite quorum Sunt 9 nihil alium percipit p[ræ]ter 2 panes in Simul 18
limitando Singulum á *denarii 2 facit denarios 36*

⁹⁰ Волосянка [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Woloszanka, 1819-1869 Volosanka, 1869-1907 Voloszánka, 1907-1920 Hajosd, 1920-1939 Volsianka; Волосянка, 1939-1944 Hajasd; Volo-szjanka, 1945- Волосянка.

⁹¹ Верховина-Бистра [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Bisztra, 1819-1869 Bistra; Bisztra, 1869-1907 Verchovina Bistra, 1907-1920 Határszög, 1920-1939 Bystrý; Быстрый, 1939-1944 Ver-hovinabisztra; Határszög, 1945- Верховина-Бистра.

Stolam percipit sequentem

a Baptismo et Intr[oductione]	denarii 9		denarios 9
a Matrimonio [cum] Benedic[tione]	denarii 51	annue	denarios 51
Neo Nuptae]		circ[iter]	
a Sepultura Majori	denarii 51		denarios 51
a [Sepultura] Minori	denarii 17		denarios 17
Jus Patronates ad Domi[nium] Ungvar[iensem] Cui Solut			
Centum <i>Rhenenses florenos 2</i> & oves hyemat Summa t[o]t[ale]			
			<i>florenos 12 denarios 38</i>
Cantor pariter inquilium agit & nullam prorsus p[rae]stationem habet. [pagi7a]			

Possessio Bisztra⁹²

Ecclesia lignea in statu ruinato, ap[p]aramentis misere provisa.

[Ecclesiae Proventus]

Proventum habet nullum.

Proventus Parochi

Domum habet in fundo Coloniali Com[m]odam per Se ædificantam quam etiam Conservat. Hortum habet nullam. Prata habet nulla. Enystitia tamen ad Curres 4 facit *florenos 3 denarios 24*
 Agros habet nullos nisi annuatim emet ad Cub[ulos] 4 facit *florenos 3 denarios 12*
 Ligationem habet liberam quam etc. A Singulo hospite quom Sunt 28 percipit unam metretam Silignis quamlibet limitando a *denarii 17 facit florenos 7 denarios 56*
 Idem panes 1 in Simul 28 a *denarii 2 facit denarios 56*
 Præter hos etc nihil.

Stolam percipit sequentem

a Baptismo et Introd[uctione]	denarii 6		denarios 18
a Matrimonio et Bened[ictione]	denarii 51	annue	<i>florenos 2 denarios 33</i>
Neo Nuptae]		[circiter]	
a Sepultura Majori	denarii 51		<i>florenos 2 denarios 33</i>
a Sepultura minori	denarii 18		denarios 54
Jus Patronatus ad Comissarem Szentivaniam pertinet.			
Summa facit			<i>florenos 21 denarios 36</i>
Cantor inquilinus agit nec domum nec fundum Prætat tamen illi predicam metre- tam Avenæ[pagi7r]			

1748

Ungvárus Cottus, Ecclesiarum Parochiarumq[ue] status proventus item ac Subsistennie Conscriptio

⁹² Верховина-Бистра [UA, Великоберезнянський район] 1782 Bisztra, 1819-1869 Bistra; Bisztra, 1869-1907 Verchovina Bistra, 1907-1920 Határszög, 1920-1939 Bystrý; Быстрый, 1939-1944 Verhovinabisztra; Határszög, 1945- Верховина-Бистра.

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**LETZ Róbert – VIRŠINSKÁ Miriam – MAKYNA Pavol
– MATULA Pavol. *Andrej Hlinka Prejavy a články I.
1893 - 1918*. Bratislava: Post Scriptum, 2023, 776 s.
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LENKA MIHOVÁ

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Oravské múzeum P. O. Hviezdoslava

O Andrejovi Hlinkovi (1864 – 1938) a jeho publikačnej činnosti dnes existuje množstvo monografií a štúdií. Stále je čo objavovať a tak výzva pre ďalšie spracovanie zbierky, ktorá by poslúžila výskumu o bibliografii venovanej A. Hlinkovi, stále ostáva. Avšak ani to by nebola nová pôvodná práca, keďže by nadväzovala na knižnícku činnosť dlhoročného knihovníka Liptovského múzea v Ružomberku Pavla Stana, ktorý sa venoval spracovávaniu pozostalosti A. Hlinku, bibliografii o ňom až do začiatku 90. rokov 20. storočia, o čom svedčí ním vytvorená kartotéka v uvedenej inštitúcii.

V roku 2023, vyšiel vďaka finančnej podpore Spišskej diecézy a ako výstup z projektu VEGA 1/0190/21, prvý diel publikácie s názvom: *Andrej Hlinka Prejavy a články I. 1893 – 1918*. Editormi sú pracovníci Katedry histórie a didaktiky dejepisu Pedagogickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave: Róbert Letz, Pavol Makyna, Miriam Viršinská, Pavol Matula. Publikáciu zrecenzovali Peter Zubko a Michal Marták. V historiografii platí, že základom pre poznanie osobností a doby, v ktorej pôsobili, predstavujú pramene. A práve publikácia: *Andrej Hlinka Prejavy a články I. 1893 – 1918*, je takýmto zoznamom prameňov.

Podľa pamätníkov A. Hlinka písal svoje texty za jednoduchým, širokým a ošarpaným stolom, na ktorom mal hromadu novín, listov a kalamár. Skromnú izbu dopĺňali veľké, staré, popukané kachle a oproti polica, ktorá sa prehýnala pod ťarchou kníh a spisov.¹ Andrej Hlinka bol spisovateľsky činný 45 rokov. Písal politické články, prejavy, homílie, zamyslenia, správy, oznamy, hospodárske štúdie, zostavovateľské práce, preklady atď. Publikoval v takmer všetkých domácich periodikách, politických a náboženských novinách a časopisoch, ale aj v zahraničí. Okrem svojho mena sa podpisoval iniciálami: A. H., Ah, viacerými pseudonymami: Mešťan, Kostolan, Pravdomil, Výborník, Lipták, Alfa, Vážň. Andrej Hlinka vybudoval tlačiareň, ktorá tlačila časopisy, stranícke noviny, ročenky, kalendáre, almanachy. Niektoré tlačoviny sám založil a bol ich pravidelným prispievateľom. Taktiež bol aj autorom značného počtu rozhovorov, ktoré vychádzali v zahraničí. Pritom výrazne ovplyvňovali a spo-

¹ Porov. *Slovenská pravda*, 17. 3. 1935, roč. 16, č. 11, s. 6.

luytvárali slovenský politický život. Nielen ako kňaz a politik, ale aj ako publicista bol a stále je vnímaný protichodne. Už za jeho života ho Karol Sidor považoval za rodeného novinára, avšak Vavro Šrobár sa o jeho publicistike vyjadroval kriticky a považoval ho za novinársku kuriozitu: „*Hlinkovi chýbí istá mužná kolektívnosť, objektivnosť k udalostiam a osobám. On stále díva sa na osoby a na veci v akomsi exaltovanom naladení ducha.*“ (s. 7). Samozrejme ostáva na čitateľoch publikovanej zbierky, aby si o Andrejovi Hlinkovi vytvorili vlastný názor na základe publikovaných 294 dokumentov v recenzovanom zväzku.

Atraktívnosť zbierky prejavov a článkov robí skutočnosť, že Hlinka k slovenskej otázke pristupoval komplexne a z celospoločenského pohľadu. Všeobecný Hlinkov záber možno vnímať v tom, že ako autor textov zasahoval do mnohých oblastí: náboženstvo, cirkev, sociálna oblasť, politika, hospodárstvo, ekonomika, kultúra a témy celosvetového dobového diania. Aby sa bádateľom dostala do rúk najucelenejšia zbierka jeho textov, na začiatku bola myšlienka vyhľadať, zozbierať a zapísať Hlinkove texty. Dokonca povedané slovami samotného protagonistu článkov: „*Myšlienka by už len bola, ale ako ju uviesť do života?*“ (s. 111). A práve na základe výskumu historici Róbert Letz a spol. zostavili a vydali zbierku dokumentov. Ide o články a prejavy Andreja Hlinku z rokov 1893 – 1918. Priekopníkom, ktorý začal vyhľadávať a zapisovať texty A. Hlinku bol spomínaný pracovník Liptovského múzea v Ružomberku Pavol Stano. Následne pred rokom 1991 Slovenská Národná knižnica v Martine vyexcerpovala 1768 záznamov, z čoho bolo 581 textov, ktorých autorom je A. Hlinka a 1186 zápisov tvorili práce o Hlinkovi. Súpis článkov Andreja Hlinku vydala aj Matica slovenská v publikácii od Olexáka Petra a Šafanovičovej Anny s názvom: *Antológia časopiseckých a novinových článkov Andreja Hlinku*, v ktorej sa nachádza 63 Hlinkových článkov. „*Antologické texty obsahujú pramenný materiál z obdobia od roku 1893 do augusta 1938.*“¹ Ako nedostatok tejto antológie uvádza v úvode publikácie: *Andrej Hlinka Prejavy a články I. 1893 – 1918*, Róbert Letz, obmedzený rozsah antológie a reprodukciu bez kritického poznámkového aparátu. Antológia je prvou prácou na Slovensku, v ktorej je chronologicky publikovaný súpis článkov Andreja Hlinku, preto historici a bádatelia radi po nej siahnu, pričom z nej aj čerpajú. Takú istú kritiku vznáša nami predstavovaná kniha taktiež na publikáciu z roku 2014 od Róberta Letza², prezentujúcu 59 dokumentov, ktoré spadajú do rokov 1894 – 1938. V roku 2022 vo vydavateľstve: Post Scriptum, vyšla publikácia s názvom: *Andrej Hlinka. Autorská bibliografia*³, v ktorej historici Róbert Letz a Pavol Makyna dopĺňajú a korigujú doterajšie bibliografie o nové zistenia. Táto monografia je rozdelená na: 1. Samostatné publikácie, 2. Príspevky v samostatných publikáciách, 3. Preklady, 4. Články, 5. Prejavy, 6. Interview a 7. Publikované pramene. Kniha je obohatená o Kalendárium života A. Hlinku a zoznam excerpovaných prameňov. Bohatú

¹ OLEXÁK, Peter – ŠAFANOVIČOVÁ, Anna. *Antológia časopiseckých a novinových článkov Andreja Hlinku*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 2013, s. 9.

² LETZ, Róbert. *Andrej Hlinka vo svetle dokumentov*. Bratislava: Post Scriptum, 2014, 357 s.

³ LETZ, Róbert – MAKYNA, Pavol. *Andrej Hlinka. Autorská bibliografia*. Bratislava: Post Scriptum, 2022, 164 s.

spisovateľskú aktivitu A. Hlinku nachádzame v celkovo 2022 záznamoch autorskej bibliografie A. Hlinku.

Publikácia *Andrej Hlinka Prejavy a články I. 1893 – 1918*, je kritickou edíciou prameňov, založenou na výskume v domácich i zahraničných archívoch a knižniciach. Z domácich spomeňme: Slovenský národný archív v Bratislave, či Slovenská Národná knižnica v Martine (tak Literárny archív ako aj knižnica). Zo zahraničných napríklad: Národný archív Českej republiky v Prahe, Rakúska národná knižnica vo Viedni, Sečeniho národná knižnica v Budapešti, či Národná knižnica vo Varšave. Podľa nás je kniha vynikajúcou pomôckou s dobrou koncepciou zostavenia zbierky prejavov a článkov, pretože stojí na dostatočnej vzorke relevantných inštitúcií. Súčasťou zbierky je: 1. Zoznam dokumentov v slovenskom jazyku, 2. Zoznam dokumentov v anglickom jazyku, 3. Dokumenty, 4. Záver v slovenskom jazyku, 5. Záver v anglickom jazyku, 6. Zoznam použitých prameňov a literatúry, 7. Menný register, 8. Miestny register.

„Tlač je veľmoc, to uznáva priateľ i nepriateľ... Tlač ako dnes jestvuje, je zrkadlom celého života, v nej sa odzrkadľujú kultúrne, spoločenské, náboženské i politické pomery. Môžeme smele tvrdiť, že nositeľkou dnešnej histórie je tlač. Pod mocou tlače stoja štáty, národy i jednotlivci, v moci tlače je dnes každý jednotlivec.“⁴

Autenticitosť celej knihy zvyšuje fakt, že dokumenty sú publikované v plnom znení a len v zásadných prípadoch prispôsobené súčasnej pravopisnej norme. Osobitý štýl A. Hlinku predstavovali expresívne výrazy, nárečové slová a novotvary, ktoré editori v publikácii ponechali. Hlinka publikoval aj v maďarčine a nemčine, preto editori tieto texty preložili do slovenčiny. Cudzojazyčné výrazy a vety, najmä latinské, francúzske, nemecké a maďarské, editori preložili v poznámke pod čiarou. Na konci každého dokumentu je odkaz na zdroj, z ktorého pochádza.

Podľa editorov recenzovanej knihy: *„Hlinka sa ako osobnosť vyznačoval až cholerickým temperamentom, životným dynamizmom, priamosťou, rozhodnosťou, nekompromisnosťou, neústupnosťou, cieľavedomosťou a húževnatosťou. Bol akoby stále pripravený prijímať a rozdávať údery, otvorene diskutovať a polemizovať. Nebol burič ani rebel, ale bojovník. Podstatou jeho osobnosti bol boj, často neľútostný a bezohľadný, ale vždy zdôvodňovaný ideálnymi cieľmi. Hlinkova publicistika verne odzrkadľovala jeho osobnosť.“* (s. 741).

Publicistiku Andreja Hlinku editori rozdelili do tematických okruhov: 1. Politický, 2. Biografický, 3. Náboženský, 4. Osvetový a ľudovýchovný, 5. Spolkový, 6. Prekladateľský.

Andrej Hlinka používal jednoduchý jazyk ľudu a jeho štýl bol jasný, presvedčujúci, strhujúci, polemický a nezmieriteľný, kde v zápale polemiky ťal do živého a nikoho nešetril. Tak napríklad v časopise *Duchovný pastier*, roč. 2, 1918/1919, č. 3 – 4, s. 110 napísal: *„Okolo roku 1840 vliekla sa slobodná Terézia N. cele ustatá do dedinky. Cítila ťažkú nemoc, ale dotiahla sa do kostola. Duševné bóle a na ramenách neviniatko zväčšovali jej biedu.“* (s. 739).

Taktiež editori rozdelili publicistiku A. Hlinku do siedmich období: 1.) Roky 1893 – 1896: Začiatky publicistickej činnosti Andreja Hlinku. 2.) Roky 1897 – 1901:

Rozmach publikačnej činnosti Andreja Hlinku. 3.) Roky 1902 – 1904: Útlm publicistiky Andreja Hlinku. 4.) Roky 1905 – 1907: Andrej Hlinka sa vrátil k častému publikovaniu. 5.) Roky 1908 – 1909: Andrej Hlinka bol väznený v Segedíne, a preto publikoval iba sporadicky. 6.) Roky 1910 – 1913: „*V momente, keď na jar v roku 1910 Andrej Hlinka opustil segedínske väzenie*“⁵, opäť pôsobil na fare v Ružomberku, kedy jeho publicistiku poznačil ostrý zápas so slovenskými, českými, maďarskými liberálmi a socialistami. 7.) Roky 1914 – 1918: Andrej Hlinka sa v tomto období odmlčal a súviselo to s prvou svetovou vojnou.

Publikácia poskytuje prehľad tvorby A. Hlinku, a preto je výbornou pomôckou, ktorú ocenia nielen vedci, bádatelia a študenti, ale aj široká čitateľská verejnosť.

⁵ OLEXÁK, Peter. Obvinenie z korupcie: Nástroj politického boja v rámci Slovenského národného hnutia začiatkom 20. storočia. In *Historický časopis*, 2020, roč. 68, č. 1, s. 86 [online]. Dostupné na internete: <https://www.sav.sk/journals/uploads/02111314Olexák.pdf> [20. 4. 2024] <https://doi.org/10.31577/histcaso.2020.68.1.4>

JUDÁK, V. – LETZ, R. – ŽEŇUCH, P.: *Cyrilo – metódská tradícia ako základný prvok náboženskej a národnej identity Slovákov*. Nitra : Gorazd n.f., Kňazský seminár sv. Gorazda, 2023. 126 s. ISBN 978-80-89481-68-2.

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V apoštolskom liste *Egregiae virtutis viri* ustanovil pápež sv. Ján Pavol II. 31. 12. 1980 sv. Cyrila a Metoda za spolupatrónov Európy a v encyklike *Slavorum apostoli* z 2. 6. 1985 zdôraznil význam účinkovania týchto svätcov pre slovanské národy, pre rozvoj kresťanstva a kultúry s ním spojenej, teda pre ich začlenenie do celoeurópskeho kontextu.

Predložená monografia s názvom *Cyrilo-metódská tradícia ako základný prvok náboženskej a národnej identity Slovákov* z pera pre slovenskú verejnosť známych renomovaných slovenských historikov akými sú prof. V. Judák, R. Letz a P. Žeňuch je venovaná téme cyrilometodskej tradície, ktorú môžeme jednoznačne chápať ako jeden zo základných prvkov náboženskej a a národnej identity Slovákov. Aj keď na predmetnú tému cyrilometodskej tradície bolo publikovaných už mnoho diel, je potrebné neustále vracieť sa k tomuto dôležitému fenoménu, aby kult svätých Cyrila a Metoda sa staval nielen náboženským kultom, ktorý by mal byť vyjadrením hlbokého duchovného vzťahu k týmto svätcovi, ale zároveň aby tento kult bol ozajstným uvedomením si tej skutočnosti, že je aj zdrojom kresťanskej a národnej identity Slovákov.

Monografia je členená na tri základné kapitoly. V prvej z nich, autor nitriansky biskup prof. Viliam Judák, ako je to uvedené v jej pomenovaní, prezentuje cyrilometodské hodnoty nitrianskymi biskupmi v 20. storočí. Každý jeden z nich, či už biskup dr. K. Kmeťko, dr. E. Nécsey, dr. J. Pásztor a predovšetkým kardinál J. CH. Korec prispeli výraznou mierou k uvedomeniu si dôležitosti cyrilo-metodskej tradície v kontexte našich dejín. Osobitným spôsobom to vyjadril o. kardinál Korec na Devíne 5. júla 2008, keď s hrdosťou povedal: „Nie sme včerajší, máme hlboké historické korene. To je naša hrdosť navonok pred Európou. Pre vnútorný život nášho Slovenska je to zas výzva vážne chápať zmienku o cyrilometodskej zmienke v Preambule Ústavy Slovenskej republiky a žiť podľa tejto tradície. Pretínať korene a chcieť sa odtrhnúť od veľkých mravných a náboženských síl týchto našich koreňov by bolo

samovraždou kultúry a národa... Celá naša kultúra na Slovensku tak bola a je preniknutá kresťanstvom. To má pre celý náš život na Slovensku podstatný význam...”

Autor druhej kapitoly prof. Róbert Letz predstavuje zaujímavý rozmer osobnosti Andreja Hlinku v rozmere cyrilo-metodskej tradície. Uvádza, že: „Cyrilo-metodská tradícia a úcta patria k základným charakteristikám Hlinkovej osobnosti. Hlinka sa k nim hlásil uvedomele ako rímskokatolícky kňaz. Takouto formou manifestoval svoju náboženskú a zároveň aj národnú – slovenskú a slovanskú identitu v čase, keď Uhorsko praktizovalo systematickú maďarizačnú politiku. Hlinka sa pridržal cyrilo-metodskej úcty a tradície aj napriek rizikám konfliktov s uhorskou štátnou a cirkevnou mocou. Sv. Cyrila a Metoda Hlinka považoval za zakladateľov slovenskej kresťanskej kultúry a národnej identity.“ Túto skutočnosť vyjadroval svojimi púťami na Velehrad od roku 1899 s prestávkami až do roku 1924.

Tretia kapitola, ktorá nesie názov *Svätí Cyril a Metod v duchovnej kultúre gréckokatolíkov na Slovensku v prvej polovici 20. storočia* je spracovaná prof. Petrom Žeňuchom, ktorý je uznávaným odborníkom v predmetnej oblasti s poukázaním na dôležitosť jazyka v tomto kontexte, keď uvádza, že: „Duchovný a identifikačný odkaz cyrilo-metodského dedičstva je súčasťou konceptu, ktorý súvisí s jazykovým a kultúrno-historickým vývinom Slovanov a zároveň tvorí podstatu myšlienkového prúdenia aj v slovenskej národnej a konfesionálnej tradícii.“

Osobitnú pozornosť venuje identite byzantskej kresťanskej tradície v systéme slovenskej kultúry. V prostredí Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi na Slovensku cyrilo-metodská duchovnosť zohrávala podstatnú úlohu pri tvorbe konceptov duchovno-kultúrnej identifikácie slovenských gréckokatolíkov.

Predmetnú monografiu hodnotím ako veľmi prínosné dielo, ktoré obohatí tematiku cyrilo-metodskej tradície. Tá je stále prítomná v našich dejinách ako to o nej vyjadril kardinál Jozef Tomko týmito slovami: „Ona je ako živá podzemná voda, ktorá v ťažkých chvíľach vytryskne ako obnovujúci a oživujúci prameň.“ Táto tradícia nie je muzeálnou záležitosťou, ktorú každoročne oprašujeme. Je to sprítomnená historická skutočnosť, ktorá v sebe nesie hodnoty, ktoré by sme mali v správnej miere vrátiť do našej kultúry ako fundament, ktorý má svoju stabilitu. Predložená monografia je dielom, ktorým jej autori výraznou mierou prispeli k stálej aktualizácii cyrilo-metodskej tradície, vďaka ktorej môžeme neustále ďakovať našim vierozvestcom za dar viery a kultúry a tak sa neustále duchovne obnovovať.

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