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SEMINARE

LEARNED INVESTIGATIONS

QUARTERLY

Volume 42 No. 4

DOI: <http://doi.org/10.21852/sem.2021.4>

FRANCIS DE SALES LEARNED SOCIETY
KRAKÓW-PIŁA-WARSZAWA-WROCŁAW

2021

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Publisher

Francis de Sales Learned Society

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Print edition is the original version of the periodical

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ISSN 1232-8766

DOI: <http://doi.org/10.21852/sem>

Printed by

Elpil, Siedlce

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KWARTALNIK

Tom 42 nr 4

DOI: <http://doi.org/10.21852/sem.2021.4>

TOWARZYSTWO NAUKOWE FRANCISZKA SALEZEGO
KRAKÓW-PIŁA-WARSZAWA-WROCŁAW

2021

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ISSN 1232-8766

DOI: <http://doi.org/10.21852/sem>

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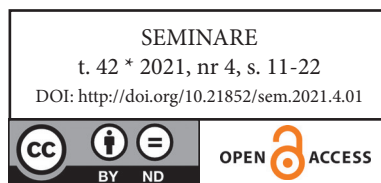
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Received: 26 Oct 2021; Reviewed: 30 Nov 2021; Accepted: 06 Dec 2021

MNEMOHISTORY OF *EXODUS* AND APOCALYPTIC IN PAUL'S PICTURE OF CHRISTIANS' NEW EXISTENTIAL CONDITION IN THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS

Abstract

It seems unquestionable today that the tradition of the *exodus* recurrently appears in the form of reminiscences, or theological reflection in some books of the OT, however, there are numerous hypotheses that this motive could have also been used in NT texts. In the present article, the author formulates a hypothesis that St. Paul in his Letter to the Galatians uses in the mnemohistoric manner the topos of theological *exodus* when he presents the picture of the new, existential condition of Christians, and that he simultaneously employs the apocalypitics as a form of expression representative of his epoch and appropriate for the context of his argumentation.

Keywords: suffering, apocalypitics, *exodus*, St. Paul, Biblical Theology, NT ethics, Galatians, Gal. 3, Mnemohistory

MNEMOHISTORIA *EXODUSU* I APOKALIPTYKA W PAWŁOWYM OBRAZIE NOWEJ KONDYCJI EGZYSTENCJALNEJ CHRZEŚCIJANINA W LIŚCIE DO GALATÓW

Abstrakt

Rzeczą oczywistą jest dzisiaj to, że tradycja *exodusu* jest tą, która pojawia się w postaci reminiscencji, refleksji teologicznej w niektórych księgach ST, ale – według licznych hipotez – jest ona także motywem, który mógł zostać wykorzystany w NT. Autor artykułu stawia hipotezę o mnemohistorycznym wykorzystaniu przez św. Pawła w kontekście przedstawiania w Liście do Galatów obrazu nowej kondycji życia chrześcijanina toposu teologicznego *exodusu* przy jednoczesnym posłużeniu się apokaliptyką jako formą wyrazu adekwatną dla epoki i kontekstu argumentacyjnego.

Słowa kluczowe: cierpienie, apokaliptyka, *exodus*, św. Paweł, teologia biblijna, etyka NT, List do Galatów, Ga 3, mnemohistoria

INTRODUCTION

Today, it is difficult to deny the use of some Old Testament traditions, which in various ways penetrate the books of the New Testament. This is due to the fact that the authors of the latter collection originated from among the People of the First Covenant and those traditions in a way constituted a “cultural code” defining their identity. Such an assumption primarily concerns St. Paul, the Hebrew of the Hebrews, and his *epistolarium*. It seems unquestionable that the tradition of the *exodus* is the one that recurrently appears in the form of reminiscences, or theological reflection in some books of the OT, however, according to numerous hypotheses the motive could have been used in the NT as well¹. Regardless of this, in numerous works of exegetes researching the epistles of the Apostle of the Gentiles at the end of the 19th century, there appear references to the apocalyptics and conclusions about its inspirational influence on the thought expressed by Saint Paul in his epistles. The themes of suffering and hope, which appear in several letters of the Apostle Paul seem to be a keystone of both contexts (Gieniusz 1999, 89-130; Sztuk 2019, 18-40). One example here is the Letter to the Galatians, which allows to draw conclusions about mnemohistoric reminiscences of the *exodus* presented within the framework of the apocalyptics².

1. TRADITION OF THE *EXODUS* IN PAUL’S EPISTOLARIUM

In 1948, William D. Davies referring to the letters of St. Paul contended that in some threads of his theological reflection (Rom. 6; 1 Cor. 5:6-8; 10:1; 15:20; 2 Cor. 3:1-11) the Apostle, when comparing Christian life to the Passover, used the motif of the *exodus* as the “prototype of the mighty act of God in Christ” (Davies 1980, 105). The Passover of Christ as the Lamb sacrificed (1 Cor. 5:6-8) is, according to Davies, a constitutive event marking the point when Christians become the “New Israel”: “Paul was the preacher of a New Exodus wrought by the ‘merit’ of Christ who was obedient unto death, but this New Exodus like the Old

¹ Particular interest in the topos of the *exodus* can be noted in the scientific research of exegetes from the mid-nineteenth century, when the term “new exodus” appears and is used with reference to Isaiah’s prophecy about returning from exile, which was perceived as a new act of salvation of God Himself and was thus associated with the Departure of the Israelites from Egypt (Cfr. Alexander 1847; Barstand 1989). To this day, many authors trace the topos or tradition of the *exodus* in the gospels as well as in other books of the NT. Such is the line of interpretation of the reflective quotation from Hos. 11:1, contained in Math. 2:15, the Herod-Pharaoh comparison in Matthew 2:16 or the perception of Jesus as the new Moses in Matthew 1-5. (Cfr. Davies 1964, 25-93; Allison 1993, 140; Manek 1957, 8-23; Pao 2000; Mathewson 2003).

² In such a direction of mnemohistory presented in the light of apocalyptics can be found in the interpretation of Rom 8,18-25 in *Pomiędzy mnemohistorią i apokaliptyką. Pawłowy obraz kondycji „wyjścia” w Rz 8,18-25. Studium egzegetyczno-teologiczne* [Between Mnemohistory and the Apocalyptic. Paul’s Image of the “Exodus” Condition in Rom. 8:18-25. Exegetical and Theological Study].

was constitutive of community, it served to establish the New Israel; it also led to the foot of a New Sinai, and Paul appeared before us as a catechist, the steward of a New Didache that imposed new demands. ‘Torah’, ‘Obedience’ and ‘Community’ then are integral to Pauline Christianity no less than to Judaism” (Davies 1980, 323). It was Davies who introduced the concept of the “new Exodus” to the study of Paul’s epistles, however, unlike the exegetes of the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, rather than relating it to the fulfillment of Isaiah’s prophecy, he referred it to the act of Salvation, i.e., the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. It is in this sense that, as Davies puts it, Christians who die and rise in Christ, partake in the “new Exodus” (Davies 1980, 146; Cfr. Sanders 1977, 511-515).

The same line of argument was followed by James K. Howard, for whom the “new Exodus”, initiated by Christ’s death and baptism, sealed the end of the old world and the beginning of the new one (Howard 1969, 104).

Ignace de la Potterie, referring in particular to Rom. 8, also pointed to the leading role of the *exodus* topos in St. Paul’s argument. The author distinguished here three leitmotifs, namely, liberation from slavery (v. 15: οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας), adoptive sonship (vv. 14-17: υἱοὶ θεοῦ εἰσιν - υἰοθεσίας - τέκνα ἔερο) and inheritance (v. 17: κληρονόμοι). In addition, De la Potterie noted that the verb ἄγονται, which in the Septuagint is the terminus technicus describing the leading of the people by God Himself, was used in Romans in a similar context of leading and accompanying believers by the Holy Spirit.³

William J. Webb in his study on 2 Corinthians 6:14–7:1 concluded that this pericope, perceived by some exegetes only as an insertion, coincided with the entire Second Corinthians. Webb stated that the common theme and at the same time the foundation of unity in this case is “the use of the tradition of the New Covenant and return from exile” (Webb 1993, 14). However, the author, did not trace the sources of inspiration of Paul’s reflection back to the event of the Israelites’ exodus from captivity in Egypt, but linked it with the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah about the “new Exodus” (Webb 1993, 133).

Nicholas T. Wright, on the other hand, based his theory of the “new Exodus” on the belief that Israel’s exile still continued during the Second Temple period. Consequently, the Jews at that time were still hoping for a “new Exodus” seen as a return from exile: “Many if not most second-Temple Jews, then, hoped for the new exodus, seen as the final return from exile. The story would reach its climax; the great battle would be fought; Israel would truly ‘return’ to her land, saved and free; YHWH would return to Zion. This would be, in the metaphorical sense, the end of the world, the ushering in at last of YHWH’s promised new age” (Wright 1996, 209). Wright expanded on his theory on the “new Exodus” in his numerous

³ Cfr. De la Potterie 1976, 209-278. However, the author perceives the Rom. 8: 14-17 pericope as detached from the context of the immediately preceding verses, which mention putting to death the deeds of the body with the help of the Spirit. De la Potterie’s intuitions were confirmed in later research and in the in-depth analysis presented, among others, in the publication of Zvonir Herman (Herman 1987, 26-84).

publications. The author, assuming that the remission of sins is in fact another way of expressing the truth about the return from exile, sees the text of Jeremiah 31:31-34, which mentions the act of making a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah and returning from exile as “a new Exodus” which at the same time should be associated with the renewal of hearts, interiorization of the Torah and remission of sins (Wright 1996, 268-269). Wright’s controversial view of the “new Exodus” as a return from exile, due to the powerful message of hope related to the times of the Second Temple, was referred by the author himself to the content of the gospel, including the Last Supper. Wright contended that “Jesus’ central actions during the meal seem to have been designed to reinforce the point of the whole meal: the kingdom-agenda to which he had been obedient throughout his ministry was now at last reaching its ultimate destination. Passover looked back to the exodus, and on to the coming of the kingdom. Jesus intended this meal to symbolize the new exodus, the arrival of the kingdom through his own fate. The meal, focused on Jesus’ actions with the bread and the cup, told the Passover story, and Jesus’ own story, and wove these two into one” (Wright 1996, 558-559). Wright interpretes Paul’s description of Christians in Rom. 8:12-17 as “God’s people of the new Exodus” (Wright 1999, 29), and he is convinced of the primary role of the motif of the “new Exodus” Rom. 38 -chapters.

Special attention here is due to publications of Sylvia C. Keesmaat, who devotes the first of them to Rom. 8:14-30 (Keesmaat 1994, 29-56). The author, conducting both intertextual and intratextual research, writes about St. Paul that “Unlike the authors of the book of Jubilees, the Qumran commentaries, or the Targums, he is not involved in an intentional and explicit systematic retelling of the biblical story or a systematic exegesis of a given text. Paul’s use of the Old Testament tradition in these verses is more implicit: it works on the level of echo or allusion” (Keesmaat 1994, 32). When assessing the degree to which OT texts were used in the analyzed fragment, i.e., Rom. 8:14-30, Keesmaat refers to seven criteria previously indicated by R. Hays. These are: Availability, Volume, Recurrence, Thematic Coherence, Historical Plausibility, History of Interpretation, Satisfaction, i.e. determining whether a given reading of the text is accurate and whether it sufficiently explains its context (Hays 1989, 29-32). In this publication, Keesmaat traces some intertextual references between the analyzed passage of the Letter to the Romans and Lev 32, Is 63, Jeremiah 38 and Gen 3. Answers to the questions asked according to the seven above-mentioned criteria allow to confirm the use of the *exodus* tradition in Rom. 8:14-30, which the author expressed in the following words: “The language formerly applied to God leading Israel is now characteristic of those in Christ led by a suffering spirit; he applies Israel’s role of son to Jesus Christ and those in him; and, as I said earlier, he transforms the exodus narrative of bondage-groaning-liberation so that it is no longer only the story of Israel, but the story of the whole people of God, the story of the whole of creation, indeed, nothing less than the story of God’s very self” (Keesmaat 1994, 49). Sylvia C. Keesmaat expands on her conclusions presented

in the article in her book, *Paul and His Story: (Re) Interpreting the Exodus Story*, where she assumes that “creative rewriting and reworking of biblical traditions” is characteristic of the writings of Israel (Keesmaat 1999, 24). Such creativity in relation to the Old Testament and its traditions was to be characteristic also of St. Paul, who neither avoided these traditions nor simply copied them, but in a way reinterpreted them in the view of the event of Jesus Christ. Particularly valuable are the chapters of the discussed publication, where Keesmaat analyzes the texts of the OT and indicates terms which, as she claims, will become crucial in finding the convergence of Paul’s arguments with the tradition of the *exodus*. In the context of Chapter 7 of the Letter to the Romans, the key factor is the use of a whole range of terms (ἄγω, πνεῦμα δουλείας, υἱοὶ θεοῦ, υἰοθεσία, τέκνα θεοῦ, κληρονόμοι) that are used to describe the situation, condition of believers, and at the same time point to challenges faced by them. In her analysis, Keesmaat indicates the passages of Lev 32, Is 63 and Jer 38, showing that the authors of the Book of Wisdom, the Book of Baruch, 1 Enoch, 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch used the *exodus* motif and then states that the Christians to whom the Apostle Paul addressed his letter, were set free, regained their freedom and became τέκνα θεοῦ as did the *exodus* generation. Based on these semblances, the author argues that Rom. 8:14-17 is a recontextualization of the *exodus*. Keesmaat develops her ideas further and claims that Paul’s argumentation is continued in the literary unit of Rom. 8:18-39, where the binding motif is the theme of the suffering of creation: “In using the same language to speak of the Spirit’s wordless groans in the midst of believers’ prayer, Paul is evoking the Old Testament tradition wherein God enters into the suffering of God’s people. Such a tradition is rooted in the *exodus* account and is linked to the new *exodus* which God will enact. The language of suffering throughout this passage, culminating with the groaning of the Spirit, provides depth for the identification of the sons of God with Christ, the first-born Son” (Keesmaat 1999, 134). However, as Keesmaat argues, this suffering is not the final stage as the description of creation in which St. Paul uses the pain of childbirth theme leads to a surprising solution: καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ (Rom. 8:21). In other words, creation will also experience liberation, that is, a “new *Exodus*”.

In view of the above-presented hypotheses claiming that the *exodus* plays an important role in the argumentation of Paul’s epistles, it can be concluded first of all that the cited authors adopted varying approaches. In her in-depth study in which she took into account a wide range of OT texts embodying the *exodus* tradition, Keesmaat refers here to a “creative reworking” of biblical traditions.

While it seems that the tradition of the *exodus* does not appear in St. Paul in the entire extent of his historical, multi-threaded description, it can hardly be called just an allusion. The intention to include it in the arguments of individual letters indicates that the Apostle drew a broader plan. It seems plausible here to refer to the idea of Ronald Hendel (Hendel 2001, 601-622), who, referring to the theory of Jan Assmann, views the history of Israel’s *exodus* from Egypt through the

prism of an approach to cultural memory, which has been defined as *mnemohistory* (Assmann 1997, 8-9)⁴. Hendel juxtaposed the biblical threads of the history of the *exodus* with extra-biblical texts, concluding that the history of the *exodus* served as a paradigm for the next two and a half thousand years: “The memory of the *exodus* is not just a memory of historical events, but a conflation of history that suits the conditions of different qualities of time” (Hendel 2001, 622). Hendel decided to name this history as “mnemohistory of the *exodus*”, as it is essentially a “Story of various pasts as they converge in the interesting times of ancient lives, a particular people, and humanity writ large” (Hendel 2001, 622).

2. MNEMOHISTORY AND APOKALIPTICS

The publication on Rom. 8:18-25 (Sztuk 2019) follows the direction set by Hendel, which, apart from stating the parallels between this pericope of Paul and specific texts of the OT where terminology or content either directly represent or echo the *exodus* event, it was also possible to establish that the Apostle Paul refers to some extent to the entire intertextual motif of the history of the *exodus*, starting from the slavery and suffering experienced in Egypt, through the wandering in the desert, to the announcement of the Promised Land. The above-mentioned motif appears both in the texts of the OT and in the intertestamental literature, but also in other books of the NT, which, even without proving their mnemohistoric overtones, may point to a kind of common intuition and conviction shared by the authors about the paradigmatic value of the *exodus*. At the same time, the proposed approach to the subject of presenting the existential condition of Christians in Rom. 8:18-25, suggests that St. Paul used apocalypics as a form of expression adequate for his times as well as for the argumentative context of the Letter to the Romans (Sztuk 2019, 244-251). It is the example of Rom. 5:12-21, that allowed to understand how Paul combined simultaneously two sources to develop his concept of the history of salvation, that is when he paralleled Adam and Christ as protagonists of two periods of history known from the apocalypics. Adam is the first creation, the present age and he remains under the rule of evil, sin and death. At the same time, however, he is a type of Christ portrayed as “the firstborn of the new creation” (Col. 1:15), “from among mortals” (Col. 1:18; Rev. 1:5), among many brethren (Rom. 8:29). Adam foreshadowed Christ, because it is He, Christ, who is the centre not only of history, but also of all reality created in Him, for Him and through Him (Cfr. Col. 1:15-18). Adam foreshadowed Him as a Man

⁴ Assmann provides the following descriptive definition of mnemohistory: “Unlike history proper, mnemohistory is concerned not with the past as such, but only with the past as it is remembered. It surveys the story-lines of tradition, the webs of intertextuality, the diachronic continuities and discontinuities of reading the past. Mnemohistory is not opposite of history, but rather is one of its branches or subdisciplines, such as intellectual history, social history, the history of mentalities, or the history of ideas... Mnemohistory is reception theory applied to history” (Assmann 1997, 9).

in the fullest sense of the word, while the Scriptures foretold Him in a prophetic sense as the Messiah. St. Paul, by presenting the crucified Jesus as the fulfilled Messiah, introduced perhaps the most radical innovation in the schemas of the apocalypics. The expectations fulfilled by the apocalypics presented the Messiah as a condottiere, the victorious commander of the Lord's armies overcoming the eternal and contemporary enemies of Israel, as exemplified in the Qumran scriptures. Meanwhile, Paul portrays Jesus as crucified and bereft (Rom. 6:9-10; Phil. 2:5-11). The fact that He rose from the dead on the third day did not subdue the shock of the cross, but on the contrary, made Christ the cause of scandal for the Jews and the object of mockery for the Greeks (Sztuk 2019, 248)⁵.

Another prerogative of Christ in St. Paul is His second coming (Greek *parousia*, 24 times the NT, 14 times Paul). The day when this happen will be the Lord's Day and *His Day* (1 Thess. 5:2; 1 Cor. 1:8; Phil. 1:6; 3:12-21; Rom. 14:7-12.17-18; 2 Cor. 5:10; 1 Thess. 4:13-18; 1 Cor. 15:20-28.50-58). It will be the day of Christ's revelation (1 Cor. 1:7). In the First Testament and in the apocalypics it was reserved to Yahweh (Cfr. Am. 5:18-20; Zech. 1:14-16; Joel 2:2). The Second Coming of Christ will be aimed at the recapitulation of history and the judgment of the world that God entrusts to Christ as the final task in the history of creation and at the same time, the ultimate act in the history of salvation. What is important, is not only the judgement of the lives of individual people, their behavior, faith or lack of faith (detailed judgment), but, on the moral and spiritual level, the need to take responsibility for one's own life. They should not be indifferent to *how* they live, because God Himself is not indifferent to people's ways of life redeemed by the blood of His Son. That is why, He calls them to believe in the act of love of the Son who gave His life for us when we were still sinners (Rom. 5:8-10). From the perspective of Paul's writings, the idea of judgment involves moreover recapitulating everything in *Christ* (Cfr. Eph. 1:10), and in this idea we can also discern the influence of the apocalypics.

3. PICTURE OF THE EXISTENTIAL CONDITION OF A CHRISTIAN IN THE LETTER TO THE GALATIANS

It is not difficult to notice that in the Letter to the Galatians, St. Paul recurrently uses terminology related to the revelation in which prevails the Greek root ἀποκαλυπ (Ga 1:12.16; 2:2; 3:23). This terminology is used by the Apostle primarily with reference to the revelation of the Son of God and the message of the Gospel that the Apostle preached among the pagans in the later part of his life and ministry. J. Louis Martyn says that St. Paul's gospel does not describe "directing mankind toward blessing, but God's invasion aimed at delivering the

⁵ A slightly different model of intertextual interpretation, in which the Christ-Word is placed at the centre as the interpreter, was proposed in the in-depth hypertextual analysis of the Letter to the Romans and the Book of Wisdom in Mateusz Krawczyk's publication (Krawczyk 2020).

world” (Martyn 2000, 246-266). This “invasion of God” is best expressed in the Letter to Galatians 4:4: ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον. According St. Paul, the sending of the Son of God marked the end of the era of “this present evil world” (Gal. 1:4) and at the same time the beginning of the “new creation” (Gal. 6:15). The Apostle, as if following the convention imposed by the History of Salvation, whose Author and Creator is God Himself, wishes to maintain the dichotomy between two eras: the “already” and the “not yet” (Dunne 2015, 8). Therefore, in the doctrinal part of the letter (chap. 3–4) the Apostle speaks of the salvation that was earned through Christ’s death and resurrection (1:1; 2:20), while in the parnetic part of the letter (chap. 5–6) he presents the addressees with images referring to the judgment, to the time of the final harvest (cf. Gal. 5:2; 5:10; 6:5.7-9). On the one hand, Paul speaks of the time of submission to the Law (3:23), and on the other, about the challenges of the freedom that believers find in Christ (5:1). These states and challenges are assigned to philological categories described by *indicativus salutis* – salvation already fulfilled, and by *imperativus ethicus* as the challenges for the existence of the letter’s addressees, i.e., the Galatians and all Christians⁶. If, then, the Apostle places Christ’s Passover, His death on the cross, and His resurrection (1:1-4; 2:19-20; 6:14) at the centre of the argument presented in this letter, he does so by revealing the truth about *Christ’s exodus* to show the profound meaning of a Christian’s existence that draws hope from communion of life with Christ (2:10-20). Paul thus places the salvation event, which is Jesus, the Son of God, the Wisdom and Power of God at the centre of mortality (1 Cor. 1:18.24). It is His death and resurrection that “divides” mortality into these two stages, i.e., הַיְוָה הַיְוָה (Rom. 12:2; 1 Cor. 1:20; 2:6), which is “evil” (Gal. 4), subjected to principalities and powers (1 Cor. 2:6-7) and אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים (Eph. 1:21; 2:7). While *this* world seems to be ruled by “principalities and powers” the coming world will be fully ruled by Christ, who will give to God the work of creation restored by His saving act (“submission under His feet”) as His property, that he “may be all in all” (cf. 1 Cor. 15:24-28; cf. Eph. 1:20-23). Christ’s centrality as a historical and theological event *par excellence* is beyond question in St. Paul’s apocalypics. There remains, however, a certain “detail”, namely, that not everything seems to be subjected to Christ, the present time is therefore an “open time” of decisions and declarations, which a Christian makes by his or her actions and attitudes rather than words. That is why, Paul speaks of salvation, which is *already* a fact, and at the same time this fact remains for Christians in the order of hope, a future that has already come but is not *yet* seen. Hence our acts constitute acts in the light of faith.

John A. Dunne, in his article *Suffering and Covenantal Hope in Galatians*, accuses other authors of not including the subject of suffering and persecution in the apocalyptic reading of the Letter to the Galatians (Dunne 2015, 9-12). Dunne claims

⁶ To see more on the topic of the relation between *indicativus-imperativus* in St. Paul’s letters cfr. Adinolfi 1977, 626-646; Schnackenburg 1981, 250-258; Strecker 1987, 60-72.

that interpretation of this letter by St. Paul, should take into account the content and terminology used by the Apostle, who refers to his own past behaviour ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ, when he persecuted the Church of God (1:13), or to the present situation in which he himself experiences persecution (5:11: τί ἔτι διώκομαι), and to the persecution of those born according to the Spirit (4:29), as well as to avoidance of persecution for the sake of Christ's Cross (6:12). It should be noted, however, that despite emphasizing in the letter the conflict aroused by the plotting of the so-called *iudaizzantes*, the Apostle himself does not use the above-mentioned terminology to describe this situation as persecution. The Letter to the Galatians mentions suffering understood as bearing the pains of birth (4:19: ὠδίνω), suffering associated with co-crucifixion: with Christ (Gal. 2:20), for the world (6:14) and the suffering of Paul himself τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι (6:17). The only place where the Apostle uses the verb πάσχω is in v. 3:4, where in a passionate dialogue he asks the addressees of the letter: τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε εἰκῆ. The aorist 2 plural, interpreted by some authors as "you have suffered", would refer here to the sufferings of the Galatians associated with the acts of *iudaizzantes*⁷. It seems, however, a better solution to render the aorist ἐπάθετε by the neutral in meaning "you have experienced", although elsewhere in St. Paul's *epistolarium* πάσχω appears in the sense of negative experiences, sufferings (1 Cor. 12:26; 2 Cor. 1:6; Phil. 1:29; 1 Thess. 2:14) (Buscemi 2004, 245-246). In fact, the context of the Letter to the Galatians suggests that in 3:4 the aorist ἐπάθετε refers both to the fact of liberation from the custody of the Law (2:19), or from the bondage of "the elements of this world", and to the fundamental experience of the Holy Spirit, the action of His charisms, whose addressees experienced from the moment they embarked on the path of faith in Jesus Christ, the path of freedom of the children of God. It is their freedom in Christ that seems to be threatened by the insidious intrigues of *iudaizzantes*.

The above-mentioned experience of the Galatians should be placed in the broader context of the entire letter, which reiterates the themes of slavery-submission and freedom-adopted sonship (4:1-7) referring to the theological topos of the *exodus*. In the layer of terminology, St. Paul in 4:1-3 uses the words: νήπιός (juvenile), ἐπιτρόπους (steward), οικονόμους (steward), προθεσμίας (appointed time), which can be related to the time of Israel's captivity in Egypt (Scott 1992, 165-167). The Apostle here presents his argument against the background of the known *milieu* of the OT and transposes the images of the *exodus* into the specific situation of the Galatian communities (Cfr. Ex. 4:22; Hos. 11:1; Amos. 2:9-10; 3:1-2) to finally express the truth that, thanks to the saving act of God completed in Christ's death on the Cross, the Galatians are "no longer" subjected to the Law and can "live for God" (2:19). Following the same line of arguments concerning the Law, St. Paul uses the term κληρονόμος (4:1.7) – κληρονόμοι (3:29) to make Galatian Christians aware that, by being "descendants of Abraham"

⁷ Cfr. Dunne 2015, 12-13: The author in his arguments expresses the conviction that the context of the Letter to the Galatians corresponds to historical apocalypses, which emerged as resistance literature to the actions of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Such a comparison is rather difficult to accept in this case for the reasons presented above.

and in union with Christ, they are heirs of God's promises (cf. 3:18.29: ἐπαγγελία), resulting from the Covenant (3:17: διαθήκη)⁸. Additionally, all this terminological context seems to indicate a reading of the Old Testament הלְחָדָשׁ⁹ in the Christological key, which was probably supposed to encourage the Galatians to acknowledge the saving act of God in Christ and, as "sons of God in Christ" (3:26), to follow the Spirit (5:16.25) along the paths of the new *exodus*¹⁰. The reference to the *exodus* suggested in another publication (Sztuk 2019) is also justified here. It is in the layer of terminology used in the Letter to the Galatians that one can find mnemohistorical references to that first exodus and to the challenges facing the People of the First Covenant. The use of such terms as release from slavery, adoption as sons or inheritance are decisive in this regard. These references juxtapose, on the one hand, "suffering" and "pain", and on the other, the hope of fulfilment towards which man is striving¹¹, and which at the same time mobilizes him to pursue with all commitment the promised inheritance, i.e., ζῶν αἰώνιος (Gal. 6:8). It seems that the thematic convergence of the Letter to the Romans and the Letter to the Galatians, suggested by many authors, also applies to the means of expression used by the Apostle in both writings. One of them is, in my opinion, the use of apocalyptic forms of expression, which allowed St. Paul to adopt an adequate and dynamic approach as regards the presentation of Christians' existential condition in the Letter to the Galatians.

⁸ The intimacy that began with baptism is called by St. Paul υιοθεσία. Since Christians as children of God put themselves under the guidance of the Spirit, they share in the Father's inheritance, joint-heirship with the Firstborn (cf. Rom. 8:17), and can be formed in His likeness (Rom. 8:17; Gal. 3:28-29; Rom. 4:16-18). The sequence of the above-mentioned texts allows to relate them to the theme of the choosing Israel and calling it the "son" by God Himself in the narrative of the *exodus*: "Then you shall say to Pharaoh, Thus says the LORD: «Israel is My son, My firstborn»". (Ex. 4:22: «בְּנִי בְכֹרִי יִשְׂרָאֵל»). This motif returns recurrently both in the OT and in the intertestamental literature, where the *exodus* is referred to, and it is a designate of the privilege reserved for Israel as the people of God, who was liberated from slavery in Egypt and is under God's special protection.

⁹ Both the verb חָדַשׁ and the nominal forms relate to ownership, possession, inheritance. Especially important are OT passages related to Israel as the property of the Lord, who led His people out of Egypt (Lev. 4:20: לְעַם נְחֻלָּהּ. Por. Lev. 9:26-27; Ps. 28:9; 33:12; 74:2). It was the Lord who made the people of Israel His property (1 Kings 8:53; Ps. 33:12), thus fulfilling the pleas of Moses (Ex. 34:9: «לְעַרְבֵי הָאָדָמָה וְסִלְחָתָהּ לְעֹגְבָנֵינוּ וְלִחְטֵאֵתָנוּ וְנָחַלְתָּנוּ»). Terminology related to the Hebrew root חָדַשׁ also appears in OT passages related to taking possession of/inheriting Kanaan (Cfr. Num. 26:55; 33:54; 34:13; 36:2). Cfr. Lipinski 1998, 319-335; Buscemi 2004, 377.

¹⁰ It is also significant that St. Paul in the parenetic part of the Letter to the Galatians uses verbs imbued with moral dynamism: περιπατεῖτε (5:16), ἄγεσθε (5:18). In Septuagint, the verb ἄγω (with its derivatives) became a technical word in the terminological treasury related to the *exodus*. While extending the context slightly to Gaul 5, where St. Paul speaks of being led by the Spirit, it should be noted that the verbs appearing in the above-mentioned context seem to echo Deut. 32. In fact, the so-called *Song of Moses*, contains a characteristic of the people of Israel as children of God - sons and daughters (Deut. 32:19: παρωξύνθη δι' ὀργὴν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ θυγατέρων), God is their Father who, despite their many trespasses, was the only one who lead them through the desert (Deut. 32:12: κύριος μόνος ἦγεν αὐτούς).

¹¹ This juxtaposition also appears in the message of OT books (cf. Is. 40:1-5, Dan. 7:21-22; 12:1-4) and in apocryphal literature (cf. 1 Hen 102-105; Jub 23:23-31; 4 Esd 6:25-28; 2 Bar 25).

CONCLUSION

In scientific exegeses of Old Testament writings, researches make multifaceted interpretations of the exodus: as a story written down by authors and providing an almost mirror image of past events, or, contrarily, as a specific kind of historical reflection, drawing from manifold sources, various historical levels or numerous past generations, and thus being an elaboration of the so-called collective memory of the People of the First Covenant. That is why, also in later texts, any references to the event and tradition of the *exodus* take on mnemohistoric features. In this context, it is possible to confirm the correctness of the hypotheses formulated by both Assmann and Hendel, who saw justification for such a perception of the *exodus* in palimpsestic combination of numerous stories. It can be assumed that the Apostle Paul, likewise, used such motifs and images of the *exodus*, which in his theological reflection and presentation of the History of Salvation were to constitute a certain *continuum* and at the same time complement his line of argument. As the author of the Letter to the Galatians conveyed in his work the message of freedom (Gal. 5:1) grounded in the imperative to live a moral, holy life “in Christ”, then, by transposing the apocalyptic way of perceiving and presenting the reality, which at the same time was immersed in the light of the revelation rooted in the work and testament of Christ, this imperative received in Paul’s approach a sound basis and justification.

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SEMINARE

t. 42 * 2021, nr 4, s. 23-36

DOI: <http://doi.org/10.21852/sem.2021.4.02>



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Received: 22 Oct 2021; Reviewed: 23 Nov 2021; Accepted: 06 Dec 2021

CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY IN RASHI'S COMMENTARIES. OVERVIEW AND DISCUSSION OF THE MOST IMPORTANT STUDIES

Abstract

The article provides a critical analysis of both linguistic and historical aspects of selected Talmudic texts containing the preserved commentaries of Rashi, one of the most prominent medieval Jewish exegetes. It soon appeared that the undertaken studies would be hindered by the scarcity of source material on the one hand, and by the censorship of Talmudic manuscripts on the other. The implemented inductive study, which consists of lexical tracing of the words *nosrim* and *minim* in selected Talmudic texts, seemed to be a plausible solution.

The presented study, which falls into the scope of theological and religious studies, argues that Rashi explains the Hebrew Bible (Tanakh) above all as a rabbi, by showing the literal as well as the hidden meaning of the text. As the commentaries contain no elements of polemics or dispute with Christianity, it can be assumed that it is beyond his scope of interest. Even if such polemics is present *implicite*, it still cannot be considered as the purpose of the commentaries *per se*.

Keywords: Rabbinic sources; Rashi; polemic between Synagogue and Church; Christianity in Talmud; Christians in Tanakh; messianic texts in the Hebrew Bible

CHRZEŚCIJANIE I CHRZEŚCIJAŃSTWO W KOMENTARZACH RASZIEGO. PRZEGLĄD I OMÓWIENIE NAJWAŻNIEJSZYCH BADAŃ

Abstrakt

W artykule poddano krytyce lingwistyczno-historycznej teksty talmudyczne, w których zostały zaprezentowane komentarze Rasziego, najśłynniejszego średniowiecznego żydowskiego egzegety. Szybko okazało się, że te badania są utrudnione z powodu braków materiałów źródłowych lub cenzury rękopisów Talmudu. Zastosowano więc badanie indukcyjne, polegające na leksykalnym przesłedzeniu wybranych tekstów w Talmudzie i Tanach w oparciu o słowa *nocrim* i *minim*. Niniejsze studium teologiczno-religioznawcze dowodzi, że Raszi wyjaśnia Biblię Hebrajską (Tanach) przede wszystkim jako rabin, pokazując podstawowe i ukryte znaczenia tekstu. Zdaje się nie interesować go polemika i spór z chrześcijaństwem, gdyż nie widać tego w komentarzach. Być może występuje ona *implicite*, ale nawet jeśli tak, to nie jest celem sama w sobie.

Słowa kluczowe: źródła rabiniczne, Raszi, polemika pomiędzy Synagogą a Kościołem, chrześcijaństwo w Talmudzie, chrześcijaństwo w Tanach, teksty mesjańskie w Biblii Hebrajskiej

INTRODUCTION

Rashi of Troyes (1040-1105) was one of the most prominent representatives of medieval rabbinic thought in the world of Western Christianity. He was the founder of the rabbinical school of Troyes, and his exegetical method found numerous continuators (cf. Singer 1907, 27). E. Shereshevsky writes that no monument was ever erected for Rashi (cf. Shereshevsky 1970-1971, 243), nevertheless, his commentaries can be considered a *living* monument, since they have reached almost a canonical status, as M.I. Gruber emphasizes (cf. Gruber 2004, 135). It is worth noting that Torah (the Pentateuch) was instructed not only based on *midrashim*, but also on Rashi's commentary, the first printed book in Hebrew.

The aim of the article is to find the answer to the question whether there are any statements about Christians and Christianity in Rashi's commentaries, and if so, how they should be interpreted. In order to provide a reliable answer to this question, it was necessary to consult source material. Hence, the exploration for the present article began with the study of the texts¹ considered by Talmud scholars² as related to Jesus Christ and Christianity, in order to reach, in this manner, the thought and teaching of Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki. In this case, Rashi's commentaries included in the Talmud are the source *par excellence* for this study. Considering the lack of any other sources, their analysis shall be the only opportunity to obtain insight into his thinking and judgments.

It soon became clear that this research would be hindered by a scarcity of source material or by censorship (cf. Touitou 1990, 168) to which some of the Talmud texts were subjected, hence publishers nowadays are forced to rely on the manuscripts that are available to them (cf. Wróbel 2012).

After an unsuccessful attempt³ to find the above-mentioned texts, a following assumption has been put forward⁴: Rashi does not refer explicitly to Christians (נצרים; *nosrim*)⁵, and his views and statements on this subject are most likely to be found in the texts referring to מינים (*minim*)⁶. A question arises whether there is an "affinity" between Rashi's פרשנים (*parshani*) and Christian-Jewish dispute of that time. Moreover, because Rashi wrote the commentary not only to the Talmud but

¹ Based on research of M. Wróbel (2012, 15-50).

² Whenever in this article the Talmud is mentioned, the reference is to the Babylonian Talmud.

³ When starting work on this topic, no a priori assumptions were applied, the author did not know what to expect from Rashi's comments on this issue, neither did he know whether or to what extent the Christian question could be referred to by Rashi, and if so, how many texts might be relevant in this respect. In this work, the induction method was used.

⁴ Usually, the author abstains from any a priori in research, but when the first lexical search proved unsuccessful, it was necessary to develop a query plan.

⁵ Literally: "Nazarenes".

⁶ Literally: "heretics". This term can possess wide semantic connotations depending on the context and on the period of use.

also to the whole Hebrew Bible, it was not possible to cover every instance in this article, and it was necessary to work only on selected texts⁷.

His commentaries on Tanakh are very helpful in understanding Rashi's views on Christians⁸. Firstly, as already mentioned above, the texts were scrutinized in terms of their thematic content in the matter at hand. Secondly, a lexical search⁹ was applied to selected texts of Rashi's commentaries to the Hebrew Bible (Tanakh). The texts were divided into two groups: messianic texts¹⁰ and miscellaneous texts (selection¹¹) that can refer to historical events in the time of Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki.

Rashi begins his commentary on the Song of Songs 7:8¹² with words: ועתה האמת את דברי שלח תתפתי אחרי האומות ([...] Testify to my words and be not tempted by peoples).

When describing the situation of his generation, Rashi wanted to make a comment on it, but the diaspora was not considered by him a punishment for sins. By applying new methods in constructing his פשט (*peshat*) (see more Kamin 1980, 263-274), Rashi "evaded" strict methodological instructions, as it occurs in the commentaries. What was the most important for him, was the message he had for the Jews. His exegesis of Scriptures as illustrated by his commentaries differed greatly (for individual and contextual reasons) from that of other rabbis, e.g., Ibn Ezra or Radak¹³. The latter comment scripture with numerous references to Christians and Christianity. Rashi, on the other hand, rather brings out from the midrashim¹⁴ those elements that can be given a new character or rejects them if he finds them appropriate. As L. Himmelfarb states, Rashi incorporates in his commentaries various elements (Himmelfarb, 293), however, to find the literal and original meaning of the Scripture, is of the utmost importance for him.

⁷ These texts have been presented in the original, medieval Rashi's font and translated for the very first time into Polish by the author of this article.

⁸ The TNK acronym meaning *Tanakh* refers to the three parts of the Hebrew Bible (HB), i.e., the Torah, the Nevi'im and the Ketuvim and is used as the synonym and term for HB.

⁹ The current research findings on this subject have also been used.

¹⁰ Terminology used by Christian and some Jewish Scholars.

¹¹ More texts from each group were examined, but for the purposes of the present work, only selected ones (those raising the least doubt as regards their translation and interpretation) have been included.

¹² In the Polish translation of the Bible – Cant 7:9. NAU: I said, 'I will climb the palm tree, I will take hold of its fruit stalks'. Oh, may your breasts be like clusters of the vine, And the fragrance of your breath like apples. The translation of the Scriptures comes from *The New American Standard Bible with Codes* (abbreviation: NAU) and it is provided to give the reader an idea what text Rashi is commenting on. It also allows to follow the way Rashi develops his commentary and see which words and phrases he emphasizes in order to interpret them.

¹³ David Kimhi. In Hebrew דוד קמחי (1160-1235), known by the Hebrew acronym as the RaDaK (רד"ק).

¹⁴ Cf. His Commentary on Genesis 3:8. The term *midrash* comes from the Hebrew *darash* or 'to seek, to investigate' in order to 'find [the meaning], to interpret'. There are two types of *midrash* in rabbinic texts: *parshani* (exegetical) and *darshani* (instructive). "The rabbis believed that any one particular text could contain multiple meanings. The starting point for the interpreter was the text itself and its plain meaning (*peshat*) was resolved, the hidden, deeper meaning was sought". (Tate 2006, 214).

1. COMMENTARIES IN THE TALMUD

As it was noted above, the search for this study began with a query of Rashi's texts in the Talmud. Regrettably, it did not bring the expected results, hence, below only a general recap of this query, without any extensive translation or commentary, shall be presented. Rashi simply does not comment on the texts in which one could expect to find a reference to Jesus, Christians or Christianity, or his comments are too short and presented laconically – making it impossible to distinguish his intentions as a commentator. One of the possible reasons for the lack of Rashi's commentaries is undoubtedly the censorship of the Talmud. A great number of Talmud editions fail to include the texts proposed by M. Wróbel (cf. 2012, 15-50), thus they do not contain Rabbi's comments to those, lacking, passages.

In the commentary on the treaty עבודה זרה דף יז א (*Avoda Zara* 17a)¹⁵, although Rashi writes about idolatry, his remarks are of a general character, and they cannot be employed in order to prove his negative attitude or views on Christianity. Many authors think otherwise and look for formulations concerning Christianity expressed *implicite*. However, those and similar suppositions are not grounded on the text itself. It seems more probable that Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki comments the Talmud leaving aside the Judeo-Christian polemics. Nearly no reference can be found in Rashi's commentaries to Jesus or Christianity in the texts most commonly regarded as evoking these topics. According to H. Hailperin, nowhere in his works Rashi attacks Christianity (cf. Hailperin 1963, 164). He writes, for example, in a text concerning expiation for idolatry (verbatim the cult of the stars):

[...] לועקת הבא תקרובת לעבודה זרה כוכבי

[...] Those who weep will [now] bring me a sacrifice for idolatry.

As for the commentary on *Shabbat* 104b (שבת קד ב) to the text concerning *ben Stada*, it is not present in most of the Talmud editions, that had been analyzed here (cf. see various editions of תלמוד בבלי). After a long query, one mention of this issue has been found in an electronic version of the text, though with no source or reference given concerning the manuscript, from which it comes (Kantrowitz 1995):

זעל סתדא זועל פנדירא ונקרא על שם זעל אמו אף
על פי שהוא היה ממזר

[Her] husband [was] Stada, [her] lover [was] Pandira
and [he] was called after the name of his mother's husband,
despite being a mamzer

Both commentaries are enigmatic to the point, that they give no grounds for any decided interpretation. Rashi's argumentation is very specific. He expresses

¹⁵ The method of quoting rabbinic texts, see: Bazyliński (2006, 69).

short thoughts (probably clear to his audience), then abruptly changes the subject, as if leaving it without any continuation. This refers to both texts cited above. In the first, he writes about (ממזר), but it remains unclear whether he thinks of Christians. In the second, the verse does not convey any emotions or beliefs of the author. It consists only of a brief description – that this [son of] *Stada*¹⁶ was named after his mother's husband, despite being a mamzer¹⁷.

In the commentary on א סנהדרין זא¹⁸ (*Sanhedrin* 67a) we read very briefly:

סטדא בעל אמו סטדא אמו

His mother's husband [was] Stada, His name [was] Stada

As regards the text of ב סנהדרין קד (Sanhedrin 104b) – [...] והלו בן סטדא הוציא [...] – Rashi does not comment it with a single word. The same refers to other texts. To those who may be surprised with his “silence” and restraint it is worth reminding that Rashi had his own concept of search for meaning contained of the sacred text. In his commentary on Genesis 3:8¹⁹ he wrote²⁰: ואני ל באתי אל לפשותו של מקרא (I did not come to teach the simple meaning²¹ Miqra²²). Was Rashi worried of Christian missionaries and conversion from Judaism to Christianity in the eve of a crusade? As E. Shereshevsky states, there are some examples that directly demonstrate Rashi's deliberate reactions aimed at changing Christian interpretation (Shereshevsky 1982, 129). A. Grosman writes in a captivating manner about the cultural renaissance and a possible connection of *parshanim* of that time with the Jewish-Christian polemics (גרומן, 30). However, the question remains open, it may have been that way, though during this study no sufficiently convincing evidence of such thinking in the texts of Rashi has been found, at least not *explicite*²³. This may have been because Rashi was lucky to have missed the troubles caused by the time of the Crusades (see Liber 1970), he did not know these matters fully. Moreover, one has to remember that even after the First Crusade, the situation of the Jews in France remained favorable.

¹⁶ For more on the origin and interpretation of this term, see Lipiński (2012, 55-56).

¹⁷ *Mamzer*, i.e., an illegitimate child, a bastard, whose legal status was precisely defined in the Torah.

¹⁸ *Sanhedrin* 67a, by the edition: (Kantrowitz 1995). Text usually commented against Christians.

¹⁹ NAU: They heard the sound of the LORD God walking in the garden in the cool of the day, and the man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the LORD God among the trees of the garden.

²⁰ See similar expressions in his commentary on Bereshit 3:24: ואני איני בא אל לפשותו [...] and on Bereshit 33:20: ואני לישב פשותו של מקרא באתי [...].

²¹ The word פשט (*peshat*), is used here, but Rashi understands it differently from other commentators.

²² We purposefully omit translating this term, e.g., as the *Scripture*, because, according to its semantic field, it is a Hebrew term and just as Tanakh, it means the Hebrew Bible. It comes from the root קרא which means, *what is recited, read, or, what [should] be recited, read* – cf. קרא (Briks 1999, 315; Jastrow 1996, 1409).

²³ Many modern Jewish scholars, such as E. Shereshevsky (1970-1971, 76) believe that he did this to prevent the Hebrew Bible from being taken over by Christians.

2. COMMENTARIES TO THE TANAKH

We read in the commentary²⁴ on Ps 2²⁵:

רבותינו דרשו את הענין על מלך המשיח
ולפי משמעו יהיה נכון לפותרו על דוד עצמו כעין שנאמר
Our rabbis interpreted (literally they gave the meaning of “derash”) this issue
in relation to the King Messiah [...]

Here, an interesting thread can be noted the elaboration of which exceeds the boundaries of this study. Many scholars referring to Rashi’s writings state that he writes his commentary on Ps 2 in opposition to Christian understanding of this Psalm. Claims that Rashi responds in this way to Jews converting to Christianity can be found in numerous commentaries (Hailperin 1963, 60). Nothing alike can be found in the text, unless scholars are using another manuscript, though it is not indicated in the critical apparatus.

Commentary on Ps 2:2²⁶:

ורוזנים שיניור”ש בלעז נוסדו לשון סוד
פורקונשילרונט בלעז ומה היא הענה
Heb. ורוזנים in Old French is *seigneurs* (lords)
Heb. נוסדו, an expression of counsel,
in Old French is *furent conseilles* (they hold counsel).
And what is the counsel?

R.A. Harris thinks that Rashi opened this verse to Christian messianic exegesis (cf. Harris 2008, 860). On the other hand, H. Hailperin claims that it is impossible, because he would not be willing to give such an argument to his opponents (cf. Hailperin 1963, 61). Yet another scholar, M.I. Gruber, concludes that Rashi wrote his commentaries in such a way as not to sustain any belief that Christ was announced in the Hebrew Bible (Gruber 2004, 88). As it can be clearly seen, opinions on this subject vary, which is probably a result of diverse hermeneutical approaches. It may be astonishing how the two latter opinions, hard to agree with, can be inferred from the text of Rashi’s commentary on Ps 2:2. This time, Grubner fails to provide any convincing arguments. It seems most likely

²⁴ All texts from Tehillim and Yeshaya in this article are cited from the issue: מע סיבותכו מיאיבנ
מקראות גדולות הכתר מהדורת יסוד חדשה ההדרה מדעית
על-פי כתבי יד עתיקים מנחם כהן רמת גן תשס”ג.
שדוק יארקמ משב ארקנ רקי יפו י”שר שוריפ
issue from 2003 i.e.,

מקראות גדולות הכתר מהדורת יסוד חדשה ההדרה מדעית
על-פי כתבי יד עתיקים מנחם כהן רמת גן תשס”ג.

²⁵ NAU: Why are the [a]nations restless / And the peoples plotting in vain?

²⁶ NAU: The kings of the earth take their stand and the rulers conspire together Against the Lord and against His Anointed

that in this commentary Rashi avoids contextual interpretation and limits the explanation to a philological note in order – one would assume – not to enter the polemics with Christians (cf. Gruber 2004, 625, n. 11). Nevertheless, a researcher cannot be sure of that – it is a certain presumption and not an exegesis of the text.

The answer to the question that started with Harris remains unknown or is: “why not”? If Rashi saw in this verse a messianic foreshadowing, should he be silent only because of Christians?²⁷

Above all, Rashi explains the Scripture as a rabbi, unveiling both the literal and hidden meaning of the text. The polemics and dispute with Christianity seem to be of no interest to him, as no traces of it can be found in his commentaries. Perhaps such polemics is present *implicite*, but even if it was the case, it does not constitute an end in itself. Rashi reads the text of Ps 2:7 and explains it – perhaps to counter Christian teaching and messianic (Christian, not Jewish) overtone of this verse (cf. e.g., Harris 2008, 850). Nonetheless, it seems more probable that, while practicing an intra-biblical exegesis, the rabbi reads the verse according to his own tradition of faith and beliefs²⁸.

It should not be ruled out, however, that he knew Latin and argued in a hidden manner with the Fathers of the Church, because, as S. Kamin infers, his knowledge of Christian writings was much more profound than some *ad hoc* knowledge for the sole purpose of polemics (Kamin 1983-1984, X). E. Shereshevsky believes that there is no evidence that Rashi knew Latin, however, that it is probable (Shereshevsky 1982, 129), while I. Baer claims explicitly that it has to be assumed²⁹. In the writings of Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki some expressions and formulations characteristic for Christianity can be distinguished. How was it in fact? Without convincing evidence, it is impossible to conclude anything certain, though it is probable that through Latin, or French, he came into contact with Christian literature, or even studied it on purpose.

This assumption can be confirmed, in a way, by other texts. For example, in the commentary on Ps 21:2³⁰ one reads:

בעזר ישמח מלך רבותינו פתרוהו על מלך המשיח
ונכון הדבר לפותרו עוד על דוד עמנו
לתשובת אחרים³¹

²⁷ All the more so because in other places, he clearly indicates the messianic meaning of the psalm, as if he did not care at all how its interpretation would be used. For example, in his commentary to Ps 89:52:

עקבות משיחך סופי מלך המשיח ולשון
משנה הוא בעקבות המשיח חולפא יסגא

²⁸ The Messiah is 1) the people of Israel understood collectively; 2) King David; 3) King Solomon.

²⁹ Cf. יש להניח שרש"י ידה לטינית והרבה לקרוא בספריהם
(יצחק בער, רש"י והמציאות ההיסטורית של זמנו, תרביץ ב"תשי עמ' 326)

³⁰ NAU: O LORD, in Your strength the king will be glad, And in Your salvation how greatly he will rejoice!

³¹ In other manuscript there appears a word המינים (*minim*) meaning heretics.

[...] Our rabbis explained it [with regard] to the king Messiah, but it is a just matter to interpret it [with regard] to David himself, to refute [claims] of others.

Commentary on Ps 45:8³²:

משחך וגו שמן ששון כל לשון גדולה נופל עליה
ל משיחת שמן כדת המלכים

Any expression (literally speech, language) referring to greatness incurs anointment with oil, according to the custom of kings

Commentary on Ps 105:15³³:

אל תגעו במשיחי בגדולי כל משיחי לשון שררה וגדלה

[...] My great ones³⁴. Each anointed is the speech (word, tongue) of political power and grandeur

Who are “the others” from the commentary on Ps 21:2? In those examples, polemics with Christian interpretation, i.e., the messianic interpretation, can be implicit. In Ps 45:8 and 105:15 Rashi undoubtedly expands the meaning of the word *anointing*. In the commentary to Ps 84:10³⁵ there again appears an idea of David as an anointed king:

רוד משיחך והסתכל בחסדיו ובטרתו אשר טרח וייגע על בנינו

[...] Look at the face of David, Your anointed one, and notice his works

Rashi’s commentary on the Book of Psalms is particularly noteworthy for two reasons (Gruber 2004, 135). It is well known that the Book of Tehillim, by its liturgical use in the Synagogue and in the church, is a very “good element” meeting Jews and Christians. Rashi was aware of the role of the Psalter in the Church, he probably knew the Fathers of the Church in original and he could read their writings in Latin. And even if he did not read them in the original³⁶, it is possible to find in his texts references precisely addressing the messianic fragments in Psalms and in the Book of Isaiah. As Gruber stresses, the interests in messianic texts of both Christians and Rashi went beyond purely historical interest. Rashi addressed

Cf. מקראות גדולות הכתר מהדורת יסוד חדשה ההדרה מדעית על-פי כתבי יד עתיקים מנחם כהן רמת גן תשס”ג.

³² NAU (in this edition 45:7): You have loved righteousness and hated wickedness; Therefore God, Your God, has anointed You With the oil of joy above Your fellows.

³³ NAU: “Do not touch My anointed ones, And do My prophets no harm”.

³⁴ Rashi uses this title with reference to his readers.

³⁵ NAU: See our shield, God, And look at the face of Your anointed.

³⁶ This cannot be stated with certainty.

his commentaries to three groups of people, and, alongside two groups of Jews, one can also list Christian scholars studying the Bible, teachers and students who desired to discover (Gruber 2004, 135) the Jewish roots of their faith preserved in various traditions of the Hebrew Tanakh exegesis. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that in his commentary on some of the texts of the Book of Isaiah, which were interpreted according to the earlier Jewish tradition³⁷ in a messianic way, Rashi seems to take a step back, as he interprets the text unambiguously as Davidic or through the “collective interpretation”. In this way he enters, *implicite*, into the polemics with Christians³⁸.

As we read in the commentary on Isa 53:3³⁹:

היה, כן דרך הנביא הזה מזכיר כל ישראל כאיש אחד
[...] This is the way the prophet always speaks
about all the people of Israel as one man

3. REFERENCES TO CONTEMPORARY HISTORICAL EVENTS

It would seem, however, that certain texts include some hints, implicit or explicit, which may relate to a historical perspective.

Commentary on Isa 42:3⁴⁰:

מלך שלהם לא יגזול את הדלים
ולא ירצץ את העניים ואת החלשים
Your king will not rob the poor
He will not ruin the weak and the poor

This fragment may constitute a reference to feudal princes⁴¹ (or even to a specific person) whose behavior was widely known. The context implies that Rashi updates his commentary on Isa 42:3, referring to a specific situation known to him from personal experience or by hearsay. He is well known for his active participation in the life of his community.

³⁷ E.g., some targums.

³⁸ S. Bazyliński's suggestion during a consultation in Rome. Unfortunately, the author of this article was unable to research this thread adequately, so the topic is here only indicated and it may become the subject of further studies.

³⁹ NAU: He was disgraced and rejected by people, afflicted by disease and suffering,

⁴⁰ ¹k^e someone, in front of whom people cover up their faces. He was scorned and we ignored him.

⁴⁰ NAU: A bent reed He will not break off, And a dimly burning wick He will not extinguish; He will faithfully bring forth justice.

⁴¹ For more, see 321 ב"תשי עמ' 321 יצחק בער, רש"י והמציאות ההיסטורית של זמנו, תרביץ

In the commentary on Isa 52:14⁴², where the disfigured appearance of the Servant of YHWH⁴³ is depicted, we read:

ראו מה תארם השוך משאר בני אדם
 כן כאשר אנחנו רואים בעינינו

See how their actions are different from those of other people,
 as we see it today (literally before our eyes)

Commentary on Ps 22:19⁴⁴:

ועל לבושי יפילו גורל בוזים את נכסי
 [...] They are ravaging our property.

Commenting on certain Psalms, Rashi may refer to the events of 856. In the commentary on Ps 140:10 he alludes to the events of that time and draws a comparison of the oppression of the Jews by the phrase: they surrounded me. The dramaturgy is amplified by the word מצאתי (I have found) and a reference to עשו (Esau), whose figure may be used by Rashi metaphorically to describe Rome:

חבורת חשבון גדודי עשו האומרים להסב אותי
 מעליך עמל שפתיהם יכסם מצאתי

[...] Esau's battalions planned to get me away from you
 what comes out of their words... [I found]

It may be also the case of the commentary on Ps 69:5, though it cannot be said with certainty⁴⁵.

Commentary on Isa 25:2⁴⁶:

כי שמת - הר שקר מעיר לגל
 ארמון זרים מעיר - מעון שעשו בעירך שהחריבוה
 תתן ארמונותיה חורבן אשר לעולם לא יבנה

⁴² NAU: Just as many were appalled at you, My people, So His appearance was marred beyond that of a man, And His form beyond the sons of mankind.

⁴³ It should be emphasized that Rashi interprets here the figure of the Servant of YHWH unequivocally collectively.

⁴⁴ NAU: They divide my garments among them, And they cast lots for my clothing.

⁴⁵

אויבי שקר שונאים אותי על שקר
 שאין אני רודף אחר שקר שלהם לחפז טעותם
 אז אשיב כשהם נאספים עלי אני משחד אותם בממון
 מה שלא גזלתי מהם

⁴⁶ NAU: For You have turned a city into a heap, A fortified city into a ruin; A palace of strangers is no longer a city,

It will never be rebuilt.

[You destroyed] Mount Seir because you made a pile of the city
 [City alien stronghold] tear down their palace, that they made in your city
 Ruin their palaces that will never (literally forever) be rebuilt

On the one hand, it could be supposed⁴⁷ that by writing those words Rashi wanted to strengthen the position of crusaders in Jerusalem. He writes about גוי צדיק ('righteous goy') who, by capturing Jerusalem, stopped the onslaught of the infidels. On the other hand, he argues with Christian princes by explaining to the Jews that their Messiah, when He comes, will not resemble in any way those mentioned above.

Several Rashi's texts and commentaries seem to be ambivalent. In the text concerning Exod 23:13 for example he warns against entering a partnership with *goyim*⁴⁸, as it may turn out that it will be necessary to swear by their gods⁴⁹, and yet everyday life in Troyes, trading between Jews and Christians implied and demanded cooperation.

Commenting on Isa 26:10 Rashi employs a strong image in which he juxtaposes Israel, people to whom Torah was given and who worship God, with gentiles and their customs⁵⁰. Does he have Christians in mind as well?

Finally, one last interesting thread in the oeuvre of Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki. As I. Baer points out, Rashi writes concerning current events (maybe pogroms?) in a spirit of forgiveness and considers adverse actions of Christians as advancing the return of the Jews to the path of the Torah⁵¹. Among scholarly texts no further evidence has been found that would attest this thesis, but if deemed true, it helps to realize what kind of a person Rashi was and how seriously he took matters of interpretation and meaning of the Scripture.

CONCLUSIONS

This study intended to outline the problem and it constitutes and an introduction to further study on the subject. Perhaps reaching other manuscripts would change some of the findings of this paper. At the current stage of research, a number of hypotheses, preceded by a thorough investigation, are put forward.

After the exegesis of selected fragments of Rashi's commentaries, following conclusions can be made:

⁴⁷ I. Baer contends it (331 תשי"ב ב תרבי"ג של זמנו" תרבי"ג ב תשי"ב) (יצחק בער, ירש"י והמציאות ההיסטורית של זמנו" תרבי"ג ב תשי"ב), when he writes:

ואפשר שכוונתו היא לתחזקת הצלבנים בירושלים.

⁴⁸ It can also be assumed that, perhaps, when speaking of pagans, Rashi did not always mean Christians.

על פיד שלא תעשה שותפות עם נכרי וישבע לך.

⁴⁹ יוחן קסע בארץ נכוחות ירושלים ובית המקדש יעול לשלול ולבזו ולהשחית: כל יראה גאות ה לא חשב (אויב א):. צעניו גלך וגאונך וכל יראה ל רגילות ותמידות לא ראה לא חשב כמו ככה יעשה אויב (אויב א)

⁵¹ Cf. 324 עמ' תשי"ב ב תרבי"ג של זמנו" תרבי"ג ב תשי"ב

1. Rashi interprets the Scripture as a rabbi – for him this is of utmost importance. Only by means of this activity he interacts with others. Rashi does not consider the Scripture as an *instrumentum* in service of the dispute or polemics with those who “believe otherwise”. If it comes to a dispute with others⁵², it is an outcome of his inference, not a presumption *a priori* for reading and interpreting the Scripture. Above all he wants to be a Bible commentator and also encourages others to aim at being the best in this field: “Make sure your answers are like the best wine”.

2. From the examination of the writings of Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki (those analyzed in this study) it cannot be concluded that he argued with Christianity and Christians, though it cannot be excluded that his polemics are implicit when he speaks about **מינים** (*minim*)⁵³.

3. However, some isolated occurrences of his use of the word **מינים** (*minim*) had been noted in the works of scholars who had access to other manuscripts. Thus, this subject cannot be further elaborated here. In any case, even if those reviews of Rashi’s texts are authentic, the issue concerning what he meant by this term remains open to discussion.

4. The word **זרים** (*zeraim*) occurs more often. It signifies “foreigners” and does not have a negative connotation, but a neutral one⁵⁴. Or yet the word **אחרים** (*aharim*) meaning “others” – of a neutral connotation as well.

5. It would seem that often the understanding of his texts as anti-Christian polemics is added and built-up later by Rashi’s successors⁵⁵ (Berlin and Grossman 2011, 603) and Jewish⁵⁶ commentators of his writings. Thus, contemporary commentators writing about Rashi often conclude by stating that Rashi does not say it openly (cf. Kamin 1983-1984, XII).

6. For example, Rashi’s attitude to the Crusades is described on the basis of the legend of his meeting with Gottfried of Bouillon⁵⁷, Duke of Lower Lorraine and conqueror of Jerusalem (it may be based on historical events, but there is no evidence for that; and in the texts of the commentaries no reference that would strengthen this hypothesis can be found).

⁵² He discusses with an earlier tradition (e.g., midrash). He can even make changes to the Masorah, which also testifies to the fact that the Masoretic text was not treated as a constant and did not have the status that some Bible scholars attribute to it today. The process of “canonization” of the Hebrew Bible was in many cases very different from the status of the Old Testament canon in Christianity. For more, see Walewski (2011).

⁵³ For more on the interpretation problems of this term and research on this subject, see Wróbel (2006, 103).

⁵⁴ Consultation with Prof. A. Segal, an archeologist from Israel.

⁵⁵ It would be worthwhile examining the tradition and interpretation provided by the Tosephists, however, we decided not to develop this research thread due to the later and different character of *tosaphot* remarks than the texts of Rashi himself. Cf. Berlin and Grossman (2011, 603).

⁵⁶ And today, by some Christian commentators of rabbinical writings.

⁵⁷ *Remarquable étude de Martin Aurell sur la légende du Roi Arthur entre les VI è et XIV ème...* Qui était vraiment Godefroy de Bouillon (Godfrey of Bouillon); see more Lobet (1943).

It is quite probable that Rashi explains the Hebrew Bible in a spirit we do not understand⁵⁸ or we do not want to grasp. He conveys his own interpretation, without any polemical intent. It is not certain that whenever Rashi speaks of *מינים* (*minim*)⁵⁹, he means Christians. The cultural and social context of the city of Troyes, where Rashi lives, promotes good contacts with Christian neighbors⁶⁰. This study states that Rashi does not employ a polemical tone⁶¹, because he wants to also encourage Christians to read Hebrew Scriptures, to discover Jewish roots of their faith (likewise Gruber 2004, 135). E. Shereshevsky writes that, in general, the bond between Jews and Christians in Troyes was good and friendly (Shereshevsky 1970-1971, 86). There is no reason to think otherwise. At least at the present stage of this research.

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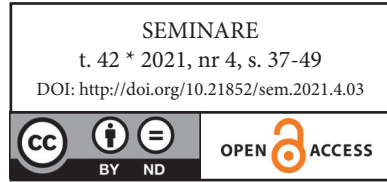
⁵⁸ Or we should accept at least the statement of H. Hailperin (1963, 31) that we have no possibility to name his "apology". Rashi goes beyond simple interpretive schemas. The apparent questions that concern us today and our concepts of reading texts, unfortunately not free of the "sin" of anachronism (especially in the case of Christian-Judaic dialogue), may have been alien to Rashi's mentality.

⁵⁹ Insofar as these texts are authentic, as emphasized above, they were not found in the manuscripts during the query for this study.

⁶⁰ For more on the character of the city and everyday life, see Shereshevsky (1982, 60n) and Hailperin (1963, 17).

⁶¹ Which does not mean that he refrains from engaging into a specific "silent" polemics, so that the recipients of his writings would have no doubts that the Christian interpretation of the Hebrew Bible is wrong (however, this cannot be stated with certainty).

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Received: 17 Feb 2021; Reviewed: 10 Sep 2021; Accepted: 06 Dec 2021

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARGUMENT FOR CELIBACY IN SELECTED DOCUMENTS OF THE MAGISTERIUM OF THE CHURCH WITH SPECIAL REGARD TO THE DOCUMENTS ISSUED AFTER VATICAN II

Abstract

The following article is one of the voices in the debate about the universality of priestly celibacy. It attempts to track the development of the theological and personalist arguments for celibacy contained in the most significant documents of the Magisterium of the Church. A special emphasis has been put on contemporary texts, issued after the Second Vatican Council. This choice has been caused by two major reasons. First, post-conciliar documents introduce a new quality to the argument of the universality of celibacy. Second, they have a far bigger impact on the discipline of the Church than previous texts.

Keywords: Celibacy, Synod of Elvira, Council of Trent, Paul VI, John Paul II, Benedict XVI, Francis

ROZWÓJ ARGUMENTACJI NA TEMAT CELIBATU W WYBRANYCH DOKUMENTACH MAGISTERIUM *ECCLESIAE* ZE SZCZEGÓLNYM UWZGLĘDNIENIEM DOKUMENTÓW WYDANYCH PO SOBORZE WATYKAŃSKIM II

Abstrakt

Niniejszy tekst jest jednym z głosów we współczesnej debacie na temat celibatu. Jego specyfiką jest próba prześledzenia rozwoju argumentacji teologicznej i personalistycznej zawartej w najważniejszych dokumentach Urzędu Nauczycielskiego Kościoła. Szczególny nacisk został położony na teksty współczesne, wydane już po Soborze Watykańskim II. To uwrażliwienie podyktowane jest dwoma zasadniczymi powodami. Po pierwsze, dokumenty posoborowe wprowadzają zupełnie nową jakość do argumentacji na temat powszechności celibatu. Po drugie, mają one o wiele większy wpływ na dzisiejszą dyscyplinę Kościoła niż teksty wcześniejsze.

Słowa kluczowe: celibat, synod w Elwirze, Sobór Trydencki, Paweł VI, Jan Paweł II, Benedykt XVI, Franciszek

INTRODUCTION

Celibacy is one of the most important issues related to the discipline of the sacraments in the Latin Church. It has been known and valued since antiquity as a manner of complete self-dedication in the service of God. However, for centuries, up until the adoption of the reforms of the Council of Trent, celibacy was not obligatory for all men ordained as presbyters. In modern times, the issue of the universality of celibacy regained interest thanks to the Synod dedicated to the problems of the Amazon region. In the final document of the Pan-Amazon Synod titled *The Amazon: New Paths for the Church and for an Integral Ecology*, the Synod Fathers opted for a possibility to ordain as priests appropriate men (the so-called *virī probati*) who have a good reputation in the community, are permanent deacons and live in a functional, long-term family (2019, 111).

The Synod Fathers' proposal has sparked a reflection on the relationship between celibacy and the ministerial priesthood in dogmatic and historical perspectives. The text that follows is one of the opinions voiced in the emerging discussion about the universality of celibacy in the Latin Church and its significance for priestly service. The article attempts to track theological and personalist arguments contained in the most significant documents of the Magisterium of the Church. A special emphasis, however, will be put on contemporary texts, issued after Vatican II. This choice is caused by two major reasons. First, post-conciliar documents introduce a completely new quality to the debate on the universality of celibacy. Second, they have a far bigger impact on today's discipline of the Church than previous texts.

1. BIBLICAL BASIS

Jesus' speech concerning the unmarried state for the sake of the kingdom of heaven was written down by St. Matthew in Chapter Nineteen of his Gospel. Discussing with Pharisees, Jesus starts to outline the original vision of marriage that he understands as an unbreakable bond of man and woman, by which they both become one flesh (Mt 19:4-6). Pharisees are unable to comprehend the teaching, so they ascertain that it is better not to marry. Christ replies with the following words, "Not all can accept [this] word, but only those to whom that is granted. Some are incapable of marriage because they were born so; some, because they were made so by others; some, because they have renounced marriage for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. Whoever can accept this ought to accept it" (Mt 19:11-12). In this way, Christ reveals two human vocations – for marriage and for celibacy for the sake of the kingdom of heaven.

A more in-depth analysis of this *logion* shows us three fundamental features of Christ's teaching about celibacy. First, it clearly applies to a gift, a particular charism that God himself grants in his freedom, "not all can accept [this] word, but

only those to whom that is granted” (v.11). The passive voice used here indicates that it is God who is at work. He endows us with his gift in a free manner. Second, man also accepts the gift of unmarriedness for the kingdom of heaven by his own free will. Jesus explicitly differentiates between the unmarried because of their inability to marry and those who “have renounced marriage for the sake of the kingdom of heaven” (v.12). Third, the essence of perfect continence implies the discernment of such a lifestyle as the will of Christ himself. Therefore, the Master of Nazareth concludes, “Whoever can accept this ought to accept it” (v.12) (Obiorah 2015, 15-17).

Thus, on the one hand, Christ’s teaching included in the Gospel of St. Matthew gives us an unprecedented validation of celibacy, as far as it is chosen with regard to the kingdom of God. On the other hand, in his speech Jesus does not necessarily associate unmarriedness with the priesthood. The issue of universality or necessity of celibacy of priests has not thus been unambiguously sanctioned; nevertheless, what needs to be borne in mind is the fact that Christ’s teaching must be interpreted by means of a hermeneutic horizon, which in this case comes down to the lifestyle of the Mater of Nazareth himself, who chose the path of celibacy as the most adequate for his salvific mission.

It is St. Paul who speaks in a similar vein in the First Letter to the Corinthians. In Chapter Seven, the Apostle to the Nations states, “Now in regard to virgins, I have no commandment from the Lord, but I give my opinion as one who by the Lord’s mercy is trustworthy. So this is what I think best because of the present distress: that it is a good thing for a person to remain as he is” (v. 25-26). In his teaching, St. Paul embraces Jesus’ logic, according to which unmarriedness allows us to be fully dedicated to God because “An unmarried man is anxious about the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord” (v. 32), whereas matrimony entails the anxiety about “the things of the world” and how to please the spouse (v. 33-37). By no means does the Apostle belittle marriage, yet he steadfastly encourages virginity (v. 40). Moreover, it results from the First Letter to Timothy that in Paul’s opinion being an exemplary husband of one wife ought to be perceived as praiseworthy and glorious when it comes to deacons and bishops (3:1-13).

2. FROM THE SYNOD OF ELVIRA TO THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL

In the Ancient Church celibacy used to be regarded as Christ’s great gift because of two major reasons. First, the Master of Nazareth himself chose this particular lifestyle as the most appropriate for the mission of the salvation of mankind. Second, Christ made it clear that there was a calling to unmarriedness, or a charism of continence, which happens to be given to certain people for the sake of the kingdom of God. The first regulations concerning the practice of celibacy date back to the period of time from 300 to 309 AD, when the Synod of Elvira is said to have taken place (Hess 2002, 40-42). The Synod dealt with, among

others, the issue of the cohabitation of priests and women. However, what seems to be most important is that Canon 33 forbade bishops, presbyters and deacons to have sexual intercourses with their wives and to beget offspring under penalty of the loss of the clerical state (Denzinger 1976, 119). As Brundage underlines, the reason for this prohibition was a fear that ritual purity during the celebration of the Eucharist would not be kept (Brundage 1987, 69-70). This motivation will continue to underlie similar prohibitions formulated in the centuries to come.

Canons of the first Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (325 AD) echo the teaching of the Synod of Elvira. They reiterate the ban on the cohabitation of priests with women with the exception of mothers, sisters, aunts or persons beyond all suspicion, including wives (*Decrees* 1990, 7). The subsequent ecumenical councils of Constantinople (381 AD) and Ephesus (431 AD) do not address the issue of celibacy whatsoever. The Council of Chalcedon (451 AD) – Christology-wise the most significant council in the history of the Church – forbids priests-to-be (lectors and cantors) to marry women of different faith. If, however, children were to be born of such relationships, it demands that they be baptized in the universal Church (*Decrees* 1990, 93-94).

The question of the sacramental discipline related to celibacy reappeared during the Gregorian reform. As Morris points out, the aforementioned reform focused on the purification of the clergy, who are considered channel of sacramental salvation. What prevailed was a way of thinking in terms of cult purity and continence, whereby there is no room for intercourses with women (Morris 1975, 100-101). The Lateran Councils took a similar stance. The first one of 1123 introduced a ban on the matrimony of presbyters, deacons, subdeacons and monks (*Decrees* 1990, 194). What it signified was that priests could no longer enter into a marriage, but the ones who were already married could be ordained. Successive councils of the Lateran of 1139, 1179 and 1215 had like opinions. Hence, the Gregorian reform did not contribute to the universalization of celibacy in the Latin Church despite what some historians claim (Ryś 2019, 83-86). It confirmed, nonetheless, an approach to celibacy as a means of retaining cult purity.

A stricter Church's discipline concerning celibacy of priests was not introduced until 250 years later by the Council of Trent (1545-1563). It was not achieved by means of canonical prohibitions – as those, in general, repeated the legislation of the Lateran – but rather thanks to the widespread introduction of seminaries by the decree *Cum Adolescentium Aetas* (Ryś 2019, 134-136). The practice of ordaining unmarried men was confirmed in later documents such as *Mirari Vos* (1834), *Qui Pluribus* (1848), *Haerent Animo* (1908), *Ad Catholicum Sacerdotium* (1935), *Menti Nostrae* (1950), and *Sacerdotii Nostri Primordia* (1959). The Second Vatican Council was the one to speak out about celibacy. In the Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests *Presbyterorum Ordinis*, we come across a statement that celibacy is not required for the priesthood by its very nature, which is testified by the history of the universal Church as well as the tradition of the Eastern Churches. However,

the Council Fathers go on to note that “celibacy has a many-faceted suitability for the priesthood. For the whole priestly mission is dedicated to the service of a new humanity which Christ, the victor over death, has aroused through his Spirit in the world and which has its origin ‘not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man but of God’ (Jn 1:13)” (Second Vatican Council 1965, 16).

This feature that shows the history of the popularization of priestly celibacy is an exceptionally important basis for the reflection on the post-conciliar doctrine since it helps us better understand the place where the Church finds herself in today (O’Loughlin 2004, 586). First and foremost, it needs to be noted that the universality of celibacy did not catch on in the Latin Church until the Council of Trent; what is more, it did not happen because of regulations, but the set-up of seminaries. Second, practically speaking, before Vatican II the assumption that celibacy was required on account of cult purity was prevalent. Such a motivation cannot be further from Christ’s perception of the value of unmarriedness for the kingdom of God, which is found in Chapter Nineteen of the Gospel of St. Matthew.

3. SACERDOTALIS CÆLIBATUS (PAUL VI, 1965)

Paul VI decided to write an encyclical regarding celibacy because of, as he put it, the promise he had made to the Council Fathers to give new luster and new power to priestly celibacy (Paul VI 1965, 2). This is the first ever and, thus far, the only document signed by the pope that is entirely dedicated to celibacy. In its first part, the Holy Father focuses on collecting frequently expressed objections to the universality of celibacy (Paul VI 1965, 5-12). The first and the essential one consists in the fact that Christ did not explicitly tie the priesthood with celibacy. The New Testament only encourages the path of unmarriedness for the kingdom of heaven. According to the hermeneutic in question, its supporters interpret a tradition of connecting celibacy with the priesthood, as voiced by a number of the Church Fathers, as a demand of the past, which in modern times is no longer defensible. They put forward the proposal to enable persons that do not feel the call to celibacy to undertake priestly duties. The second argument against the obligation of unmarriedness is based on a belief that such a Church discipline is detrimental in the parts of the world that suffer from shortages in the number of priests. By the way, it needs to be added that this argument was raised by the final document of the Special Assembly of the Synod of Bishops for the Pan-Amazon Region (October 6-27th, 2019) entitled *The Amazon: New Paths for the Church and for an Integral Ecology* (2019, 111). Another argument flows from a conviction that a large amount of painful abuse committed by priests, which threatens the entire Church, would not have happened but for universal celibacy. Currently, the argument in question breaks out again in both public and Church debates due to numerous sex and pedophilia scandals in which prominent priest and hierarchs are involved. Yet another reason against universal celibacy is strictly connected

to the previous one. It hinges on the premise that celibacy forces man to live in a great bodily and spiritual tension that upsets emotional and mental balance. Therefore, celibacy would become an unnecessary burden that almost deprives a priest or seminarian of human freedom. This type of argument often refers to psychoanalytical psychology that, however, has to be labeled as reductive and non-personalist (Nuttin 1975; Grulowski 2007).

The Pope, though treating the aforementioned reservation with full respect, does not tilt toward the opinion that celibacy should be abolished. Furthermore, he confirms the existing practice of the Church, claiming that “the present law of celibacy should today continue to be linked to the ecclesiastical ministry. This law should support the minister in his exclusive, definitive and total choice of the unique and supreme love of Christ; it should uphold him in the entire dedication of himself to the public worship of God and to the service of the Church; it should distinguish his state of life both among the faithful and in the world at large” (Paul VI 1965, 14).

The most important part of the document is directly devoted to a theology of celibacy. Paul VI begins with the reference to the teaching of Vatican II, whereby the priesthood does not call for virginity by its own nature, which nonetheless is highly beneficial for priestly service (Second Vatican Council 1965, 16). He moves on to describe a threefold meaning of priestly unmarriedness for the sake of the kingdom of God, its importance in the practical Church life and the influence thereof on experiencing one’s own humanity.

A Christological meaning of celibacy is revealed in light of the novelty of Christ’s priesthood. The Master of Nazareth is the strongest role model for any priest, who in fact participates in the one and true priesthood of Christ. In Paul VI’s opinion, “this deep concern between celibacy and the priesthood of Christ is reflected in those whose fortune it is to share in the dignity and mission of the Mediator and eternal Priest; this sharing will be more perfect the freer the sacred minister is from the bonds of flesh and blood” (Paul VI 1965, 21). Celibacy allows a priest to be fully geared toward getting to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven and spreading them. It also enables him to experience the abundance of God’s gifts that were promised by Christ to those who, imitating the Savior, would give up their house, family, wife and children (Lk 18:29-30). All of it makes the priesthood and celibacy enter into a highly obvious relation with each other that lets celibates concentrate exclusively on loving Christ and his Church (Paul VI 1965, 22-25).

An ecclesiological meaning of celibacy is noticeable in the love a priest has for the Church in the image of Christ himself, who loves the Church as his bride. The participation in Jesus’ love of his Mystical Body requires a voluntary and total dedication of oneself and consecration. It is seen especially during the celebration of the Eucharist and the devoted recitation of the breviary, as well as other forms of everyday prayer. Celibacy makes it possible for a priest to make time for constant

prayer that constitutes his specific duty. What is more, it helps him adopt an attitude of being of continuous service to the Church and, in the image of Christ, love all children of God with a selfless love. Paul VI is also convinced that a priest who has given himself up to Christ and his Church through a life of celibacy has an immense impact on others' minds and hearts (Paul VI 1965, 26-32).

An eschatological meaning of celibacy manifests itself in the lifestyle that refers to Christ's teaching about the future world, where after the resurrection no one will marry, but they will be like the angels in heaven (Mt 22:30). The priest is a sign of God's will concerning the future condition of the resurrected man, who is redeemed by the grace of Christ. Likewise, he should be a sign of the fact that God has already started to grant divine gifts to humanity. It makes it easier for man, a pilgrim on earth, to believe with certainty in the fulfilment of God's promise about the realization of the kingdom of God in the eschatological times (Paul VI 1965, 33-34).

Heeding a threefold meaning of celibacy and the Church's practice of holy celibacy that is manifest in the history, Paul VI arrives at two conclusions, "while on the one hand, the law requiring a freely chosen and perpetual celibacy of those who are admitted to Holy Orders remains unchanged, on the other hand, a study may be allowed of the particular circumstances of married sacred ministers of Churches or other Christian communities separated from the Catholic communion, and of the possibility of admitting to priestly functions those who desire to adhere to the fullness of this communion and to continue to exercise the sacred ministry. The circumstances must be such, however, as not to prejudice the existing discipline regarding celibacy" (Paul VI 1965, 42). This might be the most important excerpt from the doctrine contained in *Sacerdotalis Cælibatus*. On the one hand, it confirms the universal practice of celibacy in the Latin Church; on the other, it allows for some exceptions, to which we shall return in the sections to follow.

The Pope also tackles the influence of continence on the experience of celibate's own humanity. What he notes is that perfect continence, though may cause some difficulties as it entails the loss of a number of values and goods that reach deep in man's soul, enriches man and gives luster to his love. The Holy Father points out that it is God's grace that inclines a young man to choose celibacy; the grace does not destroy nature but rather makes it more perfect and endows it with supernatural abilities and strength. God knows what burden he may put on man that he created and redeemed; thus, he provided an indispensable support so that man may realize what the Creator and Redeemer demands of him (Paul VI 1965, 51). Paul VI firmly rejects the idea that celibacy goes against human nature. Rather, he points to a contrary argument, noticing that man, created in the image and likeness of God himself, fulfils himself most through the relationship with his Creator. Celibacy does not oppose human sexuality and sexual attraction, but directs man toward the highest values (Paul VI 1965, 53-56).

The third and last part of *Sacerdotalis Cælibatus* is devoted to the formation of priests. Paul VI, as it were, follows the path of the Council of Trent, which, as has been mentioned above, popularized celibacy not by means of canons and anathemata, but thanks to laying the foundations for a sensible education of seminarians. The Pope underlines that the education for the priesthood should be passed with utmost care in seminaries. In the given context, it is worth quoting his claim that “the complete education of the candidate for the priesthood should be directed to help him acquire a tranquil, convinced and free choice of the grave responsibilities which he must assume in conscience before God and the Church” (Paul VI 1965, 69).

4. *PASTORES DABO VOBIS* (JOHN PAUL II, 1992)

Pastores Dabo Vobis does not focus entirely on the issue of celibacy, as was the case with *Sacerdotalis Cælibatus*. The document written by John Paul II features a far broader perspective of understanding priestly formation in modern world. The Pope examines the issue of celibacy from the viewpoint of a personal call to love and participation in Christ’s love of his bride – the Church. The key category that elucidates the essence of the call in question is, as often happens in the Pope’s theological personalism, the conciliar category of the “gift of self.” According to the Holy Father, “the essential content of this pastoral charity is the gift of self, the total gift of self to the Church, following the example of Christ. Pastoral charity is the virtue by which we imitate Christ in his self-giving and service. It is not just what we do, but our gift of self, which manifests Christ’s love for his flock. Pastoral charity determines our way of thinking and acting, our way of relating to people. It makes special demands on us” (John Paul II 1992, 23).

Christ’s love linked to the pastoral love of the Church grows and develops in proportion to the logic of the evangelical counsels. It concerns obedience, poverty and celibacy (John Paul II 1992, 49). The practice of the evangelical counsels enables a priest to form his personality on the model of the Master of Nazareth, in whom these counsels have their origin and find their perfect fulfilment. In this respect, celibacy appears to be a way of experiencing spousal love. Making reference to his previous teaching in *Familiaris Consortio* (1981, 98), the Pope states, “in virginity and celibacy, chastity retains its original meaning, that is, of human sexuality lived as a genuine sign of and precious service to the love of communion and gift of self to others. This meaning is fully found in virginity which makes evident, even in the renunciation of marriage, the ‘nuptial meaning’ of the body through a communion and a personal gift to Jesus Christ and his Church which prefigures and anticipates the perfect and final communion and self-giving of the world to come: In virginity or celibacy, the human being is awaiting, also in a bodily way, the eschatological marriage of Christ with the Church, giving himself or herself completely to the Church in the hope that Christ may give himself to the Church in the full truth of eternal life” (John Paul II 1992, 29).

John Paul II's perspective of presenting celibacy as spousal love combines a vertical (the communion with Christ) with a horizontal (service of the community of the faithful) dimensions. It also highlights a humanistic aspect of unmarriedness, describing celibacy as a way of forming the fulness of humanity through love. If "man cannot live without love" (John Paul II 1979, 10) if he cannot comprehend himself until love reveals itself to him, until he touches it and makes it his own, celibacy gives a one-of-a-kind opportunity to abandon oneself completely to this Love, perhaps even more so than in matrimony. Hence, over the course of history unmarriedness for the sake of the kingdom of heaven, experienced in poverty and obedience, has come to be named "state of perfection" (*status perfectionis*). However, it seems worthwhile to repeat John Paul II's opinion that the perfection of Christian life is measured with the measure of love, of a personal relationship with the Triune God and with our neighbors. Therefore, living in the "state of perfection" aids a lot in achieving perfect love of God and people, but it does not work automatically. Moreover, married people are able to attain even greater degree of perfection of love than those that follow the path of the evangelical counsels (John Paul II 2006, 428-432).

In regard to the above argument, a proper formation of priests becomes a key issue and task. Likewise, it applies to the appropriate experience of the priesthood according to the evangelical counsels. The Pope notes that obedience and poverty, on a par with celibacy, can be embraced by a candidate for the priesthood who displays emotional maturity. Thus, seminaries should aid seminarians with their emotional development, as well as educate them for mature love in an authentic freedom (John Paul II 1992, 44). The maturity should be visible in an approach to celibacy that does not reduce it to a merely legal rule, even if right and desirable, but sees it "rather as a value that is profoundly connected with ordination, whereby a man takes on the likeness of Jesus Christ, the good shepherd and spouse of the Church, and therefore as a choice of a greater and undivided love for Christ and his Church, as a full and joyful availability in his heart for the pastoral ministry. Celibacy is to be considered as a special grace, as a gift, for 'not all men can receive this saying, but only those to whom it is given' (Mt 19:11). Certainly it is a grace which does not dispense with, but counts most definitely on, a conscious and free response on the part of the receiver. This charism of the Spirit also brings with it the grace for the receiver to remain faithful to it for all his life and be able to carry out generously and joyfully its concomitant commitments" (John Paul II 1992, 50).

Summing up the analysis of *Pastores Dabo Vobis*, we cannot fail to notice that John Paul II draws extensively from the teaching of *Sacerdotalis Caelibatus*. There is an obvious hermeneutic of continuity when it comes to the perception of celibacy as a great gift, especially useful in the priestly life. In the teaching of both popes, unmarriedness for the sake of the kingdom of God is characterized by Christological and ecclesiological dimensions. It also serves as a sign of the eschatological meaning that directs the entire Church toward the complete

revelation of the kingdom of God at the second coming of Christ. Another thing that emerges here, beside the hermeneutic of continuity, is the hermeneutic of novelty. First of all, it comes down to the outlook on celibacy through the lens of the priest's fulfilment as a person called to love. It consists in presenting celibacy, obedience and poverty as a path of life, on which a celibate is able to realize his call to life in a perspective of a selfless gift of self.

5. RECENT DOCUMENTS OF THE MAGISTERIUM OF THE CHURCH

In 2009 Benedict XVI published an Apostolic Constitution *Anglicanorum Coetibus. Providing for Personal Ordinariates for Anglicans Entering into Full Communion with the Catholic Church*. Pursuant to this document, the Pope allowed married Anglican priests to be ordained (Benedict XVI 2009, VI §1). It was not, however, a derogation from the sacramental discipline because, according to the interpretation found in *Sacerdotalis Caelibatus*, “a study may be allowed of the particular circumstances of married sacred ministers of Churches or other Christian communities separated from the Catholic communion, and of the possibility of admitting to priestly functions those who desire to adhere to the fullness of this communion and to continue to exercise the sacred ministry. The circumstances must be such, however, as not to prejudice the existing discipline regarding celibacy” (Paul VI 1965, 42). In order to both retain the spirit of a theology of celibate, included in Paul VI's encyclical, and permit married Anglican priests to be ordained, Benedict XVI decreed “the Ordinary, in full observance of the discipline of celibate clergy in the Latin Church, as a rule (*pro regula*) will admit only celibate men to the order of presbyter. He may also petition the Roman Pontiff, as a derogation from can. 277, §1, for the admission of married men to the order of presbyter on a case by case basis, according to objective criteria approved by the Holy See” (Benedict XVI 2009, VI §2). Furthermore, Pope Benedict specified that unmarried Anglican priests are obliged to comply with Catholic rules on celibacy according to can. 277,1 of the Code of Canon Law. In addition, it should be emphasized that there is no question of belittling the universality of the discipline of holy celibacy in the Catholic Church.

A proposal to change the sacramental discipline was put forward in the document mentioned in Introduction – the final document of the Special Assembly of the Synod of Bishops for the Pan-Amazon Region entitled *The Amazon: New Paths for the Church and for an Integral Ecology*. The Synod Fathers included a following postulate, “considering that legitimate diversity does not harm the communion and unity of the Church, but rather expresses and serves it (LG 13; OE 6), witness the plurality of existing rites and disciplines, we propose that criteria and dispositions be established by the competent authority, within the framework of Lumen Gentium 26, to ordain as priests suitable and respected men of the community with a legitimately constituted and stable family, who have had a fruitful permanent diaconate and receive an adequate formation for the

priesthood, in order to sustain the life of the Christian community through the preaching of the Word and the celebration of the Sacraments in the most remote areas of the Amazon region. In this regard, some were in favour of a more universal approach to the subject” (Pan-Amazon Synod 2019, 111).

The Synod Fathers refer to a “legitimate diversity” of existing rites and disciplinary practices so as to advise the Pope to enable the ordination of “suitable man” (*virī probati*) that have a good reputation of the community, are permanent deacons and live in a functional, stable family. It would guarantee the communities of the Amazon region permanent access to the holy sacraments, above all the Eucharist. Nonetheless, Pope Francis did not choose to give a positive response to the Synod Father’s suggestion. In his Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation *Querida Amazonia*, the Holy Father pays attention to the fact that the pastoral ministry of the Amazon Church is deficient and steps ought to be taken so that the celebration of the Eucharist there may become more frequent. Yet, this urgent need does not incline the Pope to relax the discipline of holy celibate, but “to urge all bishops, especially those in Latin America, not only to promote prayer for priestly vocations, but also to be more generous in encouraging those who display a missionary vocation to opt for the Amazon region. At the same time, it is appropriate that the structure and content of both initial and ongoing priestly formation be thoroughly revised, so that priests can acquire the attitudes and abilities demanded by dialogue with Amazonian cultures. This formation must be preeminently pastoral and favour the development of priestly mercy” (Francis 2020, 90).

Francis’ diagnosis follows in the footsteps of the Council of Trent and the documents *Pastores Dabo Vobis* and *Sacerdotalis Cælibatus*, which underline the great significance of the seminary formation with the objective of better understanding the identity of priests and their role in the liturgical assembly. The problem of shortages of priests in the Amazon region does not stem from a burdensome necessity for celibacy, but from the crisis of experiencing the priestly vocation, with a special emphasis put on what the Pope terms “priestly mercy.” This situation cannot be remedied by the change of the discipline, but rather by an appropriate formation carried out according to the principles presented in *Pastores Dabo Vobis* and *Ratio Fundamentalís Institutiones Sacerdotalis* (2016).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The universality of priestly celibacy in the Catholic Church developed gradually. Even though the message of the New Testament does not necessarily require its universality, the first canons concerning the necessity of priests’ perfect continence appeared as soon as in the sixth century AD. Eventually, celibacy became a universal practice in the Latin Church after the Council of Trent, which ordered the creation of seminaries, where seminarians were educated and prepared for

a right understanding of the essence of celibacy and the voluntary embracement thereof. After Vatican II, the issue of the universality of celibacy re-emerged as a subject of a churchwide debate. The documents such as *Pastores Dabo Vobis* and *Sacerdotalis Cælibatus* provided a completely new quality in the manner of argumentation in favor of the universality of celibacy. While what prevailed earlier was the argument of cult purity, contemporary popes focused on indicating three major dimensions of celibacy – Christological, ecclesiological and eschatological ones. Analyzing the progress of the doctrine of the Magisterium on celibacy, we must stress a clear hermeneutic of continuity and development. Throughout the centuries, the Catholic Church has gained a better awareness of celibacy as the most adequate lifestyle for the priesthood. Simultaneously, never in the Church's official teaching have we found a statement that celibacy belongs to the very nature of the priesthood. Consequently, some exemptions from universal celibacy may be accounted for, as those mentioned in *Anglicanorum Coetibus*; these do not contest the validity of the ordination. The hermeneutical tension born of the clash between the sense of great benefit that embracing the charism of celibacy brings forth with the idea that the very same celibacy does not necessarily pertain to the nature of the priesthood itself underlies, as it seems, contemporary discussion on the possibility of ordaining trustworthy married men (*viri probati*) as priests. It would be possible in a situation of a limited access to Eucharist and the sacrament of penance and reconciliation. Pope Francis did not choose to take this step in the Church of the Amazon region. It appears to be a clear message that contemporary popes closely connect the understanding of the priesthood with celibacy.

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Received: 09 Oct 2021; Reviewed: 10 Dec 2021; Accepted: 20 Dec 2021

TOWARDS *RESILIENCE* IN SOCIAL SCIENCES – FROM PSYCHOLOGY TO SOCIAL PEDAGOGY

Abstract

In the view of recent social sciences, the concept of *resilience* is associated primarily with positive adaptation regarding people exposed to various adversities and traumatic events for both children and adults. The majority of researchers ultimately agree on the coexistence of several factors affecting the disruption of an individual's functioning, illness or social maladaptation. With reference to social pedagogy, the category of *resilience* being not only psychological, finds comprehensive application to human and social life, including social problems, social exclusion and threats regarding family, school and education environment, and, finally, assistance in development processes and education of adults and the elderly. The aim of the article is to point out the indicated aspects.

Keywords: *resilience*, psychology, social pedagogy, interdisciplinary, education

W KIERUNKU PRĘŻNOŚCI W NAUKACH SPOŁECZNYCH – OD PSYCHOLOGII DO PEDAGOGIKI SPOŁECZNEJ

Abstrakt

W najnowszych ujęciach nauk społecznych pojęcie *resilience* kojarzone jest przede wszystkim z pozytywną adaptacją dotyczącą osób narażonych na różne przeciwności losu i traumatyczne wydarzenia, zarówno w odniesieniu do dzieci, jak i dorosłych. Większość badaczy zgadza się ostatecznie co do współistnienia kilku czynników wpływających na zaburzenie funkcjonowania jednostki, chorobę czy nieprzystosowanie społeczne. W odniesieniu do pedagogiki społecznej kategoria *resilience*, będąc nie tylko psychologiczną, znajduje wszechstronne zastosowanie w życiu człowieka i społeczeństwa, w tym w problemach społecznych, wykluczeniu i zagrożeniach społecznych dotyczących środowiska rodzinnego, szkolnego i edukacyjnego, wreszcie w procesach rozwojowych i edukacji osób dorosłych i starszych. Artykuł jest jedynie próbą zwrócenia uwagi na wskazane aspekty.

Słowa kluczowe: *resilience*, psychologia, pedagogika społeczna, interdyscyplinarność, edukacja

1. THE INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE – SELECTED THEMES

The paper attempts to discuss *resilience* as a category which avoids strict scientific treatment and unambiguous assignment to a given scientific discipline. Hence, I suggest a brief glance of the selected elaborations upon the *resilience* category from selected an interdisciplinary perspectives. In social sciences, interdisciplinarity as cooperation of scientific domains allows a holistic perception of man with his functioning principles. Emmanuel Lèvinas, while questioning Hegel's assumptions, notes that they led to "the crossing out of a living man in favor of mathematical structures generated rather individually than subjectively produced" (Lèvinas 2000, 101).

From my pedagogical experience, I adopt the concept of interdisciplinarity to viewing people from diverse perspectives and mental planes, as well as domains not only strictly humanistic. Here, I recall Odo Marquard's approach calling for a way out of pragmatic, natural and humanistic isolation for cooperation (Marquard 1994, 114). Advocating for humanistic narratives, in which a multifaceted view on the individual can be voiced, proposes an opportunity for collective learning which requires an interdisciplinary coverage.

In the paper, I advocate for the latter, which enables to step aside from the conventional principle. Paul K. Feyerabend states: "There is no idea, arbitrarily old and absurd, that could not develop our knowledge. The whole history of thoughts is motivated scientifically, being applied to justify every theory", and proceeds that "there is no theory consistent with all facts in its domain" (Feyerabend 1997, 14). Based on this assumption, I claim that theoretical subdisciplines can be mutually exclusive, while their presentation serves to provide a multilateral review of the issues discussed here.

With regard to family-related issues, I pay attention to culture, and discuss its relation to upbringing, interpersonal relations, communication, satisfying needs and socio-cultural context that determine human development. Besides, I refer to the opinion by Sergiusz Hessen who points out to "the close relationship between philosophy and pedagogy, the issue of culture and education. Since pedagogy is so closely related to philosophy, and can even be called applied philosophy, the history of pedagogy is treated as its constituent, or, a reflection of the history of philosophy" (Hessen 1997, 64-65). The researcher claims that an issue of education generates from culture. For him, negation of culture predetermines negation of history, leading to education neglect (Hessen 1997, 65-66).

Moving on to the theoretical approach towards *resilience* which presence in social sciences is characterized by a vast range of application, I intend to address its versatility from an interdisciplinary view. Cognitive psychology with its focus on a specialized system of reception and processing in human mind, emphasizes its adaptiveness in accumulating and transforming information. Remaining a subject-matter for numerous humanities, social and biological sciences, it proves that setting boundaries is not always possible and even needed (*Psychologia poznawcza* 2006).

In view of the mentioned above, as a social researcher, I analyze the category of *resilience* taking into account an individual viewed from a pedagogical perspective, though being constantly intertwined with the perspective of psychology or anthropological sciences. On the other hand, our mind is capable of transformations to enable the individual to constructively handle situations and events that hinder psychological and social integration.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The term *resilience*, initially present in physics, related to the ability of the material after deformation to regain its original shape, has acquired a wider application recently. This term was introduced to social sciences by the pioneers of research into the development of disadvantaged children and adolescents (Michael Rutter). In social sciences, this term emerged due to Emma Werner's pioneering research on the development of children and young people under adverse living conditions (Werner 1994, 2000).

In the social sciences, *resilience* is applied to good psychological and social functioning in difficult conditions. This term may also refer to adults who have been exposed to traumatic life experiences (Mancini and Bonamo 2006). *Resilience* explains positive adaptations of people facing various types of adversities or traumatic events (Borucka and Pisarska 2012). It means that a person may have adapted relatively well despite experiencing a threat (Olsson et al. 2003). Understanding the causes of these illnesses has set the foundation for the search of risk factors impacting the incidence of mental health disorders in children (Rutter 1987). Ogińska-Bulik and Jurczyński (2011) used this term to refer to a way an individual overcomes negative phenomena in life (cf. Bzymek 2020a, 116).

The English term *resilience* has also been used in Polish research articles as it seems to be the most appropriate way to refer to this concept. Junik (2011) calls for the use of the word *resilience* for this purpose and translated it into Polish as *rezylencja*. This includes the related notions of flexibility and the ability to regenerate (Borucka and Ostaszewski 2008). This term was introduced into the social sciences by pioneers of research on the development of disadvantaged children and adolescents (Rutter 1987). In this context, *resilience* means smooth functioning in difficult life circumstances, having age-appropriate skills and carrying on in spite of adverse circumstances. In a wider sense, *resilience* presents a dynamic process of adaptation despite having experienced hazards or traumas. Importantly, *resilience* is not synonymous with good mental health or strong social skills. Another meaning of the term can be “rebounding from the bottom”, or resuming normal functioning after a very stressful event (Borucka and Ostaszewski 2008). Essentially, having *resilience* does not equate to good mental health or social competence, but is rather the ability of an individual to maintain himself under adverse circumstances. Barbara Fredricson wrote about the role of positive

emotions to overcome negative life events Fredrickson (Fredrickson 2011). In turn Irena Mudrecka notes the importance of risk factors and protective mechanisms (Mudrecka 2020).

Looking for the possible sources of support, specifically those providing practical help, I can't but mention Cyrulnik (2015), who singles out two different kinds of protectors to battle *resilience*. The first type of person is equipped with formal qualifications, such as a psychologist, a psychotherapist, a teacher or a member of the clergy. However, the second one, often a family member or a friend, can also offer valuable support in unfavorable conditions, despite academic merits or other recognized credentials. I consider this idea important, and likely help encourage teachers and educators to serve as protectors (cf. Bzymek 2020a, 116-117).

This issue of qualitative approach to *resilience* is addressed by Michael Rutter (1987, 2000), and presents an extremely valuable research discernment of the dimension for practical solutions based on the researcher's expertise, including minimizing negative influences on people, their temperament perception as tools for gaining support, especially in constructing well-being and embracing challenges by breaking the old scheme perception and raising standards through improving social status.

3. *RESILIENCE* IN A BROAD SENSE

Notably, a topic of *resilience* is characterized by a vast array of elaborations. From the pedagogical perspective, the adult education appears underrepresented, though. There seems to be a significant difference between the concepts of *resilience* and *resiliency*. Modern studies approach this notion from two, sometimes even controversial perspectives: 1. the ability to recover quickly psychologically (Smulczyk 2019); 2. view this phenomenon as limitations of emotion as well as intellectual and material resources that result in susceptibility to trauma (Cyrulnik 2005). Although both terms are related to adaptability, and refer to all types of psychological recovery, *resiliency* refers to a personality trait (Block and Kremen 1996). However, *resilience* is the process of effective adaptation to difficult conditions and is understood in terms of a developmental perspective. In other words, *resiliency* is the flexibility to recover quickly from difficult situations, and *resilience* is how one deals with difficult conditions. Humanistic psychology views the ability to respond under complicated settings in a constructive manner which is directly related to the degree to which childhood needs were satisfied, especially those related to safety (Oleś 2011). Parkes (1986) speaks of implementing adaptive coping strategies and adaptive flexibility, and Hobfoll (2006) wrote about people's ability to increase resources and use them rationally. Oleś (2011) defines this quality applying a psychology term – *ego (resilience)*. He believes that factors related to the development of difficult conditions in children's lives are equally important for adults. He proposes a thesis that these factors facilitate health and adaptation skills. Cierpiałkowska (2007) names such factors *social competence* and defines it as the ability to solve problems, achieve

autonomy, gain awareness of purposefulness and sensibility of actions, and focus on personal goals, ambition (*ego science*), interests and imagination, positive emotions and a sense of coherence (cf. Bzymek 2020a, 117).

According to Boris Cyrulnik, a neuropsychiatrist and an expert on *resilience*, this topic is inextricably linked with the concept of a valuable emotional niche, based on how the individual's immediate relatives led their lives. If they have experienced emotional closeness with their own parents during childhood, they tend to offer their children similar care (Cyrulnik 2015, 124). Importantly, *resilience* does not sound synonymous with good mental health or high social competence, for it explores how individuals remain in a relatively good mental health despite being exposed to a number of threatening factors (Cyrulnik 2015; cf. Bzymek 2020a, 117).

Due to unfavorable developmental conditions treated as risk factors, performing a threat to the development children and adolescents, prone to cause deviations in psyche. Typical risk factors include prematurity, poverty, parents' mental illness, war, divorce, and childcare (Borucka and Ostaszewski 2008). Still, a single risk factor seems insufficient for causing the entity disruption. The existing four risk indexes include: individual characteristics; influence of peers; family relationships; place of residence, social relations. In addition Mudrecka wrote about the role of risk factors and protective mechanisms (Mudrecka 2020).

To the protective factors I refer individual character traits (self-esteem, cheerful disposition, faith, talents, sociability); family factors: family cohesion, close relationships, warmth, stable financial status; external factors: safe neighbourhood, pro-social organization membership or voluntary engagement (Borucka and Ostaszewski 2008; cf. Bzymek 2020a, 117).

Wioletta Junik (Junik 2011, 53-58) suggests a comparative analysis of tools used to measure *resilience*, primarily targeted at adults:

1. *The Resilient Scale, RS, for children and adolescents*, Gail M. Wagnild and Heather M. Young 1993 (Polish version *Skala Postawa wobec siebie i świata*, Hanna Kołło and Joanna Mazur 2007, 2008);

2. *The Ego Resilience Scale*, ER 89, Jack Block and Adam M. Kremen 1996 (Polish version: *Skala Sprężystości Ego*, Grażyna Dolińska-Zygmunt and Małgorzata Włodarczyk 2011);

3. *The Resilience Scale for Adults*, RSA, Oddgeir Friborg, Odin Hjemdal, Jan H. Rosenvinge, Monica Martinssen 2008 (Polish version: *Ocena psychometryczna wybranych podskal*, Irena Jelonkiewicz, Katarzyna Kosińska-Dec and Marek Zwoliński 2009);

4. *Questionnaire on a sense of security and personal preference*, KPB-PO, Zenon Uchnast, 1997, 1998 (*Kwestionariusz poczucia bezpieczeństwa i prężności osobowej* – KPB-PO, Zenon Uchnast 1997, 1998);

5. *Resilience Measurement Scale*, SPP-25, Nina Ogińska-Bulik and Zygryd Jurczyński, 2008 (*Skala Pomiaru Prężności* – SPP-25, Nina Ogińska-Bulik and Zygryd Jurczyński 2008).

Last but not least, it seems worth paying attention to Polish research tools developed for social settings. For example, the questionnaire on a sense of security and personal engagement – KPB-PO by Zenon Uchnast can be considered a pioneering tool within which the *resilience* is interpreted as the ability to be resourceful in changing conditions of adaptation and involvement in everyday life. The tool examines a range of factors like stability, self-confidence, sense of security and personal *resilience*. According to the research, a high level of personal *resilience* indicates closeness and trust in others, openness to everyday matters and commitment to duties. In turn, the low level of personal *resilience* speaks of the excessive care in securing a sense of sustainability.

On the other hand, the Pressure Measurement Scale – SPP-25 Ogińska-Bulik and Jurczyński measures personal factors for adults exposed to stress or traumatic events. Here the *resilience* is understood as a universal self-regulation mechanism that should protect against the negative consequences of experienced events, both traumatic and notorious. Notably, this scale measures five factors: perseverance and determination in action, openness to experience and sense of humor, personal endurance and stress management, perception of failure and risk-taking (Ogińska-Bulik and Jurczyński 2011, 7-28; cf. Prince-Embury 2007).

Interpreting this disputable issue, the researchers who approach *resilience* as “a set of skills to effectively deal with stress of high intensity, consisting of flexible, creative way of coping with adversity; with a focus on the ability to break away from negative experiences and the ability to arouse positive emotions” (Heszen and Sęk 2007, 173). Important *resilience* skills include re-evaluation and reinterpretation of events, creating and maintaining emotional ties, searching for new experiences and a positive mindset. It also encompasses cheerfulness and flexibility, the ability to arouse positive emotions and a flexible use of remedial adaptive practices regarding the needs and a given situational context (Cierpiałkowska and Sęk 2006, 34).

4. ANALOGIES WITHIN THE RESILIENCE CONTEXT

The analogy between biological and mental resistance proves the interdisciplinary nature of the *resilience* category. H. Olszewski developed the Frolkis theory about psychological well-being (Olszewski 2003, 7-8). According to a researcher, psychological well-being consist in psychological processes affecting human aging, analogous to biological potential processes which allows protection against disappointment and failures regarding ageing (Olszewski 2003, 8-9). Therefore, the psychological well-being lies in a certain ability for an individual to exceed their adaptive abilities developed so far; development is approached as a positive potential determining the quality of life, including the maturity potential (Olszewski 2003, 27).

For Piotr Oleś, on the other hand, mental sphere appears parallel to the biological sphere that reaches a state of psychological hunger “constitutional

resistance to stress and a sense of security, or rather an emotional fulfillment derived from early (preverbal) childhood experiences” (Oleś 2011, 35). Moreover, he emphasizes the role of situational factors which involves a personality interface and threatening environment, acknowledging the quality of person-environment interaction.

The researcher outlines such factors as maximum mobilization of immune resources and flexibility in applying and creating new adaptive behaviors, production of resources under permanent shortage, awareness of the threatened basic values such as life, health, freedom, dignity. The final factor manifests itself in providing support through sharing difficult life-stories with others who have similarly experienced certain losses, temporarily or definitively, and the awareness of timeless indestructible value despite unfavorable circumstances (Oleś 2011, 236). Piotr Oleś argues that situations of traumatic life losses prove an individual’s ability for transcendence, i.e. exceeding biological and psychosocial conditions under specific circumstances and particular cases (Oleś 2011, 236).

As is demonstrated by the previously cited research, the concept of *resilience* is presented in science mainly as a psychological category. Some researchers utilize this concept in pedagogy, noticing the potential for its educational applications. The research studies of the subject began with Junik (2011). Other recent studies have attempted to implement the idea of *resilience* to pedagogy (Smulczyk 2019). In addition to this a higher proportion of *resilience* research has mainly been developed with children and adolescents. Gill Windle proposes more multi-disciplinary studies that examine the dynamics of *resilience* across the lifespan, its role in healthy ageing and in managing loss (Windle 2011, 152-169).

5. PEDAGOGY AND *RESILIENCE*

With regard to pedagogy, the concept of *resilience* prevails as a new and promising issue. Noteworthy, its elements can be traced among the cutting edge developments, despite the fact that the concept of *resilience* is not used. In the paper, I intentionally focus on social pedagogy domain and base my assumptions on Helena Radlińska (1961) and Wiesław Theiss’ (1999) views.

Being underelaborated in social sciences, it has functioned in theoretical and research implications. For Helena Radlińska, within social pedagogy studies, the issue of relationship between an individual and environment comes to the fore (Theiss 1984, 64). Being a leading researcher in social pedagogy and reviewing opportunities to process living conditions, the author draws the importance to the impact of living conditions regarding development. Basically, Radlińska attempts to introduce data with regards to social causes of human development inhibitions as preventive measures (Theiss 1984, 235).

Radlińska approaches an individual within the synergy of personal development and community work, as well as civic engagement (Theiss 1984, 66).

For the researcher, it is exemplified through socio-cultural activities carried out in two directions – individual and common benefit. On the other hand, Radlińska's environment holds: “an individual and factors shaping his personality permanently” (Radlińska 1935, 15). It presents social, cultural and natural components divided into correlating, distant and immediate environments, objective and subjective, tangible and intangible, mental such as ideas, customs, and moral bonds (Radlińska 1935, 20). Notably, the role models of prominent people matter much, influencing the hierarchy of values, motivation of behavior and thus, life transformations. Hence, it seems impossible to associate this idea with the above-discussed concept of resistance protector introduced by Cyrulnik.

The concept of social pedagogy, in Radlińska's opinion, fulfills three basic goals: changing unfavorable development conditions and improving positive influences as a result of transforming human surroundings into an educational context thus implementing educational goals (Theiss 1984, 70). It seems necessary to refer to the resilience concept, being consistent with Radlińska's philosophy described above. One of the protective factors, namely, external (safe neighborhood, pro-social organization membership etc.), as well as a family factor (family cohesion, close relationships, warmth, sustainability etc.).

To sum up, social pedagogy focuses on an individual, and views social factors inherent in society through broadly understood socio-educational activities. On the other hand, for M. Mendel, generating environmental cooperation focuses on shaping educational cooperation (Mendel 2002, 18-19) allows to achieve not only academic performance, but (and above all) an overall success. Thus, school social services, family and local environments are directed towards supporting child's development. These forces form a community that creates a safe place for the growth of an individual. According to Radlińska, the conventional functions of social pedagogy cover compensation for deficiencies hindering proper human development regarding psychological, material and socio-cultural spheres; preventive measures against the adverse situations, inhibiting and strengthening positive influences. Improvement is treated as comprehensive and independent action, facilitating a number of mental activities and setting right targets. Finally, pedagogy itself an interdisciplinary theory that uses biological, psychological and philosophical sciences, didactics and the upbringing theory favour the effectiveness of educational activities based on knowledge from various science domains (Theiss 1984, 73). Personally, I perceive Radlińska's theory strongly linked to psychological sciences, thus manifesting its interdisciplinarity nature. A direct reference to psychology relies on a two-way subjective relationship in the research process, or being authentic instead of assessing another person. The researcher has a point advocating for a need of interpersonal relations authenticity, constructed on both healthy relationships and socio-cultural advancement in acquiring *resilience* attitudes.

In addition, Helena Radlińska's notions of compensation, from my perspective, constitute an important element in child and adult performance under emergency

conditions. Unlike interdisciplinarity, compensation, remaining conceptually pretty similar to resilience, has been applied in various domains and trends, just to mention some, analytical psychology by Carl Gustav Jung (Jung 1976). Social pedagogy focuses on compensation understood as a specific complement to certain deprivations, disabilities, weakness of strength, incompleteness of opportunities (Witkowski 2014, 612). Both removing adverse conditions and supplementing them, is broadly associated with social compensation in Radlińska's approach (Radlińska 1961, 371). Notably, it was aimed at transforming environment, not only by assisting to satisfy basic needs, but also by "cooperating on implementing the ideals lying in an invisible environment" (Witkowski 2014, 612). Ultimately, for Radlińska, "education consists of, besides cultivating advancement, solving developmental tasks, learning how to find and select values, as well as developing skills in managing work performance. Going beyond school environment, education acquires a prime importance, and is associated with all factors forming a human persona" (Radlińska 1961, 371).

Regarding the concept of resilience, Wiesław Theiss's research on the fate of "Siberian children" deported to the USSR (Theiss 1999) fits perfectly into this context. Without referring to as *resilience* tests, they clearly demonstrate a resilience issue. Focusing on a "lifeline" concept, Theiss actually ponders the causes that enabled children to survive despite lethal conditions. In my view, this is primarily a question of an individual will-power, about the sources of struggle and how to compensate for adversity. W. Theiss lists here the survival categories (Theiss 1999, 51-77) by which the language of resilience psychology would, no doubt, be described as protective factors, elaborated above.

Here I wish to draw a particular attention to social environment which consists of protective factors and the ones posing a potential threat towards the development of the individual which, as an instructor, I perceive as environmental human support forces. Personally, I view them as opportunities to compensate for detriment of an individual's needs in a socio-cultural environment, such as the local community, role models important for individuals, prosocial organizations. W. Theiss's research displays the importance of location where Siberian exiles functioned, with non-family factors, such as care and upbringing and educational facilities, health care facilities, boarding schools, vocational courses or educational centers, and mindful supervision of teachers and educators ready to respond to children crying at night together and experiencing nightmares, and, finally, democratic education supporting multilateral development, the Church, the Polish Army and its ethos power, as well as soldiers' personal patterns, extracurricular and extracurricular activities, scouting (Theiss 1999, 71-77).

Due to a scope of the category in question, I abstain from including broader contexts of resilience in the pedagogical subdisciplines which I am writing about in the monograph currently under preparation. Hence, I refer only to andragogy including adult development and life-long education (Bzymek 2020b, 205-245).

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report *Against the odds. Disadvantaged Students Who Succeed in School* (2011), is devoted to assessing resilience in a school context. It deals with the phenomenon of academic resilience, and includes the analysis of the students' focus group case study who "overcame" adversities during school education, having achieved high academic performance results, at the same time remaining in an economic and social disadvantage despite having low socioeconomic status.

Another important goal of the report was to identify the ways to improve school performance, i.e., to increase the percentage of "status overcome" among student populations. Notably, the low socioeconomic status does not create an obstacle to achieving school advancement as long as it concerns devoting time to studying. Hence, the so-called predictors of academic *resilience* (Smulczyk 2019, 68-69) included regular time devoted to learning, a positive approach to learning science subjects (which were analyzed in the study), and self-confidence in school opportunities and a positive approach to intrinsic student's motivation towards learning.

Marek Smulczyk emphasizes that the OECD treats the concept of "overcoming" as an equivalent of the English term *resilience* (Smulczyk 2019). For him, it is utilized to describe a group of students who have just "overcome" adverse socio-economic conditions, and have unexpectedly good academic results. The OECD report analyzed factors for achieving high school performance under highly restricted conditions, the PISA survey from 2006. These studies, covering a total of fifty-seven countries, were based on indexes of economic, social and cultural status (*escs – economic, social and cultural status*).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Recently, *resilience* issues have been in the spotlight of Polish scientific thought that is marked by a constant increase. With the view of its potential, the importance of *resilience* in pedagogy domain seems invaluable. While psychology bends over the issue of breaking the relationships into risk factors and problematic behavior resulting in psychopathology, the pedagogy is characterized by promising venues for development. Children and adolescents will definitely benefit from knowledge of insight into a resilience phenomenon regarding education and sustainable development, especially from cognitive and socio-emotional perspectives. Acknowledging the idea of holistic lifelong learning, one cannot ignore the phenomenon of resistance in relation to educational support for adults, including support in their socio-emotional functioning. The enormous possibilities arising from the resilience category analyzed here constitute, no doubt, a valuable element utilized both in the pedagogical theory and in educational instruction (cf. Bzymek 2020b).

According to the psychodynamic approach, responses to stress are determined by disturbances in relationships and ways of solving internal and interpersonal conflicts are acquired in childhood, (cf. Bzymek 2020a, 123).

An educator can see vast opportunities for modifying the direction of educational processes in order to attain *resilience*. First and foremost, the role of education should be to promote awareness, build a wise parent-child relationship and support families in crisis. It is also important to link the home environment with that in the school. The experience of personalization and critical pedagogy interpreted by Kwieciński and Śliwerski as a disagreement with reality should certainly be helpful here (*Pedagogika* 2003). I also point to an understanding of pedagogy which, on the one hand, introduces and adapts a person to society and culture, and on the other, empowers a person with an emancipatory function allowing for the independent construction of identity. The humanist psychology of Maslow (1990) certainly seems to inspire an individual's self-realization. In addition, Frankl's (1978) proposal of *upbringing for responsibility*, Adler's (1986) individual psychology of social bonding, and the psychology of radical humanism of Fromm (1999), focused on the developmental potential of productive work. These approaches strongly emphasize personality development and human identity processes (cf. Bzymek 2020a, 123).

Marek Smulczyk suggest building the following dimensions based on the model of educational *resilience* (Smulczyk 2019). These three dimensions include: a personal dimension consisting of two elements – self-confidence and effort (motivation); emotional and material family support and patterns of *resilience*; and, understanding of community dimensions – perceiving how potential benefits from community infrastructure projects such as roads and public transportation can help facilitate access to schools. I am convinced that a constant pursuit of pedagogical thought can support a critical approach to educational and social relationships, being useful in moments of failing psychosocial stability and contributing to building human capacity to cope with problems. Building a family, home and the social relations are the primary potential sources of *resilience* (Bzymek 2020b, 255-257). It can be argued that building a *resilience* attitude is building an individual's power based on situations of powerlessness using the potential of family, education and social bonds (cf. Bzymek 2020a, 123; 2020b, 247-257).

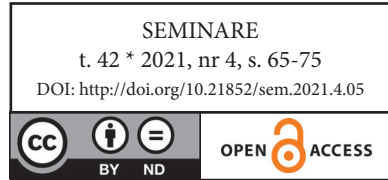
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Received: 22 Oct 2021; Reviewed: 14 Nov 2021; Accepted: 06 Dec 2021

EDUCATION FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF MIECZYŚLAW GOGACZ'S REALISTIC PEDAGOGY

Abstract

In the face of the “weakness of indicators” of the progress in the implementation of the postulates of sustainable development, opinions appear about “the depletion of the paradigm of sustainable development”. So far, strengthening the practice of sustainable development, involved, among others, implementation of education for sustainable development. However, certain omissions have been revealed in the area of educational activities. education. Taking into account these failures, it seems that it is worth “humanizing” education. The article is an attempt to embed education for sustainable development in the realistic pedagogy of M. Gogacz, built on the basis of consistent Thomism.

Keywords: realistic pedagogy, education for sustainable development, ethics of protecting people, sustainable development

EDUKACJA NA RZECZ ZRÓWNOWAŻONEGO ROZWOJU Z PERSPEKTYWY PEDAGOGIKI REALISTYCZNEJ MIECZYŚLAWA GOGACZA

Abstrakt

Współcześnie coraz częściej mówi się o kryzysie paradygmatu zrównoważonego rozwoju, wskazując na nieskuteczność eliminacji problemów globalnych. W obliczu „słabości wskaźników” postępu realizacji postulatów zrównoważonego rozwoju pojawiają się opinie o „wyczerpywaniu się paradygmatu zrównoważonego rozwoju”. Dotychczas wzmocnienie praktyki zrównoważonego rozwoju wiązało się m.in. z realizacją edukacji na rzecz zrównoważonego rozwoju. Jednak w obszarze działań edukacyjnych ujawnia się określone zaniedbania. Mając na uwadze te niepowodzenia, warto edukację „humanizować”. Artykuł jest próbą osadzenia edukacji sustensywnej w pedagogice realistycznej M. Gogacza, zbudowanej w oparciu o tomizm konsekwentny.

Słowa kluczowe: pedagogika realistyczna, edukacja sustensywna, etyka chronienia osób, zrównoważony rozwój

INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, the issue of the crisis of the sustainable development paradigm is being brought up more and more frequently; the ineffectiveness in eliminating global problems is being pointed out. Strategies and programs aimed at reducing human impact on the natural environment and the methods of implementing the sustainable development goals are under assessment. In the face of the “weakness of indicators” of the progress in carrying out the postulates of sustainable development, opinions about “the depletion of the paradigm of sustainable development” emerge (Bińczyk 2018, 173-180).

So far, strengthening the practice of sustainable development, including programs for the protection of the social and natural environment, was connected with, *inter alia*, the implementation of education for sustainable development (ESD). However, in the area of educational activities, their ineffectiveness and certain negligence are observed. Therefore, taking into account the educational setbacks resulting from the rather elementary implementation of solely environmental education, the “humanization” of education is in order. This article is an attempt to embed education for sustainable development in the realistic pedagogy of Mieczysław Gogacz; a pedagogy built based on consequential Thomism and related to the concept of ethics for the protection of people.

1. EDUCATION FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT – VISION AND PRACTICE

The idea of sustainable development, which gained particular publicity after the publication of the Brundtland Report in 1987 (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987), outlined a vision of the further development of humanity. Numerous sustainable development strategies and programs call for radical action to change the megatrends that increase the world’s unsustainability. For several decades, scientists have been warning about climate change and its effects, the loss of biodiversity, the disappearance of natural wild areas, the increasing scale of poverty, and the deepening division between the rich and the poor. Despite numerous aid programs, the gap between the countries of the rich North and the poor South is not only not narrowing down but on the contrary – it is systematically widening. It has been pointed out that crises (social, environmental, energy, agricultural, etc.) are not independent of each other. “This is one global crisis relating to man’s approach to the environment that cannot be resolved within national jurisdictions anymore” (Pawłowski 2017, 54). These problems were included in the 17 Sustainable Development Goals 2030 as challenges for joint actions to ensure living conditions for future generations and improve the quality of life for the present. Conducting effective education is part of the implementation of each of the goals. Recognition of ESD as a necessary condition for achieving sustainable development is constantly growing. The

need and rationale for this kind of education were strongly articulated during three ground-breaking global summits for sustainable development: the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, South Africa, and the 2012 UN Conference on Sustainable Development, also in Rio de Janeiro. The development and implementation of ESD are supported by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Additionally, the Decade of ESD (2005-2014) was established, the adoption of which was tantamount to the obligation to include a new development paradigm in the content and forms of education. It was clear from the document that the human being is to become a key factor of change, which is why it is so important to improve the quality of education and to incorporate aspirations promoting sustainable development in the social, economic, and environmental dimensions into the broadly understood education (formal, informal, and non-formal) (Borys 2010, 60). As emphasized by A. Kalinowska, the implementation of the Decade was to strengthen the importance of ESD and contribute to the activities such as: promoting peace in the world, combating global warming, reducing the development gap between rich and poor countries, combating poverty, and preventing marginalization of women and girls (Kalinowska 2007, 45). Education in this area was also being developed after the end of the Decade of ESD. An important event was the adoption of the Global Action Programme on Education for Sustainable Development and the created "Roadmap for implementing the Global Action Programme on Education for Sustainable Development" (UNESCO 2014). It was emphasized then that "political agreements, financial incentives, and modern technologies are not sufficient to achieve sustainable development. A radical change is needed in the ways we think and act, which are shaping our relationships with other people and the entire ecosystem of the Earth. To ensure sustainable development that will meet the needs of present and future generations, it is necessary to equip all individuals and entire societies with the appropriate knowledge and skills and shape an appropriate system of values" (Batorczak and Klimska 2020, 20).

In the pedagogical theory, sustainable development is based, among other things, on constructivism, humanism, and pragmatism. Constructivism emphasizes the individual's activity in the process of acquiring knowledge. However, gaining knowledge is associated with constant interaction with the environment, and knowledge itself is a construct of the mind depending on the experiences and views one has. It is certain research independence of man, within which he reaches the understanding of meanings (Bałachowicz 2003, 22). Humanism, on the other hand, is related to the development of independent and free of prejudice critical thinking skills, and education towards values. Humanistic education, as emphasized by H. Żuraw, assumes the maintenance of universal values that determine the quality of humanity, such as truth, goodness, beauty, justice, peace, and tolerance (Żuraw 2015, 70). Pragmatism in the pedagogy of sustainable development is associated

with practical activities, based on the experience of the individual, which enable the acquisition of skills and competencies (Kołodziejaska and Czerniak-Czyżniak 2017, 255). The presented assumptions of this pedagogy are correct and important, but they are more often reflected in nature and ecological education than in education for sustainable development. Most programs that provide ESD cover only its environmental dimension, concerning the protection of our planet, climate change, human-nature relations, etc. Therefore the challenge is the achievement of education focused on matters directly affecting human existence, in which it is recognized that “human rights and social justice are as crucial for sustainable development as maintaining the biological balance of the natural environment” (Gajuś-Lankamer 2010, 30).

2. AN APPEAL FOR A REVOLUTION IN EDUCATION FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Education is considered to be an effective tool for the implementation of the demands of sustainable development. Its importance is emphasized in most programs and strategies for the protection of the social and natural environment. The formal education system takes into account some issues related to sustainable development, but these are mainly programs based on the transfer of knowledge, usually limited by the teacher, to ecological content. Many organizations in Poland promote sustainable development by offering interesting educational programs, often dedicated to schools. It is still education “for enthusiasts”, which is conducted only in institutions managed by principals who are aware of threats to the social and natural environment and open to the issues of sustainable development (Batorczak and Klimska 2020, 24). Therefore, there is a large gap that needs to be filled through programs involving society in action for sustainable development, encouraging reflective thinking or recognition of cause-and-effect relationships and directed at shaping attitudes such as responsibility, moderation, justice, solidarity, care, altruism, thriftiness, restraint, diligence, etc. It is worth emphasizing that the assumptions of education for sustainable development go beyond the classical pedagogical categories, which are often accused of “dehumanizing”.

As noted by M. Krasnodębski, contemporary education consists of training erudites by enriching their knowledge, but without concern for their personal development. As a result, the value of education (upbringing and training), understood by the author as a service that a human performs towards another human, is lost (Krasnodębski 2009, 23-50). The various currently functioning models of upbringing and training (the so-called educational pluralism), apart from their undisputed advantages, also have many drawbacks. They quite often ignore the ethical assumptions that determine specific ways of acting and perceiving reality.

This problem can be seen precisely in education for sustainable development. Sustainable development is an idea that integrates various areas of human activity that relate to the following levels: moral, ecological, social, economic, technological,

legal, and political. A relatively simple rule – “act so that the effects of your actions do not harm the future existence of man on Earth” (Jonas 1996) – according to A. Pawłowski, leads to the formulation of complicated strategies of action relating to various levels of human activity. It is not always possible to implement them, and what is more, some of them function improperly (Pawłowski 2006, 31). It is visible in many educational programs which, apart from knowledge about threats to the social and natural environment and certain skills, do not equip people with moral competencies. This is a significant deficiency, because morality, as emphasized by C. Hendryk, indicates the required way of relating to others and determines the desired shape of the relationship. The author, referring to the definition of J. J. Liszka, explains that “moral competence is the integration of many important abilities: moral feelings, the desire for the right things, moral strength and the power (agency) to implement it, righteousness (virtue) and the ability to constantly keep it, wisdom and the ability to get it, and knowledge of what it is to do the right things” (Hendryk 2010, 136).

The call for an educational revolution is not a new phenomenon. Similarly, the postulates of humanistic education are also well known in the pedagogical discourse. One can recall, for example, Edgar Faure’s report created by the International Commission for the Development of Education in 1972, titled *Learning to be*. The authors of the document drew attention to the new scopes of human responsibility and the related educational needs, i.e. preparation for taking actions to overcome civilization threats, facing global problems, and managing the further development of the world (Faure et al. 1975).

In the context of sustainable development, W. Tyburski wrote about the educational revolution, stressing that its goal would be to “balance the dynamic development of science, biology, and technology through in-depth ‘humanistic’ education, which, on the basis of a specific hierarchy of values, would pave the way to the emergence of a new civilization” (Tyburski 2017, 43). K. Olbrycht, on the other hand, notes that “today’s education is (...) in practice, education for effective functioning in contemporary civilization, for ruthless, uncompromised competing (often at the expense of others), for fighting to achieve success (material or social position), or at least for agile adaptation to the situation” (Olbrycht 2012, 95-96). According to the author, there is a clear contradiction of values between the declared and practically realized goals of formal and non-formal education. The declared ones such as developing subjectivity, creative attitudes, criticism, responsibility for oneself, others, and the world, openness and dialogical attitude towards others, or sensitizing to the fate of those in need are in practice replaced with instrumental values (Olbrycht 2012, 95-96).

3. REALISTIC PEDAGOGY BY MIECZYSLAW GOGACZ AS THE STARTING POINT FOR "HUMANIZED" EDUCATION FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Bearing in mind the more and more clearly perceived "depletion of the paradigm of sustainable development" (Bińczyk 2018, 173-180) and some educational setbacks or even negligence in this area, the "humanization" of education is worth pursuing. Education without humanization is not education but at the very best training of "posthuman people" (Wojnar 2000, 28). "Pedagogy must be extended to new problem horizons (human-world; past-present-future)" (Bałachowicz 2016, 27) and include education for a collective vision of development, and thus for sustainable development. Therefore, according to Krasnodębski's standpoint, idealistically oriented pedagogy should be abandoned, in which the man himself is forgotten and upbringing is reduced to implementing patterns and models that do not fit into the real world (Krasnodębski 2009). The educational process should be enriched with axiological education, within which attention is paid to the values in the existential dimension. They are seen as something valuable, desirable, and are the goal of human aspirations. Axiological education can be considered a part of humanistic pedagogy or pedagogy of culture, in which values play a significant role in shaping the humanistic development of the world and man. Through axiological education, a person develops the ability to choose values and then act in accordance with this choice. This education is one of the scopes of education for values, and through it, the ability to perceive, choose, update, implement values, etc. is created (Olbrycht 2012, 92). The relationship between values and action is important in this education. Values affect people who relate themselves to them, e.g. through their actions. Some values are so vital to a person that they urge one to act. Action is reflected in specific attitudes showing the relation of a person to the selected aspect of reality, as well as in behavior. "Values acquire an individual dimension through action, the general slogan becomes a concrete reality, and declarations are transformed into a work" (Żuk 2016, 58).

Nowadays, traditional values are more and more often questioned, and in their place, those that have not yet received sufficient social acceptance are proposed. The present day is characterized by diversity in most areas of life. A comprehensive vision of the world with generally recognized values and norms is lacking. It even occurs that visible contradictions are observed. Values shared in one sphere of social life (e.g. economy, science, culture, politics) are not necessarily accepted in another. A feature of today's societies is the constant change that affects the approach to traditional models of morality, usually reducing their significance (Mariański 2014, 294). Various sectors of life are oriented towards inconsistent and often conflicting values and systems of meaning. Hence, integrating them into a coherent system or effectively persuading them to implement certain values, adopt specific patterns of behavior or attitudes is more and more difficult.

Therefore, in the face of the crisis of the sustainable development paradigm, axiological education should become a priority. Its essential element should be

education, first of all, in the spirit of the value of responsibility, so that this value is not only declared by society but also individually implemented. Responsibility can be considered a fundamental value that is common for a variety of cultures. Furthermore, other values should be considered in relation to responsibility (Jedynak 1999, 23) for contemporary and future generations. Responsibility for other people results from the need to protect them, largely against their hedonistic and self-centered abuses and their thieving actions (World Heritage Watch Report 2020). Therefore, an important task of the pedagogy of sustainable development is to educate people to be responsible for the social and natural environment, and above all for other human beings. For this purpose, it is worth relying on the philosophy of man and ethics, because “philosophical anthropology determines the good of people, ethics informs which actions to undertake in order to protect this good, and pedagogy shows how to use these actions” (Kluzowicz 2011, 66). In this way, Mieczysław Gogacz created the concept of realistic pedagogy, that is, one that remains consistent with the realistic theory of man. It is closely related to the ethics of protecting people proposed by the author. It is Thomistic ethics conditioned by the theory of personal relations formulated by Gogacz. Among the personal relationships listed by him, love was considered the most important. Together with the faith and hope that complement it, these relationships constitute the natural environment of man and are considered the first need of a personal being. Relations with other beings that create the natural environment are secondary to personal relationships. The ethics of protecting people understood in this way “is a philosophical, methodologically distinct from others, discipline (...), the subject of which are (in line with the nature of philosophy itself) the principles of choosing actions to protect people and personal relationships” (Andrzejuk 2014, 24-25). As Gogacz emphasizes, ethics is not only about making choices, as they are also culturally determined. “Ethics, then, is not concerned with identifying the principles of being but identifying the principles of choosing actions that protect personal relationships and persons” (Gogacz 1998a, 92). Thus, ethics is “the science of protecting the welfare of people and their personal relationships by actions of the intellect and will, consistent with truth and goodness” (Gogacz 1998b, 36). The material object of this ethics is human behavior as a result of the transition from encountering to co-existence. Consequently, the formal object is to protect people and personal relationships. Protecting people and personal relationships depends on the actions of the intellect and will. The very creation of personal relationships is something that a person needs, appreciates, and protects. By protecting personal relations, their subjects are also protected: reality, truth, and good. Gogacz defines personal relations precisely as the subject or place of value. Value, in turn, is the creation of relationships, the state of duration, which is the result of cognitive and decision-making activities as well as the products of cognition, decisions, and physical actions (Gogacz 1991, 178).

As Gogacz emphasizes, thanks to pedagogy, an educated person is guided by rationality and freedom, acquires his own personality, understood as a unique basis for the nature of relationships with other people. In this sense, pedagogy offers relationships with people (Gogacz 1993, 22). Moreover, it points to the value of the duration of relationships that are not outside of man in merely mental constructs. It binds people here and now and makes them strive for this connectedness with their thinking and decisions. "Therefore we are not doomed to be tied only to goals, tasks, or an idea. They only mobilize the intellect, and through it the will, to establish ties with people that nurture us" (Gogacz 1993, 34).

Justifying the need to develop realistic pedagogy, Gogacz warns that its various contemporary versions propose an upbringing based on dreaming, shaping a personality dominated by dreams. A nation, which is a group of people who are mainly driven by a dream, in the author's opinion, cannot achieve the common good (Gogacz 1993, 36).

According to Gogacz, to properly develop and bring their moral qualities to society, people should strive to acquire the intellectual virtue of knowledge that will enable them to recognize goals. Achieving these goals will develop in them, *inter alia*, the efficiency of honesty, prudent trust, bravery, undertaking what is difficult and requiring long-term effort, sensitivity to suffering and the fate of other people, or the ability to treat oneself and others seriously (Gogacz 1985, 71). Gogacz's realistic pedagogy, in contrast to many idealistic concepts of pedagogy, focuses on the human being in its starting point. It is the person, not theories, views, or the figments of imagination, that is the task of pedagogy. "Gogacz's pedagogy teaches the affirmation of a person. It sees man as an individual being characterized by realness, unity, uniqueness, separateness, truth, goodness, and beauty. It indicates an entity that loves and trusts, who needs love, friendship, kindness, support, and the presence of other human beings. It emphasizes that upbringing and training should aim at the correct deciphering of reality, understanding oneself, and noticing other people" (Gondek 2016, 110).

Gogacz's realistic pedagogy can be the starting point for the pedagogical theory of sustainable development, which should be embedded in the ethics of protecting people. The author emphasizes the legitimacy of education aimed at acquiring skills and virtues, transforming thinking and behavior, and, consequently, the protection of people and personal relationships. This direction should be adopted in education for sustainable development. According to Gogacz: "We have a poorly functioning education system. It does not take into account genuine human needs in its programs. (...) We should teach those subjects that activate thinking" (Gogacz 1999, 73). Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals requires a profound transformation of the way we think and act. Effective education has a chance to awaken in an individual the need to protect not only the natural environment but above all other people.

Realistic pedagogy, like most sustainable development programs, takes an anthropocentric view. Gogacz clearly indicates that the first need of personal being

is relationships built with other people in the natural environment. In the native environment, the man enters into relationships with other beings, but they are secondary to personal relationships. They are not insignificant or unnecessary. It is worth emphasizing, however, that man is the subject of sustainable development, which is being pursued, above all, in efforts to enhance the survival of the human species and the improvement of the quality of life of people on Earth.

Gogacz points out that the starting point for building pedagogy will always be a certain understanding of man and a concept of morality. The pedagogical programs of sustainable development lack a clearly defined concept of man and morality, which poses a threat to education based on inconsistent, sometimes conflicting values and systems of meanings. Good upbringing and training of a human being, in Gogacz's opinion, is possible when we have knowledge about the essence of a human being and what is to be improved and perfected, what factors can influence his proper development and what he should implement in his life.

CONCLUSIONS

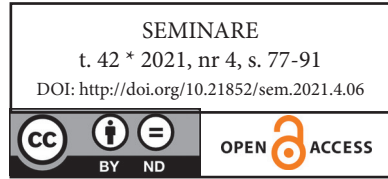
Gogacz's realistic pedagogy should be included in strategies or educational programs for sustainable development, basing those, inter alia, on the ethics of protecting people. However, one should avoid developing a pedagogy of sustainable development, in which education would be based on dreaming. Sustainable development is an idea that is often accused of being a utopian vision of the future world. The pedagogy of sustainable development and educational practice should express the pursuit of the common good, which is not a dream, but a real program and action for the poor, disease-laden, excluded, or deprived of access to food or water, people and should counteract practices leading to the collapse of natural systems supporting life. Therefore, according to the teachings of Gogacz, upbringing and training for sustainable development ought to be oriented toward the result, not the goal. The author warns against idealistic pedagogies, the aim of which is to implement unattainable models. Pedagogy for sustainable development will not be effective and properly conducted if it adopts an idealistic understanding of education and upbringing as a starting point. Hence the need to "humanize" education for sustainable development and base it on pedagogy reinforced by realistic human philosophy and realistic ethics.

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Received: 30 Sep 2021; Reviewed: 25 Nov 2021; Accepted: 20 Dec 2021

TRANSFORMATIONS OF HEALTH FACTORS IN STUDENTS AGED 18-24 ENGAGING IN UNPROTECTED SEXUAL ACTIVITY

Abstract

The aim of the research was to identify the determinants of students' engagement in risky sexual activity. The analyses took into account the health locus of control, health activities and attitude to God. The research allowed to select three types of approaches to sexual activity: people engaging in risky sexual activity, people engaging in safe sexual activity, and people not undertaking sexual activity. The article will present the results of analyses conducted among 32 respondents aged 18 to 23 undertaking risky sexual activity, who account for 11% of total research respondents. Young adults falling into this category are characterised by a tendency to over-idealise themselves and their actions. They tend to engage in risky activities and avoid health-promoting activities.

Keywords: sexual behaviour, sexual activity, health factors, health, students

TRANSFORMACJE CZYNNIKÓW ZDROWOTNYCH U STUDENTÓW W WIEKU
18-24 LAT PODEJMUJĄCYCH ZACHOWANIA SEKSUALNE BEZ ZABEZPIECZEŃ

Abstrakt

Celem badań jest identyfikacja uwarunkowań ryzykownych zachowań seksualnych u studentów. Uwzględniono umiejscowienie kontroli zdrowia, działania zdrowotne, stosunek do Boga. Wyodrębniono grupy osób o różnym podejściu do aktywności seksualnej: podejmujące bezpiecz-

ne zachowania seksualne, podejmujące zachowania seksualne bez zabezpieczeń, niepodejmujące aktywności seksualnej. W artykule zostaną pokazane wyniki 32 osób w wieku 18-23 lat, podejmujące aktywność seksualną bez zabezpieczenia. Osoby te stanowią 11% całej badanej grupy. Charakteryzują się tendencją do nadmiernego idealizowania siebie. Angażują się w ryzykowne działania, unikając zaangażowania w działania prozdrowotne.

Słowa kluczowe: zachowania seksualne, czynniki zdrowotne, zdrowie, studenci

INTRODUCTION

There are no strictly defined boundaries of the transition from adolescence to adulthood. In Polish literature, the period of late adolescence is defined as the ages between 17 and 20/23 (*Psychologia* 2011, 259), in foreign literature, between 17 and 24 (Tammilehto et al. 2020). This period of transition is sometimes described as a critical developmental stage in which adolescents face new challenges, including involvement in romantic and sexual relationships, exploration of identity and increased responsibilities. This stage is more and more often defined through reference to the specificity of fulfilled development tasks. During this period, young people concentrate on exploring their identity actively experimenting with new roles and activities. The feeling of “being in-between” adolescence and adulthood is conducive to self-focus, self-sufficiency and avoidance of obligations (Arnett 2000, 469). The need to discover one’s identity and experiment decreases with age (Crocetti et al. 2015, 233).

Izdebski and Wąż (2014, 48) list the most common risky sexual behaviours among 18-year-olds, such as early sexual initiation, frequent changes of partners, unprotected sex, contact with pornography. High-risk sexual behaviours are induced by such factors as a tendency to disregard risk, social modelling (Izdebski and Wąż 2014, 48), but also their functionality in resolving conflicts of dependence on the environment (Ostaszewski 2014, 34). Among 18-year-olds, 57.3% declare that they use protection during sexual intercourse; the remaining do not use any methods of protection (Izdebski and Wąż 2014, 50-51). Almost 39% of sexually active American students, most of them women, do not use protection during sexual intercourse (DiBello et al. 2018, 190). Similar results can be found in research reports from other countries in Europe, America, Asia, Africa and Australia, which shows that involvement of adolescents in unprotected sexual activity is a common problem (Chi et al. 2012, 5; Mehra et al. 2012, 1). Adolescents’ risky behaviors can have consequences for their health, safety, and personal development. They might inhibit their functioning in various social roles and their ability to gain skills required in adulthood (Lally et al. 2015, 135-136; Ostaszewski 2014, 30-32). They are also predictors of lower quality of life in adulthood (Prendergast et al. 2019, 516).

The research by Bailey et al. (2011, 951, 956-957) indicates the importance of the developmental context (commitment to a relationship, independent living,

studying, work) for engaging in risky sexual activity. During university studies, young people show a tendency to display risky behaviours (Yang et al. 2019, 2117), which is not found in peers who do not study (Burke, Gabhainn and Young 2015, 31; Carter, Obremski and Goldman 2010, 742). Students are identified as a group with a high probability of engaging in health risk activity, including casual sex (Grello, Welsh and Harper 2006, 255) due to the circumstances conducive to experimentation and exploration (Schwartz et al. 2010, 215). In their research on students Eisenberg, Lust and Garcia (2014, 128) and Yang et al. (2019, 2117) note that risky sexual behaviours are common in this group. They are more frequent in students living outside university campuses (DiBello et al. 2018, 187, 191).

Dimou et al. (2014, 1027-1029) noticed that stress associated with university studies had no impact on students' undertaking risky sexual activity. Aspden, Ingledew and Parkinson (2010, 61-63) observe that decisions to engage in risky sexual activity among young adults are driven by more than one motive and life purpose. They showed that riskier behaviours are associated with motives of power, pleasure-seeking and the need for change, as well as a hidden motive of exerting influence.

Most 17-18 year olds perceive their sexual behaviour as responsible due to pregnancy protection and disease prevention; only 4% consider themselves irresponsible (Rojewska 2019, 270-271). The above-mentioned results of research on young people, including university students, present an incoherent picture: on the one hand, there is greater knowledge about threats, higher autonomy, more advanced identity integration, internal control, etc., and, on the other, they show increased risk behaviours.

One indicator of undertaking and maintaining health-promoting activities is the health locus of control. The literature distinguishes three types of health locus of control: internal (health depends on one's own actions), external (health depends on the actions of others) and chance (health is the result of a coincidence). The internal locus of control is associated with assuming responsibility for one's health. The effectiveness of the type of health control location depends on the circumstances (Wagner et al. 2015, 280-281). Studies conducted on young people show that both the internal and external health locus is important for preventive behaviours, which, according to the researchers, suggests the variability of the locus depending on the strength of the influence of peer groups (Helmer, Krämer and Mikolajczyk 2012, 2). Strzelecki, Cybulski and Strzelecka (2009, 18) found strong relationships between the external health locus of control and risky behaviours. There is no strong evidence in research on students that the internal locus of control is conducive to undertaking protective behaviours (Burnett et al. 2014, 329).

Masters and Spielmans (2007, 334-335) in their study note that coping with stress by appealing to God plays a specific role in perception of health. Currently, attention is paid to experiencing God as a partner with whom one can cooperate in solving personal problems (Pascoe et al. 2016, 865). The relationship

between religiosity and beliefs about control may concern reference to a higher power, authoritarian nature of doctrine, identification with a specific group and people. Studies focusing on the relationship between religious commitment and a sense of control provide mixed results - some indicate a relationship (religious commitment is associated with higher external control and a lower sense of control) (Jung 2017, 67), others - that there is no such relationship (Ellison and Burdette 2012, 11-13). Pascoe et al. (2016, 864) also prove that 1) each of the three forms of health control may be associated with anti-health behaviours, 2) religious commitment strengthens the sense of control by developing a conviction about the existence of the world order and a sense of purpose and meaning in life, 3) since, for a religiously committed person, the body is the dwelling of the spirit, it is their duty to take care of the body and, generally, of health, 4) beliefs and religious practices counter destructive behaviour through modelling, 5) highly committed people have a higher sense of control, greater self-control and higher health control. Religious motives and prayer, but not faith in God, are related to stronger sense of control, but these relationships depend on the level of religiosity (Jung 2017, 67).

1. AIMS OF RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

Among the most important tasks for the upcoming decade WHO, UNESCO and the European Commission (EC) list sexual education of young people (European Commission 2020, 4), focused on preventing risky behaviours. The aim of the study is to characterize men and women undertaking unprotected sex in terms of the health locus of control, health behavior and religious motives.

The undertaken analysis sought an answer to the question concerning the specificity of the differentiation of factors determining risky sexual behaviour (health behaviours, health locus of control, religious motivation) in students. Risky sexual behaviour is understood as engagement in unprotected sexual activities. The research raised a question about the types of attitudes of women and men who undertake unprotected sex and the role of the health locus of control, health behaviours and reference to God in prayer.

1.1. PARTICIPANTS

In the study 288 students took part in their late adolescence. They were in the age 18-24 ($M = 19.74$; $SD: 0.81$). They studied first-year students of various fields of study (psychology, landscape architecture, biotechnology, dietetics, Roman philology, German philology, dental hygiene, cognitive science, educational sciences, nursing, and law).

At first students were asked a question concerning their sexual life. As regards the question of unprotected sexual activity, three groups were distinguished: 1) 129 people who do not engage in sexual activity (104 women and 25 men),

2) 127 people who engage in safe sexual activity (96 women and 31 men) and 3) 32 people who engage in unprotected sexual activity (23 women and 9 men). The answers of all respondents were used for further analysis, but the presented findings will only concern people from the third group. Prior to the study, subjects were assured of anonymity and voluntary participation in the study.

1.2. MEASURES

Three measures were employed in the study: (a) the Multidimensional Health Locus of Control scale (MHLC) by Wallston, Wallson, and DeVellis (1978, 60-70), adapted into Polish by Juczyński (2009, 81-88), (b) the Health Behavior Inventory (IHB) by Juczyński (2009, 110-121), and (c) the Content of Prayer Scale (CoP) by Bartczuk and Zarzycka (2020). Additionally, the participants completed a questionnaire about their health containing questions about the participants' basic demographic information and sexual behaviors.

Health Locus of Control. To measure the participants' health locus of control, the MHLC (Juczyński 2009, 81-88) was used. This scale allows for ascertaining the respondents' locus of control over their health. It distinguishes three dimensions of health control: (a) dependent on the respondent, (b) dependent on others, and (c) dependent on chance (Juczyński 2009, 81). The measure contains 18 items, answered on a six-point Likert-type scale, from 1 to 6 where 1 means *definitely do not agree* and 6 means *definitely agree*. The reliability and stability coefficients of the Polish version of this scale are satisfactory and they closely resemble those of the original tool. The LOT internal compliance determined on the basis of Cronbach's alpha for version A is 0.74 for internal control.

Health Behaviors. To determine the health behaviors undertaken by young people in their late adolescence, the IHB (Juczyński 2009, 110-121) was used. It allows for distinguishing four types of health behaviors: eating habits, preventive behaviors, positive mental attitude, and health practices (Juczyński 2009, 115). The inventory contains 24 statements describing behaviors that have been listed above. The respondents rate their frequency of displaying each behavior on a five-point Likert-type scale, from 1 to 5, where 1 means *almost never* and 5 means *almost always*. The psychometric properties of the entire measure are high. Internal compliance determined on the basis of Cronbach's alpha is 0.85 for the entire Inventory, and for its subscales it ranges from 0.60 to 0.65.

Prayer Types. To measure the participants' relationship with the Absolute, expressed in various types of prayer, the CoP scale (Bartczuk and Zarzycka 2020) was used. The measure is comprised of 20 items describing experiences related to the participants' attitude God. The respondents rate the frequency of experiencing the defined situations during prayer on a five-point Likert-type scale, from 1 to 5, where 1 means *never* and 5 means *very often*. The CoP has satisfactory psychometric properties, as reflected by the Cronbach's α coefficient, ranging from .72 to .90 (Bartczuk and Zarzycka 2020).

1.3. PROCEDURE

The “Students’ health behaviours” research project was carried out in universities in Eastern Poland by the authors of the current article. Participation in questionnaire surveys on the determinants of students’ health behaviours was voluntary. The respondents were asked to complete the questionnaires at the beginning of the class in the lecture room. One didactic hour was devoted to the survey.

The project was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Institute of Psychology of the [Name of University] (no. 4/08.02.2018 and 5/08.02.2018). The research was carried out during the summer semester of the academic year 2017/2018.

1.4. DATA ANALYSIS

The study used the strategy of process transformation reconstruction (PTR) developed by E. Rzechowska (*Dojrzały pracownik* 2010; Rzechowska 2014). In this approach, data analysis is conducted at two levels, namely, at the level of individual cases and at the level of a set of cases (*Dojrzały pracownik* 2010, 58). It involves a complex, qualitative analysis of empirical data, which allows for carrying out research when the knowledge of the phenomenon in question is incomplete and when there are difficulties with full conceptualisation of the research problem. The PTR strategy is aimed at reconstructing the process of the studied phenomenon in its variability and variety, while simultaneously maintaining the initial characteristics of the studied subjects at each step (Rzechowska 2014, 256-259). Working within this approach, we decided not to perform classical hypothesis testing, purposive sampling nor to define the variables. Instead, we chose a strategy of inductively building up an empirical model which would reflect the spectrum of the diverse, complex picture of the phenomenon (Rzechowska and Dacka 2016, 28-30).

The PTR strategy is run on two levels (Rzechowska 2014, 258-259; Rzechowska and Dacka 2016, 29-31): Level 1 – single case analysis (aim: identifying significant characteristics that reflect the participants’ individual life paths), and Level 2 – case set analysis (aim: distinguishing sets of cases with similar characteristics on the basis of a decision tree analysis, generated by Quinlan’s C4.5 algorithm, a data mining method of symbolic data classification, see Figure 1). Quinlan’s C4.5 algorithm is one of the methods of artificial intelligence, based on the mechanisms of generating decision trees. The above mentioned method is used in psychological research (Brandmaier et al. 2016, 567-568). 289 participants were analyzed and described using 118 attributes corresponding to personal characteristics, health behaviours, and attitudes towards God. As a result of the analyzes, three groups were selected: people who engage in risky sexual activity, people who engage in safe sexual activity, and people who do not engage in sexual activity. The presented analyzes comprise only people who engage in risky sexual activity.

The decision tree method is extremely useful especially in the study of issues that are characterised by a high degree of non-specificity (Hand, Mannila and Smyth 2001, 39-48). The model of the phenomenon is assessed on the basis of the accuracy of its predictions (Demski 2007, 61-73).

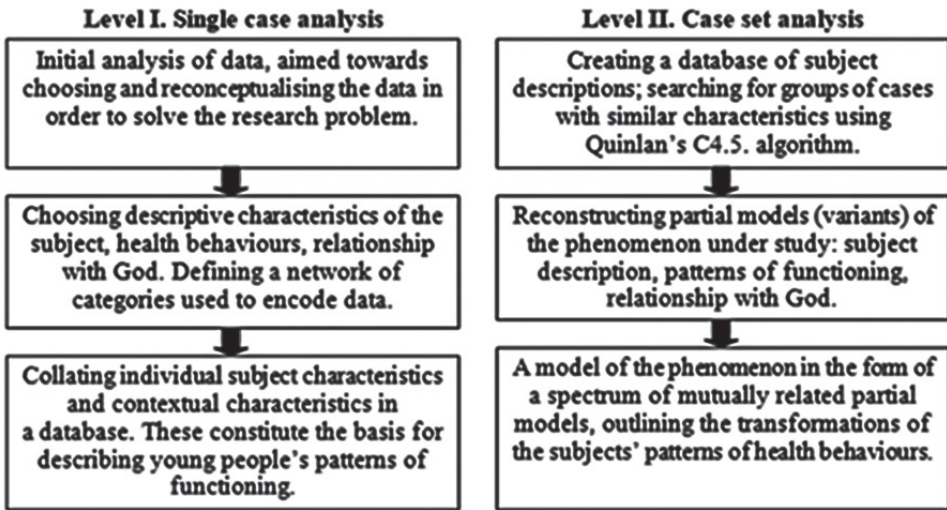


Figure 1. Data analysis scheme: The process transformation reconstruction (PTR) strategy (a modified version).

The stages of the two levels of analysis are presented in detail below. Level I: single case analysis. Selected measurement results served as a set of data allowing for the reconstruction of an individual portrait of each of the participants in terms of their health locus of control, health behaviours they display, and their relationship with God. Next, a preliminary analysis of each participant's results was carried out and characteristics describing their functioning in the areas of risky sexual behaviours (or its avoidance) were chosen using selected categories of analysis.

1. Preliminary analysis of initial data. The preliminary analysis of each participant's results aimed to identify descriptive categories on the basis of measure items; the categories included: personal characteristics, displayed behaviours, and attitudes towards one's health and God. These descriptive categories were measured with reference to the answers of three questionnaires: (a) the Multidimensional Health Locus of Control scale (MHLC) by Wallston, Wallston, and DeVellis (1978, 60-70), adapted into Polish by Juczyński (2009, 81-88), (b) the Inventory of Health Behaviour (IHB) by Juczyński (2009, 110-121), and (c) the Content of Prayer Scale (CoP) by Bartczuk and Zarzycka (2020)¹.

2. Selection of descriptive categories. On the basis of content analysis of measure items, descriptive characteristics for each of the participants were revealed (including traits, behaviours and exhibited attitudes). An example of an item indicative of health behaviour which allows maintaining optimal functioning of the organism: *I regularly go for medical check-ups* (IHB, item 14).

¹ In the original version of the strategy, the data came from an interview and a questionnaire.

3. Collating each individual's characteristics in an individual database. The database provided a basic report which contained: the psychological portrait of the participant (health locus of control), their pro-health behaviours (activities undertaken in order to maintain appropriate bodily performance in the areas of physical and psychological functioning), their attitude towards God (beliefs about God, directing prayers to God, exhibited forms of dissatisfaction, fears). Individual databases served as the basis for a common database.

Level II: case set analysis. The analysis was aimed at defining the participants' characteristics, as well as patterns of functioning and related religious attitudes. Additionally, on the basis of examining the internal structure of these patterns, a hypothetical model was built, reflecting the variability in the health functioning of university students. The subsequent stages are presented below. A detailed analysis of the internal structure of each of the variants and the connections between them was the basis for building more general structures called sub-models, which accurately reflected the transformations in the health functioning of the respondents. The analysis of relationships between sub-models was the basis for building a hypothetical model of changes in the respondents' health functioning.

The next steps involved selecting a set of cases with common features, reconstructing partial models of the phenomenon, and developing a hypothetical model of the transformation of the phenomenon.

1. The database and distinguishing case sets with shared characteristics

Case sets with shared characteristics were distinguished using Quinlan's C4.5 inductive algorithm (Quinlan 1993, 17-25). The task of the researcher is to prepare a database (here: 289 participants described using 118 attributes corresponding to personal characteristics, health behaviours and attitudes towards God). What is of importance here is the fact that the programme puts forward and verifies hypotheses based on the classification criteria chosen by the researcher, namely, *I try to abstain from sexual activity without protection x Gender* (Item 13 in the demographic questionnaire).

2. The decision tree and reconstruction of the partial models of the phenomenon

The set of qualitative characteristics, derived on the basis of the structure of the decision tree, was then supplemented with data from the databases. This served as the foundation for reconstructing the health behaviour patterns of university students.

3. Constructing the phenomenon's hypothetical model of transformation

In the PTR strategy, the phenomenon is defined as a process of transformation which reflects the partial models (variants). The detailed analysis of the internal structure of each of the variants and their genetic ties served as the starting point for building more general structures (sub-models), which reflected the nature of the analysed phenomenon more broadly². The analysis of relationships between

² Originally in the strategy the model of the phenomenon during the transformation was created on the basis of the analysis of connections between the variants.

sub-models was the basis for building a hypothetical model of changes in the respondents' health functioning (Kulik, Kajka and Dacka 2021, 7-13).

Preserving the value of the research. On the level of case analysis, preserving the value (trustworthiness) of the study involved processing the results (coding, structuring, decoding) by independent, competent parties. On the level of case set analysis, value was maintained by calculating the error rate of the decision tree (6.6%, with the permitted threshold of 25%) and the internal consistency of (a) each of the partial health behaviour patterns and (b) the model's organisation as a whole.

2. RESULTS

The analysis of the decision tree allowed for revealing certain characteristics in the functioning of men and women. Additionally, it distinguished three groups of participants' attitudes towards sexual activity. The first one involved people who engage in risky sexual activity, people who engage in safe sexual activity, and people who do not engage in sexual activity. The following text characterises the group of men and women who engage in risky sexual activity. Due to limited space in the article, the article presents only selected, general tendencies and transformations in the participants' self-perception, health behaviours and relationship with God.



Figure 2. The Sub-models men.

Sub-model M_1 : Men creating a positive image of themselves and their actions

The group included men who engage in risky sexual activity ($n = 9$). In this group, transformation could be observed, beginning with the men idealising their self-image (Sub-model M_1 , perception of self as responsible, engaged and assertive) and their activities (numerous sports activities – cycling, roller-skating, running). However, in reality, these were mere declarations. The men did not attend regular medical check-ups and they avoided dietary restrictions or strong emotions. In situations of illness, they declared they were responsible for their quick recovery, though these declarations were not followed by concrete action. They showed an ambivalent attitude towards God (sporadic adoration, complaints, lack of relationship).

Sub-model M_2 : Men idealising their responsibility, making attempts at action

The men declared active engagement in pro-health activities (numerous sports activities, e.g., cycling, skateboarding, roller-skating, swimming) and showed a tendency to idealise their responsibility for their own health (attending medical check-ups, following doctors' recommendations, scheduling regular medical tests, healthy eating). However, in situations of illness, they visited doctors or followed their recommendations only sporadically. They did not feel responsible for their own health and they ascribed recovery of good health to external circumstances (chance, luck). They made attempts to establish a positive relationship with God through sporadic adoration and making pleas. Their relationship with God was described as mutually cooperative (pleas in difficult situations were the most frequent).

The group comprised women who engaged in risky sexual activity ($n = 23$).

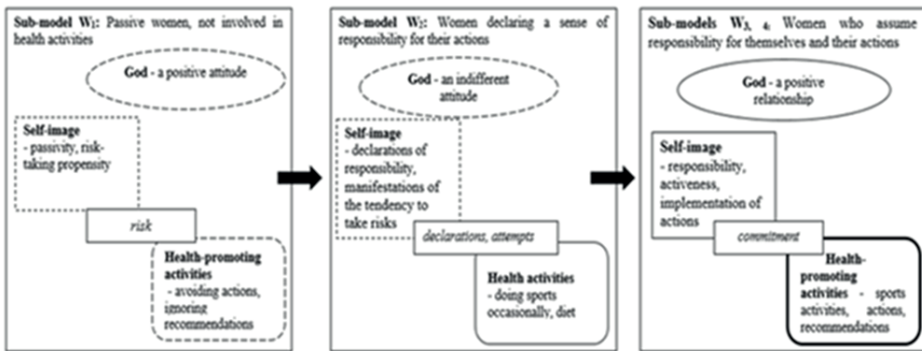


Figure 3. The Sub-models women.

Sub-model W_1 : Passive women, not involved in health activities

In this group, there was a noticeable transformation, beginning (Sub-model W_1) with passive and withdrawn women who avoided engaging in pro-health activities (irregular medical visits, not following doctors' recommendations, sporadically avoiding strong emotions and stress, attempts to maintain a positive attitude in difficult situations) and who engaged in risky activities (competitive sports, fast driving, unhealthy eating – consuming products rich in preservatives, fats, salts and sugars). These women also had a positive relationship with God (sporadic gratitude, praise, occasional dissatisfaction with God's actions, frequent pleas for intervention, help in problem solving).

Sub-model W_2 : Women declaring a sense of responsibility for their actions

In the second stage of the transformation (Sub-model W_2), the women exhibited responsibility for themselves and for maintaining their health behaviours (sports, attempts to eat healthily, relatively regular medical check-ups, though with difficulties in following doctors' recommendations), but they also engaged in risky activities (fast driving, competitive sports) and showed an ambivalent attitude towards God (sporadic adoration, pleas for help, anger, lack of fear).

Sub-models $W_{3,4}$: Women who assume responsibility for themselves and their actions

In the third stage of the transformation (Sub-model W_3), the women were responsible for themselves and their actions (regular physical activity, healthy eating, frequent medical check-ups and diagnostic tests, following doctors' recommendations). They attempted to abstain from risky behaviours (smoking, competitive sports, fast driving) and they had a positive attitude towards God (gratitude, praise, lack of fear, and cooperation, especially in difficult situations). In the last stage (W_4), the women demonstrated a sense of responsibility for themselves, their actions and their maintained pro-health behaviours (systematic physical exercise, diet, medical visits, tests, a positive approach to life – avoiding tension and negative emotions; family and social engagement, healthy eating). They also manifested a sense of control over their lives and their pro-health behaviours. They built a positive relationship with God (praise, gratitude, lack of fear and dissatisfaction, active pleas for cooperation and praise for the received blessings).

DISCUSSION

In each of the groups, transformation can be noticed, from (a) a positive view of oneself and one's actions with a simultaneous avoidance of engagement in pro-health activities and abstain from risky activities; sporadically following medical and dietary guidelines, as well as a positive attitude towards God, to (c) a sense of responsibility for one's health, consistent engagement in pro-health activities (sports, following medical and dietary guidelines), and fostering a positive relationship with God. The analysis revealed varying characteristics in the students. Two tendencies in functioning were observable in the sample, and the first one is related to overstating and overvaluing one's abilities and responsibilities. Young people who engage in risky activities are characterised by an excessively idealised view of themselves and their activities, as well as by a lack of responsibility for the consequences of their actions. However, they lack consistency and responsibility in their attempts to take up new commitments.

Young people who engage in risky sexual activity were the least protective of their health. Hardy et al. (2013, 364) noticed that students' moral values, treated as an important part of identity, are a predictor of risky sexual behaviour, while having a developed identity, is not related to risky sexual behaviours. On the other hand, Schwartz et al. (2010, 214) hold that an integrated identity can serve as a protective factor against harmful behaviours. It is generally known that identity has a motivating function, and its content gives direction to that motivation, leading to concrete behaviours. Young people often place love at the top of their hierarchy of values. Thus, it seems that this value might constitute the strongest motivating factor towards displaying sexual behaviours as a form of expressing love.

The transition from self-reliance to cooperation with God in the most important areas of one's life seems to be an expression of openness towards transcendence and an attempt to find fulfilment in love. Adults with an internal locus of control and a conscious attitude towards God have better mental health, while this relationship was not observed in people treating God as an external source of control. Ryan and Francis (2012, 774) confirmed the moderating role of the internal locus of control between one's relationship to God and better health. In the present research, the greatest variability in the personal relationship to God could be seen among young people engaging in and those abstaining from sexual activity. The differentiating element among young people who did not abstain from sexual activity, who did not engage in it at all, and who limited risky sexual activity was the quality of their relationship to God. On the other hand, in people not abstaining from risky sexual activity, there was a transition from ambivalence to a positive attitude towards God.

The transformations described above took place both among sexually active and abstaining young people, which suggests that they might be treated as a universal developmental process. Perhaps the decision to abstain from sexual activity stems from a positive relationship with God, which serves an integrative function for the person's behaviour: consistency of one's religious beliefs with one's behaviour is a protective factor against personally and socially undesirable consequences of sexual activity (Burriss et al. 2009, 282).

LIMITATIONS TO THE STUDY

As with every study, ours is not without limitations. The qualitative analysis allowed us to observe certain tendencies in the studied phenomenon. However, it also revealed some limitations which should be addressed in subsequent research projects. The analyses led to detecting trends in health and religious functioning of young people, though they did not fully reveal the mechanisms of genesis and maintenance of their responsibility for own health and for avoiding risky sexual behaviours. Additional analyses on larger samples of men would also be warranted in order to explore this issue further.

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SEMINARE

t. 42 * 2021, nr 4, s. 93-108

DOI: <http://doi.org/10.21852/sem.2021.4.07>



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Received: 30 Sep 2021; Reviewed: 10 Dec 2021; Accepted: 06 Dec 2021

WOMEN AND PLEASURE. THE ATTITUDE OF POLISH FEMALE STUDENTS TO PLEASURE, BASED ON EMPIRICAL STUDIES FROM 2020

Abstract

Pleasure is an important component of the contemporary culture of consumption. The pursuit of it is encouraged by, inter alia, media, shopping malls, but also other types of institutions. This incentive is conveyed through, inter alia, advertising. Symptoms of this culture can also be observed at universities. Today's students are only familiar with this reality and have no experience of the "culture of scarcity". Therefore, it is worth asking if young women desire pleasure, whether it is important to them, and what is its place among other aspirations. The aim of the article is to analyze the hierarchy of values of young women and the position of pleasure in it. This will be achieved through referring to their choices of important values in life – those which constitute the meaning of their lives, and the priority of moral values or pleasure as essential criteria for selection. Among the surveyed women, "the hedonists" will also be indicated – namely women who indicated pleasure as their supreme value – and their axiological choices will be analyzed. The analysis is based on the results of the study "Academic youth on family and religion 2020" conducted among academic youth in 2020 by the Research Laboratory of the Polish Measurement of Attitudes and Values (PPPiW), in which the author of the article also participated.

Keywords: pleasure, women, values, students, hedonism

KOBIETY I PRZYJEMNOŚĆ. STOSUNEK POLSKICH STUDENTEK DO PRZYJEMNOŚCI NA PODSTAWIE BADAŃ EMPIRYCZNYCH Z 2020 R.

Abstrakt

Przyjemność jest ważnym elementem współczesnej kultury konsumpcji. Do niej zachęcają m.in. media, galerie handlowe, ale także inne instytucje. Ta zachęta jest przekazywana m.in. poprzez reklamę. Symptomy tej kultury można zaobserwować także na uczelniach. Dzisiejsi studenci znają tylko tę rzeczywistość i nie mają doświadczenia z „kulturą niedoboru”. Dlatego warto zapytać, czy młode kobiety pragną przyjemności, czy jest dla nich ważna i jakie jest jej miejsce wśród innych aspiracji. Celem artykułu jest analiza hierarchii wartości młodych kobiet i miejsca w niej przyjemności. Odwołam się więc do dokonywanych przez nie wyborów wartości ważnych w życiu – tych, które stanowią sens ich życia oraz priorytetu wartości moralnych czy przyjemności jako podstawowych

kryteriów wyboru. Wśród badanych kobiet wskazane zostaną także „hedonistki” – czyli kobiety, które jako swoją wartość nadrzędną wskazały przyjemność – oraz przeanalizowane zostaną ich wybory aksjologiczne. Analiza opiera się na wynikach badania „Młodzież akademicka o rodzinie i religii 2020” przeprowadzonego wśród młodzieży akademickiej w roku 2020 przez Pracownię Badawczą Polskiego Pomiaru Postaw i Wartości (PPPiW), w którym uczestniczyła również autorka artykułu.

Słowa kluczowe: przyjemność, kobiety, wartości, studenci, hedonizm

INTRODUCTION

In one of the many understandings of pleasure in philosophy, including those referring to the thought of St. Thomas, it is “an excitement caused by the perception of the subject that he has united himself with the beloved and desired good” (Sancti Thomae de Aquino 1962, I-II, 30, 1c). According to this interpretation, the duration of pleasure depends on its object – in the case of sensual pleasures, its feeling passes with the cessation of activities that induce pleasure, while spiritual pleasures are eternal and the feeling of joy they cause, too. A decidedly different way from Thomas’ thinking about pleasure is presented by utilitarianism. It assumes that the main human goal is “the maximization of pleasure correlated with the minimization of unpleasantness” (Górecki 2011, 115). L. Hostyński links utilitarian values with consumerism (Hostyński 2006, 17, 19, 20, 180)¹. In this trend, what is useful and achievable is valuable, and what contributes to increasing the duration of comfort is considered useful. Thus, when defining utilitarian values, categories such as “need”, “pleasure” and “desire” are taken into account. These values are comprised of those which are the source of satisfaction of human needs and desires (including vital and pleasure values), economic values, and instrumental values. Utilitarian values constitute the axiological basis of the “world of consumption”, and the necessity to satisfy the need for pleasure plays an important role in the consumerist social attitude.

When attempting to define pleasure, it must be assumed that it is related to voluntary desires, expectations, and needs (Golka 2005, 42). M. Golka understands pleasure as “a state that a person experiencing it wants to continue, and in which one wants to exist as long as possible” (Golka 2005, 46). Pleasure can be considered from the perspective of the sociology of emotions, where it is seen as one of the basic emotions (having a biological foundation), that is, feelings universal for all people (Turner and Stets 2009, 16, 27-29). Emotions are important for modern consumption – this perspective is explained by C. Campbell (Campbell 1987), addressing, *inter alia*, the human tendency to magical attitudes and needs that are difficult to fulfill in the real world. Modern consumption involves experiencing fantasy, feelings, and entertainment (Holbrook and Hirschman 1982, 132). Its foundation is one of the types of hedonism – the modern one, distinguished by A. Stihler from the traditional hedonism (Byłok 2016, 40). Traditional hedonism has a sensual character, while

¹ Utilitarian and hedonistic values are not the same. However, L. Hostyński links utilitarian values with consumerism. For the considerations in this article, this position is important.

modern hedonism “leans towards emotions caused by the image of the ideal state of pleasure and bliss associated with the imaginary use of the dream good” (Bylok 2016, 41). As noted by F. Bylok, the latter type of hedonism contributed to the emergence of new forms of consumption: sensual and pleasure. The consumption of pleasure concerns the purchase of certain products, desired by the consumer, but it is also associated with experiencing something exciting and unavailable daily. It is the consumption of impressions, places, spaces, people, cuisine, food, and intangibles that contain “a load of pleasure and the potential for providing happiness” (Bylok 2016, 43). That is why in stores the atmosphere, smell, colors, and sounds are so important. It is being emphasized that pleasure as the basis of consumerism is realized in three areas of social activity: in the sphere of “shopping” (direct consumption, shopping, acquiring goods), in show business (popular culture, fun, and sport), and in the sphere of feelings and love (Hostyński 2006, 180-181). Hedonistic consumption is associated with the assumption that happiness and pleasure are the ultimate goals of man, which ought to be pursued, and the means that lead to achieving them are the various consumer goods (Bylok 2016, 43). Such a view of pleasure gives it the role of value as a goal, and a contemporary human being becomes *Homo Consumerus* (Wątroba 2014, 210).

The encouragement to take pleasure comes from various areas of social life (Golka 2005, 41) and is the everyday experience of individuals. Pleasure is associated with fun and entertainment, although pleasure does not always result from entertainment (Golka 2005, 41). We see this motivation on television, in commercials, in fashion, in color magazines, in travels, and in shopping malls (Hostyński 2006, 184). The advertisement itself, which each of us sees – even if briefly – every day, is indirectly a carrier of culture and shapes the attitudes of its recipients (Madera 2004, 188). It is a story built on the values and models of a given society. At the same time the advertisement, meeting the expectations of recipients, creates new patterns of behavior (Renzetti and Curran 2005, 203). Attention is drawn to the fact that the differences between women and men are important in regard to market behavior and in making consumer choices – such as different ways of perceiving information and processing it, or recognized values and roles (Małysa-Kaleta 2012, 16). The ad creators must take this data into account when building a message. Women are an important target group for advertisers also because, according to the research, among people who admit to watching advertisements, 64.4% are women (Wszolek 2016, 41). Thus, the women’s press, also through advertising, shapes consumer attitudes and specific patterns in women (Królikowska 2004, 150).

It should be remembered that advertising shows an undifferentiated reality and thus contributes to developing stereotypes (Madera 2004). According to research, women presented in advertisements are shown in a biased manner – either in a traditional way, where they appear as mothers, wives, and housewives or in a modern way, where they radiate sex appeal or are active professionals (Małysa-Kaleta 2012, 31). The image of a woman as a person for whom appearance is of particular importance

is popularized, which is an element of the new lifestyle associated with the use of care products, and which in turn creates the image of a woman as an attractive, pleasant, and relationship-building person (Królikowska 2004, 158).

Therefore, we are experiencing the development of the need for pleasure that originates from consumption, which is also being served by the means of advertising. After all, this incentive concerns young people, including women, whose view of such everyday reality is being reinforced through it – the reality of the culture of consumption attracting and accustoming them to pleasure, or even forcing them to it. This encouragement provides the context for axiology, especially for the generation of people who have not experienced any other reality.

1. VALUES, THE MEANING OF LIFE AND ACADEMIC YOUTH IN THE WORLD OF CONSUMPTION

There are many definitions and classifications of values in the sociological sciences. Some treat them as objects and beliefs of a non-normative nature that determine the mental experiences and actions of individuals, others see them as beliefs common in a given social group, which define desirable judgments and behaviors of members of this group, while others perceive them as beliefs of individuals or groups which specify desirable features of social groups or the whole society (Miształ 1980, 51). For the purpose of this study, the concept of value as an end (Ziółkowski 2000, 292) will be adopted and thus the definition of C. Kluckhohn will apply, which presents it as “an *implicit* or *explicit* concept of what is desirable for an individual or a group, and influences the choice between available methods, means, and objectives of action” (Kluckhohn 2001). Everyday values will be investigated, understood as human aspirations within private life, which may be intrapersonal and interpersonal, as well as values building the meaning of life, which can be perceived in terms of ultimate values (Piwowarski 1993, 73). Values determine human behavior and aspirations, they also influence individual choices, and “when it comes to market behavior, the consumer’s choice becomes a function of values” (Patrzalek 2004, 19). The meaning of life is to derive general satisfaction from it, from the possibility of realizing personal and professional goals. It is the acceptance of one’s life (Mariański 2013, 27-28) and the concept resulting from the reflection on what life, the world and the man are, and what is important to the latter (Obuchowski 2000, 249).

At Polish public universities (373 in total) in the academic year 2019-2020, the Central Statistical Office (GUS) recorded 1,204,000 students (by 2.1% less than in the previous year), of which women constituted 57.6% of all students (GUS 2021, 11). Although the number of students has been decreasing every year since the 2006-2007 academic year, the completion of studies (or education) remains important for young people (Krause 2011, 149; Palak 2004, 124; Długosz 2019, 107). Academic youth is a special group, constituted by young people who are still learning, and therefore maintain contact with the formal education system, and on the other hand,

also often undertake a professional activity. They often perform parental roles, too. The uniqueness of this group is also related to social expectations towards it – after all, it will constitute the intellectual and managerial elite, at least its part (Zielińska 2016, 9). However, modern students, as well as today's higher education system, differ from those known to their parents, especially the elderly ones or grandparents. Today, young people are more pragmatic and they know that graduation and a diploma are not "a guarantee of a secure future and an appropriate social status" (Szafraniec 2015, 10), but a certain minimum that will allow them to go further. Also, student culture, which is understood as a phenomenon that distinguishes a social group of students, builds their identity, expresses a social rebellion against reality and pride in belonging to this group (where studying is a privilege and is associated with prestige), as well as encompassing various cultural and entertainment activities (Ciechanowska 2009, 31), ceased to exist. As D. Ciechanowska notes, today we are dealing with a student who does not "study", but "invests" in his future, which is reflected in obtaining certificates, completing internships during studies, and taking up a job. It is accompanied by the low quality of studying and the lack of participation in, or creation of student culture. Studying, understood as a higher form of learning, requiring intellectual independence and inspiration by an academic teacher (Bereziński 2014, 15), concerns a small part of students.

Mass education (which negative effects were previously defined in terms of lowering the quality of education and commercialization of higher education (Bywalec 2007, 210), the atmosphere accompanying the higher education system, and the tasks assigned to it, contribute to this "shallowing" of studying. Supermarketization, which is observed in culture and means applying market principles and the consumption mechanism to culture (Mathews 2005, 257-258), also concerns other institutions, such as Church and religion (one can observe attempts to encourage people to the *sacred* sphere through consumption, e.g. film screenings (Mamzer 2005, 33) or universities. The latter care about students, which results from demographic conditions, so most of the elements related to studying and study programs are adapted to their expectations. The master-disciple relationship is replaced by a seller-customer relationship (Zakowicz 2013, 139), where the first is an academic teacher or the university as a whole, and the second is a student who can freely choose, and who, although having high digital skills, is incompetent in deepening knowledge in a traditional way. By their open attitude towards candidates and students, universities put themselves in the role of service providers who make studies "nice and easy". Hence, some students consider studying in terms of pleasure, and they perceive it as a "carefree period in life" (Krause 2011, 149)

Thus, in addition to the consumerist reality, in which young people exist every day, the system of universities and the culture it builds indirectly encourage participation in the pleasure of consuming, also education. It is also an important perspective that cannot be ignored when looking at and analyzing the values of today's student youth.

So what are young people's current value choices? In the research carried out by the Public Opinion Research Center (CBOS) in 2018, high school students put love and

friendship first (52%), followed by successful family life (42%), interesting work in line with their interests (40%), achieving a high professional position (33%), accumulating wealth; getting high material position (33%), peaceful life (29%), colorful life, full of entertainment; rich social life (6%), being useful to others (10%), successful sex life (10%), achieving success in science or art (10%), independence at work (7%), living in accordance with religious principles (5%), gaining political power (2%), the ability to make decisions in the economic sphere (1%), and other (1%) (Boguszewski 2019). Girls more often than boys valued love and friendship (62% to 41%), interesting work (46% to 34%), successful family life (46% to 37%), and peace (31% to 28%). However, they were less often interested in acquiring wealth (22% to 44%), a satisfying sexual life (7% to 15%), and the possibility of influencing social and political life (0% to 4%).

The values constituting the meaning of life, which becomes particularly important in difficult situations, when the individual is "taken out of the routine of everyday life" (Kasperek 2018, 52), were also studied by CBOS in 2017. Then, 44% of women admitted that they often wonder about the meaning of life, and 31% said they do it sometimes (CBOS 2017, 3). The people who most often reflect on the meaning of life are those aged 18-24. Poles considered family to be the most important value (54%), followed by health (38%) (CBOS 2017, 5). Next, there were children and grandchildren (14%) and work (9%). For 8% of the respondents, money, good financial conditions, wealth, and own home, as well as social values were important. Then the following were mentioned: existential values (7%), religion (5%), love (4%), happiness, prosperity, success (4%), moral values (3%), the good of Poland and the world (2%), education (1%). Here, women more often than men indicated health (44%) and children (20%), as well as family (57%) as values that build the meaning of life. In other studies carried out in 2017, among academic youth, 64.5% stated that they had a sense of the meaning of life and it gave them satisfaction, and 10% of the respondents saw the meaning of life but were not satisfied with it (Kasperek 2018, 57). Students perceived the meaning of life in the following values: love (56.3%), finding one's own place in society and the feeling of being useful (55.4%), family happiness (54%), gaining human trust and friends (50.8%), a job one likes (45.3%), education, the pursuit of knowledge (38.4%), money, prosperity, quality of life, decent material position (28.2%), putting faith in a great idea (25.8%), action and pursuit of a chosen goal (25.3%), deep religious faith (21.9%), gaining individuality, own style (17.3%), leaving a permanent trace of one's life (16.4%), a quiet life (8.1%), something else (2.5%) (Kasperek 2018, 60). This is the current hierarchy of values of young people found in representative studies.

2. PLEASURE AND OTHER VALUES IN THE OPINIONS OF THE SURVEYED FEMALE STUDENTS

The subject matter of the research carried out by the team of the Research Laboratory of the Polish Measurement of Attitudes and Values of the University of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński concerned the importance that academic youth assign

to issues in the areas of intimacy, interpersonal bonds, religion, and the meaning of life. It was also interesting to “get acquainted with the motivation behind their decisions and ways of interpreting the social world” (Kawińska, Wróblewska-Skrzek and Linek 2020, 10). It was carried out from April to June 2020 among students from various research facilities in Poland, aged 18-29. The survey method was used and the CAWI technique was employed due to the pandemic situation and other conditions. A total of 621 respondents participated in the study, and women accounted for 78.6% of it (n=488). The results of the study, due to the lack of representativeness, determine the state of beliefs of the surveyed academic youth and are not generalized to the population of Polish students.

The outcomes of the conducted research will be presented below only in relation to the surveyed women. The thematic scope presented here includes values important in their lives, values that give their life meaning, and women’s perspectives on experiential and instrumental attitudes. Such a selection of the thematic scope will allow for presenting the role of pleasure and the attitude of the surveyed female students towards it.

In tab. 1. the frequencies of indicating particular values by the surveyed students are presented.

Tab. 1. Values important in life according to women (n = 488) (%).

Values	Response categories					Total
	Definitely yes	Probably yes	Hard to indicate	Probably no	Definitely no	
self-realization, striving to implement one’s plans	63.5%	30.7%	4.3%	1.2%	0.2%	100.0%
relationship with another person	62.1%	26.2%	5.3%	5.1%	1.2%	100.0%
further education	58.6%	32.6%	6.4%	2.5%	0.0%	100.0%
peaceful and stable life with the family	50.0%	31.6%	12.9%	3.7%	1.8%	100.0%
building a professional career and achieving a high standard of living	40.8%	39.1%	12.7%	6.1%	1.2%	100.0%
having children	37.5%	29.1%	11.5%	11.7%	10.2%	100.0%
realizing values concerning social life: helping others, solidarity with others, cooperation, etc.	34.8%	42.4%	15.0%	6.4%	1.4%	100.0%
entertainment, consumption, enjoyment, exciting experiences	14.3%	31.8%	23.2%	22.7%	8.0%	100.0%
economic emigration	3.7%	10.2%	33.4%	33.6%	19.1%	100.0%

Source: own calculations based on the PPPiW study “Academic Youth on Family and Religion 2020”.

Taking into account the summed-up affirmative answers among the surveyed women, the most frequently chosen value important in life was self-realization and the implementation of own plans (94.3% in total). Further education was ranked second (91.2% in total), although more respondents chose a relationship with another person (88.3%). The next values of big importance for the respondents were a peaceful and stable life with the family (81.6% in total) and building a professional career and achieving a high standard of living (79.9% in total). The surveyed women also indicated the realization of the values of social life as important for them in life (77.3% in total). Having children is ranked lower in this hierarchy (66.6% in total). Less than half of the respondents chose entertainment, consumption, pleasure, and exciting experiences as values important to them in life (46.1% in total). The surveyed women showed the least interest in economic emigration as important for them in their lives (13.9% in total).

The surveyed students were also asked to indicate the values that give their lives meaning. Their detailed distribution of answers is presented in Table 2.

Tab. 2. Values that give life meaning in the opinions of women (N = 422) (%).

Sense-creating values	Response categories					Total
	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Hard to indicate	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	
successful relationship with another person	71.7%	15.4%	9.4%	1.8%	1.6%	100.0%
friendship with another person	70.3%	25.2%	3.5%	0.6%	0.4%	100.0%
self-realization	67%	27.7%	4.5%	0.4%	0.4%	100.0%
successful family life	59.2%	27.5%	8.2%	3.7%	1.4%	100.0%
hobbies and interests	57.2%	35.5%	4.7%	1.4%	1.2%	100.0%
religion	15.8%	23%	15.6%	13.5%	32.2%	100.0%
satisfying sex	14.1%	30.5%	24.8%	15.8%	14.8%	100.0%
high material status	12.3%	33.8%	28.3%	19.9%	5.7%	100.0%
deep spiritual experiences	11.3%	20.7%	22.5%	18.2%	27.3%	100.0%
pleasure from life	48.2%	40.4%	8.0%	2.9%	0.6%	100.0%

Source: own calculations based on the PPPiW study "Academic Youth on Family and Religion 2020".

Taking into account the aggregated answers, friendship with another human being (95.5%) is the most important value that builds the meaning of life for the respondents. In the second place, the meaning of life for young women is self-realization (94.7% in total). Subsequently, women chose hobbies and interests (92.7% in total), then pleasure from life (88.6% in total), friendship with another person (87.1% in total), and successful family life (in total 86.7%). The next two

places in the hierarchy of sense-creating values for women are high material status (46.1% in total) and satisfactory sex (44.6% in total). Then the women chose religion (38.8% in total) and deep spiritual experiences (32% in total).

The respondents were also asked to indicate the position of pleasure in relation to moral principles by referring to three statements. The structure of this question is related to the questions formulated by A. Podgórecki, who investigated the instrumental and experiential attitudes among Poles (Podgórecki et al. 1967, 57). The chart below presents a detailed distribution of the respondents' answers.

Chart 1. Moral principles and pleasure in the opinions of women (N = 488) (%).



Source: own calculations based on the PPPiW study "Academic Youth on Family and Religion 2020".

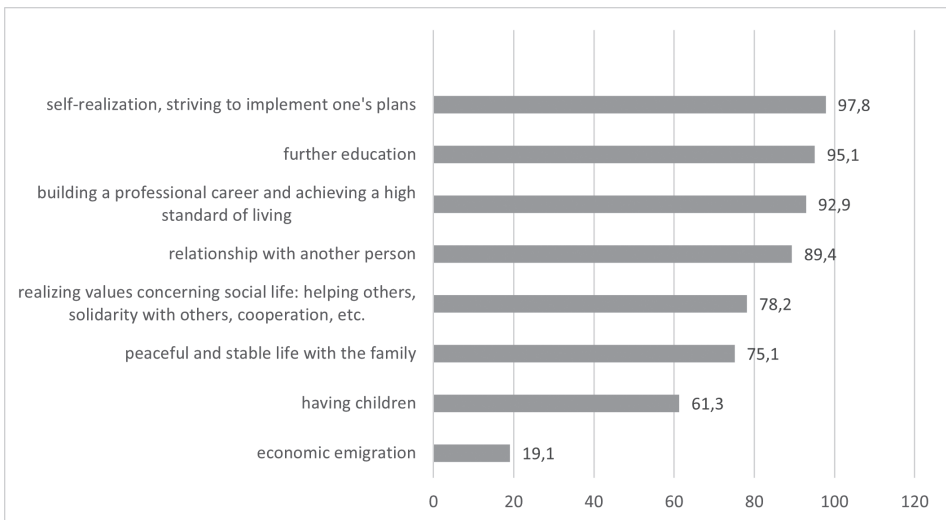
The most popular position among women was that of a position that can be described as experiential, i.e. showing the superiority of moral values in every situation over one's own pleasure. Therefore, taking into account the answers "definitely yes" and "rather yes", 82.8% of the respondents believed that life should be guided by moral principles, the following of which is not always pleasant. The second most frequently declared attitude was the relative attitude. Thus, the women believed that one should have moral principles, but in exceptional cases they can be abandoned (40.6% in total). The least frequently chosen position among the surveyed female students was the one that can be described as hedonistic – following such principles in life that give pleasure before anything else. Such an attitude was observed among 14.1% of the surveyed women.

This is the distribution of values that give life meaning among the surveyed women and their attitude to pleasure and moral principles as to those that are supposed to be a basis for their choices. To sum up, 46% of the surveyed women

indicated entertainment, consumption, pleasure, and exciting experiences as values that they primarily care about in life, 88.6% of women declared that it is pleasure from life that gives them a sense of meaning, and 14% indicated the following of such principles in life that give pleasure in the first place. Below, a set of the most important values for the respondents, who indicated pleasure as the value they primarily care about in life, will be presented. It is worth taking a closer look at their choices, as they constitute a considerable part of the surveyed women. They will be described as “hedonists”, mainly because it is the easiest way to describe the choices of this category of respondents.

Chart 2 presents the answers of “hedonists” regarding the most important values in their life. It should be noted that women who chose pleasure, consumption, exciting impressions, and entertainment as the most important values in life accounted for 46.1% of the surveyed women.

Chart 2. Values important in life in the opinions of “hedonists” (answers definitely yes and rather yes) (N = 225) (%).



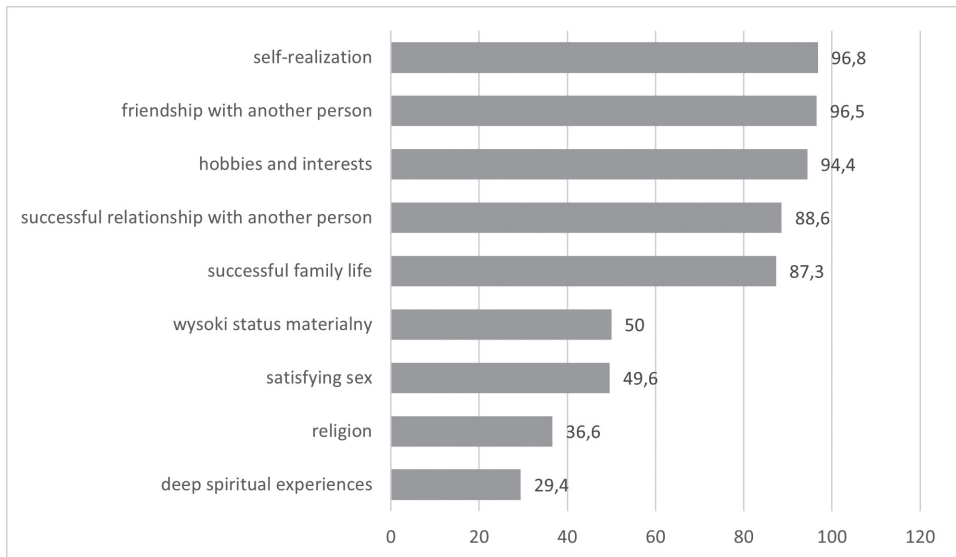
Source: own calculations based on the PPPiW study “Academic Youth on Family and Religion 2020”.

It should be noted that, generally, these women – “hedonists” – did not deviate from the choices of the surveyed female friends. Here, the most important turns out to be also self-realization and own plans (97.8% in total) and further learning (95.1% in total). The change is visible in relation to building a professional career and achieving a high material status. These women more often (92.9% in total) than the rest of the surveyed female students (79.9% in total) indicated this value as important (3rd position in the hierarchy). For the rest, peaceful family life was more important (81.6%). The relationship with the other person, although it was important for “hedonists” to a similar extent (89.4%) as for the rest, took only the

fourth position on the value pyramid. A similar situation occurred with family life and having children – both values (although similar in the percentage of choices) occupy further positions than in the distribution for all women. Hedonists also think about economic emigration slightly more often (19.1%) than the rest of the respondents (13.9%).

Below, in Chart 3, we can see what other values build the meaning of life for women who chose the pleasure from life as their main sense-creating value. They accounted for 88.6% of the surveyed women.

Chart 3. Values that give life meaning in the opinions of “hedonists” (N = 432) (%).



Source: own calculations based on the PPPiW study “Academic Youth on Family and Religion 2020”.

Compared to the rest of the surveyed female students, “hedonists” have a change in the position of the initial values. They assessed the meaning of their lives primarily through the prism of self-realization (96.8% in total) and friendship with another human being (96.5% in total), while other women chose the opposite order (95.5% and 94.7% in total). The remaining values occupy the same places, but in their case, the stronger or weaker intensity of the choices is observed. And so, “hedonists” slightly more often (94.4% in total) than the rest (92.7%) chose hobbies and interests, more often (88.6% in total) than the rest (87.1% in total) chose a successful relationship with another human being, more often (50% in total) than the rest (46.1% in total) chose high material status, more often (49.6% in total) than the rest (44.6% in total) chose satisfactory sex. Less important (36.6% in total) than for the rest (38.8% in total) in the context of the meaning of life for them were values such as religion and deep spiritual experiences (29.4% in all hedonists, 32% in all women).

CONCLUSIONS

The study carried out by the PPPiW Laboratory indeed falls into the category of measuring values in a crisis situation. As A. Kasperek notes, “the social correlate of the individual borderline situation is the crisis in the general social dimension (e.g. economic or political)” (2018). Such a crisis was undoubtedly triggered by the coronavirus pandemic, especially in the first half of 2020, when knowledge about it was limited and people were feeling the threat. This was the moment when one could have expected mental changes.

In order to summarize the results of the analyzed part of the research, it should be noted that if we take into account the aggregated affirmative answers, then for all the surveyed women the most important value was self-realization and striving to implement one’s own plans (94.3% in total), and the least important was economic emigration (in 13.9% in total). In turn, they most often defined the meaning of life through the value of friendship with another human being (95.5%), and least often through deep spiritual experiences (32% in total). The most popular position among the surveyed women towards the choice: moral values or pleasure, was the one that gives priority to moral principles, which does not always bring pleasure (82.8% in total). The hedonistic values that were the focus of attention of this study were not the most important in the axiological hierarchy of female students, but it must be said that they are an important point of reference. Entertainment, consumption, pleasure, and exciting impressions were the most important goals for 46% of the surveyed women, and for 88.6% the pleasure from life was its meaning – these are the women that were conventionally referred to as “hedonists”. On the other hand, the following of such principles in life that give pleasure in the first place was close to 14% of the respondents.

The conclusions that arise after the analysis of the axiological choices of the surveyed women, including “hedonists”, can be formulated as follows:

1. The surveyed students want, above all, to implement their plans and educate themselves

2. Relationships with other people are also important for them – those based on friendship and those built on love

3. Religious and spiritual values do not constitute the meaning of their lives and are marginal.

4. In terms of the choice of values, the “hedonists” do not differ much from the other surveyed female colleagues – their hierarchies largely overlap. However, there are some differences in the choices they made:

- they attach greater importance to a professional career and achieving a high material status,

- relationship with another person, family life, and having children are values that they place lower in the hierarchy than in the case of other women,

- more often than the rest of the respondents, they think about economic emigration,

- the meaning of life for them is primarily self-realization,
- sense-creating values are for them (more often than for other respondents): hobbies and interests, a successful relationship with another human being, high material status, and satisfactory sex,
- however, less often than other women, they define the meaning of their lives by values such as religion and deep spiritual experiences.

The results of the measurement are not generalized to the entire population of female students, but in relation to the surveyed young women, it seems reasonable to say that the values related to pleasure are important to them and do not occupy marginal positions in their axiology. This state of affairs can be explained by the relatively young age of the respondents and their current obligations. After all, these are people who are just on the threshold of their adulthood, serious obligations are still ahead of them – so now they think about their plans, about friendships, relationships, about enjoying life, and about self-realization. It is hardly surprising. These declarations can also be considered in the context of comments formulated several years ago that it is women from the youngest age groups who will increasingly present attitudes of acceptance of post-materialistic values and the very possibility of choosing will be considered by them as a value (and not the content of this choice itself) (Frąckowiak 2006, 157). In other studies carried out a few years ago among students of one of the Polish universities, it was also emphasized that they increasingly strive for professional success and have a sense of subjectivity and influence (Kędzior 2018, 228). In these reflections, we also recognize the view of women surveyed in 2020 by PPPiW.

Perhaps the lockdown situation, which probably particularly affected young people (due to the necessity to suspend social gatherings), may explain such an attitude of young women to pleasure and consumption of life. When the students were filling in the questionnaires, the lockdown was already a reality.

The culture of consumption also provides an important context for these results in terms of women's attitudes towards pleasure. G. Matthews noted that the cultural supermarket is largely channeled through the mass media (Mathews 2005, 258). Advertising is a tool of this culture that directly offers the recipients pleasure in return for the purchase of a certain product. And here, in advertising, we find two contemporary female models shaped by the media – a woman who should “make her own way, educate herself to develop her interests and take care of herself” and (Małysa-Kaleta 2012, 29) the model of a traditional woman, that is a mother and a “housewife”. We see the impact of these patterns in women's value declarations. Even at the end of the 1990s, it was noticed that young women saw themselves mainly in the traditional role of a mother, and not in the modern role of a “successful woman” (Frąckowiak 2006, 152). Today, however, the latter model is more up-to-date and preferred by the surveyed female students. Additionally, the advertisement emphasizes that women enjoy consumption, mainly the consumption of their own appearance, which results from the fact that a woman's self-esteem largely depends on her attractiveness

(Królikowska 2004, 162). Hence, the women's great interest in pleasure. Universities also play an indirect role as a space in which students participate. They often present an attitude that relieves students of many duties and assigns them to academic teachers. The student receives confirmation of the appropriateness of his demanding attitude, and the university puts itself in the role of a supermarket where one can choose amongst many products. Such an attitude, of course, does not teach pleasure directly, but it accustoms and reassures the young person that he is in the center of attention and his needs are the most important. As a consequence, this consumption attitude is also observed in interpersonal relations – "Everything that is a manifestation of social life, and consumption is a clear manifestation of it, is expressed in interpersonal relations demonstrated more or less publicly" (Golka 2008, 216).

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Received: 21 Oct 2021; Reviewed: 25 Nov 2021; Accepted: 20 Dec 2021

(DE) CONSTRUCTING SANCTITY. JOZAPHAT KUNTSEVYCH AND THE “REVERSED” HISTORIOGRAPHY OF JOSIF SEMASHKO

Abstract

The article presents the phenomenon of “reversed” interpretation of Jozaphat Kuntsevych’s martyrdom in the writings of a Uniate hierarch, Iosif Semashko. The article conducts an analysis of epistemologically understood metaphors created by him before and after his conversion to Orthodoxy.

Keywords: Iosif Semashko, Josaphat Kuntsevych, Uniate Church, Orthodox Church, historiography

(DE)KONSTRUKCJE ŚWIĘTOŚCI. JOZAFAT KUNCEWICZ A „ODWRÓCONA” HISTORIOGRAFIA JÓZEFA SIEMASZKI

Abstrakt

Artykuł ukazuje zjawisko „odwrócenia” interpretacji męczeńskiej śmierci Jozafata Kuncewicza w dziejopisarstwie unickiego hierarchy Józefa Siemaszki. Analizie poddane zostały kreowane przez niego epistemologicznie rozumiane metafory (przed i po jego przejściu na prawosławie).

Słowa kluczowe: Józef Siemaszko, Jozafat Kuncewicz, Kościół unicki, Cerkiew prawosławna, historiografia

INTRODUCTION

The topic of this article results from the authors interest related to the historiographic images of the life and martyrdom of St Josaphat Kuntsevych (1580-1623) (Żychiewicz 1986). For the Uniate (Greek Catholic) community he became the model of religious heroism, as researchers stressed that his martyr’s death in 1623 defined the identity of the Uniates, separating them from both the Orthodox and the

Russians, or “Muscovites” (Kołbuk 2013; Kempa 2005). Basilian monks in particular became advocates of his cult (Wereda 2009), proclaimed him a patron of the Rus’, took care of his relics, wrote scholarly treatises about him (Susza 1665), above all else strove for his beatification (1642) and canonization, which came 225 years later. No wonder then that, over the subsequent centuries, the cult of the martyr became inconvenient to the Russian-Orthodox state and church decision makers. Already during the Great Northern War, the destruction of his relics was announced by Peter I. Throughout the subsequent decades, persecution intensified in everything related to the cult of the saint (in particular after the partition of Poland, when the need for political and religious unification of the Russian state arose) (Himka 1999). What is interesting to a historian of historiography is the Russian-Orthodox anti-Kuntsevych historiography created in that period. While analysing the works of historians related to the Chief Procurator’s office, the so-called scholarly monks and secular academics from theological schools, it seemed a necessity to describe the topic of Kuntsevych in the works of the scholars gathered around the so-called “west Russian” idea (Tichomirow 2009), particularly its main architect Iosif Semashko (Morawiec 2018). It will be shown in the article that the phenomenon – can be found in his narrations – of the “reversed” historiographic interpretation. To do so, studies of the – epistemologically understood – historical metaphor will be referred to. An interest will be taken in isolating the cultural matrix – related to the environment of Semashko’s activities – as well as the individual “view of the world and man” founding the specific categories metaphorising his writings (more in: Pomorski 2004). A search will be made for a broader macro-metaphor delineating all his reflections, as well as operational metaphors pertaining to the process of history “taking place” (object metaphor) and the “agents of change”, or the creators, actors of history (subject metaphor) (more in: Stobiecki 1998). Understanding this “view of the world and man” of Semashko was made considerably more difficult by interpretative discrepancies found in the academic literature about him.

1. SEMASHKO: A HIERARCH

To begin with considerations will be made by outlining some of the most important facts regarding the hierarch’s life and activities. Iosif Semashko (1798-1868) was born into the family of a Uniate priest. In 1822 he became an assistant at the 2nd department of the Roman Catholic College in Petersburg and already in 1827 created the “Memorandum...”, submitted to Nicholas I, containing a plan for the Uniate Church’s transition into the fold of the Orthodox Church. Many years later it was published in the *Notes of Yosyf, Metropolitan of Lithuania...* along with other meticulously collected materials pertaining to Semashko’s “unification” activities (writings, instructions, decrees of the Lithuanian Spiritual Consistory, and confidential letters). Among them the treatise “An essay on Orthodoxy in Eastern Churches...” (Семашко 1883) can be found, an expanded and more scholarly version of the “Memorandum...”, attesting to

a broader research carried out by the hierarch (Шеретюк 2016). The “Memorandum...”, to the contrary, gave decision-makers an outline of specific unification activities, which was endorsed and implemented. Already in 1829 Semashko was consecrated bishop of Mstsislaw and in April 1833 he took over the diocese of Lithuania. In February 1839 he formed a synod in Polotsk, where the “act of consignment” was presented explaining the unification of the Uniates with the Russian Orthodox Church. A month later in Petersburg, the so-called “Act of Unification” was adopted. Semashko was appointed Orthodox archbishop of Lithuania in Vilnius, promoted to a metropolitan and, until the end of his life, promoted his “unification” work striving to “purify” – then former – uniates from Latin influences (Киприанович 1897).

2. ORTHODOX OR UNIATE?

Considering Semashko’s achievements, the fact that all of his biographies were written in the context of his “unification” work is not surprising. It has a sizeable, yet interpretatively diverse scholarly literature, which is largely because its authors viewed Semashko in the context of their own national and denominational allegiances. Therefore, they saw him as the “liberator of the Russian-Orthodox people from lordly and Jesuit bondage” or a renegade convert, a shepherd forcing a foreign faith on lay people to attain material benefits and Church positions (Власюк 2014, 35). While the newest historiography also shows some interest in the hierarch, his biographers wished to reject the earlier interpretative patterns, imposed by their predecessors. Reading these studies reveals Semashko as a certain cultural construct. Discussing his youth, authors mentioned his Orthodox spiritual guide (Ivan Bochkovskij), the hierarch’s conceiving of converting to Orthodoxy (1824) or taking Orthodox monastic vows after entering the Alexander Nevsky Lavra (1827), yet they also wrote about his fascination with “Western” culture, particularly its literature. Jarosław Charkiewicz stressed the fact that Semashko received an excellent education, spoke several languages, whereas examining his character traits, Charkiewicz saw in him as a peculiar symbiosis of Eastern and Western elements, with a predominance of the latter. “On the one hand,” he wrote, “he was characterised by punctuality, thoroughness, and consistency in carrying out his goals. On the other, he believed that Russian culture was not worse than Western culture, playing a significant role in Europe” (Charkiewicz 2013, 122). We shall not find this attitude unusual if we analyse the early period of Semashko’s life, the Vilnius period, during which the future hierarch was steeped in the multi-cultural peculiarity of the region, but also when we realise the culture clash he had to experience when he arrived in Petersburg. This “symbiosis” clearly involved the denominational context as well. Still as a student of the Latin-Uniate Main Seminar in Vilnius, he absorbed the anti-papal and Josephine spirit that was propagated by some lecturers (Rev. Andrzej Kłagiewicz, Ludwik A. Capelli). After all, the discussion about Febronianism and Gallicanism, the need to create national Churches and the subordination of all religious life to the state

was still very much alive. These questions were crucial to the Uniate clergy who, after the Partition of Poland, suddenly found itself within a state which was hostile to them. Dorota Wereda used the example of the Metropolitan Herakliusz Lisowski (1734-1801) to show how much interested the Uniate clergy were in finding a way out of the difficult situation. They also hoped to demonstrate their usefulness to the Russian state (e.g., in education), thought about proposing an Orthodox – this time – act of union (the reverse of the Union of Brest), but they did not reject the plans of directly converting to the Orthodoxy either. Supposedly Semashko borrowed his “unification” plan from the notes he found in the collegiate archives, authored by Lisowski in the early 19th century. However, Charkiewicz wrote that Semashko preferred action rather than theoretical deliberations (Charkiewicz 2013, 122).

Historians also discussed Semashko’s involvement in the origin of the so-called “act of unification” (1839) in Polotsk (Łatyszczek 1994, 81; broader in Романчук 2018). The works of modern day researchers make it possible to notice a “hidden mechanism” – still being studied and discovered – which governed the Russian state and its denominational policy. The Uniate question resulted from the changing directives coming from a number of Russian decision-makers: the ruler as well as the officials of the Ministry of Public Education (Department of Foreign Denominations), the Chief Procurator and members of the Holy Synod, Church hierarchy, and local governor-generals. All this needs to be combined with the relations between the above-mentioned entities and the Catholics: Uniate hierarchs, Latin clergy, Rome and its dignitaries, but also the landed nobility as protectors of churches. The conflict among the Uniates themselves, between the lay clergy and Basilian monks, was an important factor (Коломийцев 2010, 163-164), the understanding of which seems crucial when considered.

3. “UNIFICATION”

Before it is presented, however, it is worth mentioning one more issue. Semashko’s “unification” plan was not the only one: each of the above entities had its own version of it. It could take the form of an act of conversion – endorsed and inspired by the Orthodox hierarchs carrying out a mission to the Uniates – or an official decree, which was to be enforced by the army. A sample of the latter can be seen in the “unification” by Catherine II, carried out in 1794 through an official decree (with the acceptance and yet scarcely any involvement of the Orthodox hierarchs). Only in 1794-1795 more than 200.000 Uniates were incorporated into the Orthodox Church (Боярчук 2012, 267). The unification itself entailed incorporating the laity into the Orthodoxy, while the Uniate priest in the parish was replaced with an esteemed Russian one. Note that the Uniate priest lost both his parish and his only source of income. It is known that the unification work continued with even greater impetus during the reign of Nicholas I. In 1833-1835, the “Orthodox unification” was led by the Bishop of Polotsk Smaragd (Kryzhanovskij)

(1796-1863). The hierarch was accused, however, that the action of “immediate” conversion of the Uniates that he undertook led to an increase of social unrest in the territories under his control, he also supposedly acted wilfully, without the approval of the Holy Synod (that is, state officials) (Кедров 1887, 46; Федоров 1996, 64). Only thanks to the diplomatic action by Semashko did the state decision-makers allow the Uniate version of “unification” to begin. It was meant as a voluntary “return” of the Uniate clergy to the Orthodoxy, carried out by the inspiration of the higher Uniate hierarchs, and preceded by a long-term period of “purification”, i.e. elimination of all Latin elements from the Uniate Church (Skinner 2016, 257-258). As observed by Irena Matus, Semashko, who understood the peculiarities of the “West Russian” territories, strove to avoid inter-denominational tension and violence, and asked the same of the spiritual and secular authorities. He knew how important was the secret nature of the work (due to the expected reaction of the pope and landed nobility) and winning over Uniate priests, for he viewed the “Orthodoxy of the nation” as dependent on the “Orthodoxy of its shepherds” (Matus 2015, 44). This level was difficult to attain in a short period of time. The Russian decision-makers of the time who observed the Uniate clergy realised that: 1) due to Latinisation, both the clergy and the laity were not necessarily familiar with the specifics of the Eastern rite; 2) the clergy was dependent on land-owning nobility, which simultaneously undermined their authority. Furthermore, Uniate priests – to make them easier to control – were often purposefully deprived of education; 3) there was a strong “Polish and Latin” spirit in these territories, borne by the nobility and Catholic clergy (Романчук 2021). While point two involved the clergy acting too submissively towards the Polish nobility, points one and three allegedly resulted from the conscious policy of the Basilian monks, who were contaminated with Latinism. Therefore, they were declared the main obstacle to “unification” and, due to their special protection from Rome, were perceived as a foreign force, dangerous to the Orthodoxy and Russia. Often recruited from Roman Catholic Poles, Basilians allegedly sought the Latinisation and Polonisation of the Uniate Church, simultaneously – as they held the monopoly on Church positions – striving to decrease the importance of the “white”, parish clergy. They knew the latter had to be guaranteed parish income, but not necessarily education.

4. BASILIAN MONKS

Examining the denominational situation of the so-called “Western Russian” territories at the time makes it easy to understand the concerns of Orthodox Russians over the still numerous Basilian monks. In the 18th century they still enjoyed considerable prestige – in spite of the fact that hierarchs originating from among them could not join the Senate, as shown by Wereda (2013) – but most of all a certain charisma, based on historiosophical reflection. It is worth examining this reflection closer. It arose on the pages of works involved in the Catholic–Orthodox

religious polemics following the establishment of the Act of Brest (Сінкевич 2013). In the works by Hipacy Pociiej, Leon Kreuzu-Rzewuski (d. 1639), Joachim Morochoowski, Ignacy Kulczyński, and Ignacy Stebelski, the Union of Brest was not a single act established by state and church decision-makers, but rather a return of the Ruthenian Church to its “sources”, to the original church unity, which was also present in Vladimir’s act of baptism, the unity cyclically recalled in the acts of union, including the Union of Florence and the Union of Brest (Шевченко 2018, 227-237). For the Basilian scholars, the denominational conflict which ensued after 1596 took place not between the Orthodox and the Uniates, but rather between informed Catholics (i.e., Latins and Uniates) and uninformed ones (i.e., Orthodox). Those who remained Orthodox were mostly victims of insufficient information, while a theologically founded historical reflection was expected to help eliminate all “divisions” and “differences” from thinking. The view of history conveyed an easily understood message: there was one Church; the “schism” has always sought to pull the unity apart (metaphor of Orthodoxisation). Despite “schismatic propaganda”, Ruthenians cultivated their Latin, Catholic roots throughout the centuries (which was perfectly illustrated by the adoption of the acts of Florence and Brest) (metaphor of the Catholic Ruthenians), the state of the original church unity was the set goal which could only be achieved by the universalisation of the Church (i.e., Latinisation of the Eastern Rite) (macro-metaphor of unity) (Старостенко 2014, 429). These views were also meant to convey a certain message to the decision-makers of the Polish-Lithuanian state. According to monks–historians, the two-rite Catholic unity guaranteed religious peace in the Commonwealth. The Uniates – unlike the Orthodox schismatics–Disuniates, with their eyes fixed on Moscow, constantly inciting social uprisings – contributed to the stabilisation of the state. Whereas the Basilians were meant to be the proponents and guardians of this unity. We can therefore outline a certain metaphorological resource to illustrate the scholarly narrations of the Basilians, namely: the macro-metaphor of “unity” and operational metaphors: the metaphor of “Orthodoxisation” related to the “taking place” of history (object metaphor) and the metaphor of “Catholic Ruthenians” pertaining to “agents of change”, or creators, actors of history (subject metaphor).

The fall of the Commonwealth gave rise to a peculiar situation. Even though the local administration, created according to Russian norms, was strictly subordinated to the central government, the local nobility retained all its previous rights and privileges, as long as they did not contradict the Russian ones (Lithuanian Statute) (Оржеховский and Теплова 2001, 80). Thus, the nobility defended its rights and, having the right of patronage over Uniate churches, interfered with the status of the laity and the clergy. Basilian monks still had many schools and, owing to the state-of-the-art education programme at the time – additionally supported by the metaphorological resource shown above – held a great deal of influence over the Catholic (of both rites) and Orthodox youth (Кривошея 2009, 177; Шкраб’юк 2007, 18; Pidtypczak-Majerowicz 2012). The wealth of the Basilian monks must have been

particularly irritating to the Russian state and Church decision-makers, even more so that the Orthodox clergy was divested of it already during the reign of Catherine II. The order (its 600 members) had at their disposal 11,435 serf “souls” in Lithuania and a wealth of almost 858.152 roubles (Кедров 1887, 33). Thus, the decision-makers sought the best solution to the problem. Already the late reign of Alexander I was marked by the conflict between the pro-Catholic and pro-Orthodox “parties” of officials, the Basilians and lay clergy, Archbishop of Polotsk Jan Krassowski and Metropolitan Josafat Bulhak. It was during the church trial of the pro-Moscow and pro-Orthodox Krassowski, opponent of the Basilian influence – at the end of which the archbishop was removed from his position – Semashko gained a lot of attention with his fierce enmity towards the Uniate monks who, in the understanding of the Russian decision-makers were a conservative, pro-Catholic, and pro-Polish element (СМОЛИЧ 1996, 334). This enmity was also clear in the “Memorandum”; what is more, the decision-makers were instructed on specific actions leading to a crackdown on the Basilians. Semashko proposed acting in secret, without haste, first of all leading to the closure of the Basilian monasteries, then theological schools should move in and be endowed with monastery means. The monks should be constantly moved to various monasteries, subordinated to a bishop, above all young men must be forbidden from joining the order (Кедров 1887, 33). At Semashko’s insistence, the position of a procurator permanently residing in Rome, who tied the order to the Holy See, was abolished (Павлюк 2011, 154). After the November Uprising, the Basilians were accused of anti-Russian activities. A large number of their monasteries were closed or handed over to the Orthodox for having supported the insurgents, whereas a Greek–Uniate college was given control over the education of the monks. Basilian schools were closed, the use of liturgical books which were not printed in Russia was forbidden, the Catholic feasts were abolished: Corpus Christi and – above all – of Josaphat Kuntsevych (Павлюк 2011, 155). The struggle against the heritage related to the Basilian–martyr as an icon of the Union became the main “unification” task.

5. THE FACES OF KUNTSEVYCH

It was not simple, however, due to the strong position of Kuntsevych in the Uniate cultural memory. Upon the martyr’s death, the Basilians started working on spreading his cult, cared for the safety of his relics, and obtained in Rome the change of his feast day from 12 November (deep in autumn) to 26 September. They initiated pilgrimages, processions carrying his images, indulgence feasts (there was a month-long feast in Biała Radziwiłłowska), where small medallions and pictures of Kuntsevych were given out (more in: Sęczyk 2016). At the same time, the Basilians meticulously recorded all healings and traces of miracles, developed the hagiography of Kuntsevych, and historiography to match their scholarly ambitions (Susza 1665; among others). Therefore, Josaphat became an important element of cultural memory, a certain site of memory (Pierre Nora). Not only was he meant to

be the patron saint of the Uniate Church but also the symbol of Catholic unity of two equal Rites in the Commonwealth. Inasmuch as Saints Adalbertus and Stanislaus were perceived as patrons of the ethnic Poland, Kuntsevych was promoted as the patron saint of the multi-ethnic Commonwealth (the anniversaries of the Unions of Horodło and Lublin were celebrated in Biała) (Dydycz 1997, 214). The Basilians strove for the cult of the martyr to be inherently linked with their charism, while simultaneously connecting Catholicism with Orthodoxy, and Polishness and Lithuanianness with Ruthenianness. These activities increased the social prestige of the monks as well as showed to state decision-makers their usefulness in the Eastern territories of the Commonwealth. The Basilians cultivated this view even after the fall of the Commonwealth, especially in their schools. The brutally massacred Uman martyrs were also included in the Uniate martyrology (Tretiak 1911, 35).

It is clear that, seeking the solution to the Uniate question, Russian decision-makers had to reorganise the cultural memory of the Uniates, particularly as it related to Kuntsevych. They could achieve it by preventing the exercise of his cult, e.g., by burying his relics (for instance, to protect them from desecration), and also by disproving all of the miraculous events related to him (Sęczyk 2016, 61). On the other hand, they needed to deal with the hagiography, as well as the Basilian historiography about Kuntsevych. The majority of analyses dedicated to the person of the saint, written in the 1st half of the 19th century were modelled upon the treatise by Nikojaj Bantysh-Kamenskij (1737-1814) entitled *Historical information about the union* (Бантыш-Каменский 1805), which was an abundant collection of both source and interpretative material. The scholar wrote about the particular zeal of the Uniate hierarchy (Basilians) in the Latinisation and persecution of Orthodoxy. He did not analyse Kuntsevych's death in the context of public outburst but rather a single objection of the "people" instigated by Meletius Smotrytskij.

Let us summarise our considerations so far. In the first half of the 19th century, the Uniate clergy geared towards "unification" were a circle whose thinking and acting were determined by a certain cultural matrix. It was founded by the new post-partition reality and the fear of Russian-Orthodox unification. The clergymen reached the conclusion that the best way out of their difficult situation was to adopt Orthodoxy, but on their own conditions (category of unity). It was thus necessary to change the Orthodox Russians' perception of Uniates, to prove their usefulness. It was important to negate the Act of Union and to show that without it, in their cultural basis, they were... Russian and Orthodox (category of Orthodox Uniates). We also can see that this matrix had to include the aversion to everything which could lead to the negation of that unity. In this context the enmity towards the Basilians – subjects of Rome – is hardly surprising, as they appeared as the main advocates of Latinisation (category of Latinisation). Considering Semashko's "unification" work, one can easily notice that this matrix affected the formation of his "view of the world and man". The categories outlined above were the

determinants of his individual “unification” activities. All of them, however, had to negate the already existing Catholic view of the Union, articulated in the Basilian historical writings, including those related to Kuntsevych’s martyrdom.

6. (DE)CONSTRUCTION OF SANCTITY

Armed with the categories of Semashko’s “view of the world and man” (unity, Orthodox Uniates, Latinisation) outlined above, let us focus on how they metaphorised his historical narrations, including those pertaining to the activities and death of Josaphat Kuntsevych. His main duty, the scholar stressed, was to consider the causes of the division of Churches, and of “the separation of a part of the nation from the general Russian body and the rise of the Uniate Church.” He believed that finding these answers would contribute to the reunification of Uniate Ruthenians around the Russian Church. So he argued that there was no Church unity already at the time of Vladimir’s baptism, and the Union of Florence was imposed by the Latins by force. Presenting the origins of the act of union, he characterised the main advocates of the Act of Brest and the Act itself as products of the treasonous manipulation of the Latinised Ruthenian hierarch by the Catholics (Семашко 1883, 331; more in: Morawiec 2010). Semashko put special emphasis on the fact that, at the time of signing the Act, the Orthodox hierarchs were fervent Catholics, accusing some of them of not being duly religious, or outright of immoral conduct. His analyses of the post-union period were still the most important. He argued that – due to the aversion of the “people” who remained Orthodox – the Union survived only with the aid of the king, Jesuits, and pro-Polish nobles. The latter group abandoned the Orthodoxy and assumed Latin Catholicism more often than Uniate. Even more so, the Union compromised the socio-economic basis of the system found in the Orthodox Ruthenian lands. Semashko wrote: “The ties of mutual love, usual between landowners and their serfs, maintained by the unity of faith, have long been broken. For the fervour of faith and personal interest, the landowners oppressed the people, deprived them of their right and property, and the people hated their oppressors and vile foes in their landowners” (Семашко 1883, 331). The very Polish and Catholic “landowners” made the Uniate Church their subjects, particularly the monastic clergy, due to the common practice of Latin nobles entering Uniate monasteries. The next stage of Latinisation would involve – according to the historian – the “transformation of white clergy” whom the Catholics wanted to “enslave by the force of authority” by “taking considerable funds away (...), placing monks among their leaders (...), so the white clergy suffered then not external but internal oppression from their brothers” (Семашко 1883, 333). The author pointed out that the nobles, adopting “Roman” rites, supported the Uniates and Roman Catholics, brought Jesuits and Basilians to their lands. These “monks” were the main force persecuting the Orthodox. What is more, there was no state authority over them, even the complaints of the Polish clergy about their activities did not help. But, with their eyes fixed on Rome, they only obeyed the papal nuncio. A period of persecution began, churches

and monasteries were taken from the Orthodox, and Church property too. Even the bodies of dead Orthodox people were mistreated, burials in consecrated ground were forbidden, “clergymen and monks were being hunted, imprisoned in chains, tortured.” For this reason, a large number of the Ruthenian population abandoned the Orthodoxy (Семашко 1883, 329-330). Semashko was not surprised that it finally resulted in a revolt – a “national uprising”. The bishop listed the murder attempts of Hypatius Pocij, who “almost lost his life from the enraged people.” However, the popular dissent was much more focused against Josaphat Kuntsevych. “The saint of the Uniate Church canonised by the pope” allegedly showed particular zeal in all anti-Orthodox activities. Semashko wrote: “a sympathetic soul cannot read without tears the words with which the lay man, Lithuanian Chancellor Lew Sapieha, albeit a defender of the Union, accuses and opposes that archpriest who went beyond the limits of humanity – shows a shepherd of Christ using violence and seductive means, contrary to the spirit of religion, contrary to politics, contrary to the benefit of the state ravaged by murderous revolts. Whoever read the letter of this chancellor to this archpriest cannot deny that Sapieha acted as a shepherd, Kuntsevych as a persecutor” (Семашко 1883, 330). Kuntsevych appeared as the main antagonist, persecutor, oppressor of the Orthodoxy, who closed churches, persecuted the community of believers for any traces of rites and liturgy performed by clergymen outside of the Uniate hierarchy. It is therefore not surprising that social discontent towards his actions was growing. The archbishop’s death was the epitome of this discontent, and the Basilian only got his just deserts for persecuting the Orthodox. The “popular uprising” was followed by a “Cossack uprising”. Kosiński and Nalyvajko “took revenge on Poles, starting a terrifying war”, yet their “bloody” and often rash actions did not deliver the expected result: the Union was already so strong that they could not stop its development (Семашко 1883, 330).

Reading into Semashko’s deliberations, one can see that he created a “reversal” of the Basilian historiography. What draws attention the most is the statement that at the time of Vladimir’s baptism there was no Church unity, and the Union of Brest act was imposed on the Orthodox community. This community – despite Latinisation and Polonisation – remained Orthodox (metaphor of Orthodox Uniates). The nobility allegedly abandoned the Orthodoxy due to Latinisation, depriving the people/nation of its main protectors (metaphor of Latinisation). Even though the Orthodox were loyal to the Commonwealth, they were betrayed and crushed by the Jesuit–Basilian aggression. After the partitions, the Uniates could become Ruthenian (Russian) and Orthodox again (macro-metaphor of unity). Two foreign forces always stood in the way of this unity, the Basilians and Polish nobles, with Kuntsevych as the epitome of Latin aggressions. It was he who destroyed Ruthenian unity with his actions, Latinised them by force, turned Orthodox Ruthenians into Poles–Catholics. Semashko was thus not surprised that these actions led to the discontent of the community and fuelled a national uprising.

There is a puzzling question of the Cossack in the passage of the work related to Kuntsevych. Semashko firmly separated Cossacks from Ruthenians (Russians,

in his mind). He did not copy the views of historians which adored Cossacks for their defence of the Orthodoxy but instead quoted those speaking about their rash actions, which did not bring about the expected results. It may be worth viewing it from the perspective of the Russian historical policy of the time (more in: Моравец, 2007). If the Uniates were about to join Russia and the Orthodoxy, their familiarity and Russianness had to be shown. It was necessary to prove that, in spite of having a peculiar “West Russian” mentality, which arose under the influence of Latin and Polish cultural elements, they retain their Orthodox and Russian roots. However, this interpretation did not involve the Cossacks. Even though Semashko noticed their attachment to the Orthodoxy, he did not glorify their historical importance, treating them as amorphic, uncontrollable – since it always thought about self-determination – force. Thus, the Cossacks could not support the “people” and are firmly distinguished from it throughout the narration.

It is also puzzling that the narration omitted the claim that the revolt – of which Kuntsevych was a victim – was directed against the Commonwealth and its ruler. Perhaps the aim was not to expose the main subjects of history, i.e., the “people” and white clergy to the allegation of any anti-state activities (which the Russian decision-makers of the time may not have liked). So the “revolt” – since it arose in the defence of being Russian and Orthodox – lost its negative overtone, becoming a general popular “uprising” started in the defence of religion. It was only directed against the initiators of the union, i.e., hierarchs and the Basilians, who represented them later. The death of Kuntsevych was not murder, rather... a just defence of a nation brought to despair.

CONCLUSION

In the first half of the 19th century, the thinking/acting of the Uniate clergy underwent major changes. Its cultural memory had been largely constructed by Basilian historiography and specific sites of memory, among which the person of Josaphat Kuntsevych stood out. In this period, however, the post-partition situation began defining this memory: the Uniates found themselves in the Russian reality, foreign to the Catholic Church. The fear of the so-called Orthodox unification grew strong, as to the parish clergy it meant the loss of all their wealth (i.e., churches and parishes). Some hierarchs started considering adopting the Orthodoxy. It was necessary to find suitable allies in the lay communities, rebuild the denominational policy of the Russian state, as well as change the Russians’ view on the Uniates. The only solution was, purportedly, to negate the legitimacy and historical heritage of the Act of Union and to prove that, in their cultural basis, the Uniates are... Russian and Orthodox. The hostility – revealed at the time – towards the Basilians, subjected to Rome, should not be surprising in this context, as they were allegedly the chief promoters of Polonisation and Latinisation. Thus, in the undertaken analyses of the cultural matrix of the unification, the presence

of specific categories can be noticed, which also determined Semashko's "view of the world and man": "unity", "Orthodox Uniates" and "Latinisation". Before suggesting any specific "unification" project, however, he decided to reconstruct the Uniate thinking-acting, as well as the Uniate cultural memory. For this purpose, he "reversed" the Uniate view of history that he knew. The specific metaphors such as "unity", "Catholicism of Uniates" and "Orthodoxisation" played crucial roles in this view. Whereas Semashko – to oppose the Basilian influence – constructed a different interpretation. He argued that: 1) the Orthodox community had always opposed any Unionisation and Latinisation attempts (a macro-metaphor of unity); 2) even though it was loyal to the Commonwealth, it was betrayed by its hierarchs, Latinised and in favour of the Union (metaphor of Latinisation); 3) the Uniates remained Orthodox, opposed the Jesuit–Basilian aggression and protected the parish (white) clergy from subjugation to the Basilian hierarchs (metaphor of Orthodox Uniates). A crucial role in this view belonged to the character of Josaphat Kuntsevych. The memory about the saint needed to be "reversed": he was no longer shown as a martyr, becoming instead... the persecutor of the Ruthenian (Russian) nation. Therefore, Semashko's narration on Kuntsevych had an important mnemonic meaning. By "reversing" the Basilian and Uniate history, the hierarch wanted to reconstruct both the memory and thinking-acting of the Uniates. It had a certain goal: it led to the so-called "Unification" Act of 1839, in which the Uniates were supposed to return to Russia and the Orthodox Church. Without (de)constructing the image of Kuntsevych and the Basilian historiography, this work could not be completed.

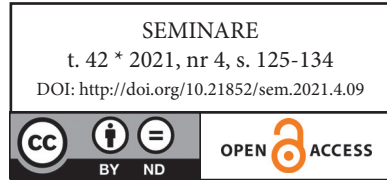
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Received: 29 Oct 2021; Reviewed: 30 Nov 2021; Accepted: 20 Dec 2021

MODLIN FORTRESS AS A MILITARY GARRISON OF THE SECOND POLISH REPUBLIC

Abstract

The interwar period was a time of rapid development of our statehood. After 123 years, Poland regained its independence and began the reconstruction of the devastated country. The main task was to ensure the security of the state by creating a strong army. The Modlin Fortress, due to its convenient location and the existing infrastructure, was a suitable place to set up a strong garrison. Many military units were brought there to create training centres for various types of armed forces. Housing estates were developed to accommodate soldiers and their families. This large garrison quickly became a significant centre of military, educational, cultural, and religious life.

Keywords: history, Modlin Fortress, military garrison

TWIERDZA MODLIN JAKO GARNIZON WOJSKOWY II RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ

Abstrakt

Okres międzywojenny to czas burzliwego rozwoju polskiej państwowości. Po 123 latach Polska odzyskuje niepodległość i zaczyna odbudowywać wyniszczony kraj. Głównym zadaniem było zapewnienie bezpieczeństwa państwa poprzez stworzenie silnej armii. Twierdza Modlin była dogodnym miejscem do stworzenia silnego garnizonu dzięki dogodnemu położeniu i dotychczasowej infrastrukturze. W tym celu sprowadzono tam wiele jednostek wojskowych, tworząc centra szkoleniowe różnych rodzajów wojsk. Wraz z żołnierzami do twierdzy trafiły ich rodziny, co spowodowało rozbudowę osiedli mieszkaniowych. Ten duży garnizon stał się szybko miejscem ożywionego życia wojskowego, oświatowego, kulturalnego i religijnego.

Słowa kluczowe: historia, Twierdza Modlin, garnizon wojskowy

INTRODUCTION

Most of the war struggles of our Homeland had episodes related to the Modlin Fortress and to the community inhabiting the area of defensive fortifications located at the mouth of the Narew where the river flows to the Vistula. The Modlin Fortress was constructed in the area of the former village of “Mogłno”¹. The name “Modlin” was mentioned in the Prussian plan of salt storages dated from 1759 as a village at the estuary of the Narew to the Vistula near Zakroczym (The Central Archives). The Swedes were the first to notice the strategic values of the place. After winning the battle on September 30, 1655, Field Marshal Gustaw Otto Stenbeck ordered the construction of defensive fortified military camp in the shape of a four-pointed star on the island close to the confluence of the Narew and the Vistula, as well as in Kazuń and Modlin (Gołąb 2006, 180-181; Herbst and Zachwatowicz 2006, 12). The famous “Bugskansen” was the first known fortification construction in this area (Bochenek 2002, 21-24; Mikołajczyk 2012, 27-29). The development of the defensive fortress on the Modlin scarp started by order of Napoleon at the time of the Duchy of Warsaw (Oleńczak 2008, 19-36). However, its major extension took place under the Russian occupation after the January Uprising. Modlin was renamed Novogeorgievsk and became a fortified camp of the tsarist forces (Flugiewicz 2006, 47-58). The Polish army entered Modlin and established here a Polish military garrison after Poland regained its independence.

1. SECURITY SYSTEM OF THE MODLIN FORTIFIED CAMP

The raising of the Polish flag on the citadel tower, marked the beginning of a new period in the history of the Modlin Fortress. The entire garrison participated in the ceremony, which had a very solemn character and a military setting (*Ilustracja Polska* 1919). Numerous military units were brought to the Fortress leading to the emergence of new organizational, logistic and security challenges related to both military facilities and housing estates. Buildings allocated for soldiers’ families and civilian employees of the army were located on the foreground of the citadel in the direction of “Korona Utracka”. There appeared new shops and service facilities. The garrison created a market for local farmers who delivered agricultural produce and goods. It also provided the locals with workplaces. The command had to ensure security, efficient organization of traffic and education. It fostered the spirit of patriotism and took care of the cultural life in and around the Fortress.

The military authorities were responsible for internal and external security system of the fortress. In addition to military tasks and combat training, the command, organized 24-hour security services, i.e., the garrison inspection service, internal services of individual military units, reaction units, the Gendarmerie and the Fire Department. The garrison inspection officer was in charge of his assistant,

¹ The first mention of Modlin is contained in the Zakroczym Land Book from 1426. The Central Archives of Historical Records (Next: CAHR). *The Book of Zakroczym*.

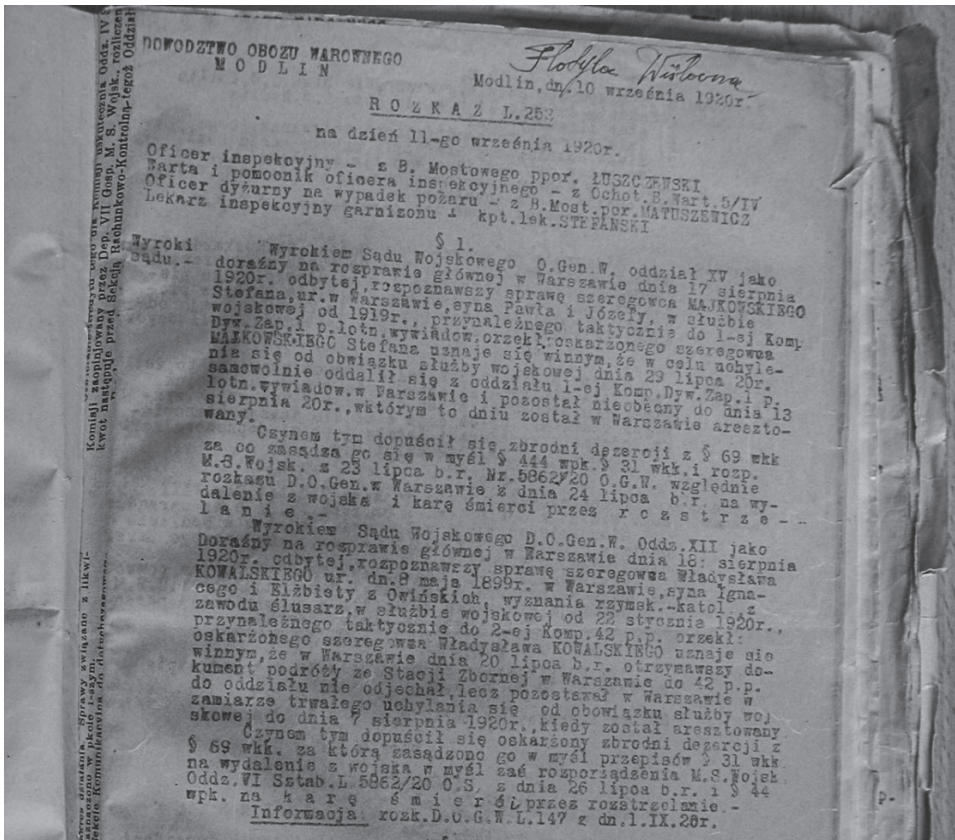
the garrison guard, the fire duty officer and the garrison inspection physician (CMA. *Order No. 245*). The order of service duties for individual military units was defined by the garrison commander (CMA. *Order No. 246*), with the exception of the garrison inspection physician service, which was defined by the commander of the Military Hospital (CMA. *Order No. 257*; CMA. *Order No. 273*) who passed the information to the Garrison Headquarters. The entire composition of services on duty was part of the daily order of the Modlin Garrison commandant. For example, on September 7, 1920, Lieutenant Andruszkiewicz from Baon Mostowy was on duty as the inspection officer of the Modlin Garrison, Lieutenant Liber from the Heavy Artillery Regiment was on duty as the inspection officer in the event of a fire, doctor Zajfe was on duty as the inspecting physician (CMA. *Order No. 249*). The garrison inspection officer supervised all services on duty in the garrison. With the help of the garrison guard, he controlled the traffic to and from the fortress. He also checked the preparation of soldiers for duty service, took an oath from the service and conducted their inspections. Maintaining discipline in the service was an essential element of ensuring safety. The garrison command decisively reacted to any instances of discipline violations. "Despite the repeatedly issued bans, gun fires can be heard at posts. I recommend that all unit commanders, which set up both internal and garrison posts, prevent any damage to the state property, which is so valuable nowadays, and carry out a detailed inspection in order to counteract similar offenses in the future. All those caught red-handed, as well as those who are proved that they fired weapons for no reason, should be brought to trial" (CMA. *Order No. 258*). Only decisive reactions allowed to maintain discipline. Internal services in units were organized similarly to garrison services and were subordinated to the duty officer of a given military unit (CMA. *Order No. 366*; CMA. *Order No. 147*; CMA. *Order No. 6*; CMA. *Order No. 124*; CMA. *Order No. 84*). The composition of individual services on duty as well as organizational matters were included in the daily orders of the military units' commanders.

Another element providing security in the Modlin garrison was the security service operating on the water and in the port. It was recruited from among seamen who served on the water and in the port (CMA. *Order No. 136*). This unit was called the Port Police of the Naval Port in Modlin. The port commander decided on the composition of the formation.

Outside the port, the public order was the responsibility of the firefighters. Fire Brigade soldiers, apart from performing firefighting duties, were also involved in maintaining public order during organized events and they also guarded the mess (CMA. *Order No. 258*).

The Gendarmerie formed a separate security service in the garrison. It performed policing tasks. Until September 16, 1929, the gendarmes were on guard at the entrance gates to the fortress, to be later released from this duty and directed to perform the patrol service and policing activities (CMA. *Order No. 260*). The greatest threat in the garrison were thefts and burglaries into military facilities and officers'

quarters. In justified cases, designated military units supported the Gendarmerie by appointing soldiers to patrol units (CMA. Order No. 293). The gendarmes pursued criminals, escorted convoys, and patrolled the entire area. This formation also pursued deserters. Desertion with the intention of permanently evading military service was punishable by death.



Source: CMA. Order of the Commander of the Fortified Camp in Modlin of September 10, 1920, No. 253. Archival complex: Command of the Modlin Fortified Camp. Ref. No. I.372.36.1.

Death sentences in such cases were issued by Military Courts while the Gendarmerie carried out investigation and convoy tasks as well as other tasks ordered by courts. The first composition of the Military Court of the Modlin Fortified Camp is: Lieutenant Stankiewicz (head), Second Lieutenant Bujalski, Second Lieutenant Sokółowski and Second Lieutenant Tomassini (CMA. Order No. 252).

2. SELECTED AREAS OF MILITARY GARRISON LIFE

The military command tried to ensure the combat readiness of the garrison, provide the adequate level of soldiers' training, create appropriate logistic support

for military units stationed in Modlin as well as to take care of the families of soldiers and civilian employees of the army. The superiors put emphasis on providing soldiers with an appropriate level of general and specialist knowledge as well as on fostering patriotic values. The fortified camp housed the Officer's Mess of the Garrison and canteens in military units, the Soldier's House and shops. Soldiers and their families gathered in numerous associations, charity organizations and interest clubs. The military units organized cultural and educational activities. Military chaplains and clergymen of other denominations provided religious services for soldiers and their families. A number of patriotic, cultural and religious celebrations were organized. The Garrison Cooperative ran a mess, a canteen and a shop. The Officers' Club Library operated in the Officers' Mess (CMA. *Order No. 261*). In the white hall of the mess "an unusual event for the garrison took place on Sunday, August 29, 1920. The breakfast gathered the following people: Fr. Prof. Stanisław Gall – the first Field Bishop of the Polish Army, General Władysław Sikorski – commander of the 5th Army, Brigadier General Mikołaj Osikowski – commander of the 20th Infantry Division, General Stanisław Burhardt-Bukacki – General of French Military Service of the 8th Infantry Division, along with the command, officers, and officials of the garrison. The enrolment for the breakfast was conducted between August 27 and 28, by Second Lieutenant Wierzbiński, the host of the Officers' Club, upon payment of 70 marks" (Mikołajczyk 2012, 147-148). Dancing parties, masquerade balls, private parties, lectures, talks and even snooker competitions were also organized there. Cultural and Educational Department of the Garrison located in General Józef Bem street, was responsible for the distribution of periodicals (CMA. *Order No. 286*). The Drama Club staged plays and the cinema presented films. The "YMCA", Young Men's Christian Association operated in the Soldier's House.

From 1921, Towarzystwo Wiedzy Wojskowej [the Military Knowledge Society] operated in the Modlin garrison, and from 1930, social organizations, i.e., the Polish Red Cross, the Polish White Cross, the Maritime and Colonial League, and the State Air Defense League. These organisations dealt with the promotion of education, culture and patriotism. Illiteracy was combated, wastepaper collected, and dancing balls organized (CMA. *Order No. 67*; CMA. *Order No. 81*). The Polish White Cross instructresses performed a number of tasks. "The duties of a garrison instructor include:

- a. dealing with the needs in a given area,
- b. developing the educational activity program for the current period or school year in cooperation with the chairman of relevant sections,
- c. seeking and training associates, such as: permanent teachers and ad hoc speakers. The list of candidates for associates should be approved by the heads of the respective sections and military authorities,
- d. visiting lectures and talks,
- e. providing lecturers with teaching aids,

- f. convening pedagogical conferences,
- g. providing assistance to heads of day-room sections and day-room supervisors in the area of daily activities,
- h. controlling the functioning of libraries at least once a month,
- i. submitting monthly reports on its activities to the Club Board and through it to the Board of Governors according to the established procedure” (Mikołajczyk 2021, 152).

The Polish Red Cross prepared the society to support military actions in the area of running hospitals, sanatoriums, medical centres and transportation of the wounded. Medical equipment, medicines and dressings were collected, and medical personnel was trained. The State Air Defence League supported all activities for the benefit of aviation and physical culture. In 1933, an airport was opened in Modlin (CMA. *Preliminarz*). The Modlin branch of the Maritime and Colonial League carried out: “organization of mass events related to the maritime topics; water sports activities for children and soldiers; swimming pool in the summer; ice rinks during winter; tourism, including water tourism; activities aimed at the proper maintenance of waterways” (Mikołajczyk 2012, 155). The seat of the Yacht Club was located near the Narew river estuary to the Vistula river. Captain Sikorski from the 32nd Infantry Regiment led the Angling Club (CMA. *Order No. 76*). A Garrison Stadium was located at Bema street (CMA. *Order No. 31*) and a tennis court (CMA. *Order No. 78*). Medical care was provided by the Military Hospital (CMA. *Book of Orders*), Garrison Infirmary (CMA. *Order No. 89*; CMA. *Order No. 29*) and the Garrison Dental Clinic (CMA. *Order No. 22*). Stowarzyszenie Rodzina Wojskowa [The Military Family Association] dynamically operating in the area of supporting education developed a project of a four-class gymnasium in Modlin.

3. PASTORAL ACTIVITY

The large garrison personnel required extensive pastoral activity. The religious life of the garrison took place at the military parish of St. Barbara. Orthodox church of St. George was converted into a garrison church. The parish also owned a cemetery and a chapel at the Military Hospital. The author’s research shows that the activity of the garrison parish “was reflected in the account of the dean of the Corps District No. I. When describing the parishes of the military diaconate on March 23, 1938, he stated that the Modlin garrison had a multinational character. About 37% were soldiers of other religious denominations. They were mainly Orthodox, Jews and Evangelicals. Apart from the regular military cemetery, there were no other military cemeteries. The garrison church building was in good state. There were no construction projects in the parish for five years. No special events took place in the Modlin parish. There were no cases of theft on the premises of the church and chapels. The soldiers performed their religious duties. Both the officers

and non-commissioned officers together with privates attended church services and received the Holy Sacraments. The drawback, however, was suicidological behaviour among soldiers. There were as many as 8 of them in the parish of Modlin, which was the largest number of suicides of all parishes in the district [Dęblin, Łomża – 5, Warsaw I and III – 6, Zegrze, Ostrów Mazowiecka, Warsaw II and IV – not recorded]. Among all suicides in Modlin, only one received the Holy Sacrament before his death. It was also found that the garrison soldiers were not agitated by heretics. As the only one of the military parishes, the parish of St. Barbara was praised for increasing the morals and strengthening Catholic beliefs.

After Poland regained independence, several priests were in charge of the pastoral service in the Modlin garrison. Father Skokowski served as chaplain until 1921, when he handed his post over to chaplain Frater Piotr Rymarczyk. The next chaplain of the garrison was Frater Jerzy Wójcik, who held this position in the rank of a major in military service. According to the list of priests of the Corps District No. I, as of January 1, 1931, the duties of the parish priest of the military parish in Modlin were performed by the chaplain Frater Józef Czach, appointed to this position in 1927. His work was continued by Frater Franciszek Walasek, who handed over his duties to Frater Ferdynand Wawro on May 18, 1934. Before the fortress was taken over by the Germans, the last priest of the Modlin military parish was Frater Anastazy Rutkowski, appointed to this position on September 4, 1939. After a few days in office, he left Modlin, receiving an order to evacuate. There were also supporting chaplains appointed in other garrisons subordinate to the military parish of Modlin and holding the offices of local parish priests. This position was held from 1937 by the parish priest in Nowy Dwór, Frater Henryk Józwik, born in 1884, residing in Nowy Dwór at Warszawska 1 street. The priest was paid 30 zloty per month for performing his duties. Such a position in Kazuń was held from 1933 by Frater Tadeusz Majchrzak, born in 1893, residing in Kazuń Polski. He was paid a monthly salary of 75 zloty for the provision of pastoral service to soldiers stationed in Przedmoście Kazuńskie. In Działdowo, the function of the supporting chaplain was performed by Frater Jan Łubieński from May 1, 1935, who received 50 zloty a month for performing his duties. On November 21, 1938, the supporting chaplain in Pomiechówek was Frater Waclaw Gieryszewski, PhD” (Mikołajczyk 2010, 171-273).

CONCLUSION

After Poland regained independence, the Modlin Fortress began its dynamic growth that lasted until World War II. The garrison developed in all spheres of military and social life. Many military units were brought to the fortress and together with soldiers arrived their families. Housing estates were built for soldiers' families and for non-military employees of the army. The garrison became the recipient of agricultural produce and other goods for the surrounding towns

and villages. Numerous training centres for soldiers of various types of armed forces were established in the fortress. An institutional security system for the entire garrison was created. There was a dynamic growth of educational, cultural and charity activities. The military and civilian communities were engaged in numerous undertakings, initiatives, as well as sports, artistic and culinary activities. There were shops, service facilities, messes, canteens, libraries, reading rooms, community centres, associations, social organizations and interest clubs. The military parish was a lively centre of spiritual life. The clergy were involved in numerous undertakings. They helped families of soldiers in various areas from school education, through work, service, family life, up to providing the last offices. They accompanied soldiers from recruitment, through education and training, to fights on the battlefield. Priests were witnesses of soldiers' fate until their heroic death for the Homeland. They also often shared soldiers' fate on the battlefield and in extermination camps.

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