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THEOLOGY

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THE SEPTUAGINT IN THE DOCUMENTS OF THE PONTIFICAL BIBLICAL COMMISSION AFTER THE PROMULGATION OF THE MOTU PROPRIO *SEDULA CURA*

Summary

This presentation focuses on the question: what meaning does the Pontifical Biblical Commission in its documents promulgated after *Sedula cura* give to the Septuagint in our times? It seems that the references to the LXX appear in the latest documents of the Commission in a rather humble way and frequently ambiguously. The Septuagint is basically perceived as the Jewish Greek Bible. Since it is also the Christian Old Testament, identified and recognised by the Church, the Pontifical Biblical Commission accepts this fact, but in its reflection it does not assign a significant and adequate place to the Septuagint.

Keywords: Pontifical Biblical Commission – documents, Bible, Septuagint, Judaism, Christianity, hermeneutics of the Bible

SEPTUAGINTA W DOKUMENTACH PAPIESKIEJ KOMISJI BIBLIJNEJ PO PROMULGACJI MOTU PROPRIO „SEDULA CURA"

Streszczenie

Problem prezentacji zawarty jest w pytaniu: jakie znaczenie współcześnie nadaje Septuagincie Papieska Komisja Biblijna w swoich dokumentach, wydanych po „Sedula cura"? Wydaje się, że referencje do LXX są w ostatnich dokumentach PKB dość skromne i często niejednoznaczne. W zasadzie jest ona postrzegana jako żydowska Biblia Grecka. Ponieważ jest także chrześcijańskim Starym Testamentem, rozpoznanym i uznanym przez Kościół, Papieska Komisja Biblijna uznaje ten fakt, niemniej jednak nie poświęca Septuagincie (LXX) znaczącego i adekwatnego miejsca w swojej refleksji.

Słowa kluczowe: Papieska Komisja Biblijna – dokumenty, Biblia, Septuaginta, judaizm, chrześcijaństwo, hermeneutyka Biblii

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Introduction

Since its foundation in 1902, the Pontifical Biblical Commission (*Pontificia Commissio Biblica*) has worked out and issued 34 documents. After the closing of Vatican Council II in 1965, the essential documents of the Commission seem to be those that directly refer to Scriptural topics concerning biblical hermeneutics. These texts are of a different character. Some are explanatory, some order approaches concerning the relationships between Christian doctrine and Sacred Scripture, while others aim to help exegetes and theologians in their critical perception of contemporary hermeneutical tendencies. From the time of the post-conciliar reform of the Pontifical Biblical Commission by Paul VI in his motu proprio *Sedula cura* issued in 1971, there is a noticeable change in reference to the structure of the Commission, the strategy of its works (through its inclusion to the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith) and its role. The Commission was to reflect on various issues that were important to the life of the Church and to present the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith proposals of biblical scholars that would be used in theological research. These elaborations were not meant to be of a directive character but rather were reflections formulated as instructions or recommendations, "Commissionis Biblicae est studia perficere, necnon instructiones et decreta parare, quae a Sacra Congregatione pro Doctrina Fidei publici iuris fieri possunt, speciali mentione Commissionis Biblicae facta, approbante Summo Pontifice nisi aliter ipse Summus Pontifex in casibus particularibus statuerit" (Filippi and Lora 1993, 766; Tronina 2003, 324-325).

An interesting issue, especially in the documents worked out by the Pontifical Biblical Commission, which was reorganised in 1971, seems to be the attitude towards the Septuagint, the Jewish Greek Bible, which at the beginnings of the proclamation of the message of Jesus and about Jesus Christ became the Old Testament accepted by Christians. It should be noted that this attitude reflects the role and significance of research concerning the Septuagint as ascribed by the Commission, which means that the Biblical Commission refers to the meaning of the LXX in contemporary discourse on the Christian Bible and depicts its value in the process of the Church's identification as a community rooted in the Word of God.

Cardinal J. Ratzinger, in the preface to the document *The Jewish People and Their Sacred Scriptures in the Christian Bible* issued by the Pontifical Biblical Commission, wrote, "For the authors and founders of the New Testament, the Old Testament was simply "the Scriptures": it was only later that the developing Church gradually formed a New Testament canon which was also Sacred Scripture, but in the sense that it still presupposed Israel's Bible to be such, the Bible read by the apostles and their disciples, and now called the Old Testament, which provided the interpretative key." J. Ratzinger's general statement results from the assumed goals of the document, i.e. to describe the relationships between the Scriptures that were accepted or created by Christians and the Jewish Scriptures that the

Jewish community and its authorities recognised as sacred. How then does the Biblical Commission understand the concept Old Testament? In the context of the Septuagint which we are interested in: what is the identity of the Septuagint? The next question is dependent on the answer of the previous one: What meaning does the Pontifical Biblical Commission seem to ascribe to the Septuagint today?

In order to provide correct answers to these questions, which is here the main theme, one should begin with an outline – though very brief – of the topic of the Septuagint as the Jewish Greek Bible.

1. The Septuagint – the Jewish Greek Bible and the Christian Old Testament

Current hermeneutical challenges impel us to put forward the postulate of Christological and Christocentric interpretative convention in Christian hermeneutics. Referring to Origen and the desiderates of H. de Lubac, H. Crouzel and H. J Sieben, J. Ratzinger writes about this need in *The Jewish People and Their Sacred Scriptures in the Christian Bible* (The Pontifical Biblical Commission 2002, Preface). K. Stock writes plainly that "if we assume that the Bible is a whole and that the New Testament is the key to its reading, we can maintain our thesis: the aim of appropriate biblical exegesis is knowing the person of Jesus" (Stock 2005, 30; 2007, 219). This postulate in a natural way puts the Septuagint – with its Messianic subtleties – on the same level as the important sources of the ethos of the Church. Although, the problem of understanding and accepting its inspiration is still vivid, one certainly cannot ignore this Jewish Bible accepted by Christians (Chrostowski 2001, 89-110). This problem in reference to the Septuagint leads to the demand of its interpretation considering the need of contextual – from the perspective of the development of revelation – defining particular elements of the whole biblical story and as its consequence – biblical theology (Jeanrond 2005, 253). This problem, in reference to the Septuagint, makes us accept a clear, at least general, hermeneutical circle.

It seems, that for the Septuagint the first, historic circle, determining its creation, was the need of the Jewish people to identify themselves as Jews in the ethnic, cultural and religious melting pot of the Hellenistic world. The need to formulate some concept of Jewish identity seems to be a fundamental inspiration, though hidden in the pragmatic approach to daily life of the Jewish community in the Diaspora, especially in Egypt or, to be precise, in Alexandria. The hermeneutic circle of defining historical sources of its faith was then included in the process of making them more familiar, that is to translate the most needed sacred texts of Israel. Thus, the procured phenomenon of translating texts regarded by Israel as sacred into Greek and – many a time subtly reinterpreting those – was related to the natural process of their acceptance. Consequently, the collection of the writings referred to in the Letter of (Pseudo-) Aristeas as the Septuagint, was expanding which became an important phenomenon. It might be assumed that Jewish communities living

in the Diaspora expected to have a work that would bear cultural affinity, meet linguistic requirements and, at the same time, include conceptual capacity proper to the environment they lived in and the language they used.

This fertile capacity was later most fully used by the circles of the early Church, above all by the Jewish believers of Jesus living in the Diaspora. They were reached – or influenced in many diverse ways – by St Paul who initiated the creation of Christian communities or applicatively explicated the doctrine and pragmatics of the life of the already existing communities. One cannot ignore the obvious, attested by research, fact that the Septuagint was used by the Jewish circles in Jerusalem and in the groups of diversified Judaism of the late Second Temple period in the Diaspora. However, in those circles the Septuagint never acquired the same status as the collections of the Hebrew writings. Yet, it enjoyed great authority, which resulted among other things from the fact that it was used by Philo and Flavius Josephus (Popowski 2008, 190).

Naturally, the key to the apostolic success of the Apostle to the Nations was his personal testimony of faith that included quotations from the Greek text, which he used argumentatively and treated as a hermeneutic, verbalised circle of faith. Nevertheless, his testimony had to overcome certain tendencies: juridism and dogmatism. These tendencies, cultivated in Judaistic circles, especially the rabbinic ones, were consolidated to a certain extent and treated as norms of Jewish interpretative traditions. Separatist, and at the same time petrifying, tendencies occurring in the Jewish interpretation of the late Second Temple period seem to be confirmed by the later description of the reference point of self-identity, which was fundamental for the Jewish community that had survived the traumatic experiences of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple in 70 AD. This reference was the existing collection of the sacred and normative writings of Israel, written only in Hebrew. Thus, a fundamental – though certainly not the only one – criterion of the Jewish sacred writings was set, i.e. that of the acceptance of the exclusiveness of the Hebrew language. Together with the definitive utilisation of any real idea of statehood after the fall of the Bar Kochba (Kosiba) revolt in 135, this criterion – as it seems – assumed an extremely important meaning in defining the Jewish self-identity. This identity, rooted in the sacred biblical texts, already expressed itself in its own, though quite capacious, rabbinic method of midrash. We should also, in order to complete the picture of the Jewish hermeneutics of those times, mention the existence of a specific form of biblical explication which was the form of exegesis and application called *pesher* (Jędrzejewski 2007, 1-17).

The Jewish Greek Bible (Septuagint) was, however, the most important work of Hellenistic Judaism. In the Egyptian Diaspora, this translation was born as an answer to various challenges of the Jewish community co-existing with other nations, cultures and religions. Yet, is the Septuagint only a translation? Is it also an actualisation of the biblical message, using the Judaistic method of midrash? The Letter of Aristeas dedicated to Philocrates, created in ca. 170 BC, was to authorise

God's action in the act of the creation of the Septuagint. Today scholars treat the letter as a text that points to the authority of the Septuagint, which was so demanded in the Jewish Diaspora, rather than the way of its creation (Frankowski 1972, 14). M. Hengel speaks about "the legitimisation of a certain version of the LXX" (Hengel 2002, 25). Moreover, some scholars – in accordance with the first version of the Letter of Aristeas – propose referring the concept of the Septuagint exclusively to the oldest and fixed collection of biblical texts, i.e. the Pentateuch. They suggest calling the remaining books *Old Greek* (Mielcarek 2009, 29).

Searching for the earliest and fundamental inspirations behind the origin of the Septuagint, we can conclude that an important motivation to create the Greek Bible – within the framework of the obvious need to define one's self-identity – was the fact that the Jewish people in the Diaspora wanted to have their own collection of sacred writings including legal norms that would constitute a reference point for the realisation of their social desires. Such a work was to be compatible with the Ptolemaic legislation on the one hand and, on the other, was to maintain the Jewish endemic features. It was to normalize Jewish existence in the ethnic melting pot of Hellenism and make this nation acceptable for different parties (Jędrzejewski 2005, 245-262).

However, the texts of the Septuagint became – not only because of the Greek language – the Christian Old Testament as well. Difficulties concerning the unambiguous and, common for Christians, use of the concept of Old Testament are mainly connected with the range of the biblical texts, which as such are regarded and accepted in Christian Churches. For the Jewish circles, the concept of the Old Testament is not an important problem. They simply and most frequently do not use this concept since the sacred collection of Israel's writings, called the Hebrew Bible, won exclusivity (Tronina 2007, 9). In Christian circles instead, there appeared various proposals of names for the collection of the Old Testament, including those that do not accept the inspired character of all the books of the Septuagint (Söding 1995, 99-115).

2. The Septuagint in the documents of the Pontifical Biblical Commission

The documents of the Pontifical Biblical Commission, presented after its re-organisation in 1971, refer to the matters of the Septuagint – as it seems – on the margin of their fundamental problems. The constatation that in these documents, the Septuagint is perceived to a considerable extent as the Jewish Greek Bible, appears to be rather general and demands deeper justification. Can we then speak of the marginalisation of the Septuagint as the Christian Old Testament? Let us look closely at the documents of the Pontifical Biblical Commission, written after the publication of *Sedula cura* on 27 July 1971, which refer to the LXX in various ways.[2]

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[2] The first document published in the discussed period was *De Sacra Scriptura et Christologia* written in 1984. Yet, references to the LXX are quite marginal (the LXX was used twice as sigla).

2.1. The Septuagint in the document *Interpretation of the Bible in the Church*

In the document of 1993 *Interpretation of the Bible in the Church* the Septuagint appears in the context of methods referring to Jewish traditions of interpretation. Thus, it was treated as a form of Jewish interpretation of the Scripture, "It is in this world that the interpretation of the Scripture had its beginning. One of the most ancient witnesses to the Jewish interpretation of the Bible is the Greek translation known as the Septuagint" (The Pontifical Biblical Commission 1993, chapter I). "This world" is – according to the document and the scholarly achievements – the Judaistic environment of the last centuries before the Christian era. Thus this document refers to the Jewish Bible and the Septuagint: the first part of the Christian Bible. In his commentary to this document W. Chrostowski calls the Septuagint "pre-Christian Bible of Greek-speaking Jews" (Chrostowski 1999, 140).

As the Commission rightly stresses, we can approach the Septuagint through recourse to ancient Jewish traditions of interpretation. Yet, one cannot avoid the impression that the relationship between the Septuagint and Christianity is treated with considerable discretion. Indeed, this relationship cannot be limited to the statement of the document that the Septuagint 'became the first part of the Christian Bible for at least the four first centuries of the Church and has remained so in the East down to the present day' (The Pontifical Biblical Commission 1993, chapter I, C, 2). Thus, it is difficult to overestimate Chrostowski's postulate that in contemporary studies of the Bible "stressing *veritas Hebraica* cannot be at the cost of the Septuagint..." since the Fathers of the Church – with their hermeneutic tradition and exegetical-theological reflection on the contents of the New Testament – usually referred to the Greek Bible (Chrostowski 1999, 140).

The document of the Pontifical Biblical Commission seems to cognitively equate the Septuagint with the extracanonical Jewish literature (also called apocryphal or intertestamental) taking into account its value. Analysing point 2 of the document (*Approach Through Recourse to Jewish Traditions of Interpretation*) one can reach such a conclusion since the document shows that like the aforementioned Septuagint, the extracanonical literature is an important source for the interpretation of the New Testament. Moreover, the same fragment (*Approach Through Recourse to Jewish Traditions of Interpretation*) points to internal rereadings of the Old Testament. Nevertheless, it does not explain what the Old Testament is in this case. Is the OT the Septuagint or another collection of writings? The mention of "certain ways Paul goes about argument from Scripture" (The Pontifical Biblical Commission 1993, 2) may also suggest – as one of possible writings – the source text of the Septuagint.[3]

Consequently, I have omitted them in my presentation.

[3] Scholars specialising in these topics show three types of Paul's scriptural argument: prevailing text of the Septuagint, the Hebrew text that was later called TM and translations into Greek done by Paul himself. For a detailed analysis of the relationship between the Pauline theology and Petrine theology, based on the Septuagint (Vorlage, enlargements, recensions) used by Luke in the Acts see Steyn 1995. For the Christian recensions of the Septuagint (Hexapla, recensions of Origen, recensions of Lucian of Antioch, recensions of Hesychius,

Undoubtedly, the context of this fragment of the document of the Pontifical Biblical Commission is extremely rich and capacious. Although placing the Septuagint alongside other elements of Jewish hermeneutics is justified, its unquestionable uniqueness is marked only through placing it firstly among factors essential to Christian hermeneutics. The very statement that the Septuagint became the first part of the Christian Bible does not seem to stress enough its unquestionable uniqueness, as a source text to proclaim the Gospel, as well as the creation and development of Christian theology. S. Jankowski is right writing that "the LXX served as a bridge between Judaism and Christianity. In further perspective, it prepared the ground for the proclamation of the Gospel. On the basis of comparative analyses of the LXX and the New Testament, proclaiming the Gospel without this Greek translation of the sacred writings of the Jewish people would have been extremely difficult" (Jankowski 2012, 205). The authors of the document themselves state that the Septuagint was the first part of the Christian Bible for the first four centuries of the Church. Did it stop being so in the fifth century? The collection of the sacred and inspired writings of the Catholic Church, which is called Old Testament – rightly or wrongly changed today into the First Testament or other names – is included exactly in the Septuagint, not in any other collection of the Jewish writings (Hebrew Bible, Aramaic Bible, Israel's Bible). This was expressed by the Council of Trent (Conc. Tridentinum, Decr. de Symbolo – de canonicis Sripturis, sessio IV: Recipiuntur libri sacri et traditiones Apostolorum) stating that "Sunt vero infra scripti Testamenti Veteris" and giving a list of the Old Testament books, including those from the Septuagint (Denzinger 1957, 279). One can have the impression that the document of the Pontifical Biblical Commission explains the meaning of the Septuagint for the Church and biblical research itself in a way that is too laconic. Its role and meaning for both biblical investigations and the ecclesiastical tradition of interpretation itself is difficult to overestimate. An excellent example here can be the great figures of the Fathers of the early Church that laid the foundation for a vibrant hermeneutics and Christian exegesis that were being formed at that time. This exegesis prevailingly used the Septuagint, which was also translated into Latin. The fact is that most citations of the OT sources in the New Testament, those *explicite* or *implicite*, are the texts taken from the Septuagint.

Of importance is the statement of the Commission that the Septuagint is still the first part of the Christian Bible in the East (i.e. the Churches of the Eastern tradition). It is an extremely important formulation although the document does not include any ascertainment that as a result of that statement the Septuagint is one of the important elements that can inspire biblical research conducted by theologians of the East and the West.

Another reference to the Septuagint in the document *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church* can be found in the part mentioning "the fuller sense" in the Bible (B. *The Meaning of Inspired Scripture*. 3. *The Fuller Sense*). This fragment begins with an attempt to define what the fuller sense is: "a deeper meaning

anonymous recensions) see Dorival, Harl and Munnich 1994, 162-167; Passoni Dell'Acqua 1994, 157-185.

of the text, intended by God but not clearly expressed by the human author." An example of this is the hermeneutic context of Matthew 1:23 that gives a fuller sense to the prophecy of Isaiah 7:14 in regard to hāʿalᵉmāh (ἡ παρθένος). What is important is that the verse of Isaiah through the Greek translation is the source text for the Christological and Mariological message expressed in the New Testament. It shows that the very core of the Christian *credo* is located in the context of the Septuagint.

In the hermeneutical tradition forming fundamental truths of the Christian faith, the acceptance of the translation of Isaiah's text from the Septuagint (ἡ παρθένος) seems to point not only to the significance of this translation in Christian theology, but first of all to God's plan included in it. There were other Greek translations, for instance that of Aquila, one of *tres lopoi* (Fernández Marcos 2000, 123-126), who used the term νεᾶνις. As research shows there was also a translation of Theodotion, which was to be a Jewish response to the use of the Septuagint, and a translation of Symmachus, which might have been created in the Jewish-Christian environment (Hengel 2002, 41-43).

Undoubtedly, this fragment of the document worked out by the Pontifical Biblical Commission ascribes a high value to the Septuagint, although more explicit conclusions could have been expected. The document rightly shows a possible danger that – using the text of the Septuagint – may lead to a subjective interpretation. It is also possible to attribute to the biblical texts senses that are the fruit of the later development of the Tradition (*cf.* III. *Characteristics of Catholic Interpretation*). Therefore, scholars constantly need to apply the fundamental theological principles: *sensus Ecclesiae* and *analogia fidei*. Yet, this does not change the postulate for the necessity of a clear-cut attitude towards the Septuagint.

Furthermore, *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church* seems to include indirect references towards the Septuagint. One of them is the statement included in the part describing the attitude of the Old Testament towards the New Testament. For example, we read that "intertextual relationships become extremely dense in the writings of the New Testament, thoroughly imbued as it is with the Old Testament through both multiple allusion and explicit citation" (The Pontifical Biblical Commission 1994, chapter III, A, 2). The relational context of the Old and New Testament, although not referring directly to the Septuagint, may suggest its use in the apostles evangelization, especially that of St Paul. The Septuagint, because of its Greek, was a medium in which the dynamism of evangelization in the circles of the Jewish, Greek-speaking Diaspora and in the Hellenistic world was transmitted. If the document, invoking the words of 1 Cor. 15: 3-5, "Christ died for our sins *according to the Scriptures* and was buried; he was raised on the third day *according to the Scriptures* and appeared," states quite explicitly that it is the central element of the whole apostolic preaching; exactly through stressing: *according to the Scripture*s it seems to refer not only to the general accordance with the Scripture, but also to this specific one. It would be in compliance with the content of the Scriptures which listeners or addressees of the apostolic message knew.

It might have been the knowledge of the Hebrew text, but biblical research has shown that the apostolic message was presented to a considerable extent in Greek and was certainly transmitted in Greek. Therefore, we should take into account a real contribution of the Greek texts of the Septuagint to this proclamation.

The document concludes that the texts of the Bible "were recognized by the communities of the Former Covenant and by those of the apostolic age as the genuine expression of the common faith. It is in accordance with the interpretative work of these communities and together with it that the texts were accepted as sacred Scripture" (The Pontifical Biblical Commission 1993, III, 3). This conclusion, and especially the confirmation of the interpretative work of the Christian communities, seems to include – although *implicite* – the fact of the recognition of all the Old Testament texts, also those that were not accepted by the communities of the Former Covenant after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the previous structures of the Jewish religion. Consequently, the texts would have embraced the texts of the Septuagint. The authority of this Greek translation, popular with Jewish synagogal communities in the Diaspora (and to a certain extent, with Palestinian Jews), was never equal to that of the Hebrew writings. However, for early Christianity the authority of the collection called the Septuagint cannot be questioned. With this in mind, we can also consider the hypothesis of the Proto-Septuagint which – as it seems – would be the one used in the evangelical and apostolic preaching (Mielcarek 2009, 30-31). The Septuagint should be rather understood as an important factor of the biblical self-identification of early Christianity.

2.2. The Septuagint in the document *The Jewish People and Their Sacred Scriptures in the Christian Bible*

This seminal document can provide a specific contemporary commentary of the Church on Christian-Jewish dialogue. The Septuagint, a Jewish creation that is also very important to Christians, gives premises and arguments for this commentary. The document does focus on the Septuagint.

The first reference to the LXX can be seen in chapter one, point three, confirming the fact that the New Testament recognises the authority of the Sacred Scriptures of the Jewish people. The Pontifical Biblical Commission concludes that the recognition of the divine authority of the Scriptures of the Jewish people manifests itself in different ways: implicitly and explicitly – to the exact. Referring to the former it says, "Beginning from the less explicit, which nevertheless is revealing, we notice that the same language is used. The Greek of the New Testament is closely dependent on the Greek of the Septuagint, in grammatical terms which were influenced by the Hebrew, or in vocabulary, of a religious nature in particular. Without knowledge of Septuagint Greek, it is impossible to ascertain the exact meaning of many important New Testament terms" (The Pontifical Biblical Commission 2002, 16). Therefore, for the Pontifical Biblical Commission the relational linguistic level, as well as the semantic one, is an important factor of the Christian affirmation of the Jewish Greek Bible.

The second reference to the Septuagint points to its proper name defining one of the two cannons of the Jewish Writings. The Alexandrian canon in Greek was defined as "adopted (adottato) by Christians" (The Pontifical Biblical Commission 2002, 16). Depicting the situation of the early Church the document states that "Hellenistic Christians received their Scriptures from the Jews in the form of the Septuagint" (The Pontifical Biblical Commission 2002, 17), i.e. Sacred Scripture adopted from Hellenistic Judaism. However, footnote 34 is extremely interesting, "It was not the Alexandrian Jews who fixed the exclusive canon of Scripture, but the Church, beginning from the Septuagint" (The Pontifical Biblical Commission 2002, 35). This sentence suggests a conclusion that there is a difference between the scope of the term Septuagint and the scope of the term canon of Scripture in Greek, established by the Church. It is true that we know the text of the Septuagint in its present form (and in the early forms) from Christian proclamations, and the hypothesis of the Proto-Septuagint and the existence of different collections pose constant research challenges. The translator of the Septuagint and author of its lexicon T. Popowski lists collections (which could have been incomplete) initialled by the names of Origen, Lucian or Pamphilus (Popowski 2008, 191).

2.3. The Septuagint in the document *Inspiration and Truth of Sacred Scripture. The Word That Comes from God and Speaks of God for the Salvation of the World*

The document of the Pontifical Biblical Commission *Inspiration and Truth of Sacred Scripture* refers to issues concerning the current understanding of the Bible as the Word that comes from God and that shows the truth of his plan of salvation in the Christological perspective. The truth of the Bible has a theological character although it is determined by the cultural context of the times of its creation (Witczyk 2015, 101-124). The search for that truth is located in the space of the mission of the Church proclaiming that when the fullness of time came (Gal 4:4), God sent forth Christ – his final Word (Hebr 1:1-2) who is the truth (J 14: 6) setting us free (J 8: 32.36).

In this context, it is natural to refer to the writings of the Old Testament and their biblical story whose culmination is Jesus. Of importance is also the reference to the Septuagint as the Greek translation that was the main text known in the environment that created the gospels. Thus, the Pontifical Biblical Commission gives priority to the Septuagint and then points to the texts of the Old Testament in the Hebrew and Aramaic versions (point 23). Yet, it attributes the term "original" to the Hebrew one (The Pontifical Biblical Commission 2014, 23). This direct reference to the Septuagint is the last statement concerning the relationships with this translation, although it would be interesting to have the opinion of the Pontifical Biblical Commission on the question of its inspiration. The second part of the document *The Testimony of the Biblical Writings to Their Truth* contains one more reference to the Septuagint: the analysis of the Greek Book of Wisdom as an example of the wisdom literature (Majewski 2015, 256).

Conclusion

The Septuagint, the most important word of Hellenistic Judaism that became the Christian Old Testament, is still a serious research challenge that should be undertaken so that the Church would understand the Word of God better. Referring to the sources gives us a better possibility to define one's identity in an integral connection with the inspiration of the biblical writings and first of all, in our constant unveiling of the salvific truth expressed in Sacred Scripture.

The documents of the Pontifical Biblical Commission, issued after the publication of the motu proprio *Sedula cura*, seem to discuss the theme of the LXX, especially as the Christian Old Testament, in a rather humble way. One can think that the Commission presents the scholarly trends that are based on the linguistic *veritas hebraica*. The Commission tries to signal this limitation, and thus we can expect further investigations regarding this question. Some progress in referring to the LXX can be seen in the documents of the Biblical Commission. Discussions concerning the term Old Testament, which demands deepening and explaining its ambiguity, calls for further scholarly activities. Undoubtedly, research on the LXX and its wider presentation in the Church will be important for the identification of the Old Testament in its Greek translation, used in the apostolic kerygma of the Church.

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THE MYSTERY OF HUMAN PARTICIPATION IN THE PASCHAL MYSTERY OF CHRIST ACCORDING TO MEDIEVAL MYSTICISM OF THE LOW COUNTRIES

Summary

The article analyses the question of human participation in the paschal mystery of Christ in the understanding of medieval mystics of the Low Countries. The presentation consist of three parts. The first part explains the concept of the mystery of human participation in the paschal mystery of Christ, the second presents the foundations of human participation in the mystery of Christ on the basis of selected writings by John of Ruusbroec, Beatrice of Nazaret, Hadewijch, as well as *Arnhem Mystical Sermons* and *The Evangelical Pearl*. The last part explains the ways of human participation as conceived of in the above-mentioned medieval mystical works.

Keywords: an inner union with God, the mystery of human participation in the paschal mystery of Christ, salvation, medieval mysticism, mystics of the Low Countries

TAJEMNICA UDZIAŁU CZŁOWIEKA W MISTERIUM PASCHALNYM CHRYSTUSA WEDŁUG ŚREDNIOWIECZNEGO MISTYCYZMU KRAJÓW BENELUXU

Streszczenie

Artykuł bada, w jaki sposób średniowieczni mistycy krajów Beneluxu rozumieli udział człowieka w misterium paschalnym Chrystusa. Praca składa się z trzech części. Pierwsza wyjaśnia zagadnienie związane z tajemnicą udziału człowieka w misterium paschalnym Chrystusa. Druga ukazuje podstawę tego udziału na podstawie tekstów Jana Ruysbroecka, Beatrycze z Nazaretu, Hadewijch, *Arnhem Mystical Sermons* i autora *Ewangelicznej Perły*. Ostatnia część pokazuje sposoby udziału człowieka w misterium paschalnym Chrystusa według wskazanych wyżej tekstów.

Słowa kluczowe: zjednoczenie z Bogiem, tajemnica udziału w misterium paschalnym Chrystusa, zbawienie, mistycyzm średniowieczny, mistycy krajów Beneluxu

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INTRODUCTION

It is quite difficult, not to say rare, to find any direct references to the question raised in the title of the present study in texts of medieval mystics. However, although passages dealing in a direct way with the paschal mystery of Christ and human participation in it are scarce, it can in fact be argued that, in an indirect way, all those texts touch upon that issue since they all refer to man's union with God. An inner union with Christ is one of the most characteristic elements of the mysticism of the Low Countries. To begin with, it must be stated that Jesus Christ's mystery is a prerequisite of that union. It is only through him that we can achieve a mystical union with God and this union is also the aim of human participation in the mystery of Christ.

The main inspiration behind the theme raised in the present paper was a text of late medieval mysticism of the Low Countries, entitled *The Evangelical Pearl, How God Wants to Fulfill All the Great Feast in the Soul, and Wants to Renew Them in Her Always*. Being impressed by it, I decided to analyze in detail how the author understands human participation in the paschal mystery of Christ, and especially, the thought of carrying in our hearts sufferings of Jesus which he formulates[2]. The second, however not less important and definitely not accidental motive for undertaking that topic is my longstanding interest in it. That interest prompts me to gain a deeper insight into the mystery of Christ through the prism of mystical texts and not only from the perspective of speculative theology.

Consequently, the aim of my work is to analyze how medieval mystics of the Low Countries understand human participation in the paschal mystery of Christ. In order to pursue that aim I would like to provide answers to the following questions: What are the basis of human participation according to medieval texts? How is this participation presented there? What kind of expressions are used to refer to it? Where can we experience this participation? Is this participation possible for everyone? How can we achieve it?

In order to find answers to the above questions, I am going to concentrate in particular on Chapter 3 of *The Evangelical Pear*'s sermon. Among all texts, this one contains a lot of allusions to Jesus' death. I will also take a closer look at John Ruusbroec's works since he explains in detail the issue of the union between God and man. Lastly, I am going to refer to the works of Beatrice of Nazaret, Hadewijch and *Arnhem Mystical Sermons*.

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[2] This thought constitutes a reference to the Scripture and, especially, to Paul's words pointing to fact that fate of man is bound with Christ. Such expressions as: co-suffering, co-offertory, co-dying, including into the death and rising from the dead, the complicity, co-resurrection describe participation of man in the paschal mystery of Christ: "with the Christ I was nailed to the cross" (Gal 2,19-21); participation in his suffering (comp. Phil 3,10); complementing deficiencies of Christ's torments (comp. Col 1,24); "buried with Him" (comp. Col 2,11-12); with Christ we died (comp. Col 2,20; 3,1-5); "our old man is crucified with him" (comp. Rom 6,4-11); "we are carrying dying of the Jesus incessantly in our body" (2Cor 4,10-14); participation in his suffering, becoming like him in his death (comp. Phil 3,10-11); "you are participants in Christ's suffering" (1P 4,13); "because we are participants of Christ" (Heb 3,14).

This analysis consists of three parts. The first part explains the concept of the mystery of human participation in the paschal mystery of Christ, the second presents the foundations of human participation in the mystery of Christ on the basis of the above mentioned texts The last part explains the possible ways in which man can participate in Christ's mystery.

1. The mystery of human participation in the paschal mystery of Christ

The mystery of human participation in the paschal mystery of Christ is rooted in the mystery of human person which consists in an openness to God. According to theological anthropology, man is a being oriented at God and destined for participation in his life, i.e. deification. The structure of human existence implies that man is a free being and he is capable of transcendence. That is why, man cannot exhaust the full potential of his life by himself. He is also a relational being and as such he cannot find fulfillment in himself alone, but only in relationships with others. Lastly, man is an ecstatic being, i.e. he is able to stand outside himself and a dialogical being characterized by epiclesis, i.e. he wordlessly calls his Creator. In his ontic structure, man is open to God and contains in himself as if two two-dimensions: the inherent and the supernatural nature[3]. Even if he negates any of these dimensions, it does not change anything in his structure. Therefore, in his whole existence, man leans towards the Creator. However, all the desires and anthropological longings alone do not allow him to participate in divine life.

Man was called into existence in original holiness, but as a result of sin this capacity was disrupted and he lost the possibility of direct communion with God. However, this situation is not irretrievable. Theology distinguishes in man the image and likeness. The first one was clearly weakened by the original sin, but never entirely destroyed in man. Likeness, on the other hand, is a dynamic reality which is given to man. Due to the image, human nature ontologically leans toward the Creator, whereas likeness cannot be achieved by human powers. Likeness is restored by Jesus Christ whose event constitutes an absolute novelty and the pivotal point in the history of salvation (Dupuis 1999, 189-193). In the days of the Covenant with the chosen People, God looked after people, but this relation was external. With the incarnation, the life-saving death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, God Himself came into the fate of man. In the person of his Son God redeemed man and human redemption consists not only in his liberation from sin but, primarily, in the restoration of human capacity to become like God and to

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[3] As a result, man cannot live otherwise than by according to his two natures. "Man is fully a man, when he participates in the life of God and carries the God's image in himself (the idea of participation assumes a dynamic concept of man as a free and theocentric being open to participation in God" (Hryniewicz 1982b, 440; Hryniewicz 1995, 714; Hryniewicz 1989, 122; Hryniewicz and Nossol 1995, 694-698; Bonora 1982, 6-13; Góźdź 2006; Kijas 1995, 173-191).

unite with Him in the form of participation in His life[4]. The paschal event of Christ established a new communion of God with humanity and lead to a new, positive situation in the world which, although it is a sovereign work of God, does not preclude the need for cooperation on the part of man. Although this participation constitutes the purpose of man inscribed in his nature and his ultimate fulfillment, it is both a reality which is given and expected, which is realized through voluntary cooperation with God consisting in the adoption and assimilation of all that Christ did for the salvation of man in the Paschal event.

In this perspective, it appears that the "Paschal Mystery" refers to the mystery of God's plan of salvation which finds its pivotal point in the event of Jesus Christ – his entire life (*The Evangelical Pearl* 2008, Part III, Ch. 3) and, especially, in the climax of passion, death and resurrection. Christ's mystery, therefore, cannot be limited only to his death and resurrection (narrower sense), but it actually stands for the whole mystery of salvation (broad sense), which includes: 1) preparation in the Old Testament; 2) fulfillment in Jesus Christ; 2) continuation in the Church; 4) culmination of the Second Coming (Hryniewicz 1982a, 52-63). Of course, the work of historical and glorified Christ which is the pinnacle event that reaches people living before the Incarnation of the Logos is continued in the Church and constitutes anticipation of eschatic times. Thus, people of all times have the opportunity to participate in Christ's act of salvation. Christ's mystery is one and indivisible and, as such, extends to individual events that belong together[5]. Referring to the biblical and patristic concept of the Passover, a theologian from Lublin clearly expands on the four dimensions of the paschal mystery: Christological and soteriological (Passover of Christ), ecclesiological or mystery-sacramental (Passover of the Church), anthropological (Passover of man, spiritual and moral participation) and eschatological (Heavenly Passover). The Passover includes not only the historical event of Jesus, but also the whole sacramental life of the Church, in which human participation is connected with his lifelong commitment. The end point is the eschatological crowning in *parousia*. This means, that the Passover of Christ is at the same time the Passover of man, of the Church and

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[4] Stressing the positive dimension of the grace of redemption they are emphasizing that a possibility of uniting with God is his great fruit, and only later absolution of sins. C. R. Koster is making interesting reflection in this field. He thinks that according to theology of John the sin is a lack of faith, with hate which is alienating from God. In such a light the Jesus is smoothing sins through directing people at the faith which is initiating the saving relation with God. So according to Koester killing sins effected by the Lamb of God consists in the fact that the man as a result of his act is turning towards the faith, namely to the relation giving the gift of life with God (Koester 2005, 146).

[5] Wacław Hryniewicz explains the meaning of "mystery" in that way. He quotes the Fathers for whom this term denotes the events of the Old Testament typologically representing the events of the New Testament; the God-man Christ and individual events from his life, the Bible, the Church and the Christian cult. Gradually, the word "mystery" began to be used with reference to sacraments in which, under the outside, symbolic sign, a saving reality is hidden, i.e. the mystery of the Passover. The redemptive act of Christ manifests itself in the Church through sacraments. By the word "Passover", Hryniewicz does not only understand the suffering (*passio*), the painful agony and death, but also the passage (*transitus*) of Christ from death to the new life (Hryniewicz 1982a, 52-63). See also: Hryniewicz 1981, 167-181; Czerwik 2002, 895-902.

of the world. In the history of theological thought the Passover was explained in various ways. Christological dimension was often overly stressed without linking it to the life of an individual man. At other times, anthropological, spiritual, or moral dimension was emphasized leading to spiritualization[6]. Meanwhile, the only correct interpretation should integrally comprise all indicated dimensions.

In this perspective, it is clear that participation in the death and resurrection of Christ is just one of many aspects of the paschal mystery. It results from the saving plan of God, who wants to bring people into communion with himself. This is done by the love of God, which cannot be contained in any system of thought. "The mystery of the Pascha is a great mystery of God's plan of salvation, which exceeds the cognitive capacity of the human mind to such an extent that even after the revelation we are not able to grasp its full depth" (Hryniewicz 1982a, 52). It can only be understood through faith, under the influence of the Holy Spirit. Both the paschal event of Christ and man's participation in it reveal truths inaccessible to the human mind. Hence, the theme of this work: the mystery of human participation in the paschal mystery of Christ. The word "mystery" draws attention to the fact that one cannot fully understand or explain that participation. Any attempt to approximate the question will always be imperfect, limited or aspectual because the mystery of God's closeness will always be greater than the human ability to penetrate it.

The question of human participation in the paschal mystery and the ways of its realization is a question about human identity, about the very heart of faith and religion. The answer is not without difficulties, because it is impossible to express in human language the truths that transcend the human mind. In the centuries-old history of the Church only mystics could brilliantly explain the deepest truths associated with the relation of man and God. The present paper will concentrate on how the mystics of the Low Countries described the internal bond with God through participation in his mystery.

2. Foundation of human participation in the mystery of Christ according to the medieval mystics of the Low Countries

The very fact of creation constitutes the most basic foundation of human participation in the paschal mystery of Christ. According to the general presentation of medieval mysticism "the human person is formed to the image of the Son and given

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[6] These tendencies are rooted in two early Christian traditions: Asian and alexandrine. The first stressed the Christological dimension of the Passover bringing Christ to the foreground (Passover of Christ – *passio*). The second one underlined the anthropological dimension – the internal passage of man from the state of sin to the state of blessedness, and ultimately, the passage from death to the eternity (Passover of man – *transitus*). This tradition underlines the actualization of the saving events for man, taking place in a mystical and sacramental way. According to Hryniewicz, their synthesis (*transitus per passionem*) took place in the teaching of St. Augustine. Not only was the agony of Christ linked with his rising from the dead, but also the Passover of Christ was identified with our Passover, the Passover of the Church, thanks to which man proceeds from death to life (Hryniewicz 1987, 29-37).

destination to grow in similarity with Him, even before being taken by grace into the inner life" (Deblaere 1944-1948, 2). Since all human beings were created by God and to image of his Son, it means that our created life cannot be fulfilled in any other way than by striving towards communion with God. Due to the fact that God is our beginning, he is also our destination. "Everything that was created in time, was first life in him [...]; this is our «superbeing» (*overwesen*), in which our created life moves" (Deblaere 1944-1948, 2). Exactly the same thoughts can be found in the works of Ruusbroec (1944-1948, 108 and 112)[7]. The majority of his texts deal with man's proceeding towards the source of his origin even though the author rarely explains the very act of human creation. It is a kind of presupposition that does not need to be explained as it seems quite clear. Participation is an inherent element of human nature but, what is important, this anthropological yearning and natural inclination alone does not guarantee man participation in God's life. So, what makes it possible?

The ultimate possibility was opened up for man through the incarnation of the Son and, what it implies, his eternal presence in us. "Through his incarnation and his presence in us, the Word makes it possible for us to lead back our being to its super-being – that is the meaning of life in time – and leads mankind back to the bosom of the Father" (Deblaere 1944-1948, 2). This view is clearly expressed in *The Evangelical Pearl*, where its author claims that Jesus Christ was born once in the flesh for the humanity's sake, so that he could always be born spiritually in every man (*The Evangelical Pearl* 2008, Chapter 3). Incarnation is here a base for human participation in God's life. It is noticeable that incarnation does not mean here only the moment of receiving human nature by the eternal Word but also its fulfillment in resurrection by which it can be present in us. Thus, in its broader meaning, incarnation comprises the whole life of Jesus, including his death and resurrection[8]. The act of transformation performed in his rising from the dead resulted not only in his new presence in the world but, simultaneously, it led the mankind into the very realm of God. For, by rising from the dead and through the Ascension, Christ attained God's persons along with his human nature which allowed the ones who in the course of centuries will be uniting with him, also attain God's presence. This thought was genuinely developed by Benedict XVI in his homily on the solemnity of the Ascension. The Pope stated: "He, the Eternal Son, led our human existence into God's presence, taking with him flesh and blood in a transfigured form. The human being finds room in God; through Christ, the human being was introduced into the very life of God. And since God embraces and sustains the entire cosmos, the Ascension of the Lord means that Christ has not departed from us, but that he is now, thanks to his being with the Father, close to each one of us forever. Each one of us can be on intimate terms with him; each can call upon him. The Lord is always within hearing. We can inwardly draw away from him. We can live turning our

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[7] God is the foundation of every being.

[8] It is not explicitly said in medieval texts, although author of *The evangelical Pearl* seems to allow to that understanding. This unity of salvific event is stressed in contemporary theology, f. e. (Journet 1951, 171).

backs on him. But he always waits for us and is always close to us" (Benedykt XVI 2005, 19). Moreover, according to John of Ruusbroec we are elevated into our origin by the Son. In his seminal work, Ruusbroec writes that Jesus brings us back to our source by assuming our human form and he died so that we may remain in the loving embrace of the unity of the Holy Trinity. He continues that in this unity all things are renewed and we are fulfilled (Ruusbroec 1944-1948, 176). In another passage, the Flemish mystic explains that in Jesus Christ our heavy human nature sits crowned at the right hand of the Father (Ruusbroec 1944-1948, 176).

In that light, it becomes clear that we may achieve participation in God's life thanks to Jesus. However, what is most interesting is the fact that it is only the author of the *The Evangelical Pearl*, who clearly points out that this human union with God is possible only through Jesus and with the mystery of Jesus. It means that only this author puts stress on human participation in Jesus Christ's life as a prerequisite of man's union with God. He clearly implies it in the following statement:

All the other great feasts that were outwardly celebrated by me should also be fulfilled spiritually within you […], since you should constantly have and carry in your heart my whole life and suffering[9] (everything that I underwent, gave up, taught, and suffered for your sake) […]. In this way it is always Good Friday within you, and you are spiritually crucified and you die every day for my sake and are entombed in me; you entomb me within yourself in the grave of your heart, and you anoint me with the oil of dying to yourself; you enfold me in the winding sheet of your conscience that I have cleansed by my death and passion. This is how I shall rise in you and through you, and bring you to life out of death […]. And your life shall be in heaven with me, for I am in you. In this way, you shall celebrate and carry out my ascension within you (*The Evangelical Pearl* 2008, Chapter 3).

The above passage is so explicit that it seems superfluous to provide any further explanation for the fear of blurring its content. Actually, the whole chapter could be quoted here. It is only worth stressing that according to Ruusbroec, all that Jesus experienced must also be experienced by every human being (in unity with Christ) in order for man to reach union with God[10]. At the same time, this union with God is the main goal of taking part in Jesus' paschal mystery, which means his whole life. "You may always have my reality in your body, and thus you shall […] abide in my divine union" (*The Evangelical Pearl* 2008, Chapter 3).

It also needs to be explained that this union is possible through the Holy Spirit. The author of *The Evangelical Pearl* also encourages to fulfill in human reality sending

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[9] The author seems to allude here to 2Cor 4,10.

[10] The objective redemption of man was already achieved in Christ. Now, it is supposed to come true subjectively in every Christian who dies and is rises from the dead with Christ to the new life. Everything what took place in Christ must somehow be experienced by the mankind. Christ's humanity provides man with permanent access to God. The entire objective salvation will be of no avail, if it is not manifested subjectively as co-dying and co-rising with Christ in the Holy Spirit (Balthasar 1997, 36). Also, as Lazaro Bustince notices, the thought of John Paul II expresses a similar view on subjective participation in the paschal mystery of Christ (Bustince 1999, 215-225).

of the Holy Spirit. Because the descent of the Holy Spirit enabled man to participate in the mystery of Christ. Ruusbroec expresses this conviction in his work when he writes that the Spirit of God lives in every man and that he moves and impels everyone in particular, according to his ability, towards virtue and good works thus making him pleasing to God (Ruusbroec 1944-1948, 140). What was uniquely achieved by Christ is eternally current for man, if he accepts the Divine offer and makes an effort to act in accordance with the Holy Spirit. In this way, the Spirit becomes a provider of unity, hallowing and living in Divine community of persons. He carries out human return to God which was enabled thanks to the event of Christ. The way of salvation which led from God the Father, through the Son to the Holy Spirit is now the very same thing: man becomes able to participate in God's life thanks to the Spirit and through his participation in the mystery of the Son which is, at the same time, a communion with the Father. In this way, Christ reveals himself as the way to God, and the Holy Spirit as the guide on it. He involves man in the secret of salvation, that is, in the mystery of the Church, through faith and sacraments. In this way, the Holy Spirit gives to the mankind a new quality of life, opening it to God and uniting it with him. By proposing every man of goodwill a life-giving encounter with the Risen, he forms the community of the Church through free participation of man and he leads this community into eschatological times. In this way, the uniting action of the Spirit simultaneously implies the full rising from the dead with Christ and participation in the life of the Holy Trinity.

When the author of the sermon writes about the requirement of celebrating all those great feasts he means liturgical celebration because, after the Ascension, the Church is the place where the life of Jesus and his union can be experienced. All of this takes place in human conscience, which is by other mystics defined as an inward temple or the innermost part of the soul. Exactly the same thought can be found in Ruusbroec's writings, in which the Church is paralleled with the conscience (Ruusbroec 1944-1948, 140). A similar thought can also be found in Arnhem Mystical Sermons (*Church dedication* sermon), in which it is stated that the Eternal Word comes and performs the High Sacrifice in the soul and sacrifices Himself in the soul, and with that soul in Him it is melted and united with the Father in the Godhead. He adds also that through Jesus' sacrifice, the soul's form is transformed and made one with God[11].

3. Manners of human participation

Thanks to the saving event of Jesus Christ and human participation in it, man can be unified with God and achieve the eternal life. This participation is inscribed in human nature, it is a sovereign gift of the Lord but, at the same time, it is a task that needs to be undertaken by man and which can only be realized in cooperation with Jesus Christ by participating in all that he did in his paschal mystery.

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[11] Ruusbroec would immediately explain that this union does not mean a hypostatic union.

This view is strongly stressed by all medieval mystics and it means that, first of all, participation in God's life is his sovereign gift that nobody can deserve on his own. God is the principle of any action, instead of the proud *I* or *myself*. Human activity is the second step and seems to be a kind of gratitude which needs to be expressed. It is motivated by Love which prompts man to cooperate with God but still, it does not provide a means by which man can obtain this unity by himself.

Ruusbroec expresses it in the most explicit way. He writes that God calls and invites all people without exception both good and evil to the unity with Him, and he does not leave anyone out. He continues that the grace of God works in every man according to the measure and manner in which he is able to receive it. Thanks to God's work in man, every sinner is given strength to abandon sin and turn toward virtue – if he wants to do so. "For all we are and all we have received, inside and out, has been given to us freely by God, for which we have to thank him and with which we have to serve him if we are to please him" (Ruusbroec 1944-1948, 122). Again, our service does not guarantee that we will receive grace because we are not able to reach it by ourselves, but we need to do our service due to gratitude, due to pure Love and without any reason. John of Ruusbroec continues that he wants to be one with God, which implies making an effort, because he wants to pay back the debt that God asks of him, namely the debt of Love (Ruusbroec 1944-1948, 110)[12]. The author of *Sparkling Stone* points out that this effort should be made beyond any reason because love is above reason (Ruusbroec 1944-1948, 108). The same thought can be found in Beatrice of Nazareth who advocates serving the Lord freely, without any reward of grace or glory.

Many mystics put stress on the priority of God's action. They say that it is God's desire to be united with man and, therefore, he renews human soul and draws the soul towards himself. His thought is recurrently stressed in the discussed texts. For example, the author of chapter 8 of *The Temple of our Soul* quotes Prov 8,31 pointing to the words: "It is my desire to dwell with the sons of men" and continues in chapter 10 saying that it is God who enlightens and who draws all human persons to himself so they may walk in the newness of life. The same idea is expressed by Ruusbroec who claims that "God's unity draws all things into itself and no man can overtake Jesus Christ for he transcends all creatures and takes precedence over them all and he reveals itself to those he chooses" (Ruusbroec 1944-1948, 112 and 116).

But, simultaneously, the same mystics add that to response God and to be drawn into union with Him, the soul has to make some preparations which many authors compare to purification. In this context, the authors use terms which suggest also the idea of participating in Jesus Christ's life and death, as they suggest an act of kenosis, i.e. self-emptying of one's own will. Namely: "when the soul has cast off self-love and all that is creaturely, and stands completely naked and empty

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[12] Actually Ruusbroec quoted here Hadewijch who wrote in poem 12 that the debt love demands the beloved to pay.

of all multiplicity, purely in the truth, then the unique One, God himself, responds to the unity of the souls […]". Ruusbroec writes further that: "the eternal Word has filled the whole earth with love and in love it wants to burn all loving spirits to nothingness" (Ruusbroec 1944-1948, 114), and he emphasizes in his work the necessity of passing over into bareness and modelessness, which implies making one's own Passover (lat. *transitus*) from *me* to God, from what *I* can do to God himself so that we may be wrought by the Spirit of God (Ruusbroec 1944-1948, 134 and 138). This transition is compared to climbing Mount Tabor. Ruusbroec writes: "Jesus leads us on to the mountain of our bare mind in a region barren and hidden and reveals himself to us glorified and we hear the voice of God's wisdom" (Ruusbroec 1944-1948, 172). So, there is a need to die in God to ourselves and all our self-consciousness, because "in this dying we become hidden sons of God and we find a new life in ourselves, which is life eternal" (Ruusbroec 1944-1948, 144)[13]. This dying means giving one's own life completely to God, so as to we do not belong to ourselves anymore but we are born from God and thanks to that new birth the Spirit helps us to overcome sins and moves everyone towards virtues. By dying to all things, man can feel the touch of the Father that draws him inward.

According to Ruusbroec, this dying takes place by our offering ourselves and all our work: "In our approach to God we must carry ourselves and all our works before us as an eternal offering to God, and in the presence of God we shall forsake ourselves and all our works, and dying in love we shall pass away from all createdness into the superessential riches of God, and there we shall possess God in an eternal death to ourselves" (Ruusbroec 1944-1948, 144).

As Ruusbroec claims in his masterpiece, this dying and, what it implies, friendship with God requires the "debt of love", which means practice of love and being towards the others (Ruusbroec 1944-1948, 126). Of course, this service cannot preoccupy man and become more important than the loving relation with God, claims the author of *Sparkling Stone*, but it is good and desired. For, immersion of love is always linked with and followed by a modeless practice of love[14] and without practicing love we can never possess God, we cannot be united with God and we cannot know God (Ruusbroec 1944--1948, 148, 150 and 154). "If we want to feel God in ourselves we must help him: we must remain inwardly united with him; we must go out of ourselves to all men in good faith and brotherly love" (Ruusbroec 1944-1948, 156)[15]. Through that loving practice and union with God we, as Hadewijch claims, can experience the eternal life here on earth.

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[13] In this place Ruusbroec seems to quote St. Paul and all his theology of dying and resurrecting in Jesus Christ.

[14] "But there are stupid men who want be so inward and doing nothing that they do not want to work for their fellow Christian in need – they are false for nobody can lives in God's friendship and not take his commandments. Friendship with God is the requisite of any practice and it's source" (Ruusbroec 1944-1948, 148).

[15] Ruusbroec presents here four ways which comprise such practice and include good works; clinging to God with the right intention, praise, gratitude, devotion. In fact, his whole masterpiece is about self-improvement as he describes how to reach the perfect state. However, a detailed analysis of that kind of human exercising is beyond the framework of that presentation.

Conclusion

According to the presented medieval works, it seems clear that human person needs to participate in the paschal mystery of Christ if he wants to achieve an inner union with God and the eternal life. That participation is founded on God's desire to be unified with all human beings. God created man according to the image of His Son who was born in flesh for humanity's sake. Due to his incarnation, the whole life, death and resurrection and in consequence of sending the Holy Spirit, all human beings can reach communion with God. It happens through the reception of Jesus' mystery which has to be fulfilled within every human being. It is defined by mystics by the term kenosis: dying to oneself, passing over, being empty, experiencing Good Friday within man, being an eternal offering, carrying in our heart the life and suffering of Christ, being spiritually crucified with Jesus and being crowned in him, etc.

After the resurrection of Jesus Christ, the Church, liturgy and human conscience is the place where that union is experienced. It is not possible to achieve it by any human effort but it is a sovereign gift of Lord offered to everyone. However, according to medieval mystics, God wants all human persons to cooperate with him by exercising and practicing love so that the "debt of Love" may be paid.

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PASTORAL COMMUNICATION IN THE COMMUNAL ASPECT

Summary

The article discusses the problem of new pastoral communication that, due to the changes taking place in the Church and in the world, should have a communal character. Nowadays, pastoral communication is a significant research area of Pastoral Theology whose aim is to study the life and activity of the modern Church. Today's Christians very often feel afraid and lost. For this reason, the teaching of the Gospel does not yield the expected fruit. This is why, the teaching of Christ should be proclaimed in the community in which the confused will experience love and find the meaning and purpose in their lives.

Keywords: pastoral communication, theory and practice of pastoral, community, religious transformation, loss, Christian maturity, love

KOMUNIKACJA PASTORALNA W ASPEKCIE WSPÓLNOTOWYM

Streszczenie

Artykuł omawia problemy nowej komunikacji pastoralnej, która powinna mieć wymiar wspólnotowy. Komunikacja pastoralna jest dzisiaj znaczącym obszarem badań teologii pastoralnej, której celem jest poznanie życia i działalności współczesnego Kościoła. Współcześni chrześcijanie bardzo często są zalęknieni i zagubieni. Z tego powodu nauczanie Ewangelii nie przynosi spodziewanego owocu. Dlatego nauka Chrystusa powinna być głoszona we wspólnocie, w której ludzie doświadczą miłości i odnajdą sens i cel swojego życia.

Słowa kluczowe: komunikacja pastoralna, teoria i praktyka pastoralna, wspólnota, przemiany religijne, zagubienie, dojrzałość chrześcijańska, miłość

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Introduction

Today's world undergoes such fast changes that people live "on an ongoing basis" passing over even the most important events. Some even claim that the life of modern man can be referred to as "living on without history" because people live in the world of information, which is transmitted by means of more and more technically sophisticated communicators. Modern people, especially the young, and also priests, commonly use computers and mobile phones. The increased use of those tools results in the fact that modern man begins to spend more and more of his daily time on virtual communication. Hence, the question about the possible impact that this situation may exert on pastoral communication.

Pastoral communication falls into the scope of pastoral theology research which, being applied humanities, combines theological theory with the knowledge of man and the world. "Pastoral communication" is a complex term. It can be read as a specific definition in which the word "communication" is the defined term, i.e. *definiendum*, and the word "pastoral" plays the role of a defining term, i.e. *definiens*. The word: "pastoral", which defines "communication", explicitly refers to pastoral theology, whereas, the word "communication", as a proper name, points to a specific reality that directly refers to man as a person open to communicating (transmitting messages, exchanging information) with others and capable of establishing interpersonal relationships or participating in social activity (interaction).

1. Communication process – transmission of information

Communication may be defined as transmission of information through verbal or non-verbal means. Thus, apart from informing, communication can also consist in expressing emotions, motivating or demotivating (praise, criticism). Communication achieves its purpose when information is effectively transmitted from the sender to the receiver. Consequently, the basic condition of communication is that information should be conveyed in a way that is both understandable and effective. This is largely determined by the choice of suitable media (verbal, nonverbal message). In the communication process, distortion by external factors (communication noise) must also be avoided.

Communication has a dynamic character and it is always a process of exchange, which consists of 7 essential elements: 1) information sender, 2) encoding - conversion of information into a symbolic form, 3) information - encoded message, 4) channel - medium (verbal or non-verbal communication),[2] 5) decoding - understanding the content of the information, 6) receiver - recipient of the information,[3] 7) feedback on the understanding of the received information.

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[2] Knowledge of specific elements involved in nonverbal communication enables distinguishing their functions (Knapp and Hall 2000, 405; Borg 2007; Leathers 2007).

[3] The addressee of an utterance is a person or a group of people (element of an information system) to which the sender addresses the message (*Słownik encyklopedyczny informacji* 2002, 16).

2. Terminological explanation of pastoral communication

Pastoral communication refers to the process of transmitting and receiving messages (information) concerning human relationship with God, with another person and with the world, as well as of establishing interpersonal relationships and cooperation in the ecclesial community and society. Man participates in pastoral communication as an individual, unique person having his Christian and life vocation. This two-dimensional vocation determines the way people communicate with God, and also affects the nature and methods of communicating with other people in the ecclesial community and society.

The present article reflects on the communal dimension of pastoral communication. The fundamental characteristic of the Church its sense of community (*communio*), which has a universal (Catholic) dimension. As a community of believers, the Church of Christ is Catholic everywhere and at all times, not in the outer dimension of the organization, but because of the grace flowing from within. At the same time, it is a visible sign of the power of the Lord, who alone can bestow on the Church members unity beyond the different borders in which they operate (Ratzinger 1990, 19). Christ, through the Church, is always present among people. "We are all called to have fellowship with God in the fullness of life through faith and the sacraments. As a community remaining in communion with the living God, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Church constitutes in Christ the «mystery» of the love of God present in the history of mankind" (II Extraordinary General Assembly of the Synod of Bishops 1985, 4). The purpose of the present reflection is to undertake an attempt at defining pastoral communication as an interaction leading to the creation of interpersonal relationships directed at establishing an ecclesial community and active participation in the human community.

The Polish word *komunikacja* (communication) etymologically derives from the Latin verb *communicare* (transmit, communicate),[4] which means: "stand in a relationship to, be in a relationship with, participate in".[5] The essence of communication is establishing a contact between a person and other people or with the world. Communication enables developing a network of social relationships, but communicating with others is also a manifestation of culture which, in a narrow sense of the term, consists exactly in communication. Language defined as a set of social norms enabling exchange of information is a manifestation of

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[4] "Communication, derived from Latin words *communicare* and *communicatio*, usually means a two-way flow of information" (*Komunikowanie się w marketingu* 2004, 17).

[5] Until the sixteenth century the word *communicare* meant communion, participation, sharing. The Polish term *komunikowanie* (communicating) is a calque from the English "communication" and most often refers to mass communication, which is conditioned by technical means and socio-demographic factors. Mass communication uses media to deliver the same cultural content at the same time and to as many different audiences as possible. Mass communication is synonymous with communication *via* modern mass media. It may be more or less widespread depending on the size and social composition of recipients (*Encyklopedia socjologii* 1999, 40; McQuail 2007).

culture.[6] Communication, therefore, refers directly and preeminently to man but, in an indirect way, it also concerns societies and cultures.

Communicating plays various functions. It is, first of all, transmission of information, but it can also come down to help in understanding oneself and others or in learning about the physical world and culture, to means of influencing others, creation of communal or social bonds, interaction and coordination of activities as well as gaining and sharing experience or social and cultural tradition. Communication is carried out at different levels and in various scopes from interpersonal communication, through group communication to global communication. Finally, the means, ways and methods of communication as well as its intensity and effectiveness may also differ (Golka 2008).

In order to define the notion of communication, it is necessary to take into account the Latin word *communio*, which means "mutual participation" or, in a wider sense, "community". Thus, communicating, would mean creating interpersonal relationships and entering a community or society.[7] The concept of communion reveals also some dynamism which may be expressed in such words as transmission, transfer, broadcasting and receiving.[8]

3. New pastoral theory and practice

Man is called to pastoral communication, in other words, to establishing contact with God and conducting a dialogue with Him. However, the condition here is that man must realize his ability to be with God, to accept the invitation that God extends to him, to accept the principles of communicating with Him.[9] This can be achieved through new pastoral theory and practice.

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[6] Linguists distinguish language as a system of signs from speaking, which is a personalized way of implementing this system (Saussure 2002).

[7] The Latin word *communicare* came into use in this sense in the 14th century.

[8] Taking into account Latin etymology, the word *communio* can in the first sense be associated with confirmation and consolidation, which is the result of unity and union of many, when they are and act together, as the prefix *cum* allows us to assume. On the other hand, in the second sense, the word *communio* indicates confirmation and strengthening, mutual affirmation as the property of the union in which people unite. In this first sense, the word *communio* indicates the adjective *communis*, where it refers rather to the effects of a certain attitude, the way of being and acting as the sole property of persons. However, it should be added that the word does not have an equivalent in Polish, so it is in a way untranslatable. The word *wspólnota* (community) does not strictly mean the same as *communio*, because it relates to the adjective *communis*. However, *communio* does not only mean the common thing and it does not only emphasize community as an effect, or even the expression of being and acting of people, but rather the very way of being and acting of these people. It is such a way that, by being and acting in mutual relation (i.e. not only by being and acting "together"), through this action and being, those people confirm and affirm one another (Wojtyła 1974, 353).

[9] The Second Vatican Council provides a more precise definition: "The specific reason of human dignity is the vocation of man to share in the life of God. Man is invited from the very beginning to speak with God. Man lives only because God created him out of love and still preserves him through love, and man lives fully according to the truth when he voluntarily recognizes that love and entrusts himself to the Creator"(Vatican II 2002, 19).

In pastoral theology, which is applied science, theory and practice form a "bipolar unity". Theological pastoral research is primarily concerned with creating such a theory that will help improve practice and achieve the final goals. In formulating theory, pastoral theology relies on theoretical (rational) knowledge as well as on practical knowledge gained from experience. The second objective of pastoral theology is to develop pastoral practice, i.e. pragmatic proposals for solving problems related with the life and work of the contemporary Church, as a saving community and human society, as well as its members. This part of pastoral theology can be called pastoral praxeology.[10]

Pastoral theology derives from the faith the principles and criteria for pastoral activity of the Church in history.[11] It also studies the ecclesiastical organization and practice in order to determine the methods, ways and means for carrying out the salvific mission and the complementary activity of the Church. Pastoral theology also serves to recognize, understand and solve the problems of Church members who carry out their Christian and existential vocation in the ecclesial community and in the world.[12]

Pastoral theory and practice is based on Christ's teaching. What is permanent for the fact of being related to the revealed truths of faith, in relation to life takes on the characteristics of novelty in terms of value, attractiveness and the influence exerted on the person and his or her life. In other words, it is the evangelical teaching of life which decides on the novelty of the truths of faith, which are in a more and more perfect way acknowledged, experienced and used for the fulfillment a person's life vocation.

The pastoralist's task is to seek, provide a term for and, in effect, enable the development of new relationships between members of the Church community and the transforming world in which new people live. Those new relationships cannot be limited to pastoral activities, therefore, it is necessary to develop new ways of fulfilling the Church's extensive (complementary) functions, define the tasks of the

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[10] It can, therefore, be concluded that the goal of theological praxeological teachings is to improve the organization of pastoral activity. Organizational instruments and precise rules of their application are essential for effective operation. Organizational improvement can thus be compared to production of specific things or creation of facts.

[11] In pastoral theology, the concept of "history" refers primarily to contemporary times. Of course, what is happening now has its past, but also its future. Therefore, the context of history that John Paul II refers to means the world, but in a direct relationship with the Church which lives and works in it. The world has its history and the Church has its own tradition. These two realities are linked in the idea of history used in pastoral theology. Contextuality of history also refers to anthropology. The history of the Church and the history of the world begin in the act of creation. However, the mission of the Church is related to the Incarnation and Redemption, i.e. to the history of salvation. Therefore, history in pastoral theology means not only facts and events, but also the action of God who is the Lord of history (Jan Paweł II 1992, 57).

[12] According to Podgórecki, practical sciences are sets of general sentences that define how the states of things commissioned by recognized judgments can be realized on the basis of the relationship between facts. The purpose of practical sciences is to establish procedures for reaching certain states of things defined as desirable (Podgórecki 1962, 30-33).

new forms of the contemporary lay Catholic apostolate and use the opportunities for the realization of the ecclesial ministry provided by the contemporary pastoral communication. As a result, theology and pastoral communication begin to face new challenges. However, the essence of the new practical theology, must be the positive task of building, shaping, and supporting the various forms of the life and activity of the Church, which realizes itself in new, constantly evolving external conditions (Rak 1986, 109).

4. Definition of pastoral communication

W. Goddijn believes that pastoral theology "is the weakest link of theological sciences, insufficiently connected with the entirety of today's humanistic knowledge, sociology or psychology" (Goddijn 1966, 205). In light of today's significance and development of modern communication techniques, one must take into account the theory and practice of communication. It must be emphasized at the same time, that this is not a problem of present-day pastoral theology, since already the Council Fathers encouraged theologians to try to cooperate with experts in other branches of knowledge and to combine their efforts and share ideas with them (Vatican Council II 2002, 62). This is particularly important in pastoral work, in extensive activity, especially in the work of evangelization, apostolate and upbringing, since the proclamation of the Gospel and the testimony of faith should be adapted to the contemporary times. "Let the faithful live in close contact with other people of their time and try to grasp their way of thinking and feeling, which is reflected in their mental culture. Let them combine knowledge of new sciences and doctrines and recent inventions with the Christian custom and with education in Christian doctrine, so that the religious culture and spirituality go along with their knowledge of science and technical skills evolving every day, so that they can assess and explain all in a purely Christian spirit" (Vatican Council II 2002, 62).

Today, there is a need for pastoral communication, which would base on its own cognitive methods and, therefore, enable discovering, naming and interpreting the latest communication techniques that affect the lives of Christians and their pursuit of existential and Christian vocation. Pastoral communication would describe the very phenomenon of communication in connection with Christian experience, and its purpose would be to analyze the new ways of communication used by modern man and their influence on his life of faith.

Contemporary Christians have in their reach new ways and means of communication that can enrich him or her, but which can also have a negative impact on his or her person and life. The way of using modern means of communication largely determines their impact on human personality, general well-being, and on the quality of human life and worldview. They have a subjective (individual or social) or objective (ecclesial or secular) character. Inventive and wise relationships support integral development of man, whereas difficult and poor

relationships disintegrate man's personal development and lead to pathological neurological states. Anxiety, loss of self-confidence, inability to forgive oneself and others or a morbid sense of guilt often arise today to the level of insoluble problems. Negative effects of mass communication require finding aid measures, so pastoral communication should work closely with pastoral psychology.[13]

5. The purpose of pastoral communication – from individualism to establishing a community

It is becoming a commonly shared view that, today, "we are witnessing an advent of a new culture which is largely influenced by mass media and whose characteristic features and content often contradict the Gospel and the dignity of the human person" (John Paul II 2003). Today's Christians find it most painful when faced with attempts to impose an anthropology deprived of God and Christ's Gospel. This type of thinking led to a situation in which man is regarded as "the absolute center of reality and is thus made to supplant God's place against the nature of things, at the same time, it is forgotten that it is not man who creates God, but God who creates man. Once God has been forgotten, man also has been abandoned, and it is not surprising, therefore, that this opened up a vast space for unhampered development of nihilism in philosophy, relativism in the sphere of cognition and morality, or pragmatism and even cynical hedonism in the structure of daily life" (John Paul II 2003, 9).

Various forms of alienation (from oneself, from one's own roots, culture, etc.) create confusion since people begin to "feel frustrated, uprooted, homeless, deprived of protection and hope, helpless and, therefore, lacking motivation; lonely at home, at school, at work, at university, in the city; lost in anonymity, isolation, marginalized, alienated. They feel that they do not belong anywhere, that they are misunderstood, betrayed, afflicted, deceived, alienated, meaningless, not listened to, not accepted, not treated seriously" (Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity, Secretariat for Unbelievers, Secretariat for Unbelievers, Pontifical Council for Cultural Affairs 1988, 18).

Upon analyzing the current situation, it might be concluded that the contemporary times and the challenges associated with them are a period of loss for man. A lot of people seem to be confused, anxious or uncertain and they lack hope. It must be also added that the same may be said about the spiritual state of many Christians as can be evidenced by the loss of Christian remembrance and heritage, the spread of practical agnosticism and religious indifference, which gives the impression that modern people live without any spiritual background,

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[13] M. Szentmártoni provides the following definition: "Pastoral psychology is a section of psychology and it explores the psychological processes that take place in pastoral situations" (Szentmártoni 1995,11). Pastoral psychology, as applied science, is referred to as pastoral counseling, which involves the use of personal or group relationships by priests to assist people in solving problems related with managing their own lives.

like heirs who have squandered heritage left them by history (John Paul II 2003, 7). This loss of Christian remembrance is bound with the fear of the future. The prospect of tomorrow is often colorless and uncertain, so man fears rather than desires the future.[14] "The feeling of inner void affecting many people as well as loss of the meaning of life are among its disturbing symptoms. This existential torment is manifested in, for example, dramatic decline in birth rates, reduced number of vocations to the priesthood and consecrated life, difficulty in making definitive life decisions - if not direct resignation – also in marriage" (John Paul II 2003, 8).

Simultaneously, this lost man who has a social nature, feels a strong need to belong to a community (group). It is no wonder that people want to meet in friendly communities, in an evangelical and fraternal atmosphere that protects them from the anonymity of life in their environment, including parishes (Kalinowski 1988, 37). Consequently, it is appropriate to request that priests with greater concern seek such a model of community that would rely more on fraternity, be more "man-made" and respond to man's needs (Słomińska 1986, 5-8).

Therefore, the parish understood as an "organic community" should offer celebrative, prayer or missionary communities, turned towards people and open to their needs. This last dimension of religious and ecclesial communities is of particular importance in modern times, where one can observe the development of new religious movements on the one hand, and on the other, of sects recruiting people in trouble. All religious and church groups, especially prayer groups, can provide a solution to the needs of those people who demand support. Such a prayer group endowed with the atmosphere of evangelical love, provides space not only for incarnation in the community but also in the mission of Christ, through which man becomes "a theological person" (Michalik 1992, 116-117).

6. From mature religiosity to community

In the light of pastoral communication, renewal of the Church and all initiatives which are aimed at fulfilling its mission should take into account one fundamental truth that every such action must be based "on a sound awareness of vocation and responsibility for this particular grace, one and unique, thanks to which every Christian in the fellowship of God's people builds the Body of Christ. This principle, which is the central rule of all Christian *praxis*, i.e. apostolic and pastoral practice, the practice of inner life and social life, should be referred to all and to each in adequate proportion." (John Paul II 1979, 21).

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[14] Confused man begins to believe that it is possible to satisfy the need of hope in a fleeting and transient way. And so, he identifies hope reduced to the realm of the earthly life and closed to transcendence, with, for example, the paradise promised by science and technology, or with various forms of messianism, with the hedonistic nature of consumerism, or the imaginary and artificial, provided by drugs, or with certain forms Millennialism, alluring Eastern philosophies, seeking esoteric forms of spirituality, with different New Age trends (John Paul II 2003, 10).

The Pope, therefore, sets out the main direction in pastoral activity. It consists in teaching all Christians responsibility for the Church, especially in its communal dimension. All Christians share in this responsibility a sense of fidelity to their vocation. Every "human" action can have a pastoral, apostolic, and evangelical dimension if it serves to build the body of Christ in the fellowship of God's people.

Pastoral communication is involved in this task, imposing new demands on the Church, such as: creating, shaping and supporting the various forms of life and activity of its members. Communal pastoral communication is, however, especially needed by those who have lost the experience of God and do not understand what is happening around them, so they tend to adopt defensive attitudes in everyday life. This results in marked discrepancy between religiosity and life. Important life decisions are thus not ruled by conscience and moral principles, but they issue from the fear of the "new". Most often, their problems remain unnoticed and neglected. It is assumed that every man can, according to his capabilities, define his world view and adapt his principles to the needs of the socio-cultural and religious transformations. Meanwhile, many people are unable to adapt to the new conditions and, without the help of other members of the ecclesial community, they are unable to find their place in the "new" Church and the "new" society. Thanks to the new pastoral communication, there is a chance to reach those people, help them to find God and bring them into the "new world" of common evangelical values.

CONCLUSION

Those who follow Pope Francis' service to the Church, may note that he uses his own language in his teaching, but remains faithful to the doctrine and practice of the Church. And that is the basic truth about his pontificate. Profound and rapid cultural transformations require the Church members, particularly priests, to try to express the eternal truths in a language allowing people to perceive their constant novelty, since in the deposit of Christian doctrine, there is a difference between the essence and the way in which it is expressed (John XXIII 1962, 792). This recommendation put forward by his predecessor, was adopted by Francis: "Sometimes the faithful, listening to strictly orthodox language, derive something completely alien to the authentic Gospel of Jesus Christ, because of the language they use and understand. Cherishing a holy intention to convey to them the truth of God and man, we pass on to them sometimes a false god or human ideal, which is not really Christian. In this way, we remain faithful to some formulation, but we do not convey the essence of things. This is the most serious risk" (Francis 2013, 41). Therefore, it should be borne in mind that "expression of truth can take many forms. It is just renewal of the forms of expression that is necessary in order to convey the evangelic message in its unchanged sense to the contemporary man" (John Paul II 1995, 933). This task rests with all members of the Church of

Christ and, therefore, the new pastoral communication should have a very clear communal character so that the word of God proclaimed in the community would give rise to and strengthen the faith of modern Christians.

Evangelical love, especially love towards people who feel lost, is a prerequisite if pastoral communication is to have a communal character. "Such is the law of Christ. By His passion, He «truly bore our suffering and carried our sorrows», carrying those he loved and loving those he carried. Whoever, therefore, is hostile to a brother threatened by falling, who is afraid of all his tricks, he undoubtedly surrendered to the law of the devil and fulfilled it. Let us be patient for each other, full of fraternal love, be able to tolerate weakness, fight only the transgressions. Any way of life, whatever its external forms, is the more pleasing to God, the more it fosters the love of God, and because of God - the love of his neighbor. Only love should decide whether something should be done or abandoned, changed or not changed. Love is the principle of action and the goal to be pursued. Whatever you sincerely do for it and in accordance with it, it will never be wrong" (Sermon of Blessed Isaac, 160-161).

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PHILOSOPHY

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THE ROLE OF NATURAL THEOLOGY AND ITS SOURCES IN THE ANTI-EUNOMIAN DISCOURSE CONCERNING COMPREHENSIBILITY OF GOD[2]

Summary

Basil and Gregory criticized dialectics on the grounds that it tries to usurp the truths that could only be known through Revelation. Nevertheless, the Church Fathers developed natural theology in which they deliberately used arguments based on sensual cognition, human logic or philosophical tradition, and especially on common notions. Although their terminology is often inconsistent and they use technical terms interchangeably, the context provides us with clear ideas of their theses. We should admit that as, far as dialectics and philosophy were concerned, the orthodox authors despite many reservations used all possible methods to reach the truth. They favoured the Scripture and the Tradition, but also respected such sources as sensual perception, human logic or common notions and preconceptions.

Keywords: Eunomius, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, natural theology

TEOLOGIA NATURALNA – JEJ ROLA I ŹRÓDŁA W ANTYEUNOMIAŃSKIM SPORZE O MOŻLIWOŚĆ POZNANIA BOGA

Streszczenie

Bazyli i Grzegorz krytykowali dialektykę, uważając, że próbuje ona „zawłaszczyć" dla siebie prawdy, które mogą być poznane tylko poprzez Objawienie. Nie znaczy to jednak, że obaj nie korzystali tak z naturalnych, jak i nadprzyrodzonych źródeł wiedzy o Bogu. W konsekwencji rozwinęli naturalną teologię i świadomie używali argumentów opartych na poznaniu zmysłowym, ludzkiej logice, tradycji filozoficznej, a zwłaszcza prawdach powszechnie przyjętych. Choć Bazyli i Grzegorz z pogardą odnosili się do dialektyki, a nawet filozofii, to w praktyce wykorzystywali wszystkie dostępne narzędzia, aby dotrzeć do prawdy. Uprzywilejowane miejsce zajmowały oczywiście Pismo Święte i Tradycja, ale nie deprecjonowali takich źródeł poznania jak ludzkie zmysły, rozum i powszechne pojęcia.

Słowa kluczowe: Eunomiusz, Bazyli Wielki, Grzegorz z Nyssy, teologia naturalna

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INTRODUCTION

In order to present the problem of the role and sources of theology in the anti-Eunomian discourse, I have to provide some introductory remarks on the philosophical context of the debate. It is obvious that, while reading the Bible or deliberating over dogmatic problems, both Basil and Gregory used concepts that were deeply rooted in Greek cultural tradition and philosophy. (Manikowski 2012, 27; Pelikan 1993, 177-178). Basil, similarly to Gregory, rarely names his sources and is frequently eclectic in his opinions (Ayers and Radde-Gallwitz 2010, 460).

My first assumption takes into account the role of the philosophical background of each participants in the debate (Eunomius, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa), as well as the great importance of methodology in the Trinitarian discussion (Terezis and Panagopoulos 2013, 3-28). This is the reason why, the controversy developed from the Trinitarian problems to comprehensibility of God's substance. Mark DelCogliano writes with great precision and attention about nuances of the dispute and various concepts of the theory of names, which is one of the crucial points of this discussion (DelCogliano 2010).

The second assumption that should be outlined at the beginning, is the fact that while reading each of those three main authors involved in the discussion (Eunomius, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa) we cannot treat them literally and believe them unconditionally. Their treatises are full of arguments *ad personam*. The authors blame their opponents for using the worst possible insults (Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* I, 1, 96), and it is not only the case of ridiculing those opponent's literary style but also their hypothetical connections with Aristotle (Chvátal 2007, 399; Runia 1989, 2; Basil of Caesarea, *Contra Eunomium* I, 5), Plato (Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* II, 404 – 405), Chrisipe (Basil of Caesarea, *Contra Eunomium* I, 5 ,43) and Philo (Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* III, V, 24, III, VII, 8-9). In fact, Basil and Gregory accused Eunomius of revealing affinity with practically all philosophical schools (Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* I, 93-94). Although, in this paper, I must assume that such opinions are an example of a convention used in ancient polemical works, still I do not think that it is right to ignore them all just on those grounds. Further studies should be done with respect to this subject. As a matter of fact, it is one of the most important theological debates in which we can follow a multithreaded dogmatic discourse in which not only the arguments, but also their sources and manner of presentation, became important.

1. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PHILOSOPHY AND DIALECTICS

Although, Gregory constantly kept naming every dialectics, rhetoric and sophistry the Aristotelian dialectics, we should not confuse the two. E. Vandenbussche points out that in the 4th century the difference between sophistry based on technique and philosophy based on searching the truth was evident (Vandenbussche 1944,

47-72, 54-55, 51-52). Dialectics and logic were not the core of philosophy but could rather be placed on its borderline. When accusing Eunomius of using philosophy, the Cappadocian Fathers in fact accused him of resorting to sophistic tricks. They were extremely critical about using syllogisms and blamed Eunomius for being dependent on the best known logicians, such as Aristotle and Chrisipe (Basil of Caesarea, *Contra Eunomium* I, 5, 43; Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* II, 620). Whenever they wrote about dialectics, they treated it very widely as a formal way of argumentation, and the name of Aristotle was just a kind of symbol for sophistry understood as a manipulative method, a kind of logic game that had nothing in common with truth; obviously, it had neither anything in common with Aristotle.

In my opinion, because of the fact that the anti-Eunomian polemic is the first in which methodology and philosophical assumptions are so important, Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa did not feel really comfortable in this new situation. That is why, we often find their arguments about Eunomius' methodology inconsistent. When criticizing the Eunomian use of dialectics, the Cappadocian Fathers used their own syllogisms and pointed out Eunomius' lack of consistence and errors in argumentation (Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* I, 218-219, 228-230, 432). They opposed dialectics because they understood it as a method of proving one's point rather than of searching the truth. Though familiar with ancient logic and frequently referring to it, they consistently started their argumentation with generally agreed facts.

2. Natural theology

Each of the three authors underlined that truth was the highest and the most important goal (Eunomius, *Liber Apologeticus*, 2; Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* I, 1, 18-19). How could a human being reach this aim? May reason be considered a sufficient tool? The criterion of truth is crucial not only on the level of faith, which teaches us that Christ is the way and the truth and the life (J 14,6) and that knowing the truth makes us free (J 8,32), but the criterion of truth is equally fundamental for the philosophical tradition, where truth is the ultimate goal. It is not equally important in sophistry.

In their argumentation, all participants in the debate referred to unquestionable premises. These premises could be identified with the sources of theology and can be divided into supernatural, which for our authors include the Scripture and the Tradition, and natural ones. As far as natural sources are concerned our authors point out at least three, namely: sense perception, human rationality, and common notions. The latter is the most complex one, so I shall start with the obvious ones and then shall try to elucidate the problem of common notions and related terms.

Sense perception is the main source of our cognition in general and though "no one has ever seen God" (J 1,18), if something can be recognized by senses it does not require further substantiation.

"[Eunomius] After claiming that on account of the common notions of all people it is self-evident that God is unbegotten, he makes an attempt to supply us with the proofs for this. In doing this, he resembles the man who at high noon wants to use rational argumentation to teach those who can see things quite well for themselves that the sun is the brightest of the stars in heaven. Now if someone who uses rational argumentation to prove what is already quite well known through sense perception is considered to be utterly absurd, how could the person who teaches what common preconceptions enable us all to agree upon not be considered guilty of the same foolishness?" (Basil of Caesarea, *Contra Eunomium* I, 5)

Although Basil and Gregory maintain critical distance from dialectics, they admit that rationality of argumentation and congruity with the philosophical tradition is an important criterion of truth. Gregory of Nyssa underlines: "He would learn from an intelligent audience that every argument, so long as it is put forward categorically and without demonstration, is what they call an old wives' tale, since it has no power in itself to settle the issue, when no case is made for what is said either from the sacred text or from human logic" (Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* I, 230). And similarly: "Neither do we know any of the philosophers outside the faith who have made this mad statement, nor does such a thing agree with either the divinely inspired texts or common sense" (Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* I, 186).

A very important argument in the theological discussion is based on common understanding of certain ideas. First of all, some terminological remarks are necessary as we have quite a few related terms that are used interchangeably, which may be sometimes misleading. First of all, the terms ἔννοια and ἐπίνοια should be distinguished. Although they have a similar meaning and Basil of Caesarea sometimes used them in a confusing way, we can deduce what he meant from the context (DelCogliano 2010, 154; Radde-Gallwitz 2009, 144-145). We can assume, that in some cases ἔννοια is synonymous with ἐπίνοια, but we should still underline that the problem of names is different from the idea of common notions. In this context, the term ἔννοια is used interchangeably with πρόληψις and νόημα. Those terms overlap not only on the lexical level but also in the philosophical tradition. The word ἔννοια and prolepsis should describe different stages of perception where "ἐννοίας understood as basic notions are 'immediately present to human mind', a common notion (κοινὴ ἔννοια) or a natural notion (φυσικὴ ἔννοια) was an ordinary, naturally well-founded concept that was available to the mind as a 'preconception' (πρόληψις)" (DelCogliano 2010, 154-155). Recent studies on stoic epistemology proved that even the authors of these concepts treated terminology quite loosely and their meaning strongly differs depending on the author (Jackson-McCabe 2004, 323-247, 324, 327, 346; Sandbach, 1930, 44-51).

Each of our writers dealt in one way or another with the problem of common notions (κοιναί ἔννοιαι) and the related terms (Pelikan 1993, 182). Of course, in the majority of cases the term ἔννοια is used in its non-technical sense, which is: thought, reflection, concept, but we can find also a deliberate, technical usage

of this term related to the Stoic and Epicurean epistemology, where it means any "ordinary, naturally well-founded concept that is available to the mind as a 'preconception'" (Plutarch, *De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos,* Chrysippus, *On conceptions*; Basil of Caesarea 2011, 91). This notion or preconception is an "innate concept of a thing that makes discussion, investigation, and understanding of it possible" (Basil of Caesarea 2011, 91). The problem of common notions was still popular in the 4th century and Gregory of Nyssa in his short treatise *To The Greeks. Concerning the Commonality of Concepts* makes references to such notions as a person, hypostasis. In this text Gregory shows that it is fundamental for a theological debate to have a common understanding of fundamental terms. No theological discussion is possible without such presuppositions. Common notions and preconceptions play a double role in natural theology; they do not only constitute the source of knowledge but - what is more important – being generally agreed truths, they make further argumentation possible.

3. Limits of natural theology

Although the natural and supernatural sources do not oppose or contradict each other, they are not equally important and do not provide the same knowledge about God. The Fathers are aware of the limits to human cognition and accuse Eunomius and other heretics that they do not take those limits into account (Pelikan 1993, 177). Dmitri Birjukov underlines that "Generally, Eunomius' theological method was based on mental intuition concerning God and the Son, justified by reference to the Scripture" (Birjukov 2008, 110). Contrary to Basil who, according to Mark DelCogliano, based his argumentation primarily on the Scripture. Basil of Caesarea opposed Eunomius in those words:

> "Yet these men are not insolently attacking the stars or heaven, but are bragging that they have penetrated the very substance of the God of the universe. Let's ask him from which source he claims to have comprehended it. So, then, from a common notion? But this tells us that God exists, not what God is. Perhaps from the Spirit's teaching? Which one? Where is it located?" (Basil of Caesarea, *Contra Eunomium* I, 2)

Gregory followed Basil's concepts:

> "But since Eunomius is so over endowed with this ability that his method of comprehension extends to meters beyond our nature, why did he not know the principle on which comprehension of any obscure thing in these logical undertakings comes about? For who does not know that every argument takes its first principles from things manifest and generally agreed, and thereby brings assurance in matters in dispute, and unknown thing would ever be apprehended, if things assent to did not lead us by the hand to the understanding of the obscure? But if the things we take as first principles of arguments for the clarification of things unknown were in conflict with the apprehensions of ordinary people, they would hardly be the means to clarifying the unknown." (Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* I, 218-219)

Referring to this text, Jaroslav Pelican wrote that "According to Gregory of Nyssa, the ultimate assumption and 'the standard of truth' underlying the use of presuppositions from philosophy and natural theology in the system of Eunomius was 'the concurrence of the so-called natural order with the testimony of the knowledge given from above, confirming the natural interpretation'" (Pelikan, 1993, 194-195).

4. COMMON NOTIONS AND COMPREHENSION OF GOD

After presenting the limits of natural theology and the importance of common notions as the source of truth, we should ask what were the presuppositions, if there were any, that the Cappadocian Fathers made about God and His nature. In the philosophical tradition vital in the 4th century "the common notion of God was not limited to the content that God exists but included a set of specific attributes of God" (Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, X, 123; Cicero, *De natura deorum* I,16, 43; Jackson-McCabe, 2004, 325). However, Basil claims that the only thing we know about God is His existence (Radde-Gallwitz 2009, 113). "Let's ask him from which source he claims to have comprehended it. So, then, from a common notion? But this tells us that God exists, not what God is" (Basil of Caesarea, *Contra Eunomium* I, 12). It seems obvious, that it was a reaction to Eunomius' conviction of his having knowledge about God's substance. In his letters, Basil admits that he makes a clear distinction between knowing God's substance and God's attributes.

> "But we say that 'knowing' has multiple meanings. For we claim to know the greatness, the power, the wisdom, the goodness of God, as well as the providence by which he cares for us and the justice of his judgments, but not the very essence [of God]. So the question is eristic. For the one who claims that he does not know the essence does not admit that he does not know God, since our notion (ἐννοίας) of God is drawn together from many things which we have enumerated." (Basil of Caesarea, *Epistula* 234.1.5-12)

Also, in *Adversus Eunomium* he admitted that there are "common preconceptions that exist similarly in all Christians" and was afraid that Eunomius would try to violate them and "throw these notions of ours into confusion" (Basil of Caesarea, *Contra Eunomium* II, 25; DelCogliano, 2010, 158). Some notions of God, common to all Christians are, according to Basil, drawn from His works described in the Scripture and revealed in the Tradition and in lives of those who believe in Him (Basil of Caesarea, *Epistula* 235.1.5-17). In this way we return to the supernatural sources of theology. The argumentation proposed by Basil could become a starting point to extract another source of theology which is *sensus fidelium*.

Summary

In my paper, I have presented diverse sources of theology. The fact that supernatural sources harmoniously coexist with natural ones seems most important here. Eunomius points out three sources and justifications of his teaching – innate knowledge and the teaching of the fathers (Tradition), the Scripture (Eunomius, *Liber Apologeticus*, 7, 10). Basil gives us three sources of truth (knowledge of God): first of all the Scripture, but also the common notion and sense perception (Basil of Caesarea, *Contra Eunomium* I, 12, DelCogliano 2010, 136-137). Gregory points out that in his argumentation, Eunomius omits not only the philosophical tradition and Scriptural sources but even common notions (Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* I, 186, 230). I should admit that, despite many reservations that the orthodox authors had as far as dialectic and philosophy were concerned, they at the same time used all possible methods to find the truth. They favoured the Scripture and the Tradition but with honesty respected such sources as sense perception, human logic or common notions and preconceptions.

I have presented the main aspects and the context of the problem, which is the role of natural theology in the anti-Eunomian discourse concerning comprehensibility of God. As a matter of fact, all of them: the difference between philosophy and dialectic in the 4th century, understanding and limitations of natural theology, the role of common notions in the comprehension of God, could or even should be the subject of complex, extensive studies. Regardless of these limitations, the conclusions of the paper would not change.

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SOCIO-PEDAGOGICAL SCIENCES

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PERSON-OF-THE-THERAPIST TRAINING MODEL: THE UNDERLYING PREMISES

Summary

The "Person-of the-Therapist" model is an approach to training and supervising therapists. The concept of a therapist as a wounded healer appears to be key in interpreting the therapeutic process and its healing power. This article aims at presenting this model's philosophical foundations, which promote a creative use of the therapists' personal potential independently of the different psychotherapeutic schools that they represent.

Keywords: Person of the Therapist, Use of self in therapy, Training model for therapists, Philosophy of training

PODSTAWY FILOZOFICZNE MODELU „OSOBA-TERAPEUTY"

Streszczenie

Model „Osoba-Terapeuty", to podejście stosowane w terapii, w szkoleniu i w superwizji terapeutów. Koncepcja terapeuty jako zranionego uzdrowiciela jawi się jako kluczowa w interpretacji procesu terapeutycznego i jego leczącej mocy. Celem artykułu jest zaprezentowanie filozofii tego modelu, który promuje twórcze wykorzystanie osobistego potencjału terapeutów niezależnie od reprezentowanych przez nich różnych szkół psychoterapeutycznych.

Słowa kluczowe: osoba-terapeuty, czerpanie z „siebie" w terapii, szkolenie terapeutów, filozofia szkolenia

Introduction

The Person-of-the-Therapist Training (POTT) model is an approach to training therapists that aims to prepare therapists to make active and purposeful use of their personal selves in their conduct of all aspects of their clinical practice

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– the relationship, the assessment and the intervention. The premise is that the work of therapy is conducted through the medium of the therapeutic relationship, at the core of which is a personal connection between therapist and client/patient. The implication is that the technical components of the therapeutic process depend upon the human connection between therapist and client for the living dynamics of the therapeutic relationship, an alliance between therapist and client that relates directly to the effectiveness of therapy, as noted by Barber (Barber, 2015, 18). "Decades of research on alliance in psychotherapy have consistently linked the strength of the therapeutic alliance with therapy outcomes".

Among the humanistic therapists, Carl Rogers has been a leading exponent of the centrality of the person-to-person connection between therapist and client in an effective therapeutic process. Roger's underlying premise to forming a life changing "real relationship" in the therapeutic process begins "when I accept myself as I am, then I change" (Rogers 1961, 17). That self-acceptance by the therapist leads to treating the other person, the client, in a way that fosters a self-acceptance in the client in a way that the client "will find himself becoming better integrated, more able to function effectively" (Rogers 1961, 38). Satir in similar words says, "when I am fully present with the patient or family, I can move therapeutically with much greater ease," and "reach the depths to which I need to go" (Satir 2013, 25). She, too, speaks of striving for change in herself like Rogers when she is more herself, as she puts it, "when I am in touch with myself … I am growing toward becoming a more integrated self" (Satir 2013, 25). The POTT model reflects similar attitudes about self-acceptance and being more fully present personally within the therapeutic relationship.

The POTT person-of-the-self training looks to develop, like Rogers and Satir, therapists' self-understanding with self-acceptance, and being in touch with self in the therapeutic process. However, it is distinguished by its goals of learning to *consciously* and *strategically* use the self in therapy, along with a deliberate aim on therapists learning to work through their core emotional woundedness, which POTT labels their *signature themes.* Moreover, the model aims to help therapists in training attain these goals through a *highly-structured* process that starts with working on personal self-knowledge and self-awareness in group sessions (cohorts of about 12) in which trainees work individually with two trainers in a self-accepting environment on identifying their signature themes along with the personal history that helps them understand something of the roots of their issues. The observing trainees follow the presenter's presentation by responding each in turn to how the presenter's story resonated for them because of issues and experiences of their own, all of which is meant to sensitize the observers to their capacity to empathize, and to express their empathy in ways that make the presenter feel safe. This attention to students developing an authentic empathic capacity, and ultimately within the POTT model's expectation to use it consciously and strategically in therapy is foundational to the model, based on the conviction that, "It has been shown that therapists'

empathy accounts for more of the variance in outcome than specific interventions (Bohart and Greenberg 2002)" (Watson et al. 2015, 108).

These personal capacities for self-awareness and self-access, and greater empathic potential of the trainees become therapeutically instrumental through supervised experiences in the use of self in the clinical encounter. They train to apply self therapeutically in practical supervised exercises within the POTT framework such as working with simulated clients in role-plays with other students, analyzing videotapes of their therapy with clients, being supervised working with clients played by actors, and ultimately through supervision doing therapy through this person-of-the-therapist vision with actual clients (Zeytinoglu 2016, 2-26).

1. The Therapeutic and Philosophical Premises of the POTT Model

Underlying the therapeutic process with its intertwining personal and technical components are therapeutic premises and philosophical assumptions. The Person of the Therapist Training Model (POTT) assumes certain specific premises:

• The technical aspects of the therapeutic process are mediated through the personal relationship between therapist and client.

• Therapists need training in the therapeutically purposeful use of their personal selves just as they do for the implementation of their technical skills.

• Therapists, like the rest of humanity, are challenged throughout life with person specific issues - emotional, physical and spiritual - some of which become core struggles with themes that embed themselves in their personal development and professional functioning.

• It is through therapists' own emotional and spiritual woundedness that they have the potential to empathize with, have insight into and gain access to the depths of their clients' woundedness.

• This common human vulnerability and brokenness presents opportunity and possibility for emotional and psychological growth and healing for both therapist and client.

• Therapists' journeys struggling with their personal issues provide them with the capacity to resonate with their clients' personal struggles, a form of identification with their clients.

• Therapists' personal journeys grappling with their own issues also offers them insights into what their clients have to contend with in dealing with their issues, another basis for identification with their clients.

• Therapists' commitments to working on their own personal issues even as they deal with their clients' struggles provide a grounding that allows them to resonate deeply with their clients while simultaneously facilitating a healthy distance from which to observe and understand their clients.

• Therapists do not have to resolve their issues to be able to make a conscious and purposeful use of their own personal struggles to enhance the effectiveness of the therapy they conduct.

• Therapists and clients, as does generally the human person except for some extreme cases, possess some degree of freedom of the will to choose health over dysfunction, good over bad even in the face of their emotional disabilities and limitations, allowing them the potential to assume varying degrees of responsibility for their thinking and actions within the therapeutic process.

2. A Historical Perspective and Philosophical Context to these Premises

From the beginnings of talking therapy there has been a recognition that the therapist's humanity needs to be taken into account in the therapeutic process regardless of therapeutic modality. Consequent to this recognition have been repeated and various efforts to help therapists in training gain greater mastery and better use of their personal selves in their practice of therapy. We see this from the early days of Freud (1964) in psychoanalysis to the birth of systemic thinking in Murray Bowen (1972) and Virginia Satir's (2013) family therapy models. These therapies sought to help developing therapists pursue the resolution of their own personal issues to avoid harming clients and to free themselves to be more effective therapists. Representing the psychoanalytic perspective Bochner argued for the "need for mental health among psychotherapists in general" (Bochner 2000, 167). Satir aimed for therapists to heal emotionally by becoming more "whole … to be able to make greater contact with the other person" (Satir 2013, 25), which she worked helping therapists to achieve in her training events. As noted earlier, the humanistic therapists, like Satir and Rogers, also added the emphasis on the reality and critical role of the personal aspects of the relationship between therapist and client.

The person-of-the-therapist training (POTT) model (Aponte et al. 2009; Aponte 2016) shares some of the same goals as these pioneer approaches to the work on the self of the therapist, but along with some others (Martin 2011; Sedgwick 1994) places greater emphasis on mastering the use of self *as is* in the present therapeutic process over the healing of the therapist's self as a condition for intervening effectively. After all, the work of therapy takes place in the present moment when the therapist engages the client. In that moment therapy brings to this human encounter the person that the therapist *as is* at that instant, with all of his/her failings as they are then, and not the person he or she aspires to become some time in the future. With Viktor Frankl, the underlying philosophy of the POTT model does not view the human person deterministically "driven to strivings" (Frankl 1967, 22) which would require a therapeutically induced intervention to alter one's psychological disposition in order to change a course of action, but as possessing the "freedom of will" (Frankl 1967, 18) that allows the person to choose to change a mindset and/or behavior in the face of

a natural contrary personal disposition. As Frankl (1967, 19) articulates well, "Man is free to rise above the plane of somatic and psychic determinants of his existence".

All this implies that the relationship in therapy has at the heart of the professional framework a real human core that powers and energizes the therapeutic process. As Carl Rogers puts it, "Real relationships have an exciting way of being vital and meaningful" (Rogers 1961, 18), which he asserts facilitates growth and change. Within that relationship the therapist, with all his/her human frailties, possesses the essential human freedom to use self actively and purposefully within the ethical and technical framework of the therapeutic process to promote therapeutic transformation by engaging with the freedom of the client to choose change.

However, the human to human connection between therapist and client is at its most consequential juncture at the point where woundedness speaks to woundedness. There has been some form of recognition of this deeply powerful reality from the earliest days of talking therapy, with the awareness that through therapists' awareness of their own life's struggles they better understand those of their clients, and through their own life's pains they better relate to those of their clients. It operates from the assumption that the hurts of our humanity are common to all people, which helps us as therapists lower the barriers of shame and guilt of our clients to facing their brokenness and sharing it with their helpers.

Many people suffer because of a common false supposition on which they have based their lives. That supposition is that they should not have to suffer emotional dysfunctions. They should not have to struggle with insecurities, anxiety, depression, etc. But these emotional sufferings are universally at the heart of our human journey. In therapy they can only be dealt with creatively when understood as challenges integral to our human condition (Nouwen 1979, 93). This common platform of our shared vulnerable humanity lays the foundation for the therapeutic relationship of therapist with client at its deepest level.

It opens the door to the therapeutic journey shared by therapist and client, one that is fundamentally based on the connection between the two at the level of their common shared human vulnerability. As Hayes (2002, 94) states, "the therapist's own clinical and life experience … has been recognized to exert considerable influence on therapy, dating back to Freud's (1959) claim that 'no psycho-analyst goes further than his own complexes and internal resistances permit' (Freud 1959)." The POTT philosophy recognizes the reality of a relationship between the therapist's emotional development and therapeutic effectiveness, but does not concur with the view that clients are limited in the benefit they can draw from the work with their therapists by the personal emotional limitations of their therapists. Instead, it postulates that the level of skill of therapists in the use of self along with their technical training can help advance clients' progress beyond wherever therapists are in their personal journeys. What the POTT model emphatically asserts is that therapists should not be so enmeshed with their clients that their personal issues should become impediments to their clients' progress. Their

personal differentiation from their clients should allow for a freedom within the therapeutic relationship that makes it possible for clients to move at their own pace vis-a-vis their therapists. When Nouwen (1979, xvi) articulates, that "nothing can be written about ministry without a deeper understanding of the way in which the minister can make his own wounds available as a source of healing" he implies that the therapist's "deeper understanding" of his own wounds refers to a therapist's insight into and ownership of his own differentiated personal struggles such that he/she has greater access into the client's personal issues without losing clinical perspective.

Furthermore, the POTT philosophy about the use of therapists' own woundedness in therapy not only speaks to how it opens up the therapist to the client's inner story, but also reflects an underlying belief that these core emotional wounds can serve as resources and opportunities for greater growth emotionally and spiritually. How a person meets these challenges posed by the individual's own emotional vulnerabilities helps form a person's character – contributing to the shaping of a person's philosophy of life and fostering the quality and nature of the person's approach to life's trials and troubles. This view of our vulnerabilities as potential resources for growth and change helps therapists-in-training assume a positive and constructive view of their own issues, which then can transfer into their treating the difficulties their clients face as opportunities to grow more fully into their human potential.

Finally, the POTT model also tasks trainees to commit themselves to working on their personal issues, with particular attention to what the model calls their signature themes (core issues), not only for their own benefit, but also to develop within themselves, an intimate knowledge of what it takes to confront and contend with one's own emotional flaws. They will then have for themselves something of a personal model which they can reference when they see their clients' struggles. Viewing their clients' issues and their efforts to deal with them through the prism of their own journeys will lend therapists greater ability to intuit what clients cannot see or articulate about themselves. Another benefit to therapists contending with their own struggles is how that commitment will ground them in their personal journeys. This personal grounding lays the foundation of the personal basis for their clinical objectivity (Bowen's "differentiation" and Buber's "detachment"). They are better prepared to simultaneously seek to put themselves in their clients' shoes (identification) while maintaining their personal emotional freedom (differentiation) and clinical distance within that intimate connection. Buber (1958, 133) sums it up when he says "Healing, like educating, is only possible to the one who lives over against the other, and yet is detached".

3. The Person of the Therapist Model for Training Therapists in the Use of Self

The question to be answered now becomes how then do therapists make their own wounds and personal journeys available to their work with their clients as sources of insight and understanding, resonance and empathy. As a start, Hayes (2002, 96) asserts that "One cannot draw therapeutically on personal experiences without an active and ongoing interest in one's own history … Whatever form such introspection assumes, it ought to increase self-awareness, including awareness of one's wounds." Acknowledgment of the therapist's own woundedness is critically important to using the self as an instrument of healing. This view speaks to what Nouwen described as an attitude on therapists' part that assumes they share a common vulnerable humanity with their clients. This conviction motivates therapists to seek not only to know themselves, but also to be able to access that humanity of theirs in ways that lend them the ability to work purposefully and professionally through their human vulnerabilities within the therapeutic process. This discipline takes training, just as does the mastery of therapists' technical skills belonging to their therapy models.

The POTT model utilizes a variety of means to train therapists in the active and purposeful use of self within the therapeutic relationship with the goals of assisting therapists to:

1. *Know themselves:* To gain insight into what they bring of our personal selves to the therapeutic process, with special emphasis on their frailties and woundedness through which they are able to empathize with their clients. As Nouwen further states:

Making one's own wounds a source of healing, therefore, does not call for a sharing of superficial personal pains but for a constant willingness to see one's own pain and suffering as rising from the depth of the human condition which all men share (Nouwen 1979, 88).

2. *Have access to themselves:* To achieve a self-acceptance that allows them in the present moment of the therapeutic process to be aware of what they are personally experiencing, and to reach back into their life experiences to what of themselves they need to incorporate into their therapeutic tasks. Acceptance of their own flawed humanity allows them to reach over any shame, pain or other inhibitions into their own vulnerabilities for whatever of their personal struggles with enable them to relate to their clients' hurts. When we speak here about therapists accessing their own personal experiences when engaged with their clients in the therapeutic process, we are referring to their core emotional struggles, and to past experiences, good and bad, with family and within their societal environment. It includes their experience of themselves culturally, racially, ethnically and spiritually. From the mix of the personal and professional aspects of their person, they are in touch with what they are thinking, feeling and doing

as they engage therapeutically with their clients. They can be triggered personally by something that arises from their interactions with their clients, and look for its source and its significance for their clinical work. Or, in the process of trying to carry out a clinical task, they can choose to search in their personal thoughts, emotions and/or memories as needed for their work with their clients *in that therapeutic moment*.

3. *Manage the use of themselves*: To purposefully make selective use of themselves and their life experience in the three basic tasks of any therapeutic process, that is, a workable relationship, an accurate assessment, and an appropriate and effective intervention. The efforts of the POTT training to help trainees learn to actively and purposefully manage/work clinically through their personal selves makes use of what they know and understand of themselves and their life experiences, as well as of their abilities to access this knowledge of themselves and their personal reactions in clinical situations. Therapists need to be able to selectively connect with their clients emotionally and intellectually in ways that allow them not just to truly hear and see their clients, but also to instinctively intuit what is behind clients' words and actions. They need the self-mastery that facilitates a sensitivity and timing necessary to implement their technical interventions in ways that will be received by clients and touch their clients so as to spur the changes they aim for at the moment in time when the therapist chooses to act. Again, ultimately the goal in the training of therapists through the POTT model is to maximize the mastery of their personal selves within their professional roles to power their therapeutic effectiveness.

There are three basic stages to the training in the POTT models to achieve the above goals, but first we need to make the critical point that this approach to training the use of self is model-neutral. The goal of the training is to assist therapists to attain an enhanced level of self-mastery of their personal selves within their particular therapeutic models whatever the orientation, all of which looks to help therapists use themselves in ways that enable them to make the most effective use of the skills they have from their respective therapy models, in ways that are most beneficial to their clients.

Now back to the three basic stages of training in the POTT model in the use of self. The training is usually conducted in a small group setting preferably with no more than twelve trainees. The group's dynamics provide a systemic context in which trainees can become accustomed to examining their issues and witnessing others discuss theirs in what the trainers hope normalizes for trainees reflecting on their own issues and those of their peers in a carefully supervised group. The facilitators aim to help the trainees not only reflect on, but also effectively connect with their emotional vulnerabilities and life experiences in ways that prepare them to selectively and skillfully work with all of who they are while conducting therapy. The co-leaders of the training guide the process to make it a safe learning experience for the trainee presenting and for those witnessing the discussion. Each

trainee takes a turn presenting on his/her issues, relevant family background, and thoughts about how what they are bringing of their personal selves relates to the therapy they conduct. All the trainees in the group maintain a weekly journal on their personal reactions to the presentations – an exercise of looking within themselves as they empathically listen to what others reflect on about their lives. These journals are turned in weekly to the co-leaders who give them feedback on what they write to further support them as they go through this process.

The second stage of the training calls for students to present their clinical work through video where possible, or present through supervised role-plays of their working with client issues acted out extemporaneously by fellow students. The goal in these exercises is to help students recognize what they bring personally to the therapeutic process by having the facilitators stop action frequently to have the trainees be made aware of what was happening in the video or role-play, and in particular what they were personally experiencing during the therapist-client interactions. These exercises are meant to train the participants to monitor themselves while in action clinically, as they reflect on what they can or could have done with that self-awareness in determining their next clinical move. Finally, in the third stage of the training, students have supervised experiences with simulated client families made up of paid actors, where the facilitators guide the students in using their self-awareness in the various clinical aspects of the therapeutic process – working through the relationship, assessing a situation, or intervening strategically. The goal is to have the students experience what it is to integrate the personal with the technical in the therapeutic process. While the training is primarily focused on developing mastery of self within the professional role, a common experience that trainees also report are significant positive changes in their personal lives. Exercises in self-awareness leading to active use of themselves that includes constructive utilization of difficult aspects of their lives fosters not only greater mastery of themselves as therapists, but also healthier mastery of themselves in their personal lives.

This very brief synopsis of the training program is schematic. More detailed expositions of the training can be found in the Training and Supervision section of the October, 2009, issue of the Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, and in the book, "The Person of the Therapist Training Model: Mastering the Use of Self". The training, like the therapeutic process, is not only cognitive, but also and especially experiential. The transformative impact is in living the change, a lesson highly emphasized with trainees.

Conclusion

We have sought in this paper to provide insight into the philosophy and mindset that undergirds an approach to training and supervising therapists that fosters the potential of therapists to make creative use of their personal human disposition and

life experience within the therapeutic process regardless of therapists' orientations and affiliations in the field of therapy. The goal of the Person-of-the-Therapist Training model itself is to offer a practical method of training therapists to attain the skills needed to use their selves consciously and purposefully, with special attention to their emotional woundedness, in all aspects of the therapeutic process – forming the working partnership that is the therapeutic relationship, making insightful assessments, and intervening in ways that are most likely to effectively help clients/patients to change and grow as they aspire to. The POTT model is shaped by a philosophy based on a belief in the normality of our struggles with our human frailties and vulnerabilities, and the unique opportunities that these struggles present us make use of our free will to reach deeper within ourselves and outward to resources outside ourselves to better ourselves emotionally and spiritually. For therapists, this implies that the work we intend to do with our clients must start within ourselves if we are to have greater insight into our clients' struggles, and better access to their personal motivation and inner resources to help themselves.

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STRATEGIES OF COPING WITH TRANSGRESSOR - POLISH VALIDATION OF TRIM-18 QUESTIONNAIRE

Summary

The aim of this paper is to present the results of Polish validation of Transgression – Related Interpersonal Motivations questionnaire (TRIM-18) by McCullough, Root, and Cohen (2006) which measures the phenomena of forgiveness. The article contains a description of the procedure of Polish translation, the results of the test reliability, discriminant and confirmatory validity. The study was conducted among 530 participants aged between 18 and 84 (345 females and 185 males). Eleven questionnaires were used for assessing the validity of the measurement. This study confirms that the structure of Polish TRIM-18 is relevant to the English language version. Polish TRIM-18 is also a very reliable tool. It can be successfully used in Polish conditions.

Keywords: Forgiveness, TRIM-18, benevolence, revenge, avoidance, positive psychology

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STRATEGIE RADZENIA SOBIE Z KRZYWDZICIELEM -
POLSKA WALIDACJA KWESTIONARIUSZA TIRM-18

Abstrakt

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie wyników polskiej walidacji kwestionariusza mierzącego strategie radzenia sobie z krzywdzicielem, które odpowiedzialne są za zjawisko przebaczania (TRIM-18; Transgression – Related Interpersonal Motivations; McCullough, Root and Cohen 2006). Artykuł zawiera opis procedury dotyczącej tłumaczenia z języka angielskiego na polski, wyniki analizy czynnikowej, analizy dyskryminacyjnej oraz trafności zewnętrznej. W poniższych badaniach wzięło udział 530 osób w wieku od 18 do 84 lat (345 kobiet i 185 mężczyzn). Do oceny trafności teoretycznej testu użyto jedenastu kwestionariuszy. Badanie potwierdza, że struktura polskiej wersji kwestionariusza TIRM-18 jest zgodna ze strukturą wersji anglojęzycznej. Kwestionariusz TIRM-18 w wersji polskiej okazał się jest również bardzo rzetelnym narzędziem. Może być z powodzeniem stosowany w warunkach polskich.

Słowa kluczowe: przebaczenie, TIRM-18, życzliwość, odwet, unikanie, psychologia pozytywna

INTRODUCTION

One of the fundamental needs of each individual human being is that of experiencing affection and closeness (Harlow 1958; Bowlby 2007). The human being is by nature a social creature, opened for contacts with another "Thou" (Buber 1992). It is through interpersonal relations that a person shapes his/her identity and develops his/her own potentials, can discover the sense of life and the way to happiness and well-being (Seligman 2011). Human relations, apart from these positive dimensions, can also be the source of frustration, conflict, misunderstanding, hurt, rejection etc. Among many forms of reactions to those kinds of transgression there is anger, depression, sorrow, regret, revenge and/or withdrawal. However, these negative reactions could be handled in totally different ways by accepting pro-social attitudes connected with forgiveness. Although reflections on forgiveness in the context of philosophy, ethics and morals, have a long history, there is still a lot to learn and understand about its social and psychological aspects (Roberts 1995; Worthington 1998). Without a doubt, forgiveness is a significant aspect regulating the quality of the social function (McCullough and Worthington 1999).

There are some psychological depictions, next to the intra-personal ones, that distinctly impact the inter-personal process of forgiving. The reality of forgiveness involves internal processes of changing feelings, attitude and the way of thinking; it also has a social dimension because it is ultimately directed towards a real person or a circumstance which caused that suffering. Michael McCullough (2001) defines forgiveness as a pro-social transformation of the relation towards transgressors. The transformation happens when, instead of feeling the desire for revenge, a person turns towards benevolence. Enright and Coyle define forgiveness as a desire to depart from the right to dislike, negative judgment, neutral behaviour towards the transgressor (Enright and Coyle 1998). Tangney and others specify (1999) forgiveness as a cognitive-affective transformation during which the victim encounters realistic evaluation of the

experienced harm and attributes the responsibility for it to the transgressor. However, the nature of free will offers the possibility of cancelling the (perceived) debt, giving up revenge, and dismissing the punishment and demand for restitution. The cancelling of the debt is related to liberation from negative emotions towards the transgression and the transgressor. In general, the victim decides not to function as a victim anymore and, through the act of forgiveness, becomes free of the negative impacts to health and wellbeing. In this concept, the key is the work on the emotional level. Thompson with his fellow researchers (2005) claim that forgiveness is liberation from a negative relation – the source of transgression and harm. Ray and Pargament (2002) claim that forgiveness involves both an agreement to let negative thoughts go and lack of desire to act negatively towards a transgressor. It is a possibility of a positive, or at least neutral, response to the transgressor (see also: Trzebińska 2008).

Experimental and practical psychology set very important practical goals. One of them is creating tools to measure theoretical constructs which are first defined. Then, it looks for specific methods to apply them in life. The same happens with the subject of forgiveness. There are many studies of the construct because there are many theoretical depictions. Generally, we could divide the tools of measuring forgiveness according to how the information is collected: self-report, partner-report, outside observer, behaviour measure (McCullough et al. 2000).

There are several tools which measure forgiveness defined in different terms. In the following part of the paper we would like to focus on a particular questionnaire. At the end of the 90's, McCullough, in cooperation with other scientists, created a 12-item scale *Transgression – Related Interpersonal Motivations* TRIM-12 Inventory (Polish version: Kossakowska 2011). TRIM-12 contains 2 subscales: avoidance of the transgressor and the desire to retaliate. Ten years later, McCullough worked out a new version consisting of 18 items – TRIM-18 (McCullough et al. 1997; McCullough et al. 1998; McCullough et al. 2006). This tool is intended to examine the pro-social change that occurs in the victim towards the transgressor. This change is defined in 3 dimensions: the extent to which one's motivation of avoidance is lowered, the extent to which one's desire of revenge is lowered, and the extent to which one's desire for benevolence grows. It deals with a change in attachment, from negative to positive, that does not require the change of the cognitive, emotional or behavioural sphere.

The aim of this study is to present the psychometric parameters of the Polish validation of TRIM-18 questionnaire which is widely used by researchers all over the world (e.g. McCullough et al. 1998; Ghaemmaghami, Allemand and Martin 2011).

1. TRANSLATION PROCESS OF TRIM-18

TRIM-18 Inventory (McCullough et al. 1998) measures forgiveness conceptualized as a process of reducing one's negative (avoidance and revenge) motivations toward a transgressor and restoring one's positive motivations regarding

a transgressor (McCullough et al. 1997) and benevolence motivation (McCullough et al. 2003; McCullough and Hoyt 2002). All items are rated on the same 5-point Likert-type scale.

For the questionnaire to be used in Polish conditions, validation tests were carried out during the initial phase. At first, the original version of the questionnaire was translated by 2 translators from English into Polish. Then, with the use of the *translation-back translation* methodology, the questionnaire was translated back from Polish into English to compare both English versions in terms of translation accuracy. Finally, once the accuracy had been discussed with another two bilinguals, those translations were accepted which on the one hand were most faithful to the original items and, on the other hand, were comprehensible and natural for Poles. Such a version of the questionnaire was used in subsequent validation tests[3].

To confirm the 3-factor structure of the questionnaire a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was carried out. To estimate the reliability of the test, Cronbach's alpha was used for each subscale separately. In order to estimate the theoretical accuracy of the questionnaire, r-Pearson's coefficients were established for examining the relations between striving after revenge, avoidance of or benevolence towards the transgressor and various of psychosocial factors.

2. Method and Procedure

The test participants included 530 people aged between 18 and 84 (345 females and 185 males). Because there were quite a large number of questionnaires to be filled in, not all the participants completed all 11 questionnaires. It should be noted, that 530 people participated in the questionnaire structure verification tests, whereas between 44 and 249 people participated in the questionnaire's theoretical accuracy correlation tests. The size of each group is given in the test results table.

The average age of respondents was 27.83 (SD=12.18). The education level of 32% of the respondents was basic or vocational, 24% secondary and 44% higher. The respondents filled in the questionnaires online (33%) and in group tests (67%)[4]. All respondents were Polish, mostly from north and central Poland. They were employed by production companies (33%), service companies (25%) or were students or pupils (38%). 4% of the respondents were unemployed; the majority of these were housewives.

In order to assess the concurrent validity, except TRIM-18 the participants filled in 10 other questionnaires as follows.

a) Global self-worth was measured by Self-Esteem Scale (SES). It assesses both positive and negative feelings about the self. The scale is believed to be uni-

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[3] Full Polish version of TRIM-18 one may find at the website of University of Miami (FL, USA) http://www.psy.miami.edu/faculty/mmccullough/Forgiveness-Related%20Stuff/TRIM%2018%20PL.pdf.

[4] The field tests were carried out by students of the EMPIRIA Research Club at the SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Faculty in Sopot, Poland.

dimensional (Rosenberg 1965; Polish version: Łaguna, Lachowicz-Tabaczek and Dzwonkowska 2007).

b) Positive and negative affect were measured by Positive (PA) and Negative Affect (NA) Schedule (PANAS; Watson et al. 1988; Polish version: Brzozowski 2010).

c) Intensity of experiencing positive emotions across the life span in general was assessed by Positive Emotions Scale (PES; Kossakowska in print). It consists of 3 subscales named: LOVE, JOY and HOPE.

d) The negative emotional states of depression, anxiety and stress were measured by DASS 21 which is a shorter version of DASS. The DASS was constructed to further the process of defining, understanding, and measuring the ubiquitous and clinically significant emotional states usually described as depression, anxiety and stress (Lovibond and Lovibond 1995; Polish version: Makara-Studzińska et al., in preparation).

e) Individual differences in generalized and dispositional optimism versus pessimism were assessed by Life Orientation Test (LOT; Scheier, Carver and Bridges 1994; Polish version: Juczyński 2001).

f) Independent and interdependent self-construal according to Markus and Kitayama concept (1991) was measured by Self-Construal Scale (SCS) by Singelis (1994, Polish version: Pilarska 2011). These two images of self are conceptualized as reflecting the emphasis on connectedness and relations often found in non-Western cultures (interdependent) and the separateness and uniqueness of the individual (independent) stressed in the West.

g) Spirituality in the concept of transcendence was assessed by Self-report Questionnaire (SRQ; Heszen-Niejodek and Gruszczyńska 2004). It assesses three domains of spirituality: Religiosity (measures beliefs towards God and faith), Ethical Sensitivity (measures moral behavior and people's interest in life and fate) and Harmony (measures the drive toward looking for the internal consistency between the inner and outer world).

h) Meaning in Life Questionnaire (Steger et al. 2006; Polish version: Kossakowska, Kwiatek and Stefaniak 2013) was also used to measure two dimensions of meaning in life: Presence of Meaning (how much respondents feel their lives have meaning – MLQ-P), and Search for Meaning (how much respondents strive to find meaning and understanding in their lives – MLQ-S).

i) Finally, Gratitude Questionnaire (GQ-6; McCullough et al. 2002; Polish version: Kossakowska and Kwiatek 2014) was taken to assess individual differences in the proneness to experience gratitude in daily life.

j) Additionally, the Cantril Self-Anchoring Striving Scale (Cantril 1965) was used to assess quickly the satisfaction with life. It is a one item scale which measures well-being in terms of the continuum representing judgments of life or life evaluation (Diener et al. 2009).

3. Results

a) Structure of Polish TRIM-18

A confirmatory factor analysis for Polish TRIM-18 indicated a 3-factor structure showing acceptable fit of the observed data, with RMSEA = .089 and CFI = .89. ML Chi-Square was 658.13, p <.0001, df = 132, RMS =.086. Goodness-of-fit index GFI was .873, and adjusted AGFI was .835. The factorial structure of the 3-factor model was in agreement with the forgiveness theory and comparable to that of the structure proposed in the original TRIM-18 (despite slight differences in item loadings, see: Figure 1. Factor loading for each item and Pearson's r between subscales coefficients are presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Factor loadings for TRIM-18 items in Polish version.
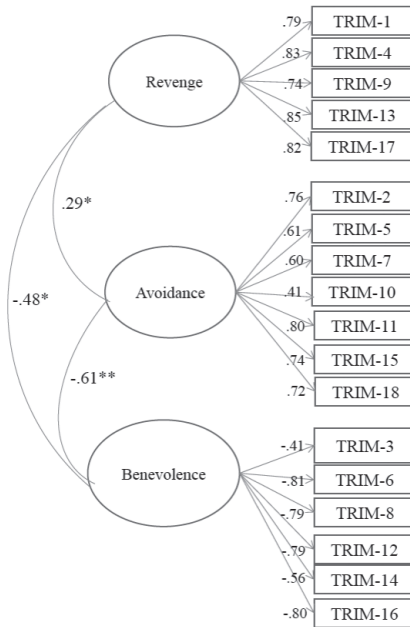
b) Reliability for TRIM-18 (PL)

Cronbach's alpha coefficients for each subscale and the total score of TRIM-18 in Polish version are presented in Table 1. All coefficients are considered satisfactory.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and α-Cronbach's coefficients for the subscales of TRIM-18 (PL)

Factor	Mean	SD	α
1. Revenge	10.58	4.93	.88
2. Avoidance	23.13	6.50	.83
3. Benevolence	17.12	5.85	.88

c) Concurrent validity for TRIM-18 (PL)

We expected that forgiveness defined as strategies of coping with transgressor would be associated with personality aspects (e.g. self-esteem) and emotional state (positive, negative affect, intensity of positive emotions in daily life, stress, depression or anxiety discomfort). We predicted that self-esteem would be positively related to benevolence and negatively to revenge or avoidance. We hypothesized that positive affect would be positively correlated with benevolence and negatively with revenge and benevolence. We were not sure if forgiveness was related to all psychological resources but we predicted that optimism, spirituality, meaning in life and gratitude were likely to be correlated to forgiveness: positively with benevolence and negatively with revenge and avoidance. We did not believe that forgiveness would be correlated with such dimensions of the self as independence and interdependence.

All questionnaires were used in Polish versions. Gender, age and educational level as socioeconomic characteristics were also computed in the following study. All the Pearson's r values are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Pearson's r coefficients between TRIM-18 and personality, emotional state, psychological resources and demographic and well-being measures

	Revenge	Avoidance	Benevolence
demographic factors:			
age, n=530	-.17**	-.08	.13**
gender, n=530	.18**	-.06	.07
educational level, n=530	-.28**	.06	.10*
well-being measure:			
Cantril Ladder, n=249	-.05	-.12	.11
personality measure:			
SES, N=44	.03	-.10	-.08
emotional state:			
PANAS-PA, n=44, α=.84	.08	.02	-.05
PANAS-NA, n=44, α=.84	.15	-.03	.18
PES: Total, n=100, α=.82	.00	.14	-.08
PES: LOVE	-.13	.03	.08
PES: JOY	.12	.17	-.19
PES: HOPE	.07	.19	-.04
DASS-Total, n=79, α=.93	-.04	.16	-.21
DASS-Anxiety	-.03	.17	-.19
DASS-Depression	.00	.12	-.19
DASS-Stress	-.07	.14	-.18

psychological resources:

LOT, n=79, α=.69	-.29**	-.27*	.43**
SCS, n=79, α=.64			
SCS: Independence	-.06	-.08	.17
SCS: Interdependence	-.15	-.05	.02
SRQ-Total, n=44, α=.89	-.07	.04	.12
SRQ-Religiosity	-.15	.11	.18
SRQ-Ethical Sensitivity	.18	.02	-.08
SRQ-Harmony	-.02	-.02	.08
MLQ-P, n=100, α=.78	.20*	.15	-.28**
MLQ-S, n=100, α=.78	.11	.11	-.11
GQ-6, n=100, α=.78	-.21*	.15	.21

$*\ p <.05, ** \ p <.01$

Note:

SES: Self-Esteem Scale; PES: Positive Emotions Scale; DASS: Depression, Anxiety and Stress Scale; LOT: Life Orientation Test; SCS: Self-Construal Scale; SRQ: Self-Reported Scale; MLQ-P: Meaning in Life Questionnaire-Presence; MLQ-S: Meaning in Life Questionnaire-Search; GQ-6: Gratitude Questionnaire

4. Discussion

The Polish TRIM-18 questionnaire to examine forgiveness, in particular, the 3 ways of coping with a transgressor: striving after reprisal (revenge), avoidance of a transgressor and benevolence toward a transgressor is a valuable tool for conducting tests in Polish circumstances. This is proved by the values of goodness-of-fit indices and accuracy measures. The in-depth translation allows us to assume that the Polish version of the items are unambiguously comprehensible for Polish users. The loading of two items of the questionnaire may raise some doubts. Items 3 and 10 got quite low results, i.e. about 41. Item 3 loads the benevolence factor and item 10 avoidance. Since the confirmation analysis did confirm the original structure of TRIM-18, despite the relatively low loading of two items they were kept in particular subscales just as it had been intended by the authors (McCullough et al. 2006). This will enable us to carry out possible future intercultural comparisons of results of tests designed with the use of TRIM-18. There is a profound meaning of such comparisons, especially if they deal with notions of a philosophic nature or notions adapted to psychological sciences (e.g. Kossakowska, Kwiatek and Stefaniak 2013).

The accuracy analysis requires a few words of comment. The test results draw our attention first of all to the ambiguity of the construct of forgiveness understood as motivation toward a transgressor. In our tests, avoidance of a transgressor correlates only with optimism (r=-.27). According to the TRIM-18 questionnaire,

avoidance of a transgressor seems to be ambiguous behavior toward a person who betrayed our trust. On the one hand, the harmed person denies the existence of the transgressor (e.g. item 5), on the other, it avoids the transgressor behaviorally (item 11, 15). However, avoidance refers also to the difficulty in being polite to the transgressor (item 10), whereas this type of declarative difficulty is not equal to avoidance *sensu stricte*. We should also consider this strategy from the point of view of reasons for which the harmed person avoids the transgressor. The harmed person may avoid the transgressor not because he or she did not forgive, but on the contrary because this is the harmed person's way of trying to "forgive", forget, or cope with the anguish suffered during possible meetings with the transgressor.

Thus, according to our empirical data and the analysis of particular items, what is avoidance? What is it in reality if it correlates neither with negative affect nor religiousness which would encourage a person to be brave in coping with the transgressor, nor gratitude? However, our test showed that avoidance is related to pessimism. The bigger a pessimist a person is, the more willingly he or she avoids the transgressor. Therefore, maybe as a pessimist our respondent does not believe that confrontation with the transgressor may change anything in their relations and thus, prefers to avoid the latter. Avoidance also plays a protective role which is adaptive on condition that it is beneficial psychosocially and does not result in greater suffering.

To obtain the answer to the question what avoidance of the transgressor in fact is, we should, for example, check with which coping strategies it correlates (see: Gruszecka 2003), whether it conforms with the belief in the fair world, people or God (Lerner 1997; Skrzypińska 2003) and whether it causes distant results e.g. in the form of a bad mental or somatic condition. It is also worth checking if avoidance of the transgressor is a stable motivation or if it varies in time or even, as we suggested, it is temporary. Therefore, this motivation is worth looking at within longitudinal and experimental studies.

In comparison to the previously discussed motivation, striving after reprisal or revenge is a more precise and decidedly better defined motivation. It manifests itself most of all in the desire to get even with the transgressor, in wishing him or her to be similarly hurt by others, in the need to feel satisfaction from the transgressor's suffering. This is an active desire for revenge, on the one hand, but an extremely negative attitude towards the transgressor, on the other. Our tests show that younger people, with lower education and males are more prone to get revenge. These socio-demographic factors quite clearly show what revenge can be – it may be connected with a weaker process of socialization, greater behavioral activity, poorer life experience and bigger vulnerability.

Striving after revenge is also related to the presence of the meaning in life (r=.20). This relation is difficult to explain at this stage of testing and it requires further exploration by searching for intermediate factors. It is not easy to be indifferent to the conclusion created by this result that revenge may become the sense of a person's life. This interpretation seems hardly moral. However, we do not

know whether those striving after revenge consider morality at all. Perhaps a good explanation to the meaning-creative sense of revenge is to suggest that revenge can be an effective attempt to prevent the transgressor from possibly further harming the person already hurt (McCullough et al. 2013). The need for revenge for suffering should, therefore, be examined in a wider context taking into account individual motifs of reaching for revenge as the method of coping with harm as well as different types of harm, probability of being harmed again and subjective evaluation of the extent of harm (McCullough and Hoyt 2002).

The desire for revenge is stronger in pessimists and weaker in optimists (r=-.29). This result is not a surprise in view of the to-date tests conducted with the use of the same questionnaire in the Spanish speaking population (Rey and Extremera 2014). The result confirms the accuracy of our version of the TRIM-18 questionnaire. The relation between gratitude and striving after revenge was confirmed in our previous tests where this variable was measured with the use of the 12-item from (TRIM-12) questionnaire (see: Kossakowska and Kwiatek 2014). Those persons who do not feel gratitude are more prone to take revenge on the transgressor (r=-.21). On the contrary, those who are able to be grateful are less prone to avenge themselves for the suffering. This result is similar in other populations and confirms the accuracy of the Polish TRIM-18 (Rey and Extremera 2014).

Our test showed also that the need for revenge is not related to any positive affect, hence, it is not pleasant (although, it is neither unpleasant because it is not connected with negative emotions). Similarly, we did not find a relation between satisfaction with previous life measured with the Cantril ladder. This result suggests that respondents do not wish to feel continuously the desire for revenge.

The most positive attitude toward a transgressor seems to be benevolence. First of all, a benevolent person wishes his or her transgressor a good life despite the harm suffered. Such a person needs to forget the grudge, do away with anger and repair the interpersonal relation. However, in our tests benevolence still does not correlate with a positive affect or wellbeing, neither does it increase the self-esteem or has any relation to religiousness, or ethical sensitivity or spirituality as such. Lack of this relation makes us think what benevolence toward a transgressor in fact is and what psychological factor it involves. Our test showed quite high correlation with optimism (r=.43). Optimists more often present a benevolent attitude toward the transgressor. However, this benevolence does not add meaning to their life. On the contrary, the more meaningful the victim's life is, the less benevolent he or she feels toward the transgressor. This result is consistent with the already discussed positive correlation between meaning in life and revenge.

Moreover, the test proved that benevolence increases with age and educational status. Thus, education favors cultivating the benevolent attitude in life. Additionally, the relation between benevolence and age should be further examined, for instance by monitoring the time since suffering occurred as previous test results show that

the context of time is connected with forgiveness (Kossakowska and Kwiatek 2014). Moreover, other test results indicate that forgiveness depends on other additional factors: the way of processing the harm suffered, the extent of guilt attributed to the transgressor and oneself (Gruszecka 1999), type of relationship (romantic vs. friendly) (Van Dyke and Elias 2007), and time (McCullough et al. 2003), that has passed since suffering occurred (McCullough and Hoyt 2002).

Our tests prove the thesis that forgiveness is not an easy construct but a complex motivation or attitude which requires it to be further analyzed. Adaptation of TRIM-18 as a tool for measuring forgiveness, and in particular three types of motivation toward the transgressor, may appear very useful, all the more so because beside the American tests there are hardly any others available to allow cultural comparisons which could provide a new contribution to understanding psychological mechanisms of this theoretically difficult construct.

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THE TRANSCENDENCE OF THE PERSON IN FORGIVENESS. THE PERSPECTIVE OF RELATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

Summary

The paper is focused on a very important aspect of building society and relationality, that is, forgiveness. This issue is quite often treated from the psychological, philosophical or theological perspectives, but it is still not sufficiently worked out in social sciences. Actually, it is also my point that no social theory should avoid this question, as it plays such an important role in social relations. As I will try to demonstrate, forgiveness has a special corrective character in human relationships as well as in building society and shaping human personality. The dynamics of forgiveness with its morphogenetic process, in a special way, transforms a person and his relations.

Keywords: forgiveness, transcendence of the person, social forgiveness, relational sociology, human relations

TRANSCENDENCJA OSOBY W PRZEBACZENIU. PERSPEKTYWA SOCJOLOGII RELACYJNEJ

Streszczenie

Podstawowe zagadnienie podjęte w tym opracowaniu, tj. przebaczenie, dotyczy kwestii bardzo ważnej dla rozwoju relacji międzyludzkich i budowania społeczeństwa. Problem przebaczenia jest dość często analizowany z perspektywy teologii, filozofii czy psychologii, ale nadal w niewielkim stopniu z perspektywy socjologii. Tymczasem, teorie społeczne nie powinny unikać tego zagadnienia, które odgrywa tak istotną rolę w relacjach społecznych. Przebaczenie ma specjalny charakter korekcyjny w budowaniu społeczeństwa, ludzkich relacji, jak również w kształtowaniu ludzkiej osobowości. Dynamika przebaczenia z zachodzącym w nim procesem morfogenetycznym w sposób szczególny przekształca osobę i jej relacje.

Słowa kluczowe: przebaczenie, transcendencja osoby, przebaczenie społeczne, socjologia relacyjna, relacje międzyosobowe

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Introduction

The importance of forgiveness in rebuilding and strengthening human relationships in social life seems obvious. Nevertheless, this phenomenon is treated to a very limited extent in social sciences, especially in sociology. The question of forgiveness is so vast that this paper is to be confined mainly to interpersonal forgiveness, although it also touches on the so-called political or institutional forgiveness. Moreover, it deals only with the classical concept of forgiveness, leaving aside different aspects, such as conditions, stages, and others.

The act of forgiving is possible thanks to a special capacity of man which is transcendence, the concept elaborated especially by K. Wojtyła in his anthropology. Applying this to forgiveness, the text will consider it in the framework of relational sociology (P. Donati and M. Archer) and based on the critical realism paradigm (CR; of D. Porpora, A. Collier and others). It will also make some references to the sociology of free giving.

The text seeks to analyse the fundamental process of forgiveness from these perspectives and demonstrate its transcendental character, so as to show the interconnections with the human relationality of both the victim and the perpetrator, and the special correctional character of this act, which leads to the rise of something new in them and in the society.

After a brief description of the human reality marked by a variety of wrongdoings, the paper will discuss the concept of transcendence, particularly its vertical dimension in the relationships with the Other. Then, it applies the idea of transcendence to forgiveness, describing the morphogenetic process that affects both the context and agents. In this process, a person is subjected to a strong confrontation of values, which reveals the truth about his personal and relational constitution, and leads to the restoring of these relationships.

1. Human reality

The reality we live in and experience in our everyday life, while marked by the goodness offered to us and from which we benefit, also contains things, actions, behaviours and attitudes that are marked by human wrongdoings (in religious terms – sins), faults, failures, negligence and so on. All this affects human relations and can destroy or at least restrain people's development, such as bonds of love, solidarity, and benevolence. Obviously, this assumes a specific vision of society and human relations: the prevailing principles, shared values, and goals. But the tendency to build good relations, particularly based on love and friendship, can be treated as the ultimate aim (concern) of the whole humanity irrespective of the assumed social ontology. It appears as something phenomenologically obvious.

Perturbations, disorders, and ruptures in social relations caused by inappropriate attitudes, behaviours, words and actions increase distance to the

envisaged goal or at least restrain any move in that direction. In order to make a correction and restore this, forgiveness is needed. It has, however, a peculiar character; it means that it not only restores relations to the previous state, i.e. before the wrong (evil) was done but also transforms these relations, deepening them thanks to special conscious and free involvement of a wronged person – victim, but also often of a perpetrator. The transformation of their relations transforms also the persons themselves: it occurs in a morphogenetic process that affects the context and the actors as well. In this process a new reality and new relations emerge. To achieve this the powers of human agency are needed.

Authors working on forgiveness generally agree that proper forgiveness can only take place between persons, even when we use sometimes the terms of political or institutional forgiveness (Hughes 2014). Consequently, in searching for the properties and powers that can transform the destroyed or ruptured relations, we need to focus first of all on the actors and their agency. There we turn to a special capacity of man, namely, the person's capacity of transcendence. For Karol Wojtyła transcendence is necessarily connected with the properties and powers of a person; for him man as a person naturally transcends himself: "Transcendence […] is to a certain extent another name for a person" (Wojtyła 1994b, 385).

2. Transcendence in human life

Transcendence has various meanings and dimensions. Originally, it signifies some latent reality that is beyond the human capacity to grasp or fully understand – beyond one's direct apprehension: a reality that is outside the world, its space and time, commonly named God, and that is why, this notion is not very popular among contemporary scientists in social sciences. The reinstatement of this dimension and reality, connected with individual and social life, to the scientific debate was the task of the book *Transcendence,* written by three authors linked with CR: Margaret S. Archer, David Porpora, and Andrew Collier (2004). Pierpaolo Donati, in developing the relational sociology, also mentioned that openness for this reality was the weak point of all important contemporary social theories (Donati 2007, 5).

Transcendental in realistic philosophy signifies something going "beyond the contingent and accidental in human experience, but not beyond all human knowledge" (*Transcendental* 2012). There are categories having a universal application such as being, one, true, good or beauty. Etymologically, transcendence "means to go over and beyond a threshold or a boundary (*trans-scendere*). It may also refer to the subject's stepping out of his limits toward an object" (Wojtyła 1994a, 164). And this is the meaning with its different dimensions specifically worked out by K. Wojtyła in his concept of the acting person. In this definition, however, one could also find references and links to other meanings of transcendence.

K. Wojtyła discerns, first of all, between the horizontal and vertical transcendence, showing the latter's special importance in the human life. In the

horizontal dimension man is directed to some external object, some objective reality, thus transgressing his individuality and subjectivity. The important moment of human efficacy ("I act-man acts") (Wojtyła 1994a, 57-59, 115-116) is connected with self-consciousness and an intended act proper only to the person. It means, that the person experiences himself as the agent – subject of the action: "having the experience of 'being the actor'" (Wojtyła 1994a 63-64, 116). The acting man can transform the surrounding world, but he also shapes himself as a person, thus he activates the process of self-determination. He is not only an observer of something happening in him, but conscious that he – as the subject of the action – causes a change in himself (alters himself). In this dynamics, the subject becomes an object for himself. The man is the end and the limit for himself. The limits of self-determination result from the constitution of the person, from the truth of his being (Wojtyła 1979, 206-207). The truth seen as a correspondence of "the belief or claim and the way the world is" was elaborated from CR's view by D. Porpora in his book *Reconstructing Sociology* (2015, 65-95). In this realistic view the objective reality is the maker of truth: "world is the truth maker".[2]

And then we move on to the question of the vertical transcendence. The important moment in transcending oneself (vertical transcendence) occurs in relation to his conscience, which is a special place of man's inner conversation. The person is able to recognise in it the personal subjective value of his willing and choices and then acts in accordance with truth and good. There is a process of confrontation with the values of objective reality. Moving to this reality means transcending oneself in attainment of one's true good. Thereby, the potentiality of man connected with his will is transformed into a specific action, determining the reality around him and shaping himself (self-determination) (Wojtyła 1994b, 389-390). This transcendence is connected with the ultimate concerns of the person determining man's particular choices and harmonising his action (Archer 2003, 83-85, 230-246, 314-315). Following this way, the person not only self-determines, but also attains his self-fulfilment/self-realisation. In this process the person is shaping his self – "I", affecting "Me" and also altering his future self – "You" (Archer 2015, 99-106).

The other dimension of the transcendence of man occurs in relation to the other person. As K. Wojtyła wrote: "the relation to persons is in some measure entangled with the relation to things, but possesses above all its own dimension in the existence and action of every man" (Wojtyła 1979, 210). The "Other" is the one in whom "I" can recognise itself. The need to live with others and to fulfil oneself in the relationships with others shows the necessity of appropriate coexistence with other people. It pertains to the ultimate concern of social order but, as it is largely

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[2] Finding the truth occurs in a dialogue between our interpretation, understanding and the reality itself (because of epistemic fallibility). In CR's alethic account of truth the important role plays the distinction between *transitive* and *intransitive* dimensions of knowledge; it means between "the content of knowledge, which may change" and "the unchanging object of knowledge itself". Cf. also the epistemic triangle of P. Donati (2007, 2-3).

explored in the relational sociology, this dimension is one of the constituents of personal selfhood – "I" (Donati and Archer 2015); it expresses the social nature of man. The most profound element in recognising "the Other" as our neighbour is the consciousness and acceptance of the participation in humanity (Wojtyła 1994a, 331-332; 1994c, 450-451). I need to accept and choose "the Other" in myself, in the shared humanity ("Love your neighbour as yourself"). I need to affirm his dignity, which is usually linked in human relations with friendship or love (Wojtyła 1994a, 333-335; 1994c, 453-455). Such relations grow in the logic of a gift, not in utility that reifies "the Other". "If a man spontaneously 'transcends' himself toward another, toward others, toward the community (and in this 'transcending' occurs 'the outgrowing of one's self'), that is the proof that self-fulfilment, or in other words, self-teleology brings with itself an opening of the subject. Man fulfils himself 'through others' and realizes his own self by living 'for others'" (Wojtyła 1979, 210). A pertinent formulation of this truth "that man, who is the only creature on earth which God willed for itself, cannot fully find himself except through a sincere [gratuitous] gift of himself" can be found in the Pastoral Constitution of Vatican II. (Sobór Watykański II 1967, 24). This gratuitous gift is the "affirmation of the relation as such, of the relation as an expression of social life in and for itself". It is "not so much an external and coercive rule that acts on individuals, but rather and above all it is a manifestation of their internal sociality, of their need to enter into, to be in and live in human relations" (Donati 2003, 256, 258).

Two important processes occur at the same time and intensify (strengthen) one another: personalisation and socialisation. In his time, K. Wojtyła tried to insist on the need to deepen the first one, saying: "it is most necessary to balance the process of socialisation by an effort of personalisation" (Wojtyła 1979, 210). If these two processes are not going together, man experiences alienation more and more (Wojtyła 1994b, 456; 1994c, 413) in relation to his ultimate concern of social order.

Transcendence towards others is connected with auto-transcendence, because the gift of oneself needs personal maturity (Wojtyła 1986, 87-92). Being a gift for the other, man transcends himself and fulfils himself at the same time. It is a great paradox and great truth concerning our realisation: the person is for himself when he is for others. This entails the emergence of new relational identity of man and a new web of relations in society. As was said by P. Donati, the enigma of free giving is rooted "in the fact that human beings cannot fully become themselves as such without entering into relationships and one doesn't enter into relationships as human persons except through the door of free giving" (Donati 2003, 268).

3. Transcendence in forgiveness

However, relations are also prone to faults and wrongdoings, committed especially when people tend to realise themselves in opposition to others, looking for realisation of some egoistic goals. The decision to do something wrong destroys

a relation, but also affects and shapes the subject of such an action. While he has a chance to change his attitude – transcending himself – by recognising the fault and trying to achieve his real relational good, at this moment he is tied by the decision of the wronged person to release him through forgiveness and enable the re-establishment of the ruptured relationship.

The classical concept of forgiveness describes a relation between two persons: a perpetrator and a victim. For the victim, the experienced wrong means not only the rupture of the relation but also affects his dignity and good as a person; thereby he has a natural tendency to look for justice, if not even for revenge. It creates an emotional attitude, which is tinged with a will (desire) to cease the relation. Thereby, the victim experiences two strong, inner "drives": to break the relationships completely and discontinue its further development ("I do not know you!") or to try to restore and build it further. The latter tendency is usually connected with his ultimate concern, having less emotional weight, but being well established in the identity of the person through his inner conversation. Thus, the person experiences strong, contradicting emotions. For Karol Wojtyła, who generally agrees with Max Scheler on that point, emotions are related to values (Wojtyła 1994a, 288-291; Mara 2011, 9). Emotions are "an indication […] of values that exist […] outside the subject having that emotional experience" and "the nucleus for crystallization of an experience of value" (Wojtyła 1994a, 289, 274). It means that we have here an opposition of some values. M. Archer defines emotions as specific "commentaries upon our concerns" (Archer 2002, 197-198).

The dynamism of negative emotions that pushes against the realisation of one's ultimate concerns relates not only to the harm that the victim experiences, but also to the very fundamental values like justice, one's own dignity, one's individual and relational goods (health, career, social position, relationships with others). This is why, we can find so many different responses and solutions to this problem and observe in our reality such different reactions. Among the many thinkers who tried to address this question, we may mention Hegel, Butler, Kant, Nietzsche, Jankélévitch, Arendt, Derrida, Ricoeur, and others.

For example, Friedrich Nietzsche, opposing "slave" and "noble morality", rejected the traditional Christian morality (especially in his *Antichrist* and *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* with the concept of "Übermensch") as the morality of weaklings. For him forgivers are timid, shy people who have no power to fight for their rights and that is why they forgive: so they are weaklings who must forgive. Doing this, in his mind, they reject justice (Nietzsche 2007, 27-29).

Vladimir Jankélévitch and Jacques Derrida consider the problem of the unforgivable in reference to the extermination of Jews during the Second World War and other crimes against humanity, and they doubt the possibility of pure and full forgiveness, exploring different forms of false forgiveness.

Generally, forgiveness as a gratuitous gift does not harmonise with the model of societal relations and the model of man in such approaches. Most anti-

forgiveness concepts are built on the idea of justice as the fundamental principle ordering social relations and on a "damaging" effect of forgiveness for it (Wolf 2002, 36-38). They are closely connected with the notion of strict exchange in social relations.

Various anti-forgiveness theories, try to remove forgiveness from the social reality, because they recognise its detrimental or even devastating character for the wronged person and social order. On the other hand, we have an important cultural impact of the religious concept of forgiveness, which has already its place in the consciousness and attitudes of many people. I mean particularly the truth of Redemption in Christianity, concerning the forgiveness of our sins in Jesus Christ. This idea has created the whole "culture of forgiveness", especially connected with the sacrament of reconciliation and the duty to forgive one another. Some researchers are convinced that forgiveness is and can be valid only for religious groups. Even if it is true, there is a great societal impact of these groups (esp. Christians) in our reality: a great number of people belong to it, so it is very important for the society. Besides, there are various concepts, close more or less to this one, especially connected with the functioning of civil society. They propose another model of relations and their restoration through forgiveness, such as, for example, those connected with the sociology of free giving, the virtue, and principle of love.

The key moment before taking the decision to forgive is related to the process of transvaluation (re-evaluation) and recognising the true good of a person. It is connected with the aforementioned problem of the confrontation of values. At that moment, the process of hierarchisation of values is required and initiated through the inner conversation: what are our ultimate concerns; what do we care about most; what are our goals? It is connected with the level of maturity (the process of personalisation) and our recognition of truth of the personal and relational constitution. It can be acquired in the process of socialisation, but at the moment of the confrontation of values – if it comes only from "Me" – it is often not sufficient to initiate the process of forgiveness: it requires more and more integration of these values in subjective "I" (Archer 2015, 99-103). It demands taking a decision against one's own emotions connected with the values such as justice or one's own dignity. This process of transvaluation should entail recognition of the priority of the wrongdoer's dignity over his deeds and identification of the forgiving person with the dignity of the forgiven one.

The decision of the wronged person, when he decides to forgive the wrongdoer, is a starting point in re-establishing a relation. Through this, the person transcends himself in a special way. First of all, he must temper and overcome his negative emotions and restrain the will of revenge. Then, he must get out of his harm and open for the other, recognising him as a person, recognising his dignity. This is possible through the confrontation of values and concerns. The person discerns it in his conscience, taking into account also the whole cultural, mainly religious, conditioning ("Me"). In this process his agency (efficacy), self-possession, self-governance, and self-determination

find their expression. The forgiving person is acting against his spontaneity – his natural powers that he "reads" in himself as the experiencing subject.

In this process something new emerges, something new in the forgiver, in the forgiven, and in their relation as well as in the society. This is not a simple restoration: in a certain sense the authors opposing forgiveness are right in claiming that the previous situation cannot be retracted – the wrong is done. However, the forgiver shapes himself very effectively, which leads him much quicker to the maturity of his personality. In this opposition, there occurs a very strong clarification and reinforcement of a good hierarchy of his concerns. The person must also realise that a good relationship with the other is not only something external of him, but also internal, something constituting him. He realises that actually his "I" has the "relational character" which is amplified through this decision. Thereby, the person experiences his self-fulfilment, even if he needed to face some contradictions in himself: through his act, shaping himself, he experiences gradually the integration of his emotionality at the new level. Obviously, it is of great importance for the person, for his relationality and for the society. Here we can observe the proper expression of the theorems and claims of the relational sociology of P. Donati and M. Archer (2015).

Thanks to forgiveness, the victim affirms the forgiven one as a person, giving him a special place in his life and recognising his dignity. He releases him from the bonds of culpability, remorse, etc. Thereby, a new relationship between them may emerge. Amplifying his relational identity, the forgiver opens him up for experiencing "We", for living in better solidarity with one another and building relational goods. It entails a further morphogenetic process. In this case, the person experiences fundamental solidarity connected with participation in the same nature, its greatness and weakness at the same time (Archer 2015, 107-111). In the case of full forgiveness, which is usually a process, the relationship could become even closer and stronger than before. It is marked by unconditional gratuitous love and becomes usually more resistant to another disruption. Here, we also deal with the realisation of the evangelic principle "Love your neighbour as yourself" (Mt 22: 39; Mk 12: 31). All this shows that our relationships and personal constitution are marked not only by our weakness and sinfulness but also by what we can call a corrective or redemptive dimension in human life.

The outcome of forgiveness is of fundamental importance for human relations and with all the morphogenetic dynamics it often brings the emergence of something new in relationships, something that was not aspired or even expected. But the generative powers of this corrective process are connected with human agency.

Conclusion

The relational character of the "I" and his opening up for "we", for solidarity with others in our actions is specifically demonstrated in some types of forgiveness

called third-party forgiveness. Political forgiveness may provide an example here. It takes place when someone pronounces forgiveness on behalf of someone else. It happens for different reasons: often when the victim simply cannot do it, i.e. because he died. We are not going to discuss if such a deed can be described as forgiveness. Anyway, the person who does it must feel special solidarity with the direct victim. It can be a close relative, but it may also be an "institutional" representative, who must identify with the direct victim or victims and their families and have special empowerment from them.

In every dimension, forgiveness, in order to be true and enable re-establishing human relationships, must be performed in accordance with the logic of the gift, a gratuitous gift. Following the analysis of P. Donati concerning different dimensions of free giving, we could state that the resolution of the controversy on the character of forgiveness outside the interpersonal relations is the fact that "free giving, even when it appears to be the same, does in fact differ according to the context in which it is located and according to the relations of distinction and combination of those contexts". So it has a different character when it is performed in the family and in an informal network system, in the system of voluntary associations, in the political-administrative system, and in the market (Donati 2003, 252). Forgiveness as a gift has the power to transform human relationships and the person himself and, on the other hand, it needs these properties and powers implied to the person and his relationality. The fundamental property of the person – the other name of it – is the possibility to transcend himself, which finds a special expression in the act of forgiveness.

The correctional character of forgiveness implies the emergence of a new reality, which is the basis for rebuilding and strengthening human relationships. The importance of this for social life is all the more apparent as we can observe the destructive effects on interpersonal relationships and ties. This process requires transvaluation and going beyond even dominating feelings and fundamental concerns: transcending them through reflexivity and discerning the real good, which is entwined with the good of the Other. In the process, gains a better understanding of the relational character of one's nature and experiences the emergence of the relationships already founded on one's inner conscious conversation, which adds a more solid character to it. This, undoubtedly, is of importance for the whole society, and that is why, sociologists should work more on that reality.

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THE ORIGIN OF MORAL NORMS IN BUSINESS ETHICS AND MARKETING ETHICS: PERSONALISM VERSUS UTILITARIANISM

Summary

The article focuses on the possibility of using the principles of personalism and utilitarianism in business ethics and marketing ethics. The author answers the question: Why should we first choose personalism, and not utilitarianism? The main thesis of this article is that for business ethics and marketing ethics the personalistic norm of morality is more appropriate than the utilitarian standard of morality. The article aims: (1) at assessing the utilitarian standard of morality used in business and marketing ethics; (2) at introducing the concept of business ethics and marketing ethics based on the assumptions of personalism.

Keywords: norm of morality, personalism, utilitarianism, business ethics, marketing ethics

ŹRÓDŁO ZASAD MORALNYCH W ETYCE BIZNESU I ETYCE MARKETINGU: PERSONALIZM *VERSUS* UTYLITARYZM

Streszczenie

W artykule przeprowadzono dyskurs wokół personalizmu i utylitaryzmu jako dwóch odmiennych źródeł szczegółowych zasad moralnych w etyce biznesu i etyce marketingu. Autor broni tezy głoszącej, że personalistyczna norma moralności jest właściwsza niż utylitaryzm. Celem artykułu jest: (1) ocena utylitarystycznej normy moralności stosowanej w etyki biznesu i marketingu; (2) przedstawienie koncepcji etyki biznesu i etyki marketingu opartej na założeniach personalizmu.

Słowa kluczowe: norma moralności, personalizm, utylitaryzm, etyka biznesu, etyka marketingu

Introduction

Ethics is a philosophical science of morality. Morality is a set of propositions and judgments a person should abide by. Furthermore, moral propositions assess

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and indicate, which type of conduct is right and which is wrong. Every human conduct always has a specific and individual character. By contrast, ethical rules and related specific standards of conduct are far more general and abstract. Hence, a need arises to combine the aforementioned perspectives: to associate general rules with specific actions. This is the utmost fundamental objective of ethics if the rules are to shape human conduct, or if we are to express our judgment on the basis of such general rules.

This very challenge appears most frequently, inter alia, in business ethics and marketing ethics, both of which belong to applied ethics. Both the aforementioned domains (including case studies[2]) rely upon forming moral judgments and propositions to the extent of immediate, specific moral dilemmas faced by entrepreneurs and marketing specialists. The question, which arises in such situations is as follows: which moral standard[3] should one abide by upon analyzing a specific situation? After all, one has to refer to a specific source of moral appraisal and consequently assume a determined criterion, verifying and assessing that particular case. For the reason of the ever-increasing level of complexity of the economic cases within the present-day business world, common knowledge proves, most frequently, to be insufficient. Moreover, the trends negating the existence of absolute (objective) moral norms have to be rejected. These include: liberal ethics and the branches related thereto, such as: ethical subjectivism (Biesaga 2008, 293-296), individualism and relativism. Their application is conducive to chaos and confusion within the moral sphere, which, in the end, poses a threat to every human being and their true welfare.

A review of business ethics and marketing ethics literature shows that the problem of axiological foundations of ethics is rarely taken up, whereas this issue concerns the fundamental standards of morality that could serve as the basis for formulating more detailed solutions in these two areas of applied ethics. This fact has inspired the author to prepare this article.

Normative business ethics (a review of business ethics in Poland by Zadroga 2009) and marketing ethics (Smith and Murphy 2012) refer to a wide range of theoretical sources. Philosophical ethics distinguishes at least three ways of justifying moral norms. These are: (1) deontonomism – good is what an autonomous subject commands himself to be a duty; (2) utilitarianism – good is what brings benefit; (3) personalism – moral good is what is the affirmation of human dignity (Styczeń

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[2] Casuistry is a branch of science, which attempts to apply general rules to specific actions or to provide ethical appraisal of respective facts i.e. moral cases in the light of the criteria (moral standards) applied by those carrying out the appraisal (Wojtyła 1999, 16-17).

[3] Every person as a being endowed with free will and intellect faces in his or her life the fundamental moral dilemma, which can be expressed in the following question: "What renders a given action to be morally right i.e. to be a moral duty?". This is the question about moral standards: the judgment, whether a moral duty is the kind of duty, which must be unconditionally fulfilled and transformed into an action; it states that moral welfare consists in fulfilling such a kind of duty. In other words, it constitutes the criterion by which one may decide if an action is morally right or wrong" (Juros 1998, 348).

1983, 20). Here, I will focus especially on the possibility of using the principles of personalism and utilitarianism in business ethics and marketing ethics. I will try to answer the question: Why should we first choose personalism, and not utilitarianism?

The main thesis of the article is that for business ethics and marketing ethics the personalistic norm of morality is more appropriate than the utilitarian standard of morality. The article aims: (1) at assessing the utilitarian standard of morality used in business and marketing ethics; (2) at introducing the concept of business ethics and marketing ethics based on the assumptions of personalism.

1. Utilitarianism

Utilitarianism is quite often used in the context of ethics. But it is a controversial conception from a moral point of view. Now, I will try to examine this issue in more detail.

Utilitarianism accepts the formal principle of universalization of the norm of morality. However, it does not put the human person to the fore. Instead, Jeremy Bentham uses a well-known principle: "the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people". He assumes here the universally obvious statement that suffering is evil and happiness is good. Pleasure, benefit, prosperity and happiness of mankind occupy center stage in it (Herbut 1997, 527-528).

Contemporary utilitarians focus on the autonomy of the subject and emphasize that our understanding of happiness depends on individual preferences (Singer 1982, 80). "They are ready to agree with economists and accept that a person can determine the individual measure of happiness and suffering in a similar way as he calculates his financial gains and losses" (Gillon1997, 34). Thus, simplified utilitarianism seems to be attractive because the calculation of gains and losses is to show us what to do.

Three issues pose substantial problems for advocates of utilitarianism. First, as has been previously mentioned, there is the issue of whose good is to be maximized. The good of the individual? Or the good of society in general? Or should it be some subset of society?

Second, even if this issue could be resolved satisfactorily, utilitarianism poses massive measurement problems. In attempting to maximize the greatest good for the greatest number, how can an individual possibly measure the amount of good realized across many different kinds of outcomes and many different kinds of people, each having a different utility function.

Third, even if the measurement problems could be overcome, many ethicists believe that maximizing the total good produced will not always yield the morally "correct" solution because the total good may be distributed in an unjust fashion. Using an economic example, many ethicists would claim that it may be more ethically correct to have a smaller economic "pie" distributed widely among members of society, than to have a larger one with extreme income disparities (Hunt and Vitell 1986, 7).

2. Personalism

In business ethics and marketing ethics, relatively little attention is given to personalism. The notion of personalism was first coined by Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) to denote the faith in God who is a person. Later on, it was applied by Charles Renouvier (1815-1903) to refer to his own philosophical system. Generally, personalism is a philosophical approach that treats the human person as the highest value in the order of creation (more about personalism: Williams and Bengtsson 2014; in the Polish language: Dec 2008, 301-313). Therefore, the starting point for our analysis should be the dignity of the human person. As the second Vatican Council said: "For the beginning, the subject and the goal of all social institutions is and must be the human person which for its part and by its very nature stands completely in need of social life" (Second Vatican Council 1965, 25).

The fundamental principle of personalism can be formulated (in Latin) as follows: *homo homini res sacra, homo homini summum, persona est affirmanda propter se ipsam* (Szostek 1995, 34). Immanuel Kant expressed this in the statement: "Act in such a way that you treat humanity, whether in your own person or in the person of another, always at the same time as an end and never simply as a means" (Kant 1966, 62). Prior to this imperative, he wrote a general formula: "act according to only that maxim whereby you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law" (Kant 1966, 50).

The essence of ethical personalism was expressed by Karol Wojtyla: "Moral welfare is something, by means of which a human being as a person is good (is a good person) and moral evil is something, by means of which a human being as a person is bad (is a bad person)" (Wojtyła 1969b, 235). Such a perception of ethical personalism, developed in the Lublin Philosophical School, is grounded in experience. Moral experience fully reveals the identity of a human being as a person. Such experience, constituting the fundament of ethical personalism, is neither of an a priori nor of a sensualistic character, i.e. the object of such an experience is not cognizable by the senses. Nevertheless, it is realistic and derives from the transcendental object of the experiment, combining the conscious and the metaphysical dimension (Wojtyła 1969a, 15).

This principle of universalism is formal indeed, but it is fundamental; it rejects subjectivism, arbitrariness and situationism in making moral decisions. If one wants to apply some specific norm towards another person he must take into account the fact that by doing that he ought to apply it to all people and to himself, as well.

3. Business Ethics and Marketing Ethics: a Personalistic Approach

In order to be able to formulate theoretically justified moral norms in ethics, we must first answer the question about who the human person is. That is why,

I propose that business ethics and marketing ethics should be based on the philosophy of personalism, and not on utilitarianism. Generally speaking, the personalistic approach is based on the following assumptions (Rogowski 2008):

Accepting and abiding by the personalistic standards in business ethics may provide for proper respect for every person within the economic context. Such an approach, unlike utilitarianism, excludes the possibility of treating any human being as a kind of measure towards a specific end. Above all, personalism is conducive to responsibility for protecting the dignity of every person and deriving authentic fulfillment in giving the gift of self. The personalistic vision of morality constitutes also a chance of overcoming the legalistic and casuistic approach to morality, typical of the contemporary business ethics. Respecting the dignity of every person should be the preliminary and pivotal criterion of any specific solution to the extent of economic morality.

The integral concept of man is the basic condition for properly formed ethics. The human person must be treated as the starting point, also in marketing ethics. Marketing ethics must be solidly founded on anthropology, i.e. on the integral concept of man. As already mentioned, it is necessary to recognize human nature in order to formulate behavior norms properly. In my opinion, it can be carried out in the best possible way by the philosophy of personalism. Human dignity is the highest value in the order of creation. It is a fundamental, innate and inalienable value. It is objective and universal. Hence, it is necessary to treat man as the starting point for every human activity.

The human person is the first and ultimate end of marketing activities. Therefore, marketing activities cannot be driven only by the criterion of benefit, profit, and utility, but they should respect the human person in every single action. Marketing is carried out by people. Moreover, marketing activities themselves are targeted at people. Therefore, the ultimate end of business activities, including marketing, is the human person. Being based on the order of things, economy is at risk of dehumanization. This process can be seen in rejection of spiritual and moral values in favour of material benefits, replacing human rights with economic laws, or in the behavior that is not based on justice, but on selfishness. Bearing in mind the good of man, it is necessary to do everything, both in theory and in practice, to prevent the human person from being degraded to the role of a thing. It happens that businessmen and marketers regard human law and professional pragmatism as the most important ethical criterion. They often treat the law instrumentally (pragmatically), obeying the letter of the law, but disregarding the fundamental moral norms. This results, for example, in an aggressive use of marketing instruments. Such a legalistic and utilitarian approach is completely different from the personalistic ethical approach that recognizes the good will and respect for other people and for their rights.

The personalistic approach is about determining the most important (personalistic) ethical frameworks for marketing activities, and not about

formulating very specific moral principles in marketing. The fact that marketing processes are dynamic and changeable, constitutes an argument for formulating general, rather than specific, ethical norms. It is especially important to raise awareness of the value of the human person instead of developing a detailed catalogue of moral norms. Recognition of and respect for human dignity is the best starting point for formulating specific solutions to moral dilemmas in different situations. An individual (a marketer or businessman) must consider this in own conscience.

Conclusion

The proposed approach to business ethics and marketing ethics is a certain idea. What ideas have in common is that they are difficult to implement. However, this does not mean that we should not try to put them into practice. After all, we should not base our decision on whether to take up some action or not on the criterion of how difficult it is, but rather on whether it is morally right or not. Marketing based on personalism ultimately depends on the will and sensitivity of conscience of an individual person who should implement the idea of protecting human dignity. The most important justification for applying the personalistic norm to marketing activities is the need to care about each individual person.

Almost every economic activity includes an economic and an ethical component. This is also the case with marketing activities. We should take into account not just their market efficiency, but also moral quality. An ideal situation is, when marketing activities are both morally good and economically efficient. In reality, however, when it comes to business and marketing, it may be very difficult to choose what is morally good for the human person because such a choice may result in losing extra profits or in incurring some measurable economic losses. After all, the economic existence of an entrepreneur and his enterprise is closely dependent on the economic effectiveness and efficiency. On the other hand, it is also essential that marketing activities should comply with moral norms.

A personalistic approach to the ethics of marketing activities is important not only from the point of view of the consumer, but also that of the entrepreneur. However, taking into account the widespread and continuous contact of almost every person with the company marketing, it is important to examine the influence of marketing activities primarily on the consumer. The approach that I have presented in this article calls for respecting the human being – the consumer and his natural rights, but it also calls on entrepreneurs and marketers to act responsibly. This is necessary in order to protect the human person against the acts of dehumanization and instrumentalisation in economic life at large.

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MIGRATORY PHENOMENON OF AFRICANS TO EUROPE CHALLENGE OF LIVING TOGETHER

Summary

The cohabitation in a multicultural society asks for an inter-subjectivity in terms of unity and specificity. It requires that the individual be recognized, and together become authentic partners of dialogue. In encountering others, some points of insertions may be needed but with the necessity to respect the principle of distinction, and to have an objective to look on the risk of separation or the one of confusion.

Cultural diversity allows then the dialectic that will be shown in the training liberties by constructive dialogue. When diversity, an archetypal value of cohabitation breaks the challenges of the exclusivist "we" and the one of a bitter "they", it results in a cross-culturality, as long as self and other gratitude, and to an interior and exterior reconciliation. Living together in a world of a plurality of culture, is not an impoverishment, or a personal ruin, because every cultural identity can reveal itself and transform our life.

Keywords: Cohabitation, culture, identity, relationship, diversity, otherness

ZJAWISKO MIGRACJI MIESZKAŃCOW AFRYKI DO EUROPY. WYZWANIA WSPÓLNEGO ŻYCIA

Streszczenie

Życie w społeczeństwie wielokulturowym narzuca wymóg intersubiektywnego podejścia do spraw jedności i specyfiki. Oznacza to, że człowiek musi być postrzegany jako jednostka, a zarazem ma stać się autentycznym partnerem w dialogu. Kontakt z innymi osobami, może wymagać pewnej adaptacji, ale z zachowaniem zasady poszanowania odrębności, wymaga on również zwrócenia uwagi na ryzyko odseparowania lub poczucia zagubienia.

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Różnorodność kulturowa pozwala na przyjęcie w procesie kształtowania indywidualnej przestrzeni wolności dialektyki opartej o konstruktywny dialog. Kiedy różnorodność, będąca archetypową wartością życia we wspólnocie, pozwoli na przełamanie wykluczających innych postaw typu „my" oraz nacechowanych uprzedzeniami postaw typu „oni", możliwe jest wypracowanie zrozumienia międzykulturowego opartego na poszanowaniu indywidualnej tożsamości oraz na osiągnięciu stanu pogodzenia z samym sobą i otoczeniem. Życie w świecie wielu kultur, nie prowadzi do zubożenia, ani zniszczenia jednostki, ponieważ każda tożsamość kulturowa może znaleźć swój wyraz i zarazem przekształcić nasze życie.

Słowa kluczowe: życie we wspólnocie, kultura, tożsamość, wzajemne relacje, różnorodność, odrębność

Introduction

The growing presence of foreigners, cultures and other lifestyle poses a challenge to all of us, especially to those who work in the society. This creates an ambivalent situation: suffering from multiculturalism, as a matter of fact, people have to accept the prospect of a "cohabitation" tends to increasingly confrontational, or to search for and to build the conditions for a mutually enriching coexistence.

The problem that arises in a social context marked by the presence of different cultures is the challenge of coexistence (Cotesta 2005, 42-57). How to protect relations, keying the live interaction of citizens and foreigners? How to understand the responsibility of each interacting in everyday life? How can't the Identity of a major citizen get excited, so as to make himself a universal model or an absolute rule for all? How can the minority of immigrants stand without humiliating themselves for desperation? Finally, can such minority know and accept his human condition, can recognize its dignity and that of others and take their commitment to the rights and duties of the community? (Donati 2008,32).

To answer these questions, it seems necessary to outline a social profile of life that takes into account either characterizations, or the reports related to coexistence. Such perspective leads us to emphasize the interaction with an information-education system that changes and that is increasingly sensitive to the expectations of citizens, to ensure the realization of the objectives related to the choice of following an existential journey, human and even spiritual.

The objective is to present, in a moral aspect, intercultural relations in society and the need for a coexistence that respects different beliefs and cultural sensitivities. The reflection of the society as a privileged place of experience of a dynamic living-together and the development of relational skills, but always keeps a careful and valuable look at various areas. Such a methodology is phenomenological-analytical and hermeneutic.

After an analytical approach to issues related to coexistence, we will try to outline some risks of cohabitation, thereafter we shall identify a certain hermeneutical privileged place for coexistence.

1. Society and cultural plurality

Living in social environment, one must focus his attention on meeting other persons from different cultures, particularly at the developed relations matured by daily encounters. This means that it is not just the way of living that forms us but also human relationship that we establish. It's desirable, especially for the immigrated people who have left their families and friends, so that the host societies make them feel at home, as if the new environment is the second family. Only in this way, it can be said that a country also produces a change of life in space and time (Sen 2008, 118-120).

There emerges an inescapable necessity of an ethics of living together, which favours the control and the exchange between peoples and between cultures. The growing interdependence between nations and the displacement of large part of peoples, of many peoples in a single territory, in fact determine the creation of a multicultural society (Birtolo 2014,3-68). Beyond the complex legal issues, there also emerge, however, disturbing issues related to difficult relationships between different cultures and people.

This contradictory situation reveals a state of discomfort which is not without motivations. Mass culture produces, in fact, a radical flattening of life. The society, therefore, risk of leading in homogeneity levelling, which by eliminating the differences leads to the wastage of any creative tension. On the other hand, too much immediate impact of different civilizations, bearers of opposing views, generates insecurity and feeds deep inner conflicts.

The negative reaction constitutes often a form of defence before a great fluidity condition which set up seriously to jeopardize the subjective and collective identity. Thus, the identity as diversity reason, become a complex place, capable to change the nature of a society. Whether for better or for worse, it's up to us to decide.

2. Cohabitation between identity and diversity

When we speak of identity and diversity, we are in front of a *singulus* and *diversus* (Mazzoleni 1999, 1-24). It's exactly to this ambivalence, that is tied our difficulty manifested in the ethical thought. The problem that arises comes from the anthropological valence as concrete situation that regards man in his existence besides others. Indeed, living together brings or forces us to think that, the other receives his complete and autonomous sense of being in the ontological difference.

From these characteristics of the society, the dialectical of singularity and diversity, that is: identity and difference, assumes even the rule of differentiation between selfhood and otherness in the inter-subjective constitution (Cavalieri 2006,7). The inter-subjectivity is not privation of being, because the subject has need of the other different for expressing his absolute difference. And if diversity is increasingly the fate of a multi-cultural society, then diversity comes to be known as elementary fact of the multiplicity of subjective differences.

The bipolar tension identity-difference, that is: the dialectical between citizens and immigrants, that qualifies a modern society, it shows us the complex fundamental nature, lived by a peculiar ontological need. In this logic, the existence of the society is the recognition of relationships of the subjects in their differences.

Unfortunately, the coexistence in the field of plurality without doubt, raises big problems that cannot be undervalued. Today the primary danger can rise from the forms of cultural identity that tries to preserve their identity adopting closed versions of culture or community or refusing to get involved with difficult problems that arise from searching of coexistence with the difference.

All that happens, on the other hand, in the context of one society that feeds the forms of suspicion that accentuate the fear of the other, on a closer inspection, the last reason for this suspicion and of this fear is sought in the absence of a consolidated and well defined identity (Wieviorka 1996,15)[2]. Mass culture in fact, is an undifferentiated culture that tends to homogenize the life and its expressions and causes the fear of the loss the identity directly proportional to its lack of consistency. Where subjective identity and the sense of collective belonging weaken, today this is the situation of some European cities; it produces a state of vulnerability that urges for reaction, the emergence of attitudes of closure (Bauman 2009,74)[3].

Far away from encouraging dialogue and the comparison with the different, the loss of identity constitutes rather the assumption for the fall of every communication. Diversity is perceived as an attempt to the singular identity as eradication of their certainties that, however limited, are nevertheless, the necessary support of the personal and communal selections.

The passage from one negative vision of diversity, which generates refusal to a positive vision, for which it transforms in occasion of enrichment, it's then related to the acquisition of a strong identity and it's necessary to create a cohabitation opposed to uniformity and to homogenisation.

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[2] According to Wieviorka, above all, diversity generates fear in us. He says: "the differences are worrying because we don't know them. And the less we know them, the more we are worrying about them. In this sense, to put remedy to the problem, it's necessary to increase and to deepen sociological or anthropological analyses. The differences, in other words, appear worrying because we are not willing to admit that the political debate is possible" (Wieviorka 1996, 62).

[3] According to Bauman, the identity is a struggle at the same time against the dissolution and against the fragmentation. The intention of devouring and at the same resolute refusal to be devoured. The identity appears as a scream of war used in a defensive war. An individual against the assault of a group. A very weak and small group against a big group and with much resource (and for this reason very fearful). The sword of identity, however, can be contested on the other side, that which is very big and powerful, that which likes to belittle the differences, that likes that the differences are accepted as unavoidable and durable, but affirms that they are not important enough to hinder the loyalty through one big totality, that embraces and provides asylum to all those differences and to those who embodies them (Bauman 2009, 74).

3. Cohabitation between similarity and specificity

Before speaking about coexistence, it is necessary to touch upon the issues of similarity and specificity. Similarity and specificity are closely related. In fact, when we talk of coexistence, using the plural term, it touches in some way a structure, a relational paradigm. Therefore, it deals with the conditions of its possibility, of its giving itself, or of its negating itself that it needs to win by establishing relationships. If reality lies within these terms, what sense does specificity place as the foundation of the same giving of oneself in coexistence? What needs to be done here is an indispensable step: grasping unity from difference.

Without specificity, there is no giving some type of living together and vice versa. The recognition of the difference is positive otherness. To know himself, man always has need of another that takes him into the relational relativity of identity. His identity comes from the difference. M. Buber, in this sense, affirms that man is the only being that defines himself starting from his being-in-front- of the other (Buber 1992, 172).

This means that if European societies are consolidating on a global scale a mixture of cultures and identities because of the presence of immigrants, the worst gift is to make everyone believe that he/she is only, above all, exclusively white, black, or yellow, Western or Eastern. Human beings, just like they forge their own history, even forge their own cultures and ethnic identities.

The ethics of coexistence must therefore take seriously and deal with this reality. It must develop in persons the ability to stay within difference, without demonizing it; it must above all contribute to its positive development, transforming it into opportunities to search for new and more extended communion (Taylor 1993, 50-51).

That which must be avoided is, in fact, so much the attitude of intolerance as that, not less dangerous of the coverage of every tension that leads to an arrangement of everything unproductive. The coexistence between similarity and specificity requires the strenuous effort of creative harmonization of reality, starting from the full value of difference; otherwise, one might fall into some risks that make coexistence in the society problematic and complex (Life 2008, 23-24).

4. Cohabitation and possible challenges

The discourse about cohabitation with the human mobility is not without its limitations and risks, often structural, inherent in the very nature of life in society, fundamentally including like the place of meetings of different convictions, cultural and religious. The theoretical difficulty emerging today is relational, and comes from the labour of choice of individuals or groups.

It is simply understandable that co-existence or cohabitation of ideal that we want to build, that is linked to an ethical principle: a moral obligation to care for others, whoever he or she is, and in a special way to all individual members of

society in which all groups are found. But there are some risks which we can try to analyse: prejudice, closure, indifference and conflict.

4.1. The drama of prejudice

The state of indisposition or uneasiness that can nest in the citizens and immigrant society is the existence of prejudice (Pickering 2005, 140-141) systems. If relationships between the natives and residents are poorly treated, can give the possibility to mental processes and structural behaviour to function well. This phenomenon often results in rejection or marginalization of those who belong to other cultures. But how to understand such a situation? In fact, the difficulty of encounter between different cultures and mentalities are not only chargeable to unwillingness or bad will of some individuals, but must be traced back to more complex phenomena, both structural and cultural.

As a result, underestimation, discrimination and racism are concretely analysed and verified to mean the persistence of structural prejudice. It could happen that a majority number of citizens cultivate the spirit of pretension on their own culture considering it as superior to that of others, and therefore the vision of the world and of man contained in it should be considered the best. This is the reason that induces one to consider other cultures of foreigners as subcultures, whose level of civilization is judged based on the parameter of values drawn from the model of the "higher citizen" or "more dignified" (Bujo 2009, 8-11).

The opposition between "us" and "others", which often arises in our way of thinking and even our language, reveals the existence of the underlined problem. It is, in fact, the opposition between evolution and backwardness. It is considered under the same use terms like "primitive peoples", civilization and barbarism, rationality and fatalism, religion and magic. In that sense, "others" are, in fact, considered as sub-humans and their way of thinking and living as a subcultural (Mazzara 1997, 20-39).

To confirm the belief of the superiority of one group can help to some extent, the development of a stiff and formal model of rationality as the ultimate criterion of judgment of reality which then leads to the devaluation of everything that is not clear according to the Western view. The risk comes when one group or expression of civilization is considered as the point of reference or of measure for other expressions of civilization. Therefore, the notion of citizenship can generate the tendency of closure or of self-centered prejudice.

4.2. Climate of isolation or enclosure

When an identity really wants to evade dialogue out of fear or inconvenience, and desires to be left alone in its comfort zone, it runs the risk of being a lost cause. When a tendency of prejudice grows, it rather leads to a non-desired consequence: isolation of an individual or of a minority, schematic thinking of a group within its limited perspective, like in any other group is considered to be erroneous in its fundamental principles and therefore a potential enemy to beware of and eventually to be fought against. The other is a danger, a rival.

The negative relationship, emerging in the world of today, between the growth of a multinational society from one angle, and the growth of enclosed sections from the other angle, is highly motivated by the fear of loss of peculiar values and the fear of loss of particular specificity. The explosion of interbreed racism is an expression of a will to preserve one's own identity.

We can easily call this phenomenon of identity-isolation "anthropology of the I-solitary" that is, a way of living in a well defined group. The rapport between other groups is interpreted as a solitary inclination, closed within oneself and isolated from the others. In reality, the co-existence of other groups is not negated, only that it is not considered to be of any value. It appears as not important for the comprehension that represents the value of cohabitation.

The complexity that characterizes the present moment of cohabitation unfortunately pushes single cultures to a process of simplified identity, with the tendency of absolutizing their point of view. The refusal of different cultures is, therefore, a subsequence of refusal or negation of one's own suppressed diversity. As a result, the other becomes disturbing because they pose to us drastic aspects of our own identity which we do not want to denounce. It is a situation that makes us enter progressively or immediately into discussion, obligating us to relook critically into our own paradigm of realization.

Weak identity and partial identity are, as a matter of fact two ways, right or mistaken, to define identity, two ways that align a state of in-determination and insecurity, from which discerns the enclosure towards the other. Conventionally, when openness to the other's diversity is not strictly interrelated to the capacity of accepting and developing its own diversity, it could lead to an ethics of indifference.

4.3. Ethics of indifference

The attitude of indifference responds to the desire to live alongside each other, preserving their differences. Thus, the inclusion of foreigners in the existing social frame occurs without confiscating their identity and autonomy. Each one maintains their own identity and inserts it into a common frame where the differences are juxtaposed.

That which we call relationship of indifference is an expression of a rigid attitude. In living together, there is the "other", but he appears non-existent. He lives in a physical proximity that, however, does not allow mutual recognition. The "other" remains a stranger, indifference reigns and consents to a relatively peaceful coexistence in the society. The relationship with the "other" is lived in profound indifference, in a sense of acceptance of strangers, by citizens or natives as long as the latter does not feel threatened.

Such attitude expressed by a group to another, creates parcelled spaces, untouched by other people who pose a threat to the interest of the group. Other identities become so foreign, and considered as islands apart because of their beliefs. In this context, life in the society is carried out in a space outside

of collective existence, in which no one enters, except the few friends who are thus because they have similar trends, and are in some ways an extension of our identities (Tata 2014, 25-67).

In the sense of an ethics of indifference, relations take place in the third person (he), or generalized form. It is said for example: "European" rather than to point out that this is an Italian, "African" rather than to point out that it is a Congolese, as if all of Europe or Africa were a single nation. All this happens because it doesn't seem to matter knowing the people or groups in their specific identity, since the encounter and relations with them are limited to the functions they perform or to the tensions they create. It can happen that a group has its reason to exist in society because it has educational tasks. Even in such case it does not matter establishing any bond of friendship with them.

In this situation, every person, both indigenous and foreign, are likely to be confined in so many roles: at work he is a simple worker, at the bar he is a customer, and outside of these he is any other individual. In seeking to resolve the problem of de-personalization, we can progress to include living together. But even that has its limits.

4.4. Inclusive cohabitation: between assimilation and integration

Inclusive cohabitation research, sometimes, presupposes the assimilation or integration of immigrants. Assimilation, is meant here as a type of relationship in which the encounter with the stranger tends to dissolve him in the community that welcomes him.

The stranger or immigrant is expected to comport himself in everything as the citizens of the host society. E. Bianchi specifies that "when it goes beyond a duty of respect for the law «equal» for all and also affects lawful behaviors and habits although not usually, the right relationship with the idea of assimilation is actually an expression of rejection and the exclusion of the other because it posits an encounter that denies the difference" (Bianchi 2010, 44). This means that when the acceptance of the other is aimed at his assimilation, it is following a logic that, in reality, is exclusionary because one wishes to become the other, a photocopy of ourselves.

Even refugees are called to comport themselves in everything as the citizens of the host society. This call is not in itself negative, because the immigrant must first respect the laws of the country that hosts him. There can be no free zones, immigrant neighbourhood where these laws (with particular regard to fundamental human rights: the rights of women, children) are not kept. Respecting these laws, the immigrant will demand respect for human rights, personal freedom and freedom of (inviolability of the home, expression, religion, legal expenses insurance, education for minors) that the Constitution recognizes to anyone who stays in the friendly territory, as well as respect for the rights deriving from the payment of state taxes.

The other mode of inclusive cohabitation is Integration. It is not synonymous with assimilation, but it is the incorporation of foreigners in the host society,

through knowledge and respect of the differences, the exclusion of discrimination and the adoption of peaceful solutions to eventual conflicts. In a thwarted integration, the encounter with the stranger creates the will to live together, next to each other, but each retaining his individual security space, because the other is perceived as a threat.

On the other hand, in a good integration process, it is necessary to establish relationships lived in mutual recognition of, and harmonization of the differences in giving and receiving, with equalitarian logic. However, when the integration processes fail because they have been confused with assimilation, they often lead to a conflicting situation.

4.5. Cohabitation and conflict

In the host society, there is always a big risk of wanting to absorb foreigners, this strategy, which is a condition for accepting foreigners, always leads to a situation of conflict. Safeguarding proper identity, however, appears like a battle cry out used in a defensive war: where groups oppose themselves. The small and weaker group (appears to be threatened), while the bigger and stronger group with enormous resources (proves threatening).

It is a tragic cry indeed since on the one hand, there is a complaint that is real and contingent, and on the other hand, there is a guarantee of the presence of an ethical pandemic that spreads and thwarts the nature of the same civil cohabitation.

Violence much more expressed in verbal aggression, describes the atmosphere in which we find ourselves today astonishingly witnessing an impotency to act that renders sad and bitter our days. In this sense, Bauman decries that "Identity is a fight and at the same time, against dissolution and fragmentation. Possessing the intention to devour and at the same time a resolute refusal to be devoured" (Bauman 2009, 74).

A big space can be granted to this form of intersubjectivity. The utopian dream therefore, of a regulated cohabitation limited to the walls of affection, and of friendship, from perfect structures and from a dialogue that resolves all conflicts, is continuously, contradicted with the presence of conflict. It is however certain, that conflict is a real form of intersubjectivity. It is not caused only from the aggression of man, but also from the will of self-affirmation: choices are hereby always presented as partial and often clash, meeting with the choices of others.

A multinational society can become a fertile ground for conflict harbouring tendencies of hegemony and anti-hegemony. Identical hegemony, is a form of an incomplete assimilation or integration that leads to an assimilation of differences. This type of cohabitation can only be introduced by the strong; this however, does not necessarily imply a big number in size but could be said to mean the strong in economic, political, and sometimes even in cultural terms. In the context of migration, the strong obviously are the citizens that is to say, the autochthonous (La Cecla 2009, 12-34).

Conflicts will certainly spring up even if all were liven with goodwill. On the other hand, it is detected that cultural identity is not irreconcilable with conflict. Authentic identity that searches for and wishes the objective and real good of the individuals, shall continuously fight against the disposals to which these are related and that often defend fury.

The identity that works for justice, becomes a sign of contradiction and of conflict. So that from closure, it is easier to arrive at conflict between identities that are not reducible (Mantovani 2004,73-74). The discomfort, comes because in identity exist contemporary various matrices (to stick, to dominate, to refuse, to rebel) and this fact creates a conflictual situation. But the difficulties can become axiological incentives.

5. Axiological reading

Nobody can be closed in himself. subjectivity is responsibility with and for others, without putting trust on their responsibility for us. living together means that we can authentically realize who we are only in the dynamic relationship with the other, in the capacity of relation and in the recognition of the other (Bruguès 1994, 46-47).

5.1. Cohabitation: relationship as a privileged parameter

The possibility to give in comparison with the cultures an enriched dimension is tied up to the individualization of human virtues around which human relations are built. The shuttering of the identity fabric, as fruit of the processes of differentiation and multiplication of affiliations within society, can be overcome only through convergence around humanity that is assumed as point of reference for articulating for him a relational life. In this sense it becomes worthy to note that the existence of plurality of choice of life does not necessarily exclude the fulfilment of this result.

What presses us to understand, and is again worth underlining is the impact of humanitarian ethics on relations and in particular on the very idea of cohabitation. In fact, if the idea that no identity exists that imposes, even in generic form, a form of humanity that invites attention from the other is accepted, then comes the fall of the necessary ethic foundation of consent on respect and on promotion of interpersonal and intercultural relationships. Unfortunately, nobody, not even government's authority, can impose those unavoidable duties of relationship that values for all the different convictions, personal and communal.

Diversity obliges us to interrogate ourselves on our own identity and to enlarge our own points of view, in order to find a common base. In fact, when it is asked to be part of a communal life, one has to be ready to put in discussion his own identified convictions; one has to be desirous to learn from others or at least to be prepared for it (Habermas 1998, 9-62). Every widening of one's perspectives implies renouncement

of his personal specificity. But all this is necessary in order to realize a dynamic cohabitation that knows how to value others, since every group or individual has the right to look for his own ease as he/she wants and can: that deals with felicitation in general sense or professional realization for studies achieved.

In this perspective, every truly humanistic ethics, demands active and pacific, tolerant and dialogic cohabitation. And vice versa, cohabitation imposes an absolute need of fundamental ethics. For this, there is a need for conscience, personal and collective in order to foster a responsible relation that grants positive significance to cohabitation. From here relationship puts in motion otherness.

5.2. Otherness as an indispensable criterion

The society at the same time is the place of cultural experience and the result of an agreed modality: to understand the other in his/her difference, considering the different opportunity of reciprocal enrichment. In the case of living together, a cultural identity does not request only for its recognition, but also, and above all, the recognition of the community into which one enters and forms or becomes a part. The request of recognition is in the substance of a full participatory request at the level of common life.

According to Hall, there is a need to put in discussion the same idea of irreducibility, unity, authenticity and the purity of an identity. To be far from united or harmonious entity, monologue or free from extreme influence, the cultures in reality assume more foreign elements, changes and differences than excluding its influence or knowledge. In fact, if an individual, a single is of an identity that refuses to be homogeneous, then he/she is different, that is, the kind of person who differs and refuses to vanish or to disappear in the homogeneity of the majority class (Hall 1993, 349-363). In fact, the identity of a person as far as a creature, is a dialogically structured identity.

In this sense, it is easy to understand this manifesto: "Your Christ is a Hebrew. Your car is Japanese. Your pizza is Italian. Your democracy is Greek. Your café is Brazilian. Your vacation is Turkish. Your numbers are Arabic. Your alphabets are Latin. Only your neighbor is a foreigner" (Bauman 2009, 29). This means that God created man, and did not create a nature in between, but a "you". Becoming a human person is not exclusively only in the vertical relation with God, but also in the horizontal relation, with the one similar in the flesh (Monceri 2006, 26-48).

In fact, the relation me-you, is not given from abstract concrete living, but from a given reality which comprise a multiple presence of the others. Therefore, you become as perceived between and with others. The relation me-you is comprisable and livable in the context of us, and of the community of humanity. The difference in order to be recognized, must form or make part of that which is common. A particular recognition is possible only on the base of a horizontal communion (common). At this point, it is important to note that the finding of the common base is fundamental, not only for the need of recognition of cultural

identity, but also for the community that must broaden or widen its proper sight (understanding).

However, the society of today does not have certainly a universal horizon, but is a form of a particular common life. The activation of an authentic reciprocal relationship, does in fact falls in any case on negative preconception, and gives place to the development of a winning growth that have as its outflow the production in form of big or large social advance agreement.

The collective identity aspires to a recognition, but must not request or pretend that all comes to make part of their cultures, nor they could (should). The cultural forms of life are not universal. It is the reason that looks to the universal, and tends to consider also the forms of a particular lives as a universal models. But from this point of view, every culture is defective.

The objective of an ethics of agreement is, therefore, in the last concrete analysis, is that of giving life to a model of multicultural world, in which the multiplication of cultures, far from its transformation in an element of disgrace, and becomes a fertile source of human integral formation (Ambrosini 2004, 24-47). This brings the realization of an effective interculturality which presupposes exceeding of an attending attitude for making space in the logic of exchange between the cultures, that is, a dynamic interaction between cultures. Because such a model will be effectively put in action, and is necessary for the simple principle of tolerance. This, in fact, hides the conception of the fundamental reality on the absolution of difference, and therefore on the assumption of the existence of a radical hetero-nominative between cultures that renders possible facts only of temporary and limited forms (Manzone 2004, 213-252).

Therefore, we must compare with others in order to see what are the values that are incite in their hearts before arriving to rules that can be shared and without which can't be established in the future a good agreement in our community. Saying this, the cultures which are closed to change, are cultures that have died or are destined to extinction.

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of human mobility requires us to change and encourage more clean living conditions for ourselves and for immigrants. To this end, we must strive to achieve greater functionality of public administration, in the measures that regulate the life of immigrants. Yes, it is a trial to give an overview of the challenges and difficulties related to the new geography of relational life.

Comprehension of multi-identity is a norm rather than an exception. The alternative is between exclusivism identity and coexistence, which must be perceived and experienced as enrichment and more opportunities, rather than as a punishment. Therefore, identity and coexistence should never rule one without the other, nor do you have to exercise force for the inclusion or exclusion. Self-

knowing, talking, informing and interacting have such a consequence that we deal with the others than the better we could do. Everywhere in fact, the diversity and plurality are richer uniformity, simply because they offer a fabric of relations, a possibility of expression and relations between the people much more articulated, with many more options.

Reconsidering the phenomenon of migration requires a study and research of the possible forms of integration between similarity and specificity. We must promote the integration that, certainly, will lead on the part immigrants an observance of duties as citizens but also on the part of the natives, their greater acceptance at all levels, with more openings in the economy, cultural, and religious, avoiding even that God is invoked to counterpoint one another.

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HISTORY

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FR. JERZY POPIEŁUSZKO – VICTIM OF POLITICAL REPRESSION OR MARTYR OF THE FAITH?

Summary

There is an ongoing debate on the character of Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko's activity between 1980 and 1984, as well as the major motives for his abduction and murder on October 19, 1984 perpetrated by officers of the Security Service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Pol. SB). The present paper argues that treating this activity and death in a purely political way constitutes a fundamental misunderstanding of the priest's attitude or a conscious propaganda. An analysis of the priest's activities, motives behind his pastoral commitment, the course of the Holy Masses for the Fatherland as well as the content of his sermons, shows that he was guided by religious, pastoral and spiritual reasons, and his death was martyrdom for the faith.

Keywords: Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko, Masses for the Fatherland in Poland, martial law in Poland, martyr for the faith

KS. JERZY POPIEŁUSZKO – OFIARA POLITYCZNEJ REPRESJI CZY MĘCZENNIK ZA WIARĘ?

Streszczenie

Wciąż toczy się dyskusja dotycząca charakteru działalności ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki w latach 1980-1984, a także istotnych motywów jego uprowadzenia 19 października 1984 roku przez funkcjonariuszy Służby Bezpieczeństwa oraz zamordowania. Artykuł dowodzi, że traktowanie tej działalności i śmierci w kategoriach wyłącznie politycznych jest rażącym niezrozumieniem postawy księdza bądź też świadomym zabiegiem propagandowym. Analiza działań księdza, motywów jego zaangażowania duszpasterskiego, przebiegu Mszy za Ojczyznę oraz treści jego kazań dowodzi, że kierował się on racjami religijnymi, duszpasterskimi i duchowymi, a jego śmierć miała charakter męczeństwa za wiarę.

Słowa kluczowe: ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko, Msze za Ojczyznę w Polsce, stan wojenny w Polsce, męczennik za wiarę

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INTRODUCTION

It was one of the most widely known murders from the period of the communist rule in Poland: on October 19, 1984, Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko, whom the Polish authorities of the time accused of conducting forbidden political activity, was abducted and murdered by officers of the Security Service. The authorities were irritated by social resonance caused by the priest's pastoral work and sermons delivered during the Masses for Fatherland celebrated during the martial law in Poland (1981-1983) and continued after its lifting. Popiełuszko's death was also treated by them in political terms.

However, contrary to that view, in the opinion of the Church and the faithful, Fr Popiełuszko was rather a courageous defender of Christian values and he was beatified in 2010 as a martyr for the faith. Currently, the process of his canonization is also drawing to a close.

As the two above-mentioned points of view still tend to come into conflict, it seems necessary to provide an objective analysis of the circumstances of Fr. Popiełuszko's pastoral work, the motives behind his social involvement as well as reasons for his persecution and death as perceived from the historical perspective.

1. EARLY ACTIVITY AMONG WORKING PEOPLE

Fr. Popiełuszko became involved in social activity almost spontaneously, since, when in the mid 1980's he was sent to the parish of St. Stanislaus Kostka in Żoliborz, he was only meant to be a resident there and to take care of the health care workers in the Archdiocese of Warsaw. This, however, was a period of social tensions in Poland due to the economic crisis caused by the economically ineffective communist system (Kaminski 2010, 410-420). In response to further food price increases imposed by the government in July 1980, strikes broke out and soon swept across the country. The first factory which stopped production was the Gdansk Shipyard (Roszkowski 1992, 360-367), which was followed by the Szczecin Shipyard, Vladimir Lenin Steelworks and H. Cegielski Metal Industry Complex in Poznan. Sit-in strikes (workers remained in the factory 24 hours a day, but did not work) were also commenced by workers of the Warsaw Steelworks, who turned to Primate Stefan Wyszynski as a bishop of Warsaw asking for a priest to celebrate a Holy Mass on Sunday. That priest was Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko (he lived in the parish of St. Stanislaus Kostka in the vicinity of the steelworks and, since he did not have as many Sunday duties as a health care minister, he was more available than other priests working in the parish).

The situation was a complete novelty. Priests did not enter the premises of workplaces, since the socialist regime prevailing in Poland did not allow that. Fr. Popiełuszko, as he himself owned, went to the steelworks "under considerable stress", but he met with kindness on the part of workers and was welcomed with

applause. "It was applause to greet the first priest in the factory's history to cross its gate. I thought at that time: applause for the Church, which for thirty years had been knocking on the gate of the factory", said the priest (Kindziuk 2010, 69).

This exceptional Mass on the premises of the Warsaw Steelworks initiated the close relationships between Fr. Popiełuszko and the workers. In the following days, he continued to celebrate Masses for them and many workers experienced religious conversion, many went to confession, while others asked for baptism or a church wedding (Kindziuk 2010, 69-72). Fr. Popiełuszko's pastoral activity undertaken at the Warsaw Steelworks had such a typically religious character.

When on August 31st, 1980, workers and the communist authorities signed an agreement at the Szczecin Shipyard, which guaranteed the creation of independent, self-governing trade unions, the NSZZ "Solidarity" was formed and strikes came to an end. However, Fr. Jerzy did not cease his activity among workers. He still celebrated Masses for them, however, he moved from the premises of the Warsaw Steelworks to the church of St. Stanislaus Kostka. Popiełuszko also organized religious and educational meetings, among others, lectures on the social science of the Church and on the history of Poland. They met with high approbation on the part of the workers: "He seemed to be one of us. It is very important to talk with workers in the workers' language. It became a tradition that after Mass he invited us home. It was a surprise to us. No priest so far had taken care of metalworkers. None had opened up so much to the workers' world," said Karol Szadurski, an employee of the Warsaw Steelworks.

With time, beside workers from the Warsaw Steelworks, also those from other factories or centers started to gather around Fr. Popiełuszko. They came to his Masses in the church, or gathered at his rectory. They appreciated his extraordinary human goodness and priestly charisma and invited him also to perform pastoral ministry during strikes. For example, Popiełuszko was asked to celebrate the Mass at the Warsaw Fire School where they held an occupational strike in November 1981 for a number of days.

It can be said, therefore, that Fr. Popiełuszko's commitment in social matters had a religious and pastoral character. It was a response to the spiritual needs of the working people. All the more so, that the social movement was then very widespread. "Solidarity", the first free trade union registered in the countries of the Socialist camp, developed at an impressive pace. At the time of its registration in 1981, there were about 10 million members (80 per cent of the employed). Participants of this movement expected moral and religious support from the people of the Church. Hence, many priests supported them with their pastoral work. Fr. Popiełuszko was among them, although he distinguished himself by his zeal, strictly religious motivation and an extraordinary gift of establishing relationships with people.

2. Fr. Popiełuszko during the martial law

Another important stage of Fr. Popiełuszko's activity was the period of the martial law in Poland, introduced on December 13, 1981. By that time, he had gained a reputation of an informal minister of steelworkers, but also as a caretaker of the Warsaw diocese's health service. Fr. Jerzy maintained close spiritual relationships with many faithful in Warsaw and other cities.

In order to have a clear understanding of Popiełuszko's stance in this period, one should pay attention to the role of the Church in Poland during the martial law. The Church remained a sphere of freedom, but also of social support. It extended its care over the repressed, formed aid committees and delivered food from the West. The Church also intervened with the authorities, while many of the clergy supported the families of the imprisoned.

Again, Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko was one of them. He was willing to help, to offer hope and to keep up the spirits of Poles teaching forgiveness and love to all. That is why, on December 24, 1981, the first Christmas Eve during the martial law, he went out into the streets of Warsaw and visited military stations to distribute Christmas wafers to soldiers and offer them wishes. On the first day of Christmas, in 1981, he appealed to the assembled in the church to break the internal resistance and anger growing in their hearts and to serve festive food to armed soldiers.

Fr. Popiełuszko helped people interned by the regime of the People's Republic as well as their families. He did so in various ways: he went to courtrooms and participated in court trials of those who were imprisoned for political reasons, which - apart from providing moral support - contributed to the less brutal treatment of the accused. Fr. Jerzy also gained information about the fate of the internees, took care of their families, assisted them spiritually and materially. He also invited to his home families of the interned and imprisoned, sometimes helping them to find workplaces, or mediating in seeking legal aid. His little flat was constantly filled with people. It repeated every day throughout 1982. "I noticed that sometimes I stayed at home, although I could go somewhere, because I felt worried that someone might need help in my absence" he wrote in *Zapiski* (*Notes*) on November 11, 1982 (Popiełuszko 1991, 102).

Finally, Fr. Popiełuszko became involved in charitable activities in the Primate's Committee of Relief for the Detained and their Families, established by Primate Józef Glemp in Warsaw. He provided lists of names of families that needed help and intermediated in delivering gifts for them. Later, he himself began to convey transports with gifts from Western European countries, including food and medicine, to distribute them among people. At one point, his small apartment was turned into a warehouse and people were constantly coming to him for help. This shows that his activity during the martial law had a typically pastoral character: Popiełuszko pursued the evangelical principle of charity by providing spiritual and material assistance.

3. Masses fot the farherland

Fr. Popiełuszko, however, won the greatest popularity due the Masses for the Fatherland. Because of their spiritual and social impact, they became the main cause of the attacks on the part of the communist authorities and subsequent persecution of the priest.

Popiełuszko celebrated Masses for the Fatherland since January 1982 in Warsaw (Kindziuk 2010, 90-93) on the last Sunday of each month. From the very beginning, they enjoyed great popularity among people. Why? This was explained by Fr. Popiełuszko: "From month to month attendance at the Masses for the Fatherland is growing. There are thousands of people right now and they come from different cities. What they derive from them is, above all, the awareness that they can feel one aspiration in this great community, they can strengthen their hope" (Popiełuszko 2009, 116).

Undoubtedly, the Masses for the Fatherland offered the gathered faithful a glimpse of freedom, a safe refuge. But above all, they were a place of prayer. As formerly in the Warsaw Steelworks, also here the faithful expected spiritual strengthening, but also the words of truth.

The Masses in the intention of the Fatherland quickly became a thorn in the flesh of the authorities. All the more, that the crowds of people attending them was constantly rising. The Masses gathered workers and the most prominent representatives of the cultural world from all over Poland. Almost all of the opposition at the time focused on them. This was exactly what the communist authorities feared, as they were afraid of losing their influence. Due to that, the Security Service was taking steps to intimidate Fr. Jerzy. He was constantly monitored and became subject to various provocations organized against him. Organization of the Masses for the Fatherland was repeatedly hampered and during celebration, the church and the area around it was surrounded by armed officers of the Security Service. Meanwhile, Fr. Popiełuszko asked people leaving the church not to let themselves be drawn into riots and provocations. People listened and went very quietly. This, in turn, even further aggravated the communist authorities it made it difficult to organize a provocation. It did not, however, stop the authorities from formulating accusations towards Fr. Popiełuszko of inciting political activity against the communist system (Kindziuk 2014, 71-146). "Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko's participation in the Masses for the Fatherland was a continuation of his presence among people of hard work and a response to their religious and moral needs" as aptly assessed Fr. Piotr Nitecki, a former friend of Fr. Popiełuszko, well acquainted with the pastoral activity conducted in the Żoliborz district in Warsaw (Nitecki 2004, 17).

4. Religious character of the sermons

Fr. Popieluszko's sermons aroused a great deal of interest. It was exactly the sermons that were the source of major controversy. The Communist authorities defined them as strictly political and considered Fr. Jerzy as a political activist. What was the truth? What subjects did Fr. Jerzy raise in his sermons during the Masses for the Fatherland?

First and foremost, it should be emphasized that he took the motto of his sermons from the Letter of St. Paul of the Romans: "Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good" (12:21, these words later became the slogan of Popiełuszko's life and work). The themes of the sermons revolved around the evangelical principles of truth, freedom, justice, love of enemies and, also, around work shown in the light of the social doctrine of the Church.

Fr. Jerzy spoke in a sermon on April 24, 1983: "Effort, work require an inner order, moral principles and even religious incentives and motives to bring benefit for man" (Popiełuszko 2004, 164). In another, he emphasized: "Polish people do not feel hatred and that is why they are able to forgive a lot, but only at the cost of returning to the truth, since it is the truth and only the truth which is the first condition of trust" (Popiełuszko 2004, 355).

Fr. Popiełuszko pointed out how one should understand basic human rights in the light of the Gospel, how to shape consciences and defend human dignity in the situation of external enslavement. He used quotes from the speeches of Pope John Paul II. At times, he even paraphrased his homilies. He also often cited the teaching of Primate Wyszyński.

These sermons deepened faith in people and kept up their spirits. Fr. Zdzisław Król, at the time the Chancellor of the Warsaw Curia, emphasized that there were no political accents in them, although such charges were officially raised. "This is very important: he had a great chance to get involved directly in politics. He could have become a political activist, but he deliberately did not do it. He had a different understanding of his mission." (oral account, Kindziuk 2010, 169).

Instances of how hatred gave way to love and forgiveness under the influence of Fr. Jerzy's words are also evidenced by hundreds of letters received after the Masses for the Fatherland. Many of them have survived to this day. Here are some of them (manuscripts in: ODŻiDJP):

"Reverend Fr. Jerzy, I would like to thank you warmly for the fact that your teachings purify my heart from evil and vindictive thoughts that I have for people acting against me. You have taught me to pray for my enemies and forgive my adversaries."

"In your sermons, you always teach about love with capital «L». You have never called for destruction or use of force."

"The feeling of hatred is unworthy of Christians and if, as a result of the sad and painful events taking place in our country, it sprouts in some souls, it fades out due to your homily."

"Here, at this Mass, hearts closed by pain open to those who have caused this pain, because Christ so preaches in the Gospel; here open the fists clenched against enemies - not enemies, but errant brothers and sisters, because so they are called by Christ; here faith is strengthened in the final victory of good, of truth and of justice, but through the cross and suffering, for such is the way that Christ followed."

The above passages illustrate how unfounded were the charges of communists who saw in Fr. Jerzy a political activist or one of the leaders of the opposition. This conviction, however, led to the persecution of Fr. Popiełuszko, to numerous repressions and instances of pressure imposed on him.

5. Persecution and murder

Negative campaign against Fr. Jerzy increased in April 1982, since Fr. Popiełuszko became an object of "active interest" on the part of the 4th Division of the Civic Militia in Warsaw (ODŻiDJP). The, so-called, "Operational activities" were also undertaken against him by the Security Service. The militia and also the Security Service collected materials on Fr. Popiełuszko, all his sermons were recorded, wherever he preached. Various people who attended the Masses were interviewed and bullied. Fr. Jerzy was also called upon for interrogations which was undoubtedly a prelude to his martyrdom.

Since the end of 1983, these initiatives of the state services took the form of propaganda led by Jerzy Urban, spokesman for the government in 1981-1989. Urban played a leading role in shaping the public opinion in Poland. He was a person most frequently appearing in the government media and he became famous for organizing weekly government press conferences not only for Polish, but also for foreign journalists. The spokesman's conferences were broadcast live on television and widely covered by all newspapers on the following day. Jerzy Urban was the person who formulated the most serious objections to Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko. The pivotal point of these attacks was an article by Urban, written under the pseudonym Jan Rem, in the Warsaw weekly "Tu i teraz" (lit. "Here and Now"), entitled "Seanse nienawiści" ("The Spectacles of Hatred") It was the most despicable libel on Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko. First and foremost, Urban tried to convince the public opinion that Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko's activity was strictly political and that he was the leader of the political movement and an enemy of the communist system as well as a rebel. Urban wrote: "In the part of Żoliborz inhabited by intelligentsia, there is the church of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko - next to St. Brygida in Gdansk, the most reputed political club in Poland" (Rem 1984, 2).

In another article, published in "Expres Wieczorny" (lit. "Evening Express") under the name of Michał Ostrowski, "Garsoniera obywatela Popiełuszki" ("The Alcove of Citizen Popiełuszko") the spokesman of the government described the results of the search in the apartment of Fr. Jerzy in Warsaw. Prior to that, the Security Service planted explosives in the priests' apartment in order to suggest that

he intended to organize political demonstrations in Poland. The author of the article wrote: "There were thousands of leaflets in the apartment, among others, calling for street demonstrations, various propaganda materials, matrices, paints needed to produce conspiratorial literature, and other yet less religious accessories" (Ostrowski 1983, 4). The article was read in all programs of the Polish Radio, and was reprinted a day later in "Trybuna Ludu" (lit. "Tribune of the People"). This is a key text illustrating the mechanism of building up the image of Popiełuszko as a political activist.

Highly organized and intensified media propaganda against Fr. Jerzy resembled old Stalinist and post-Stalinist actions, e.g. those undertaken against the imprisoned Cardinal Wyszynski, or one in relation to Bishop Kaczmarek's trial. It was a propaganda conducted in all state media and it was designed to legitimize the actions of the communist authorities in the eyes of the public, or to prepare them for such activities. The same mechanism was implemented in the case of Fr. Jerzy. Actions of the Security Service and media propaganda were correlated.

Allegations against Fr. J. Popiełuszko were most fully formulated at his interrogation at the Civic Militia headquarters in Warsaw. They sound straightforwardly absurd: "Between 1982 and the end of June 1984, in Warsaw, Gdansk, Czestochowa and other cities, acting as a continuing offense in carrying out religious rites in sermons, he abused the freedom of conscience and religion by including in them permanently defamatory content against the state authorities, in particular, he allegedly claimed that they, by resorting to falsehood, hypocrisy and lies and through anti-democratic legislation, destroy human dignity and deprive the public of freedom of thought and action, thus turning churches into places of anti-state propaganda, which is detrimental to the interests of the Polish People's Republic, i.e. committing an offence in the understanding of Art. 194 of the Penal Code in relation to Art. 58" (*Akt oskarżenia* 1990, 178).

The true character of Fr. Popiełuszko's activity is best illustrated by his last public reflections, which he shared at the church in Bydgoszcz on 19 October 1984. He spoke of triumph over evil: "Evil can only be conquered by those who are themselves rich in good, who care for their own development and enrichment in those values that represent human dignity of the child of God." He reflected upon the issues of truth and justice, but beyond claiming that: "To win evil with good means to remain faithful to the Truth", he also reminded that the struggle with truth had been going on for centuries, "The truth, however, is immortal, and the lie dies a quick death, therefore, as the deceased primate Cardinal Wyszynski said: There need not be many who speak the truth. Christ chose few to preach the truth. Only the words of the lie must be numerous. At the end of his deliberations he appealed: "Let us pray that we are free from fear, intimidation, but above all, from the desire for retaliation and violence" (Popiełuszko 2010, 418).

It is known that, when he was returning to Warsaw with his driver Waldemar Chrostowski after this service in Bydgoszcz, he was detained by officers of the Security Service, dressed in uniforms of the Civic Militia. What happed to

Fr. Popiełuszko later is known only from the murderers and from the autopsy, as well as from the photos taken after the massacred body Fr. Jerzy was taken out from Vistula river. There is no doubt, that Fr. Jerzy was cruelly beaten and tortured, and he died the death of a martyr.

Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Warsaw, Fr. Grzegorz Kalwarczyk, who saw the battered body of Fr. Popiełuszko said: "The body of Fr. Jerzy was spread over with white cloth, which uncovered the right side and the arm lying along the body as well as almost entire legs. When the cloth was removed, a naked body appeared, stitched along and across. The left arm was also stitched from the elbow to the shoulder. The whole body was so altered that we had trouble recognizing it. I had always thought myself "hard", tough, but what I saw at the time really shook me. The whole body was covered with bruises, the lower parts of the shins looked as if they had been peeled off the epidermis, or as if they had been eaten by the aquatic fauna. The face - yellow, the eye sockets blackened, fingers and legs gray-brown, decomposed by water. The hair seemed thinner" (ODŻiDJP).

6. Martyr for the faith

After the death and funeral of Fr. Popiełuszko, official communist propaganda repeatedly said that he had suffered a political death. This was an interpretation imposed during the public process of Fr. Jerzy's murderers, which was held in Torun at the turn of 1984 and 1985. The perpetrators and the communist prosecutor repeated theses of the "non-religious" and "anti-state" activity of the priest. Such theses were reiterated by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski and other representatives of the communist authorities.

Accusations of that type stemmed from the desire to provide self-defense and self-justification. They were based, however, on false understanding of the nature of the Church's activity, which cannot be confined to proclamation of the truths of the faith, but also involves promotion of moral principles and their defense.

Such an understanding of the role of the faith and the concept of martyrdom was clearly formulated throughout the history of Christianity. On the other hand, martyrs were often condemned to death for political reasons, although they were guided solely by religious motives (Naumowicz 2016, 87-110).

This problem was well grasped by a great expert of the theology of martyrdom, Card. Prospero Lambertini, later Pope Benedict XIV, in Book III of his enormous work *On the Beatification of the Servants of God and the Canonization of Blessed* issued in Bologna in 1738, which for centuries provided the basis of the canonization processes in the Catholic Church. According to this work, the testimony of faith is given not only when suffering is endured for the person of Christ and His doctrine, but also when it is induced by the good done, by avoidance of sin or because of any act of righteousness performed out of love of Christ. Suffering for such values as truth, justice, or love professed in the name of Christ, the Christian endures suffering for Him who is the Truth, Love, etc. The Pope pointed to the example of John Baptist who is venerated in the Church as a martyr, though "he did not die directly for the faith, but for being faithful to the virtue related to

the faith," namely, for bearing witness to the truth which prevented him from remaining silent in the face of the moral wickedness of the ruler. Jesus Himself was formally put to death for political reasons, because he had called himself "the king of the Jews" though, in fact, religious reasons were the decisive factor (Lambertini 1738, 218-239).

Hence, Lambertini described martyrdom as: "voluntary endurance of death or its acceptance because of the Faith in Christ, or another act of virtue referred to God" (Lambertini 1738, 460: *voluntary mortis perpessio sive tolerantia propter Fidem Christi, vel alium virtutis actum in Deum relatum*). The faith, therefore, includes all the values that result from it and the actions inspired by the Gospel and done in the name of God. A similar opinion was adopted by the current *Instruction of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints*, entitled *Sanctorum Mater*, published in 2007, which based on the experience of the ages, defines martyrdom as: "the death of the Servant of God for the faith or a virtue issuing from that faith" (5,2).

Thus, the church documents do not narrow down the notion of "faith" only to professing religious truths, but also include the values and acts that arise from it. This understanding provides sound justification of the proper nature of Fr. Popiełuszko's activity. It certainly makes it clear that he shed blood for religious values, not for non-religious ones.

As in the days of the early Christians, the contemporary persecution of Fr. Popiełuszko and of other martyrs of the modern world, takes place in a political context. This does not mean that political issues play a decisive role here. The ultimate reason for imposing a death sentence on Christians, have always been, and still are, religious motifs. If not for them, there would be no martyrdom.

Undoubtedly, the persecution of Fr. Popiełuszko was ultimately a consequence of the atheistic character of the contemporary sociopolitical system of Poland. This was emphasized by Archbishop Angelo Amato in a sermon delivered during the beatification of Fr. Popiełuszko on June 6, 2010 in Warsaw: "Religion, the Gospel, the dignity of the human person, freedom were not concepts compatible with the Marxist ideology. That is why, the destructive wrath of the great liar, the enemy of God and oppressor of mankind, the one who hates the truth and spreads lies was vented on him [i.e. Fr. Popiełuszko – MK]. In those years, as had sometimes happened in history, across a large area of Europe, the light of reason was dimmed by darkness, and good replaced by evil" (Amato 2010, 58-60).

The above quotations indicate, that the perpetrators of Fr. Popiełuszko's murder were motivated by hatred of the faith, values that arise from it, good acts performed in the name of this faith, conscientious execution of the priestly mission, and finally, the person who professed this faith. This statement constituted another element providing evidence that the death of Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko had the character of martyrdom. Therefore, the Congregation for the Causes of Saints officially announced on December 19, 2009 that a decree was issued on "martyrdom" of Fr. Popiełuszko "killed out of hatred of the faith" - *ucciso in odio alla fede* (Congregazione delle Cause dei Santi 2009).

Archbishop Amato, during his sermon at the beatification Mass in Warsaw, said: "This defenseless priest was followed, persecuted, arrested, tortured and eventually brutally bound and, even though he was still alive, thrown into water. His torturers,

who did not have the slightest respect for life, were disdainful even towards death. They abandoned him as some abandon a dead animal" (Amato 2010, 58-60). It was the death suffered for the faith and inflicted because of hatred of the faith, and not merely for political or social reasons.

In the case of Fr. Popiełuszko, the opinion that he died the death of a martyr was almost universal and clearly formulated from the very beginning, especially, since his body was found in the Vistula on October 30, 1984. This opinion was manifested by uninterrupted vigil held by crowds of people in the church of St. Stanislaus Kostka, both before and after the funeral, by numerous visits to the tomb in Warsaw Żoliborz and prayers held at it, or by solemn celebration of the anniversary of his death or the name of Fr. Jerzy. Rarely had any martyr enjoyed such a wide spontaneous private cult since the moment of death.

An important expression of this opinion were also prayers and numerous spiritual graces as well as instances of physical healing obtained through the intercession of Fr. Jerzy. Marianna Popiełuszko, mother of Fr. Jerzy, in the testimonies composed during the process of beatification of Fr. Popiełuszko, said: "My son Jerzy, from the moment of his death, enjoys the fame of the martyr for the faith, for the cross and love of the Fatherland. Some may visit his grave with curiosity and know my son from his work among the workers, but he died in defense of the faith and of the Church in Poland". And she added, "I, as his mother, believe that my son, Jerzy, is a martyr in the religious sense, that is, a martyr who defended the cross, the faith and the fatherland" (ODŽiDJP).

One manifestation of the universal recognition of Fr. Jerzy as a martyr, are numerous pilgrimages to the tomb in Warsaw, which have a typically religious character. Since 1984, this tomb and sanctuary in Warsaw Żoliborz have been visited by more than 20 million people from almost all countries and continents.

In lieu of conclusion

A universal, spontaneous cult of Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko, as well as a thorough analysis of his activities, writings and sermons, became the basis for the official proclamation of his being the martyr for the faith. He was beatified as a martyr on June 6, 2010. This was the decision of Pope Benedict XVI, who on December 19, 2009, accepted and approved the proposals of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints, and proclaimed that: "On the subject of the Servant of God, Jerzy Popiełuszko, a diocesan priest, there is certainty regarding his martyrdom and its causes as well as its considered consequences [of beatification – MK]" (Super martyrio 2010, 668: *Constare de martyrio eiusque causa Servi Dei Georgii Popieluszko, Sacerdotis Dioecesani, in casu et effectum de quo agitur*).

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Fr. Jerzy Zając[1]

CATHOLIC PERIODICALS IN EASTERN BORDERLANDS OF THE SECOND POLISH REPUBLIC (PART 1 – GENERAL)

Summary

Reborn in 1918, the Second Polish Republic returned to the part of the territory lost in the East to undertake the hardships of developing the war-ravaged land. Its history was reflected in the local press and the memories of the "Polonuses" living in these areas. It was recorded in dozens of magazine titles issued mainly by the contemporary Catholic world. The titles mentioned in the present work indicate the life areas of people inhabiting those regions, which were penetrated by the press and which are, in a sense, equivalent only to the names of Polish old mansions in the East. Getting acquainted with their content requires meticulous study which would allow to discover and bring closer the worlds described there and still little known to us and which were deliberately and systematically destroyed by anti-Polish and anti-Catholic forces. The uneasy task of deciphering the Borderlands from its publishing legacy which is still, to this day, being rediscovered, will constitute the content of the second part of the study devoted to Catholic periodicals in Eastern Borderlands of the Second Polish Republic.

Keywords: Eastern Borderlands, the Second Polish Republic, Catholic periodicals

CZASOPIŚMIENNICTWO KATOLICKIE WSCHODNICH KRESÓW II RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ (CZ. I – OGÓLNA)

Streszczenie

Odrodzona w 1918 r. II Rzeczpospolita powróciła na część terytorium utraconego na Wschodzie, podejmując trudy zagospodarowania wyniszczonej wojnami ziemi. Jej obraz znalazł odbicie w lokalnej prasie i wspomnieniach żyjących na tych terenach Polonusów. Zapisały go dziesiątki tytułów czasopiśmienniczych wydawanych przede wszystkim przez ówczesny świat katolicki. Wymienione w opracowaniu tytuły wydawnictw wskazują na życiowe przestrzenie mieszkańców tamtych regionów penetrowane przez tę prasę, są niejako odpowiednikami zaledwie nazw starych polskich rezydencji na Wschodzie. Aby poznać ich treści, trzeba podjąć wnikliwą lekturę, by odkryć i przybliżyć opisane tam i wciąż mało nam znane światy, które – antypolskie i antykatolickie siły niszczyły świadomie i systematycznie. To niełatwe zadanie odcyfrowania Kresów z wciąż, po dziś dzień odkrywanej ich

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spuścizny wydawniczej, będzie treścią drugiej części studium poświęconego czasopiśmiennictwu katolickiemu Kresów Wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej.

Słowa kluczowe: Kresy Wschodnie, II Rzeczypospolita, czasopisma katolickie

INTRODUCTION

Eastern Borderlands, both in the First and in the Second Polish Republic, represent a special chapter in the history of Poland, even, in a way, a privileged one. Such an opinion prevails among the clergy of many denominations, historians, cultural scientists, politicians, regionalists and in other environments of Polish science. Throughout history, Eastern Borderlands did not meant only Lithuania, Podolia, Polesie, Rus, Volyn, Ukraine and Samogitia; not only a bulwark of Christianity; a bastion for Poland and Europe; not only a large conglomerate of nationalities (Belarusians, Czechs, Karaites, Lithuanians, Lemkos, Latvians, Germans, Armenians, Poles, Russians, Romanians, Slovaks, Tatars, Ukrainians, Jews); not only a lot of churches, denominations and rites ... Eastern Borderlands, meant at least 500 years of Polish presence in the East, a time of great political, economic and cultural prosperity of different states and years full of tragedy leading to the loss of statehood.

A significant part of this chapter in Polish history recorded, among others, in the fates of famous Poles, their mansions and numerous other Polish monuments in the East (in the lands lost as a result of the second partition of Poland) was brought back to his countrymen by Antoni Urbański, who was born in 1873 in Eastern Borderlands of the Republic (in Ryżawka on the Uman land), a Polish historian of art and author of many articles and several widely read books published in the twenties of the last century. In the introduction to one of these books, entitled *Pro memoria*, published in 1929 in Warsaw, Urbański wrote, among others: "Memory is due to the Polish borderlands, bonded with the Motherland in one inseparable body. Lands of the centuries-old Polish tradition and culture. The centers of guard, where there was a huge amount of work, iron will - sometimes heroism. Those front bulwarks which often withstood various assaults and lean years" (Urbański 1929a, VII). On the other hand, in another of his books titled *Memento kresowe* (*Borderland Memento*), also published in 1929 in Warsaw, he writes: "Here I provide a part of Samogitia and Polish Livonia [...]. Next, I provide in my book mansions that were in Podolia, Volyn, Ukraine, Polesie, the land of Minsk and Mogilev - on the Bolshevik side [...]. It is not to repine, however, that I am writing this book. It is to remember that the Polish element was deeply ingrained in those lands, and no storms managed to root it out [...]. That Polish waves repeatedly receded only to return soon with even greater power [...] that our fathers put up valiant resistance to the hurricane and survived Tsarina Catherine and Mikhail Muraviov, the Hangman of Vilnus, [...]. I am writing also to remember those mansions, that social work, the economy, the attitude of persistence and perseverance. For, after

all, we doubt not that all that will once again be resurrected [...]. Then everything that was strangled and dispersed, may again rise back to power. May a mansion stand again where there stood a mansion, may there be a household where there once was a household, where grew the windy limes may again grow limes – and let a cross at the crossroads also return to its place" (Urbański1929b, VII-VIII).

1. Eastern Borderlands of the First and the Second Republic

An original concept of this study assumes a brief reference to the subject of the Eastern Borderlands of the First and the Second Republic when, over centuries, the face of the Polish Eastern Borderlands frequently changed. For example, at the end of the fifteenth century, the state of the Jagiellons (the Crown and Lithuania) stretched from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, from the State of Moscow to the Great Horde and the Crimean Khanate, including the eastern border cities as far away as Varniai, Witkomierz, Polotsk, Biała, Smolensk, Bryansk, Kursk, Ochakiv, Braclaw, Kamieniec Podolski, Halicz, Przemyśl and Krakow. These borders relatively frequently underwent further shifts, usually to the west, as a rule for the benefit of the State of Moscow. And so it happened in the sixteenth century, when Livonia with Courland and the Piltene lands, but without Pskov, Biała, Smolensk, Bryansk, Kursk, and even Chernihiv found themselves on the borders of the Republic of Nobles. The Eastern Borderlands of the seventeenth century Republic ruled by the great magnates were indeed impressive as they approached Pskov, Vielikije Luki, Kaluga, Bryansk, Rylsk, Putivl, Kharkiv, Tawan, Jaruge, Pahlowce, Chocim, Munkatsh and Ľubovňa. The eighteenth century is the time of the partition, when in 1772 Russia seizes the easternmost situated lands of the Republic with such border towns as Kraslavas, Dryssa, Polotsk, Vitebsk, Orsha, Mogilev, Propojsk, Čačersk and Gomel; in turn, Austria, overtakes Polish lands south of Zbaraż, Brody, Sokal, Hrubieszow, Zamość, Rzeszów, Tarnów, Bochnia, Wieliczka and Wadowice - the towns which henceforth constituted the spoil of the Austrian invader. 20 years later, in 1793, tsarist Russia seized another swathes of eastern Poland. At that time, the towns located farthest to the east which remained within Poland included: Braslav, Schodischki, Baruny, Vishneva, Szczorse, Mir, Lubesziw, Olyka, Rivne, Dubno and Kremenets. In 1795, during the third partition of Poland, the possessiveness the Republic's gravediggers led to the annihilation of the state, whose borders several centuries earlier rested on the waters of the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, and which was treated with respect both by the Russian State and the Crimean Khanate.

The above-mentioned author, Urbański described the Polish borderlands that fell prey to Russia in 1793, i.e. Polish Livonia, Courland, the Kiev region, the Minsk land (the regions of Bobruisk, Borisov, Igumen, Mogilev, Slutsk) Podole (the regions of Braclaw, Yampol, Kamianets, Letychiv, Lityn, Mohyliv, Proskuriv, Vinnitsa); Ukraine; Volyn (the regions of Ostroh, Starokostiantyniv, Zaslav, Zwiahel, Zhitomir) and Samogitia.

In four volumes, on several hundred pages of print (and photography) the above-mentioned writer recorded thousands of historical characters, unique architecture with noblemen's and national memorabilia, stating with grief: "All this is gone" (Urbański 1928, 5). And despite his great hope, those lands, unfortunately, never returned to the Republic. Having regained independence, the Poles managed to recover in the years 1918-1922 part of the Vilnius region, Volyn, Polissya and Podole with the main cities such as Vilnius, Navahrudak and Baranovichi, Pinsk, Ternopil, Lviv and Stanislew. And, although those lands were not the ones resurrected on the pages of Urbański's books, they also lived to see their great poet in the person of Roman Aftanazy, also a borderlander. He dedicated the Eastern Borderlands (including their area before the partitions of Poland, an 11-volume work entitled *Materiały do dziejów rezydencji* (*Materials for the History of the Mansions*).

Andrzej Baranowski, the editor of Aftanazy's epic which was issued in the eighties by the Art Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, provided readers - in his introduction – with important information, writing: "In the initial stages of gathering the materials [...] The author confined himself to the areas lying within the borders of Poland from the interwar period. After the Second World War, in the face of enormous destruction of historic substance, when large areas of the former state became only historic past, he expanded his focus to areas from before the first partition of Poland. [...]. The author based his descriptions of individual seats on published monographs relating to larger mansions, on mentions scattered in various magazines and source materials, e.g. the works of Anthony Urbański. The latter, unfortunately, often contain emotional inserts [...]. Each of the premises described in the work of Roman Aftanazy has a unique atmosphere of the Polish house, which was composed of history, generations and individuals and individual families" (Baranowski 1986).

Looking at *Materiały do dziejów rezydencji* (*Materials for the History of the Mansions*) in such former provinces as Minsk (vol. IA), Navahrudak (vol. IIA), Vilnius (vol. IVA), Volhyn (vol. VA), Rus territory with Lvov regions (vol. VIIA), where (as A. Urbański predicted), after world war I and the Polish-Bolshevik war in 1920, returned the new Polish life - one could see again, a lively mansion ..., a new household, windy old limes ... and crosses at the crossroads, returning to their good old places. Unfortunately, World War II dramatically disrupted this process, once again the enemy reached out for the Eastern Borderlands of the Republic which could not be defended, and whose history we are rediscovering and describing today. Rich literature on this theme was developed in Poland, this fragment of history attracted lively interest of independent researchers as well as specific groups and research centers (Łaszkiewicz and Łukasiewicz 2002, 1268-1272).

2. Local press – untapped source of knowledge on Eastern Borderlands

Interest in eastern Polish borders is still alive, is still being discovered in more detail, and, unfortunately, is still full of gaps and ambiguities. It is evidenced by, for example, the state of the research on the Catholic Church: the local Roman Catholic metropolis in Lvov and Vilnius, Armenian Archbishopric Lviv, Greek-Catholic dioceses in Stanislev and Lviv, finally, Roman Catholic dioceses in Lutsk and Pinsk. One example of such gaps is the current state of knowledge about the Catholic publishing movement, in the first place, about the press of the Eastern Borderlands of the Republic and, in particular, of the Catholic press, a mirror of almost all areas of the life of Poles in those regions. Those seeking studies on precisely these issues are greatly disappointed. To this day, we do not have a catalog of magazines appearing in Polish Eastern Borderlands; one cannot hope to discover any publications presenting the greatest initiators and patrons of Catholic periodicals in that region; those interested in publications devoted to the largest printing centers operating in that region and at that time will also be disappointed. In turn, a great and pleasant surprise may await the above-mentioned group or other Polish amateurs of copies in the form of, among other things, preliminary findings of the undertaken and still continued research on the clerical press published in Polish seminaries, in this case – that of students from universities in Dubno, Lutsk, Mogilev and Vilnius. The lands described by Aftanazy and Urbański abounded in numerous magazines already in the nineteenth century. Those periodicals are today known only by the title and this situation will probably remain unaltered for a long time.

The leading role here is played by the city of Lviv. An alphabetical list of Polish titles published there at that time begins with "Biblioteka Kaznodziejska" (lit. "Preachers' Library") issued in 1877. Up to the year of 1877, it is subsequently followed by: "Bonus Pastor", "Czasopismo Akademickie" (lit. "Academic Magazine"), "Czytelnia dla Młodzieży" (lit. "Reading Room for youth"), "Dziennik Literacki" (lit. "Literary Journal"), "Dziennik Mód Paryskich" (lit. "Journal of Paris Fashions"), "Dzwonek" (lit. "Bell"), "Dzwonek Trzeciego Zakonu S.O.N. Franciszka Serafickiego" (lit. "The Bell of the Third Order S.O.N. of Franciszek Seraficki"), "Gazeta Kościelna" (lit. "Church Newspaper", "Gazeta Narodowa" (lit. "National Newspaper"), "Gazeta Niedzielna" (lit. "The Sunday Newspaper"), "Gazeta Świąteczna" (lit. "Holiday Newspaper"), "Głos św. Antoniego z Padwy" (lit. "The voice of St. Anthony of Padua"), "Goniec Niedzielny i Świąteczny" (lit. "Sunday and Holiday Messenger"), "Gwiazda Katolicka" (lit. "Catholic Star"), "Haliczanin" (lit. "Halych Inhabitant"), "Jedność" (lit. "Unity"), "Kaznodzieja Polski" (lit. "Polish Preacher"), "Kółko Rodzinne" (lit. "Family Circle"), "Krzyż" (lit. "Cross"), "Kwartalnik Historyczny" (lit. "Historical Quarterly"), "Lud" (lit. "People"), "Lwowianin" (lit. "Lviv Inhabitant"), "Muzeum" (lit. "Museum"), "Niedziela" (lit. "Sunday"), "Ognisko" (lit. "Hearth"), "Pamiętnik Lwowski" (lit. "Lviv Diary"), "Piast", "Pochodnia" (lit. "Torch"), "Posłaniec

Pana Jezusa w Najświętszym Sakramencie Utajonego" (lit. "The Messenger of Lord Jesus Present in the Blessed Sacrament"), "Promień" (lit. "Ray), "Przegląd Emigracyjny" (lit. "Emigration Review"), "Przegląd Lwowski" (lit. "Lviv Review") "Przegląd Społeczny" (lit. "Social Review"), "Pszczółka" (lit. "Little Bee"), "Roczniki Kapłańskie" (lit. "Priestly Annals"), "Rodzina i Szkoła" (lit. "Family and School"), "Rolnik" (lit. "Farmer"), "Rozmaitości" (lit. "Miscellaneous"), "Ruch Katolicki" (lit. "Catholic Movement"), "Ruch Literacki" (lit. "Literary movement"), "Siła" (lit. "Strength"), "Sioło" (lit. "Hamlet", "Sodalis Marianus", "Strzecha" (lit. "Thatch"), "Szkoła" (lit. "School", "Światło" (lit. "Light"), "Teka" (lit. "Portfolio"), "Tydzień Literacki, Artystyczny, Naukowy i Społeczny", "Literary, Artistic, Scientific and Social Week"), "Tygodnik Katolicki" (lit. "Catholic Weekly"), "Tygodnik Lwowski" (lit. "Lviv Weekly"), "Wianki" (lit. "Wreaths"). A total of 53 magazines published in Poland only in Lviv in the nineteenth century when, de facto, Poland was still crossed out from the map of Europe. At the same time, magazines in Polish appeared also in other parts of Eastern Borderlands, though on an incomparably smaller scale: about 10 titles in Vilnius and - so to say - just marginally in Lutsk, Lithuanian Minsk, Stanislew and Ternopil (Lesisz 1988).

3. Worrying examples

At this stage, knowledge which consists but in lists of magazine titles will have more or less the same informative value for all interested in the texts as the mere tables of contents contained in individual volumes have for the readers of Aftanazy's and Urbanski's works, i.e. merely the names of mansions, without information provided there about their history and accessories and, above all, of the household inhabitants. Therefore, the use the rich source of knowledge about Borderlands contained in the local press, unfortunately, requires devoting oneself to the laborious perusal of these magazines with the aim of acquiring a profound insight on this topic. So far, many attempts at providing publications on the Polish Borderlands without information obtained in this way do not give the full picture, or simply lead the reader to the proverbial dead end. This is evidenced by, for example, some studies devoted to the press issued by Polish seminarians who are often, at the same time, university students at theological faculties, or students of Theological Academies, i.e. works dedicated not only to the seminary, but also to the student press of Polish seminarians and priest-students. These examples are numerous. Chronologically the first one of them is provided by *Bibliografia katolickich czasopism religijnych w Polsce 1918-1944* (*Bibliography of Catholic Religious Magazines in Poland in 1918-1944*) published in Lublin in 1981 which fails to mention three journals published in the twenties of the twentieth century by the seminarians of the Seminary in Vilnius entitled: "Życie Eucharystyczne" (lit. "Eucharistic Life"), "Eos" and "Dzwonek Seminaryjny" (lit. "Seminarian Bell"). Then the same elaboration, under position 60 "Charitas" (admittedly with

a question mark) informs that the magazine of the alumni from the Seminary in Lutsk was issued until 1933 when, de facto, it appeared for another six years - until 1939 (Zając, 2010, 7-17), in turn, under position 112, the journal "Druh" was presented with a bipartite title ("Druh-Amicus"), as a copied manuscript, while its title consisted of three parts ("Druh - Друг – Amicus"), and the last three issues from the years 1938-1939 were published in print. A. R. Suławka in his article "Rosyjska i rosyjskojęzyczna prasa religijna w II Rzeczypospolitej" ("Russian and Russian-speaking Religious Press in the Second Republic"), published in "Kultura - Media-Teologia" (2012, No. 10, pp. 59-88), when discussing the Dubno publication of "Druh - Друг – Amicus" did not avoid obvious mistakes when he stated: "periodical "Druh" (Pl. "Przyjaciel", on the cover also the title in Latin "Amicus")" (p. 84), referred to the editor-publisher Edward Przybylski as Edward Przybysz, and wrongly stressed that the periodical was duplicated on a mimeograph, while in 1938-39 it was printed at Gesser's in Dubno (Zając 2015, 230-238).

Similar comments can be directed at the entry "Seminary magazines" provided in Vol. 17 of *Encyklopedia Katolicka (Catholic Encyclopedia)* (Królikowski 2012, 1398-1399). The author included to the first Polish seminary magazines "Meteor" and "Tempus Liberum" - both published in Krakow, the first since 1909, the second since 1917, next, he placed the above-mentioned "Charitas" from Lutsk in the years 1921-1933 and "Sursum Corda" from Płock in the years 1927-1939 (Zając 2010, 24-28). In addition, writing about clerical publications before 1939, he listed only 7 positions, meanwhile, the first Polish clerical student writings include, successively, an ironic newspaper under the name "Prawdomów" (lit. "Truthteller") from the Warsaw Theological Academy, i.e. from before 1867 (1907, 50), a weekly satirical "Lustro" (lit. "Mirror") from a theological academy in Włocławek from the years 1891-1892 (Rulka 2003, 289-300), "Głos Studenta" (lit. "Voice of Students"), published in 1900 in the Polish Seminary in Chicago (USA) and "Miesięcznik Seminaryjny" (lit. "Seminary Monthly") from 1908 of the seminarians Mogilev Metropolitan Seminary. As previously stated – the Lutsk edition of "Charitas" appeared until the end of 1939 and, as far as, "Sursum Corda" is concerned, in a comprehensive publication dedicated to this magazine, the time of the first issue was defined as 1925. It may come as a surprise as well that only 7 clerical magazines were listed while before 1945 over 80 titles had already been identified.

The above examples, even if only referring to Dubno, Lutsk and Vilnius, taken from otherwise very serious studies, should be a warning both for such authors as well as for those relying on their scientific achievements.

4. Exempla trahunt

The above-quoted Aftanazy can provide a very good example here, because with reference to the pre-defined places and objects that he was interested in, he prepared a "research questionnaire comprising: the history of the town, of the

owners, the origins of mansion buildings, description of exterior architecture and the interiors with furnishings, description of parks and gardens, along with other buildings belonging to the mansion complex [...]. Over the decades of gathering materials, the Author sent several thousand letters to respondents he had found [...] strived to give a complete picture of landowners' seats, located on the territories of individual provinces. The scope of "Materials" covered both big mansions, like Nieśwież, already presented in monographs, as well as hundreds of small and medium ones, which had never before been described in detail. One of the greatest difficulties involved in the work consisted, in many cases, in finding the right proportions in the descriptions of particular objects, especially that the degree of detail was often dependent on the material that it was possible to gather" (Baranowski 1986). Besides, Aftanazy, while describing the mansions of Polish borderlands, with a degree of interest drew attention to the examples of magazines found on the Borderlands, including foreign ones. Here are excerpts selected from his "Materials" to the lands of Navahrudak: Among magazines *Revue de deux mondes* was among others subscribed in Opole" (Aftanazy 1986, 110). "Of a great value was the initiated by John Otto and continued by Tadeusz Bochwic library, both rich in content and in the number of volumes, which included a substantial collection of magazines. Its originality consisted in the fact that it contained only one issue of magazine titles, but of those appearing all over the world. Polish periodicals, however, were collected by whole sequences. Tadeusz Bochwic was particularly interested in literature and history of Polish press. He cataloged his collections himself, with the help of his family members. He even worked on the bibliography of magazines collected in Florianów" (Aftanazy 1986, 244-245). "A library consisting of books and journals, mainly in English and French was preserved in fragments. Contemporary literature and Polish magazines began to be completed on a current basis" (Aftanazy 1986, 251), "On the tables were spread journals" (Aftanazy 1986, 284), "Foreign magazines included a complete series of *Revue de deux mon des* up to 1914" (Aftanazy 1986, 286). In the volume on the Vilnius province it was recorded: "A rich collection of books containing mostly classics and prose fiction in Polish and French, but also periodicals, including "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" beginning with the first volume" (Aftanazy 1987, 11), "In the living room, moreover, there were two folding tables for cards and, in the corner, a long inlaid table with flaps on which were laid the latest issues of magazines subscribed by Swolkiens, including "Bluszcz", "Biesiada Literacka", "Tygodnik Ilustrowany", "Przyjaciel Dzieci", "Kraj", calendars" (Aftanazy 1987, 413). In turn, the volume VA, describing the former province of Volhynia mentioned the journals in the library in Horodek (Aftanazy 1988, 143), the series of magazines in the library in Łaszki (Moroziwka) (Aftanazy 1988, 259), magazines, mostly eighteenth-century in the library of the Wiśniowiecki family (Aftanazy 1988, 597). Finally, in Volume VII A (the Halych and Lviv Land) we can read that "since 1871, in Kosovo Polish magazines began to be collected, such as, "Tygodnik

Ilustrowany", "Kłosy", "Wędrowiec", "Tydzień Polski", and among the French ones, "Illustration"" (Aftanazy 1990, 102), "The library consisted of more than 10,000 volumes [...] including series of magazines issued during the nineteenth century, such as "Przegląd Polski"" (Aftanazy 1990, 258), in turn, Alexander Batowski [...] gathered in his renovated mansion a valuable library with a large section of emigration magazines" (Aftanazy 1990 380), "the book collection contained also Polish and foreign magazines, including complete series of publications addressed to young people, for example "Przyjaciel dzieci"" (Aftanazy 1990, 550). These annotations provide evidence that Polish mansions in the Borderlands read, sought and valued magazines, which also offered some prospects for the development of local periodicals.

Meanwhile, traversing the lands studied and described by these two Borderlands authors, watching its reflection in Catholic magazines of the Eastern Borderlands of the Second Republic, which may provide an extension of complement of the currently functioning picture of these, a query was undertaken following the work of Aftanazy (who first defined a list of towns selected for his elaboration) – the author of the present study undertook a query allowing to catalog those magazines. Periodical literature still lacks such a clear elaboration since, so far, no attempts have been made to classify and publish all Catholic periodicals issued in the Eastern Borderlands of the Second Republic. The most extensive information on this topic can be found in Zygmunt Zielinski's work published in 1981, *Bibliografia katolickich czasopism religijnych w Polsce 1918-1944* (*Bibliography of Catholic Religious Magazines in Poland 1918-1944*), much fewer (though containing descriptions) references of interest to us can be found in the works of Czesław Lechicki (Lechicki 1975, 76-92; Lechicki 1984, 45-69), Wojciech Dutka (Dutka 2006, 57-81; Dutka 2007, 78-93; Dutka 2008, 37-55) and traces of information in Andrzej Kaleta (Kaleta 1999, 5-24).

It seems, therefore, necessary to provide here, in the form of an annex, the above-mentioned list worked out in compliance with any catalog requirements and in an alphabetical order. It will serve as a guide for the content of the second part (detailed) of the study devoted to the Catholic periodicals in Eastern Borderlands of the Second Republic.

5. LIST OF CATHOLIC PERIODICALS PUBLISHED IN EASTERN BORDERLANDS OF THE SECOND REPUBLIC

5. 1. Pan-diocesan Periodicals

Apostolstwo Chorych, Lwów.

Biblioteka Religijna. Kwartalnik informacyjny firmy Towarzystwa „Biblioteka Religijna" we Lwowie.

Biuletyn Związku Sodalicji Mariańskich Akademiczek w Polsce, Lwów.

Bogoslovija. Naukovyj trymisjačnyk, Lwów.

Brzask. Okólnik Wileńskiego Związku Stowarzyszeń Młodzieży Polskiej, Wilno.

Calendarium in annum scholarem 1935-1936, Dubnae.

Catalogus universi cleri et schematismus Archidioecesis Leopoliensis ritus armeno-catholici ineunte anno [...], Lwów.

Charitas [od 1932 Caritas]. Organ Bratniej Pomocy Seminarium Duchownego w Łucku.

Christijanin. Religioznyj žurnal dlja naroda, Wilno.

Chryscijanskaja Dumka. Belaruskaja czasopis , Wilno.

Chrystos naša syla. Bezplatnyj, populjarnyj dodatok do „Mety" prysvjačenyj poglyblennju religijnogo i moral'nogo žyttja sered ukrains'kych rodyn, Lwów.

Chrystos naša syla. Ukrains'kyj chrystyjans'kyj kalendar na zvyčajnyj rik […]. Lwów.

Chrześcijański Kalendarz. Przewodnik baranowicki na rok 1937, Baranowicze.

Currenda Consistorii Metropolitani Leopoliensis Rit[us] lat[ini]. Lwów.

Djakivs'ki Vidomosti. Organ T-va Vzaimnoi Pomoči Djakiv, Lwów.

Djakivs'kyj Šljach. Iljustrovanyj, nezaležnyj apolityčnyj stanovyj organ, Kołomyja.

Djakovs'kyj Prapor. Tyžnevyk Krajevoi Organizacii Greko-Katolyc'kych Djakiv, Kołomyja.

Dobra Nowina Bractwa Nauki Chrześcijańskiej, Pińsk.

Druh. Dubno.

Dwutygodnik Katolicki. Wydawnictwo duszpasterstwa parafii św. Jana w Wilnie.

Dyszel w Głowie. Oficjalny biuletyn środowiska lwowskiego Stowarzyszenia Katolickiej Młodzieży Akademickiej Odrodzenia, Lwów.

Dzwonek Seminaryjny. Czasopismo kleryków Seminarium Duchownego w Wilnie.

Dzwony poleskie, Pińsk.

Elenchus cleri saecularis ac regularis Archidioecesis Leopoliensis ritus latini pro Anno Domini […]. Leopoli.

Elenchus ecclesiarum et cleri Dioecesis Pinskensis pro Anno Domini [...], Pińsk.

Elenchus venerabilis cleri saecularis et regularis Dioecesium Luceoriensis et Żytomiriensis Anno Domini [...]. Varsaviae, Żytomiriae, Luceoriae, Premisliae.

Eos. Czasopismo „Koła Artystycznego" Seminarium Wileńskiego.

Gazeta Kościelna. Pismo poświęcone sprawom kościelnym i społecznym. Organ Towarzystwa Wzajemnej Pomocy Kapłanów, Lwów.

Gazeta Niedzielna. Tygodnik dla rodzin katolickich, Lwów.

Gazetka Niedzielna dla Dzieci [Supplement to „Lwowskie Wiadomości Parafialne"]. Lwów.

Gazetka Niedzielna dla Dzieci [Supplement to „Gazeta Kościelna. Tygodnik dla rodzin katolickich"]. Lwów.

Gazetka Parafialna. Miesięcznik duszpasterski parafii świętojańskiej, Wilno.

Głos Akcji Katolickiej Archidiecezji Lwowskiej. Lwów.

Głos Parafialny. Miesięcznik religijno-informacyjny, Budsław.

Głos Związku Młodzieży. Lwów.

Golos Djakiv. Nezaležnyj apolityčnyj bezpartijnyj stanovyj časopys, Kołomyja.

Gregoriana. Organ archidiecezji lwowskiej obrządku ormiańskiego. Lwów.

Jednodniówka wydana dla uczczenia Świętej Teresy od Dz. J. z okazji ogłoszenia Jej Patronką Diecezji Łuckiej i pierwszego Jej święta obchodzonego uroczyście w całej Diecezji Łuckiej w dniu 3 października 1928 r. Łuck.

Kalendar ta peršyj Šematyzm djakiv grek.-kat. obrjadu Poľšči na 1925 rik, Kołomyja.

Kalendarec' „Našogo Pryjatelja" na […]. Ľviv.

Kalendarium liturgicum et elenchus cleri ecclesiarumque dioecesis luceoriensis 1933.

Kalendaryk „Chryscijanskaj Dumki" dlja belaruskaj moladzi na 1929 god, Viľnja.

Kalendarz „Zorza" na Rok […], Wilno.

Kalendarz Duszpasterski na Rok 1937 Parafii św. Teresy od Dzieciątka Jezus w Rokitnie Wołyńskim. Łuck.

Kalendarz Jutrzenka na Rok […], [Wilno].

Kalendarz Królowej Różańca św. Parafii Dąbrowskiej, Toruń.

Kalendarz Mariański na Rok […]. Lwów.

Kalendarz Marjański na Rok Pański 1919, Wilno.

Kalendarz Ostrobramski na Rok […], Wilno.

Kalendarz Parafialny na Rok 1929 dla Wiernych Parafii Farnego Kościoła we Włodzimierzu, Włodzimierz.

Kalendarz Polski na Rok Pański […]. Lwów.

Katolicki Głos Pracy. Czasopismo wychodzi 1 i 15 każdego miesiąca. Lwów.

Katolyc'ka Akcija. Vistnyk Generaľnogo Instytutu Katolyc'koi Akcii gr.-kat. Gal. Cerk. Provincii. Ľviv.

Kazalnica Popularna, Łuck.

Komunikat Katolickiego Stowarzyszenia Kobiet, Katolickiego Stowarzyszenia Młodzieży Żeńskiej w Wilnie, Wilno.

Kronika Diecezji Łucko-Żytomierskiej, Łuck.

Ku szczytom. Dwumiesięcznik poświęcony zagadnieniom pełnego wychowania katolickiego, Wilno.

Kurenda Kurii Diecezjalnej Wileńskiej, Wilno.

Kurenda Kurii Diecezjalnej Wileńskiej, Wilno.

Kurenda Kurii Metropolitalnej Obrządku Łacińskiego we Lwowie.

Kurenda Kurii Metropolitalnej Wileńskiej, Wilno.

Kwartalnik Teologiczny Wileński, Wilno.

Logos. Organ Ligi Odrodzenia Moralnego, [Wilno].

Lud Boży, Łuck.

L'vivs'ko-archieparchija'lni Vidomosti. L'viv.

Lwowskie Wiadomości Parafialne. Tygodnik poświęcony życiu religijnemu m. Lwowa. Lwów.

Mały Przyjaciel [dodatek do „Tygodnika Katolickiego"], Wilno.

Meta. Tyžnevyk. L'viv.

Miesięcznik Diecezjalny Łucki, Łuck.

Miesięcznik Diecezji Mińskiej' Nowogródek.

Miesięcznik Diecezji Pińskiej, Pińsk.

Miesięcznik Kapłański. Pismo Związku Kapłanów bł. Andrzeja Boboli w [Grodzieńszczyźnie] diecezji wileńskiej, Grodno.

Miesięcznik Katechetyczny i Wychowawczy. Lwów.

Młodzież Katolicka. Kwartalnik Związku Katolickich Organizacji Akademickich w Warszawie i Akademickiej Ligi Katolickiej we Lwowie. Warszawa. Lwów.

Narid Ukraini. Kalendar Lycarstva Presvjatoi Bogorodyci na 1939 rik. L'viv.

Naš Pryjateľ. Časopys dlja ukrains'koi molodi i škiľnych ditej. [L'viv].

Naši Visti. Informacijne pys'mo ukrains'koi chrystyjans organizacii. Neperiodyčnyj dodatok do „Novoi Zori". [L'viv].

Nasz Przyjaciel. Tygodnik społeczno-polityczny dla miast i wiosek, Wilno.

Nasz Związek. Organ Związku Koleżeńskiego Byłych Wychowanek Sacré Coeur. Lwów.

Nasza Praca. Wydawnictwo Katolickiego Stowarzyszenia Młodzieży. Zdołbunów.

Nowe Życie, Wilno.

Nyva. Misjačnyk posvjačenyj cerkovnym i suspiľnym spravam. L'viv.

Okólnik nr […] Związku Młodzieży Polskiej Diecezji Pińskiej, Pińsk.

Okólnik Związku Młodzieży Polskiej Diecezji Łuckiej. Łuck.

Okólnik Związku Stowarzyszeń Młodzieży Polskiej, Wilno.

Okólnik. Archidiecezjalny Instytut Akcji Katolickiej w Wilnie, Wilno.

Okólnik. Do zarządów parafialnych Akcji Katolickiej archidiecezji wileńskiej, Wilno.

Okólnik. Katolickie Stowarzyszenie Młodzieży Męskiej w Wilnie, Wilno.

Pax. O chrześcijańską kulturę jutra, Wilno.

Piński Przegląd Diecezjalny (od 1927-1939),

Pomoc Misyjna. Pismo poświęcone popieraniu rozkrzewiania wiary. Wilno.

Posłaniec św. Grzegorza. Pismo poświęcone sprawom archidiecezji lwowskiej obrządku ormiańskiego. Lwów.

Posłaniec Kościoła Parafialnego Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego w Wilnie, Wilno.

Posłaniec Niedzielny. Pismo tygodniowe Ligi Robotniczej św. Kazimierza. Wilno.

Powszechny Kalendarz Mariański na Rok Pański […]. Lwów.

Praca Katolicka. Miesięcznik ludowy kresów wołyńskich, Włodzimierz.

Presvjataja Bogorodyce, spasy nas! Ukrains'kyj religijnyj misjačnyk, prysvjačenyj pošyrennju počytannija Materi Božoi. L'viv.

Pro Fide, [Łuck].

Propovidi. Dodatok do Nyvy. L'viv.

Przegląd Teologiczny. Kwartalnik naukowy. Lwów (od 1931 – Collectanea Theologica).

Przewodnik Parafialny Białostocki. Białystok.

Rekolekcje Miesięczne dla Kapłanów. Wilno.

Ruch Teologiczny. Dodatek informacyjny do „Przeglądu Teologicznego". Lwów.

Schematismus cleri Dioeceseos Vilnensis pro Anno Domini [...]. Wilno.

Schematismus universi cleri graeco-catholicae Dioecesis Stanislaopoliensis pro Anno Domini [...]. Stanislaopoli.

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Šemaitzm vsego klira greko-katoličeskoj mitropoličoj archieparchii l'vovskoj na rok [...]. L'vov.

Sivač. Misjačnyk prysvjačenyj propovida i katechizi. L'viv.

Słowa Prawdy. Pismo tygodniowe. Organ myśli polskiej i katolickiej. Wilno.

Słowo Boże. Dodatek do „Tygodnika Katolickiego", [Wilno].

Słowo Boże. Dodatek do nr […] [„Gazety Niedzielnej"]. Lwów.

Spójnia. Okólnik Akcji Katolickiej Diecezji Łuckiej, Łuck.

Sprawozdanie Kasowe Koła Miejscowego Diecezjalnego s o.-kat. Stowarzyszenia Dobroczynności w Łucku za czas od 8 XII 1929 do 30 III 1931 [b.m.w.].

Sprawozdanie Roczne Związku Młodzieży Polskiej Męskiej w Wilnie za Rok […], Wilno.

Sprawozdanie Sodalicji Marjańskiej Mężczyzn z Inteligencji we Lwowie za Rok 1926/27 oraz Opis Uroczystego Obchodu 200-nej Rocznicy Kanonizacji św. Stanisława Kostki 1726-1926 w tymże Mieście. Zestawił […]. Lwów.

Sprawozdanie Wydziału Towarzystwa Wzajemnej Pomocy Kapłanów ob. Łac. We Lwowie. Lwów.

Sprawozdanie z Czynności Katolickiego Związku Polek we Lwowie za Rok […]. Lwów.

Sprawozdanie z Czynności Męskiego Towarzystwa św. Wincentego a Paulo w Archidiecezji Lwowskiej za Rok […]. Lwów.

Sprawozdanie z Czynności Zjednoczenia Polskich Chrześcijańskich Towarzystw Kobiecych we Lwowie za Rok […]. Lwów.

Sprawozdanie z działalności Katolickiego Stowarzyszenia Młodzieży Żeńskiej w Wilnie za Rok 1936, [Wilno].

Sprawozdanie z Działalności Towarzystwa św. Stanisława Kostki Opieki nad Terminatorami we Lwowie za Rok 1928. Lwów.

Sprawozdanie z Działalności Towarzystwa św. Wincentego à Paulo na Terytorium Metropolii Warszawskiej i Wileńskiej za Rok […].

Sprawozdanie Zarządu Arcybractwa Nieustającej Adoracji i Niesienia Pomocy Ubogim Świątyniom Katolickim z Czynności za Rok […]. Lwów.

Sprawozdanie Związku Stowarzyszeń Młodzieży Polskiej w Łucku za Rok […]. Łuck.

Sprawozdanie Związku Stowarzyszeń Pań Miłosierdzia św. Wincentego a Paulo we Lwowie. Lwów.

Stryjskie Wiadomości Parafialne. Tygodnik poświęcony życiu religijnemu m. Stryja [Stryj].

Students'kyj Vistnyk Postup. Ľviv.

Svjato Chrystyjans'koi Ukraini. Bjuletiń Dilovogo Komitetu Svjatkuvannja 950-littja Chreščennja Rusi-Ukraini. Ľviv.

Świat Umarłych. Pismo poświęcone życiu pozagrobowemu, Wilno.

Tygodnik Katolicki. Czasopismo religijne, społeczne i oświatowe, Wilno.

Vistnyk Marijs'kych Tovarystv. Organ upravy Marijs'kogo Tovarystva Molodi — Informacijne pys'mo o dilach marijs'kych družyn. Ľviv.

Vistnyk Stanyslavivskoi Eparchii, Stanislavov.

W górę serca. Miesięcznik Sodalicji Marjańskiej uczennic Seminarium im. Marceliny Darowskiej w Słonimie. Słonim.

W służbie. Czasopismo ilustrowane Instytutu Niepokalanej Królowej Polski, Wilno.

Wiadomości Akcji Katolickiej Archidiecezji Wileńskiej, Wilno.

Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Wileńskie, Wilno [1927-1939]

Wiadomości Diecezjalne Kamienieckie. Pismo urzędowe kurii biskupiej, Buczacz.

Wiadomości dla Patronów Stowarzyszeń Młodzieży Polskiej i Pracowników Społecznych wśród Młodzieży Pozaszkolnej, Wilno.

Wiadomości Katolickie. [Lwów].

Wiadomości Kongresowe. Pismo poświęcone sprawie Kongresu Eucharystycznego w Kołomyi. Kołomyja.

Wiadomości Kościelne Parafii Bargłowskiej, Bargłów.

Wiadomości Kościelne. Pismo miesięczne parafii bernardyńskiej w Wilnie, Wilno.

Wiadomości Kościelne. Pismo miesięczne parafii ostrobramskiej w Wilnie, Wilno.

Wiadomości Kościelne. Pismo miesięczne parafii św. Rafała w Wilnie, Wilno.

Wiadomości Kościelne. Pismo miesięczne parafii Świętego Ducha w Wilnie, Wilno.

Wiadomości Kościelne. Pismo miesięczne parafii Świętych Apostołów Filipa i Jakóba w Wilnie, Wilno.

Wiadomości Kościelne. Pismo miesięczne parafii Wszystkich Świętych w Wilnie, Wilno.

Wiadomości Metropolitalne Wileńskie, Wilno [1926]

Wiadomości Parafialne, Pińsk.

Wiadomości Parafii Rokitniańskiej, [Rokitno].

Wiadomości z Ostrej Bramy we Lwowie. Lwów.

Wileński Kalendarz Mariański na Rok […]. Wilno.

Wileński Związek Stowarzyszeń Młodzieży Polskiej. Sprawozdanie z działalności Związku za rok […], Wilno.

Wilniaus Aušra [Gwiazda Wileńska], [Wilno].

Zjednoczenie Katolickie. Gazeta tygodniowa dla osób, rodzin i organizacji katolickich. Białystok.

Zorka. Belaruski casopis dlja dzjacej. Dadatek do „Chryscijanskaj Dumki", Vil'nja.

Żniwo wprawdzie wielkie, ale robotników mało. Miesięcznik Dzieła Matki Boskiej Powołań w Wilnie, Wilno.

Życie Eucharystyczne. Wydawnictwo Koła Eucharystycznego Alumnów Seminarium Duchownego w Wilnie.

Życie Katolickie. Pismo popularne tygodniowe, Łuck.

Życie Parafialne Ostrobramskie, [Wilno].

Życie Parafialne. Pismo poświęcone przejawom życia religijnego Małopolski i nekrologii. Lwów.

5. 2. Periodicals published by religious orders

Catalogus fratrurn ae sororum sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum almae Provinciae s. Hyacinthi in Polonia pro Anno Domini. Lwów.

Catalogus Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni Provinciae Sanctissimi Salvatoris ineunte anno [...]. L'vov, Žovkva.

Chrystijans'kyj Kalendar Misionarja na rik [...]. Žovkva.

Chrystyjans'kyj Kalendar na rik 1923. Žovkva.

Da zlučen'nja! Belaruskaja religijnaja časopis. Albertyn, Vil'nja.

Dobryj Pastyr. Stanyslaviv, Peremyšl'.

Głosy Salezjańskiego Zakładu w Daszawie, Stryj.

K'soedineniju! Russkij religioznyj žurnal. Vilno.

Kalendar sv. Josafata na 1924 rik ta šematyzm klyru vsich ukrains'kych z'jednenych eparchii. [Žovkva].

Kalendarz „Dzwonka Trzeciego Zakonu" [św. Franciszka] [...] na Rok [...]. Lwów.

Kalendarz „Rycerza Niepokalanej",Warszawa-Grodno.

Kalendarz Franciszkański na Rok Pański [...]. Lwów.

Kalendarz Królowej Różańca św., Toruń [mutacja dla Wilna].

Kalendarz Milicji „Matki Boskiej Szkaplerznej" na Rok 1930, Lwów.

Kalendarz Tercjarski na Rok 1934. [Lwów].

Misionar. Žovkva.

Młodzież Seraficka. Pisemko dla popierania misji zagranicznych. Lwów.

Pochodnia Seraficka. Grodno, Kraków.

Polski Przegląd Tomistyczmy. Lwów.

Posłaniec św. Antoniego z Padwy. Pismo miesięczne. Organ Pobożnego Stowarzyszenia św. Antoniego Padewskiego i III Zakonu św. Franciszka. Lwów.

Pszczółka. Pisemko Zakładów Wychowawczych ss. Misjonarek-Benedyktynek w Łucku, Łuck.

Róża Duchowna. Czasopismo poświęcone czci Najświętszej Panny Maryi Królowej Różańca św., Lwów.

Schematismus Ordinis Fratrurn Minorum Seraphici Patris Nostri Francisci almae Provinciae Beatissimae Virginis Mariae Immaculatae Conceptionis in Polonia vulgo Patrum Bernardinorum [...] pro Anno Domini [...]. Leopoli, Cracoviae, Stryj, Resoviae.

Szkoła Chrystusowa. Czasopismo poświęcone zagadnieniom życia wewnętrznego, Lwów.

Świt Seraficki. Kwartalnik poświęcony szerzeniu idei św. Franciszka z Asyżu. Organ księży tercjarzy, księży dyrektorów i przełożonych Trzeciego Zakonu Franciszkańskiego w Polsce. Lwów.

Wieści z Prowincjałatu oo. Franciszkanów w Polsce. Lwów, Kraków.

Wilno św. Andrzejowi w Hołdzie. Jednodniówka z okazji wileńskich uroczystości ku czci św. Andrzeja Botooli w dniach 23, 24, 25 X 1938, Wilno.

Wspólna Myśl. Czasopismo uczennic Seminarium św. Niepokalanek w Maciejowie [Łuck].

Wychowanie Zakładowe. Dodatek do „Pszczółki", Łuck.

Ziarenka Eucharystyczne dla użytku Adoratorów Przenajświetszego Sakramentu [Lwów].

Złučennie. Miesiačnaja relihijnaja časapis. Warszawa.

Żyj po Bożemu, [Lwów].

Conclusion of part 1 – general

Eastern Borderlands of the First Republic, constituting the century long portrait of the power of nations and peoples of various faiths and cultures allied with them, over time became a place of wrenching wars and pogroms, brought to the end in 1795 with the total collapse of the Republic. The shattered picture of those times was in part recreated by enthusiasts of the Borderlands, especially by Antoni Urbański and Roman Aftanazy, who described mansions built in those lands, as well as their hosts and treasures of national culture gathered there. These epics constitute nowadays probably the only attempt at taking a - relatively complete - look at the legacy of Eastern Borderlands of the First Republic.

The new, Second Republic reborn a hundred years ago, in 1918, happily returned to some of the territory lost in the East, undertaking the hardships of developing

the war-ravaged land. Unfortunately, 20 years later, it faced a new ordeal and another loss of the easternmost lands. This time, those lands found their profound and thorough picture in the local press and in the memories of "Polonuses" living there. Periodicals published there primarily by the contemporary Catholic world, provide us probably with the most all-embracing record of those times. The titles mentioned in the present work indicate the life areas of people inhabiting those regions, which were penetrated by the press and which are, in a sense, equivalent only to the names of Polish old mansions in the East. Getting acquainted with their content requires meticulous study which would allow to discover and bring closer the worlds described there and still little known to us and which were deliberately and systematically destroyed by anti-Polish and anti-Catholic forces. The uneasy task of deciphering the Borderlands from its publishing legacy which is still, to this day, being rediscovered, will constitute the content of the second part of the study devoted to Catholic periodicals in Eastern Borderlands of the Second Polish Republic.

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