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Od Redakcji

Szanowni Państwo!

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Drugi numer 2024 r. liczy osiem artykułów naukowych. Należy podkreślić, że aż siedem(!) z nich zostało napisanych w języku angielskim. Pięć artykułów wyszło spod pióra zagranicznych autorów (USA, Słowacja, Litwa). Publikowane teksty obejmują zagadnienia mieszczące się w następujących dyscyplinach naukowych: filozofia, edukacja (pedagogika), historia, prawo kanoniczne, teologia, kultura i religia. Oprócz tego zamieszczamy materiały historyczne i recenzje dwóch książek.

Mamy nadzieję, że lektura zaproponowanych artykułów okaże się przydatna w zgłębianiu problemów naukowych i rowijaniu własnych zainteresowań.

ks. Marcin Sieńkowski
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PETER A. REDPATH*

Aquinas on Philosophy as Prudent Desire, Pursuit, and Job of the Wise Man and Culture: To Understand First Principles and Causes of the Whole Truth about Everything

When, toward the start of his *Commentary on the Metaphysics of Aristotle*, St. Thomas Aquinas begins his report of how Aristotle had started talking about the history of the origin of the concept of philosophy, science, among the Ancient Greeks and other Mediterranean cultures prior to them, he had described this as an individual and community team enterprise: a prudent, organizational act of an organizational whole. The people involved in starting this organization shared a common, *prudent* chief aim: to escape from the damaging effects they had commonly recognized brute-animal ignorance causes¹.

They could not have proceeded in this way had they not shared a common concept and understanding of human beings as a unique species of animal: ‘a rational animal’. In addition, to talk somewhat like a student of Georg Hegel (b.1770; d.1831), they had thought of themselves as conceiving of philosophy, science, as ‘a world-historical concept’.

‘Strictly speaking’, they had not conceived of themselves as: (1) an organizational community engaged in some sort of cultural revolution; (2) Europeans; or (3) Westerners. They could not have done so because, ‘strictly speaking’, none of these concepts had precisely existed during their time.

When philosophy had first started to arise among ancient Greeks colonists in Asia-Minor (near modern-day Turkey, in Miletus and Ionia) around the 7th and 6th centuries, B.C., the Ancient Greeks had conceived of the world as they knew it to consist in lands surrounding the Aegean Sea. This became the later-

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¹ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Metaphysics of Aristotle*, trans. J.P. Rowan, Vol. 1, (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., Inc., 1961), Lect. 3, nns. 55-68.

known ‘Mediterranean’ (‘Middle Land’) geographical region: the ‘Middle of the Roman Empire’ as the Romans later conceived of it.

To the peoples living in the lands surrounding the Aegean Sea during the time of the start of Ancient Greek philosophy, the concept of ‘the World’ consisted of: (1) ‘lands to the East’ (Asia); (2) ‘lands to the South’ (Libya); and (3) ‘lands to the West and North’ (the geographical region that later became called ‘Europe’).

Etymologically, the word ‘Europe’ is derived from ‘Europa’—the name of a Phoenician (modern Lebanon) princess who was the mother of King Minos of Crete, whom the god Zeus had abducted as a wife. In addition, the Ancient Greeks had referred to ‘Euros’ as their northernmost province of Thrace and to the river that flowed through it. Before the term ‘Europe’ became used to refer to a continent (around the ninth century, A.D.), it was often used to refer to Thrace.

During the ninth-century Carolingian Renaissance, the term ‘Europe’ started to designate ‘the area of cultural and political influence and continent’ controlled in the ‘Western Roman Empire’ by the Roman Catholic Church (the modern West) as distinct from ‘the areas of political and cultural influence and geographical regions of the ‘Eastern Roman Empire’, mainly influenced by Eastern Orthodox Catholic Churches and Islam.

I indicate the above facts about the increasingly precise historical development in understanding ideas like ‘Europe’, ‘the West’, and ‘the World’ to drive home more deeply into the consciousness of my readers the fact that when we first start to conceive of any new subject, or substance, and its activities, we always do so ‘conflatedly’—using all our psychological knowing and emotional faculties united in numerically one act of sense-understanding.

We first sense a new subject, or substance, and all qualities ‘generically’ with our intellect and intellectualize them with all our internal and external sense faculties before we sense and intellectualize about them specifically and individually. Recall that a child first senses something moving toward him or her before conceiving and sensing this being as ‘Mommy’ or ‘Daddy’.

Analogously considered, the way in which the Ancients living around the Aegean Sea first conceived of themselves as ‘community wonderers’ mirrors the way they first conceived of philosophy, science, as an act of wondering practiced by a world-wide community—not as an act of Westerners, or Europeans, or any regional culture.

They first wondered about themselves as ‘wonderers’ in general, using easier, uncomplicated psychological acts of imagination, memory, and vivid sense experience—Myth, rhapsodies about the gods sung by wandering, inspired, Rock-star, sons of gods: Great Mythological Poets like Homer and Hesiod, and other ‘rappers’, like Orpheus and Musaios, who had preceded them.

After discussing the way Aristotle had depicted the psychological evolution of the Ancient Greeks physicists who had first wondered about the causes

of motion and action on Earth and in the heavens, St. Thomas starts to comment about Aristotle's observation that, as someone who wonders, 'in a way' (that is, 'analogously'), a philosopher resembles Ancient theological poets in being a 'Philomuthos'². Most remarkable to me about Aristotle's depiction of philosophers in this way is how radically different and positive it is about them in contrast to the highly negative opinion that Socrates and Aristotle's beloved teacher, Plato, had held of them.

For example, recall that, along with corrupt 'sophists', among the chief accusers of Socrates in Plato's dialogue the *Apology* were Ancient theological poets, who had claimed to be 'inspired sons of the gods'. In addition, Plato had considered these Ancient poets to be 'essentially liars', who, among other mendacious acts, had depicted gods to be evil wife- and child-beaters, and cannibals.

For instance, fearing that Zeus would unseat him as King of the gods, the Titan leader Cronos ate all five of Zeus' children (Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Hades, and Poseidon). Previous to this Cronos had deposed and castrated his father Uranos.

Fearing that his own children would depose him, Cronos started to eat all of them. Luckily for him, Cronos' youngest son, Zeus, was saved from such a dire fate by his mother, Rhea. She gave birth to Zeus in secret and hid him in a cave in Crete. Then, she shrewdly pretended to give Zeus to Cronos by presenting her husband a rock wrapped in swaddling clothes—which Cronos immediately ate.

Zeus, in turn, was 'no mister nice guy'. Among other dastardly deeds, he crippled his wife Hera's son Hephaistos by tossing him off Mount Olympus for trying to protect Hera from Zeus's unwanted advances.

Socrates was so appalled by such 'ungodly' behavior that, in Plato's dialogue the *Euthyphro*, Socrates reacts with incredulity toward Euthyphro when Euthyphro (who claims to have a masterful knowledge of 'piety' and of the most wonderfully pious acts of the gods) holds the Ancient Greek gods to be exemplars of holiness. No wonder should exist why Plato had entitled this dialogue *Euthyphro*. In Greek, the word 'pious' ('*hosion*') means 'holiness'. Euthyphro is 'His Holiness'. More loosely, Euthyphro is 'Mr. Know-it-all', 'Wisdom personified'³.

Socrates' opinion of the depiction of the Ancient Greek gods was so false and disgusting that, in Book 10 of Plato's *Republic*, Plato reports Socrates had said the poets could not be allowed to teach the youth or guardians in his Ideal

² Aquinas, *Commentary on the Metaphysics of Aristotle*, Lect. 3, nns. 55-68; see Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, trans. W.D. Ross, in: *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, ed. R. Mc Keon, (New York: Random House, 1968), 982b11-983a23.

³ Plato, *Euthyphro*, trans. L. Cooper, in: *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, eds. (with an introduction and prefatory notes) E. Hamilton, H. Cairns, Bollingen Series 71, (New York: Bollingen Foundation, Distributed by Pantheon Books, 1966), 2A-5C.

City⁴. In addition, in Plato's dialogues, the gods: (1) exist below the Form of the Good; (2) have to look up to it; and (3) do not interfere in human affairs except to protect us from evils. In addition, Plato's conception of a 'form' is a depersonification of a Greek god as a cause existing in matter that causes a material body to move.

Note should also be made that Aristotle continued Plato's removal of the gods: (1) from the Earth and (2) as potential subjects of religious veneration and worship. Aristotle's Unmoved Mover and Intelligences that move heavenly bodies do not know we exist and care nothing about us.

Following the natural order of learning—which proceeds from sense knowledge of the easiest and clearest things to know to those that are more difficult and obscure—like Aristotle, Aquinas's attitude toward the Ancient theologizing poets was more kind and positive. As he recognized, these early researchers had little choice but to attempt to get at truth of things 'to the best of their ability'.

Being unable to read or write, they had to pursue their investigation of truth and proximate causes of the behavior of substances chiefly by means of the use of vivid imagination, strong memories, and song. While these first practitioners of mythologically wondering about causes were initially called *sophoi* ('wise men', in Greek), St. Thomas knew that, later, Pythagoras of Samos (c. 570-495 B.C.) coined the term 'philosophy' chiefly to designate the pursuit of wisdom for the simple love of being wise, and for no practical or productive purpose⁵.

Aquinas reports that Aristotle made the same point about philosophy being a pursuit of wisdom by referring to the fact that the habit of philosophizing only started to be sought after many practical and productive arts had been discovered and 'arts of leisure' ('contemplative', 'speculative', or 'liberal' arts) had been discovered. Then, St. Thomas states, "for the first time", human beings started to pursue "this kind of prudence" (that is, 'a new species of prudence'—'speculative, observational, or contemplative, prudence!'): wisdom—prudence (uncommon common sense) sought for its own sake, for itself alone, and not for any other aim⁶.

At this point, because the historical information was largely not available to him, St. Thomas could not mention the important fact that development of the 'arts of leisure', the 'liberal arts', had first started in Egypt centuries before the Ancient Greeks had begun to practice the liberal art of geometry (*geometria*/ 'earth management', in Greek). As long ago as 3000 B.C., the Egyptians had used geometry for building, agricultural, and sailing purposes.

⁴ Plato, *Republic*, trans. P. Shorey, in: *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, eds. (with an introduction and prefatory notes) E. Hamilton, H. Cairns, Bk. 10, 377A-583C.

⁵ Aquinas, *Commentary on the Metaphysics of Aristotle*, Lect. 3, n. 56.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Lect. 3, n. 57.

In his *Histories*, Herodotus reports that development of geometry as part of an influential school ('place of leisure'/'scola', in Latin) began when the Pharaoh, King Sestoris, "divided the land of the Nile Delta into large squares of equal size and gave one square to each family". At the time, "the math for determining the surface area did not yet exist, and the tax collectors were not able to calculate the unequal and odd shapes of farmland submitted for tax returns. According to Herodotus, this is how geometry was invented: to help King Sestoris evaluate the tax returns of his farmers"⁷.

After commenting about Aristotle's observations that: (1) as someone who wonders, a philosopher resembles an Ancient theological poet in having the quality of being a 'Myth-lover' ('Philomuthos', in Greek); and (2) Pythagoras was the first of the Ancients to designate this science 'philosophy'—instead of 'wisdom' ('sophia', in Greek) as the other Ancients before him had done—(*Commentary on the Metaphysics of Aristotle*, Lect. 3, nns. 55-57), St. Thomas meditates on four additional qualities this science possesses and adds to the behavioral psychology of a true philosopher: (1) causing real human freedom; (2) causing the greatest species of human wealth and greatest of human goods—liberation from all forms of slavery and an elevation of individual human nature to a divine-like state of liberty; (3) adding to the human intellect the most divine and honorable subjects to know and the psychological means to know them—God-like, contemplative understanding; and (4) being the most divine and honorable of all sciences and ways of human understanding⁸.

St. Thomas maintains that 'real freedom' is the first quality the science of philosophy adds to the behavioral psychology of a true philosopher because a person who is really free is a person who does not exist or work for someone else. He or she exists and works for himself or herself. For example, he says, 'slaves' do not exist or work for themselves. They exist for their 'masters' because they work for 'masters' and give to their 'masters' whatever their work produces⁹.

In contrast, the second quality the science of philosophy adds to the behavioral psychology of a true philosopher is 'to enable him or her exist for himself or herself'. Really free people are 'entrepreneurs'. They work for themselves and receive for themselves whatever profit their work provides.

Free men and women are 'enterprising, self-providers'. Like such people, the science of philosophy (wisdom) works for no other science. Among all human sciences, only philosophy works for itself. Wisdom is free and makes free those who possess it!

Only 'contemplative sciences'—those that pursue knowledge for its own sake, and not for any practical or productive work beyond themselves—are

⁷ Herodotus, *Histories*, in: fourstringfarm.com: *Filing Taxes in Ancient Egypt*, in: *Heritage Farming*, April 15, 2014.

⁸ Aquinas, *Commentary on the Metaphysics of Aristotle*, Lect 3, nns. 57-68.

⁹ *Ibid.*, n. 57.

‘better than useful arts’ (such as arts of manufacturing). In addition, among these sciences, the science that has as its chief subject of investigation the qualitatively most universal and widely and deeply influential of all causes (the chief cause of the existence and preservation of the entire, finite universe and all causes that exist within this universe) is the highest, best, and most perfect science: First Philosophy, Metaphysics, Wisdom. Only this science exists perfectly and completely for itself¹⁰!

Given this second quality, St. Thomas maintains that the science of philosophy must give to the behavioral psychology and ‘soul’ of its possessor its third quality: being, by nature, totally incapable of thinking and behaving like a slave. The true philosopher is psychologically disposed to understand that being a philosopher is really better as a chief aim in life than becoming economically wealthy and every other qualitatively lesser good.

At the same time, the true philosopher is no fool. He or she understands that, in and of itself, the habit of philosophizing ‘bakes no cakes and builds no bridges’. While the science of Metaphysics might be the qualitatively highest science, and ‘properly speaking’, identical with science in its most perfect species, ‘properly understood’ *all true philosophy is a species of situational prudence*.

It has its own *officium*/office/duty related to its use. Metaphysical addiction can make a person just as much a slave and a fool as can any other human addiction. To be properly exercised ‘freely’, for it to be more than useful, its possessor must know its limits of right use—must use the habit of Metaphysics prudently; must understand when, where, and how to use it.

Because the science of philosophy has as its chief subject, aim, final cause, understanding causes and principles of the existence and behavior of everything, St. Thomas maintains that the chief subject, aim and final cause of philosophy must include understanding God. Having this included as part of its chief subject must make philosophy ‘the most divine and honorable science’.

Indeed, Aquinas argues that the science of philosophy is the most honorable science precisely because its subject of study includes the most divine subject of wonder: ‘God and matters related to God’. Since philosophers wonder about causes and first principles, they must wonder about God.

Consequently, the science of philosophy must be about God alone or, at a minimum, about God as the qualitatively best, highest, most perfect, universal, and influential of all causes: the chief cause of the existence and preservation of the entire, finite universe, and all the finite causes that exist within it.

While some sciences are more necessary than this science for use in practical and productive life, none is more honorable and excellent than this one considered simply as a science because, more than any other science, it is in no way servile. It is the only human science sought for its own sake and not as tool, or means, to acquire anything beyond its own good.

¹⁰ Ibid., n. 58.

Having the nature it does, St. Thomas proceeds to demonstrate that, as a habit of investigation initially caused by a desire to understand first principles and causes of everything, the habit of philosophy comes to rest, is perfectly realized, when it arrives at the ‘contrary opposite’ of the initial cause of its wondering—understanding the first principles and causes of everything¹¹.

According to Aquinas, every species of motion exists as the in-between part of a starting point and end point of a contrary-opposite relation. Motion is not arbitrary or chaotic. It is always a sequential, orderly, progression from one point (beginning, contrary opposite) to another point (ending, contrary opposite)—like takeoff and landing of an airplane.

Scientific, philosophical, investigation is a species of progressive movement toward understanding—like the in-between flight of the airplane ‘from’ takeoff ‘to’ landing. Once the plane lands, the flight is over. Once the chief aim (final cause/chief purpose) of the wonder is realized/understood, the investigation (in-between motion) is over.

According to St. Thomas, the flight of philosophy from an initial habit of wondering about the causes and principles of all things started with Ancient theological poets and pagan priests wondering about less important matters close at hand and easily understandable to them. From these, ‘slow by slow’, it gradually progressed to wonder about more hidden causes.

Because they are initially extremely unfamiliar to us, when they first confront us psychologically, we have no memory of such hidden causes. Consequently, we must first perceive them as entirely alien, strange, foreign.

They first appear to us as if they happen mysteriously, by chance. As a result, St. Thomas says that we human beings wonder most of all when things happen in some unexpected way that we cannot anticipate. We initially attribute such happenings to chance, mysteries—events, perhaps, even having no cause.

Aquinas adds that we tend to wonder especially about activities that appear to us to have no ‘determined, or definite’, cause. When the Ancients were first not able to recognize the cause of ‘any’ action at all, they wondered about all actions as totally alien, as if they were undetermined, chance occurrences. They first wondered in this way even about changes, movements, close at hand that are relatively easy to understand by anyone who has some familiarity (memory, experience) with such behavior.

That is, the most primitive of Ancient wonderers had first wondered about relatively easily understandable physical behavior and movements in the same way as more advanced Ancient astronomers had wondered about the causes of Lunar and Solar eclipses and Ancient geometers had wondered about whether the diagonal of a square could be commensurate with one of its sides.

¹¹ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra gentiles*, trans. with an introduction and notes A.C. Pegis, (Notre Dame Ind., USA, and London, UK: University of Notre Dame Press), Bk. 1, Ch. 1.

Once they understood the causes of these phenomena, they ceased to wonder about them. Continuing to do so would have been the act of a fool.

One final point readers of this article should note about the brilliance of St. Thomas Aquinas is that, by the time he had completed Lesson 3 of his *Commentary on the Metaphysics of Aristotle* (maybe two dozen pages), he had already laid the foundation rationally to justify the later claim he will make that philosophy as Aristotle had understood it was ‘a preamble’ to the existence of the qualitatively higher Divine Science of Revealed Theology (‘God-talk’)—the science in which God talks (reveals knowledge) ‘about Himself and matters related to God’ And he had been able to do so precisely because ‘every science, division of philosophy, essentially studies some subject and matters related to it’!

* * *

Summary

This article defends the thesis that, according to St. Thomas Aquinas, when the Ancient Greeks and other Mediterranean cultures prior to them had first started to philosophize, engage in science, they had done so as parts of an individual and community team enterprise. They were convinced that all human beings have *a moral duty as rational animals* to philosophize—*prudentially to wonder about the most universal causes about everything*. Considering themselves essentially to be a ‘world-community of prudential wonderers’, they first conceived of philosophy, science, to be a psychological act of prudential wondering practiced by a world-wide community of people. In starting this organization, this world community shared a common, *prudent* chief aim: to help free the entire known-world from the damaging effects they had commonly recognized brute-animal ignorance causes. They were convinced that an imprudent people can never become philosophical or scientific. St. Thomas maintains that their natural desire to satisfy their wonder about the chief subject, aim, efficient and final cause of the existence, behavior, and truth of everything must have included understanding God. Having this included as part of its chief subject and aim caused them to understand the job of every philosopher chiefly to be what philosophy is for anyone who understands its proper nature: to bring into existence First Philosophy, Metaphysics’—‘the most divine and honorable science’!

Keywords: St. Thomas Aquinas, Philosophy, Wisdom, Culture, First Principles and Causes, Truth.

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DANIEL P. THERO*

Two Varieties of *Akrasia*

1. Introduction

Akrasia is the Greek term for the human shortcoming often referred to as “weakness of will,” “moral weakness,” or “incontinence.”¹ Many philosophers, theologians, and psychologists over the centuries have offered analyses of how and why *akrasia* occurs, although these have often conflicted with one another in certain parts of their explanations and even regarding the definition of the phenomenon to be explained.² However, most attempts to analyze *akrasia* have agreed on at least the following core understanding:

An instance of *akrasia* can be said to occur when an agent honestly believes they should do some action identified by them as obligatory or best, but at the moment of action fails to follow through on this belief and instead does some alternative action which is motivated by desire, and the doing of which precludes doing the action that was previously identified as obligatory or best.³

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¹ “Weakness of will” is the most common translation of *akrasia*, although, strictly speaking, this can be anachronistic when referring to analyses of *akrasia* by the Ancient Greeks. The will is not clearly identified as a separate faculty of mind until after the period of classical Greek philosophy (see N.W. Gilbert, “The Concept of the Will in Early Latin Philosophy,” pp. 32). I avoid these issues by using “*akrasia*” throughout the paper instead of a specific English translation.

² This article will focus on a philosophical analysis of *akrasia*. For readers who wish to explore the psychological literature on the topic (usually referred to as self-control failure, self-regulation failure, or ego-depletion), I recommend: R. Baumeister and T. Heatherton, “Self-Regulation Failure: An Overview,” R. Baumeister, *et. al.*, “Ego Depletion: Is the Self a Limited Resource?,” A. Fishbach and J.Y. Shah, “Self-Control in Action: Implicit Dispositions Toward Goals and Away from Temptations,” W. Hofmann, *et. al.*, “Everyday Temptations: An Experience Sampling Study of Desire, Conflict, and Self-Control,” and A.C. Moller, *et. al.*, “Choice and Ego-Depletion: The Moderating Role of Autonomy.”

³ One might add here the additional condition that the agent reverts to her ordinary belief after committing the akratic action, and thus comes to regret having done the action. The argument

Of course, we are left wondering why an agent would fail to follow through on a belief that she honestly holds and instead act in a contrary way. Almost all disagreement among scholars on the subject of *akrasia* centers on differences in how they explain this apparent conundrum. I will argue that there are two general types or varieties of *akrasia*, differentiated by the answers they each give regarding what transpires at the moment of action. Specifically, we will see that the crux of the difference lies in whether an agent does or does not retain access at the moment of action to their normal belief about what is obligatory or best.

2. General definition of *akrasia*

It will prove helpful to put the above account of *akrasia* into the form of a more structured definition. Let us begin by laying out the terms that will be utilized in this definition and throughout the remainder of this paper.

Terms utilized:

A = human agent

α_o = obligatory action (*i.e.*, the action normally believed by the agent to be obligatory or best)⁴

α_f = faulty action (*i.e.*, the akratic action)⁵

t_{α_o} = time at which obligatory action should be done (or should have been done)

t_{α_f} = time at which faulty (akratic) action is done

Using these terms, an akratic action can be defined as one for which each of the following conditions obtain:

- (1) Prior to t_{α_f} , A believes that A ought to do α_o at t_{α_o}
- (2) A desires to do α_f ⁶
- (3) A's doing α_f at t_{α_f} entails A's not doing α_o at t_{α_o}
- (4) A does α_f at t_{α_f}
- (5) A's doing α_f results from A's desire to do α_f

for adding this condition is that if the agent did *not* regret her action after the fact, then (according to Aristotle's classification of character states in Bk. VII of *Nicomachean Ethics*, for example) the agent might be thought to be in the grip of vice rather than *akrasia* (see, for example, *N.E.*, p. 1818). In this paper, however, our focus will be on analyzing what goes wrong up through the moment of action. Therefore, belief states of the agent after the commission of the akratic action (*e.g.*, those that support remorse or regret) will be omitted from our core definition.

⁴ The term "obligatory" here is not to be understood as meaning "required of the agent by some outside person or entity," although it *may* be thus required, but rather as being normally understood by the agent himself or herself as being the correct or right thing to do.

⁵ The term "faulty" is used here to mean generally understood *by the agent* to be wrong, less praiseworthy, or less desirable, than some action judged by the agent to be superior or obligatory (α_o).

⁶ *N.B.*: t_{α_f} may be the same as t_{α_o} , although not necessarily so.

There is admittedly some ambiguity in terms of what exactly is meant by “prior to α_f ,” and, unfortunately, the major historical treatments of *akrasia* do not do much to clear this up. Are we to understand “prior to α_f ” to mean the seconds leading up to the akratic action? Minutes before? Hours or even days before? Most treatments avoid this issue by simply drawing a distinction between the beliefs that the agent holds most of the time and the beliefs that they hold at the instant in time wherein they commit the akratic action. Although not highly precise, this may be as precise as we need to be and as precise as the psychological phenomena involved will allow.

Although one can imagine an agent succumbing to *akrasia* only once in a long while, it is often the case that akratic action forms a repeating pattern. That is why, for example, Aristotle treats it as a character state in the same way that virtue and vice are character states, being a relatively stable and predictable disposition or inclination to act in certain ways. Our concern here is with what brings about an individual akratic action, but it should also be remembered that, unfortunately, what happens in one instance is likely to repeat itself, thus often magnifying the overall detrimental effects of *akrasia* for both the individual and society.

Now that we have set out the general definition, let us turn to the issue of how *akrasia* occurs in human agents.

3. Two types of *akrasia*

The central philosophical question is what happens at the time of action such that A does α_f instead of α_o . In other words, why does the agent deviate from what they normally hold to be obligatory or best and instead do a contrary and incompatible action? I argue that there are two types or categories of answer that can be given.⁷

The first type of answer is that, at the moment of action, A experiences some sort of **failure of belief** such that they momentarily come to regard α_f as acceptable or, indeed, even as being the best action to perform. Several variations on this type of answer have been proposed by philosophers, differing from each other primarily in terms of what exactly is said to cause the failure of the agent’s normal belief at α_f . The analyses given by Socrates (470-399 B.C.) in several of Plato’s dialogues and by Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) rely on the failure of belief.⁸ Therefore, I will take the liberty of calling this first type of an-

⁷ The present author introduced and argued for the idea of there being two general types of *akrasia* in his 2006 book *Understanding Moral Weakness* (Amsterdam: Rodopi). To my knowledge, all prior analyses assumed that *akrasia* was a unitary phenomenon, such that one explanation or model would cover all instances if that correct explanation or model could be found.

⁸ Plato’s main treatment of *akrasia* is in the dialogue *Protagoras*. Therein Socrates denies the existence of the phenomenon if it is understood as acting against knowledge (for commentary, see E.J. Lemmon, “Moral Dilemmas,” p. 144, and T.M. Penner, “Socrates on the

swer “Greek *akrasia*,” without asserting categorically that all Ancient Greek thinkers agreed with it.

The second possibility is that, at the moment of action, the agent's normal belief structure remains unaltered, but rather they experience a failure at the level of another mental faculty, namely a **failure of will**. In this case, A retains the belief, even at the moment of action, that α_o is a superior option overall to α_f , and yet wills to do α_f anyway. I will call explanations of this second type “Augustinian *akrasia*,” since St. Augustine of Hippo (A.D. 354-430) focused centrally on the role of the will in either committing an akratic action or resisting the desire to do so.

The most memorable example that Augustine gives of such failure at the level of will is to be found in the famous story in his autobiographical *Confessions* of how in his youth he participated in stealing a load of pears from a neighbor's tree. Tellingly, he says that it was the very wickedness of the act that made it delightful for him, suggesting that he knew full well at the moment of action that the theft was wrong or “wicked.” In other words, as Augustine recalls it, his belief that such theft was wrong was not clouded or otherwise obscured by desire, but rather was clearly present to his mind even as he participated in the theft.⁹ He attributes this moral failure to his will being crooked or bent by sin, such that he could desire to do moral wrong even as he was fully cognizant that it was wrong, and indeed to desire it even more *because* it was wrong.

In summary, it can be said that in Greek *akrasia* there is a failure of belief, whereas in Augustinian *akrasia* there is a failure of will. Each of these two possibilities calls for further analysis. I will first consider Greek *akrasia*.

Definition of Greek *akrasia*

For a human agent A, an action α_f is Greek-akratic just in case the following conditions obtain:¹⁰

Strength of Knowledge,” p. 128). Socrates holds that true knowledge is impervious to any sort of weakness or faltering and thus would always be a reliable stalwart against *akrasia*. However, he then proceeds to give an analysis of how it is possible to act against even strongly held true belief that falls short of knowledge. This analysis is what interests us here. Socrates' discussion of the parts of the soul and the interplay between them in Plato's *Republic* also has implications for understanding *akrasia* in terms of desire overcoming one's ordinary beliefs and commitments at the moment of action. Aristotle's main treatment of *akrasia* is in Book VII of *Nicomachean Ethics*. Therein he discusses *akrasia* both in terms of how it relates to other character states such as virtue, moral strength, and vice, and explains how failure of belief occurs at the moment of action by utilizing what he calls the “practical syllogism,” a model for reasoning that concludes in action rather than simply in propositional belief.

⁹ See Augustine's *Confessions*, 2/e. Hackett, 2006, p. 29.

¹⁰ These conditions are here presented in the temporal sequence in which they would occur, taking us from times prior to the akratic action until the moment of the commission of the action itself (α_f).

- (1) Prior to t_{α_f} , A believes that they ought to do α_o
- (2) A desires to do α_f
- (3) A's doing α_f at t_{α_f} entails A's not doing α_o at t_{α_o}
- (4) At t_{α_f} , A's desire to do α_f causes A ...
 - to generate the belief that doing α_o is not obligatory or best after all
 - OR
 - to generate the false belief that doing α_f does not in fact entail not doing α_o
 - OR
 - to shut off access to the belief that A ought to do α_o , thus allowing for the belief that A is free to
 - do α_f
- (5) A does α_f at t_{α_f}

Step (4) is the crux of the matter, where something goes wrong, even if only momentarily, with A's beliefs or access thereto. As indicated, one thing that could go wrong is that, at t_{α_f} , A's desire to do α_f causes A to generate the belief that doing α_o is not obligatory or best after all. A second possibility is that at t_{α_f} , A retains the belief and access thereto that doing α_o is obligatory, but A's desire to do α_f causes A to generate the additional, false belief that doing α_f does not in fact entail not doing α_o . In this case A thinks momentarily and incorrectly that they can somehow manage to do both α_o and α_f .¹¹

A further possibility is that A's desire to do α_f can lead at t_{α_f} to A momentarily suppressing or shutting off mental access to their belief that they ought to do α_o .¹² This allows A to act on their desire to do α_f without the restraint that might otherwise follow from the presence of the belief that they ought to do α_o instead. This is essentially the analysis of *akrasia* given by Aristotle in *Nicomachean Ethics*, where he introduces what he calls the "practical syllogism," a model for reasoning that results directly in action rather than simply in propositional belief as is the case with the syllogistic reasoning that he discusses in his works on logic.¹³ According to Aristotle, what occurs in the akratic moment t_{α_f} is that the sequence of reasoning that would ordinarily culminate in A doing α_o is cut off midstream, such that the conclusion of that practical syllogism is never reached. Meanwhile, the alternative practical syllogism which

¹¹ These two explanations of what might go wrong are considered by Socrates in Plato's *Protagoras* (see 345d-e, 352c, and 358c-d). For analysis of Plato's position on what goes wrong at the moment of action, see A.R. Mele, "Socratic Akratic Action," p. 149, T.M. Penner, "Socrates on the Strength of Knowledge: *Protagoras* 351b-357e," p. 128, J. Gosling, *Weakness of the Will*, p. 149, and T.M. Penner, "Knowledge vs. True Belief in the Socratic Psychology of Action," p. 200.

¹² See J.O. Urmson, *Aristotle's Ethics*, p. 94, J.J. Walsh, *Aristotle's Conception of Moral Weakness*, p. 157, and D.S. Hutchinson, "Ethics," pp. 216-217.

¹³ See G.E.M. Anscombe, "Thought and Action in Aristotle," p. 154, R.D. Milo, *Aristotle on Practical Knowledge and Weakness of Will*, p.47, and J.M. Cooper, *Reason and Human Good in Aristotle*, p. 46.

culminates in the akratic action α_f readily steps in to fill the void and can progress through to its conclusion, which is simply the doing of the akratic action.¹⁴

Over fifteen centuries later, St. Thomas Aquinas (A.D. 1225-1274) adopted the outline of Aristotle's analysis of *akrasia* but put more emphasis on the role of the agent's mental states, desires, and choices leading up to the moment of action, such that the victory of the akratic syllogism over the morally correct syllogism appears less automatic and mechanical than it does in Aristotle's treatment.¹⁵ According to Aquinas, in the lead up to α_f , A's desire to do α_f intensifies to the point that all or almost all attention is focused on α_f and little or no attention resource remains to focus on α_o . On this account, the agent's culpability for performing the akratic action centers primarily on her allowing desire to intensify to the point where almost all attention is focused on thoughts of the akratic action and its attendant satisfaction. Although A's ability to resist doing α_f may be greatly diminished at the moment of action, A remains culpable for the action because of A's failure to take appropriate steps to intervene at times prior to α_f , when effective intervention would have been possible.¹⁶ Failure of will plays a role on Aquinas's analysis, but mainly in terms of allowing desire to increase to the point where it overwhelms one's ordinary judgment and thought processes instead of taking steps to dampen desire before it reaches such intensity.¹⁷

Let us now turn to the second major type of explanation, namely that which says that *akrasia* is due to a *failure of will* at the moment of action, rather than a failure at the level of beliefs. As indicated above, I refer to this as "Augustinian *akrasia*."

Definition of Augustinian *akrasia*

For a human agent A, an action α_f is Augustinian-akratic just in case the following conditions obtain:

¹⁴ For further discussion of what goes wrong with the practical syllogism at the moment of action, see A. Kenny, "The Practical Syllogism and Incontinence," p. 176n, J.O. Urmson, *Aristotle's Ethics*, p. 94, and R.D. Milo, *Aristotle on Practical Knowledge and Weakness of Will*, p. 142.

¹⁵ See R. Reilly, "Weakness of the Will: The Thomistic Advance," p. 203.

¹⁶ For further analysis of Aquinas on *akrasia*, see: E. Stump, "Aquinas' Account of Freedom: Intellect and Will," Kretzmann, Norman, "Warring Against the Law of My Mind: Aquinas on Romans 7," G.T. Colvert, "Aquinas on Raising Cain: Vice, Incontinence, and Responsibility," J.A. Barad, "Aquinas' Assent/Consent Distinction and the Problem of Akrasia," T.D. Stegman, "Saint Thomas Aquinas and the Problem of Akrasia," and J. Castiello, "The Psychology of Habit in St. Thomas Aquinas."

¹⁷ The sections of St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae* that are most relevant to the discussion of *akrasia* are: IaIIae, Vol. 17, Questions 6, 10, and 13, and IaIIae, Vol. 25, Questions 74-77.

- (1) Prior to t_{α_f} , A believes that A ought to do α_o
- (2) A desires to do α_f
- (3) At t_{α_f} , A believes that doing α_f at t_{α_f} entails her not doing α_o at t_{α_o}
- (4) At t_{α_f} , A's desire to do α_f overrides A's desire to do α_o
- (5) A wills to do α_f at t_{α_f}

Observe that conditions (1) and (2) are the same as in the definition of Greek *akrasia*. The difference between Greek *akrasia* and Augustinian *akrasia* is seen in conditions (3), (4) and (5). In Augustinian *akrasia*, at the moment of akratic action itself (t_{α_f}), the agent maintains her belief in (and perhaps even knowledge of) the moral superiority of α_o over α_f and her cognizance that doing α_f entails her not doing α_o , and yet she wills to do α_f anyway.¹⁸ Contrast this with condition (4) of Greek *akrasia* above, where the agent's desire to do α_f results in a temporary faltering or obscuration at t_{α_f} of her normal belief structure. Thus, one might argue that a greater degree of irrationality is involved in cases of Augustinian *akrasia* than in instances of Greek *akrasia*. Although both varieties involve degrees of irrationality, it seems intuitively correct to hold that it is more irrational to believe at the moment of action that you should do otherwise than you are doing than it is to allow desire to obscure or distort your ordinary beliefs at the moment of action.

Note that Greek *akrasia* and Augustinian *akrasia* are mutually exclusive regarding any one specific instance. At t_{α_f} either one's desire disrupts one's ordinary belief that α_o should be done instead of α_f , in which case one has an instance of Greek *akrasia*, or one maintains one's belief that α_o is superior, all things considered, to α_f and yet wills to do α_f anyway, in which case one has an instance of Augustinian *akrasia*. Importantly, this allows that some actions that satisfy the general definition of *akrasia* stated in Section 2 above will also satisfy the more specific definition of Greek *akrasia*, while other instances that satisfy the general definition will also satisfy the more specific definition of Augustinian *akrasia*, but no one instance will satisfy both specific definitions. Furthermore, each action that conforms to the general definition of *akrasia* must be either Greek-akratic or Augustinian-akratic, since the agent must either be aware or not aware at the precise moment of akratic action (t_{α_f}) that the action is faulty, inferior, or evil.¹⁹

¹⁸ For further analysis of what goes amiss in instances of Augustinian *Akrasia*, see: M. Falls-Corbitt, "Plato and Augustine on Doing Wrong Knowingly," N.W. Gilbert, "The Concept of Will in Early Latin Philosophy," A.A. Pang-White, "Augustine, Akrasia, and Manichaeism," and R. Saarinen, *Weakness of the Will in Medieval Thought*.

¹⁹ If the agent is not aware at the precise moment of action that their action is faulty, this is, as we have seen in our discussion of Greek *akrasia*, due to some factor suppressing or otherwise interfering with the agent's usual judgment regarding the relative worth of the akratic action vs. the action that the agent normally takes to be best or obligatory.

4. Conclusion

Akrasia has negatively impacted countless lives throughout the ages and has had an overall negative effect on society. It is not surprising, therefore, that there has been a sustained philosophical literature on the topic, as well as a growing number of empirical studies in psychology and illustrations of the phenomenon in history and in fiction. The central question is what goes wrong at the moment of action such that a person acts against their ordinary best judgment regarding what they ought to do. In this paper, I have argued that this can occur due either to a failure of belief or a failure of will. Both involve desire, although in different ways. In the case of failure of belief, which I have referred to as “Greek *akrasia*,” desire obscures or distorts one’s normal beliefs about what action is best to perform. In cases involving failure of will, which I have called “Augustinian *akrasia*,” one’s normal belief about what action is best to perform is retained at the moment of action, and yet one’s desire leads one to will to act against this clearly held belief. Taken together, the analyses of the two varieties of *akrasia* provide some insight into how a seemingly irrational action can occur. The next question that needs to be addressed is what, if anything, can be done to build fortitude against acting akratically. That question is beyond the scope of this paper. However, the above analysis of the types of failure that occur at the moment of action sets a foundation for building approaches to decreasing the occurrence of *akrasia* and thus mitigating its harmful effects.

* * *

Summary

Akrasia or “moral weakness” involves acting contrary to what one normally believes to be the best or right course of action. I begin by offering a general definition of *akrasia* to cover all instances of the phenomenon. I then argue that there are two varieties of *akrasia* that fall under this general definition. The first, which I call “Greek *akrasia*,” involves a failure of belief at the moment of action, whereas the second, which I call “Augustinian *akrasia*,” involves a failure of will. The crux of the matter is whether one maintains one’s ordinary belief about the right thing to do at the moment of action and yet wills to act contrary to that belief, or whether one’s beliefs shift around such that they are obscured or misconstrued at the moment of action.

Keywords: *Akrasia*, weakness of will, moral weakness, Greek *akrasia*, Augustinian *akrasia*, Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas.

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ARLETA SUWALSKA*

*Laws and principles are not for the times when there is no temptation:
they are for such moments as this,
when body and soul rise in mutiny against their rigour...
If at my convenience I might break them,
what would be their worth?"*
Charlotte Brontë, Jane Eyre

Values in the School Subject of Ethics in the 2015 National Core Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools of General Education in Finland

The author wants to reveal values within the subject of Ethics in Finnish general upper secondary education. Citizens of the Finnish society not only build on, but also reproduce meanings in their relations and interactions based on philosophy, humanities, social and cultural sciences. “The instruction of Ethics is build on a conception of humanity which places emphasis on people leading free, equal, active and goal-oriented lives”¹.

The author intends to explain the objectives of compulsory courses meant to educate thoughtful global citizens who are able to overcome the obstacles (consumerism, populism) presented by the contemporary world. The paper attempts to acknowledge values embodied in the *2015 National Core Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools of General Education*, such as critical thinking, identity, wellbeing and culture in service of worldviews. In this scientific perspective I would like to underline the role of values, which could be pillars of learning in Upper Secondary Schools in Finland.

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¹ *National Core Curriculum for General Upper Secondary Schools 2015 in Finland*, p. 209.

Values in education

Berkowitz² (1996) and Homplewicz³ (1996) saw values as indispensable in improving people's moral attitudes, because they stand for "everything that is valuable for us, everything in which we are prepared to engage our efforts and our will"⁴ with emphasis on what "is good or bad"⁵. It is compatible with Veugelers, who claims that teachers must study their own values to be able to monitor the values of their students⁶. It is a function of education to introduce young people to the world of values which constitute their foundation within the world of the culture of their own country, society and language. In this perspective, students recognise behavioural patterns, family habits, beliefs and social norms. In the process of upbringing, goals are determined by values which make it possible to understand who a person is, and what his/her nature is⁷ within a hierarchy of indispensable values.

Anna Bindek emphasises that rather than randomly and chaotically, values should be applied to the process of education in order of their importance. In other words, it must be considered what is more important "to have" or "to be" in the context of material and moral values. Values constitute a basis for our thoughts, attitudes or behaviours, and as such, they create our own world in which we achieve happiness in our personal or professional lives. Values reinforce our resistance to failures, determine our lifestyles, as well as shape our "attitudes toward other people, stimulate awareness, incentives, directions and stabilise development"⁸. It is indeed important to emphasise that contemporary education takes place in a world of diverse values, as "pluralistic societies offer their citizens the opportunity to choose in various spheres of life"⁹.

Values have their visible function in socio-cultural life and constitute the main part of "human-human and human-groups/social communities"¹⁰ relationships. Consequently, they shape "teacher-student, teacher-teacher, teacher-parents, student-student, school community-local social environment relationships"¹¹. Values create changes within school culture and build the roots of the

² M.W. Berkowitz, *The 'Plus One' convention revisited and beyond*, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Moral Education, Ottawa, Canada (1996, November).

³ J. Homplewicz, *Etyka pedagogiczna*, Rzeszów 1996.

⁴ Ibid., p. 142.

⁵ M. Łobocki, *Wartości tworzywem wychowania*, in: *Wychowanie chrześcijańskie a kultura*, eds. M. Nowak, T. Ożóg, Lublin 2000, p. 72.

⁶ W. Veugelers, *Teachers, values and critical thinking*, in: *Multi/intercultural conversations*, ed. S.R. Steinberg, New York 2001.

⁷ J. Maritain, *Od filozofii człowieka do filozofii wychowania*, in: *Człowiek Wychowanie Kultura*, Kraków 1993, pp. 63-64.

⁸ I.M. Świtała, *Wychowanie do wartości w zmieniającym się świecie*. „Studia Edukacyjne” 52(2019), pp. 159-172.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 170-171.

¹⁰ K. Chafas, *Edukacja aksjologiczna i wychowanie ku wartościom podstawą budowania szkoły jako wspólnoty życia, pracy i służby*, „Prima Educatione” 2018, no. 2, p. 14.

¹¹ Ibid.

system of educational activities giving direction to school relationships. Values are also main components of the Finnish curriculum for in the primary school subject of Ethics¹².

When collaborating within education, teachers and students have their sets of values. As Chałas and Winiarczyk emphasise, “people learn specific moral norms and values which are significant drivers of their activities”¹³. In this light, values are everything that is valuable to people, everything that “we want to engage our efforts and our will”¹⁴ recognizing what is good or bad. Teachers who work with students influence their values and contribute to their better moral functioning in schools. Students are closer spiritually and emotionally if they share similar values. Values create goals of students’ aspirations and allow for the understanding of their own behaviour against the backdrop of educational aims¹⁵.

Introduction and the reform process

From 2014 until 2017, Finland reformed its national core curricula for early childhood, pre-primary, basic and upper secondary levels. As a result of these reforms, there is a coherence in the core curricula throughout the whole education system. The goals of the Finnish contemporary reforms were to “build on the strengths of the Finnish education system and, at the same time, to meet the challenges of the rapidly changing and complex world”¹⁶.

Finnish educational thinking seems to be based on equality and high-quality. Respect to children and their childhood is apparent, which contributes to sustainable future for individuals. Moreover, the documents reveal “transparency and extensive participation, a strong knowledge base and future orientation, which are supported by research”¹⁷.

The steps of the reform process were based on the renewed Government Decree of 2012, which determined the main aims for pre-primary and primary education and the allocation of lesson hours at the primary level. The Finnish

¹² A. Suwalska, *Ethical Education for Grades 1 and 2 in Finland from the Values Perspective*, “Multidisciplinary Journal of School Education” 10(2021), no. 2, pp. 153-170; A. Suwalska, *Values in Ethics Teaching in Grades 3 to 6 of Finnish Basic Education*, “Multidisciplinary Journal of School Education” 11(2022), no. 2, pp. 311-324; A. Suwalska, *A Values Perspective on Ethical Education for Grades 7 to 9 in Finland*, “Studia z Teorii Wychowania” 13(2022), no. 1, pp. 169-181.

¹³ K. Chałas, E. Winiarczyk, *Introcepcja wartości moralnych jako zadanie i wyzwanie dla nauczyciela edukacji wczesnoszkolnej*, “Lubelski Rocznik Pedagogiczny” 37(2018), z. 1, p. 144.

¹⁴ J. Homplewicz, *Etyka pedagogiczna*, op. cit., p. 142.

¹⁵ K. Chałas, *Edukacja aksjologiczna...*, op. cit., p. 15.

¹⁶ Niemi, *The new educational curriculum in Finland*, http://www.allianceforchildhood.eu/files/Improving_the_quality_of_Childhood_Vol_7/QOC%20V7%20CH06%20DEF%20WEB.pdf (accessed 28 February 2024), p. 2.

¹⁷ T. Airaksinen, I. Halinen, H. Linturi, *Futuribles of Learning 2030 – Delphi supports the reform of the core curricula in Finland*, “European Journal of Futures Research” 5(2017), no. 2.

National Agency of Education (FNAE) launched the national core curriculum reform process in the autumn of 2012. Head teachers, teachers, local education authorities and researchers from the whole country were invited to design the reforming process of the core curriculum. Moreover, the representatives from ministries, the workers of municipalities, Finnish teachers unions, labour unions, parents and different ethnic groups, etc. were working together as an advisory group.

The Finnish society contributes to a sustainable development policy which reflects lifelong learning and fast development of knowledge and skills indispensable for employees in the 21st century. “Finland’s successful performance in OECD’s PISA has contributed to its iconic status and position of an educational leader in the world”¹⁸. A visible, gradual process of reforms that are based on longer-term vision of education in Finland has been observed since 1963.

Until the 1990s, the Finnish government had an impact on the management of education, but since the mid-1990s there has been a widely observed tendency of changing the centralised policy into a decentralised one. The Ministry of Education has been responsible for the education policy since the 1990s. The National Board of Education took part in the curriculum development process and its evaluation. Therefore, the quality of education relies on local leadership and management, which are the main stakeholders that develop and monitor education in Finland.

Methodology of document analysis

In order to investigate ethics education from a Finnish point of view, the following research questions were prepared:

1. What values are included in the 2015 Upper Secondary School Curriculum for Ethics?
2. What elements in the national curriculum help in teaching thoughtful global citizens who are able to overcome obstacles of the contemporary world?

The analysis of the curriculum, which constitutes the main part of this research, began with a review of the reform process and the main goals of general upper secondary education. The research takes into account values analysis within the subject of Ethics. In order to contrast different views, regularities and principles, the problem method, together with critical discourse analysis were used to study the documents concerning values in the subject of Ethics in upper secondary schools. The analysis of selected documents was conducted through meanings, which were usually contextual. The discourse, which designates not only language with its meanings, but also conventions and codes

¹⁸ A. Suwalska, *Lifelong Guidance in Finnish Education in the context of globalisation*, “Studia Pedagogiczne” 50(2017), p. 69.

which are typical of particular societies anchored in their cultures and history was used in this article¹⁹. Discourse is understood here as “social texts... particular signifying practices of a given group that are both constituted by and constitutive of the discourse field in which members of the group live and function”²⁰.

The author intended to use primary sources in this article. The first step in the research was to create an archive of documents and government publications, taking into account validity and reliability of the texts. The author chose representative documents accessed at the library of the University of Helsinki and analysed their meaning. The next step was to choose materials for the final analysis. This research used sample materials which are the most relevant and supportive for the topic. To analyse a text means to focus equally on the documents with emphasis on “the constructive mechanisms contained in the arguments, ideas, or concepts”²¹, as well as to describe “the trajectory of all of these modern ideas, practices and identities that are currently taken for granted”²².

The main goal of general upper secondary education

The analysis of the documents revealed that the main goal of general upper secondary education is to empower students’ transversal general knowledge and abilities. On this level, transversal general knowledge and abilities “consist of values, knowledge, skills and attitudes and will”²³, which are linked to critical and independent thinking. General upper secondary education focuses on guiding students with their understanding of complex interdependencies that are superior in life and the surrounding world. This period is significant in building students’ identity and worldview. They try to find their place in the world and philosophy of their life. This level of education builds skills which are indispensable at universities, polytechnics and vocational education. General upper secondary education helps students to plan their future and lifelong learning.

Underlying values in general upper secondary education

Finnish tradition of education, knowledge and ability (Bildung) constitutes a significant influence on society and culture and seems to influence the values of the 2015 National Core Curriculum for General Upper Secondary Schools.

¹⁹ M. Hammersley, *What is qualitative research?*, London 2013.

²⁰ F. Elbaz, *Knowledge and discourse: the evolution of research into teacher’s thinking*, in: *Insights into Teacher’s Thinking and Practice*, eds. C. Day, M. Pope, P. Denicola, London 1990, p. 15.

²¹ T. Rapley, *Analiza konwersacji, dyskursu i dokumentów*, Warszawa 2007, p. 194.

²² R. Wodak, M. Krzyżanowski, *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in The Social Sciences*, New York 2008, p. 205.

²³ *National Core Curriculum for Upper-secondary Education 2015*, The Finnish National Agency of Education, Helsinki 2016, p. 12.

General knowledge and abilities make it possible for each student to make decisions, to think reflectively and to put themselves in other students' shoes. As a result, they take care of themselves and are open-minded. They perceive the surrounding reality as comprehensive and are encouraged to create positive changes. The educational ideal of general upper secondary education is related to truth and justice. Moreover, it is based on human rights conventions, especially the European Union Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Upper-secondary school education promotes equality and equity as well as well-being and democracy. Moreover, it encourages students to consider the opportunities, alternatives, and disadvantages of the Finnish society and international development. In upper-secondary school education, eco-social knowledge, together with sustainable way of life are well understood. As a result, students perceive the significance of their own actions and global responsibility in the sustainable use of natural resources, climate change and preservation of biodiversity. On the other hand, upper-secondary school education allows people to recognise mutual values and principles for good life with-in diverse linguistic, worldview and religious backgrounds.

Document analysis

The analysis of primary sources related to the subject *Worldview and Critical Thinking (ET1)* reveals that it suggests students' understanding and their ability to apply concepts which are linked to worldviews. The document reveals the objectives of compulsory courses included in the 2015 NCC for General Upper Secondary Schools. As a result, students are obliged to understand concepts connecting worldviews and are able to take into consideration the characteristics and connections within varied worldviews. Secondly, students perceive the significance of individual and societal factors' creation with their ability to consider their own worldviews and beliefs. Furthermore, students are able to analyse critically not only their own, but also other people's beliefs. Students take into account media information and acquire indispensable knowledge in shaping their worldviews in order to understand the differences between scientific and non-scientific perceptions of the world.

All objectives have been widely rooted in the core contents of Ethics with special emphasis on philosophy of life and the position of philosophy in students' lives. Varied worldviews, i.e. secular, religious, political or related to lifestyle and basic presumptions provided by different scientific field, are used. Moreover, the authors of the *2015 Finnish National Core Curriculum for General Upper Secondary Schools* mention work on "cognitive distortions related to typical information processing and structuring the surrounding reality in both their own as well others' thinking" and "the impact of school, media, politics, science, art, entertainment industry as well as religious and cultural communities on the perceptions of the world and worldviews as well as student's own

philosophy of life”²⁴. All in all, these sources of information suggest the usage of critical thinking according to different viewpoints and an analysis of argumentation.

Human Being, Identity and Good Life (ET2)

The analysis of the document for this subject of Ethics reveals the contradictory questions and answers presented from varied conceptions and ideals. From this point of view, students are able to discuss parts of their human identity and acquire indispensable knowledge about worldviews and conceptions of humanity in order to discover what is a good life for them. They understand the importance of human dignity in the context of key human rights and thinking about human rights from varied perspectives. As a result, students become aware of various good life conceptions and are able to consider them from surrounding principles.

The following are core contents of the *Human Being, Identity and Good Life* course (ET2):

- “conceptions and ideals of humans in natural sciences, humanities, secular and religious worldviews, philosophy and popular culture,
- fundamental questions about human existence: interpersonal relationships, gender and sexuality, studying and work, ageing and death,
- identity, life choices and means of life management: individuals’ potential to influence their own lives, the role of genetic and environmental factors,
- the value of human being, human dignity and human rights, human rights documents: UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Convention on the Rights of the Child, The European Convention on Human Rights,
- different conceptions of a good life and the position of other people, animals and the environment within them”²⁵.

Individual and Community (ET3)

Three specialisation courses are suggested within the document. The first one is named *Individual and Community* (ET3). The document puts emphasis on the importance of togetherness for humanity and personal identity of each human being. Students obtain indispensable tools for building their own identities in the light of positive togetherness. They are obliged to understand the influence of societal structures, social changes, social phenomena on individual life choices. They discover their position within their communities, state and particular economic system to be able to consider their opportunities to participate in the society.

On the other hand, students are able to discuss and justify “the principles of human rights, freedom of religion and conscience, equality, democracy, peace, social and global justice as well as building a sustainable future”²⁶. As a result,

²⁴ Ibid., p. 210.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 211.

²⁶ Ibid.

students are able to perceive the societal world critically and to increase their societal imagination. They are able to see the future as opportunities and a chain of life events which are related to their own decisions and actions.

The core contents of the *Individual and Community (ET3)* course reveals contents in which “human beings as social creatures interact in private and public contexts and recognise significant roles and norms within their community”²⁷. This document involves students’ need to read about social facts and features of the contemporary Western societies with the influence on individuals. There is attention to the economic and political authorities in the Finnish society with the influence on consumers’ choices at the different levels of the society.

Cultures as Shapers of Worldviews (ET4)

The objectives of the course *Cultures as Shapers of Worldviews* is to understand culture within individual worldviews to obtain ways of building a positive cultural identity. Moreover, the document pays attention to various concepts of culture study, to the recognition of hate speech and responsible usage of the freedom of speech. Furthermore, this document strengthens the need to understand Finnishness in a historical context, as well as social change continuum, all to be able to experience internal cultural diversity. All in all, the documents emphasise a need to understand “that cultures interact and that no culture has developed without external influence on its core features, such as ways of living, language, technology, and beliefs”²⁸.

This document involves core contents of the *Cultures as Shapers of Worldviews* course with special attention to the significance of culture and its different types. It presents culture as a human activity which has its roots in different meanings, theories and relations. This document mentions cultural heritage with its customs, self-presentation and the individual perception related to philosophy of life in the light of the *Unesco World Heritage Programme*. Moreover, the core contents present the diversity of Finnishness and Finnish minority cultures. The contents involve such topics as multiculturalism and the global culture and their different impact on worldviews and society. Also, the core contents pay attention to the ethnocentrism, racism, respect and equality in cultures.

A World of Worldviews (ET5)

The main objective of this specialisation course seems to be students’ ability to read, interpret and widely understand not only religious, but also secular worldviews. Students’ attention is directed to comparisons between them according to different lifestyles and philosophy of life. Each student is encouraged to understand historically rooted constructs of religion, worldviews, cultural and societal meanings. Moreover, this course familiarises with definitions,

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 212.

scientific research and explanation of religions and secularism. All in all, students understand skills, concepts and knowledge to be able to analyse questions linked to different viewpoints. They get acquainted especially with “the religions of the Middle East as well as some other religions and worldview systems, their key features, internal diversity as well as with their impact on culture and society, particularly from the Finnish viewpoint”²⁹.

The authors pay attention to core concepts of religiousness, sacredness, rite, symbol and theism, atheism, criticism of religion, agnosticism, as well as to philosophical roots of secular humanism. All in all, the authors discuss the paradigm of geographical and historical spread and division. They mention holy books, Christianity, Islam, Judaism and the other world religions, as well as emphasise the relationship between secular humanism and religions with the society, customs, moral, politics, and science.

Technology, Worldviews, and the Future of Humanity (ET6)

The objective of this part of the document seems to be to recognise the turning points in humanity’s way of living in the context of the changing history, culture and philosophy. Students are obliged to study and understand evolution of abstract ethical systems, enlightenment and scientific-technological revolution as influences on the philosophy of their lives. They study how technical and scientific changes tend to build different societies, cultures, environments and modern worldviews. Students are able to incorporate technical changes into their sustainable future and into participation in discussions about the future of humanity.

The core contents of the *Technology, Worldviews, and the Future of Humanity (ET6)* course tell us about evolution of human species and cultural revolution. Students’ attention is directed to the role of language and innovativeness in the emergence of human cultures. The authors suggest topics from Prometheus myths to techno utopias and dystopias, from ideas of enlightenment in human ideals to technological development. Moreover, the document involves such ideas as artificial intelligence, humanism, transhumanism and research of the future. It reveals breakthrough points connected to the perception of the world and worldviews, as subsequently influential on people’s conceptions of the world. In this light, people are perceived as shapers of their world.

Conclusion

This article reveals a document analysis in the context of the subject of Ethics in Finnish upper secondary schools since 2016. Values within the subject of Ethics in Finnish education with “a concept of humanity which places emphasis on people leading free and equal, active and goal-oriented lives” were examined (*National Core Curriculum for General Upper Secondary Schools*

²⁹ Ibid.

2015 in Finland, p. 209). The author explained the objectives of the compulsory courses included in the 2015 NCC for General Upper Secondary Schools. Consequently, the Finnish educational changes contributed to the country's position of an educational leader in the world that offers or suggests educational changes to other countries.

On the other hand, the article highlights the reform process and the main aims of the general upper secondary education level. It is undisputed that all the analysed components of the documents present ways of teaching thoughtful global citizens who are able to overcome obstacles of the contemporary world. Firstly, students take into account media information and acquire indispensable knowledge in shaping their worldviews in order to understand the scientific and non-scientific perceptions of world better and deeper. Secondly, students realise the importance of human dignity in the context of human rights documents. Additionally, they see future as opportunities and chain of life events which are related to their own decisions and activities. Moreover, they understand culture as influencing individuals' ways of living. They are able to perceive differences and viewpoints in other religions, worldview systems and societies. All these steps contribute to such a perception of the world in which students are able to shape their own worldviews.

* * *

Summary

The research analyses values within the subject of Ethics in general upper secondary education in Finland. Also, the link between the curriculum, the reform process, the main goals of general upper secondary education and ways of teaching thoughtful global citizens who are able to overcome obstacles of the contemporary world is presented.

Keywords: values in education, subject of Ethics, National Core Curriculum for General Upper Secondary Schools 2015 in Finland, a world of worldviews.

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DANIELA DEPEŠOVÁ**

Development of Soft Skills in Religious Education

Introduction

Children, nowadays, live in a different world than the previous generations. They have different experiences, unique stimuli, and they face new opportunities and challenges. The majority of them have virtual access to the world, and this allows them to explore much more than older generations. A dynamic, yet unpredictable future awaits them. Therefore, we have to shift our mindset on how to prepare children for the future.

In certain aspects, the educational system is incoherent with real life. The school environment mainly focuses on the acquisition of knowledge in the form of hard skills, while soft skills are often neglected. However, soft skills have become standard in the 21st century, and it's important to deem them a vital component of education. The school environment ought to prepare pupils for the reality, and it should provide an educational process designed to provide a full-scale development of their personality, including soft skills.

This article focuses on the development of soft skills in religious education. Religious education as a school subject is a specific space where pupils cultivate their religious literacy and have the opportunity to form their Christian and religious identity. Based off the Slovak context, in this study we analyse the importance of soft skills in schools and, at the same time, we seek effective means of their development during religious education lessons. One of the most determining aspects of this process is the teacher of the subject. Our research provides results on how teachers develop soft skills during their lessons.

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1. Hard and soft skills in education

In the 21st century, school graduates are expected to have a completely different skillset than in the past. Comparing the 20th and 21st century, we must understand that pupils were set with what they had learned in school. These institutions had an obvious purpose in terms of the educational process. They were the only places offering books, materials and an educational environment. Nowadays, schools are just one of the ways of learning¹.

Until now, the emphasis was primarily put on the knowledge and skills of pupils, which we can refer to as “hard skills”. These “hard skills” are still of major importance in relation to being successful in life. Nonetheless, the societal and professional conditions of our modern age have shifted its focus. These factors require us to not only utilise our knowledge, but also prioritise our social and communicative abilities. Progression leads us to consider both knowledge and soft skills in order to prepare the upcoming generations for the new requirements.

Education in Slovakia is focused primarily on natural sciences and technical fields. As M. Bielíková emphasises, these areas are considered to be the most prominent ones of the 21st century in terms of prosperity in education, progress in innovation, for keeping up with the economic competitiveness, for environmental sustainability and by that, the development of society². Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that the humanities and social sciences also enrich our life. Therefore, it is essential that there is a balanced representation of humanities, technical and social sciences in schools.

Apart from the conflict between the scientific, technological and socio-humanitarian fields, the educational system in Slovakia is directing away from its memorisation tradition and leaning towards learning for real-life purposes. Since 2000, claims have been recorded stating that it is not sufficient for teachers to educate children only by theoretical knowledge, and that it is essential to start developing “key competences”³. Despite the correlation between the terms “soft skills” and “key competencies”, they are neither interchangeable nor synonymous. Key competencies build on professional competence, therefore they are not considered to be specialised knowledge in the strict meaning of the word, but they enable a competent use of specialised knowledge as such. They comprise a wide range of overarching skills from the technical-cognitive field and affective components. Therefore, they find their flexible and innovative use in a variety of demanding professional circumstances, and those that possess them are more suitable for work. On the other hand, soft skills are re-

¹ I. Sotáková, M. Ganajová, M. Siváková, *Vzdelávanie v 21. storočí založené na kompetenciách*, “Pedagogická revue” 63(2016), no. 1-2, p. 47.

² M. Bielíková, *Realizácia STEM aktivít v školských výchovno-vzdelávacích zariadeniach*, “Pedagogika” 70(2020), no. 3, p. 315.

³ Ministerstvo školstva Slovenskej republiky, *Milénium: Národný program výchovy a vzdelávania v Slovenskej republike na najbližších 15 až 20 rokov*, Bratislava 2002, p. 8.

lated to human traits, abilities and personality characteristics which are necessary or beneficial for a profession involving interactions with co-workers and clients, or for work in general. They are personality traits and human characteristics that are not connected to specific professional requirements, but they rather increase effectiveness when it comes to work projects. The most common of these traits are teamwork, communication skills, organisational skills, assertiveness, flexibility and many others⁴.

The premise that a teachers educate only through theoretical knowledge no longer holds true in the 21st century⁵. The stricter the requirement for professional success, the higher the expectations become. This does not only concern knowledge, but the conative aspect as well. Real life conditions prove that education has not been paying enough attention to this part of an individual's preparation for reality, as theoretical knowledge has been of utmost priority. A fundamental change is needed. As a consequence, in the recent years, educational institutions have started focusing not only on hard skills, but also on the implementation and reinforcement of soft skills. However, it is important to establish a connection between hard and soft skills. The former of the two enables a person to perform certain work, while the latter helps with becoming successful in their job and field. According to E. Petlák, both types of skills should be a part of the educational process, mutually complementing each other. This way, they fully shape the pupils personal and educational profile in an interactive and integrative manner⁶.

1.1. Characteristics of hard and soft skills

The term hard skills encompasses all the competencies acquired through both formal education in school and non-formal education, and they are easily measurable. They are also referred to as expertise, therefore required for a certain profession or activity. Hard skills essentially combine professional knowledge and specific skills. The ways in which they are measured in the educational environment include, for example, knowledge-based tests, oral examinations etc., and they are evaluated, or classified, by marks. These determine the extent to which the pupil has met the requirements of a particular subject. From a long-term perspective, they indicate an individual's study prerequisites and future professional orientation⁷. Currently, some of the most sought after hard skills are foreign language proficiency, text-editing, various

⁴ T. Hansel, *Soft Skills – Alternative zur Fachlichkeit oder weiche Performance?*, https://www.pedocs.de/volltexte/2012/5294/pdf/Hansel_2011_SoftSkills_D_A.pdf (Accessed May 20, 2024).

⁵ B. Pupala et al., *Vzdelávanie pre 21. storočie. Východiská zmien v kurikule základného vzdelávania*, Bratislava 2022, p. 8.

⁶ E. Petlák, *Educating pupils in soft skills*, "Slavonic Pedagogical Studies Journal" 12(2023), no. 1, p. 32.

⁷ I. Sotáková, M. Ganajová, M. Siváková, *Vzdelávanie v 21. storočí založené na kompetenciách*, "Pedagogická revue" 63(2016), no. 1-2, p. 49.

means of digital communication and programming languages, marketing skills, social media administration, data analysis and web analytics. Ergo, hard skills further comprise software skills necessary for tasks as programming, software solution suggestions, or to use technologies as cyber-security devices and database administration tools.

The term soft skills consists of such competencies or skills, which are not directly taught in school subjects, but are acquired during the course of life by experiences, as well as through social interactions in the family, at school, in groups etc. They are commonly referred to or considered as personality traits. Soft skills are more difficult to measure. These skills are not related to a specific aspect of a particular profession or activity, but have a significant impact on its quality⁸.

According to H. W. Jendrowiak, we can suppose that the interpretation of soft skills derives from an anthropological foundation. The differentiated anthropological perspectives result not only in distinct understanding of soft skills, but they have an actual impact on the content structure and functionality of this term⁹. Because of this, we recognize quite a lot of soft skills, and it is up to the individual's judgment which to acquire and use on daily basis. G. Dueck regards them as "intelligences" and defines methodical, social, personal and communication soft skills¹⁰.

Methodical soft skills	Social soft skills	Personal soft skills	Communication soft skills
creativity	emotional intelligence	engagement	active listening
organisational skills	intercultural competence	independence	language proficiency
perseverance	teamwork	decision-making	negotiation
flexibility	integration capability	decisiveness	persuasion
resilience	resilience	analytical thinking	assertiveness
strategic thinking	mediation	willingness to learn	enthusiasm
quick grasp	empathy	frustration tolerance	articulation
structured work	personality assessment	curiosity	interpersonal skills
diligence	collaboration	self-reflection	motivational skills
self-control	conflict resolution	development skills	
systems thinking	delegation		
entrepreneurial thinking	cultural awareness		
goal orientation			

Table 1: Soft skills (source: Dueck, 2011).

⁸ M. Marttrajová, O. Zelmanová, F. Galleé, *Mäkké zručnosti učiteľov základných a stredných škôl v kontexte kompetencií 21. storočia*, https://www2.nucem.sk/dl/4870/Mäkké%20zrucnosti%20ucitelov%20základných%20a%20stredných%20škôl_2021.pdf (Accessed on May 28, 2024).

⁹ H.-W. Jendrowiak, *Zur Dialektik von Soft Skills und fachlicher Kompetenz*, https://www.pe-docs.de/volltexte/2012/5294/pdf/Hansel_2011_SoftSkills_D_A.pdf (Last Accessed on 20 May 2024).

¹⁰ G. Dueck, *Professionelle Intelligenz: Worauf es morgen ankommt*, Köln 2011, p. 56.

1.2. Soft skills in school

The fact the educational system takes more interest in hard skills follows from the traditional role of schools as a mean of preparing pupils for the integration to the work process. The pupils' results were evaluated according to the extent of the knowledge they obtained from the subject contents, and opened the path to the work market or further education. However, if soft skills play a significant role in having a successful work life, then it is important to take the teacher profession into consideration in terms of its connection to these characteristics.

Contemporary education is starting to focus on soft skills, as they ought to become an important part of thinking and professional future. The Slovak educational system has defined its primary goal under the undergoing curricular reform, that is, the acquisition of necessary skills for life, prospective career placement and life-long learning. It is clear that many soft skills are already being fully recognised, even required in numerous professions, yet we do not comprehend the impact and importance they have for the future. They are perceived as certain personality traits, for example, the ability to organise our workflow, make decisions, and implement the findings of our self-reflection and more¹¹.

All efforts in the educational process have impact on the outset and the development of soft skills in pupils. However, the acquisition and development of soft skills cannot be framed by just a selection of subjects, or by introducing new ones. Rather, it must be a component of every teacher's work and interest, regardless of the subject, to ensure that their educational process is focused on developing and enhancing these skills. For that reason, the focus on soft skills has to be incorporated into the whole educational process, and it primarily needs appropriate and attentively selected teaching methods that would encourage pupils to apply them in various activities: ranging from classroom communication through lecture methods to different games, collective methods, project-based teaching etc.

It is the schools' and teachers' duty to ensure that the same amount of focus is placed on soft and hard skills. The way teachers implement the mentioned kinds of skills mainly depends on their non-formal creativity. It certainly can no longer be only centered on imparting and enhancing knowledge, but also, and very significantly, on the aforementioned areas. Soft skills benefit the personal development of every individual, and they provide an additional value. The important factor for teachers is that pupils obtain important knowledge and experiences, while elevating and utilize all cross-cutting soft skills in the learning process. They should provide a space for learners to observe what is happening around them, to truly evaluate the reality, to ask questions and seek adequate answers¹².

¹¹ B. Pupala et al., *Vzdelávanie pre 21. storočie. Východiská zmien v kurikule základného vzdelávania*, Bratislava 2022, p. 12.

¹² I. Sotáková, M. Ganajová, M. Siváková, *Vzdelávanie v 21. storočí založené na kompetenciách*, "Pedagogická revue" 63(2016), no. 1-2, p. 50.

In his research, E. Petlák was investigating the opinions and stances of teachers on the question of the extent to which schools take interest in soft skills, and the way they acknowledge and implement them in their educational process. The research suggests that teachers are aware that education reaches much further than just providing knowledge. They understand the significance of problem-solving, collaboration and constructivist approaches as methods of knowledge acquisition. Nevertheless, the extent to which they intentionally feature these innovations in their lessons is questionable. Based upon the teacher's statements, Petlák concludes that they do not make use of these methods in order to enhance soft skills. Teaching professionals view them as didactic innovation of the educational process, or a "supplementary aspect of teaching" rather than essential means of developing soft skills in pupils¹³.

2. Religious education as a space for perfecting soft skills

Religious education in Slovakia has the structure of confessional religious education. It is a compulsory elective school subject in alternation with ethics. Besides the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic Churches, schools also include the principles of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, the Orthodox Church, the Reformed Christian Church, and the Slovak Baptist Church.

2.1. Religious education as a mean of developing religious literacy

The main objective of the Roman Catholic religious education in Slovakia is for children to develop their religious literacy, and acquire and access their Christian and religious identity. We define religious literacy as a complex ability to honour their religiousness and other ideologies. This literacy is further expanded through obtained religious competencies. Religious education simultaneously develops the ethical-value dimension of pupils, a feature it shares with ethics, and thus contributes to the integral education in school education¹⁴.

The difference between competency-oriented and traditional teaching lies in the emphasis of abilities that pupils acquire by the end of their school education. Therefore, the educational outcomes reflected in the shape of gained religious competencies are determinant. If we deem teaching in schools to be an educational process oriented towards the acquisition and development of competencies, we can interpret religious education as the development of religious competency. Religious competencies are abilities that enable pupils to understand and express Christianity adequately, and live according to their faith¹⁵.

¹³ E. Petlák, *Educating pupils in soft skills*, "Slavonic Pedagogical Studies Journal" 12(2023), no. 1, p. 34-35.

¹⁴ *Vzdelávacie štandardy. Vzdelávacia oblasť Človek a spoločnosť. Náboženská výchova/náboženstvo Rímskokatolíckej cirkvi v Slovenskej republike*, https://www.minedu.sk/data/files/11827_nabozenska-vychova_nabozenstvo-rimskokatolickej-cirkvi.pdf (Accessed on May 23, 2024).

¹⁵ T. Reimer, *Náboženská výchova ako rozvoj náboženských kompetencií*, Bratislava 2020, p. 139.

Religious education in schools is a complex, systematic and dynamic educational process. It begins with the religious understanding of reality: children are perceptive of the world and religious phenomena. Perception is the foundation of all religious knowledge. It is then followed by understanding: pupils get familiarised with the core teaching of Catholicism, take on important terminology and texts, religious tradition, as well as the historical importance of the Church. Pupils attribute meaning and significance to the accessed knowledge through understanding, and they gain a sense of the connection between religious knowledge and their life. Another of the developed competencies is religious communication: children learn to ask questions and construct arguments in a theological manner, expand their religious repertoire, and express their religiousness and worldview. Religious judgment and decision-making is important; experiences and knowledge influence pupils to base their opinions on reason and critical-thinking, and make their own decisions. The last competency is the ability to employ and follow: children learn to behave responsibly in regards to themselves and others. Education on religion encourages pupils to refrain from passivity, and, rather, engage in social, societal and religious life to discover their own manner of following Jesus¹⁶.

2.2. Development of soft skills in religious education

Religious education is a significant space for pupils' personal development, time management and conflict resolution in school, and the development of soft skills that can be beneficial in their personal and professional life. As stated by Petlák, the acquisition of soft skills in education is accomplished mainly through classroom communication, argumentation, emotional intelligence and public speaking. In addition, practicing teamwork and appropriate leadership encourages assertive behavior and conflict resolution. This thereby enhances pupils' critical thinking and ability to manage information¹⁷.

In conformity with the definition of soft skills, we will attempt to define specific areas in which religious education as a subject is instrumental, providing a space for their integral personal development.

- **Development of communication skills:** the school subject Roman Catholic religious education consists of discussions, collaborative work and projects that aid the development of communication skills. Pupils learn to communicate their ideas and opinions clearly and effectively as well as to listen and react to others. They also learn to listen to and reflect on others' opinions and beliefs. This can reinforce the ability to empathise and expand their worldview. Religious education can present an opportunity to discuss conflicts and find appropriate and assertive resolutions. This way, children can learn how to constructively resolve conflicts and find common solutions.

¹⁶ B. Pupala et al., *Vzdelávanie pre 21. storočie. Východiská zmien v kurikule základného vzdelávania*, Bratislava 2022, p. 110.

¹⁷ E. Petlák, *Educating pupils in soft skills*, "Slavonic Pedagogical Studies Journal" 12(2023), no. 1, p. 34-35.

- **Teamwork and leadership skills:** assigning projects and activities that require collaboration and communication in a group can help pupils develop an ability to work in a team. This skill will be necessary in their future work environment. They can also use it within the family; a functional family environment requires teamwork. What's more, children can get involved in leading or organizing religious activities and projects, which can strengthen their skill to lead and take initiative.
- **Responsibility in action and moral decision-making:** religious education lessons represent a space for pupils to theologise, deal with moral questions and discuss how those impact their personal life, future career and future family. These conversations are aimed to reinforce responsible behaviours and the orientation towards higher spiritual Christian values.
- **Critical thinking:** pupils can analyse religious texts, traditions and practices, and to seek answers to existential questions. This process fosters the development of critical thinking and analysis skills. At the same time, conversations about personal ideologies can contribute to the children's understanding their own "self" and their role in the world. Such a process of self-awareness is a vital aspect of their development.
- **Tolerance, respect, and altruism:** discovering the diversity of religious traditions and cultures, and obtaining general knowledge about ecumenism can fortify tolerance and respect towards different views and spiritual beliefs. Religious education may set a foundation for the sense of justice in pupils, and motivate them to advocate for social equity worldwide. Conversations about ethical principles and spiritual values can encourage the pupils to partake in volunteering and charity-related initiatives. Meanwhile, religious education can highlight children's environment and nature related responsibility, so they can have a hand in creating a healthier environment to live in.
- **Creativity and innovation:** Religious education can represent an opportunity to support innovative approaches and creativity. The teacher encourages pupils to explore new options on how to convey their faith and religious values using creative projects from different types of art (literature, music, painting, sculpture, architecture, cinematography, photography, theatre etc.)
- **Spiritual development and the search for purpose in life:** religious education can serve as a mean of spiritual growth: for finding perseverance, inner peace and purpose in life, creating a foundation for the understanding of true personal happiness.

Religious education lessons in Slovakia represent a space in which children expand their religious literacy, and can prove to be an essential means of developing soft skills. Nonetheless, this development through innovative didactic methods is not just a supplementary or additional feature of the subject, but rather an essential and integral complement.

3. Insight of religious education teachers on the development of soft skills

If soft skills have great impact on success in both personal and professional life, then it is important to take the persona of a teacher into account. That is to say, if a teacher did not possess communication skills, they would be unable to teach them to the pupils. A teacher without organisational skills would hardly educate others on identification and differentiation of important and unimportant matters. Hence, teachers have a crucial role in the development of children's soft skills.

With interest in Slovak religious teachers' innovative educational methods, we conducted a questionnaire-based investigation, in which we analyse their stances on the quality of their teaching process and the skills they nurture. The questionnaire counts with 168 teachers' responses from the whole country. We study how teachers evaluate themselves in terms of their overall position on teaching, as their overview of the events in the classroom and time management, the clarity of rules and transparent communication, pupil orientation, and also the educational approach of the teacher. Then we direct our attention to the structure and execution of the teaching process, for example, classroom environment and time management, establishing connections between school subjects, and highlighting the relevance of the covered topic. Aside from that, we analyse the teachers' ability to support pupils in independent learning, implement cooperation and provide feedback. Lastly, we pay attention to the course of their lessons as such, and how they plan and assess the outcomes of the teaching process.

3.1. Analysis of the self-assessment of religious education teachers' soft skills

In the framework of this research we defined four soft skills that determine the development of these skills in religious education lessons. The selected soft skills are based on G Dueck's categorisation: organisational skills (methodological skills), teamwork (social skills), independence (personal skills) and articulation (communication skills)¹⁸. These competencies partially based off of the skills of a teacher, such as communication or organisational competency, or other skills they develop in children through the educational process, including how they create a cooperative and individual learning environment.

Organisational skills

Effective classroom organization ensures the effectiveness of the educational process, providing a vital factor for successful learning. Organisational skills imply that a teacher is competent to structure the learning process clearly from the point of view of contents and order, which leads to high effectiveness and increases the concentration of pupils. This ability makes a well-thought-out, prepared and purposefully segmented learning process possible, providing

¹⁸ G. Dueck, *Professionelle Intelligenz: Worauf es morgen ankommt*, Köln 2011, p. 56.

steadiness, continuity, and structure. Effective teaching management suggests that the teacher is aware of what occurs in this sense and to what extent they are conscious of the disengaged and problematic pupils.

The answers show that religious education teachers possess a fairly high level of effective classroom management (3,4). It is also the highest measured score of the studied soft skills. Teachers exhibit a high proficiency in the management and organisation of the learning process. The respondents are attentive to the events in the classroom and they voice the topic of the lesson with clarity. In a somewhat lower rate, they can sense if a pupil runs into difficulties when dealing with a task, or identify their current state. Still, results show that teachers are capable of determining the individual competency level of pupils, and respond to it accordingly. A high score in classroom organisation skills is an important prerequisite for effective learning.

	Score	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	No answer
Effective classroom management	3,4					
I familiarise the pupils with the topic of the lesson before starting	3,6	0	4 (2,4%)	51 (30,7%)	111 (66,9%)	2
I acknowledge when a pupil does not follow the course of the lesson	3,7	1 (0,6%)	0	53 (32,3%)	110 (67,1%)	4
I acknowledge when a pupil did not understand something correctly	3,3	0	11 (6,6%)	87 (52,1%)	69 (41,3%)	1
I am aware of the tasks pupils struggle with	3,3	1 (0,6%)	14 (8,4%)	88 (53%)	63 (38%)	2
Mistakes indicate the current level of a pupils' learning	3,2	3 (1,8%)	21 (12,7%)	86 (52,1%)	55 (33,3%)	3
I ensure that pupils understand and build on the topic of the lesson systematically	3,3	0	14 (8,4%)	80 (48,2%)	72 (43,4%)	2

Table 2: Effective classroom management (researchers' source, 2024).

Teamwork

Collaboration and cooperative learning are becoming prominent terminology in contemporary education because if pupils get a sense of teamwork in school, they will be able to implement it in their future professions. The need for collaboration reflects real life, which is why teachers seek measures to change the educational system. Teamwork requires pupils to adopt knowledge in collaboration and from one another in a methodologically ordered process. The teacher provides a space for cooperative learning and cooperation. That implies that cooperative work methods are a component of the everyday learning routine. Pupils support each other during the cooperative learning methods, they assume responsibility for the collaborative learning process and enrich these methods by employing their competencies. Knowing how to implement cooperative learning processes is a key skill for teachers that emphasises the pupils' work

to achieve a common result, and it is demonstrated through carrying out project-based learning and underlining the mutual support among children.

Religious education teachers match their extent of implementing cooperative processes with a 3,1 score. In this case, teachers are conscious of the issues regarding cooperation implementation in the classroom. The implementation of project-based learning ranks among classroom aspects with the lowest score (2,8), which is considered to be one of the most crucial means of soft skill development. While the teachers highlight the significance of mutual support and collaboration in pupils (3,6), they do not make use of the didactic potential of cooperative learning. As a result, the development of teamwork and collaborative learning of pupils is not reinforced from the side of the teacher.

	Score	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	No answer
Implementation of cooperative learning	3,1					
I provide pupils with the project-based learning opportunities	2,8	12 (7,3)	54 (32,7%)	61 (37%)	38 (23%)	3
I emphasise the importance of mutual support in the classroom	3,6	1 (0,6%)	4 (2,4%)	49 (29,5%)	112 (67,5%)	2
I provide educational spaces designed for teamwork	3,3	0	22 (13,2%)	70 (41,9%)	76 (44,9%)	0
I encourage pupils to identify ways in which they learn collaboratively	2,8	7 (4,2%)	48 (28,9%)	77 (46,4%)	34 (20,5%)	2
I allow pupils to evaluate each other's work	2,9	11 (6,7%)	38 (23%)	77 (46,7%)	39 (23,6%)	3

Table 3: Implementation of cooperative teaching (researchers' source, 2024).

Independence

Independent learning is another important component of the educational process that allows pupils to learn individually in conformity with their age and development. By so doing, they acquire skills that allow them to actively structure their intellect, overcome challenges, and reach their goals. Encouraging this kind of independence calls for giving pupils the freedom to select tasks or topics and work on them independently, to be able to plan, regulate, and fulfill the objectives, contents, and course of their personal learning process. This teaching method enables autodidactic learning, and pupils gradually learn to identify what they need to learn or revise to keep up with the content.

According to the responses, the score of encouraging independent learning is 2,9. Religious education teachers do not seem to attend to pupils' independent learning methods and only support autodidactic learning in a limited manner. Although teachers regard it as essential that pupils assume responsibility for their education (3,4), they are unable to reflect it on the particular learning

processes (2,6). They create differentiated approaches for pupils to acquire knowledge and skills inadequately. Individual selection of learning tasks obtained a similarly low score (2,7). This implies that teachers prefer not to grant the opportunity for children to take more responsibility when it comes to planning and accomplishing the goals and contents of their learning processes. As a result, this approach does not nurture successful competence acquisition.

	Score	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	No answer
Encouragement of independence	2,9					
I assign tasks that allow pupils can work on in an almost entirely independent manner	2,6	7 (4,2%)	65 (39,2%)	75 (45,2%)	19 (11,4%)	2
I consider that pupils assuming responsibility for their learning is important	3,4	1 (0,6%)	13 (7,8%)	72 (43,4%)	80 (48,2%)	2
I attend to pupils' independent management of learning activity and its results	2,7	7 (4,3%)	52 (31,9%)	79 (48,5%)	25 (15,3%)	5
I contribute to pupils having access to various learning methods	3,3	1 (0,6%)	13 (7,8%)	92 (55,4%)	60 (36,1%)	2
I encourage pupils to experiment with their own learning methods	3,0	3 (1,8%)	33 (20,2%)	85 (51,5%)	43 (26,4%)	5
I allow pupils to work independently on tasks of their own choice	2,7	10 (6,1%)	59 (35,8%)	63 (37,6%)	34 (20,6%)	3

Table 4: Encouragement of pupils' independence (researchers' source, 2024).

Communication

Communication is a valuable skill that both teachers and pupils should master. The educational process provides children with an opportunity to practice considered and differentiated use of language, to select standardised and creative expressions, and to reflect on the meaning and impact of language in the appropriate context. Language skills help pupils practice argumentation and form a part of society. When assessing effective communication skills, we focused on the respondents' perception of their abilities to communicate clearly and in a captivating manner, to explain things and achieve a more effective teaching process. The teacher adopts the position of a communication role model.

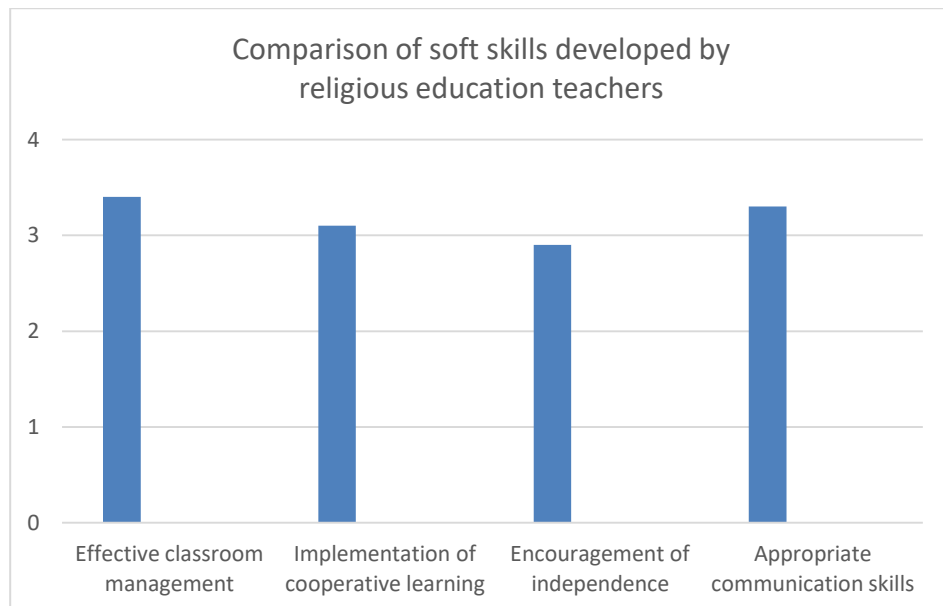
Religious education teachers assigned a score of 3,3 to communication skills. This represents the second highest score after effective classroom management. Teachers regard themselves capable of communicating, formulating ideas intelligibly, and offering well-put explanations on the curriculum. However, according to the data, it is important to consider that one fifth of teachers distrust their capability of providing pupils with extensive knowledge (20,3%). In spite of these doubts, they demonstrate a strong diligence to make religious education lessons creative and intriguing (95,2%).

	Score	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	No answer
Appropriate communication skills	3,3					
I am able to explain things well	3,2	3 (1,8%)	8 (4,8%)	106 (63,5%)	50 (29,9%)	1
I am able to provide pupils with extensive knowledge	2,9	3 (1,8%)	31 (18,5%)	121 (72%)	13 (7,7%)	0
I formulate ideas clearly in the classroom	3,5	1 (0,6%)	4 (2,4%)	78 (47,3%)	82 (49,7%)	3
I strive to make my lessons engaging	3,5	1 (0,6%)	7 (4,2%)	70 (41,9%)	89 (53,3%)	1

Graph 1: Appropriate communication skills (researchers' source, 2024).

3.2. Analysis of results and proposal of measures

By conducting a questionnaire directed toward teachers, we aimed to study the extent of soft skills development during religious education lessons. We analysed the four selected soft skills based on the answers of our respondents: organisational skills and classroom management, encouraging teamwork and cooperative learning, the independence of pupils, and communication skills.



Graph 2: Comparison of soft skills (researcher's source, 2024).

The participants' inputs demonstrate a somewhat similar view on the development of soft skills during religious education lessons. Based on the results, we can state that teachers have more developed effective management

and communication skills, while lacking in the implementation of cooperative and independent teaching methods. Teachers can significantly individualise the level of pupils' learning and respond to it adequately. At the same time, they are capable of communicating, formulating ideas intelligibly, and offering clear delivery of the subject curriculum.

On the contrary, religious education teachers have difficulties with encouraging collaboration as well as cooperative learning and, above all, project-based learning. The lowest score belongs to the encouragement of independent learning. It reveals that teachers rarely attend to alternative options for pupils to acquire competence individually and assume responsibility for their learning process. A strong presence of effective learning process management and efficient communication facilitates the educational process, nevertheless, a lower degree of development of children's teamwork and independence acts as an obstacle for efficient learning.

We find the teachers' competency to lead and manage the teaching process during religious education lessons to be a positive point. Effective management goes beyond just maintaining order in the classroom, as it comprises the creation of a positive learning atmosphere, assessment of learning objectives, and evaluation of learning effectiveness. Leading and managing the educational process can create optimal teaching conditions. Just as importantly, a professional with appropriate leadership skills will be able to aid their pupils adopt the skill of distinguishing more pressing matters from those of less importance.

Mutual tolerance and respect toward pupils' individual views and religious beliefs can foster a positive classroom environment during religious education lessons. Acceptance may serve as a key to spark motivation, and it supports the educational process.

Another significant revelation is that religious education teachers consider themselves capable of communicating, formulating ideas intelligibly, and offering well-put explanations of the subject curriculum. Argumentation competency also belongs to communication skills. However, schools function on a frontal approach to lectures, known also as a "direct instruction" teaching strategy, which does not allow for sufficient development of communication skills. In contrast, pupils consider having conversations about the covered topic to be an undervalued teaching method¹⁹. Therefore, the challenge for teachers, including those of religious education, is to encourage pupils to use various communication and argumentation techniques, and to develop oral and written skills in a structured and appropriate manner.

Active listening on the part of the teacher is an important prerequisite for effective communication. There is no effective communication without pupils practicing active listening. Religious education teachers must truly be interested

¹⁹ *Komunikačné zručnosti*, <https://analyza.todarozum.sk/docs/342391002ks0a/> (Accessed May 26, 2024).

in pupils' interpretations and must listen to their points of view. That is, to distance themselves from the role of a specialist and take on the duty of a perceptive observer, who provides a space for pupils to voice their theological views. This provides a big opportunity to introduce authentic theological dialogues and encourage children to theologise during religious education lessons²⁰.

Religious education teachers expressed a lower ability to implement teamwork and cooperative teaching. The score of 3,1 confirms the fact that teachers do not make good use of cooperative learning's didactic potential, and only focus on teamwork and collaborative learning to a lesser extent. It is affirmed by E. Petlák's research, in which he concludes that teachers perceive innovative approaches, such as project-based learning, more as a supplement to education rather than a fundamental prerequisite for developing soft skills²¹.

This result requires teachers to make an actual advance towards meaningful utilization of cooperative teaching in religious education lessons, for example by involving pupils in leading or organizing religious activities and projects. Encouraging collaboration and implementing cooperative teaching methods improve the children's performance, strategic thinking, vocabulary, and coherent use of language. At the same time, they boost their motivation to learn and shape their social skills. This way, collaboration in religious education classes can positively impact their confidence and ability to deal with mental problems, it can reduce stress levels and improve their relationship with school and teachers²².

According to the analysed responses, the skill with the lowest score (2,9) belongs to the teachers' ability to encourage independent learning. Teachers do not seem to attend to pupils' independent learning methods or they do so in a limited manner during religious education lessons. It is precisely the personalised education that empowers the pupils to assume responsibility for their learning and allows them to gain experience based on their judgment. It's important for religious education to become a space for independent knowledge acquisition. This skill is related to pupils' creativity and innovation, meanwhile they are invited to individually explore new and personalised options for how to convey their faith and religious values. Similarly, it is a way of accessing spiritual development and finding purpose in life, both of which create a solid foundation for the understanding of true personal happiness.

Religious education teachers ought to understand that they assume the role of a guide and advisor in the world of personalised education. This subject provides a space for independent learning through specific activities, such as

²⁰ F. Kraft, *Theologische Gespräche mit Kindern und Jugendlichen. Eine didaktische Perspektive*, "Loccumer Pelikan" 2012, no. 4, p. 154.

²¹ E. Petlák, *Educating pupils in soft skills*, "Slavonic Pedagogical Studies Journal" 12(2023), no. 1, p. 34-35.

²² M. Ondrušová, A. Šurinová, *Kooperatívne techniky na podporu učenia sa žiakov*, Bratislava 2020, p. 17.

volunteering or individual charity or environmental-related initiatives. The ability of children to decide independently provides the opportunity for development according to their needs and abilities²³.

Conclusion

School as an institution is designed to prepare pupils for real life, so the educational process must also be focused on soft skill development. The objective of religious education is to develop religious competencies, meaning that this school subject offers valuable space for pupils' personal development, as well as for perfecting their soft skills.

An important feature of developing soft skills in religious education is the teacher that acts like a key persona of this process. Teachers are aware that education reaches much further than just providing knowledge. It strengthens skills such as teamwork, communication, independence, critical thinking, creativity, and organisational skills. Our research concludes that teachers have well-developed methodical and communication skills, while the ability to nurture cooperative and independent learning is lacking in this manner. For that matter, they face the challenge of implementing social and personal soft skills in their teaching process. They are compelled to make an actual advance towards meaningful utilisation of cooperative teaching in religious education by involving pupils in the organisation of religious activities and projects, volunteering, or individual charity or environmental-related initiatives.

* * *

Summary

This article studies the development of soft skills in religious education lessons in Slovakia. At present, the educational system focuses on the acquisition of knowledge in the form of hard skills instead of developing soft skills. However, soft skills are life necessities in the 21st century. Religious education, which is currently defined as the development of religious literacy, represents a meaningful space for the personal development of pupils, and the development of soft skills, which can be beneficial for their personal and professional life. According to research among religious education teachers, we can affirm that soft skills are included in the lessons. Nevertheless, while teachers have more developed effective management and communication skills, they lack the ability to support cooperative and independent learning.

Keywords: soft skills, school, religious education, teacher.

²³ A. Pávová, D. Váňová, *Metódy a techniky personalizovaného vyučovania*, Bratislava 2020, p. 4.

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KĘSTUTIS ŽEMAITIS*

Religious Literature and the Work of the „Poor Sisters” Banned by the Soviet Authorities

Throughout the occupation of Lithuania (both Nazi and Soviet), attempts were made to break the Lithuanian nation not only physically but also morally. As a result, both religious and national activities were banned and persecuted. One of the manifestations of this persecution was the ban on the free press. Religious, philosophical, and other literature that was not an instrument of the official ideology could not be allowed. For a while, books printed between the wars were still available, but they did not fill the lack of such literature. The emergence of illegal literature can be traced back to the first Soviet occupation, then to the period of Nazi rule, and finally to the beginning of Soviet reoccupation: partisan newspapers, typewritten, and then books published in this way, in a few or a few dozen copies, until the underground printing house „Ab” in Kaunas in the 1980s and 1990s. This underground book publishing was mostly carried out by nuns, priests, and many brave laymen. Religious and cultural periodicals, as well as many individual books, were written, printed, and distributed. Many people suffered for this illegal activity: they were followed, arrested, tried, imprisoned, and deported.

In this work it is important to discuss the importance of the Soviet-era broadcasting of the in the context of the St. The banned books accumulated by the Sisters’ Congregation of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary between 1945 and 1990. In this way, we will be able to evaluate the contribution of this convent to the work in the field of underground literature. The method of analysis will be to look at these books no longer as collections of the libraries of individual nuns, but as the general library of an already reconstituted convent. However, let us first look at the general circulation of underground religious books in occupied Lithuania.

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The topic is important but little researched. It is noteworthy to mention the contribution of some authors, such as Domas Kaunas¹, Vidas Spengla (Algimantas Žilinskas)², Vilma Vasiliauskaitė³. The phenomenon of Savilada⁴ was also present in Russia at the time.

The illegal press, and especially its writing and distribution, was severely persecuted, as Soviet law explicitly ignored any religious propaganda. Freedom of conscience was equated with freedom of atheism, and the government's goal was to free people from "anti-scientific religious beliefs"⁵. The Soviet constitution only allowed believers to profess their faith, but not to propagate it (as opposed to atheism)⁶, and then only conditionally, depending on the position or position a person held in society⁷. Thus, any legal publication of religious books or magazines was out of the question. Everything was done secretly under very simple and primitive conditions: by typewriter (which were also not legally available), by photocopier (secretly in an institution). The transcription was done by trustworthy people, then the covers were bound and sealed by hand⁸. So at least: "during the first decade of the annexation, the Soviet regime had to remove religious publications from the official public space (...). In parallel, the reverse process was taking place. An alternative mechanism of religious self-education was being created in the Church environment"⁹.

Such activities were subject to persecution and punishment. After the occupation and annexation of Lithuania in 1940, the Russian Criminal Code was introduced and dissidents were punished under it¹⁰. This Russian Code lasted until 1961¹¹. Thus, during this period, priests, monks and, in general, all inhabitants of Lithuania were punished according to the Russian Code.

¹ D. Kaunas, *Sovietmečio Lietuvos mažatiražės knygų savilaidos paveldas*, „Knygotyra“ 58 (2012), p. 207-246.

² V. Spengla, *The Church*, „Kronika“ ir KGB voratinklis, Vilnius 2001.

³ V. Vasiliauskaitė, *Lietuvos ir Vidurio Rytų Europos šalių periodinė savilaida (1972-1989)*, Vilnius 2006, p. 175; V. Vasiliauskaitė, *National and Liberal Underground Press in Lithuania 1976-1981*, Vilnius 2002, p. 111.

⁴ E.H. Cabenko, *Религиозный самиздат в Сибири в 60-е-70-е годы XX века*, 2006, p. 176-179.

⁵ J. Aničas, J. Rimaitis, *Tarybiniai įstatymai apie religinius kultus ir sąžinės laisvę*, Vilnius 1970, p. 56.

⁶ Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR, Vilnius 1978, p. 50.

⁷ *Teacher is dismissed because of her faith. The persecution of o. Briliene, a teacher*, "The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania" 1972, no. 3.

⁸ K. Žemaitis, *Praeities įvykių fiksavimas*, Šunskai 2022, p. 2-3 (manuscript, K. Žemaitis' personal archive).

⁹ A. Streikus, D. Kuzmickaitė, V. Šimkūnas, *Iš sovietinės patirties į laisvės erdvę: vienuolijos Lietuvoje XX a. antroje pusėje*, Vilnius 2015, p. 104.

¹⁰ The Russian Criminal Code, along with other laws, was introduced in Lithuania on the first of December 1940.

¹¹ On the Approval of the Criminal Code of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (Law No. 061XX08ISTARG610014, Law of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, in force since 1 September 1961).

The self-publishing of books in the underground was a means of maintaining religious and national consciousness. It included both periodicals and individual titles. Among the periodicals, religious and cultural publications were the most common:

Chronicle of the Catholic Church of Lithuania, whose author and editor was the priest (now Cardinal) Sigitas Tamkevičius¹², Aušra, Alma Mater, Ateitis, Dievas ir Tėvynė, Tiesos kelias, Polemika, Perspektyvos, Viltis, Vytis.

The religious press was needed as “oxygen or light” in people’s lives¹³. Bishop Jonas Kauneckas¹⁴, an active fighter for religious freedom during the Soviet era, recalls that books not only developed personalities, but also brought like-minded people together¹⁵. Later, in his autobiographical book, he testifies to this¹⁶.

Priests, nuns or other people could also obtain books from seminarians studying at the Kaunas Interdiocesan Seminary, from monks working in secret, and from individuals¹⁷. Some books reached the priests in Vilnius, especially Polish literature. Later, some books were translated into Lithuanian. Some of the translations were made after receiving German or Polish books. During the Soviet period, several hundred books were translated and distributed by the priest Juozas Konstantinas Matulaitis alone¹⁸. Most of them were in the hands of priests or monks¹⁹. The Marian monk, priest Kęstutis Brilius, recalls the path of books “produced” in the underground to the reader’s home, especially to rectories and monasteries: “All the theological literature, textbooks, Catholic press that reached us at that time were either imported in small quantities from abroad and reproduced and distributed, or the literature that survived from pre-millennial sources was further transcribed by hand and distributed”²⁰. Quite a lot of books were written in Lithuania²¹.

At that time, the most common works in the only seminary in Lithuania were: Peschke Karl, Christian Ethics, the works of Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, the future Pope, K. Rahner and H.U. von Balthasar. Fr. Česlovas Kavaliauskas translated and distributed the History of the Church by Eusebius Caesar. This

¹² Tamkevičius Sigitas (born 7 November 1938, Lazdijai district). Ordained a priest in 1962, consecrated a bishop in 1991, Archbishop of Kaunas from 1996 to 2015, Cardinal since 2019.

¹³ K. Žemaitis, *Praeities įvykių fiksavimas*, op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁴ Jonas Kauneckas (born on 6 June 1938 in Trajoniškis, Pasvalys district, Bishop since 2000) – Bishop Emeritus of Panevėžys.

¹⁵ J. Kauneckas, *Kunigai ir jų veikla pogrindyje*, Panevėžys 2021, p. 10 (manuscript, K. Žemaitis’ personal archive).

¹⁶ J. Kauneckas, *Prieš visus vėjus*, Kaunas 2022, p. 137-146.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 137-141.

¹⁸ K. Žemaitis, *Kunigas Juozas Konstantinas Matulaitis: XX a. Knygnešio gyvenimas*, Punskas 2021, p. 142-147.

¹⁹ K. Žemaitis, *Atsiminimai apie kun. J. K. Matulaitį*, Šunskai 2022, Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuanian Catholic Church History Centre archives, f. 7, b. 2, f. 3.

²⁰ K. Brilius, *Kunigų saviugda*, Kaunas 2021, p. 4 (manuscript, K. Žemaitis’ personal archive).

²¹ K. Žemaitis, *Praeities įvykių fiksavimas*, op. cit., p. 3.

book was later printed legally in independent Lithuania²². In this way, little by little, literature reached readers even in times of persecution²³. Such a self-published book served as a catechism, sermon texts, a textbook or simply a work of spiritual content, religious fiction.

The year 1972 was marked by a new spiritual upsurge in the Lithuanian underground. This concerned not only the religious sphere, but also the phenomena of national resistance²⁴. Of course, they could not but influence each other. The underground press also became more active. Even the appearance of the Chronicle coincided with the Kaunas Spring, when, after the burning of Romas Kalanta, crowds of young people took to the streets to protest against the Soviet system²⁵. With the launch of the LKBK (Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania) in 1972, and the publication of other publications, there was more courage in resisting atheist rule. It was the Chronicle that gave impetus to the resistance²⁶. The illegal religious activities of the nuns also intensified²⁷. Sister Nijolė Sadūnaitė²⁸ did not only rewrite the underground press. The nun remembers: “My job was to transmit the Chronicle to the West. At first it was done almost exclusively through dissidents in Moscow, and then through Lithuanian tourists coming from the West”²⁹. It should be mentioned that the Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania was a leading underground publication of sorts, constantly informing about other publications banned by the Soviet authorities³⁰.

Sisters' activities of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in underground press works

In this part of the work, we will look at the work of the self-help work of this convent, which is often referred to as the „poor sisters” in the vernacular. Not only was this convent active in the clandestine writing, printing and distri-

²² Eusebius Cezarietis, *Bažnyčios istorija*, Vilnius, 1993.

²³ K. Žemaitis, *Self-Education of Roman Catholic Priests in Lithuania During the Years of Soviet Occupation*, “Studia Ełckie” 24(2022), no. 1, p. 85-92.

²⁴ *Paaiškinimai/Pogrindžio spaudos darbai*, St. Archive of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (collected and written by M.J. Pajarskaitė), Kaunas 2012, p. 228.

²⁵ Kaunas Spring is an outbreak of active demonstrations of resistance to the Soviet government in Kaunas in May 1972.

²⁶ K. Žemaitis, *Žingsniai be stabtelėjimų. Vilkaviškio vyskupijos istorijos bruožai*, Punksas 2016, p. 61.

²⁷ *Monastery of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Sorrowful Virgin Mary*, Kaunas 2012, p. 216.

²⁸ Sadūnaitė Felicija Nijolė (b. 1938 – d. 2024), became a member of the Sisters of the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1956. She was imprisoned in Mordovia for her dissident activities and illegal distribution of self-published books, was exiled, and spent some time in hiding from the KGB while living in Lithuania.

²⁹ F.N. Sadūnaitė, *Skubėkime daryti gera*, Vilnius 2023, p. 236.

³⁰ S. Tamkevičius, *Priespaudos, kovos ir nelaisvės metai: 1968-1988*, Vilnius 2022, p. 148.

bution of books, but at the end of the Soviet occupation it inventoried as many publications as possible. Thus, the publications that were in the possession of St. John of God during the years of persecution were kept in the possession of the monastery. The information about the documents that were taken during the persecutions, which were held by the members of the Sisters' Congregation of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, often known as the „poor sisters”, can now be known and analysed³¹.

The Sisters' Congregation of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in accordance with the will of its founder, Blessed George Matulaitis, has been actively involved in the press. Even before the Second World War, they were already setting up printing houses and printing thousands of different magazines every month³².

In this way, throughout the period of Soviet rule, these libraries continued to grow, and by the time of the return of independent Lithuania to the monasteries³³, they had already become a fully-fledged library³⁴. Among the books were, of course, some pre-war publications. However, we will not deal with them in this work. We are interested in books that have already been rewritten underground, printed by photocopiers, written by Lithuanian or foreign authors before the war, and often in Lithuania in secret.

So, what was created was destroyed by the Soviet occupation. As Dr. Regina Laukaitytė says, “The liquidation of the monasteries greatly affected their archives and libraries”³⁵. The Marian monastery in Marijampolė alone had a library of about 50 thousand publications³⁶. Therefore, when the monasteries were closed, the sisters lost their libraries, so they lived in separate apartments and accumulated modest libraries in their homes. In addition to collecting literature, the sisters also secretly printed and distributed it. If the priest-monks had conceived the idea of organising the training of priests in the underground, the sisters set up a theological course in 1983, not only for their own nuns, but also for nuns of other congregations. This required quite a lot of textbooks³⁷. Some of them were translated from foreign languages, others were written by the sisters themselves³⁸ or by priests in Lithuania³⁹.

³¹ Throughout the Soviet era, such books were hidden in the sisters' personal libraries, hidden from „svetimų akių”. Later, when the sisters settled in the monasteries (now in independent Lithuania), the books found their way into their libraries. So the first task of the sisters was to catalogue all these books. This was followed by an evaluation of the collection in terms of chronology and subject matter.

³² A. Pajarskaitė, *Paaiškinimai/Pogrindžio spaudos darbai*, Archive of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, L. 1, Kaunas 2014.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ R. Lukaitytė, *Lietuvos vienuolijos. XX a. istorijos bruožai*, Vilnius 1997, p. 141.

³⁵ Based on the testimony of the priests who lived in the monastery (note by K. Žemaitis).

³⁶ A. Pajarskaitė, *Paaiškinimai/Pogrindžio spaudos darbai*, op. cit., L. 3.

³⁷ R. Lukaitytė, *Lietuvos vienuolijos. XX a. istorijos bruožai*, op. cit., p. 141.

³⁸ A. Pajarskaitė, *Paaiškinimai/Pogrindžio spaudos darbai*, op. cit., L. 3.

³⁹ K. Žemaitis, *Praeities įvykių fiksavimas*, op. cit., p. 2.

The initiative of the Poor Sisters even led to the organisation of theological studies underground⁴⁰. Typewritten books were also written for this purpose⁴¹. “It was necessary to rewrite a large number of copies of the textbooks of the individual disciplines, because every participant in the courses wanted to have them”⁴². In this way, the books accumulated in the homes of individuals. It is difficult to say how many were printed today, as there was no overall list. However, those publications were registered in 1999 in the Monastery Library in independent Lithuania with some error – 2004 units⁴³.

The lists of books distributed in the postwar period and used for study also included books published before 1940 and later reprinted by a special printing machine, but most of them are Soviet-era publications. But there was a desire for new writings. One of the most frequently seen authors is the Marian monk priest Vaclovas Aliulis⁴⁴. Other Marians, such as Pranas Račiūnas, Viktoras Šauklys, the Jesuit Jonas Lauriūnas and many others, also wrote. Their books also found their way to the Sisters of the Sorrowful. His books include *The Sign of the Future Life* (1987, typescript, 261 pages), *The Clerics’ Retreat*, (1971, 81 pages), *Dogmatic Theology, Introduction. God the Creator and Exalter* (with Albinus Budrikis, undated, 225 pages)⁴⁵. The list also includes apologetic works, such as A.S. Balecki’s *Against the Atheist Press or Has Christ Risen* (undated, 20 pp.).

Thanks to the sisters, the translated and rewritten books of Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger (later Pope Benedict XVI) are being disseminated: a collection of essays *Faith, Renewal, Hope: Theological Reflections on the Present Situation of the Church*, 1981, 161 pages, *An Introduction to Christianity*, year and pages not given, H. Sienkiewicz, *Quo vadis*, eight parts, year not given, *Let’s Go After Him*, year not given, 26 pages, *Religious Knowledge for All* by unknown author, 20 pages. As an example, the book of *Catechetical Sermons* written by Fr. Juozas Žemaitis (bishop since 1989)⁴⁶. Among the Marians who wrote in the underground press and published books were priests Pranciškus Raičiūnas and Viktoras Šauklys and it is necessary to mention the periodical press, especially *the Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania*, which was not only read by the nuns, but was also rewritten by them⁴⁷. They became centres of a kind from which people received religious publications. Such centres were

⁴⁰ R. Laukaitytė, *Lietuvos vienuolijos. XX a. istorijos bruožai*, op. cit., p. 155.

⁴¹ K. Žemaitis, *Praeities įvykių fiksavimas*, op. cit., p. 2.

⁴² A. Pajarskaitė, *Paaiškinimai/Pagrindžio spaudos darbai*, op. cit., L. 3.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Aliulis Vaclovas (March 14, 1921). Krekštėnai, Krokialaukis parish (26 May 2015). Marijampolė – Ordained a priest in 1944, Marian, publicist, thinker, public figure.

⁴⁵ These and similar theological books were also used in the underground seminary (note by K. Žemaitis).

⁴⁶ K.J.K., *Katechetiniai pamokslai*, (city and number of pages not specified), 1989 (typescript).

⁴⁷ K. Žemaitis, *Praeities įvykių fiksavimas*, op. cit., p. 1.

located all over Suvalkija, especially from 1963, when the Poor Sisters intensified the printing of underground publications⁴⁸.

It is not clear how many books or articles the nuns themselves wrote, and today it is difficult to determine which publications they rewrote, but one thing is clear: their contribution to the religious, cultural, and patriotic education of society was immense.

The nuns, who were scattered in their separate apartments, were thus involved in the production and distribution of the illegal press. Later, in free Lithuania, they accumulated in the monastery's communal houses a great intellectual wealth, which is still interesting, valuable, and worthy of researchers' attention today. This treasure trove of books is part of the history of the Catholic Church's struggle for its freedom, marked not only by thousands of underground publications, but also by years of suffering, interrogation, and persecution of the participants of that history. Other monasteries⁴⁹ also participated in the distribution of underground literature. However, these activities require a detailed study of their own.

Conclusions

During the Soviet occupation of Lithuania, the Catholic Church was fought against in various ways. In this way, the religious press was banned, and books already published were destroyed. Under these circumstances, enthusiasts emerged who organised the distribution of books forbidden by the Soviet authorities – self-publishing. Underground, books were translated from other languages (if they could be obtained), or such books and periodicals were simply written, then bound, usually by hand, with a cover, and distributed. Religious publications educated the public, were shared, but also risked, because the Soviet authorities were actively interested in who was writing, printing, distributing, or reading. Many participants in this work were persecuted in various ways. Not only the laity and priests, but especially the nuns, were active in the work of the Savilaida. The Sisters of the Sorrowful Ones were especially active throughout the occupation, reprinting, distributing, and accumulating a rather solid library of such publications. Religious self-publishing was a major contribution to religious education and personal formation in Soviet-occupied Lithuania.

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Summary

At the end of the Second World War, Lithuania was occupied by the Soviet Union for decades. The Soviet government was essentially atheistic and per-

⁴⁸ A. Streikus, D. Kuzmickaitė, V. Šimkūnas, *Iš sovietinės patirties į laisvės erdvę...*, op. cit., p. 106-107.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 104-140.

secuted all religious activities. Literature was very important for religious education, but it was destroyed, and the printing of new literature was forbidden and even punishable by imprisonment or other penalties. However, enthusiasts emerged who, under such conditions, began writing, reprinting and distributing periodicals and individual publications. These books included translations mainly from Polish or German. Monks, priests, and laymen did a great deal of work in the field of self-publishing. In particular, members of the Sisters' Congregation of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception of the Poor, popularly known as the Sisters of the Poor, were involved in the distribution of such underground books. They distributed religious literature, were persecuted and persecuted, but their contribution to the development of a Catholic society was felt. After the end of the Soviet era, the nuns, and the return of individual residences to the old monastery buildings brought with them "secret" books and created a rich library worthy of research attention.

Keywords: banned literature, distribution, Sisters of the Poor, persecution.

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BARTOSZ SKAWIŃSKI*

Synodalność – prawo i obowiązki wszystkich wiernych

Kodeks Prawa Kanonicznego z 1983 r.¹ w kan. 212 § 3 wprowadza najważniejsze zasady dialogu w Kościele. Jednocześnie wskazuje na obowiązek ujawnienia swojego zdania dotyczącego dobra Kościoła. Niniejszy artykuł stanowi próbę odpowiedzi na pytanie, czy przepis ten można zastosować do synodalności? Czy wzięcie udziału w procesie synodalnym może być obowiązkiem katolika i czy istnieją inne kanony związane synodalnością, które mogłyby być podstawą do zobligowania wiernych do wyjawienia poglądów?

Celem udzielenia odpowiedzi na powyższe pytania artykuł jest podzielony na cztery części. W pierwszej są omówione pokrótce prawa i obowiązki wszystkich wiernych. W drugim punkcie ma miejsce charakterystyka pojęcia synodalności. Trzecia część jest poświęcona analizie kan. 212 § 3 KPK, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem obowiązku ujawnienia swojego zdania dotyczącego dobra Kościoła. W czwartej części są zaprezentowane inne kanony, które mają związek z omawianym zagadnieniem.

Analiza została ograniczona do prawa Kościoła łacińskiego i do zagadnień związanych z synodalnością w ramach Kościoła partykularnego na przykładzie diecezji *in genere*. Zaprezentowane są tylko te kolegia², w których mogą brać udział wszyscy katolicy, duchowni i świeccy³.

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¹ Por. *Kodeks Prawa Kanonicznego promulgowany przez papieża Jana Pawła II w dniu 25 stycznia 1983 roku*, https://episkopat.pl/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Kodeks-Prawa-Kanonicznego_t%C5%82umaczenie_przyj%C4%99te-przez-KEP-na-stronie-KEP_17.08.2023-1.pdf (dostęp: 27.10.2023), zwany dalej: KPK.

² Pojęcie „kolegiów” będzie tu używane na oznaczenie dowolnego zespołu osób, niezależnie od jego składu czy urzędowej nazwy, a nie w rozumieniu kan. 115 § 2 KPK.

³ Por. kan. 207 § 1 KPK.

1. Prawa i obowiązki wszystkich wiernych

Kodeks Prawa Kanonicznego z 1983 r. rozpoczyna opisywanie Kościoła – Ludu Bożego od określenia praw i obowiązków, które mają wszyscy wierni, czyli wszyscy ochrzczeni w Kościele katolickim lub do niego przyjęci po chrzcie w innej wspólnotcie⁴. Taki układ drugiej księgi KPK wyraźnie wskazuje na to, że centralnym podmiotem życia chrześcijańskiego są wszyscy wierni⁵, zaś ontologiczną podstawą istnienia wspomnianych praw i obowiązków jest naturalna i nadprzyrodzona godność osoby ludzkiej oraz powołanie człowieka do udziału w misji Kościoła⁶. Z punktu widzenia prowadzonej analizy, ważniejsze jest uczestnictwo w misji całej wspólnoty. Pokazuje to bowiem, że od strony ontologicznej, a więc od strony bycia częścią Kościoła, każdy katolik jest wpisany w to, co czyni Kościół. Nie może zatem wierny obrać drogi niezależnej od aktualnych działań wspólnoty. Rzecz jasna, każdy będzie wносił swój własny wkład w życie Kościoła⁷, ale nikt nie jest z tego zwolniony. Tym samym wspólnota może wymagać od wszystkich lub poszczególnych wiernych takiego zachowania, które będzie przyczyniać się do realizacji jej działań. Działania te należy rozumieć szeroko, nie tylko same czyny⁸, ale też wymianę poglądów⁹. Oznacza to, że wśród powyższych praw i obowiązków znajdują się takie, w które mogą odnosić się do tematu prowadzonej analizy.

Ogłoszenie w KPK omawianych praw i obowiązków ma też na celu zapewnienie im ochrony w społeczności, jaką jest Kościół¹⁰. Z jednej strony można w tym widzieć ochronę praw poszczególnych wiernych. Z drugiej jednak strony jest to ochrona praw całej wspólnoty, których korelatem są obowiązki poszczególnych chrześcijan. Tym samym Kościół może, dla zapewnienia ochrony czy spójności działania całej wspólnoty, wymagać określonych postaw od swoich członków. Jak pisze J. Krukowski: „Uznanie tych praw nie służy tylko zapewnieniu interesów jednostkowych (indywidualnych), ale również zadośćuczynieniu interesów kolektywnych, które – jako przedmiot ochro-

⁴ Por. kan. 11 KPK.

⁵ Por. *Il Codice di diritto canonico, commento giuridico-pastorale*, t. 1, red. L. Chiappetta, Bologna 2011, s. 271.

⁶ Por. J. Krukowski, *Księga II Lud Boży*, w: *Komentarz do Kodeksu prawa kanonicznego*, t. II/1, *Księga II Lud Boży*, red. J. Krukowski, Poznań 2005, s. 23; G. Dalla Torre, *Commento al Libro II*, w: *Commento al Codice di Diritto Canonico*, red. P.V. Pinto, Città del Vaticano 2001, s.111.

⁷ Można tu przywołać choćby obowiązek przyczyniania się do wzrostu świętości Kościoła (kan. 210 KPK), czy prawo podążania własną drogą życia duchowego (kan. 214 KPK).

⁸ Tytułem przykładu można wskazać na konieczność zachowania w każdym działaniu wspólnoty z Kościołem (kan. 209 § 1 KPK), wypełniania tego, co święci pasterze wyjaśniają jako nauczyciele wiary (kan. 212 § 1 KPK), czy obowiązek brania pod uwagę dobra wspólnego przy realizacji swoich praw (kan. 223 § 1 KPK).

⁹ Jako przykłady można wymienić zawarty w kan. 211 KPK obowiązek powszechnego rozszerzania orędzia zbawienia, czy poszanowania dobrego imienia innych ludzi, co *a contrario* wynika z prawa do dobrego imienia (kan. 220 KPK).

¹⁰ Por. J. Krukowski, *Księga II Lud Boży*, dz. cyt., s. 23.

ny prawnej – są ze sobą ściśle związane”¹¹. Innymi słowy, uznanie praw wiernych, nawet bardzo istotnych, jednocześnie zmierza do zaspokojenia interesów zbiorowych, które w porządku kanonicznym mają pierwszeństwo w odniesieniu do ochrony prawnej¹². Jest to istotne z punktu widzenia prowadzonej analizy, gdyż w przypadku takiej kwestii, jak dialog wewnętrzny w Kościele, będzie można mówić o wykorzystaniu go do realizacji interesu wspólnotowego. Zanim jednak to zostanie omówione, należy przyjrzeć się kontekstowi, w jakim dialog rozwija się w czasach współczesnych, a więc synodalności.

2. Pojęcie synodalności

Greckie słowo synodalność (gr. *synodeuein*) oznacza przebywać wspólną drogę¹³. Sam oryginalny grecki termin wskazuje zatem na trzy cechy synodalności jako takiej. Po pierwsze jest to konieczność istnienia określonej wspólnoty, grupy. Po drugie, musi istnieć jakaś droga, a więc możliwość przejścia od jednego do drugiego punktu. Innymi słowy nie może być to trwanie w danym miejscu. Po trzecie drogę należy przebyć, a więc wykorzystać istniejącą możliwość.

Omawiane pojęcie pojawia się też w dziejach chrześcijaństwa. Synodalność oryginalnie oznaczała sposób, w jaki wierni oraz lokalne Kościoły utrzymywały jedność między sobą. Tym samym synodalność zakłada istnienie wspólnoty, komunii kościelnej, a zatem jest czymś szerszym niż sama kolegialność biskupów¹⁴. Dotyczy bowiem wszystkich wiernych i wszystkich struktur kościelnych¹⁵. Z powyższej przyczyny w zakres synodalności wchodzi wszystkie rady przewidziane przez aktualne prawo Kościoła, również te które istnieją w ramach Kościoła partykularnego¹⁶. Synodalność istnieje na różnych poziomach: lokalnym (diecezjalnym), regionalnym (prowincji i regionów kościelnych oraz konferencji episkopatów), a także na najwyższym poziomie, tj.

¹¹ Tamże, s. 23.

¹² Por. G. Dalla Torre, *Commento al c. 208*, w: *Commento al Codice di Diritto Canonico*, dz. cyt., s. 117.

¹³ Por. M. Sitarz, *Synodalność*, w: *Leksykon prawa kanonicznego*, red. tenże, Lublin 2019, kol. 2698; Międzynarodowa Komisja Teologiczna, *Synodalność w życiu i misji Kościoła*, <https://synod.org.pl/docs/materialy-dotyczace-synodu/broszury-dokumenty-prezentacje-dotyczace-synodu-ogolnie-po-polsku/miedzynarodowa-komisja-teologiczna-synodalnosc-w-zyciu-i-misji-kosciola-pdf/> (dostęp: 27.02.2023), nr 3; J. Renken, *Synodality: a constitutive element of the Church. Reflections on pope Francis and synodality*, „*Studia Canonica*” 52(2018), nr 1, s. 6.

¹⁴ Kolegialność biskupów jest to „wynikający z apostolskości Kościoła sposób sprawowania władzy w Kościele, związany z pasterską posługą bpów w jedności z papieżem i pod jego przewodnictwem, przejawiający się także w łączności bpa (...), z jego prezbiterium i wiernymi świeckimi”. M. Sitarz, *Kolegium biskupów*, w: *Leksykon prawa kanonicznego*, dz. cyt., kol. 1250-1251.

¹⁵ Por. Sekretariat Generalny Synodu, *Dokument przygotowawczy*, w: Sekretariat Generalny Synodu, *Proces synodalny. Dokumenty*, <https://synod.mkw.pl/o-synodzie/dokument-przygotowawczy/> (dostęp: 11.11.2021), nr 11; M.A. Santos, *Sinodalidad*, w: *Diccionario General de Derecho Canónico*, t. VII, red. J. Otaduy, A. Viana, J. Sedano, Pamplona 2012, s. 341.

¹⁶ Por. tamże, s. 342.

powszechnym. Jednocześnie trzeba podkreślić, że poziom wyższy nie zastępuje niższego¹⁷. Pokazuje to, że synodalności nie da się przekazać na inny szczebel życia kościelnego, każda wspólnota (lokalna, czy regionalna) ma swój udział w drodze całego Kościoła, swoje doświadczenia, problemy i zadania¹⁸.

Wspomnianą już podstawą synodalności jest komunია kościelna, na której istnienie i przeżywanie mocno położył nacisk Sobór Watykański II¹⁹, a obecnie papież Franciszek²⁰. Skoro cały Kościół jest wspólnotą, komunią, to wszystkie działania powinny być naznaczone stylem wspólnotowym (*todas sus acciones deberian estar marcadas por un estilo comunal*), co w praktyce wyraża się w synodalności²¹. Innymi słowy, wspólnota nie może być tylko podmiotem biernym, ale i czynnym, w odniesieniu do działań jej dotyczących. Synodalność jest także sposobem na dowartościowanie świeckich, jako tych, którzy są powołani do odgrywania aktywnej roli w Kościele. Jednocześnie z racji na swój dynamiczny aspekt, pozwala ona wyjść poza istniejące schematy myślenia, głoszenia czy działania w życiu wspólnoty²². W konsekwencji, pojęcie synodalności byłoby terminem teologicznym najobszerniejszym na wyrażanie dążenia do udziału w życiu Kościoła²³. Przez swój aspekt wspólnotowy byłoby otwarte na wszystkie stany Kościoła²⁴, a przez swój aspekt drogi nie zamykałoby się do istniejących w danej chwili ram organizacyjnych²⁵.

W praktyce synodalność wymaga wzajemnego słuchania²⁶, gdyż w przeciwnym razie może przerodzić się w zbiór monologów. Jednocześnie nie oznacza ona wcielenia zasad demokracji w życie Kościoła, gdyż nie jest decydowaniem zgodnie z wolą większości, ale wykorzystaniem darów posiadanych przez

¹⁷ Por. Międzynarodowa Komisja Teologiczna, dz. cyt., nr 42. J. Renken, dz. cyt., s. 18-19.

¹⁸ W innych aspektach działanie zastępcze jest możliwe, jak choćby działanie metropolity względem diecezji sufragalnych (kan. 436 § 1 ust. 3 i § 2 KPK).

¹⁹ Por. Sobór Watykański II, *Konstytucja dogmatyczna o Kościele Lumen Gentium*, nr 5, 9, 14, 32 i 37 (zwana dalej: LG), w: Sobór Watykański II, *Konstytucje, Dekrety, Deklaracje*, Poznań 2002.

²⁰ Por. Franciszek, *Przemówienie podczas uroczystości upamiętniającej 50. rocznicę ustanowienia Synodu Biskupów*, https://opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/W/WP/franciszek_i/przemowienia/synodalnosc_17102015.html (dostęp: 11.04.2023); tenże, *Przemówienie papieża Franciszka podczas inauguracji pierwszego etapu XVI Zwyczajnego Zgromadzenia Ogólnego Synodu Biskupów*, <https://www.ekai.pl/dokumenty/przemowienia-papieza-franciszka-podczas-inauguracji-pierwszego-etapu-xvi-zwyczajnego-zgromadzenia-ogolnego-synodu-biskupow/> (dostęp: 2.05.2023); tenże, *Evangelii Gaudium*, Rzym, 24 listopada 2013 r., nr 102.

²¹ Por. Sekretariat Generalny Synodu, dz. cyt., nr 24; M.A. Santos, *Sinodalidad*, dz. cyt., s. 342.

²² Por. Franciszek, *Przemówienie papieża Franciszka podczas inauguracji pierwszego etapu XVI Zwyczajnego Zgromadzenia Ogólnego Synodu Biskupów*, dz. cyt.

²³ Por. M.A. Santos, *Sinodalidad*, dz. cyt., s. 342.

²⁴ Por. kan. 207 KPK; Sekretariat Generalny Synodu, dz. cyt., nr 27 i 30; Międzynarodowa Komisja Teologiczna, dz. cyt., nr 55.

²⁵ Por. Franciszek, *Przemówienie papieża Franciszka podczas inauguracji pierwszego etapu XVI Zwyczajnego Zgromadzenia Ogólnego Synodu Biskupów*, dz. cyt.

²⁶ Por. J. Renken, dz. cyt., s. 15.

każdego wierzącego dla wspólnego dobra Kościoła²⁷. „Ta nowa droga zaprasza każdego ucznia by hojnie dzielił się darami, by wyrażał potrzeby i obawy szczerze i bez strachu”²⁸. Nie oznacza to wszakże obojętności na wygłaszane poglądy²⁹. Synodalność nie jest też opcją dla Kościoła, a więc jednym ze sposobów rozeznania, w pełni zastępowalnym przez jednoosobowy namysł pasterza³⁰. Wreszcie synodalność nie oznacza też konieczności utworzenia nowych struktur; wyzwaniem zaś jest włączenie ducha i praktyki synodalnej w te struktury, które już istnieją³¹.

Podsumowując, synodalność jest sposobem przeżywania komunii kościelnej na każdym poziomie istnienia Kościoła (od struktur w Kościele partykularnym aż po szczebel najwyższy), mającym na celu rozeznanie kierunku działania wspólnoty. Jest otwarta na każdego katolika, a także na dostosowywanie się Kościoła do zmieniających się okoliczności, w których funkcjonuje. Synodalność nie jest zbiorem monologów, a wzajemnych słuchaniem dla budowania jedności Kościoła, gdzie dialog nie jest limitowany przez strach. Po wyjaśnieniu pojęcia synodalności można teraz przejść do zaprezentowania kan. 212 § 3 KPK i próby odpowiedzi na pytanie, czy może być on prawnym wymiarem synodalności.

3. Podstawowe zasady dialogu

Kanon 212 § 3 KPK stanowi: „Stosownie do posiadanej wiedzy, kompetencji i znaczenia przysługuje im [wiernym] prawo, a niekiedy nawet obowiązek wyjawiania swojego zdania świętym pasterzom w sprawach dotyczących dobra Kościoła oraz – zachowując nienaruszalność wiary i obyczajów, szacunek wobec pasterzy, biorąc pod uwagę wspólny pożytek i godność osoby – podawania go do wiadomości innym wiernym”.

Omawiając powyższy przepis należy zauważyć, że pasterzami Kościoła są biskupi – następcy Apostołów³². Wiernymi są wszyscy należący do Kościoła³³. Przedmiotem wypowiedzi zaś jest dobro Kościoła. Dobro Kościoła można rozumieć jako dobro wspólne³⁴, „cel bytowania i działania człowieka jako istoty z natury skierowanej do wspólnoty z in. ludźmi”³⁵. Tym samym widać tu zarówno podkreślenie praw jednostki, jak i praw całej społeczności. Dobro Kościoła można także określić jako oddanie czci Bogu, a także zbawienie ludzi, innymi słowy cel wszystkich działań Kościoła³⁶, jego liturgii³⁷ oraz prawa³⁸.

²⁷ Por. Sekretariat Generalny Synodu, dz. cyt., nr 14; Międzynarodowa Komisja Teologiczna, dz. cyt., nr 65; J. Renken, dz. cyt., s. 28-29.

²⁸ Tamże, s. 44 (tłum. własne).

²⁹ Por. Międzynarodowa Komisja Teologiczna, dz. cyt., nr 72.

³⁰ Por. tamże, s. 24-25.

³¹ Por. tamże, s. 32.

³² Por. kan. 375 § 1 KPK.

³³ Por. kan. 11 KPK.

³⁴ Por. kan. 223 § 1 i 2, 264 § 2, 282 § 2, 287 § 2, 323 § 2, 334 KPK.

³⁵ J. Krukowski, *Dobro wspólne*, w: *Leksykon prawa kanonicznego*, dz. cyt., kol. 562.

³⁶ Por. Jan Paweł II, *Ecclesia de Eucharistia*, Rzym, 17 kwietnia 2003 r., nr 1.

Dalsze kryteria wymienione w kanonie można podzielić na dwie grupy: podmiotowe i przedmiotowe. Kryteriami podmiotowymi, a więc tymi, które cechują autora wypowiedzi są: wiedza, kompetencja i znaczenie. Ich zachowanie konieczne jest zawsze, niezależnie od adresata wypowiedzi. Do kryteriów przedmiotowych należy zaliczyć: nienaruszalność wiary i obyczajów, szacunek wobec pasterzy, wspólny pożytek i godność osoby. Kanon nakazuje ich zachowanie w wypowiedziach kierowanych do nie-hierarchii. Przechodząc do omówienia kryteriów podmiotowych, należy zauważyć, że wiedza i kompetencja odnoszą się do posiadanych informacji, bo bez nich nie da się prawidłowo wyrazić opinii³⁹. Widać tu troskę ustawodawcy kościelnego, by wypowiedzane poglądy miały swoje uzasadnienie. Znaczenie związane jest z moralnością danej osoby, czy też jej wartością społeczną, a więc cechami warunkującymi skuteczność wpływu na całą społeczność⁴⁰.

Jeśli idzie o kryteria przedmiotowe, to pierwsze z nich, mianowicie integralność wiary i obyczajów jest uznawane za warunek konieczny, ważniejszy niż inne. Dotyczy ono bowiem tego, co jest podstawą istnienia Kościoła⁴¹. Istnieją bowiem prawdy wiary, których zaprzeczeniem byłoby herezją, czy apostazją⁴². Dalej, są prawdy nie są aż tak ważne, ale konieczne dla zachowania pełni wiary katolickiej⁴³. Są także i inne kwestie, które nie zostały jeszcze w pełni rozstrzygnięte, względnie nigdy takie nie będą. I w tych właśnie kwestiach katolicy mogą mieć różne opinie. Drugim z omawianych warunków jest szacunek dla pasterzy. Odnosi się to do władzy nauczania, co ma też związek z treścią nauki przekazywanej przez pasterzy i różnymi jej stopniami obowiązywalności⁴⁴. Można wszakże zadać tu pytanie, czy wierny będący w sporze z biskupem musi mu okazać szczególnie szacunek, wykraczający poza zwykły szacunek dla człowieka i biskupa⁴⁵. A zatem czy, omawiane kryterium słusznie nie wiąże tylko w odniesieniu do wypowiedzi kierowanych do nie-hierarchii. Kolejnym ograniczeniem wolności słowa jest wspólny pożytek, który można kojarzyć z wcześniej omówionym dobrem wspólnym. Jednocześnie można zadać pytanie, czy wierny prosząc pasterza o udzielenie dyspensy, czy przywileju⁴⁶, nie występuje przeciw wspólnemu pożytkowi, przedkładając powyżej

³⁷ Por. Sobór Watykański II, *Konstytucja o liturgii świętej Sacrosanctum Concilium*, nr 7, w: Sobór Watykański II, *Konstytucje, Dekrety, Deklaracje*, dz. cyt.

³⁸ Por. kan. 1752 KPK.

³⁹ Por. D. Cenalmor, *Comentario al c. 212*, w: *Commentario exegetico al Código de derecho canónico*, vol. II/1, red. Á. Marzoa, J. Miras, R. Rodríguez-Ocaña, Pamplona 2002, s. 88.

⁴⁰ Por. tamże, s. 89; G. Dalla Torre, *Commento al c. 212*, w: *Commento al Codice di Diritto Canonico*, dz. cyt., s. 121.

⁴¹ Por. J. Martín de Agar, *A Handbook on Canon Law*, tłum. L. Feingold, M. Emmons, Montréal 2007, s. 154.

⁴² Por. kan. 751 KPK.

⁴³ Por. kan. 750 i 752 KPK.

⁴⁴ Por. G. Dalla Torre, *Commento al c. 212*, dz. cyt., s. 121.

⁴⁵ Por. *Katechizm Kościoła Katolickiego*, Poznań 2009 (dalej: KKK), nr 841, 886, 2197.

⁴⁶ Por. kan. 76, 85 KPK.

niego swój własny pożytek. Wierny ma prawo prosić, to do zadań pasterzy należy ocenić, co jest właściwe. Innymi słowy, jest to kolejne kryterium co do którego należy stwierdzić, że regulacja kodeksowa ograniczająca jego zastosowanie tylko do wypowiedzi kierowanych do nie-hierarchii, jest właściwa. Kolejną granicą wykonania prawa do wolności słowa jest godność osoby, ograniczenie wspólne dla wszystkich systemów szanujących osobę ludzką⁴⁷. Ta zasada wydaje się na tyle powszechna, związana również z katolicką moralnością⁴⁸, że nigdy nie wolno jej naruszyć. Ponadto należy pamiętać, że wszelkie normy ograniczając wykonanie praw trzeba interpretować zawężająco⁴⁹. Z tej właśnie przyczyny, w razie wątpliwości, czy dana wypowiedź spełnia omówione powyżej kryteria podmiotowe i przedmiotowe, należałoby pozwolić na upublicznienie danego poglądu.

Omawiany kanon wskazuje również na obowiązek ujawnienia swojego zdania. Nie modyfikuje on treści wypowiedzi, ale jedynie wymusza jej zaistnienie. Należy poczynić tu trzy uwagi. Po pierwsze, mówienie o obowiązku wynika ze sposobu wyrażenia kanonu w języku polskim. Tekst obowiązujący, a więc łaciński⁵⁰, używa tu jednak nie tyle słowa *obligatio* (jak choćby w nazwie tytułu I części I księgi II KPK), ale *officium*. Słowo to pojawia się w KPK w wielu kanonach i odnosi się zarówno do urzędu⁵¹, jak i innych aspektów życia kościelnego, które można tłumaczyć też jako zadanie, czynność do wykonania⁵², choć na język polski bywa tłumaczone jako obowiązek. Uwzględniając powyższą uwagę, lepiej jednak patrzeć na obowiązek z kan. 212 § 3 KPK jako zadanie do wykonania, od którego uchylić się nie można. Nie uchylbia to jednak jego obowiązkowemu charakterowi i pod nazwą „obowiązek” będzie przywoływane. Po drugie, obowiązek ujawnienia swojego zdania nie ma przypisanego konkretnego adresata wypowiedzi, ani autora obowiązku. Tym samym obowiązek ten może powstać zarówno w stosunku do całego Kościoła, jego części, wszystkich lub niektórych pasterzy, lub nawet jednego świeckiego. Tak samo źródłem powstania obowiązku może być wspólnota, jej prawo, grupa osób lub poszczególna osoba. Po trzecie, musi być to działanie w ramach kanonu, a więc ograniczone dobrem Kościoła i innymi kryteriami. Ciężko sobie wyobrazić sytuację, gdy obowiązek ujawnienia zdania zniósłby rolę wiedzy, czy nienaruszalności wiary.

Warto zatem wskazać sytuacje, w których taki obowiązek miałby miejsce. Po pierwsze, najważniejszą i zarazem najogólniejszą podstawą praw i obowiązków katolików jest chrzest oraz bierzmowanie⁵³. Stąd zaś wynika ontolo-

⁴⁷ Por. G. Dalla Tore, *Commento al c. 212*, dz. cyt. s.121; kan. 220 KPK.

⁴⁸ Por. KKK, nr 2477-2479.

⁴⁹ Por. kan. 18 KPK; G. Dalla Tore, *Commento al c. 212*, dz. cyt., s. 121.

⁵⁰ Por. kan. 17 KPK.

⁵¹ Jak m.in. w kan. 145 § 1, 146, 149 KPK.

⁵² Jak m.in. w kan. 211, 233, 773, 793 § 1, 794 § 1 KPK.

⁵³ Por. kan. 96, 879 KPK.

giczna współodpowiedzialność wszystkich za misję Kościoła⁵⁴. Wszyscy katolicy mają współdziałać w budowaniu Kościoła⁵⁵. Po drugie, wspomniane kryteria podmiotowe rodzą odpowiedzialność, a zatem jeżeli ktoś posiada te cechy, to w imię współodpowiedzialności za Kościół nie może nie uczynić pożytku ze swojej wiedzy, kompetencji i znaczenia. Musi działać, również przez ujawnienie swoich poglądów. W literaturze uznaje się, że mamy tu do czynienia z obowiązkiem moralnym⁵⁶. Jednocześnie literatura nie analizuje szczerzej zagadnień związanych ze wspomnianym obowiązkiem. Można spotkać się z poglądem, przyjmowanym w ślad za A. del Portillo, że w odniesieniu do wygłaszania sądów dotyczących dobra Kościoła, wszyscy katolicy mają równe obowiązki oparte o kryteria podmiotowe. Stąd też wynika prawo i obowiązek popierania tego, co się uznaje za dobre dla Kościoła i nazywania błędnym tego, co się uważa za szkodliwe⁵⁷. Ponadto sam kan. 212 § 3 KPK opisywany jest w literaturze w kategorii prawa-obowiązku⁵⁸. Po trzecie, warto także przywołać pochodzącą z KKK zasadę odpowiedzialności za grzechy cudze⁵⁹, która jest w pewien sposób zakazem pozostania biernym wobec zła. Ten zakaz wymusza działanie, sprzeciwienie się złu, czy też wezwanie do czynienia dobra. Po czwarte, pasterze Kościoła mogą kogoś wyraźnie zobligować do ujawnienia swoich poglądów. Czy jednak omawiany kanon można zastosować do synodalności?

Aby odpowiedzieć na to pytanie, należy zauważyć, że kan. 212 § 3 KPK wyraźnie dotyczy dialogu wewnątrzkościelnego, a więc mocno współbrzmi z tym, czym jest synodalność. Jednocześnie przepis stawia granice związane z nienaruszalnością prawd wiary i moralności, czego również proces synodalny przekroczyć nie może, bo nie jest decydowaniem o treści wiary. Synodalność jest sposobem przeżywania komunii kościelnej, co współbrzmi z opisywanymi w kanonie warunkami szacunku wobec pasterzy i pożytku publicznego. Choć w przypadku synodalności nie mówi się wprost o godności człowieka, to biorąc pod uwagę podstawowe cechy synodalności, doceniania każdego wierzącego, nie może ona naruszać godności człowieka. Z drugiej strony kanon kładzie nacisk na wiedzę, kompetencję i znaczenie uczestnika dialogu. Może to rodzić postulat ograniczenia procesu synodalnego do osób, które te cechy posiadają – synodalność nie może naruszać prawa Kościoła. Pytanie tylko, jak należy ro-

⁵⁴ Por. D. Cenalmor, J. Miras, *Prawo kanoniczne*, tłum. J. Bodzon, G. Kmiecik, W. Lipka, A. Wójcik, Warszawa 2022, s. 228.

⁵⁵ Por. Sobór Watykański II, *Dekret o apostołstwie świeckich Apostolicam Actuositatem*, nr 6 (dalej: AA), w: Sobór Watykański II, *Konstytucje, Dekrety, Deklaracje*, dz. cyt.

⁵⁶ Por. J. Hervada, *Comentario al c. 212*, tłum. J. Bodzon, w: *Kodeks Prawa Kanonicznego. Komentarz*, red. P. Majer, Kraków 2023, s. 168.

⁵⁷ Por. D. Cenalmor, *Comentario al c. 212*, dz. cyt., s. 89.

⁵⁸ Por. C. Peña, *Sinodalidad y laicado. Corresponsabilidad y participación de los laicos en la vocación sinodal de la Iglesia*, „Ius Canonicum” 59(2019), nr 118, s. 742; A. Micciché, *La sinodalidad en la Iglesia*, „Ius Canonicum” 62(2022), nr 123, s. 343.

⁵⁹ Por. KKK, nr 1868.

zumieć np.: wiedzę? Wydaje się, że idzie tu o wszelką wiedzę pożyteczną dla dobra Kościoła, nie tylko teologiczną, ale także wiedzę o problemach danej wspólnoty. Uwzględniając ograniczenia wynikające z kanonu, trzeba stwierdzić, że nie dość, że precyzuje on, to modyfikuje zakres procesu synodalnego w Kościele⁶⁰. Tym samym synodalność byłaby najszerszą interpretacją i realizacją przepisu, zaś kanon byłby ograniczeniem synodalności. Proces synodalny nie może przecież odbywać się wbrew prawu.

Co jednak z sytuacjami, gdy wypowiedzi w ramach procesu synodalnego będą pochodzić od osób, które nie są w stanie spełnić kryteriów podmiotowych, względnie nie są nawet katolikami? Co z sytuacjami, gdzie wypowiedzi naruszają kryteria przedmiotowe? Wydaje się, że należy zauważyć, że czym innym jest wypowiedź, czym innym dialog. Wypowiedź można usłyszeć, przyjąć z szacunkiem i pozostawić bez odpowiedzi. Dialog wymaga odpowiedzi z uwzględnieniem warunków opisanych w kanonie. Przyjęcie takiego rozwiązania pozwoliłoby zachować zasady wynikające z kanonów, a więc szanować prawo, przy jednoczesnym uwzględnieniu zasad synodalności, a więc swobody wypowiedzi, braku uprzedniej cenzury czy strachu z tytułu konsekwencji za wypowiedziane słowo.

Pozostaje do odpowiedzi pytanie, czy na podstawie kanonu można stwierdzić, że wzięcie udziału w procesie synodalnym może być obowiązkiem katolika? Kanon wyraźnie mówi o potencjalnym obowiązku ujawnienia swojego zdania. Synodalność z kolei rozumiana jest jako sposób przeżywania komunii, zaangażowania wszystkich katolików. Tym samym wyjście z procesu synodalnego byłoby swego rodzaju zaprzeczaniem urzeczywistniania się komunii kościelnej. Katolik nie może przeciwdziałać tej komunii⁶¹. Tym samym wzięcie udziału w procesie synodalnym stałoby się obowiązkiem katolika, zadaniem od uchylić się nie może.

Warto zatem zadać pytanie o to, jakiego rodzaju byłby to obowiązek – prawny czy moralny? Moralność kieruje postępowaniem człowieka, dotyczy poszczególnej osoby i prowadzi ją do szlachetności⁶². Normy moralne odnoszą się do takich wartości, jak dobro człowieka, dobro wspólne, sprawiedliwość,

⁶⁰ Propozycję pokonania owych ograniczeń podaje A. Miccichè wskazując na prawo petycji (kan. 212 § 2 KPK) jako na podstawę udziału w procesie synodalnym. Por. A. Miccichè, dz. cyt., s. 345. Pytanie tylko, czy prawo petycji to dialog i wymiana poglądów. Petycja ma charakter prośby skierowanej przez osobę do podmiotu władzy.

⁶¹ Por. LG, nr 7, 32, 37; kan. 209 § 1 KPK. Brak jest przepisów w ramach prawa karnego, dotyczących naruszeń komunii w takim stopniu. Nie jest to z pewnością tak radykalne naruszenie komunii, jak schizma (kan. 1364 KPK) czy inne przestępstwa przeciwko komunii kościelnej (choćby stypizowane w tytule I części II księgi VI KPK). Najbliższy byłby kan. 1371 § 1 KPK. Pytanie, czy wezwanie papieża Franciszka do udziału w procesie synodalnym jest poleceniem? Wydaje się, że taka interpretacja jest za szeroka, a zgodnie z kan. 18 KPK ustaw, które ustanawiają kary nie można interpretować rozszerzająco.

⁶² Por. D. Cenalmor, J. Miras, dz. cyt., s. 37.

słuszność⁶³. Jednocześnie w literaturze można znaleźć pogląd, że obowiązek ujawniania swoich poglądów wypływający z wiedzy, kompetencji i znaczenia ma charakter moralny⁶⁴. Trudno się jednak z tym zgodzić, szczególnie biorąc pod uwagę powyższe uwagi odnośnie synodalności i moralności. W omawianym przypadku nie mamy bowiem do czynienia z prowadzeniem danej osoby do uszlachetnienia swojego postępowania, synodalność odnosi się bowiem do funkcjonowania wspólnoty, a nie doskonałości poszczególnego wierzącego. Jednocześnie ciężko jest stwierdzić, by rozważania odnośnie dobra wspólnego czy słuszności zamykały powyższe rozważania tylko w zakresie obowiązku moralnego.

Obowiązkiem prawnym zaś jest zachowanie, które przez normę prawną jest nakazane lub zakazane⁶⁵, samo zaś prawo „służy osiągnięciu sprawiedliwego porządku społecznego”⁶⁶. Z kolei węzeł „to mające znaczenie prawne powiązanie pomiędzy podmiotami w odniesieniu do przedmiotu. Sprawia ono, że świadczenie jednego podmiotu w odniesieniu do drugiego staje się czymś należnym ze sprawiedliwości. (...) Aby węzeł mógł być określany jako prawny, konieczne jest w każdym przypadku przypisanie mu przez prawo (naturalne, Boże pozytywne lub ludzkie) skutków prawnych”⁶⁷. Jednocześnie podkreśla się, że nie wszystkie obowiązki z tytułu I części I księgi II KPK mają charakter prawny, a zatem „można się ich domagać ze sprawiedliwości tylko w ograniczonym zakresie”⁶⁸. Pytanie czy udział katolika w procesie synodalnym jest należny wspólnocie ze sprawiedliwości? Wydaje się, że tak, bo katolik ma działać w niej i na jej rzecz⁶⁹. Czy udział w procesie synodalnym i dialogu, będącym jej elementem, może być nakazany? Wydaje się, że podstawową normą jest tu zobowiązanie z chrztu i bierzmowania⁷⁰. Problemem może być określenie skutków prawnych, szczególnie sankcji za brak działania. Warto jednak pamiętać, że prawo nie musi precyzować sposobu działania, ani nakładać sankcji⁷¹. Tym samym należy stwierdzić, że komentowany obowiązek jest obowiązkiem prawnym.

⁶³ Por. A. Korybski, *Prawo – język – kultura*, w: *Wstęp do prawoznawstwa*, red. A. Korybski, L. Leszczyński, Lublin 2021, s. 66.

⁶⁴ Por. D. Cenalmor, *Comentario al c. 212*, dz. cyt., s. 89.

⁶⁵ Por. A. Bator, W. Gromski, A. Kozak, S. Kaźmierczyk, Z. Pulka, *Wprowadzenie do nauk prawnych. Leksykon tematyczny*, Warszawa 2010, s. 328.

⁶⁶ D. Cenalmor, J. Miras, dz. cyt., s. 37.

⁶⁷ Tamże, s. 87.

⁶⁸ Tamże, s. 145.

⁶⁹ Por. kan. 96 i 208 KPK.

⁷⁰ Por. kan. 96 i 879 KPK.

⁷¹ Norma prawna składa się z hipotezy i dyspozycji. „Nie ma natomiast konsensu co do tego, czy częścią normy prawnej jest sankcja. (...) Stanowisko to tłumaczy (...) zjawisko *lex imperfecta*, pozostającej *lex* mimo braku sankcji”. H. Izdebski, *Elementy teorii i filozofii prawa*, Warszawa 2011, s. 206. Jednocześnie R. Sobański wypowiada się przeciwko nazywaniu takiej normy *lege imperfecta* na gruncie prawa kanonicznego, w którym większość norm jest

Podsumowując należy zauważyć, że kan. 212 § 3 KPK odnosi się do synodalności, modyfikując sposób wyrażania poglądów w jej ramach. Jednocześnie może być on traktowany jako obowiązek prawny udziału w procesie synodalnym. Biorąc pod uwagę zidentyfikowane związki kan. 212 § 3 KPK z synodalnością, a także wymienione ograniczenia, należy teraz rozważyć, czy istnieją inne kanony związane synodalnością, które mogłyby być podstawą do zobligowania wiernych do wyjawienia poglądów. Zostaną one zaprezentowane na przykładzie Kościoła partykularnego, przez pryzmat struktur istniejących w jego ramach.

4. Dialog w ramach Kościoła partykularnego

Jednym z najważniejszych przepisów dotyczących dialogu w ramach struktur kościelnych jest ten zawarty w kan. 228 § 2 KPK, zgodnie z którym świeccy mogą być powoływani na doradców wobec pasterzy Kościoła. Choć uznaje się, że są to zdolności a nie uprawnienia świeckich⁷², to jednak owe zdolności mogą być urzeczywistnione. Kolegiami, w ramach których mogą być one zrealizowane na poziomie diecezji, są: synod diecezjalny, diecezjalna rada duszpasterska, diecezjalna rada ds. ekonomicznych, parafialna rada duszpasterska, parafialna rada ds. ekonomicznych. Przepisy dotyczące powyższych ciał kolegialnych zostaną przeanalizowane tylko pod kątem tego, czy można na ich podstawie uznać, że członkowie mają obowiązek ujawniania swoich poglądów. Bez wątpienia, ciała te są uznawane jako element przeżywania synodalności⁷³. Tym samym uznanie istnienia obowiązku zabierania głosu przez ich członków jest jednocześnie stwierdzeniem, że istnieje obowiązek ujawniania swoich poglądów w procesie synodalnym.

Literatura nie poświęca większego zainteresowania obowiązkowi powołanych do tych kolegiów, jednakże na podstawie istniejących wypowiedzi można wyciągnąć pewne wnioski. W odniesieniu do wszystkich kolegiów stwierdza się, że jedną z dróg wyrażania współodpowiedzialności za Kościół jest właśnie wzięcie w nich udziału⁷⁴. Podstawowy zaś sens tych ciał nie tkwi w partykularności, ale w byciu wyrazem działającej obecności Kościoła⁷⁵. Jeśli idzie o poszczególne kolegia, to w odniesieniu do synodu diecezjalnego podkreśla się, że wezwani na synod mają obowiązek uczestnictwa w nim, co wynika z samego charakteru synodu⁷⁶. Tym samym można by zapytać, czy przybycie na synod

bez sankcji. Por. R. Sobański, *Nauki podstawowe prawa kanonicznego. Teoria prawa kanonicznego*, Warszawa 2001, s. 73.

⁷² Por. J. Hervada, *Comentario al c. 212*, dz. cyt., s. 177.

⁷³ Por. Sekretariat Generalny Synodu, dz. cyt., nr 11; M.A. Santos, *Sinodalidad*, dz. cyt., s. 341.

⁷⁴ Por. D. Cenalmor, J. Miras, dz. cyt., s. 228.

⁷⁵ Por. tamże, s. 248.

⁷⁶ Por. A. Sousa Costa, *Commento al c. 465*, w: *Commento al Codice di Diritto Canonico*, dz. cyt., s. 275; Kongregacja ds. Biskupów, Kongregacja ds. Ewangelizacji Narodów, *Instrukcja o synodach diecezjalnych*, https://diecezjajzg.pl/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/instrukcja_o_synodach_diecezjalnych.pdf (dostęp: 17.02.2023), tłum. A. Sapięha, nr 1, 2 i 4, 5.

bez zabierania głosu byłoby nadal faktycznym a nie tylko formalnym uczestnictwem? Następne kolegium, tj. diecezjalna rada ds. ekonomicznych ma uprawnienia nie tylko doradcze, ale ma prawo wyrażać zgodę m.in. na czynności nadzwyczajnego zarządu majątkiem przez biskupa, względnie biskup ma obowiązek wysłuchać rady przed podjęciem dotyczących zarządu o większym znaczeniu⁷⁷. Jest zatem nie tylko organem konsultacyjnym, ale i decyzyjnym⁷⁸. Czy zatem brak działania członków rady nie doprowadziłby w niektórych sytuacjach do paraliżu diecezji? Diecezjalna rada duszpasterska jest z kolei organem pomocniczym biskupa, mającym na celu prowadzenie studiów i proponowania rozwiązań pastoralnych dotyczących diecezji⁷⁹. Biskup nie ma obowiązku konsultować się z radą⁸⁰. Z drugiej strony wskazuje się, że rada ma obowiązek należycie wykonywać swoje zadania⁸¹, a podstawą działania rady jest współodpowiedzialność wiernych⁸². Na poziomie parafii mogą istnieć dwie rady. Parafialna rada duszpasterska składa się z wszystkich, którzy z urzędu zajmują się troską o parafię, ale także z innych osób, dobranych do jej składu⁸³. Właściwie zrozumienie sensu istnienia rady i wdrożenie tego, prowadzi do powstania ważnego instrumentu popierania komunii kościelnej na poziomie parafii oraz realizuje w sposób konkretny uczestnictwo wspólnoty parafialnej w życiu i misji Kościoła⁸⁴. Radę duszpasterską należy odróżnić od tzw. komitetów parafialnych⁸⁵. Wreszcie parafialna rada ds. ekonomicznych ma na celu świadczenie pomocy proboszczowi. Przez odwołania do Synodu biskupów z 1971 r. wskazuje się, że świeccy mają mieć aktywną rolę w administrowaniu dobrami kościelnymi⁸⁶. Tytułem przykładu można także wskazać, że w Hiszpanii członkowie rady mają za zadanie informowanie parafian o sytuacji ekonomicznej parafii, czy stymulować współpracę świeckich w zakresie finansowania potrzeb parafii⁸⁷.

⁷⁷ Por. kan. 1277 i 1292 § 1 KPK.

⁷⁸ Por. J.I. Arrieta, *Comentario a los cc. 492-493*, tłum. A. Nita, w: *Kodeks Prawa Kanonicznego. Komentarz*, dz. cyt., s. 341.

⁷⁹ Por. *Il Codice di diritto canonico, commento giuridico-pastorale*, t. 2, red. L. Chiappetta, Bologna 2011, s. 628.

⁸⁰ Rada nie ma takiego głosu doradczego jak rada kapłańska, gdzie biskup powinien słuchać jej zdania w ważniejszych sprawach (kan. 500 § 2 KPK).

⁸¹ Por. *Il Codice di diritto canonico, commento giuridico-pastorale*, t. 2, dz. cyt., s. 630; kan. 511-514 KPK.

⁸² Por. 208 i 212 KPK; D. Cenalmor, J. Miras, dz. cyt., s. 271.

⁸³ Por. kan. 536 § 1 KPK.

⁸⁴ Por. *Il Codice di diritto canonico, commento giuridico-pastorale*, t. 2, dz. cyt., s. 661; AA, nr 10.

⁸⁵ Por. J. Calvo, *Comentario al c. 536*, tłum. A. Nita, w: *Kodeks Prawa Kanonicznego. Komentarz*, dz. cyt., s. 374.

⁸⁶ Por. *Il Codice di diritto canonico, commento giuridico-pastorale*, t. 2, dz. cyt., s. 661. Wzmiankowany dokument Synodu Biskupów to *Convenientes ex universo*, w: *Enchiridion del Sinodo dei Vescovi*, t. 1, Bologna 2005, s. 743-777.

⁸⁷ Por. A.S. Sánchez-Gil, *Comentario al c. 537*, w: Á. Marzoa, J. Miras, R. Rodríguez-Ocaña, *Commentario exegético al Código de derecho canónico*, vol. II/2, Pamplona 2002, s. 1294.

Podsumowując, wypada zauważyć, że w literaturze pojawiają się pewne odniesienia do obowiązków. Ponadto uwagi poczynione przy okazji komentowania przepisów dotyczących jednego z kolegów, można odnieść do wszystkich. I tak trzeba stwierdzić, że istnieje obowiązek uczestnictwa w działaniach danego kolegium, należytego wykonania obowiązków, konieczność popierania (przeżywania) komunii kościelnej, realizacji uczestnictwa wspólnoty parafialnej we wspólnocie diecezjalnej. Jest to niewykonalne przy zachowaniu bierności czy milczenia ze strony powołanych do danego kolegium. Bierność czy milczenie zaprzeczyłoby sensowi istnienia rad i synodów, a tym samym utrudniłoby czy wręcz uniemożliwiłoby realizowanie procesu synodalnego. Można zatem stwierdzić, że istnieje obowiązek ujawniania swojego zdania. Rozważania dotyczącego charakteru owego obowiązku (moralnego czy prawnego), można by powtórzyć także i tutaj.

Wnioski

Podsumowując należy stwierdzić, że kan. 212 § 3 KPK można zastosować do synodalności. Co więcej, modyfikuje on jej realizację, wykluczając choćby z dialogu osoby niebędące w Kościele katolickim, względnie pozostawiając bez dalszego odniesienia wypowiedzi sprzeczne z wiarą czy moralnością. Z drugiej jednak strony, może być on uznany za podstawę obowiązku wzięcia udziału w procesie synodalnym, będącym praktycznym sposobem przeżywania komunii kościelnej. Wynika to z faktu włączenia każdego członka Kościoła w działania całej wspólnoty. Jednocześnie wspomniany obowiązek ma charakter prawny, a nie tylko moralny, gdyż nie dotyczy dążenia do doskonałości moralnej konkretnego wiernego, ale sposobu jego uczestnictwa w życiu Kościoła. Obok powyższego przepisu istnieją także kanony, które dotyczą kolegów istniejących na poziomie diecezjalnym i również obligują katolika do aktywnego wypowiadania swojego zdania w sprawach dotyczących dobra Kościoła. Analiza powyższych przepisów doprowadziła do wniosku, że w przypadku tych kolegów istnieje ten sam rodzaj obowiązku (prawny, a nie moralny).

* * *

Streszczenie

W artykule poruszono problematykę synodalności w trzech wymiarach. W pierwszej artykule omawia synodalność w świetle kan. 212 § 3 Kodeksu Prawa Kanonicznego. Po drugie, porusza kwestię obowiązkowego ujawniania swoich poglądów wynikających z wyżej wymienionego kanonu. Jest to próba odpowiedzi na pytanie, czy i na jakiej podstawie uczestnictwo w procesie synodalnym może obligować wiernych do ujawniania swoich poglądów dotyczących dobra Kościoła. Po trzecie, artykuł poszerza kwestię istnienia podstaw prawnych obowiązku ujawniania swoich poglądów w kanonach dotyczących

rad istniejących w Kościele partykularnym. To rozszerzenie analizy uzasadnione jest zasadą, że synodalność nie wymaga tworzenia nowych struktur. Prowadzi to do ostatecznego wniosku, że istniejące kanony dotyczące Kościoła partykularnego zawierają przepisy regulujące wypowiedzanie się w procesie synodalnym.

Słowa kluczowe: opinie wiernych, wolność słowa w Kościele, obowiązek ujawniania opinii, rady w Kościele partykularnym, proces synodalny.

Sinodality – The Right and Duty of all the Faithful

Summary

The article addresses the issue of synodality in three dimensions. First, it discusses synodality in the light of can. 212 § 3 of the Code of Canon Law. Secondly, it addresses the issue of obligatory disclosure of one's opinions arising from the above-mentioned canon. This is an attempt to answer the question whether participation in the synodal process may oblige a faithful to manifest his or her opinions concerning the good of the Church, and if so, on what basis. Thirdly, the article expands the question about the existence of legal grounds for the obligation to manifest one's opinions in the canons regarding the existing councils of a particular Church. This extension of the analysis is justified by the principle that synodality does not require the creation of new structures. This leads to the final conclusion that existing canons already contain provisions regulating speaking in the synodal process.

Keywords: opinions of the faithful, freedom of speech in the Church, duty to manifest opinions, councils in the particular Church, synodal process.

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AGNIESZKA WOJTYRA *

*Man cannot simply consider himself to be an absurd being.
Thus, the search for meaning is his life condition.*
Joseph Ratzinger

Meaning in Life among Young People in Poland. A Sociological and Theological Perspective

Cardinal J. Ratzinger noticed that

there is no doubt that we live in a historical situation in which the temptation to do without God has become very great. Our culture of technology and welfare rests on the belief that basically we can do anything. Naturally, if we think like that, then life is restricted to what we can make and manufacture and demonstrate. The question about God leaves the stage¹.

The above thought shows that the consumerist lifestyle, practical materialism and prosperity that humanity strives for have brought about man's reification and the disappearance of moral principles. The lack of respect for life from the moment of birth to natural death and the weakening of brotherly bonds, according to the cardinal, result in a crisis of the sense of meaning in life. As we know, Christianity has taught us that radical love is the force that shapes true humanity. Meanwhile, the belief is growing that man himself is the source of progress, where objective values and the transcendent meaning of life are only illusions. We find ourselves in a reality that pulsates with rapid changes, living in an era waiting for a breakthrough. Our times are marked by the crisis of the old order based on Judeo-Christian values, Greek philosophy and Roman law.

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¹ *Bóg i świat – wiara i życie w dzisiejszych czasach. Z kardynałem Josephem Ratzingerem rozmawia Peter Seewald*, trans. G. Sowiński, Kraków 2001, p. 23.

This situation is deepened by lightning-speed developments in the area of cyberspace. The harbinger of these times was already noticed in the 1960s. American anthropologist Margaret Mead wrote at that time about the future as a space in which technologies and rapid changes will cause the cultural transmission to reverse its order: young people will become pioneers in areas in which they previously sought guidance from their elders. This is now manifested not only in the sphere of operating electronic devices, but also seen in fundamental issues, such as the values system that has been passed down from generation to generation over the centuries². In short, these phenomena and the world's increasing secularization have led to rejecting God and people closed to immanence.

A particular symptom of the above-described crisis in feeling and finding sense in life and values, particularly among young people, is the high level of suicides. Police statistics inform about many such attempts, which, unfortunately, often ended in death. In the last seven years, there were as many as 820 deaths in the 13-18 age group³. The reasons for taking one's life vary, but the increased risk among this suicide group includes young adults and teenagers with a developmental crisis, a crisis in interpersonal relationships characterized by internal loneliness or questions about the very meaning of life⁴. V.E. Frankl⁵, considered the most outstanding psychiatrist, who combined philosophy and psychology, emphasized the problem of meaning and values in his considerations. Frankl noticed that there were reasons for man's reluctance to live in the so-called existential void. Its main manifestation is boredom, followed by despair, accompanied by replacing the *will to meaning* with the *will to power* or the *will to pleasure*⁶.

In the background of this problem of suicide is the situation of the current moral chaos in which the boundaries between what is good and what is evil are

² *Wartości chrześcijańskie a europejskie. Chrześcijaństwo kształtujące tożsamość Europy*, ed. P. Walewski, Pelplin 2022, p. 18.

³ <https://statystyka.policja.pl/st/wybrane-statystyki/zamachy-samobojcze/63803,Zamachy-samobojcze-od-2017-roku.html> (accessed: 10 March 2024). In Poland, 115 suicides were recorded in 2017, 92 in 2018, 94 in 2019, 106 in 2020, 125 in 2021, 150 in 2022, and 138 in 2023.

⁴ M. Makara-Studzińska, *Przyczyny prób samobójczych u młodzieży w wieku 14-18 lat*, "Psychiatra" 10(2013), no. 2, p. 76-77. "Suicidal behavior is influenced by many factors that interact with each other (...). Numerous studies in this area prove that the family environment plays the greatest role in the genesis of suicidal behavior in children and adolescents (...). Cekiera's research (1975) shows that the lack of a sense of security is the most important motive for suicide (...). Obuchowska draws attention to environmental influences that are particularly important during development. The older a child is, the more he observes his environment, and is sometimes a witness, at other times also an object of various cultural and civilizational denaturalizations, which, penetrating the psyche, build beliefs that constitute the "wicked world syndrome" (trans. J. Kobylecki). Ibid.

⁵ V.E. Frankl (1905-1997) – the creator of logotherapy, the psychotherapy method based on "healing through meaning". Cf. A. Chojniak, *Człowiek i sens. Frankla koncepcja autotranscendencji*, Poznań 2003, p. 17-29.

⁶ Cf. V.E. Frankl, *Człowiek w poszukiwaniu sensu*, Warszawa 2009, p. 160-163.

now blurring. This is accompanied by a rapid disappearance of traditions that have so far defined the nature of human behavior, the negation of spiritual reality and spiritual impotence causing a departure from values and creating a crisis of meaning in life⁷. It is sad to note that Christianity as a value, its unique perspective of dialogue with the personal Triune God and sharing life with others in a mysterious communication⁸ are disappearing from young people's views and thoughts, and now they are in a difficult existential situation.

The following report presents the results of research concerning the feeling of meaning in life among teenagers. The literature on the subject already mentions this topic: Fr. J. Mariański's⁹ work speaks of this and concerns the general feeling of meaning among young Poles and numerous texts devoted to the religiosity of school youth¹⁰. Fr. Jędrzej Machalski proposes an interesting approach to this issue. He examined the relationship between religiosity and the feeling of meaning in life among secondary school youth in the context of the concepts by V. Frankl and D. Hutsebaut¹¹. It is presented here, based on research conducted in the last quarter of 2023 on 200 students aged 15-18 declaring to be Catholics. The aim was to show the understanding of the purpose and meaning of life of Polish youth in the context of contemporary realities, which often reduce or eliminate the religious element from the perspective of public life. The survey was conducted in November 2023 on two groups of young people aged 15-16 (grades 1-2) and 17-18 (grades 3-4). The collected empirical material was analyzed, conclusions were drawn, and the results were prepared in Excel and presented on charts. For the author, a religion teacher, it was an important way to evaluate work with students.

The article aims to diagnose the sense of meaning in life among young people. The conclusions from this study are helpful in education, namely, catechists, giving them an incentive to build a catechetical foundation on the mean-

⁷ K. Michalski, *Antropologiczne podstawy logoterapii Viktora E. Frankla*, "Studia Philosophiae Christiana" 59(2023), no. 2, p. 28.

⁸ Cf. *Między sensem a bezsensem ludzkiej egzystencji. Teologiczna odpowiedź na fundamentalne pytania współczesnego człowieka*, in: *Materiały VIII Kongresu Teologów Polskich*, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza, Wydział teologiczny, Poznań, 13-16 września 2010, ed. D. Bryl et al., Poznań 2012, p. 205.

⁹ J. Mariański, *Sens życia w świadomości młodzieży polskiej – analiza socjopedagogiczna*, "Chowanna" 56(2021), no. 1.

¹⁰ "Research on youth is always a barometer that foreshadows changes in the future. It is worth noting that the period of adolescence is characterised by a sceptical or even critical attitude towards the existing world, arranged by adults (...). However, youthful rebellion does not always mean a complete rejection of the values of previous generations in the future. They are often internalised in different ways and passed on in identical or altered forms to the next generation in a relay of generations". T. Adamczyk, *Changes in the Religiosity of Secondary School Youth in Poland. A Sociological Analysis. Przemiany religijności młodzieży maturalnej w Polsce. Analiza socjologiczna*, "Zeszyty Naukowe KUL" 66(2023), no. 3(263), p. 7.

¹¹ J. Machalski, *Korelacje między religijnością a poczuciem sensu życia młodzieży szkół ponadgimnazjalnych w Poznaniu w świetle koncepcji Viktora E. Frankla i Dirka Hutsebauta*, "Humaniora. Czasopismo Internetowe" 27(2019), no. 3, p. 61-77.

ing of life, or in pastoral care – in both cases addressing the cognitive and practical dimensions. For the author, a religion teacher, the analysis also became an important form of evaluating work with students, as it provided valuable tips on what to pay attention to when conveying the content. The research results were already presented during a conference organized at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin by the Section of Fundamental Theology entitled “Towards an Argument for Great Meaning (in life and the world)”¹² (this article is an extended version of the paper presented at that time).

1. Showing Meaning in Life is the Task of Fundamental Theology

The issue of meaning in life is mainly a subject of interest in philosophy, philosophical anthropology, axiology, ethics and theology, yet it is also present in psychology. This interdisciplinary study poses certain research difficulties, if only because in the context of the latter science, spirituality is a purely theoretical construct that cannot be directly measured¹³. However, the author will attempt to define the concept of the meaning of life, although, as J. Mariański notes, it is a difficult term to define¹⁴.

In other words, meaning is values, significance, the reason for one's existence and the purpose of life. It is a person's conscious, purposeful action for implementing values that they generally accept or recognize. To deny the meaning of human existence is to deny the meaningfulness of being and the world¹⁵. Contemporary psychologist I. Heszen-Niejodek, using theological terminology, considers meaning to be transcendence, a kind of “upward movement” whose direction is determined by a person's immaterial values. Transcendence is based on self-fulfillment, self-improvement and personal development. In a broader context, it will be directed towards values or a Higher Being¹⁶. When defining meaning, J. Mariański takes into account a person's entire life.

Meaning understood holistically (globally), as a balancing and approving decision taking into account one's entire life, is something more than the simple sum of individual (partial) meanings. It is an act of man's hope and faith in life framed within the overall horizon of existential experience, reflecting on one's “I” and searching for one's identity¹⁷. In turn, V. Frankl stresses that searching for meaning comprises man's essential life motivation, and the will to achieve it will comprise the basis for one's ideals and values¹⁸.

¹² The conference was held on the 25th anniversary of the announcement of the encyclical “Fides et ratio” by John Paul II as part of the 11th edition of the “Marian Rusecki Memorial Lectures” (December 12, 2023).

¹³ Cf. P. Kozera-Mikuła, *Sens życia – analiza pojęcia w świetle nauk humanistycznych*, “Psychologia rozwojowa” 25(2020), no. 2, p. 12.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ J. Mariański, *Sens życia w świadomości młodzieży polskiej...*, p. 2.

¹⁸ Cf. V.E. Frankl, *Człowiek w poszukiwaniu sensu*, p. 151-153.

The task of making sense of human life is most fully realized through fundamental theology¹⁹. The present-day existential lack of finding meaning and value in one's existence can only be removed by Christ. By entering one's personal history, He can profoundly transform it and give it a completely new dimension. A fundamental theologian, with human experience as his starting point, will therefore give a satisfactory answer to man's real-life problems while showing the meaning of Christian values (H. Bouillard, G. Phillips, J.A. Walgrave, E. Schillebeeckx, A. Szenney)²⁰. He will postulate the need to enter into a life-giving relationship with God and discover the value of God's Revelation.

This is necessary so that there will be no conflict between the Christian faith and a world that is increasingly indifferent to religious values (E. Schillebeeckx). Rationally identified meaning in life will entail appropriate norms of conduct and motivate a person to choose appropriate material and spiritual actions based on values. A "natural defense system" constructed in this way will protect an individual against misusing their freedom, help overcome objective causes that violate the meaning of life, and, consequently, eliminate the feeling of meaninglessness or pseudo-meaning. This will provide a person the opportunity to objectify the praxeological dimension of the meaning of life following the soteriological norm, shown in the saving mystery of Jesus Christ and written in the Eight Beatitudes (cf. Mt 5-7)²¹. Worth noting is J. Ratzinger's broad understanding of reality and man's unprecedented role in all of human history. R. Kraśnicki notes:

Ratzinger points out that, for a Christian, the meaning of the entire universe is revealed in the context of Jesus Christ. The Logos, the Word of God, becomes the key element in making sense of life, because all of reality strives towards Him. This understanding leads to the integration of time and history, where every moment finds its place on the path to Christ. The creative meaning of God, framed in the context of theology, becomes not only the beginning but also the ultimate goal of the universe, and man plays a central role in evolution and becoming the fullness of the Great Meaning²².

Man, the main protagonist in the world's historical arena, can find meaning in life in the community in which he lives, including the broadest one – humanity. Thus, finding meaning in life is not a theoretical idea created by scholars, but part of a person who discovers it more fully the more he understands his place in the existing reality. Furthermore, Ratzinger points out that human beings are in

¹⁹ Cf. M. Rusecki, J. Mastej, K. Kaucha, *Metodologia teologii fundamentalnej*, Lublin 2019, p. 155-156.

²⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 157.

²¹ K. Klauza, *Sens życia*, in: *Leksykon teologii fundamentalnej*, ed. M. Rusecki, K. Kaucha, I.S. Ledwoń, Lublin-Kraków 2002, p. 1095.

²² Cf. R. Kraśnicki, *Sens życia i sens wszechświata według Josepha Ratzingera i Steve'a Stewarta-Williamsa. Studium porównawcze*, "Studia Elckie" 26(2024), no. 1, p. 91.

the process of development, because one's goal is to become a so-called eschatological person. The human person, therefore, strives for fullness in eternity, which is revealed as a community of life and love in God²³.

2. Research Results

The study took place in November of 2023 on two groups of young people aged 15-16 (grades 1-2) and 17-18 years old (grades 3-4) based on a survey questionnaire written by Fr. Prof. Janusz Mariański entitled "Youth and the meaning of life" (1998)²⁴. This questionnaire was chosen because it used independent variables (gender) and dependent variables (attitudes) that were appropriate for the research. The material was collected using the diagnostic survey method and the distributed survey technique. Respondents were asked to answer 21 questions. As a result, the level of their interest on issues about meaning (9 questions), values (4), goals (4), and faith (2) was revealed. The author of the study also collected additional information, asking for clarification on the following: 1. "To what extent does modern society develop a sense of meaning in life?" and 2. "How do young people perceive the issue of the objective existence of meaning in reality?" The survey questionnaire also included personal details (gender, age, place of residence, membership in religious communities). The collected empirical material was analyzed for percentage distributions without calculating correlation coefficients, then conclusions were drawn and the results were prepared (in Excel), which were presented in the form of charts.

2.1. Faith and Finding Meaning in Life

A key element for understanding meaning and sense in life is the role of faith in God. To grasp the level of religiousness, we used an indicator based on religious self-declarations.

Analyzing the data, it turns out that 74.6% of all respondents declared faith in God. These results are optimistic, especially in the context of nationwide CBOS surveys conducted in 1988-2021, which record a gradual decline in declarations of religious faith among school youth. The CBOS data show that a total of 54% of respondents are deeply religious or believers²⁵. When considering these results, it is important to understand a young person's developmental phase. This is a period of forming one's worldview and identity, where religious interests may take a backseat and where individual beliefs are still being defined and one's future is being formed (see Table 1).

²³ Ibid., p. 92.

²⁴ Cf. J. Mariański, *Socjologia religii i socjologia moralności. Kwestionariusze ankiet i wywiadów*, Lublin 2020, p. 67-76.

²⁵ R. Boguszewski, *Religijność młodzieży*, in: *Młodzież 2021. Opinie i Diagnozy nr 49*, ed. M. Grabowska, M. Gwiazda, CBOS, 2022, p. 126.

Table 1. “Do you believe in God?” (data in %)

Response	Demographics				Total
	Girls	Boys	Grades 1-2	Grades 3-4	
I really believe	22.1	38.4	27.4	28.3	28.0
I have doubts	48.9	42.5	47.6	45.8	46.6
I believe in a Higher Power	7.6	6.8	8.3	6.7	7.4
I do not believe in God nor in a Higher Power	5.3	4.1	2.4	6.7	5.0
Hard to say	13.8	8.2	13.1	10.8	12.0
No reply	2.3	0.0	1.2	1.7	1.0
	100.00	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: own research.

The author’s research shows that faith is not the only element that gives young people meaning in life. As many as 55% of respondents indicated that they also find meaning in love, family, relationships with others, happiness, respect, acquiring knowledge, curiosity, success, belief in one’s abilities, discipline, motivation, achieving dreams, experiencing beautiful moments in life, well-being, justice, equality, passions, sports, personal development and health (see Table 2).

Table 2. “Can you tell me if only faith gives your life meaning?” (data in %)

Response	Demographics				Total
	Girls	Boys	Grades 1-2	Grades 3-4	
Only faith	5.3	5.5	2.4	7.5	5.3
Not only faith	56.5	52.1	66.7	46.7	55.0
Beyond faith	9.2	11.0	7.1	11.7	10.0
I can’t say	27.5	27.4	22.6	30.8	27.3
No response	1.5	4.0	1.2	3.3	2.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: own research.

2.2. Diverse Religious Attitudes among Respondents

Among the respondents, 5.0% are people who do not consider themselves to be believers, although they participate in school catechesis. Why don’t they believe? Their reasons vary, which indicates that belief cannot be clearly attributed to the general trend of the secularization of youth environments. Let us quote a few statements:

- Young people are unappreciated and it often depresses them (girl, 17).

- Young people are looking for their own way, they do not see God as a helper and an oasis of peace. They prefer to deal with difficulties on their own because they have never seen adults show faith (girl, 17).
- Most young people my age doubt their abilities, are overwhelmed by being abandoned by someone close to them or by time passing quickly, and more is expected from us than we can give (girl, 17).

These words show that some young people experience difficulties related to social pressure, which may lead to disrupting or losing one's sense of meaning in life. The loss of faith in a Higher Power or God in this case results from the belief that they do not expect support from adults. An unformed life orientation, doubts about one's personal abilities and social expectations are factors influencing their lack of faith. Low self-esteem may lead to abandoning the search for spiritual support. The conclusion from these observations is that young people's attitudes toward faith are not uniform and are shaped by many psychosocial factors.

2.3. The Meaning of Life in the Opinion of Respondents

Based on the data obtained, it can be seen that the topic of sense and meaning in life is not only interesting for the vast majority of respondents, but also important (76% of responses are "definitely yes" and "rather yes"). Proof of this is the fact that as many as 72.7% of all respondents emphasize the importance and need to deal with this issue (see Tables 3 and 4).

Table 3. "Does the topic of meaning in life interest you?" (data in %)

Response	Demographics				Total
	Girls	Boys	Grades 1-2	Grades 3-4	
Definitely yes	35.9	26.0	23.8	38.3	32.4
Rather yes	42.7	45.2	46.4	41.7	43.6
Rather no	10.7	11.0	11.9	10.0	10.8
Definitely no	2.3	4.1	4.8	1.7	2.9
Hard to say	8.4	13.7	13.1	8.3	10.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.00	100.0

Source: own research.

Table 4. "Is the issue of sense and meaning in life important and necessary for you?" (data in %)

Response	Demographics				Total
	Girls	Boys	Grades 1-2	Grades 3-4	
Definitely yes	26.0	26.0	16.7	32.5	26.0
Rather yes	48.9	42.5	53.6	41.7	46.7
Rather no	7.6	15.0	13.0	8.3	10.3

Definitely no	1.5	5.5	2.4	3.3	3.0
Hard to say	16.0	11.0	14.3	14.2	14.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: own research.

A key indicator of the analyzed changes in perceiving meaning in life is the frequency of reflections on this issue. The replies “definitely yes” and “rather yes” were given 72.1% of the time, because the young generation is interested in the issue of meaning in life, even more than adults, which is confirmed by the nationwide CBOS survey in 2017²⁶. The reason for this may be the bond to deep faith experiences, which comprises the next part worth exploring in the context of scholarly analysis of the attitudes and beliefs of young people (see Table 5).

Table 5. “Do young people often reflect on the sense and meaning of life?” (data in %)

Response	Demographics				Total
	Girls	Boys	Grades 1-2	Grades 3-4	
Definitely yes	39.7	32.9	35.7	38.4	37.3
Rather yes	36.6	31.5	27.4	40.0	34.8
Rather no	13.0	12.3	20.2	7.5	12.7
Definitely no	3.1	6.8	6.0	3.3	4.4
Hard to say	7.6	16.5	10.7	10.8	10.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: own research.

It is also extremely important to understand that a significant change in the perception of the meaning of life may occur as a result of various events and life situations. The elements mentioned that influence this transformation include moving, loss of loved ones, sudden accidents or illnesses, and even mental crises and depression. Factors related to confusion, life’s monotony, loneliness, lack of stability, failures and life chaos should also be taken into account. On the other hand, deeper reflection on the meaning of life can be initiated by faith in God, participation in religious practices, prayer or conversations with deeply religious people. Sports successes or experiences related to love also play an important role. Below are some more statements by young people that shed light on their reflection on the meaning of life:

- When making important decisions, the following question came up: What gives my life meaning? What do I want to do in life? (boy, 15-year-old).
- I began to think about finding meaning in life when I became aware that everyone is the main hero of his or her life (girl, 16).

²⁶ Cf. J. Mariański, *Socjologia religii i socjologia moralności...*, p. 10.

- I thought about what will happen after death every day (boy, 17).
- The stress and negative thoughts hitting me without a cause were the reasons I began to deeply think about my existence. Things began to make sense when I read the Bible (girl, 18).
- I became aware of how fleeting life is and how a person can influence the entire world (boy, 17).
- Think about what would happen if I were not present in this world (boy, 16).
- Under the influence of the book "The Plague" and philosophy, I began to wonder about the meaning of my life (boy, 18).
- The deaths of young people who did not achieve their goals made me start reflecting (girl, 18).
- It's hard to say whether I wonder about the meaning of my life, but I like talking about it. Most often, I do it under the influence of my family and religious lessons (girl, 15).

These statements show that what is crucial in the lives of young people arises in decision-making moments. Awareness of life's transience and understanding an individual's influence on the entire reality leads to the conclusion that every person brings something unique to the world and suggests that young people wonder about what transcends mortality. Pointing out the influence of literature and philosophy on the search for meaning in life reveals that the young generation reaches for various sources of inspiration to find answers to fundamental questions. Confronting the loss of peers and thinking about their unrealized dreams also makes them reflect on their lifestyles and goals in life.

Combining everyday difficulties with spiritual practices, such as reading the Bible, is an interesting aspect and shows the variety of sources from which young people get their sense of meaning in life. For young people, conversation turns out to be a form of searching for sense and meaning in life, which emphasizes the social dimension of their reflections. This means they are influenced by the values passed on by their family and religion classes. It should be noted that people involved in the life of the Catholic Church demonstrate a higher awareness of the purposefulness of their existence. For youth, religious formation, contact with spirituality and being active in their church community are important sources of inspiration and deeper reflection on the meaning of life.

Further analysis in understanding how young people find meaning and purpose in their lives shows that this meaning in human awareness is related to the subjective image of one's existence. This may include both positive and negative, internal and external, objective and subjective experiences. In modern societies, a multitude of meanings are related to different values, lifestyles and personal preferences; an individual applying them independently constructs their own sense of meaning in life. Examples of this can be seen in the following statements:

- It makes sense to search for meaning in the daily here and now (girl, 18).
- It means living according to one's values and striving to live fully, aware that you did not waste your life (girl, 17).

- It means being a good person to yourself and others, living one's dreams, supporting close people to you, getting experiences (girl, 18).
- We ought to remember that we have one life. We must be happy with this gift and not worry about unimportant things (girl, 16).
- Do everything in freedom, learn from your mistakes, search for happiness and help others find it (boy, 15).

In describing their sense of meaning in life, some respondents pointed to its personal foundations, such as love, friendship, family happiness, faith, a peaceful and healthy life, personal development (both mental and spiritual), pursuing passions, starting a family, setting goals and making plans, being remembered, expressing oneself towards others, and financial success.

For some people, in searching for their place in the world, the meaning of life and values, it was important to refer to God. About 10% of respondents emphasized the importance of ultimate values as the foundation of their lives, which confirmed the important role of religion. This is shown by the following replies of the respondents: "Meaning in my life comes from faith in God and pursuing Jesus; achieving salvation; striving for holiness and living according to God's laws; fulfilling God's will; deserving eternal life; my mission from God; living for the love that God has given and seeking the goal that God has assigned to us; keeping your faith in today's world; living to gain a ticket to enter heaven; the awareness that God created us just for ourselves, that everyone is valuable and plays a role in this world".

2.4. The Feeling of Meaning in Life and its Objectivity

The research also provided answers to questions about the individual sense of meaning in life and young people's perspective on its objectivity. Concerning the first issue, 65.7% of respondents confirmed that they found meaning. A small percentage of respondents, 8.3%, denied it, and 25.5% of young people could not define it, especially those who had just started secondary school. About 5% of the people believed that there is no general meaning in life and that one has to find it themselves (see Table 6).

Table 6. "In your opinion, is there meaning in human life?" (data in %)

Response	Demographics				Total
	Girls	Boys	Grades 1-2	Grades 3-4	
Yes	58.0	79.5	60.7	69.2	65.7
No	10.7	4.1	4.8	10.8	8.3
I don't know	30.5	16.4	34.5	19.2	25.5
No information	0.8	0.0	00.0	0.8	0.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: own research.

When it comes to the objective existence of the meaning of life, the vast majority, 77% of respondents (over $\frac{3}{4}$) agreed with it, 7.3% denied it (“rather no”, “definitely no”) and 15.7% had difficulties with giving an answer. These results suggest that it is worth taking actions aimed at developing young people’s deeper understanding of the realities in the universe surrounding us (see Table 7).

Table 7. “Do you think there is meaning in life even if you don’t see it at the moment?” (data in %)

Response	Demographics				Total
	Girls	Boys	Grades 1-2	Grades 3-4	
Definitely yes	42.0	41.2	50.0	35.8	41.7
Rather yes	38.9	28.8	29.8	39.2	35.3
Rather no	6.9	4.0	4.8	6.7	5.9
Definitely no	1.5	1.4	0.0	2.5	1.4
Hard to say	10.7	24.6	15.4	15.8	15.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: own research.

However, it is not optimistic that as many as 79.2% of all respondents agreed that modern society is not interested in developing a sense of meaning in life in young people. Insufficient involvement in this type of introspection may result from using ready-made recipes for “how to live”. Young people also do this. As a result, many of them may neglect to personally answer important questions about the meaning of life. Hence, this is a key task for the academic community and spiritual institutions trying to respond to the spiritual needs of new generations. Therefore, analysis of the meaning of life becomes an area of socio-cultural research, influencing the shaping of attitudes and values in society (see Table 8).

Table 8. “Do you think that modern society places enough emphasis on developing meaning in life in young people?” (data in %)

Response	Demographics				Total
	Girls	Boys	Grades 1-2	Grades 3-4	
Definitely yes	4.6	2.7	6.0	2.5	4.0
Rather yes	18.3	12.3	16.7	15.8	16.3
Rather no	33.6	45.3	35.7	39.2	37.7
Definitely no	19.8	17.8	17.8	20.0	19.0
Hard to say	23.7	20.5	23.8	21.7	22.5

No information	-	1.4	-	0.8	0.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: own research.

Conclusions

The most important conclusion from the research is the evident correlation between the declaration of faith and the feeling of meaning in life. The greater the maturity in faith, the higher the intensity of the feeling of meaning in life, similar to the research carried out by Fr. J. Machalski²⁷. This means that the majority of young people participating in school catechesis have a deeper view of reality, themselves and other people than a person with weak faith or a non-believer. This is important in the context of actual data concerning the situation of the Church in Poland. It reveals that the contemporary generation of youth does not identify with the Catholic faith, as already observed 20 years ago²⁸, and it is assumed that this secularization trend will continue due to the increasingly greater intergenerational gap in attitudes towards the faith²⁹.

In a world where the meaning of life is often taken over by various “local narratives” and modern individualism is prominent, some young people outline a hierarchy of values with the highest standards, in which Christ takes first place, and these youth seek holiness and the implementation of God’s plan in their lives. This is an important conclusion for fundamental theology, because in young people’s perspectives, their horizon of meaning shifts from immanence to transcendence³⁰. Such questions as “Why do I live, what makes me happy, what goals do I want to achieve in life?” guide us beyond everyday existence. It is not man who becomes the center of the meaning of life, but man discovers meaning in the objective reality.

Unfortunately, almost 80% of respondents showed that modern society is not willing to help young people develop a sense of meaning in life. This is an important sign for the Institute of Fundamental Theologians at the Catholic University of Lublin, because they want to undertake initiatives that will attempt to remedy this situation.

The research presented in this article also showed that a certain group of young people has difficulty defining the sense of meaning in life (25.5%), and another group denies that meaning exists at all (8.3%). When it comes to the objectivity of the existence of meaning in life and the world 7,3% of respond-

²⁷ Cf. J. Machalski, *Korelacje...*, p. 76.

²⁸ *Kościół w Polsce...*, p. 6.

²⁹ Cf. J. Mariański, H. Słotwińska, P. Mąkosa et al., *Religiosity and Secularisation of Polish Youth in the 21st Century. Quantitative Research Analysis*, “Rocznik Teologii Katolickiej” 22(2023), p. 200.

³⁰ In the context of finding meaning in life, it is worth deepening one’s understanding of what truth is. Cf. K. Kaucha, *Cóż to jest prawda? Argumentacja z prawdy za najwyższą wiarygodnością chrześcijaństwa na kanwie twórczości J. Ratzingera*, Lublin 2020.

ents denied it, while 15.7% had difficulty answering the question. A fundamental theologian, by introducing young people to the importance of the argument about the Great Meaning of life and the world, would help them see God revealing himself in empirical reality and human history³¹. Young people expect openness from priests who are to talk about their searching and problems, which was confirmed by recent research on the situation of the Church in Poland³².

Recent sociological analyses are also disturbing, showing that, according to respondents, love can also be realized in informal relationships. This shows that young people diminish the value of the family institution in favor of love in some other, freely understood way³³. Here it should be noted that the Catholic Church plays an important role, since it influences individuals by presenting spiritual and moral values based on respect for the human person and one's transcendental dimension. It points to the central meaning of the family, shaping a selfless attitude of sacrifice and love towards one's neighbor, especially those most in need and suffering.

Hence, the task of fundamental theology will be to remind young people about Revelation, which justifies the meaning of God's act of creating the world, including man's life and his vocation to marriage and family³⁴.

It is worth noting that, in this context, the Church plays an important role because it influences the individual by showing spiritual and moral values based on respect for human dignity and the transcendental aspect of all humanity. Moreover, it emphasizes the family's central importance, shaping an attitude of selfless sacrifice and love towards one's neighbor, especially towards those most in need and suffering. It is incomprehensible why contemporary culture rejects God, Christ and His Church, an institution that promotes objectively good values focusing on man and shaping his community and individual identity.

According to the teachings of St. John Paul II, the Church has a saving mission, undertaking spiritual care for the younger generation and preaching the saving message of the Paschal events of Jesus Christ, which gives young people meaning in life³⁵. There is also a question as to why young people who are already experiencing suffering (depression, existential emptiness, loss, lack of support, loss of loved ones, addictions) cut themselves off from Christian values. After all, this rejection of faith results in harming themselves and society. It is also surprising that so few young people (3.9%) care about the good of their homeland. However, this issue requires a separate analysis.

³¹ The topic of the meeting of theology and history in the signs of the times can be found in the article by F. Krauze, *Theology and History: an outline of methodological challenges in fundamental theology*, "Roczniki Teologiczne" 70(2023), no. 4.

³² T. Adamczyk, *Młodzież*, in: *Kościół w Polsce 2023. Raport*, ed. J. Operacz, Warszawa 2023, p. 43.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³⁴ Cf. M. Rusecki, *Traktat o Objawieniu*, Kraków 2007, p. 97.

³⁵ Cf. K. Kaucha, *Sensotwórczy argument w świetle nauczania Jana Pawła II*, in: *Między sensem a bezsensem...*, p. 458-459.

This study is very valuable because it shows the meaning and purpose of life from the perspective of young believers. Although these people are currently in the minority, they fit into the diverse religious landscape in Poland. Importantly, a revival in religious life has recently been observed, which is not noticed by CBOS research. Research by the Institute of Statistics of the Catholic Church (SAC)³⁶ shows that in 2022 (compared to the previous year) the number of *dominicanos* – Sunday mass attendants – increased by 1.2% and *communicantes* – those receiving holy communion – by 1%³⁷.

According to V. Frankl, man is the only creature who strives to live a meaningful life. Only in this way can he realize his goal in life³⁸. If spiritual impotence weakens one's pursuit of meaning in life and makes a person exceptionally susceptible to what is devoid of value, thus leading to a crisis of meaning, then there is room for implementing the agapetological task based on fundamental theology – showing God's Revelation as a category of saving love. In this way, order can be restored in the unbalanced hierarchy of values³⁹. Awareness of God's love will be important here, because it gives significance to human life (J. Ratzinger)⁴⁰. Therefore, it is necessary for fundamental theology to help young people define themselves in relation to God, other people, society and the world. This will introduce a religious aspect into their lives and open them up to God, His Revelation and Christ, who specifically intervenes in a person's life and transforms it, giving them a new dimension of existence⁴¹.

* * *

Summary

The article focuses on analyzing how Polish youth understand the purpose and meaning of life, taking into account the contemporary tendency to marginalize or eliminate the aspect of religion from the public sphere. The growing belief that man is the main source of progress, and that objective values and transcendent meaning are merely illusions, provides an important context for research on one's perception of meaning in life. The research, conducted in the last quarter of 2023, employed a diagnostic survey method using the questionnaire technique. The study found justification in the field of fundamental theol-

³⁶ <https://www.ekai.pl/w-parafiach-w-calej-polsce-odbylo-sie-liczenie-wiarnych/> (accessed: 12 March 2024).

³⁷ https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominicanos_i_communicantes_w_Polsce (accessed: 14 March 2024).

³⁸ Cf. K. Michalski, *Antropologiczne podstawy...*, p. 56.

³⁹ Cf. M. Rusecki, J. Mastej, K. Kaucha, *Metodologia...*, p. 173.

⁴⁰ *Bóg i świat...*, p. 22.

⁴¹ Cf. M. Rusecki, *Traktat o Objawieniu*, p. 604. Fr. J. Mastej, Ph.D., professor at the Catholic University of Lublin, inspired by the works of J. Ratzinger, developed a monograph entitled *Jesus Is Meaning*, concerning the fundamental Christology of meaning. Its release is planned for April 2024.

ogy, whose task is to show meaning in life to contemporary man. The uniqueness of the study lies in conducting a sociological and theological analysis among young people with faith, allowing for a better understanding of how religious aspects influence their perception of the meaning of life.

Keywords: fundamental theology, survey, purpose in life, meaning in life.

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ALGIMANTAS KATILIUS*

Conflicts over the Language of Additional Service in the Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese: The Cases of Zarasai and Čekiškės Parishes

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, one of the distinctive features of the Catholic Church in Lithuania was the struggle over the use of language in additional services. At that time, the language of the liturgy was Latin. Local languages were used in additional services, which included gospel readings, sermons, supplications, the Rosary, Lamentations, processional singing, and May, June, and October devotions. The problem of the use of local languages in the additional services was a relevant issue in all three Lithuanian dioceses of Vilnius, Samogitian (Telšiai), and Sejny (**Augustów**). The struggle was between the Polish language, which had always been used in the parishes, and the Lithuanian parishioners, who demanded their right to use the Lithuanian language in additional services. The process of changing languages was a difficult one in the parishes of all three dioceses, and especially in the Diocese of Vilnius. In the Samogitian (Telšiai) diocese and that of Sejny (**Augustów**), this process was easier as there were more parishes with ethnic Lithuanian inhabitants. The issue of language use was most acute in mixed Polish-Lithuanian parishes. In purely Lithuanian parishes, Lithuanian was introduced into additional services without much difficulty, and at the beginning of the twentieth century, Lithuanian was used in additional services in such parishes. The situation was different in the so-called mixed parishes. The Polish parishioners did not want to give up their positions: they were determined to keep Polish in additional services. When Lithuanian parishioners demanded rights for their mother tongue, conflict situations often erupted. In this article, the term ‘conflicts’ is used to describe disputes in parishes over the use of language in additional services. Conflicts in parishes can be likened to the term ‘battles’ that took place between believers of the same parish based on

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ethnic preferences. Conflicts in churches over the use of the language of additional services took many forms, ranging from petitions to diocesan superiors and the civil authorities to scuffles in churches, disruptions of singing, and even bloodshed. In general, the conflicts in churches can be described as manifestations of Lithuanian and Polish nationalism in the Catholic Church.

We are not yet aware of all the parishes in the Samogitia (Telšiai) Diocese that experienced more or less conflict over the use of languages in additional services. This is the objective for further research. According to current information, conflicts over the use of languages in additional services in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries occurred in the following parishes: Zarasai or Ežerėnai (at the time, Novoaleksandrovsk), Čekiškė, Raseiniai, Panemunėlis, Žeimiai, Karmėlava, Josvainiai, Kėdainiai, Kulva, Bukonys, Skaruliai, Paželvė, and others. The object of present research is two parishes that differed in the ethno-cultural sense: Zarasai and Čekiškė. In the former, it was the Lithuanian parishioners who demanded their rights, and in the latter, it was the Polish believers. These parishes did not stand out among other parishes of the Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese and can be regarded as typical parishes of this diocese. We assume that similar events took place in other conflicting parishes of the Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese.

Historical literature has paid little attention to the conflicts over language use in additional services in the Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese. We can mention the publications that appeared before the First World War, which discussed the situation regarding the use of languages in the Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese¹. The author of this article also wrote about the linguistic situation in the parishes of the Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese². Vilma Žaltauskaitė in her article discusses the diary of Rev. Juozapas Liasauskis, the former parish priest of Zarasai, which he wrote while he was serving in Zarasai. In it, Rev. Liasauskis touches on the conflict over the use of languages in additional services³. Mindaugas Balkus writes about the Lithuanisation of the churches of Kaunas in the 1920s⁴.

“The article analyses the situation in two parishes of the Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese with regard to the use of languages in additional services. An attempt will be made to delve into a couple of issues. One of them concerns the

¹ K. Š. [Kazimieras Šaulys], *Mūsų santykiai su lenkais*, “Draugija” 1910, no. 41, p. 59-73; Pelicanas, *Lenkystė Kauno gubernijoje*, “Viltis” 1911-10-09, p. 1.

² A. Katilius, *Konflikty polsko-litewskie o język nabożeństw mieszanych (polsko-litewskich) parafiach na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, in: *Pozostawione historii: Litwini o Polsce i polakach*, ed. K. Korzeniewska, V. Sirutavičius, Kraków 1999, p. 109-120; A. Katilius, *Konflikty dėl kalbos vartojimo pridėtinėse pamaldose: lietuviškos spaudos refleksija*, “Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis” 2023, vol. 46, p. 87-107.

³ V. Žaltauskaitė, *Luomo tapatybės ženklai Romos katalikų dvasininkų dienoraščiuose (XIX a. antroji pusė–XX a. pirmieji dešimtmečiai)*, in: *Egodokumentai ir privati Lietuvos erdvė XVI–XX amžiuje. Straipsnių rinkinys*, ed. A. Pacevičius, Vilnius 2013, p. 403-423.

⁴ M. Balkus, *Kauno bažnyčių lietuviėjimas XX a. 3-iajame dešimtmetyje*, “Soter” 2014, vol. 49 (77), p. 24-35.

struggle for the rights of Lithuanian sermons and other services, considering the parishioners' place of residence, i.e., the geographical distance between their place of residence and the parish church. The conflict between Lithuanian- and Polish-speaking parishioners arose at the time of the sermon in one language or the other, before or after the Holy Mass. The second issue is the aspirations of the Polish parishioners to introduce services in Polish, considering the number of parishioners demanding additional services in Polish.

The parish of Zarasai

Already at the end of the nineteenth century, the Lithuanian press noticed the problem of the Lithuanian language in Zarasai parish. The illegal newspaper *Tėvynės sargas* [The Homeland Guardian] wrote that there were parishes in the Zarasai region where sermons were not preached in Lithuanian. Among these parishes was Breslauja, while, for example, sermons were preached in Lithuanian and Polish in the parish of Pelikonys. Regretfully, the article in the newspaper does not indicate what the situation in Zarasai parish was⁵.

In 1911, Rev. Juozapas Žilinskis, the parish priest and dean of Zarasai, explained that in the church of Zarasai, additional services were held entirely in Polish, sermons were preached in Polish on Sundays and feast days, and Lithuanian sermons were preached on all the solemn feasts and on the first Sunday of every month⁶.

In 1914, in the *Viltis* [Hope], Liudas Gira maintained that the order of additional services established by Gasparas Cirtautas, the bishop of the Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese, in the parish of Zarasai on 27 October 1912

did not diminish the rights of the Polish language in the slightest way; the rights of the Polish language here, as in many of our churches, are even too great. Without breaking a single hair of Polish additional services, that order introduced by the bishop only gave Lithuanians the right to hear sermons in their own language on major annual feasts and on the so-called 'holy' Sundays (the first Sunday of every month), nothing more; since the Lithuanians in the parish of Ežerėnai live mostly in distant homesteads, the bishop set the time of the sermons in Lithuanian before the Holy Mass, and the Polish sermons immediately after it. It seems that the Poles have not yet felt any resentment or humiliation that the Lithuanians, who had the longest time to return home, could have left the church earlier after having heard the Word of God earlier, without being detained by an unnecessarily forced lecture in Polish – an incomprehensible sermon in Polish. But the Poles from Ežerėnai saw in it the greatest manifesta-

⁵ *Nuo Zarasų padangės*, "Tėvynės sargas" 1899, no. 3, p. 32-33.

⁶ Explanation of the parish priest and dean of Zarasai, Rev. Juozapas Žilinskis, to the bishop of the Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese, 1911-09-16, Lithuanian State Historical Archives (*Lietuvos valstybinis istorijos archyvas*, hereinafter LVIA), f. 1671, ap. 4, b. 226, l. 5.

tion of *zachłanność* [greed], a kind of *finis Poloniae* for the Polishness in Ežerėnai⁷.

According to the reporter of the newspaper *Viltis*, Zarasai is situated in ethnographic Lithuania. The area of Zarasai parish had always been inhabited by Lithuanians, some of whom, for various reasons, succumbed to Polonisation over time. The Lithuanian nature of Zarasai is reflected in the Lithuanian names of the town's parts. According to the correspondent, the inhabitants of Zarasai spoke Lithuanian a hundred years before. The article reads:

However, still recent traditions of the Lithuanian language (old people still remember the inhabitants of Ežerėnai [Zarasai] using the Lithuanian language) do not prevent the townspeople of Ežerėnai from calling themselves Poles, and not just any Poles but those who do not even want to know the language of the Lithuanian 'yokels'⁸.

The author of this article has no information on the language that the sermons were preached and sung a hundred years before and assumes that Polish was spoken in the same way as in the whole Vilnius Diocese, since Zarasai was part of it at the time. The use of Polish in church contributed to the Polonisation of the townspeople. Yet since time immemorial, on feast days, the Gospels were read in Lithuanian and sermons were preached in it alongside the Polish sermons.

In Zarasai, it was relatively quiet until 26 May 1913. On that day, a general meeting of the Zarasai branch of the 'Saulė' [The Sun] society was held to elect a new chair of the branch. The Zarasai branch of the society had been in operation for five years, and general meetings were always held at the appointed time. On that day (it was a Sunday), too, after the mass, people began to gather in the hospital for the poor, where the 'Saulės' society had its reading room. In total, about 40-50 people came, of whom 30 were here to join the society. Before the meeting, the branch secretary was entering the names of the new members in the books. At that time, a large group of Polish men and women started gathering in the yard of the hospital. Three of that group burst inside and shouted, in Polish: break up, it is not your place, go away from here. When the secretary tried to calm them down, one of those inside started swearing. Another one turned the bench on which the Lithuanians were sitting upside down. More Poles, shouting and yelling, burst inside. Then the secretary of the branch asked the Polish policeman in the yard to tame the troublemakers. Finally, a senior policeman appeared, and the most active hecklers were pointed at to him. He wrote down the names of those troublemakers, asked the witnesses some questions, and then attempted to drive away the group gathered in the

⁷ L. G. [Liudas Gira], *Lenkininkų žygiai Ežerėnuose (Specijalė mūsų korespondencija)*, "Viltis" 1914-01-16, p. 2.

⁸ *Lenkininkų skandalai Ežerėnuose (nuo savo korespondento)*, "Viltis" 1913 liepos 26, p. 1.

yard. However, the Poles did not disperse; they waited for an hour and a half for the meeting to end. As the Lithuanians were leaving the meeting, the Poles formed a line and insulted the former in all manner of ways. In consequence, police produced a report and brought four Poles to book. The report was sent to the governor of Kaunas, but he forwarded the case to the judge of Zarasai⁹. Immediately after the meeting of the 'Saulė' society, two Polish delegates went to Bishop Gasparas Cirtautas in Kaunas and demanded the existing order of services in the church revoked and the parish priest Rev. Juozapas Liasauskis removed from Zarasai. Back from Kaunas, the delegates began to spread the word that the Lithuanian language would be abolished in the church of Zarasai and that Rev. Liasauskis would be transferred. Things took a different turn, however. Through the police, the bishop officially answered that according to the instruction of 27 October 1912, the order of services could not be changed and the parish priest would not be removed. The bishop's instruction did not silence the Polish parishioners, and they decided to fight¹⁰.

The newly appointed parish priest Rev. Juozapas Liasauskis tried not to do anything that would cause a turmoil in the church. Even on his first Sunday in the parish (when the new parish priest introduces himself to the parishioners), he spoke only in Polish, because it was a Sunday for Poles. However, incidents could not be prevented. According to the established order, two sermons had to be preached during the feast day of 21 June 1913: a Lithuanian one before the Holy Mass and a Polish one after it. Rev. Liasauskis himself delivered the sermon in Lithuanian, but his sermon was constantly disturbed by the Polish hymn singers (there were no Lithuanian hymn singers in the church): they sang uninterruptedly during the whole sermon. The parish priest first tried kindly to ask the hymn singers to be quiet, and then asked the *brostvininkai* or *broliukai*, the servants of the church, to silence them, but it did not help. Rev. Liasauskis then raised his voice and began to preach the sermon, but the Poles kept singing. When he finished, the hymn singers also fell silent. The priests gathered for the feast decided to celebrate the Mass without any hymn singing. From the pulpit, the parish priest announced in Polish that there would be no Holy Mass, nor vespers, nor confession, nor sermon in Polish because the priest who was supposed to give the sermon refused to deliver it. The Poles did not expect that and decided to send a telegram to the bishop. The parish priest also wrote a report to the bishop about how everything went. The bishop instructed the local dean to investigate. The dean conducted the investigation by inviting witnesses and priests from other parishes, who were present on that feast day. However, a crowd of Polish parishioners who had gathered in the churchyard and even invaded the parish house during the investigation, were disturbing the dean's investigation. It was held on 4 July. They threatened not to let Rev. Liasauskis

⁹ L. Gira, *Lenkininkų skandalai Ežerėnuose (nuo savo korespondento)*, "Viltis" 1913-07-28, p. 1.

¹⁰ Ibid.

enter the church on Sunday, 7 July. No one prevented the priest from entering the church. He was allowed to read the Gospel in Lithuanian, but when the sermon began, the scenario of the feast day was repeated: the Poles began to sing hymns. The parish priest did not attempt the sermon but only celebrated a mass without hymn singing, and there was neither vespers nor a Polish sermon. After the mass, Poles collected signatures for letters to the archbishop of Mogilev and the bishop of Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese¹¹. A newspaper correspondent thus described Polish antagonism towards Lithuanians:

The Poles of Ežerėnai [Zarasai] hate the Lithuanians so much that even those Poles or Polish speakers who dare to intercede on behalf of the rights of the wronged Lithuanians, or who only visit Lithuanian homes, are almost excluded from among the citizens of Ežerėnai. They are avoided, they are not visited anymore, because the greatest sin in Ežerėnai is sympathy for Lithuanians or friendship with them¹².

A correspondent of the *Vilniaus žinios* [Vilnius News] even wrote down the following: ‘why should I listen to a Lithuanian-Pagan sermon – it is better to become an Orthodox’¹³.

On 7 July 1913, the Polish parishioners of Zarasai parish lodged a complaint with the bishop of Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese against the parish priest Juozapas Liasauskis. The complaint, however, did not include any facts about the disagreements between Polish-speaking parishioners and the parish priest. The Bishop asked clarifying questions:

(1) Did Rev. Liasauskis mention to anybody that he was going to completely remove the Polish language from the Zarasai church and introduce the Lithuanian language?

(2) Did Rev. Liasauskis deviate from the bishop’s order of 27 October 1912 regarding the preaching of sermons in Lithuanian, which Rev. Žilinskis announced on 6 January 1913?

(3) If the parish priest hid the Blessed Sacrament for adoration during a Holy Mass, was it not because the Polish parishioners interfered with the Lithuanian sermon?

(4) Were Lithuanian sermons preached in the Zarasai church on solemn feasts and on the first Sundays of the month before the arrival of Rev. Liasauskis?

(5) To whom, in particular, Rev. Liasauskis did not give absolution in confession, simply because they confessed their sins in Polish?

(6) Provide data on which of the Polish-speaking children the parish priest refused to teach the catechism and prepare for confession in Polish, forcing the Lithuanian language on them.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 2-3.

¹² Ibid., p. 3.

¹³ Jaunikaitis, *Lietuvių lenkų santykiai Zarasuose*, “Lietuvos žinios” 1913-07-13, p. 3.

(7) Did the parish priest force any of the Polish-speaking parishioners to speak Lithuanian at all?

(8) Why are the parishioners dissatisfied with the investigation of the dean sent by the bishop and did not wish to complain to the bishop about all the circumstances of the investigation, what were the precise words and actions of the dean that offended the parishioners, why the dean sent only a laconic telegram to the bishop, and why did the parishioners take their reproaches to the dean to the public prosecutor?

(9) Did not a crowd of parishioners invade the rectory where the dean's inquiry was taking place and thus prevent the inquiry from being completed?¹⁴

The questions clearly show what accusations the Polish parishioners made against the parish priest Juozapas Liasauskis.

The parishioners of Zarasai answered the bishop's questions:

(1) When asked by a delegation of *broliukai* [church servants who maintained order in the church during masses] and parishioners whether the Polish language would not be completely removed from the church, Rev. Liasauskis categorically replied that the Lithuanian language would be introduced in the church immediately, even if the parish priest would have to experience martyrdom. Witnesses are listed with all the answers.

(2) As for the instruction of 27 October 1912, we, parishioners, categorically declare that we do not know whether the former parish priest Rev. Žilinskis announced from the pulpit that there would be a Lithuanian sermon on the first Sunday of every month, against which, of course, we, parishioners, have nothing against, since it had been delivered in the past on feast days after the Holy Mass; however, we were not told exactly what the instruction of 27 October 1912 meant, which only explains the fact that the revocation of the said instruction was not communicated accordingly. Once or twice, Rev. Žilinskis preached Lithuanian sermons before the Holy Mass, but because of that a Polish sermon was preached in the middle of Holy Mass. Now, in a parish where Polish is the predominant language, the sermon in Polish is – granting the wishes of the new arrivals-chauvinists – relegated to the background and replaced by the longest Lithuanian sermon, which is preached by the parish priest with great zeal. And what about the Polish sermon? It is better not to mention it. Apart from reproaches and threats to the parishioners, there is nothing else in these sermons. One needs to hear these sermons to accurately evaluate them. Only after experiencing what we, parishioners, have gone through will it be possible to understand the psychology of the people who have taken it upon themselves to defend their mother tongue against such disrespect from their spiritual father.

(3) and (4). We, parishioners, believe that the closing of exposition of the Blessed Sacrament is due to the fault of the parish priest, whom we kept asking before every feast not to preach a Lithuanian sermon before the Holy Mass, because the vast majority of the parishioners do not want to listen to such a sermon

¹⁴ A letter of the bishop of the Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese, 1913-08-07, LVIA, ap. 4, b. 226, l. 59.

and do not understand it. There have even been cases during the Mass when Lithuanians themselves, most of whom understand the Polish sermons, asked the parish priest the same. However, the parish priest categorically asserted that he had no respect for his parishioners and, aware of the consequences, he persisted in his sermon and once even called the police to help him. This is the spiritual relationship our spiritual father has with us and the means by which he wants to influence us.

(5) It was very sad to hear from the parishioners that the parish priest drives them away from confession and does not give absolution to those who speak Polish just because they refuse the Lithuanian language. These were the facts, and they must be taken into account. Once again, in order to clarify violations of these rights in a more comprehensive and simpler way, it must be done in place through a spiritual investigation.

(6) Rev. Juozapas Liasauskis, when teaching children the catechism, treated Polish-speaking children in a biased and rude manner. Once he said to the Polish-speaking boys and girls: why do you speak this language of the burlaks, you'd better speak Russian if you don't know Lithuanian.

(7) Parishioners who came to the parish house, and on other occasions, were required to speak Lithuanian, and he would not respond to the greeting *niech będzie pochwalony* [pol.; 'Praised be Jesus Christ'] at all or sometimes answered in Lithuanian. Equally important is the fact that Rev. Liasauskis showed an attitude towards our beliefs that is hardly appropriate for a Catholic priest. For example, some parishioners, when joining St Anthony's and other fraternities, took the attributes of these fraternities to be consecrated. The parish priest refused to consecrate them, saying that he did not want to consecrate all sorts of strings and shackles for horses and that he did not recognize St Anthony.

(8) and (9). As for the dean's 'investigation', one can only say with bitterness that it was not the dean personal idea to carry out an investigation, he only invited four church servants who had signed the telegram to Your Excellency, and, under threat of imprisonment, suggested they sign the papers, apparently in order to conclude the investigation by merely collecting these signatures. However, lacking the authority of the parishioners to take any action on behalf of the parishioners, the church servants, decided to inform the parishioners gathered at the parish house. The clergy completely ignored the parishioners and did not want to listen to any requests, even of the elected delegates, and to calm them down, the dean opened the window and shouted, in a thunderous voice, 'anyone who does not listen to the Lithuanian language, will be in the prisoners' company and in jail'. Parishioners standing closer remarked to the dean that in many parishes Lithuanians are unfair towards the Poles, despite the fact that most of the parishioners speak Polish and do not understand Lithuanian, and do not even let them read the Gospel in Polish, and noted in passing that for the building of the church in Salakas (by the parish priest Krzyżanowski), donations were also made by Poles, and during the consecration of the church, where the Poles were also present, the Gospel was not even read in Polish. In response, Dean Krzyżanowski began to insult the parishioners and punched a parishioner standing nearby in the chest, causing her to fall down and be picked up by those standing nearby. One can only wonder at the restraint shown by the parishioners

against such criminal actions by the clergy. One wonders what respect can be shown to such clergy who treat their flock in such a degrading way¹⁵.

Having provided such information, the Polish parishioners of Zarasai asked the clergy to revoke the resolution of 27 October 1912 and to allow the Polish sermon to be preached during the Holy Mass and the Lithuanian sermon after it. They demanded removal of the parish priest Liasauskis from the parish and appointment of a priest who would be a true spiritual father to his parishioners, without making ethnic distinctions.

The unrest in the Zarasai church recurred at the beginning of August 1913, during the celebration of the Forty Hours' devotion. On the first day of the feast, the Lithuanian sermon was delivered without interruptions. On the second day, before the Gospel could be read in Lithuanian, the Poles started singing in all sorts of voices, which led to the interruption of the feast in the church. The Poles sent telegrams to the bishop asking him to resume the services and to remove the parish priest from the parish. The bishop instructed the parish priest not to expose the Blessed Eucharist until the noise in the church ceased. The Bishop's instruction was announced on 15 August. His letter reads:

Since in the church of Ežerėnai, on solemn feasts, before the Blessed Eucharist, which is exposed for public adoration, some parishioners praying in Polish dare to riot in order to disrupt the Lithuanian sermons, clearly despising the instruction of their bishop and breaking Christ's commandment of love of neighbour, I advise you to continue to abstain from the exposition of the Blessed Eucharist until the riots do not cease. Solemn feasts should only be celebrated in the ordinary way, without missing any part of the service¹⁶.

On 15 August, the troublemakers prevented the reading of the Gospel in Lithuanian and the sermon. Warned by the Lithuanians that the troublemakers would be brought to justice, they sang not in one group but spread out among the people to make it more difficult to track them. The excesses of the Polish troublemakers continued on 1 and 8 September¹⁷. Polish intrigues against the parish priest continued, and delegations went to St Petersburg and Kaunas. Instead of the parish priest Liasauskis, they sought the appointment of the former vicar of Zarasai, Rev. Henrikas Šumanas, who was sympathetic to the Poles¹⁸. According to the correspondent of the *Viltis*, the Poles from Zarasai are 'flooding' the offices of Kaunas and St. Petersburg with their requests for Rev.

¹⁵ A letter of the parishioners of Zarasai parish to the bishop of the Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese, 1913-08-24, LVIA, f. 1671, ap. 4, b. 226, l. 60-62.

¹⁶ L. G. [Liudas Gira], *Lenkininkų žygiai Ežerėnuose (Specijalė mūsų korespondencija)*, "Viltis" 1914-01-17, p. 2.

¹⁷ Prašaleitis, *Iš santykių su lenkais. Zarasai*, "Viltis" 1913-10-19, p. 1.

¹⁸ L. G. [Liudas Gira], *Lenkininkų žygiai Ežerėnuose (Specijalė mūsų korespondencija)*, "Viltis" 1914-01-17, p. 3.

Šumanas. The petition to the Bishop of the Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese of 8 September 1913 simply reads:

A request by the undersigned parishioners of the Roman Catholic Church of Ežerėnai to His Grace RC Bishop of Telšiai or Samogitia. The former vicar-administrator of Ežerėnai RC Church, loved and respected by all, our dear spiritual father Rev. Enrikas Šumanas, has been transferred to the town of Telšiai. Deeply concerned about this transfer, we cannot understand why exactly the spiritual superiors deprived us, the parishioners, of the beloved and respected, extremely popular for his availability and compassion for others, and exceptionally kind-hearted Rev. Enrikas Šumanas. Willingly or unwillingly, one wonders: the vote of four thousand parishioners for the transfer of the unloved parish priest Liasauskis, who has definitively lost any confidence there was, is not being heard, and the beloved priest, as if he had committed an offence, is being removed without delay. With an aching heart, fearing for the future of our faith, we have to believe, willy-nilly, that the spiritual superiors may be under the influence of petty chauvinist politicians trying to create an atmosphere for the promotion of their own ideas of 'rebirth' and priority around the house of God, even if it is at the expense of and with disdain for other, their own brothers. Other believers are already ironic about this topic... Willingly or unwillingly, one has to believe the boasts of a handful of Lithuanian chauvinists temporarily residing in our city, that Rev. Šumanas has been expelled by them and that in 3-5 years the parish will be purely Lithuanian. But why has Rev. Šumanas been transferred? The answer seems clear: it was a stranger to their politics... We, the four thousand parishioners, cannot accept this state of affairs and, in order to eliminate all misunderstandings, in order to preserve the unity and integrity of the parish and in order to bring calmness to the parishioners' minds which have been stirred up to the extreme, we take the liberty of asking Your Grace once again: (1) By order of His Holiness of 1910, to remove the parish priest Liasauskis without delay, after he has definitively lost all respect and trust among the parishioners, and (2) to appoint our beloved Rev. Enrikas Šumanas as our parish priest, because it is only this appointment that would bring peace and integrity to the parish; then we will see that the Spiritual Superiors care for us, listens to the voice of their flock, and bravely meet our needs and our requests. We reiterate that this appointment is the only way to restore the prestige of the clergy and the demoralised parish life: by having a fervently loved and respected by all priest as a parish priest, we will be sure that everyone's mother tongue will not be persecuted, that a Pole, a Lithuanian, a Belarusian, and on the whole, every faithful son of the Catholic Church, will have the opportunity to satisfy their spiritual needs and to listen to God's word having an impartial spiritual father, who will only do what the high name of the Pastor demands of him¹⁹.

¹⁹ L. G. [Liudas Gira], *Lenkininkų žygiai Ežerėnuose (Specijalė mūsų korespondencija)*, "Viltis" 1914-01-18, p. 2; cf. A request from the believers of Zarasai parish to the bishop of the Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese, 1913-09-08, LVIA, f. 1671, ap. 4, b. 226, l. 11-26. Includes the parishioners' signatures.

About two thousand parishioners signed this appeal. Having received a reply from the diocesan curia that the bishop would not change his decision, they sent an appeal to the archbishop of Mogilev. The following requests were worded in the appeal: (1) To revoke the instruction of the bishop of the Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese of 27 October 1912 on the order of additional services. The appeal requests that the Polish sermon be preached before the Holy Mass and the Lithuanian sermon on the first Sunday of the month, after the Holy Mass. (2) To remove the parish priest Juozapas Liasauskis as having lost the trust of the parishioners. (3) To appoint such a priest who 'would equally treat the Lithuanians and the Poles'. It would be the only way to raise the prestige of and respect for the clergy and to calm down the parish. Rev. Henrikas Šumanas could be such a parish priest²⁰. Rev. Antanas Survila, the former vicar of Telšiai, who replaced Šumanas, was also abused simply because he, like the parish priest, was a Lithuanian.

The Polish parishioners decided to boycott pastoral Christmas visits. When such rumours spread, the parish priest trusted the vicar with these visits. Pastoral Christmas visits were to start on 21 November 1913. On the eve of the visits, on 20 November, a short letter in Polish was handed to Rev. Survila: 'Please be informed that we will not allow priests on their pastoral visits in Polish homes until we have a clergy that is impartial and supportive to the parishioners. So please forsake the mission of pastoral Christmas visits altogether, because our door is closed to our present clergy!'²¹ Nevertheless, it was decided to start the pastoral Christmas visits, as the announcement about them had been made from the pulpit and forsaking them would be interpreted as some kind of an achievement of the Poles. Also, the priests were convinced that the Polish townspeople, who kept some distance from these events, would not support the boycott. When pastoral Christmas visits began, the priest was given the best possible welcome in the first few houses. People complained that agitators were visiting their homes, urging them not to receive the priest. On the first day of the pastoral Christmas visits, only three houses did not receive Rev. Survila. On the second day, the priest was not received in several homes; the same happened on the third and fourth days. During the period of the pastoral visits, the agitators urged people not to receive the priest in their homes. One woman said that she had received an anonymous note saying that if she received the priest, she would be hit with a stone. The threat did not scare her, and she welcomed the priest. Another woman said that she did not receive the priest because that was what intelligent Poles did and she did not want to fall behind them²².

²⁰ L. G. [Liudas Gira], *Lenkininkų žygiai Ežerėnuose (Specijalė mūsų korespondencija)*, "Viltis" 1914-01-18, p. 3.

²¹ L. G. [Liudas Gira], *Lenkininkų žygiai Ežerėnuose (Specijalė mūsų korespondencija)*, "Viltis" 1914-01-23, p. 2.

²² Ibid.

The Poles of Zarasai parish used various ways against the parish priest Rev. Liasauskis to achieve his removal from the parish. The correspondent of the *Viltis* describes a complaint of Polish parishioners to the governor. According to the complainants, the parishioners asked the parish priest to hold services in Polish and Russian. However, he did not agree and only protected the Lithuanian language. Yet even such a lie did not help them to achieve the removal of the parish priest, because the secular authorities also understood the true intentions of the snitches. In addition, Polish parishioners sent various letters to Polish newspapers, to the effect that there were no sermons in Polish in the Zarasai church, only in Lithuanian. The parish priest Liasaukis refuted these fabrications and made newspaper editors regret they had been misled²³.

After the death of Bishop Gasparas Cirtautas, Canon Petras Borovskis became the administrator of the Samogitian (Telsiai) Diocese. On 8 October 1913, the parish priest Rev. Liasauskis wrote a report to the administrator that the bishop's instruction was not only ignored: the stubbornness of the Polish believers had risen, as they did not even allow the Gospel to be read in Lithuanian. In his letter of 18 November 1913, the diocesan administrator replied that no sermons, either in Polish or in Lithuanian, were to be preached in the church until a new order was issued. Thus, from 24 November 1913, no sermons were preached, in any language, in the church of Zarasai²⁴.

The Lithuanians sued the hymn singers who made noise in the church during Lithuanian sermons on 21 June, 7 July, 3 August, and 15 August 1913. The trial dragged on until 18 July 1914. The reporter of the *Viltis* wrote that there was no end in sight to it.

The parish priest Rev. Juozapas Liasauskis was removed from Zarasai parish at his own request. On 3 March 1914, he received the order to commence his duties in the parish of Papilė. On 25 March 1914, the new parish priest Vladislovas Bortkevičius summoned a delegation of Polish parishioners to the parish house. What was said there was unknown to the newspaper's correspondent, but the Poles were happy and said that 'Litva' was finished. However, the Poles were disturbed by the fact that the next day, 26 March, the parish priest invited Lithuanians. The Poles sent their Lithuanian-speaking 'correspondent' to the meeting, who said he did not support either side. The Lithuanians explained that it was very troublesome for them to listen to a Polish sermon during one Holy Mass, because they had to listen to two sermons, and there was no need to learn Polish, and the delegates affirmed they would not interfere with the Polish sermon²⁵.

At Easter 1914, a Lithuanian sermon was preached in the church, and nobody disturbed it. As he was delivering a Polish sermon on the following Sun-

²³ L. G. [Liudas Gira], *Lenkininkų žygiai Ežerėnuose (Specijalė mūsų korespondencija)*, "Viltis" 1914-01-28, p. 2.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ X., *Turėdami savo bažnyčioje...*, "Viltis" 1914-04-01, p. 2.

day, the parish priest reminded the congregation that the Poles confessed they had done wrong by making noise in the church and promised not to make any more noise if things were not what they wished. May devotions were to be in Polish for Poles and in Lithuanian for Lithuanians²⁶. It was announced that Lithuanians were not allowed to sing after the sermon, after the Gospel reading, and during May devotions. This instruction was probably due to the fact that the Lithuanians sang the hymns more beautifully than the Poles²⁷. One could say that Lithuanian May devotions were peaceful. Only on the first day of the devotions, two Polish women assaulted a Lithuanian woman on her way to church. The Lithuanian woman sued the women who attacked her²⁸.

In the summer of 1914, Lithuanian-Polish relations were good, except that the Lithuanians were forbidden to sing hymns even at the times when the Poles were absent from services. Also, the Poles saw the church as their national property, and a couple of incidents confirm this. In the summer, a deceased Lithuanian was brought to the church. The priest sang 'The Angel of the Lord' in Lithuanian and the people sang that hymn in Lithuanian as well. This angered the Poles who demanded an explanation from the vicar as to how he could sing in Lithuanian in their church. The other incident happened when on a Sunday in July, the parish priest read the Gospel in Polish and was about to start reading in Lithuanian when Polish hymn singers started singing. They sang one stanza and fell silent, because the parish priest did not kneel down; he was standing and waiting for the Poles to stop singing. Meanwhile, the Poles pretended they had forgotten themselves and that was why they started singing²⁹.

On 3 June 1915, Bishop Pranciškus Karevičius, of the Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese, issued an order regarding the arrangement of the additional services in the church of Zarasai. First of all, he revoked the order of 27 October 1912 of his predecessor, Bishop Gasparas Cirtautas, and set out the procedure for additional services in the Zarasai church in five points³⁰:

(1) For sermons and hymn-singing in Polish on all Sundays and feast days, the time will be from 7 a.m. to the Holy Mass, as well as chanting during processions, after the vespers, and the Stations of the Cross devotions before the vespers, and other chanting at the will of the parishioners after the vespers; hymn-singing Lithuanian will be from 6 a.m. to 7 p.m. every Sunday and on feast days.

(2) after the Holy Mass and on feast, each Sunday and on feast days, to read from the Gospels in Lithuanian, to sing a verse of a hymn in Lithuanian, and to

²⁶ J., *Kaip jau žinoma...*, "Viltis" 1914-05-07, p. 2.

²⁷ *Velykų pirmą dieną...*, "Aušra" 1914-05-08, p. 224.

²⁸ J., *Pas mus lietuvių lenkų santykiai...*, "Viltis" 1914-06-18, p. 2.

²⁹ X., *Šią vasarą Zarasų parapijoje...*, "Viltis" 1914-08-17, p. 2.

³⁰ *Ekc. Žemaičių vyskupo Pranciškaus Karevičiaus įsakymas Zarasų bažnyčios klebonui*, "Viltis" 1915-06-10, p. 1.

preach a sermon or a catechism teaching in Lithuanian. After that, allow the singing of 'The Angel of the Lord', 'Eternal Rest', and 'Praised Be the Holy Sacrament'. On the feast days when the Polish version of the Stations of the Cross is not sung, to assign the entire time before vespers to the singing in Lithuanian.

(3) May and October devotions in the evening will be held in Polish, while Lithuanian services will be held from 6 a.m. to 7 a.m. with Lithuanian hymn-singing.

(4) Recollection in Polish to be held in the Fourth Week in Lent, and in Lithuanian, annually on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday before the Fourth Sunday in Lent. On those days, morning and evening prayers, twice a day spiritual reflections to be read in Lithuanian, one sermon to be preached every day, singing in Lithuanian to be allowed at all masses and singing of supplications in Lithuanian after the Mass to be allowed, and to allow the Stations of the Cross to be walked in Lithuanian on those three days.

(5) Preparation of children for the first confession and Holy Communion and the ceremony of First Holy Communion to be done separately for the Lithuanians and the Poles.

In the same issue of the *Viltis*, there was an article 'On the arrangement of service in the church of Zarasai', which read that Bishop Karevičius

set a new example of how a true diocesan pastor, who must be equally fair to both the majority and the minority, must behave. Expressing our joy that the Lithuanians of Zarasai have at last obtained the just order for which they had so long been thirsting, and that now, when the Diocesan Shepherd has shown his will, it is to be hoped that the Poles of Zarasai will no longer hinder the Lithuanians from exercising the rights they are entitled to in their common church, and it only remains for us to express our wish to see such a fair protection of the rights of the Lithuanians in the other parishes and churches in our homeland³¹.

Despite the order established by the bishop, the Poles of Zarasai parish interfered with the singing in Lithuanian at the appointed time. Because that, Bishop Karevičius forbade any hymn-singing in both languages, and both the preaching of sermons and the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament was suspended. When the Gospel was read in Lithuanian after the Holy Mass, the hymn singers began to crowd around the pulpit and push the listeners standing nearby. One girl was punched in the nose and started bleeding, and was spat on by a Polish female hymn singers³².

Bishop Karevičius wrote in his memoir that after he had imposed a small interdict on the church in Zarasai, the Poles sent a complaint against him to the minister. The complaint reads that everything in the church of Zarasai used to

³¹ Be parašo, *Del pamaldų sutvarkymo Zarasų bažnyčioje*, "Viltis" 1915-06-10, p. 1.

³² Korespondentas, *Nauji Zarasų lenkininkų žygiai (Nuo mūsų specijalinio korespondento)*, "Viltis" 1915-07-10, p. 1.

be in Polish, and now the bishop introduced Lithuanian service and sermons, and as a result, the Polish language was close to being eliminated from the church. Therefore, they asked the minister to reverse the bishop's order and leave everything in the church as it used to be. Having received no reply, they sent a second complaint, repeating the allegations of the first complaint and demanding the removal of the parish priest. Both complaints were forwarded to the bishop, who asked to provide accurate information about the facts mentioned in them. The bishop set out everything as it was and sent copies of the complaints to Canon Kazimieras Prapuolenis in Rome for translation into Latin and handing to the Secretary of State and the Congregation³³.

Only by the parish priest Juozapas Liasauskis followed the order of Bishop Cirtautas of 27 October 1912 to the letter. His predecessor Rev. Žilinskis and his successor Rev. Bortkevičius were opposed to the Lithuanian language³⁴. A correspondent of the magazine *Vairas* points out that Bishop Karevičius's order gave too few rights to the Lithuanians; the time assigned for the service in Lithuanian was too early, because Lithuanians lived mainly in the parish villages and it was difficult for them to reach the church in time. Lithuanians should be given the same rights as Poles on one feast per month, and Poles should be given the same rights as Lithuanians on that feast³⁵.

Rev. Juozapas Liasauskis's Diary about the Conflict in Zarasai Parish

When Rev. Dr Juozapas Liasauskis was a parish priest of Zarasai, he kept a diary³⁶. As he writes early in his diary, Rev. Liasauskis was begging God and people not to be assign to a mixed parish and especially not to Zarasai (Ežerėnai) district. However, he was appointed to the town of Zarasai. When he arrived in Zarasai, he still found the old parish priest, Rev. Žilinskis, who told him that May devotions should be conducted in Polish and Lithuanian. Not in his wildest dreams did he think that the first time he stepped into the pulpit he would not say a single word in Lithuanian, but that was exactly what happened. Doctor Domininkas Bukantas warned him that it would not be possible to hold May devotion in Lithuanian and to preach sermons on feasts and on first Sundays of the month. The Poles did not like the parish priest's decision to catechise children in Lithuanian. Even more disliked was the organist, who taught young Lithuanians to sing the litany and some secular songs. They began to demand the removal of the library of the 'Saulė' society from the parish house and forbidding the organist to teach singing in Lithuanian, because there would

³³ P. Karevičius, *Mano gyvenimo ir atsiminimų bruožai*, eds. A. Gaigalaitė, A. Katilius, Vilnius 2006, p. 243.

³⁴ P. K., *Iš Zarasų padangės*, "Vairas" 1915. no. 21, p. 334.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Kun. Juozapas Liasauskis, *Dienoraštis, 1913-1914* [Diary of Rev. Juozapas Liasauskis], Archive of the Kaunas Archdiocesan Curia (*Kauno arkivyskupijos kurijos archyvas*, hereinafter KAKA), file no. 611.

be no Lithuanian singing in the Zarasai church³⁷. The Poles thought that the parish priest would abolish Polish and introduce Lithuanian. They threatened to close the library themselves and demanded that the Lithuanian sermon not be preached after the votive – instead, the Polish sermon should be preached at that time³⁸. The parish priest said he would not change the existing order. Three people were chosen to speak with the parish priest. He explained that it was impossible to forbid people, even Lithuanians, to worship God with hymns in their mother tongue. When their demands were not met with a positive response, the Polish believers demanded the parish priest removed. Having received nothing from the bishop, they started reporting the parish priest to the police: that he spoke only Lithuanian in the church, that he spoke Lithuanian with those who spoke Polish. They demanded an interrogation, otherwise they would cause a ‘riot’ in the church³⁹. Under such conditions, it was difficult to fulfill his greatest desire to educate and enlighten the people entrusted to him. Moreover, the parish priest Rev. Liasauskis received threats of physical violence against him. In his diary, Rev. Liasauskis mainly writes about the events already described in this article.

The Parish of Čekiškė

Almost a third of the parishioners of Čekiškė parish spoke Polish at home but they also had a good command of Lithuanian. Meanwhile, only few of those who spoke only Lithuanian spoke Polish. Polish was not used in the church, nor were Polish sermons preached or hymns sung, and no one questioned this. However, the movement of raising the issue of the use of Polish in additional services reached the parish of Čekiškė as well. In the spring of 1909, stirred up by the Poles in Kaunas, the nobles of the parish started demanding sermons be preached in Polish. They wrote a petition, went to the bishop in Kaunas, and outlined their demands to him. The bishop promised to grant the request if it proved just. He sent a letter to the parish priest of Čekiškė parish asking him to write down the wishes of the parishioners regarding the language in which they wanted sermons to be preached. The parishioners themselves were to produce such lists, without the involvement of the parish priest. According to the bishop’s instructions, the entire parish was to be divided into three parts, with two list takers assigned to each part: one from among the Lithuanian-speaking inhabitants and the other from among the Polish speakers. The two list takers were to walk together around the area assigned to them and write down the answers of each inhabitant individually in their own books. The two list takers would have had to walk together to control each other so that the lists would be taken correctly. The bishop had instructed them to write down

³⁷ Ibid., l. 69.

³⁸ Ibid., l. 69v.

³⁹ Ibid., l. 69.

separately the answers of those who necessarily wanted Lithuanian sermons and those who wanted Polish sermons; also, to write down separately the answers of those who did not care whether the sermons were in Lithuanian or Polish. Upon the completion of the survey, all the list takers were to bring their notes to the parish priest, under whose supervision they were to be transcribed in duplicate: one sent to the diocese, the other left in the parish archives⁴⁰.

The nobles of the parish were dissatisfied with the bishop's instruction. They thought that their request would suffice and that in Čekiškė parish, the bishop would order the sermon and other services to be delivered in Polish on one Sunday and in Lithuanian on the following Sunday. In their appeal to the bishop, the nobles stated that half of the parish was Polish. After the survey, it may have turned out that the Poles were not so numerous here. For this reason, the nobles did not want to comply with the bishop's order and asked the parish priest to introduce Polish services in the parish of Čekiškė on his own will. The parish priest refused to grant such a request on the grounds that it was necessary to fulfill the bishop's order, that is, to draw up the lists⁴¹.

The Lithuanian-speaking parishioners were even more dissatisfied with the bishop's instruction. They realised that their rights would be curtailed if Polish services were introduced in the church in Čekiškė. The Lithuanians also went to the bishop and asked him not to make any changes. They pointed out that all the nobles had a good command of Lithuanian and understood it well. The introduction of Polish services would disadvantage the Lithuanian speakers because they did not understand anything in Polish. The bishop advised them not to resist, to live in harmony, and to carry out his instruction regarding the survey. The Lithuanians decided not to take part in the survey and sent a letter to the bishop that he alone could introduce Polish services in the church in Čekiškė, if this could not be done without it⁴².

After receiving such a letter, the bishop sent a new instruction to the parish priest and told him to compile a list of those parishioners who absolutely wanted Polish services. As soon as they received such an instruction, the Poles rushed to conduct the survey. Mass agitation was stirred up to have as many parishioners as possible to sign up. The survey was conducted without any control whatsoever: anyone and in any numbers were entered in the list, without even being asked. The Lithuanian-speaking parishioners realised that they had done wrong by not signing, as the bishop had told them to do, because there would have been few people willing to attend Polish services. Most Polish-speaking parishioners would have signed up for the sermons to be preached in any language. The list takers wrote down that each Polish-speaking parishioner definitely wanted a Polish service. Giving rights to the Polish language would mean curtailing the rights of the Lithuanian language. According

⁴⁰ Čekiškėnas, *Čekiškė*, "Viltis" 1909-07-03, p. 3.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

to the correspondent, this problem could actually be solved in such a way that one could eat one's cake and still have it. In the parish of Čekiškė, near the Krūvandai nobility village (pol. *okolica*), there was a cemetery chapel. Many families of the local nobility lived in the vicinity of that chapel. Another nobility village was on the other side of the parish, very close to the filial church of Lesčiai. Previously, a request was made to install a priest in the Krūvandai chapel and make it a filial church, but this did not happen. It would be best if the bishop appointed a priest to the Krūvandai chapel and that priest could preach sermons and conduct other services to the nobility in Polish, while the old arrangement of services in the church in Čekiškė could remain intact. The author of the report concluded: 'If this were done, the hatred of the peasants towards the nobility, which can be observed today, would disappear sooner, while it may become even greater with the introduction of Polish services in the church of Čekiškė'⁴³.

Aleksandras Dambrauskas-Adomas Jakštas, the editor of the magazine *Draugija*, responded to the publication in the *Viltis*. He considered the case of Čekiškė as typical and therefore decided to look at it from it from all angles⁴⁴. Concerning the method of parishioner statistics in determining the language to be used in additional services, the author of the article acknowledges that

the ecclesiastical leadership grants our parishes a great deal of autonomy: the parishioners acquire the right to choose their own language, to conduct the church service and to keep statistics on the various languages spoken, without the intervention of a parish priest, and the ecclesiastical leadership retains only the right to give final approval to the parishioner's decisions and to enforce them legally⁴⁵.

On the one hand, there is nothing theoretically wrong with such a principle, but in practice it can also have negative consequences, for example, people wanting to choose the ministers of the church and even the parish priest. The author goes on to say that everyone resorts to justice. The nobles, for the sake of justice, demand Polish services, the Lithuanians, for the sake of justice, want to keep the existing order, the bishop wants to satisfy the wishes of both sides, and the correspondent suggests that the Poles use the Krūvandai chapel. There is one principle of justice, but there are as many understandings of it as there are people. The author of the article attempts answering the following questions: (1) what is justice in general, and (2) what does this justice really require in the scheduling of additional services in the churches of Lithuania? We will not delve into the first question, while the quote below sheds some light on the author's more general attitude to language in churches:

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ A. Jakštas, *Teisybė ir kalbų klausimas Lietuvos bažnyčiose*, "Draugija" 1909, no. 33, p. 25-43.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 27.

The law of Lithuania is as real and unquestionable in the ecclesiastical matter of languages as it is for parishioners and priests. For just as Poland has the right to only the Polish language in its churches, just as Germany or France have the right to have services in German or French only, so Lithuania has a full and unquestionable right to have only the Lithuanian language in its churches, and, whether some like it or not, the dominant language in the churches of Lithuania must not be the Polish but Lithuanian. Polish should only be supported where it is absolutely necessary, such as in the larger towns of Lithuania, where there are a number of genuine Poles, or where the Polonised people do not understand Lithuanian. In the provinces, however, whoever has been living among Lithuanians for a long time must speak Lithuanian and has no right to demand the Polish language in churches. If anyone insists on it, such a demand is as strange and irrational as the persistence of a group of Lithuanians settled in Poland to introduce the Lithuanian language into the local Polish churches would be strange and irrational. The demand for Polish sermons and worship in Lithuania is, in our opinion, identical with the demand that we, Lithuanians, should recognise our country as a province of Poland. Because only when Lithuania became an integral part of Poland would local Poles have the right to demand the Polish language in Lithuanian churches. But as long as Lithuania is not yet a province of Poland, the introduction of the Polish language into our churches is not an ecclesiastical work, but a political manoeuvre to extend the ethnographic borders of Poland⁴⁶.

The author of the article writes that were the Polish language introduced in parishes such as Čekiškė,

‘threefold rights of others’ would be violated, in particular: (1) the rights of indigenous Lithuanians, who would hear only half of the Word of God than before. For Lithuanians as monolingual speakers, the Word of God is twice as necessary as it is for Poles, who speak both languages; (2) the right of the local priests, who, unwilling to neglect the Lithuanians, would have to do twice as much work: to preach two sermons, to organise duplicate catechisation of the children, to organise two different May and October devotions; (3) the right of our land, which as a Lithuanian land would not be able to calmly tolerate the ongoing Polonisation under the guise of faith; (4) the right of the Church itself, which would be disgraced from a divine institution to a dirty tool of Polish politics. The Church has the right to remain the pillar of truth and the foundation of justice⁴⁷.

Were the Church to support Polish claims, it would give Lithuanians an opportunity to believe that the Church is unwilling to recognize: (1) the rights of Lithuania as a separate independent ethnographic region, (2) the rights of the Lithuanian language as the dominant language in that area, (3) the independence of that region from Poland⁴⁸.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 37-38.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 38.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 39.

Of course, such reasoning of the Lithuanians would be wrong, because the Church recognizes equal rights for all countries, peoples, and their languages. The Church has no reason to value Poland more than Lithuania, and if it recognizes the rights of the Polish language in Poland, it cannot deny the rights of the Lithuanian language in Lithuania.

The Poles decided that almost half of the inhabitants of Čekiškė parish pretended not to understand Lithuanian. Then the most zealous nobles appealed to the parish priest to hold half of services in Polish. The parish priest agreed to further investigate the matter and to request the bishop's opinion, but he refused to introduce Polish service as not authorized to do it. The representatives of the nobles were angered by the pastor's response and called him a *litvomanas* (i.e., one who respects everything Lithuanian). They then decided to appeal to the bishop and hoped for a positive response. The bishop did not want to 'say a word against the will of a few Poles'. He asked them to give him a list of the parishioners of Čekiškė regarding the language they would like services to be held. Lithuanians also went to the bishop. Lithuanians and Poles were to elect three representatives each to compile a list based on the plan described above. Lithuanians refused to take part in the survey and it was the Poles alone who had to do it. The list takers registered a total of 1552 parishioners wishing to attend Polish services. The bishop forwarded the list to the parish priest. After hearing this and realising that they were included in the list of those who demanded Polish service, the parishioners began to ask to be removed from the list in droves. It turned out that the list takers included everyone who spoke Polish in the list, often without even asking them, and also those who said they did not care about the language. The list thus shrank to the point where it lost its value. To solve the problem, the bishop proposed two solutions: to send a commission of priests to the parish or to compile a more accurate list of parishioners. The parish priest suggested that the list be compiled during pastoral Christmas visits in the parish. The bishop sent a sample list form, in which the sequence number, sex, surname, first name, age, and the preferred language of service – Lithuanian, Polish, or no difference. Each adult had to be answer for themselves, and parents had to answer for their children. When the list was compiled after the pastoral Christmas visits, it turned out that 3110 parishioners signed up as Lithuanians, 986 as Poles, and 205 as either this or that⁴⁹.

Considering the statistics of the parishioners, on 1 October 1911, Bishop Gasparas Cirtautas established the following schedule in the church of Čekiškė: additional services on three Sundays and feasts in Lithuanian, and on the fourth Sunday in Polish, and sermons were to be delivered in two languages: one in Lithuanian, the other one in Polish. Ensuring the rights of the minority by allowing sermons, homilies, and hymn-singing to the minority in their mother

⁴⁹ Ne Bajoras, *Čekiškės bajorų didvyriški žygiai*, "Viltis" 1910-06-16, p. 1-2.

tongue, he provided the majority of the parish with sermons, homilies, catechisation, and May and October devotions in Lithuanian, with the exception of the hymn-singing on the fourth Sunday or a feast of each month, which was assigned to the minority of the Poles. Establishing the schedule of services in this way, Bishop Cirtautas maintained: 'In the issue about the language at the additional services in the church of Čekiškė, I followed the Church's commandments of justice, conscience, and pastoral duties'⁵⁰.

The first sermon in Polish was delivered early in 1912. This was done by the newly appointed parish priest, on his first Sunday in Čekiškė: first he delivered a sermon in Lithuanian and after that in Polish. The reaction of the Lithuanian parishioners to the Polish sermon was thus described by the correspondent of the *Viltis*:

So, seeing such an extraordinary privilege for the Poles, during the first Polish sermon given by the new parish priest, the Lithuanians of Čekiškė were restless in the church: they were stamping their feet, moving, coughing, and they started to rush out of the church outside⁵¹.

On the second Sunday, the parish priest preached the Polish sermon at 10.30 a.m. So early in the day, there were only few people in the church and not a single Pole among them. It is a time when people gather in church, squeak and slam doors, pound their frozen feet on the floor, knock snow off their shoes, and the like. Just then the parish priest was giving a sermon to the Poles and announced that he would always give a Polish sermon at that time. The parish priest of Čekiškė replied to this newspaper report. According to him, the Lithuanians in Čekiškė believed that every Sunday he preached in Polish to make things better for the Poles, and they did not believe that this was what the bishop had ordered. Because of this, the Lithuanians were angry with the parish priest. The reaction of the Poles was even more surprising. Some of them thought that the bishop had scheduled sermons for every fourth Sunday, while other sermons were added by the parish priest himself. Others believed that the parish priest added sermons every Sunday out of malice, to annoy them, as if he was mockingly throwing Polish sermons at them⁵².

Conclusions

As in other Lithuanian dioceses late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century, conflicts over the use of the Lithuanian or Polish language in additional services arose in the Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese. Conflict situations unfolded mainly in the so-called mixed parishes inhabited by Lithuanian

⁵⁰ J. E. Žemaičių vyskupo Kasparo Cirtauto paaiškinimas dėl Čekiškės bylos, "Viltis" 1911-12-16, p. 1-2.

⁵¹ Čekiškės lietuviai, *Pas mus atvažiavo...*, "Viltis" 1912-02-02, p. 1.

⁵² Kun. Gaigalas, Čekiškės klebonas, *Čekiškė*, "Viltis" 1912-02-08, p. 2.

and Polish parishioners. The object of the study is different situations in two parishes of the diocese. In one of them, Zarasai parish, it was the Lithuanian parishioners who demanded their rights, while in the other, Čekiškė parish, it was the Polish believers. In Zarasai parish, the Polish believers conflicted mainly about the time assigned for the sermons in Lithuanian or Polish. At the bishop's instruction, the time for the Lithuanian sermon was scheduled before the Holy Mass, because the Lithuanian-speaking parishioners lived mainly in the villages outside the town and it usually took them long to travel to the church. Meanwhile, the Polish sermon was preached after the mass, because the Polish-speaking parishioners were townspeople, and the church was closer to them. The main tool in the struggle of the Polish parishioners was the singing of hymns during the Lithuanian sermon, thus attempting to disrupt it. The Poles were dissatisfied with the parish priest Rev. Juozapas Liasauskis for following the bishop's instruction to the letter and wanted him to be removed from Zarasai parish. Yet the conflict in Zarasai parish did not escalate to acrimony or bloodshed in the church.

Until 1909, the language of the additional services and sermons in the parish of Čekiškė was Lithuanian. However, the Polish-speaking parishioners, mostly the nobles, thought that a Polish sermon should be preached in their parish church. The most important criterion for introducing Polish sermons was statistical, that is, the number of parishioners who wanted sermons in Polish. A survey of the parishioners was carried out, during which they were asked in which language the sermons should be delivered. In this survey, 986 people signed up as Polish and over 3000 as Lithuanian. In view of this, Bishop Gasparas Cirtautas introduced sermons and hymns in Polish on every fourth Sunday and on feasts in the parish of Čekiškė.

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Summary

Conflict situations unfolded mostly in the so-called mixed parishes inhabited by parishioners of Lithuanian and Polish. The article discusses different situations in two parishes of the Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese. In one of them, Zarasai parish, it was the Lithuanian parishioners who demanded their rights, while in the other, Čekiškė parish, it was the Polish believers. In Zarasai parish, the Polish believers conflicted mainly about the time scheduled for the sermons in Lithuanian or Polish. At the bishop's instruction, the time for the Lithuanian sermon was set before the Holy Mass, because the Lithuanian-speaking parishioners lived mainly in the villages outside the town and usually it took them long to travel to the church. Meanwhile, the Polish sermon was preached after the mass, because the Polish-speaking parishioners were townspeople, and the church was closer to them. The main tool in the struggle of the Polish parishioners was the singing of hymns when the Lithuanian sermon was preached,

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Keywords: additional service, conflicts over the language of the service, Samogitian (Telšiai) Diocese, Zarasai parish, Čekiškė parish.

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WOJCIECH GUZEWICZ*

Kościoły i parafie diecezji elckiej (cz. 20)

Dwudziesta część cyklu pt. *Kościoły i parafie diecezji elckiej* przedstawia kolejnych 5 parafii z diecezji elckiej, tj. pw. Narodzenia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Rajgrodzie, pw. Św. Józefa Oblubieńca Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Regielnicy, pw. Św. Szczepana w Rożyńsku Wielkim oraz dwie w Rucianem Nida (pw. Matki Bożej Miłosierdzia oraz pw. Trójcy Świętej). Tak jak to miało miejsce w poprzednich częściach, przy każdym kościele i parafii podawane są szczegółowe informacje, np. kiedy dany ośrodek powstał, kto go erygował oraz w jaki sposób jest zbudowana świątynia. Ponadto poszczególne opracowania zawierają informacje o lokalnych cmentarzach i różnych pomnikach nie tylko o charakterze religijnym, ale także pozareligijnym, opisy plebanii (zaplecza socjalnego parafii), wykazy miejscowości lub ulic przynależnych do parafii, zestawienia dotychczasowych proboszczów, informacje o wikariuszach oraz innych duchownych działających w parafiach. Dowiadujemy się też o ulokowanych tam zakonach (jeśli istnieją) oraz osobach powołanych, wywodzących się z omawianych wspólnot. Bazą bibliograficzną opisów stały się zasadniczo źródła drukowane, prace magisterskie (najczęściej poświęcone parafiom i miejscom kultu) oraz opracowania (literatura przedmiotu) – wykaz bibliografii znajduje się pod każdym hasłem.

Rajgród (Narodzenia Najświętszej Maryi Panny)

W średniowieczu Rajgród był jednym z głównych grodów obronnych Jaćwingów (pod nazwą Raj). Około 1280 r. został zajęty przez księcia litewskiego Narymunta. Przyjęła się wówczas nazwa Rajgrodu. Na mocy układu pokojowego z 1422 r. Rajgród przypadł Litwie. Sama nazwa Rajgród pochodzi najprawdopodobniej od jaćwieskiego słowa „Raj” i polskiego „gród” i oznacza, według niektórych badaczy, stojącą wodę lub bagno. Na początku XVI w. do-

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bra te otrzymali Radziwiłłowie. Spadkobierczyni Radziwiłłów – Anna Kiszczyna – w 1566 r. nadała Rajgrodowi prawa miejskie magdeburskie. Po powstaniu styczniowym Rajgród utracił prawa miejskie, które przywrócono dopiero w 1924 r. Od unii lubelskiej (1569 r.) Rajgród należał do Korony, od 1571 r. był miastem królewskim i siedzibą powiatu (do trzeciego rozbioru Polski). W czasie odwrotu wojsk tatarskich po bitwie pod Prostkami (1656) oraz w czasie obu wojen światowych miasteczko zostało dotkliwie zrujnowane. 8 września 1944 r. na Grzędach – Czerwonym Bagnie rozegrała się jedna z największych bitew partyzanckich, którą stoczył 9 Pułk Strzelców Konnych Armii Krajowej z Niemcami.

Pierwszy kościół powstał tu w pierwszej połowie XV w. za panowania księcia Witolda (1401-1430) lub Zygmunta Kiejstutowicza (1432-1440). Nie zachowały się jednakże dokumenty stwierdzające powstanie tegoż kościoła i parafii. W 1519 r. książę Michał Radziwiłł nadał nowy akt fundacyjny dla kościoła w Rajgrodzie i zwiększył uposażenie parafii do 4 włók (około 70 ha). Stary, drewniany kościół, stojący nad Jeziorem Rajgrodzkim uległ ruinie i został rozebrany. Nowy, wybudowany w 1662 r., służył wiernym przez prawie 100 lat, po czym też został rozebrany. Trzeci z kolei kościół, drewniany, pobudowano w 1764 r. i ten dotrwał do 1911 r. Wspomniane świątynie znajdowały się u podnóża góry zamkowej, w odległości ok. 1 km od obecnej świątyni, położonej nad brzegiem jeziora przy trasie Augustów–Warszawa.

Obecny kościół został zbudowany w latach 1906-1912 na planie krzyża łacińskiego, z czerwonej cegły, na podmurówce z kamienia. Jest trzynawowy z transeptem i dwuwieżową fasadą. (zaliczany do grupy budowli bazylikowych nadwiślańskiego neogotyku). Jego długość sięga 53 m, szerokość 36 m, wysokość do sklepienia 20, a wysokość wież 55 m. Konsekracji świątyni dokonał bp Romuald Jałbrzykowski (z Wilna) 29 czerwca 1929 r. Podczas II wojny światowej świątynia rajgrodzka została poważnie zniszczona (szczególnie w swoich górnych partiach). Odbudowano ją dopiero w latach osiemdziesiątych ubiegłego stulecia. Wewnątrz wież znajdują się dwa dzwony z 1990 r.: jeden o wadze 505 kg – pw. św. Józefa, a drugi o wadze ok. 550 kg poświęcony Matce Bożej Rajgrodzkiej.

Korpus kościoła jest pięcioprzęsłowy, prezbiterium trójbocznie zamknięte siedmiobocznym obejściem wokół głównego ołtarza, ujęte w prostokątne piętrowe skarbiec i zakrystię. Nawy boczne i obejście otwarte ostrołukowymi oprofilowanymi arkadami, wspartymi na ośmiobocznych filarach. Sklepienia krzyżowo-żebrowe, spływające na wieloboczne filary przyścienne z wiązkami słupów. Nad głównym wejściem znajduje się chór muzyczny z ażurową ostrołukową balustradą arkadową, a na nim 31-głosowe organy z 1926 r. Sklepienia w kruchcie i prezbiterium są murowane; w kruchcie ośmiopółkowe, w prezbiterium dwunastopółkowe. W nawie głównej umieszczono ostrołukowe okna, a w transepcie okna ostrołukowe trójdzielne. Prezbiterium natomiast ozdabiają cztery okna z witrażami, które przetrwały pożogę wojenną.

Wewnątrz świątyni centralne miejsce zajmuje dwukondygnacyjny, gotycki, drewniany ołtarz główny z roku 1958. Wysokość nastawy ołtarza wynosi 12 m. W środkowym polu, między kolumnami, nad tabernakulum, widnieje słynący łaskami obraz Matki Boskiej Rajgrodzkiej, dla którego zasłonę stanowi obraz malowany na płótnie, przedstawiający św. Annę z Maryją jako dziewczynką. Po bokach ołtarza umieszczono dwie XIX-wieczne figury świętych Piotra i Pawła, u góry zaś figurę św. Józefa z Dzieciątkiem na ręku. Obraz Matki Bożej Rajgrodzkiej z Dzieciątkiem powstał w XVIII wieku. Został wykonany techniką olejną na płótnie i ma wymiary 165 na 140 cm. Sama postać Maryi łącznie z koroną, którą pobłogosławił Papież Jana Paweł II w Elku dnia 8 czerwca 1999 roku, mierzy 73 cm.

W 1983 r. ze względu na słynący łaskami obraz Rajgrodzkiej Pani biskup łomżyński Juliusz Paetz podniósł kościół pw. Narodzenia NMP do rangi sanktuarium. Z kolei 5 sierpnia 2000 r. bp elcki Wojciech Ziemia w asyście bpa łomżyńskiego – Stanisława Stefanka, bpa pomocniczego elckiego – Edwarda Samsela, bpa pomocniczego łomżyńskiego – Tadeusza Zawistowskiego oraz licznie zgromadzonych duchownych i wiernych koronował ten obraz koronami papieskimi.

Wewnątrz świątyni, obok ołtarza głównego, znajdują się jeszcze się cztery ołtarze boczne: św. Stanisława Kostki (w lewej nawie), po bokach figury św. Kazimierza i św. Jadwigi, ołtarz św. Andrzeja Boboli (w prawej nawie), po bokach figury św. Franciszka z Asyżu i św. Antoniego z Padwy, ołtarz Przemienienia Pańskiego (w lewej części transeptu) oraz ołtarz Chrystusa dźwigającego Krzyż (w prawej części transeptu). Poza tym w nawach bocznych znajdują się witraże, a w transepcie dwa obrazy: św. Antoniego i Najświętszego Serca Jezusa. Na ścianach świątyni umiejscowione są pochodzące z lat pięćdziesiątych stacje Drogi Krzyżowej. Pod chórem znajdują się dwie tablice: jedna upamiętniająca ks. Józefa Radwańskiego, druga nawiązująca do bitwy pod Grzędami. Nad głównym wejściem do świątyni widnieje napis: „Ora et labora”. Ambona pochodzi z XVIII wieku, wykonano ją z drewna jesionowego. Chrzcielnica natomiast pochodzi z XX w., swoim wyglądem przypomina kielich. Drewnianą przykrywą chrzcielnicy wieńczy rzeźba św. Jana Chrzciciela.

Na terenie parafii znajduje się kilka kaplic filialnych. Jedną z nich, pw. św. Antoniego, ufundowano w Pieńczykowie w 1922 r. Zbudowano ją na planie prostokąta, z drewna, o długości 7 m, szerokości 5 m, wysokości do sklepienia 3,5 m. W głównym ołtarzu umieszczono duży drewniany krzyż o prostych ludowych cechach. Obiekt poświęcił proboszcz parafii ks. Józef Januszewski 13 czerwca 1953 r.

Dwie kolejne kaplice, znajdujące się w Woznejwsi i w Łabędniku, pochodzą z lat osiemdziesiątych XX w. Pierwsza z nich jest konstrukcji murowanej, o długości 16 m, szerokości 14 m, wysokości do sklepienia 5,5 m. Wewnątrz centralne miejsce zajmuje ołtarz, a w nim obraz Matki Boskiej i św. Michała Archanioła oraz tabernakulum. Kaplicę poświęcił bp Tadeusz Zawistowski

1 grudnia 1991 r. Natomiast kaplica w Łabędniku powstała z domu mieszkalnego zbudowanego na planie prostokąta o wymiarach: długość 12 m, szerokość 7 m i wysokość do sklepienia 3 m. Po wyremontowaniu obiektu (wyburzono ścianki, położono boazerię, wymieniono podłogi) ustawiono drewniany ołtarz oraz zawieszono obrazy: Matki Boskiej, św. Antoniego (patrona kaplicy) i Miłosierdzia Bożego.

Pierwsza wzmianka o cmentarzu w Rajgrodzie pochodzi z roku 1519, kiedy to został ufundowany przez Mikołaja Radziwiłła nowy kościół. W pamięci najstarszych parafian funkcjonuje nazwa „cmentarz stary” na określenie cmentarza grzebalnego położonego naprzeciw obecnego kościoła parafialnego. Zajmuje on powierzchnię ok. 1 ha. Plan jego przypomina prostokąt, brak jest tu wyraźnie zaznaczonych kwater. Za datę erekcji cmentarza przyjmuje się rok 1874. Na terenie cmentarza znajduje się zabytkowa kaplica z 1826 r., której fundatorem był Szymon Bagiński, dziedzic z Podliszewa. Drugi cmentarz, o powierzchni ok. 2 ha, znajduje się przy wyjeździe z Rajgrodu na Warszawę. Założono go po II wojnie światowej.

Plebania to budynek wymurowany z czerwonej cegły, piętrowy, o dachu dwuspadowym przykrytym blachą. Pochodzi z lat trzydziestych ubiegłego stulecia. Powierzchnia użytkowa budynku wynosi ok. 900 m².

Własnością parafii jest także Dom Katolicki im. Jana Pawła II „Barka” z 2004 r. Jest to budynek przeznaczony na potrzeby parafii i pielgrzymów, parterowy, z użytkowym poddaszem. Całość o powierzchni 915 m² zbudowana jest na rzucie dwóch symetrycznych kwadratów i prostokąta i pokryta dachem wielospadowym. Bryłę budynku urozmaica podcień wejścia i taras.

W odległości kilkuset metrów od kościoła w kierunku północno-wschodnim, na niewielkim wzgórzu przy drodze do Augustowa, w 2006 r. wzniesiona została Droga Krzyżowa. Każda stacja zbudowana jest z kamienia szlachetnego i przedstawia poszczególne momenty z męki i śmierci Chrystusa. Droga Krzyżowa stanowi wotum dziękczynne parafian i miejscowych księży za dar posługi Jana Pawła II. Poświęcenia Kalwarii dokonał bp Romuald Kamiński 6 sierpnia 2010 r.

W 1925 r. parafię tworzyło 8500 wiernych, w 1974 r. – 6900, w 1997 r. – 5200, a w 2017 r. – ok. 4300. Dziś parafię tworzą 32 miejscowości: Barszcze, Belda, Ciszewo, Czarnawieś, Judziki, Kosiły, Kozłówka, Kroszewo, Kukowo, Kuligi, Łabędnik, Łazarze, Pieńczykowo, Pieńczykówek, Popowo, Przestrzele, Rajgród, Reszki, Rumiejki, Rybczyzna, Skrodzkie, Solistówka, Sołki, Stoczek, Tama, Tobyłka, Tobyłka, Turczyn, Tworki, Wojdy, Woznawieś, Żrobki.

Rajgród jest siedzibą dekanatu, w skład którego wchodzi parafie: Borzymy Pruska, Rajgród, Rydzewo Rajgrodzkie i Wiśniowo Elckie.

Od chwili zakończenia II wojny światowej funkcję proboszcza w parafii pełnili kolejno: ks. Wacław Olender (1946-1955), ks. Józef Januszewski (1955-1964), ks. Eugeniusz Niecikowski (1964-1981), ks. Sławomir Sztachanski (1981-1983, administrator), ks. Antoni Kapusta (1983-1986), Kazimierz Gacki

(1986-1993), ks. Jerzy Kijkowski (1993-1994, administrator), ks. Hieronim Mojżuk (od 1994 r.).

W parafii pracuje też zwykle od 1 do 2 wikariuszy. Z parafii pochodzą m.in. ks. Stanisław Nowicki, ks. Eugeniusz Ciborowski, ks. Mirosław Sebnia, ks. Zbigniew Jaworski, ks. Andrzej Borkowski, ks. Krzysztof Mulewski, ks. Adrian Sadowski, s. Beata Zimińska CSFN, s. Alicja Gołębowska SM, s. Giacomina Liszewska PDDM, s. M. Jadwiga od Krzyża Kossakowska OCD, s. M. Kinga Danowska OP.

J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie augustowskim od XV w do końca XVIII wieku*, w: *Studia i materiały do dziejów Pojezierza Augustowskiego*, red. J. Antoniewicz, Białystok 1967, s. 13-294; J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie grajewskim do połowy XVI wieku*, w: *Studia i materiały do dziejów powiatu grajewskiego*, red. M. Gnatowski, H. Majecki, t. 1, Warszawa 1975, s. 9-252; M.J. Szymanowska, *Rajgród w latach 1796-1914*, Białystok 1987 [mps AUMR]; W. Jemielity, *Dekanat Grajewski*, Łomża 1990; W. Jemielity, *Sanktuaria maryjne w diecezji łomżyńskiej*, Łomża 1991, s. 131-148; J. Sobolewski, *Rajgród. Sanktuarium maryjne*, Rajgród 1996; J. Wawiórka, *Działalność duszpasterska parafii Narodzenia NMP w Rajgrodzie w latach 1945-1992*, Warszawa 1996 [mps BWSDE]; E. Poborska, *Dzieje szkoły w Rajgrodzie w latach 1918-1939 na tle przemian oświatowych*, Białystok 1999 [mps AUMR]; J. Sikora, *Z cyklu: Z wizytą w Parafii Rajgród, „Martyria”* 1999, nr 9, s. 12, 24; J. Sikora, *Koronacja obrazu Matki Bożej Rajgrodzkiej, „Martyria”* 2000, nr 9, s. 3; R. Krajewski, *Cmentarz parafialny w Rajgrodzie – studium historyczno-liturgiczne*, Warszawa 2001 [mps BUKSW]; T. Białous, J. Sobolewski, *Ks. Józef Radwański. Trudności człowieka hartują*, Rajgród 2003; W. Guzewicz, *Sanktuaria diecezji elckiej*, Elk 2011; *Schematyzm Diecezji Elckiej 2012. Stan z 15 września 2012 r. w roku Jubileuszu XX-lecia istnienia Diecezji Elckiej*, red. A. Skowroński i in., Elk 2012, s. 444-447; W. Guzewicz, *Rajgród, „Encyklopedia Katolicka”, t. 16*, Lublin 2012, kol. 1175-1176; *Schematyzm Diecezji Elckiej 2017: w roku Jubileuszu XXV-lecia istnienia Diecezji Elckiej. Stan na 1 października 2017 r.*, [opr. M. Maczan], Elk 2017, s. 192.

Regielnica (Św. Józefa Oblubieńca NMP)

Regielnicę założono w 1448 r. jako wieś szlachecką. W 1544 r. książę Albrecht nadał 5 włók i 20 mórg ziemi Janowi Maleckiemu, proboszczowi elckiemu. W 1905 r. Regielnica wraz z Kałęczynami stanowiła dobra rycerskie obejmujące 456 ha ziemi, lasów, łąk i jezior. Funkcjonowała tu m. in. cegielnia, mleczarnia i karczma, a wcześniej, za czasów wspomnianego Jana Małeckiego, także drukarnia. W tej ostatniej powstał prawdopodobnie *Nowy Testament Erasma Roterodamskiego w języku polski prawie a własnymi słowy z wielką pilnością przełożony. Joannes Maletius* (Lycae 1552). Zezwolenia na druk Małecki jednak nie otrzymał, gdyż jego przeciwnicy w Królewcu skłonili księcia Albrechta do przyznania prawa wyłączności na wydanie Pisma Świętego w języku polskim Seklucjanowi. Z drobniejszych druków powstałych w drukarni regielnickiej na uwagę zasługuje *Litania polska dla kościołów pol-*

skich Księstwa Pruskiego, na jawność wydana – pieśń pióra samego Małeckiego oraz inna jego modlitwa: Broń nas Panie przy twem słowie.

Po drugiej wojnie światowej wierni, którzy osiedli się w Regielnicy i okolicach, należeli do parafii św. Wojciecha w Elku, później do Wiśniowa Elckiego, a następnie do parafii św. Rafała Kalinowskiego w Elku. Parafię w Regielnicy erygował bp Wojciech Ziemia 24 czerwca 1994 r. i włączył do dekanatu elckiego pw. Matki Bożej Fatimskiej.

7 maja 2017 r. bp Jerzy Mazur dokonał ceremonii pobłogosławienia i wmurowania kamienia węgielnego w nowobudowanej świątyni (prace przy wznoszeniu obiektu trwały już od 2015 r.). Budynek kościoła w swojej bryle nawiązuje do jednonawowych wiejskich kościołów mazurskich. Fasada frontowa posiada symetrycznie umieszczona nad wejściem głównym wieżę dzwonnicy na planie kwadratu. Wieża zakończona krzyżem kutym stalowym. Szczyty w elewacjach bocznych mieszczące kaplice boczne są reminiscencją transeptu. Część zakrystiana jest obniżona dachem w stosunku do zakończenia nawy głównej. Powierzchnia zabudowy kościoła wynosi ok 375 m².

Wewnątrz, na ścianie głównej prezbiterium, znajduje się znacznych rozmiarach krzyż z figurą Jezusa Ukrzyżowanego, a pod nim tabernakulum. W kościele są dwa ołtarze boczne: Miłosierdzia Bożego z obrazem Jezu ufam Tobie oraz ołtarz św. Józefa z obrazem św. Rodziny. Obok tego ostatniego ołtarza ustawiono ołtarz z figurą Matki Bożej Niepokalanej.

Warto dodać, iż początkowo funkcję kościoła parafialnego pełniła tymczasowa kaplica, umiejscowiona w murowanym budynku mieszkalnym, pochodzącym jeszcze sprzed I wojny światowej, gruntownie odremontowanym w latach pięćdziesiątych ubiegłego stulecia. Oprócz kaplicy w budynku znajdowały się tam lokale mieszkalne. Lokal na kaplicę wydzierżawiony został parafii przez Urząd Gminy w Elku.

Na terenie parafii kult Boży odbywa się jeszcze w kaplicy filialnej w Reglu. Jest to budynek parterowy, murowany, o dachu dwuspadowym. Dawniej mieściła się tu szkoła podstawowa (do 1973 r.). Kaplica zajmuje pomieszczenie o wymiarach 5 m na 8 m z przedsionkiem o powierzchni 11 m². W kaplicy znajduje się ołtarz soborowy, Droga Krzyżowa, figury Najświętszej Maryi Panny i św. Józefa oraz obraz Najświętszego Serca Jezusa, wykonany przez miejscowego artystę.

Budynek plebanii znajduje się kilkadziesiąt metrów od kościoła parafialnego. Na plebanię został przeznaczony w 1994 r. Wcześniej były tu pomieszczenia PGR-u. Całość jest murowana, parterowa, o powierzchni ok. 160 m².

Parafia nie posiada własnego cmentarza. Wierni chowani są zazwyczaj na cmentarzu komunalnym w Elku.

W 1997 r. do parafii należało ok. 600 katolików, a w 2017 r. – ok. 650. Zamieszkują oni pięć miejscowości: Kałęczyny, Koziki, Regiel, Regielnicę i Sordachy.

Dotychczas opiekę duszpasterską w parafii sprawowali: ks. Andrzej Amielawski (1994), ks. Tadeusz Herman (1994-1995), ks. Antoni Sawicki (1995-1998), ks. Władysław Łada (1998-2006), ks. Robert Leśniewski (od 2006 r.). Każdorazowy proboszcz obok funkcji duszpasterskich administruje także gospodarstwem rolnym Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego, w skład którego wchodzi ponad 300 hektarów ziemi. Z parafii pochodzą m.in. ks. Krzysztof Krasnobajew, s. Mirosława Kuligowska OSB.

W. Guzewicz, *Kościół i parafie ziemi elckiej*, Elk 2008, s. 141-146; *Schematyzm Diecezji Elckiej 2012. Stan z 15 września 2012 r. w roku Jubileuszu XX-lecia istnienia Diecezji Elckiej*, red. A. Skowroński i in., Elk 2012, s. 448-449; *Schematyzm Diecezji Elckiej 2017: w roku Jubileuszu XXV-lecia istnienia Diecezji Elckiej. Stan na 1 października 2017 r.*, [opr. M. Maczan], Elk 2017, s. 193; T. Białous, R.S. Leśniewski, *Błogosławieni trudnych czasów orędujcie za diecezją elcką*, Elk 2017.

Rożyńsk Wielki (Św. Szczepana)

Rożyńsk (niem. Gross Rosinsko) został założony na prawie magdeburskim w 1471 r. przez braci Macieja, Jana, Jerzego i Bartłomieja oraz ich siostrzeńców Pawła i Macieja. W 1550 r. osada ta stała się wsią czynszową, a właścicielem jej był Łukasz Różyński. W czasie reformacji ludność Rożyńska i okolic przyjęła luteranizm, ale zachowała kult św. Erazma (zbór ewangelicki miał tu powstać jeszcze przed 1565 r.). Gdy w 1656 r. kościół szczęśliwie uniknął zniszczenia przez Tatarów, Mazurzy ewangeliccy uznali to za cud św. Erazma i tłumnie nawiedzali kościół na Przemienienie Pańskie. Kronika kościelna podaje, że na widok witraża przedstawiającego św. Erazma Tatarzy ugasił już rozniecony ogień, dzięki czemu świątynia przetrwała ten najazd w przeciwieństwie do większości zabudowań wsi.

Wraz z zakończeniem II wojny światowej i przybyciem ludności polskiej wyznania rzymskokatolickiego poczyniono starania o utworzenie w Rożyńsku parafii, jednakże z braku odpowiedniej liczby kapłanów w diecezji, a później także stosownego pozwolenia władz państwowych decyzję tę odłożono. W lutym 1958 r. bp Tomasz Wilczyński utworzył w Rożyńsku samodzielny wikariat parafii w Drygałach, wyznaczając ks. Antoniego Zdunka na duszpasterza Rożyńska Wielkiego z zamieszkaniem na miejscu. Formalnie parafię utworzono dopiero 23 lipca 1982 r. (bp Jan Obląk). Obecnie należy do dekanatu św. Antoniego Padewskiego w Białej Piskiej.

Pierwsza świątynia powstała w Rożyńsku Wielkim najprawdopodobniej ok. 1500 r., jeszcze za czasów krzyżackich. Był to kościół drewniany, kryty strzechą, poświęcony św. Erazmowi. Od zachodu wybudowano wieżę w rzucie prostokąta bądź kwadratu, z jedną trzecią włączoną w obręb korpusu. Wyposażenie wnętrza nosiło cechy renesansu niderlandzkiego, który był modny na Prusach od połowy lat trzydziestych XVI w. Ołtarz główny pochodził z XVII w. (obecnie znajduje się w Skansenie Budownictwa Ludowego w Olsztynku).

Kościół ten został rozebrany w 1894 r. z powodu złego stanu technicznego. Na miejscu, gdzie stał ołtarz tegoż kościoła, stoi dziś obelisk z napisem: *Hier stand der Altar der alten Kirche. Groß Rosinsko. 1589-1892.*

Dziś głównym miejscem kultu w Rożyńsku Wielkim jest kościół pw. św. Szczepana. Został on zbudowany w latach 1889-1892, w stylu neogotyckim, z czerwonej cegły na kamiennej podmurówce (do wysokości 1 m). Wieża kościoła jest pięciopoziomowa i została nakryta dachem namiotowym. W wieży kościoła wisi duży dzwon. Drugi został wywieziony po zakończeniu działań wojennych w 1945 r. do parafii Białaszewo.

W centralnym miejscu znajduje się prezbiterium, a w nim trzy zabytkowe witraże, które przedstawiają sceny z życia Jezusa: (od prawej) – Wniebowstąpienie Pana Jezusa, Śmierć Jezusa na Krzyżu oraz Narodzenie Pana Jezusa. Zabytkowe witraże pochodzą z roku 1900. Ołtarz główny został umiejscowiony w pośrodku prezbiterium na dwustopniowym drewnianym podwyższeniu. Wykonał go Stefan Zawistowski z Elku z drzewa dębowego w roku 1960. Ołtarz architektoniczny, trójosiowy, jednokondygnacyjny, ze zwieńczeniem. W jego centralnej części umiejscowiony jest obraz Matki Bożej Nieustającej Pomocy, który zasłaniany jest obrazem św. Szczepana. Po lewej stronie ołtarz zdobi figura przedstawiająca świętego Piotra, natomiast po prawej stronie umiejscowiony jest święty Paweł. Tabernakulum pancerne wykonał Piotr Majewski z Elku.

Naprzeciw ołtarza znajduje się chór, a na nim organy z 1895 r. Wykonane zostały w pracowni Wilhelma Sauera we Frankfurcie nad Odrą. Organy posiadają 18 głosów. W latach 2009-2018 odbyło się tu 10 edycji Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Muzyki Organowej i Kameralnej w Rożyńsku Wielkim.

Na terenie parafii znajdują się dwie kaplice dojazdowe: w Krzątkach i Dybówku. Pierwsza mieści się w budynku dawnej szkoły podstawowej i zajmuje ok. 40 m² jego powierzchni. Cały parterowy obiekt został wybudowany z cegły, ma zagospodarowane poddasze, pochodzi z początku XX w. Jako pierwszy do Kurzątek zaczął dojeżdżać ks. Czesław Drężek w 1976 r. Było to przy okazji poświęcenia pól, rekolekcji wielkopostnych czy obchodów Tygodnia Miłosierdzia. Kaplica w Dybówku znajduje się w budynku po dawnej świetlicy PGR. Datę powstania budowli określa się na koniec lat pięćdziesiątych ubiegłego stulecia. Na ośrodek kultu miejsce to zostało przeznaczone w latach dziewięćdziesiątych XX w.

Bezpośrednio po II wojnie światowej w Rożyńsku nie było cmentarza, nie było zresztą i kogo chować. Prawie wszystkich zmarłych wywożono na „polskie tereny”, bo – jak powszechnie sądzono – tereny Rożyńska w przyszłości mogą odpaść od Polski. Tylko dzieci i niektórych starszych chowano na cmentarzu przy kościele. Do dziś znajdują się tam ich krzyże i nagrobki. W połowie lat siedemdziesiątych (styczeń 1976 r.) władze państwowe oddały katolikom na pochówki dawny cmentarz ewangelicki, założony na przełomie XIX i XX w. Zaraz potem dokonano na tym cmentarzu niezbędnych prac adaptacyjnych

i rozpoczęto systematyczne chowanie zmarłych. Uroczystego poświęcenia cmentarza dokonał bp Jan Obląk 13 czerwca 1977 r. Cmentarz znajduje się na wzgórzu, na skraju wsi, w odległości ok. 300 m od kościoła. Założony na planie zbliżonym do kwadratu, ma ok. 0,7 ha powierzchni. Obok cmentarza parafialnego znajduje się jeszcze kilkanaście cmentarzy poewangelickich w miejscowościach przynależących do parafii.

Plebania to budynek murowany, piętrowy, z zagospodarowanym poddaszem. Wzniósł go ks. Marek Waluś pod koniec swojego duszpasterzowania w Rożyńsku Wielkim.

W 1997 r. i w 2017 r. do parafii należało ok. 800 katolików. Zamieszkują oni kilkanaście miejscowości: Bzury, Ciernie, Czyprki, Dmusy, Dybowo, Dybówko, Guty Rożyńskie, Jebramki, Kibisy, Krzywińskie, Kurzątki, Marchewki, Nowaki, Olszewo, Rożyńsk Wielki, Sokoły Jeziorne, Taczki oraz Wojtele.

Administratorami i proboszczami parafii byli następujący duchowni: ks. Antoni Zdunek (1958-1962), ks. Bronisław Magdziarz (1962-1965), ks. Jan Magdziarz (1965-1968), ks. Henryk Kurach (1968-1973), ks. Czesław Dręzek (1973-1978), ks. Józef Świechowski (1978-1982), ks. Edward Grabarek (1982-2005), ks. Marek Waluś (2005-2018) oraz ks. dr Marcin Oleksy (od 2018 r.). Z parafii pochodzą m.in. ks. Stanisław Markowski, ks. Daniel Kowalski, ks. Wiesław Kropiewnicki, s. Stanisława Zaborowska ZMBM, s. Weronika Trojanowska ZMBM.

Ocalić od zapomnienia: Parafia Rożyńsk Wielki, Ełk–Rożyńsk Wielki 2006; W. Guzewicz, Kościół rzymskokatolicki na ziemi ełckiej po II wojnie światowej (1945-1992). Uwarunkowania i struktura, „Rocznik Ełcki”, 3(2007), s. 72-98; W. Guzewicz, Kościoły i parafie ziemi ełckiej, Ełk 2008, s. 147-153; W. Guzewicz, Parafia Rożyńsk Wielki 1958/1982-2008, Ełk 2008; Schematyzm Diecezji Ełckiej 2012. Stan z 15 września 2012 r. w roku Jubileuszu XX-lecia istnienia Diecezji Ełckiej, red. A. Skowroński i in., Ełk 2012, s. 450-452; W. Guzewicz, Przeszłość i teraźniejszość kościołów i parafii dekanatu pw. św. Antoniego Padewskiego w Białej Piskiej, Ełk 2012, s. 75-86; Schematyzm Diecezji Ełckiej 2017: w roku Jubileuszu XXV-lecia istnienia Diecezji Ełckiej. Stan na 1 października 2017 r., [opr. M. Maczan], Ełk 2017, s. 194; D. Kowalski, Miejsca kultu w parafii pw. Świętego Szczepana w Rożyńsku Wielkim, Olsztyn 2017 [mps BUWM]; W. Guzewicz, Parafia Rożyńsk Wielki (historia – ludność – miejsca kultu), „Civitas et Lex”, 8(2021), nr 2(30), s. 73-87.

Ruciane Nida (Matki Bożej Miłosierdzia)

W XVIII wieku w miejscu, gdzie dziś rozciąga się miasteczko Ruciane, znajdowała się gajówka. Potem, tj. w XIX w., leśniczówka i niewielka osada leśna. Aż do roku 1899 stanowiły one kolonię majątku leśnego Guzianki. Następnie utworzono osobną jednostkę administracyjną, gminę (jednostkową) Rudeczany. Dzięki uruchomieniu linii kolejowej Olsztyn–Ełk ze stacją w Rucianie oraz komunikacji pasażerskiej na jeziorach mazurskich Ruciane stało się jednym z najważniejszych ośrodków turystycznych w dawnych Prusach

Wschodnich. Szkoła powstała tutaj na przełomie XIX i XX w. Po drugiej wojnie światowej nastąpił szybki rozwój Rucianego, na który obok turystyki wpływały Zakłady Płyt Pilśniowych i Wiórowych, przyczyniając się do wzrostu liczby mieszkańców (miejsca pracy). Gdy zaś dzięki powstaniu nowych domów mieszkalnych i ośrodków turystycznych Ruciane i Nida zespoliły się terytorialnie, miejscowości nadano prawa miejskie (1966 r.).

Przed II wojną światową Ruciane było osadą zamieszkałą przez ewangelików. W 1909 r. przygotowali oni plany budowy kościoła wraz z plebanią. Kościół został wybudowany prawdopodobnie w roku następnym. Po drugiej wojnie światowej w opuszczonym przez protestantów Rucianem osiedlili się katolicy, którzy przejęli kościół i poświęcili go Matce Boskiej Ostrobramskiej (1947r.). W 1949 r. utworzono tu samodzielny ośrodek duszpasterski. Kanonicznie parafia powstała dopiero 20 kwietnia 1962 r., na mocy dekretu biskupa Tomasza Wilczyńskiego. Parafia należy do dekanatu św. Huberta w Piszcu.

Kościół pw. Matki Bożej Miłosierdzia Ostrobramskiej jest murowany, jednonawowy, salowy, zbudowany w kształcie prostokąta. Powierzchnia użytkowa świątyni wynosi 180 m², może ona pomieścić 700 osób. Długość kościoła wynosi 18 m, szerokość 10 m, a wysokość 15 m.

Prezbiterium umieszczono we wschodniej części kościoła. Jest ono prostokątne, zwieńczone łukiem, nad którym widnieje napis: „Ducha nie gaście”. W centrum prezbiterium usytuowano ołtarz soborowy wykonany z marmuru. Na głównej ścianie umieszczono tabernakulum w formie szafki dwudrzwiowej. Wokół tabernakulum – płaskorzeźba przedstawiająca promienie, w które wpisany jest krzyż. Z prawej strony od tabernakulum, zauważamy duży drewniany krzyż z wizerunkiem Jezusa Ukrzyżowanego. W prezbiterium, po lewej stronie od ołtarza, umiejscowiono ambonę marmurową z płaskorzeźbą przedstawiającą Dekalog oraz mosiężny lichtarz na cztery świece. Przed prezbiterium od strony południowej znajduje się chrzcielnica z trzonem marmurowym, czaszą w formie czworokąta i pokrywą zwieńczoną krzyżem. Po stronie północnej przed ołtarzem wisi obraz Jezusa Miłosiernego, a po stronie południowej obraz Matki Bożej Miłosierdzia z 1958 r.

Na placu przykościelnym znajduje się m.in. budynek katechetyczny z przełomu lat 70. i 80 o wymiarach 15 m na 11 m i wysokości do stropu – 8 m, wolno stojąca dzwonnica z trzema dzwonami, które poświęcił bp Edward Samsel w 2001 r., figura Matki Bożej, przy której odprawiane są niektóre nabożeństwa i Msze św. oraz krzyż misyjny z 2005 r.

Do parafii należy również kaplica filialna pw. św. Judy Tadeusza w Wejsunach, którą zbudowano w 1989 roku. Powstała wg projektu p. Antoniego Cieloszczyka na fundamentach starego magazynu. Sama budowa trwała trzy miesiące. Kaplicę poświęcił bp Edmund Piszcz 5 lipca 1989 r. Jest to budynek jednonawowy, o dachu pokrytym dachówką i zwieńczonym małą kopułką, o wymiarach 20 m na 9 m i wysokości 6 m. W niewielkim prezbiterium znajduje się marmurowy ołtarz. Tuż za nim, na filarze, umieszczono tabernakulum,

a nad nim – drewniany krzyż, przedstawiający Pana Jezusa z jedną opuszczoną ręką (scena zdjęcia Chrystusa z krzyża). Po stronie północnej od prezbiterium wisi obraz św. Judy Tadeusza, a po południowej Matki Bożej Częstochowskiej.

Parafia nie posiada własnego cmentarz, korzysta z dwóch cmentarzy komunalnych („starego” i „nowego”). Znajdują się one na obrzeżach miasta. Oba cmentarze, oddzielone drogą, ogrodzone siatką, zajmują łącznie powierzchnię ponad 2 ha. Na „starym” cmentarzu znajduje się drewniana kaplica przedpo-grzebowa o dachu dwuspadowym, z niewielką, strzelistą wieżyczką zwieńczoną krzyżem. Całość ma wymiary 7 m na 12 m. Wewnątrz kaplicy na północnej ścianie wisi krzyż. Na wyposażenie obiektu składają się także m. in. katafalki i ławki. Najstarszy zachowany nagrobek datuje się tutaj na rok 1916. Na „nowym” cmentarzu zaczęto grzebać zmarłych dopiero od roku 1990.

Plebania wraz salką katechetyczną, kancelarią i mieszkaniem dla księdza proboszcza (na piętrze) przylega bezpośrednio (od strony północnej) do kościoła. Została ona wybudowana na początku XX w. wraz z kościołem.

W 1997 r. do parafii należało ok. 2000 katolików, a w 2017 r. – 2300. Zamieszkują oni następujące miejscowości: Dębowo, Głogowo Małe, Głogowo Duże, Końcewo, Niedźwiedzi Róg, Oko, Onufryjowo, Osady Leśne, Osiniak, Piaski, Popielno, Ruciane (ul. Boczna, Dworcowa, Dybówek I, Dybówek II, Guzianka, Kokoszka, Kowalik, Mazurska, Słowiańska, al. Wczasów), Skonał, Szeroki Bór Piski, Warnowo, Wejsuny, Wygryny, Wierzbą, Wólka, Zamordeje.

W ostatnim sześćdziesięcioleciu rządcami parafii byli: ks. Franciszek Mączka – do 1956 r. używał przybranego imienia i nazwiska Franciszek Bie-niasz (1949-1957), ks. Wenancjusz Maćkowiak (1957-1961), ks. Ludwik Bia-łek (1961-1975), ks. Jan Żołnierkiewicz (1975-1983), ks. Henryk Cimochoński (1983-1985), ks. Czesław Giza (1985-1989), ks. Stanisław Ławrynowicz (1990-2020), ks. Waldemar Barnak (od 2020 r.). Z parafii pochodzą m.in. ks. Stanisław Tkacz, o. Romuald Jaworski OFM, o. Adam Zadroga OFM Cap., ks. Łukasz Gołaś oraz s. Elżbieta Tkacz SAC.

Pisz. Z dziejów miasta i powiatu, red. J. Maciejewska, W. Korycka i in., W. Korycka, Olsztyn 1970; J. Śliwiński, *Z dziejów Rucianego-Nidy i okolic*, Olsztyn 1993; K. Bielawny, *Dzieje parafii Nawiady, Ukta, Piecki i Ruciane w latach 1397-2000*, Olsztyn 2009; *Schematyzm Diecezji Elckiej 2012. Stan z 15 września 2012 r. w roku Jubileuszu XX-lecia istnienia Diecezji Elckiej*, red. A. Skowroński i in., Elk 2012, s. 453-455; W. Guzewicz, R. Skawiński, *Pisz i okolice. Studium historyczne kościołów i parafii dekanatu piskiego*, Elk 2014, s. 57-64; *Schematyzm Diecezji Elckiej 2017: w roku Jubileuszu XXV-lecia istnienia Diecezji Elckiej. Stan na 1 października 2017 r.*, [opr. M. Maczan], Elk 2017, s. 195.

Ruciane Nida (Trójcy Świętej)

Pierwsze informacje o Nidzie pochodzą z końca XVI w. Według mapy Kacpra Hennenbergera istniała tu w owym czasie wioska rybacka. Nazwa Ruciane pochodzi od terminu ruda. W okolicach Rucianego istniały bowiem licz-

ne hamernie, smolarnie, dziegciarnie, wypalarnie węgla drzewnego. W 1679 r. stał w Nidzie murowany młyn nad rzeką Nidką, przy jej ujściu do jeziora. Na miejscu owej dawnej wioski rybackiej i osady młynarskiej założono w 1699 r. osadę szkatułową. Wokół Nidy powstawały inne osady szkatułowe, jak na przykład Dybówko, Kowalik, Pólko i Wólka. Tworzyły się one prawdopodobnie w miejscach dawnych smolarni, hamerni, wypalarni węgla drzewnego. Nida – nazwę swą wywiodła od starszej nazwy jeziora i rzeki o tej samej nazwie. W 1880 r. znajdował się w Nidzie Urząd Stanu Cywilnego, a w latach dziewięćdziesiątych XIX wieku uruchomiono tu szlak wodny prowadzący z Giżycka do Mikołajek, Rucianego i Piszcz oraz założono szkołę.

Wraz z osadnictwem polskim nastąpił szybki rozwój Nidy. Wybudowano tu m.in. Zakłady Płyt Pilśniowych i Wiórowych, dzięki czemu powstała duża dzielnica przemysłowa i mieszkaniowa. Na rozwój miejscowości wpłynęło także ożywienie ruchu turystycznego i utworzeniu miasta Ruciane Nida (1966 r.), w skład którego włączono obszar Rucianego, Nidy i części pobliskich miejscowości.

Myśl o utworzeniu parafii w Rucianem Nidzie (na terenie dawniej osady Nida) powstała w latach osiemdziesiątych ubiegłego stulecia. Wówczas też zakupiono grunt pod przyszły kościół i przystąpiono do jego budowy. Plac pod świątynię poświęcił bp Julian Wojtkowski 22 czerwca 1986 r. Świątynię pw. Trójcy Świętej w Rucianem Nidzie budowano w latach 1986-1991. W tym czasie bp Edmund Piszcz utworzył kanonicznie parafię (dekret wszedł w życie 1 stycznia 1990 r.). Poświęcenia kościoła dokonał bp Wojciech Ziemia 18 czerwca 2000 r., w uroczystość Trójcy Świętej. Parafia włączona jest do dekanatu św. Huberta w Piszcz.

Kościół pw. Trójcy Świętej ma wewnątrz o okładzie jednonawowym, sklepienie nawy głównej przypomina odwrócone dno łodzi (boazeria). Gmach zbudowany został z cegły czerwonej na rzucie trójkąta, w stylu nowoczesnym. Z zewnątrz przypomina on rozpięty żagiel zwieńczony krzyżem, a wewnątrz z sufitu „patrzy” dno łodzi. Kościół zaprojektowano jako dwa przyległe trójkąty, w których szczytach umieszczone zostało prezbiterium. Nawę główną nakryto dachem dwuspadowym, nawy boczne jednospadowym. Powierzchnia użytkowa obiektu wynosi 484,96 m², a kubatura 4601 m³. Może on pomieścić do 1000 wiernych, w tym ok. 300 na chórze. Wymiary kościoła: długość – 30 m, szerokość – 20 m, a wysokość (do krzyża) – 16 m.

W centralnej części świątyni na ścianie prezbiterium umieszczone jest tabernakulum (z dwoma skrzydłami), z napisem JESTEM. Przypomina ono krzew wkomponowany w promienie wychodzące od Ducha Świętego, którego symbolizuje gołębicą umieszczoną nad tym tabernakulum.

Ołtarz soborowy stanowi prosty stół wykonany z białego marmuru, podobnie jak podstawa tabernakulum i ambonka. Ambonkę umieszczono od strony zachodniej ołtarza, natomiast chrzcielnicę po stronie wschodniej.

Naprzeciw ołtarza znajduje się wsparty na dwóch filarach chór z drewnianą balustradą. W głębi organy elektroniczne. Pod chórem mieści się zakrystia; wydzielono ją z części nawy bocznej (dawniej znajdowała się na chórze).

Ściany kościoła zdobią wykonane z ciemnego drewna płaskorzeźby Drogi Krzyżowej, umieszczone w jasnej ramie, zwieńczonej krzyżem, oraz cztery obrazy: Matki Bożej Częstochowskiej, Miłosierdzia Bożego, św. Józefa oraz Chrztu Pańskiego.

Dzwonnica usytuowana jest na placu przed kościołem, w odległości 7 m od wschodniego ogrodzenia. Ma ona konstrukcję metalową, wznosi się na wysokość 13 m. Na dzwonnicy zawieszono trzy dzwony o masie: 700 kg (zamocowany w środku przęsła, na wysokości 9 m), 420 kg (zamocowany z lewej strony, na wysokości 8,5 m), 220 kg (zamocowany z prawej strony, na wysokości 8 m).

W okresie wakacyjnym, tj. w lipcu, sierpniu i do połowy września, jest odprawiana Msza św. w miejscowości Krzyże. Dawniej była ona odprawiana w Ośrodku Mleczarskim (wypoczynkowym). W roku 2006 ówczesny proboszcz ks. Marek Święch postawił ołtarz z zadaniem na terenach otrzymanych od Nadleśnictwa w Krzyżach. W sierpniu 2009 r. bp Romuald Kamiński poświęcił tę kaplicę, a dekretem bpa Jerzego Mazura z 2012 otrzymała ona tytuł Wniebowzięcia NMP (odpuść 15 sierpnia).

Parafia nie posiada własnego cmentarza. Korzysta z dwóch cmentarzy komunalnych („starego” i „nowego”). Znajdują się one na obrzeżach miasta. Oba cmentarze oddziela droga. Zajmują łącznie powierzchnię ponad 2 ha. Na „starym” cmentarzu znajduje się drewniana kaplica przedpogrzebowa o dachu dwuspadowym, z niewielką strzelistą wieżyczką zwieńczoną krzyżem. Całość ma wymiary 7 m na 12 m. Najstarszy zachowany nagrobek datuje się tutaj na rok 1916. Na „nowym” cmentarzu zaczęto grzebać zmarłych dopiero od roku 1990.

Plebania, jednopiętrowa, z użytkowym poddaszem, usytuowana jest po wschodniej stronie kościoła. Jej powierzchnia wynosi 472,6 m². Plebanię pobrał proboszcz ks. Czesław Giza w 1989 roku.

W 1997 r. do parafii należało ok 3800 wiernych, a w 2017 r. – ok 2400. Parafię tworzą miejscowości: Karwica Mazurska, Krzyże, Leśniczówka Pranie i Ruciane Nida (ulice: Akacyjowa, Białe Osiedle, Brzozowa, Gałczyńskiego, Gwarna, Harcerska, Jana Krajeckiego, 11 Listopada, Klonowa, Kolejowa, Krótka, Kwiatowa, Leśna, Ogrodowa, Podleśna, Polna, Słoneczna, Sosnowa, Szkolna, Wiejska, Zielona i Żeglarska).

Pierwszym proboszczem parafii był ks. Czesław Giza, uprzedni proboszcz parafii pw. Matki Boskiej Ostrobramskiej w Rucianem Nidzie (od 1 stycznia 1990 r.). Urząd ten pełnił do 2005 r. Kolejnymi proboszczami byli ks. Marek Święch (2005-2016) i ks. Jan Ostrowski (od 2016 r.). Obok proboszcza w parafii pracuje jeden wikariusz. Z parafii pochodzą m.in. ks. Jerzy Galiński, ks. Jerzy Więcek, o. Henryk Więcek TJ, ks. Radosław Góralski, ks. Konrad Sobiecki, ks. Adam **Żelobowski**, ks. Piotr Bączyński.

Pisz. Z dziejów miasta i powiatu, red. J. Maciejewska, W. Korycka i in., W. Korycka, Olsztyn 1970; J. Śliwiński, *Z dziejów Rucianego-Nidy i okolic*, Olsztyn 1993; K. Bielawny, *Dzieje parafii Nawiady, Ukta, Piecki i Ruciane w latach 1397-2000*, Olsztyn 2009; *Schematyzm Diecezji Elckiej 2012. Stan z 15 września 2012 r. w roku Jubileuszu XX-lecia istnienia Diecezji Elckiej*, red. A. Skowroński i in., Elk 2012, s. 456-458; W. Guzewicz, R. Skawiński, *Pisz i okolice. Studium historyczne kościołów i parafii dekanatu piskiego*, Elk 2014, s. 65-71; *Schematyzm Diecezji Elckiej 2017: w roku Jubileuszu XXV-lecia istnienia Diecezji Elckiej. Stan na 1 października 2017 r.*, [opr. M. Maczan], Elk 2017, s. 196; P.T. Bączyński, *Rys historyczny parafii pw. Świętej Trójcy w Rucianem Nidzie w latach 1990-2018*, Olsztyn 2019 [mps BUWM].

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Churches and Parishes of the Diocese of Elk (Part 20)

Summary

The article presents the church centers in Rajgród (Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary), Regielnica (Saint Joseph, Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary), Rożyńsk Wielki (Saint Stephen) and two in Ruciane Nida (Our Lady of Mercy and Holy Trinity).

Keywords: Rajgród, Regielnica, Rożyńsk Wielki, Ruciane Nida, Diocese of Elk, Catholic Church.

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Pisz. Z dziejów miasta i powiatu, red. J. Maciejewska, W. Korycka i in., W. Korycka, Olsztyn 1970.
Schematyzm Diecezji Elckiej 2012. Stan z 15 września 2012 r. w roku Jubileuszu XX-lecia istnienia Diecezji Elckiej, red. A. Skowroński i in., Elk 2012.
Schematyzm Diecezji Elckiej 2017: w roku Jubileuszu XXV-lecia istnienia Diecezji Elckiej. Stan na 1 października 2017 r., [opr. M. Maczan], Elk 2017.
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WOJCIECH GUZEWICZ*

Nadbużanin [Józef Barwiński], Józef Koniuszewski. Wspomnienia z czasów prześladowania Unitów na Podlasiu, Wydawnictwo Diecezji Siedleckiej UNITAS, Siedlce 2021², ss. 98.

Książka pt. *Józef Koniuszewski. Wspomnienia z czasów prześladowania Unitów na Podlasiu* została napisana przez Józefa Barwińskiego, posługującego się pseudonimem „Nadbużanin”. Opublikowano ją po raz pierwszy w Chicago (USA) w 1879 r. Powrócono do tej pozycji niedawno, bo w 2021 r. Dzięki staraniom Stowarzyszenia Pamięci Unitów Podlaskich „Martyrium” i Wydawnictwa Diecezji Siedleckiej UNITAS opublikowano drugie wydanie tej książki.

Dzieło jest pasjonującą opowieścią o brutalnym niszczeniu dobytku i prześladowaniu unitów podlaskich, opierających się przyjęciu prawosławia, a także o heroicznej i desperackiej śmierci przez samospalenie 10 grudnia 1874 r. unickiej rodziny Koniuszewskich, broniącej wiary swoich ojców. Dotyczy to Józefa (lat 30) – ojca rodziny, Anastazji (lat 25) – matki oraz dwójki ich dzieci – Łucji (mającej 2,5 miesiąca) i Ewy (3 lata).

Działo się to jesienią 1874 r., w czasach kasaty unii przez carat na terenach dawnego Królestwa Polskiego. Opowiadanie dotyczy konkretnie parafii Horbów i miejscowości Kłoda Mała. Ale wiemy, że takich parafii i miejscowości na Podlasiu było jeszcze bardzo wiele (np. Drelów, Pratulin itd.). Eksterminacja unitów na Podlasiu dokonywała się zazwyczaj w podobny sposób. Wszystkich wiernych unickich z danej miejscowości zapędzono pod cerkiew i nakazywano (przymuszano) przepisać się na prawosławnie. W trakcie tego wydarzenia stosowano zarówno przemoc fizyczną (z użyciem długich biczów zwanych nahajami), jak i manipulacji, aby wszelkimi możliwymi sposobami przekonać ludność do zmiany wyznania.

Wśród unitów, którzy nie ulegli carskim nakazom, była wspomniana rodzina Koniuszewskich, w swojej miejscowości najgorliwiej broniąca wyznawanych przez siebie ideałów. Józef Koniuszewski mimo ogromnego cierpienia,

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jakiego doświadczył w czasie prześladowań, wołał oddać życie w obronie wiary niż ulec carskim ukazom („Ja sam podpaliłem stodołę (...). Moskale zmusić mnie chcieli do wyrzeczenia się świętej wiary naszej, chcieli mi zabrać dzieci, aby je pochrzcić po swojemu, wszystko wycierpiałem, nie mogąc jednak inaczej obronić dzieci, ginę z nimi; stodoła zabita, módlcie się za nas sąsiedzi i pozostaniecie jak my wiernymi naszej wiary” (s. 78)).

Inne prześladowania opierały się na próbie zgłodzenia niepokornych rodzin poprzez nakładanie dziennych kar pieniężnych, co jakiś czas zwiększanych. W przypadku rodziny Koniuszewskich dziennie musiała ona płacić aż dziesięć rubli, co w tamtym okresie dla wszystkich chłopów (nie tylko dla Józefa) było ogromnym wydatkiem. Z uwagi na brak pieniędzy na pokrycie kosztów zabrano im zwierzęta gospodarskie, które mogły być jednym źródłem pożywienia dla rodziny. Z domu skonfiskowano także wszystkie przedmioty, przez co Koniuszewscy musieli przenieść się do stodoły, by chociaż trochę uchronić się przed zimnem.

Trud prześladowanych opisany został przez Władysława Reymonta w książce pt. *Z ziemi chełmskiej*: Tak opisuje to pisarz: „Koniuszewski struchlał, ale matka, chociaż jeszcze chora, zaczęła krzyczeć: – Nie dam na prawosławne dziecka! Uduśzę je własnymi rękami, a nie dam! Strażnik odszedł, i nazajutrz wezwano Koniuszewskiego do gminy. – Ja Polak i katolik, to i mój syn¹ będzie taki sam! – odpowiadał krótko i twardo. Posiedział za to parę dni w kozie, dostał parę razy w zęby, ale nie zmiękł. W jakiś czas później wezwano go do Białej. Siedział w kryminale wraz ze złodziejami przez dwa miesiące i, chociaż próbowano złamać jego upór na różne sposoby, nie ustąpił i dziecka w cerkwi nie ochrzcił. Wrócił tylko z więzienia jakoś srodze opuchły, posiniaczony i z powybijanymi zębami. Powiadał potem przed sąsiadami, że zdrzemnął się na wozie i zleciał na twardą grudę drogi (...)”².

Wiemy, że zaraz po tych tragicznych wydarzeniach zaborcy chcieli zatrzeć męczeńską śmierć rodziny Koniuszewskich. Uciekali się m.in. do kłamstw i propagandy: twierdzili, że „Koniuszewski po pijanemu zarzucił ogień w słomę i całkiem przypadkiem zgorzał z rodziną” albo, że „nieboszczyk zabił swą żonę, a bojąc się odpowiedzialności, spalił się z trupem” (s. 79). Sposób zohydzenia bohaterskiego zgonu i zatarcia męczeńskiej śmierci wieśniaczej rodziny nie udał się jednakże. Zachowały się bowiem świadectwa ludzi mówiących o tym, jak widzieli oboje Koniuszewskich wchodzących do stodoły, zaś przykładowe pożycie tejże rodziny oraz znęcanie się urzędników i wojska carskiego było powszechnie znane okolicznym mieszkańcom. Potwierdza to także aneks książki, w którym znajdują się m.in. akta metrykalne rodziny Koniuszewskich spisane 30 listopada/12 grudnia 1874 r. w parafii greckokatolickiej Horbów, a przetłumaczone z języka rosyjskiego na język polski przez ks. Bernarda

¹ Koniuszewscy nie mieli syna, tylko dwie córki.

² W. Reymont, *Z ziemi chełmskiej*, Gdańsk 2000, s. 26.

Błońskiego. Odnajdujemy w nich podstawowe dane o rodzinie Koniuszewskich i wydarzeniu, które miało miejsce późnym wieczorem 10 grudnia 1974 r. w Kłodzie Małej.

Autor książki niewątpliwie przybliżył nam postać Józefa Koniuszewskiego i jego rodziny, która dla wielu czytelników jest może mało znana. Pokazał przede wszystkim ich głęboką wiarę połączoną z codziennością, miłość do Kościoła oraz bohaterską śmierć. Lektura książki pt. *Józef Koniuszewski. Wspomnienia z czasów prześladowania Unitów na Podlasiu*, pozwala nie tylko zachować pamięć o trudnej przeszłości Kościoła na Podlasiu, ale patrzeć z nadzieją w przyszłość. Książkę należy polecić nie tylko kapłanom i wiernym diecezji siedleckiej, ale także badaczom dziejów diecezji podlaskiej i w ogóle Polski wschodniej. Wydaje się, że każdego człowieka związanego z Kościołem i regionem poruszy lektura tej pracy. Powinna trafić też do szkolnych i parafialnych bibliotek Podlasia, a także na półki miłośników i badaczy lokalnych dziejów i kultury.

MARCIN SIENKOWSKI*

Joseph Ratzinger, *Bóg wiary i Bóg filozofów. Rozum filozoficzny – Kultura – Europa – Społeczeństwo*, t. 3, cz. 1, przeł. J. Merceki, Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin 2021, ss. 486.

Pośród kilkunastu tomów serii *Opera omnia* autorstwa Josepha Ratzingera znajduje się dzieło zatytułowane *Bóg wiary i Bóg filozofów. Rozum filozoficzny – Kultura – Europa – Społeczeństwo*. Stanowi ono pierwszą część tomu trzeciego. Redaktorem wydania polskiego i autorem wprowadzenia jest ks. K. Góźdz, który na wstępie m.in. wyjaśnia, dlaczego całemu tomowi nadano wspomniany tytuł.

Omawiane tu dzieło składa się z trzech części. Pierwsza z nich dotyczy specyfiki wiary chrześcijańskiej, czyli jednego Boga w trzech osobach. W drugiej są zebrane teksty, które mówią o uniwersalnym wymogu wiary chrześcijańskiej i o uniwersalności rozumu. Część trzecia koncentruje się na jednej wierze w relacji do wielości kultur.

Ponieważ w krótkiej recenzji nie sposób zwrócić uwagę na wszystkie wątki podejmowane przez Ratzingera, rozsądnie jest skupić się na tekście, który jest najbardziej reprezentatywny dla wszystkich artykułów zebranych w całym tomie. Wydaje się, że taką rolę pełni tekst pt. *Bóg wiary i Bóg filozofów. Przyczynek do problemu theologia naturalis* (s. 149-168).

Główny problem, który Ratzinger w nim rozpatruje dotyczy zasadności powiązania myśli greckiej i wiary biblijnej, co dokonało się w pierwotnym Kościele. Punktem wyjścia omawianego zagadnienia czyni zestawienie tezy św. Tomasza z Akwinu z antytezą Emila Brunnera. Poprzedza je wprowadzenie w postaci historii pytania o związek Boga wiary i Boga filozofów, w którym mowa m.in. o kierunku, jaki spornej kwestii (powiązania metafizyki i religii) nadali Pascal, Kartezjusz, Kant czy Schleiermacher. Konkluzja z toczącej się dyskusji brzmiała: Bóg religii przeciwstawia się Bogu filozofów; religia jest przeżyciem, a filozofia teorią.

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Według św. Tomasza z Akwinu Bóg religii i Bóg filozofów utożsamiają się ze sobą całkowicie, a Bóg wiary i Bóg filozofii różnią się częściowo. Bóg wiary przewyższa Boga filozofów przez to, że coś do Niego dodaje (treść objawienia).

Ratzinger wskazuje, że harmonijnemu ujęciu Akwinaty przeciwstawia się myśl Emila Brunnera, teologa reformowanego, który podkreśla, że biblijny Bóg ma swoje imiona. Przez to staje w opozycji do filozoficznej nauki o Bogu. Ta ostatnia polega na tym, że dokonuje przejścia od jednostkowości do ogólności; od imienia do pojęcia. Filozofia zmierza od ujęcia konkretnego, który ma imię, do wskazania tego, co ogólne. Na gruncie filozofii Boga ma miejsce podobne przejście; od imion Boga do pojęcia Boga. Natomiast biblijny Bóg jest jednostkowy i ma imię, które sam objawił. Brunner podkreśla, że dzięki imieniu Bóg może być zawołany, a w konsekwencji staje się dostępny dla człowieka i wchodzi z nim w relacje. Podczas gdy w filozofii to człowiek poszukuje Boga, w wierze biblijnej sam Bóg ustanawia relacje z człowiekiem. W ten sposób różnica między pojęciem Boga a Bogiem wiary staje się jeszcze wyraźniejsza. Modlić się można tylko do Boga wiary i tylko z Nim można tworzyć wspólnotę. Brunner mówi, że Bóg filozofów jest Bogiem pomyślanym, zaś Bóg wiary jest Bogiem, który się objawił.

Ratzinger przytacza również Brunnera krytykę imienia Boga z *Księgi Wyjścia*, na które powołuje się filozofia (np. metafizyka klasyczna) w celu zharmonizowania koncepcji Boga z biblijnym objawieniem. Zdaniem reformowanego teologa, Ojcowie Kościoła rozminęli się z istotą objawienia przez to, że nie pojęli znaczenia biblijnego imienia Boga (Jestem, który Jestem). Zamiast rozumieć je jako tajemnicę, którą Bóg jest i chce pozostać, odczytali je jako definicję ontologiczną.

Po omówieniu dwóch przeciwstawnych stanowisk (Akwinaty i Brunnera) Ratzinger przechodzi do próby rozwiązania problemu. Kreśli je w trzech punktach. Pierwszy z nich polega na zestawieniu filozoficznego pojęcia Boga z religią przedchrześcijańską, drugi na powiązaniu go z biblijnym objawieniem Boga, a trzeci na wskazaniu jedności między filozofią i wiarą. Warto w tym miejscu przytoczyć choćby kilka jego spostrzeżeń i interesujących rozwiązań w omawianym temacie.

Pojęcie Boga ukształtowane w ramach filozofii greckiej jest poprawnie rozumiane wtedy, gdy odnosi się do tamtejszego świata religii. Ratzinger przypomina, że już przed chrześcijaństwem istniało stoickie odróżnienie potrojnej teologii (*theologia mythica, civilis, naturalis*), na które wskazuje przede wszystkim Warron. *Theologia naturalis* zrodziła się za sprawą filozofów i odpowiadała na pytanie, czym są bogowie (*arche*). Filozofia (teoria) odkrywa więc prawdę o rzeczywistości, religia (praktyka) zaś porządkuje kult państwowy.

Z punktu widzenia religii starożytnej interesującym problemem jest wskazanie istoty politeizmu. Nie polega ona wyłącznie na tym, że uznaje się istnienie wielu bogów. Wyznawcom politeizmu już wtedy znana była idea jednego

Absolutu. Chodzi raczej o to, że Absolut nie jest dostępny dla człowieka. Dlatego zwraca się on do skończonych jego odbić, które ostatecznie nie są jednym Bogiem. Wobec tego monoteizm polega na ujęciu jednego Absolutu jako Boga, do którego człowiek może się zwracać, gdyż jest On Bogiem, który sam (pierwszy) zwrócił się do ludzi. Tak oto monoteizm jest łącznikiem wiążącym Boga filozofów z Bogiem człowieka.

Ratzinger wskazuje, że prawda filozoficzna jest częścią wiary chrześcijańskiej. Stara się także wyjaśnić, w jakim stopniu powiązanie Boga wiary z Bogiem filozofów było zasadne z punktu widzenia biblijnego pojęcia Boga. W tym celu odwołuje się do wielu biblijnych określeń Boga, które filozofom służą do scharakteryzowania Jego natury (np. wieczność, wszechmoc, jedność, prawda). Ponadto misyjna działalność Kościoła związana z wyjściem biblijnej wiary na zewnątrz domagała się narzędzi opisanego i wypowiedzenia siebie. Pomocna w tym względzie okazała się filozoficzna nauka o Bogu, która służyła za narzędzie umożliwiające dotarcie do ludzkiego rozumu.

Wreszcie Ratzinger mówi o tym, że powiązanie wiary i filozofii nie znosi różnicy między nimi. Filozofia nie jest wiarą, lecz tym, na co wiara się powołuje, aby wypowiedzieć się w sposób zrozumiały. Ratzinger zaznacza, że przyswojenie filozoficznego pojęcia Boga przez religię chrześcijańską nie zawsze dokonywało się dostatecznie krytycznie. Sugeruje, że na tym polu stale niezbędne są nowe przemyślenia filozoficznych twierdzeń i stała ich weryfikacja. W pracy tego typu mogłyby spotkać się w nowy sposób teologia ewangelicka i katolicka. Wtedy teologia uchodzi za naukę o Bogu w najwłaściwszym sensie. I podkreśla, że w takim znaczeniu teologia jest zadaniem, które nie ma końca. Pytanie o oblicze Boga należy stawiać wciąż na nowo.

Przytoczone powyżej wybrane myśli Ratzingera na temat relacji wiary i filozofii przyczyniają się udzielenia odpowiedzi na pytania typu: Czy synteza myślenia filozoficznego i biblijnego jest uzasadniona? Czy prawomocne jest współlistnienie wiary i filozofii? Czy Boga filozofii można utożsamiać z Bogiem religii? W pytaniach tego rodzaju zawarte jest sedno myślenia i podstawa teologii chrześcijańskiej. Kogo nurtują powyższe problemy, ten nie może pominąć refleksji Ratzingera, który nie tylko odważnie zabiera głos, lecz udziela interesujących odpowiedzi. Z pewnością lektura tekstów zebranych w jednym tomie warta jest uwagi i teologów, i filozofów, a przede wszystkim osób szukających zrozumienia relacji między człowiekiem i Bogiem.

