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Orishas in Cuban Santería According to Nelson Marcos Aboy Domingo

Santería (also called *La Regla de Ocha*, or *The Rule of Ocha*) is an Afro-American syncretic religion practiced in Cuba. At the center of this religion is a belief in the Supreme Being, in deity intercessors (Orishas), and ancestral spirits. Orishas are like divine mediators between the Supreme Being and men. They represent the embodiment of natural forces and natural phenomena such as birth and death, health and disease, rain and dew, and trees and rivers. Orishas represent the four great elements of nature: fire, water, earth and air, as well as the three dimensions of nature: mineral, vegetal, and animal. The Orishas are the emanations of the Supreme Being, from whom they have received divine attributes and characteristics. Their task is to help the Supreme Being to govern the world. This study presents the original concept of "Orisha" according to Nelson Marcos Aboy Domingo, the Cuban anthropologist and *babalawo*, by first presenting how the concept of orishas came about, and then examining the essence, function, and roles of Orishas as well as their cult in Cuban Santería according to concept of Cuban anthropologist.

Key words: Cuban Santería, Orishas, cult, African-American religions, Nelson Marcos Aboy Domingo.

Introduction

Santería (also called *La Regla de Ocha*) is a syncretic African-American religion practiced in Cuba. According to some cultural

anthropologists,¹ the term “African-American religions” is imprecise because of the complex issues of popular religious practices in America, because of their content, and because the evolution, cults, and ceremonies of these religions are so varied. African-American religions have a rich African cultural heritage, which is considered a common good on the American continent.² The traditional African beliefs of the Yoruba (in Cuba the Yoruba people are called “*Lucumi*,” which comes from the response “*oluku mi*—my friend” to the Yoruba greeting), Ewe, Ibo, Efik, and Bakongo (in Cuba, “Congo”) people are the source of Santería in Cuba.³ Diego Velázquez brought the aforementioned African peoples to Cuba as slaves when conquered the island at the end of 1510 or the beginning of 1511.⁴ During the slave trade in the nineteenth century, 550 thousand slaves were transported from Africa to Cuba, which is more than 35% of all of the slaves brought from Africa to Spanish-speaking America during the years 1451-1870.⁵

The African people brought with them their own culture, traditions, and beliefs. Cuba, therefore, provided a new environment and conditions for the rich African religious traditions to grow. However, the Spanish colonial society in which Africans found themselves followed the Christian faith. For this reason, many slave owners required their slaves to receive Christian baptism. But, the cultural values and religions that influenced African life on what was known as the Dark Continent caused new challenges and difficulties in Cuba. Due to Christian evangelization in Cuba, belief in the Supreme Being, in deities (Orishas), and ancestral spirits began to take on new forms, and African slaves began to worship Orishas, known as the deity-intercessors between the Supreme Being and man, under the façade

¹ J. Guancho, “Las religiones afroamericanas en América Latina y el Caribe ante los desafíos de internet,” in *América Latina y el Caribe. Territorios religiosos y desafíos para el diálogo*, ed. Aurelio Alonso (Buenos Aires: CLASCO, 2008), 278-279.

² C.L. Cohen and R.L. Numbers, Eds., *Gods in America: Religious Pluralism in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 3-18; L.G. Desmangles, *The Faces of the Gods: Vodou and Roman Catholicism in Haiti* (North Carolina: North Carolina U Press, 1992), 17-28.

³ T. Gadacz and B. Milerski, eds., “Santería,” *Religia. Encyklopedia PWN*, Vol. 9 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo PWN, 2003), 39.

⁴ J. Castellanos and I. Castellanos, *Cultura afrocubana*, Vol. 1 (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1988), 19.

⁵ P.D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade. A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1969), 234, 268.

of the Catholic saints most prevalent in Cuba at that time: the Mother of God and *El Cobre*, meaning St. Barbara.

The beginning of this paper will present issues related to the emergence and interpretation of the concept “Orisha” and then present the cult of Orishas in Cuban Santería according to Nelson Marcos Aboy Domingo, the Cuban anthropologist and highest priest (*babalawo*) in Santería. This article aims to present a new and different (from commonly accepted interpretations from the anthropology of religion) interpretation of the concept of “Orishas” in order to contribute to a better understanding of the complex phenomena of Afro-Cuban religious syncretism. For, religious syncretism in Latin America still has yet to be fully explained by science. Referring to the studies of J. E. Martins Terra,⁶ Andrzej Pietrzak believes that “the usual justifications for this phenomenon point out that the superficial catechesis, survival strategies, the opposition of slaves, the powerful influence of African traditions and Iberian religiosity—particularly the cult of the saints and the brotherhood of slaves—do not ultimately explain the causes of religious syncretism in Latin America.”⁷ In this article, we will also consider the answer to the question: According to Nelson M. Aboy Domingo, is there a path to salvation that serves as the end of and can be reached through Cuban Santería?

The Formation of the Concept of “Orisha”

The formation of the concept of “Orisha” has its own history. According to Pierre Verger, Samuel Ajayi Crowther—a slave from the ancient kingdom of *Oyó* (presently Nigeria)—was the first to sketch an image of the “Orisha.”⁸ Baptized in London, Samuel Crowther published a translation of sections of the Bible into Yoruba in 1852. In his translation, he called Orishas “goddesses.” The author of this work presented *Oduduá* as the goddess *Ifê*—the highest goddess of the world—while simultaneously pointing out that *Obatalá* is a great

⁶ J. E. Martins Terra, “Sincretismo e cristianismo,” *Revista de Cultura Biblica* Vol. 33, no. 34 (1985).

⁷ A. Pietrzak, “Synkretyczne religie afrykańskie w Ameryce Łacińskiej,” *Dzieje kultury latynoamerykańskiej*, ed., M.F. Gawrycki (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo PWN, 2009), 260.

⁸ P. Verger, “Etnografia religiosa iorubá e probidade científica,” *Religião e Sociedade*, no. 8 (Rio de Janeiro: 1982), 3-10.

goddess.⁹ Consequently, Samuel A. Crowther made a distinction between goddesses and gods.

Similarly, an American Baptist missionary T. J. Bowen published a Yoruba dictionary in 1856. According to Pierre Verger, in this dictionary, T. J. Bowen precisely defined the concept of “Orishas.”¹⁰ The author states that the Orisha *Obatalá* has a place in the kingdom of *Ifé* and is the first of the created orishas. Pierre Bouche, a missionary from the Community of the African Missions in Lyons, France, published a book entitled *La côte des esclaves et le Dahomey (The Slave Coast and Dahomey)* in Paris in 1885. In this book, he shows the syncretic dimension of deities. He compares the goddess *Iyàngbá* with the Mother of God, but he does not point to the fact that the expression “*Iya Àgbá*” is a euphemism for the greeting “*Ìyámi Oxorongá*.”¹¹

Noel Baudin’s publication presents one big terminological mix-up concerning how to interpret the term “orisha.” Father Noel Baudin was a French missionary who worked in Africa between 1869 and 1883. Motivated by a desire to convert the people, Fr. Baudin published a glossary in 1884¹² that led to the introduction of many terminological distortions of the word “orisha.”¹³ Fr. Baudin wrote: “Witches are despicable, deceitful, lazy, false, shameless, beings. They are perfect thieves. [...] As for gods and goddesses with their whimsical legends, they are great witches. Do not believe in them. The idols look like the ugliest black man with huge lips, a flat nose, slender chin—they are true images of old monkeys.”¹⁴ According to Pierre Verger, Fr. Baudin unjustly combines and simultaneously confuses various deities such as *Iyàngbá* and *Oduduá* that do not even appear in the same ethnic group.¹⁵ Fr. Baudin also emphasizes that the deity *Obatalá* is a spirit, *Oduduá* is matter, *Obatalá* is the firmament of the Earth, and *Oduduá* is the Earth.¹⁶ Moreover, Fr. Baudin, interchangeably describes and

⁹ S. J. Crowther, *A vocabulary of the yoruba language* (London: Seeley, Fleet Street, 1852), 207, 223, in P. Verger, *Etnografía religiosa iorubá e probidade científica*, 4.

¹⁰ P. Verger, *Notes sur le culte des orixá* (Dacar: 1957), 171, 509.

¹¹ P. Verger, *Etnografía religiosa*, 4.

¹² N. Baudin, *Dictionnaire français-yoruba et yoruba-français*, 2nd Edition (Cotonou: 1967).

¹³ P. Verger, *Etnografía religiosa*, 4.

¹⁴ N. Baudin, *Dictionnaire français-yoruba*, 86, in P. Verger, *Etnografía religiosa*, 4. Author’s own translation.

¹⁵ P. Verger, *Etnografía religiosa*, 4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

confuses the Yoruba Orishas with the Benin hydras, and the word *égungun* (skeleton bones) with the term *exúngún* (ancestral spirits).¹⁷

The aforementioned 19th century interpretations of the word “Orisha” were followed by other interpretations by authors such as A. B. Ellis, who borrowed heavily from the terminology of Nina Rodrigues and Artur Ramos.¹⁸ Contemporary discrepancies in the interpretation of the Orishas’ roles and functions also exist. For example, Pierre Verger points out that, by creating two categories of Orishas—male and female, Juan Elbein dos Santos, became the victim of his own “illusions” because elements attributed to male Orishas also appear in female Orishas.¹⁹ In addition, as Pierre Verger notes, dos Santos does not precisely define the terms “*eshu*,” “*ashe*,” and the relationship between the two words.²⁰

Despite the differences in interpretation of the term “Orishas,” their roles, and their functions, researchers now agree in principle that the Orisha worship refers to the forces of nature.²¹ This applies to both the Yorubas of Nigeria and the Benin. Although, the people from central and southern Benin (Fon and Ewe, respectively) worship deities that their people call “vodun (voodoo).”²² The term “Orisha” is a general name for the Yoruba deities from Nigeria and Benin. In Africa, they number anywhere from 200-1,700.²³ Generally speaking, they are referred to as deities that mediate between the Supreme Being and man.²⁴ In Yoruba language, the etymology of the word “Orisha” comes

¹⁷ Ibid, 5.

¹⁸ A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa: Their Religion, Manners, Customs, Laws, Language, Etc.* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1894); N. Rodrigues, *Os Africanos no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1934); A. Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* (São Paulo: 1940).

¹⁹ J. Elbein dos Santos, *Os Nãgô e a morte. Pâde, Àsèsè e o culto Égun na Bahia*, 8th Edition (Petrópolis: 1997).

²⁰ P. Verger, *Etnografia religiosa*, 5. Juana Elbein dos Santos responded to P. Verger’s in in the following article: J. Elbein dos Santos, “Pierre Verger e os resíduos coloniais: o ‘outro’ fragmentado,” *Religião e Sociedade*, no. 8 (Rio de Janeiro: ISER-CER, 1982), 11-14.

²¹ P. Verger, *Notas sobre o culto aos orixas e voduns na Bahia de Todos os Santos, no Brasil, e na antiga Costa dos Escravos, na África* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 1999), 35.

²² S. Piłaszewicz, *Religie i mitologia Czarnej Afryki: Przegląd encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Dialog, 2002), 245-246; See also: S. Piłaszewicz, *Religie Afryki* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2000), 67.

²³ S. Piłaszewicz, *Religie i mitologia Czarnej Afryki*, 188.

²⁴ R. Bastide, *The African Religions of Brazil: Toward a Sociology of the Interpenetration of Civilizations*, trans. H. Sebba (Baltimore: John Hopkins University

from the expression “*Ibiti orí ti sè*,” which means “origin” or “source;” in this context, “*orí*” signifies “head” and “*-sha*” means “master” or “lord.” Therefore, when taken together, the word “Orisha” means “the lord of the head,” in the sense of the human person. The source or origin of the “head—human being” is the Supreme Being (*Olódùmaré* – the great *Orí*). Other terms used for the Yoruba deities are “*rúnmalè*” or “*imalé, imolè*,” which mean “divine beings of the Earth.”²⁵

While it is very difficult to count exactly how many different Orishas there are, a symbolic number of Orisha’s exists. On the right side there are 400 *irúnmalè*, and on the left side there are half that number, meaning 200 *ébora*.²⁶ This is many Orishas. In addition to this number, there is always one (1) *eshu* that exists in both groups and serves as a link between the whole religious system by transmitting *ashe* in it. The mediation of *Eshu* in Orisha worship is inalienable; for, *Eshu* gives strength and power; it enlivens and transmits the essential sacred power called “*ashe*.”²⁷ Orishas represent the embodiment of the forces of nature and natural phenomena such as birth and death, health and disease, rain and dew, and trees and rivers. These deities also represent four great elements of nature: fire, water, earth, and air, as well as the three dimensions of nature: mineral, vegetal and animal.²⁸ Orishas are emanations of the Supreme Being from whom they receive divine attributes and characteristics; as such, they help

Press, 1978); P. Verger, *Notas sobre o culto aos orixás e voduns na Bahia de Todos os Santos, no Brasil, e na antiga Costa dos Escravos, na África*, trans. C.E. Marcondes de Moura (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1999); J. Elbein dos Santos, *Os Nàgô e a morte. Pâde, Àsèsè e o culto Ègun na Bahia*, 8th Edition (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1997); O.G. Cacciatore, *Dicionário de cultos afro-brasileiros* (Rio de Janeiro: Forense Universitaria, 1988); L. da Câmara Cascudo, *Dicionário do Folclore Brasileiro* (São Paulo: Global, 2000); S. Sàlámì (King), R.I. Ribeiro, *Exu e a ordem do universe* (São Paulo: Universidad de São Paulo, 2011); T. Gadacz and B. Milerski, eds., *Religia. Encyklopedia PWN*, Vol. 7 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo PWN, 2003), 441; J. L. Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2005).

²⁵ J. Beniste, *Òrun-Àiyè: O encontro de dois mundos* (Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand; Edição, 1997), 83-84.

²⁶ R.C. Abraham, *Dictionary of Modern Yoruba* (London: University of London Press, 1946), 172.

²⁷ J. Elbein dos Santos, *Os Nàgô e a morte*, 70-71.

²⁸ J. Beniste, *Òrun-Àiyè*, 79.

the Supreme Being govern the world.²⁹ They also connect a specific group of people with the Supreme God in whom they believe.³⁰ Orishas are always linked to the daily lives of people belonging to a particular religious community, and they appear under certain circumstances such as ritual rites or festivals that take place in centers of worship.³¹

An extensive mythology associated with Orisha worship exists. In traditional African Yaruba societies, myths explain past, present, and future. The entire mythology of the Yaruba was orally transmitted from one generation to another. In Cuba, however, the *babalawos*—the highest priests of *Ifá* (the deity of wisdom)—kept the records of the prophecies called *patakis*, which contain sacred myths, interpretations, and predictions.³² These records were later used as source material for research on Cuban Santería. Contemporary scholars of Cuban Santería include Lydia Cabrera, Natalia Bolívar Aróstegui, Samuel Feijoo, and Rómulo Lachatañéré.³³

Orishas According to Nelson M. Aboy Domingo

In contrast with the aforementioned interpretations Orishas in African and Afro-American religions, Nelson Marcos Aboy Domingo provides a very original approach to the nature of Orishas, their function, and their roles in Cuban Santería.³⁴ In his description, Aboy Domingo

²⁹ R. I. Ribeiro, *Alma africana no Brasil. Os Iorubás* (São Paulo: Editoria Oduduwa, 1996), 129; R. Prandi, *Mitologia dos Orixás* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2001), 20.

³⁰ M. de Lourdes Siqueira, *Agô, Agô Lonan. Mitos, Ritos e Organização em Terreiros de Candomblé da Bahia*, (Brazil: Belo Horizonte 1998), 42.

³¹ *Ibid*, 43.

³² R. Prandi, *Mitologia dos Orixás*, 26-27.

³³ L. Cabrera, *Yemanjá y Ochún: kariocha, iyarorichas y olorichas*, (Madrid: Ediciones Universal, 1974); N. Bolívar Aróstegui, *Los Orichas en Cuba* (Havana: Ediciones Unión, 1990); S. Feijoo, *Mitologia cubana* (Havana: Letras Cubanas, 1986); R. Lachatañéré, *Manual de Santería* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales 1995).

³⁴ Nelson Marcos Aboy Domingo was born in 1948 in Havana, Cuba. He is an anthropologist and works at the University of Havana's Department of History as well as at the Centro Nacional de Superación y Desarrollo *Juan Marinello* and the Fundación *Fernando Ortíz*. Since 1996, N.M. Aboy Domingo has been a member of Academy of Science of Cuba. He served for three years as the President of La Casa Museo de Africa, which is located at the City of Havana's Office for Historians. He is also a member of the following associations: Centro Cultural "Félix Varela," La Sociedad Cultural Yoruba de Cuba, and The National African Religion Congress located in Philadelphia. Aboy Domingo is the

shows the religious phenomena of Orisha worship in Cuban Santería and carefully analyzes it from ethnopsychological, ethnobotanical, and anthropological points of view.³⁵ Aboy Domingo believes that during the colonization of Cuba, the religious practice of “Orishas” worship resulted from the combination of religious performances and Catholic spiritual practices with non-religious, natural, energetic processes.

According to Aboy Domingo, “santería” is a term derived from Spanish that arose during the colonial period in Cuba. This term has a negative connotation that refers to all aspects of the worship of Orishas, which, in Cuban culture, are synonymous with the Catholic saints.³⁶ Aboy Domingo concludes that the term “Orisha” derives from the *Anago* language of the ancient empire of Yoruba, where “*Orí-*” means “human head”³⁷ and “*-isha*” means “the deity, divine being.”³⁸ The suffix “*-isha*” indicates human intelligence, which is the specific and unique element of each person. Using metaphorical language, Aboy Domingo defines “*-isha*” as “the inner supreme deity, which possesses human beings, [or] the inner highest being that creates man (human subjectivity).”³⁹ Aboy Domingo states that, establishing a personal Orisha “is a way of establishing a personality archetype and its meaning, which corresponds with a specific element of nature (with similar physical and psychological vibration frequencies) as the result of the codification and interpretation of a person’s energetic vibrations.”⁴⁰

recipient of many awards for research on culture, including *Premio Ministerio de Cultura República de Angola* (1999), *Premio “Merceditas Valdés Inmemorían” Fundación Fernando Ortiz* (La Habana 1999), *Premio Especial Embajada de Benín en Cuba* (2000), and *Premio Nacional “Memoria Viva” categoría de Personalidades Instituto Cubano de Investigación Cultural “Juan Marinello”* (2009). Aboy Domingo has been conducting research for more than 30 years and is the author of many publications on the culture of the Bantu and Yoruba people in Cuba and in America as well as the history of initiation into orisha cults in Cuba. He wrote the book *25 Siglos de Historia de la Santería Cubana: Una Investigación antropológica desde el interior de sus prácticas culturales* (Spain EDITORES. S. A. Santander, 2004). Nelson M. Aboy Domingo has been an active *babaláwo* in Cuban Santería for more than 30 years. All of this information has been obtained from the archives of the author of this article.

³⁵ N. M. Aboy Domingo, *25 Siglos de Historia de la Santería Cubana: Una Investigación antropológica desde el interior de sus prácticas culturales* (Spain: Editores. S. A. Santander, 2004).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 151.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 152.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 122.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 99; author’s own translation.

In other words, an Orisha is a kind of primitive cultural element that, through the mediation of specific techniques and functions, aims to qualitatively identify our present reality: what and who we are as well as what we do in the sustainable world of nature. Orisha points to the essence of our “I” in relation to the world with which we are connected.

Determining one’s own personal Orisha involves classifying the inherent frequency of energetic vibrations that always coincide with a specific process of personal fulfillment and respect for a specific natural energy. According to Aboy Domingo, “*Osha*” is the supremest “deity” of the human head, and, in the deepest sense, the temple that hosts the “deity.” According to Aboy Domingo, the concept of Orisha is of two transcendent symbols that refer to the essence of man as a subject and an object. Due to an individual’s personality, an Orisha is a non-transferable entity. Orisha is a thought that constantly acts sub-consciously within the inner reality—within a number of numerically important social sectors (so-called “*santeros*”) as the “cultural codex of the existence of something real inside of the heads of human beings that innately have the highest objectively human but subjectively mysterious qualities.”⁴¹

In this sense, an Orisha is to be understood as “the lead macroparticle that suits us. It is the psychosomatic genetic code that we possess. It is the part of us that lives according to the principle of conduct previously established for every human being. It is the entire section of our brain that directs the whole program contained in and created by it, for the sake of this archetypal and spatially characteristic personality.”⁴² Hence, the Orisha is an individual identity, unique, particular, one’s own, and unrepeatable. All of the congenital properties and human capacities inherited and determined by biology are found in the Orisha. All information relating to our existence is contained and expressed through the energy sent in a given Orisha. Thus the Orisha is not an ordinary being that exists as a philosophical or a theological concept. Our personal Orisha, says N.M. Aboy Domingo, “is our ideal main character, whom we know very well of and which we have to come to understand even better in our particular life. In addition, from a cultural point of view, worshipping our own Orisha helps us know the Orisha’s role and involvement in our life; through this, we can identify the best way of life for us.”⁴³

⁴¹ Ibid,154; author’s own translation.

⁴² Ibid, 154; author’s own translation.

⁴³ Ibid, 155; author’s own translation.

The Concept of Orisha Worship

Orisha worship in Cuban Santería involves the practice of religious initiation, which, according to Aboy Domingo, has its own form.⁴⁴ While still preserving and cultivating elements of the cultural identity of individual Orishas, the initiation process for one Orisha has evolved into a cult in honor of many Orishas. Thus, Orisha worship in Cuban Santería involves various elements of many cultures. Orisha worship is the first experience of identification and recognition, respect and competition, which expresses our own individual personality and our individual psychophysical identity by exploring our own character traits and the social environment in which we live.⁴⁵ Aboy Domingo thus defines Orisha worship as “a cult by which we worship higher forms of intelligence as hidden energy not defined by the parts of the conscious and subconscious. Orisha worship is hidden energy located in the interior of our brain (in what the Yoruba call *elegdá*, or the cerebral cortex) in the form of vibrations.”⁴⁶

Therefore, in Cuban Santería, Orisha worship is a cult aimed at honoring the individual personality that directs a person’s life and, according to Aboy Domingo, the cult that is harnessed in the process of “realizing a person’s genetic code.”⁴⁷ Orisha worship aims to help people accept their lives and everything that will happen in them; as such, it serves to properly orient human life and how people conduct themselves in certain socio-cultural circumstances. Nelson M. Aboy Domingo cites findings from people who have been initiated in Orisha worship.⁴⁸ Of the 256 people surveyed, 94% reported that they sought to be initiated into Orisha worship because of their own difficulties and health problems, while 6% reported that they sought initiation because of difficulties in their sociocultural environment. Based on

⁴⁴ Ibid, 124.

⁴⁵ Ibid. N.M. Aboy Domingo describes this in the following way: “Realmente las personas no son iniciadas al culto de los orishas en general, sino que son iniciadas a un orisha dentro del culto general de los orishas. Independientemente de adicionalmente recibir otros más por las razones antes expuestas. Lo cual demuestra el original culto a la personalidad individual.”

⁴⁶ Ibid, 156-157. This is the author’s own translation. The original text states: “Es el culto que rendimos a formas superiores de la inteligencia del inconsciente humano, no supeditadas a los sectores del consciente y subconsciente; como una energía implícita que en forma de vibración se encuentra dentro de nuestro propio cerebro, localizado en lo que denominan *elegdá* (la corteza cerebral).”

⁴⁷ Ibid, 159.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 160.

his understanding of Orisha worship, Aboy Domingo points out some of the problems of human spirituality.⁴⁹ Personal piety, as a particular profession of faith in a specific Orisha, has an individual dimension that is not a necessary condition for Orisha worship. A particular person's religious affiliation with Cuban Santería does not depend on his respect for or worship of his personal Orisha, but rather on his initiation into the cult of *Ifá*. According to Aboy Domingo, the primary aim of Orisha worship is to solve the personal, and ultimately existential, problems of individual people. As such, Orisha worship is emphasized more in the sociocultural dimension of life than in religion.

Conclusion

The concept of Cuban Santería presented in this article does not cover the whole of the subject matter and its interpretation which Nelson M. Aboy Domingo's interesting work describes. A different interpretation (from that commonly accepted in the field of the anthropology of religion) may be the starting point for further reflection on understanding the essence, function, and role of Orishas in African-American religions. Interpreting the concept of Orishas from biological, psychological, cultural, personality, and existential points of view, places the self-realization of man in his natural environment without reference to transcendental values. Certainly, Nelson M. Aboy Domingo's point of view is an essential element of the controversy surrounding the holistic understanding of the place and role of Orishas in the realm of African-American religions.

The concept of the Cuban Santería that this article presents sheds new light on the interpretation of religious syncretism and on understanding human salvation. According to Nelson M. Aboy Domingo, the elements of worship in Cuban Santería serve man's personal development in the temporal dimension. This point of view questions whether salvation exists in Cuban Santería. Bearing in mind the phenomenon of religious syncretism, as well as the acceptance and realization of the goals of salvation,⁵⁰ it can be stated that Cuban Santería worship according to Nelson M. Aboy Domingo does not include references to salvation and, therefore, does not transfer the essence of religious phenomena to the psychic realm of the human being.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 172.

⁵⁰ See: H. Waldenfels, ed., *Leksykon religii. Zjawiska – dzieje – idee* (Warsaw: Verbinum, 1997), 447.

ORISZE W SANTERII KUBAŃSKIEJ W UJĘCIU NELSONA MARCOSA ABOYA DOMINGO

Santeria (określana także jako *La Regla de Ocha*) to synkretyczna religia afroamerykańska występująca na Kubie. Centrum tej religii stanowi wiara w Istotę Najwyższą, w bogów - pośredników (orisze) i duchy przodków. Orisze określa się jako bóstwa pośredniczące między Istotą Najwyższą a człowiekiem. Reprezentują one uosobienie sił przyrody oraz zjawisk naturalnych: narodziny i śmierć, zdrowie i chorobę, deszcz i rosę, drzewa i rzeki. Orisze przedstawiają cztery wielkie elementy natury: ogień, wodę, ziemię i powietrze, jak również trzy wymiary przyrody: mineralny, roślinny oraz zwierzęcy. Orisze stanowią emanację Istoty Najwyższej, od której otrzymały boskie atrybuty oraz charakterystykę, stąd też mają za zadanie pomoc Istocie Najwyższej w zarządzaniu światem. W niniejszym opracowaniu ukazano oryginalną koncepcję pojęcia „orisza” w ujęciu Nelsona Marcosa Aboya Domingo – kubańskiego antropologa i *babaláwo*. Na początku zarysowano proces kształtowania się pojęcia „orisza”. Następnie przedstawiono istotę, funkcję, rolę oriszów oraz ich kult w santerii kubańskiej według koncepcji kubańskiego antropologa.

Słowa kluczowe: Santeria kubańska, orisze, kult, bóstwa, religie afroamerykańskie, Nelson Marcos Aboya Domingo.

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Interreligious Dialogue in Jesus Christ

This article presents a critical reflection on the advancement of interreligious dialogue between Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Considering the person of Jesus Christ as a common reference point provides another perspective on reconciliation as well as a means to bridge the differences that continue to hinder a communal experience of faith.

Key words: religion, interreligious dialogue, Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism.

Introduction

The diversity that exists among cultures and religions in a world that, on the one hand, has an enormous need for unity and peace, and where, on the other hand, this unity is overpowered by divisions that are so strong that they cause conflicts and wars, makes it necessary for all peoples living in different countries and on different continents to take a concrete and definitive stand. Peoples of different cultures and religions can no longer remain mutually ignorant of or neutrally distant from each other; for, contact between different cultures and religions, which highlights their differences, is unavoidable. Since interreligious and intercultural contact is inevitable, it is necessary for individuals to facilitate this contact particularly through their own engagement in it. Successfully achieving unity among peoples largely depends on the way in which people overcome cultural and religious confrontation. One possible, effective, and pertinent way to overcome religious and cultural confrontation is to seek union through interreligious dialogue

in Jesus Christ, who himself prayed to God the Father that “they may all be one” (John 17:21).

Christianity, the Religion of the Person

Modern man understands Christianity in as many ways as there are people in the world. This diversity of understanding does not arise from the incoherence of Christian doctrine, but rather from the way that individuals understand the phenomenon of Christianity. In fact, put simply, Christianity is Jesus Christ. Every person’s encounter with God and with man is completely unique, personal, non-transferable, and inexpressible. In his heart, every believing Christian poses questions about the mysteries of birth; death; the resurrection of Jesus, who is the source of life; and the reality of God’s presence in his life. In turn, these questions give rise to further questions about the meaning of existence. The answer to these metaphysical questions, which begin from the very moment of a person’s existence, is found in faith. Karol Wojtyła, who perceived how his inner experience of himself (his “I”) and others (their “I”s) arises from his own experience of himself, examined this problem of man as an *alteri incommunicabilis*. “Auto-empiricism,” or self-experience, is first and the source; for, whoever experiences is human, and the one who experiences the subject of experience is also a human. The human person is simultaneously the subject and object.¹ In this respect, it is best to understand the multiplicity of the often very complicated paths of human religiosity. For, human existence forces all men to ask the same questions, whether they live under the Cross of Christ, the Star of David, the crescent moon, or any other sacred sign of faith.

In analysis of religions today, Christianity itself is subjected to numerous interpretations that distort its original aim revealed in the person of the Son of God. This is because the modern man dangerously separates and distances his daily life from faith and, in its place, seeks effective substitutes for traditions and centuries-old customs that have been cultivated in families. The sociology of religion provides many terms that reflect contemporary postmodern religiousness: Christianity outside of the Church (Trutz Rendtorff), subjective private religion (David Martin), religion of longing, postmodern popular piety (Maria Widl), seeking religiosity (Kurt Bowen), postreligious spirituality

¹ K. Wojtyła, *Osoba i czyn oraz inne studia antropologiczne* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL Lublin, 2000), 375. I. Mizdrak, “Nieprzekazywalność podmiotu osobowego a możliwość spełnienia się poprzez drugiego w myśli antropologicznej Karola Wojtyły,” *Filo-Sofija* 23 (2013/2014): 203-218.

without God (Ignace Verhack), agnostic spirituality (Monika Wohlrab Sahr), and irresponsible religiosity (Andreas Feige).² Many references directly liken faith to a product that one can pick and choose, such that belief and the spiritual life have become commercialized or “McDonald-ized.”³ Even though many researchers have predicted the collapse of religion in Europe and in the world, religious belief does not die. Instead, manifestations of religion and religious belief simply take on new shapes and forms. The fundamental question that the missionary nature of the Church faces is the image of Jesus in which people believe. For, it is this image that they present to others in their evangelizing efforts to proclaim the good news about salvation.

Faith in Jesus Christ is not exclusive to the religious experience of Christians. The universalization of the teachings of the Master from Nazareth permeates the consciousness of millions of people who are unable to accept the fullness of truth about Christ because to be a Christian is to be a follower of Christ, and of Him only.

Bishop Artur Markowski specifies several fundamental elements that are characteristic of all religions. He states that all religions have some form of faith in God, doctrine, religious worship, religious community, and morality. In the case of Christianity, all of these elements are focused on the Son of God, Jesus Christ. What Jesus Christ said about proclaiming the reality of the Kingdom of God leads to these conclusions. Faith in God is synonymous with faith in God’s Son: “Do not let your hearts be troubled. You have faith in God; have faith also in me” (cf. John 3:16-18; 14:1). This doctrine is summarized in the Great Commandment to love God and neighbor, which is the essence of all of the Law and the prophets. For the sake of his mission, Jesus implements the Law with a new spirit.

Among other things, biblical exegetes widely state that St. Matthew’s aim in his Gospel was to repragmatize and contextualize the person of Jesus, who the inspired author presents as the New Moses (in Judaic tradition—the giver of the Law) and the Good News of salvation as the New Torah. In Judaism, worship was closely related to the temple as well as the detailed norms and regulations concerning sacrifice, worship, and (im)purity. In his version of the Gospel, St. Luke describes

² Further discussions on the issue of new forms of religiosity can be found in: J. Mariański, “Powrót Sacrum,” *Tygodnik Powszechny* 39 (3090), 09.28.2008. Internet Edition (Accessed: 11.14.2016).

³ See S. Morgalla, “Wiara w McSwiecie,” *Deon.pl* (08.19.2010), <http://www.deon.pl/religia/duchowosc-i-wiara/zycie-i-wiara/art,261,wiara-w-mcswiecie,strona,1.html> (Accessed 12.13.2016); V.J. Miller, *Consuming Religion: Christian Faith and Practice in a Consumer Culture* (New York: Bloombury Academic, 2015).

Jesus as the new temple, while St. John writes about Jesus speaking to the Samaritan woman at the well about worshiping the Father “in spirit and in truth” (John 4:23-24). The person of Jesus Christ, and not a concrete place (i.e., the temple, the holy mountain, or other holy sites), is key to the “new” Christian worship. In Christ, the Church community will succeed the temple as the center of Christian worship. Unlike hermetic and rigorous Judaism, to which many of the first Christians initially belonged, Christianity and the Christian community are open to more people because the criterium by which a person becomes a member is his profession of faith in the Son of God.

On the issue of Christian morality, it is possible to use the German theologian Hans Urs von Balthasar’s statement (which was approved *in forma generica* by the 1974 International Theological Commission) from his *The Nine Theses* as an argument for referring all norms to the source that we find in the Person of the Second Adam.⁴

From the aforementioned document and the arguments contained within it, it is clear that the person of Jesus Christ is key to understanding Christianity. He is present in various forms in a variety of religions throughout the world. While his enduring presence can serve as the basis for interreligious dialogue, it can also make this dialogue more difficult. The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith’s declaration entitled *Dominus Iesus*, which was published on August 6, 2000, has confirmed Von Balthasar’s teaching on the person of Jesus Christ.⁵ The conciliar document *Declaration on the Relation of the Church to*

⁴ “The Christian who lives by faith has the right to base his moral activity on his faith. Since the content of his Faith, namely, Jesus Christ, who revealed to us God’s trinitarian love, assumed not only the form and the guilt of the first Adam but also the limitations, anxieties, and decisions of his existence, there is no danger that the Christian will fail to find the first Adam in the Second Adam and along with him his own moral dilemma [...] Christian ethics must be elaborated in such a way that its starting point is Jesus Christ, since he, as the Son of the Father, fulfilled the complete will of the Father (= everything that must be done) in this world. He did this “for us” so that we might gain our freedom from him, the concrete and plenary norm of all moral action, to accomplish God’s will and to live up to our vocation to be free children of the Father. Jesus Christ is the concrete categorical imperative.” See: International Theological Commission, *Theses in Christian Ethics* (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1974), http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/cti_documents/rc_cti_1974_morale-cristiana_en.html.

⁵ Some of the fundamental postconciliar documents on this subject are: *Mysterium Fidei Dei* (1972), *Mysterium Ecclesiae* (1973), and *Communione notio* (1992).

Non-Christian Religions: Nostra Aetate has remained the point of departure for interreligious dialogue.⁶

Religiology

Jesus Christ in Other Religions

Judaism

In recent years, the dispute over the nature of the dialogue between Christianity and Judaism has become quite heated in Polish theology. The main protagonist in this discussion is the long-time consultant to the Polish Episcopal Conference for Religious Dialogue, Fr. Prof. Waldemar Chrostowski. One of the topics that Fr. Chrostowski addresses in his articles and popular books entitled *Bóg, Biblia, Mesjasz* [*God, the Bible, and the Messiah*]⁷ and *Kościół, Żydzi, Polska* [*The Church, the Jews, and Poland*],⁸ was the politicization of religious dialogue. He described such politicization as *Political Mitigation* in “Rzeczpospolita [The Republic].”⁹ According to Chrostowski, the heated point was an error in the Italian translation of a text published in *L’Osservatore Romano* on April 13, 1986.¹⁰ The theologians’ analysis clearly points to Judaism’s oppositional stance toward Christians, which, despite the intervention of many different groups and peoples, is still manifested among the Jewish people. In the diasporas, where the Jewish people were clearly in the minority in comparison to Christians, dialogue was

⁶ Paul VI, *Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions: Nostra Aetate* (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1965), 333-337.

⁷ See W. Chrostowski, *Bóg, Biblia, Mesjasz* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Fronda, 2007).

⁸ See W. Chrostowski, *Kościół, Żydzi, Polska* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Fronda, 2009).

⁹ Many publications published articles that covered this debate, including, among others, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Tygodnik Powszechny*, and *Więzi*. Fr. Prof. The parties involved were Fr. Prof. Waldemar Chrostowski and Editor-in-Chief of *Więzi*, Zbigniew Nosowski. See Ks. W. Chrostowski: *Obecny dialog katolicko-żydowski politycznym mityngiem*, <http://www.pch24.pl/ks--w--chrostowski--obecny-dialog-katolicko-zydowski-politycznym-mityngiem,18350,i.html#ixzz4z1wL6Ltw> (Accessed: 10.11.2013); W. Chrostowski, *O dialogu*, <http://w.kki.com.pl/piojar/polemiki/kosciol/dialog.html>, recorded on tape (Accessed: 11.20.2016).

¹⁰ The error had to do with a contradiction of the controversial categorization of the Jews as Christians’ older brothers in faith. According to Fr. Chrostowski, such a literal understanding of Pope John Paul II’s words results in many inaccuracies that must be constantly corrected, which makes it even more difficult for Catholics and Jews to formulate positions in their dialogue. See. <http://ekai.pl/wydarzenia/polska/x23364/czy-zydzi-sa-naszymi-starszymi-bracmi-w-wierze>, (Accessed: 11.20.2016).

closed off to two fundamental realities: social isolation and a lack of reference to the person of Jesus Christ. Although anti-Christian texts have not survived and been passed down in Judaism, Jewish teaching on the Talmud has made it clear how Jews should interpret the person of Jesus Christ.¹¹ Undoubtedly, Jewish interreligious dialogue extends to much wider circles, affects the whole of social relations, and goes beyond doctrinal findings.¹²

In recent years, Jewish authors have more willingly reflected on the phenomenon of the Master from Galilee. For example, in Poland, the American Jew Jacob Neusner's book entitled *A Rabbi Talks with Jesus* has been perhaps the most popular publication.¹³ Dialogues based on St. Matthew's Gospel provide contemporary Judaism's interesting attempt at see its teaching, which is based on the Law of Moses and onto which a new spirit was breathed, in a new light. Another attempt at Christian-Jewish dialogue can be found in an interview with Barr Schwartz, a scientist who researches the Shroud of Turin.¹⁴

Contemporary Judaism has at least a few factions whose interpretations of Christianity present extreme positions on the person of Jesus Christ.¹⁵ Researchers generally tend to divide modern Judaism into the following two groups: Orthodox Judaism (which contains many factions), Conservative Judaism (reconstructive), and Reformed Judaism (otherwise known as Zionism, which is further distinguished into a cultural faction and a *religion of work*).¹⁶ For a Jew, the Tora, the Talmud, and those who teach them are the basis of doctrinal arguments. Thanks to these sources, works such as *Mishna*, *Tosefta*, and the dozens of *Midras* (in short, *Hazal*) exist. Daria Boniecka-Stępień

¹¹ See K. Kościelniak, *Chrześcijaństwo w spotkaniu z religiami świata* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2002), 189-193.

¹² It is sufficient to recall Tomas Gross' controversial publications dedicated to the topic of the German occupation of Poland.

¹³ See J. Neusner, *A Rabbi Talks with Jesus* (Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000).

¹⁴ See G. Górny and B. Schwartz, *Oblicze prawdy. Żyd, który zbadał Całun Turyński* (Warsaw: Rosikon Press, 2013).

¹⁵ In his publication *A Short History of Judaism*, Jacob Neusner provocatively uses the term "Judaism" in plural, arguing that Judaism (and the various forms of Judaism) has no uniform doctrinal system.

¹⁶ See Z. Levin-Gałyński, *Kierunki i odłamy w judaizmie współczesnym*, <http://poznan.jewish.org.pl/index.php/judaizmcom/Kierunki-i-odlamy-w-judaizmie-wspolczesnym.html> (Accessed: 11.21.2016); K. Kościelniak, *Chrześcijaństwo w spotkaniu*, 179.

shows the process of evolution of Jewish literature in her evaluation of the works of Rabbi Jeshyev.¹⁷

A number of Talmudic interpreters depreciate the positive role of Jesus Christ, and depict him as a provocateur and apostate of lawful teaching. The only point that Jewish teachers make that is contiguous with the Christian image of Christ is that historically Jesus was a teacher from Nazareth who had the power to heal people. In specific places, the Talmud states that Jesus' death sentence was just and Mary is depicted as a whore, whose child was begotten from her relationship with the Roman soldier Pantera. As we know from St. John's Gospel (9:22; 12:42; 16:2), the followers of Christ's deceptive teaching were quickly expelled from the synagogue.¹⁸ The conviction of Christians in synagogues is found in numerous documents by the Fathers of the Church such as Justin and Origen, who lived in the 2nd century and the first half of the 3rd century, and then later by Epiphanius and Jerome.¹⁹ Jewish critics hardly mention Jesus because they consider him and his early activity no different than that of other charismatic figures of the 1st century. Neta Shtal and Geza Vermes, who refer to the example of Hanina ben Dosa—a first-century Jewish scholar who had the ability to bring down rain, exercise power over satan, distinguish himself by his piety, and lived an exemplary Jewish life—are inclined to approach Jesus in this way.

Baraita and Tosefta write tersely about Jesus and describe him as a "stranger," "the son of Pandira," "the man," and an "Israeli criminal." The aforementioned Babylonian Talmud presents a reductionist view that depicts Jesus as a wise disciple, who betrayed the true teaching and followed the path of witches and idolaters. In all of these works, Jesus occupies a marginal place. These sources acknowledge the historical documents that prove Jesus' existence, yet they reveal how the Jewish people reject the essence of his teaching. The historian Shtal

¹⁷ See <http://www.jhi.pl/institut/pracownie-badawcze>, (Accessed: 06.10. 2017).

¹⁸ The Greek term ἀποσυνάγωγος which can be translated as "excluded, expelled from the synagogue," appears in this passage. This legally took place at the synod in Jamnia sometime between 90-95 A.D., even though St. John says in his narration that it took place while Jesus was still alive.

¹⁹ The *ha-minimir birkhat* formula, which is contained in the twelfth blessing of the eighteenth prayer of the supplication, arose at the same time as the Flavius Josephus' descriptions. The formula is a curse of all non-Jews, or heretics, including Christians. See G. Miletto, "Żydowskie spojrzenie na inne religie," *Religie świata w dialogu*, ed. U. Tworuschka (Poznan: Wydawnictwo Świętego Wojciecha, 2010), 111; M. S. Wróbel, "Znaczenie formuły Birkat ha-Minim w procesie rozdziału Synagogi od Kościoła," *Collectanea Theologica* 78, no. 2 (2008), 65-80.

interprets this fact based on the tragic Siege of Jerusalem that occurred in the year 70 A.D. One would think that the Jewish people would remember that Jesus spoke of the fall of the temple and consider whether he might be the Son of God. Yet, even after the tragedy, the Jewish people's perception of Jesus did not change; they still considered him the provincial and insignificant apostle who preached the truth contrary to the official religion. Throughout the Middle Ages, the Jewish perception of Jesus was based on a false and magical account of him that had been created almost from the beginning of Christian dominance in Europe. This description was a response to the Jewish experience of the Crusades, during which the Jewish people were scornfully referred to as the murders of the Messiah. The work *Toldot* ridicules Jesus' holy aspirations, emphasizes his abasement and humiliation, and describes him as a bastard and the son of an impure woman in "nida."²⁰ Other Jewish writers say that Jesus was condemned by the wise men of Israel for false and deceptive teaching and, after he was killed, his body was abandoned and then thrown into a well.²¹

In 1770, the founder of the Jewish Enlightenment movement (the so-called *Haskalah*) Moses Mendelssohn brought to the forefront the problem of the heated relationship between Judaism and Christianity by initiating an interreligious dispute on the philosophical grounds.²²

The 20th century history of Jewish-Christian polemics spurred the founding of the Zionist movement, which revolutionized Judaism from within. In turn, this led to a discussion of Jewish identity and, subsequently, the topic of Jesus of Nazareth, which was based on British liberal Judaism. With this, certain Jewish writers began to think outside the bounds of the Hebrew Scriptures.

²⁰ The term "nida" is used for a woman in her menstrual period, which was considered impure. Being in this state with a man was punishable by death, and a child conceived when a woman was in this state was considered impure.

²¹ The first work that was completely dedicated to polemics against Christianity is the *Polemic of Nestor the Priest*, which appeared at the turn of the 6th and 7th centuries.

²² According to him, Judaism is a rational, whereas Christianity is based on miracles that serve as source of the truth about Jesus' divinity. The "cult" of reason did not permit the Jewish Enlightenment to recognize Jesus as God. Mendelssohn distinguished between two images of Jesus—the image that Christians promoted in their dialogue with Judaism, and the image of Jesus as a historical figure.

Currently, there are many authors who see the New Testament as a spiritual continuation of their Jewish heritage, and they promote Jesus as a great teacher in their comparisons of rabbinical literature.²³

Islam

Islam is the youngest monotheistic religion that has lasted to today. It spread in close contact with Judaism and Christianity. Interpreters of Muslim doctrine think that Christians have betrayed the one God by believing in three gods. After the persecutions of Christians during the early centuries after Christ's death, Christianity became the prevailing religion. Islam was formed during the 7th and 8th centuries. By that time, Christianity had already formed a coherent belief system and a three-century old tradition of interpreting and commenting on inspired texts. Those on the periphery of the modern world, which was dominated by Christianity and into which Islam arose have, over the centuries, supported various heresies and factions that are opposed to the teachings of the Church. Given the strong influence of Christianity, elements of Christian tradition and belief have been modified and are reflected in Islamic belief and interpretation of the person of Jesus Christ. Just like the Jews, Muslims used to assert that they believe in the same God as Christians. However, it is clear that this assertion is too optimistic, especially once one enters into a dialogue with Muslims on the nuances of their beliefs. For, in the Qur'an, Jesus is mentioned as a prophet named Isa, whose mother Mary was a pure virgin. While the holy books of Islam do not mention anything about St. Joseph, the story of the miraculous conception of Jesus—the Annunciation—bears a close resemblance to the story related in the Gospels.²⁴ It is very interesting that images of the mother of Isa are found in many Muslim homes. In the Qur'an, the prophet is given characteristic typological biblical names: the servant of God, prophet, the messenger, the Messiah, the Word of God, the Holy Spirit, the One who brings good news. When mentioning Jesus' filiation, the Qur'an refers to Mary and

²³ Here it is worthwhile to mention Josef Klausner's work *Jesus of Nazareth* (1922) and Aaron Abraham Kabak's work *The Narrow Path* (1937). A contemporary author who examines these issues is David Flusser, whose book *Jesus* (1986) spurred an intense discussion about Jesus' place among Judaism's cultural and religious heritage. A further discussion of these issues can be found in: D. Boniecka-Stępień, "Wizerunek Jezusa w piśmiennictwie żydowskim-wyбір," *Scripta Biblica et Orientalia*, Vol. 3 (2011): 263-273.

²⁴ The Qur'an probably used the description found in the apocryphal text of James' Proto-Gospel.

does not use the term “Son of God.” The Qur’an does say, however, that it has come to pass as the will of God that the Prophet Isa is of superhuman origin and is without an earthly father. Jesus is the forerunner to Muhammad, the last prophet, who will surpass Jesus in his actions, resurrections, healings, and miracles.²⁵ In Islamic mysticism, Jesus is presented as an example of asceticism, piety, prayer, and great care and concern for the poor.²⁶

Islam alleges that Christian teaching is filled with many errors. For example, in Islam the Christian belief in the divinity of Jesus and the existence of the Holy Trinity are considered idolatry. In addition, because of the discrepancies between the synoptic Gospels, Islam claims that the New Testament is only the work of Christian writers and not the inspired Word of God. Islam views St. Paul very critically and calls him a fanatic, heretic, and a forger of a religion who believed in two great falsities: that Jesus is God and that he redeemed man. Neither of these is in accord with the iron rule of Islam, which upholds that another person’s moral guilt cannot be wiped away or removed by any means. In Islam, every person will answer and pay for his actions—either good or bad—after death. Islam upholds that Jesus died a natural death. When Jesus died on the cross, only his natural body expired, while God protected Jesus’ soul by taking it to himself. The Jews mistakenly think that Jesus died. Islam interprets the Ascension as an exaggerated Christian interpretation.²⁷

There is a great discrepancy in the interpretations of Islamic commentators and their evaluation of Christianity, which is a result of their faulty arguments and dogmatic premises that arise from the dysfunctions they observe in Catholic societies. For example, Islamists believe that the Church hinders the free development of science. According

²⁵ The Qur’an’s description of this text is modeled on the apocryphal text of the Gospel of Thomas, in which is written, among other things, how Jesus brought a figure of a clay bird to life.

²⁶ See, for example, the works modern Muslim writers, including Islamic socialists, such as Khalid Mohammed Khalid (1996 d.) and Mustafa as-Sabai (1964 d.), who embrace Jesus’ unique role while emphasizing the reformatory aspects of his teaching as well as his efforts to eliminate social disparities. Abbas Mahmud al-Akkada (1964 d.) and Seyyed Hossein Nasr write about Jesus’ unique concept of love, which they believed had a fascinating power to attract others. See M. Tworuschka, “Islamskie spojrzenie na inne religie,” *Religie świata w dialogu*, ed. U. Tworuschka (Poznan: Wydawnictwo Świętego Wojciecha, 2010), 148-149.

²⁷ Ahmed Shaladi sees many analogies between Christian doctrine and Buddhism, including: the concept of the Trinity, the reality of redemption from sin, and the renunciation of wealth for eternal life. See M. Tworuschka, *Islamskie spojrzenie*, 150.

to many Islamic writers, wars and conflicts are caused because Christians do not keep God's law, which, in turn, affects the external and spiritual lives of people and leads to the secularization of society. When he wrote, "*Christianity begets saints or violent men*,"²⁸ Seyyed Hoisein Nasr vigorously points out the hypocrisy of Christians who, on the one hand, call for peace, and, on the other hand, bless weapons and justify war. From a Christian point of view, this same author also expresses an interesting opinion regarding the figures of Muhammad and Mary—namely, Islam is convinced that its greatest prophet is illiterate. The reasoning behind this assertion is that, the less one who is to fulfill God's plan is educated, the more likely it is that what God reveals through that person can be trusted as coming from God and not from the individual's own intelligence. In other words, the assumption is that a less literate person is less likely to distort the original meaning of what God intends. In Islam, the divine mission is accomplished through to the soul of the Prophet and, in Christianity, through Mary—her virginity and limitation. Muhammad expresses the truth that God's human messengers must be pure and immaculate.

Although Islam and Christianity have shared a long 1,400-year history, the history of the dialogue between these two religions has been much shorter. Given the common interests of the followers of the world's two largest religions, the World Islamic Congress expressed a desire to enter into dialogue with Christianity in February 1973. In the same year, the Muslim League expressed the same desire. In March and April 1982, representatives from the world of Islam were invited to co-organize a conference with the World Council of Churches in Sri Lanka. Three years later, John Paul II took the next step in this dialogue by visiting the Muslim country Morocco for the first time.

Hinduism

Insofar as Hinduism does not know or understand Christ, it does not have a personal concept of God. As the third largest religion in the world, Hinduism came into contact with Christian teaching in several ways. First, Hinduism encountered the Syromalabar Rite of Catholicism that developed in the Indus valley in the 3rd century. Then, the Lutheran Bartholomäus and his followers came to India as missionaries in the 17th century,²⁹ Italian missionaries followed in the

²⁸ S. Hossein Nasr, *Idee i wartości islamu* (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, 1988), 33.

²⁹ This German pastor translated the New Testament into Tamil in 1711.

18th century, along with British colonizers in the 19th century,³⁰ and then German Lutherans. In Hinduism, religious identity is strongly affiliated with social status. Consequently, even when Christianity was brought to India, many converts were still obliged to follow a Hindu lifestyle.³¹ The document *Jesus Christ in Hinduism*, which was published by the Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue during the Great Jubilee Year 2000, most accurately systematizes the presence of Jesus Christ in Hinduism.³² The document points out that the evangelization of India, which occurred over centuries, involved numerous attempts to adapt Christian thought to Hindu culture, theology, and psychology. Current Hindu attitudes toward Christianity are the result of this process. The document specifies six fundamental trends in contemporary Hinduism that interpret the person of Jesus Christ. They can be briefly summarized in the following way:

- a) Jesus—yes, the Church—no.
- b) Jesus professed in Hinduism.
- c) Jesus and the Church—yes, but Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) and Keshave Chandra Sen (1838-84), among others, were advocates for such an understanding of Christianity.
- d) Syncretism as an attempt to synthesize. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan (1888-1975).
- e) Jesus Christ as an integral part of Hinduism. Swami Akhilananda (1894-1962), M.C. Parekh (1885-1967).
- f) Religiously we are Christian, but socially we are Hindus. Bhawami Charan Banerji (1861-1907), the owner of Brahmabandhava Upadyaya.

Mahatma Gandhi is widely regarded as one of the greatest Hindu proponents of Christian thought. However, while sympathetic to the teachings of Jesus Christ, his speeches are very reductionistic and

³⁰ This encounter between Christianity and Hinduism has strongly affected both religions. With regard to European culture, the encounter initiated an interest in the “orient,” which has resulted in religious syncretism and dangerous applications of Hinduism worship to Christian worship. Conversely, the encounter between the two religions introduced monotheistic sects into Hinduism. See K. Kościelniak, *Chrześcijaństwo w spotkaniu z religiami świata* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2002), 76.

³¹ Researchers usually define Hinduism as the national religion of India and a socioreligious approach to life based on the caste system. See T. Pikus, *Etiologiczna demarkacja dialogu religijnego w Kościele katolickim* (Warsaw: 2006), 330-335.

³² Pontifical Council for Inter-religious Dialogue, “Jezus Chrystus w hinduizmie,” <http://religie.wiara.pl/doc/472435.Jezus-Chrystus-w-hinduizmie>, (Accessed: 12.2.2016).

distort the whole message of Christ's missionary activity.³³ It is sufficient to refer to this Hindu propotent of pacifism to understand what he thinks about Christianity: "I like your Christ; I do not like your Christians. Your Christians are so unlike your Christ."³⁴ Many commentators appreciate Gandhi's contribution to the popularization of Christian thought. The atheist and Italian journalist V. Messori "condemned" Gandhi for inculturating Christian values into Eastern mentality.³⁵ In principle, Hinduism does not distinguish between what is divine and what is human. Therefore, although a Hindu may largely accept with certainty that Jesus is God, he is not obliged to believe that Jesus is the only embodiment of divinity. Ordinarily, Hindus see Jesus as the one of many masters and teachers; they interpret him almost exclusively according to Hindu principles. The syncretism of Hinduism strives to create a specific *universum* that presents Jesus as a symbol of enlightened humanity, thereby excluding him from reality completely. Hindus think that, because Jesus was born of the Holy Spirit, his life should be regarded only from a spiritual point of view; therefore, they regard him as a soul that has been perfected. According to Hindu tradition, "history is only a partial knowledge of reality; therefore, this knowledge is imperfect. Consequently, if the Mystery of Jesus Christ is historical fact, then this limits (or reduces) God to being imperfect."³⁶

In summarizing the Hindu perception of Christianity, it is important to mention the very real and regular forms of oppression that are committed by extremist societies in Islam as well as the Hindu majority against the Christian minority.³⁷ In many instances, countless acts of

³³ In one of his well-known statements, M. Gandhi referred to the relationship between the value of Jesus' teaching and his role as historical figure: "I can say that the historical Jesus never interested me. It would mean nothing to me if someone proved that Jesus never existed or that the Gospel message was historical fiction because the message of the Sermon on the Mount will always be true for me. [...] I consider Jesus one of the greatest Teachers of mankind, but I do not consider him the only Son of God."

³⁴ The missionary Stanley Jones has written about Mahatma Gandhi's statements on Christianity and on Jesus' doctrine. See "Gandhi kontra Chrystus–Mahatma Gandhi o Kazaniu na Górze," in *Nauki Jezusa: Blog Poświęcony Rozważaniom na Temat Nauk Jezusa Chrystusa* (January 17, 2013), <http://naukijezusa.wordpress.com/2013/01/17/gandhi-kontra-chrystus/> (Accessed 12.08.2016).

³⁵ See H. Seweryniak, *Teologia fundamentalna*, Vol. 2 (Warsaw: Biblioteka Więzi, 2010), 252.

³⁶ See Pontifical Council for Inter-religious Dialogue, "Jezus Chrystus w hinduizmie."

³⁷ To read more on the issue of Christian dialogue with other religions in Asia as well as models for dialogue that are promoted, refer to: J. Majewski, "Kościół

aggression are not registered by international agencies, and what does reach the mainstream media suggests that these acts are far greater in number than those reported.³⁸ This reality confirms that Hinduism does not take such a peaceful stance toward other religions as it claims, and that the decisions and statements made by many activists and dissidents cannot be regarded as official Hindu positions. Moreover, when the majority of Hindus look at Christianity, they attempt to incorporate into it an entire spectrum of Hindu beliefs, thereby proving the superiority of Hinduism over a religion that is strongly identified with the “West.” Depending on the version of Hinduism that a person confesses, Jesus Christ is regarded as God (one of many gods, but not the only embodiment of divinity), a spiritual example, a guru, a yogina, and the incarnation of Elisha (as Paramahansa Yogananda interprets Christ in his book *Autobiography of a Yogi*).³⁹

Buddhism

It is even more difficult for Christians to encounter and eventually dialogue those who ascribe to the philosophical and ethical religion founded by Siddhartha Gautama, otherwise known as Buddhism. K. Kościelniak does not find any common points on key issues between Christianity and Buddhism. For, Buddhism is an atheistic religion that rejects the idea of the existence of a personal God.⁴⁰ Buddhism upholds man as capable of self-improvement and self-sufficient. Consequently, man does not need to comply and cooperate with a supernatural power such as God. In this way, the Buddhist mindset is completely different than a Christian mindset. Buddhism promotes indifference toward the world, which is a form of escapism from suffering through man’s exclusion and alienation from reality. One variation of Buddhism

w dialogu z innymi religiami. Dominus Iesus w kontekście azjatyckim,” *Znak*, 5 (2001), 74-94.

³⁸ See Aid to the Church in Need, *Persecuted and Forgotten: A Report on Christians Oppressed for their Faith 2009-2010* (United Kingdom: Surrey, 2010); Aid to the Church in Need, *Persecuted and Forgotten: A Report on Christians Oppressed for their Faith 2007-2008* (United Kingdom: Surrey, 2008), 61-80; Aid to the Church in Need, *Persecuted and Forgotten: A Report on Christians Oppressed for their Faith 2005-2006* (United Kingdom: Surrey, 2006), 32-38.

³⁹ The founder of the Hare Krishna, Bhaktivedanta Swami, believed that the Greek name of Jesus “*Christos*” is another version of the name of the god *Krishna*, or “*Krista*.”

⁴⁰ See John Paul II, *Crossing the Threshold of Hope* (New York: Knopf Publishing Group, 1995), 86.

known as Mahayana accepts many magical acts that Christianity does not accept. A Buddhist's life goal is to achieve nirvana—an enigmatic state of life wherein one's personality is lost after disintegration and even annihilation. Followers of Buddha believe that there are many ways to reach the Absolute, while Christians believe that Jesus Christ is the Absolute. In light of these radical differences between the two religions, the statement of one of the greatest popularizers of Eastern philosophy in the West, Daisetsu Teitaro Suzuki, who considered Jesus' sacrifice on the cross an act of sadomasochism and an the impulse of a mentally deranged mind, is particularly significant.⁴¹

What should dialogue between Christians and Buddhists who ascribe to an ethical and philosophical worldview and do not believe in a personal God, salvation, faith, or redemptive love look like? Protestant societies have opened a very wide door in order to promote dialogue as a way to bridge the gap between the two very different and distant (not only spatially, but also spiritually) worlds. Between six and thirty percent of American Jews are tied up with this milieu as a result of opening up to protestant-buddhist thought and philosophy.⁴² The 19th century brought a broad wave of inspiration from the cultures of the Orient to European Romanticism and Modernism. Among others, such thinkers as J. G. Herder, F. von Schlegel, W. von Humboldt, A. Schopenhauer, R. Wagner, and F. Nietzsche were fascinated by Siddhartha Buddha.

In its teaching on non-Christian religions, the Second Vatican Council provided very narrow guidelines for both Buddhism and Christianity, pointing out that what they hold in common is: an opposition to materialism, a recognition of the world's insufficiency and variability, and the need to liberate man from his own limitations through spiritual efforts.

Buddhists see Jesus only as a teacher; and the variety of Buddhism that is closest to Christianity is Chinese Pure Land Buddhism.⁴³ Their

⁴¹ In other statements, D. T. Suzuki compares Buddhist and Christian meditation and analyzes the philosophy of Zen Buddhism from a Christian perspective. See "Betania," <http://www.betania.odnowa.org/?zm=buddyzm> (Accessed: 8.12.2016).

⁴² Rodger Kamenetz defined the Judeo-Buddhist fusion in his 1994 publication *The Jew in the Lotus: A Poet's Rediscovery of Jewish Identity in Buddhist India* (Harper One, 2007), in which he termed a Buddhist of Jewish descent a "JuBu."

⁴³ Pure Land Buddhism believes that, in addition to their personal involvement, another force makes the inner transformation of those initiated into its practice possible. See: F. Usarski and R. Shoji, "Buddyjskie spojrzenie na inne religie," in *Religie świata w dialogu*, ed. U. Tworuschka (Poznan: Wydawnictwo Świętego Wojciech, 2010), 238.

comparative analyses are based only on chosen biblical passages of Jesus' teachings, in which they either look for similarities to Buddhist teaching (by, for example, presenting an erroneous interpretation of Catholic theology on *kenosis*) or by simply trying to show the superiority of Buddha over Jesus, which was the intent of the Taiwanese dharma of Chiu-jin.⁴⁴ Scholars and thinkers have attempted to compare the principles of Christian mysticism with the Middle Eastern practice of meditation or the life and practices of St. Francis of Assisi with the principles of universal harmony and friendship that Buddhists follow. In Polish language, Roman Małek, SVD, made a comparative analysis of Christianity and Buddhism based on Hans Wandelfels, SJ's articles. He examined the three realities of Jesus, dogma, and the Church in light of their Buddhist counterparts—namely, Buddha (the founder of Buddhism), dharma (the teaching of the Buddha), and sangha (the union of friends, the followers of Buddha).⁴⁵

The blending of Protestantism and Buddhism has undoubtedly overlooked many discrepancies between the two religions and opened up a minefield of misinterpretation. Today as varying declarations of faith and religious practices proliferate, many people are naively substituting Christian prayer and meditation with Buddhist and Hindu meditation techniques.⁴⁶ Although these forms of meditation may seem similar, Buddhist and Hindu meditation practices should be regarded as contrary to the teaching of the Church based on Buddhism and Hinduism's differing assumptions.

Is Jesus the key to the phenomenon of religions?

In their book *Evidence for the Resurrection*, Josh and Sean McDowell write: "We fully realize how politically incorrect it is for us to say that Christianity is the only true religion and that Jesus Christ is the

⁴⁴ According to him, this superiority of Buddhism is evident in, among others things, the social status of the founders of both religions as well as the number of their followers who determine how quickly the founders' teaching and thought spread. See F. Usarski and R. Shoji, "Buddyjskie spojrzenie na inne religie," 238.

⁴⁵ R. Małek, "Jezus i Budda, dogmat i dharma, Kościół i sangha. Chrystologia kenotyczna," in *Dialog kultur i religii, nr. 2: Oblicza Jezusa Chrystusa w kulturach i religiach świata*, eds. T. Szyszka and A. Wąs (Warsaw: 2007), 55-82.

⁴⁶ When writing about Buddhism, John Paul II referred to the commonly accepted and promoted assertion that Christian meditation and mysticism according to St. John of the Cross are similar to Mahayana Buddhism's practices. John Paul asserts that the two are not alike and that "*Carmelite mysticism begins at the point where the reflections of Buddha end*," *Crossing the Threshold of Hope*, 87.

only way to God. The truth is, Jesus is the one who made this claim in the first place!”⁴⁷ Referring to Ravi Zacharias, the authors of the publication provide a table that shows the essence individual doctrines of the aforementioned religions and, in doing so, refute the idea that all religions are equal.^{48, 49} This presentation also casts doubt on the increasingly popular idea that more than one religion can be true:

	Beliefs About God	Beliefs About Salvation	Attitude Toward Other Religions
Buddhism	No God	Enlightenment	False
Hinduism	Many Gods	Reincarnation	All True
Islam	Allah	The Five Pillars	False
Judaism	Yahweh	The Law	False
Christianity	Trinity	Grace	False

Zacharias’ conclusion is obvious: not all religions are true because not all religions point to God. Instead, all religions adhere to a specific way of perceiving God, speaking about him, and thus creating a purpose of life based on him. At its core, every religion excludes others; in fact, four of the top five religions are like this, including atheists and agnostics, who also see the truth in their beliefs.

The phenomenon of Jesus has influenced the doctrine of all great religions. However, when looking at the evolution of the positions of particular religious systems over time, it is necessary to ask the question: “Who do people say that the Son of Man is?” This question is still relevant, both for the followers of Christ as well as those who have some personal, intellectual, or spiritual experience connected with him. Yet, even though Christ has revealed himself as the divine Son of God, there is no shortage of people, even among Christians, who believe that he is no more than a prophet, teacher, or historical figure.

⁴⁷ J. McDowell and S. McDowell, *Evidence for the Resurrection*, E-Book-Kindle Edition (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2011), 116.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ravi Zacharias (born March 26, 1946 in Madras, India) is a Canadian-American Evangelical Protestant Christian apologist. He is the author of the book *Can Man Live Without God*, which was awarded the ECPA Christian Book Award, as well as the bestsellers *Light in the Shadow of Jihad* and *The Grand Weaver*. Zacharias is the founder and president of *Ravi Zacharias International Ministries* and radio show host of *Let My People Think* and *Just Thinking*. He is also a Visiting Professor at Wycliffe Hall at Oxford University where he teaches apologetics and evangelization.

Under the influence of relativism and secularism, people easily separate the human and divine natures of God revealed in the person of his Only Begotten Son. Consequently, God as an indefinable reality disappears from the view of a present day society (let alone man—even the most noble and unusual in this vortex) that does not take time for reflection, or Christ remains only briefly at the center of man's attention and then becomes lost to him in the mad rush of modern life. Without a God and a Savior, man's thinking and acting become divided, and so his ways depart from truth. The answers to the burning questions in man's mind and heart can be found only by returning to the source—Jesus Christ—who “is the same yesterday, today, and forever” (Heb 13:8).

DIALOG MIĘDZYRELIGIJNY W JEZUSIE CHRYSZTUSIE

Artykuł nt. *Dialog międzyreligijny w Jezusie Chrystusie* zawiera krytyczną refleksję na temat stopnia zaawansowania w dialogu między religiami takimi jak: chrześcijaństwo, judaizm, islam, hinduizm, buddyzm. Uwzględnienie wspólnego punktu odniesienia do osoby Jezusa Chrystusa ma być kolejnym głosem w sprawie pojednania i sugestią w niwelowaniu różnic, które ciągle utrudniają wspólnotowe doświadczenie wiary.

Słowa kluczowe: religia, dialog międzyreligijny, chrześcijaństwo, judaizm, islam, hinduizm, buddyzm.

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Seeking a Virtuous Patriotism: Considerations on Love for One's Country

This article aims not only to present a few philosophical concepts of patriotism, but to also outline the broader context of contemporary disputes taking place in many countries regarding the relationship between man and his nation, state, and homeland. Although philosophy had not considered the question of patriotism for many years, within the past century this situation has changed drastically. Moral, political, and philosophical thinkers such as Dolf Sternberger, Alasdair MacIntyre, Jürgen Habermas, and Igor Primoratz have taken up this issue. Political philosophy's interest in patriotism is clearly evident in, among other things, the current dispute between communists and representatives of liberal thought.

Key words: patriotism, national patriotism, constitutional patriotism, homeland, nation, nationalism, solidarity, democracy, social ethics.

Introduction

Throughout history, many countries and nations have exhibited very diverse examples of patriotism. The proper understanding of love for one's country and heritage remains an interesting topic of debate in different regions of the world. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, a renaissance in patriotism occurred, inspiring philosophical and political discussions on this topic that have continued in the United States to this day.¹ The political thinker Igor Primoratz's book

¹ See S. P. Kiernan, *Authentic Patriotism: Restoring America's Founding Ideals Through Selfless* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2010).

entitled *Patriotism* contains an interesting and significant testament to this debate.² More recently, important discussions about patriotism have been taking place in Poland, Germany, and Italy,³ while the leaders of Russia, India, and even China have acknowledge the need to foster and instill patriotic attitudes in their people.

In 2012, the Chinese Communist Party announced that patriotism would be included (along with freedom, equality, and sacrifice) among its so-called Core Socialist Values. In the years following, the authorities in Beijing added eight new values to this list: prosperity, democracy, courtesy, harmony, justice, rule of law, honesty, and friendship. To instill these important socialist values, teachers teach school children in the Middle Kingdom to write them by heart. In addition, the Chinese people sing songs and recite poems about patriotism and similar values. Additionally, the authorities in Beijing seek to ensure that patriotism is present in mass media and culture, on the streets, in homes, etc.

What is the essence of patriotism? Is every form of patriotism good? How does one differentiate between patriotic and nationalistic attitudes, between chauvinism and xenophobia? What does the American philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre think about patriotism? How does one evaluate the concept of constitutional patriotism in the German thinker Jürgen Habermas' publications? Does the Solidarity movement provide examples of sage patriotic attitudes? How can patriotism combine modernity and tradition?

The main purpose of this article is twofold: 1) to present a few philosophical concepts of patriotism and 2) to outline the broader context of contemporary disputes taking place in many countries regarding the proper understanding of the relationship between man and his own nation, state, and homeland.

An American Understanding of Patriotism

On March 26, 1984, the well-known American philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre gave a very important lecture on the topic of patriotism at the University of Kansas. MacIntyre's inspiring speech was published in English by the University of Kansas' Department of Philosophy and

² See I. Primoratz, *Patriotism* (New York: Humanity Books, 2002).

³ See M. Rosati, *Il patriottismo italiano. Culture politiche e identità nazionali* [Italian Patriotism. Political Cultures and National Identities] (Rome: Bari, 2000); M. Król, *Patriotyzm przyszłości* (Warsaw: Rosner i Wspolnicy, 2004); A.M. Kobos, ed., *Patriotyzm wczoraj i dziś* (Cracow: Seminarium PAU, 2008).

subsequently translated into many other languages.⁴ From then on, this important American intellectual's view of patriotism became the reference point for global public opinion.⁵

MacIntyre's lecture was included in the United State's extraordinarily rich tradition of patriotism, the spirit of which has been promoted and instilled in the American people at home and in schools, churches, social organizations, societies, etc., since the country's inception. From the American Revolution, which began in 1775, until the 1960s, patriotism united the entire American nation. This situation changed, however, during the second half of the twentieth century when the liberal and neo-Marxist milieu began to grow stronger throughout the Western world. With the hippie movement, sexual revolution of 1968, and the Vietnam War, patriotism became a controversial issue.

Since the 1960s, some Americans have begun to claim that patriotism is not a virtue at all, but rather a vice and crime. The rejection of patriotism forced its proponents to devise new and convincing arguments to justify patriotism's moral value. In 1984, MacIntyre defended patriotism as a virtue connected to loyalty, stating:

Patriotism is defined in terms of a kind of loyalty to a particular nation which only those possessing that particular nationality can exhibit. Only Frenchmen can be patriotic about France, while anyone can make the cause of civilization their own. But it would be all too easy in noticing this to fail to make a second equally important distinction. Patriotism is not to be confused with a mindless loyalty to one's own particular nation which has no regard at all for the characteristics of that particular nation. Patriotism does generally and characteristically involve a peculiar regard not just for one's own nation, but for the particular characteristics and merits and achievements of one's own nation. These latter are indeed valued as merits and achievements and their character as merits and achievements provides reasons supportive of the patriot's attitudes.⁶

MacIntyre counted patriotism among the virtues that exhibit loyalty. Other virtues such as marital fidelity; love for one's family and nation; friendship; and respect for one's school, state, government institutions, sports clubs, etc. are all based on loyalty. MacIntyre confirms that actions based on loyalty cannot be reduced solely to an expression of

⁴ See A. MacIntyre, *Is Patriotism a Virtue?* (Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1984).

⁵ See F. Mangena, "Aristotle, Patriotism, and Reason: Reflections of MacIntyre's Question – Is Patriotism a Virtue?," *Phronimon* 11, no. 2 (2010): 5-48.

⁶ A. MacIntyre, *Is Patriotism a Virtue?*, 4.

gratitude. Of course, gratitude plays a certain role in loyal behavior, but its significance is very limited:

What patriotism and other such attitudes involve is not just gratitude, but a particular kind of gratitude; and what those who treat patriotism and other such loyalties as virtues are committed to believing is not that what they owe their nation or whomever or whatever it is is simply a requital for benefits received, based on some relationship of reciprocity of benefits.

So although one may as a patriot love one's country, or as a husband or wife exhibit marital fidelity, and cite as partially supporting reasons one's country's or one's spouse's merits and one's own gratitude to them for benefits received these can be no more than partially supporting reasons, just because what is valued is valued precisely as the merits of my country or spouse or as the benefits received by me from my country or spouse.⁷

Why do some philosophical trends consider patriotism a vice? How does one reconcile patriotism with general ethical principles that require all peoples, regardless of race or color, to be treated in the same way? MacIntyre observes that patriotism cannot be justified as a virtue on the grounds of the liberal concept of morality that has dominated Western thought over the last centuries.⁸ According to MacIntyre, "... what morality provides are standards by which all actual social structures may be brought to judgment from a standpoint independent of all of them. It is morality so understood allegiance to which is not only incompatible with treating patriotism as a virtue, but which requires that patriotism – at least in any substantial version – be treated as a vice. [...] According to the liberal account of morality where and from whom I learn the principles and precepts of morality are and must be irrelevant both to the question of what the content of morality is and to that of the nature of my commitment to it, as irrelevant as where and from whom I learn the principles and precepts of mathematics are to the content of mathematics and the nature of my commitment to mathematical truths."⁹

MacIntyre emphatically denies the liberal concept of morality. Referring to Aristotle, the American philosopher argues that one learn morals in the community in which he is raised. Therefore, where and

⁷ Ibid, 4-5.

⁸ See A. MacIntyre, *A Short History of Ethics: A History of Moral Philosophy from the Homeric Age to the Twentieth Century* (Indiana: Notre Dame Press, 1998), 122-127.

⁹ A. MacIntyre, *Is Patriotism a Virtue?*, 8.

from whom one learns fundamental ethical principles has a decisive influence on the content of these principles as well as the nature of moral obligations. On the one hand, moral principles enacted within a concrete historical community are very similar and sometimes even identical to the rules that other communities follow. On the other hand, these moral principles are particular, since they arise out of a community's (one's homeland) unique historical experiences. In this context, one can treat patriotism as a virtue.

MacIntyre closely links the virtue of patriotism with the community as well as with a specific understanding of morality. MacIntyre's thoughts on patriotism are inspired by the Aristotle, who himself thought out the concept of virtue and analyzed the relationship between man and the community. According to MacIntyre, "loyalty to that community, to the hierarchy of particular kinship, particular local community and particular natural community, is on this view a prerequisite for morality. So patriotism and those loyalties cognate to it are not just virtues but central virtues."¹⁰

Considerations on Constitutional Patriotism

Americans have commented extensively on MacIntyre's statements on patriotism. Europeans, however, are not very interested in what MacIntyre has to say on this subject. This is not to say, however, that a renaissance in patriotic attitudes is not occurring in Europe. On the contrary, patriotic attitudes can be clearly observed in Germany where, for example, a very serious discussion on German national consciousness began in 2004.¹¹ At that time, the German President Horst Köhler's statement that he loved his country initiated this discussion. Up to then, "the president's honest statement had been unthinkable in the young Federal Republic of Germany. For this reason, when journalists asked Köhler's predecessor Gustav Heinemann if he loved his country, he replied, "I don't love my fatherland; I love my wife."¹²

During the past decade or so, a profound revival of national consciousness and a strengthening of patriotic attitudes have undoubtedly occurred. These changes are evident in the way that the mass and

¹⁰ Ibid, 11.

¹¹ See P. Molt, "Abschied vom Verfassungspatriotismus? Dolf Sternberger und die aktuelle Debatte [Farewell to Constitutional Patriotism? Dolf Sternberger and the Current Debate]," *Die Politische Meinung* 435, no. 2 (2006): 29-36.

¹² I. Janicka, *Nowy niemiecki patriotyzm w debacie publicznej RFN* [New German Patriotism in the Public Debate in Germany] (Poznan: 2007), 29.

electronic media presents twentieth-century history and the crimes of the Third Reich. After the fall of the Third Reich in 1945, Germans were always aware of the unthinkable atrocities committed by their countrymen during World War II. Consequently, Germans consciously avoided any subjects related to patriotism and nationalism. It wasn't until 1959 that the German political thinker Dolf Sternberger used the term "constitutional patriotism" (*der Verfassungspatriotismus*) for the first time.¹³ During the 1970s and 1980s, Sternberger's concept of love for one's country dominated the way that inhabitants of the Federal Republic of Germany approached their country. However, constitutional patriotism's influence on German society drastically declined in the 1990s, and today the German people have decidedly turned away from this concept.¹⁴

What is the essence of constitutional patriotism? Dolf Sternberger—the originator of the concept of constitutional patriotism—was a student of the great German philosopher Karl Jaspers, who emphasized Germany's collective responsibility for war crimes and pointed out that Germany profoundly needed a new national, social, and state identity. Jaspers spoke outright of German guilt and demanded that a new democratic society free from the threats of nationalism, chauvinism, or xenophobia be established.¹⁵

Referring to Jasper's work and vision of a new German society, Sternberger proposed constitutional patriotism as the antidote to national patriotism. On the one hand, constitutional patriotism questions the patriotic attitudes that refer to the nation or homeland as a cultural and historical community. On the other hand, constitutional patriotism disagrees with completely rejecting the individual's connection to his own country—an idea characteristic of cosmopolitan thinking. In a certain sense, constitutional patriotism must protect the citizens of liberal democratic societies from the Scylla of nationalism and Charybdis of cosmopolitanism. According to Sternberger, patriotism arises from citizens' positive patriotic feeling toward, political attachment to, and identification with the democratic state and their desire to protect it

¹³ See B. Vogel, "Dolf Sternberger. Vater des Verfassungspatriotismus. Eine Würdigung zum 100. Geburtstag [Dolf Sternberger. Father of Constitutional Patriotism. A Tribute to the 100th Birthday]," *Die Politische Meinung* 452, no. 7 (2007): 69-72.

¹⁴ See S. Amato, *Sul patriottismo costituzionale tedesco tra Settecento e Novecento* [About the German Constitutional Patriotism between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries] (Firenze: 2011).

¹⁵ See K. Jaspers, *The Question of German Guilt* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2001).

against its enemies. Sternberger asserts that constitutional patriotism should not act as a surrogate of national patriotism. Instead, the essence of constitutional patriotism is to continue the European tradition of a patriotism that is connected with the state and its institutions.

While postwar German reflections on what caused the birth of National Socialism and the barbarism of the Third Reich have given way to a new version of patriotism, this does not mean that constitutional patriotism is exclusive to Germany; on the contrary, constitutional patriotism is universal. Sternberger proposes a new vision of the individual's relationship to his own state, which is possible in countries with liberal democracies that respect the constitutional order and institutions of the democratic state of law.

The concept of constitutional patriotism became very popular in the late 1980s. In 1986, the famous German philosopher Jürgen Habermas, who defined this form of love for one's country as a conscious support of the political principles and values contained in the constitution, began to use this term. Habermas argued that constitutional patriotism was an appropriate response to the problem of interpersonal relations among people as well as social integration into a multicultural and multiethnic contemporary liberal democracy. How does one create national unity in societies governed by liberal democracies? What is the source of social bonds? According to Habermas, the legal system is the only acceptable common ground for communication and values that will ensure stability and the rule of law in such societies, and the constitution should express the legal system's most basic values and principles.

At present, however, this is no longer the case. After the unification of Germany, this version of patriotism ceased to serve as a contrast to national patriotism. When the Berlin Wall fell, public discourse throughout Europe returned to the concept of the nation or homeland. Today, people refer to constitutional patriotism when speaking about an individual's relationship to transnational political structures. However, in the case of German or other European countries, discussions about constitutional patriotism reveal a revival of national consciousness and a return to the different concepts of love of one's own country.

Patriotism in Social Ethics

Studies on social ethics provide many valuable observations on the topic of love for one's country. Polish philosopher Tadeusz Ślipko is one of the most important social ethicists to write on the subject of

patriotism. According to him, each individual has different duties to his country. These duties can be divided into “large” and “small” obligations, respectively. Large obligations pertain more to exceptional situations in which fidelity to one’s nation demands true service to national matters and great efforts to support national interests. Such service requires sacrifice, risks to one’s life and health, and even death. Ślipko argues that large obligations pertain particularly to the defense of one’s homeland or state when a foreign nation or external entity threatens the freedom, well-being, and existence of one’s own nation.¹⁶

What are an individual’s “small” duties toward his country? These small obligations pertain to daily behaviors, through which one consciously affirms his homeland and cultivates its culture (language, literature, history, religion, tradition, social and state organizations, etc.). From among these moral attitudes, it is possible to distinguish three: patriotism, fidelity to one’s nation, and love for one’s homeland. Tadeusz Ślipko observes that:

Patriotism is occasionally identified with the obligation to be faithful to one’s nation. At other times, however, patriotism strives for a deeper expression of solidarity that is more self-aware and that reaches the depth of the affections. This form of solidarity is expressed in a person’s deep spiritual attachment to his country, in his full experience of his nation’s culture, and, above all else, in his active involvement in national matters.¹⁷

Ślipko distinguishes patriotism from the moral virtue of love for one’s country. How does one define love for one’s country? Love for one’s homeland is separate than patriotism because it is a personal moral virtue that has a richer axiological content because of its assumption that the homeland is partly a different social category than the nation insofar as love for one’s homeland involves the constant and necessary component of the relationship between the nation and the values of the country that is within it. “Love for one’s homeland is a virtue that shows man the moral nobleness and significance of these experiences for his personal development and enjoins him to consciously cultivate this virtue. The moral aspect of patriotism involves the whole power of man’s attachment to the land of his birth land as well as his extricable relationship with it.¹⁸

¹⁶ See T. Ślipko, “Zarys etyki szczegółowej,” *Etyka społeczna*, Vol. 2 (Cracow: 2005), 241-242.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 242.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 242-243.

Unfortunately, Ślipko's analyses of patriotism and love for one's homeland do not consider the "Solidarity" movement, which began in 1980 and is a significant element of the Polish historical experience.¹⁹ One very important dimension of this movement was its ability to revive patriotic attitudes in Poland and establish a new ethos among the people. Therefore, it is impossible to speak about Polish patriotism without referring to the history of "Solidarity," especially during the first phase of existence from 1980 to 1981. Likewise, Polish philosophers have not yet analyzed the history of "Solidarity" from the perspective of the history of ideas. Such a philosophical analysis would shed light on the different ideological trends of this social movement—trends that are the key to understanding the current political disputes that are tearing apart the national Polish community.²⁰

Conclusion

The revival of patriotic attitudes and the strengthening of national consciousness, which have been observed in Poland and in many other countries in recent years, are very positive phenomena that indicate a global cultural trend. Love for one's country and respect for one's native culture and traditions do not pertain only to one's past and to historical research. Rather, they are closely related to a current capacity for sacrificial and solidary building up of the common good. Consequently, the right approach to patriotism has a real impact on the shape of our future at national and international levels.

Disputes over the moral value of patriotism have been going on for centuries. Unfortunately, not every form of patriotism can be considered a virtue. Not all versions of love for one's own country are good and useful. Throughout history, there have been two opposing views of patriotism to which contemporary thinkers refer. On the one hand, there are those who support patriotism, and Roman poet Horace represents this group. In the first century before Christ, he called on the Roman citizens to fight the Persians, saying: "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* – It is sweet and honorable to die for one's country."

¹⁹ See A. Kobyliński, "Nadzieja i zdrada 'Solidarności' [Hope and Betrayal of 'Solidarity']," *W Sieci* 21 (2016): 54-55; Idem, "Dzieje 'Solidarności' i wojna idei [The History of "Solidarity" and the War of Ideas]," *W Sieci* 35 (2016): 66-68.

²⁰ See A. Kobyliński, "The Role of Solidarity in an Open Society," *Europske kontexty interkulturalne komunikacije*, eds. P. Ivanic, M. Hetenyi, Z. Taneski (Nitra: 2009), 139-148; A. Kobyliński, "Tischner and Metz: two Understandings of Solidarity," *Transformacia ľudskej identity v strednej Európe po roku 1990*, ed. H. Hrehova (Trnava: Filozofická fakulta TU, 2009), 45-51.

On the other hand, there is a group that opposes patriotism, the representative of which is the well-known Russian writer Leo Tolstoy. Tolstoy believed that patriotism is a moral error, or grave sin, that opposes the basic principles of Christian morality, which rejects both individual and group egoism because our neighbor is simply human. From this point of view, patriotism is another form of moral relativism, which ultimately assesses behavior based on who is acting, in relation to whom he is acting, and for what reasons. In this century, Horace's ideas have been more widely accepted than Tolstoy's concept of love for one's own country. Today, an increasing revival of national patriotism is taking place in many countries. Due to changing cultural trends, public opinion has reflected more on Alaisdair MacIntyre's central virtue of patriotism than on Dolf Sternberger or Jürgen Habermas' vision of constitutional patriotism.

According to the American example of patriotism, love for one's country should always be open and inclusive. All forms of racism and xenophobia are foreign to the true virtue of patriotism. If a country is to wisely and responsibly foster patriotic attitudes, then national selfishness and nationalism, which cultivate a sense of superiority by closing the nation off to other national communities and the universal community, should be eliminated. Nationalism, particularly in its more radical forms, is the antithesis of true patriotism. Therefore nations in Europe and elsewhere should not permit extreme nationalism to give rise to new forms of the totalitarian vision of social and political life.²¹

Today, populism poses a serious threat to democracy's effective functioning and individuals' proper relationship to their own country. In recent years, political and economic crises have paved the way for ideological movements that demagogically emphasize the will of the people and their attachment to their homeland to spring up in many countries. Many elements of populism radically oppose love for one's country.²² For this reason, in the years ahead, populist trends will present serious challenges to those countries that defend democracy and the virtues of patriotism.

Patriotism in Poland wisely combines tradition and modernity. Therefore, on the one hand, Poles should strive to preserve the beautiful elements of the romantic patriotic attitudes described by literary figures such as Adam Mickiewicz and Henryk Sienkiewicz. On the

²¹ See A. Walicki, *Naród, nacjonalizm, patriotyzm* [Nation, Nationalism, Patriotism] (Cracow: Universitas, 2009).

²² See D. Palano, "Populismo. Paradosso della democrazia [Populism. Paradox of Democracy]," *Avvenire* 50, no. 89 (2017): 20.

other hand, Poles should not fail to consider the virtue of patriotism from a philosophical point of view. Only through deeper intellectual reflection can Poles bring their patriotic traditions to the global debate on Dolf Sternberger, Alasdair MacIntyre, or Jürgen Habermas' ideas of patriotism.

Moral
theology

JAKI PATRIOTYZM JEST CNOTĄ? MEANDRY MIŁOŚCI DO WŁASNEGO KRAJU

Głównym celem artykułu jest prezentacja kilku wybranych koncepcji filozoficznych patriotyzmu oraz nakreślenie szerszego kontekstu współczesnych sporów, prowadzonych w wielu krajach, dotyczących właściwego rozumienia relacji człowieka do własnego narodu, państwa i ojczyzny. Przez wiele stuleci fenomen patriotyzmu nie był przedmiotem zainteresowania myśli filozoficznej. Ta sytuacja uległa diametralnej zmianie w ostatnich dziesięcioleciach. W tym okresie zagadnienie patriotyzmu zostało podjęte przez takich myślicieli jak Dolf Sternberger, Alasdair MacIntyre, Jürgen Habermas czy Igor Primoratz. Obecnie patriotyzm jest tematem debaty nie tylko w filozofii moralnej, ale także w różnego rodzaju teoriach politycznych. Potwierdzeniem zainteresowania patriotyzmem ze strony filozofii polityki jest m.in. spór prowadzony między komunitarystami a przedstawicielami myśli liberalnej.

Słowa kluczowe: patriotyzm, patriotyzm narodowy, patriotyzm konstytucyjny, ojczyzna, naród, nacjonalizm, solidarność, demokracja, etyka społeczna.

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Theological and Moral Aspects of Vegetarianism

This article presents the increasingly popular phenomenon of vegetarianism from the perspective of moral theology. After synthetically describing the different types of vegetarianism, this study identified what motivates people to refrain from the consumption of meat and animal products. Vegetarians' sensitivity to the fate of livestock as well as their ascetic motivations do not incite any moral objections, but rather can be considered a moral ideal. Responsibly practicing vegetarianism poses no threats to human health. The main objections to vegetarianism pertain to the ideologies and doctrines that motivate people to practice it; for, these ideologies oppose a Christian understanding of creation.

Key words: animal rights, moral theology, veganism, vegetarianism, animals.

Introduction

Vegetarianism has become a more widespread phenomenon in Poland. According to a study conducted in 2013, more than one million Poles, who constitute more than 3% of the entire Polish population, practice vegetarianism. There is also a large group of Poles who aspire to practice vegetarianism, yet occasionally consume meat and fish products.¹

¹ Instytut Badania Opinii Publicznej Homo Homini. *Ilu jest w Polsce vegetarian?* Wyniki badania Instytutu Badania Opinii Homo Homini dla LightBox (How Many Vegetarians are There in Poland? The Homo Homini Opinion Research Institute's Findings for LightBox). September 16, 2013, <http://www.lightbox>.

Different forms of vegetarianism exist and depend on the type of food products consumed or avoided. Among the various types of vegetarianism, the most common form is *lacto-ovo-vegetarianism*, according to which it is possible to consume vegetables, fruits, and some animal products such as milk, milk products, and eggs, while meat and seafood are avoided. Lacto-vegetarians, on the other hand, avoid the aforementioned animal products in addition to eggs. Another category of vegetarianism known as *veganism* excludes the consumption of all animal products (i.e., milk, dairy, and eggs). The least common, less well-known, and strictest forms of vegetarianism are *raw foodism*, which entails a diet limited to raw (uncooked) and unprocessed foods, and *fruitarianism*, which is a diet consisting of fruits, seeds, and nuts. Finally, there are also two variations on vegetarianism known as semi-vegetarianism: the first, *pollo-vegetarianism*, allows for the consumption of chicken, while the second, *pesco-vegetarianism*, permits the consumption of fish. Individuals often temporarily practice these two forms of vegetarianism before following stricter forms that exclude meat.²

While people practice vegetarianism for a variety of reasons, this study will analyze four of the main motives behind this lifestyle choice. In order to remain a living science, moral theology must critically assess phenomena that are characteristic of the modern world. The increasing interest in vegetarianism, which could even be termed a kind of “sign of the times,” is such a phenomenon.

Man’s right to use animals to realize his own rational aims

From the earliest times man has consumed both animals and animal products, especially meat, to sustain himself. Man initially obtained these products through hunting wild animals. Later and to this day, he has relied on breeding livestock as the primary means to provide food for himself.

Biblical tradition recognizes that man has a right to kill animals for two reasons: 1) to offer them as a sacrifice to God and 2) to obtain food.³ These two are in accordance with the theological and moral assertion

pl/poradnik-lightbox/zdrowe-odzywianie/wyniki-badania-instytutu-badania-opinii-homo-homini-dla-lightbox-wrzesien-2013 (06.19.2017).

² See A. Zwoliński, *Wegetarianizm* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo GOTÓW, 1996), 6-7.

³ See W. Chrostowski, “Status zwierząt w Biblii,” in *Forum Teologiczne* 6 (2005): 18.

that man may not to treat animals arbitrarily and that man has a right to use animals to realize his own rational aims only insofar as these aims follow natural law. Therefore, man's existential need to acquire food permits him to kill animals.⁴ However, this right also obliges man to treat animals with kindness and sensitivity, which means that man must not only refrain from inflicting unnecessary pain on animals,⁵ he must also provide suitable breeding and slaughtering conditions that minimize animal suffering and stress. To this end, developed the Five Freedoms to describe the ideal conditions in which to raise livestock. Specifically, these conditions must ensure that animals are adequately fed, hydrated, and comfortable; able to behave as they would in nature; and free from pain, injury, illness, stress, and fear. In practice, this means that breeders must properly handle livestock, have knowledge of their needs, select and train qualified personnel, satisfactorily maintain facilities, provide round-the-clock care, and slaughter animals in a humane manner.⁶

Motives for practicing vegetarianism

Although biblical, moral, and theological traditions allow for breeding and slaughtering animals, some Christians freely choose to become vegetarians and, thereby, refrain from consuming animal products.

Ascetic motives

Referring directly to Christ's teaching in Matthew 6:1-18, Christian tradition regards fasting as one of the most important good deeds. Fasting is also an incredibly worthwhile ascetic practice that helps man in his battle against every kind of disordered attachment and desire.⁷ Fasting itself can take on a variety of forms. For example, one can refrain from consuming alcoholic beverages and abusing drugs, limit television and computer use, or more intensively practice charity toward others. Among the different forms of fasting, the most common

⁴ See Pope Francis, *Laudato Si*, 92; J. Wróbel, "Zwierzęta ich prawa," *Prawa człowieka. W 60. Rocznicy Powszechnej Deklaracji Praw Człowieka: Przestanie moralne Kościoła*," eds. K. Jeżyna and T. Zadykiewicz (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2010), 99-101.

⁵ *Ibid*, 102.

⁶ See J. El-Jai, "Rola bioetyki w kształtowaniu humanitarnego podejścia do zwierząt," *Zeszyty Filozoficzne*, no. 14-15 (2009): 231.

⁷ See J. Gocko, K. Kołtun, "'Trzy dobre uczynki' w ujęciu teologii moralnej społecznej," *Seminare: Poszukiwania naukowe* 34, no. 3 (2013): 50-51.

is to refrain from eating meat or limiting the amount of food that one consumes. To assist the faithful on their path to deeper union with Christ, the Church obliges the faithful to fast and strictly regulates this obligation by determining when, from what, and to what degree the faithful should abstain.⁸

Some of the Fathers of the Church, including John Cassian, recommend moderate but continuous fasting. According to the Church Fathers, fasting should be adapted to the liturgical year, meaning fasting should be more intense on fast days and less intense on feast days and celebrations, when individuals may consume more varied and nutritious meals. The Church Fathers recommend the practice of continuous fasting because it safeguards a person against excessive laxity, which can occur after a prolonged and severe fast and can, in turn, lead to the sin of gluttony.⁹ This type of ascetic practice takes place even today in some monasteries and convents that follow a strict rule of life. For example, Camaldolese monks and nuns completely refrain from eating meat, which is given only to those who are ill. Additionally, they do not consume dairy products and eggs on all Fridays of the year and during the forty days of fasting that precede the feasts of Christmas and Easter.¹⁰ While many contemporary moral theologians are reticent to do so, a few have timidly encouraged the faithful to practice periodic fasting at the very least, particularly during the season of Lent,¹¹ as a form of abstaining from that which is not necessary.

Studies have shown that refraining from consuming certain animal products can also serve as an expression of one's solidarity with others, particularly the poor and hungry. It is well known that highly developed countries' economies, which are known to be both expansive and brutal to people, animals, and the environment, are largely responsible for world hunger.¹² For instance, industrial breeding based

⁸ Por. S. Mojek, "IV przykazanie kościelne: wstrzemięźliwość od spożywania mięsa i post," *Przykazania kościelne dzisiaj. Przesłanie moralne Kościoła*, eds. J. Nagórny and J. Gocko (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2001): 168.

⁹ See B. Caseau, "Chrześcijańska praktyka postu w starożytności oraz wczesnym średniowieczu," *Communio* (Polish Edition) 24, no. 4 (2014): 32.

¹⁰ See *The Constitution of the Congregation of the Camaldolese Hermits of Monte Corona* (Ohio: 2002), <http://www.camaldolese.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/constitution.pdf>.

¹¹ See I. Mroczkowski, *Czy człowiek w raju był wegetarianinem?* <https://pl.aleteia.org/2017/03/14/czy-czlowiek-w-raju-byl-wegetarianinem> (06.18.2017).

¹² See J. Gocko and K. Kołtun, "Trzy dobre uczynki," 51; S. Jaromi, "Czyńcie sobie ziemię kochaną," *W drodze*, no. 6 (2017): 59.

on artificial propagation and feeding requires considerable amounts of water, feed, and energy—resources known to contribute to pollution.¹³ In fact, eight kilograms of vegetable protein is necessary to provide consumers with one kilogram of pork. This output is significant when a person considers that approximately 80-90% of the world's cereal and legume production is spent on farm animal feed, while the meat from the animals fed nourishes barely 30% of the human population, leaving the remainder of the population to suffer from a shortage of, among other things, products used in breeding livestock.¹⁴ With this in mind, vegetarianism provides an effective means to reduce animal consumption and, consequently, fight world hunger.

As demonstrated above, vegetarianism and its variations provide Christians with a mode of fasting that is valuable not only as an ascetic practice that helps in the battle against sinful tendencies and facilitates an individual's spiritual development, but also as an expression of solidarity with the poor. Nevertheless, fasting requires great effort because it comes to an individual neither naturally nor automatically. A person must have the right intention and resolve to remain steadfast in his sacrifice of certain foods or pleasures.

The desire to reduce animal suffering

Rather frequently, individuals refrain from eating meat and other animal products because of their concern for the fate of livestock. Even if animals live in optimal breeding and slaughtering conditions, they still experience stress and pain. From a moral point of view, this suffering is always an evil because animals, unlike humans, are spiritually and personally unable to perceive, interpret, and make sense of suffering and, therefore, understand how it is a call to moral perfection.¹⁵

Man's dignity is made manifest in relation to other living creatures. Man expresses his elevated dignity at the very least in his kindness toward animals and sensitivity to their misery. Among men, some particularly sensitive individuals feel impelled by their consciences to cease eating meat, since it is always obtained through animal suffering, while others go further by excluding from their diets every kind

¹³ See R. Ziemińska, "Moralne argumenty za wegetarianizmem," *Przegląd Filozoficzny* 24, no. 2 (2015): 198.

¹⁴ See B. Grabowska, "Czy wszyscy powinniśmy zostać wegetarianami?," *Wschodni Rocznik Humanistyczny* 11 (2015): 336.

¹⁵ See J. Wróbel, *Zwierzęta*, 102.

of animal product obtained from living creatures raised in artificial conditions.

It is important to note, however, that the Church approaches those who practice vegetarianism as a means to reduce animal suffering with reservation. Although theoretical scholarship on the question of the relationship between humans and animals is not lacking, translating doctrine on this subject into pastoral practice is, on a practical level, problematic. As a result, people who practice vegetarianism or veganism for the aforementioned reasons are, unfortunately, often misunderstood or even condemned by individuals within the Church. On the other hand, some moral theologians treat vegetarianism as a noble aim, while others consider it a moral ideal exemplified by those who are willing to make a sacrifice for either health or spiritual reasons.¹⁶ Regardless of whether theologians oppose or support vegetarianism, it remains a voluntary and optional practice among Christians because, at this point, the Church can neither treat meat consumption as a moral evil, nor morally oblige every person to follow a vegetarian lifestyle.¹⁷

A complete refusal to consume all animal products is not the only means to ensure a better fate for livestock; another option is to buy food products from private farms or breeders that strive to ensure that their livestock live in optimal conditions. However, this option costs more and is less readily available to consumers.¹⁸

Doctrinal reasons

The doctrinal and ideological motivations underlying the practice of vegetarianism are so varied that this study cannot describe them all. However, these differing doctrines and ideologies assert that the consumption of meat or other animal products constitutes a serious moral offense and should, therefore, cease.

Throughout Christian antiquity, Manichaean beliefs and practices pervaded the culture. One such Manichean practice was to refrain from eating meat. This practice, however, did not arise out of human sensitivity to the fate of animals. On the contrary, Manicheans believed that animals were pervaded by evil, and they avoided consuming animals so as not to consume the evil they embodied. In this way, Manicheans' avoidance of meat was not a means to practice temperance, but rather

¹⁶ See I. Mroczkowski, *Czy człowiek*.

¹⁷ See K. Akers, "Vegetarianism and Christianity—Are They Compatible?," *The Ark*, no. 234 (2016): 17.

¹⁸ See J. El-Jai, *Rola bioetyki*, 231.

an expression of contempt for God's creation (animals). Obviously, the Manichean motivation to refrain from eating meat is contrary to the Christian faith, since Christians believe that every creature that comes from God reflects some aspect of His Truth, Goodness, and Beauty. In this way, the created world is the sacrament of God's presence through which God can give Himself to man.¹⁹ As a result of the resolutions of several synods, Manichean influence within the Church declined drastically. Nevertheless, a Manichean worldview has persisted throughout the centuries and is currently supported by the Voluntary Human Extinction Movement.²⁰

In recent decades, a growing animal rights movement, whose main ideologues are Peter Singer and Tim Regan, has arisen. Within the movement as a whole there are various ideologies, each based on differing premises. Nevertheless, all ideologies uphold that humans and animals are equal because of their ability to sense and feel. According to this ideology, since both humans and animals seek to avoid pain and suffering, they have the same rights. As a result, when man ascribes certain rights to himself and thereby denies these rights to animals, he commits a racially motivated abuse often referred to as species chauvinism. Some supporters of the ontological equality between man and animals accept such assertions.²¹

While the Church does not oppose all movements that support animals, it warns against ascribing to animals the same rights as humans. For, unlike animals, man is a unique being on whom God has bestowed a special dignity and who consciously, freely, and responsibly realizes himself. This dignity is the basis of man's particular duties. For this reason, people should speak analogically about animal rights or about man's duty toward animals. For, as described above, the nature and scope of man's rights are different,²² and, although some theologians have stipulated that people should cease eating meat, man cannot be obliged to practice vegetarianism.²³

Furthermore, those who switch to a vegetarian or vegan diet are often influenced by Eastern philosophical systems of thought or by

¹⁹ See J.J.F. de Farias, "Kosmos 'przebóstwiony': Przyczynek do sakramentalnej teologii świata," in *Communio* (Polish Edition), no. 6 (1992): 133.

²⁰ See J. Salij, "Kontrowersyjni przyjaciele zwierząt," *Forum Teologiczne* 6 (2005): 102-104.

²¹ See J. Wróbel, *Zwierzęta*, 92.

²² *Ibid*, 94-95.

²³ See K. Remele, *Vegetarisches Essen ist Christenpflicht*. <http://www.katholisch.de/aktuelles/aktuelle-artikel/vegetarisches-essen-ist-christenpflicht> (06.24.2017).

religious traditions based on pantheism. Those who popularize this kind of vegetarianism promote a great interest in Eastern thought and opposition to Western civilization.²⁴ People should be cautious with regard to these trends because they lead to the dangerous phenomenon of religious syncretism.

Health impacts of vegetarianism

A large percentage of people of who practice vegetarianism choose to do so for health reasons. Perhaps this is why the following quote from Bernard Shaw is a favorite among vegetarians: “Think of the fierce energy concentrated in an acorn! You bury it in the ground, and it explodes into an oak! Bury a sheep, and nothing happens but decay.”²⁵ According to this quote, vegetation brings forth life and health. Health is a gift from God that makes it possible for man to flourish and realize his vocation. Therefore, man should seek to take particular and adequate care of his health, and vegetarianism is considered one way to do so.

Up until recently, specialists, doctors, and nutritionists have agreed that meat and animal products are an indispensable means for humans to obtain essential nutrients. Conversely, when meat and animal products are left out of a human diet, the body does not receive many of the essential amounts of nutrients that it needs to function. While recent studies have tried to disprove this hypothesis, it does not mean that a vegetarian or vegan lifestyle is safe for everyone to follow.

When an adult prudently practices a vegetarian lifestyle, then vegetarianism can have many health benefits. Before embarking on this lifestyle, however, it is necessary to investigate the various categories of vegetarianism (i.e. lacto-vegetarian, vegan, etc.) and, from there, choose which option would be best based on one’s age, sex, work, and environment. For example, for those who live at moderate latitudes, lacto-ovo-vegetarianism or semi-vegetarianism offers a varied enough diet that one could limit one’s intake of fish and meat.²⁶

A vegetarian diet does provide many health benefits. For example, the high fiber found in vegetables prevents atherosclerosis and obesity. Vegetables also contain a large amount of essential vitamins and minerals known to reduce the risk of cancer and hypertension, such

²⁴ See A. Zwoliński, *Wegetarianizm*, 24-28.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 7.

²⁶ See Ś. Ziemiański, and J. Budzyńska-Topolowska, *Wegetarianizm w świetle nauki o żywności i żywieniu* (Warsaw: Instytut Danone, 1997), 160.

as vitamin C, coumarin, selenium, potassium, and magnesium. And, a diet high in vegetable protein can lower cholesterol²⁷ and provide a significant amount of unsaturated fatty acids as well as a small amount of saturated fatty acids, both of which are necessary to prevent and even treat coronary heart disease. Additionally, recent studies have shown that vegetarian diets significantly reduce the risk of developing diabetes.²⁸

While it is clear that a vegetarian diet presents a variety of health benefits to adults, particular caution should be taken with regard to children, adolescents, and pregnant women, to whom essential vitamins and nutrients are indispensable for proper growth and development. For example, failing to consume sufficient vitamins such as B12, D, iron, and exogenous amino acids, which are often found in meats and animal products, can result in stunted growth as well as physical and mental impairment, anemia, and malabsorption of other key minerals and nutrients.²⁹ Therefore, children, adolescents, and pregnant women should supplement their diets with vitamins B12, D, iron, and exogenous amino acids, which can be found in nuts and legumes. Additionally, pregnant women should take folic acid supplements, since a lack of this B vitamin can cause severe defects in the developing fetus' nervous system. Studies have shown that the incidence of low birth weight or perinatal complications does not increase when proper nutritional supplementation takes place during pregnancy.³⁰

Publications on food science and nutrition warn against extreme forms of vegetarianism such as veganism and fruitarianism and recommend that only adults follow them. Should an individual choose to follow a vegan or fruitarian diet, then intensive vitamins and calcium supplementation is necessary to reduce carcinogenic nitrosamines in the gastrointestinal tract that would have otherwise been reduced by dairy products. Moreover, these supplements should be taken periodically and under a doctor's supervision.³¹

²⁷ Ibid, 161-162.

²⁸ See Y. Lee and K. Park, "Adherence to a Vegetarian Diet and Diabetes Risk: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis of Observational Studies," *Nutrients* 9, no. 7 (2017): 8.

²⁹ See Ś. Ziemiański and J. Budzyńska-Topolowska, *Vegetarianism*, 161.

³⁰ See A. Ochendzan, E. Kamiński, "Wpływ diety wegetariańskiej na stan zdrowia kobiety w ciąży i noworodka w okresie okołoporodowym," *Zeszyty Naukowe: Wyższa Szkoła Hotelarstwa i Gastronomii w Poznaniu* 3 (2008): 19.

³¹ See Ś. Ziemiański and J. Budzyńska-Topolowska, *Wegetarianizm*, 164.

Scientists are still studying vegetarianism's influence on human health, and some other aspects of vegetarianism require further investigation. Among other things, scientists need to examine the effects of vegetarianism on pregnant mothers and the subsequent development of their pre-school, school, and adult age children, and these longitudinal studies require time.³² Because of the current lack of knowledge about the effects of vegetarianism on human health, individuals should be prudent and cautious when deciding to follow a vegetarian diet. The health benefits of vegetarianism are particularly evident when taking into account recent changes that have occurred in the production of meat and animal products. For example, in order to ensure the source of their income, breeders inject their livestock with antibiotics to protect them against diseases and with hormones to speedily increase their muscle mass. Both the residual antibiotics and hormones are subsequently passed on to those who consume these meat and animal products, thereby insidiously affecting their health.³³

* * *

The practice of vegetarianism is becoming increasingly more common in Poland. The reasons for this choice, however, are varied. Given that Poland is a predominantly Catholic nation, the Church should appreciate people's motivation to cease eating meat for ascetic reasons or out of sensitivity to the suffering of livestock. Pastors should approach vegetarian Christians with less suspicion, particularly since their numbers are increasing.

Vegetarianism can also be a means to care for one's health. For example, studies have shown that eliminating meat from one's diet aids in maintaining better physical condition and reduces the risk of serious diseases. In some cases, however, it can be dangerous to eliminate all animal food products, since they contain essential nutrients. For this reason, an individual should exercise caution when deciding to practice any form of vegetarianism.

Doctrinal vegetarianism, which upholds that the world is permeated by evil, misunderstands animal rights, is influenced by other religious beliefs and systems, and is incompatible with the Christian vision of man and the world.

³² See A. Ochendzan and E. Kamiński, "Wpływ diety," 19.

³³ See R. Ziemińska, "Moralne argumenty," 198.

TEOLOGICZNE I MORALNE ASPEKTY WEGETARIANIZMU

Celem niniejszego artykułu było zaprezentowanie coraz popularniejszego zjawiska wegetarianizmu z perspektywy teologii moralnej. Po syntetycznym opisanu jego rodzajów dokonano charakterystyki motywacji, które leżą u podstaw rezygnacji ze spożywania produktów pochodzenia zwierzęcego. Zastrzeżeń moralnych nie budzą decyzje argumentowane pragnieniem ascezy i wrażliwością na los zwierząt gospodarskich. Mogą być one wręcz uznane za ideał moralny. Odpowiedzialne praktykowanie wegetarianizmu nie stanowi także poważnego zagrożenia dla zdrowia człowieka. Istotne obiekcje należy jednak skierować pod adresem wegetarianizmu motywowanego ideologicznie czy doktrynalnie. W swoich podstawach jest on bowiem sprzeczny z chrześcijańską wizją stworzenia.

Słowa kluczowe: prawa zwierząt, teologia moralna, weganizm, wegetarianizm, zwierzęta.

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Archbishop Zygmunt Zimowski's Contribution to Shaping Health Care as a Guardian and Servant of Life

The recently deceased Archbishop Zygmunt Zimowski, former President of the Pontifical Council for Health Care Workers, which was incorporated into the Dicastery for Promoting Integral Human Development, worked tirelessly to guide and support the sick and suffering who have a right to medical care as well as health care workers in an increasingly complex world. This article presents the mission of health care professionals as a service of the various dimensions of life. This form of service strives to restore harmony to life and integrate not only the body's vital functions but also the physical, spiritual, psychological, and religious spheres of human life. The action of God, who often assumes the role of a physician in the Bible, is the model of such service. Healthcare serves to restore life to its full dynamism and individuals to the ability to live life to its full potential. It is also a service of the sanctity and Gospel of life, which guides healthcare professionals' special relationship with the sick and the reality of suffering.

Key words: the disease, illness, service, life.

Introduction

In December 2016, the President of what was the Pontifical Council for Health Care Workers, the late Archbishop Zygmunt Zimowski signed and published the dicastery's final official document entitled "A New Card for Health Care Workers." This document's introduction

entitled “Servants of Life”¹ states that people involved in healthcare are the “guardians and servants of life”² not only in terms of physical life, but also in terms of psychological, religious, and spiritual life. When introducing the New Card, Archbishop Zimowski emphasized that, while healthcare institutions and their administrative systems are important, neither can replace the human heart or fulfill their functions without having compassion in the face of the reality of human suffering.³

Due to the multitude of healthcare specializations, medical treatment today is entrusted to healthcare specialists. However, every medical specialist serves to some degree as a general practitioner whose must “embrace first of all the totality of bodily organs and functions [and] be acquainted with the patient’s family, his milieu, his whole medical history. [...] Physicians] should unceasingly make the effort to keep in mind the profound unity of the human being, in the evident interaction of all his bodily functions, but also in the unity of his bodily, affective, intellectual and spiritual dimensions.”⁴ This task specifies the particular dignity of the mission of healthcare professionals; for, a doctor’s work can be compared to the working of God himself. God behaves toward man like a doctor toward a patient.

The Divine Model of Care for Life

God gives man health of body in the context of temporality and health of soul in the context of eternity. Thanks to this, the work of health care professionals has particular religious value. For, we can say that doctors not only carry out their professional roles, they also serve as ministers of life in the field of health care.⁵

¹ The Italian text use the phrase “*ministri della vita*,” which literally means “ministry of life.”

² Pontifical Council for Healthcare Workers, *Nuova Carta degli Operatori Sanitari* (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2016), 9. When this article was submitted for publication, the English translation of this text did (and does not) yet exist. Hereafter this document will be referred to as PCHCW, *Nuova Carta*.

³ PCHCW, *Nuova Carta*, 3.

⁴ John Paul II, “Address at the Conclusion of the 35th General Assembly of the World Medical Association,” October 29, 1983 (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1983), https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1983/october/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19831029_ass-medica-mondiale.html, (Accessed 10.17.2017).

⁵ According to Professor Jacek Imiela, who is a national consultant in internal medicine, this definition is not the most appropriate. In other countries, other

A doctor who cares for the ill and suffering imitates God himself. The Book of Tobit reveals that the name of the Archangel Raphael means “God heals” and “God cures,” which exemplifies God’s mode of action, which encompasses caring for the sick.

Often in the books of the Old Testament we encounter a God who has “torn, but will [...] heal” and has “struck down, but [...] will bind up” (Hosea 6:1). In this way, a person can imitate God even in a mundane activity like sterilizing and dressing a wound. We also find this image in Psalm 147:3, which is a hymn of gratitude to God who “heal[s] the brokenhearted, and bind[s] up their wounds.”

Can the nurses who prepare beds for the sick find something pertinent in this biblical message? Of course! In Psalm 41:4, the person praying expresses sadness because of his illness-related ailments, and God, who “sustains him on his sickbed” and “turn[s] down his bedding whenever he is ill,” comes to his aid. Here God is depicted as a nurse dressed in a white uniform performing daily duties in a hospital room. Commenting on Psalm 41, St. John Paul II recognizes that “the voice of the person praying Psalm [41] speaks to the multitude of people who are forgotten and humiliated in their illness and weakness, even by those who should support them.”⁶

Reverend Professor Waldemar Chrostowski presents a very interesting and even humorous interpretation of God’s action as a physician. He reveals that the act of creation in the Book of Genesis is carried out in a manner typical not only of a doctor, but a specialist in four fields of medicine.⁷ God created man, placed him in the Garden of Eden, stated that “It is not good for the man to be alone” (Genesis 2:18), and then began to act. He creates Eve in a manner that one would see in a hospital: “So the LORD God cast a deep sleep on the man;” here God is presented as an anesthesiologist. Genesis continues: “While he was asleep, he took out one of [Adam’s] ribs;” here God behaves like an orthopedic doctor. Then God “closed up its place with flesh;” here he acts as a surgeon. Genesis goes on, “The LORD God then built the

terms are used such as: “Service of Suffering,” and “Service of Death,” which, according to Professor Imiela, expresses more accurately what the medical community really does. See J. Imiela, “Cierpienie – spojrzenie lekarza,” *Ból i cierpienie – ognisko światła i ciemności. Medycyna – Teologia – Kultura*, Vol. 4, ed. D. Pater (Warsaw: 2016), 11.

⁶ John Paul II, *Katecheza środowowa “W ciężkiej chorobie,”* in Jan Paweł II, *Benedykt XVI rozważają Psalmi*, (Izabelin—Warsaw: Rosikon Press, 2006), 99.

⁷ See W. Chrostowski, “Lekarz i jego posługa w świetle Biblii,” *Collectanea Theologica*, Vol. 3 (2001): 52-53.

rib that he had taken from the man into a woman” (Gen. 2:21-22); and here God is a plastic surgeon.

Doctors—Serving Others to Bring about Harmony of Life

God, the Creator of life, shared with man the care of life. In this regard, doctors play a special role. In the creation of the world, God brought harmony out of the primordial chaos. The cosmos originated from what is known in Greek as “order.” The task of healing is more or less the same:⁸ to restore harmony to a body disordered by disease.⁹

The similarity between the work of health professionals and the God’s work of creation also depends on properties concealed in nature. Ben Sira notes this reality in the Book of Sirach 38:4-11:

God makes the earth yield healing herbs
which the prudent should not neglect;
Was not the water sweetened by a twig,
so that all might learn his power?
He endows people with knowledge,
to glory in his mighty works,
Through which the doctor eases pain,
and the druggist prepares his medicines.
Thus God’s work continues without cease
in its efficacy on the surface of the earth.
My son, when you are ill, do not delay,
but pray to God, for it is he who heals.
Flee wickedness and purify your hands;
cleanse your heart of every sin.
Offer your sweet-smelling oblation and memorial,
a generous offering according to your means.

God is the Creator of nature, from which it is possible to obtain the medicine necessary to heal diseases. Serving others by healing and relieving suffering is an extension of the work of creation. The therapeutic use of the elements of nature is also a way to fulfill God’s divine command to Adam to subdue the earth (see Gen. 1:28). Being a servant of the harmony of life extends beyond the physical dimension of the body, however; for, the restoration of health brings greater order and harmony to every sphere of human existence and activity.

⁸ This is “more or less” the result of the alleged inaccuracy of this comparison, which is due to the writer’s insufficient competence in the field of medicine.

⁹ See W. Chrostowski, *Lekarz i jego postuga*, 53.

Service of Life and its Many Dimensions

Therapeutic outcomes depend greatly on a patient's cooperation with the physician as well as the treatment. Treatment, however, cannot be reduced only to restoring the body's proper function; instead, it should take into consideration the whole person—spirit, emotions, and psyche. In this regard, a doctor should strive to heal not the disease that affects a person, but rather the person affected by disease. St. John Paul II began this trend by distinguishing between pain and suffering: "Man suffers in different ways, ways not always considered by medicine, not even in *its* most advanced specializations. Suffering is something which is *still wider* than sickness, more complex and at the same time still more deeply rooted in humanity itself. A certain idea of this problem comes to us from the distinction between physical suffering and moral suffering. This distinction is based upon the double dimension of the human being and indicates the bodily and spiritual element as the immediate or direct subject of suffering. Insofar as the words 'suffering' and 'pain,' can, up to a certain degree, be used as synonyms, *physical suffering* is present when 'the body is hurting' in some way, whereas *moral suffering* is 'pain of the soul.' In fact, it is **a question of pain** of a spiritual nature, and not only of the 'psychological' dimension of pain which accompanies both moral and physical suffering."¹⁰

The matter of pain and suffering was always dear to Archbishop Zygmunt Zimowski. As the head of the Pontifical Council for Healthcare Workers, he spoke on world days dedicated to specific kinds of disease and illness. From among the many diseases that exist, he chose to mention those that would elicit sympathy. In addition, he wanted to draw particular attention to those suffering from rare and forgotten diseases. As is clear from his messages, he especially cared about the fate of those who suffer from leprosy and demanded that their rights be recognized. He regretted that, "unfortunately, even today those who suffer from this disease, and even after they are cured of it, are disfigured by its effects and often condemned to loneliness. They live in fear and must disappear from public view and opinion. In economically advanced countries, it is as if this disease has been forgotten about, just as those who are afflicted by it have been forgotten."¹¹

¹⁰ John Paul II, Apostolic Letter: *Salvifici Doloris* (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1984), 5.

¹¹ Z. Zimowski, Message of the President of the Pontifical Council for the Sick and Pastoral Care of Healthcare Workers (January 31, 2010), <http://archbishopottery.blogspot.com/2010/01/> (Accessed:10.13.2017).

In his work *Treatise on Asthma*, which is largely based on the Bible, the medieval philosopher and physician Moses Maimonides, who practiced medicine at the court of Sultan Saladin and who wrote the treatise for his patient Prince Al-Afdala, sets forth the following principles of the healing process: “There is a general rule, and I have seen great doctors adhere to it: a doctor should not treat the disease but rather the person suffering from it,” and “Doctors do not know how to cure many diseases because they do not know the whole person; a part cannot be healthy unless the whole is healthy.”¹²

A doctor knows that he is a servant—and not the master—of life; for, God is the master and source of life. An authority does not have complete control over that which has been entrusted to him. Therefore, a doctor is a cooperator with God. His medical knowledge and specialization acquired through years of study and practice equip him to be an authority on the life. God, the Author of Life, has entrusted to him this good and vocation. It is for this reason that we say that being a doctor is a vocation.

Part of treatment is entrusted to the doctor, while the other part is reserved for God. In the Book of Sirach, Ben Sira says about the doctor: “He too prays to God / That his diagnosis may be correct / and his treatment bring about a cure” (38:14). Archbishop Zimowski was convinced that the doctor’s ability to help those who are suffering from diseases of the body and soul comes not only from his medical knowledge but also from God’s grace. When referring to Benedict XVI’s message entitled “God and do likewise (Luke 10:37)” that he delivered on the World Day of the Sick 2013, Archbishop Zimowski said: “The ability to bring relief to the sick is not the effect only of our abilities or efforts; rather, it is the result of our union with Christ that has been nourished through a life of faith, prayer, and practice.”¹³

When a doctor restores a patient’s health, then the patient’s potential to do good, which was limited by his disease, is unblocked. In this way, a doctor restores not only the functions of the body, but also liberates new energies of life.

¹² See W. Chrostowski, *Lekarz i jego postuga*, 65, note 7. Such wise reflections from individuals who lived during the Middle Ages forces one to question whether the so-called Dark Ages were really so “dark” after all.

¹³ Z. Zimowski, “Conferenza Stampa di presentazione della XXI Giornata Mondiale del Malato 11.02.2013 [Press Release on the XXI World Day of the Sick on February 11, 2013],” (Vatican City: January 20, 2013), http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/hlthwork/documents/rc_pc_hlthwork_doc_20130129_world-day-of-the-sick_it.html, (Accessed: 06.06.2017).

Servant of the Vigor of Life

When a person's health is restored, his life is enriched with new spiritual energies that are transformed into the potential to do good to others. Therefore, the restoration of health is the first link in great chain of good. This order of events is clear in Jesus' healings. Jesus healed the lame man at the well of Bethesda not only so that he could walk, but also so that he would "not sin any more, so that nothing worse may happen to [him]" (John 5:14). The man had to go in order to *do* good and not just avoid evil.¹⁴ Jesus' words were the first that those who were deaf heard when Jesus healed them. These words were so powerful that they effected in a complete transformation of life and not just the restoration of health in those who were healed.¹⁵ The blind not only received the ability to see, they also received the light of faith. The man who was blind from birth, whom Jesus told to wash in the Pool of Siloam, wanted to worship the one who healed him. And Jesus, referring to Himself said, "You have seen him and the one speaking with you is he" (John 9:37).¹⁶

This reality did not escape Archbishop Zygmunt Zimowski's attention when he discussed the healing of the ten lepers. He shared that "The faith of the lone leper who, on seeing that he was healed, full of amazement and joy, and unlike the others, immediately went back to Jesus to express his gratitude, enables us to perceive that reacquired

¹⁴ "When meeting with the man he healed in the temple, Jesus makes it clear to the man that the favor he has granted him is supernatural. When referring to the popular belief that illness and disability are the consequence of sin, Jesus calls on the healed young man to respond appropriately to his experience of grace by leading an impeccable spiritual and moral life" in K. Romaniuk, A. Jankowski, and L. Stachowiak, *Komentarz praktyczny do Nowego Testamentu*, Vol. 1 (Poznan—Cracow: Wydawnictwo WAM, 1999), 451.

¹⁵ How much it means to a deaf man to have his hearing restored to him depends on how much his lack of hearing affected his life. The ability to hear has a significant influence on the quality of a person's life, on his ability to communicate with his surroundings, to work, to rest; basically, it affects everything. Therefore, it is very important for a person to have his hearing restored and, when this happens, it has a significant impact on his life. See H. Skarżyński, "Niedosłuch i głuchota przyczyną izolacji, bólu i cierpienia," *Ból i cierpienie – ognisko światła i ciemności. Medycyna – Teologia – Kultura*, Vol. 3, ed. D. Bard (Warsaw: 2015), 9.

¹⁶ "Jesus response is personal and unrepeatable. He points to himself as the subject of the man's experience of sight and as the one who communicates with the young man through words. [...] This sight is contemplation. In order to see the Son of Man, it is not enough to be able to physically see; rather, what is necessary is spiritual sight." S. Mędała, *Ewangelia według świętego Jana, rozdziały 1-12*, no.1 (Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła, 2010), 731.

health is a sign of something more precious than mere physical healing, it is a sign of the salvation that God gives us through Christ; it finds expression in the words of Jesus: your faith has saved you. He who in suffering and illness prays to the Lord is certain that God's love will never abandon him, and also that the love of the Church, the extension in time of the Lord's saving work, will never fail.' [Physical healing—the manifestation of deeper healing—simultaneously shows how much the whole person—both body and soul—mean to Christ].”¹⁷

Caring for someone who is sick and showing him compassion gives a person the opportunity to heal not only physically, but also spiritually and emotionally. It also gives him an opportunity to see everything in a new way. From this perspective, Pope Francis' slogan for the 2015 World Day of the Sick is significant. The slogan comes from Job: “I was eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame was I” (29:15). Those who need help also need someone who can help them see (“eyes to the blind”) and to navigate (“feet to the lame”) their experience of sickness and suffering.

A patient's contact with health care professionals gives him the opportunity to see dimensions of his situation that have been hitherto overlooked or unnoticed. Establishing this contact is a movement in a new direction. Someone suffering can help those who care for him perceive things more clearly. When speaking to the sick, John Paul II drew people's attention to this dimension: “[Y]ou in return give much to us. Your ailments make us aware of the frailty of human life, of its dangers and limitations. They also remind us that one cannot do everything one wants to, that not everything one starts can be completed. [...] You know better now what matters in life. By telling us, by showing us what you are experiencing now and by the way in which you tolerate it, you can communicate to us a wisdom of life chastened and matured through your suffering. The Pope thanks you for preaching to us through the patience with which you bear your sufferings. Your example cannot be replaced by any pulpit, school, or lecture. The sickroom teaches a people as much as classrooms and lecture halls.”¹⁸

¹⁷ Z. Zimowski, “Message of the President of the Pontifical Council for Health Care Workers on the Occasion of the 59th World Leprosy Day” (January 29, 2012), http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/hlthwork/documents/rc_pc_hlthwork_doc_20120127_lebbra_en.html

¹⁸ John Paul II, “Address to the Elderly and the Sick, ‘Your Suffering is Part of Christ's Cross,’” *World Federation of the Catholic Medical Associations* (September 11, 1983), <http://www.fiamc.org/texts/your-suffering-is-part-of-christs-cross/> (Accessed 10.17.2017).

The sick have a certain spiritual treasure that they can share with those who are healthy. Those who are genetically healthy need the handicapped, such as those with Down's Syndrome, to learn from them how to live joyfully. And those who are alive need the dying to teach them the art of living a beautiful life. In this way, solidarity amongst men is created. In this regard, Archbishop Zimowski said that "sharing in another's situation, whoever he might be, is to share in his suffering. This includes creating and implementing integrative ways to assist and support the suffering. Therefore, the ethics of solidarity cannot be reduced solely to the indispensable work of social institutions, nor is it exclusively entrusted to those who carry out certain professions. The other is someone who is able to see not only a person, but the fact that this person is in need."¹⁹ This does not change the fact that "they are close to the sick in need of constant care and help in washing, dressing and eating. This service, especially when it is protracted, can become tiring and burdensome. It is relatively easy to help someone for a few days but it is difficult to look after a person for months or even years, in some cases when he or she is no longer capable of expressing gratitude."²⁰

The clerics of the seminary in Radom regularly visit the terminally ill at the Queen of the Apostles Hospice. These men not only have the opportunity to accompany the terminally ill, but they also benefit from the spiritual riches that come from experiencing and witnessing the final stage of life. During their visits to the hospice, the clerics accompany the chaplains and health care workers, participate in the final moments of lives of the terminally ill, and share in the sorrow of the families left behind. The formation that this contact enables is of inestimable value.²¹ No lecture or test taken at school could ever replace the knowledge that these men gain from such an experience.

¹⁹ Z. Zimowski, "Messaggio del Presidente del Pontificio Consiglio per gli Oparatori Sanitari in occasione della IX Giornata Mondiale delle Malattie Rare 22 febbraio 2016 [Message of the President of the Pontifical Council for Health Care Workers on the Occasion of the 9th World Day of Rare Diseases]" (February 22, 2016), http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/hlthwork/documents/rc_pc_hlthwork_doc_20160229_malattie-rare_it.html (Accessed: 11.15.2016).

²⁰ Francis, "Message His Holiness for the 23rd World Day of the Sick 2015," February 2, 2015 (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2015), 2, https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/messages/sick/documents/papa-francesco_20141203_giornata-malato.html.

²¹ To read more on this topic see J. Wojtkun, "Posługa hospicyjna alumnów jako element formacji do kapłaństwa," *Musicam Sacram dilexit. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Księdzu Henrykowi Ćwiekowi profesorowi wyższych seminariów duchownych w Sandomierzu i Radomiu: Studia i materiały*," eds. M. Jagodziński,

A special exchange of spiritual gifts occurs through contact with the dying. On the one hand, those who care for the sick give the sick relief. On the other hand, they experience the mysterious impact of the dignity of the dying and the beauty of their faces.

Those who accompany the dying have an opportunity to experience new dimensions of life that the dying are unable to show contemporary society. For, today's society is immersed in a culture that is afraid to look death in the face. And, if it is not possible for society to get rid of death, then society wants to at least isolate the dying. In doing so, society rids itself of the possibility to take advantage of the wisdom that only the dying can share. The one who accompanies the dying experiences the riches of a lesson that he wants to share with the living.²² The personal testimony of one of the clerics who visits the hospice is a perfect illustration of this truth:

We arrive with Dr. Maria, who is a nurse and volunteer. The sick person was in serious condition. Fortunately, his entire family was surrounding and supporting him. The doctor examined the sick man and tried to communicate with him, although it was difficult. While this occurred, the other volunteers and I talked with the family. They told us how much good they received from their sick loved one—how he cared for the entire family, and how he is a good person. At one moment, Dr. Maria and I approached the sick man, and I could see how greatly he was suffering. My attention turned to the patient's eyes—eyes that were filled with joy and the desire to live. When we returned to the hospice on Wiejska Street, I asked Dr. Maria about this man's eyes, and I was shocked by her answer! Dr. Maria said that that is what a person's eyes look like a few hours before death. It was true; the following day the sick man's funeral took place. The thought that I will be in the same situation one day came to mind. A person might have only a few moments of life left on the earth, and yet his eyes can express his longing to live.²³

Despite the difficulties and inconveniences of caring for the sick, Pope Francis uses the loftiest terms when speaking about the time that one spends at the bedside of the sick: "Time spent with the sick is holy time. [...] Occasionally our world forgets the special value of time spent at the bedside of the sick, since we are in such a rush; caught

S. Kowalik, and A. Wąsik (Radom: Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne; Instytut Technologii Eksploatacji—Państwowy Instytut Badawczy, 2017), 313-322.

²² See V. Paglia, *Sorella morte. La dignità del vivere e del morire* (Milan: Pickwick, 2016), 94.

²³ This was published on the website of the Higher Seminary in Radom, September 20, 2014, www.seminarium.radom.pl.

up as we are in a frenzy of doing, of producing, we forget about giving ourselves freely, taking care of others, being responsible for others.”²⁴

Service of the Sanctity of Life

Moral
theology

Contact with the sick is a unique opportunity to enter into a mystical reality. The world of the sick is where one can spiritually experience an encounter with the suffering Christ. Pope Francis' meeting with the sick in Assisi in October 2013 was a moving image of this reality. Putting aside the text that he had previously prepared and setting his gaze on the sick children in wheelchairs, the Holy Father said: “here we contemplate the wounds of Christ. Christ's wounds are here. Looking upon those who are infirm and touching their pain, in its simplicity, in its misery and hurt, we touch the wounds of Christ. Here we are contemplating the wounds of Christ.”²⁵ The person who cares for the sick has an opportunity to touch and nurse the wounds of Christ. For this reason, each encounter with the sick is significant.

Archbishop Zimowski had such an awareness of the significance of spending time with the sick. For this reason, in order to arouse this awareness in others, he said the following during his message in preparation for the 2016 World Day of Rare Diseases: “The sick are those who appeal (*interpella*) to our sensitivity by the very fact that they are people in need. This is what Jesus taught us in the parable of the Good Samaritan. Love that begins with inner compassion and is expressed through gestures that convey closeness and care is capable of giving life its full relational meaning. Solidarity is enriched by sharing: “to be...with,” as well as sacrifice: “to be...for.”²⁶ When the Archbishop wrote these words, he knew what they meant because he, too, was suffering from a serious illness. As he lay in his hospital bed with pancreatic cancer, the Archbishop experienced the solidarity of those who shared in his suffering (“to be...with”) and sacrificed for

²⁴ Francis, “Message 22nd World Day of the Sick,” 3.

²⁵ Francis, “Address during the Meeting with the Sick and Disabled Children Assisted at the Seraphic Institute,” (Assisi, Italy: October 4, 2013), https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/october/documents/papa-francesco_20131004_bambini-assisi.html.

²⁶ Z. Zimowski, *Messaggio del Presidente del Pontificio Consiglio per gli Operatori Sanitari in occasione della IX Giornata Mondiale delle Malattie Rare* [Message of the President of the Pontifical Council for Health Care Workers on the Occasion of the World Day of Rare Diseases], February 22, 2016, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/hlthwork/documents/rc_pc_hlth-work_doc_20160229_malattie-rare_it.html, (Accessed: 11.15.2016).

him (“to be...for”). It was during this time that he developed his idea to organize a symposium in Rome that would draw the health care community’s attention to the suffering of the sick and to their exclusion from society, particularly in developing nations. He also wanted to point out the need for a humanization of medicine that “considers all aspects of the person who suffers, including his life and dignity. Secondly, [he expressed that] the inequality of access to primary care that exists among countries and different geographical regions of the world is unacceptable. Even today millions of people die from infections and diseases. Lives could have been spared simply by providing the minimal medical infrastructure and access to medicine that is available elsewhere.”²⁷

* * *

Doctors, nurses, and all personnel involved in health care are servants of life. Consequently, in addition to being professionally competent, they should strive to attain the qualities necessary to fulfill their role as evangelizers of life and to share the message of *Evangelium vitae*. According to Archbishop Zimowski, “this gospel needs ordinary, modest, sensitive, wounded, trustworthy, enthusiastic people who love the things of God.”²⁸ This determines the universal aspect of their work in service of life and all its dynamism, dimensions, and sanctity:

Individuals who care for those in need must first be professionally competent: they should be properly trained in what to do and how to do it, and committed to continuing care. Yet, while professional competence is a primary, fundamental requirement, it is not of itself sufficient. We are dealing with human beings, and human beings always need something more than technically proper care. They need humanity. They need heartfelt concern. Those who work for the Church’s charitable organizations must be distinguished by the fact that they do not merely meet the needs of the moment, but they dedicate themselves to others with heartfelt concern, *enabling* them to experience the richness of their humanity. Consequently, in addition to their necessary professional training, these charity workers need a “formation of the heart”: they need to be led to that encounter with God in Christ which awakens their love and opens their spirits to others. As a result, love of neighbor will no longer be for them a commandment imposed, so

²⁷ Z. Zimowski, *Na drodze człowieka cierpiącego Bóg nawiedził lud swój* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2013), 239.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 251.

to speak, from without, but a consequence deriving from their faith, a faith which becomes active through love (cf. Gal 5:6).²⁹

WKŁAD ARCYBISKUPA ZYGMUNTA ZIMOWSKIEGO W KSZTAŁTOWANIE SŁUŻBY ZDROWIA JAKO STRÓŻA I SŁUGI ŻYCIA

Moral
theology

Zmarły przed rokiem (w chwili przekazywania tego artykułu do druku mija niemal dokładnie pierwsza rocznica śmierci) Arcybiskup Zygmunt Zimowski, Przewodniczący Papieskiej Rady ds. Duszpasterstwa Chorych i Służby Zdrowia, włączonej już w struktury Rady ds. Rozwoju Integralnego Człowieka, z wielkim zaangażowaniem realizował zadanie prowadzenia i wspierania chorych i cierpiących oraz pracowników służby zdrowia w coraz bardziej złożonym świecie. Zależało księdzu arcybiskupowi, aby papieska dykasteria opiekowała się nie tylko pracownikami służby zdrowia, ale obejmowała swą troską chorych. Oni to bowiem mają prawo do takiej opieki lekarskiej, która może być określona jako służba życiu. Niniejszy artykuł ukazuje misję pracowników służby zdrowia, jako służbę życiu w jego różnorodnych wymiarach. Jest to służba polegająca na przywracaniu życiu jego harmonii, zintegrowaniu funkcji życiowych organizmu oraz wzajemnej integracji różnych sfer życia człowieka: fizycznej, duchowej, psychicznej, religijnej. Modelem takiej służby jest styl działania samego Boga, który na kartach Pisma Świętego często występuje w roli lekarza. Służba zdrowia to także służba przywracania życiu jego dynamiki, żywotności pozwalającej żyć pełnią możliwości witalnych osoby. Jest to także służba świętości życia, a nawet służba Ewangelii życia, które wyznaczają pracownikom służby zdrowia określony kierunek relacji do osoby chorego i rzeczywistości cierpienia.

Słowa kluczowe: choroba, służba, życie.

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The Moral Dimension of Patriotism

A complete description of patriotism must be multifaceted and include moral aspects. Specifically, a theological and moral approach to patriotism must first define the patriotic duty to love one's homeland, the source of this love, and its concrete manifestations, and then morally assess (anti)patriotic attitudes. The source of patriotic duty is faith, hope, and the universal and ordered love that pertains to the Fourth Commandment. Patriotic duty is manifested in specific attitudes that demonstrate one's affective disposition and practical service for the good of one's homeland. Everything that opposes patriotism (i.e., its absence, distortion, or outright anti-patriotism) is a serious moral offense. The central character of love in Christian morality serves as the grounds for this evaluation.

Key words: homeland, patriotism, morality.

Introduction

Only a multifaceted examination of the question of one's homeland and patriotism from biblical, philosophical, historical, pedagogical, psychological, sociological, and legal perspectives makes a complete description of this phenomenon possible. Since patriotism has a moral dimension, moral theologians reflect on this issue. A theological and moral approach to one's homeland and patriotism should be integrated, meaning that such an approach should consider the biblical (the source of love for one's homeland), philosophical (the value of one's homeland), sociological (the context of and changes in patriotic attitudes), pedagogical (patriotic education), and legal (the responsibility

to manifest patriotic attitudes and fulfill patriotic duties) aspects of patriotism. From a theological and moral point of view, these three issues concerning patriotism are the most important: patriotic duty, concrete ways of realizing patriotism, and a moral assessment of (anti) patriotic attitudes.

Patriotism is a relatively new topic in moral theology. Since the Fathers of the Church have written about patriotism, it is a question proper to all ages.¹ However, in general the Church has provided instruction on patriotism only occasionally throughout history. In later times, particularly during the seventeenth century when the field of moral theology began to develop, the topic of patriotism practically did not exist. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century that moral theologians began to reflect on patriotism as a moral duty. For example, if one searches for studies that include “patriotism in the teaching of the Church” (these studies are numerous and even written by moral theologians²), it appears that this topic appears for the first time in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The oldest reference to patriotism in the Polish bishop’s 2017 letter entitled *Chrześcijański kształt patriotyzmu* (*The Christian Form of Patriotism*) comes from Pope Pius X’s *Encyclical on St. Anselm Aosta: Communium Rerum* (1909). In addition, Pope Leo XIII’s teachings mention the subject sometimes.³

The reason for theologians’ lack of interest in patriotism is twofold. First, before the Second Vatican Council, an extreme verticalism dominated the Christian worldview. As a consequence, the Christian moral life was directed toward the pursuit of a goal that lay outside of temporal reality—namely, union with Christ. Therefore, the focus was not on the temporal reality, to which patriotism belongs. Second, the extreme individualism that arose from medieval nominalism inclined theologians to perceive man as an individual before God, concerned

¹ St. Ambrose is the first spokesman for love for one’s homeland, on which he based his arguments for engaging in a just war. St. Augustine—St. Ambrose’s great student—and others have based their just war theories on St. Ambrose’s concept of love for one’s homeland.

² See P. Przesmycki, “Patriotyzm w nauczaniu Kościoła katolickiego,” *Annales. Etyka w życiu gospodarczym* 11, no. 2 (2008): 195-203; J. Salij, *Patriotyzm dzisiaj* (Poznan: W Drodze, 2005); J. Pawłowicz, *Patriotyzm jako podstawa ładu społecznego w nauczaniu Kościoła katolickiego*, <http://www.kuria-dodatek.szczecin.opoka.org.pl/patriotyzm.htm> (Accessed: 06.01.2017); B. Niemiec, “Patriotyzm,” in *Jan Paweł II. Encyklopedia nauczania społecznego*, ed. A. Zwoliński (Radom: Wydawnictwo Polwen, 2003), 353.

³ This particularly concerns his encyclical *Sapientiae christianae* (1890).

for the salvation of his own soul and enmeshed in his own conscience. This individualistic morality emphasized striving for one's own salvation, perfecting oneself, and seeking sanctity at the cost of one's relationships with others; therefore, patriotism, which considers man's relationship to his homeland and fellow citizens, precludes such individualism. However, the (post-)consiliar "theology of temporal reality," which placed particular value on social problems in moral theology, led to a theological revival that considered the value of one's homeland and patriotism in documents from the Second Vatican Council,⁴ the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*,⁵ papal teaching, as well as statements from national conferences of Catholic bishops.⁶ In this regard, John Paul II's teachings directed toward Poles⁷ as well as his "Address to the United Nations" in 1995 are particularly rich.⁸

The Duty to Love One's Country

In order to discuss the moral aspects of patriotism, it is necessary to first generally define this concept. All dictionaries, encyclopedias, and moral theology textbooks define patriotism as love for one's country.⁹ Consequently, patriotism is an attitude of respect, love, and self-

⁴ See Second Vatican Council, *Decree on the Mission Activity of the Church: Ad gentes divinitus* (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1965), 15; Paul VI, *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World: Gaudium et spes* (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1965), 75.

⁵ See *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1997), 2199, 2212, 2239-2242, 2310. Hereafter abbreviated as CCC.

⁶ In 1972 and 2017, the Polish Conference of Catholic Bishops published two letters, respectively, dedicated solely to the topic of patriotism.

⁷ See T. Zadykiewicz, "O nowe oblicze patriotyzmu. Refleksja nad nauczaniem Jana Pawła II do Polaków," *Roczniki Teologiczne*, Vol. 52, no. 3 (2005): 145-157.

⁸ John Paul II, "Address to the United Nations," The Fiftieth General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, October 5, 1995, United Nations Headquarters, New York. Speech. https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1995/october/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_05101995_address-to-uno.html.

⁹ See J. Bartyzel, "Patriotyzm," *Encyklopedia katolicka*, Vol. 15, ed. E. Gigilewicz (Lublin: 2011); H. Skorowski, *Być chrześcijaninem i obywatelem dziś. Refleksje o postawach moralno-społecznych* (Warsaw: 1994), 55; D. Kluxen-Pyta, "Patriotismus," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, eds. K. Baumgartner (Freiburg, Basel, Rome, Vienna: 1998), 1470; T. Zadykiewicz, "Patriotyzm jako postawa," *Etyka żołnierska. Etyka w służbie ojczyźnie*, eds. K. Jeżyna, J. Gałkowski, and M. Kalinowski (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 2008), 55; T. Zadykiewicz, "Umiłowanie ojczyzny i patriotyzm," *Etyka żołnierska. Etyka w służbie ojczyźnie*, eds. K. Jeżyna, J. Gałkowski, and M. Kalinowski (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 2008): 76.

sacrifice for one's homeland. Patriotism makes one ready to defend his country at all times and is an expression of the value one places on his homeland and all that comprises it: the people, heritage, history, tradition, territory, and language. Put differently, if one's "homeland" is the country of one's origin, history, tradition, common heritage, and citizenship, then one's recognition of the values of this country and the acceptance of the good of its elements are the basis of patriotism. It is difficult to disagree with these definitions of patriotism. However, today's situation proves that it is necessary to continually seek objective criteria for the good of one's country, since patriotism is not only a person's subjective feeling that he is serving his country. For the purpose of this study, this article assumes that, generally speaking, patriotism is love for one's homeland and one's response to the value that is his homeland.

Patriotic love is a duty. What, however, is the source of this duty? A moral theologian would assert that the source of patriotic duty lies in faith, love, hope, and the Fourth Commandment.¹⁰ From a moral and theological point of view, the issue of patriotism lies in the context of faith and love (especially familial love, which pertains to the Fourth Commandment). For Christians, patriotic love for one's homeland flows from and is motivated by faith, which makes it possible to fully perceive the value of the role that one's earthly homeland plays in his attainment of the heavenly homeland. In a certain sense, hope is also a source of patriotism because waiting for the attainment of one's "heavenly homeland" demands an active involvement in developing and transforming one's earthly homeland. After all, man would not be capable of expressing any form of patriotism if he did not trust and hope in the effectiveness of his efforts.

Patriotism is also inscribed in the command to love one's neighbor.¹¹ The love of Christ is universal and embraces all peoples without exception. However, this does not exclude the priority and privilege to love those closest to us. In this sense, Pope Pius XII taught that "legitimate and well-ordered love of our native country should not make us close our eyes to the all-embracing nature of Christian Charity, which calls for consideration of others and of their interests in the pacifying light

¹⁰ Other sources (political, social, etc.) also speak of man's patriotic duty, but the theoretical scope of this article is limited to theology.

¹¹ See Polish Conference of Catholic Bishops, Letter *Chrześcijański kształt patriotyzmu*, no. 1 (March 14, 2017).

of love.”¹² This ultimately means that patriotism should be included in the complete order of love (*ordo caritatis*)—an order that prescribes love of all people, but gives precedence to those who are closest by virtue of particular bonds (familial, societal, etc.) Since parents are those closest to a given person, and since one’s homeland is in a certain sense like a mother, patriotic duties flow from the Fourth Commandment of the Decalogue.¹³ Therefore, one’s relationship to one’s homeland is analogous with familial love, particularly the love of a son (child) for his mother.

The duty to love one’s country is universal, and no one should speak against his homeland. However, the concrete ways in which an individual carries out his patriotic duty depend on many factors, including the role a person plays in society. If the essence of love is a free gift of oneself and the responsible acceptance of this gift on the part of another, then both committed politicians and ordinary citizens should engage in this particular exchange of gifts and, thereby, fulfill their duty towards their homeland.

Expressions of Patriotism

As mentioned previously, patriotism arises from the value that each citizen places on his homeland. Love is the most appropriate response to something or someone that a person values. In other words, a person loves something or someone because he finds value in this person or thing. Therefore, the first patriotic duty arises from love and is manifested in and conditioned by discovering those things that are inherently valuable in and comprise the idea of one’s homeland—namely, the nation, its heritage, history, traditions, territory, and language. A person is not a true patriot unless he has said the following about his homeland: “This is my mother.”¹⁴ This saying contains not only doctrinal elements—for example, the definition of the very essence

¹² See Pius XII, *Encyclical on the Unity of Human Society: Summi Pontificatus* (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1939), 49.

¹³ See CCC, 2199.

¹⁴ In a homily that John Paul II gave in Kielce, Poland on June 3, 1991, he perfectly expressed this mother-son relationship with one’s country: “...this land is my mother! This Homeland is my mother! These are my brothers and sisters! And understand this, you all who thoughtlessly approach these matters, understand that it is impossible for these matters not to affect me, and it is impossible for them not to pain me! They should pain you too! It is easy to destroy, but more difficult to rebuild. Our homeland has been destroyed for too long! It is time to intensively rebuild it!”

of patriotism—but also the emotions that a patriotic individual feels toward his country.¹⁵

Patriotism entails a strong emotional attitude toward one's country, just as a son feels strongly for his mother. One should love and honor his country as he does his mother. This is why the normal feelings that one experiences with regard to the land of his family and youth as well as his appreciation of family customs are an expression of patriotism. Even memories of how much one has received from his homeland; gratitude for what one has received; a joyful response to one's country's successes; and participation in the cares of one's country out of concern for one's homeland are a testament to a person's patriotism. The Polish bishops' letter conveys such "emotional" elements when it speaks about local patriotism with regards to one's "dear" homeland which is "the color of heaven and the shape of the landscape of a particular place. And we recognize her [homeland's] face in the faces and fates of those with whom we live each day."¹⁶

The various emotions that a person feels toward his homeland should incite him to pray for his nation; for, prayer is the best and most universal expression of love and gratitude for that which one has received from his homeland in the past as well as for the blessings one will receive in the future. Such prayer should be public and involve all citizens, matters, and areas of life, both good and bad. A true patriot's prayers should express his total interest in the matters concerning his homeland, including its past, present, and future problems and successes.

While patriotism manifests itself in prayer for the good of one's homeland,¹⁷ the fullness of patriotism demands that citizens actively strive for the true good of their homeland, not an apparent or particular good. Moreover, a true patriot equates the good of the homeland with his own good, not vice versa. While it is impossible to list all of

¹⁵ In previous articles, the author analyzes John Paul II's greeting and farewell speeches that he gave during his pilgrimages to his homeland. Such analysis proved that these speeches are particularly interesting with regard to how they address the topic of patriotism; for, they contain not only doctrinal content, but also the Pope's own patriotic feeling as someone who had to live most of his life in a country far away from his homeland. See T. Zadykowicz, *O nowe oblicze patriotyzmu*, 145-157.

¹⁶ No. 5.

¹⁷ In a speech he gave to state authorities in Warsaw on June 17, 1983, John Paul II expressed this when he said: "I will continue to consider as my own every true good of my homeland..." These words recall the words of Piotr Skarga: "Whoever serves his homeland serves himself because all his good [...] is contained in it."

the ways a person can contribute to the good of his homeland in this study, the Polish bishop's letter acknowledges the following ways in which individuals can contribute: through intergenerational solidarity, responsibility for the fate of the weakest members of society, honesty in daily civic life, and readiness to serve and sacrifice for the sake of the common good.¹⁸

In another document, the Polish bishops write: "Patriotism is made manifest in our civic attitudes; in respecting the laws and principles that govern social life such as faithfully paying taxes; in our interest in public matters; in responsibly participating in the democratic process; in conscientiously and honestly fulfilling our professional duties; in nurturing our historical memory; in respecting national figures and symbols; in caring for our environment; in our involvement in government and the works of countless organizations; and in taking up various social initiatives."¹⁹ The local bishops said that patriotism is expressed in the details, cultures, customs, and sometimes in the accents or dialects of specific areas or regions.²⁰ According to the bishops, "Patriotism today should be expressed in family life, which is the first school of love, responsibility, and service of our neighbor."²¹ Love for one's homeland is also "kindness, solidarity, honesty, and interest in building the common good."²²

Striving for the common good can take on many forms. First, it includes one's relationship to truth and forming one's own conscience.²³

¹⁸ See no. 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 4.

²⁰ See *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ John Paul II spoke about this in his homily in Skoczów, Poland on May 22, 1995: "Today our Homeland faces many difficult social, economic, and political problems. We must solve these problems with wisdom and perseverance. The most fundamental problem that remains, however, is the matter of the moral order. This order is the foundation of the life of every person and every society. Therefore, before all else, Poland calls out today for people of conscience! Be a person of conscience, which primarily means that, even when it is difficult and demanding, you will listen to your conscience in every situation and not stifle its voice within you. This means that you must engage yourself in the good, multiply it within you, and always refuse to accept evil, as St. Paul says, 'Do not be conquered by evil but conquer evil with good' (Roman 12:21)." To be a person of conscience means that you will make demands of yourself, rise up when you have fallen, and continually convert. To be a person of conscience means to be involved in building up God's kingdom—a kingdom of truth and life, of justice, of love and peace in our families, in the societies in which we

There are also a number of specific attitudes in which patriotism is expressed. For example, striving to be knowledgeable about the history of one's nation signifies patriotism, since it is not possible to serve the good of one's country if a person does not know its history, rich tradition, and culture.²⁴ Patriotism is also involvement in developing one's native culture.²⁵ Affirming one's entire cultural heritage, respecting and cultivating this heritage, and striving to develop it, all fully express an individual's faithfulness to his roots.²⁶ Simple but meaningful gestures, such as perceiving the beauty in one's homeland and educating others in love for one's country, can also be a manifestation of patriotism.

An entire range of virtues associated with patriotism exists. In the Thomistic spirit they could be called cognate virtues, or parts of the virtue of patriotism, which test the authenticity of patriotism. Patriotism, then, is not comprised of one virtue but rather an aggregate of virtues. At the same time, however, the sum of these virtues does not add anything to patriotism. For example, it is very difficult to imagine patriotism without specific attitudes such as: an ability to dialog, truthfulness, justice, solidarity, foresight, courage in undertaking new tasks, and a spirit of participation. Yet, there are always new ways that one can show patriotism: for example, attracting foreign investors, making sure that they are optimally involved in the development of the domestic economy, and considering the origin of products (i.e., selecting local and national brands).

Patriotism is (and should be) a universal attitude that all must have. Patriotism is each person's duty and service that depends on one's particular profession, state in life, and role in society. Although it is not possible to assign certain patriotic attitudes to particular professions, there are specific professions, such as military service, that are innately patriotic. Similarly, diverse political beliefs and views should not lead

live, and in our entire Homeland. To be a person of conscience also means that you will courageously take up your responsibilities for public matters, care for the common good, and not close your eyes to the poverty and needs of your neighbor, in an evangelical spirit of solidarity: "Bear one another's burdens" (Gal. 6:2). Translator's translation.

²⁴ See John Paul II, "Homily," Łowicz, Poland (June 14, 1999). https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/homilies/1999/documents/hf_jp-ii_hom_19990614_lowicz.html.

²⁵ See John Paul II, "Farewell Speech," Cracow, Poland (June 10, 1997). https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1997/june/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19970610_congedo-polonia.html.

²⁶ See Ibid.

to conflict between citizens and leaders, but rather can and should be subordinated to the common good. Since patriotism is a universal duty, one should constantly learn it and educate others in it. Patriotic education should teach about courageous and humble national figures that have been faithful to ideals and ready to make sacrifices, since such figures are able to elicit in others the most beautiful feelings and attitudes.²⁷

A Moral Evaluation of (Anti)Patriotic Attitudes

There are a variety of sins against love for one's country. For the most part, these sins can be divided into three categories: lack of patriotism, anti-patriotism, and distortions of patriotism, which are often manifested in the following deviations of true patriotism: nationalism, chauvinism, and xenophobia.²⁸ As the Polish bishops have emphasized, while modern distortions of patriotism differ among themselves, they all have the following in common: they lack a universal spirit, they are closed to other nations, and they make their own country absolute. From where do these attitudes come? According to the Polish bishops, these attitudes arise from individual and national egoism. Individual egoism entails a person's indifference to the fate of the national community and the exclusive concern for himself and for those closest to him. Similarly, national egoism means closing oneself off to other national communities as well as the universal community. It is important to realize, however, that these words are abused today; for, anyone who speaks of love for his nation and invokes its good is immediately called a nationalist, chauvinist, xenophobe, and (sometimes) fascist. In reality, however, the nationalists, chauvinists, and xenophobes are always the accusers and often right-winged politicians.²⁹

²⁷ John Paul II, "Address to Polish Parliament," Warsaw, Poland (June 11, 1999), https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1999/june/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19990611_warsaw-parliament.html.

²⁸ Nationalism asserts that the nation is the fundamental social bond and, as such, is not a distortion of patriotism. However, in common parlance, nationalism is wrongly identified with a hostile attitude (chauvinism) and anxiety (xenophobia) towards other peoples. The Polish bishops' letter manifested this unequivocally negative understanding of nationalism.

²⁹ The titles of Polish media publications that spoke about the Polish bishops' letter confirmed this. For example, *Gazeta Wyborcza* has an article entitled "Nie dla kibolskiej agresji na stadionach, pogardy wobec innych, manipulowania historią i banalizowania cierpienia [Not for Aggressive Football Fans: Contempt for Others, the Manipulation of History, and the Trivialization of Suffering];" *Rzeczpospolita*: "Episkopat ws. patriotyzmu i nacjonalizmu. Biskupi ganią polityków?"

A lack of patriotism, or apathy toward one's country and an inability to perceive the situations of one's homeland (its successes and problems) objectively, is also a sin. A lack of a sense of belonging to one's homeland, distancing oneself from one's nation, and seeking one's own or a group's good before the good of one's nation are also sins. Anti-education is also antipatriotic. Such negative attitudes as ignoring one's country's rich heritage (language, common culture, etc.) and indifference to the fate of one's countrymen are also sins against charity and the Fourth Commandment: "Honor your mother and your father."

Antipatriotic attitudes and actions such as treason, ridiculing patriotic figures, whistle blowing, complaining about one's country, and delight in its defeat are particularly worthy of condemnation. If love is the greatest commandment, then everything that opposes love is the gravest of sins. If love is the essence of patriotism, then a lack of patriotism or, even more, antipatriotic actions and attitudes compromise the very essence of Christianity.

* * *

Patriotism has a moral dimension. As they love their mother, citizens should love their homeland in a special way and fulfill particular duties toward it. It is incredibly difficult, however, to create a list of particular moral obligations that, when fulfilled, demonstrate patriotism. This difficulty arises from the fact that the world is changing, and this change brings with it a new challenges. For this reason, moral theology is open to other sciences that continually provide new data. From a moral point of view, true patriotism is always love and respect for one's homeland—a love and respect that seek new forms of expression, particularly if one's homeland is in a particular situation. The tenet *ordo caritatis* requires that a person should give his homeland

[The Episcopate vs. Patriotism and Nationalism: Are the Bishops Criticizing Politicians?]; *Newsweek*: "Biskupi w końcu zabierają głos: Nacjonalizm jest przeciwieństwem patriotyzmu [The Bishops Are Speaking Out: Patriotism is the Opposite of Nationalism];" *Tok.fm*: "Biskupi wytknęli władzy, że sianie nienawiści jest niechrześcijańskie [The Bishops Have Indicated that Hatred Is Unchristian];" *Fakt*: "Biskupi piszą list i ganią polityków. Padły mocne słowa [The Bishops have Spoken: Their Letter Criticizes Politicians];" the site *naTemat.pl*: "Postawą niechrześcijańską jest egoizm narodowy i nacjonalizm [National Egoism and Nationalism: UnChristian Attitudes];" "Episkopat uderza w prawicę i "prawdziwych Polaków [The Polish Bishop's Conference has Struck the Right and 'True Poles'];" *J. Hartman*: The Polish Bishops' letter about patriotism is a "a huge achievement for liberal democratic ethics."

precedence in the order of love and never give into the temptation to fail to love or, even worse, hate it.

MORALNY WYMIAR PATRIOTYZMU

Moral
theology

Pełny opis patriotyzmu domaga się wieloaspektowego spojrzenia, w którym nie może zabraknąć kwestii moralnych. Specyfiką teologicznomoralnego podejścia do miłości ojczyzny jest określenie zobowiązującego charakteru i źródeł tej postawy, jej konkretnych przejawów oraz ocena moralna postaw (anty)patriotycznych. Obowiązek patriotyzmu ma swoje źródło w wierze, nadziei oraz powszechnej i zarazem uporządkowanej miłości, której dotyczy IV przykazanie Dekalogu. Praktyczna realizacja tej powinności dokonuje się poprzez szereg postaw szczegółowych, które wyrażają nastawienie uczuciowe oraz praktyczną służbę dobru ojczyzny. Wszystko zaś to, co się sprzeciwia patriotyzmowi (jego brak, wypaczenia czy postawy wprost antypatriotyczne) stanowi ciężkie wykroczenie moralne. Uzasadnieniem dla takiej kwalifikacji jest centralny charakter miłości w moralności chrześcijańskiej.

Słowa kluczowe: ojczyzna, patriotyzm, moralność.

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Hospitality and the Migration Crisis

The article considers the issue of hospitality in the era of increased inflow of immigrants and refugees to Western countries. The phenomenon of the present migration crisis shows that in countries shaped by Christianity, including Poland, there is a problem with accepting the admission of non-European populations from Muslim countries. The text attempts a sociological reconstruction of the patterns of hospitality in the light of the Bible and the Koran. It shows that the patterns of the host's obligations are convergent in both cases, while the guest's duties and motivation for hospitality are different.

Key words: migration crisis, hospitality patterns, Christianity, islam.

Introduction

Thoughts on international migration have shifted drastically since the migration crisis that began in 2014. The intense, unrestrained, and uncontrolled influx of migrants from outside of Europe¹ has stirred up public opinion and resulted in consternation and confusion on such a large scale as has never before occurred.² Modern mass media has

¹ J. Park, *Europe's migration crisis* (New York: Council of Foreign Relations, 2015); K. Michalska, "Trzy wymiary polityki azylowej i burden-sharing: między obowiązkiem a interesem," *Studia Migracyjne-Przegląd Polonijny*, no. 3 (2016): 53-79; P.L. Martin, "Europe's migration crisis: an American perspective," *Migration Letters* 13, no. 2 (2016): 307-319; R. Zhang and M. Fan, "Prediction of Approved Asylum Seekers in European Countries," *Procedia Engineering* 159 (2016): 338-347.

² D. Cianciara, "Kryzys związany z uchodźcami nie jest chwilowy," *Hygeia Public Health* 3, no. 50 (2015): 427-434.

and continues to widely disseminate visual images that show unusual and even dramatic situations from the point of view of the migrants entering different countries and the societies that are receiving them.

Although Poland has not yet been affected by the influx of refugees, the country is under intense pressure to accept migrants who have already entered the European Union (EU). Since May 2015, the Warsaw-based Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej (CBOS, Center for Public Opinion Research) has conducted a systematic study of attitudes toward migration. Repeated national polls show that those who have taken part in the surveys have radical views on the issue, as evidence by the fact that there has been a decline in the response “difficult to say” and rise in negative feedback regarding welcoming refugees.³ A poll conducted in Poland between March 30 and April 6, 2017 among a representative and random sample of 1075 adults shows that almost three out of four respondents (74%) object to relocating migrants from other countries to Poland, while the greatest number of respondents (43%) are absolutely against receiving refugees altogether. Only 22% of the respondents favor letting refugees into the country. Based on these results, it is clear that Poles are socially opposed to welcoming refugees. The following question, therefore, arises: what is the source of this reluctance or opposition?

The simplest answers to the aforementioned question can be found on the Internet in the numerous comments that people have posted in response to coverage of the migration crisis. In many of these comments, people express fear of migrants and fear for their own safety. The terrorist attacks that have taken place in countries that have welcomed refugees largely explain why this fear exists. Another underlying issue, however, is the religious differences between Poles and migrants. Though largely secularized, European societies have been shaped by a Christian worldview. The vast majority of migrants, however, come from Islamic countries. Encountering people from different religious traditions who practice their faith to varying degrees can easily result in confusion. Therefore, this article examines the migration crisis in light of how the Christian (the Bible) and Muslim (the Koran) religions understand hospitality.

³ Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej, “Stosunek do przymowania uchodźców,” *Komunikat z badań*, no. 153 (Warsaw: Fundacja Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej, 2016), http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2016/K_153_16.PDF.

The Social Conditioning of Hospitality

Physical contact is an important element of social interaction.⁴ Even brief and passing contact between two individuals can result in either a friendly exchange or indifferent and hostile gestures. Hospitality is the friendly reception or treatment of guests or strangers. On a large scale, and in light of the migration crisis, hospitality is associated with a given host country's openness to migrants. According to the *Random House Dictionary*, the word "hospitality" is defined as "the cordiality shown to guests; a warm and hearty welcome. One obligation of hospitality is to provide a plentiful amount of food to guests in order to make them feel well and in order not to appear miserly or selfish."⁵

Catholic social teaching

The condition of social relations to which hospitality belongs is the presence of guests. In Polish, the word "guest" has a several meanings.⁶ The first meaning is: "a person who comes to visit someone else; also, a participant in a party or ball." Since "comes" is a key word in the definition of guest, then each stranger, meaning each immigrant and refugee, can be treated as a guest. Admittedly, refugees come out of a need to seek refuge and not simply to visit. However, if one considers the fact that refugees who come often meet up with their families who are also connected with their own diasporas, then the term "visit" also corresponds with reality. Poland exemplifies the reality that refugees are treated only as transients when they come to countries where their diasporas are not present: "After a shorter or longer stay in our country, many refugees go to Western Europe. They are motivated to do so primarily by the prospect of getting better-paid jobs. Often, however, the main reason why they move is to join African diasporas or even specific ethnic groups that already exist in the large cities of Germany, France, and even Great Britain. Diasporas, which do not exist in Poland, are important support groups for immigrants."⁷

The second definition of the word "guest" specifies that the reason a person comes is "to use the services provided there." Although "guest" may be replaced by the word "customer," its meaning does apply to the refugees who are coming to Europe. These men, women, and children are often seeking protection, the provision of which is

⁴ P. Sztompka, *Socjologia* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Znak, 2009), 69.

⁵ "hospitality," *Dictionary.com Unabridged* (New York: Random House Inc., 2017), <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/hospitality> (Accessed: 11.10, 2017).

⁶ "gość," *Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN), <http://sjp.pwn.pl/szukaj/go%C5%9B%C4%87.html>.

⁷ M. Ząbek and S. Łodziński, *Uchodźcy w Polsce. Próba spojrzenia antropologicznego* (Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza, 2008), 62.

a kind of service. Contemporary trends in the influx of refugees are not accidental. Refugees choose the countries to which they intend to flee beforehand, and, most often, they seek to get to countries where their level of security, including social security, would be highest. What refugees think about the conditions of the places they will stay and the social benefits they will receive in those places greatly draws or pushes them to go to specific countries.

The third meaning of the word “guest” is colloquial and refers to an “unknown man.” In this sense, the majority of the refugee population entering Europe is male; therefore, the common meaning of “guest” applies to this context.

The fourth meaning of word “guest” is “with admiration for someone who deserves recognition.” This recognition refers to respect resulting from an individual’s high social standing. In this case, it is difficult to attribute high social status to immigrants and refugees, even though they might have enjoyed high social standing and regard in their countries of origin. When refugees arrive to the countries to which they hope to belong, they are often at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Sometimes, however, certain refugees are awe-inspiring because of their determination, endurance, and survival skills. This is not the kind of respect, however, that determines a good place in the hierarchy of social prestige.

To some extent, hospitality is a form of investment in good relations between the host and the visitor (and whomever the visitor represents). Providing hospitality, especially over the long-term, is a rather burdensome investment, even when the guests are close to and anticipated by the host. Hospitality toward refugees and immigrants is more difficult because it requires that both parties overcome distance and foreignness. Ensuring a good stay is not just about providing meals and accommodation, but also about planning and spending a good time together. The institutionalization of hospitality occurs when certain institutions and public organizations take over the right to host. For example, refugee centers are often closed off to the host population and have direct contact with various organizations and mass media instead. In this case, the burden of hospitality is transferred to appointed institutions, which promotes the sociopsychological phenomenon known as diffusion of responsibility.

Mass media (including the Internet) plays a major role in shaping social attitudes toward immigrants and refugees. For many people, especially youth, the virtual world is an integral part of daily life. Often individuals are more “immersed” in the virtual world than in the real

world. However, it is important to note that the media covers primarily sensational occurrences and follows the principle that bad news is good news: “Since there is a demand for bad news, it is constantly necessary to keep an eye out for and provide an attractive supply of evocative and terrifying news and images. Each new viewer means increased viewership, which also means profit.”⁸ This aspect of the media is not conducive to developing a spirit of hospitality toward migrants and refugees. Nevertheless, media messages play an important role in accustoming viewers to the cultural diversity and problems that accompany contemporary migration.

Providing hospitality to international migrants applies to the following forms of displacement:

1. **Employment migration** – employment contracts for foreign workers (from the German “*Gastarbeiter*,” meaning “guest-worker”)
2. **Educational migration** (foreign students)
3. **Refugees**
4. **Tourism** (“commercialized hospitality”)⁹

The types of international migration mentioned here differ from each other depending on the migrants’ reasons and purpose for migrating and on their sociodemographic structure. The one characteristic that all types of migration have in common, however, is the temporary nature of the migrants’ stay. The length of time that foreign workers (*Gastarbeiters*) are able to stay in a given country is determined by their employment contract. Likewise, the duration of a student’s stay is determined by the duration of his studies. In the case of refugees, they remain in a country as long as the danger in their place of origin continues. As for tourists, the length of their visit is limited by the number of days of their holiday or vacation. In each case, the migrant-guest is the one who comes and goes. The question arises, however, as to whether it is possible to apply the concept of hospitality to the influx of migrants; for, the refugees might not return—or have the option to return—to their own country.¹⁰ For example, in the municipality of Ferrara, Italy, the locals of Gorino barricaded the entrance to their town and refused to let a small group of refugees enter under the pretext

⁸ D. Piórkowski, “Bad news/Good news,” (2013), *Deon.pl*, August 1, 2013, <http://www.deon.pl/inteligentne-zycie/obiektyw/art,253,bad-news-good-news.html>, (Accessed: 04.24.2017).

⁹ K. Podemski, “Socjologia podróży” 2005, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im Adama Mickiewicza.

¹⁰ D. Pluta, “Zarys zjawiska uchodźstwa. Aktorzy zjawiska uchodźstwa a proces kształtowania uchodźcy,” *Uchodźcy: teoria i praktyka*, eds I. Czerniejewska and I. Main (Poznań: Stowarzyszenie Jeden Świat, 2008): 34-49.

that they were protesting against the “dictatorship of hospitality.”¹¹ This example shows an extreme reaction to an attempt to increase the number of refugees in given place.

The following are some characteristic factors of the dilemmas associated with being hospitable in a migration crisis:

Demographic and cultural factors are related to the mass influx and cultural diversity of the population. The following questions then arise: How does a country or city accept such a large number of people who are coming from different cultural backgrounds? What should be done so that both the host and the guest respect the rules of “acceptance”?

Political and solidarity factors are related to the EU’s political conditions and objectives. Acceptance of refugee immigrants is one of the characteristic features of the policies of very highly developed countries. However, until now, host countries controlled the flow of migrants into them. The German Chancellor Angela Merkel’s invitation to refugees and her “*Wir schaffen das*” (“We can handle it”) motto¹² launched a spontaneous migration process that that emboldened refugees to try to bypass current procedures for crossing the borders into the EU. Scenes from immigrants and refugees’ siege of the Keleti railway station in Budapest at the beginning of September 2015 depicted how dramatic the situation really was.¹³ Hungary was the first to respond to the escalation of the uncontrolled displacement and to demanded respect for the EU’s law “under which anyone wishing to move within the Union should have a valid Schengen passport and visa.”¹⁴

Normative factors relate to how to welcome visitors, show hospitality, and justify one’s reasons for doing so. Moral and religious norms determine in what ways individuals should receive guests, how they

¹¹ M. Lehnert, “Protest przeciwko zakwaterowaniu uchodźców we włoskiej gminie pod Ferrarą,” *Wiadomosci.com*, October 25, 2016, <http://wiadomosci.com/protest-przeciwko-zakwaterowaniu-uchodzcow-wloskiej-gminie-pod-ferrara/>.

¹² Interview with Prof. Andrzej Sakson, “Rok temu kanclerz Merkel ‘zaprosiła’ uchodźców. Pokazała tym swoje nowe polityczne oblicze,” *RMF24.pl*, August 31, 2015, <http://www.rmf24.pl/fakty/swiat/news-rok-temu-kanclerz-merkel-zaprosila-uchodzcow-pokazala-tym-sw,nId,2261354>, (Access: 12.09.2016).

¹³ Crash, “Dworzec Keleti w Budapeszcie i oczekiwanie imigrantów na pociąg do ‘raju,’” *YouTube.com*, September 3, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nrwJhFM6T34>, (Accessed: 02.02.2017).

¹⁴ “Tysiące uchodźców, chaos na dworcu w Budapeszcie. W trasie wyrzucono imigrantów z pociągu,” *Polskie Radio.pl*, September 3, 2015, <http://www.polskieradio.pl/5/3/Artykul/1498868,Tysiace-uchodzcow-chaos-na-dworcu-w-Budapeszcie-W-trasie-wyrzucono-imigrantow-z-pociagu> (Accessed: 01.11.2017).

should refer to them, what guests deserve in the name of hospitality, and in what ways hosts demonstrate inhospitality.

Biblical Examples of Hospitality

The Bible is a sacred book for Christians. It is, therefore, an appropriate source on which to base an “ideal type” of hospitality in a sociological sense. For the purpose of this article, biblical examples of hospitality were conveniently found in the electronic Polish version of the Millennium Bible by searching for keywords, specifically “hospitality.”¹⁵ Surprisingly, however, the search engine found only two instances where the word “hospitality” is used (even a cursory reading of the Bible reveals more examples of hospitality). One match was found in the Old Testament in Sirach 29:21-28.¹⁶ The second match was located in the New Testament in 1 Peter 4:9. Astonishingly, when taken together, both of the passages constitute a complementary whole in the sense that the Old Testament passage presents hospitality on the part of a guest, while the New Testament depicts hospitality on the part of the host. In the Old Testament, the concept of hospitality presented in Sirach 29:21-28 is as follows:

Life’s prime needs are water, bread, and clothing,
and also a house for decent privacy.
Better is the life of the poor under the shadow of their own roof
than sumptuous banquets among strangers.
Whether little or much, be content with what you have:
then you will hear no reproach as a parasite.
It is a miserable life to go from house to house,
for where you are a guest you dare not open your mouth.
You will entertain and provide drink without being thanked;
besides, you will hear these bitter words:
“Come here, you parasite, set the table,
let me eat the food you have there!
Go away, you parasite, for one more worthy;
for my relative’s visit I need the room!”
Painful things to a sensitive person
are rebuke as a parasite and insults from creditors.

¹⁵ “gościnność,” *Biblia Tysiąclecia* (Poznan: Wydawnictwo Pallotium, 2006), <http://biblia.deon.pl/rozdzial.php?id=619&slowa=go%B6cinno%B6%E6> (Accessed: 09.23.2017).

¹⁶ Translator’s note: for the purposes of this article, all translations of the Bible into English come from the *New American Bible, Revised Edition* (Charlotte: St. Benedict’s Press, 2011). This is the official translation of the Bible used by the United States Conference of Catholic Bishop.

The above description is basically a warning to avoid being a guest.

In the New Testament, 1 Peter 4:9 says the following about being hospitable: “Be hospitable to one another without complaining.” This brief injunction is directed exclusively to the host. The command “without complaining” is unconditional and involves reciprocity: “be hospitable to one another.” The language of this text implies that the author is referring to fellow believers who must show hospitality to one another. So, inasmuch as the Old Testament warns about being a guest, the New Testament encourages and, in principle, obliges believers to host others.

A search for the words “guest” or “visit” in the biblical text yielded the following sociological characteristics of hospitality:

- The close social proximity between a guest and host: “Afterward, Raguel slaughtered a ram from the flock and gave them a warm reception. When they had washed, bathed, and reclined to eat and drink, Tobiah said to Raphael, ‘Brother Azariah, ask Raguel to give me my kinswoman Sarah [as my wife]’” (Tobit 7:8-9).
- The possibility of a guest being granted a political career: “For instance, Haman, son of Hammedatha, a Macedonian, certainly not of Persian blood, and very different from us in generosity, was hospitably received by us. He benefited so much from the good will we have toward all peoples that he was proclaimed ‘our father,’ before whom everyone was to bow down; and he attained a position second only to the royal throne” (Esther 8:10-11).
- Openness and sensitivity to the needs of travelers, regardless of who they are: “No stranger lodged in the street, for I opened my door to wayfarers” (Job 31:32).
- Safeguarding fugitives, which sounds like an injunction to rescue refugees: “Hide the outcasts, / do not betray the fugitives. / Let the outcasts of Moab live with you, / be their shelter from the destroyer” (Isaiah 16:3-4).

The Bible also describes the social environments of hospitality, including examples of inhospitable and even dangerous communities. For example, Genesis 19:1-9 depicts how different inhabitants of the same town react to newcomers:

The two angels reached Sodom in the evening, as Lot was sitting at the gate of Sodom. When Lot saw them, he got up to greet them; and bowing down with his face to the ground, he said, “Please, my lords, come aside into your servant’s house for the night, and bathe your feet; you can get up early to continue your journey.” But they replied, “No, we will pass the night in the town square.” He urged them so strongly,

however, that they turned aside to his place and entered his house. He prepared a banquet for them, baking unleavened bread, and they dined. Before they went to bed, the townsmen of Sodom, both young and old—all the people to the last man—surrounded the house. They called to Lot and said to him, “Where are the men who came to your house tonight? Bring them out to us that we may have sexual relations with them.” Lot went out to meet them at the entrance. When he had shut the door behind him, he said, “I beg you, my brothers, do not do this wicked thing! I have two daughters who have never had sexual relations with men. Let me bring them out to you, and you may do to them as you please. But do not do anything to these men, for they have come under the shelter of my roof.” They replied, “Stand back! This man,” they said, “came here as a resident alien, and now he dares to give orders! We will treat you worse than them!” With that, they pressed hard against Lot, moving in closer to break down the door.

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The passage cited above reveals an attitude of openness and attentiveness to the needs of others. Lot was sufficiently attentive and open because, when he saw the visitors, he bowed down before them and then unhesitatingly welcomed them into his home. (Although the gesture of bowing was a typical form of greeting, it is possible that this gesture had a deeper meaning). Lot’s insistence (“He urged them so strongly”) is characteristic of ideal hospitality. Lot was also probably a realist and knew the local setting very well. In other words, he knew that it could be dangerous for the travelers to walk along the city streets in the middle of the night. While the inhabitants of Sodom had seen the visitors arrive, they did not go out to greet them. However, when it came time for the travelers to rest, the inhabitants appeared in front of Lot’s home, demanding that the visitors come out. Their inhospitality took the form of impudence; not only did they not help the newcomers, they also did not want Lot to help the travelers. Lot, however, was ready to expose himself and his family members to danger in order to help his guests. In response to Lot’s bold opposition, the group of men reacted aggressively, saying, “This man came here as a resident alien, and now he dares to give orders!” thereby demonstrating that the host is the one who exercises authority.

Another biblical example found in Judges 19:16-25 describes a similar social situation:

In the evening, however, an old man came from his work in the field; he was from the mountain region of Ephraim, though he was living in Gibeah where the local people were Benjaminites. When he noticed the traveler in the town square, the old man asked, “Where are you going, and where have you come from?” He said to him, “We are traveling

from Bethlehem of Judah far up into the mountain region of Ephraim, where I am from. I have been to Bethlehem of Judah, and now I am going home; but no one has taken me into his house. We have straw and fodder for our donkeys, and bread and wine for myself and for your maidservant and the young man who is with your servant; there is nothing else we need.”

“Rest assured,” the old man said to him, “I will provide for all your needs, but do not spend the night in the public square.” So he led them to his house and mixed fodder for the donkeys. Then they washed their feet, and ate and drank.

While they were enjoying themselves, the men of the city, a bunch of scoundrels, surrounded the house and beat on the door. They said to the old man who was the owner of the house, “Bring out the man who has come into your house, so that we may get intimate with him.” The man who was the owner of the house went out to them and said, “No, my brothers; do not be so wicked. This man has come into my house; do not commit this terrible crime. Instead, let me bring out my virgin daughter and this man’s concubine. Humiliate them, or do whatever you want; but against him do not commit such a terrible crime.” But the men would not listen to him. So the man seized his concubine and thrust her outside to them. They raped her and abused her all night until morning, and let her go as the sun was coming up.

The men in Gibeah behaved like the men in Sodom. Only one older, overworked man who was returning late from work in the field was able to quickly assess the travelers’ situation and encourage them to stay in his home. Joy followed after the travelers were welcomed into the man’s home, but this joy was quickly disrupted when the men of the city came to the old man’s house. In order to save his guests, the old man tried to distract the attention of the sexual assailants away from the men by offering his daughter and the traveler’s concubine. However, only the traveler’s concubine was released from the house and gang-raped. Since the concubine accompanied the traveler, she was also a guest. Yet, it was her owner and fellow guest who gave her up to be assaulted.

In both passages from the Old Testament, the appearance of guests leads to tragic outcomes that reveal the effects of lack of respect toward guests. The features of hospitality that are common to both situations include:

- Those who are hospitable to guests were also guests themselves.
- Cities were unsafe for travelers.
- The male inhabitants of a city sought amusement and fulfillment of their sexual needs by raping visitors.

- The arrival of guests revealed social divisions (between foreigners and inhabitants, between men and women) and hastened the occurrence of tragic events.

In the New Testament, hospitality is a key means to determine who belongs to the community of believers. Christ himself identified with strangers and said, “For I was [...] a stranger and you welcomed me” (Mt. 25:35). In Luke 7:37-38, 44-26, it is clear that Jesus highly valued and publicly praised hospitality, regardless of the kind of individuals who provided it:

Now there was a sinful woman in the city who learned that he was at table in the house of the Pharisee. Bringing an alabaster flask of ointment, she stood behind him at his feet weeping and began to bathe his feet with her tears. Then she wiped them with her hair, kissed them, and anointed them with the ointment.

Then he turned to the woman and said to Simon, “Do you see this woman? When I entered your house, you did not give me water for my feet, but she has bathed them with her tears and wiped them with her hair. You did not give me a kiss, but she has not ceased kissing my feet since the time I entered. You did not anoint my head with oil, but she anointed my feet with ointment.

New Testament descriptions of the social contexts of hospitality show that not all people receive the privilege to provide hospitality: “When they all saw this, they began to grumble, saying, ‘He has gone to stay at the house of a sinner.’ But Zacchaeus stood there and said to the Lord, ‘Behold, half of my possessions, Lord, I shall give to the poor, and if I have extorted anything from anyone I shall repay it four times over’” (Lk. 19:7-8). Zacchaeus’ behavior indicates that being counted among those who are privileged to provide hospitality was extremely valuable and ennobling.

As the following passages from Scripture reveal, being hospitable was one of the most important characteristics and duties of the early Christians:

- “Do not neglect hospitality, for through it some have unknowingly entertained angels” (Hebrews 13:2).
- “Contribute to the needs of the holy ones, exercise hospitality” (Romans 12:13)
- “In the vicinity of that place were lands belonging to a man named Publius, the chief of the island. He welcomed us and received us cordially as his guests for three days. It so happened that the father of Publius was sick with a fever and dysentery. Paul visited him and, after praying, laid his hands on him and healed him. After

this had taken place, the rest of the sick on the island came to Paul and were cured. They paid us great honor and when we eventually set sail they brought us the provisions we needed” (Acts 28:7-10).

It is clear from the following passages that, within Christianity, hospitality also signified prestige (respect) and social status:

- “Therefore, a bishop must be irreproachable, married only once, temperate, self-controlled, decent, hospitable, able to teach, not a drunkard, not aggressive, but gentle, not contentious, not a lover of money” (1 Tim. 3:2-3).
- “Honor widows who are truly widows [...] with a reputation for good works, namely, that she has raised children, practiced hospitality, washed the feet of the holy ones...” (1 Tim. 5:3, 10).

According to the New Testament, believers should host first and foremost fellow believers: “For they have set out for the sake of the Name and are accepting nothing from the pagans. Therefore, we ought to support such persons, so that we may be co-workers in the truth” (3 John 1:7-8). Not only are there ideal hosts, there are also ideal guests who should behave in the following manner:

For we did not act in a disorderly way among you, nor did we eat food received free from anyone. On the contrary, in toil and drudgery, night and day we worked, so as not to burden any of you. Not that we do not have the right. Rather, we wanted to present ourselves as a model for you, so that you might imitate us. In fact, when we were with you, we instructed you that if anyone was unwilling to work, neither should that one eat (2Thess. 3:7-10).

Christian guests should be set apart by their peaceful attitude, willingness to work, and not burdening their host by their stay.

Hospitality in Islam

The migration crisis in many European countries has shown that hosting people who profess Islam is very challenging. It is a common belief that Muslims “have a more difficult time integrating into societies than other people; they create a foreign element that destabilizes and even threatens the order of the Western world.”¹⁷ For this reason, it is worthwhile to try to perceive the Muslim community according to the criterion of ideal hospitality; for, one of the reasons that the East and West find it difficult to mutually adapt to each other might be identified in this issue. Reconstructing the ideal type of hospitality

¹⁷ J. Zdanowski, “Muzułmanie w świecie zachodnim: wspólnota czy wspólnoty,” *Migracje, historia, kultura*, ed. J. Zamojski (Warszawa: Neriton, 2002), 111-123.

can be achieved by analyzing how the Quran presents hospitality.¹⁸ For the purpose of this article, the online version of the Quran was used to search for the terms “hospitality,” “guest,” and “visit.” With regard to the word “hospitality,” the search engine provided no results and stated: “No matches have been found.” When a search for the word “visit” was conducted, the search engine found one match. And, for the word “guest,” the search engine found four matches.

Along with the Bible, the Quran presents Lot and Abraham as exemplar hosts. The Quran, however, emphasizes something different in its accounts of Lot and Abraham’s hospitality—namely, the host’s anxiety and fears that arise when guests arrive:

And when Our envoys came to Lot,
he was anxious for them,
and concerned for them.
He said, “This is a dreadful day.”

And his people came rushing towards him—
they were in the habit of committing sins.
He said, “O my people, these are my daughters; they are purer for you.
So fear God, and do not embarrass me before my guests (Hud, 77-78).

The second passage demonstrates not only Abraham’s hospitality but also his fear upon the visitors’ arrival:

Has the story
of Abraham’s honorable guests reached you?
When they entered upon him,
they said, “Peace.”
He said, “Peace, strangers.”
Then he slipped away to his family,
and brought a fatted calf.
He set it before them.
He said, “Will you not eat?”
And he harbored fear of them.
They said, “Do not fear,”
and they announced to him the good news
of a knowledgeable boy (The Spreaders, 24-28).

The examples of hospitality cited above show that respect for and fear of strangers should not affect a host’s duty to provide hospitality. Furthermore, as evidenced below, the term “hospitality” appears in

¹⁸ For the purpose of this article, the following translation and online edition of the Quran was used: Talal Itani, trans., *Quran in English* (2014), <https://www.clearquran.com/downloads/quran-in-modern-english.pdf> (Accessed: 11.10.2017).

the Quran as a kind of reward that God himself can give for piety and good deeds:

As for those who feared their Lord,
for them will be gardens
beneath which rivers flow,
wherein they will abide forever—
hospitality from God.
What God possesses
is best for the just (Family of Imran, 198).

As for those who believe
and do righteous deeds,
for them are the Gardens of Shelter—
hospitality for what they used to do.
But as for those who transgressed,
their shelter is the Fire.
Every time they try to get out of it,
they are brought back into it,
and it will be said to them,
“Taste the suffering of the Fire
which you used to deny” (Prostration, 19-20).

Surely, those who say:
“Our Lord is God,” [...] Hereafter, wherein you will have
whatever your souls desire,
and you will have therein
whatever you call for.
As Hospitality from an
All-Forgiving, Merciful One (Detailed, 30-32).

The Quran mentions hospitality considerably less frequently than the Bible. The examples of hospitality provided above are similar (e.g., the host’s generosity) to those in the Bible, but the atmosphere in which the guests are received is different because it is one full of anxiety and fear of strangers. When conducting an electronic search of the word “guest” in the Quran, other words such as “hostility,” “hardship,” “nudity,” and “multiplicity” came up in addition to the two examples of Lot and Abraham.¹⁹

¹⁹ Translator’s note: In Polish, the word for “hospitality” is “*gościnnność*,” and for “guest” is “*gość*.” Therefore, when conducting an electronic search for these words in Polish, other words with similar suffixes “-ość” appear, such as “*hojność gospodarza* (a host’s generosity),” “*wrogość* (hostility),” “*srogość* (hardship),” “*nagość* (nudity),” and “*mnogość* (multiplicity).”

It is difficult to exclude the fact that the people who are entering Europe from Muslim countries also create an atmosphere of uncertainty and threat, which is an element of their manner of being and cultural patterns.

Anna Pawełczyńska notes that “Christians and Muslims have differing opinions on how to treat people of other religions. The universal moral norms of Christianity determine injunctions and prohibitions that apply to every human person. The moral norms of Islam, however, do not apply to ‘unbelievers;’ these norms [apply to and] protect [only] their community of believers. This is why Muslims are encouraged to expand and, thereby, spread the religion of Muhammad to all peoples and followers of other religions.”²⁰

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Conclusion

Fears of an influx of immigrants and refugees has become a “sign of the times” in both European and non-European countries. On January 27, 2017, newly-elected American President Donald Trump’s provided one of the most spectacular examples of this fear by issuing a decree that temporarily limited the immigration of refugees from seven countries: Iraq, Iran, Syria, Sudan, Libya, Yemen, and Somalia, all of which are inhabited mainly by Muslims.²¹ A court in San Francisco temporarily suspended this policy, which blocked the entrance of refugees into the United States and has been perceived as anti-immigration.²²

Among the EU’s Member States, attitudes towards refugees and immigrants are developing in an atmosphere of uncertainty with regard to further migration policies. Current discussions about erecting fences along borders or negotiating ways to keep refugees outside of Europe reveal that Europeans believe that closing Europe off from the influx of refugees is the most realistic option.

²⁰ A. Pawełczyńska, “O istocie narodowej tożsamości” 2010, Lublin: Polihymnia

²¹ “Donald Trump krytykowany na świecie za piątkową decyzję,” *Business Insider: Poland*, January 29, 2017, <https://businessinsider.com.pl/polityka/iran-irak-wielka-brytania-niemcy-jemen-o-dekrecie-donald-trumpa/1lmz6xj>, (Accessed: 10.29.2017).

²² “Nowy dekret Trumpa w sprawie imigrantów,” *Business Insider: Poland*, January 29, 2017, <http://www.fakt.pl/wydarzenia/swiat/dekret-donald-trumpa-w-sprawie-imigrantow-trump-nie-wpusci-uchodzcow/vn87nef> (Accessed: 02.17.2017).

Proponents of multiculturalism state that “building an open society is a Sisyphean endeavor [...]”²³ Yet, they see no reason to abandon their pursuit of this ideal: “Sisyphus [...] was a happy man who, neither trusting any ideology nor devoting himself to any faith, rolled the boulder through his daily experiences. He is a hero who has neither hope nor doubt—someone who never gives up.”²⁴ This type of thinking fosters openness to the influx of immigrants and refugees, but it rejects any religious justifications for such an attitude. Meanwhile, the humanitarian challenges of the migration crisis mean that religious perspectives must be taken into account. On these grounds, receiving immigrants and refugees, which allows people to act as both guests and hosts, is justified.

GOŚCINNOŚĆ W DOBIE KRYZYSU MIGRACYJNEGO

W artykule rozważana jest kwestia gościnności w dobie wzmożonego napływu imigrantów i uchodźców do krajów zachodnich. Zjawisko obecnego kryzysu migracyjnego pokazuje, że w krajach ukształtowanych przez chrześcijaństwo, w tym w Polsce, pojawia się problem z akceptacją przyjmowania ludności pozaeuropejskiej, pochodzącej z krajów muzułmańskich. W tekście podjęta została próba socjologicznej rekonstrukcji wzorów gościnności w świetle Biblii i w Koranie. Pokazuje ona, że wzory dotyczące powinności gospodarza są w obu przypadkach zbieżne, natomiast inaczej ujęte są kwestie powinności gościa i motywacji do gościnności.

Słowa kluczowe: kryzys migracyjny, wzory gościnności, chrześcijaństwo, islam.

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²³ Michał Jędrzejek, interview with Basil Kerski in “Ten obcy, ten nasz,” *Miesięcznik Znak*, no. 727 (2015): 35, <http://www.miesiecznik.znak.com.pl/ten-obcy-ten-nasz/>.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

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In the Light of John Paul II's Teaching: Diplomacy's Moral Duty is Respect for Human Rights¹

Human rights hold an important place in Pope John Paul II's teaching to diplomats. The dignity of the human person serves as the basis for the pope's reflection on human rights. In his teaching, the pope taught diplomats how to understand, comprehend, and explain human rights. This publication aims to show in light of Pope John Paul II's teaching that respect for human rights is a moral duty of diplomacy. For the pope, respect for human rights is, on the one hand, an appropriate platform for dialogue with the world and, on the other hand, a way to introduce Christian values into modern culture. John Paul II respected all diplomatic activities aimed at promoting human rights.

Key words: human rights, diplomacy, John Paul II.

Introduction

Human rights have an important place in John Paul II's teachings to diplomats. The dignity of the human person is the basis for the Pope's reflection on human rights. In New York City on October 2, 1979, John Paul II clearly expressed this view in his Message to the United Nations, stating: "Every analysis must necessarily start from the premise

¹ This publication is a part of my doctoral dissertation entitled *Problemy moralne dyplomacji w nauczaniu Jana Pawła II*, in which certain changes were made.

that [...] every human being is endowed with a dignity.”² In addition, in his address to the Secretary General of the United Nations, he stressed that: “It is in this dignity of the person that human rights find their immediate source. And it is respect for this dignity that gives birth to their effective protection.”³ In his teaching to diplomats, the Pope presented how one should understand, recognize, and explain human rights.⁴ This publication aims to show that respect for human rights is a moral duty of diplomacy by first discussing human rights violations in the modern world, and then presenting the innate character of human rights. The article will end with individual diplomats’ reflections in response to papal teaching in this area.

Human Rights Violations

In his teaching to diplomats, John Paul II speaks of human rights violations that occur in the modern world. This section will present the most important threats to human rights according to John Paul II, including social, economic, and political tensions; various types of conflict; and the unjust distribution of material goods.

Social, Economic, and Political Tensions

The first threat to human rights that Pope John Paul II pointed out is tensions that occur within nations and between states, which are the result of a lack of dialogue, understanding, and mutual cooperation with regard to social, economic, and political matters.⁵

When speaking to the Diplomatic Corps in 1982, John Paul II pointed out the tense situations in the countries of Central America caused

² John Paul II, Address to the General Assembly of the United Nations “Na forum pokoju i sprawiedliwości (10.02.1979),” in *Dzieła zebrane Jana Pawła II*, Vol. XIV (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2009), 29. Hereafter abbreviated as *DZ*. In English, see: https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1979/october/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19791002_general-assembly-onu.html.

³ John Paul II, Message to the Secretary General of the United Nations “Wolność religijna podstawą praw ludzkich (12.02.1978),” in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2009), 286. For the message in English, see: https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/messages/pont_messages/1978/documents/hf_jp-ii_mes_19781202_segretario-onu.html.

⁴ See. F. J. Mazurek, *Prawa człowieka w nauczaniu społecznym Kościoła. Od papieża Leona XIII do papieża Jana Pawła II* (Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1991), 6.

⁵ Cf. A. Zwoliński “Wojna,” *Encyklopedia nauczania społecznego Jana Pawła II* (Radom: Wydawnictwo Polwen, 2005), 573-578. Hereafter abbreviated as *ENS*.

by difficult social, economic, and political factors. Specifically, the state's repressive actions were inducing citizens to become partisan fighters.⁶ The escalation of these tensions led to numerous conflicts, which, in turn, increased the number of victims, especially within the civilian population.⁷ By comparing the tensions that were occurring in Central America and the Middle East, Pope John Paul II saw that a lack of understanding and dialogue had led to increased aggression and violence that endangered the citizens' safety.⁸

Tensions have also affected the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, including Poland. For example, the violence that swept over Poland led to the declaration of martial law in 1981. During that time, many thousands of people, especially intellectuals and activists involved in freedom movements, were interned. With this in mind, Pope John Paul II pointed out that action based on repression and violence always leads to the moral enslavement of all social milieus. These actions contribute to the violation of fundamental human rights and cause the suffering of thousands of people.⁹

During a meeting with the Diplomatic Corps in 1983, John Paul II did not fail to mention the tensions occurring in Northern Ireland at the time. These tensions were the result of the discord between the social and political circles, which led to human rights abuses and social discontent. In the words of the Pope himself, "The lack of genuine dialogue between the social and political entities implies a seeming passivity that permits human rights violations."¹⁰

John Paul II's statements to diplomats in 1996 reveal that he was aware that relieving tensions in many parts of the world was an extremely difficult task. During his address, John Paul II reminded diplomats that, despite many warnings and appeals, the situation in the

⁶ One of the oldest forms of combat carried out using conventional weapons. The dictionary defines it as irregular or subversive war (hidden activity that aims at distracting the enemy's attention) against an occupant that is approved by the population. Partisans' aim is to choose their own government. Cf. B. Kaczorowski, Ed., "Partyzantka," *Nowa encyklopedia powszechna PWN*, Vol. 6 (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN SA, 2004), 339.

⁷ Cf. John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps "Kościół wobec największych problemów współczesnego świata (01.16.1982)," in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2009), 464.

⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*

⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*

¹⁰ John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps "Założenia i cele międzynarodowej działalności Stolicy Apostolskiej (01.15.1983)," in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 475.

world, particularly in the Middle East, had not improved. Residents in these parts of the world are “being treated without respect and plunged into the greatest distress.”¹¹

When analyzing the issue of national and international tensions, the Pope perceived how they often occur between sovereign states and are the result of a so-called “double polarization.” By this term, he meant contrasts between the East and the West, the North and the South, otherwise understood as the disparities between different geographical regions, the unjust distribution of materials goods, and prevailing totalitarian systems. Taken together, these factors often lead to basic human rights violations. According to John Paul II, diplomatic activities should strive to mitigate these disparities and contrasts. Furthermore, he pointed out that the tensions that occur in the modern world are more frequent in East and West than in the North and South. This is due to the fact that a greater number of technology specialists work in the East and West; consequently, economic power, large industries, production capacities, social communication networks, and conventional and nuclear weapons are concentrated in these areas. Tensions in these regions are also more frequent and more dangerous because they are often ideological. Contrasts that lead to tensions between North and South are primarily related to the social backwardness, destitution, and poverty in large parts of populations.¹²

The extent of the tensions present in the modern world reveals the social, economic, and political inequalities and disparities that exist among peoples and nations. For this reason, Pope John Paul II reassured diplomats that the Holy See was not indifferent to the dramatic situations caused by such tensions. Rather, the Church initiated (and continues to initiate) efforts aimed at protecting the good of individuals and nations.¹³ In this way, John Paul II actively participated in international activities to ensure global security and, when doing so, referred to moral norms that are neither ideological nor political. John Paul II was aware that, if emerging tensions are not adequately controlled, then they escalate and evolve into local and international conflicts.¹⁴

¹¹ John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps “Światła i cienie współczesnego świata (01.13.1996),” in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 579. For the address in English, see: https://m.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1996/january/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_13011996_diplomatic-corps.html.

¹² Cf. John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps “Nie ma dnia do stracenia (01.14.1984),” in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 484.

¹³ Cf. *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*

Conflicts

As John Paul II pointed out, conflicts in the world are another threat to human rights, since they escalate tensions between peoples, nations, and states. In turn, this often leads to the use of force, violence, and warfare.¹⁵ The Pope persuaded diplomats that there is “*an even greater moral need than there was in past years* for conflicts to be resolved peacefully on the basis of justice.”¹⁶

When speaking to the Diplomatic Corps in 1984, John Paul II emphasized that “there are ways to resolve various contemporary conflicts.”¹⁷ One way to achieve this is by withdrawing troops from occupied territories, since this prepares the ground for political agreement that fosters dialogue, builds up the common good, and respects the sovereignty of each state.¹⁸ In the same speech, John Paul II also pointed out that diplomacy “cannot turn a blind eye to the numerous unresolved problems, conflicts, and unjust situations that still weigh heavily on the world and remain a challenge that the international community cannot fail to address.”¹⁹ These words indicate that it is diplomacy responsibility to respond to the suffering and misery that afflict many millions of people due to ongoing conflicts. In many instances, diplomatic efforts are ineffective. Consequently, according to John Paul II, it is necessary to update diplomatic activities so that they become an increasingly more effective tool to mitigate conflicts.²⁰

At his New Year's meeting with the Diplomatic Corps in 1985, the Pope noted that ongoing and unresolved conflicts had spread to other states and were also affecting regions such as the Caucasus, the Russian Federation, and Chechnya. The escalation of conflicts poses a difficult challenge to diplomacy and forces diplomats to take decisive

¹⁵ Cf. “Wojna,” in *ENS*, 573-579.

¹⁶ John Paul II, Speech given at the headquarters of the International Court of Justice in Hague “O wspólne dobro społeczności międzynarodowej (05.13.1985),” in *DZ*, Vol. XIV (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2009), 741. For the speech in English, see: https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1985/may/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19850513_corte-internazionale.html.

¹⁷ John Paul II, “Nie ma dnia do stracenia,” 484.

¹⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*

¹⁹ John Paul II, Speech during a meeting with the Canadian government and the Diplomatic Corps at Rideau Hall “O nową wizję ludzkości (09.19.1984),” in *DZ*, Vol. XII (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2009), 236.

²⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*

steps towards their resolution.²¹ In this sense, by posing specific questions about the kind of measures to be taken to ensure the peaceful coexistence of different peoples, Pope John Paul II tried to encourage diplomats to reflect on this issue. More specifically, he emphasized how important it is to negotiate with heads of states, leaders of governments, ambassadors, and representatives of international institutions. According to John Paul II, this is the right way to overcome conflicts, since their causes were and continue to be a lack of coexistence among nations due to ethnic, religious, and linguistic diversity.²²

During a meeting with the Diplomatic Corps in 1986, the Pope pointed out that, although global conflicts had not occurred since the end of World War II, local conflicts had similar effects on nations and peoples as global conflicts, since these conflicts lead to the death of thousands of people as well as the economic and moral ruin of many societies.²³ Therefore, using the example of ongoing conflicts in the Mediterranean Sea, John Paul II stressed that “there are still too many hotbeds of conflict, more or less disguised, which keep people under the unbearable yoke of violence, hatred, uncertainty and death.”²⁴ This reveals the need for genuine cooperation in conflict-affected regions in order to ensure their stability and security.

In reference to this cooperation, matters pertaining to national, territorial, and religious identity have been and remain relevant. According to John Paul II, many countries affected by conflict can come to an agreement through dialogue and economic, cultural, and religious cooperation. He believed that this could be beneficial to the peoples living around the Mediterranean and become a model of conduct for others.²⁵

Pope John Paul II also recalled the conflict affecting African countries. According to him, the source of their conflict is primarily backwardness and social poverty. He noted that conflicts are not conducive in the fight against hunger, poverty, and disease epidemics, which have decimated African populations, led to even more impoverishment, and

²¹ Cf. John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps “Stolica Apostolska jest głosem, na który czeka ludzkie sumienie (01.09.1995),” in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 573.

²² Cf. *Ibid.*

²³ Cf. John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps “Pokój nie jest możliwy bez solidarności i sprawiedliwości (01.11.1986),” in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 497.

²⁴ John Paul II, “Światła i cienie,” 579.

²⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*

deprived people of the right to a dignified existence.²⁶ According to John Paul II, the creation of the African Union²⁷ was a source of hope for the future and will make it possible to develop common principles through which all Member States can unite to overcome conflicts.²⁸

During his meeting with the Diplomatic Corps in 2000, the Pope noted that “[c]onflict prevention would avoid situations difficult to resolve and would spare much suffering.”²⁹ In this regard, the Holy Father was convinced that diplomacy has many tools at its disposal to motivate international institutions to be more active and help solve conflicts. Furthermore, based on his statements, it is clear that the pope believed that it is sufficient to use these tools while “carefully distinguishing, without opposition or separation, between politics, law and morality.”³⁰

Existing conflicts entail threats to human rights, and Pope John Paul II believed that every diplomat should keep this reality in mind. Conflicts also undermine the social achievements and cultural heritage of nations by inhibiting their progress. Responsibility for this state of affairs belongs not only to individual governments, but also to the whole international community. This responsibility should be committed to solidarity, so that together nations can seek the interests of all who experience life's tragedies because “all of humanity suffers and is humiliated by the evils which overwhelm one part of its members.”³¹

²⁶ Cf. John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps “‘Nie’ śmierci, egoizmowi i wojnie! ‘Tak’ życiu i pokojowi! (01.13.2003),” in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 613.

²⁷ The African Union is an international organization of a political, military and economic nature that includes all African countries (except Morocco) and was established in place of the Organization of African Unity on July 9, 2002 at the summit in Durban. Its headquarters are located in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. E. J. Osmańczyk, ed., *Encyklopedia ONZ i stosunków międzynarodowych* (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1986), 556; *Encyklopedia spraw międzynarodowych i ONZ* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo PWN, 1974), 3752-3753.

²⁸ Cf. John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps “Otwórzmy serca i umysły na wyzwania naszych czasów (01.10.2002),” in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 610.

²⁹ John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps “Wszyscy jesteśmy odpowiedzialni za wszystkich (01.10.2000),” in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 599. For the address in English, see https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/2000/jan-mar/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_20000110_diplomatic-corps.html.

³⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*

³¹ John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps “Od czego zależy prawdziwy i trwały pokój (01.09.1988),” in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 513.

John Paul II pointed out to the diplomats that the states that participate in conflicts often justify their own military actions by claiming righteous defense and unjustified aggression. According to Pope John Paul II, such action can only be justified as a last resort because armed response affects innocent civilians and causes real tragedies. At this point, John Paul II appealed to all people of good will, especially to the powerful and those in diplomatic circles, to strive to come to a broad agreement without compromising any of the parties engaged in fighting.³² Resolving global conflicts is an integral part of international life,³³ and “[e]ach time a conflict breaks out it is the whole world that suffers and is disfigured!”³⁴ Therefore, as stated before, in the modern world there is an even greater moral obligation to peacefully resolve conflicts by referring to justice and respect for inalienable human rights.³⁵

The Unjust Distribution of Material Goods

The unjust distribution of material goods is another threat to human rights. Material goods are consumer goods necessary for life. They meet people’s different needs and allow people to use them to produce other material goods that may be production or capital goods.³⁶ During his messages, Pope John Paul II pointed out the need to properly manage material goods. To this end, the principle of justice must take into account the real needs of individual regions and should not be subject to political, administrative, and economic calculations. The just distribution of material goods helps maintain balance among the regions.³⁷ Although they often stem from geographic location, historical events, and lack of development of civilization, the inequalities that

For the address in English, see: https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1988/january/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19880109_corpo-diplomatico.html.

³² Cf. *Ibid.*

³³ Cf. John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps “Stolica Apostolska wobec problemów ludzkości (01.12.1981),” in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 457.

³⁴ John Paul II, Meeting with the Diplomatic Corps in Vilnius “Zadania dyplomatów w nowej sytuacji Europy (09.05.1993),” *L’Osservatore Romano*, Polish Edition 12 (1993): 15. Hereafter abbreviated as *OsRomPol*. For the speech in English, see: https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1993/september/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19930905_corpo-dipl-vilnius.html.

³⁵ Cf. John Paul II, “O wspólne dobro społeczności międzynarodowej,” 741.

³⁶ Cf. “Dobra materialne,” in *ENS*, 109.

³⁷ Cf. John Paul II, *Na forum pokoju i sprawiedliwości*, 31.

occur in this area are marked by injustice and social harm. Existing tensions and economic differences between states and continents limit development and violate basic human rights.³⁸ Neither of these reasons, however, can justify leaders' lack of efforts to ensure the just distribution of material goods. According to the pope, the proper criterion of justice is essentially humanistic and must promote man's inclusion in a community of persons, which is opposed to collectivism and individualism.³⁹ Such action subsequently eliminates various forms of injustice, particularly the exploitation of man and corresponds with man's dignity by allowing him to participate in the process of production and in the social life that takes shape around this process.⁴⁰

Addressing the newly appointed Dutch ambassador to the Holy See, John Paul II emphasized that a fair distribution of material resources can only be achieved through actively developing and pursuing policies.⁴¹ His statement recalls words of Genesis, which says, "Be fruitful and multiply, that you may populate the land, and make it subject to it" (Gen 1:28).

The contrasts that result from the unjust distribution of material goods are most apparent in Latin American countries and on the African continent. According to Pope John Paul II, in these regions, the most important task is set aside all private and group interests in order to reduce differences and prevent them from arising in the future.⁴² The international community should be aware that the gap between rich and poor societies threatens respect for fundamental human rights. The Pope taught that "[t]his must also be said with even greater insistence with regard to the abyss separating countries and regions of the earth. Surely the only way to overcome this serious disparity between areas of satiety and areas of hunger and depression is through coordinated cooperation by all countries."⁴³ In turn, this would make it cooperation possible to achieve the authentic good of the entire human family.⁴⁴ Unity between societies and peace in the

³⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*

³⁹ Cf. "Humanizm chrześcijański," in *ENS*, 187.

⁴⁰ Cf. John Paul II, "Na forum pokoju i sprawiedliwości," 31

⁴¹ Cf. John Paul II, Address to the new ambassador of Holland "Szacunek dla osoby ludzkiej od poczęcia do naturalnej śmierci (01.22.2005)," *OsRomPol* 4 (2005): 20.

⁴² Cf. John Paul II, "Otwórzmy serca i umysły," 610.

⁴³ John Paul II, "Na forum pokoju i sprawiedliwości," 32.

⁴⁴ Cf. John Paul II, Address to the Parliamentary Assembly Committee of the European Council for Relations with National Parliaments "O podstawową

world are indispensable for cooperation and achieving the human good; for, according to John Paul II, only these two things can neutralize the differences that exist in these areas.⁴⁵ By returning to the moral values of the Church, it is possible for nations and communities to strengthen this process and work toward true development. Only through giving up that which is unnecessary can a noble and generous servant of the weakest provide them with what they need.⁴⁶

The Inherent Nature of Human Rights

For John Paul II, the Gospel is the source of knowledge of the inherent nature of human rights. In this regard, the Gospel has a universal dimension and is a profound inspiration to consider in resolving these issues. The second part of this chapter will describe the inherent nature of human rights, their primacy over the laws of the state, and the position of the Holy See regarding the protection of human rights.

Knowing the threats to human rights and seeking ways to overcome them, one cannot overlook the fact that ideas and concepts of human rights have evolved over the centuries.⁴⁷ They have appeared in natural law, theological thought, and the humanities.⁴⁸ The dignity of the human person is the most credible source from which to know the inherent character of human rights. Therefore, human rights are

tożsamość Europy (03.17.1988),” in *DZ*, Vol. XIV (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2009), 839.

⁴⁵ Cf. John Paul II, “Na forum pokoju i sprawiedliwości,” 32.

⁴⁶ Cf. John Paul II, “Otwórzmy serca i umysły,” 610.

⁴⁷ The idea of human rights has gained wide acceptance. As an expression of the influence of moral norms and legal rights, human rights have become the rule of international law. Representatives of the West have shared opinions that emphasize the importance of the idea of human rights, and representatives of other cultures are now ascribing to these points of view. Representatives of various cultural backgrounds participated and continue to participate in creating documents about human rights, and these endeavors have been encouraged by the United Nations. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is referred to in constitutions of not only western countries such as Spain (1978) and Portugal (1989), but also and mainly in developing countries such as Burundia (1992) Chad (1993), Ethiopia (1991), Gabon (1991), Guinea (1986), Mali (1992), Nigeria (1989), Senegal (1963), and Togo (1979). Many developing nations have signed and ratified human rights treaties. Cf. A. M. Solarz, “Prawa człowieka i etyka w stosunkach międzynarodowych,” *Polski Przegląd Dyplomatyczny* 1 (2007), 71.

⁴⁸ Cf. S. Jasionek, *Prawa człowieka* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2004), 11-12.

one form of apologetics that favor the human person and the rights that are due to him.⁴⁹

The Integrality of Human Rights

Their integral nature of human rights is closely connected with the dignity of the human person.⁵⁰ Hence the fundamental purpose of human rights is to safeguard man's dignity in the social, political, economic and cultural realities of contemporary life. This protection guarantees man's social rights, solidary rights, and his right to be free. These rights are important because they are the source of human existence.⁵¹

Universal human rights have an individual dimension with regard to man's ability to meet his basic needs as an individual (e.g., the right to life, freedom, education, etc.) and fulfill his basic human and social needs (e.g., the right to associate, participate in political life, and choose the structure of one's country, etc.).⁵²

When he spoke to the United Nations in 1979, John Paul II presented a detailed list of human rights. He included: the right to life, to freedom, personal security, food, clothing, housing, health care, rest and recreation, freedom of speech, education, culture, freedom of thought, conscience, religion, individual and communal—private and public religious expression, a particular status or profession, establish a family by providing the conditions necessary for the development of family life, property and work, decent working conditions, fair remuneration for work, freedom of assembly, freedom to move within and outside one's country, nationality and residence, participate in political life, and the right to freely choose the political system of the state to which it belongs.⁵³ This list covers the basic needs of man as an individual and social being, and it is similar to the list that Pope John XXIII mentioned in the encyclical *Pacem in terris*. However, John Paul II added several new rights to it—namely: the right to personal security, fair

⁴⁹ Cf. R. Czekalski, *Godność osoby ludzkiej. Nauczanie Jana Pawła II* (Warsaw: BEL Studio Sp. z o.o., 2007), 112.

⁵⁰ Cf. John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps "Kościół współczesnego świata w służbie wielkiej sprawy (01.14.1980)," in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 451.

⁵¹ Cf. John Paul II, "Prawa człowieka," in *ENS*, 395.

⁵² Cf. John Paul II, "Kościół wobec największych problemów współczesnego świata," 463.

⁵³ Cf. John Paul II, "Na forum pokoju i sprawiedliwości," 30.

play, nationality, and freely choose one's political system.⁵⁴ By mentioning this list of fundamental human rights, the Pope desired to show the international community the laws that should be guaranteed in every state. However, good will is also necessary and a prerequisite for introducing, applying, and respecting these rights.⁵⁵ John Paul II also emphasized that, “[w]hen the violation of any fundamental human right is accepted without reaction, all other rights are placed at risk.”⁵⁶

According to the pope, international law should protect human rights. These rights should be in accord with the principles of natural and moral law, respect the convictions of believers as full members of the community, and give them the opportunity to speak and participate in public debates, which guarantee international order. If based on these foundations, international law cannot be used by stronger states to justify shameful acts and to impose their own policies on other states or international organizations.⁵⁷

Human dignity is always the foundation of the integrity of human rights and serves as the normative basis of laws—a basis that is not the result of social contracts, the historical development of social relations, or the establishment of power. Human rights do not depend on the establishment of power or society. Rather, they supersede and precede particular individuals, societies, and states.⁵⁸ Human rights are innate because they arise from the fact that man is human; they are an integral part of his nature. The creator of human right is not man, but man's creator: God. Therefore, these rights exist and are granted to men throughout their lives. Even though many international institutions may disagree about the supernatural origin of human rights, “[t]he inviolability of human rights consists in the fact that no authority or community can take these rights away from man.”⁵⁹ Human rights

⁵⁴ Cf. M. Mokrzycki, “Nauczanie społeczne Jana Pawła II w aspekcie praw człowieka,” 37 *Cykl: Wykłady otwarte Wyższej Szkoły Zarządzania i Administracji w Zamościu* (Zamość: Centrum Badawczo-Szkoleniowe Wyższej Szkoły Zarządzania i Administracji w Zamościu, 2008), 12-13.

⁵⁵ Cf. John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps “Oby wszyscy odkryli miłość Ojca wszechświata (01.11.1999),” in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 595-596.

⁵⁶ John Paul II, Message on the 32nd World Day of Peace “Poszanowanie praw człowieka warunkiem i źródłem prawdziwego pokoju (01.01.1999),” in *DZ*, Vol IV (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 813.

⁵⁷ Cf. John Paul II, *Oby wszyscy odkryli miłość Ojca wszechświata*, 595.

⁵⁸ Cf. “Prawa człowieka,” in *ENS*, 394.

⁵⁹ C. Strzeszewski, *Katolicka nauka społeczna* (Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1994), 390-391.

are inalienable, which means that no human person can give them up or renounce them: “[t]he inalienability of human rights arises directly from that they are innate and from God.”⁶⁰ Their inviolability and non-transferability make them permanent and immutable. These rights are vested in man regardless of his position in society, sex, race, and place and time in which he has or will live on the earth. According to John Paul II, a person acquires personal rights at the moment of his conception. Hence the first and most important of the human rights is the right to life, which should be respected at every single stage.⁶¹ The law best expresses human dignity and other human rights, and it should be a constitutive element of society and its legislation.⁶²

The Primacy of Human Rights Over State Laws

Basic human rights are a source of community, civil, and political rights. These laws mutually influence and depend on each other. “When the rights of the citizen are not respected, it is almost always to the detriment of fundamental human rights,”⁶³ revealing, according to John Paul II, the primacy of human rights over the laws of the state. The personal and social dimension of human rights is of indispensable value for any modern society that should respect and protect it; “[t]hese values must be maintained and fostered in society, otherwise they also risk disappearing from the texts of the law.”⁶⁴

Man must be the essential criterion according to which international life is determined. In the modern world, the importance of the individual has increased along with efforts to represent the individual's interests. These interests transcend the borders of many countries and confirm the primacy of human rights over the laws of the state. Despite the existence of laws meant to protect human rights, man and his rights are still subject to threats. Therefore, it is necessary to take

⁶⁰ T. Borutka and A. Zwoliński, *Katolicka nauka społeczna* (Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo Paulinianum, 1999), 47.

⁶¹ Cf. John Paul II, “Integracja europejska na fundamencie wspólnych wartości,” *OsRomPol* 1 (2003): 41.

⁶² Cf. *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1997), 2273.

⁶³ John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps “Transcendentne podstawy godności i praw człowieka (01.09.1989),” in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 525. For the address in English, see: https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1989/january/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19890109_corpo-diplomatico.html.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 526.

measures to protect human rights in threatening situations. The most important threats to human rights that must be resolved are tensions and conflicts.⁶⁵ In order to avoid these conflicts, it is necessary to reflect on the events of the past; for, as the pope emphasized, those who look to the future without having drawn conclusions from the past will not be able to find the path of understanding. For example, many states still consider armed struggle to be the only effective means to demonstrate the justness of their cause. Consequently, nations and states resort to violence and destroy the achievements of societies and trample international law and humanitarian conventions underfoot in order to more effectively control their enemies. From John Paul II's point of view, mutual reconciliation and understanding as an act of goodwill on the part of the parties involved are the most important step to be taken in this matter. In this way, each nation can recognize the rights of the other nation(s).⁶⁶

One of the most important goals of international institutions should be to prevent and resolve conflicts and restore peace through solutions that guarantee the rights and interests of all parties.⁶⁷ According to John Paul II, the activities of international institutions only make sense when "the human dimension is made the principal concern, in a world made by man and for man."⁶⁸ However, these activities should be enacted with ideological neutrality, respect for human dignity as the foundation of human rights, belief in the primacy of the person over society, respect for democratically recognized norms, and acceptance of the pluralism of social structures without which a sustainable international order can not be established.⁶⁹ In this matter, it is also necessary to respect the natural and supernatural character of human rights without which a society worthy of man cannot be created. This

⁶⁵ Cf. John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps "Wojna i ubóstwo: dwie plagi nękające ludzkość (01.16.1993)," in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 561. For the address in English, see: https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1993/january/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19930116_corpo-diplomatico.html.

⁶⁶ Cf. John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps "Narody mają prawo do wyboru własnego sposobu myślenia i życia (01.11.1992)," in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 548.

⁶⁷ Cf. E. Kaczyński, *Moje spotkania z Janem Pawłem II* (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 2008), 74.

⁶⁸ John Paul II, "Wojna i ubóstwo: dwie plagi nękające ludzkość," 561.

⁶⁹ Cf. John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps "Europa i świat na progu ostatniej dekady XX wieku (01.13.1990)," in *DZ*, Vol V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 530.

pertains to the situation where man has made himself the exclusive measure of all things without reference to the laws of God. In this situation, man becomes a slave to his own limitations and abilities.⁷⁰

The issue of the primacy of human rights over the laws of the state has contributed to the creation of a uniform system of protection of human rights. Two historical periods have had an immediate impact on this system's creation. The first was the interwar period, during which the protection of human rights was part of the internal competence of states. This effort failed on many levels, however, because it was impossible to create a compact system at that time.⁷¹ The second and decisive period was during World War II. At that time, human rights were routinely violated, especially by the states of the totalitarian regimes. As a result, there was a need for a unified and coherent international human rights system. The most important aim of this system was to protect humanity from the tragedies that they had experienced thus far.⁷² As a result of these two periods in history, many legal acts and documents were drafted. The most important of these are: the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (December 10, 1948)⁷³

⁷⁰ Cf. Ibid.

⁷¹ During the interwar period, the League of Nations took certain actions to uphold and protect the human rights, particularly of children, refugees, and national minorities. At that time, however, it did not create a consistent system of legal norms regarding human rights, nor did it develop effective ways to implement these norms. In practice, the League of Nations has not created a so-called "regime of protection of human rights" by which we can understand a set of (un)clearly expressed principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures to which people who are acting and relating on an international level can refer and resort. Cf. M. Żmigrodzki, ed., "Reżimy międzynarodowe," in *Encyklopedia politologii, Tom. 5: Stosunki międzynarodowe*, ed., T. Łoś-Nowak (Zakamycze: Kantor Wydawniczy Zakamycze, 2002), 320.

⁷² Cf. F. J. Mazurek, *Prawa człowieka*, 188. The author emphasizes how respect for human rights was unsatisfactory during that period of history, and developing countries were unable to guarantee their citizens the ability and freedom to exercise these rights. For this reason, there is an urgent need to work toward protecting human rights on an international level.

⁷³ The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was an ethical manifesto and not legally binding. However, the fact that the nation states agreed on and accepted the document, which was the first of its kind devoted entirely to the issue of human rights, reveals that it an exceptionally important document for the development of international law and ethics. In this way, while not legally binding for the nation states, the document served as the source of law for the organization in which it was enacted and, therefore, had a decisive influence on the work of the United. Cf. A.M. Solarz, "Prawa człowieka i etyka," 67.

and the *European Convention on Human Rights* (November 4, 1950).⁷⁴ These documents confirmed that human rights are inalienable and inviolable—that man cannot renounce these rights and that no power can deprive man of these rights. These laws limited state power by defining the limits of action. This does not mean, however, that state authority is not involved in proclaiming and upholding these rights and that the development of social and economic relations does not affect their articulation and defense. Rather, it means that the power of the state often helps proclaim, protect, and affirm these human rights.⁷⁵

Human rights are granted regardless of whether or not they are published in state constitutions or international conventions. For, these rights constitute a person's position in society and define a person's development in relation to other people, social groups, and institutions. In this way, human rights function similarly to social principles and rules. The human person as well as natural and supernatural human dignity are their common points of reference.⁷⁶

Diplomacy should be particularly interested in the unique position of human rights, since these rights belong to oppressed nations fighting for liberation and self-determination. Diplomats must fight for a better life, education, and medical care for ethnic minorities who are the subject of racism and discrimination. After the dramatic events of World War II, human rights extended beyond interstate relations and into the international arena. The respect due to human rights has become a global problem as evidence by the universalization of human rights.⁷⁷

The Holy See and the Protection of Human Rights

In his teaching to diplomats, John Paul II emphasized the Holy See's involvement in protecting human rights.⁷⁸ He taught that “the Holy

⁷⁴ John Paul II, Address to the participants of the Council of Europe Conference of Ministers “*Wartości religijne i moralne wspólnym dziedzictwem* (11.03.2000),” in *DZ*, Vol. XIV (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2009), 845.

⁷⁵ Cf. F. J. Mazurek, “Prawo do pracy w encyklice,” in *Jan Paweł II, Laborem exercens. Powołany do pracy*, ed. J. Krucina (Wrocław: 1983), 201.

⁷⁶ Cf. J. Majka, *Etyka życia gospodarczego* (Wrocław: Wrocławskiej Księgarni Archidiecezjalnej, 1982), 29-30.

⁷⁷ Cf. F. J. Mazurek, *Prawa człowieka*, 5.

⁷⁸ Cf. *Ibid*, 235. The Magisterium of the Church promotes human rights and raises awareness every human person's entitlement to them through papal social encyclicals, the Second Vatican Council's documents, synodal documents, papal speeches and messages, and in the pastoral letters of particular bishops.

See addresses all people, regardless of their ideology, and desires to defend the inviolable rights of human dignity, regardless of the civilization or its mentality.”⁷⁹ The papal assessment is a path that leads to openness to human expectations, affirmations, and anxieties. On this path, the Holy See commits itself to the protection of fundamental human rights. The social teaching of the Church defines these rights as natural, inalienable, inviolable, universal, supranational (absolute), dynamic, and subjective. These rights also have a communal dimension because man, on the one hand, can develop fully only in communion with other people, and, on the other hand, they can be realized through solidarity between all people and nations.⁸⁰

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Involvement in the defense of human rights is the duty and moral responsibility of the Holy See. “Man in the full truth of his existence, of his personal being and also of his community and social being-in the sphere of his own family, in the sphere of society and very diverse contexts, in the sphere of his own nation or people (perhaps still only that of his clan or tribe), and in the sphere of the whole of mankind-this

Popes have dealt either directly or indirectly with human rights in the following documents: Leo XIII in the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891); Pius XI in the encyclical *Quadragesimo anno* (1931), *Mit brennender Sorge* (1937), *Non abbiamo bisogno* (1931), *Divini illius Magistri* (1929), *Divini Redemptoris* (1937); Pius XII in his radio address from December 24, 1942; John XXIII in the encyclical *Mater et Magistra* (1961), and above all in *Pacem in terris* (1963); Paul VI in *Populorum Progressio* (1967) and *Octogesima adveniens* (1971) and his letter addressed to Cardinal Roy, numerous speeches, and messages (addressed to the UN and on the occasion of the World Day of Peace); the Second Vatican Council in the constitution *Gaudium et spes*, in the declaration *Dignitatis humane* and *Gravissimum educationis* and the decree *Inter mirificia*; John Paul II in the encyclical *Redemptor hominis* (1979) and *Laborem exercens* (1981), *Sollicitudo rei socialis* (1987), numerous speeches delivered during his travels, and messages (including those delivered at the UN headquarters and on the occasion of the World Day of Peace). The Synod of Bishops in Rome promulgated the documents *De iustitia in mundo* (1971) and *Human Rights and Reconciliation* (1974). The Pontifical Commission “Iustitia et Pax” promulgated three documents: *The Church and Human Rights* (1974), *The General Theme of Human Rights* (1974) and the *Economic Justice for All* (1986). The bishops of international episcopates have dedicated a lot of attention to the human rights in their pastoral letters. For example, letters of the Polish Episcopate, the Latin American Episcopate (Medellin in 1968 and Puebla in 1979) and the letter of the North American Bishops’ Conference on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons (1983), as well as *Economic Justice for All* (1987).

⁷⁹ John Paul II, “Kościół wobec największych problemów współczesnego świata,” 463.

⁸⁰ Cf. J. Kondziela, “Chrześcijańskie ujęcie praw człowieka na tle dyskusji międzynarodowej,” *Chrześcijańskie w świecie* 63-64 (1978), 55.

man is the primary route that the Church must travel in fulfilling her mission: he is the primary and fundamental way for the Church, the way traced out by Christ himself.”⁸¹ This explains the Holy See’s concern for a man as an individual who is called to social life.⁸² Reflection on human rights takes into account what causes and constitutes their violation. This reflection, however, it is not detached from reality and current social, economic, cultural or political situations.⁸³ For example, within the communist system, man was treated like a “cog in a machine.”⁸⁴ The Holy See has repeatedly defended captive men by teaching about man’s dignity and rights regardless of whether this dignity and rights were and are recognized by the state.⁸⁵

In showing the Holy See’s involvement in the defense of human rights, John Paul II recognized the role that diplomacy plays in this issue. He believed that diplomacy’s main aim should be the protection of man and his rights. In order to achieve this aim, it is helpful to seek the consent, cooperation, and respect of all parties involved.⁸⁶ The voice of the Church in this matter should be helpful. This is especially true of the evangelical principle of charity, which, as the most important feature of Christian life, should take on a universal dimension.⁸⁷ A world based on the foundation of justice and respect for human rights can be formed on this principle.⁸⁸ These values guarantee that peace is maintained and preserved in the world.⁸⁹

⁸¹ John Paul II, “Encyklika *Redemptor hominis* Ojca Świętego Jana Pawła II. Odkupiciel człowieka, Rzym 1979,” in *DZ*, Vol. I (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2006), 14. For the encyclical in English, see: http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_04031979_redemptor-hominis.html.

⁸² Cf. John Paul II, “Kościoł wobec największych problemów współczesnego świata,” 463.

⁸³ Cf. F. J. Mazurek, *Prawa człowieka*, 236.

⁸⁴ Cf. J. Krukowski, *Kościół i państwo* (Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2000), 244.

⁸⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ Cf. John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps “Wyzwania stojące przed ludzkością: życie, chleb, pokój i wolność (01.10.2005),” in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 623.

⁸⁷ Cf. John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps “Jak dobry Samarytanin z ewangelicznej przypowieści (04.03.1987),” *OsRomPol* 4 (1987): 24.

⁸⁸ Cf. John Paul II, Address to the Diplomatic Corps “*By pokój nie był jedynie brakiem wojny* (02.03.1985),” *OsRomPol* 3 (1985): 23.

⁸⁹ Cf. John Paul II, Meeting with the Consulate General in Jerusalem “Dla dobra ludzkości (03.25.2000),” *OsRomPol* 5 (2000): 33.

During his pilgrimage to Vilnius in 1993, John Paul II met with the Diplomatic Corps. Speaking to them, he stressed that more attention should be paid to formulating and defending human rights: “[T]rue interest of nations cannot be thought of solely in terms of political strategy or economic development.”⁹⁰ Rather, in order to form a new world order, it is necessary to establish internally consistent societies that respect the primordial values of justice, peace and human dignity.⁹¹

When speaking to the Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Pope John Paul II stressed that the Holy See's efforts to protect of human rights have involved making the international community aware of the need to protect these rights.⁹² The World Conference on Human Rights that took place in Vienna in 1993 was one of the most important events to influence the world's understanding of human rights issues. The purpose of this conference was to assess what had been achieved thus far with regard to international protection of human rights and freedoms and to promote worldwide cooperation in universally recognizing these rights and freedoms. This made it possible convince people worldwide that international law guarantees international order. It must do so, however, based on permanent moral principles (human rights) that effectively limit actions against its maintenance.⁹³

The need to secure human rights has prompted many international institutions to develop relevant legislation that will do so. The most important forms of legislation achieved thus far are the Charter of Fundamental Rights, the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and the European Social Charter. These documents established the limits of the inviolability of these rights.⁹⁴ Therefore, the mission of the Holy See is to help all those who suffer from social, economic, political, and armed conflicts, as well as various injustices and violations of fundamental human rights. The Church is willing to collaborate with leaders of states or those who appeal for the Holy See's collaboration to seek and find the right solutions to emerging problems. The Holy See is not influenced by political or economic interests with regard to human rights violations, however.

⁹⁰ John Paul II, “Zadania dyplomatów w nowej sytuacji Europy,” 15.

⁹¹ Cf. Ibid.

⁹² Cf. John Paul II, “O podstawową tożsamość Europy,” 838.

⁹³ Cf. John Paul II, “Wizja świata zjednoczonego,” 21.

⁹⁴ Cf. John Paul II, Address to the leaders of the Parliament of the European Union “*Służyć dobru wspólnemu* (09.23.2000),” in *DZ*, Vol. XIV (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2009), 843.

Rather, the Holy See uses diplomatic means to preserve and protect human dignity and rights.⁹⁵

Diplomatic Responses to Papal Teaching

The Pope's teaching on human rights received widespread attention from diplomats. Many of them personally emphasized how efforts to promote and protect human rights are very beneficial to the international community.

For example, when speaking about threats to human rights, Paul Ndiaye, Ambassador of Senegal to the Holy See, said that constructive dialogue between parties is the only way to overcome misunderstandings and conflicts.⁹⁶ Likewise, Edward Tsu-yu Wu, China's Ambassador to the Holy See, emphasized that peace and justice should be promoted in every corner of the world.⁹⁷

A.A. Peralta, Costa Rica's Ambassador to the Holy See, emphasized all states should be interested in the protection of human rights. According to this ambassador, any action taken in this regard helps to promote peace throughout the world. The ambassador mentioned his country as an example; Costa Rica has a rich and noble history, which from its inception has guarded human rights. The edifying vision of the country's ancestors and its spiritual values are the source of such attitudes. Among Costa Rica's fundamental goals as a nation is respect for human rights in a historical and international context.⁹⁸

The Canadian Ambassador to the Holy See, T. Arcand, shared a similar reflection. According to him, the state of the modern world depends on its level of respect for human rights; their promotion and

⁹⁵ Cf. John Paul II, Meeting with the Diplomatic Corps "Kościół pragnie współdziałać w ratowaniu godności ludzi i narodów (05.12.1985)," *OsRomPol* numer nadzwyczajny I (1985): 9.

⁹⁶ Cf. P. Ndiaye, "Ambassador of Senegal," in *Papal Diplomacy: John Paul II and the Culture of Peace*, ed. B. J. O'Connor (South Bend, Indiana: St. Augustine's Press, 2005), 183-184.

⁹⁷ Cf. E. Tsu-yu Wu, "Ambassador of China," in *Papal Diplomacy: John Paul II and the Culture of Peace*, ed. B. J. O'Connor (South Bend, Indiana: St. Augustine's Press, 2005), 234.

⁹⁸ Cf. A.A. Peralta, "Ambassador of Costa Rica," in *Papal Diplomacy: John Paul II and the Culture of Peace*, ed. B. J. O'Connor (South Bend, Indiana: St. Augustine's Press, 2005), 186.

protection make it possible to build a better future.⁹⁹ Vigniko A. Amedegnato, Ambassador of Togo, noted that the development, recognition, respect, and protection of human rights is difficult in places where a large proportion of the population is deprived and suffering from hunger, disease, and death.¹⁰⁰

Mark Pellew, Ambassador of the United Kingdom, stated that the *European Convention on Human Rights* was established thanks to the efforts of the international community. This convention made it possible for Her Majesty's government to incorporate its norms into British law. Pellew emphasized that the basic aim of the convention was to unify basic rights and freedoms and that that the United Kingdom was one of the first countries to embrace the need to apply and respect human rights in every dimension of social life in its foreign policy.¹⁰¹

Ketel Borde, the Ambassador of Norway, said that the international community appreciates and admires the Holy See's commitment to the promotion and protection of human rights. For, this activity makes people realize that improving the living conditions of millions of people is possible due to the proper respect for basic human rights.¹⁰²

Stefan Frankiewicz, Ambassador of Poland, stated that the freedom that Poland recovered in 1989 is also due to the Holy See. Thanks to the Holy See's commitment to the defense of human rights, it has become possible to shape "the order of communal life on the firm foundation of universal values, the primacy of the person over society, the dignity of every person as the source of human rights, and the deepest link between politics and culture."¹⁰³

By analyzing papal teaching on human rights to diplomats, B. O'Connor, the author of *Papal Diplomacy*, said that there should be a platform for understanding and cooperation among nations, and Pope

⁹⁹ Cf. T. Arcand, "Ambassador of Canada," in *Papal Diplomacy: John Paul II and the Culture of Peace*, ed. B. J. O'Connor (South Bend, Indiana: St. Augustine's Press, 2005), 225.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. V.A. Amedegnato, "First Ambassador of Togo," in *Papal Diplomacy: John Paul II and the Culture of Peace*, ed. B. J. O'Connor (South Bend, Indiana: St. Augustine's Press, 2005), 196.

¹⁰¹ Cf. M. Pellew, "Ambassador of Great Britain and Northern Ireland," in *Papal Diplomacy: John Paul II and the Culture of Peace*, ed. B. J. O'Connor (South Bend, Indiana: St. Augustine's Press, 2005), 246.

¹⁰² Cf. K. Borde, "Ambassador of Norway," in *Papal Diplomacy: John Paul II and the Culture of Peace*, ed. B. J. O'Connor (South Bend, Indiana: St. Augustine's Press, 2005), 209.

¹⁰³ Cf. S. Frankiewicz, Ambassador Stefan Frankiewicz's speech "Polska zdaje egzamin z trudnej wolności (07.11.1995)," *OsRomPol* 8-9 (1995): 44-45.

John Paul II shows how diplomatic means can be used to achieve this greater understanding and cooperation among nations. Basic human rights, such as the right to life and freedom of religion and conscience, are the cornerstones of human rights. They lead to a nation's development, strengthen its legislation, and shape its future.¹⁰⁴

The diplomats' response to papal teaching with regard to human rights has shaped the conviction that human rights must be respected. This conviction is now one of the most important aims of diplomacy, since human rights help maintain international order and shape the moral work of diplomacy.

Summary

Clearly Pope John Paul II believed that diplomats have a moral duty to ensure respect for human rights. It is for this reason that John Paul II creatively developed the issue of human rights in his teaching to them. Specifically, his teaching called for the principle of human rights, which should be applied both within states and internationally; serve as the determinant of true humanism in social, economic, political and cultural spheres; and be based on relations between states. In this way, human rights eliminate all forms of imperialism, exploitation, and colonialism from international life and help maintain and strengthen international order.

In order for principle of human rights to flourish, it is necessary to overcome emerging threats to human rights. The escalation of tensions generates fear, aggression, violence, and hatred, which subsequently turn into conflicts. Cultural, ideological or political differences are the foundation of many conflicts. The unjust distribution of material goods is a source of business and economic differences. For this reason, Pope John Paul II called on the diplomats to take decisive and concrete actions to protect human rights, specifically by diffusing tensions and conflicts and ensuring the just distribution of material goods.¹⁰⁵ The solutions to these problems are possible only when they are based on a proper understanding of the inherent nature of human rights. Only when human rights are treated as an integral whole can they fulfill their mission to protect the welfare of man and society. If these rights are treated selectively, then they become subordinated to the defense

¹⁰⁴ Cf. B.J. O'Connor, *Papal Diplomacy: John Paul II and the Culture of Peace* (South Bend, Indiana: St. Augustine's Press, 2005), 330-338.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. J. Grosfeld, "Wstęp do encykliki *Sollicitudo rei socialis*," in *DZ*, Vol. I (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2006), 277.

of the particular interests of particular groups or institutions. In turn, these groups and institutions ultimately deny the fundamental role of human rights in the international arena.¹⁰⁶

John Paul II also emphasized that human rights are superior to and precede society and the state. The roots of democracy are precisely in the inviolable rights of every human being, which are universal and pertain to every person regardless of differences, gender, race, worldview, or religion. No man can be deprived of human rights, even if for various reasons he lives on the margins of society. This applies especially to those who voluntarily oppose the norms of social life, are temporarily or permanently isolated by society, as well as those who, through no fault of their own, are among the weakest and most needy due to complex personal, economic, or social factors. For John Paul II, respect for the rights of the marginalized is a clear test of diplomacy, which should serve as an example of respect for rights and justice. The absolute nature of human rights is also expressed in their inviolability and inalienability, which means that no circumstance, institution, or declaration can deprive man of his natural rights. Even man himself cannot deny his own human rights.¹⁰⁷

The reflections of individual diplomats shows that papal teaching on human rights has sparked a lively debate, the result of which is the conviction that diplomacy's most important task is to promote and defend human rights. Diplomatic activities in this area help maintain international order and develop moral responsibility for the fate of man and the world. A lack of respect for human rights creates many moral problems. Therefore, diplomats agree that human rights are universal and inseparable and that the whole international community should work towards their integral development in a spirit of solidarity.¹⁰⁸

When speaking of human rights, John Paul II paid special attention to those who are obligated to preserve them, bring them to life, and always use them to serve the common good of society and respect the rights of others. Although human rights are permanently integrated into cultures, they are not given to man once and for all. In this regard, the Holy Father pointed to many situations in which the temptation to violate human rights is still great and the fact that the world in which man lives is still a place of injustice and oppression. Human rights are

¹⁰⁶ Cf. K. Gryz, "Wstęp do orędzi i przesłań poświęconych prawom człowieka," in *DZ*, Vol. V (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2007), 282.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Cf. G. Galassi, Address to the dean of the Diplomatic Corps "Ojciec Święty, potrzebujemy Ciebie (01.10.2003)," *OsRomPol* 3 (2000): 27.

a challenge that every human being and the international community must face so that these rights can be more and more consciously based on an authentic anthropological foundation and on unequivocal moral norms and rooted in various national, cultural, and religious traditions.

During almost every meeting with diplomats, Pope John Paul II appealed for respect for human rights and encouraged them to determine whether established laws truly serve the human person in all of his dimensions in both practice and theory.¹⁰⁹ In addition, the pope pointed out trends that lead to paralysis and disruption: “The decline in the rate of marriages and births, the many ways in which human life is attacked, the spread of drug abuse, the displays of self-centeredness on the part of individuals, families and communities—all these appear to be symptoms of a destructive skepticism and lack of confidence in life and the future.”¹¹⁰

For John Paul II, respect for human rights is, on the one hand, a suitable platform for dialogue with the world and, on the other hand, a way to introduce Christian values into contemporary culture. John Paul II respected all diplomatic activities aimed at promoting human rights. One of the most important (but not the only) examples of respect for human rights on the part of the international community was the General Assembly of the United Nations’ signing of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* in 1948. For the pope, this event was a great milestone in human development. Papal teaching to diplomats reveals that Pope John Paul II wanted to make an original contribution to efforts to promote and protect human rights. And, the Christian message clearly formulated in the Gospel mission itself was his inspiration.

POSZANOWANIE PRAW CZŁOWIEKA MORALNĄ POWINNOŚCIĄ DYPLOMACJI W ŚWIETLE NAUCZANIA JANA PAWŁA II

Prawa człowieka zajmują istotne miejsce w nauczaniu Jana Pawła II do dyplomatów. Podstawą refleksji na temat praw człowieka dla Papieża jest godność osoby ludzkiej. Papież w nauczaniu do dyplomatów przedstawiał sposób rozumienia, ujmowania i wyjaśniania praw człowieka. Celem niniejszej

¹⁰⁹ Cf. A. Koprowski, “Wprowadzenie do przemówień do organizacji międzynarodowych,” in *DZ*, Vol. XIV (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2009), 813.

¹¹⁰ John Paul II, Address to the Democratic Group of European Parliament “Klimat życzliwości jest konieczny do rozwoju współpracy (11.13.1980),” in *DZ*, Vol. XIV (Cracow: Wydawnictwo M, 2009), 831. For the address in English, see: https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1980/november/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19801113_democratici-europei.html.

publikacji jest ukazanie, że poszanowanie praw człowieka to moralna powinność dyplomacji. Respektowanie praw człowieka jest dla Papieża z jednej strony odpowiednią płaszczyzną do prowadzenia dialogu ze światem, z drugiej strony – drogą do wprowadzania wartości chrześcijańskich we współczesną kulturę. Jan Paweł II szanował wszelkie działania dyplomacji, których celem była promocja praw człowieka.

Słowa kluczowe: prawa człowieka, dyplomacja, Jan Paweł II.

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Methodological Premises of the Ethics of Social Entrepreneurship: From the Perspective of the Teachings of the Catholic Church

Social entrepreneurship is an emerging discipline that provides innovative solutions to social issues such as exclusion, poverty, and unemployment. This field of study combines both economic and social aims. While the practical aspects of social entrepreneurship are valuable, good practice requires a deeper theoretical, ethical, and axiological understanding of social entrepreneurship. This study presents the current lack of knowledge of the normative and axiological determinants of social entrepreneurship due to the commonly held belief that every kind social activity is ethically right. In this context, the author formulates methodological premises of the ethics of social entrepreneurship based on Catholic social teaching.

Key words: social entrepreneurship, normative ethics, axiology, Catholic social teaching.

Social entrepreneurship is a young discipline that seeks innovative solutions to social issues such as exclusion, poverty, and unemployment. It is also a practical science that combines both economic and social goals. Social entrepreneurship achieves this, however, not by using “top-down” approaches to or models of social assistance systems, but by helping the marginalized realize their potential to take initiative through self-employment or self-help. Social enterprises, cooperatives, professional activity or integration centers, and economic associations and foundations that are run and operated by the people who found

them or members of a community are all concrete examples of the “bottom-up” model.

During the past decades, those involved in public policy and socio-economics have become increasingly interested in social entrepreneurship; the former believe that social entrepreneurship can compensate for social policies that have heretofore failed, while the latter see social entrepreneurship as an effective means to deliver useful products and social services where the public sector and markets have failed. Social entrepreneurs also seek innovative ways to address and counteract the factors that lead to marginalization and social exclusion of, for example, the disabled, homeless, and unemployed. Although it is important to appreciate the practical aspects of social enterprise, good practice always requires an ever-deeper theoretical and philosophical understanding.¹ This article presents the lack of knowledge on the ethical and axiological determinants of social entrepreneurship. This aspect of study has been neglected due to the fact that people assume that, insofar as an activity is social in character, it must be ethically correct. From this thinking, it follows that each human action that realizes social goals is morally reasonable and justifiable. In this context, theoretical concepts that satisfactorily describe the normative and axiological determinants of social entrepreneurship are lacking.

Another problem is that authors of already existing, albeit not quite numerous, publications that address the aforementioned issues refer to theories of normative ethics, including Kantianism, utilitarianism, virtue ethics, discourse ethics, postmodern ethics, care ethics, etc. Yet, hypotheses based on Christian personal ethics, which is the fundamental axiological and normative source of Catholic social doctrine, are only marginally present in current research. Therefore, an examination of the normative and axiological potential of Christian personal ethics is necessary when analyzing and developing: 1) professional ethics of social entrepreneurs, 2) regulations to ensure the responsible management of social enterprise, and 3) the axiological determinants of the social economy.

The State of Research

Very little scholarship on aforementioned topics exists. In fact, no articles on this subject have ever been published in Poland, and the few articles that have been published outside of Poland can be found

¹ Cf. E. Chell, “Social enterprise and entrepreneurship: Towards a convergent theory of the entrepreneurial process,” *International Small Business Journal*, Vol. 25, no.1 (2007): 3-19.

in scientific or popular science journals. For example, M. Chomałowska presents the fundamentally similar assumptions between the postulates presented by the Catholic Church and the principles on which social economics are based.² A. Zadroga proves a similar thesis on the axiological relationships between the Church's social doctrine and the social economy.³

In literature written in English, more studies examine this problem; however, these studies essentially exclude the perspective of Catholic social doctrine. One issue of the 2012 *Journal of Business Ethics* was dedicated to the question of the ethics of social entrepreneurship. Within these articles, the authors analyzed the relationships between the disciplines, but they did not refer at all to Catholic personal ethics. In 2016, Chell, Spence, Perrini, and Harris recently published a valuable review,⁴ while F.T. Hannafey presents a valuable overview of earlier literature from the point of view of broader entrepreneurship and ethics.⁵ C. Guo and W. Bielefeld,⁶ M.J. Bouchard,⁷ and S. Hoskinson and D. F. Kuratko⁸ are, among others, the more important authors of monographs on these topics.

In Italian, literature by G. Manzone, one of the leading representatives of social moral theology and Catholic social doctrine in Italy, is worthy of attention. In two of his more recent publications, he presents his ethical reflections on the reality of human labor in the modern market economy, while focusing on the personalistic aspects of work and profession. However, in the first of those monographs, Manzone presents the concept of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) as a

² See M. Chomałowska, "Nauka społeczna Kościoła a gospodarka społeczna," *Ekonomia Społeczna*, no. 3 (2013): 67-79.

³ See A. Zadroga, "Ekonomia społeczna i nauczanie społeczne Kościoła. Wzajemne implikacje aksjologiczne," *Roczniki Teologiczne*, no. 3 (2009): 213-229.

⁴ See E. Chell, L. J. Spence, F. Perrini, and J.D. Harris, "Social Entrepreneurship and Business Ethics: Does Social Equal Ethical?," *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 133 (2016): 619-625.

⁵ See F. T. Hannafey, "Entrepreneurship and Ethics: A Literature Review," *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 46, no. 2 (2013): 99-110.

⁶ See C. Guo and W. Bielefeld, *Social Entrepreneurship: an Evidence-Based Approach to Create Social Value*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass and A. Wiley Brand, 2014).

⁷ See M. J. Bouchard, ed., *The Worth of Social Economy: an International Perspective* (Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2009).

⁸ See S. Hoskinson and D.F. Kuratko, *The Challenges of Ethics and Entrepreneurship in the Global Environment*, (United Kingdom: Emerald Group Publishing Ltd., 2015).

platform for dialogue between business ethics and social doctrine of the Church. H. Alford, G. Rusconi, E. Monti have also undertaken this research⁹ and demonstrated the Church's social thought's contribution to the conceptualization of CRS as well as many practical applications. They all arise from ethical and anthropological principles.

Numerous publications in German are devoted to the social aspects of management, as evidenced by the tradition of ordoliberalism and the development of a model of a social market economy. J. Wiemeyer¹⁰ and A. Suchanek¹¹ have written on the topic of the ethical dimension of entrepreneurship and the economy. The slightly older but very valuable work of P. H. Werhahn presents the entrepreneur's subjectivity in the social market economy from the perspective of the Church's social doctrine.¹² These studies begin by considering the origin of the idea of an entrepreneur and his role in a freemarket economy and ends with an attempt to define an anthropological model of an entrepreneur.

A Justification for a Normative Axiological Analysis of Social Entrepreneurship

A social entrepreneur acts on two levels: the interior (psychological, moral, and spiritual) level and the exterior (material and physical) level. The first level makes it possible to describe, interpret, and evaluate his behavior from the point of view of his attitudes (personal qualities), moral values and norms, and the spiritual and religious inspirations from which his initiatives originate. The second level make it possible to refer to the way that an entrepreneur organizes his enterprise in order to achieve his objectives. In practice, these two dimensions are closely linked, since a social entrepreneur must have both a source of internal motivation that will determine the direction of his endeavors and stimulation for the creativity he needs to fulfill his role. At the same, an entrepreneur must act professionally in order

⁹ See H. Alford, G. Rusconi, and E. Monti, *Responsabilità sociale d'impresa e dottrina sociale della chiesa cattolica* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2004).

¹⁰ See J. Wiemeyer, "Etyka przedsiębiorstwa w chrześcijańskiej perspektywie społeczno-etycznej," in *Spółeczna odpowiedzialność gospodarki. Perspektywa interdyscyplinarna*, ed. S. Fel (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2014).

¹¹ See A. Suchanek, *Ökonomische Ethik*, 2nd Edition (Tübingen: UTB, Stuttgart, 2007).

¹² P. H. Werhahn, *Der Unternehmer. Seine ökonomische Funktion und gesellschaftspolitische Verantwortung* (Trier: Paulinus, 1990).

to organize the material resources that he needs to efficiently and effectively achieve his economic and social goals.

For the reasons mentioned above, studies that involve normative and axiological analyses are necessary to provide a better understanding of social entrepreneurship. Moreover, cases of fraud or even financial and economic crimes that arise in social entrepreneurship demonstrate that this sphere of human activity also requires deeper ethical reflection. Until now, however, the principles of ethical behavior, which could constitute an industry code of ethics for social entrepreneurship and aid in resolving moral dilemmas, have not been sufficiently developed. Likewise, an inventory of professional virtues for social entrepreneurs has not been sufficiently taken. Furthermore, as specific organizations, social enterprises need to develop the right understanding of socially responsible stakeholder management. Finally, the social economy itself is dependent on the values that are only intuitively perceived and not clearly indicated and described in the literature on this subject.

As A. Lewicka-Strzałecka points out: “An important argument in favor of formulating moral principles that regulate the behavior of the representatives of specific professions is the fact that a great number of the general values and norms of conduct formulated on the basis of general ethics do not resolve moral dilemmas that are specific to particular professions. Certainly, one of the basic purposes of professional ethics is to help resolve such dilemmas. General ethics points to certain values, but it does not say what needs to be done when these values conflict with each other. [...] The principles of professional ethics should fulfill the general mission, role, or function of a given occupation for the good of society as a whole. This mission should also determine the basic values for the profession, the fidelity to which determines the profession’s moral identity.”¹³

The research that the author of this article proposes is novel because it considers Christian personal ethics in: 1) developing professional ethics of social entrepreneurs, 2) creating a model of principles for responsible social enterprise management, and 3) identifying and describing the key values of the social economy. This, therefore, is a study in business ethics that takes into account a theologically moral viewpoint based on the Christian vision of Catholic social doctrine.

¹³ A. Lewicka-Strzałecka, *Etyczne standardy firm i pracowników* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Filozofii i Socjologii PAN, 1999), 30-32.

Reasons for a Moral and Theological Analysis of Social Entrepreneurship

The human person is at the center of Catholic social doctrine. For this reason, the Church “*intends to offer a contribution of truth to the question of man’s place in nature and in human society,*”¹⁴ as an expression of its “solidarity, respect and affection for the whole human family.”¹⁵ To this end, the Church enters into a dialogue with humanity about fundamental problems and brings “to mankind light kindled from the Gospel, and puts at its disposal those saving resources which the Church herself, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, receives from her Founder. For, the human person deserves to be preserved, and human society deserves to be renewed.”¹⁶

One of the goals of the Church’s social doctrine is a “friendly dialogue with all branches of knowledge.”¹⁷ In entering into this dialogue, the Church’s main intention is to inspire and imbue social life with the values of the Gospel. On the one hand, the Church encourages other scientific disciplines to be open to the values and norms presented by Catholic social teaching and, consequently, to a “broader horizon aimed at serving the individual person who is acknowledged and loved in the fullness of his or her vocation.”¹⁸ This means that “the Church does not intervene in technical questions with her social doctrine, nor does she propose or establish systems or models of social organization. This is not part of the mission entrusted to her by Christ. The Church’s competence comes from the Gospel: from the message that sets man free, the message proclaimed and born witness to by the Son of God made man.”¹⁹

Conversely, because the Church enters into a dialogue, social of the Church must also be open to other scientific disciplines. This “*attentive and constant openness to other branches of knowledge makes the Church’s*

¹⁴ Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church* (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2005), 14.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁶ Second Vatican Council, *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World: Gaudium et spes* (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1965), 3. Hereafter *GS*.

¹⁷ See Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium*, 76-78.

¹⁸ John Paul II, *Encyclical Letter: Centesimus annus* (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1991), 59.

¹⁹ Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium*, 68; see John Paul II, *Encyclical Letter Sollicitudo rei socialis* (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1987), 41.

social doctrine reliable, concrete and relevant. Thanks to the sciences, the Church can gain a more precise understanding of man in society, speak to the men and women of her own day in a more convincing manner and more effectively fulfill her task of incarnating in the conscience and social responsibility of our time, the word of God and the faith from which social doctrine flows.”²⁰ One of the areas of human knowledge that been a source of increasing interest on the part of the Church is social science. The reason the Church is so open to the social sciences is because it is convinced that, if a person is searching for the truth about man and the surrounding world, then one can not exclude any field of knowledge from this process: “The Church recognizes and receives everything that contributes to the understanding of man in the ever broader, more fluid and more complex network of his social relationships. She is aware of the fact that a profound understanding of man does not come from theology alone.”²¹

What the Church offers all people can be called an “*an integral and solidary humanism*”²² because it is a humanism that corresponds with the idea of God’s love for every human being and the calling of all people to unity as children of one Father.”²³ At the same time, the realization of the assumptions of such humanism will “creat[e] a new social, economic and political order, founded on the dignity and freedom of every human person, to be brought about in peace, justice and solidarity. This humanism can become a reality if individual men and women and their communities are able to cultivate moral and social virtues in themselves and spread them in society. ‘Then, under the necessary help of divine grace, there will arise a generation of new men, the moulders of a new humanity.’”²⁴

As Ireneusz Mroczkowski emphasizes: “The most important methodological task in creating [...] moral theology remains a critical dialogue between faith and the practical reason of ethics that also takes into account the efficacy of God’s grace as well as the biological, psychological, and social conditioning of modern man. The hardest methodological task is to defend theology from modern human sciences’ reductionist view of man, which is equally suspicious of biblical

²⁰ Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium*, 78.

²¹ *Ibid*, 78.

²² Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium*, 19.

²³ See Second Vatican Council, *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church: Lumen Gentium* (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1964), 1.

²⁴ Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium*, 19; see Second Vatican Council, *GS*, 30.

moral truth and of the ability of ethics to develop and defend objective human values.”²⁵

Considering the scope of the Church’s social doctrine’s competence, it is necessary to point out the merit of analyzing entrepreneurship from a moral and theological point of view. In the light of Revelation, entrepreneurship can be interpreted as the calling of every human being. The act of creation is the source of this truth; for, through creation, man was bestowed with reason (and creativity as an aspect of reason), free will, and the ability to love. Thus, God created man to be intrinsically entrepreneurial. This pertains mainly to the theological premises of entrepreneurship, and it is from here that theological questions about entrepreneurship arise. Therefore, an analysis of entrepreneurship from the point of view of Catholic social teaching is warranted. Furthermore, since the Catholic Church has had global aspirations since its inception, and given the present reality of globalization, innovative thinking about entrepreneurship is worth considering in light of Catholic tradition.

Conclusion

One of the key elements of responsible implementation of the mechanisms of social entrepreneurship is the proper form of the norms and the values that condition it. The social teaching of the Church can make a valuable and original contribution to defining and understanding these normative and axiological determinants.

All social doctrine, including the social doctrine promulgated by the Catholic Church and the social doctrine that underlies axiological social enterprise, is based and developed on the principle of the inviolable dignity of the human person. This personalistic approach is the foundation on which all other principles and content of social science rely, particularly: the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity. Social entrepreneurship promotes the creation of social structures that affirm the value of every human person and enable each person to fully participate in social life. For this reason, social entrepreneurship is a good example of the practical application of the principle of personalization (which is at the heart of the Church’s social teaching) in shaping socio-economic life.

It is possible to indicate the motivations and goals that are characteristic of social entrepreneurship as well as the means of their

²⁵ I. Mroczkowski, *Teologia moralna. Przedmiot. Definicja. Metoda*, (Płock: Płocki Instytut Wydawniczy, 2011), 5-6.

realization: “Social economics is [...] first of all the specific approach of individual persons and institutions to social reality. Social economics also concerns the attitudes of individuals and institutions toward their own problems (i.e., acting rather than demanding), the way these problems are resolved (collectively rather than individually), and their goals (the common good rather than the group’s narrow interests). These actions are greatly based on solidarity and cooperation, rather than on particularism and competition.”²⁶

Catholic social teaching

It is impossible to fully understand (and work effectively in) social entrepreneurship without considering the key principles and values of social life. Literature on this subject primarily discusses solidarity and subsidiarity, entrepreneurship and commitment, prudence and responsibility, and self-reliance and empowerment. However, it is worth analyzing (and eventually expanding) this aforementioned set of values and principles to include those referred to in the social doctrine of the Church. For, by taking up similar issues, both fields can come together not only on the subject level, but also on the level of their deepest principles (i.e., their axiological assumptions). In this way, both areas would be mutually enriched. It is always important to base all efforts on a strong axiological foundation; for, with this foundation in place, one can justifiably hope to realistically build up the common good, a more united world, and, in a broader sense, the civilization of love.

This interdisciplinary approach will make it possible to develop ethics as both a discipline of philosophy and moral theology, both of which concerns research in the fields of Catholic social teaching and the economy, and for which the essential aim is a deeper understanding of entrepreneurial behavior and the axiological determinants of the social economy. The role of entrepreneurship in socio-economic progress is very important for the development of civilizations. Without sound theory, good and effective practice is impossible. For this reason, the results of normative and axiological studies will directly affect whether the goals of social entrepreneurship will be achieved.

²⁶ P. Frączak and J. J. Wygnański, eds., *Polski model ekonomii społecznej. Rekomendacje dla rozwoju. Zaproszenie do dyskusji* (Warsaw: Fundacja Inicjatyw Społeczno-Ekonomicznych, 2008), 15.

METODOLOGICZNE PRZESŁANKI ETYKI PRZEDSIĘBIORCZOŚCI SPOŁECZNEJ: PERSPEKTYWA KATOLICKIEJ NAUKI SPOŁECZNEJ

Przedsiębiorczość społeczna poszukuje innowacyjnych rozwiązań takich kwestii społecznych, jak wykluczenie społeczne, ubóstwo czy bezrobocie. Jest to umiejętność łączenia celów gospodarczych i społecznych. Doceniając praktyczne aspekty tej formy działalności, nie należy jednocześnie zapominać, że dobra praktyka zawsze wymaga teoretycznego – w tym etycznego oraz aksjologicznego – pogłębienia. Autor artykułu stawia tezę o niezadowalającym stanie wiedzy właśnie na temat etycznych i aksjologicznych uwarunkowań przedsiębiorczości społecznej. Jego zdaniem, ten aspekt badań jest zaniedbany, ze względu na błędne przekonanie, że jeśli jakaś działalność ma charakter społeczny, to jednocześnie oznacza to, że jest etycznie poprawna. W tym kontekście autor formułuje w niniejszym artykule metodologiczne przesłanki wypracowania koncepcji etyki przedsiębiorczości społecznej w perspektywie katolickiej nauki społecznej.

Słowa kluczowe: przedsiębiorczość społeczna, etyka normatywna, aksjologia, katolicka nauka społeczna.

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Mary as a Sign of God's Mercy Toward Women and the World

In the plan of God's Mercy, Mary plays a unique and irreplaceable role as the Mother of Jesus and as a sign of God's Mercy towards all women and the entire world. As a sign, Mary significantly resembles other women both because of her sex and because of Jesus' attitude towards the women he met. This attitude is so clear that it conveys that women experience God's mercy in a particular way and that they have a specific vocation in the world. Particular chapters of the Bible tell us about Mary as a sign of Divine Mercy, about God's Mercy toward women, and about women as the ones who bring Divine Mercy to the world.

Key words: Mary, Mother of God, Divine Mercy, Incarnation, feminine genius, motherhood, biblical exegesis.

Introduction

This article considers the relationship between Mary and femininity from the perspective of Divine Mercy. In becoming the Mother of God, Mary played a key and unique role in God's plan of salvation. Despite Mary's uniqueness, however, she is similar to the other women based on her sex and on Jesus' attitude toward her. Jesus' unambiguous attitude toward women reveals that women experience Divine Mercy in a particular way and that women have a specific vocation in the world. St. John Paul II said, "This Marian dimension of Christian life takes on special importance in relation to women and their status. In fact, femininity has a unique relationship with the Mother of the

Redeemer.”¹ This study analyzes biblical texts using the hermeneutic of faith and the theological principle of Biblical unity by comparing relevant biblical texts to the observed data.

Mary as a Sign of Divine Mercy

Jesus’ entire earthly life, which “in a certain sense, is mercy”² itself, is connected to Mary, so much so that it is even possible to assert that Divine Mercy is with her from the very beginning of the creation of man.

Mariology

The First and Second Creation of Man

God’s creation of man was his first act of mercy toward humanity; for, he created man and woman in his image and likeness as rational, free, and sexual beings. The idea that human sexuality ushered humanity into the reality of the Incarnation from the beginning is consistent with the Franciscan school of thought that upholds that, in God’s providential plan, the Incarnation is immanently connected with the creation of man and not, as the Dominican school of thought says, with Adam and Eve’s sin itself, which proved to be a blessed fault.³

Since the second century, St. Justin Martyr called Mary the second Eve and Jesus the second Adam. This second creation of man in the persons of Jesus and Mary is the appropriate paradigm of humanity. When interpreted anew, this paradigm provides a cultural example that responds to the needs of our day and this sign of Mary expands our perspective on women.

Christocentrism

The Mother of God leads to a Christocentric anthropology in which the perception of women through Eve gives way to the perception of women through Mary. The sign of Mary is fully integrated into a Christological image of the world. In his plan to draw man closer to himself and in his plan of salvation, Christ set aside a special place for Mary. Therefore, it is possible to say that not only Mary, but also and firstly Jesus Christ and His relationship with His Mother, are the

¹ John Paul II, *Redemptoris Mater*, 46. Hereafter abbreviated *RM*.

² John Paul II, *Dives in Misericordia*, 2. Hereafter abbreviated *DM*.

³ See W. Chrostowski, “Ludzka cielesność jako obraz Boga,” *Collectanea Theologica* 70, no. 4 (2000): 5.

hermeneutic key that explains femininity. According to this key, the paradigm of femininity realized in the person of Mary concerns every woman to a certain extent and in a certain way. Understanding and accepting Mary's example makes it possible to rebuild the identity of women which was destroyed as a result of original sin. St. John Paul II left numerous documents, particularly his encyclicals *Redemptoris Mater* and *Evangelium Vitae* and his letters to women *Mulieris Dignitatem* and *A Ciascuna di Voi*, which greatly inspire reflection on the essence of femininity as it is understood in the broad context of salvation history. Since the Mother of God is an inextricable component of this history, Adrienne von Speyr's assertion, "In Mary resides the idea of the perfect human being, an idea that God had when he created the first human being. Thus Mary is in fact not the second but the first Eve; she is the one who did not fall and who sees how the second Eve does fall,"⁴ is well-founded.

Although the first creation of man ends with his fall, Jesus nevertheless extends a helping hand to humanity and shows the way back to the Father's house both through the sign of the Immaculate who accompanies the act of the second creation and through conversion.

Conversion

Man's relationship with God exalts and transforms him. In order to encounter man, God lowers himself (*kenosis*). In order to encounter God, however, man must become exalted according to Mary's example. This takes place through the process of conversion. This, then, begs the question: Was it necessary for Mary to convert? The answer to this question depends on how one defines the term "conversion."

Conversion is commonly assumed to mean turning away from the wrong path in order to enter upon the right path of life. According to this definition of conversion, Mary did not need to convert. However, if one understands conversion as a change from his old way of thinking to thinking according to Christ, then Mary, as Christ's first follower, also walked the way of conversion—a path that, as the Gospels repeatedly affirm, was undoubtedly very demanding and often painful. From a human point of view, Mary's life was not easy: she endured the real threat of being stoned after she conceived Jesus; she gave birth in a very uncomfortable setting (a cave or room in a stranger's home); she had to escape with Joseph and the baby Jesus to Egypt, knowing that

⁴ Adrienne von Speyr, *Mary in the Redemption* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2012), 20.

the infants Jesus' age had been massacred; she followed alongside her Son, the Messiah, and saw how his teaching evoked the opposition of many of the authorities; and she witnessed her Son's cruel torture and brutal death on the cross. Yet, we know for certain that Mary was the first to experience Divine Mercy and a spiritual relationship with Her Son in an extraordinary way. Divine Mercy does not necessarily make life easier and less burdensome, but it does make it possible for human life to be united with God. For this reason, the mysteries of Mary's life: the Immaculate Conception, her Divine Motherhood, her Perpetual Virginity, the deep (but not easy) mutual understanding she shared with her Son, as well as her process of conversion are simultaneously the mysteries of Divine Mercy that elevate man to the dignity of being a child of God.

The humanity revealed in Jesus and Mary became a new beginning for man and the world. Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger points out that the grace that accompanied Mary's conception is indeed a personal grace in the sincerest and deepest meaning of the word. It does not, however, draw attention to Mary herself because she did not even exist at the time. Rather, it sheds light on the mystery of Divine Mercy, which elevates and exalts man.⁵ As St. John Paul II once said: "mercy is manifested in its true and proper aspect when it restores to value, promotes and draws good from all the forms of evil existing in the world and in man."⁶

The Renewal of Relationships

Man's relationship with God, which was disturbed through original sin, was completely renewed in Mary. It is even possible to argue that Divine Mercy touched this relationship most fully. Therefore, an individualistic approach is insufficient to explain the question of the Mercy that God showed Mary. All the mysteries of the Blessed Mother and her Son's life are relational in character: the Annunciation, Incarnation, Visitation, Birth of Christ, Mary's joy, and her suffering with Christ. In addition, contemporary theological thought strongly emphasizes Mary's relationship with the Holy Spirit. On the one hand, Scripture emphasizes Mary's freedom and free will in relation to God, and, on the other hand, the union between Mary's will and the Holy Spirit's will. Both St. John of the Cross and St. Maximilian Kolbe noted many

⁵ See. M. Masciarelli, *Znak Niewiasty: Maryja w teologii Josepha Ratzingera* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo eSPe, 2008), 27.

⁶ *DM*, 6.

times that: "the Immaculate's will was always in accordance with God's will. Mary always carried out the will of the Holy Spirit who resided within her."⁷

There are many ways to describe the essence of the relationship between the Mother of the Lord and the Holy Spirit. For example, the Italian theologian Domenico Bertetto speaks about the synergy between Mary and the Holy Spirit; the Fathers of the Second Vatican Council as well as Popes Paul VI and John Paul II call Mary the Tabernacle, Sanctuary, and Temple of the Holy Spirit; and Orthodox theologians were the first to consider Mary an image and Icon of the Holy Spirit. Sergei Bulgakov claimed that Mary is "completely transparent to the working of the Holy Spirit," and he named her the "Hypostatic Revelation" of the Spirit. Alexander Schmemmann considered "the archetypal relationship between Mary and the Holy Spirit," which means that the nature of Holy Spirit himself is revealed in his relationship with Mary.⁸ In this sense, St. Maximilian Maria Kolbe went farther in his description of the intimate relationship between Mary and the Holy Spirit, arguing that "the Most Holy Mother of God exists so that we might know the Most Holy Spirit better."⁹ She is a "kind of embodiment of the Holy Spirit."¹⁰ St. Maximilian's statements resonate with Paul Evdokimov's assertion that Mary is "ontologically united with the Holy Spirit."¹¹ If, therefore, Mary is as closely united with the Holy Spirit as modern theology asserts, then the sign of Mary (in relation to God and man) is not just an example, but also an issue that opens up new areas of exploration that may have significant implications for many fields of theological research.

In this modern age of numerous anthropological heresies and Eastern philosophies' fascination with human abilities, focusing on the irreplaceable purpose of relationships in Christianity can prevent man

⁷ See G. M. Bartosik, *Mediatrix in Spiritu Mediatore: Pośrednictwo Najświętszej Maryi Panny jako uczestnictwo w pośredniczącej funkcji Ducha Świętego w świetle teologii współczesnej* (Niepokalanów: Wydawnictwo Ojców Franciszkanów, 2006), 380-381.

⁸ Ibid, 380-393.

⁹ J. A. Książek, W. K. Kaczmarek, and J. R. Bar, eds. *Konferencje świętego Maksymiliana Marii Kolbego*, no. 103 (Niepokalanów: Wydawnictwo Ojców Franciszkanów, 1983), 169 in G. M. Bartosik, *Mediatrix in Spiritu*, 399. Hereafter abbreviated KMK.

¹⁰ KMK, no. 311, in G. M. Bartosik, *Mediatrix in Spiritu*, 406.

¹¹ P. Evdokimov, "Duch Święty i Matka Boża," in *Prawosławie II: Teksty o Matce Bożej* 8, eds. S. C. Napiórkowski and H. Paprocki (Niepokalanów: Wydawnictwo Ojców Franciszkanów, 1991), 125, in G. M. Bartosik, *Mediatrix in Spiritu*, 406.

from giving into the temptation to practice religious syncretism and harmful individualism. Mary's close relationship with the Holy Spirit also shows the way to the Church's spiritual renewal. This renewal should take into consideration Mary's presence, since she not only cooperated with the Holy Spirit, but also invoked Him and is most closely united with Him.¹²

Divine Mercy Toward Women

Ratzinger believes that the question of Mary is a question of Christianity. The woman of Nazareth makes it possible to transmit an entire array of principles to female elements in the world and to help answer numerous anthropological questions, including: "Who is woman?" and "What is her theological significance?"¹³ Servant of God Joseph Kentenich believed that every woman is a model of Mary, while Heinrich Koster presented the main features of femininity contained and renewed in Mary's example.¹⁴ Similarly, other great theologians such as Hans Urs von Balthasar, the Swiss mystic Adrienne von Speyr, Karl Rahner, Mathias Joseph Scheeben, Edith Stein, and Paul Evdokimov adopted a similar train of thought in Mariology.¹⁵

Christ's Exemplary Attitude Toward Women

Jesus Christ's attitude toward women was particularly challenging not only for the Jews but also for early Christians. Jesus' treatment of women exceeded the social norms for men at the time and remains an intellectual and spiritual challenge up to today. Father Joseph Kentenich believed: "Whoever wants to save the modern world must restore the proper ideal of femininity."¹⁶

Jesus treats women very mercifully not only because women at that time were categorized as socially handicapped and deprived of many rights, but also and above all because the proper understanding and treatment of women is essential to understanding the meaning of the

¹² See G. M. Bartosik, *Mediatrix in Spiritu*, 407.

¹³ See M. Masciarelli, *Znak Niewiasty*, 147.

¹⁴ See taken from A. Kostka, "Niepokalana—Kobieceość na nowo pisana," *Kobieta w Kościele i w Społeczeństwie: Studia i Materiały Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach*, no. 78 (2014): 47.

¹⁵ See A. Kostka, *Rozkwitnąć pełnią barw: Duchowość kobiety w Ruchu Szentszackim* (Swider: 2008), 80.

¹⁶ J. Kentenich, *Ideał kobiety: Stereotyp czy pociągający wzorzec* (Otwock-Świder: Wydawnictwo Apostolicum, 2013), 23.

question of the Kingdom of God. Jesus lived in a patriarchal time and society where women were neither allowed to make financial decisions nor to decide for themselves. From the beginning of Christian thought, the concept of human rights and of the person took a long time to be formulated. It was not until 1891 that these concepts were clearly expressed in the first papal declaration on human rights, the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*.¹⁷ The rights of women, however, exercised in their right to vote, were not internationally acknowledged and upheld until the twentieth century. In Poland, women were granted the right to vote in 1918, while in Switzerland women could not legally vote until 1971. However, in the words of Fr. Jacek Salij, "Obviously, Christianity is not, nor ever has been, a social movement that strives for the equality of slaves and women with men. Rather, it is the message of God's mercy toward us all. The Church was not concerned with dismantling existing unjust structures when it proclaimed from the outset the fundamental equality between men and women, free men and slaves. The Apostolic Letters teach us how to externally adapt to these structures. The Church dismantled these structures from within by persistently proclaiming that all men are not only equal before God, but that God especially loves the weak and the lowly."¹⁸ At the time of Jesus, women undoubtedly were among the most vulnerable members of society. For example, a father could give his underage daughter away in marriage without her consent. In turn, he would receive money from his daughter's fiancé. Once under the control of her husband, the young woman had to be completely obedient to him and address him as *rab* or *ba'al*, which is how a slave addressed their masters. Only men were privileged to study the Torah.¹⁹ Living at the same time as John the Apostle, Rabbi Eliezer wrote: "Whoever teaches his daughter the Torah teaches her to commit iniquity," and "It is better to burn the Torah than to entrust it to a woman."²⁰ In light of this androcentric reality, it is clear how Jesus' attitude toward women, while scandalous to the Jews of the time, was great news.

¹⁷ See H. Skorowski, "Prawa człowieka," *Słownik Społeczny*, ed. B. Szlachta (Cracow: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2004), 967.

¹⁸ J. Salij, "Chrześcijański antyfeminizm," *W drodze* 343, no. 3 (2002): 125.

¹⁹ See R. Egger-Wenzel and C. Kreinecker, "Kobieta/Żona," *Nowy Leksykon Biblijny*, eds. F. Kogler, R. Egger-Wenzel, and M. Ernst (Kielce: Wydawnictwo Jedność 2011), 353; R. de Vaux, *Instytucje Starego Testamentu* (Poznan: Wydawnictwo Pallottinum, 2004), 37; and T. Brzegowy, *Pisma Mądrościowe Starego Testamentu* (Tarnow: Wydawnictwo Diecezji Tarnowskiej, 2007), 148-149.

²⁰ P. Ketter, *Chrystus a kobiety* (Warsaw: Drukarnia Wydawnictwa Ks. Jezuitow, 1937), 60.

Jesus not only trusts women, which is clear in the Incarnation (he was conceived in a woman's womb), but he also entrusts to women the main truths of salvation such as the Resurrection and the fact that he is the Messiah. Jesus is not afraid to enter into relationships with women, as is evident in his friendship with Martha and Mary, whose home was a place where he could rest and relax. There was a special bond between Jesus and the women he chose—a bond he was not afraid to establish and sustain. He was not afraid of their feelings because he knew that their hearts were capable of a pure and selfless response. Nothing in Jesus' life was coincidental. It is not a coincidence that, in his human form, Jesus was a man and, as such, a model not only of humanity but also of masculinity. The Rabbi of Nazareth's uncompromising teaching on marriage, his encounter with the woman caught in adultery, and his setting her free by pointing out male lust as a source of moral evil makes woman a subject protected by the law established by the Supreme Lawmaker: "But I say to you, everyone who looks at a woman with lust has already committed adultery with her in his heart" (Mt. 5:28). The problem of desire in man's relationship with woman is very important, and perhaps even crucial; for, as Pope John Paul II observes, "lust [...] changes the very intentionality of the woman's existence 'for' man. It reduces the riches of the perennial call to the communion of persons, the riches of the deep attractiveness of masculinity and femininity, to mere satisfaction of the sexual 'need' of the body."²¹

Until the Second Vatican Council, the idea of women's subordination to men was accepted in the culture in the teachings of the Church. As such, people did not fundamentally oppose it. Up until then, Scripture on this topic had been subject to false philosophical ideas that regarded women as the weaker sex and a simplistic methodology that did not distinguish between historical content and timeless theological meaning.

The Need to Update Biblical Interpretations

Theologians who seek to show how biblical texts are the *actual and living Word of God* acknowledge the need to know and understand the meaning of these texts more deeply. In some cases, this means that theologians must update the meaning of certain biblical texts. The Magisterium of the Church is of great help in this difficult task.

²¹ John Paul II, *The Redemption of the Body and the Sacrament of Marriage* (The Catholic Primer: 2006), 110. http://www.catholicprimer.org/papal/theology_of_the_body.pdf

To fully uncover God's mercy toward women, it is necessary to reflect on many biblical texts, especially Genesis 2-3 and St. Paul's writings.

Genesis 2-3

The writings of St. Pope John Paul II are an invaluable guide to understanding the Book of Genesis. Up to 23 of the 130 catecheses that Pope John Paul II gave during his Wednesday audiences from 1979 to 1984 pertain to the Book of Genesis. As this study follows in the footsteps of this great guide, it is necessary to explain two particular biblical passages:

1) "*The LORD God said: It is not good for the man to be alone. I will make a helper suited to him*" (Gen 2:18).

This is the beginning of the second account of creation, even though chronologically it is the first. With regard to this passage, Mary Healy, an American Bible scholar, comments: "We should note that *helper* in this verse (*ezer* in Hebrew) does *not* mean 'cook, laundress, and scullery-maid.' After all, it is God who is most often called our 'helper' (see, for instance, Exodus 18:4; Psalm 33:20). Rather, the helper the man needs is someone who can remind him of and help him to fulfill the deepest purpose of his life: that is, to *love*. In other words, the man needs the woman in order to be fully human, just as the woman needs the man."²²

Unfortunately, over the centuries, the help that God gives man has been understood instrumentally as a kind of service. In the biblical sense, however, "help" actually means support given to and even rescue of the whole person: his intellect, his heart, and his body. In this matter, which is essential to human life, one should not fall into the error of reductionism: "the woman must 'help' the man - and in turn he must help her - first of all by the very fact of their 'being human persons.'"²³ Imparting help (*ezer*) requires acceptance, or receptivity, which is openness to all relationships, even to God himself. John Paul II says: "The concept of 'help' also expresses this reciprocity in existence, which no other living being could have ensured."²⁴

God Himself, in the Person of Jesus Christ, did not hesitate to receive help from the woman whom he chose, Mary of Nazareth. As a true Mother, she not only cared for her Son, but also taught, raised, and admonished him.

²² M. Healy, *Men and Women are from Eden*, E-Book, Kindle (Ohio: Servant Books, 2005) 2008, 23.

²³ John Paul II, *Mulieris Dignitatem*, 7. Hereafter abbreviated *MD*.

²⁴ John Paul II, *Theology of the Body*, 39.

2) “*Yet your urge shall be for your husband, and he shall rule over you*” (Gen 3:16).

This curse of original sin that God Himself spoke has often been regarded as the norm for conjugal life, and not the result of sin. Consequently, women have been treated terribly, and heretofore the patriarchal model of the family has been the only one. This situation distorted the true image of Divine Mercy towards women and gave rise to legitimate protest. John Paul II, however, cautioned: “even the rightful opposition of women to what is expressed in the biblical words ‘He shall rule over you’ (Gen. 3:16) must not under any condition lead to the ‘masculinization’ of women.”²⁵

A Christocentric approach demands that one accept the reality of salvation as a norm that requires that a person overcome original sin and not strengthen it.²⁶

St. Paul’s Writings

The paraphrased texts of St. Paul the Apostle’s Letters cause people to be confused, doubtful, and suspicious of the Church. Many people think that the Church promotes inequality between men and women and a patriarchal model of marriage based on St. Paul’s words. The question arises whether one can reconcile Jesus’ merciful gaze with St. Paul’s strict command: “For the husband is head of his wife just as Christ is head of the church, he himself the savior of the body. As the church is subordinate to Christ, so wives should be subordinate to their husbands in everything” (Eph. 5:23-24) or with the prohibition: “I do not permit a woman to teach or to have authority over a man. She must be quiet”(1 Tim. 2:12).

Two parallel interpretations of St. Paul’s writings should be mentioned here. The first interpretation situates St. Paul’s teaching in the time in which it was written and, consequently, emphasizes his innovation and courage. For, St. Paul does acknowledge that men should respect women, pray with them, and give them high positions in the Church. Those who defend St. Paul point out that his command that husbands love their wives and be responsible for their wives’ spiritual development was something new for that time. In addition, St. Paul acknowledged the need for women to receive formation;²⁷ he indicated that women can remain virgins,²⁸ which was also something new in

²⁵ John Paul II, *MD*, 10.

²⁶ See A. Kostka, “Niepokalana–kobiecość na nowo pisana,” 44.

²⁷ See Titus 2:10-11.

²⁸ See 1 Corinthians 7:29, 31-35.

light of Jewish tradition; and he spoke about the value of spiritual motherhood.²⁹ The second interpretation emphasizes the Church's use of St. Paul's words in its doctrine and in its practical approach to women. In this sense, Emanuela Meyer, a representative of the intelligentsia during the inter-war period, notes: "The First Letter to the Corinthians became a bronze shield and a battering ram for all those who opposed the liberation of women and the healing of relations in this regard. And if arguments in this sad battle against woman are lacking, then deadliest bullet will be cast, and in this way, by literally quoting Scripture, men will find the protective shafts and walls behind which they can safely hide."³⁰

Mariology

Needless to say, there is a certain discrepancy between Jesus' teaching and St. Paul's teaching. On the one hand, interpreters should not fall into the error of ahistoricism, which omits the fact that the St. Paul's epistles were written to specific local communities in response to their problems two thousand years ago. Even though St. Paul's way of thinking was progressive at the time, he was still the product of the culture and time in which he lived; therefore, unlike Jesus who is God, St. Paul was unable to completely reject the social norms of his day. On the other hand, interpreters must also consider St. Paul's subjective situation: he was a zealot and a well-educated Jew. As such, he was familiar with Hellenic culture in which women, like Jewish women, had no personal rights but, unlike Jewish women, often led rather dissolute lifestyles. Therefore, in order for an Orthodox Jew like St. Paul to fully accept Jesus' radical teaching, it was undoubtedly necessary for him to undergo the very long and often difficult process of conversion. Therefore, the statement: "When Christ speaks of woman, he announces her redemption and deliverance; he brings peace. However, when Paul speaks, one clearly senses the influence of Moses' views," is justified.³¹

God's Mercy elevates and sees in woman a person who is equal to man not only politically but also familiarly. Rev. Jarosław Kupczak believes that "The argument that [husbands and wives] should mutually submit to each other makes it possible to properly understand the following version of the text: 'Wives should be subordinate to their husbands as to the Lord' (Eph. 5:22). The Pope opposes any interpretation of this text that suggests that women are less significant than

²⁹ See Galatians 2:20, 3:27, 4:19.

³⁰ P. Ketter, *Chrystus a kobiety*, 97.

³¹ *Ibid*, 19.

men.”³² In this sense, St. John Paul II wrote: “The apostolic letters are addressed to people living in an environment marked by that same traditional way of thinking and acting. The ‘innovation’ of Christ is a fact: it constitutes the unambiguous content of the evangelical message and is the result of the Redemption. However, the awareness that in marriage there is mutual ‘subjection of the spouses out of reverence for Christ,’ and not just that of the wife to the husband, must gradually establish itself in hearts, consciences, behavior and customs. This is a call which from that time onwards, does not cease to challenge succeeding generations; it is a call which people have to accept ever anew.”³³ If the Church presented a unified interpretation of St. Paul’s writings on marriage and the mutual relationship between a husband and wife in marriage, then this could help prevent not only individual errors but also misinterpretations of the biblical message on marriage and the family. The world needs to clearly hear that God was the first to fully appreciate and love women, and the history of Salvation unequivocally confirms this truth.

Women as Instruments of Divine Mercy Towards the World

When expressing his concern for the Samaritan woman at Jacob’s well; helping the woman caught in adultery or St. Peter’s mother-in-law; and showing his love, friendship, and respect for Martha and Mary, Jesus included women among his followers and, therefore, became the first and most important person to promote an appreciation of women in the world. The God-Man included women in His mission to bring mercy to the world—a Divine Mercy that took on the face of Jesus and Mary.

Women’s predispositions to reveal and realize Divine Mercy arise from their very nature, not in terms of their genetic code, but in terms of their special sensitivity to persons which Pope John Paul II calls the “feminine genius” and of their call to motherhood.

Motherhood

Since they are co-responsible for humanity, mothers are instruments of Divine Mercy and a challenge to the world. Motherhood distinctly

³² J. Kupczak, *Dar i komunja: Teologia ciała w ujęciu Jana Pawła II* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Znak, 2006), 134.

³³ John Paul II, *MD*, 24.

shows how Divine Mercy is relational; for, God, in his Mercy, cooperates with—and does not replace—man in bringing new people to life. God loves, but He does not replace parental love. Although motherhood is always valuable because it is the manifestation of a woman's cooperation in the creation of new souls that will exist for all eternity, motherhood does not find fulfillment only physically but also spiritually. The Mother of Christ is the perfect example of physical and spiritual motherhood that, as St. John Paul II pointed out, manifests itself in “Mary’s solicitude for human beings, her coming to them in the wide variety of their wants and needs.”³⁴

At the same time, the Holy Father emphasized the “deep understanding” that exists between Jesus and Mary as well as the “mystery of their intimate spiritual union.”³⁵ The pro-life position should not only oppose abortion but also social and familial systems that harass, incriminate, and destroy parents’ good relationships with their children. In every case, even the most difficult, the path of motherhood is one of mercy. For, motherhood is the school through which children learn about God’s love and his closeness to each person, especially during the earliest stages of their lives when they are completely helpless and dependent on the merciful love of another. In order to be fully implemented and realized in a spiritual sense, motherhood requires the necessary spiritual means and help. This, therefore, is a call to priests to offer convenient Mass options, such as at 7:00 or 8:00 AM or 6:00 PM, for mothers with young children (and without the help of relatives or friends) who cannot attend Mass; to offer childcare (many youth groups can help in this area) so that mothers with young children can go to the Sacrament of Confession; to provide spiritual guidance to help mothers face, cope with, and even overcome the difficulties of motherhood; and to bless mothers and their babies in utero in order to emphasize the value of human life, to point out importance of birth, and to provide real help and grace during the difficulties and dangers of giving birth. In addition, many mothers struggle with loneliness. In a time when computers dominate social interaction, many mothers feel isolated because they spend months and even years just with their children without very much adult interaction. Therefore, social groups and other forms of support are necessary for women to receive a much-needed break. Like the women of the Bible, women who have been shown mercy will most often be the instruments of mercy in the world.

³⁴ John Paul II, *RM*, 21.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

The Feminine Genius

The feminine genius is the aspect of the feminine nature that is particularly close to Divine Mercy. More specifically, it is the particular sensitivity of a woman that Pope John Paul II defined as her “moral and spiritual strength” that arises from a “[woman’s] awareness that *God entrusts the human being to her in a special way.*”³⁶

Women run countless nurseries, kindergartens, orphanages, hospices, hospitals, and centers for people with a variety of disabilities. Mostly women, who are committed to Jesus and his work, perform these acts of mercy toward the world. It is here that man’s noble capacity for selfless service is realized. In this sense, John Paul II taught: “In transforming culture so that it supports life, women occupy a place, in thought and action, which is unique and decisive. It depends on them to promote a ‘new feminism’ which rejects the temptation of imitating models of ‘male domination,’ in order to acknowledge and affirm the true genius of women in every aspect of the life of society, and overcome all discrimination, violence and exploitation.”³⁷

Equally committed and greatly effective, women have a place in the organization of project management and institutions. The feminine style of leadership is invaluable in the mission and work of transforming culture. The founder of the Schoenstatt Apostolic Movement, Joseph Kentenich, saw that the predisposition of the heart in the feminine style of leadership was indispensable; for, women communicate with and nurture all members of an organization or team. In contrast to the feminine style of leadership, we often see a more militarized, masculine style³⁸ that is considered less effective even from the perspective of modern management techniques. Feminine leadership was and is often still lacking in both society and the Church. The presence of women in these areas contributes to a greater humanization of the world. Promoting women in the Church’s structures and institutions requires not only the example of Jesus, the Supreme Summit, but also common sense. In fact, during the past 25 years that Catholic radio has existed in Poland, no woman has been the head of any of the country’s approximately 30 Catholic radio stations. Only one Curia in Płock has a female spokesperson. It is rare to find a woman on any of the Polish Episcopate’s committees, councils, or teams. If a woman is

³⁶ John Paul II, *MD*, 30.

³⁷ John Paul II, *Evangelium Vitae*, 99.

³⁸ See A. Kostka, *Rozkwitnąć pełnią barw*, 158-159.

present, then she is typically only there as an advisor.³⁹ However, more and more structures, organizations, and institutions in the Church are becoming open to change. From year to year, women have greater access to councils and commissions. These changes are occurring in a way proper to the Church: very slowly but increasingly more visibly.

Conclusion

This article demonstrates that woman, as one who shows God's Divine Mercy to the world, has an honorable and unique place in God's plan. In order to help modern man imitate Christ more faithfully, it is necessary for theologians to update interpretations of certain biblical texts as well as the field of Mariology. Christ through Mary indicates the spiritual task of women. St. John Paul II said that the figure of Mary testifies to the great respect that God has for women—that "it gives men and women the opportunity to discover dimensions of their fate that they have not yet perceived."⁴⁰

As we see in the biblical passage about the wedding in Cana, Mary is active and supportive. As such, she stands as a challenge to the modern world, especially to Christians, by whom the paradigm of the relationship to the world is revealed. Mary, therefore, can change this world; she is the principle on which we base our understanding of the meaning and purpose of our references to God and men. In this context, we can say that Mary is a distinct and unique sign of Divine Mercy towards women and the world. And how we interpret and accept this sign depends on the credibility of the Christian kerygma.

MARYJA JAKO ZNAK BOŻEGO MIŁOSIĘRDZIA WOBEC KOBIET I ŚWIATA

Artykuł ukazuje, że w planie Bożego Miłosierdzia Maryja odgrywa jedyną i niepowtarzalną rolę jako Matka Chrystusa. Jednocześnie jest Ona znakiem miłosierdzia Boga wobec wszystkich kobiet i całego świata. W znaku Maryi można bowiem dostrzec podobieństwo do innych kobiet, tak że względu na płęć jak i na postawę Jezusa wobec napotkanych niewiast. Postawa ta jest na tyle jednoznaczna, że pozwala mówić o szczególnym doświadczeniu Bożego Miłosierdzia przez kobiety i o specyficznym powołaniu kobiet w świecie.

³⁹ See P. Ciompa, "Siostry mniejsze, bracia więksi?" in *"Fronda" w Sieci* 5 (2016): 65. (05.2016).

⁴⁰ John Paul II, *Theology of the Body*, s. 271.

Poszczególne rozdziały mówią o Maryi jako o znaku Bożego Miłosierdzia, o Bożym Miłosierdziu wobec kobiet oraz o kobiecie jako niosącej Boże Miłosierdzie wobec świata.

Słowa kluczowe: Maryja, Matka Boga, Boże Miłosierdzie, Wcielenie, macierzyństwo, geniusz kobiecy, egzegeza biblijna.

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Appointing Canonical Prebendaries in the Vilnius Cathedral Chapter During the 14th-18th Centuries

The diocesan bishop enjoyed the right to fill cathedral chapter stalls and bestow patronages and benefices in medieval Western Europe, including in the Kingdom of Poland. However, a different practice developed in Lithuania in the Diocese of Vilnius, which was established in 1388. The King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Władysław II Jagiełło, founded the first Vilnius chapter when the Diocese of Vilnius was created. This chapter began with two prelates and ten canonical prebendaries. The next two prelatures: the custody (established before 1397) and the archdeacon (established in 1435) as well as the two canons, which were established in the early 16th century, were also grand-ducal or royal foundations. The king received and sustained these beneficiaries *ius patronatus*. The last two prelatures, cantoria and scholasteria, which Bishop Jan z Książąt Litewskich created, remained part of the bishops' patronage right from 1561 onward. The patronage right in the Vilnius chapter was established in the second half of the 16th century, when, in 1588, King Sigismund Augustus II gave the chapter the right to present candidates for the deanery. Compared to the cathedral chapters under the Polish crown, the diocesan bishop's influence in filling the seats in the Vilnius chapter was definitely more modest, and even minimal, as it pertained to only two prelatures. The monarch, who could nominate up to three prelatures and all twelve canons, had incomparably greater rights. The bishop was vested *ius patronatus* with only two prelatures, and the chapter was vested with only one prelatore. Once the chapter canon coadjutors appeared *cum futura successione* in the Vilnius capitular college, the Holy See was able to exercise a certain influence over filling the Vilnius chapter. A priest who was nominated as a canon coadjutor

had to legitimize his appointment by presenting a papal bull that indicated his right of succession. This state of affairs lasted until the end of the 18th century.

Key words: Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Vilnius, Diocese of Vilnius, cathedral, cathedral chapter, prelate, canon, coadjutor, patron, *ius patronatus*, prebendary.

The Patronage of Prebendaries in the Cathedral Chapters in the Middle Ages

During the 10th and 11th centuries, the first Polish chapters were initially created when bishoprics were formed. Until the 13th century, these chapters based their legal system on the western model, thereby gaining financial independence and strengthening their positions in the dioceses. The cathedral chapters, however, were not diocesan offices, but rather groups intended primarily to minister in the cathedral church. The chapters' secondary role was to support the bishop in managing the diocese. Nevertheless, with time, they were able to exercise *de facto* authority over church administration, mainly by accepting or rejecting the bishop's decisions, particularly with regard to the land given to him by the king. By the 12th and 13th centuries, the chapter had become an autonomous corporation with legal status, its own statutes, and benefice. The chapter also chose the bishops and capitulars when *sede vacante*. When the church judiciary was developed, the chapters presented candidates as episcopal vicars *in spiritualibus* and general officials. As the capitular prerogatives increased, the bishop ability to exercise authority within the diocese decreased. In response to this situation, the Council of Trent devised resolutions that limited the role of chapters by giving bishops the right to inspect cathedral churches, to reform and impose criminal sanctions on chapters, and to exercise jurisdiction over chapters as corporations and individual members. While these resolutions weakened the role and authority of capitular corporations, they nevertheless still had a particular role in managing the diocese and, therefore, remained something with which the bishop had to deal.¹ In this way, the matter of cathedral chapters appointing prebendaries was still a valid but sensitive issue.

¹ G. Duby, "Les chanoines réguliers et la vie économique des XI et XII siècles," *La vita comune del clero nei sec. XI e XII*, vol. 2 (Milan: 1962), 72-81; J. Szymański, "Problèmes de la 'vita canonica' dans la Pologne des XII et XIII siècles," *Aevum*, 38 (1964), 468-478.

Within the universal Church, diocesan bishops freely appointed prelates and canons until the 14th century, after which papal reservations decreased their monopoly on matters pertaining to the Holy See. In the 15th century, ecclesiastical authorities finally decided that bishops would appoint canons if seats became vacant during even months (February, April, June, etc.), while the Pope would make appointments during odd months (January, March, May, etc.). As with other ecclesiastical beneficiaries, the initiative to appoint chapter prebendaries came from the patron of a given canon, and this came to be known as the so-called “present.”

The oldest source that provides information regarding the appointment of Polish chapters is Pope Innocent III’s bull, *Cum turpis*, which was issued in 1207. Within this document, Pope Innocent III rebuked Prince Władysław Laskonogi for filling the stall in the Gniezno Chapter. He stated that, “according to the whole province’s [of Gniezno] general practice, the right to grant prebendaries belongs to local bishops.”² Hence, from the time chapters of canons began in Poland, bishops had the right to appoint canonical prebendaries.

Correspondence with the Holy See confirms that bishops’ appointed canonical prebendaries in the Diocese of Cracow. Specifically, the bishop of Cracow, as the head of the canonical corporation at the time, had been appointing prebendaries in the Cracow chapter without its consent.³ In the 15th century, the Holy See granted monarchs patronage rights over some of its prebendaries. In the second half of the 18th century, the royal *ius patronatus* extended to the deanery, provost, and one canon. In the case of the Cracow chapter, this consisted of thirty-six prebendaries, over which the royal court had no particular influence.⁴

In the Middle Ages, it was clear that canonical corporations within the majority of the oldest royal chapters strove to collaborate with the bishop in conferring capitular honors. In the Diocese of Płock, for example, the bishop had to present the candidates for all prelates and canons, but he had to do so *capituli consensu et consilio accedente*.⁵ In the Włocławek chapter, the diocesan bishop filled all capitular stalls.

² I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa and S. Kuraś, eds., *Bullarium Poloniae*, vol. 1, no. 59 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1982).

³ Ibid, vol. 1, no. 1912; and S. Zachorowski, *Rozwój i ustrój kapituł polskich w wiekach średnich* (Cracow: Akademia Umiejetnosci, 1912), 95-96.

⁴ T. Wierzbowski, ed. *Matriculum Regni Poloniae Summaria*, par. 3, no. 2383 (Warsaw: Typis Officinae C. Kowaleski, 1905); *Bullarium Poloniae*, vol. 4, no. 2235.

⁵ W. Góralski, *Kapituła katedralna w Płocku XII-XVI w. Studium z dziejów organizacji prawnej kapituł polskich* (Lublin: Płockie Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne, 1978), 121; and A. Radziwiński, *Duchowieństwo kapituł katedralnych w Polsce*

The only appointment he did not regularly make was that of prelate of the archdeacon of Pomerania; this appointment was made alternately with the chapter (*per turnum*).⁶ Within the Poznań chapter, it is likely that the right to present the three canonical prebendaries was transferred from the bishop to the provost at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries.⁷ With regard to the appointment of capitular prebendaries on royal lands, there are also examples of the so-called *collationes simultaneae*, which essentially means that a compromise had been made and a legal formula established such that the bishop and chapter alternately presented candidates for the prebendaries. The dioceses of Cracow, Włocławek, and Lubuskie provide the few but distinct examples of this practice.⁸

From the 13th century onwards, the Holy See influenced the designation of the chapters in Poland. In this regard, the Licet Constitution of 1265 was crucial; for, as a result of this constitution, Pope Clement IV reserved for the Holy See the right to fill the vacancies of all offices lower than that of bishop in the Roman Curia. Successive popes, including Boniface VIII and John XXII extended the legal scope of this constitution. As a result the right of papal commission expanded during the 8th century. In Cracow, the papal commission appointed the canonical prebendary for the first time in 1264, when Pope Urban IV granted the first *expectativa*.⁹ From then on, the reservations, *expectativa*, and provisions given by popes to Polish beneficiaries increased.

XIV i XV w. na tle porównawczym. Studium nad rekrutacją i drogami awansu (Torun: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1995), 174-175.

⁶ J. Fijałek, "O archidiaconach pomorskich i urzędnikach biskupich w archidiaconacie pomorskim diecezji włocławskiej w XII-XV w.," *Roczniki TNT*, 6 (1899), 131, 146; S. Librowski, *Kapituła katedralna włocławska. Zarys dziejów i organizacji* (Warsaw: 1949), 35-36.

⁷ A. Radziwiński, *Duchowieństwo kapituł katedralnych*, 176.

⁸ B. Ulanowski, ed., "Formulae ad ius spectantes ex acti Petri Wysz, episcopi cracoviensis (1392-1412) maxima parte depromptae," *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej Akademii Umiejętności* 5 (1889), 317; "Trzydzieści osiem niedrukowanych oryginałów pergaminowych Archiwum Diecezjalnego we Włocławku z pierwszej połowy XV wieku," *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, vol. 56, no. 7 (1988); W. Góralski, *Kapituła katedralna w Płocku*, 116; A. Weiss, *Organizacja diecezji lubuskiej w średniowieczu* (Lublin: Rozprawy Wydziału Teologiczno-Kanonicznego, KUL, 1977), 114, antn., 183 i 184; A. Radziwiński, *Duchowieństwo kapituł katedralnych*, 177.

⁹ E. Długopolski, ed., *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 3, no. 98 (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Komisji Historycznej Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie, 1914), 56-57.

The Patronage Right of the Prebendary Canons of the Vilnius Cathedral Chapter

In this context, the Vilnius Cathedral Chapter found itself in a unique situation. What Cracow was for the Polish king, so too was Vilnius for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Both cities were centers of authority—both royal and grand ducal. It is not surprising, then, that, in its organization and structure, the metropolitan chapter of Vilnius modeled itself after the chapter in Cracow, with a few exceptions—namely, the Vilnius chapter followed the practice of filling the capitular prebendaries. The reason for this difference can be found in the influential role that the Polish monarchs and Grand Dukes of Lithuania played in the Christianization of Lithuania, especially with regard to organizing the Catholic Church their own lands. The Vilnius chapter was established at the same time as the Diocese of Vilnius. At that time, the King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Władysław II Jagiełło, appointed two prelates and ten canon prebendaries. The next two prelate prebendaries: the *custodia*, who was appointed 1397, and the archdeacon, who was appointed in 1435, and two canon prebendaries, which were founded in the early 16th century, were also grand ducal or royal foundations. The king received and sustained *ius patronatus* these beneficiaries. The last two prelates—the *cantoria* and *scholasteria* prebendaries—were created based on Bishop Jan z Książąt Litewskich's income and initially presented by the marshal of his court "whoever he was, if only a Catholic orthodox." From 1561 onward, they remained under the bishop's patronage. Patronage rights in the Vilnius chapter were finally established in the second half of the 16th century, when King Sigismund II Augustus gave the chapter the right to present candidates for deanery in 1558. Compared to the cathedral chapters under the Polish crown, the diocesan bishop's influence in filling the seats in the Vilnius chapter was definitely more modest, and even minimal, as it pertained to only two prelatures. The monarch, who nominated up to three prelatures (50%) and all twelve canons (100%), had incomparably greater rights, which he ceded to the leader of the diocese. For example, in 1501, Prince Alexander gave Bishop Tabor the right to present the four lowest-ranking canons, but only during his administration of the diocese.¹⁰ By virtue of the law, the bishop had *ius patronatus* the right to appoint only prelate prebendaries (33%). The chapter was able to present only one prelate (17%).

¹⁰ J. Ochmański, *Biskupstwo wileńskie w średniowieczu. Ustrój i uposażenie* (Poznan: UAM, 1972), 26.

Once the chapter canon coadjutors appeared *cum futura successione* in the Vilnius capitular college, the Holy See was able to exercise a certain influence over filling the Vilnius chapter. A priest who was nominated as a canon coadjutor *expectativa* had to legitimize his appointment by presenting a papal bull that indicated his right of succession. The cathedral chapter of Vilnius did not see the need to introduce canon of coadjutors to its ranks until the 17th century. This did not mean, however, that all of its existing members enjoyed perfect health or did not need the support of coadjutors throughout this time. Rather, the reason that officials were not interested in receiving help from “supporting” canons regarding the law of succession is probably because they were reluctant to share their benefits with them. In addition, the chapter was also probably reluctant to have the canon coadjutors interfere in their personal issues, since they did not like the idea of someone from the outside who had patronage rights presenting and appointing titles and positions. The monarch was nominated for most of the capitular faculties in Vilnius, and he did not wish to share this right with anyone, including the Holy See.

It was not until the end of 1618 that the Vilnius cathedral chapter decided to admit canons into their group *cum futura successione* for the first time. At that time, the canon priest, Paweł Górnicki, who wanted to resign from his position, requested a coadjutor. On December 28, 1618, his nephew, Father Łukasz Górnicki, joined the chapter.¹¹ The capitular documents do not speak extensively about this nomination; therefore, it is only known that as a coadjutor he had the right (should a coadjutor not be present) to occupy the last stall in the choir, to vote at the chapter sessions, and to be paid by his uncle.¹² One can guess that, through his decision to give up the canonship, Canon Górnicki secured the title for his family member. After his actual resignation on April 10, 1619, his relative was installed as the current canon.¹³ Despite this precedent, the chapter was not enthusiastic about this manner of filling its stalls and, as a result, the topic of the canon coadjutors with the right to succeed ceased to bother the heads of the chapter members of the college for more than thirty years. Bishop Jerzy Tyszkiewicz re-introduced the issue, however, in 1664. Facing the threat of the Moscow invasion, he turned to the chapter with the recommendation that its

¹¹ Biblioteka Litewskiej Akademii Nauk – manuscript department, hereafter abbreviated as BLAN); fond 43, no. 216 (hereafter abbreviated as f.43-216); *Acta capituli vilnensis* (hereafter abbreviated as ACV); vol. 8 (1602-1624), k. 354-354v.

¹² Ibid, k. 354 v.

¹³ Ibid, k. 361.

members welcome coadjutors with the right of succession. In the points that he passed on to the chapter on October 12, 1654 for the purpose of Autumn General Session, he explained that such activities would secure the chapter's ability to continue operating in the near future. However, the chapter did not express a particular interest in this matter, and it was postponed until the following general session.¹⁴ Yet, as the bishop predicted, the chapter's college officiated *in hostiche* in a group of only four members in Braszewicz from February 3-6, 1656.¹⁵ No one thought it necessary to address the issue that the bishop had raised a year and half earlier. Therefore, the matter was inevitably put off *ad acta*, such that it took the chapter one hundred years to remember about instituting a canon coadjutor. In 1766, the chapter itself returned to this issue when Prelate Cantor Adam Kołłątaj, who was advanced in age and ailing, desired to become deputy of the choir and succeed the priest Antoni Zawadzki.¹⁶ From then on until the end of the 18th century the coadjutors became permanent members of the Vilnius cathedral chapter. In 1783, the prelates had coadjutors *cum futura successione*: a provost, dean, and cantor, and six of the twelve canons. Ten years later, however, the prelates had not only coadjutors, but also: an archdeacon, *scholasteria*, and barely four canons.

Conditions for Obtaining a Prebend

Presentation and nomination

Vacant stalls could be filled after the death, resignation, or promotion of an existing member of the chapter only by—as the chapter statutes and privileges state—a “moral and learned” priest. Before he was admitted to the ranks of the chapter, the ordained man had to be presented by the one had the right to do so (the monarch, the bishop, the chapter, and—in rare cases—the Holy See—*littera provisionis*).¹⁷ The candidate had to present the right of presentation to the ordinary bishop, who then officially nominated the individual, appointed a jury to examine the candidate's suitability, and issued a *litteram cridae*,

¹⁴ BLAN, f.43-221, ACV, vol. 13 (1652-1663), k. 178-179.

¹⁵ Ibid, k. 200.

¹⁶ BLAN, f.43-236, ACV, vol. 28 (1753-1766), pgs. 454, 460-461, 463.

¹⁷ BLAN, f.43-154, Sprawozdanie Kapituły Wileńskiej do Rzymskokatolickiego Kolegium w Petersburgu, [The Vilnius Chapter's Report to the Roman Catholic College in St. Petersburg] April 10, 1819, pg. 1, par. 3.

meaning a letter that was usually affixed to the main door of the cathedral, which allowed the faithful to become familiar with the nominee's profile and notify the jury of any legal objections, including whether the individual was in the process of being tried, had received a court order, or if he had any duties that could be transferred to the chapter and with which the nominee could accuse the chapter of defamation.¹⁸ If no objections were brought forward, then the nominee received episcopal investiture and the case was referred to the chapter. The income of the members of the Vilnius chapter was so attractive, and the prestige affiliated with its membership was so great, that sometimes several candidates from a given family would apply to be admitted to its stalls when they anticipated a quick vacancy, but none of them met the criteria for canonical corporation. There were also cases when two or more candidates took advantage of family connections, were supported financially, and, thereby, were successfully presented for a vacant canon. This problem occurred throughout the entire 18th century. In this regard, at the request of Bishop Ignacy Jakub Massalski, King August Sas III issued an act in 1763 that promised that the Vilnius canon would not introduce clerics who have not been recommended by the ordinary bishop. In turn, in accordance with the agreement, the bishop committed to recommending only those candidates whose suitability would be confirmed in agreement with the chapter. The chapter college also promised not to accept the capitulars from among those who obtained the privilege to be presented by deception (*ad false narrata*) and without the bishop's knowledge. King Stanisław August Poniatowski confirmed this act three years later.¹⁹

After identifying or ruling out any obstacles, the case of filling the vacant stall was passed on to the chapter, which scrupulously examined the documents and files presented by the candidate and officially confirmed their authenticity during the next general session. The cleric who had been presented had to identify himself by providing a verified biography that demonstrated his usefulness, abilities, education in the field of theology or canon law, previous achievements in the diocese, and (when applicable) his positive activities within the state-public domain. He also had to submit evidence proving that he was from the nobility, including the coat of arms of five generations on both side of

¹⁸ BLAN, f.43-217, ACV, vol. 9 (1625-1632), k. 134; BLAN, f.43-218, ACV vol. 10-11 (1632-1643), k. 83-84v., pg. 89; BLAN, f.43-232, vol. 24 (1727-1731), k. 117v.

¹⁹ BLAN, f.43-236, ACV, vol. 28 (1753-1766), pgs. 371, 479.

his family, as well as the testimony of at least two credible witnesses from the nobility.²⁰

Social Status and Education

At the beginning of the Vilnius chapter, its legal acts did not contain any stipulations concerning the social status and education of its canons and prelates. In addition, the statutes of 1515 and 1584 did not include any stipulations, even though most of the royal chapters accepted only members of the nobility and, in limited numbers, only plebeians who had doctorate or masters degrees.²¹ Bishop Jerzy Tyszkiewicz suggested this practice in 1650 as a positive response to one of the points made to him: “that candidates for the prelature and canons would not be admitted to the chapter until, just like the Cracow chapter, they proved their nobility through the testimony of the least two credible nobles or at the academy where they received a theology or law degree.”²²

After analyzing the sources of information, it is difficult to determine how educated plebeians were ranked in the stalls of the Vilnius chapter. One can only speculate that there were not many of them, only because the local bourgeoisie, whose representatives could, for example, obtain scientific degrees due to their social and financial status, held so little power in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania that they did not pose much competition for the nobility. There were not large numbers of bourgeoisie sharing the same nationality. A high percentage of them were foreigners who were also considered to be born under the Crown. Therefore, it was extremely difficult for them to attain honors and offices both in the church and in the secular society of Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Peasants had an even smaller chance of obtaining church prebendaries in the greatly stratified society. However, there were cases where educated plebeians were granted a place in the chapter, as highlighted in one of the points of agreement that the chapter presented to the bishop’s nominee Michał Stefan Pac in 1676. According to this point, the chapter asks that no plebeians be introduced to the chapter, even if they have academic degrees, because “there is no

²⁰ BLAN, f.43-260, ACV, vol. 50 (1819-1822), k. 33-44.

²¹ The earlier publications of this author have confirmed this thesis concerning the origin, recruitment, and promotion of the clergy of cathedral chapters in Poland. See mentioned A. Radziwiński, *Duchowieństwo kapituł katedralnych*, 91-98.

²² BLAN, f.43-220, ACV, vol. 12 (1644-1652), 825-826.

reason for such individuals.”²³ These words prove that no locally applicable ecclesial legal premises would prevent the clergy from seeking what the nobility also sought: a seat in the capitular stalls.²⁴

The chapter diligently analyzed the documents submitted by the nominee. If the chapter saw no objections, and if they agreed by majority vote, then the candidate was admitted to the group. If the documentation was questionable or the chapter did not believe that the candidate was suitable, then the chapter would either disqualify the nominee as a future member, or, more frequently, recommend that the nominee provide the information that was the missing in the files that he submitted.²⁵

Nationality and Age

Over the years, the candidate's nationality, which meant his place of origin, determined his admission to the chapter.²⁶ In this case, only a Lithuanian or an individual born within the borders of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (which, in practice, is equivalent to the territory of the Dioceses of Vilnius, of Samogitia, and later also of Smolensk and Livonia Polska) could belong to the cathedral chapter in Vilnius. From the beginning of its existence until the second half of the 16th century, the Vilnius cathedral chapter was not really noticed due to the fact that, practically speaking, there really were no clergymen who came “from Lithuania” and fulfilled the remaining conditions. Moreover, the Polonized Vilnius chapter was reluctant to notice the locals seeking a vacancy at the stalls. As a result, in 1570, there was only one Lithu-

²³ BLAN, f.43-225, ACV, vol. 17 (1683-1681), 292-293.

²⁴ It was not until the beginning of the 19th century that royal privileges and resolutions of the Polish Sejm began to be referred to *expressis verbis*. On April 13, 1819, the constitution of King Sigismund I, which was issued in Cracow in 1510, was consulted. Since the monarch did not like that plebeians were receiving church appointments, he promised in his constitutions that he would not to appoint them to these positions. They also referred to the Sejm's constitution of 1633 and the fact that it upheld that church positions should not be given to “simple people,” which was subsequently confirmed in 1636. The documentation was supplemented with a reference to the constitution of 1768, thereby ensuring in point 11 that church appointments could only be bestowed on the nobility. See BLAN, f.43-260, ACV, vol. 50 (1819-1822), k. 35-39 v.

²⁵ Ibid; A. Lipnicki, *Historia Wileńskiego Katedralnego Kościoła*, b.m. 1888 [MS in Bibliotece Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie – sygn. 1232)], k. 117-120; J. Kurczewski, *Biskupstwo wileńskie od jego założenia aż do dni obecnych* (Vilnius: 1912), 124-125, antn. 2.

²⁶ J. Ochmański, *Biskupstwo wileńskie w średniowieczu*, pgs. 14, 49.

anian among the group of prelates and canons, who came from royal lands or were foreigners. This situation began to slowly change after the Council of Trent, which emphasized that the members of chapters should be required to come from the local dioceses. At this time, the people had to face the serious reality of Union of Lublin, which had taken shape. The Lithuanians began to insist that they secure secular and church offices only in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.²⁷ Based on the files from the chapter office, it is clear that the nobles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania became more and more vigilant in defending their offices and titles against the aspirations of candidates under the leadership of the Crown.

Neither the statutes nor any other legal acts referring to the Vilnius chapter contain any information regarding a candidate's required age. At that time, Roman Catholic Church law stipulated that a man could be accepted to receive the tonsure at age fourteen, which was also the age at which a church benefice could be granted. In order to obtain all of the entitlements due to a canon, particularly the right to vote at chapter sessions, it was necessary to be ordained a subdeacon, which was possible only after a person reached the age of twenty-one.²⁸ However, in the acts of the Vilnius chapter, especially those written during the 16th century, there was no information that could confirm the law regarding age. The Diocese of Vilnius' gradual acceptance of the Council of Trent's resolutions seemed to regularize the issue and, according to the conciliar provisions "no one (especially those to whom the directing of souls is assigned) will be raised to a certain dignity unless he has reached the age of at least twenty-five years, be ordained, and have the appropriate education and customs necessary for such a title."²⁹ Although many references mention that chapter members were temporarily relieved of their duties within the chapter in order to further their education,³⁰ the documents do not state that anyone was refused admission into the chapter on the grounds of age or not being ordained. It is possible to conclude only that all members of the

²⁷ "Summaryjny wypis z protokołów Kapituły Katedralnej Wileńskiej od r. 1501 do r. 1783 Października 22, przez i. w. Xawierego Bohusza, Prałata Kantora Katedry Wileńskiej uczyniony," *Opisanie rękopisnego oddzielenia Wileńskiej Publicznej Biblioteki*, 1st Edition (Vilnius: 1895), 132-133.

²⁸ A. Radziwiński, *Duchowieństwo kapituł katedralnych*, pgs. 82-89.

²⁹ Tridentinum, Sesio IV: *De reformatione*, cap. XII.

³⁰ BLAN, f.43-212, ACV, vol. 4 (1561-1570), k. 35; f. 43-215, ACV, vol. 7 (1586-1601), k. 111; f.43-222, ACV, vol. 14 (1663-1666), k. 40; f.43-223, vol. 15 (1667-1672), k. 60, pg. 150; f.43-232, ACV, vol. 24 (1727-1731), k. 4; f.43-234, ACV, vol. 26 (1739-1744), pg. 397; f.43-236, ACV, vol. 28 (1753-1766), pgs. 118, 279.

capitular college were (*in sacris ordinis constituti*) in the 18th century. It is not clear, however, whether any among them were ordained to the presbyterate.³¹

Installation

After all of the documentation was received, and finding none of the obstacles described in the canonical statutes, the chapter permitted the installation ceremony to take place. According to this ceremony, the canon nominee was introduced to the cathedral and given his stall and altar in the choir. Only general references to the rite of the installation are preserved in the acts of the Vilnius chapter; consequently, there are no detailed descriptions of the introduction, which makes it possible to assume that the introduction did not differ from the formula that was used universally in the Catholic Church. A document from 1524 speaks about a cleric of lower orders, Andrzej Nadbor, who sought to fill a stall in the Vilnius cathedral that had been previously held by the deceased canon, Bishop Jan Filipowicz from Kiev. After the candidate had provided the chapter with the required documents, which were confirmed by the Bishop of Vilnius, Jan z Książąt Litewskich, and authenticated by the public notary, he was immediately presented by the chapter on the following day, when he asked for admission to the group of canons and, subsequently given the prebendary. After considering the submitted files and confirming their authenticity, “all members [of the chapter] immediately left and went to the church gate on the right, he was received as a confrere by being introduced before the high altar wearing an alb. He made his formal oath before the notary and acts and was then appointed the seat in the sixth stall of the choir on the left side of the treasury and, likewise, the last place by the door between the chapter canons.”³² In this context, it is worth pointing out the essential elements of the act of installation, their sequence, and their order. Until the second half of the 17th century, the ordinary bishop, his suffragan, or a member of the capitular college led the installation. Beginning in 1680, in accordance with the chapter’s decision, one of the prelates could lead.³³ Soon, this function was only entrusted to the bishop or

³¹ T. Kasabuła, *Ignacy Massalski biskup wileński* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 1998), 297-299, tab. 4-9.

³² The National Museum in Cracow - Czartoryski Library, sygn. 3516, Aktów, czyli dziejów kapituły wileńskiej katedralnej z siedmiu pierwszych tomów od 1501 do 1600 roku przez M. Herburta (...) krótko zebranych.

³³ BLAN, f.43-225, ACV, vol. 17 (1673-1681), pg. 1046.

prelate dean, who would lead the installation in the presence of the ordinary majority of the chapter members. The person who led the installation solemnly brought the candidate for the chapter stall into to the cathedral. In the choir, he would recite the psalm, verses, and orations over the kneeling candidate. Next, the nominee made a profession of faith before the leader, and he pronounced the oaths according to the statues, in which he promised obedience to the bishop; loyalty to the church in Vilnius; respect for the Church's laws, traditions, and customs; observance of capitular statues, especially those regarding the capitular secret; agreeable cohabitation with his confreres; care of the property entrusted to his care; and the obligation to reclaim them. After these acts, the new canon and his introducer exchanged the kiss of peace. The capitular notary then read the investiture document, and the canon declared in a loud voice to assume the stall, the role of prebendary, and the canonical altar, after which the notary prepared an appropriate notarial deed. The rite of the installation ended with the singing of the *Te Deum*.³⁴

Initially, the act of the installation could only take place during the general chapter meeting, which was held only twice a year. Beginning in the 17th century, a change was implemented and a candidate could be installed based on power of attorney outside of these meetings by a dispensation given by the chapter to a delegated deputy.³⁵ This agreement allowed the new chapter member to take advantage of his capitular privileges, including the profits from refectory goods. However, it also entailed the danger that the individual would lose precedence with regard to the canon who personally installed him.³⁶

After the rite of installation, the newly created canon entered into in a five-month long novitiate (*annus carentiae*), during which time he participated in choir prayers and served in the cathedral without any compensation. The financial compensation for this period was added to his income for the whole quarter (*annus gratiae*) and provided after his death either as a gift to his heirs or as payment for his debts or funeral.³⁷ In practice, depending on the circumstances, the beginning of the novitiate was often shortened and even dispensed of beginning

³⁴ BLAN, f.43-157, Nota przywilejów w aktach kapitulnych znajdujących się, 1819, k. 1; A. Lipnicki, *Historia Wileńskiego Katedralnego Kościoła*, k. 120.

³⁵ BLAN, f.43-227, ACV, vol. 19 (1685-1698), pg. 56.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ BLAN, f.43-154, Sprawozdanie Kapituły Wileńskiej do Rzymskokatolickiego Kolegium w Petersburgu, 10 IV 1819, p. 1, par 3; J. Kurczewski, *Biskupstwo wileńskie*, 107-108.

in the 17th century. Based on the information preserved in the Vilnius chapter's files, it is clear that candidates for the novitiate had to apply for the novitiate. However, if the period for the novitiate passed, and the novitiate was to last less than five months, then they would also seek dispensations from participating in the novitiate altogether.³⁸ Documents confirm that the length of the novitiate gradually grew shorter in the second half of the 18th century; often it lasted only a few months or even a few days to several weeks.³⁹

In the case of coadjutors and the law of succession, the process of filling stalls and installing canons did not essentially differ from the procedures pertaining to current members of the chapter college. The only exception was that members of the chapter were required to submit a papal bull regarding the right of succession. Within the Diocese of Vilnius, this document served as a confirmation *litterae provisionis*, which was issued by a legal person, who held the patronal right for a given canon or prelate.⁴⁰

Summary

The high rank that the Vilnius cathedral chapter enjoyed within the organization of the Diocese of Vilnius meant that it had considerable influence on the diocese—its goods and the bishop's income, how the diocese's institutions were managed, and who was chosen as bishop. These and other extensive privileges and rights made the capitular stalls extremely attractive to individuals in terms of easily obtainable income. In this context, the right to bestow these privileges allowed chapters to exercise a strong influence on the entire bishopric. Therefore, wishing to become independent from the influence of secular factors, Church authorities ensured that this privilege was entrusted to the diocesan bishop or directly to the Holy See.

The model of the patronage of the capitular prebendaries was established in the oldest royal dioceses, where the colleges of cathedral canons were formed at a time when the diocesan structures were

³⁸ BLAN, f.43-235, ACV, vol. 27 (1753-1766), pg. 458.

³⁹ BLAN, f.43-228, ACV, vol. 20 (1698-1709), k. 140; J. Kurczewski, *Biskupstwo wileńskie*, 107; Ibid, *Kościół zamkowy czyli katedra wileńska w jej dziejowym, liturgicznym, architektonicznym i ekonomicznym rozwoju*, cz. 3 (Vilnius: 1916), 335, 437.

⁴⁰ BLAN, f.43-154, Sprawozdanie Kapituły Wileńskiej do Rzymskokatolickiego Kolegium w Petersburgu (April 10, 1819), p. 1, par. 3; BLAN, f.43-157, Nota przywilejów w aktach kapitulnych znajdujących się, 1819, k. 1; BLAN, f.43-176, Summariusz konstytucji statutu Kapituły Katedralnej Wileńskiej, 1810, k. 3v.

already well-established and subject to a large extent to the diocesan bishop's authority. The Diocese of Vilnius was formed in the late 14th century, and its organization largely depended on the will of the Polish monarch and the Grand Duke of Lithuania. In this way, secular authorities basically organized and influenced the religious life of non-Christian Lithuania. This model was imbalanced, however. The chapter (two prelatures and ten canons) appeared here almost simultaneously with the office of the diocesan bishop and was created on the basis of earnings granted only by the monarch. The king had the same authority to fill the chapter. In addition, because of a lack of suitable candidates from among the local clergy of Vilnius, the king appointed first capitular prebendaries from among the clergy in Poland or foreigners. As a result, in the second half of the 16th century, when the Vilnius cathedral chapter was organized, the royal *ius patronatus* extended to the half of the prebendaries as well as the prebendaries made up of canons only. Consequently, the bishop could present only two prelatures, while the cathedral chapter could present only one. Based on the information above, it is clear that secular factors did not influence the bishop's authority or management of the diocese to such a degree that he was unable to effectively carry out his pastoral office. The monarch also had the right to give the bishops the right to present candidates within their dioceses, since these dioceses, including the Diocese of Vilnius, were under the king's jurisdiction. Moreover, universal church law, synodal acts and statutes, commonly accepted customs, and, in the matters of doubt and contention, the will of the Holy See governed the relationship between the bishop and a chapter. Since both were traditionally confident in the monarch's power in Poland and in areas that were strictly religious, the chapters settled disputes so as not to disrupt strictly ecclesiastical matters and respected the position of the ruler. In practice, this meant that issues were resolved through bilateral talks between adversaries. Such a compromise, however, could only work effectively in situations where both church and secular parties shared a common goal in their overriding interest of the state and the Church in order to guarantee the moral order within the state.

OBSADZANIE PREBEND KANONICKICH W KAPITULE KATEDRALNEJ WILEŃSKIEJ W XIV-XVIII WIEKU

Obsadzanie stali w kapitułach katedralnych związane z prawem prezenty i patronatu w średniowiecznej Europie zachodniej, w tym także w Królestwie Polskim, należało do biskupa diecezjalnego. Inna praktyka ukształtowała się natomiast na Litwie w powstałej w 1388 r. diecezji wileńskiej. Już pierwsze fundacje na rzecz miejscowej kapituły katedralnej z 1388 r.: dwie prałatury i 10 kanonii, były dziełem króla Polski i wielkiego księcia litewskiego, Władysława II Jagiełły. Kolejne dwie prałatury: kustodia (przed 1397 r.) i archidiaconia (w roku 1435) oraz dwie kanonie, powstałe w początkach XVI w., także były fundacjami wielkksiążęcymi lub królewskimi. Król otrzymał i utrzymał *ius patronatus* na te beneficja. Dwie ostatnie prałatury, kantoria i scholasteria, utworzone przez biskupa Jana z Książąt Litewskich, od 1561 r. pozostały przy prawach patronatu biskupiego. Prawa patronackie w kapitule wileńskiej ustaliły się ostatecznie w drugiej połowie XVI stulecia, gdy król Zygmunt II August w 1558 r. przekazał kapitule prawo przedstawiania kandydatów na dziekanę. W porównaniu z kapitułami katedralnymi w Koronie, wpływ biskupa diecezjalnego na obsadzanie miejsc w kapitule wileńskiej był zdecydowanie skromniejszy, wręcz minimalny (tylko dwie prałatury). Natomiast nieporównanie większe prawa miał monarcha, który nominował aż do trzech prałatur i wszystkich dwunastu kanonii. Biskupowi przysługiwał *ius patronatus* tylko na dwie prałatury. Kapituła prezentowała na jedną prałaturę. Pewien wpływ na obsadę stali kapituły wileńskiej zdobyła Stolica Apostolska z chwilą pojawienia się w wileńskim kolegium kapitulnym kanoników koadiutorów *cum futura successione*. Duchowny nominowany na kanonika koadiutora ekspektanta musiał wylegitymować się bulą papieską na prawo sukcesji. Taki stan rzeczy utrzymał się do końca XVIII w.

Słowa kluczowe: Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie, Wilno, diecezja wileńska, katedra, kapituła katedralna, prałat, kanonik, koadiutor, patronat, *ius patronatus*, prebenda.

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Stanisław M. Królak

The Episcopal Ministry of Reverend Kazimierz Świątek (1914-2011)

This article details the pastoral ministry of Archbishop Kazimierz Świątek, who witnessed to Christ in Belarus as priest for fifty-two years and as an archbishop and cardinal for almost twenty years. After Soviet oppression in Belarus ceased and when Archbishop Kazimierz Świątek became canonically responsible for the Metropolitan Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev and the Diocese of Pińsk, the institutional Church and faith of the people barely existed in these locations. By the time Archbishop Świątek retired from his episcopal ministry, however, the ecclesiastical province had all the institutions necessary to function normally, and the churches were filled with the faithful. Given the exponential growth of the faithful and institutional Church under Archbishop Świątek's care, his pastoral ministry as a bishop merits particular attention and Archbishop Świątek himself deserves to be included among the long list of zealous bishops of the Church of Christ. Fr. Świątek's earlier ministry as a priest has been analyzed in a previous article.¹

Key words: shepherd, bishop, ministry, kerygma, evangelization, spiritual desolation, communism, rebuilding of the Church, the needs of the faithful, Pińsk, Mińsk-Mohilev.

Metropolitan Archbishop and Apostolic Administrator

At noon on Saturday, April 13, 1991, in St. Francis Xavier church Bishop Tadeusz Kondrusiewicz, the Administrator of the Diocese of

¹ See S. M. Królak, "Wierność powołaniu—ksiądz Kazimierz Świątek (1914-2011)," *Rocznik Teologii Katolickiej*, vol. XV, no. 1 (2016): 149-179.

Mińsk; Fr. Kazimierz Świątek, the Vicar General of the Diocese of Pińsk and pastor of Our Lady of the Assumption parish in Pińsk for 37 years; and Fr. Alexander Kaszkiewicz, the pastor of Holy Spirit parish in Vilnius for 10 years, read Pope John Paul II's bull declaring the new organization and nominations of bishops for the Church in Belarus. At the same time, news from the Vatican revealed that Pope John Paul II had appointed new bishops and erected new dioceses within the Soviet Union.

The new Metropolitan Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev covered the entire area of (and only) the Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR). According to the bull *Ex quadam praeteritorum*,² Mińsk became the capital of the new archdiocese, which territories included parts of the Archdiocese of Mohilev, the Archdiocese of Vilnius, and the Diocese of Mińsk. In the papal bull *Qui operam damus*,³ Pope John Paul II simultaneously established the Diocese of Grodno, the capital of which was Grodno, as a suffragan of the Metropolitan Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev. Grodno's St. Francis Xavier parish church subsequently became the cathedral. Another papal bull, *Quia ob rerum*,⁴ changed the boundaries of the Diocese of Pińsk, making it a suffragan of the Metropolitan Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev (until then it had belonged to the Metropolitan Archdiocese of Vilnius) and establishing its capital in Pińsk. The part of the Diocese of Pińsk that was located in Poland ceased to belong to this Diocese, while Nowogródek region was also separated from it and incorporated into the newly established Diocese of Grodno. The new church boundaries announced by the papal bulls were determined according to the state's administrative division of the BSSR. The Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev included the districts (voivodeships, oblasts) of Mińsk, Vitebsk, and Mogilev, the Diocese of Pińsk included the districts of Brest and Homel, and the Diocese of Grodno, included the district of Grodno. Within the Diocese

² John Paul II, bull "Ex quadam praeteritorum, Constitutiones Apostolicae. I. Minscensis-Mohiloviensis Latinorum. Minscensis-Mohiloviensis Latinorum conditur archidioecesis," in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis: Commentarium Officiale*, vol. 83, no. 7 (Romae: Typis Polygottis Vaticanis, 1991), 540-541. Hereafter referred to as *Acta*.

³ John Paul II, bull "Qui operam damus, Constitutiones Apostolicae. I. Minscensis-Mohiloviensis Latinorum. Minscensis-Mohiloviensis Latinorum conditur archidioecesis," in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis: Commentarium Officiale*, vol. 83, no. 7 (Romae: Typis Polygottis Vaticanis, 1991), 540-542.

⁴ John Paul II, bull "Quia ob rerum, Constitutiones Apostolicae. I. Minscensis-Mohiloviensis Latinorum. Minscensis-Mohiloviensis Latinorum conditur archidioecesis," in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis: Commentarium Officiale*, vol. 83, no. 7 (Romae: Typis Polygottis Vaticanis, 1991), 542-543.

of Grodno, which had the greatest number of Catholics and the best-preserved parish structure, there were 85 parishes that had hitherto territorially belonged to the Archdiocese of Vilnius, the Diocese of Pińsk (4 parishes), and the Diocese of Łomża (7 parishes).⁵

Fr. Kazimierz Świątek was appointed the Archbishop of the Metropolitan Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev. He, as the new Metropolitan, also became the administrator of the Diocese of Pińsk, *ad nutum Sanctae Sedis*. Fr. Alexander Kaszkiewicz became the first Bishop of the Diocese of Grodno,⁶ while Fr. Tadeusz Kondrusiewicz became the Archbishop and Apostolic Administrator of the European part of Russia, and his episcopal seat was located in Moscow.⁷ Fr. Kazimierz Świątek was 76 years old when he was appointed Metropolitan. Notably, according to the Code of Canon Law, a bishop must resign from his office at the age of 75.

On Tuesday, May 21, 1991, Fr. Kazimierz Świątek received his episcopal ordination in the cathedral in Pińsk. When the consecration began, Fr. Kazimierz Świątek cried as he lay on the floor of the cathedral with his arms outstretched like a cross.⁸ Archbishop Tadeusz Kondrusiewicz was the principal consecrator and Bishop Władysław Jędruszak from Drohiczyn,⁹ Bishop Edward Kisiel from Białystok,¹⁰

⁵ Based on the author's calculations. In 1991, this idea was realized even before World War II had begun. During the 1930s, the local faithful and clergy began efforts both in Rome and with the leaders of the Second Polish Republic to establish a diocese. The enlightened inhabitants of Grodno wanted to elevate the areas rank and religious prestige and improve pastoral care for the faithful who were under the hostile communist influence. The Church approved this initiative and made its final decision in August 1939. However, the establishment of the new diocese was prevented due to Soviet aggression, which occurred on September 17, 1939.

⁶ See *Acta*, 601.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Based on the testimonies of Cardinal Świątek and other witnesses, TS, found in the Cardinal Świątek's personal archives (hereafter abbreviated as APKS).

⁹ Władysław Jędruszak (1918-1994), served from 1962-1967 as auxiliary bishop in Drohiczyn; as apostolic administrator for the Diocese of Pinsk from 1967-1991; and on June 5, 1991 was named the first bishop of the Diocese of Drohiczyn. See P. Nitecki, *Biskupi Kościoła w Polsce w latach 965-1999: słownik biograficzny* (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX 2000), 184.

¹⁰ Edward Kisiel (1918-1993), was the titular bishop of Limata and apostolic administrator of the Archdiocese of Vilnius from 1976-1991. On June 5, 1991, he was named the first bishop of the Diocese of Białystok, and on March 25, 1992 he was named the metropolitan archbishop of Białystok. See P. Nitecki, *Biskupi*, 202-203.

and Archbishop Francisco Colasuonno—the apostolic nuncio to the Soviet Union co-consecrated. Fr. Kazimierz Świątek’s ordination was the first episcopal ordination to ever take place in the Pińsk cathedral and on Belarusian land. After the consecration, a solemn ingress into the cathedral took place.

On May 25, Archbishop Kazimierz Świątek took part in the episcopal ordination of Fr. A. Kaszkiewicz in the cathedral in Grodno. On that day the ecclesiastical province of Belarus became fully operational in accordance with the Code of Canon Law. The following day, Archbishop Świątek participated in the first meeting of Belarusian bishops along with Nuncio F. Colasuonno and representatives of the Belarusian government. The Belarusian authorities and the Belarusian National Front did not accept the papal decisions and did not recognize the office held by Archbishop Świątek, as evidenced by the fact that they called him “Mr. Świątek.”

On June 14, 1991, Archbishop Świątek led the solemn ingress into the archcathedral in the capital of Belarus. The entrance into Mińsk was also symbolic because there were no traces left of the Cathedral of the Most Holy Name of Mary, where the last Mass had been celebrated in 1948. Instead, a sports center named “Spartak [Spartacus Club]” was built in its place. Although the solemn entrance took place at Sts. Simon and Helena church, it symbolically occurred on the steps of the “sports palace.”

Archbishop K. Świątek’s very solemn ingress into the Archcathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Stanislaw, Bishop and Martyr, took place on Sunday, July 7 in Mohilev. Since there was no place to house the Archdiocese in Mińsk, the work of the archdiocese was centered in Pińsk, where the Archbishop lived in a tiny room in a wooden house on Shevchenko Street.

On January 17, 1992, Archbishop Kazimierz Świątek received the *pallium* from the Apostolic Nuncio Archbishop F. Colasuonno during the solemn liturgy in the cathedral in Mińsk.

On October 19, 1994, the Council for Religious Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Belarus surprisingly approved the Statutes of the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev.¹¹ This meant that the Catholic Church in Belarus became a legal entity in accordance with the structure and personal decisions that were canonically introduced on April 13, 1991. There are grounds to believe that the Council’s

¹¹ Rady ds. Religii przy Radzie Ministrów Republiki Białoruś [Protocol no. 5, Council on Religion for the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Belarus] (10.19.1994); see *Mińsko-Mohylewski Przegląd Archidiecezjalny* (MMPA), vol. 1, no. 1 (1998): 55.

sudden decision was due to Archbishop Świątek's nomination as cardinal, about which the Belarusian authorities had to have found out. Pope John Paul II announced the new cardinals on October 30, 1994 before he prayed the Angelus, and the Archbishop of Mińsk-Mohilev was among them. The announcement radically changed the Belarusian authorities' attitude towards Archbishop Świątek.¹² From then on, none of the authorities dared to address the cardinal by any title other than "Your Eminence" or "*Gaspadin Cardinal*." All Belarusian newspapers, radio, and television stations covered the news about Archbishop Świątek's appointment and his reception of the cardinal's insignia at the consistory that took place on November 26-27, 1994.

A Shepherd Among His Sheep: Kerygma and Catechesis

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The archbishop considered it his most important duty to serve the people entrusted to him in the most direct way: through the ministry of the Word, the celebration of the liturgy and the sacraments, and meeting the faithful in their parishes or places of residence. The archbishop's other duties were important to him insofar as they served his main purpose. Therefore, after settling the most urgent matters in the autumn of 1991, Archbishop Kazimierz Świątek traveled to the parishes in his dioceses. These visits, later referred to as the first pastoral visits, differed from the typical canonical visits insofar as many parishes were still being organized and, consequently, did not have a church or a permanent priest. However, irrespective of the canonical side of these visits, they were inestimably valuable from a pastoral point of view. This shepherd strengthened Christ's followers who had remained faithful to Christ and testified to Him despite persecutions; he encouraged those who had kept the faith but did so deep within their hearts because they wanted to live peacefully; he proclaimed the mercy of God; and he called for the conversion of those who had rejected Christ.

Archbishop Świątek began his pastoral visits on the farthest outskirts of the archdiocese, since the people there had been waiting for a bishop for more than 70 years. On September 7, Archbishop Świątek arrived in Orsha,¹³ where one of the KGB's largest prisons from the

¹² See "Zapowiedź Konsystorza," *L'Osservatore Romano*, Polish Edition, vol. 15, no. 12 (1994): 58.

¹³ All data pertaining to the cardinal's canonical visits are based on the statements located in the private archives of His Excellency Cardinal K. Świątek, which were made available to the author, TS.

Stalinist era was located and where he himself had been imprisoned in 1945, was infected with typhus, and, consequently, fought for his life.

The next day, the archbishop drove 130 km from Orsha to Borisov. The following morning, he set off for almost 200 km to Braslavszczyzna. To begin, he visited the district of Miory on the Latvian border. On September 10, Archbishop Świątek arrived to Druia at the outskirts of his diocese. At that time, Druia was a poor settlement; before then, however, it had been a well-known city. During the Second Polish Republic, the Marians created a strong religious and educational center there. Currently there was a church and monastery in Druia that a member of the Marian order, Rev. Antoni Łoś, rebuilt.

Fr. Tadeusz Szeszko, FDP, witnessed Archbishop Świątek's meetings with the faithful. He recalled the following: "During the first pastoral visits, the faithful always reacted very emotionally, especially the elderly. There were always many people there. The churches were filled because not only Catholics but also Orthodox came. In many places, everyone in the surrounding area came. The archbishop never made a distinction between Catholics and Orthodox. He spoke to everyone who had gathered. His speeches and sermons were in Polish or, when people did not speak Polish, in Russian. Later on, he began to speak in Belarusian during his episcopal visits. During his sermons, he never spoke about his past and the wrongs he had suffered. Rather, he always strengthened and encouraged the people."¹⁴

From Druia, Archbishop Świątek returned to Pińsk. Three days later, on September 13, 1991, he began his pastoral visits on the outskirts of that Diocese. He drove deep into his beloved Polesie forest toward Horyń and on to Lelczyce in the Homel District on the Ukrainian border. This was the most difficult and worst of all locations because it was a missionary territory affected by the terrible disaster at Chernobyl. Until then, the inhabitants had not received any pastoral care and they lived with the terrible memory of the bestial persecutions they suffered during the 1930s. It was not until June 1990 that Fr. Joseph Dziekoński came to Mozyrz to take care of the faithful of the Lelczyce district. Fr. Zbigniew Bojar, SCI, who was at the time starting to build the church in Lelczyce, and a group of the faithful greeted Archbishop Świątek at the church square.

During his visits, Archbishop Świątek consecrated the churches that the faithful were able to rebuild and prepare for worship. As Fr. Tadeusz Szeszko, FDP, shared, the archbishop conferred the

¹⁴ Based on the author's conversation with Fr. T. Szeszko, FDP, TS, and information found in the APKŚ.

Sacrament of Confirmation in many parishes: “Usually a large group of the faithful received the Sacrament of Confirmation, since many people had secretly received their First Communion during the Soviet era. However, at that time, Confirmation almost never took place. So, since a lot of neglect occurred here, there were even groups of several dozen people ready to receive the Sacrament of Confirmation during the archbishop’s initial pastoral visits.”¹⁵

Archbishop Świątek’s pastoral visits usually proceeded as follows: the archbishop celebrated Mass and spoke to the people. Then he met with the local pastor, the church committee, and the faithful. These visits were interrupted only when the archbishop went to Rome for the Special Assembly of the Synod of Bishops dedicated to the topic of Europe, and they resumed on May 7, 1992.

The poverty of the shrines and the people, the simplicity of the people’s faith, and the confusion and the spiritual emptiness of many of the faithful who the archbishop encountered during his visits did not discourage him. On the contrary, the archbishop believed that precisely the liturgy would reveal Christ to a people who had little or no knowledge of God. “The archbishop paid attention to the outer form of the celebration—the splendor of the liturgy. He tied this to the tradition from the time when the Servant of God Bishop Łoziński lived and to the rich liturgy of the East. He believed that the richness [and beauty] of the liturgy played an important pastoral role; it was a synthesized catechesis on conferring the sacrament. The archbishop always ensured that the liturgy was prepared well and that the celebrations revealed all its [spiritual] richness. This could be seen, for example, during the liturgy for the consecration of a church. In the West, and also in Poland, this liturgy has been very simplified. Yet, the original form of the liturgy is very rich. The archbishop always ensured that the dedication or consecration of a church contained all the proper liturgical elements and was fully celebrated. All the details had to be worked out and no shortcuts could be taken. For example, when the consecration takes place, the coal should be lit and the first fumigation of a church performed. At that time, not all priests had the appropriate vestments and vessels, so the archbishop ordered very large thuribles and we carried them with us. And he brought incense from Rome especially for us. He said to me, ‘You have to hide and not use it because it is incense meant only for consecrations and visitations.’ And when the incense was placed on the burning coals during the consecration or visitation, the entire church filled with fragrant

¹⁵ Ibid.

smoke. A psalm had to be prepared and then sung at this moment. It was beautiful and had a deep pastoral significance—it was deeply meaningful!”¹⁶

On October 8, 1992, in Slutsk Archbishop Świątek completed his pastoral visit to all 51 parishes in the Archdiocese. He also visited all 27 parish communities in the Diocese of Pińsk,¹⁷ and these visits ended on November 20, 1993 in Łahiszyn.

Cardinal Archbishop Świątek began his second pastoral visit on the farthest outskirts of the Diocese of Pińsk on September 3, 1998. He travelled from Żytkowicze and Lelczyce to Homel region, and then completed his visits with a canonical visitation to the cathedral in Pińsk on August 15, 1999. The first parish that the Archbishop visited in the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev was Chausy in the district of Mstislav, near the Russian border. The last parishes that the Cardinal Archbishop Świątek visited were in Mińsk, including the cathedral on November 19, 1999, and, a week later, Sts. Simon and Helena parish, otherwise known as the “Red Church” located on the main square of the Belarusian capital. During Archbishop Świątek’s second visit, Auxiliary Bishop Cyryl Klimowicz, who had ended his second pastoral visit of the Archdiocese on November 26, 2000, helped him. The last parish that he visited was Zaslav near Mińsk. Archbishop Świątek’s second visit included 67 parishes in the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mehilov, which had already been reduced to the parishes in the Vitebsk region, meaning the Diocese of Vitebsk, and 60 parishes in the diocese of Pińsk.¹⁸

Due to the narrow scope of this article, it is not possible to analyze Cardinal Archbishop Świątek’s pastoral letters here. Nevertheless, these letters were a long-standing means both for Archbishop Świątek and in the tradition of the Catholic Church to proclaim the kerygma.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ All data on the cardinal’s canonical visits are based on His Excellency Cardinal K. Świątek’s personal calendars and documents, TS, contained in his private archive.

¹⁸ This information is based on Cardinal K. Świątek’s personal calendar and calculations, TS, contained in APKS. The new ordinary, Bishop Władysław Blin continued the canonical visitations within the Vitebsk voivodeship that were begun by Cardinal K. Świątek after the Diocese of Vitebsk was established on 10.13.1999. Based on Cardinal K. Świątek’s personal calendar and statements, TS, contained in APKS.

Building the Church and Pastoral Management

At the very beginning of his ministry, the archbishop himself was the only ecclesiastical authority in the province. There were no diocesan institutions. For this reason, the archbishop's apartment served as the Curia for the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev and Diocese of Pińsk, while Archbishop Świątek himself performed the duties of chancellor as well as all other duties necessary for the archdiocese and diocese to function. He was also de facto the parish priest of the cathedral in Pińsk.

The situation changed, however, when Fr. Tadeusz Szeszko, an Ori-onist, came from Poland to Pińsk. On September 21, 1991, Fr. Szeszko became the pastor of the cathedral in Pińsk as well as the chancellor of both Curias. However, since the Belarusian authorities did not give their permission for him to work in Mińsk, Fr. Szeszko only acted duties of chancellor within the archdiocese.¹⁹ The chancellor began his work by arranging the bare minimum conditions necessary for both dioceses to function. In the bell tower next to the cathedral there were two rooms, which housed the Curia and served as the apartment of its only employee—the chancellor. Between the belfry and the wall surrounding the cathedral courtyard stood a wooden veranda, which served as the office and the only place where guests could be received.²⁰

Due to the constant lack of priests, nuns, and laypersons, as well as the archbishop's very direct style of pastoral ministry and leadership, a strong organizational structure did not yet exist in Curia or was poorly developed. Instead, Curia's activities were based on the Archbishop's direct involvement in every area. The archbishop did this with the help of the chancellor, who served in this role for both dioceses (it was not until 2005 that Fr. Jerzy Kosobucki became the chancellor in Mińsk), and Sr. Sebastiana Elżbieta Grygiel, MSF, a graduate of the Faculty of Canon Law who began working in the Diocese of Pińsk on September 8, 1999. Archbishop Świątek did not underestimate the role of episcopal bishops in the governance of the dioceses; however, organizing them was of secondary importance to him. On several occasions the archbishop was heard to say: "I have the curia in my briefcase, so it is always ready at hand."

Pastoral issues were Archbishop Świątek's absolute priority. The then chancellor wrote the following on this topic: "Rebuilding the

¹⁹ See Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Administratora Apostolskiego Diecezji Pińskiej* (09.21.1991) in the Archiwum Diecezji Pińskiej (ADP), l. sec. 11/91.

²⁰ Based on the author's interview with Fr. T. Szeszko, FDP, and on the author's own findings.

spiritual Church was the most important for the archbishop. He did not even mobilize the priests to rebuild the parish buildings; instead, he urged them to organize the parishes by meeting with the faithful in their homes so that they could receive spiritual care, so that their faith could be rebuilt.”²¹

After the chancellor was appointed, vicar generals were chosen. In the Diocese of Pińsk, Fr. Kazimierz Wielikosielec, OP, then a parish priest in Baranavichy, was appointed Vicar General on May 12, 1992. And, in the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev, Fr. Lucjan Chmielowiec, who had been ordained a parish priest in Derewna, was appointed Vicar General on September 24, 1992.²²

The nature of Archbishop Świątek’s pastoral ministry and his sensitivity to the needs of the weak and disadvantaged are evidenced by the fact that Caritas was the next institution that he established in both dioceses on December 21, 1992. Caritas was established nationally seven years later on August 30, 1999.²³

It was impossible to appoint the ecclesiastical courts quickly due to the lack of staff. For this reason, the ordinary bishops established an interdiocesan court, which had yet to obtain the Holy See’s official approval. For the time being, however, it was the only possible practical solution. On December 4, 1993, Archbishop Świątek established in Mińsk an interdiocesan tribunal for the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev and the Diocese of Pińsk (Latin rite). The Tribunal was erected on January 25, 1994, and served simultaneously as the Appellate Court for the Interdiocesan Tribunal in Grodno for the Diocese of Grodno and for the Apostolic Administrations of European Russia, Siberia, and Kazakhstan (Latin rite). On the same day, Archbishop Świątek issued two decrees in Mińsk and Pińsk appointing the judicial vicar, judges, defenders of the bond, promoters of justice, and notaries.²⁴ After the Apostolic Signatura approved the Tribunal on May 16, 1994,

²¹ From the record of the author’s conversation with Fr. T. Szeszko, FDP, TS and information contained in APSK.

²² See Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Administratora Apostolskiego Diecezji Pińskiej* (05.12.1992), in ADP, l. sec. 55/92; Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Metropolity Mińsko-Mohylewskiego* (09.24.1992), in Archiwum Archidiecezji Mińsko-Mohylewskiej (AAMM), l. sec. 126/92.

²³ APKS, information about the state of the metropolis, TS, copy available in the APSK.

²⁴ See Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Metropolity Mińsko-Mohylewskiego* (01.25.1994), in AAMM, l. sec. 13/94 m-m. 01/94, as well as Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Administratora Apostolskiego Diecezji Pińskiej* (01.25.1994), in ADP, l. sec. 14/94 02/94; See MMPA 1, no. 1 (1998), 26; PPD 1, no. 1 (1998), 26.

Archbishop Świątek issued a decree on September 17, 1994 that the work of the Tribunal would begin the following month on October 1, 1994.²⁵

Because of Archbishop Świątek's concern for the "integrity of the faith and morals" as well as the diocesan publishing house's activities, he appointed separate censors for the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mehilov and Diocese of Pińsk on January 25, 1994.²⁶ On the same day, in accordance with Canon 495, members of the Council of Priests were appointed for the diocese and archdiocese.²⁷ Archbishop Świątek also appointed catechetical councils to ensure the unity of the catechesis program and the efficient work of the catechists on January 25, 1994 within the diocese and on May 7 of the same year in the archdiocese.²⁸

In order to coordinate activities related to the reconstruction and renovation of shrines and other church buildings, Archbishop Świątek and the Ordinary of Grodno established the Arcybiskupi Urząd Budowlany [Archbishop's Office for Construction] for the dioceses in Belarus on November 5, 1994. The office was subordinate to the archbishop, and its headquarters were in Baranovichi.²⁹

Some of the faithful and priests who identified with the tradition and heritage of the Belarusian People's Republic and were now associated with the Belarusian National Front sought to have the liturgy celebrated in Belarusian. Since there was an insufficient number of missals, lectionaries, agendas, texts containing the ceremonies, rituals, and other books in the Belarusian language, private translations were used. These unofficial translations made the threat of liturgical

²⁵ See Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Metropolity Mińsko-Mohylewskiego i Administratora Diecezji Pińskiej* (09.17.1994), in ADP, l. sec. 166/94 10/94; see MMPA 1, no. 1 (1998), 27; PPD 1, no. 1 (1998), 27.

²⁶ See Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Metropolity Mińsko-Mohylewskiego* (01.25.1994), in AAMM, l. sec. 18/94 m-m; Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Administratora Apostolskiego Diecezji Pińskiej* (01.25.1994), in ADP, l. sec. 19/94p.

²⁷ See Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Metropolity Mińsko-Mohylewskiego* (01.25.1994), in AAMM, l. sec. 17/94 m-m. The following decrees were published on 05.09.1994 l. sec. 13a/94 and on 09.30.1995 l. sec. 15/95; Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Administratora Apostolskiego Diecezji Pińskiej* (01.25.1994) ADP, l. sec. 15/94p, the following decrees were published on 05.04.1995 l. sec. 01/95 and on 12.22.1995 l. sec. 07/95.

²⁸ See Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Metropolity Mińsko-Mohylewskiego* (05.07.1994), in AAMM, l. sec. 84/94 13/94; See Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Administratora Apostolskiego Diecezji Pińskiej* (01.25.1994), in ADP, l. sec. 16/94p and on (12.11.1994) l. sec. 18/94.

²⁹ See Archbishop K. Świątek and Bishop A. Kaszkiewicz, *Akt Założycielski Arcybiskupiego Urzędu Budowlanego* (Pinsk: 11.05.1994), in ADP, l. sec. 15b/94.

abuse of the Eucharist a reality, since they could contain incorrect liturgical formulas that could invalidate the celebration of the Mass. Therefore, after pointing out this danger to the priests, Archbishop Świątek met with the Apostolic See to obtain approval for the consecration and sacramental formulas to be translated into Belarusian. The Congregation for Divine Worship and Discipline of the Sacraments approved the translations on July 12, 1994. Through a decree issued on July 28, 1994, the Archbishop introduced the formulas as permissible only during the celebration of the liturgy in Belarusian. In order to resolve the complex problem of the lack of liturgical books in Belarusian, Archbishop Świątek, in agreement with the Bishop of Grodno, appointed the Standing Committee for the Translation of Liturgical Texts on May 5, 1995. The Commission worked diligently and quickly prepared, among other things, a standard Missal *edytio typica tertia* in Belarusian language.³⁰

Archbishop of Świątek also created a College of Consultants in both dioceses. The members of this college were appointed for a five-year term. The College was established in the Diocese of Pińsk on December 22, 1995, and in the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev on February 5, 1996.³¹

The Archbishop once again linked his pastoral activity to his master and predecessor, Bishop Zygmunt Łoziński, by establishing official magazines for both dioceses on December 28, 1997. In the Diocese of Pińsk, he resumed the “Piński Przegląd Diecezjalny [The Pińsk Diocesan Review],” and, recalling the “Miesięcznik Diecezji Mińskiej [The Diocese of Mińsk Monthly],” he established the “Mińsko-Mohylewski Przegląd Archidiecezjalny [Mińsk-Mogilev Archdiocesan Review].”³²

Although the cathedral chapter in Pińsk existed when Bishop Zygmunt Łoziński governed, Archbishop Kazimierz Świątek never found

³⁰ Fr. Władysław Zawalniuk published his own translation of the liturgical books. See Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, Decree (July 12, 1994) l. sec. Prot. 660/93/L, MMPA 1, no. 1 (1998), 11-13; Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Metropolity Mińsko-Mohylewskiego* (07.28.1994), in AAMM, l. sec. 136/94, 18/94; Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Administratora Apostolskiego Diecezji Pińskiej* (07.28.1994), in ADP, l. sec. 07/94.

³¹ See Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Metropolity Mińsko-Mohylewskiego* z (02.05.1996), in AAMM, l. sec. 19/96; Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Administratora Apostolskiego Diecezji Pińskiej* (12.22.1995), in ADP, l. sec. 08/96.

³² Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Administratora Apostolskiego Diecezji Pińskiej* (12.28.1997), in ADP, l. sec. 26/97; and Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Metropolity Mińsko-Mohylewskiego* (12.28.1997), in AAMM, l. sec. 56/97.

it necessary to set up any cathedral chapters during his episcopal ministry.

Establishing a Network of Parishes and Deaneries

Even though the ordinary structure of the Catholic Church had been completely established in the territory of the BSSR according to Church law, the Church's legal status under civil law had not changed. The collapse of Communism in the countries that were under Moscow's rule affected the atmosphere that dominated the Soviet Empire; primarily, it reduced the peoples' fear of repression. While the anti-Church decrees of 1918 and 1922 were still in force, the change in social sentiment led to the creation of church committees throughout Belarus that sought to register and, where possible, have their rightful shrines returned to them.

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With the formation of subsequent parishes, a deanery was introduced in the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev and the Diocese of Pińsk. Although normal and based in tradition, the introduction of the deanery and deans made some priests, who were used to the archbishop making all decisions, recommendations, and remarks, uncomfortable with the idea that these decisions would come through the deans. In the Diocese of Pińsk, the deanery was introduced on June 8, 1992. Since the network of parishes in this diocese was still being established, the boundaries of the 5 deaneries were defined territorially and based on state administrative units.³³ In the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mehilov, the deanery structure was introduced later on November 7, 1993. Just as in the Diocese of Pińsk, the boundaries of the 11 new deaneries in the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mehilov were also determined territorially.³⁴

The analysis of the deanery network and personal nominations makes it very clear that the parish and deanery network were extremely diversified during the first years of Archbishop Świątek's pastoral service. Despite the dynamism and rebirth of Catholicism in Belarus, by the end of 1993 there was still much for the archbishop to do to establish a strong network of parishes. While Catholics were fairly organized into parish communities and formed a relatively dense network in western and central Belarus, in eastern Belarus there were few communities and a network of parishes was not very dense.

³³ See Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Administratora Apostolskiego Diecezji Pińskiej* (06.08.1992), in ADP, l. sec. 71/92; see PPD 1, no. 1 (1998), 22-23.

³⁴ See Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Metropolity Mińsko-Mohylewskiego* (11.7.1993), in AAMM, l. sec. 146/93 (09/93); see MMPA 1, no. 1 (1998), 23-24.

In addition, there were not necessarily parishes in all of the localities designated as the capitals of the deaneries. Therefore, sometimes the deans did not reside permanently in these localities.

Nevertheless, the dynamic development of the network of parishes under the archbishop's care is striking. According to official Soviet records from early 1991, 222 Catholic religious communities, meaning registered church communities, were recorded throughout Belarus.³⁵ The vast majority of communities were in the Diocese of Grodno. At that time, there were about 20 parishes in the Diocese of Pińsk, and about 15 parish communities in the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev.³⁶ By the end of 1992, there were 51 parishes in the archdiocese, and 27 parishes in the diocese one year later.³⁷ By the end of 1994, there were 310 parishes in Belarus, worship took place in 260 of these churches, and 35 shrines were being built.³⁸ Although most parishes were still in the Diocese of Grodno, the Church developed dynamically throughout the country. At the end of 2000, there were 60 parishes in the Diocese of Pińsk and 79 parishes in the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev. Considering the fact that the whole area of the voivodship where there were 53 parishes was excluded from the archdiocese and incorporated into the newly created Diocese of Vitebsk, it is clear that the development of the Church has been incredibly dynamic since 1991.

Unfortunately, because of the great lack of priests, many parishes still did not have a resident parish priest. In 2000, 31 of the parishes in the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev, which did not yet include the Diocese of Vitebsk, did not have a permanent parish priest (note: there were 38 such parishes throughout the archdiocese in 1991). In 2000, 28 parishes did not have a parish priest in residence in the Diocese of Pińsk (note: there were 19 such parishes in 1991).

Throughout Archbishop Świątek's entire pastoral appointment, priests from religious communities greatly contributed to parish ministry. In 1991, religious priests ran 19 parishes and diocesan priests ran 25 parishes in the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev, and religious priests ran 9 parishes while diocesan priests ran 8 parishes in the Diocese of Pińsk. In 2000, these proportions changed further in the favor of

³⁵ See J. Karłow, *Missja w Watykan* (Moscow: 2004), 162.

³⁶ Based on the author's own calculations.

³⁷ All data regarding the cardinal's canonical visitations are based on his personal calendar and statements located in Cardinal K. Świątek's private archives, TS.

³⁸ Based on His Excellency Cardinal K. Świątek's estimates; see W. Rędziocha interview with Cardinal K. Świątek, "Przeżył 10 lat gwałtu rozmowa," *Niedziela: Tygodnik katolicki*, vol. 27, no. 51A (1994): 5.

religious priests, such that there were the same number of parishes led by religious priests as there were parishes led by diocesan priest within the archdiocese: more than 24 each; whereas, in the diocese, 20 parishes were led by religious priests, and only 12 were led by diocesan priests.³⁹ While there were only 6 religious sisters in the archdiocese and 3 religious sisters in the diocese in 1991, there were 68 religious sisters in the archdiocese and 52 religious sisters in the diocese in 2000.⁴⁰

Forming New Presbyters

The sacrifices made by a few local and Polish priests made it possible for the most urgent pastoral needs to be met and for the infrastructural foundations of the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev to be established. Further development was impossible without the immediate formation of priests. Therefore, at the beginning of his ministry, Archbishop Kazimierz Świątek decided to revive the seminary in Pińsk, where he had finished his studies.⁴¹ At that time, the Red Army occupied the seminary, and it was not until November 3, 1993 that some of the devastated seminary buildings were handed back over to the Church. It took several years for the remaining buildings to be restored to the Church and then renovated.

On May 31, 2001, the Congregation for Catholic Education (Seminaries and Educational Institutions) approved the seminary and its statutes.⁴² The seminary was to serve the Archdiocese, the Diocese of Pińsk, and the Diocese of Vitebsk. On July 21, 2001, as the President of the Bishops Conference of three dioceses and the bishop of the place, Cardinal Archbishop Kazimierz Świątek erected the Interdiocesan Higher Seminary of St. Thomas Aquinas in Pińsk.⁴³

On September 12, 2001, the seminary for priests in Pińsk resumed its activity after being forced to close for 62 years. Cardinal Kazimierz Świątek served as the temporary rector of the seminary. He also nominated 10 professors and 4 administrators and accepted 14 seminarians

³⁹ APSK, based on information provided to the author by His Excellency Cardinal K. Świątek, TS.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ APSK, based on the author's interview with His Excellency Cardinal K. Świątek.

⁴² See Congregatio de Institutione Catholica (de Seminariis atque Studiorum Institutis), Dekret (05.31.2001), Prot. N621/2001/7, ADP.

⁴³ See Ibid.

for their first year of study.⁴⁴ Opening the seminary was the final step necessary for Archbishop Świątek to complete the process of establishing and developing the particular Church structures entrusted to his care.

The Synod

During his fourth year of episcopal ministry, Archbishop Kazimierz Świątek publicized his intention to convene a synod before all of the priests who were gathered for a day of recollection. Shortly thereafter, in accordance with Canon 461, Par.1 of the Code of Canon Law, the archbishop gathered the Council of Priests to hear their opinion on December 21, 1995 in the Diocese of Pińsk and on December 28, 1995 in the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev, respectively. Both Councils unanimously and enthusiastically accepted the proposal.⁴⁵

On February 5, 1996, Cardinal Kazimierz Świątek issued a decree and appointed an Organizational Committee comprised of 5 members “to complete the preparatory work” for the synod.⁴⁶ The members of the Organizational Committee met three times⁴⁷ and presented their work to the archbishop, who considered it satisfactory. On April 14, 1996, the archbishop issued a decree that ended the committee’s activities.⁴⁸

On the Feast of the Annunciation in 1996, Cardinal Kazimierz Świątek issued a decree that convened the synod, presented its aims, and announced that the synod would begin on September 29, 1996,

⁴⁴ “Otwarcie Seminarium duchownego w Pińsku,” *Niedziela: Tygodnik katolicki*, vol. 34, no. 32 (2001): 5.

⁴⁵ See [S. Pawlina], “Dlaczego Synod Archidiecezji Mińsko-Mohylewskiej i Diecezji Pińskiej?,” *PPD*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1998), 4.

⁴⁶ The archdiocesan priests were: Fr. Zbigniew Bojar, SCJ; Fr. Czesław Kucmierz, SCJ; and Fr. Wojciech Lemański. The diocesan priests were: Fr. Jerzy Mazur, SVD, and Fr. Stanisław Pawlina, FDP. See Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Metropolity Mińsko-Mohylewskiego, Administratora Apostolskiego Diecezji Pińskiej* (02.05.1996), in AAMM I. sec. N.20/96.

⁴⁷ The Organizational Committee for the Synod met on 02.07.1996 in Postawa as well as on 02.29.1996 and 03.28.1996 in Baranowicz. See S. Pawlina, “Wprowadzenie [do Statutów Synodu],” *Statuty Synodu Archidiecezji Mińsko-Mohylewskiej, Diecezji Pińskiej i Witebskiej* (Minsk: 2002), 371.

⁴⁸ See Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Metropolity Mińsko-Mohylewskiego, Administratora Apostolskiego Diecezji Pińskiej* (04.14.1996), in AAMM I. sec. N.129a/96-27b/96.

the Feast of the Archangels Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel.⁴⁹ During the course of the synod, Pope John Paul II established the Diocese of Vitebsk and appointed its own bishop, thereby separating it from the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev in 1999. The new ordinary, Bishop Władysław Blin, turned to Cardinal Kazimierz Świątek to ask that together they complete the work of the synod and include in it the Diocese of Vitebsk. The cardinal archbishop gave his consent and, from then on, the synod was called the “Synod of the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev, the Diocese of Pińsk, and the Diocese of Vitebsk.” In turn, by a decree issued on December 20, 1999, the Bishop of Vitebsk recognized the work of the synod, its acts, and resolutions that had occurred thus far as his own.⁵⁰

By the decree of April 14, 1996, Cardinal Kazimierz Świątek appointed the Coordinating Commission for the Synod of the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev and the Diocese of Pińsk (CCS), whose task was to direct all matters related to the work of the synod. Cardinal Kazimierz Świątek served as the Chairman of the CCS, while the Vice-Chairman was the Chancellor of the Curia, Fr. Stanisław Pawlina, FDP, who also prepared the meeting schedule for the CCS and led the meetings according to the Cardinal’s orders. Moreover, the CCS consisted of 5 priests from the archdiocese and 2 priests from the diocese.⁵¹ During the synod, they specified the *Statutes of the Synod of the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev and the Diocese of Pińsk* and its part of the regulations.⁵²

According to Cardinal Kazimierz Świątek, the Synod was not to be confined strictly to those involved in it; rather, it should allow for a wide range of pastoral and formation activities and include the entire particular Church. The Synod of the Archdiocese of Mińsk-Mohilev and the Diocese of Pińsk officially opened in the cathedral in Mińsk

⁴⁹ See Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Metropolity Mińsko-Mohylewskiego, Administratora Apostolskiego Diecezji Pińskiej* (03.25.1996), in AAMM, l. sec. N.121/96.

⁵⁰ See Władysław Blin, *Dekret przyjęcia Synodu Archidiecezji mińsko-mohylewskiej i Diecezji pińskiej w Diecezji witebskiej* (Vitebsk: 12:20.1999) [bez l. sec.]; see MMPA 3, no. 1 (2000), 21-22.

⁵¹ Initially, they were: Fr. Cyryl Klimowicz; Fr. Czesław Kucmierz, SCJ; Fr. Wojciech Lemański; Fr. Jerzy Mazur, SVD; Fr. Henryk Okołotowicz; Fr. Jan Salamon; and Fr. Władysław Zawalniuk. See Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Metropolity Mińsko-Mohylewskiego, Administratora Diecezji Pińskiej* (04.14.1996), in AAMM l. sec.129/96. In the years that followed, Archbishop K. Świątek changed the makeup of the group as the roles and obligations of the group members changed (i.e. bishops were nominated). After two months, Fr. W. Lemański resigned from working with Archbishop K. Świątek.

⁵² See Cardinal K. Świątek, *Statut Synodu Archidiecezji mińsko-Mohylewskiej i Diecezji Pińskiej* (05.24.1996), in AAMM l. sec. 181a/96.

on September 29, 1996. Cardinal Kazimierz Świątek presided over the Holy Mass. Pope John Paul II sent his apostolic blessing and greetings to Cardinal Świątek on the occasion of the solemn commencement of the synod.

Throughout the duration of the synod, parishioners prayed for the meeting's success. So many people participated in this prayer that it was a great pastoral effort. The daily program included the celebration of the Holy Mass, a homily, the Sacrament of Confession, adoration of the Most Blessed Sacrament, the Rosary, catechesis, and other prayers. The sick and disabled were encouraged to offer their prayers and sufferings in the intention of the synod.⁵³

On September 30, 2000, the synod was solemnly closed in Mińsk. The Holy Father sent a special envoy, Cardinal Camillo Ruini, Vicar General of the Diocese of Rome. On that day, all synodal resolutions were solemnly promulgated when Cardinal Archbishop Kazimierz Świątek, the Administrator of the Diocese of Pińsk, and Bishop Władysław Blin of the Diocese of Vitebsk issued decrees stipulating that all the statutes adopted during the synod become law in the three dioceses beginning on January 6, 2001.⁵⁴

Other Dimensions of the Archbishop's Service

The narrow scope of this article makes it necessary to end with a few of Archbishop Świątek's other important accomplishments. At the end of 1994, the archbishop organized an editorial office in Mińsk, which began by publishing the monthly publication "Ave Maria." In the years that followed, the office also published the quarterly "Nasza Wiara [Our Faith]," the bulletins "Wiadomości katolickie [Catholic News]," as well as "Mały ryczyk Niepokalanej [The Little Knight of the Immaculate]" for children. All publications appeared in Belarusian. On January 13, 2000, the Archbishop of Mińsk-Mohilev established a publishing house named "Pro Christo" that was registered with the state.

The people of God in Belarus have honored the Mother of Christ for centuries. There are many shrines dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Mary also had a special place in Archbishop Świątek's heart since he was a child. When he was a young student, he belonged to the *Sodalis Marianus*. As part of this sodality, the young Kazimierz

⁵³ See Ibid, 29-31, 50-70.

⁵⁴ See Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Metropolity Mińsko-Mohylewskiego, Administratora Apostolskiego Diecezji Pińskiej* (09.30.2000), l. sec. M-M 30/2000; Władysław Blin, Bishop of the Diocese of Vitebsk, *Dekret*, (09.30.2000) ADW, l. sec. 303/2000/Bp.

Świątek carried a rosary with him wherever he went, and he prayed the Marian prayers as a priest, archbishop, and cardinal. The title of Mary as *Mater misericordiae* can be found on his episcopal insignia. Therefore, it was natural for the archbishop to establish Marian shrines within his archdiocese. To this end, on July 2, 1998, Cardinal Kazimierz Świątek crowned the miraculous image of Our Lady of Budślów in the name of Pope John Paul II, and, on the same day, issued a decree that declared the shrine a national “MARIAN SANCTUARY” for the entire country of Belarus.⁵⁵ From then on, the sanctuary was and continues to be called the National Shrine of Belarus.

In the Diocese of Pińsk, there are two images of the Blessed Virgin in Brest and Łahiszyn that have been honored by the faithful for centuries. On May 10, 1997, in the name of the Holy Father, Cardinal Kazimierz Świątek crowned the Child Jesus and the Mother of God in the sanctuary in Łahiszyn. On the same day, he issued a decree declaring the shrine as the Sanctuary of the Diocese of Pińsk.⁵⁶ In addition, on June 30, 1996, in the name of Pope John Paul II and by his authority, Cardinal Kazimierz Świątek crowned the image of the Child Jesus and His Mother located in the Church of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in Brest.⁵⁷ While the archbishop did not issue a decree to erect a sanctuary in this place, the statutes of the synod granted this church the title (of sanctuary).⁵⁸

Conclusion

The narrow scope of this article makes it possible to describe only the most important achievements of Fr. Kazimierz Świątek’s episcopal ministry. Called to serve as Metropolitan of Mińsk and as Apostolic Administrator of Pińsk in 1991, Archbishop Kazimierz Świątek was entrusted with the pastoral care of a territory that covered almost 90% of Belarus. Remarkably, at the time he began his ministry, there were almost no priests, no churches, and only a few active faithful. Although he was 77 years old, Fr. Kazimierz Świątek greatly mobilized the rebuilding of the physical and spiritual Church in Belarus. When

⁵⁵ See Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Arcybiskupa Metropolity Mińsko-Mohylewskiego* (07.02.1998), in AAMM, l. sec. 18/98.

⁵⁶ Archbishop K. Świątek, *Dekret Administratora Apostolskiego Diecezji Pińskiej* (05.10.1997), in ADP, l. sec. 05/03, copy available in the APSK.

⁵⁷ See E. Tarlecki, “Karanacyja cudadzejnaga abraza Maci Bożaj Berascejskaj,” *Nasza Wiara*, no. 1 (1996): 18.

⁵⁸ See *Statuty Synodu Archidiecezji Mińsko-Mohylewskiej, Diecezji Pińskiej i Witebskiej* (Minsk: 2002), 739.

Archbishop Kazimierz Świątek assumed his episcopal office, the average distance between shrines and parishes was 300 km; however, ten years after he began his ministry, that number was reduced to only 30 km.⁵⁹ As the distance between parishes decreased, so did the number of the faithful increase dynamically. At that time, he also successfully managed to lead a synod. When the Archbishop resigned in 2006, the Church in Belarus had an infrastructure, diocesan curia, a relatively dense network of parishes, sanctuaries, seminaries, catechetical institutes, publishing houses, and its own challenging but stable religious communities.

According to the archbishop, the parish is the primary place where the Church of Christ is realized. The archbishop praised the people's traditional forms of piety, believed that they should be cultivated, and was convinced that the identity of the particular Church was expressed in them. For, thanks to popular piety, the Church in Belarus was preserved during Communism.

The Archbishop's episcopal ministry was characterized by a great simplicity, directness, kindness, and openness. Despite his dignity as an archbishop and cardinal, Fr. Kazimierz Świątek remained a humble shepherd of souls, carrying on the work that he had begun as a parish priest in the cathedral in Pińsk. When he met with the faithful, they were most touched by the way that the archbishop talked with them, listened to them, joked with them, and gave them advice. He was, in the words of Christ, "a good shepherd [who knew] his sheep." Among other things, the bishop took to heart that which his faithful suffered; their concerns were his concerns. Archbishop Świątek did not lack in fatherly love, and his episcopal ministry was guided by the following from Isaiah: "a dimly burning wick he will not quench."⁶⁰ He acted like the merciful Samaritan, rather than a severe bishop who desired to use the authority that Christ had given to him to judge and govern. This was true of his attitude toward both the faithful and the priests. This approach to episcopal ministry is deeply rooted in the Tradition of the Church.

Archbishop Świątek was a father for priests and religious sisters. He respected and appreciated them, but he placed high moral demands on them and expected them to fulfill their duties. He believed that priests should unreservedly devote themselves to the salvation of the People of God. However, a discussion of this issue must be taken up in a subsequent publication.

⁵⁹ See *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Isaiah 42:3.

POŚLUGA BISKUPIA KSIĘDZA KAZIMIERZA ŚWIĄTKA (1914-2011)

W artykule przedstawiono zasadnicze wątki posługi pasterskiej ks. arcybiskupa Kazimierza Świątko, który przez pięćdziesiąt dwa lata świadczył o Chrystusie jako ksiądz, a przez następnych niemal dwadzieścia lat, jako arcybiskup i kardynał. Kiedy ksiądz Kazimierz Świątek po latach sowieckiego ucisku obejmował kanonicznie odpowiedzialność za metropolię mińsko-mohylewską i diecezję pińską Kościół instytucjonalny w nich niemal nie istniał. Niewiele lepiej było w wymiarze wiary ludu. Kiedy zakończył swoją posługę biskupią prowincja kościelna miała wszystkie instytucje niezbędne do normalnego funkcjonowania, a kościoły zapełniły się wiernymi. Ten Pasterz wpisuje się w długą listę gorliwych biskupów Kościoła Chrystusowego. Artykuł obejmuje okres posługi biskupiej księdza Kazimierza Świątko. Czas prezbiteratu przedstawiłem w wcześniejszej publikacji

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Słowa kluczowe: pasterz, biskup, posługa, kerygma, ewangelizacja, duchowe dewastacje, komunizm, odbudowa Kościoła, potrzeby wiernych, Pińsk, Mińsk-Mohylew.

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