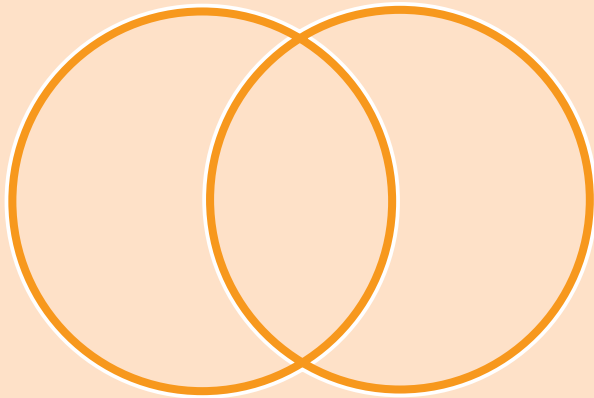


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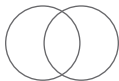
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Urška Jeglič

Muslimani v Sloveniji so ramazanski muslimani

Muslims in Slovenia are Ramadan Muslims

Izvleček: Namen prispevka je pojasniti trditev Nedžada Grabusa, ki je muslimane v Sloveniji označil za ramazanske muslimane. Prispevek prikaže, koliko muslimanov v Sloveniji se odloča za post, in predstavi praznovanje ramazanskega bajrama v Sloveniji. V prispevku je prav tako izpostavljena problematika potrošništva v času ramazana, ki pripomore k ozaveščanju praznika, hkrati pa oddaljuje od njegovega bistva.

Ključne besede: ramazan, ramazanski bajram, muslimani v Sloveniji, potrošništvo

Abstract: *The aim of this article is to clarify Nedžad Grabus' claim that Muslims in Slovenia are Ramadan Muslims. The article shows how many Muslims in Slovenia choose to fast and presents the celebration of Ramadan Bayram in Slovenia. It also highlights the problem of consumerism during Ramadan, which helps to raise awareness of the holiday while distancing it from its very essence.*

Keywords: *ramadan, ramadan Bayram, Muslims in Slovenia, marketing*

Uvod

Islam je v Sloveniji prisoten od začetka 20. stoletja, število muslimanov pa se je v tem obdobju znatno povečalo. Leta 2024 se okrog 4,5 % prebivalcev Republike Slovenije versko opredeljuje za muslimane. Narašča število muslimanov, ki pripadajo drugi ali tretji generaciji muslimanskih priseljenec, za katere velja, da so se rodili v Sloveniji in se identificirajo z dvojno narodnostno pripadnostjo (Slovenec in Bošnjak ali Slovenec in Črnogorec, Slovenec in Albanec) ali pa zgolj z narodno oznako Slovenec. Večina muslimanov v Sloveniji ima korenine v Bosni in Hercegovini, na Kosovu in v Črni gori, nekaj jih prihaja tudi iz Severne Makedonije in Sandžaka.

Namen prispevka je pojasniti oznako Nedžada Grabusa, muftija Islamske skupnosti v Republiki Sloveniji med letoma 2006 in 2021, ki je muslimane v Sloveniji imenoval ramazanski muslimani (2011, 196), saj naj bi muslimanski verniki v času meseca razmazana ojačali svojo versko življenje, medtem ko so preostali del leta veliko manj zavzeti. V nadaljevanju prispevka bomo poskušali potrditi oz. zavreči izrečeno trditev, kar bomo okrepili z empiričnimi dokazi, ki temeljijo na kvalitativnem (intervjuji, opazovanje brez udeležbe) in kvantitativnem (vprašalniki) raziskovanju. Za boljše razumevanje situacije je bila za namen prispevka narejena tudi primerjava s tujimi raziskavami, ki so preučevale versko prakso muslimanov v času ramazana. Za lažje razumevanje vsebine pa bomo na začetku namenili nekaj besed mesecu ramazanu, postu in ramazanskemu bajramu.

1 Mesec ramazan in ramazanski post

Ramazan je deveti mesec islamskega koledarja. Muslimani se ves mesec držijo strogega posta, ki velja za tretji steber islama. Postni čas se zaključí s praznikom ramazanski bajram. Post je spokorna verska praksa mnogih religij, katere namen je odpoved dobrinam, užitku in vsem stvarjem, ki nam preprečujejo, da bi bili v stiku s samim seboj. Odpoved pomaga človeku, da postane bolj dovzeten za duhovne stvari in v sebi naredi prostor za duhovno hrano. S postom se verniki zahvaljujejo Bogu, ki jim je z razodetjem Korana pokazal pravo pot (K 2, 185). Iskreni post je tisti, ki prihaja iz globine človekove duše, ki pričakuje Boga. Prerok Mohamed je namreč dejal, da je človek, ki ima od posta le občutek lakote, zgrešil samo bistvo posta. Post od hrane, pijače in telesnih užitkov človeku pomaga, da se poglobi vase in s tem doseže duhovno korist posta.

Post v mesecu ramazanu je tretji od petih stebrov zapovedane islamske prakse, ki zadeva vse muslimane od dvanajstega do sedemdesetega leta starosti. Izjema so ostareli, bolni, otroci, nosečnice, doječe matere, tisti, ki opravljajo težka fizična dela ali so na potovanju, in ženske v času mesečnega perila.

Za post obstajajo pravni predpisi, njihove temelje pa najdemo v Koranu (K 2, 183-187; 9, 112). Post je vzdržnost od vsega, kar lahko pokvari človeka (pijača, hrana, spolnost, kajenje). Poteka od zore do sončnega zahoda.



Začetek sončnega zahoda naznani viden mlaj na nebu, ki sta ga v preteklosti morali potrditi dve priči, danes pa pri tem pomaga tehnologija. Koran (2, 187) namreč pravi: »Jejte in pijte, dokler se ob svitanju bela nit ne loči od temine. Potem se postite do noči.« Post traja določeno število dni (K 2, 184). V tem času muslimani ne smejo jesti, piti, imeti spolnih odnosov ali pa se predajati kakršnim koli drugim užitkom. V zadnji tretjini posta so spolni odnosi prepovedani tudi ponoči. Dnevni post verniki prekinajo z vodo in nekaj dateljni, nato pa se posvetijo večerni molitvi. Šele nato sledi iftar, skupna družinska večerja, na katero se muslimani skrbno pripravijo.

Zanikanje posta bi pomenilo izstop iz islamske vere. Sestavljata ga vzdržnost in namen. V mesecu ramazanu, ki se deli na tri dele, se je treba boriti za šehado, namaz (molutev), zaščito pred ognjem in dobro delo. Ponoči je čas bogoslužja, kar muslimani imenujejo ibadet. Nočna molitev v mesecu ramazanu se imenuje teravija. V postnem času so muslimani še toliko bolj poklicani k branju, recitiranju in preučevanju Korana. Bogoslužje se okrepi v zadnji tretjini ramazana.

Post zahteva od vernikov strogo disciplino in spokornost. Odreči se vodi in hrani je velik izziv, ki pa po besedah muslimanov ni težek, če si ga človek zna osmisliti. V intervjujih, ki smo jih opravili z muslimani v Sloveniji, pa je bil pogost odgovor tudi to, da je težavnost posta odvisna od letnega časa. Liturgični muslimanski koledar je lunarni koledar, ki je v nekaterih muslimanskih državah tudi uradni državni koledar. Lunarni koledar je za 11 dni krajši od sončnega koledarja in tako šteje 12 mesecev, 354 dni, 8 ur in 48 minut. Prestopno leto (vsako drugo ali tretje leto) šteje dan več. Islamski prazniki so na sončni koledar premični in so vsako leto 11 dni prej.

2 Ramazanski bajram

Beseda bajram ima korenine v turškem jeziku. Pomeni praznik. Balkanski muslimani, posledično pa tudi muslimani v Sloveniji so zaradi svoje zgodovinske povezanosti z Osmanskim cesarstvom prevzeli turška imena za praznike. Ramazanski bajram se v arabščini imenuje »id al-fitir«. Ker je z mesecem ramazanom povezano tudi praznovanje blagoslovljene noči, »lejletu-l-kader«, bomo razlago obeh praznikov obravnavali skupaj.



Praznik poteka tri dni, in sicer v prvih dneh meseca ševvala, ki nastopi za ramazanom. Začne se po končanem mesecu posta, ko se muslimani spominjajo razodetja Korana Preroku Mohamedu. O tem priča tudi koranski stih 97, 3 kjer je zapisano, da je noč kadr boljša od tisočih mesecev. Muslimani to noč preživijo v molitvi in globokem premišljevanju.

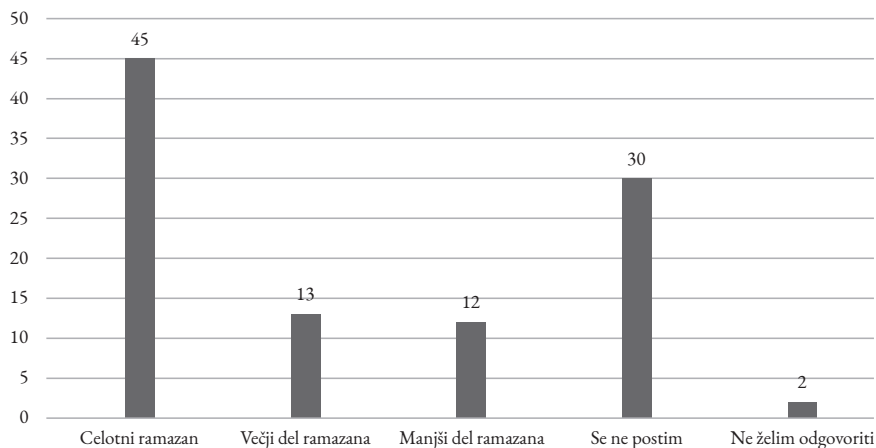
Ramazanski bajram je drugi največji muslimanski praznik, čeprav se zdi, da ga muslimani praznujejo bolj pogosto kot kurban bajram in da je, vsaj na Zahodu, bistveno bolj komercialen. Praznična molitev se začne na prvi dan meseca ševvala z jutranjo molitvijo. Obred v džamiji se zaključi s hutbo oz. pridigo imama. Verniki se na ta dan množično udeležujejo skupnih molitev. V navadi je, da se muslimani odpravijo na molitev po eni poti, vračajo pa se domov po drugi. Simbolno sporočilo običaja se skriva v tem, da verniki na ta način prejmejo več milosti, ki jo Bog na ta dan pošilja na Zemljo.

Ramazanski bajram ni zgolj praznik celotne islamske skupnosti, temveč je hkrati osebni praznik za vsakega muslimana, posebno veselje pa začutijo tisti, ki so se v celotnem obdobju dosledno držali posta. Je družinski praznik, ko se družina zbere na tradicionalnem kosilu, imenovanem bajramska sofrā. Kosilo je praznično, mize so obložene z najboljšimi jedmi. Po islamskem učenju naj bi bil prvi dan praznika namenjen družini, ostala dva pa obisku prijateljev, sorodnikov in grobov (mezarje) svojih pokojnih, kjer se z molitvijo spomnijo tudi nanje. Bajram se vošči z besedami: »Bajram šerif mubarek olsun!« Na voščilo se odgovori: »Allah razi olsun.« Lahko pa preprosto čestitamo z besedami srca. Pri voščenju se muslimani držijo navade, da otroci starše in stare starše poljubijo na desno roko, ti pa jim vrnejo poljub na čelo. (Praznovanje ramazanskega bajrama 2016)

3 Post pri muslimanih v Republiki Sloveniji

Muslimane v Sloveniji smo povprašali, koliko časa se postijo v postnem obdobju. Rezultati so vidni z grafa.





Graf 1: Pogostost prakticiranja posta pri muslimanih v Sloveniji
(vir: raziskava avtorja članka)

Raziskava verske prakse muslimanov v Sloveniji je pokazala, da se v celotnem postnem obdobju posti 45 % muslimanov. Sledijo tisti, ki posta ne prakticirajo (30 %). Delež tistih, ki se postijo večji ali manjši del postnega obdobja, je skorajda enak. S pomočjo intervjujev z imami in muslimanskimi verniki v Sloveniji smo tudi izvedeli, da se nekateri muslimani odločijo za post vsako leto, drugi pa takrat, ko to začutijo in ko se jim zdi, da jim življenjske razmere to dopuščajo. Posti se več moških (57 %) kot žensk (36 %), kar je pričakovano tudi glede na islamske predpise obveze posta, iz katerega so ženske izvzete v času nosečnosti, dojenja in mesečnega perila.

Vprašanje o postu je vsebovala tudi raziskava Aufbruch (World Values Survey 2007, 145), ki pa je anketirance spraševala le, ali se postijo. Predvidevamo lahko, da so pritrdilno odgovorili vsi vprašani muslimani, ki opravljajo ramazanski post, ne glede na to, ali se postijo celotno postno obdobje, večji ali manjši del. Po raziskavi Aufbruch se posti 58 % vprašanih, po rezultatih naše ankete pa je takih 69 %.

V Bosni in Hercegovini se celotno postno obdobje posti 39 % vernikov (Alibašić 2015), kar je za 6 % manj kot pri nas. Četrtnina se jih posti večji del posta, 15 % muslimanov pa manjši del postnega obdobja. Delež tistih, ki se ne postijo, je za 11 % manjši kot v naši raziskavi. Ta podatek

je za nas zanimiv, ker ima večina muslimanov v Sloveniji korenine v Bosni in Hercegovini, posledično pa je tudi verska praksa muslimanov v Bosni in Hercegovini ter Sloveniji podobna.

Veliko več muslimanov se posti v Turčiji, namreč 83 %, nekoliko več žensk in več mlajših kot pa starejših od 65 let. Ahmet Türkan (2023, 103) prav tako navaja, da se muslimani v Turčiji med ramazanom bolj dosledno držijo verskih predpisov – predvsem bolj pogosto molijo.

Anketiranci, ki so se po narodnosti opredelili za Slovence, se v večini ne postijo (67 %), kar je lahko odraz tega, da so potomci priseljencev prve generacije bolj asimilirani. Posledično se manj držijo verskih predpisov oz. jih popolnoma opustijo. Hkrati pa obstajajo tudi v Sloveniji »sekularni« muslimani, pri katerih je opredelitev za muslimane zgolj del tradicije. Verske prakse namreč ne prakticirajo. Med narodno opredeljenimi Bošnjaki/Bosanci in Muslimani se več kot polovica, in sicer 56 % oz. 52 %, posti celotno postno obdobje. Drugi najpogostejši odgovor pri obeh skupinah je bil, da se ne postijo. Med Bošnjaki/Bosanci je takih 16 %, pri Muslimanih pa 24 %. Pri Albancih je delež tistih, ki se postijo oz. se ne držijo posta, skorajda enak, a se na te podatke zaradi nizkega števila Albancev v raziskavi ne moremo zanašati. Večina anketirancev, ki so se opredelili pod drugo, se posti celotno postno obdobje.

Posta se najbolj dosledno držijo muslimani, ki so se rodili in odraščali izven Slovenije. Takih je 70 %. Med muslimani, ki so se v Sloveniji rodili, in tistimi, ki so se v Slovenijo priselili v otroštvu ali mladosti, ne opažamo večjih razlik glede posta.

V mesecu ramazanu se celotno postno obdobje posti 68 % članov Islamske skupnosti v Republiki Sloveniji, 25 % tistih, ki niso člani Islamske skupnosti v Republiki Sloveniji, in 38 % tistih, ki pripadajo kateri od alternativnih muslimanskih skupnosti v Sloveniji.¹ Ne posti se manjšina članov Islamske skupnosti, več kot polovica nečlanov Islamske skupnosti v Republiki

1 V registru Cerkev in drugih verskih skupnosti so v Sloveniji registrirane tri muslimanske skupnosti. Bistveno največja je Islamska skupnost v Republiki Sloveniji. Drugi skupnosti sta še Slovenska muslimanska skupnost in Slovenska islamska skupnost milosti. Prav tako je v Sloveniji prisotna islamska sekta Ahmadija.

in malo več kot 10 % tistih, ki so odgovorili drugo. Med tistimi, ki se postijo večji ali manjši del postnega obdobja, večjih razlik ni zaznati. Opažamo, da je verska identiteta muslimanov, ki niso vključeni v nobeno muslimansko versko skupnost, manj izrazita.

Intervjuvanci, ki se postijo, so povedali, da se je na post le treba pripraviti. Med raziskavo smo se srečali z več muslimani, ki so dejali, da se v ramazanu brez večjih težav odpovedo prepovedanim stvarem. Čeprav jim je čez leto težko redno moliti, prebirati islamsko literaturo in se odpovedati svojim razvadam, jim to v času ramazana ne povzroča težav. Eden izmed intervjuvancev je dejal, da se posti kljub sladkorni bolezni, a da v postnem času nima nobenih zdravstvenih težav.² Zdi se, da ima pri tem veliko vlogo sama odločitev za post in da je poleg verskega motiva post tudi čas osebnega razmišljanja, samorefleksije in na neki način tudi preizkušanja samega sebe.

4 Praznovanje ramazana pri muslimanih v Republiki Sloveniji

Mesec ramazan ima za vse muslimane po svetu posebno mesto. To ni le mesec odpovedovanja, ampak gre predvsem za čas duhovnega boja, čas za premišljevanje, razločevanje in krepitev duha. V vseh muslimanskih skupnosti se v tem času prirejajo različni dogodki, ki pomagajo vernikom razumeti in doživeti pomen ramazana. V Sloveniji sta ponudba in organizacija tovrstnih dogodkov iz leta v leto večji, zasluge za to pa ima predvsem Islamska skupnost v Republiki Sloveniji. Kljub temu so muslimani mnenja, da se v Sloveniji pozna, da islam ni večinska religija, in da je slovenska kulturna tradicija prežeta s krščanstvom. Po besedah intervjuvancev je bajejram bistveno lepše doživeti v Bosni in Hercegovini ali kateri drugi državi z večinsko muslimanskim prebivalstvom, kjer se na vsakem koraku čuti praznični pridih, ki bi ga lahko primerjali z vzdušjem veselega decembra v zahodnih državah. Slednje je tudi razlog, zakaj se veliko muslimanov za praznike vrača v svojo domovino oz. v domovino svojih prednikov. Zavedati se pa moramo tudi tega, da se z izzivi praznovanja praznikov

2 Opravljenih je bilo več študij, ki preučujejo vpliv ramazanskega posta na zdravje. Mohammad Hossein Rouhani in Leila Azadbakht (2014, 991) ugotavljata, da študije sicer kažejo na varovalne in pozitivne zdravstvene učinke ramazanskega posta, a je potrebno za zanesljivejše zaključke izvesti natančnejše raziskave.



in opravljanja različnih verskih dolžnosti srečujejo tudi muslimani v Bosni in Hercegovini, ki jim 11. člen ustave Bosne in Hercegovine veleva ločitev zasebne in javne sfere življenja. Posledično tudi muslimani v Bosni in Hercegovini v času ramazana ne morejo brez upravičenega razloga zapustiti delovnega mesta ali pouka, da bi lahko opravili ramazanske dnevne molitve ali katero koli drugo versko prakso (Filandra 2023, 77). Hkrati pa ne smemo spregledati, da mlajše generacije muslimanov, ki so bile rojene v Sloveniji, za svojo domovino štejejo Slovenijo in da je druga generacija povsem integrirana ali celo asimilirana v slovensko družbo. Tako vse več slovenskih muslimanov ostaja tudi za praznike v Sloveniji. Večina intervjuvancev je omenila, da je dom tam, kjer so družina in tvoji najdražji.

Obisk molitev se po besedah imamov Islamske skupnosti v Republiki Sloveniji v času ramazana znatno poveča. V tem času se znotraj odborov pojavljajo tudi dodatna izobraževanja in predavanja, na katera povabijo hafize in ugledne predavatelje iz tujine. Iz intervjujev smo sicer izvedeli, da vsi muslimani s ponudbo v času ramazana niso zadovoljni, saj naj bi bila ta v Ljubljani precej boljša kot drugod po Sloveniji. Razlog za to je tudi dejstvo, da edina džamija v Sloveniji stoji v Ljubljani in da je v Ljubljani lociran Muslimanski kulturni center, znotraj katerega prirejajo izobraževalne in kulturne dogodke.

Osrednja molitev ramazanskega bajrama je jutranja molitev na prvi dan praznika. Skupinske molitve potekajo v vseh odborih Islamske skupnosti v Republiki Sloveniji, prav tako jih prirejajo alternativne muslimanske skupnosti v Sloveniji. Gre za najbolj obiskano molitev v letu. Aprila 2024 se je samo v Ljubljani pri molitvi zbralo več kot 5000 muslimanov. Pred postavitvijo džamije so v te namene najemali telovadnico, kar je še vedno praksa v drugih večjih odborih Islamske skupnosti v Republiki Sloveniji. Praznovanje ramazanskega bajrama je bilo leta 2024 na neki način tudi prelomno, saj je nacionalna slovenska televizija prvič neposredno prenašala molitev iz ljubljanske džamije. Tako so lahko preko spleta molitev spremljali tudi bolni in ostareli ter širša slovenska javnost, kar lahko pozitivno pripomore k premostitvi medkulturnih in medreligijskih mostov in boljšemu spoznavanju islama.

Predvsem člani Islamske skupnosti v Republiki Sloveniji si prizadevajo za dobre medsebojne odnose z drugače verujočimi ali neverujočimi



Slovenci. Od leta 2022 prirejajo bajram s sosedi. Ob praznovanju letošnjega bajrama s sosedi so na spletni strani Islamske skupnosti v Republiki zapisali (2024):

Praznovanje bajrama s sosedi ni bila le priložnost za uživanje v kulturi, umetnosti in sladkih dobrotah, ampak tudi za gradnjo mostov med ljudmi, spoznavanje novih prijateljev in poglobljanje obstoječih vezi. Ta dan ostaja v srcih vseh udeležencev kot spomin na lepoto skupnosti in moč skupnega praznovanja ter je dokaz, da so spoštovanje, razumevanje in sožitje ključni za harmonično sobivanje v naši družbi.

Muslimani v Sloveniji praznujejo ramazanski bajram najraje v krogu družine. Poleg prazničnega kosila je ta čas namenjen tudi medsebojnemu obdarovanju, druženju in obiskovanju grobov umrlih svojcev. Glede na to, da muslimanski prazniki v Sloveniji niso dela prosti dnevi, si večina vernikov vzame dopust. Nekateri muslimani v Sloveniji se zaradi tega počutijo diskriminirane, saj so po drugi strani nekateri krščanski verski prazniki hkrati tudi dela prosti dnevi. Leta 2017 je Almir Talić podal pobudo za izpodbijanje Zakona o praznikih in dela prostih dnevih v Republiki Sloveniji, ki pa jo je ustavno sodišče na podlagi neutemeljenih dejstev zavrnilo. Odgovor sodišča je bil, da nabor dela prostih dni sicer sledi nekaterim verskim praznikom, a ne zaradi njihove vsebine, temveč zaradi njihove tradicionalne, kulturne, zgodovinske in družinske razsežnosti. (Grabus 2021, 143–151)

5 Komercializacija ramazana

Praznovanje ramazanskega bajrama je postalo v zadnjih letih močno komercializirano, kar je še posebej vidno v Evropi, Združenih državah Amerike in gospodarsko močnejših islamskih državah. Opazimo lahko veliko povezav pri obnašanju vernikov med islamskim ramazanom in krščanskim adventom oz. praznovanjem ramazanskega bajrama in praznovanjem božiča, pri čemer pa ne smemo spregledati tudi bistvene razlike, ki se skriva v pomenu in dojemanju določenega obdobja. Čeprav se tudi islamski prazniki vse bolj komercializirajo, se zdi, da ima duhovna komponenta pri muslimanih vidnejšo in osrednjo vlogo. Slednje velja predvsem



za tiste muslimane, ki se odločijo za post in poglobitev verskega življenja. Nasprotno pa je »veseli december« v mnogih primerih izpodrinil adventno pripravo na praznovanje božiča v zahodni kulturi, odločitev za post pred praznovanjem velike noči pa je v zahodni kulturi prej izjema kot pravilo.

A kot smo že omenili, je tudi ramazan postal tržna niša. Nedavna študija o nakupovalnih navadah muslimanov je pokazala, da muslimani v času ramazana zapravijo 46 % več denarja, v času ramazanskega bajrama pa se izdatek poveča za 76,3 %, kar je bržkone povezano s kupovanjem daril za najdražje (ElSharkawy 2024). V tem obdobju zapravijo veliko denarja za hrano, saj so za iftarje značilne bogato obložene mize. Hkrati naraste prodaja ženskih muslimanskih oblačil, predvsem abaj in hidžabov, ki jih imajo muslimanke oblečene med opravljanjem molitev in iftarjev. Precej denarja se porabi tudi za nakup domače dekoracije, ki spominja in opominja vernike na čas ramazana ter pomaga pričarati postno, pozneje pa praznično vzdušje. Med muslimani so zelo priljubljena stojala za sveče in različne osvetljave, praznični napisi, baloni z napisom ramazanski bajram, jedilni pribori, različni okraski ali posoda v obliki polmeseca in zvezde, koledarji z namenom odštevanja postnih dni itd.

Vse to so vidna znamenja praznovanja ramazanskega bajrama, ki jih na veliko promovirajo tudi različni muslimanski vplivneži, ki so prisotni na različnih družbenih omrežjih. Marketinška kampanja v času ramazana po eni strani pripomore k ozaveščanju praznovanja praznika in morebiti muslimanom, predvsem tistim, ki živijo v zahodnem svetu, pomaga pričarati praznično vzdušje ter jih nagovori k ohranjanju tradicije. Po drugi strani pa marketinška podoba oddaljuje od bistva samega ramazana, katerega prvi namen je iskrena odločitev za spokornost in čas za Boga, ne pa za potrošnjo. Zavedati se moramo, da predmeti z ramazanskimi napisi ne povedo veliko o človekovi duhovni pripravi in lahko celo zameglijo bistvo postnega časa, ki je namenjen skromnosti in spokornosti. Vidimo lahko, da se muslimani v sodobnem svetu soočajo s podobnimi izzivi kot kristjani in da tudi muslimanskim praznikom grozi zameglitev bistva praznika, pri čemer naj bi praznično vzdušje pričarale materialne stvari.

Zaključek

Namen članka je odgovoriti na vprašanje, ali so muslimani v Sloveniji ramazanski muslimani. Če za merilo vzamemo obisk skupnih molitev in izpolnjevanje verskih predpisov islamske verske prakse, je naš odgovor pritrdilen. Na podlagi opravljene raziskave smo videli, da muslimani v Sloveniji med ramazanom bolj redno molijo in v večji meri obiskujejo skupinske molitve. Nekateri od njih se tudi odločijo za post, veliko jih v tem času prispeva letni prispevek miloščine – zekat. Na podlagi širše študije verske prakse muslimanov v Sloveniji (Jeglič 2022) je bilo ugotovljeno, da največji del muslimanov v Sloveniji prištevamo med kulturne vernike, s čimer lahko razložimo tudi pomembnost praznovanja ramazanskega bajrama za muslimane v Sloveniji. Praznovanje ramazanskega bajrama (pa tudi drugih verskih praznikov) je ohranjanje stika s kulturo prednikov, ki so živeli v Bosni in Hercegovini, na Kosovu ali v kateri drugi balkanski državi, od koder so migrirali v Slovenijo. Gre za ohranjanje družinske, nacionalne oz. kulturne in verske tradicije, pri čemer je pri nekaterih vernikih bolj v ospredju ena, pri drugih pa druga komponenta.

Pomembno je poudariti, da oznaka »ramazanski muslimani« ni slabšalna in da skuša le opisati versko življenje muslimanov v Sloveniji. Muslimani v Sloveniji se v tem bistveno ne razlikujejo od drugih muslimanov v Evropi. Obširna študija, narejena v Nemčiji, je pokazala, da se redno posti 27 % muslimanov v Nemčiji, ki imajo korenine v jugovzhodnem delu Evrope, in kar 61 % muslimanov, ki prihajajo iz Turčije. Od tistih, ki prihajajo iz jugovzhodne Evrope, se jih 37 % ne posti, 36 % pa se jih posti občasno. (Haug, Müssing in Stichs 2009, 6) Vidimo tudi lahko, da so muslimani v Sloveniji sekularizirani. Islam zapoveduje izpolnjevanje petih stebrov islama ali pet dolžnosti islamske verske prakse, ki bi jih verniki morali opraviti. Raziskava religijskega centra Pew Research iz leta 2012 kaže, da se posti 93 % svetovne muslimanske populacije. Več jih izpoveduje le šehado.

Ugotavljamo, da so muslimani v Sloveniji nekoliko bolj sekularizirani kot muslimani v Bosni in Hercegovini ter da je verska praksa muslimanov v Sloveniji primerljiva z versko prakso muslimanov iz jugovzhodne Evrope, ki živijo drugih evropskih državah, denimo v Nemčiji ali Avstriji. Vpliv na to ima v prvi vrsti bolj sekularizirano okolje. Raziskava Gallup (2010), ki je potekala od 2008 do 2009, je pokazala, da je religija pomembna 47 %



prebivalcem Slovenije in kar 77 % prebivalcem Bosne in Hercegovine. Po podatkih raziskave SJM 17/1 (Uhan idr. 2017) je religija pomembna za točno 70 % muslimanov in za 20 % rimokatolikov. Na večjo sekularizacijo muslimanov v Sloveniji vpliva tudi dejstvo, da predstavljajo manjšino. Intervjuvani muslimani so dejali, da se v večini primerov ne želijo izpostavljati. Eden izmed razlogov naj bi bila nenaklonjenost slovenskega okolja do priseljencev iz bivših držav Jugoslavije, še posebej do muslimanov. Z izjemo redkih posameznikov sprejemajo slovensko zakonodajo brez večjega nasprotovanja, prav tako se prilagodijo načinu življenja. Veliko muslimanov je asimiliranih, praznovanje ramazanskega bajrama pa je še edini stik z muslimansko zgodovino njihovih prednikov. Zagotovo bi lahko bila situacija tudi drugačna. Šterbenc (2011, 162–167), naslanjajoč se na Bruca, omenja kulturno obrambo manjšinske skupine, pri kateri pride do povečanja pripadnosti religiji in posledično do zaustavljanja sekularizacije. Slednjo pa v prvi vrsti zaustavlja nacionalistična vloga religije. Pri muslimanih v Sloveniji ne opazamo uporniškega prebujanja »muslimanske zavesti«, izjema je le manjša skupina muslimanov, ki sledi načelom salafitske pravne šole, kjer je v ospredju posnemanje izvirnega, arabskega islama, ne pa nacionalistična vloga religije. Posledično je tudi proces desekularizacije na ravni družbenega in javnega življenja manjši.

Prednost tovrstnih razmer vidimo v tem, da muslimani v Sloveniji, ki praznujejo ramazanski bajram in ki se odločijo za post v svetem mesecu, to naredijo z iskrenim namenom, in ne pod prisilo, kot se to dogaja drugod po svetu, tudi v Evropi. Anna Zadrozna (2013, 41) je med raziskavo ugotovila, da večina makedonskih muslimanov nikoli ni brala Korana in hadisov, a jih večina pozna osnove islama. Poznavanje arabščine je slabo. Ker le redki obiskujejo verski pouk, obstajajo tudi taki, ki molijo, a ne vedo, kaj besede pomenijo. Versko življenje makedonskih muslimanov se spremeni v času ramazana, ko se večina vernikov odloči za post. Po drugi strani pa Zadrozna (42–43) omenja, da se je med svojim terenskim delom prvič nekoliko oštela, ko je ljudem verjela (nasedla), da se dosledno držijo posta. Po večkratnem delu na terenu in bolj pozornem opazovanju je namreč ugotovila, da se večina makedonskih muslimanov posti iz strahu pred opravljanjem in stigmatiziranjem. Pri pozornem opazovanju je večkrat opazila, da so mladi muslimani v času ramazana na skrivaj kadili cigarete in da so moški pogosto hodili v večja mesta, kjer so obilno jedli in pili.

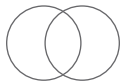
Muslimane v Sloveniji lahko nedvomno označimo za ramazanske muslimane, pri čemer je praznovanje ramazana tesno povezano s kulturo njihovih prednikov in ohranjanjem tradicije, ki se pri določenih posameznikih kaže tudi po obisku molitev in postu v času ramazana. Muslimani v Sloveniji pri tem niso izjema – podoben vzorec najdemo tudi pri muslimanih iz Jugovzhodne Evrope, ki so se preselili v Nemčijo in Avstrijo. V Sloveniji se sicer posti 60 % manj muslimanov v primerjavi s celotno muslimansko populacijo, a je njihov post iskren in temelji na svobodni odločitvi. Podatkov o povečani potrošnji muslimanov v Sloveniji sicer nimamo. Na prvi pogled se zdi, da se muslimani v Sloveniji bolj posvečajo kulinariki kot trošenju denarja za različne dekoracije. Pri potrošnji v času ramazana verjetno zaostajajo za muslimani v drugih državah zahodnega sveta, a glede na različne marketinške kampanje je vprašanje časa, kdaj bodo muslimani v Sloveniji, predvsem mlajše generacije, začeli posnemati svetovne trende. Čas bo pokazal, ali bo slednje vplivalo na praznovanje ramazana in ramazanskega bajrama v Sloveniji in ali bo praznik s tem postal tudi v slovenski družbi bolj opazen in prepoznaven.



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Jamil Akhtar

Social Justice and Equality in the Qur'ān: Implications for Global Peace

*Socialna pravičnost in enakost v Koranu
v povezavi z globalnim mirom*

Abstract: This paper explores the profound lessons of the Qur'ān about equality and social justice, as well as how these lessons relate to promoting world peace. The goal is to clarify the fundamental ideas of the Qur'ān that support gender equality, economic justice, and human dignity while examining their applicability in the modern world. The study uses a thorough examination of Qur'ānic verses, closely examining particular allusions to social issues and their historical background to produce complex interpretations. One of the main goals is to determine the connection between social justice, equality, and world peace. The study recognizes and tackles widespread misunderstandings and historical obstacles that have impeded the successful application of Qur'ānic principles, even despite the rich Islamic tradition that places a strong emphasis on these values. Additionally, the paper evaluates the current obstacles to social justice advocacy and offers solutions. A thorough examination of the role of Muslim communities and leaders is conducted, emphasizing their obligations to advance social justice and peace worldwide. Furthermore, a comparative examination with alternative religious and ideological viewpoints is conducted to find points of agreement for interfaith communication and cooperation. The article concludes by making suggestions on how communities, governments, and legislators can incorporate the Qur'ānic teachings into real-world projects. It emphasizes the critical role that social justice and equality play in bringing about enduring world peace.

Keywords: equality, global peace, social justice

Izvleček: V članku so obravnavani nauki Korana o enakosti in socialni pravičnosti ter njihova povezanost s spodbujanjem svetovnega miru. Cilj je pojasniti temeljne ideje Korana, ki podpirajo enakost spolov, gospodarsko pravičnost in človekovo dostojanstvo, hkrati pa preučiti njihovo uporabnost v sodobnem svetu. Članek temeljito analizira koranske verze, pri čemer natančno preučuje posamezne aluzije na družbena vprašanja in njihovo zgodovinsko ozadje ter tako oblikuje kompleksne razlage. Eden glavnih ciljev je definirati povezavo med družbeno pravičnostjo, enakostjo in svetovnim mirom. Študija prepoznava in obravnava razširjene nesporazume in zgodovinske ovire, ki so ovirali uspešno uporabo koranskih načel, celo kljub bogati islamski tradiciji, ki močno poudarja te vrednote. Poleg tega ocenjuje sedanje ovire pri zagovarjanju družbene pravičnosti in ponuja rešitve. Temeljito je preučena vloga muslimanskih skupnosti in voditeljev, pri čemer so poudarjene njihove obveznosti za spodbujanje socialne pravičnosti in miru po vsem svetu. Poleg tega članek ponuja primerjalni pregled z alternativnimi verskimi in ideološkimi stališči, da bi našli skupne točke za medversko

komunikacijo in sodelovanje. Članek se zaključi s predlogi, kako lahko skupnosti, vlade in zakonodajalci vključijo nauke Korana v resničnost sveta. Poudarja ključno vlogo, ki jo imata družbena pravičnost in enakost pri vzpostavljanju trajnega svetovnega miru.

Ključne besede: *enakost, globalni mir, socialna pravičnost*

Introduction

The Qur'ān is a profound and all-encompassing manual that covers the ethical, legal, and spiritual facets of life for Muslims. Its verses are believed to be the exact words that God spoke to the Prophet Muhammad more than 1,400 years ago (Esposito 2015). Islamic doctrine is based on the Qur'ān, which provides moral and ethical guidelines for social cohesiveness as well as personal behaviour (Rahman 1980). Understanding Islam's teachings is necessary to respect its principles and the ideals that motivate its followers (Nasr 2007). Concerns about equality and social justice have gained prominence in today's diverse and interconnected global setting. Persistent economic disparities, discrimination, and social injustices are the root causes of tensions and conflicts worldwide (Stiglitz 2012). This necessitates a critical analysis of the role that religious texts, particularly the Qur'ān, can play in settling disputes and promoting a world that is more equitable and peaceful.

This paper analyses the lessons on social justice and equality found in the Qur'ān and discusses how they apply to the current state of international affairs. We seek to uncover the wisdom contained in the Qur'ān and investigate its potential as a roadmap for people, communities, and policymakers striving for a more equitable and peaceful world via in-depth examination of important ideas and verses. The lessons of the Qur'ān have attracted a lot of scholarly attention, but in-depth examination that specifically tackles social justice and equality in the context of the global community is conspicuously lacking. By providing a comprehensive analysis of the Qur'ān's position on these important issues and considering any potential ramifications for international peace, this study aims to close this gap. By doing this, we hope to further the current conversation regarding the influence of religious texts on the development of moral frameworks for a global and multicultural society. Previous studies have looked at the lessons of justice, ethics, and social behaviour found in the Qur'ān (Barlas 2002). But as the literature makes clear, there is a paucity



of comprehensive studies on the Qur'ānic perspective on equality and social justice in the contemporary global setting. Because of the dynamic nature of global issues, it is necessary to reexamine religious writings to determine their relevance to the modern world.

This paper contends that it significantly advances the discussion of the Qur'ān's teachings on social justice and equality in a global setting. It sets itself apart by focusing on these subjects and providing an in-depth analysis that transcends the broader talks of Islamic ethics. The contribution lies in the nuanced understandings that bridge the gap between traditional interpretations and contemporary issues, offering a fresh perspective on the Qur'ān's capacity to advance global peace.

1 Brief overview of the Qur'ān

The chapters of the Qur'ān are called Surahs, and the verses are called Ayahs. Each surah has a different length and covers a range of topics, including morality, religion, the law, and advice on conduct. The oneness of God, monotheism, and the significance of good deeds as means of achieving spiritual advancement are all emphasized in the Qur'ān (Khan 1979). In addition, it offers moral guidance on a range of topics, advancing equality, justice, and compassion (Al-Qaradawi 1999). Scholarly appreciation of the Qur'ān's linguistic and literary beauty dates back centuries (Sells 1999). Believers view the language's complex structure – which is written in classical Arabic – as a miracle in and of itself (Abdel Haleem 2010). A thorough comprehension of the Qur'ānic language, historical background, and legal precedents is necessary for accurate interpretation (Rippin 2006). Diverse Islamic schools of thought might provide various interpretations, adding to the wealth of scholarly work (Ramadan 2008).

2 Importance of social justice and equality in the global context

The Qur'ān frequently discusses social justice and equality, demonstrating a general concern for people's welfare both individually and collectively (Mir-Hosseini 2006). No matter one's origins or social standing, the



Qur'ān emphasizes the intrinsic dignity of every person (Barlas 2002). It encourages a sense of equality among believers by outspokenly denouncing discrimination based on race, ethnicity, or social status (Esack 1997). The concepts of equality and social justice are extremely important in the global context. There is a clear need for an international ethical framework as the world grows more interconnected and diverse cultures and belief systems interact on a global basis (Nussbaum 2009). In addition to being a question of personal ethics, social justice becomes essential to promoting mutual respect, collaboration, and harmonious cohabitation between various communities (Sen 2009). The difficulties facing the world today highlight how urgent it is to address social justice issues. Conflicts and tensions are caused by the persistence of social injustices, gender inequality, and economic disparities in different regions (Stiglitz 2012). Comprehending and implementing the social justice teachings of the Qur'ān can yield significant insights into addressing these issues and advancing a fairer and more peaceful international community (Ghazi 2010).

This paper will examine the Qur'ānic teachings on equality and social justice and consider how they relate to world peace. The goal is to uncover the profound wisdom that can lead people, communities, and policymakers toward a more equitable and peaceful world by looking at important ideas found in the Qur'ān, pertinent verses, and their historical background.

3 Concept of social justice and equality in the Qur'ān

While social justice and equality are major themes in many religious traditions, Islam provides a comprehensive framework addressing these issues as explained in the Qur'ān. For Muslims, the Qur'ān is the sacred book, and its precepts offer direction in areas such as morality, ethics, and social structure. This paper examines how the Qur'ān addresses social justice and equality, highlighting important ideas and pertinent passages that speak to gender equality, economic justice, and human dignity.

3.1 Key principles in the Qur'ān

The Qur'ān is the religious book for millions of followers around the world, in which equality, dignity of human and economic justice are the



main features. It affirms the identical value of each person before God, irrespective of one's background. Economic justice is delivered through fair distribution of resources and expressions of care for those in need. Gender equality is given due importance, dispelling old outdated social norms. These principles are a digital of the personal and societal relations mirroring the vision of Qur'ān for a just society.

Human dignity and equality: All people have intrinsic dignity, regardless of their origins, race, or social standing, as the Qur'ān emphasizes. The Qur'ān emphasizes the inherent value of every person by clearly saying, »We have certainly honoured the children of Adam« (Qur'ān 17:70). This principle upholds the belief that no one should face discrimination based on petty standards because all people are created equal in God's eyes. Furthermore, the Qur'ān encourages humility and unity among believers while discouraging elitism and arrogance. It says, yes, we did create you from male and female and make you into peoples and tribes so that you can get to know one another, o mankind. It is true that the most upright among you are the most noble in Allah's eyes (Qur'ān 49:13). This verse highlights the fact that genuine nobility is not determined by social standing or ancestry, but rather by piety and righteousness.

Economic justice: The equitable distribution of wealth and the prohibition of exploitative practices are two ways that the Qur'ān promotes economic justice. One of the Five Pillars of Islam, zakat, mandates that Muslims give away a certain percentage of their wealth to the less fortunate. The Qur'ān states, »And establish prayer and give zakah, and whatever good you put forward for yourselves – you will find it with Allah. Indeed, Allah, of what you do, is Seeing.« (Qur'ān 2:110) This serves to support the notion that shared economic prosperity is preferable to hoarded wealth for the benefit of society as a whole. An additional economic principle found in the Qur'ān that tries to stop exploitation is the prohibition of usury (*riba*). Usury is vehemently condemned by the Qur'ān, which says that »those who consume interest cannot stand [on the Day of Resurrection] except as one stands who is being beaten by Satan into insanity« (Qur'ān 2:127). By preventing unfair transactions from producing wealth, this ban aims to create a just economic system in which the less fortunate are not disproportionately burdened with debt.



Gender Equality: The Qur'ān emphasizes the spiritual equality of men and women to address gender equality. It clearly states: »And their Lord responded to them, 'Never will I allow to be lost the work of [any] worker among you, whether male or female; you are of one another.'« (Qur'ān 3:195) It is established in this verse that men and women have equal roles and rewards in God's eyes. The verse »And the believers, men and women, are protecting friends of one another; they enjoin the right and forbid the wrong« (Qur'ān 9:71) further affirms the special abilities and attributes of both sexes. In sustaining justice and righteousness, this encourages men and women to work together and support one another.

3.2 Relevant verses supporting social justice

A spirituality and social justice link is the subject of the discussion that the examples of diverse religious texts will be used to show the need for justice, kindness and tolerance. Guided by these teachings that are found in different religious systems such as the Holy Bible, Qur'ān, and Bhagavad Gita, it is clear that every human being is endowed with dignity and should engender compassion, love and understanding to others. Prophets and divinely-inspired people encouraged believers to work on generating a world of equality, fairness and brotherhood, and these guidelines are applicable even today. This reflective journey involves the readers to explore the universal spiritual principles outlined in the teachings of other religions and opens the door for a potential positive social change.

Specific verses addressing social issues: The Qur'ān contains many verses that expressly address social issues and promote compassion and justice. One of these verses says, »O you who have believed, be persistently standing firm for Allah, witnesses in justice, and do not let the hatred of a people prevent you from being just. Be just; that is nearer to righteousness.« (Qur'ān 5:8) This verse cautions against allowing one's own prejudices to obstruct the pursuit of justice in addition to highlighting the significance of justice. The Qur'ān also advocates for the defence of the weak and oppressed. It says, »And what is [the matter] with you that you fight not in the cause of Allah and [for] the oppressed among men, women, and children who say, 'Our Lord, take us out of this city of oppressive people and appoint for us from Yourself a protector and appoint for us from Yourself a helper?'« (Qur'ān 4:175) This verse emphasizes how important



it is to oppose oppression and fight to create a society that is fair and compassionate.

Historical context and interpretation: A comprehensive understanding of social justice principles necessitates an understanding of the historical background and interpretation of Qur'ānic verses. Academics who offer in-depth commentary that clarify the circumstances surrounding the revelation of specific verses include Ibn Kathir and Al-Qurtubi. For example, the economic practices that were common during the Prophet Muhammad's time are the reason why usury is prohibited. Usury was a popular tool used to exploit people with low financial standing. The Qur'ān's condemnation of usury sought to put an end to these unfair commercial practices and establish a fair and just system of economic organization. Similarly, the verses addressing gender equality need to be interpreted in the context of pre-Islamic Arabian society, where women were often mistreated and marginalized. Scholars like Amina Wadud and Leila Ahmed assert that the Qur'ān's teachings aimed to empower and elevate women while also challenging prevailing social mores (Wadud 1999; Ahmed 1992).

The Qur'ān provides a comprehensive and multifaceted framework for comprehending and enacting social justice and equality. Its teachings emphasize the value of justice, fairness, and compassion in all aspects of human existence. They are imbued with the core concepts of gender equality, economic justice, and human dignity. Significant guidance for establishing a just and fair society can be obtained from the verses that specifically address social issues when examined in the context of their historical writing and interpreted with professional insight. Muslims are called upon to improve society by upholding these values and creating an atmosphere in which equality and justice are the norm.

4 Implications for global peace: fostering social justice, equality, and peace

During unparalleled global problems peace making has differed from the simple way of war. The modern day theories of world peace underline the utmost importance of equality and social justice for a peaceful



co-existence among all. This change acknowledges the fact that the fair, reasonable societies characterized by the equitable access of resources are necessary for real peace, which goes beyond the absence of the armed conflict. Social justice, equity and equality have been recognized as vital bases for keeping conflicting situations off, as grievances can be a trigger for conflicts. The examination of these concepts delves into how they are interconnected with each other, highlighting the efforts of some civilizations to institute equality and social justice to ensure a lasting peace. Through the consideration of a wide range of case studies, from religious to secular, the search for the recurring elements focusing on maintaining peace through the adherence to these principles is also undertaken.

4.1 Connection between social justice, equality, and peace

The nuanced idea of world peace must include social justice and equality in addition to the absence of overt hostilities. The idea that social justice, equality, and peace are related stems from the observation that peaceful societies are more likely to be just and equitable. This is not just a theoretical relationship. Social justice requires an equitable distribution of opportunities, resources, and privileges within a community to advance equity. However, equality ensures that all people, regardless of background, have access to the same opportunities and rights. Respect for these principles creates the foundation for peace. Injustices and inequality often lead to social unrest, grievances, and, in the worst cases, conflict. As a result, eradicating social injustices and promoting equality can serve as strong deterrents to violence and significantly increase global peace. Examining how various societies have used social justice, equality, and peace to foster harmony and lessen conflict is essential to understanding the relationship between these ideas.

4.2 Case studies highlighting positive outcomes

Tales of societies that have applied the teachings of the Qur'ān to promote social justice and harmony are inspiring. They demonstrate the game-changing power of harmonizing communal values with the moral and ethical precepts of the Qur'ān. Some societies have seen success in removing barriers and promoting inclusivity by embracing values based in compassion, equity, and moral behaviour. These case studies highlight the critical role



that social justice plays as a catalyst for long-lasting peace and peaceful coexistence, offering insightful information about the concrete advantages of incorporating Qur'ānic values into social frameworks.

a) Societies applying Qur'ānic principles

Communities that take their cues from the Qur'ān are one noteworthy example of a society putting social justice and equality into practice and then achieving peace. Islam's core principles of social justice and equality are emphasized in the Qur'ān. Islamic almsgiving, or zakat, is a concept that represents the religion's commitment to reducing economic inequality and redistributing wealth. When zakat is diligently practiced, communities frequently see a discernible decline in poverty and a sense of shared responsibility, which fosters a peaceful atmosphere. Furthermore, Islamic teachings place a strong emphasis on justice, which inspires societies to create just legal frameworks that handle everyone equally and promote social harmony (Smith 2010; Khan 2017).

b) Success stories in promoting peace through social justice

In the last decades, numerous Muslim countries have made significant progress toward peace through social justice, and these success stories have become the models that are revered universally. One impressive example is the case of Malaysia where people-oriented policies and initiatives have been at the forefront of creating a harmonious community from a diverse populace. Malaysian social justice is presented through the affirmative action programs targeting the disadvantaged sectors, particularly the Malays, for their empowerment through education and economic opportunities (Hussain 2018). Likewise, Turkey is considered as the symbol of stability and tolerance in the Muslim world that insists on social justice through diverse reform measures that support the safeguarding of minority rights and promote equality (Tugal 2009). Turkey's stepwise measures in tackling socioeconomic injustice not only has led to increased national calm but also granted her a spaceship as a mediator regionally where peace is established through diplomacy and dialogue. The conflict-ridden past and current status of Bangladesh as a Muslim majority country provide a further striking example that the power of social justice can be leveraged to create oneness within confrontational borders (Kabir 2019).



The government's dedication to giving the women and the marginalized sectors equity has not only improved lives but has also contributed to the country's overall stability and vulnerability. Likewise, Indonesia, the biggest Muslim country in the world, is also making tremendous strides in the peace-making through the activists of social justice. Indonesia's contribution in developing inter-faith dialogue and tolerance has been well acknowledged as a vital step in de-escalating such conflicts and safeguarding national unity (Barton 2015).

These stories of success reinforce that social justice can be a transformative force in building peace within countries and beyond that are predominantly Muslim. Nevertheless, although challenges still persist, it is of optimum importance to continue to hold on to social justice principles to ultimately sustain and build upon these successes. Promoting peace and justice is the task that Muslim countries should always put more emphasis on. They must keep investing in education, healthcare, and economic empowerment to become a beacon of hope and inspiration for the whole world.

5 Challenges and misconceptions in the pursuit of social justice in Islam

Based on the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, Islamic teachings place a strong emphasis on social justice. Nevertheless, there are many obstacles to overcome and a lot of misinformation when it comes to putting these ideas into practice. This paper addresses prevalent misunderstandings regarding social justice in Islam, examines historical obstacles to applying Qur'ānic teachings, and addresses current issues while suggesting solutions.

5.1 Common misconceptions about social justice in Islam

One common misperception is that Islam encourages inequality, particularly with regard to gender. Critics claim that the Qur'ān supports masculine superiority, but a deeper look reveals a more complex picture. The verse »Whoever does righteous deeds, whether male or female, while being a believer, those will enter Paradise« (Qur'ān 4:124) highlights the spiritual equality of men and women. In Islam, gender roles are about complementary responsibilities rather than superiority (Esposito 2015).



The idea of jihad is the subject of another myth. Jihad, which is sometimes misinterpreted as a holy war, is actually a larger conflict that includes societal change and personal development (Asad 1984). The Qur'ān emphasizes the non-violent aspects of Jihad by saying, »And strive for Allah with the striving due to Him« (Qur'ān 22:78). Furthermore, there is a false perception that Islam is against religious freedom. But the Qur'ān makes it clear that »there is no compulsion in religion« (Qur'ān 2:256), highlighting the significance of personal choice when it comes to one's beliefs (Ibn Kathir 2000). Islam, at its core, recognizes the validity of diverse religious beliefs and promotes diversity and pluralism.

5.2 Historical challenges in applying Qur'ānic principles

In Muslim societies, social justice has not always been easily implemented, even despite the Qur'ānic ideals. For example, the problem of slavery posed a big obstacle. Islam supported treating slaves fairly and emancipating them, but because of social structures and economic dependencies, the total abolition of slavery encountered opposition (Robinson 2003). The historical problem of misusing religious authority for political ends was another example. Social injustices resulted from rulers' distortion of Islamic principles to justify oppressive regimes during different historical periods. The development of a just society was hampered by the misapplication of Sharia law and the manipulation of religious beliefs for political ends (Ahmad 2011). Furthermore, the Qur'ānic teachings on economic justice were disregarded by the feudal system that emerged in some Muslim societies, which instead concentrated power and wealth among a small group of individuals. The growing wealth inequality ran counter to the Islamic emphasis on social welfare and wealth distribution (Siddiqui 2006).

5.3 Contemporary challenges and how they can be addressed

The misapplication of Sharia law is one of the main obstacles to social justice in Islam in the modern world. Extremist organizations pervert Islam to uphold the core values of compassion and justice by using religious texts to further their political goals. To address this issue, a concerted effort involving academics, community leaders, and governments is needed to advance a precise comprehension of Islamic teachings. Another barrier



to social justice is the problem of corruption in nations with a majority of Muslims. Islam upholds fairness and equality, which are undermined by corruption. To create accountable institutions, guarantee transparency, and end corruption at all levels, governments and civil society must cooperate (Al-Ali 2003). Even though the Qur'ān emphasizes equality, some societies still uphold patriarchal norms when it comes to women's rights. To alleviate these disparities and advance gender justice, legislative changes and educational programs are essential. Muslim leaders and academics ought to take a proactive approach to advancing the authentic essence of Islam, which honours the contributions made by both sexes to society (Mir-Hosseini 2000). Economic injustices still exist, with poverty and income inequality being major issues in certain countries dominated by Muslims. These discrepancies can be addressed by putting into practice laws that uphold Islamic values of charity, social welfare, and wealth distribution. The Islamic practice of zakat, or almsgiving, can be used to promote economic justice and reduce poverty (Chapra 2008). Islamophobia and prejudice have resulted from the belief that Islam poses a threat in the field of international relations. Encouraging interfaith communication and improving knowledge of Islam can help debunk myths and advance a more equitable world community. To counteract Islamophobia and advance tolerance, governments, religious organizations, and educational institutions are essential (An-Na'im 2008).

There are difficulties and misunderstandings associated with the pursuit of social justice in Islam. Although misconceptions about religion, jihad, and gender roles still exist, they can be cleared up by learning more about Islamic teachings. Slavery, political manipulation, and economic inequality are just a few of the historical issues that have had a lasting effect. In the modern world, significant challenges include economic injustices, gender inequality, corruption, and the improper application of Sharia law. To address these issues, a multipronged approach involving religious scholars, civic society, governments, and community leaders is required. By promoting gender equality, economic justice, transparency, and a true understanding of Islam, societies can work to put the social justice teachings found in the Qur'ān into practice. They can also make an effort to fight Islamophobia and corruption.



6 Role of Muslim communities and leaders in promoting social justice, global peace, and collaboration

Leaders and communities of Muslims are essential to promoting social justice, world peace, and cooperation. Based on the compassionate and equitable tenets of Islam, they promote global cooperation, understanding, and inclusivity. Muslim leaders help to end discrimination and create a peaceful world by encouraging communication, education, and altruistic endeavours. Their dedication to justice is consistent with larger cultural ideals, illustrating the transformative potential of group action in creating a more just and peaceful international community.

6.1 The responsibility of Muslim leaders in promoting social justice

It is the duty of Muslim leaders to advance social justice both inside and outside of their communities. This obligation, which has its roots in Islamic law, includes treating every person fairly and equally, regardless of their background. Sayings such as »O you who have believed, be persistently standing firm for Allah, witnesses in justice, and do not let the hatred of a people prevent you from being just« (Qur'ān 5:8) highlight the significance of justice in the Qur'ān. This verse emphasizes how important it is to preserve justice even in the face of difficulty. Muslim leaders in the political, religious, or community spheres are responsible for creating an atmosphere that guarantees everyone's rights are upheld, equal opportunities are provided, and everyone is happy. This covers social, educational, and economic issues in addition to religious ones. For Muslim leaders, Prophet Muhammad is a role model because he is a model of justice. His dedication to treating diverse communities fairly and upholding justice in governance establishes a benchmark for modern leaders. Furthermore, Islamic scholars and modern thinkers who elaborate on the relationship between Islam and social justice can serve as a source of guidance for Muslim leaders. Academics such as Tāriq Ramadan and Yusuf al-Qaradawi offer valuable perspectives on balancing Islamic principles with contemporary issues, presenting a sophisticated comprehension of the duties entrusted to Muslim leaders. (Ramadan 2001; Qaradawi 1992)



6.2 Initiatives by Muslim communities for global peace

Muslim communities everywhere have taken an active part in a number of campaigns to advance world peace. Interfaith dialogue is one important initiative that Muslims engage in to promote mutual understanding and cooperation with people of other faiths. Dispelling myths, fostering understanding, and fostering an atmosphere of acceptance and respect for one another are the goals of these conversations. The Common Word initiative, started by Muslim scholars in 2007, promotes harmony and peace by highlighting the values that Islam and Christianity have in common (Common Word 2007; Yusuf 2008). Muslim communities frequently support world peace by actively taking part in disaster relief operations. A culture of peace and coexistence is being fostered by organizations such as the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), which has started programs aimed at bridging gaps with other faith communities through community outreach and educational initiatives (ISNA [n.d.]). Muslim-majority nations have also used diplomacy to support international peace initiatives. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) has been instrumental in addressing disputes, advancing nonviolent means of settlement, and upholding human rights among its member nations (OIC [n.d.]). Furthermore, grassroots movements that uphold the Islamic values of justice, compassion, and tolerance have arisen within Muslim communities. These movements support humanitarian aid, peacebuilding, and conflict resolution. Through the promotion of an educational culture that prioritizes the peace and justice-oriented teachings of Islam, these communities aid in the development of a more harmonious global community.

6.3 Collaboration with non-Muslim communities and organizations

To promote inclusivity, foster understanding, and create harmonious societies, cooperation with non-Muslim communities and organizations is crucial. Muslims can address common issues and promote social cohesion by forming partnerships across religious and cultural divides. This cooperative strategy is in line with Islamic teachings, which place a strong emphasis on tolerance, compassion, and cooperation (Qur'ān 49:13). These kinds of partnerships provide chances to refute preconceptions, challenge stereotypes, and establish forums for conversation. Collaborative efforts in the fields of healthcare, education, and community development



have the potential to dismantle obstacles and foster harmony amongst disparate groups (Al-Hamarneh 2011). Additionally, by utilizing a variety of viewpoints and resources, cooperative efforts can improve the efficacy of social services (Bouma, Ling, and Pratt 2012). One essential component of cooperation is encouraging interfaith dialogue, which allows for candid conversations about shared ideals and objectives (Abu-Nimer 2007). Having such discussions can promote respect for one another and forge relationships that cut over differences in religion. Academics contend that these exchanges help to create resilient communities that are able to overcome obstacles as a group (Sampson 2019). Muslim leaders' dedication to collaborating with non-Muslim communities to uphold the rights of all people is exemplified by the Marrakesh Declaration, which emphasizes the rights of religious minorities in countries where Muslims predominate (Marrakesh Declaration 2016).

In short, working together with non-Muslim communities is an expression of Islamic values of compassion, understanding, and unity as well as a practical approach to problem-solving. Communities can foster environments that celebrate diversity and advance everyone's well-being by banding together.

6.4 Identifying common ground for interfaith dialogue and cooperation

Building bridges between disparate cultures and worldviews in a diverse world requires promoting interfaith dialogue and cooperation. Establishing common ground among diverse religious beliefs paves the way for collaboration, reverence, and comprehension. This area of agreement serves as a catalyst for in-depth conversations that transcend theological differences. Interfaith dialogue can effectively promote peace and harmony by examining commonalities in values, morality, and aspirations. Realizing the universal values that bind all people is an essential first step in this endeavour to create a more diverse and cohesive global community.

Shared ethical values: While religious traditions may have different theological roots, interfaith cooperation is often founded on shared ethical values. Common values such as justice, compassion, and almsgiving are highly valued in Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. Working together



on humanitarian and social issues is based on these shared values. These shared ethical values can be used by interfaith dialogue to foster mutual understanding and cooperative efforts to improve society (Rahman 1980).

Environmental Stewardship: Interfaith cooperation is increasingly centred around environmental issues. Numerous faith-based traditions, such as Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam, promote environmental stewardship. Acknowledging our shared accountability for protecting the environment opens up possibilities for working together. Diverse religious communities can come together and cooperate on projects that address climate change, sustainable development, and conservation for the benefit of the earth (Francis 2015).

Peace and social justice: Beyond religious boundaries, the pursuit of social justice and peace is a common goal. Numerous faiths, such as Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism, support world peace and the reduction of suffering among people. This shared commitment to social justice and peacebuilding can be used by interfaith dialogue to address problems like conflict, poverty, and inequality. A more compassionate and just world can be created through cooperative efforts in these areas (The Dalai Lama 2011).

Interfaith education and understanding: Encouraging knowledge and comprehension of various religions is a crucial element in cultivating interfaith collaboration. Programs that promote religious literacy and discourse aid in debunking myths and stereotypes. Programs for interfaith education can be created to examine the parallels and divergences between different religions, promoting an environment of tolerance and respect for variety. More mutual understanding can facilitate more productive collaboration for the benefit of people of different religious backgrounds (Patel 2016).

A comparative study of religious viewpoints sheds light on the variety of attitudes and customs that exist in our global community. Even though there are differences, finding points of agreement is crucial to promoting interfaith communication and collaboration. Diverse religious traditions can work together to address global challenges and promote a more peaceful and interconnected world through shared ethical values,



environmental stewardship, the pursuit of peace and social justice, and interfaith education.

7 Recommendations for policy and action

There has never been a more pressing need for comprehensive policies and actions to address pressing societal issues than in an era of increasing global interconnectedness and diversity. This paper provides important recommendations in three areas: a) the consequences for international organizations and governments in terms of policy; b) community-based and grassroots initiatives; and c) educational programs that foster acceptance and understanding. With their focus on everything from environmental sustainability to social justice, each of these fields is essential to building a more just and inclusive society.

7.1 Policy implications for governments and international organizations

The socio-political environment is significantly shaped by governments and international organizations. It is essential to shift the paradigm toward inclusive policies to effectively address global challenges. Legislation that advances social justice, equality, and environmental sustainability ought to be given top priority by policymakers (Sen 2009). Strong anti-discrimination legislation, measures supporting economic inclusivity, and sustainable development programs are examples of this. International cooperation is also very important. It is recommended that governments take a proactive approach to diplomatic efforts aimed at establishing international agreements on matters like economic equality, human rights, and climate change (Keohane and Nye 2001). Enforcing transnational policies and promoting cooperation require the strengthening of international organizations like the United Nations. Policies should also be based on thorough data collection and analysis. To comprehend the complex issues faced by diverse populations living within their borders, governments must fund thorough research (Duflo 2017). This evidence-based strategy guarantees that policies are customized to meet particular requirements and are flexible enough to change as conditions do. Furthermore, it is essential to have a commitment to accountability and transparency. For



continual improvement, governments should be open to public input, communicate policy outcomes on a regular basis, and interact with citizens (Wampler 2007). By involving the public, this participatory approach increases the legitimacy of policies and cultivates a sense of shared responsibility.

7.2 Grassroots initiatives and community-based actions

Although policies from the top down are essential, community-based and grassroots efforts are just as important for long-lasting change. Local communities are valuable partners in the pursuit of positive transformation because they frequently have unique insights into their problems and solutions (Putnam 2000). Community-driven initiatives can help with particular issues like access to healthcare, affordable housing, and cultural preservation while also building a sense of empowerment and ownership (Fukuyama 2014). Collaborative action can be effectively mobilized through community organizing. From the civil rights movement to environmental advocacy, grassroots movements have always been essential in bringing about social and political change (McAdam 1982). Governments ought to actively assist and work in tandem with grassroots groups, offering community leaders platforms, resources, and training. Because of this mutually beneficial relationship, policies have a greater effect and are more successfully implemented locally. Furthermore, encouraging a culture of social entrepreneurship can boost innovation within communities. Governments ought to provide incentives to companies that give social and environmental impact top priority, promoting the growth of businesses that meet urgent community needs (Mair and Martí 2006). This strategy fosters inclusive prosperity and sustainable development by balancing social and economic goals.

7.3 Educational programs to promote understanding and acceptance

Education is fundamental to changing society because it shapes attitudes and promotes inclusivity. The goals of educational initiatives should be to foster tolerance, empathy, and a thorough awareness of the many cultures and viewpoints that exist. It is imperative that curricula incorporate the histories and contributions of marginalized communities (Banks 2012).



This offers a more realistic representation of the interconnected world that students live in while also validating the experiences of underrepresented groups. In addition to conventional educational environments, community-based learning programs can be extremely important. Building bridges between diverse communities is facilitated by workshops, seminars, and cultural exchange programs run by educational institutions and community organizations (Sleeter 2008). A more tolerant society is built on the foundation of mutual respect and the dismantling of stereotypes through exposure to diverse viewpoints and experiences. In addition, it is imperative to incorporate media literacy initiatives into academic curricula to furnish learners with the aptitude to scrutinize and manoeuvre through an ever-more intricate media terrain with critical thinking abilities (Hobbs 2010). This gives people the ability to recognize false information, dispel stereotypes, and participate in thoughtful public discourse. Educational institutions help create informed and engaged citizens by promoting media literacy.

Tackling the intricate problems of our day necessitates a diverse strategy that incorporates grassroots projects, top-down regulations, and educational initiatives. The forefront must be set by governments and international organizations with inclusive policies that put sustainability, justice, and equality first. Encouraging community-based initiatives and grassroots movements at the same time guarantees that these policies are successfully implemented and have a local impact. Promoting diversity and critical thinking at a young age is crucial because education has a significant impact on attitudes and acceptance. Societies can create a future that is more just, equitable, and sustainable by adopting these suggestions.

Conclusion

The research article concludes by exploring the deep relationship that the Qur'ān outlines between social justice, equality, and the pursuit of world peace. The results highlight how important social justice and equality are as fundamental tenets for promoting peace and harmony on a worldwide level. According to the research, the Qur'ān not only supports just and equitable social structures but also emphasizes the fundamental link between achieving these ideals and achieving enduring peace. The Qur'ānic



teachings make clear how social justice and world peace are intertwined, providing a framework for people, groups, and countries to consider and put into practice as they work toward a peaceful world. The article is filled with heartfelt calls to action, imploring readers to live out social justice and equality on a daily basis. People are pleading with communities to create welcoming spaces that embrace diversity and deter prejudice. Additionally, the study makes a strong case for governments to pass laws that address structural injustices and advance fair opportunities for all citizens. It highlights our shared obligation to tear down the obstacles that support injustice and inequality to create an atmosphere in which the seeds of world peace can germinate and grow. Essentially, the study says that the Qur'ānic teachings of social justice and equality are essential components of the larger effort to bring about world peace. The epilogue acts as a spark for revolutionary change, encouraging people, groups, and governments to take the initiative to build a world characterized by justice, compassion, and long-lasting peace.



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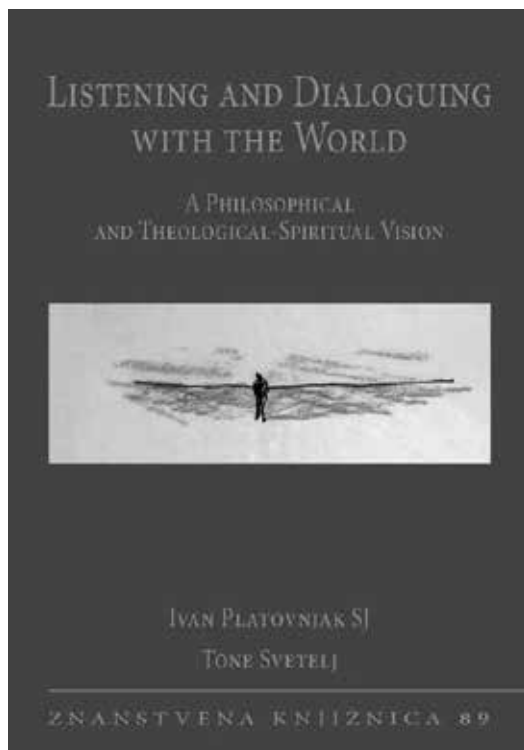


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Znanstvena knjižnica 89

Ivan Platovnjak in Tone Svetelj

**LISTENING AND DIALOGUING WITH THE WORLD:
A PHILOSOPHICAL AND THEOLOGICAL-SPIRITUAL VISION**

»Ta knjiga ponuja svež pristop k teologiji, ki jo vidi kot racionalno disciplino, sposobno brati pomen sveta in ki je nujna za dosego izpolnjenosti. Erudicija avtorjev daje bralcu občutek, da hodi skozi moderne čase ob spremstvu dveh odličnih vodičev. Razlagata zapleteno resničnost, vendar ne mislita namesto bralca.«

prof. dr. Piotr Roszak, recenzent zbornika

Ljubljana: Teološka fakulteta, 2024. 207 str.

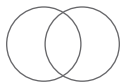
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Abdulla Rexhepi and Liridona Bërkolli

Contemporary Islamic Theology in Iran: Mohammad M. Shabestari, Mostafa Malekian, Mohsen Kadivar

*Sodobna islamska teologija v Iranu: Mohammad
M. Shabestari, Mostafa Malekian, Mohsen Kadivar*

Abstract: After the Iranian Revolution's success in 1979, authority transferred to Islamist factions, swiftly establishing a political framework predominantly grounded in the Shiite Islamic legal principles of the Twelve Imams. The emerging political structure and its Islamic proponents encountered unprecedented circumstances and challenges necessitating modern perspectives and interpretations. Nonetheless, traditional Shiite epistemological frameworks proved inadequate in providing scientific methods to address these issues. Consequently, a group of scholars among Muslim clerics and intellectuals surfaced, engaging not only in classical Islamic theological studies but also in exploring contemporary Western knowledge. This endeavour introduced a new outlook into Iran's theological discussions. This article aims to outline the emergence of a theological movement in Iran by examining the contemporary concepts deliberated by scholars like Mohammad M. Shabestari, Mostafa Malekian, and Mohsen Kadivar. Their Islamic hermeneutical initiatives have significantly contested conventional Shiite theology, despite its continuing dominance in the Islamic religious spheres within the nation. The article posits that the fresh theological ideas and concepts introduced by these three Iranian scholars have wielded substantial influence within emerging intellectual, academic, and university circles in Iran. Moreover, these ideas have extended beyond the confines of Islamic theological spheres, promoting a conciliatory atmosphere between Iranian Islamists and modernists.

Keywords: contemporary Islamic theology, Iran, Islamic Shiite orthodoxy, Mohammad M. Shabestari, Mostafa Malekian, Mohsen Kadivar

Izveček: Po uspehu iranske revolucije leta 1979 so oblast prevzele islamistične frakcije, ki so hitro vzpostavile politični okvir; temelječ predvsem na šiitskih islamskih pravnih načelih dvanajstih imamov. Nastajajoča politična struktura in njeni islamski zagovorniki so naleteli na okoliščine in izzive brez primere, ki so zahtevali sodobne poglede in razlage. Kljub temu se je izkazalo, da tradicionalni šiitski epistemološki okviri niso bili primerni za zagotavljanje znanstvenih metod za reševanje teh vprašanj. Zato se je med muslimanskimi kleriki in intelektualci pojavila skupina učenjakov, ki se ni ukvarjala le s klasičnimi islamskimi teološkimi študijami, ampak tudi z raziskovanjem sodobnega zahodnega znanja. Ta prizadevanja so v iranske teološke razprave vnesla nov pogled. Namen tega članka je orisati nastanek teološkega gibanja v Iranu s preučevanjem sodobnih konceptov, o katerih so razpravljali

učenjaki, kot so Mohammad M. Shabestari, Mustafa Malekian in Mohsen Kadivar. Njihove islamske hermenevitične pobude so pomembno spodbijale konvencionalno šiitsko teologijo kljub njeni stalni prevladi v islamskih verskih sferah v državi. Članek trdi, da so sveže teološke ideje in koncepti, ki so jih uvedli ti trije iranski učenjaki, imeli velik vpliv v nastajajočih intelektualnih, akademskih in univerzitetnih krogih v Iranu. Poleg tega so te ideje presegle meje islamske teološke sfere in spodbujale spravno vzdušje med iranskimi islamisti in modernisti.

Ključne besede: sodobna islamska teologija, Iran, islamska šiitska ortodoksija, Mohammad M. Shabestari, Mostafa Malekian, Mohsen Kadivar

Introduction

The exposure of Iranians to contemporary Western civilization, similar to numerous Muslim communities in the Orient, predominantly occurred amidst turbulent conflicts. This interaction undoubtedly had profound implications in shaping their perceptions regarding the West and modernity. In the 18th century, Egypt witnessed the victory of a French army, totalling 12,000 soldiers, over the Ottoman forces, numbering 30,000 soldiers. This was followed by the defeat of the Iranian army by the Russian forces between 1826 and 1828. Ultimately, the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, which functioned as both an imperial power and the caliphate representing all Muslims, prompted profound intellectual reflection among Muslim scholars. This led them to delve into the fundamental factors that contributed to these setbacks. Henceforth commenced the effort to reformulate, revive, reexamine, and reassess the comprehension and elucidation of Islamic tradition and faith. Nonetheless, this initiative gained heightened momentum after the triumph of the 1979 revolution, as its emerging political structure and Islamic ideologues grappled with novel phenomena and challenges necessitating contemporary contemplation and interpretation. The post-revolutionary authority shifted to the Islamists, who, in conjunction with leftist factions, had confronted the Pahlavi monarchy, resulting in numerous individuals enduring diverse forms of hardship. Several factors contributed to the amplification of Islamist discourse over leftist discourse, with the most prominent including the Islamic faith serving as the primary layer of Iranian societal identity and thereby fostering closer ties with clerics and religious figures; the anti-religious stance adopted by leftist intellectuals and ideologues; the substantial presence of mosques and prayer spaces coupled with extensive community participation; the existence of religious schools in Iran's major urban centres, educating and accommodating thousands of Iranians, and



other related factors. As the Islamist faction assumed authority, there arose an expectation that they would confront emerging challenges and propose intellectual resolutions. Consequently, within the cohort of Muslim clerics and intellectuals, a subset of scholars engaged not only in traditional Islamic theological studies but also pursued modern Western knowledge, thereby injecting a fresh perspective into Iran's theological discourse (Hallaq 1997, 46). Contemporary intellectuals and scholars concluded that if Muslims wish to alter religious discourse, they must initially reconsider their approach to Revelation and the method of interpreting religious texts, as any other change would merely be cosmetic and lacking in profound emancipatory or progressive effect. According to them, a Muslim cannot uphold a medieval cognitive system regarding religious phenomena on the one hand and live a modern life without even the slightest consideration for the reasons that led the Western man to modernity on the other. This stance, they argue, generates fundamental contradictions within the thought and moral framework of Muslim adherents (Malekian 2009, 45).

Thus, to effectuate such a change, a reexamination of the core texts forming the foundations of Islamic reasoning was imperative. These new intellectual circumstances led to the emergence of Muslim scholars and intellectuals who endeavoured to uphold the Islamic faith while simultaneously addressing the novel challenges confronting Iranian Muslim society. Among these intellectuals, Mohammad M. Shabestari, Mostafa Malekian, and Mohsen Kadivar stand as eminent figures in Iran's burgeoning theological movement. Therefore, within this article, through an analysis of the principal ideas articulated by these three Iranian Muslim scholars, we endeavour to present an overview of this intellectual movement in Iran and thereby delineate the socio-cultural dynamics prevalent in contemporary Iran. Recognizing the significant impact of these three Iranian scholars within newly formed intellectual, academic, and university spheres in Iran, we posit that the ideologies and conceptual frameworks advanced by Shabestari, Malekian, and Kadivar extend beyond Islamic theological realms, fostering a reconciliatory atmosphere between Iranian Islamists and modernists.



1 Theoretical framework

Muslims encountered emerging challenges and issues stemming from Western modernism, prompting a reconsideration of their methodologies and approaches towards newly arising phenomena and problems that posed challenges to their Islamic beliefs and teachings. The emerging insights also permeated the discourses of Kalam (Islamic theology), prompting deliberations on the substance of Kalam's knowledge. However, the proliferation and refinement of knowledge today have progressed to such an extent that establishing a boundary between them is nearly impossible, especially when it comes to the delineation or definition of a knowledge as »new knowledge«. This issue becomes notably intricate when the focus of investigation is a form of knowledge or science, such as Kalam. Because, as defined by many scholars (Goldziher 1981; Soroush 1382; Halife 2000) Kalam is a knowledge or science that does not have a specific object, methodology, or defined thematic study. Therefore, when discussing a new Kalam, it is always important to bear in mind that something may remain beyond the definitions that one can assign to this knowledge. The distinctions between classical and contemporary Kalam garner both proponents and opponents within the field. Nevertheless, without delving excessively into such polemics, we a priori acknowledge the existence of a difference between the old and the new school of Kalam. Subsequently, after briefly addressing Kalam as a whole, the focus will be directed towards the new ideas and theories in Kalam's knowledge by Iranian scholars and intellectuals.

Scholars have maintained divergent positions concerning the science known as New Kalam. The initial query explored in their discourse revolves around the differentiation between New Kalam and Old Kalam. Specifically, whether New Kalam qualifies as an entirely novel discipline or if it essentially represents the Old Kalam, albeit labelled as »new« due to its focus on present-day human concerns. Various answers have been provided to this question (Avjibi 1392, 94). Some argue that New Kalam bears only the name resemblance to the traditional Old Kalam because it represents an entirely new science devoid of any similarity to the old science, meanwhile, a faction of scholars denies the existence of a science termed New Kalam, perceiving it as an extension of traditional Kalam but specifically addressing novel issues and problems that were



absent in the past. Abdolkarim Soroush argues that New Kalam represents a continuation of Old Kalam without any substantial divergence between them. According to him, there are three reasons why we have New Kalam today. Firstly, the primary responsibility of Kalam is to eliminate doubts about faith, and since doubts today are new, Kalam is also new. People do not follow our thoughts; therefore, they think and reach results that may contradict our beliefs. Thus, Kalam scholars must be able to address their doubts (Waezi 1392, 231). Secondly, within Kalam, emergent issues surface that were non-existent in the past, contributing to the notion of Kalam's novelty. It is essential to recognize that novel issues and quandaries cannot be resolved using antiquated methodologies. To address new doubts, a Kalam scholar must also be acquainted with new mechanisms and knowledge, thus expanding this knowledge. Additionally, Kalam assumes a new form or undergoes renewal through the integration of novel knowledge and the challenges it confronts. The third factor contributing to the evolution of Kalam is rooted in the discourse of the philosophy of religion, which examines religion from an external perspective. Hence, within the realm of religious philosophy, faith is perceived merely as an emotional or psychological understanding of humanity. This particular approach to religion has led to significant shifts in the comprehension of religious beliefs (Soroush 1382, 78–79).

2 The cognitive orientations of Iranian contemporary Islamic theology

The Iranian intellectuals examined in this paper are acknowledged within Iran as »religious intellectuals« (*roshanfekr-e dini*), a concept that undergoes detailed debate within Iran's intellectual circles. The selection criteria for these scholars is rooted in their impact on Iranian society.

It's noteworthy that Shabestari, Malekian, and Kadivar originate from Shiite madrasahs, yet each demonstrates a substantial acquaintance with modern Western knowledge. The exclusion of Ali Shariati from this group is due to the absence of a noteworthy contribution in the realm of current Kalam knowledge, despite his undeniably influential input in modern Iranian thought. Moreover, there is an additional discourse regarding whether these intellectuals, whose ideas will be addressed further below, align



more with Kalam or with philosophy. Hashemi posits that intellectuals of this nature should be categorized as »Kalamists« rather than philosophers. The objective pursued by religious intellectuals—inclusive of Ali Shariati—was to introduce a more robust, intellectually engaging dimension. Their endeavour aimed to transcend the conflicts existing between faith and the modern world while also navigating religion away from diverse crises. From this perspective, indeed, we can truly label them as »religious intellectuals« because they earnestly grappled with the state of faith in the modern world. They were acquainted with the Western world, thus, from this standpoint, they are recognized as contemporary intellectuals. However, it's imperative to note that these contemporary thinkers do not fall within the ranks of philosophers; instead, they align within the faction of Kalamists. Their cognitive frameworks are constrained, and even their concerns primarily revolve around the dimensions of faith. Hence, they are identified as »Kalamists« (Hashemi 1396, 286).

There exist notable disparities between philosophy and Kalam, as well as in the activities of a philosopher and a Kalamist. While both disciplines, philosophy and Kalam, draw upon human reasoning, the philosopher does not impose boundaries on their rational perceptions. Conversely, the Kalamist employs reasoning to advocate for an a priori truth derived from a religious text. Consequently, the Kalamist actively engages in their intellectual pursuits, whereas the philosopher critically assesses, doubts, challenges, critiques, negates and embraces all elements contributing to their conclusions. Unlike the Kalamist, who anticipates a predetermined outcome at the onset of their discourse and consequently prepares to achieve the intended result, the philosopher does not initially seek a specific outcome. Consequently, considering the focus of these Iranian scholars' endeavours on comprehending and interpreting Islamic faith within the current global context, they are rightfully classified as »Kalamists«. The thematic concerns of the modern world that the new Kalam took on in Iran can be traced back to the period of the Constitutional Revolution (*Enghelāb-e Mashrūteh*). With the advent of modernity and new sciences in the latter period of the Qajar dynasty, issues with religion, which constituted a fundamental element of Iranian tradition and culture, also began to emerge. Consequently, various examples and models started to be proposed concerning the conflict that had arisen between religion and modernity.



A faction led by Mirza Fethali Akhundzade espoused the perspective that Islamic religious ideology remained unaltered and incapable of improvement. Hence, they supported the idea of purging Iranian intellectual discourse from remnants of Islamic faith, suggesting that this purification process would expedite the progression of Iranian society toward modernity. The Muslim clergy and their adherents stood in opposition to this faction, asserting that the only remedy for Iranian society against the »corrupted (*fasid*) Western ideas« rested in reverting to the foundational principles of Islam (Ajoudani 1387, 39). Emphasizing the irreconcilability of religion and modernity, this group saw salvation in reverting to early Islamic practices. They labelled any opposition to this idea as deviant, even branding opponents as agents of the West. However, after numerous efforts and debates, a third moderate approach emerged, aiming to reconcile both aforementioned perspectives and create a synthesis between the Islamic faith and modernity. The first to conceive of such a synthesis was Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, later followed by intellectuals and Muslim scholars such as Allameh Tabatabai, Ayatollah Taleghani, Bazargan, Ali Shariati, and Ayatollah Morteza Motahhari. The latter is considered the founder of the new Kelam in Iran.

3 Mohammad M. Shabestari

Mohammad M. Shabestari (1936–) has studied Islamic sciences and philosophy. As a student in Qom, Shabestari was a disciple of Ayatollah Khomeini and Allameh Tabatabaei, from whom he obtained the rank of *ijtihad* and a doctoral degree in philosophy. He also studied the works of theologians like Paul Tillich, Karl Barth, and Karl Rahner, as well as philosophers such as Immanuel Kant, Wilhelm Dilthey, and Hans-Georg Gadamer. He was engaged as a regular professor of Islamic philosophy at the University of Tehran, he has lectured on religion and comparative theology. Shabestari served as one of the editors of the *Great Encyclopedia of Islam* published in Tehran and chaired the Department of Theology and Sects at the Centre for the Great Encyclopedia of Islam. Since the early 90s, he has been increasingly active in publishing articles in Iranian newspapers and journals, aiming to introduce a new or more critical approach to religion. Shabestari critiques religious absolutism, which he hermeneutically considers unproductive and pragmatically futile. Furthermore,



he undertakes a robust defence of modern concepts of individualism, democracy, and human rights, even though these notions are not explicitly articulated within Islamic sources. Nevertheless, Shabestari has notably contributed to the introduction and application of modern hermeneutics in traditional Shiite theology and jurisprudence. His most significant contribution lies in the relativization of classical interpretations of the Islamic faith and his stance on the evolution of textual understanding in line with the development of non-religious sources and knowledge.

Shabestari's perspective posits that religion inherently allows for varied interpretations. He argues that individuals with substantial scholarly expertise and intellectual acumen can offer unique insights and interpretations diverging from established traditional norms. According to him, these interpretations hold equal validity alongside others in the realm of religious discourse. In the book *Naqd-e bar Qerā'at-e Rasmī Dīn*, he emphasizes that ancient Greek metaphysics has shaped the interpretation of Islamic faith, thus rendering this interpretation immutable. »The issue of belief in Islamic faith from an ontological perspective essentially mirrors philosophical ontological knowledge related to the system of Existence« deriving its origin from ancient Greek philosophical frameworks (Shabestari 2000, 367). Shabestari asserts that the message of faith includes the call to God, spirituality, hope, and significance. This essence has remained ingrained within Muslim communities since the inception of Islam. Nonetheless, after Muslim exposure to Greek philosophy, a distinctive and metaphysical interpretation of Islam emerged, which, as per Shabestari's assertion, remains pervasive and inescapable even in modern times. Therefore, he proposes a faith-centred interpretation (*imani yorum*) in opposition to this metaphysical and philosophical reading of Islam. For him, such an interpretation consists of faith (*imani*), which constantly brings about change and new production, consequently leading to fundamental changes in human existence.

He argues that a Muslim adopting such a religious interpretation consistently pursues novel experiences and comprehensions (Shabestari 2000, 369). Another concept developed by Shabestari in the forthcoming writings is the critique or historicist reading of sacred texts. Historicist readings and interpretations have long been prevalent in the perspectives of Muslim thinkers aiming to structure a contemporary reading of Islamic



texts. Additionally, Shabestari's view of the text is hermeneutic, specifically within the framework of Gadamerian hermeneutics. According to this approach, there should be a dialogue with the text, allowing it to speak. He believes that the role of the reader should not be disregarded in understanding the text. Furthermore, Shabestari opposes scholars who solely consider the author of the text and decrease the role of its reader.

Shabestari has penned influential works that delve into the necessity for re-evaluation and progression in the interpretation of Islamic texts. His recent perspectives on the Quran and prophethood were articulated in an article titled *Prophetic Interpretation of the World*, inciting substantial responses both supportive and opposing. Within this work, he contends that the Quran represents the »prophetic discourse« of the Prophet of Islam, arising from Revelation, yet distinct from Revelation itself (*wahy*). In this five-part article, Shabestari presents two primary claims:

According to the insights of the philosophy of language over the past two centuries, the Quran (*Mushaf*) should be considered a linguistic text in Arabic comprehensible by all (believers and non-believers). It can be attributed to a human being (the Prophet of Islam), and as such, it can be understood as a human discourse. If we characterize it directly and without any mediation, with all the characteristics of the Arabic language as a book of God, not only does this disregard the possibility of its understanding by all, but it also eliminates the component of its »intelligibility«. Therefore, to attribute such a text to God, an alternative approach and method must be chosen. The literary genre of nearly all verses in the Quran is narrative. The Quran is a monotheistic reading of the world that is formed upon the basis of the »hermeneutic experience of the Prophet«. Within this text, there also exist other genres of prophetic experiences expressed in non-narrative and non-literary forms. However, these expressions merely enrich and expand that hermeneutic experience. The Quran is the foundation of a monotheistic reading of the world and is not a repository of cognitive truths or truths about Existence. (Shabestari 2010, 7–8)

Shabestari regards religious and Quranic meanings as symbolic, hence he does not see any distinction between them. According to him, the



Prophet's conversations and interactions with people during the twenty-three years of Revelation created an oral culture that we no longer have the slightest idea about today. What we possess now is merely a symbolic compilation (the text of the Quran) that sheds little light on that oral culture. Therefore, the verses of the Quran were revealed within the framework of an oral culture about which we lack sufficient and reliable knowledge. Little is also known about what occurred within this oral culture between the Prophet and his audience, as after his death, this oral culture transformed into a written culture. He also contends that Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) is not a solution for today's Islamic societies and states. According to him, the fundamental issues faced by the Islamic Republic of Iran stem from the references within Shiite Islamic Jurisprudence that do not assist in overcoming any social or state-related challenges. Shabestari identifies two main reasons for Iran's current state: firstly, Islam is a faith with its own political, economic, and legal systems derived from its jurisprudence, applicable at all times and places as Muslims are required by God to live by these systems; secondly, the mistaken belief among Muslims that the state must invariably enforce the laws and regulations of Islamic faith (Shabestari 2010, 11). Beside his books and lectures, Shabestari has engaged in numerous polemics with Iranian religious scholars and is considered one of the most influential figures among intellectuals who have brought a critical perspective to theology and contemporary Iranian Kalam.

4 Mostafa Malekian

Mostafa Melekian (1956–) started his university life in engineering studies but soon diverged from this path, shifting focus to philosophy and Islamic sciences. He studied at the university and the traditional madrasas in the city of Qom. He studied under renowned theologians of Qom, including Muhamadtaqi Mesbah Yazdi and Abdullah Javadi Āmūlī. After completing his education, he began working in the philosophy departments of numerous research centres and universities in Qom and Tehran. Due to his anti-establishment stance during the eight-year presidency of Mahmud Ahmadinejad and his critical approach toward the traditions and classical theology of religious clerics, Malekian was excluded from all state educational institutions in Iran. Currently, teaches at private schools and research



centres within the country. In an interview with an Iranian magazine, Mostafa Malekian discusses the five phases of his intellectual life: fundamentalism, traditionalism, reformism, existentialism, as well as rationalism and spiritualism (Malekian 1392, 5–7). Although he never adopted the attire of a Shiite cleric, Malekian was educated and worked extensively in the traditional madrasas of Qom.

In Iran, he initially gained recognition as an educator in philosophy within madrasas and universities, subsequently diverging from the conventional Iranian tradition to align himself with intellectuals, assuming the role of a reformer within Iranian society.

Malekian believes that, whether we like it or not, on the one hand, we are all modernized, and on the other, to some extent, we are religious. He then adds that the modern person can no longer understand religion in the same way as the traditional person did. »Faced with this, there remain only two paths: Either completely abandon religion and lose its benefits, or accept religion in a new form.« (Malekian 1387, 239) Hence, for him, this new form or understanding of religion today is called spirituality. In this sense, according to him, spirituality stands against the traditional understanding of religion, an understanding that can no longer be defended. Therefore, spirituality is what fulfils the modern individual's need for religion. In explaining his choice to use the term »spirituality« instead of »religion« (*din*), Malekian presents two arguments: one pertains to the historical aspect, acknowledging that throughout history, religion has demonstrated not only positive aspects but also negative dimensions and outcomes. His second argument relates to the distinction between spirituality and what we commonly refer to as religion today. He contends that spirituality differs significantly from what is currently considered religion, with its most notable outcome being that an essence of spirituality exists within the core of every religion. However, this does not imply that the entire structure of those religions inherently leads to spirituality (Hashemi 1396, 269).

After traversing various intellectual phases throughout his life, Mostafa Malekian arrived at a theory he named »Spiritualism and Rationalism« (*Manewiyet wa Aqlaniyat*). In this theory, Malekian aims to make a complete distinction between faith and rationality. He contends that religion,



as a standardized system constructed through various historical processes, cannot offer human dignity. Furthermore, according to him, absolute rationality that negates all subjective and spiritual aspects fails to provide ontological stability. He asserts that faith demands submission and obedience from the individual, compelling them to accept everything offered by its founder, scripture, or authorities, even contradicting empirical scientific and rational truths. Malekian argues that faith and rationalism are incompatible, leading to the belief that attempting to synthesize them is erroneous and futile. Malekian posits that an individual cannot inhabit both religious conviction and rationalist principles concurrently. Conversely, a rationalist cannot adopt religious faith. He emphasizes, »It would lack coherence for someone to self-identify as Muslim and simultaneously assert that they wouldn't adhere to a verse of the Quran without substantial evidence. Such a stance would imply that every individual in existence could be classified as Muslim. However, a true Muslim is someone who wholeheartedly submits to the Quran and the teachings of Prophet Muhammad, unequivocally embracing their words and instructions without any semblance of doubt.« (Malekian 2012) In his viewpoint, an intellectual and rationalist cannot profess religious affiliation as it would necessitate adherence to information that lacks rational or scientific validation. »We lack the right to distort or impose our interpretations or preferences onto someone else's statements. It is essential to be candid and acknowledge that, according to the Quran, A is B, yet from my perspective, A does not equate to B. It is up to individuals to decide whose statement they will embrace.« (Malekian, 2012)

Regarding this, Malekian presents his project »Rationalism and Spiritualism« and believes that these two components are sufficient today to lead a secure and dignified life. However, Malekian's view on the incompatibility of religion with rationality can only be considered concerning the Abrahamic religions, which have a dictatorial authority such as the Book and the Prophet. This viewpoint doesn't universally apply to other religions like Buddhism, and Hinduism, among others. Furthermore, not all scholars and theologians believe that religion requires submission and imposed belief, as some consider religion to be »love«, »affection«, or »morality«. Mystics, for instance, perceive religion more as a spiritual experience and education rather than a cognitive or epistemological system. Additionally, according to Wittgenstein, religion is a style of faith-based life that does not necessarily adhere to the serious cosmological and anthropological claims



of historical religions. He views religion as a spiritual perspective on the world that strengthens when repeatedly practised (Fenāyī 1389, 141).

In one of his written pieces, Mostafa Malekian details three facets of Islam, delineating the attributes of each: Islam One involves the amalgamation (*Majmua*) of the Quran and authenticated Hadith; Islam Two consists of compilations of commentaries (*tefsir*), interpretations, explanations (*tabyin*), and apologetics offered by Muslim scholars concerning Islam One; and Islam Three encompasses the historical actions undertaken by Muslims (Malekian 1387, 98). According to him, only through a liberal interpretation of Islam One Muslims can address their contemporary needs; otherwise, they will continue to be victims of their old worldviews, which no longer have any impact on their lives. Many of his ideas and opinions have sparked debates and polemics among Iranian intellectuals, establishing him as one of the most influential contemporary thinkers in Iran. His studies and works delve into issues like morality, religion, philosophy of religion, existentialism, psychology, and philosophy. He is also recognized as a critic of the intellectual school known as »religious intellectualism« and a translator of several works by prominent Western philosophers.

5 Mohsin Kadivar

Mohsen Kadivar (1959–), a scholar and professor of Islamic Jurisprudence and Philosophy, began his teaching career at the madrasa in Qom, where he worked for fourteen years. He later taught Islamic Philosophy and Theology at Imam Sadiq University, Mofid University, Shahid Beheshti University, and Tarbiat Modares University. Due to his political stances and scholarly writings challenging the theory of the Guardianship of the Islamic Jurist and Iran's political system, he was expelled from all academic institutions in Iran and subsequently immigrated to the United States. Currently, he teaches in the Department of Islamic Studies at Duke University in North Carolina.

Another topic extensively debated among Muslim intellectuals, beyond theoretical discussions, pertains more to practical issues and encompasses dimensions of liberalism. Kadivar is one of the Iranian scholars



dedicated to human rights and freedoms, exploring how the philosophy of universal human rights can be acknowledged and applied within Iran. He strongly emphasizes the superiority of the rights and freedoms outlined in the *International Convention on Human Rights* compared to the human rights envisaged within the Islamic system (Kadivar 1382, 27–28). Therefore, he believes that currently, the Islamic faith should be interpreted within the framework of universal human rights.

He distinguishes between a historical Islam and a spiritual Islam in his essay *Historical Islam and Spiritual Islam* (Kadivar 1387, 59), emphasizing that Muslims should consider the historic dimensions of Islam, highlighting its spiritual messages. He advocates for interpreting Islam based on the principles of universal rights. Kadivar also states that within traditional or historical Islam, the medieval concept of human rights has deeply permeated. A fraction of his intellectual work has been devoted to issues concerning women's rights. According to him, there are two types of verses and hadiths that relate to women's rights in the Quran and Sunnah. The first category outlines human rights for women, recognizing equal rights for men and women as human beings beyond physical differences. The second category considers that women, due to their perceived lesser capacities, are granted fewer rights than men in managing household affairs and society. Simultaneously, reason and Sharia require that women be treated justly based on what is collectively accepted as good and right (Kadivar 1381, 422). Kadivar also emphasizes that Muslim scholars, following Aristotle, interpret justice as a right based on proportional equality and consider women as inheritors of certain rights due to what they view as their lesser inheritance capacity. However, both proportional equality and justice based on this concept are unexplained and unjustified. Contemporary rationality recognizes human beings as bearers of rights, promoting fundamental equality and egalitarian justice. This notion of justice aligns closely with human dignity and Quranic anthropology. According to egalitarian justice and fundamental equality, even though women differ from men physically and psychologically, they should have equal rights because they are human beings. Humanity, not gender, colour, race, class, religion, or political ideology is what upholds rights, obligations, dignity, and conscience. This version is closer to the Quranic spirit and Islamic standards, evidence of the official inequality that, due



to its temporariness, cannot be considered an obstacle to achieving legal equality (Kadivar 1387, 249).

Mohsen Kadivar has made a significant contribution to redefining blasphemy (*irtidād-murtad*) in the new context of Iran. He openly criticized the execution law and wrote a book on this issue. According to him, there is no religious evidence from the Quran, Sunnah, consensus (*ijma*), or reasoning that could legitimize the shedding of blood for someone accused of apostasy or slandering the Prophet. On the contrary, this contradicts Quranic reasoning. Moreover, the negative impact that could arise from legitimizing someone's bloodshed could be substantial, potentially weakening Islam. Only a healthy legal system can make a judgment and oversee its implementation. Rendering a judgment outside the legal system by a qualified jurist to issue legal opinions is not justified. The judgment on slandering the prophet has absolutely no basis in the Quran. Traditional jurists, through the practice of *ijtihad*, have reached this judgment and have sought consensus based on unique or reliable hadiths. The rule of killing the blasphemer or insulter of the prophet is incorrect and impossible to implement, as emphasized by Kadivar.

Moshen Kadivar has also authored a four-volume work on the theory of Iran's political system, *Velayat-e Faqih (Guardianship of the Islamic Jurist)* (Momen 1985; Azari and Osredkar 2022), which he considers inapplicable in today's context. Kadivar's ideas are currently being read and criticized within Iran, and the critical writings against his thoughts serve as further evidence that he is challenging the classical theologians of Iran with his new ideas.

6 Discussion

The difference between the traditional world and the modern world in dealing with many life phenomena effectively demonstrates the approach of modern and post-modern individuals towards the role of reason and rationalization, as well as their methods and fields of application. In this new reality, religious thought has encountered formidable challenges as it has been subjected to profound criticisms, often entirely dismissed or significantly marginalized. The modern rationalists, with David Hume being



one of the most renowned among them, directed subtle criticisms towards religion. Among other statements, he declared: »There is no sound logical path that could lead from the finite world to infinity.« (Kolakowski 2001, 68)

The radical rationalists posed a serious challenge to the assertions and information propagated by religious figures, dismissing all aspects of religion as inconsequential to present-day individuals. By limiting human existence exclusively to rationality, these thinkers excluded any consideration of its other fundamental dimensions. As a result, they not only deprived contemporary humans of spiritual development and enrichment but also played a role in diminishing literary and cultural creativity. While intending to critique the epistemological and cosmological tenets of theology, modernist rationalists inadvertently suppressed the spiritual and psychological facets of modern humans. On the other hand, we have Muslim »religious intellectuals« who continuously exploit or capitalize on the inevitable human need for spirituality, striving to expand their influence in various segments, particularly in the socio-political sphere. This would not be problematic if their knowledge system had evolved and yielded tangible results akin to science and philosophy. However, this system and religious reasoning were established in the 10th century under circumstances entirely different from the present. Those advocating for such ideals have never been willing to reconsider or revise the content of this system. Here, the knowledge system of religious authorities refers to the claims made by Muslims, asserting that all knowledge, even in many medical instances, can be found in Islamic religious texts or the works of Muslim scholars (Weiss 2002, 136). Thus, the Iranian intellectuals discussed in this article are more inclined towards critical rationalism than other more radical forms of rationalism.

It is recognized that forms of maximal rationalism, empirical or dogmatic scientific rationalism, do not accommodate religion or anything affiliated with domains such as mythology, metaphysics, and the imperceptible realm. Yet, among diverse rationales, there exists critical rationalism. By scrutinizing both religious and rational reasoning, it facilitates a more conducive environment for the deliberation and handling of various issues.

We, despite being believers, claim the possibility of critiquing and rationally evaluating religious belief systems. However, contrary



to maximal rationalists, we also assert that rational analyses and studies should not be expected to conclusively validate a religious belief system that could convince everyone. Embracing such an initiative implies that we have entered the domain of critical rationalism. (Peterson 1991, 86)

Critical rationalism also instructs that in order to ascertain the truth, a multitude of disciplines and lines of reasoning need to be engaged, including religious reasoning or theology, without exclusion. Under this paradigm exists no methodology that can guarantee complete immunity from error. Rational judgment, according to critical reasoning, necessitates the presence of a robust argument to distinguish it from emotional, egocentric, or subjective judgments, which cannot be accepted without compelling justification.

The critical engagement of reason with itself is to be acknowledged for its role in minimizing its errors in discerning truth and forming judgments, encompassing those of a religious nature. Consequently, no alternative method or avenue exists to completely refute the entirety, precision, and assurance of error. Any individual possessing logical and epistemological certitude can only achieve it within the realms of Logic and Mathematics. Psychic certainty regarding logic and epistemology holds no validity. Thus, once more, it is through reason that the resolution of the conflict between reason and another form of reasoning, or between reason and Revelation or Reason and Transmission, is determined. (Fanāyī 1389, 257)

The model proposed by Mohammad M. Shabestari, Mostafa Malekian, and Mohsen Kadivar for understanding religion encompasses all the teachings of critical rationalism, including the opposition to inductive approaches. One of the outcomes of critical rationalism is the rejection of any form of violence and radicalism in the name of religion. This is because the primary causes of violence supported by belief and dogma, whether religious or political, lie in the »certainty« of the truthfulness of that path or method chosen by the person advocating violence. This kind of »certainty of belief« is a justifying approach to the teachings and rituals that an individual believes.



Those who have »complete certainty« in the truthfulness of their beliefs and thoughts consider those who do not share their beliefs and thoughts, even those who believe and think slightly differently from them, as lost and deviated. These individuals perceive themselves as superior and more righteous than others. Consequently, their actions and judgments toward those who do not believe and think like them are deemed »unjust«, and this sentiment allows them, in certain cases, to resort to violence or various forms of stigmatization and harassment. »A very useful remedy that cures dogmatic certainty is the consideration we should have regarding the 'modesty of our knowledge', which is considered one of the pillars of critical rationalism.« (Paya 2014, 178)¹

Therefore, it is very challenging to evade rational judgment and evaluation of religious systems, particularly given the chaotic state of the Islamic world today. Moreover, within many orthodox Muslim theologians and clerics, postmodern criticism is utilized to legitimize their ideas and beliefs, which were structured more than ten centuries ago and are often presented today as the sole solution to human problems. It's interesting to note that rational and scientific arguments are used to defend specific religious systems; however, when these arguments collide with these systems, either an appeal is made to the guaranteed rights to believe in a certain manner, or reason and science are deemed inadequate for assessing those belief systems. Among many adherents of a faith or sect, another phenomenon is observed, where rational and scientific arguments are frequently used to debunk or substantiate the paradoxes of religion or rival sects.

However, if the same arguments dismiss their faith or sect, then these individuals launch accusations and stigmatize their adversaries. Such a fact indicates that this isn't about the pursuit of truth but rather about the preoccupation to preserve existing convictions at all costs. Otherwise, a believer should be willing to respond to any criticism directed toward their religious system, meaning they must prove these criticisms to be inconsistent, unserious, and lacking substance, or acknowledge the criticisms as true and strive to balance and improve their actions while preserving the essence

1 Paya has recently published the book: *Islam, Modernity and a New Millennium: Themes from a Critical Rationalist Reading of Islam*. London: Routledge, 2018.

of their faith. This cannot be done except through the rational judgment and analysis of religious systems, which is considered impossible by the majority of believers.

However, the emphasis placed on reason and rationalism should not be misconstrued as a disregard for tradition. »Tradition is a collection of theoretical and practical experiences of our predecessors and the result of their efforts in theoretical and practical matters in various aspects of life.« (Fanāyī 1389, 258) Critical rationalism instructs us to endeavour to maintain and utilize them. Nevertheless, embracing tradition and faith without a critical analysis and critical treatment, blindly adhering to them, is as irrational as outright denial, and in certain instances, deeming them alien. Critical rationalism demands that we optimally leverage the outcomes of various forms of reasoning, including religious reasoning, as this facilitates the fullest development of our intellectual and spiritual education. Additionally, it should be highlighted that reason itself is limited and constructed by the epistemological environments we inhabit from childhood, always operating within certain cultural structures. Therefore, its judgment can never be final or absolute.

Undoubtedly, the application of rational reasoning to religious beliefs has led to ontological and epistemological crises among numerous reflective believers or adherents of faith. However, this phenomenon might have acted as a catalyst for the emergence of influential personalities and seminal works that humanity has inherited. It's noteworthy that some of the most eminent intellects in the annals of thought and science, both in Eastern and Western cultures, have arisen from religious backgrounds, emphasizing the significant rational and spiritual facets of human existence. It's worth noting that the thorough philosophical consideration of theology is essential for societal thought and progression. The fundamental values and mindset across various strata within Muslim societies remain entrenched within the confines of religious traditions, many of which necessitate critical re-evaluation. Hence, if Islamic theology continues to be disregarded and met with indifference, genuine intellectual advancements in philosophical discourse may not materialize. Consequently, for Muslims to actively engage in societal progress and contribute to the evolution of thought and knowledge, embracing the critical rationalism advocated by these three Iranian scholars, pivotal figures in contemporary Islamic



thought, becomes crucial. This includes acknowledging the necessity for their religious system to undergo critical examination and study.

Conclusion

One of the primary concerns of contemporary Iranian Muslim intellectuals is the creation of a synthesis between Islam and modernity. Modernization as an intellectual and social movement in the Islamic world has influenced every sphere of life, including the theological and religious realms. Hence, Muslim scholars offer various approaches and stances toward this phenomenon. However, the most significant contribution in this direction has come from scholars who have studied Islamic culture and tradition, while also being acquainted with the intellectual and technological outcomes of modernity in the Western world. The contribution of these Iranian scholars, especially that of Mojtabah Shabestari and Mohsen Kadivar, in redefining and interpreting the fundamental teachings of Islam, exceeds what is expressed in this work. The exceptional influence of these scholars is not only seen in the extensive volume and re-publication of their works but also in the significant public engagement evident from the large number of citizens attending their lectures and discussions. This extraordinary impact is also evident in the continuous censorship and boycotts imposed on them by political authorities. It is also noteworthy that, besides these three Iranian scholars, recently there have been emerging figures, such as Abulqāsim Fanāyī, who, with the new approaches and methodologies applied in the interpretation of Islamic faith, is rapidly ascending the ladder of influence akin to the aforementioned scholars. The substantive contribution of these Iranian scholars has presented a serious challenge to the traditional madrasas of Iran, prompting a resurgence of calls for the reform of Shiite Islamic theology. Additionally, voices from within religious clerics have emerged in support of a secular model of governance. The intellectual methodologies and approaches of these Iranian scholars facilitate the establishment of a novel hermeneutic that transcends the historical frameworks of orthodox Islamic theology and contemporary secularism. This offers an avenue for a deeper reconsideration and broadening of spiritual life.



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Znanstvena knjižnica 88

Maria Carmela Palmisano, Samo Skralovnik, Miran Špelič in Aljaž Krajnc (ur.)

Navajanje in raziskovanje svetopisemskih, judovskih in zgodnjekrščanskih pisnih virov

»Monografija prinaša resnično obsežno in temeljito raziskavo, ki pomeni novo raven v predstavitvi teh virov in njihovih zakonitosti slovenskim bralcem ter bo generacijam prihodnjih študentov močno olajšala prve korake pri delu z njimi. Zasnovana je na interdisciplinarnem pristopu, skupina avtorjev, ki se ponaša s širokim strokovnim zaledjem, ponuja izčrpen pregled različnih teorij in vidikov, hkrati pa z jasnim slogom pisanja omogoča razumevanje tudi začetnikom.«

doc. dr. David Movrin, recenzent monografije

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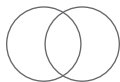
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Zlatko Matić and Sanja Stevanović

Church Polyphony in the Light of Ecumenical Dialogue

Cerkvena polifonija v luči ekumenskega dialoga

Abstract: The existence of polyphonic forms within the liturgical music of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches appears to be closely related to the domain of ecumenical dialogue. The appearance of polyphonic music in the liturgy, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, aimed to preserve the unique identity of both the nations and the Church within the given cultural context. The authors use a comparative analysis of the material gathered from both theological and musicological field. Using the example of church polyphony, the authors argue that ecumenical dialogue is also correlated with the issue of music in the liturgy and, consequently, with everyday life.

Keywords: church polyphony, Roman Catholic Church, Orthodox Church, ecumenical dialogue

Izvleček: *Obstoj polifonih oblik v liturgični glasbi Rimskokatoliške in Pravoslavne cerkve je tesno povezan s področjem ekumenskega dialoga. Pojav polifonične glasbe v liturgiji v devetnajstem in dvajsetem stoletju je bil namenjen ohranjanju edinstvene identitete narodov in Cerkve v danem kulturnem kontekstu. Avtorja uporabljata primerjalno analizo gradiva, zbranega tako s teološkega kot muzikološkega področja. Na primeru cerkvene polifonije avtorja trdita, da je ekumenski dialog povezan tudi z vprašanjem glasbe v liturgiji in posledično z vsakdanjim življenjem.*

Ključne besede: *cerkvena polifonija, Rimskokatoliška cerkev, Pravoslavna cerkev, ekumenski dialog*

Introduction

The connection between church polyphony and ecumenical dialogue originates from the very root of the appearance of polyphony within the Roman Catholic liturgy. From its beginnings, polyphony represented a sign of solemnity of the Roman Catholic Mass, a distinctive element of Catholic semantics through which the Church conducted the dialogue with the surrounding world (Pius X 1903, art. 4; Pius XII 1955, art. 14–15; Congregazione

dei riti 1958, art. 17). Classical polyphony, i.e. *polifonia sacra*, »signifies Roman Catholicism much more specifically« than Gregorian chant does, considering that the complete Western harmony owes its origins and development to the counterpoint embellishment of Gregorian chant melodies (Swain 2012, 119). The Western harmony, on the other hand, played a significant part during the centuries-long process of spreading Western-Christian culture. As Zizioulas observed (Zizijulas 2014, 54), anybody can recognise themselves in the phrase »the Western man« since our literature, music, and poetry completely originate from Western culture. In the context of Orthodox liturgical practice, it can be observed that the polyphonic form, influenced by Western church music,¹ also occupies a significant place in the liturgies of the majority of Orthodox Churches.²

This paper aims to shed light on a broader spectrum of dialogue through the subject of music. Using the example of church polyphony, the authors will argue that, through music, ecumenical dialogue is also closely linked with everyday life. The analysis will focus on the vocal polyphony, as this form is the most conducive for a comparative analysis between Roman Catholic and Orthodox Church practices. With the aim of investigating its dialogical potential, the church polyphony will be analysed both within the theological and musicological background.

It can be said that polyphony represents the universal phenomenon of humanity, existing from the ancient times (Jordania 2006). Bearing this in mind, the authors selected the type of polyphonic music which can be classified as church polyphony, or more precisely, *polifonia classica*, and the polyphonic church compositions emerged from the Western European technique of harmonisation. While classical polyphony can

1 Unlike Eastern theologians and musicologists, Ratzinger (2000, 145) does not completely assign the emergence of choral polyphony among the Slavs to the influence of the Roman Catholic Church.

2 About the development of the polyphonic sound in other Orthodox Churches see for example: Ionuț-Gabriel 2018; Kujumdzhiev 2015.

The fact that polyphonic music exists within the Orthodox liturgy is most eloquently evidenced by the materials which can be found on the official websites of certain local Churches; see for example: Mixed Choir at the Patriarchal Cathedral 'St. Alexander Nevsky' [n.d.]; Horovi u hramu [n.d.]; Choir [n.d.]; Strana Catedralei [n.d.]; Temple Ministries [n.d.].

Even though research on church polyphony has been conducted from different standpoints and as such has led to different conclusions, the very fact that it has been analyzed confirms its presence in Orthodox liturgical practice; see for example: Kavarnos 1978, Peno 2014, Takala-Roszczenko 2023.

be heard in the space of the Roman Catholic Church, the other mentioned type of polyphony is part of the Orthodox liturgy.

The first part of the paper is dedicated to the emergence/presence of polyphonic music in both Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The authors will take examples from historical events considered the most significant for the purpose and in accordance with the limitations of this paper. Therefore, it should be noted that the events to be presented only represent parts of a more complex puzzle, which in its wholeness testifies to the unity between the matters of liturgical music and ecumenical dialogue. In the second part of the paper, the authors will discuss the theology of church polyphony using four documents issued by the Roman Catholic Church. The final part will provide some concluding remarks on this topic.

I

Due to their specific mentality, Western (Roman) people have always connected the entire religious experience with usability (Zizijulas 2014, 51). During the course of history, Roman Catholic liturgical music developed within the juridical type of ecclesiology which viewed the Church as an institution of a temporary character (Matić 2018, 189–190). Music of the Church had to differ from the prevailing musical patterns of the surrounding world in order to ensure its function in navigating the road to salvation. According to Swain (2012, 194), the Roman Catholic Church has never attached a particular musical setting to the Scripture, nor has ever equalised the truth of the words with the way of singing. In fact, many compositions that were conceived in utter secularity obtained their place within the Roman Catholic liturgy as soon as the cultural context forgot the specifics of their sound. Therefore, it does not seem strange that in Catholic documents, the term *polifonia classica* (*polifonia sacra*) involves polyphonic works composed by the composers such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Josquin des Prez, Orlandus Lassus, Tomas Luis de Victoria, and William Byrd, created from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth century (120).



The official definition of sacred polyphony can be found in the documents of the Roman Catholic Church (Congregazione dei riti 1958, art. 6). However, what seems more significant to emphasize is the fact that since the appearance of polyphony in the Roman Catholic Church, the only type of harmony was modal harmony. Harmonisation of Gregorian chant by means of the counterpoint technique enabled the preservation of the free rhythm of chorale melodies which led polyphony towards serving the liturgical act.³ The chord syntax was formed by consonance and dissonance within the chords, but the chords themselves were created in an almost accidental harmony of melodies which resounded simultaneously and which harmonised each other. In contrast, the change of the harmonic syntax in the sixteenth-century secular music, namely in opera, led to a centuries-long period of adapting the European ear to the functional type of harmony. At that point, chord structures were bearers of the syntax both on their own and in their mutual interaction. Since their development, specific musical examples created new auditory patterns – psychological reminders of the profane.⁴

The imposed circumstances provoked the emergence of a movement within the liturgical movement in the nineteenth century Roman Catholic Church. The »Caecilian movement« took efforts to restore Gregorian chant and classical polyphony, primarily aiming to safeguard the Church from the deviant secularization which it had already stepped deeply in.⁵ Establishing the distinction between the sacred/liturgical and profane/secular was profoundly significant from the ontological perspective. The association with the dogmatic authority of Gregorian chant, as well as the different social context, enabled a certain polyphonic repertoire to become a credible representative of the existence of the unique identity

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- 3 At the time of the first »embodiment« of the polyphonic sound in the Roman Catholic Church, the court had nothing similar to it. The early polyphony represented the sound of plainchant followed by a shadowy melody, and appeared in the contexts of festival liturgies, which also contributed to the notion of the liturgical character (Swain 2012, 188).
 - 4 After the appearance of opera, a growing split between the styles of music written for the church and for the court was definitely clarified (Swain 2012, 135). According to Swain (195–196), it seems that there is nothing intrinsically sacred about any music or any kind of music, but that it »can acquire sacred semantics of significant power, bound by the community agreement and both general and specific contexts«.
 - 5 See more in: Monti 2011, 597–610; Donella 2012, 57–58. The encyclical *Tra le sollecitudini*, initiated by Pope Pius X in 1903, positioned the sanctity of sacred music not through its relationship with the biblical and phenomenological, but as the antithesis of the secular (Joncas 1997, 52).



of the Roman Catholic Church as the instrument of salvation. The imperative to preserve the Church's identity became a sufficient argument for compositions of *polifonia classica* to be perceived in the context of serving the liturgy since their inception.

The connection between socio-cultural identity and polyphonic sound also appeared in the story of the Orthodox diaspora in the nineteenth century. Namely, members of the Greek and Serbian Orthodox churches in diaspora began the official implementation of polyphonic forms, similar to the ones that could be heard in Western church, into the liturgy. For them, the question of polyphony was inseparable from the idea of preserving identity and ensuring the existence of a nation throughout history. As scholars claim and sources testify, the main reason for the acceptance of the »new music« in the liturgy was of a psychological nature, caused by the dominant influence of Western culture and Enlightenment society in the Austrian capital. At the time, Vienna held the same significance for the Greeks as Alexandria once had (Peno 2016, 197). Regarding the Orthodox Serbs in Vienna, there was a feeling of social shame provoked by the ridicule of Roman Catholic clerics and new cohabitants (35). As writings testify, what was praiseworthy and delightful one day was shown as false and unacceptable the next, while the youth were »undressing the old man and getting dressed into the new one« with the aim of communicating with their surroundings (197).⁶

Since it aimed to save the identity of national minorities, the process of implementing polyphonic choirs (into the liturgy of Greek and Serbian Orthodox Churches in Austria) was marked by the creation of compositions primarily intended to preserve the originality of national melodies within the harmonic landscape of contemporary musical trends. As Perkovic Radak claims (Perković Radak 2008, 26), during the nineteenth century the church choral music, better known as »Serbian folk church chanting«, was favoured precisely because it was believed to contain melodies enriched with national motives. At the same time, everything

6 Conscious discernment between »old« and »new« and the tendency of striving for the »new« which is perceived as good and positive (as opposed to old, bad, and unworthy) represent the characteristics of the syntactic cultural model which Lotman connects with the era of centralization. According to Perkovic Radak, the representatives of this period are characterized by the practical spirit, and by the tendency towards achieving practical interest (Perković Radak 2008, 33–34).



»western« and based on the rules of harmony and counterpoint technique was rejected. However, it was neglected that »techniques of the composition, no matter the cited melodies, were not the product of national tradition, but were taken from the Western European tradition«.

The other relevant detail is the fact that the majority of Orthodox inhabitants of Vienna considered the pro-European musical reform as »a public work« which in its ultimate result overcame the boundaries of Orthodoxy, becoming thereby the universal Christian good. Moreover, the introduction of the polyphonic sound into the Orthodox liturgy was expected to intervene in suppressing confessional divisions, as well as to bring blessings to the Orthodox inhabitants and lead »sarcastic« and »malicious« Western cohabitants to repentance (Peno 2016, 66). The trace of this idea was to emerge in the years following the Second Vatican Council through the writings of Johannes Overath (1983, 75), who would underline that banishing the great art forms of the Sanctus from the solemn liturgy, i.e., the polyphonic Sanctus, would deepen the rift between the East and West. His words seem to have been echoed earlier than their written version since they were cited by Gottfried Göller (1969, 126) during the Fifth International Congress of Sacred Music held in Chicago-Milwaukee on August 21–28, 1966.

The Second Vatican Council provoked the emergence of a new type of ecclesiology and, with it, a different understanding of salvation marked by a linear and almost exponential growth towards *koinonia*-based and personality-based dimensions, as well as integral and eschatological dimensions. Individualistic elements were rejected; legalism surrendered to the ecclesiastical trend, which affirmed the Eucharistic elevation to salvation. Soteriological glory began to be seen as intended for the whole creation (Matić 2022, 168). Despite these optimistic movements towards communal love, the council and the post-council period revealed relevant conflicts centralised around the questions of liturgical music that emerged among Western theologians. »Conservatives« opposed »puritans«, who advocated for eliminating the polyphonic form from the Mass in favour



of congregational singing (Bugnini 1997, 853–855).⁷ A similar scenario, in which the existence of polyphonic sound in liturgy generated conflict, had been realised a century earlier, when stormy reactions from ecclesiastical authorities at the Phanar reached the Greek clerics in Vienna. The patriarchal letter from the 1850 revealed the existence of a special Commission which was supposed to condemn all inappropriate church music that had developed under the influence of Western European harmony, i.e., polyphonic sound and tonal harmony. These reactions were provoked by the implementation of the music style which was seen as new and foreign to the chanting tradition of the Great Church in Constantinople (Peno 2016, 66).⁸

II

The efforts of the *Caecilian* movement were accompanied by a tendency towards connecting it with the dogmatic support of the papal magisterium. Finally, the *motu proprio Tra le sollecitudini* made the sacred preeminence of Gregorian chant official, which positioned *polifonia classica* immediately next to it.⁹ The theological aspect of classical polyphony is not directly presented in this document; the reader can instead draw conclusions from the exposed premises. By closing the first part, the document reveals the ecclesiological model within which it develops. The phrase «*quae vel codex iuris sacrorum musicorum*» highlights the juridical type of ecclesiology as the main medium through which the reading of the following chapters should be done.¹⁰

7 By encouraging active participation of all members of the laos in liturgical singing, a group of Catholic theologians clearly expressed the stance on the irreconcilability of the esoteric nature of church music artistry with the nature of the Liturgy (Rahner and Vorgrimler 2008, 48). In addition, the «scandalous» statement by Jungmann regarding the Council's departure from the ideal of the traditional Latin Mass surrounded by great musical splendor while elevating the level of church music, provoked a strong reaction from a group of Catholic theologians (Overath, 1983).

8 The nineteenth and twentieth centuries were also marked by conflicts between Western European and Greek scholars of Byzantine and post-Byzantine psalmody. The intensity of these conflicts was authentically described by musicologists who stated that the shadow of schism permeated the overall Byzantine musicological discourse during the first half of the twentieth century. See more in: Peno 2011; 2015.

9 This will be also confirmed in the encyclical *Divini cultus* from 1928, issued by Pius XI (1928, art. 5).

10 «Our present Instruction to which, as to a juridical code of sacred music, We will with the fullness of Our Apostolic Authority that the force of law be given, and We do by Our present handwriting impose its scrupulous observance on all.» (Pius X 1903)



After the opening chapter, the document exposes the general principles of sacred music and positions classical polyphony as the genre which contains the necessary qualities of sacred music to the greatest extent, because of its connection with the Gregorian melodies. Polyphony thus preserves »universality« which derives from *sanctitate* and *bonitate formarum*, and actively testifies about its inseparability from Gregorian chant. Dedication to tradition enables classical polyphony to participate in fulfilling the purpose of sacred music which is »the glory of God and sanctification of the faithful« (Pius X 1903, art.1). This purpose is repeated once again in the document *Musicae sacrae* issued by Pius XII in 1955. The necessity for holiness and goodness of a musical form is confirmed (Pius XI 1955, art. 41–42) and classical polyphony is recognized as restored and cleaned from profane melodies. Therefore, it should be cherished with great prudence and care (art. 54).¹¹

This document differs from the previous in the given explanation about the meaning of »universality«. The purpose of »universality« consists of ensuring the appropriate feeling among the faithful. Wherever they may be, the faithful »will hear music that is familiar to them and a part of their own home«. This would, eventually, enable the spiritual consolation found in »the wonderful unity of the Church« (art. 45). The document also contains a direct reference to Augustine's understanding of music as one of the »great gifts of nature with which God, in Whom is the harmony of the most perfect concord and the most perfect order, has enriched men, whom He has created in His image and likeness« (art. 4).¹² The teachings of Tertullian, Augustine, and Anselm of Canterbury correlated salvation with the notions of punishment, redemption and law as well as with the necessity of directing all rhythms of human activity and movements towards the encounter with the perfect God's justice (Matić 2020, 160–164).¹³ Even

11 The glory of God and sanctification of the faithful, as the true purpose of sacred music, will be confirmed again in the Instruction named *Musicae Sacrae* (Congregazione dei riti 1967, art. 4).

12 Since the main contribution of music is spiritual joy and the delight of soul, music is »the science or the sense of proper modulation« which is »likewise given by God's generosity to mortals having rational souls in order to lead them to higher things« (Pius XII 1955, art. 5).

13 The need for directing one's consciousness towards the end was confirmed once more by Pius XII: »The ordination and direction of man to his ultimate end – which is God – by absolute and necessary law based on the nature and the infinite perfection of God Himself is so solid that not even God could exempt anyone from it. This eternal and unchangeable law commands that man himself and all his actions should manifest and imitate, so far as possible, God's infinite perfection for the praise

though clear evidence is still lacking, it would be negligent not to mention the fact that Augustine allocated the octave proportion to Christ's figure of the God-man (1991, 155–157), bearing in mind that the consonant polyphonic sound would be attached to Christ's righteousness and His act of redemption in the following centuries.¹⁴

Musicae sacrae also reminds the reader that all the historical events of salvation, deliberation, and healing from the Old Testament onwards were accompanied by music (art. 11). It also cites the verses from the Epistles of the Apostle Paul (Eph 5:19; Col 3:16) which in the juridical environment only represent arguments of the liturgico-historical character.

On the other hand, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* also mentions apostolic words that can now be interpreted in different ways due to the emergence of the above mentioned ecclesiological model of *koinonia*. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* does not contain the theological explanation of polifonia classica; as Joncas suggests (1997, 20), it rather represents worship music as the very means by which certain liturgical actions occur. By using the term »il canto sacro«, which is understood primarily in scriptural, i.e. apostolic terms, the document transfers its focus from the notion of *music* to the idea of *singing*.¹⁵ This discrete detail elegantly changes the focus forming a kind of the refined order, and subordinating the concept of »music« to »singing«.

and glory of the Creator. Since man is born to attain this supreme end, he ought to conform himself and through his actions direct all powers of his body and his soul, rightly ordered among themselves and duly subjected to the end they are meant to attain, to the divine Model. Therefore even art and works of art must be judged in the light of their conformity and concord with man's last end.« (Pius XII 1955, art. 24)

- 14 From the ninth to the sixteenth century, the semantics of church polyphony developed in stages starting from an auditory image of a principle, through Christ's act of redemption, soon to be closely connected with the very Essence of God and Kingdom of God. Thus, counterpoint technique was particularly related to the area of eternity and consequently to a specific aim: making an audible existence of the principle that unites numerous independent individuals while managing their relationships. See in: *Musica Enchiriadis et Scolica Enchiriadis* 1955, 30–31; *Leodiensis* 1955, Cap. V; *Tinctoris* 1975–1978; *Antiphonarium* 1301–1400, fol. 1v; *Strunk* 1950, 195–198; *Bell* 2009, 367–368.
- 15 »La tradizione musicale della Chiesa costituisce un patrimonio d'inestimabile valore, che eccelle tra le altre espressioni dell'arte, specialmente per il fatto che il canto sacro, unito alle parole, è parte necessaria ed integrante della liturgia solenne. Il canto sacro è stato lodato sia dalla sacra Scrittura, sia dai Padri, sia dai romani Pontefici; costoro recentemente, a cominciare da S. Pio X, hanno sottolineato con insistenza il compito ministeriale della musica sacra nel culto divino. Perciò la musica sacra sarà tanto più santa quanto più strettamente sarà unita all'azione liturgica, sia dando alla preghiera un'espressione più soave e favorendo l'unanimità, sia arricchendo di maggior solennità i riti sacri. [...] Perciò il sacro Concilio, conservando le norme e le prescrizioni della disciplina e della tradizione ecclesiastica e considerando il fine della musica sacra, che è la gloria di Dio e la santificazione dei fedeli, stabilisce quanto segue.« (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*, art. 112)



Focusing on »the singing man« who needs the others to be recognized as such marks a precious step which pushes polyphony towards a new perspective which cannot be understood out of the sphere of personhood.

If the proper understanding of *koinonia* means staying on the Apostle Paul's trace, then it would imply, as Matjaž suggests (2019, 192), the existence of the dynamic communion, carrying one another's burdens, and sharing the goods with each other. It implies dying of the old man who lived in an individualistic way, and giving birth of the new man who lives by the faith in God's Son, or, in other words, as a being of a communion. This context leaves nothing else but to diminish rationality and accept the challenge of experiencing the musical sound as a consequence of the real acceptance of the otherness. The boundaries of this communion need to be constantly reexamined and grounded in the liturgical (eucharistic), and thus eschatological experience, since there is a thin line between a singing community based on personhood and a collective consisting of individuals gathered around the same »musical taste« dominant in the local Church. The best evidence of how sensitive the question of music in the liturgy might be is found in the case of Sanctus, which the Instruction *Musicam Sacram* positions as a part of the liturgy that cannot be sung without the congregation (Congregazione dei riti 1967, chap. 3). On the other hand, for the »opposing team«, it is precisely its polyphonic form that enables a dialogical medium between the West and East.¹⁶

The Second Vatican Council gave scope for the co-existence of two ecclesiologies, and due to this, the diffusion and acceptance of the ecclesiology of *koinonia* are yet to take place in the life of the Roman Catholic Church (Матић 2022, 168). In the current circumstances, the issue of church polyphony can significantly contribute to reaching a final solution (Oblonšek 2021, 126).

16 To gain a closer view of the attitudes of Johannes Overath and his fellow thinkers, we provide the previously mentioned citation in its entirety: »If the great art forms of the Sanctus were to be banished from the solemn liturgy and nothing allowed other than acclamatory forms, meaning forms of congregational singing, then we would not only have to record a further dismantling of the cultic element in contemporary liturgical practice. No, the moat separating East and West in the liturgy and its theological foundations would also have been deepened, now that the Greek 'Kyrie' appears to be suppressed more and more in daily liturgical practice.« (Overath 1983, 75)



Conclusion

The emergence of polyphonic forms within the liturgical music of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches clearly indicated the dialogical potential of church polyphony. Although the aim of this research was not explicitly to list elements of ecumenical convergence that polyphony certainly offers, we believe readers are provided with a broad enough platform to assess that reality based on the description of the worship practices of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches over the past two centuries.

The integration of polyphonic music into the liturgies of Orthodox Churches in the nineteenth century aimed to preserve the identity of nations within their respective cultural contexts. During the mentioned century and the following one, the sound of classical polyphony served as a distinguishing feature of the Roman Catholic Church from the surrounding secular world, signifying its soteriological importance. As such, church polyphony brought the questions of ecumenical dialogue closely to everyday life.

The theological analysis of church music, in this case church polyphony, has the potential to contribute to the process of resolving questions that can be raised in the comparative analysis of Orthodox and Roman Catholic theology. Therefore, further research on this and similar topics would be beneficial. It would be useful to gain a deeper insight into the dogmatic aspects of church polyphony, especially in the context of Roman Catholic juridical ecclesiology, as well as to examine the idea of polyphonic singing that arises from it in light of the perspective of the Greek Fathers who emphasized hypostasis over essence. Additionally, research should address how the intention of establishing polyphonic sound as a norm within liturgy can be reconciled with the theology that constantly anticipates the Eschaton, striving towards the Kingdom that »already is, but not yet«. Lastly, there is a need for deeper exploration into how exposure to church polyphony, as a sound medium which has the purpose of glorifying God and sanctifying the faithful, affects human free will.

By remaining faithful to our theological heritage, we must acknowledge that the phenomenon of church-musical exchange throughout history, particularly during the period marked by the Great Schism, cannot



be disregarded. Moreover, the examples from the history of Church and its music consistently remind us of the significance of dialogue and the necessity of its holistic development.



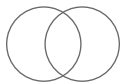
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Ivan Macut

La visione della Chiesa nei messaggi pasquali (1998–2023) dell'arcivescovo di Zagabria e cardinale Josip Božanić

The vision of the Church in the Easter messages (1998–2023) of the Archbishop of Zagreb and Cardinal Josip Božanić

Vizija Cerkve v velikonočnih poslanicah (1998–2023) zagrebskega nadškofa in kardinala Josipa Božanića

Riassunto: Dal 1998 al 2023, l'arcivescovo, metropolita e cardinale di Zagabria Josip Božanić ha consegnato ogni anno ai fedeli i suoi messaggi pasquali in occasione della più grande festa cristiana: la Pasqua. Dopo una breve esposizione di ciascun messaggio nel primo paragrafo, l'articolo nel secondo paragrafo continua ad esporre in modo sistematico la visione della Chiesa delineata dal cardinale Božanić. Sono quattro le tematiche principali ecclesologiche all'interno delle quali il cardinale parla teologicamente della Chiesa e presenta la sua visione della Chiesa: 1. l'origine e il mistero della Chiesa; 2. la santità della Chiesa e la peccaminosità dei suoi membri; 3. l'attività di predicazione della Chiesa e, infine, 4. l'attività sociale della Chiesa. La Chiesa è inviata a trasformare questo mondo con il potere della grazia e della misericordia dallo stesso Cristo risorto. Nonostante tutte le difficoltà che la Chiesa sta affrontando, e soprattutto nonostante la peccaminosità dei suoi membri, il cardinale Božanić ha una visione positiva e ottimista della Chiesa.

Parole chiave: Josip Božanić, La Chiesa, messaggi pasquali, Cristo, il mondo

Abstract: From 1998 to 2023, Archbishop, Metropolitan and Cardinal of Zagreb Josip Božanić delivered his Easter messages to the faithful each year on the occasion of the greatest Christian feast: Easter. After a brief exposition of each message in the first paragraph, in the second paragraph, the article systematically presents the vision of the Church outlined by Cardinal Božanić. There are four main ecclesiological themes within which the Cardinal speaks theologically about the Church and presents his vision of the Church: 1. the origin and mystery of the Church; 2. the holiness of the Church and the sinfulness of its members; 3. the preaching activity of the Church and 4. the social activity of the Church. The Church is sent to transform this world with the power of grace and mercy from the risen Christ himself. Despite all the difficulties the Church is facing, and especially despite the sinfulness of its members, Cardinal Božanić has a positive and optimistic view of the Church.

Keywords: *Josip Bozanić, The Church, Easter messages, Christ, the world*

Izveček: *Zagrebski nadškof, metropolit in kardinal Josip Bozanić je od leta 1998 do 2023 vsako leto ob največjem krščanskem prazniku – veliki noči – vernikom izročil velikonočna sporočila (poslanice). Po kratki razlagi vsakega sporočila v prvem delu članek v drugem delu sistematično predstavi vizijo Cerkve, ki jo je načrtal kardinal Bozanić. Gre za štiri glavne ekleziološke teme, znotraj katerih kardinal teološko govori o Cerkvi in predstavlja svojo vizijo Cerkve: 1. izvor in skrivnost Cerkve; 2. svetost Cerkve in grešnost njenih članov; 3. pridigarstva dejavnost Cerkve in 4. družbena dejavnost Cerkve. Cerkve je poslana, da preoblikuje ta svet z močjo milosti in usmiljenja vstalega Kristusa. Kljub vsem težavam, s katerimi se Cerkve sooča, in še posebej kljub grešnosti njenih članov ima kardinal Bozanić pozitiven in optimističen pogled na Cerkve.*

Ključne besede: *Josip Bozanić, Cerkve, velikonočne poslanice, Kristus, svet*

Introduzione

L'arcivescovo, metropolita e cardinale di Zagabria Josip Bozanić è stato nominato a capo dell'arcidiocesi di Zagabria da Papa Giovanni Paolo II il 5 luglio 1997. Il 4 ottobre 1997 ha sostituito l'arcivescovo e cardinale Franjo Kuharić come arcivescovo e metropolita di Zagabria. È rimasto nell'onorevole posizione di Arcivescovo di Zagabria fino al 15 aprile 2023, quando Papa Francesco ha accettato le sue dimissioni a causa dell'età canonica. Durante questo periodo di quasi 26 anni, possiamo dire con certezza che il cardinale Bozanić ha lasciato un segno indelebile nella vita e nella missione dell'arcidiocesi di Zagabria, ma anche nella vita del popolo croato.¹

Al servizio dell'arcivescovo di Zagabria, il cardinale Bozanić, in occasione della più grande festa cristiana: Pasqua, invia ogni anno messaggi pasquali alla Chiesa, ma anche al più ampio pubblico sociale e culturale. Anche se hanno al centro la stessa verità di fede cristiana, che dice: Cristo è risorto! - tuttavia, i messaggi pasquali del cardinale sono caratterizzati ogni anno da temi ed enfasi differenti. Proprio per la varietà degli argomenti - tutti

1 Ci riferiamo alla raccolta di opere pubblicate in occasione del 70° compleanno del cardinale Josip Bozanić e alle opere che trattano del suo contributo alla vita della Chiesa locale, come ad esempio, Valter Župan, *Mons. Josip Bozanić – krčki biskup, zagrebački nadbiskup, kardinal*, 29–41.; Emil Svažić, *Mons. Josip Bozanić – apostolski administrator Riječko-senjske nadbiskupije*, 43–59.; Slavko Zec, *Kardinal Josip Bozanić – doprinos sinodalnosti partikularne Crkve i krajevnom pravu*, 65–88. et al. *Da život imaju. Zbornik u povodu 70. rođendana kardinala Josipa Bozanića, metropolita i nadbiskupa zagrebačkog i velikog kancelara Katoličkoga bogoslovnog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, ed. Mario Cifrak, Ružica Razum, Nenad Malović, Anto Barišić, *Kršćanska sadašnjost – Katolički bogoslovni fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, Zagreb 2019., 818 pp.

direttamente collegati all'insegnamento dogmatico, teologico e sociale della Chiesa - i messaggi del cardinale Bozanić possono essere indagati e letti da diverse prospettive. Nella nostra ricerca, come indica chiaramente il titolo dell'articolo, ci occuperemo della visione della Chiesa nei messaggi pasquali dell'arcivescovo di Zagabria e del cardinale Josip Bozanić nel periodo dal 1998 al 2023. Per poter presentare meglio il tema indicato, siamo convinti che sia necessario indicare brevemente i temi e le sottolineature principali dei messaggi pasquali, che sono anche l'argomento del nostro primo capitolo.

1 I temi principali e i punti chiave dei messaggi pasquali dell'arcivescovo di Zagabria e del cardinale Josip Bozanić

Nel suo primo messaggio pasquale al servizio dell'arcivescovo di Zagabria nel 1998, monsignor Bozanić ha posto al centro della sua riflessione un tema estremamente importante: la speranza. «La risurrezione del Signore è il fondamento della nostra fede [...]. È anche il fondamento della nostra speranza.» (Bozanić 1998, 1) L'arcivescovo colloca la speranza cristiana in un contesto antropologico, ponendo l'uomo in relazione con questo mondo, ma anche con l'intero cosmo. La speranza cristiana è anche fortemente segnata da una dimensione escatologica. «La vita cristiana terrena è l'inizio della vita eterna. La speranza cristiana, quindi, non è solo sicurezza, ma anche anticipazione della realtà futura.» (2)

Nel messaggio pasquale dell'arcivescovo Bozanić per il 1999, pone come temi centrali la pace e il perdono dei peccati. Per l'arcivescovo di Zagabria, non c'è dubbio che la pace non solo dei cristiani, ma del mondo intero abbia il suo fondamento in Cristo risorto. L'arcivescovo collega il suo messaggio con l'invito del Santo Padre Giovanni Paolo II² al segno fedele della purificazione della memoria, che è un coraggioso atto di umiltà, e, infine, a mettersi in discussione e ad affrontare la verità nella propria vita, e il cardinale conclude il suo messaggio: «L'invito del Santo Padre nella forma di preparazione al Grande Giubileo del 2000 permette alla Chiesa di aprirsi al dono di Cristo Risorto: alla pace che solo Dio può dare.» (1999, 5)

2 Arcivescovo Bozanić nel suo messaggio pasquale si riferisce a *Incarnationis mysterium*.



Nel suo messaggio pasquale per il Giubileo del 2000, cardinale Bozanić si sofferma sulle parole di Cristo: Non abbiate paura! L'uomo non deve temere Dio, ma ciò che lo offende. Inoltre, l'uomo non deve avere paura della verità, né di se stesso, né della morte. »L'uomo non è stato creato per la morte, ma per la vita«, e finalmente l'arcivescovo conclude: »Il Signore Gesù è risorto per tutti e per coloro che non lo conoscono o non lo capiscono. È vicino a tutti e a coloro che fanno di tutto per stargli lontano. È il Salvatore e il Redentore di tutti gli uomini.« (2000, 4)

Nel suo messaggio pasquale del 2001, l'arcivescovo Bozanić si concentra sul discorso della verità e del rinnovamento della società. Per Bozanić, non c'è dubbio che la Chiesa sia chiamata a dialogare apertamente con la società in cui opera sui seguenti temi: la promozione e la tutela della vita umana dal concepimento alla morte naturale; il matrimonio e la famiglia come comunità fondamentali della società; la promozione della solidarietà, ecc. (2001, 4).

Nel suo messaggio pasquale del 2002, l'arcivescovo Bozanić ha sottolineato l'invito alle persone a darsi la vita a vicenda e a non condannarsi a morte. L'arcivescovo intende la condanna a morte in un contesto più ampio del solito, ad esempio l'odio, l'indifferenza, la violazione della dignità, la negazione del diritto al lavoro. Sono tutti modi in cui un'altra persona è »condannata a morte«, e il cardinale chiama tutti i credenti a una fede effettiva »perché la fede senza le opere è morta« e incoraggia tutti »ad atti d'amore concreti, individuali, anche comuni, di tutti i giorni nella vita« (2002, 5).

Nel suo messaggio pasquale del 2003, l'arcivescovo Bozanić si concentra sulla domenica nel contesto della fede e della vita sociale, considerando la domenica come »il nostro comune patrimonio culturale« (2003, 4).

Nel suo messaggio pasquale del 2004, il cardinale Bozanić si sofferma nuovamente sul tema della speranza. »Cristo è la nostra speranza« e »Per noi la fonte della speranza è nel Vangelo di Cristo« e l'arcivescovo conclude che come cristiani non dobbiamo essere passivi o lasciarci attendere: »Dio vuole risvegliare il rapimento con la sua speranza, per incoraggiarci ad assumerci la responsabilità.« (2004, 4)



Nel messaggio pasquale del 2005, il cardinale Bozanić si concentra sul tema della speranza cristiana, ma invita anche all'apertura della società croata e all'adesione all'Unione Europea. L'invito del cardinale si basa anche sulle riflessioni di Papa Giovanni Paolo II e sul suo sostegno all'adesione della Croazia all'Unione Europea. Per il cardinale Bozanić quanto segue è più che chiaro: «ritirarsi dalle esigenze dell'Europa contemporanea non è una risposta evangelica» e in quel contesto conclude: «Noi cattolici e cristiani sappiamo e abbiamo sperimentato che solo il Vangelo può collegare il mondo moderno.» (2005, 6)

Nel suo ampio messaggio per la Pasqua 2006, il cardinale Bozanić si concentra sulla parte finale della preparazione del secondo sinodo dell'arcidiocesi di Zagabria. Tutti i temi toccati in questo messaggio si completano parlando della risurrezione di Cristo, che è un evento reale «ma non un ritorno allo stato precedente», e l'arcivescovo conclude: «Gesù non ritorna, ma apre la strada a una nuova dimensione di vita per la quale non abbiamo parole o descrizioni – Gesù è entrato nella gloria del Padre.» (2006, 15)

Nel messaggio pasquale del 2007, il cardinale Bozanić, analizzando lo stato della società e la vita della Chiesa nella società, sottolinea il silenzio cristiano come una delle risposte alle sfide e ai problemi: «è necessario parlare con il silenzio che ha frutti di resurrezione» e conclude: «Il silenzio è lo spazio in cui parla la Parola di Dio. I cristiani sono chiamati a vivere questo silenzio ascoltando la Parola.» (2007, 77)

Nel messaggio pasquale del 2008, il cardinale Bozanić sottolinea che Cristo è il costruttore e il fondamento della vita e della storia, e che anche noi siamo suoi contemporanei nella risurrezione (2008, 88-89).

Nel messaggio per la Pasqua 2009, riflettendo sulla grande crisi finanziaria che ha colpito il mondo intero, il cardinale Bozanić vuole inviare un messaggio di speranza e di incoraggiamento. L'accento è posto soprattutto sulla vicinanza della Chiesa a chi ha bisogno. Inoltre, per l'arcivescovo, la crisi economica è una sfida per una maggiore unità e solidarietà a tutti i livelli (2009, 98-99).

Nel messaggio per la Pasqua 2010, il cardinale Bozanić continua a riflettere sulla grande crisi e sulla penuria materiale che colpisce molte persone.



Per lui non c'è dubbio che il male che incombe sul mondo «può essere sconfitto solo dalla misericordia di Dio, che è aperta a tutti», e l'arcivescovo conclude: «In un mondo pieno di inquietudine, peccato e sofferenza, è necessario proclamare l'amore e la misericordia di Dio alle persone.» (2010, 5)

Nel messaggio di Pasqua 2011, il cardinale Bozanić sottolinea l'imminente arrivo di Papa Benedetto XVI in Croazia. Sottolinea anche il rapporto tra l'uomo e Dio, che dovrebbe vivere in comunione, ma «il peccato ha danneggiato quella bellezza e ha portato la discordia, allontanando l'uomo da Dio e portando disordini e paura», tuttavia, conclude il suo messaggio nel contesto della speranza cristiana: «Preghiamo allo Spirito di amore e di gioia di concederci la sua forza, affinché non abbiamo paura della nostra debolezza, ma ci affidiamo e confidiamo nell'onnipotenza di Dio.» (2011, 10)

Nel messaggio di Pasqua 2012, il cardinale Bozanić tratta specificamente della nuova evangelizzazione, per la quale, tra l'altro, sottolinea: «La nuova evangelizzazione parte da un cuore che anela a portare gioia al prossimo, trova con fantasia modi affinché gli altri possano scoprire le loro attese più profonde, le loro speranze e il loro bisogno di significato.» (2012a, 127)

Nel messaggio di Pasqua 2013, il cardinale Bozanić parte da un fatto estremamente importante per la vita dell'intera Chiesa, ovvero la rinuncia all'ufficio pontificio di Benedetto XVI. Questo messaggio potrebbe essere giustamente etichettato come ecclesiologico perché in esso l'arcivescovo mette al centro la Chiesa nel suo senso caritativo ed evangelico, e queste due parti della Chiesa sono molto interconnesse (2013, 88-90).

Nel messaggio di Pasqua 2014, il cardinale Bozanić sottolinea in modo particolare la realtà religiosa della comunione. Occorre trasferire l'unità in tutti gli ambiti della vita umana «costruendo l'unità delle persone e della società sulla base dei valori della verità e dell'altruismo» (2014, 86).

Nel messaggio di Pasqua 2015, il cardinale Bozanić sottolinea la crisi dei valori, che poi si traduce nell'apertura di spazi a ideologie diverse. Riflettendo su questo tema, il cardinale conclude: «Sento che abbiamo bisogno di molta più vigilanza, solidarietà, comunicazione, solidarietà, rispetto reciproco e sensibilità.» (2015, 150)



Nel messaggio di Pasqua 2016, il cardinale Bozanić, nel contesto dell'Anno Santo della Misericordia, tratta lo stesso tema e sottolinea: «Attraverso la misericordia siamo più simili al Padre celeste e attraverso di Lui scopriamo e realizziamo il senso della nostra vita.» (2016, 159)

Nel messaggio di Pasqua 2017, il cardinale Bozanić, nel contesto dell'Anno di San Giuseppe, mette in risalto i Promessi Sposi della Beata Vergine Maria che sono «portatori di santità che vive del mistero del disegno di Dio; egli incarna l'atto memoriale dei miracoli di Dio che conducono alla Pasqua di Redenzione.» (2017, 178)

Nel messaggio di Pasqua 2018, il cardinale Bozanić si concentra sul tema: la purezza. Per l'arcivescovo non c'è dubbio che l'uomo non può raggiungere la purezza del cuore e della coscienza con le proprie forze, e in questo contesto conclude: «L'uomo non può perdonare i propri peccati, né può farlo nessun altro uomo, ma solo Dio. Solo Dio risuscita i morti, ritorna dalla morte alla vita.» (2018, 109)

Nel messaggio per la Pasqua 2019, il cardinale Bozanić sottolinea che la risurrezione di Cristo è il dono della massima vicinanza di Dio all'uomo. Dio ha instillato nell'uomo il desiderio di vicinanza a Dio e la separazione da Dio è la più grande tragedia dell'uomo (2019, 105-107).

Nel messaggio di Pasqua 2020, il cardinale Bozanić sottolinea la pandemia del virus corona. Per il cardinale, questa disgrazia che ha colpito l'umanità nel suo insieme è uno slancio per una rinnovata ricerca di significato e rivela all'uomo una verità profonda su se stesso: l'uomo è un essere fragile. «Questa fragilità non riguarda solo i singoli individui, ma, a causa dell'interdipendenza, investe rapidamente l'intera società, tutti gli ambiti e tutte le attività» e conclude: «Come cristiani, siamo chiamati a leggere tutti questi eventi proprio alla luce della Rivelazione, nell'incontro con il Vangelo di Cristo, in cui le domande sulla temporalità e sull'permanenza umana sono strettamente connesse con la risurrezione.» (2020, 144)

Nel messaggio di Pasqua 2021, il cardinale Bozanić si concentra sulla famiglia, e sulla famiglia di Nazaret come modello per tutte le altre famiglie. Il fondamento della famiglia si trova nell'amore di Dio, manifestato



nell'amore del coniuge, e l'arcivescovo conclude che tale famiglia è fonte di gioia (2021, 127–129).

Nel messaggio di Pasqua 2022, il cardinale Bozanić, nel contesto della guerra in Ucraina, si concentra sul discorso sulla pace e chiede: »C'è una persona che nel profondo del suo essere non vuole la pace?«, e la risposta per ogni persona si trova in Gesù Cristo che »ci lascia la pace« (2022, 108).

Nel suo ultimo messaggio pasquale a servizio di arcivescovo di Zagabria nel 2023, il cardinale Bozanić, così come nel suo primo messaggio del 1998, parla, tra le altre cose, di speranza: La Pasqua è la nostra speranza e la potenza della Pasqua si è già realizzata qui e questa potenza »trasforma la storia di ogni cristiano, della Chiesa e del mondo intero« (2023, 121).

In sintesi, possiamo concludere che i messaggi pasquali dell'arcivescovo di Zagabria cardinale Josip Bozanić racchiudono numerosi temi importanti della vita cristiana quotidiana. Questi messaggi sono principalmente di natura spirituale e mirano a incoraggiare i fedeli a una vita cristiana più impegnata nelle loro famiglie, nella società e nella comunità dei credenti che è la Chiesa stessa.

2 La visione della Chiesa nei messaggi pasquali

Sono quattro le unità ecclesiologiche tematiche all'interno delle quali l'arcivescovo e cardinale di Zagabria Josip Bozanić, nei suoi messaggi pasquali, parla teologicamente della Chiesa e presenta la sua visione di cosa è la Chiesa e come dovrebbe agire nel mondo: l'origine e il mistero della Chiesa; la santità della Chiesa e la peccaminosità dei suoi membri; l'attività di predicazione della Chiesa e, infine, l'attività sociale della Chiesa. Studiando queste quattro unità tematiche, possiamo vedere sia l'enfasi ecclesiologica che la visione della Chiesa che lo stesso cardinale Bozanić ha e che vuole trasmettere agli altri attraverso i suoi messaggi.

2.1 L'origine e il mistero della Chiesa

In conformità con gli insegnamenti del Concilio Vaticano II³, e in modo speciale con la costituzione dogmatica sulla Chiesa *Lumen gentium*, il cardinale Bozanić descrive accuratamente la Chiesa come realtà divina e umana. «Non è una creazione umana e al suo centro c'è il Dio-uomo, Gesù Cristo.» (2020, 145-146) La Chiesa è realtà sia cristologica che trinitaria e solo tenendo conto di questa fondamentale verità di fede la Chiesa può essere adeguatamente compresa. La Chiesa, prosegue cardinale Bozanić, deve vivere «radicata nel mistero del Dio Uno e Trino» (2006, 8). In quanto realtà umana e divina, la Chiesa è il corpo mistico di Cristo (2014, 85) e la sua essenza e missione nel mondo «rivela nella sua sacramentalità» (2020, 145), e che è ancora una volta conforme all'insegnamento dogmatico sulla Chiesa, che, tra l'altro, viene presentata come sacramento (LG §1).⁴ «Senza l'orizzonte e la luce della risurrezione, Gesù sarebbe solo portatore di un messaggio potente, e la Chiesa non potrebbe essere riconosciuta come sacramento.» (2013, 89) Il cardinale Bozanić sottolinea anche che la Chiesa è il corpo mistico di Cristo⁵, e la sua nascita ha avuto inizio con la Pasqua (2023, 123), cioè la Chiesa è il frutto della risurrezione di Cristo (2020, 146) e la sua «fede pasquale è segno riconoscibile della Chiesa fin dai suoi inizi» (2022, 110). Considerando l'insieme dei messaggi pasquali dell'arcivescovo di Zagabria cardinale Bozanić, è chiaro il motivo per cui nei suoi messaggi egli sottolinea questa verità. Ci sono visioni errate e una percezione sbagliata della Chiesa e della sua missione nella società, di cui parleremo più approfonditamente quando presenteremo le attività sociali della Chiesa. È necessario sottolineare che solo una corretta comprensione dell'origine della Chiesa – realtà divina e umana – consente di comprendere correttamente cosa è la Chiesa, e quindi quale è la sua missione. Lo stesso pensiero è sottolineato dal cardinale Bozanić quando

3 Per l'arcivescovo di Zagabria e cardinale Bozanić non c'è il minimo dubbio che il Concilio Vaticano II sia ancora oggi la bussola sicura della Chiesa. «Nei mesi scorsi, a livello di tutta la Chiesa, anche nella nostra Chiesa locale, abbiamo commemorato il 40° anniversario della fine del Concilio Vaticano II. Sono stati giorni di gratitudine e di riflessione. Negli ultimi quarant'anni, il rinnovamento conciliare ha intessuto molte buone imprese nella vita della Chiesa e della società.» (Bozanić 2006, 3)

4 «Il fatto che non si dica che la Chiesa è sacramento ma che è 'veluti sacramentum' indica che il riferimento al settenario sacramentale va inteso in senso analogico. L'affermazione non intacca in alcun modo la dottrina tridentina sul numero e l'identità dei sette sacramenti.» (Repole 2018, 85)

5 «Il mistero della Chiesa si esprime, dunque, nel suo essere corpo di Cristo, unita al punto da costituire un'unità con lui eppure distinta, totalmente sottomessa al suo Signore.» (Repole 2018, 128)



dice: «Dobbiamo comprendere bene il mistero della Chiesa.» (1999, 3) Al centro della Chiesa c'è Gesù Cristo risorto «che vive nella sua Chiesa» (2004, 5) e che è permanentemente presente in essa (2005, 2).⁶ Questa presenza costante di Cristo nella Chiesa le dà forza e speranza, e la Chiesa fa affidamento principalmente «sul mistero di Cristo, sulla sua incarnazione, morte e risurrezione» (2012a, 126).

2.2 La santità della Chiesa e la peccaminosità dei suoi membri

Come la Chiesa è una realtà celeste e terrena, così anche la Chiesa è «santa per la sua comunione con Cristo»⁷ (1999, 3), e peccaminosa nelle sue membra. Per il cardinale Bozanić questo è estremamente importante da capire, perché senza una corretta comprensione di questa verità fraintenderemmo completamente la necessità di un costante rinnovamento della Chiesa. «Dobbiamo comprendere bene il mistero della Chiesa, che è santa, senza peccato, ma non senza peccatori. La Chiesa come portatrice della grazia di Cristo è presente in ciascuno di noi in tutto ciò che siamo e in cui agiamo secondo lo Spirito. Il peccato, al contrario, ci esclude dalla vita della Chiesa, che lo ha ricevuto da Cristo e ce lo dona. [...] Nella Chiesa, quindi, è costante la presenza della testimonianza e dello scandalo.» (1999, 3) Solo uno sguardo purificato può vedere correttamente il mistero della Chiesa nella sua pienezza, che è santità e peccato. «Uno sguardo purificato vede la Chiesa anche nei peccati dei suoi figli e delle sue figlie, nell'abbandono del Crocifisso e nelle nostre ferite che ci dilanano. Una visione raffinata vede una nuova fonte.» (2018, 110) Per il cardinale Bozanić questa verità che la Chiesa è composta da membri peccatori non è in alcun modo motivo di pessimismo e di perdita di speranza. Esattamente il contrario. Attraverso il sacramento della riconciliazione, Dio perdona le persone e incoraggia i membri della Chiesa a perdonarsi e ad amarsi a vicenda. «Questa è la bellezza della Chiesa. In esso si ritrovano insieme i peccatori perdonati, affinché possano perdonare, senza dimenticare la fragilità di questo mondo e la costanza dell'amore celeste. Nessuno può farsi santo.

6 «Cristo [...] compenetra la vita e la storia degli uomini e agisce continuamente nella chiesa.» (Tommasi 2018, 221)

7 «Mentre quello trinitario focalizza l'origine, la natura e il fine di tale santità, quello cristologico rimanda piuttosto al fatto che questo dono è effetto dell'opera redentrice di Cristo, espressa dai cinque verbi: amare, dare, santificare, incorporare, riempire.» (Mazzolini 2018, 359)



Solo purificati dall'amore di Cristo possiamo vivere come risorti.» (2010, 6) Per l'arcivescovo e cardinale Bozanić non c'è dubbio che solo la risurrezione di Cristo e la sua vittoria sul peccato rendono possibile la nostra eternità.⁸ È necessario accettare la realtà della risurrezione e passare ad una vita nuova che si realizza »nella fede⁹ che dona il perdono dei peccati e la speranza della vita eterna, se amiamo Dio e il prossimo« (2023, 123), e il cardinale conclude: »In questo dono siamo chiamati a donare agli altri, portando la vicinanza di Dio. Possiamo farlo non con le nostre forze, ma stando vicini a Dio, ascoltando ciò che ci dice, sentendo il tocco della sua misericordia.« (2019, 107)

2.3 L'attività di predicazione della Chiesa

La missione della Chiesa è annunciare Gesù Cristo e il suo regno in questo mondo. »La Chiesa è chiamata a portare la novità della Pasqua all'intera comunità umana. Manifestiamo e confermiamo la nostra credibilità personale e collettiva, umana e cristiana attraverso il nostro impegno permanente per la realizzazione del Regno di Dio tra noi, che non solo non esclude nessuno, ma è aperto a tutti.« (2001, 2) L'annuncio del Vangelo non è in nessun senso focalizzare l'attenzione su se stessi. L'annuncio include necessariamente l'amore e il servizio, e questo, secondo il cardinale Bozanić, significa che l'annuncio del Vangelo è un'opera di amore disinteressato che cerca il bene degli altri. È in questo contesto di amore per gli altri che mons. Bozanić osserva la nuova evangelizzazione. In nessun caso può separarsi dal prossimo e dall'amore concreto per lui.¹⁰ O per usare le parole del cardinale: »La nuova evangelizzazione parte da un cuore che desidera portare gioia al prossimo, trova con fantasia modi affinché

8 In un articolo teologico-ecclesologico arcivescovo Bozanić scrive: »Il Risorto ci testimonia che c'è l'eternità, che c'è il cielo, e che la vita va vista alla luce dell'eternità, e non solo alla luce della storia e del corso del tempo che trascorriamo qui sulla terra. È proprio la prospettiva dell'eternità il contributo più grande che la Chiesa può e deve dare all'uomo di oggi.« (2012b, 836)

9 Il teologo protestante Fulvio Ferrario sostiene che l'espressione che comprende la peccaminosità e la santità dell'uomo - *simul iustus et peccator* - non può in nessun caso essere separata dalla parola di Dio nella fede: solo la parola ricevuta nella fede può riconoscere le opere buone se sono frutto della giustificazione, e l'amore dell'uomo si riconosce solo dalle parole della fede (Ferrario 2008, 105-106).

10 In un articolo del 2012, l'arcivescovo e cardinale di Zagabria Josip Bozanić, scrivendo sulla nuova evangelizzazione, sottolinea, tra l'altro, che si tratta del rapporto della Chiesa con la cultura e che »il contributo decisivo che la Chiesa può dare oggi nel tempo delle sfide della nuova evangelizzazione è quella di carattere culturale« (Bozanić 2012b, 831).



gli altri possano scoprire le loro aneliti più profondi, le loro speranze e il loro bisogno di significato. Partendo dall'amore, non possiamo tacere Gesù che abbiamo incontrato, che è la nostra speranza e la ragione della vita cristiana. Tacere significherebbe non amare il prossimo. Non annunciare Cristo al prossimo significherebbe negare agli altri ciò che ci rende più felici, soprattutto nei momenti in cui una persona si trova di fronte al mistero del male e della sofferenza.» (2012a, 127) Riflettendo sul gesto di Papa Benedetto XVI e sull'apertura dell'Anno della fede nel 2012, il cardinale Bozanić colloca giustamente quell'anno nel contesto più ampio della nuova evangelizzazione, il cui centro è l'incontro con Cristo risorto, e prosegue l'arcivescovo: «Questo incontro ci è donato nel modo più sublime nell'Eucaristia. L'Eucaristia porta con sé la forza trasformatrice della Risurrezione. Spezza le catene del presente, non sfugge ad esso» e conclude: «La celebrazione eucaristica è un evento di incontro personale con Gesù, e perciò il più eccellente annuncio del Risorto.» (2012a, 127-128) In questo mondo, tutti i cristiani – sia chierici che laici – hanno la propria missione, e tale missione deriva dal sacramento del battesimo mediante il quale sono uniti a Cristo risorto, e siamo tutti battezzati come un'unica famiglia (2023, 121), fratelli e sorelle, e come tali siamo chiamati ad essere testimoni di speranza. Cristiano non è colui che è rivolto a se stesso, ma colui che sa che non vive per se stesso ma serve Gesù Cristo nei suoi simili. Dal rapporto con Cristo il credente trae forza e cerca sempre nuovi modi di servire gli altri, e il culmine di quel servizio è, come ha detto Gesù, dare la vita per il prossimo (2020, 145). Inoltre, per il cardinale Bozanić, non c'è dubbio che tutti i credenti sono Chiesa (2021, 128) e come tali – in quanto partecipi della vita che ci è stata donata mediante la fede nella risurrezione di Cristo – siamo tutti chiamati a confessare-proclamare Cristo che fu crocifisso e risorto (2022, 110).¹¹ I credenti laici hanno un ruolo speciale nell'azione evangelizzatrice della Chiesa perché «restituiscono energia alla Chiesa con i carismi ricevuti, sostengono ed esprimono l'unità del corpo di Cristo» e la loro peculiarità è quella di 'santificare' il mondo con la grazia di Dio che essi stessi hanno ricevuto, ma hanno anche la loro missione nella Chiesa stessa (2006, 4). Tra i credenti laici, il cardinale Bozanić rileva in modo particolare l'importanza e la forza dei giovani nella Chiesa.

11 «Il Vangelo non è solo un messaggio sulla morte di Gesù sulla croce, ma anche sulla sua nascita, vita, morte, risurrezione, ascensione, sul suo regno attuale e sulla sua seconda venuta.» (Budiselić e Kraljik 2021, 155)



Sono loro che, insieme alla crescita personale e alla maturazione nella fede, dovrebbero incoraggiare definitivamente «coloro che non osano ancora avvicinarsi a Gesù e vedere che la sua tomba è vuota» (2009, 100).

2.4 L'attività sociale della Chiesa

La Chiesa ha la sua missione nella società. Per mons. Bozanić il punto di partenza è la consapevolezza del cristiano della propria vocazione e, in questo contesto, guarda con speranza al significato sia degli uomini e del mondo che attraversano le difficoltà di vivere nel tempo, sia della Chiesa, per la sua obbedienza al Vangelo, prosegue il cardinale, «ritiene di non dover tacere» e «ci dovrebbe essere una coscienza nella società in cui opera» (1998, 4). Inoltre, la Chiesa è «chiamata a portare la novità della Pasqua nell'intera comunità umana» (2001, 2), e ciò significa il rinnovamento dell'intera società. I temi che la Chiesa dovrebbe affrontare nel contesto sociale e invitare tutti i fattori rilevanti al dialogo sono i seguenti: «promozione e tutela della vita umana dal concepimento alla morte naturale; valorizzare il matrimonio e la famiglia come fondamento della comunità della società; promuovere la solidarietà su cui dovrebbero basarsi e costruire l'ordine e il progresso sociale ed economico; rispetto della sussidiarietà, che dovrebbe consentire l'inclusione di molti nella vita economica, sociale e culturale delle persone.» (2001, 4) Inoltre, nel contesto delle attività sociali della Chiesa, per il cardinale Bozanić le attività caritative della Chiesa sono estremamente importanti. «Dove i bisogni si moltiplicano, la Chiesa è sempre più presente. Sappiamo che avremo sempre al nostro fianco i poveri e i bisognosi (per noi non è solo una categoria sociale, ma teologica), ma questo non deve chiuderci nell'egoismo e lasciarci insensibili. Inoltre, la povertà ci indica il limite della nostra umanità e la necessità di una maggiore unione e solidarietà.» (2009, 100) Profondo conoscitore dell'ecclesiologia cattolica, cardinale Bozanić osserva molto chiaramente e correttamente che «non è opportuno dividere la Chiesa e le sue attività in senso caritativo ed evangelistico» (2013, 88). Il paradosso in cui vive e opera la Chiesa è che coloro che lodano la Chiesa quando agisce nella carità, la attaccheranno quando difende i corretti valori morali. Per l'arcivescovo di Zagabria ciò non sorprende e invita i fedeli a non lasciarsi confondere da ciò «perché la nostra vocazione religiosa è alleviare ogni tipo di miseria umana al meglio delle nostre capacità, ma anche essere coscienti, a partire con noi stessi nel mettere in discussione la nostra



lealtà verso Dio» (2013, 88). La risurrezione di Cristo è la fonte del servizio della Chiesa al mondo intero, e la Caritas è «il profumo della Chiesa che vive la risurrezione e la realtà della vita nuova» (2013, 90). Ecco perché per cardinale Bozanić non c'è dubbio che la Caritas sia «una parte inevitabile della testimonianza e del servizio della Chiesa» e sottolinea con forza: «Dove è presente la Chiesa, anche la Caritas dovrebbe essere visibile.» (2015, 149) Infine, nel mondo di oggi, spesso pieno di disperazione, «la Chiesa è chiamata a proclamare il messaggio di speranza» e questa speranza della Chiesa «non si fonda su alcune ideologie» ma su Gesù Cristo, che essa annuncia come «il unico Salvatore e Redentore dell'uomo, che è lo stesso ieri, oggi e sempre. La fonte della speranza è Cristo, risorto e vivo. Egli è sempre la nuova speranza della Chiesa e dell'umanità» e in questo contesto il cardinale Bozanić conclude: «Egli è l'unica e vera speranza dell'uomo e della storia.» (2005, 2)

Alcuni pensieri conclusivi

Analizzando i messaggi pasquali dell'arcivescovo e cardinale di Zagabria Josip Bozanić, come abbiamo sottolineato prima, si possono senza dubbio individuare quattro unità ecclesologiche tematiche all'interno delle quali egli parla teologicamente della Chiesa: l'origine e il mistero della Chiesa; la santità della Chiesa e la peccaminosità dei suoi membri; l'attività di predicazione della Chiesa e, infine, l'attività sociale della Chiesa. Ciascuno di questi temi deve essere considerato in accordo con l'insieme dei messaggi pasquali, e questi temi compaiono spesso in messaggi di anni diversi e con accenti diversi, ma sempre radicati nell'insegnamento ecclesologico integrale della Chiesa cattolica, e in modo speciale sulla base dell'insegnamento del Concilio Vaticano II e della costituzione dogmatica *Lumen gentium*. Menziona il cardinale Bozanić e i sommi sacerdoti romani – Papa Giovanni Paolo II, Papa Benedetto XVI e Papa Francesco – e incorpora la loro enfasi ecclesologica nei suoi messaggi pasquali, dimostrando così l'universalità dell'ecclesiologia cattolica.

Qual è la visione della Chiesa del cardinale Josip Bozanić? La Chiesa è il mistero attraverso il quale Cristo opera ancora oggi nel mondo. L'annuncio di Cristo è il compito primario della Chiesa. Oltre a questo compito, è importante anche l'attività sociale della Chiesa. Il cardinale Bozanić sottolinea

giustamente che spesso oggi la Chiesa viene valutata positivamente unicamente per le sue impegnative attività caritative e sociali. Quando si tratta della sua missione evangelistica, che secondo l'arcivescovo di Zagabria è inseparabile dalla missione sociale della Chiesa, allora incontra critiche e rifiuto dei valori che promuove e insegna. Inoltre, la Chiesa ha il suo ruolo nel mondo e nella società in cui vive, e dovrebbe essere quella che si rivolge a tutti, non solo ai credenti-cristiani. Il Regno di Dio è il limite dell'attività della Chiesa, e non i suoi limiti amministrativi. Per questo la Chiesa è stata inviata a trasformare questo mondo con la potenza donatale dallo stesso Cristo risorto.

Nonostante tutte le difficoltà che la Chiesa affronta sia esternamente che internamente, e in modo particolare a causa della peccaminosità dei suoi membri, il cardinale Bozanić ha una visione positiva e ottimistica della Chiesa. Egli sa bene che la Chiesa non è opera dell'uomo, ma è il frutto dell'opera di Dio Uno e Trino in questo mondo. Come tale, la Chiesa deve accettare pienamente il compito che Dio stesso le ha destinato, e cioè trasformare il mondo e l'uomo con la sua apparenza, la sua parola e i suoi fatti, e condurre l'uomo all'unica meta giusta, che è la salvezza eterna. »Il dono dello Spirito Santo in noi rafforzi la speranza dei beni eterni e faccia germogliare nella nostra vita presente i semi della salvezza finale.« (1998, 5)



Abbreviazione

LG *Lumen gentium*

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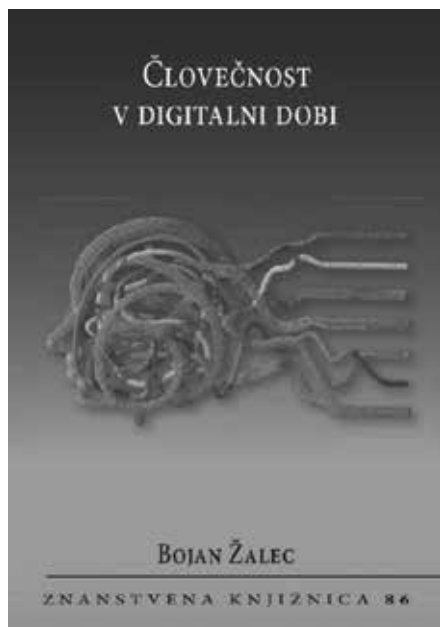


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Znanstvena knjižnica 86

Bojan Žalec

Človečnost v digitalni dobi: Izzivi umetne inteligence, transhumanizma in genetike

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Ljubljana: Teološka fakulteta, 2023. 133 str.

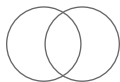
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Christos Veskoukis

Archbishop Anastasios of Albania: An Eastern Orthodox Example of Peace from a Religious Tradition Embroiled in Wars

*Albanski nadškof Anastasios: vzhodnopravoslavni
primer miru iz verske tradicije, zapletene v vojne*

Abstract: In recent years, several disputes between Orthodox churches over jurisdictional and politico-ideological matters have raised questions about Eastern Orthodoxy's commitment to peace. However, as a Christian denomination, Eastern Orthodoxy is theologically centred around the fundamental Christian values of love and peace. To illustrate how Eastern Orthodoxy can inspire a life devoted to peace, this article focuses on Anastasios Yannoulatos (b. 1929), the current Archbishop of the Albanian Orthodox Church, whose life constitutes a concrete Eastern Orthodox example of peace. Firstly, Archbishop Anastasios' life story and core theological ideas are presented, and secondly, his contribution to peace is briefly highlighted.

Keywords: Eastern Orthodoxy, Archbishop Anastasios of Albania, peace, war, mission

Izveček: V zadnjih letih je več sporov med pravoslavnimi cerkvami glede pristojnosti in politično-ideoloških vprašanj sprožilo vprašanja o zavezanosti vzhodnega pravoslavja miru. Vendar pa je vzhodno pravoslavje kot krščanska veroizpoved teološko osredotočeno na temeljne krščanske vrednote ljubezni in miru. Da bi ponazorili, kako lahko vzhodno pravoslavje navdihuje življenje, posvečeno miru, se ta članek osredotoča na Anastasiosa Yannoulatosa (r. 1929), sedanjega nadškofa albanske pravoslavne cerkve, katerega življenje je konkreten vzhodnopravoslavni primer miru. Najprej so predstavljeni življenjska zgodba in temeljne teološke ideje nadškofa Anastasiosa, nato pa na kratko še njegov prispevek k miru.

Ključne besede: vzhodno pravoslavje, albanski nadškof Anastasios, mir, vojna, poslanstvo

Introduction¹

Although in Western Europe, North America and elsewhere, Eastern Orthodoxy is a minority religion little known to non-Orthodox individuals, there are almost 260 million Eastern Orthodox believers around the globe, making Eastern Orthodoxy the third largest Christian denomination today (Pew Research Center 2017). Its faith and tradition stretch back to the apostolic era, and Eastern Orthodoxy is widely admired for its mysticism and liturgical richness.

In recent years, however, certain ecclesiastical disputes within Eastern Orthodoxy have sparked discussions on its ability to manifest peace in practice.² As a Christian denomination, Eastern Orthodoxy naturally emphasises love, often demonstrated by peace, and the Orthodox liturgy is, among other things, where the centrality of peace in Eastern Orthodoxy is revealed. The text of the divine liturgy, which is traditionally, though most probably incorrectly, attributed to St. John Chrysostom (c. 349–407) and is used throughout the Orthodox liturgical year for the celebration of the Eucharist (Quasten 1986, 472), is replete with references to peace. In the prayers preceding the main text of the divine liturgy, for instance, being at »peace with all« emerges as a prerequisite for every Orthodox priest who desires to administer the Eucharist (*Service Books of the Orthodox Church* 2010, 5). Furthermore, in the main text of the divine liturgy, God is implored to grant peace to people's »lives« and the entire »world« (2010, 24.54). Notwithstanding this, Eastern Orthodoxy does not consistently succeed in manifesting peace through its conduct. The dispute between the Orthodox Church of Antioch and the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem »over the jurisdiction of Qatar«, which led them to »sever communion in 2014« (Siecienski 2019, 102), as well as the Moscow Patriarchate's ideological support for Russia's ongoing war on Ukraine (Elliott 2022) and the Russian Orthodox Church's involvement in the global culture wars as an opponent of LGBTQ+ rights (Stockl and Uzlaner, 2022)

1 An earlier version of this article was published online in Dutch as »Aartsbisschop Anastasios van Albanië: voorbeeld van vrede« on Radboud University's *Platform Oosters Christendom* in April 2024, but this is the first time it appears in English.

2 See, for instance, the panel discussion titled »Russian World: Ideology as Theology«, organised by the *Wheel Journal* on April 23, 2024, which is available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jhbsH-NNY2JY> (accessed 13/5/2024).



are some examples, highlighting Eastern Orthodoxy's inability to manifest peace in practice.

Nevertheless, it would be erroneous to imply that Eastern Orthodoxy, taken as a whole, fails to practice peace. Understood broadly as the »lack of open violence« and, importantly, the effort of creating the »conditions for society to live without fear or poverty« (Richmond 2023, 9), peace is manifested by several Orthodox churches and persons, even if their stories do not always appear in the news. One such person whose story forms this article's focus is Anastasios Yannoulatos, the current Archbishop of the Albanian Orthodox Church. My aim in what follows is to shed light on Archbishop Anastasios and his contribution to peace. To do so, I will first outline the early and middle stages of Anastasios' life, tracing the genesis and development of some of his core theological ideas, and then discuss the later part of his life until today.

1 From birth to mission theology

The port city of Piraeus in the Athens urban area, Greece, marks the beginning of Archbishop Anastasios' life journey, as it was Piraeus where, in 1929, Anastasios was born to a »pious Orthodox family« (Veronis 1995, 122). During his formative years, Anastasios was raised within the Eastern Orthodox faith and regularly attended the services of the Greek Orthodox Church. However, Anastasios was not passionate about the Eastern Orthodox faith in his youth: it was science rather than religion that fascinated him. As he explained in a 2015 interview, though, his fascination with science gave way to a deep interest in the Eastern Orthodox faith after witnessing the chaos and destruction wrought by the »Nazi occupation of Greece« (Ejdersten 2015, para. 6). When Anastasios was a twelve-year-old secondary school student during the Second World War, the Nazi German army invaded Greece in 1941 and held the country occupied under inhuman conditions until 1944. In those years, thousands of Greeks were massacred by the Nazi forces and their collaborators, and Greece suffered two deadly »war-induced« famines (Liakos and Doumanis 2023, 157.160). Primarily because of »German plundering«, Greece did not have enough food for its population, and so many Greeks were dying of hunger that »wheelbarrows carried the dead to mass graves« while those who were



alive »begged for food« and some reportedly resorted even to »cannibalism« to survive (Liakos and Doumanis 2023, 158.160).

These horrible events understandably shocked young Anastasios, who, attempting to make sense of them, turned to his native Eastern Orthodox faith (Veronis 1995). For Anastasios, the message of love and »eternal peace« he found in Eastern Orthodoxy was the antidote to the evils of war, and, yearning for peace, he embraced the Eastern Orthodox faith wholeheartedly (Ejdersten 2015, para. 6). Not surprisingly, then, after finishing his secondary schooling, Anastasios pursued a bachelor's degree in Eastern Orthodox theology at the University of Athens, which he completed in 1952. During his undergraduate studies, however, Anastasios realised that due to nationalistic sentiments, the Orthodox Church of Greece and other Orthodox churches in the Balkans served their local Christian populace almost exclusively and avoided engaging in missionary work abroad (Veronis 1995). To Anastasios, this demonstrated a perversion of the Eastern Orthodox faith because the Orthodox Church's self-understanding as the »one, holy, catholic and apostolic church« was not to be seen merely as a rhetorical emphasis on its »apostolic succession« but as a »duty« to share in the »apostolic mission« (Yannoulatos 1989, 82). Specifically, Anastasios believed that the Orthodox Church's apostolicity implies that all Orthodox faithful are expected to imitate Christ's apostles and strive to spread God's love to the »whole world« and not only to the Christians within their local communities (Yannoulatos 1963, 301).

Anastasios felt so strongly about this that he decided to devote his life to missionary work, which he viewed as the practical expression of the Orthodox duty to spread God's love to all in an apostolic fashion (Yannoulatos 1989). As a result, in 1954, Anastasios joined the Zoe Brotherhood, a semi-monastic Greek Orthodox society of theologians, where he mainly conducted missionary work for Greece's youth (Veronis 1995). Furthermore, in 1960, he founded the »Porefthentes« inter-Orthodox mission centre, whose chief goal was to train Eastern Orthodox missionaries for service outside Orthodox-majority countries. At the same time, Anastasios desired to become a foreign missionary, so, in 1964, he was ordained a priest and moved to Uganda, Africa, to serve in that capacity. However, his stay in Uganda ended abruptly because he soon contracted malaria and returned to Greece on doctor's orders (Veronis 1995). This, nonetheless, did



not dash Anastasios' missional aspirations. In Greece, he realised that since he could not work as a missionary overseas, the best way to advance the cause of mission was to develop a robust Eastern Orthodox mission theology, which could »pave the way for others« to become foreign missionaries (Veronis 1995, 123). To develop such a theology, Anastasios continued his education on a postgraduate level. Between 1965 and 1969, he studied History of Religions, Ethnology, Africanology, and Missiology at the German universities of Hamburg and Marburg, while in 1970, he received his doctorate from the University of Athens, Greece (Albanian Orthodox Church, n. d.). Moreover, alongside his studies, Anastasios became actively involved in the ecumenical movement, seeking to enrich his Orthodox missiological perspective by meeting missiologists from »other Christian traditions« (Veronis 1995, 123).

For his dedication to mission, in 1972, the Orthodox Church of Greece appointed Anastasios as bishop of Androussa and entrusted him with directing its missions department. Furthermore, the University of Athens installed Anastasios as a professor at its divinity school. As a bishop and university professor, Anastasios concentrated his research on the History of Religions and Missiology, remained involved in the ecumenical movement, and contributed to numerous conferences organised by the World Council of Churches (Veronis 1995). At one such conference in 1975 that took place in the Armenian city of Vagharshapat, Anastasios introduced the missiological concept of the »Liturgy after the Liturgy« which is now widely used in theological scholarship (Tsirevelos 2022, 50–52). With this, he stressed that the eucharistic liturgy, much revered by Orthodox Christians, remains incomplete as long as it is not extended to the »everyday life of the faithful«. Since during the liturgy, the faithful spiritually connect with Christ and His love, Anastasios pointed out that the liturgical service can only be completed when, after the end of the liturgy, the faithful serve society at large in a Christ-like manner (Yannoulatos 2007, 129–131).

2 From mission theology to missional praxis

Until 1980, Anastasios was based in Greece, where he served as a theology professor and director of the Church of Greece's missions department,



yet 1981 signalled a turning point in his life. That year, having faced a severe internal crisis, the missionary Orthodox Church of East Africa was »on the verge of collapse«, so Anastasios was called to become its acting archbishop and help reorganise its mission (Veronis 1995, 124; Tritos 2011). For Anastasios, this was both an opportunity to put his missionary ideas into practice and a second chance to fulfil his desire to become a foreign missionary; hence, he took up the challenge and moved to East Africa. There, his work centred primarily on Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania (Tritos 2011), where he built many new churches and trained indigenous clergy, thus strengthening the local church community. However, Anastasios' work in East Africa was not aimed exclusively at Christians. Motivated by his ideas that the Orthodox faithful are obliged to spread God's love to all people and serve society at large, Anastasios strove to make East African societies a better place and, in only ten years, he managed to open seven healthcare centres and established twelve nursery schools and five primary schools (Veronis 1995). In this way, Anastasios became an active agent of peace because, as noted earlier, peace is not only to be understood as the absence of war but also as the endeavour to create conditions in which societies can live without fear or poverty, which is what Anastasios accomplished through his social work in East Africa.

East Africa, though, was not the end of Anastasios' journey. In 1991, a new challenge, namely Albania, came his way. Although Orthodox Christians had a historical presence in Albania and an Albanian Orthodox Church existed up to the early 1960s (Tsirevelos 2021), things changed rapidly when, in 1967, the Albanian communist dictator Enver Hoxha (1908–1985) declared Albania the world's first »atheist state« and instigated a violent persecution against all religious groups in the country (Payton 2016, 34–35). This persecution lasted until the end of Soviet communism in 1991, and, having been successful in reorganising the East African Orthodox Church, Anastasios was called to relocate to Albania and work towards reestablishing its Orthodox Church. For him, this was not an invitation he could decline. Believing that it is an Orthodox duty to spread God's love to the whole world, he had no choice but to accept. So, in 1991, he moved to Albania, where, in the following year, he was elected to his current position as Archbishop of the Albanian Orthodox Church (Veronis 1995).



Upon his arrival in Albania, Albanian Orthodoxy was nearly nonexistent, with only twenty-two elderly Albanian Orthodox priests and over a thousand destroyed churches (Ejdersten 2015). Through Anastasios' work, however, the Orthodox Church in Albania has been revived and now has around 460 Orthodox parishes, a theological seminary that has produced more than 150 Orthodox priests, and roughly seven percent of the Albanian population identifies as Orthodox Christians (Roberson 2021). Finally, with Anastasios at its helm, the Albanian Orthodox Church has actively promoted peace within the wider Albanian society by establishing open-to-all essential supplies centres throughout Albania, and by constructing various medical and educational centres such as the Evangelization Orthodox Diagnostic Centre and the Logos University in Tirana (Tsirevelos 2021, 36–40).

Conclusion

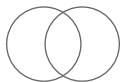
It is clear that, unlike the leaders of some Orthodox churches who fail to practice love and seek peace through their actions, Anastasios offers us an example of embodied Christian love and peace. In one of his books, he maintains that it is imperative for Christians to not only reflect upon God's kingdom of heaven but also devote their energy to revealing God's heavenly love and peace on earth (Yannoulatos 2003), which, to a great extent, is precisely what Anastasios has attempted to do throughout his life. Having practised the missional ideas, which he developed as a student and later a professor of theology, and having undertaken significant social work first in East Africa and then in Albania, Anastasios is a notable Orthodox Christian leader. His life and work tangibly remind us that Eastern Orthodoxy can be a force of peace despite often being involved in wars. My hope, therefore, in these closing lines is that Anastasios' example will inspire Orthodox Christians to renounce war and work for peace.



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Benjamin Dahlke

Spirit Christology: Intentions, Challenges, and the Ecumenical Potential of a Concept

*Kristologija Duha: nameni, izzivi
in ekumenski potencial*

Abstract: Spirit Christology has resonated within Anglican, Protestant, and Catholic theology. This is due to several limits of the traditional approach based on the formula of Chalcedon which have been highlighted since the 18th century. Entangling Christology and Pneumatology is regarded a promising solution to the notorious problem of explaining the person of Jesus Christ. In this paper, both the intentions and the challenges of Spirit Christology are being displayed. An important aspect will be to differentiate between two types of Spirit Christology: first, attempts to deepen and enrich the understanding of the traditional approach, and second, attempts to replace it. In recent theological discourse, both views are being expressed.

Keywords: Christology, Pneumatology, Spirit-Christology, council of Chalcedon

Izveček: *Kristologija Duha se je pojavila v anglikanski, protestantski in katoliški teologiji. Razlog za to je več omejitev tradicionalnega pristopa, temelječega na kalcedonski veroizpovedi, ki so bile izpostavljene od 18. stoletja dalje. Prepletanje kristologije in pnevmatologije velja za obetavno rešitev razvpitega problema razlage osebe Jezusa Kristusa. V tem prispevku so prikazani tako nameni kot izzivi; pomemben vidik bo razlikovanje med dvema vrstama kristologije Duha: prvič, poskusi poglobitve in obogatitve razumevanja tradicionalnega pristopa, in drugič, poskusi, da bi ga nadomestili. V nedavnem teološkem diskurzu sta izražena oba pogleda.*

Ključne besede: *kristologija, pnevmatologija, kristologija Duha, kalcedonski koncil*

Internationally and interdenominationally, Christology is practiced very differently. One approach that is currently receiving some attention is Spirit Christology. Especially since the latter part of the 20th century, it has resonated within Anglican, Protestant, and Catholic theology (Habets 2016; Liston 2016; Sánchez M. 2022; Dahlke et al. 2022; Stubenrauch 2023). This is remarkable considering that these very denominations have traditionally

adhered to the formula of the council of Chalcedon, crafted in the fall of 451, as a foundational framework. However, the formula shows noticeable limitations (section 1). In light of this, it can be explained why pneumatologically oriented Christologies were and still are regarded as helpful, sometimes even as progressive (section 2). It is important to mention that the concepts presented here often remain outlines and frequently highlight ideas which might be developed further on rather than being comprehensive in scope – quite understandably so, given the necessity to address and enhance a common understanding of pneumatology across the denominations. Thus, a carefully drafted concept of Spirit Christology continues to be a desideratum, as will be explained in the final part of this paper, pointing to the ecumenical potential of the concept (section 3).

1 Limits of Chalcedonian Christology

One question every Christological concept must answer is that of the enduring significance of the early councils: To what extent are they authoritative and, thus, doctrinally binding? What is the meaning of their decrees concerning the personhood of Jesus Christ? If the ancient teachings are still significant, they must be preserved, at least in terms of their content with singular terms to be altered (Dahlke 2021). In case they are outdated, however, one can and should replace them. The question just mentioned arises especially with regard to the formula adopted by the council of Chalcedon in order to end controversies that had long been going on in the eastern Mediterranean region (Grillmeier 1979; Leuenberger-Wenger 2019). At issue was whether the union of God and humankind in Jesus Christ should emphasize the separation or rather the union of the two distinct realities. The formula held that in Jesus Christ two natures are personally united, unmixed, unchangeable, undivided, and indivisible. However, the attempt to end the controversies failed. Anti-Chalcedonian churches were formed, which slowly separated from the imperial Byzantine church (Van Rompay 2022). Nothing like this happened in the West. There, the formula determined the Christological discourse during both the patristic era and the period of scholasticism as well as in early modern times (Hainthaler 2019; Sidaway 2020; Cross 2022; Cross 2023). In the 18th century, however, an awareness of the limitations of Chalcedonian Christology began to develop in Protestant theology. These limitations could not



be ignored by either Anglicans or Catholics, although it took some time to acknowledge them (Dahlke 2017).

Very different objections have been and still are raised against Chalcedon, namely five: (a) an objection based on theological principles, (b) an exegetical objection, (c) an historical objection, (d) an ecumenical objection. Particularly grave, however, is (e) a genuinely dogmatic one, concerning the personhood of Jesus Christ. In the following, these five aspects will be discussed sequentially:

(a) The formation of Church doctrine is always relative, and quite literally so. It is relative both to the revelation it claims to capture and to the contexts in which it emerges. Because of this twofold connection, dogmatic theology requires both an understanding of the relationship between God's revelation and ecclesiastical teaching and a knowledge of the history of theology and dogma. The stronger the awareness has grown since the 19th century that formation of traditional doctrine is relative on multiple levels, the more room has opened up for new theological approaches. This correlation is evident in the work of Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768–1834). In his opinion, Protestantism had merely adopted the usual body of doctrine instead of examining it in view of the Reformation's insights and, if necessary, reforming it profoundly – including Christology (Schleiermacher 2003a, 169–172 [§ 25]; 2003b, 58–60 [§ 95]).¹ Therefore, Schleiermacher saw reason to creatively rewrite it (2003b, 38–58 [§§ 92–94]).² In Protestant theology, it became widely accepted that adopting the doctrines without substantial change was insufficient. Anglicans and Catholics took longer for that. In Catholic theology, an awareness of the relativity of doctrine did not develop until the final third of the 20th century, accompanied by considerations of Spirit

1 For an English translation, cf. Schleiermacher 2016, 108–111 (§ 25) and 2016, 389–390 (§ 95).

2 For an English translation, cf. Schleiermacher 2016, 374–389. After sketching his own theory, Schleiermacher leveled accusations against the traditional doctrine – cf. 2003b, 60–94. For an English translation, cf. 2016, 391–417 (§§ 96–98). A detailed analysis is provided by Dahlke 2016; Junker-Kenny 2021.



Christology. Until then, the definition of Chalcedon was regarded the absolute norm.³

(b) Of the four gospels considered as canonical, the gospel of John has probably had the strongest influence on the formation of doctrines in the early Church. This is especially true for its prologue, which holds: *Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο* (Jn 1,14). This verse, together with the notion of pre-existence presumed by it, not only played an instrumental role in the Trinitarian discussions of the early Church but also determined the development of Christology (Uhrig 2004; Frey 2014, 231 n. 2; 2024). The idea that God would show a single human person his special favour, as the gospels seem to suggest with the baptism of Jesus (Mk 1,9-11), was discarded, for this ultimately leads to the idea of adoptionism. Rather, it is the Logos who takes up humanity, which, with recourse to the philosophical concept of *φύσις*, is conceived impersonal. In later theological discourse, this teaching was developed into the notion of *assumptio carnis*.

Due to the dominance of the Gospel of John, other strands of the New Testament receded into the background and received less attention. In the 18th century, however, with a form of exegesis emerging that emancipated itself from dogmatic guidelines, the diversity of the biblical testimony was emphasized and, in addition, the distinctive perspectives of the synoptic gospels in contrast to John highlighted. By now, it is a general opinion that the fourth gospel, which is strongly shaped by theological interests, is only partly suited to gain insight into the »historical Jesus«. This, of course, has consequences for Christology, in that it can no longer centre around the *assumptio carnis*, but needs to have Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God as its starting point.

3 Cf. Essen 2024, 42: »Es gab im gesamten Zeitraum von Anfang des 19. bis Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts keinen katholisch-dogmatischen Traktat, in dem die Aporetik der Zweinaturenlehre als Problem bewusst und als solches thematisch wird. Nirgends wird auf den Transformationsdruck, dem die traditionelle Christologie in der Moderne ausgesetzt ist, durch die Suche nach alternativen Denkformen reagiert.« Whether or not the conciliar formula is »aporetic« deserves further discussion. From Schleiermacher onwards, this charge has been repeated oftentimes, especially within Protestant theology – cf. Dahlke 2017, 138–139.146.155.192–193.



The personhood of Christ will need to be addressed from Jesus' specific relationship as a human being to God rather than from the incarnation of the pre-existing Logos. Here, pneumatological aspects inevitably come into play, since it is the *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* that enables the incarnation in the first place (Mt 1,18; Lk 1,35). Recent New Testament scholarship has emphasized this (Levinson 2019; Feldmeier 2020, 9–16.143–194; Sánchez M. 2022; Becker 2022). Likewise, Jesus' ministry, too, is determined by the Spirit right from the beginning (Mk 1,10–12; Mt 3,16–17; Lk 3,21; 4,1–30; Jn 1,32–34). Thus, concepts of Spirit Christology also owe themselves to a broader perception of the New Testament's testimony as a whole.

(c) For centuries, the formula of Chalcedon has functioned as a sort of matrix of Christology. In view of this, it is not surprising that at times it has been and continues to be placed on the same level as the central creeds, i.e., the *Apostolic* and the *Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed*. This is, however, questionable insofar as the text explicitly states that it does not intend to define anything beyond the decisions of the councils of Nicaea and Constantinople; the circumstances simply required clarification. The formula of Chalcedon is thus an explanatory comment on the *Creed of Nicea*. Hence, recent research in the history of dogma strongly emphasizes the situational character of the formula, since it referred to debates occurring in the 5th century. For example, the American Jesuit Brian E. Daley (b. 1940) points out that the formula was merely one step along the way (Daley 2018, 1–27). For at the time, the objective was to pacify an impending conflict, not to provide a definite solution to a complex theological problem. This is supported for one by the fact that the terms used had not yet been clearly defined. Secondly, several councils convened later that continued to deal with the personhood of Jesus Christ.

(d) Ongoing study of Christology was necessary because many Christians who had been deterred by Chalcedon established their own ecclesiastical structures in the eastern Mediterranean. For them, the pejorative and factually hardly accurate designation of »Monophysites« became common. Moreover, since they rejected the formula that had become normative, they were considered



heretics. In the 20th century, however, there was a change of opinion, because the Christian churches considerably strengthened their effort to improve their mutual relations. The founding of the *World Council of Churches* after World War II was an important impetus for this as this ecumenical institution enabled numerous meetings and, with the group *Faith and Order*, had a format for addressing controversial theological issues. Further momentum was brought by Vatican II, with which the Catholic Church opened up and committed itself to ecumenism. While the council was still going on, the foundation *Pro Oriente* was created in order to promote dialogue with the many Eastern churches. One result was the so-called *Vienna Christological Formula*, signed in 1971, which sought to accommodate varying interests (Kommuniqué 1992). However, similar thoughts existed from the end of the Patristic period through the Middle Ages to the early modern times. The alleged confessional difference was regarded merely as a terminological divergence. While the *Vienna Christological Formula* does use the negative adverbs established by Chalcedon (which, however, created a dynamic effect), it avoids the council's rather static terminology of nature, which suggests a duality of Godhead and humankind. This is intended to allay concerns. Building on the understanding that *Pro Oriente* made possible, further promising bilateral understandings could be achieved (Olm 2003; Marte and Prokschi 2014). If a more far-reaching unity has failed to come about, this is due more so to ecclesiological differences. In the field of Christology, the rapprochement is remarkable. For example, it is now customary to speak of *mia-* rather than *monophysitism*, which is more accurate insofar as the intention had not been for the Godhead to absorb the human reality of Jesus Christ (Brock 2016; Hainthaler 2023). Another step of progress is to refrain from accusations of heresy and to use the designation »Oriental Orthodox« churches (Nedungatt 1998). This acknowledges that one can be »Orthodox« in the literal sense without accepting the formula of Chalcedon. This is possible because the Nicene-Constantinopolitanian creed, i.e. the confession of the councils of Nicaea (325) and Constantinople (381), is recognized as a common foundation, as a basic text, so to speak.



(e) While so far theological, exegetical, historical and ecumenical objections have been presented, now a weighty dogmatic objection shall be named. The formula merely states *that* God and humankind are connected. However, it remains ambiguous as to *how* this should be understood, given that the four adverbs employed are negative in nature. Thus, it lacks specific assertions without positively clarifying what should be said (Coakley 2002). Yet the formula creates a significant problem precisely by the terms it uses: while on the one hand it distinguishes between two abstract, impersonal realities that are equally called φύσις, on the other hand it asserts their personal unity – referring to the very same Jesus Christ, who is the incarnate Son of God. In technical terms, the point of union is alternately referred to as ὑπόστασις or πρόσωπον (Grillmeier 1997). As early as the 5th and 6th centuries, there was both intense and controversial debate about how to make the union of God and humankind plausible on this basis – a debate that would hold on. Despite all elaborated efforts, some modern Protestant theologians were sceptical that the Hypostatic Union could be made comprehensible at all. There has even been talk of the »aporetic« nature of what is now called the doctrine of two natures (*Zweinaturenlehre*⁴). Similar objections have been raised by Anglican and Catholic theologians, usually repeating the arguments of their Protestant colleagues. In dogmatics, there is a keen awareness of the problems brought along by the church's early teachings.

2 Concepts of Spirit Christology

Given the various limitations of Chalcedonian Christology outlined before, alternatives were sought. Primarily in the 20th century, the general concept of Spirit Christology emerged, with a great variety of approaches. Whilst some aimed at providing deeper and extended understanding (section 2.1), others were designed as substitutions, intended to replace the formula of Chalcedon (section 2.2). The differences between the two

4 On the term's history, cf. Seils 2004.



approaches are considerable, especially in terms of Trinitarian theology. Whenever Christology is rewritten with a pneumatological orientation, emphasizing the Holy Spirit's part in the constitution of the personhood, the notion of three distinct centres of action or »persons« remains in force. However, when God as a whole is defined as Spirit, Jesus is characterized as a symbol or representative of God. Therefore, it makes sense to distinguish between genuine Spirit Christologies and more general Spirit Theologies (Dahlke 2022; Woditsch 2022). The latter start with the relationship between God and world, incorporating Christology as a mode of explicating this relationship.

2.1 Concepts providing deeper and extended understanding

Within Catholic dogmatics, increased attention to pneumatological topics did not occur until the 20th century. Important impulses were provided by figures such as Heribert Mühlen (1927–2006), to whom pneumatology as a whole was important, Hans Urs von Balthasar (1905–1988) and Walter Kasper (b. 1933). All of them were far from considering the formula of the early church as obsolete. Rather, they were concerned with deepening what had already been dogmatized.

After long preparatory work, Walter Kasper published a textbook-like monograph in 1974, which has been reprinted again and again ever since (Kasper 1974).⁵ The Tübingen Professor for Dogmatics saw the necessity for a new orientation of Christology. In the future, Christology should be historically situated, universally founded and soteriologically oriented. Kasper himself provided considerations to that end. With respect to the personhood of Jesus Christ, he regarded the definition of Chalcedon as fundamental, but at the same time saw the necessity for a biblical approach, because the formula itself claimed to be an interpretation of scripture. In his view, the personal communion between the Father and Jesus attested in the New Testament is a communion of essence, which is to be understood as a personal act and thus relational. Therefore, pneumatology should be given greater weight in Christology, since, according to the

5 For an English translation, cf. Kasper 2011. In addition, cf. 1985. For an overview, cf. Stice 2008.

testimony of the New Testament, there is an extremely close connection between Jesus and the Spirit of God from conception to resurrection.

But although Kasper called for a Spirit Christology, he himself did not present a comprehensive design but turned to other fields of dogmatics instead. Nevertheless, he recently referred to the potential of what he named »Pneuma-Christology« (Kasper 2021, 85–93). At least Kasper put the topic on the agenda back then and it has not disappeared since. Furthermore, Hans Urs von Balthasar is worth mentioning. Trained with neo-scholastic manuals, which regarded Chalcedon the absolute norm, he considered the previous treatment of Christology to be deficient in several ways: for one, the works of God should always be considered Trinitarian in nature; secondly, the Holy Spirit prepared the appearance of Jesus Christ and then later unfolded it; thirdly, the personhood of Jesus Christ could not be understood without a pneumatic dimension.⁶ His goal was to develop his own Spirit Christology. Here, the idea that the triune God always acts in favour of humankind is important to him. This is shown by the fact that, in the New Testament, the incarnate Son carries out the Father's plan of salvation, with whom he is permanently united through the Spirit. Hence, Jesus acts in the spirit, from which he is genuinely different. Considering the complex ideas that he additionally develops about the Trinity, Balthasar warns against an oversimplified Spirit Christology, i.e. the notion of an indwelling of the Logos in the human being Jesus of Nazareth that is pneumatologically understood. Such a notion is faced with the difficulty of convincingly demonstrating a unity of persons rather than merely claiming it. This already shows that the Spirit Christology that Balthasar has in mind remains within the traditional framework. He both presupposes the doctrine of the Trinity and also attaches importance to an ontologically sound concept of divine-human unity.

2.2 Concepts of replacement

While some theologians viewed Spirit Christology as deepening or extending what had been expressed by the formula of Chalcedon, others

6 On the following, cf. Balthasar 1998, 167–185 (for an English translation, cf. 1992a, 183–202) and 1987, 28–53 (for an English translation, cf. 1992b, 34–61).



wanted to understand it as a substitute for classical Christology. For them, considering pneumatology promised solutions to otherwise notorious problems of the concept of the hypostatic union. Therefore, one Christology should replace another. American Jesuit Roger Haight (b. 1936) is worth mentioning here. In 1999 he presented his monograph *Jesus Symbol of God*, making a contribution that is still discussed today. He develops his Spirit Christology as a complementary alternative to the conventional Logos Christology considered orthodox – and which reflects on the connection of the Son of God with human nature (Haight 1999, 458–464).⁷ In Haight's opinion, however, it is precisely this connection that leads to many speculative problems. Furthermore, he thinks that, based on biblical testimony, other conclusions are possible. The assumption that Jesus became ever more human the closer he got involved with God seems more promising to him. Quite obviously, this alludes to Karl Rahner's (1904–1984) concept of direct proportionality of divine salvific action and human freedom, by which a competitive relationship of both is to be excluded. At least Haight mentions his German colleague, while he himself speaks of *empowerment* (Haight 1999, 455). Thus, he wants to emphasize that Jesus represents God by God being present in him without his humanity suffering from it – quite the contrary is true. To Haight, such a Spirit Christology seems to be more plausible than the definition of the early councils, which finds it extremely difficult to think of Godhead and humankind really interweaving in Jesus Christ.

This again clearly shows that the interest in a Christology taking pneumatology into account – no matter how such a concept may be conceived – stems to a large extent from the perceived weaknesses or limitations of the Chalcedonian formula. Of course, any such attempt must allow the question of how far it is able to explain the unity of the persons, if that is still the aim at all. In this context, Haight's interreligious component is important, which, while always present in his thinking, has become particularly prominent in his most recent publications. Initially interested in Spirit Christology, his interest has shifted to Spirit Theology, which regards

7 One reason for Haight being barred from teaching Catholic theology in 2005 was his Christology – cf. *Congregatio pro Doctrina Fidei* 2005. For background, as well for a critique of the Jesuit's position, cf. Dahlke 2013. Also in recent times, Haight continues to highlight Chalcedon's weaknesses – cf. Haight 2019, 195–197.

Christology as a mode of explicating the general relationship of God and the world. Together with Paul Knitter (b. 1939), one of the best-known representatives of religious pluralism, he has pointed out intersecting areas of Christianity and Buddhism. As the Jesuit and the former Divine Word Missionary state, both religions aim to ensure that people do not focus on themselves but become active for the benefit of others. What they have in common, then, is a concern for human flourishing. According to Haight, this is precisely what can be seen in Jesus, because by opening himself up to that power and energy which the Bible calls Spirit of God and which is nothing other than the one God who, as Creator, is in relation to his creation, he advocated for those in need (Knitter and Haight 2015, 143–144). The discussion of the Chalcedonian formula understandably no longer plays a role here. Instead, the focus is on aspects of anthropology or the doctrine of creation. Whether this constitutes a meaningful advancement of Spirit Christology or whether Spirit Theology might indeed point in a different direction is certainly open for discussion. At the very least, this could be used in the context of interreligious dialogue – a very relevant topic for Modern societies, which must be considered by Christology as well (Min and Schwöbel 2014; D’Costa 2015; Bernhardt 2021).

Concluding remarks

Pneumatologically oriented Christologies have garnered some attention in more recent times. This is for one likely due to the increased significance that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit now holds within dogmatics. Their attractiveness can be attributed also to the promise of offering a better explanation of the personhood of Jesus Christ than a Christology based solely on the council of Chalcedon, as they conceive the relationship between God and humanity as dynamic. Jesus can be called the Son of God because he originates from God; he is called holy because of the Holy Spirit, who stands at the beginning of his being and his ministry (Mk 1,10; Lk 1,35). Speaking of two natures seems static in contrast. Conversely, incorporating pneumatology creates a much more dynamic perspective. According to the testimony of the New Testament, Jesus and the *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* are in a continuous relationship throughout Jesus’ life. From this vantage point, the Hypostatic Union, for which no consensus on interpretation has been reached to this day, could be understood as a highly



vibrant relationship between God and humanity, mediated and sustained by the Spirit. As Jesus is continually filled with and sustained by the Spirit he can be the self-expression of God, or the Logos. God does communicate himself not only *by means of* but *as* a human being (Balthasar 1990). Therefore, Christologies that embrace and develop this perspective offer a meaningful and promising continuation or elaboration of the ancient and conciliar doctrines (Del Colle 1994; Coffey 1999; Stubenrauch 2023). Certainly, it needs to be discussed whether or not they move beyond the *homo assumptus*-theory – a line of thought that can be traced back to the Patristic period, and the Middle Ages. In order to recover the full humanity of Christ without leaving the framework provided by Chalcedon, in the 20th century Catholic theologians have taken up again this theory, with mixed results (Müller 1993). Thus, every attempt to develop a Spirit Christology has to be aware of the danger to simply slip into the *homo assumptus*-theory, as it causes problems with regard to soteriology: How can Jesus rightly be called Revealer and Redeemer if God only dwells into his life? Can God really be encountered, if present only occasionally in Jesus?

Nevertheless, the potential of Spirit Christology is far from exhausted. In fact, there is a need to draft a comprehensive framework that consolidates existing exegetical, historical, and systematic endeavors. Besides Protestant and Catholic theology, other denominational traditions ought to be incorporated, for instance Pentecostalism, given its emphasis on pneumatological considerations (Stephenson 2019; Macchia 2023, 199–208). Ecumenically and systematically, it would be beneficial to engage in cross-denominational and collaborative discussions about Jesus Christ. To do that, however, it is necessary to determine whether the formula of Chalcedon should be supplemented or replaced, as differing approaches in this regard lead to quite different concepts of Spirit Christology.



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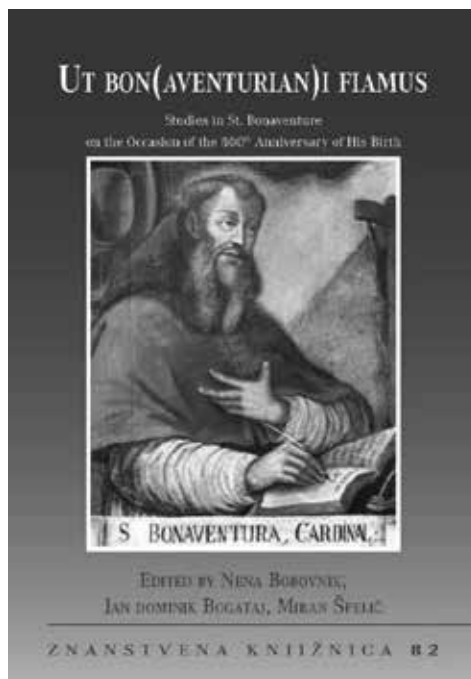


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Znanstvena knjižnica 82

Nena Bobovnik, Jan Dominik Bogataj in Miran Špelič (ur.)

UT BON(AVENTURIAN)I FIAMUS:

Studies in St. Bonaventure on the Occasion of the 800th Anniversary of His Birth

»V tem zborniku avtorji osvetlujejo filozofske, teološke in druge vidike sodobnega razumevanja Bonaventurove misli. Zanimiv bo tako za znanstvene kot tudi za neznansstvene bralce, zlasti tiste, ki se ukvarjajo s študijem frančiškanstva in širšim področjem srednjeveške filozofije ter evropske kulturne zgodovine.«

doc. dr. Simon Malmenvall, recenzija zbornika

Ljubljana: Teološka fakulteta, Brat Frančišek, 2022. 170 str.

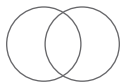
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Benjamin Lulik

Gospodovanje v Genezi: iskanje religiološke interpretacije

*Dominion in Genesis: Search for
a Religious Interpretation*

Izleček: Namen članka je podati eno od možnih religioloških interpretacij tematike človeškega gospodovanja nad naravo, ki se nahaja v svetopisemskem besedilu o stvarjenju (1 Mz 1,1–2,3). Poglavitna teza članka je, da lahko biblično zapoved gospodovanja razumemo v kontekstu sakralizacije profanega. Za ta namen se članek večinoma opira na teorijo o sakralnem, ki jo je razvil Mircea Eliade. Članek delno črpa tudi iz misli Jana Assmanna o totalnosti monoteizma. Na podlagi tega opaza, da lahko biblično gospodovanje vidimo na treh obzorjih, ki so predvsem bivanjska in zadevajo človekovo religiozno izkušnjo. To so obzorje sakralnega, obzorje mitičnega in obzorje totalnega. Slednje je zlasti značilnost monoteistične percepcije gospodovanja in se kaže kot brezkompromisno posvečevanje časa, prostora in bitij v vsej njihovi razsežnosti. Ti procesi se pogosto vršijo skozi biblični jezik konflikta, ki lahko dobi tudi nasilne pomene. Članek zato sprva predstavi izjemno kompleksnost ter pogosto kontroverznost koncepta gospodovanja na primeru ekološke kritike, ki Genezi mestoma očita antropocentrično zlorabo narave. Kljub temu nasilno in izkoriščevalsko gospodovanje ni jedro monoteizma. O tem je govor v nadaljevanju članka, ki se posveča Eliadovi in Assmannovi religiološki misli ter pokaže, da je cilj religioznega človeka v približevanju sebe in vsega stvarstva svojemu izvoru, ki je transcendenten. Svetopisemsko ukvarjanje z gospodovanjem zatorej ni antropocentrično, ampak teocentrično, in nima za motiv ekonomskega ali političnega totalitarizma, temveč totalno posvečevanje sveta po paradigmatškem modelu mita stvarjenja.

Ključne besede: gospodovanje, Geneza, Sveto pismo, stvarjenje, religiologija, Eliade, sakralno, mit, transcendenca, Assmann

Abstract: *The purpose of the article is to provide one of the possible religious interpretations of the theme of human dominion over nature, which is found in the Biblical text about creation in Genesis 1:1–2:3. The main thesis of the article is that the Biblical commandment to rule can be understood in the context of the sacralization of the profane. For this purpose, the article mostly relies on the theory of the sacred developed by Mircea Eliade and partly on Jan Assmann's thoughts on the totality of monotheism. Based on this, the article observes that biblical dominion can be seen on three horizons, which are primarily existential and concern man's religious experience. These are the horizon of the sacred, the horizon of the mythical and the horizon of the totality. The latter is particularly characteristic of the monotheistic perception of dominion and manifests itself as an uncompromising consecration of time, space and beings. These processes are often carried out through the biblical language*

of conflict, which can also take on violent meanings. Therefore, the article initially presents complex and often controversial nature of the concept of dominion on the example of ecological criticism, which accuses Genesis of an anthropocentric abuse of nature. Nevertheless, violent and exploitative rule is not the core of monotheism. This is discussed in the rest of the article, which is dedicated to Eliade and Assmann's religiological thought and shows that the goal of a religious person is to bring himself and all of creation closer to their transcendental origin. The biblical engagement with dominion is therefore not anthropocentric, but theocentric, and does not have as its motive economic or political totalitarianism, but rather the total sanctification of the world according to the paradigmatic model of the creation myth.

Keywords: dominion, Genesis, Bible, creation, religiology, Eliade, sacred, myth, transcendence, Assmann

Uvod

Članek se ukvarja z religiološkim poskusom interpretacije svetopisemske tematike gospodovanja, vzpostavljenega v Genezi, kjer nastopa znotraj prvega poročila o stvarjenju (1 Mz 1,1–2,3). Pokaže na veliko kompleksnost in raznovrstnost bibličnega jezika, ki po eni strani navdihuje generacije ljudi, po drugi strani pa prebuja mnoge pomisleke in celo ostra nasprotovanja. Tovrstna kontroverznost je zelo očitna pri bibličnem »gospodovanju«, saj trči ob senzibilnost modernega človeka glede okoljevarstvenih problemov in vprašanj. Konkreten primer tega je t. i. projekt »Earth Bible«, ki kritizira biblično gospodovanje, saj to opravičuje antropocentrizem in izkoriščanje narave. Na tovrstno kritiko odgovarja moderna biblična teologija, ki podaja drugačno razumevanje gospodovanja. Ob tem izpostavlja pomen kontekstualne analize, še posebej v povezavi z drugim poročilom stvarjenja, in upošteva večpomenskost hebrejskega pojmovanja specifične tematike.

Ponazoritev kompleksnosti bibličnega gospodovanja na primeru hermenevtičnih razprav tvori izhodišče za iskanje objektivne religiološke interpretacije. Članek se za ta namen opre na spoznanja Mircea Eliade in deloma tudi na Jana Assmanna. Uporabi predvsem Eliadovo teorijo o sakralnem in profanem, ki nudi dodatno osvetlitev bibličnega gospodovanja, in to brez nevarnosti, da bi zdrsnila v pasti pretiranega reduciranja ali relativizacije tematike. V tem oziru članek postavi in pojasni religiološko tezo, da je gospodovanje v Genezi možno videti na obzorju treh religijskih prvin, od katerih je zadnja tipično monoteistična. To so obzorje sakralnega, obzorje mitičnega in obzorje totalnega.



Gospodovanje na obzorju sakralnega pomeni posvečevanje prostora, časa in oseb. V tesni povezavi z njim se vzpostavlja obzorje mitičnosti Geneze, zlasti v obliki mita kozmogonije, ki podaja paradigmatični model gospodovanja. To se vrši konkretno, s klicem k brezkompromisni svetosti, ki naj zaobsega vso človeško kulturo in predstavlja tretje obzorje totalnosti. Vsa obzorja so povezana z rdečo nitjo transcendence, ki je tudi v splošnem pomemben vidik religioznega življenja. Iskanje religioškega razumevanja svetopisemskega gospodovanja je tako tudi prizadevanje za boljše razumevanje religijskih izrazov človeške kulture. Cilj tega članka torej ni v razkrivanju »prave« razlage niti v podajanju izčrpane semantične ali eksegetske analize bibličnih izrazov gospodovanja. Namen je bolj skromen in zadeva iskanje religioške interpretacije kot zgolj ene od možnih pri branju Svetega pisma.

1 Kontroverznost zapovedi »gospodovanja« v Genezi: teološko razumevanje in kritika »Earth Bible«

Geneza vsebuje zelo znan svetopisemski poziv človeštvu, da naj gospoduje zemlji in si jo podvrže:

Bog je rekel: »Naredimo človeka po svoji podobi, kot svojo podobnost! Gospoduje naj ribam morja in pticam neba, živini in vsej zemlji ter vsej laznini, ki se plazi po zemlji!« Bog je ustvaril človeka po svoji podobi, po Božji podobi ga je ustvaril, moškega in žensko je ustvaril. Bog ju je blagoslovil in Bog jima je rekel: »Bodita rodovitna in množita se, napolnita zemljo in si jo podvržita; gospodujta ribam v morju in pticam na nebu ter vsem živalim, ki se gibljejo po zemlji!« (1 Mz 1,26-28)

Krščanski razlagalci si prizadevajo pokazati pozitiven pomen teh bibličnih vrstic in jih zato pojasnjujejo v smislu poziva k odgovornemu gospodarjenju ali skrbništvu (Lundberg 2011, 191). Sveto pismo ne poziva človeka k izkoriščanju, ampak ga nagovarja k skrbi za skupen dom, ki ga predstavlja od Boga ustvarjena zemlja z vsemi živimi bitji. Od človeka terja ponižnost, kajti Bog je tisti, ki je podaril človeku dar življenja in odgovornost za ta dar. Človek tega daru ne sme zavreči iz lastne arogance, ampak ga mora varovati in posredovati prihodnjim rodovom. Sveto pismo



je namreč polno primerov, ki opozarjajo na uničevalni egoizem in človeka usmerjajo h gojenju odnosov na temelju osrednje zapovedi ljubezni. Zatorej ne samo doktrinalno pravilna vera, ampak še bolj konkretni odnosi so preizkusni kamen vere, in človekov odnos do Boga je nerazdružljiv tako z odnosom do sočloveka kot z odnosom do vsega ostalega stvarstva. Tu leži prava pravičnost in to je tudi hermenevtični ključ, s katerim teologi odpirajo razumevanje gospodovanja v Genezi za sodobnega poslušalca (Lundberg 2011, 192).

Toda na drugi strani obstajajo kritični razlagalci, ki prej opisani razlagi očitajo teološko pristranskost in namerno ignoriranje svetopisemskih vrstic, ki izražajo težnje po agresivni dominaciji, kar je nezdržljivo s sodobno percepcijo življenja. Teološko mehčanje teh ostrih izrazov je za kritike znak intelektualne neiskrenosti in zato terja veliko bolj kritično presojo Geneze in ostalih spornih odlomkov. Tovrstno kritiko so verjetno najbolj prepričljivo postavili biblični razlagalci iz Avstralije, združeni v skupino Earth Bible Project. Njihov cilj je trojni (Earth Bible 2022):

1. Razviti načela ekopravičnosti (*ecojustice principles*), ki bodo vzpostavila biblično hermenevtiko, primerno Zemlji, kar bo spodbujalo zdravljenje Zemlje.
2. Objaviti svoje ugotovitve in z njimi prispevati k aktualni razpravi o ekologiji, ekoetiki in ekoteologiji.
3. Zagotoviti odgovoren forum, znotraj katerega se lahko sliši potlačeni glas Zemlje in se razvijejo impulzi za zdravljenje Zemlje.

Snovalci projekta Bible Earth so tako za hermenevtični ključ vzeli principe ekopravičnosti in jih soočili s svetopisemskimi besedili.¹ Na podlagi tega so pokazali, da 1 Mz 1,26-28 tvori antropocentrični vdor v zgodbo

1 Principi ekopravičnosti so (Earth Bible 2022):

1. Načelo intrinzične vrednosti: Zemlja in vse njene komponente imajo sebi lastno, notranjo vrednost.
2. Načelo medsebojne povezanosti: vsa zemeljska živa bitja so odvisna drugo od drugega.
3. Načelo glasu: Zemlja je živo bitje, ki povzdigne svoj glas, ko trpi zaradi krivic.
4. Načelo namena: Zemlja in vse njene komponente so del dinamične kozmične zasnove, znotraj katere ima vsak del svojo mesto v celoti.
5. Načelo vzajemnega skrbništva: Zemlja je uravnotežen prostor, kjer lahko skrbniki delujejo kot njeni partnerji, brez poskusov dominacije.
6. Načelo odpora: Zemlja in vsi njeni deli trpijo zaradi krivic, kar terja aktivno upiranje v boju za pravičnost.



o stvarjenju. Plodna interakcija med Bogom in Zemljo je presekana s človeško obsedenostjo z močjo, kontrolo in nasiljem. (Horrell 2011, 257)

Biblična pripoved o stvarjenju ima vidike, ki so združljivi z ekopravičnostjo, in vidike, ki niso. Razlagalci Earth Bible zato ne zavračajo celotnega Svetega pisma, ampak predlagajo, da se sprejme tisto v Bibliji, kar je skladno s sodobnimi ekološkimi dognanji in principi, npr. zavest ali glas vse Zemlje, njena notranja povezanost, kljubovanje okoljski nepravičnosti itd. Po drugi strani pa je treba direktno nasprotovati bibličnim razlagam, ki niso skladne z ekološko pravičnostjo. Preprosto je treba priznati, da je sodobna zavest presegla gospodovanje v 1 Mz 1,26-28, in če hočejo biti kristjani relevantni v svetu, ki ga zaznamujejo veliki okoljski problemi, potem se morajo zoperstaviti tem anahronističnim elementom verskega izročila. (Horrell 2011, 258)

Prej omenjene napetosti znotraj Svetega pisma teologi že od zgodnjih začetkov te vede razrešujejo na več načinov. Eden od teh, ki je tudi med bolj problematičnimi in dobiva pomisleke znotraj same teologije, je v preferiranju normativnosti specifičnega vidika, ki minimalizira ali celo odpravi vse druge. Tako recimo Avguštín pri svoji razlagi padca človeštva v greh preferira moralno negativno gledanje na človekovo željo in telesnost ter na podlagi tega razvije nauk o izvirnem grehu.² V primerjavi s tem sodobna biblična hermenevtika poudarja, da so v Svetem pismu vsebovani izrazi, ki vrednotijo telesnost in poželenje tako pozitivno kot negativno in je zato treba pazljivo upoštevati sobesedilo in niansiranost hebrejskega jezika (Skralovnik 2015, 333). Tendencia k preferenčnosti posameznih bibličnih izrazov ni značilna samo za Avguštína, temveč se pojavi tudi pri poglavitnem teologu protestantizma – Lutru, ki na podlagi Pavlovih pisem izpostavlja Božjo milost in nezaslužnost. Ta vidik poudarja tako močno, da ga to privede celo do možnosti izključitve Jakobovega pisma iz bibličnega kanona, kajti Jakob vidi človekovo aktivnost kot nujno sestavino vere (SSP 2011, 1809). Podobnih primerov je seveda še veliko več in kažejo,

2 Rabin Hammer npr. razlaga, da judovstvo odločno odklanja doktrino o izvirnem grehu, saj ne verjame v omadeževanost človeške narave s prvim grehom, ki sta ga storila Adam in Eva (Hammer 2023). To staro teološko nestrinjanje je še en primer velikega religijskega vpliva in tudi kontroverznosti, ki je tako značilna za prvo biblično pripoved o stvarjenju. Dodaten primer odmevnih polemik, ki se vrtijo okoli pravega razumevanja Geneze, je t. i. kreacionizem, ki je z dobesedno razlago »dnevov« stvarjenja trčil v konflikt z znanostjo in povzročil nemalo razburjenja v ameriški družbi.



da teologija ni izolirana veda in nastaja vedno v kulturi, zato vedno do neke mere tudi izraža dano kulturo.

Zaradi omenjene problematičnosti starih hermenevitičnih modelov je moderna teologija razvila večplasten razlagalni pristop, ki poudarja pomen konteksta pri razumevanju bibličnih odlomkov. V tem oziru uporablja tako biblično sobesedilo kot tudi zgodovinski, kulturni in cerkveni kontekst bibličnih besedil. Upoštevanje tovrstnih kontekstov spodbuja sodobno teologijo, da mora za razumevanje peteroknjižnega gospodovanja nujno proučevati jezik bibličnega gospodovanja, ki ga označujeta pomensko sorodna hebrejska pojma *radah* in *kabaš*. Beseda *radah* označuje posebno pravico in odgovornost, ki jo Bog nakloni ljudem, da vladajo nad preostalim stvarstvom in ga urejajo. *Kabaš*, ki ga SSP prevaja z glagolom »podvrzita si«, pa nosi ostrejšo sporočilo in označuje hierarhično razmerje, v katerem so ljudje postavljeni nad zemljo in jim je podeljena moč kontrole nad njo. Zadnje je nedvomno težko spravljivo z modernimi okoljevarstvenimi prizadevanji za harmonijo med človekom in naravo. Teologija takšne zadržke odpravlja s kontekstualnim povezovanjem prve verzije o stvarjenju z drugo različico v 1 Mz 2,4b-25. Slednja slika drugačno podobo človekovega ravnanja z živalmi in zemljo, saj izpostavlja pomene skrbništva, negovanja, varovanja ipd. Moderna teologija tako naredi sintezo prve in druge različice stvarjenjske zgodbe in razume gospodovanje v pomenu odgovornega gospodarjenja, katerega namen ni izkoriščanje, temveč varovanje vsega ustvarjenega po zgledu pravičnega kralja. Gospodovanje torej ni tiransko in ne izključuje pravične drže do narave. (Horrell 2011, 256)

Kontekstualna smer razlage, ki poudarja skrbniško razmerje do narave, je značilna tudi za Frančiškov pontifikat. Papež vidi Genezo kot evangelij stvarjenja, ki komunicira s človekom na način narativne govorice in uporabe globokega simbolnega jezika (LS 70). Ta ne dopušča ekstremnih interpretacij, ki trgajo posamezne ideje iz konteksta, ampak nagovarja na celosten način. Frančišek vidi celostno sporočilo Geneze v tem, »da se človeško bivanje opira na tri med seboj tesno povezana temeljna razmerja: na odnos do Boga, do bližnjega in do zemlje« (LS 66). Ta relacijska trojnost je torej nekaj bistvenega in zato nudi hermenevitični ključ tudi za gospodovalne izraze Božje besede. Namesto moči nadvlade se tu razodeva moč življenja, ki se vrši skozi odnose in komunikacijo. Toda ta moč odnosov

je zlorabljen in sprevržen, kar ima za posledico tudi uničevanje stvarstva na konkretnem primeru ekološke problematike.³

Na tej točki se moderna teologija in okoljevarstvena kritika zblížata, saj obe zavračata posesivno ravnanje z naravo. Po drugi strani pa so med njima tudi velike razlike. Tako na primer teologija kritizira projekt Earth Bible, ker ta za hermenevtični ključ vzame model, ki ga ni v Svetem pismu, ampak je direkten povzetek principov okoljevarstvenega gibanja in teorije (Thobaben 2011, 357). S tem zunanjim in svetopisemskemu svetu tujim interpretativnim modelom potem presoja elemente svetopisemskega sveta, od katerih nekatere sprejme, druge pa izloči kot neprimerne za razvoj okoljske ozaveščenosti človeka. Metodološko gledano, tak pristop še ni nujno sporen, saj tudi sodobna teologija priznava razvoj svetopisemskih besedil skozi mnoga stoletja in skozi številne avtorje. Podobno tudi priznava postopen razvoj človeškega razumevanja Božjega razodetja, vsebovanega v Svetem pismu (Papeška biblična komisija 2000, 79–81). Namesto tega so za teologijo sporne prej omenjene vsebinske ugotovitve ekološke kritike, saj ta zaključí, da je pomemben del Svetega pisma moralno nesprejemljiv. Za religiološko tezo tega članka je dovolj, če trdimo, da preprosto ne obstaja teorija, ki bi lahko popolnoma usvojila kompleksnost bibličnih besedil in podala dokončno razlago. To seveda ne ustavlja teologije pri njenem iskanju pravilnega in za Cerkev normativnega tolmačenja bibličnih odlomkov, kar vključuje tudi razlago gospodovanja v Genezi. Vsekakor pa tovrstno teološko razreševanje bibličnih dilem ni naloga naše razprave, ki ima bolj skromne cilje in se omejuje na uvide fenomenološko zasnovane religiologije, kot bomo predstavili v nadaljevanju. Prav tako ne moremo presojati potencialnih politično-družbenih implikacij razlag, ker to presega obseg tega prispevka.

3 Papež Frančišek v svoji okoljski okrožnici *Laudato si'* opozarja na pomanjkanje globalnega in sistemkega posluha za reševanje okoljskih problemov ter priznava, da so si kristjani v preteklosti napačno razlagali zapoved gospodovanja v Genezi: »Mi nismo Bog. Zemlja je bila pred nami in nam je bila zaupana. To nam dopušča, da odgovorimo na obtožbo, uperjeno zoper judovsko-krščansko misel: rečeno je bilo, da naj bi bilo, izhajajoč iz pripovedi v Prvi Mojzesovi knjigi, ki vabi, naj si ljudje podvržejo zemljo (prim. 1 Mz 1,28), dovoljeno divje izkoriščanje narave, saj predstavlja človeka kot gospodarja in uničevalca. To ni pravilna razlaga Svetega pisma, kakor ga razume Cerkev. Četudi je res, da so si včasih kristjani narobe razlagali Pisma, moramo danes odločno zavrniti, da bi iz dejstva, da smo ustvarjeni po božji podobi, iz poslanstva, da naj si podvržemo zemljo, mogli izpeljati polno prevlado nad drugimi ustvarjenimi bitji. Pomembno je brati svetopisemska besedila v povezavi s hermenevtično razlago in spomniti, da nas ta vabi k »obdelovanju in ohranjanju« svetovnega vrta (prim. 1 Mz 2,15). [...] Vsaka skupnost naj prejema od obilja zemlje, kar potrebuje za lastno preživetje, a je tudi dolžna varovati in zagotavljati trajnost njene rodovitnosti za prihodnje rodove.« (LS 67)



Za naš namen je torej dovolj, da smo na primeru hermenevitičnih debat nakazali enigmatičnost bibličnega pojma gospodovanja, ki se izmika dobesednim razlagam in poenostavljanju. To nas privede do spoznanja, da moramo na religiološkem področju iskati takšno interpretacijo, ki temelji tako na kritični distanci do tematike kakor tudi na globokem spoštovanju njene kompleksnosti. V tem oziru se priročno ponuja teorija sakralnega in profanega, ki jo je razvil Mircea Eliade in jo bomo uporabili pri aplikaciji religioloških ugotovitev na vprašanje gospodovanja v temeljni knjigi judovskega in krščanskega monoteizma. Še prej pa naj na kratko predstavimo splošne poteze izbrane religiološke metode.

2 Iskanje religiološke interpretacije bibličnega gospodovanja

V nadaljevanju naše razprave se torej pokaže legitimnost religiološkega pristopa, ki je po svoji lastni zasnovi sicer neteološki, a je hkrati tudi interdisciplinaren, zaradi dejstva velike širine in kompleksnosti fenomena religije, ki odpira mnoga področja raziskovanja. Religiologija kot metodološko pluralna veda ne razrešuje kompleksnih verskih in moralnih vprašanj (to je naloga teologije in aplikativne etike), lahko pa nudi distancirano interpretacijo in prispeva k boljšemu poznavanju človeške kulture in njene bivanjske razsežnosti, ki sega tudi na področje transcendence. Klasična religiologija se pri svojem raziskovanju navdihuje po fenomenološkem pristopu, ki se osredotoča na človekovo izkustvo. To izkustvo »trde« znanosti ne reducira na zgolj empirično raven,⁴ ampak jo vidi predvsem v njenem eksistencialnem prostoru. Tovrstno metodologijo so uporabili začetniki religiologije, kot so Rudolf Otto, Gerard van der Leeuw in Mircea Eliade. Fenomenološki značaj religiologije omogoča, da se na primeru tega članka izognemo polemikam glede prave razlage specifičnega odlomka Geneze. Namesto tega skušamo besedilo razumeti tako, kot se nam kaže v kontekstu širšega fenomena religije in izkustva sakralnega. To nas privede do vprašanj, kot so: Kako človek doživlja izkušnjo gospodovanja v razmerju

4 V angleščini »hard science«, ki temeljijo na matematični in eksperimentalni metodi (običajno so to naravoslovne vede).



do transcendence? Kako to izkustvo vrednoti, komunicira? Kako religiozno utemeljeno gospodovanje realizira v prostoru in času?⁵ (Allen 2010, 213)

Ta teoretski pristop je torej značilnost »klasičnih« religiozologov, medtem ko moderna religiozologija razvija bolj kulturološke vidike, kar je na primer značilno za Niniana Smarta. Namreč Eliade razlaga, da je znotraj fenomena religij mogoče prepoznati skupno strukturo, kjer sta poglavitni kvaliteti sakralnost in njena nasprotnost s profanostjo.⁶ Smart pa pusti ob strani univerzalne karakteristike fenomena in rajši govori o kulturnih dimenzijah, v katerih nastopa religija (kot so dimenzije etike, rituala, doktrine, materije itd.). Za razliko od prej opisane kontekstualne teologije in ekološke hermenevtike sta oba religiozološka pristopa veliko bolj kompatibilna drug z drugim in se ne izključujeta. V tem članku se bomo bolj ali manj omejili na Eliadov pristop, predvsem ker menimo, da Eliadova teorija še vedno nudi velik potencial, ki še ni bil v polnosti izkoriščen, in podaja zanimive uvide v naravo bibličnega gospodovanja. (Alles 2010, 42–43)

2.1 Gospodovanje na obzorju sakralnega

Eliade nam lahko dodatno osvetli razumevanje gospodovanja v Genezi, in sicer znotraj širokega konteksta religije, ki temelji na fenomenu sakralnega. To označujemo kot prvo izkustveno obzorje monoteizma. Eliade takole govori o univerzalnosti človekove izkušnje sakralnega fenomena:

Religious man assumes a particular and characteristic mode of existence in the world and, despite the great number of historico-religious forms, this characteristic mode is always recognizable. Whatever the historical context in which he is placed, homo religiosus always believes that there is an absolute reality, the sacred, which transcends this world but manifests itself in this world, thereby sanctifying it and making it real. He further believes that

5 Če bi vzeli enega od novejših religiozoloških pristopov, ki sloni na feministični teoriji, bi se lahko tudi spraševali o morebitnih patriarhalnih implikacijah bibličnega gospodovanja. Toda to presega okvir tega članka, ki se omejuje na klasično religiozologijo.

6 Eliade sebe razume kot zgodovinarja religij (Eliade 1984, 3). Kljub temu gre daleč onkraj zgodovinskega ukvarjanja z religijo, kar potrjuje s svojim sistematičnim iskanjem skupne zasnove in istovetnosti religijskih izkušenj. S tem naredi pomemben doprinos k akademski »osamosvojitvi« religiozologije (Alles 2010, 42).



life has a sacred origin and that human existence realizes all of its potentialities in proportion as it is religious-that is, participates in reality. (Eliade 1987, 202)

Naj na tem mestu nekoliko bolj razčlenimo Eliadovo pojmovanje:

- 1) V jedru vsake religije je izkustvo sakralnega, ki ga ne moremo reducirati na nesakralni fenomen. Sakralnost izgubi svoj pomen in je tako rekoč desakralizirana, če jo zožimo na nesakralno kategorijo. Je t. i. *sui generis* – edinstvena kvaliteta, ki ne pripada nobenemu nadrejenemu pomenu, ampak je sama sebi razred. Eliade to izkustvo sakralnega utemeljuje na tezi, ki jo je podal eden od prvih religiologov – Rudolf Otto. Zadeva sakralno na način izkustva misterija (*mysterium tremendum*), ki je nekaj povsem drugega od običajnega človeškega izkustva. To človeka navdaja s strahospoštovanjem, hkrati pa ga sveto tudi privlači z izjemno močjo.⁷ Eliade zato vidi sakralno predvsem kot značilen fenomen človeške kulture znotraj eksistencialne razsežnosti. Razumevanje religije je na ta način poglobljanje znanja o človeku. (Eliade 1987, 9–10)
- 2) Sakralno stoji v nasprotju z nesakralnostjo profanega, in prav ta dialektika sakralnega-profanega daje religiji specifično značilnost in identiteto. Sakralnost je v religiji najvišja realnost in profanost je drugotna. Slednja lahko celo nastopa kot negacija te najvišje realnosti, odvisno od posamezne religije, ki profano vrednotijo na različne načine. V vseh primerih religijskega fenomena pa profano nastopa kot nasprotje absolutnega. Označuje fragmentiranost, omejenost, nezadostnost vsakodnevne človeške eksistence. Sakralno torej nastopa z vidika transcendence, profanost pa z vidika imanence. (11)
- 3) Za religiozno izkustvo transcendence je značilna eksistencialna dinamika sakralnega, ki v religioznem kontekstu ne nastopa kot ideologija, temveč kot hierofanija – razodetje božanskega v bivanjski realnosti človeka. To razodetje je lahko izjemno močno in ga Eliade pojmuje kot preboj sakralnega v profani prostor človeštva. Preboj sakralnega

7 Čeprav Eliade sprejema bistvene poteze Ottove teorije o svetem, je med njima tudi razlika, saj Otto vidi sakralno predvsem kot izkušnjo iracionalnega, medtem ko Eliade razume sakralno tudi v racionalnih pomenih. Religija je zanj fenomen, ki vključuje celoto človeka: tako njegove intuitivne, čustvene kategorije kakor tudi logično-razumske (Eliade 1987, 10).

vzpostavi religioznemu človeku prehod iz profanosti sveta v svetost transcendence in omogoči komunikacijo z nadnaravnim (37). Na ta način sakralno, ki je popolnoma drugačno od človeka, postane imanentno in tako dostopno človeški izkušnji. To je izrazito poudarjeno v kontekstu monoteistične hierofanije, ki je specifično teofanija – razodetje Boga v zgodovini. Gre torej za paradokso prepletanje »nebes« in »zemlje«, ko se transcendenca sakralnega kot nekaj povsem drugega manifestira v običajni človeški eksistenci in jo povzdigne. Kulturne in družbene implikacije sakralne izkušnje so ogromne in jih lahko razbiramo skozi celotno zgodovino človeštva. (21)

- 4) Cilj religije je, da se človek čim bolj približa sakralnemu in na ta način sproži proces sakralizacije profanega. Z vidika religije je to tudi najvišji cilj človeka. Človek pa je ekspresivno bitje, ki procese sakralizacije nujno izraža skozi jezik. Ta je v svojem bistvu simbolen: preko simbola vzpostavlja koherentno in smiselno govorico, ki človekovo profanost sakralizira in ga tako združi s transcendentnim. Simbol kot bistvo jezika je tako stičišče med transcendentnim in imanentnim in se vedno manifestira ob boku z drugimi simboli, ki gradijo večjo naracijo mita. Mit je torej simbolna pripoved, ki kaže na misteriozni čas prvobitne svetosti, ki naj se ji človek približa prav skozi spominjanje in oživljanje mita. (128)

Ta izvleček Eliadove religiološke teorije podpira tezo, da je gospodovanje v Genezi mogoče razumeti na obzorjih sakralnega in mitičnega. Kajti manifestiranje sakralnega poteka na način gospodovanja nad profanim in je povezano še posebej z izkustvom misterija svetega. Misterij sakralnega vstopi v omejeni profani svet in zagospoduje nad njim tako, da ga posveti za višji namen preseganja materialne razsežnosti. Mit pa je narativna ubeseditev religioznega izkustva in nastopa kot paradigmatičen model za realizacijo sakralnega gospodovanja v kulturi. V tem oziru tudi monoteizem nastopa s pomočjo mita in je tako podoben drugim religijam. Toda monoteistični mit ima tudi posebnosti, ki kažejo na njegovo istovetnost. Prav specifično pojmovanje gospodovanja je ena od točk, ki je izvirna za monoteizem in njegovo mitičnost. To tezo bomo zdaj nekoliko bolj razčlenili in pojasnili.



2.2 Svetopisemsko gospodovanje na obzorju mita

Z vidika Eliadove religiologije moramo razumeti biblično gospodovanje v kontekstu mita, kar tvori drugo obzorje monoteizma. Miti so seveda različni, saj odražajo pluralnost človekovega izkustva svetega. Eliade posebej izpostavi t. i. kozmogonični mit izvora, ki je pripoved o stvarjenju sveta in bi ga lahko označili kot mit »par excellence« (Eliade 1987, 79). Miti kozmogonije namreč govorijo o začetnem in najbolj temeljnem preboju sakralnega v prostor in čas ter nosijo osrednjo sporočilo, ki osmišlja življenje človeka. So pripovedi ne samo o stvarjenju veselja in človeštva, temveč tudi o najstarejših začetkih človeške civilizacije. V najrazličnejših oblikah ga poznajo vse kulture, časi in kontinenti. Naj poleg Geneze omenimo še mezopotamski Enuma Eliš, grško Teogonijo, indijske Vede, južnoameriško kozmogonijo o veliki kači (Kukulkan – Quetzalcoatl) in afriški mit o Bumbi (Mbombo).

Znotraj teologije je nemalo zadržkov do mitičnega pojmovanja Geneze.⁸ Toda kot smo že zaslutili, je v religiološkem oziru upravičeno tudi Genezo pojmovati kot mit, ampak s poudarkom, da je ta mit pomembno drugačen (zlasti v kanonično prvi verziji stvarjenja). Geneza in Eluma Eliš sta različna, a oba sta kozmogonična mita. Struktura peteroknjižnega sporočila o stvarjenju tako kaže na najbolj splošne značilnosti, ki povezujejo mite o stvarjenju. Na kratko povzemimo ta stičišča:

a) Transcendentni začetek in paradigmatški model mita

Glede na kozmogonične mite Zemlja in človeštvo nista samo materija, ki jo določajo naravni procesi, ampak imata transcendentni izvor, ki vzpostavlja v stvarstvu red in formo. Mit je v najbolj osnovnem pomenu prav pripoved o začetku kozmosa, in ta začetek ni reduciran na fizikalnost, kot to počne sodobna kozmologija. V religijah je začetek vedno mitičen, in to prav

8 Ti zadržki do mita so posledica različnih načinov definiranja in vrednotenja. V grobem bi lahko trdili, da obstajata dva pristopa k mitu: negativen in pozitiven. Negativno vrednotenje mita je prisotno tako v sekulariziranem kot v religijskem prostoru. Je odmev razsvetljenske kritike mita v pomenu izmišljotine ali neresnične, neosnovane pripovedi («To je samo mit»). Po drugi strani je pozitivno vrednotenje mita veliko bolj sprejeto na religiološkem področju, saj vidi mit v pomenu religijskih pripovedi o transcendenci, ki osvetljujejo vidike človeške realnosti in nudijo pomembne uvide glede razumevanja človeške kulture. (Leeming 2005, 10–13)

zaradi naslonitve na transcendenco, ki je v primeru Geneze Gospod Bog. Njegovo ustvarjanje je hkrati tudi razodetje, ki ga Eliade označi kot prodor transcendence v čas in prostor (Eliade 1987, 110). V primeru Geneze je tudi prostor-čas ustvarjen od Boga in ga ne predhaja, kar so pozneje povezali s pojmom *creatio ex nihilo* (Leeming 2005, 353). Treba je poudariti, da to ni samo teoretska ideja, ampak tvori življenjsko usmeritev za vso misel in delovanje človeka:

It follows that every construction or fabrication has the cosmogony as paradigmatic model. The creation of the world becomes the archetype of every creative human gesture, whatever its plane of reference may be. (Eliade 1987, 45)

Sodobni človek, ki ga je modernost definirala s pojmom *homo sapiens*, vidi mit kot zablodo ali kvečjemu kot bolj ali manj zanimivo literarno delo. Starodavni *homo religiosus* pa vidi mit kot božanski model, ki ga človek posnema na vseh področjih eksistence (202). Mit kot pripoved o transcendenci religioznemu človeku omogoča t. i. oporno točko sredi kaosa profanosti. Njegovo življenje na ta način dobi orientacijo, brez katere bi izgubil zanesljivo smer in zapadel v eksistencialno krizo ali celo smrt. Religiozni človek si tako ne more predstavljati svoje eksistence brez središča sveta, ki je božansko.⁹

b) Ritualnost mita

Kozmogonični mit izvora ne obstaja sam na sebi in zase, ampak je v svoji izvorni obliki neločljiv od obreda. Ljudje se namreč skozi različne oblike ritualnosti približujejo transcendenci, kot jo razume in predstavlja mit. Tu nastopi dvojna naloga človeka: da ostaja v svetosti mitskega modela začetka in da posvečuje tako prostor kot čas po tem modelu, kar Eliade

9 Poseben primer je moderen človek, ki si prizadeva, da bi sakralno povsem odpravil in zatoorej živel izključno v prostoru, ki ga religiozni človek pojmuje kot profano. Eliade to vidi kot ne povsem uspešen poskus, saj ostanki sakralnih struktur ostajajo tudi v življenju modernega sekulariziranega človeka, na primer veliki športni dogodki, ki imajo svoje rituale in simbole (Eliade 1987, 205). Moderen, sekularizirani človek je »dedič« *homo religiosus* (209). Eliadove trditve niso neosnovane, saj podobno kažejo povsem empirične sodobne raziskave. Primer tega je poročilo Raziskovalnega središča Pew iz leta 2009, v katerem je razvidno, da je skoraj polovica vprašanih Američanov odgovorila z »da«, ko so jih vprašali, ali so kdaj imeli versko ali mistično izkušnjo. Zaznana je bila celo rast religijskih izkušenj v primerjavi s preteklimi desetletji (Pew Research Center 2009).



imenuje tudi *imitatio Dei*. Tisto, kar so božanstva delala na začetku časa («in illo tempore»), mora človek delati v sedanjem času, in to se primarno odraža skozi ritual. Ritualno posnemanje prvobitnih božanskih dejanj je bilo posebej značilno za antične ter arhaične religije pred vzponom monoteizma. Nedvomno se je tudi v monoteizmu ohranila osnovna vloga mita, ki je informativna pa tudi participativna. Informativen je mit, ker podaja sveti model, po katerem se naj človek orientira in posledično tudi ravna skladno s tem modelom. Participativna funkcija mita pa je v tem, da človeku omogoča vstop v sakralni čas in prostor skozi najrazličnejše rituale in prakse. Za življenjsko relevantnost mita je zato vedno potreben ritual, ki mit oživlja in ohranja. Monoteistični ritual sakralizacije časa in prostora za ideal vzame sedmi dan stvarjenja, ko je Bog počival, in ga poveže z zgodovinskimi momenti Božjega odrešenjskega delovanja. (Eliade 1987, 70–71.87)

To najbolj splošno polje arhetipske sorodnosti vseh stvarjenjskih mitov lahko prenesemo na specifično polje Geneze in potrdimo religiološko tezo glede človekovega gospodovanja v Genezi. Religije (monoteizem tu ni nobena izjema) namreč gledajo na človeka kot na bitje, ki je dolžno delati to, kar dela transcendenca od vsega začetka: posvečevati čas in prostor. Z vidika religije je gospodovanje dejavnost, ki je primarno sakralnega značaja. To razsežnost še dodatno potrjuje dokumentarna teorija, ki avtorstvo prve pripovedi o stvarjenju pripisuje duhovniškemu viru. Tu je torej na delu posebna religiozna antropologija, ki vidi človeka kot *homo religiosus*. Začetek in cilj gospodovanja je za religioznega človeka prav transcendenca. Religija hoče, da je človek v prvi vrsti religiozen. Ves ostali življenjski prostor je podrejen tej religijski paradigmi in sega tako od makronivoja ekonomije, politike, znanosti kot do mikronivoja družinskih odnosov, prehranjevanja, seksualnosti itd. Ta podrejenost sakralnemu je v monoteističnem mitu vseobsegajoča. Sakralnost ima avtoriteto nad vsem in tako zaobsega vso človekovo dejavnost ter globoko zaznamuje človeško kulturo.

Kot omenjeno, se religiozni človek ravna po mitičnem modelu transcendence, ki ustvarja in gospoduje zlasti tako, da sakralizira profano. Vliva red v nered, neoblikovanemu daje obliko, iz neobstojnega dela obstojnost itd. To poteka konkretno na način ritualov in posvečevanja profanega

prostora z graditvijo svetih objektov in z vzpostavitvijo svetih središč.¹⁰ Sakralnosti so podrejene tudi živali in zemlja, kar se kaže z ritualnimi daritvami transcendenci.¹¹ Sicer drži, da je monoteizem sčasoma opustil krvave oblike daritev, a na simbolni ali metafizični ravni ostajajo še danes.¹² Živalski in rastlinski produkti niso samo v funkciji človekovega prehranjevanja, ampak so s profane ravni povzdignjeni na sakralno. V tem oziru dobi zapoved vladanja nad živalmi in rastlinami višji pomen, ki v očeh bibličnega človeka presega zgolj ekonomsko gospodarjenje v pomenu živinoreje in poljedelstva. Kmetijstvo kot pglavitna gospodarska dejavnost starih bližnjevzhodnih kultur je podrejeno sakralnemu bistvu religije in z njim neločljivo povezano. Sakralno tako zagospoduje nad profanostjo prostora in ga naredi transparentnega za delovanje transcendence. Še posebej očitno se je to konkretiziralo na primeru judovskega templja, ki je bil za Izrael osrednja točka privilegiranega odnosa s transcendo in je vzpostavljaj religijsko utemeljeno avtoriteto v širšem okolju. Od splošne mitične sorodnosti tako preidemo na specifične značilnosti peteroknjžja, ki z radikalnim pozivom k svetosti oblikuje fenomen monoteizma tako, da lahko govorimo o »totalni religiji«. To si bomo pblžje ogledali pri Assmannovi razlagi monoteizma. Toda še prej izpostavimo nekaj ostalih posebnosti monoteizma.

2.3 Biblično gospodovanje v kontekstu specifično pojmovanega časa in zgodovine

Kot smo že omenili, človekovo izkustvo transcendence vedno izraža pluralnost, ki se na globalnem nivoju kaže v različnosti kozmogoničnih mitov. Ne obstaja samo en dokončen mit, ki bi zaobsegel vse mite in jih združil v brezoblično shemo. Čeprav obstajajo arhetipske sorodnosti, so prav tako prisotne vsebinske različnosti, ki dajejo vsaki religiji poseben pečat. Včasih

10 Sakralna središča Eliade imenuje »axis mundi«, os sveta. To je za religioznega človeka privilegirani prostor v svetu, ki je še posebej »prosojen« za izkustvo sakralnega in je pogosto označen z bogoslužnimi kompleksi. Veliki primeri tega so: Jeruzalem za vse tri abrahamske monoteizme, Meka specifično za islam, Varanasi za hinduizem, Black Hills za ameriško staroselsko religijo itd. Dodati velja, da ima lahko ena religija več tovrstnih središč, saj ta niso pojmovana geometrično, ampak eksistencialno. (Eliade 1987, 38)

11 Prim. 4 Mz 18,17: »Toda prvencev od goveda ali ovc ali koz ne smeš odkupiti, sveti so. Z njihovo krvjo poškrbi oltar in njihovo tolščo sežgi kot ognjeno daritev v prijeten vonj Gospodu!«

12 Npr. krščanski obred evharistije.



so te drugačnosti relativno majhne in lahko govorimo o kompatibilnosti mitičnih sistemov. Včasih pa so razlike tako velike, da postanejo miti nekompatibilni, in takrat lahko govorimo tudi na področju religioznosti o velikih paradigmatških obratih, ki pa ne odpravijo vseh predhodnih mitičnih struktur. Tak obrat je nedvomno bil in je še monoteizem abrahamske tradicije. Geneza namreč uvede naslednje spremembe, ki so specifične za monoteizem in mu dajejo izrazit kontrast v razmerju do tedanjih mitov stvarjenja, kot so egipčanski mit, babilonski, grški, indijski itd. Te posebnosti osvetljujejo tudi našo tematiko biblično pojmovanega gospodovanja, zato si jih oglejmo v naslednjih točkah.

2.3.1 Iz cikličnosti v linearnost časa

Za religije arhaičnih kultur in civilizacij je bilo značilno ciklično razumevanje časa. Podoživljanje mita je bilo vračanje v prvobitni sveti čas. Vračanje je potekalo skozi rituale in je bilo večno poustvarjanje tega prvega svetega dogodka. Ta dogodek je bil pojmovan hkrati kot začetek in konec ter s tem potopljen v krožno pojmovanje časa. Seveda je za vsako religijo značilna določena mera cikličnosti. Toda v primeru arhaičnih in antičnih mitov lahko govorimo o kozmični cikličnosti časa, medtem ko v primeru monoteizma tega ni, temveč je zgolj liturgična cikličnost. (Eliade 2005, 114–115)

Kajti velika sprememba monoteizma je, da pojmuje čas linearno, z jasnim začetkom in koncem. To je zelo očitno v mitu Geneze, kjer stvarjenje poteka po dnevih, pri čemer je zadnji dan sedmi in popolnoma svet. Judovska sobota sicer res daje Genezi pečat prvobitne svetosti, ki jo lahko povežemo z univerzalnimi strukturami mita. Na delu je tudi kolektivni arhetip *imitatio dei*, ki je v Genezi posnemanje Božjega počitka. Pomembna razlika pa je v tem, da prvobitna svetost sobote ni točka na kozmični krožnici časa, ki jo ljudje poustvarjajo skozi rituale, kot je bilo to značilno za babilonsko praznovanje novega leta. Tedaj so namreč morali duhovniki in kralj v prisotnosti ljudstva simbolno posnemati Mardukovo ustvarjanje stvarstva in se s tem vračati v ahistorični čas začetka. Če tega niso dovolj dobro posnemali, je nad celotno civilizacijo padla grožnja uničenja, saj ni prišlo do potrebne regeneracije leta in s tem do novega rojstva življenja.¹³

13 Posebej skrajna različica tega verovanja je bila značilna za predkolumbijsko Srednjo Ameriko, kjer je bila stvariteljska smrt bogov poustvarjena z žrtvovanjem ljudi. Krvavi ritual je zagotavljal ohranitev in regeneracijo sveta. Žrtvovanja ljudi so verjetno potekala tudi v bližnjevzhodnih semitskih kulturah

V primerjavi s tem monoteistično posvečevanje sedmega dne ni povezano z vračanjem na krožni začetek stvarstva, ampak izpostavlja zgodovinske momente zaveze in odrešenja. Ritualno spominjanje resda poteka na obzorju liturgične cikličnosti, toda ne na obzorju kozmičnega ponavljanja.¹⁴ Linearnost zgodovinskega časa je tista, v kateri Bog razodeva samega sebe. (Eliade 2005, 69–70)

2.3.2 Iz nezgodovinskosti v zgodovinskost časa

Z linearnostjo časa je torej povezana njegova zgodovinskost. To sicer ne pomeni, da samo monoteizem pozna zgodovino. Posebnost je v tem, da monoteistična koncepcija časa daje zgodovini izredno velik pomen in jo iz obrobja religiozne zavesti postavi v samo jedro svojega mita izvora. Drugi miti so v svojem jedru imeli izrazito nehistoričnost ali predhistoričnost prav zaradi ciklične kozmologije. Mit stvarjenja je bil potopljen v časovno »samostojčnost«, ki je niso zanimale distinkcije med preteklostjo in prihodnostjo; med tem, kar je bilo in kar še pride. Kajti mitični jezik je bil neločljivo prepleten s tem, kar Eliade poimenuje *mit večnega vračanja*, ki poustvari mitični čas na polju zlivanja preteklosti in prihodnosti v en brezčasen in sveti »sedaj«. (Eliade 1987, 112)

V primerjavi z ahistoričnostjo arhaičnega pojmovanja svetega časa pa ima monoteistični mit izrazito historičnost. Bog se razodeva izvoljenemu ljudstvu v konkretnih zgodovinskih dogodkih in je osebni Bog očakov. Posvečuje zgodovino in ta postane manifestacija svetega, ki ni več samo splošna hierofanija (razodetje svetega), ampak specifična teofanija (razodetje osebnega Boga). Po Eliadovem mnenju stori krščanstvo glede historičnosti še dodaten korak, ko teofanijo sprejme v podobi učlovečenega Boga Jezusa Kristusa, rojenega in živečega v konkretnem času rimske province Palestine. Ta dogodek učlovečenja v konkretni zgodovini povzroči novo pojmovanje časa pri kristjanih in omogoča nov način eksistence. Trdimo lahko, da s krščanstvom pride do mitizacije zgodovine, ko en

bronaste dobe, kar prepozna in obsoja tudi Sveto pismo. Toda dejanska razširjenost tovrstnih daritev v staroveških bližnjevzhodnih kulturah je sporno vprašanje zaradi pomanjkanja arheoloških dokazov. (Leeming 2005, 152–155)

¹⁴ Kozmična cikličnost časa se je verjetno najbolj izrazito ohranila v hinduizmu pod pojmom samsare, ki označuje realnost v pomenu karmičnega ponavljanja rojstev in smrti, vse dokler človek ne doseže osvoboditve iz tega kroga (2005, 86).



določen moment v zgodovini postane prenosnik svetega časa Božje milosti. (Eliade 1987, 110–111)

Eksistencialna posledica arhaičnega razumevanja ahistoričnosti svetega časa je bilo izrazito poudarjanje »usodnosti« (Eliade 2005, 127). V monoteizmu se usodnost umika Božji previdnosti (providence), ko Bog daje človeštvu avtonomijo in hkrati uresničuje svoj dober načrt ne glede na morebitne napake človeštva (Marshall idr. 2001, 979–980). Kljub temu ne moremo govoriti o popolnem odtrganju abrahamskega izročila od predhodnih. Razlog tega je že omenjeno vztrajanje simbolnega jezika, ki prenaša arhetipske sestavine skozi vsa obdobja, kar vidi Eliade celo na primerih zgodnjekrščanskih apologetov:

For the Christian apologists, symbols were pregnant with messages; they showed the sacred through the cosmic rhythms. The revelation brought by the faith did not destroy the pre-Christian meanings of symbols; it simply added a new value to them. (Eliade 1987, 137)

Če povzamemo, je sakralno najbolj osnoven cilj vsake religije, in cilj religioznega človeka je, da vzpostavi odnos s svetim. Stvarjenjski miti dajejo temeljno usmeritev temu odnosu, ga »kalibrirajo«. Drugače pa so specifične plati teh mitov in zadevajo način vstopanja v to sakralnost in pojmovanje časa ter prostora sakralnosti.

Tovrstno razumevanje dodatno osvetli gospodovanje v luči zgodovine. Kajti gospodovanje lahko vidimo prav kot posvečevanje zgodovine, v kateri Božje in človeško tesno sodelujeta preko intenzivnega osebnega odnosa in komunikacije. Posebnost monoteističnega razmerja med Bogom in ustvarjenim je tudi v tem, da začetki niso utemeljeni na nasilnem dejanju, kot je to bilo značilno za nekatere arhaične mite. Na primer v mezopotamskem Enuma Eliš stvarjenje poteka tako, da zmagoslavni bog Marduk razseka pradavno pošast Tiamat ter iz njenih ostankov naredi zemljo in nebo, iz krvi premaganega Tiamatinega zaveznika Kinga pa ustvari človeštvo (Leeming 2005, 336). Tovrstnega kozmološkega nasilja v Genezi ni, saj Bog ustvarja na miren način, zlasti z besedo (1 Mz 1,1–2,3). Prav tako ne ustvari človeštva, da bi mu služilo kot suženj, ampak mu preda del svoje

stvariteljske avtoritete.¹⁵ To omogoča človeku posebej odgovorno gospodovanje, in paradigmatski model tega je stvarjenjski mit Geneze. Človek naj ne gospoduje kot uničevalni tiran, ampak kot ustvarjajoči Bog, ki uporabi besedo, da z njo varuje, ohranja, neguje, skrbi itd. Toda gospodovanje, ki v svojih izvornih potezah stvarjenja zavrača nasilje, ne zavrača nujno konflikta. Zemlja rabi močno in trdo obdelovanje, da postane rodovitna.¹⁶ Tako »rodovitna« moč monoteističnega posvečevanja stvarstva trči v konflikt s konkurenčnimi načini, ki jih monoteizem vidi kot nedopustno enačenje transcendence z materijo. Slednje označuje s pojmom »malikovanje«. Ta močnejši vidik monoteističnega gospodovanja, ki se spopade s politeizmom, bomo obravnavali v naslednji točki pod obzorjem totalnosti.

2.4 Gospodovanje na obzorju totalnosti

Svetopisemski »gospoduj« se odraža v pomenu totalnosti, kar tvori tretje obzorje monoteizma. V tej točki se predvsem opiramo na delo religiozologa in egiptologa Jana Assmanna z naslovom *Totalna religija*. Menimo, da dobro dopolnjuje prej opisana Eliadova spoznanja glede sakralnosti, mitičnosti in specifik monoteizma. Ob tem naj poudarimo, da naš namen ni v podajanju izčrpane analize Assmannove misli, saj to presega omejitve tega članka. Namesto tega zgolj izrisujemo smer možne religiološke interpretacije.

Če na kratko povzamemo dosedanje ugotovitve, je eden in edini Bog tisti, ki v Genezi ustvarja in po podobnosti položi v človeka ustvarjalno moč. Dalje Bog človeka pozove, da postane gospodar vseh drugih bitij sveta. Omenili smo, da vsak mit izvora opisuje preboj transcendence, in vendarle je ta prodor v monoteizmu drugačen kot v sosedskih religijah politeizma. Tam so bili miti medsebojno kompatibilni in zamenljivi, saj preboj transcendence ni bil pojmovan tako radikalno kot v monoteizmu. Historičnost monoteističnega mita namreč postavi podlago za njegovo radikalnost in s tem tudi konfliktnost. Če obstaja samo en Bog, ki ni umaknjen v kozmično

15 Mezopotamski kozmogonični mit Atrahasis pripoveduje na primer o tem, kako so višji bogovi ustvarili človeštvo z namenom, da bi ljudje opravljali dela nižjih bogov, ki so bili siti težkega kopanja namakalnih kanalov. (Leeming 2005, 146)

16 Prim. »podvrzita (potlačita)« zemljo v 1 Mz 1,28 ali »naj bo zaradi tebe prekleta zemlja; s trdom boš jedel od nje vse dni svojega življenja« (1 Mz 2,17). To so nedvomno odmevi težke realnosti predindustrijske agrarne družbe.



brezčasje, ampak je dejaven v zgodovini človeštva, potem postane njegova unikatna sakralnost edina prava mera za posvečevanje celotnega človeštva. Ves končen prostor človekovega bivanja postane prostor neskončne transcendence, ki se kaže kot ena in edina resnica in terja brezkompromisno zvestobo. To daje monoteizmu izredno motivacijo, da osvoji prostor in mu zagospoduje.¹⁷

Na temelju uvida v tovrstno dinamiko monoteizma lahko uporabimo Assmannovo tezo, da se v Svetem pismu nahajata dve prepletajoči se semantični strukturi monoteizma. Ena je t. i. »inkluzivističen monoteizem«, druga pa »ekskluzivističen monoteizem«. Prvi je nekonflikten in ga lahko prepoznamo v t. i. zlatem pravilu in Noetovi zavezi.¹⁸ Drugi je konflikten in ga Assmann dalje razdeli na »monoteizem resnice« in »monoteizem zvestobe«. Oboje sporoča, da je govor o enem velikem monoteizmu, ki pa vključuje najrazličnejše poudarke glede na čas in razvoj monoteističnega verovanja ter prakse.¹⁹ (Assmann 2018, 25–26)

Monoteizem resnice je še posebej značilen pri svetopisemskem mitu stvarjenja, ki kaže na univerzalno resničnost monoteistične podobe Boga. Ta je podana na način t. i. kritične mitologije. Kajti duhovniški vir, ki ga dokumentarna teorija prepoznava kot avtorja prvega poročila o stvarjenju, je zavestno kritičen do predhodnih mitov stvarjenja. Da v Genezi ni več teogonične vojne in ustvarjanja na podlagi nasilja, kot je to značilno za babilonsko mitologijo, je vse prej kot naključje. Duhovniški vir je dobro poznal mezopotamsko mitološko izročilo, se z njim kritično soočil in ga preoblikoval tako, da ustreza monoteistični podobi Boga. Rezultat je pripoved, ki se ni odrekla mitičnemu – simbolnemu jeziku, ga je pa nadvse

17 To je še posebej razvidno v dejstvu, da imata krščanstvo in islam skupaj več kot štiri milijarde pripadnikov, kar obsega polovico svetovnega prebivalstva.

18 Svetopisemski primer Noetove zaveze je podobno kot pripoved o stvarjenju integralen del Geneze (1 Mz 8,20-9,17). Na podlagi tega odlomka je rabinsko judovstvo Talmuda prepoznalo minimalen etični kriterij, ki je univerzalen; omogoča moralno življenje tudi »poganskim« ljudstvom. Prav tako onemogoča judom, da bi vršili prozelitizem in na veri osnovano »sveto« vojno. Zatorej ni samo Geneza tista, ki začne s kritično obravnavo nasilja, ampak to smer nadaljuje in še bolj razvije rabinsko judovstvo. (Lülik 2022, 131)

19 Površno branje Assmannovih tez o totalnosti in ekskluzivizmu monoteizma lahko privede do sodbe, da je monoteizem totalitarističen, inherentno nasilen ali celo vir vsega zla na tem svetu. Takšno branje je pretirano in napačno, saj selektivno izbira Assmannove trditve in jih trga iz širšega konteksta njegove misli. Kot pojasnjuje Osredkar: »Jan Assmann ne vidi vira nasilja v monoteizmu kot takšnem, temveč v tendenci po izključitvi pluralnosti. To pa se imenuje fundamentalizem, ki pomeni regresijo. Monoteizem s prehodom iz izključevalnosti v vključevalnost zagotavlja nenasilje.« (2014, 271)



izvirno preoblikovala. Zato je boljše kot o kopiranju govoriti o črpanju iz skupnega mitičnega izročila, ki je reformirano z izkušnjami in spoznanji izraelske kulture, živeče v obdobju poznega Babilona in zgodnje Perzije. (Scoggins 2015, 6)

Monoteizem zvestobe pa je po Assmannu izražen v Eksodusu, kjer Bog sklene zavezo z Izraelom, od katerega pričakuje brezpogojno pripadnost. Tej zavezi je pridružen slovesni razglas, da je celoten Izrael kraljestvo duhovnikov in svet narod (5 Mz 7,6). To vodi v konflikt z ljudstvi, ki pojmujejo svetost manj intenzivno, in posledično se pojavi biblični jezik nasilja. Tega v politeizmu ni, saj se najvišja svetost pričakuje samo od duhovniškega razreda in pojmovanje transcendence ene religije ni nasprotno drugi religiji (kar je v Babilonu Marduk, je v Grčiji Zevs). Res je, da tudi v politeizmu vsa kultura obstaja na temelju sakralnega kot dejavnika družbene kohezije in stabilnosti. Toda samo od enega sloja družbe se pričakuje, da živi svetost v polnosti, in ta sloj je potem prepoznaven v podobi svečeniškega razreda. Vojne, ki jih kralji Egipta in Mezopotamije legitimirajo z božanskimi dekreti, so predvsem politične narave in ne segajo na raven sakralnosti. Eksodus pa na temelju obče zvestobe enemu Bogu pokliče celoten narod k duhovniški svetosti in ustvarja ekskluziven prostor za manifestacijo transcendence v svetu. (Assmann 2018, 105)

Tovrstno razločevanje mnogovrstnosti bibličnega monoteizma nudi zanimive uvide glede gospodovanja. Če strnemo, nam že prva verzija mita stvarjenja daje slutiti konfliktnost z glagolom »podvrzita si«. Človeštvo ima nalogo, da podvrže celotno stvarstvo Bogu, ki je začetek in cilj gospodovanja. Poteka preko prodora sakralnosti, ki ustvari prostor za totalno religijo svetosti, v kateri mora človek aktivno in voljno nastopati.²⁰ Pri tem ni nobene izjeme, kajti tako kralj kot berač sta isto poklicana k svetosti (2 Mz 19,6). Resnica monoteističnega Boga, kot je podana v obeh stvarjenjskih zgodbah, terja zvestobo temu Bogu skozi poslušnost njegovi zapovedi

20 Totalna svetost je dodatno zaostrena s t. i. »resnim primerom«, ki ga Assmann prevzame od filozofa Carla Schmitta in označuje družbeno polarizacijo, v kateri pride do demonizacije drugega, od katerega se je treba distancirati in ga nadvladati. Assmann s to sicer politično teorijo dodatno osvetli apokaliptična besedila Svetega pisma, kot sta Daniel in Razodetje. Toda Assmann na koncu poudari, da je oster apokaliptični jezik pomembno uravnotežen s pluralizmom samega Svetega pisma kot »polifonične« zbirke, ki omogoča najrazličnejše interpretacije in s tem obrambo proti ekstremizmu (Assmann 2018, 127–130).



po razmnoževanju, gospodovanju in ogibanju prepovedanega sadeža. Svetopisemsko razumljena zvestoba je zvestoba brezkompromisni resnici Boga, ki tudi skozi naracijo stvarjenja podaja model človekovega delovanja.

Temu monoteističnemu pojmovanju resnice, kot ga upodablja Geneza, je pridružena tudi mitična pripoved o prvobitnem moralnem in duhovnem padcu človeštva. Ena od posledic tega travmatičnega mitičnega dogodka je ravno to, da je človekova zmožnost sakralizacije okrnjena in zmanjšana, ni pa izničena. Univerzalen »rajski« vrt človeštva je res izgubljen, kar pa ne velja za poslanstvo sakralnega gospodovanja. To je zdaj preneseno v partikularnost izvoljenega hebrejskega ljudstva in dobi poteze etnične religije. Zdaj je Izrael kot sveto duhovniško ljudstvo tisti, ki mu je zaupana posebna naloga posvečevanja stvarstva.²¹ To dela na dva načina, od katerega je prvi ritualnost žrtvenega sistema, drugi pa etični vidik ponotranjenja postave in življenja skladno z njo. Slednje še posebej izpostavijo preroki, ki etičnost celo povzdignejo nad ritualnost (Jer 6,20).²² Oba načina pa terjata brezkompromisno in osebno versko odločitev. Bog je samo eden, in ta je ljubosumen, zato je konflikt z drugimi bogovi neizbežen. Toda s pomembnimi etičnimi omejitvami, ki zavarujejo skupnost pred totalno destruktivnostjo, kar lahko vidimo na primeru devteronomistične postave: »Nebo in zemljo kličem danes za pričo proti vam: predložil sem ti življenje in smrt, blagoslov in prekletstvo. Izberi torej življenje, da boš živel ti in tvoj zarod.« (5 Mz 30,19)

Totalnost torej ni totalna vojna proti drugemu in drugačnemu. Sicer res poteka na način gospodovanja, toda slednje se vrši primarno skozi proces sakralizacije okolja. Tega ne potrjuje samo duhovniška verzija stvarjenja, ampak tudi jahvistična v 1 Mz 2. V njej najdemo zanimivo Božje navodilo prvemu človeku, da poimenuje živali. Tu seveda ni govora o znanstveni taksonomiji, kajti poimenovanje je v semitski kulturi razumljeno na vsaj tri načine, ki so izrazito simbolno-religiozni: 1) prenesti Božje sporočilo,

21 Monoteističen poziv k svetosti postane spet univerzalističen v krščanstvu, ki z Novo zavezo na široko odpre možnost svetega življenja tudi za »pogane« (Apd 11,1-18). Islam prav tako pozna osebno svetost, dostopno vsem, ki sledijo nauku Korana in so »čistega srca« (Galwash 1940, 156).

22 Močno poudarjanje ponotranjene etike postane pomembna značilnost t. i. »osne dobe«, kot jo poimenuje Jaspers. Poteka v 1. tisočletju pr. Kr. in se razteza čez velika geografska območja, kjer obsega judovske preroke, kot sta Jeremija in Ezekiel, pa tudi Budo, pisce Upanišad, Konfucija, Sokrata itd. V tem obdobju je religija »izvedena etično« (Jaspers 1953, 3).



2) vzpostaviti povezavo z Bogom, 3) vzpostaviti avtoriteto nad nekom. Bogu pa se ime ne sme dati, ker on je svetost sama in ni možno, da bi človek vzpostavil avtoriteto nad to svetostjo. Poskusi tega so povezani z zlorabo na način malikovanja, ki je posebej ostro obsojeno in ga sveto-pisemski pisci vidijo kot vzrok tako duhovnega kot družbenega propada. (Marshall idr. 2001, 800–801)

Če povzamemo: monoteistični jezik pogosto vključuje podobe konflikta, saj obsega spopad svetega z nesvetim, dobrega z zlim, pravičnega s krivičnim itd. To daje monoteizmu značilno ekspresivno moč, ki je lahko gonilo pozitivnega (npr. boj proti socialnim krivicam) ali negativnega boja (npr. fundamentalizem, verske vojne). Če so nekatere »naravne« religije ali filozofske tradicije utemeljene na kozmični harmoniji nebes in zemlje, je monoteizem utemeljen na razodetju osebnega Boga v zgodovini. Takšna dinamika kliče k osebni odločitvi za resnico ter k odločnemu razmejevanju sakralnega od profanega. Tisto, kar je zemeljsko, je sicer dobro in koristno, a ni na enaki ravni z najsvetejšim Gospodom. Tudi človek ni enak Bogu, mu je pa podoben, in iz tega naslova podobnosti prejme avtoriteto nad vso preostalo nečloveško naravo. Toda tovrstna podrejenost nečloveške narave človeški je postavljena v kontekst sakralnega, ki postane primarni princip gospodovanja in pridružen ji je močan etični moment. Nasilno izkoriščanje narave tako ni inherentno monoteizmu in ga ne moremo prepoznati kot izvirno vodilo gospodovanja v Genezi. Na primeru religio-loške analize mita smo namreč videli, da ima abrahamski monoteizem pred seboj mitično podobo Boga, ki ustvarja kozmos na nenasilen način.²³

Nenasilen princip ustvarjanja postane relevanten model za življenje monoteističnega vernika. Kajti zanj je najpomembnejši cilj eksistence ta, da postaja čedalje bolj svet, kar kaže na monoteistično obzorje totalnosti, ki daje podlago vsesplošni poklicanosti k svetosti. Zato je vladanje živalim in zemlji tesno združeno z religioznostjo: monoteističen vernik udejanja Božji model življenja tako, da vanj vključuje vse in profanemu podarja kvaliteto svetega. Prostor narave postane prostor razodevanja Boga. Na ta način

23 Podobno trdi tudi sam Assmann, ko odgovarja na napačne razlage svoje misli: »Ne trdim namreč, kakor mi zmeraj znova podtikajo, da naj bi monoteizem v dotlej miroljubno družbo vnesel nasilje, sovraštvo in pojem greha. Sam zgolj ugotavljam, da je monoteizem religija, katere kanonska besedila pripisujejo temam nasilja, sovraštva in greha opazno veliko vlogo in jim – drugače kakor tradicionalne, 'poganske' religije – podeljujejo neki specifičen, religiozen pomen.« (Assmann 2008, 15)



verniki tudi presega meje, ki ga ločujejo od drugih bitij in od Boga. Sakralno postane vez, ki zbližuje akterje na poseben način, kar verujoči izkuša kot misterij delujoče transcendence. Tega ni moč reducirati na nobeno profano raven, saj v religioznih očeh transcendenca izgubi svoj sakralni naboj, če se profanira. S tovrstno transcendenco *homo religiosus* nima kaj početi.

Sklep

Ogledali smo si možnost religiološkega razumevanja peteroknjižnega gospodovanja na obzorjih sakralnega, mita in totalnosti, ki se medsebojno prelivajo. To lahko povzamemo v naslednjih točkah:

1. Eliadova analiza stvarjenjskih mitov nam pokaže, da imajo vse religije strukturno bistvo sakralnega kot nasprotja profanemu. V tem pomenu lahko gospodovanje v monoteizmu vidimo primarno na obzorju sakralizacije profanega. Posebnost monoteističnega mita je v totalnosti in zgodovinski naravi te sakralizacije.
2. Zapoved gospodovanja v Genezi se nahaja znotraj obzorja kozmogeničnega mita, ki je značilna paradigmatska sestavina mnogih religij. Posebnost monoteističnega stvarjenjskega mita pa je prav v njegovem principu gospodovanja. Ta je dan človeku kot najvišja odgovornost posvečevanja, ki se vrši skozi koncepcijo linearnega zgodovinskega časa.
3. Monoteizem odločno zavrača drugačna pojmovanja manifestacij svetega, ki so nezdružljiva z monoteističnim nazorom. Sakralnost je torej osrednja sestavina, in to v radikalno »čisti« obliki, ki je v arhaičnih religijah ali v politeizmu ni. Zato gospodovanje dobiva konflikten značaj, ki je lahko tudi potencialno nasilen.
4. Gospodovanje skupaj z glagolom »podvrzita si« je tisti specifični element, ki v monoteističnem mitu izvora lahko vzpostavlja jezik nasilja. Toda v kontekstu celotnega hebrejskega Svetega pisma to ni edini jezik, kar kaže na pluralizem svetopisemskih besedil, iz katerih je možno izluščiti najrazličnejše poudarke in pristope. Eden od teh je ekskluzivizem izvoljenega ljudstva, ki osvaja in tlači malikovalska ljudstva. Kontrast temu je inkluzivizem, ki se kaže kot Božja zaveza s celotnim človeštvom, kar odstira Noetova zaveza in dopolnjuje nova zaveza.



Razlage, ki operirajo samo z enim pomenom, ignorirajo kompleksno globino monoteističnih izrazov verovanja.

Okoljevarstvena kritika Geneze, ki črpa iz principov ekološke pravičnosti, povsem legitimno opozarja na ukvarjanje Svetega pisma z dominacijo. Toda po drugi strani sodi prenašlo, ko dominacijo vidi v pomenu antropocentričnega vdora. Kajti gospodovanje je v monoteističnem mitu izvora mišljeno primarno v sakralnem pomenu in ni antropocentrično, temveč teocentrično in kaže na prodor sakralnega. Zato gre pri monoteističnem gospodovanju primarno za posvečevanje zgodovinskega časa, prostora in bitij, ki vstopajo v službo Božjega, in ni v vlogi ideološkega boja ali izkoriščanja narave. Kljub temu je zadeva večplastna, saj proces monoteistične sakralizacije dobiva poteze totalnosti, kar se lahko potencialno manifestira tudi v konkretnem nasilju. Toda kot omenjeno, ta nasilna moč je potencial in je lahko tudi odpravljena, saj primere za to podaja sam monoteizem. V Svetem pismu je namreč mogoče opaziti pluralnost, kjer se odstira razvoj reflektiranja in reguliranja potencialnega nasilja. Primer tega so preroški spisi hebrejskega Svetega pisma ter krščanska Nova zaveza. Ti spisi dopolnjujejo gospodovanje s poudarjanjem etičnih in soterioloških vidikov verovanja.

A vendarle konfliktni pomeni še vedno ostajajo prisotni v Svetem pismu. Ignoriranje teh izrazov zaradi pobožne korektnosti bi pomenilo okrniti in poenostaviti kompleksnost monoteizma. Enako krivico bi monoteizmu naredilo enostransko problematiziranje in potenciranje negativnih izrazov. Religioška analiza nam je namesto tega pokazala fenomenološko podlago, na kateri se kaže religiozna izkušnja, ki monoteističnega gospodovanja ne dojema v moči človeka, ampak v fenomenu moči sakralnega. To potrjuje, da izvorni cilj svetopisemskih pomenov gospodovanja ni v ideološki, politični ali ekonomski nadvladi, temveč v realizaciji modelov svetega življenja, kot to paradigmatično izrisuje kozmogonični mit Geneze.

Kratici

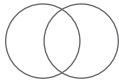
LS	Frančišek 2015 [<i>Laudato Si'</i>]
SSP	Sveto pismo Stare in Nove zaveze 2011 [Slovenski standardni prevod]



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Benjamin Lulik

Sinteza Pavlove teologije o pravičnosti in opravičenju: sodobni uvidi in ekumenske implikacije

*Synthesis of Paul's Theology of Righteousness
and Justification: Contemporary Insights
and Ecumenical Implications*

Izvleček: Ta prispevek raziskuje nauk apostola Pavla o pravičnosti in opravičenju, s poudarkom na forenzičnih, zaveznih, apokaliptičnih in zakramentalnih vidikih njegove teologije. Za ta namen analizira ključne odlomke pisma Rimljanom in Galačanom ter integrira uvide sodobnih teologov: Douglasa Campbella, N. T. Wrighta in papeža Benedikta XVI. Poudarja, da se v središču Pavlove teologije nahajata pojem opravičenja iz vere in preobrazbena moč Božje milosti. Ta razprava pokaže teološko bogastvo Pavlovega razumevanja in hkrati priznava njegov ekumenski potencial. S sintezo teh vidikov si članek prizadeva za celostno razumevanje pavlinske pravičnosti in za prepoznavanje njenega trajnega pomena v sodobnem krščanskem življenju.

Ključne besede: pravičnost, opravičenje, vera, milost, zaveza, apokaliptično, zakramenti, preobrazba, odrešenje, Pavel

Abstract: This paper explores the Apostle Paul's teachings on righteousness and justification, emphasizing forensic, covenantal, apocalyptic, and sacramental aspects of his theology. Analysing key passages in Romans and Galatians, it integrates insights from contemporary theologians Douglas Campbell, N.T. Wright, and Pope Benedict XVI. Central to Paul's theology is the concept of justification by faith and the transformative power of divine grace. This study highlights the theological richness of Paul's teachings, while also acknowledging their ecumenical potential. By synthesizing these perspectives, the paper offers a comprehensive understanding of Pauline righteousness and its enduring relevance in contemporary Christian life.

Keywords: righteousness, justification, faith, grace, covenant, apocalyptic, sacraments, transformation, salvation, Paul

Uvod

Nauk apostola Pavla o pravičnosti in opravičenju je temelj krščanske teologije in ima velik vpliv na doktrino in prakso Cerkve. V svojih pismih Rimljanom in Galačanom pa tudi v drugih Pavel ubesedi kompleksno in globoko videnje pravičnosti, ki se navezuje na opravičenje po veri in razodeva preobrazbeni učinek Božje milosti. Poleg tega pisma osvetljujejo specifična teološka in etična vprašanja, ki so zaposlovala zgodnje krščanske skupnosti v rimskem cesarstvu. Ponujajo uvide, ki so univerzalnega značaja, saj ostajajo relevantna tudi za sodobni čas.

Ta članek zato sintetizira Pavlov nauk o pravičnosti in opravičenju, kot je še posebej izražen v Pismu Rimljanom in Galačanom, ter vključuje spoznanja sodobnih teologov, kot so Douglas Campbell, N. T. Wright in papež Benedikt XVI. Campbell je zanimiv, ker kritično obravnava tradicionalno (predvsem protestantsko) teorijo opravičenja in zagovarja participativni ter apokaliptični pristop. Medtem Wright poudarja bolj klasično zavezo zvestobo Boga in njegovega ljudstva ter forenzične vidike Božje pravičnosti. Forenzična pravičnost se torej prvenstveno nanaša na dejanje Boga, ko razglasi ljudi za pravične. Zavezni vidiki pravičnosti pa aktivno zadevajo tako Boga, ki se drži svojih obljub, kot tudi Izrael, ki si prizadeva ostati zvest svojemu Gospodu. Razpravo zaokrožuje papež Benedikt XVI., ki se osredotoča na celovito obravnavo Božje milosti, po kateri je opravičenje doseženo s človeškim sodelovanjem preko zakramentov. S preučevanjem teh razlag članek raziskuje, kako lahko Pavlova teologija služi kot temelj za razumevanje forenzičnih, zaveznih, apokaliptičnih in zakramentalnih razsežnosti njegovih nauk. Članek se dotakne tudi vloge Pavlove teologije pri pospeševanju ekumenskega dialoga, kjer nauk o opravičenju postaja sredstvo zbliževanja namesto delitve, kar bi verjetno najbolj ustrezalo tudi samemu Pavlu.

Uvodoma je treba omeniti tudi omejitve te razprave. Čeprav je namen tega prispevka zagotoviti zaokroženo sintezo Pavlovega pojma pravičnosti in opravičenja, je njegov obseg omejen na izbrane odlomke v Pismu Rimljanom in Pismu Galačanom. Ti odlomki, čeprav osrednji, ne zajemajo celotne Pavlove misli o pravičnosti. Ustrezni uvidi iz drugih Pavlovih pism bodo navedeni predvsem v opombah z namenom zagotavljanja dodatnega besedilnega konteksta, ki podpira glavno razpravo. In čeprav



so obravnavani teologi akademske avtoritete na svojem področju, ne predstavljajo celotnega nabora sodobnih raziskav. Služijo kot reprezentativni model za prikaz različnih poudarkov v sodobnih poskusih teološke analize izjemno kompleksne Pavlove misli. Kljub tem omejitvam skuša prispevek ponuditi smiseln vpogled v Pavlovo teologijo in vsaj nekoliko razjasniti sodobne razprave o veri, milosti in pravičnosti.

1 Pavlovi pogledi o pravičnosti in opravičenju

1.1 Ključne točke v Pismu Rimljanom

Med mnogimi biblijskimi učenjaki in krščanskimi misleci skozi zgodovino vlada splošno soglasje, da je Pismo Rimljanom eno od najvplivnejših besedil zahodnega sveta zaradi svoje temeljne vloge pri oblikovanju osrednjih naukov krščanstva (Hill 2001, 57). Pismo Rimljanom je Pavel napisal okoli leta 57 po Kr., verjetno med svojim bivanjem v Korintu (Apd 20,2-3). Kontekst tega pisma ima korenine v Pavlovih širših misijonarskih načrtih in posebnih zgodovinskih okoliščinah njegovega časa. Pavel se identificira kot avtor na začetku pisma (Rim 1,1), medtem ko je na koncu omenjeno, da je besedilo bilo napisano s pomočjo pisarja po imenu Tertij, kot je bila navada tedanjega časa (Rim 16,22). V času pisanja se je Pavel pripravljala na potovanje v Jeruzalem z zbirko denarja iz grških cerkva, namenjenega pomoči kristjanom judovskega porekla (1 Kor 16,1-4). Ta nabirka je bila za Pavla pomembna, saj je simbolizirala enotnost in solidarnost med verniki iz vrst Judov in Nejudov (Schreiner 2020, 32). Po predaji pomoči je Pavel nameraval obiskati Rim kot vmesni postanek na poti v Španijo, kar je odražalo njegovo poklicanost, da oznanja evangelij tam, kjer Kristus še ni bil poznan (Rim 15,19-24).

Pismo Rimljanom je torej globoko zasidrano v zgodovinskih okoliščinah, vendar tudi presega svoj neposredni kontekst in obravnava univerzalne teološke teme. Krščanska skupnost v Rimu, na katero se Pavel obrača, je bila raznolika, saj so jo sestavljali verniki tako judovskega kot poganškega ozadja. Izvori te skupnosti niso povsem znani. Verjetno se je začela z rimskimi Judi, ki so se spreobrnili na binkošti (Apd 2,10) in svojo vero prinesli nazaj v Rim. Izgon Judov iz Rima, ki ga je izvedel cesar Klavdij okoli leta 49 po Kr., je pustil pomembne posledice za razvoj tamkajšnje



krščanske skupnosti. Ta dogodek je povzročil začasno odsotnost judovskih kristjanov, kar je omogočilo kristjanom iz nejudovskih vrst, da prevzamejo vidnejšo vlogo v skupnosti. Po vrnitvi judovskih kristjanov je tako morda prišlo do napetosti glede spoštovanja judovskih predpisov, vprašanja opravičenja in vključevanja poganskih običajev.¹ (Schreiner 2020, 39–40)

Pismo Rimljanom verjetno odmeva običajne zgodnjekrščanske napetosti med judovskimi in nejudovskimi kristjani, ki so izhajale iz različnih kulturnih ozadij. Pavel si prizadeva uskladiti ta različna obzorja s ciljem spodbujanja enotnosti v Cerkvi. Zagotavlja temeljito razlago evangelija, zlasti glede Mojzesove postave in vloge Izraela v zgodovini odrešenja, da bi poenotil rimsko cerkev in pridobil podporo za svoje poslanstvo v Španiji. V tem oziru je Pismo Rimljanom zasnovano kot osebni nagovor skupnosti v Rimu, ki preide v dodelano teološko razpravo. Nekateri sodobni eksegeti, kot je Schreiner, pa trdijo, da čeprav je pismo obsežnejše od drugih Pavlovih besedil, njegov namen ni podati sistematično teologijo. Tradicionalni pogledi, ki vidijo Pismo Rimljanom kot skorajda dogmatični priročnik, so prikladni, a problematični. Ključni vidiki Pavlovih nauk, kot so evharistija, podrobna ekleziologija in razvita eshatologija, v pismu manjkajo ali so le na kratko omenjeni. Schreiner namesto tega zagovarja, da Pavlov primarni cilj pri pisanju Rimljanom ni, da bi izvedel izčrpno teološko summo, ampak da bi dal Bogu slavo in čast preko spodbujanja enotnosti v Cerkvi in s tem pokazal na izpolnitev Božjih obljub Izraelu. Čeprav je res, da ima Pismo Rimljanom širši obseg kot druga pisma, je njegov namen večplasten in vključuje obravnavo posebnih vprašanj znotraj Rimske cerkve, kot so enost občestva, podpora Pavlovemu poslanstvu in navsezadnje slavljenje Boga (41–48).

Struktura Pavlovega pisma Rimljanom, skupaj z njegovim splošnim sporočilom, nudi poglobljeno raziskovanje moči evangelija in njegovih posledic

1 Krašovec pojasnjuje, da je pri preučevanju kulturnih kontekstov pravičnosti pomembno upoštevati različne vidike. Vsaka primerjava mora zajemati elemente, ki so enaki ali podobni, vendar niso nujno povezani. Kljub podobnostim v predstavah o pravičnosti v politeističnih, panteističnih in monoteističnih kulturah obstajajo tudi temeljne ontološke razlike. V judovski in krščanski veri ter kulturi pravičnost ne pomeni primarno kozmičnega ali družbenega reda, temveč ohranjanje notranjega moralnega čuta, ki se odraža v individualnem značaju in medosebnih odnosih. Kompleksni pojem pravičnosti zajema dve soodvisni razsežnosti: pravičnost duše v posameznikovi osebnosti in pravičnost skupnosti, ki vključuje družbene odnose. Ta vidik dopolnjuje Pavlovo misel v Pismu Rimljanom in Pismu Galačanom, kjer apostol poudarja osebno spreobrnitev in etiko skupnosti, pri čemer pravičnost vključuje moralno integriteto in zvest odnos z Bogom ter drugimi (Krašovec 2014, 17).



tako za Jude kot za pogane. Pismo Rimljanom v svojem jedru govori o razodetju Božje pravičnosti po veri v Jezusa Kristusa. Pavel trdi, da je ta pravičnost dostopna vsem, ki verujejo, presega meje judovske postave in združuje raznoliko skupnost vernikov. V luči teme pravičnosti je pismo mogoče strukturirati v osem poglavitnih delov (50–53).

- 1) *Evangelij kot razodetje Božje pravičnosti (Rim 1,1-17)*: Ta del vključuje uvod, pozdrav, zahvalo in glavno temo. V 1,16-17 Pavel izjavlja, da se ne sramuje evangelija, ker je Božja moč za rešitev vsakogar, ki veruje. Ta odlomek poudarja vsepresežno moč evangelija. Pavel poudarja, da se pravičnost razodeva po veri v Kristusa in da bodo pravični živeli iz vere, s čimer postavlja temelj za svojo trditev, da opravičenje ne poteka po delih postave.²
- 2) *Božja pravičnost v njegovi jezi nad grehom (Rim 1,18–3,20)*: Pavel kritično predstavi tako pogane kot Jude zaradi njihove nepravičnosti. Pojasnjuje, da je Božja jeza upravičena proti vsemu človeštvu zaradi grešnega vedenja in nespoštovanja svetega. V 3,21-26 Pavel pojasnjuje, da je bila Božja pravičnost razodeta ločeno od postave. Ta pravičnost je dana po veri v Jezusa Kristusa vsem, ki verujejo. Odlomek poudarja, da je pravičnost Božji dar, prejet po veri, in ne na podlagi človeških zaslug.³
- 3) *Božja odrešujoča pravičnost (Rim 3,21–4,25)*: Ta del se močno osredotoča na opravičenje po veri. Pavel poudarja, da pravičnost in opravičenje prihajata po veri v Jezusa Kristusa, ne po postavi. Abrahamova vera je zgled za vse vernike, ki dokazuje, da se pravičnost pripisuje veri. Ta na veri temelječa pravičnost je na voljo vsem, tako Judom kot Nejudom, prek vere v Jezusovo vstajenje.
- 4) *Upanje kot rezultat pravičnosti po veri (Rim 5,1–8,39)*: Pavel razpravlja o posledicah opravičenja. To vključuje upanje, zmago nad grehom, uresničenje postave ter zagotovilo Božje ljubezni in odrešenja kljub vsemu trpljenju. Pavel govori o miru in spravi, ki je dana verujočim po Jezusu Kristusu. Pojasnjuje, da vera opravičuje in prinese mir

2 »V njem se namreč razodeva Božja pravičnost, iz vere v vero, kakor je zapisano: Pravični bo živel iz vere.« (Rim 1,17)

3 »Zdaj pa se je brez postave pokazala Božja pravičnost, o kateri pričujejo postava in preroki. Božja pravičnost se daje po veri v Jezusa Kristusa, in sicer vsem, ki verujejo. Ni namreč nobene razlike: saj so vsi grešili in so brez Božje slave, opravičeni pa so zastopj po njegovi milosti, prek odkupitve v Kristusu Jezusu.« (Rim 3,21-24)



- z Bogom, zato se verujoči lahko upravičeno veselijo upanja na Božjo slavo. Poudarjen je preobrazbeni vidik opravičenja, ki osebe pripelje v nov odnos z Bogom, zaznamovan z mirom, upanjem in ljubeznijo.⁴
- 5) *Božja pravičnost do Izraela in poganov (Rim 9,1–11,36)*: Ta del obravnava suvereni načrt Boga za Izrael in vključitev poganov v odrešenje. Pavel raziskuje teme izvolitve, nevere in Božjega usmiljenja v kontekstu odrešenja, ki se oznanja celemu svetu.
 - 6) *Božja pravičnost v vsakdanjem življenju (Rim 12,1–15,13)*: Pavel daje praktična navodila za pravično življenje. Vernike poziva, naj se darujejo kot metaforične žive žrtve, naj ljubijo drug drugega in živijo v harmoniji ter v vsakdanjem ravnanju odsevajo Božjo pravičnost.
 - 7) *Razširitev Božje pravičnosti skozi Pavlovo poslanstvo (Rim 15,14–16,23)*: Pavel razpravlja o svojem poslanstvu širjenja evangelija med pogani. Prav tako pošilja pozdrave različnim sodelavcem in jim izreka priznanje za prispevek k misijonu.
 - 8) *Končni povzetek evangelija o Božji pravičnosti (Rim 16,25–27)*: Ta sklepna doksologija⁵ povzema evangelijsko sporočilo, slavi Božjo modrost in hvali razodetje njegovega odrešenjskega načrta po Jezusu Kristusu. Služi kot primeren zaključek pisma in povzema teme Božje pravičnosti, vere ter univerzalnosti evangelija.

Skozi ta jedrnat pregled strukture lahko zaslutimo globine Pavlovega pisma, ki približa dobrohotno moč evangelija ter poudarja veličino Božje pravičnosti, ki se razodeva in daruje po veri v Jezusa Kristusa. Na pomenljiv način opisuje negativne posledice greha in nujnost opravičenja po veri. To združi s transformativno naravo odrešenja, ki prebuja novo življenje in prinaša praktične smernice za pravično življenje. S povezovanjem tem Božje pravičnosti, vere in odrešenja Pavel zedinja raznoliko občestvo in poudarja celostno kvaliteto evangelija, ki napolnjuje in izpolnjuje vsako poro človeške eksistence vse do njene najgloblje biti.

4 »Ker smo torej opravičeni iz vere, živimo v miru z Bogom po našem Gospodu Jezusu Kristusu, po katerem se nam je tudi po veri odprl dostop v to milost, v kateri stojimo in se ponašamo z upanjem na Božjo slavo. Pa ne samo to, ampak se celo ponašamo s stiskami, saj vemo, da stiska rodi potrpljenje, potrpljenje preizkušenost, preizkušenost upanje.« (Rim 5,1–4)

5 Doksologija je kratka molitev ali hvalnica, ki izraža Božjo slavo in veličastvo.



1.2 Ključne točke v Pismu Galačanom

Pismo Galačanom je – poleg Pisma Rimljanom ter 1. in 2. pisma Korinčanom – eno izmed štirih Pavlovih »glavnih« pisem. Znano je po svoji jasni in strastni artikulaciji Pavlovega nauka o opravičenju po veri, ločenega od del postave (Bruce 1998, 26). Pavel je pismo napisal kot odgovor na krizo med cerkvami v maloazijski Galatiji, verjetno v poznih 40. ali zgodnjih 50. letih po Kr. Strokovnjaki niso povsem gotovi glede natančnega datuma in geografske lokacije teh skupnosti, ki so se nahajale bodisi v severnem ali južnem delu rimske province Galatije. Mnogi podpirajo tradicionalno mnenje, ki prejemnike postavlja v južni del province, ki ga je Pavel obiskal med svojim prvim misijonarskim potovanjem. Srž konflikta je bil prihod judovskih učiteljev, ki so vztrajali, da se morajo tudi kristjani poganškega porekla držati judovske postave, zlasti obrezovanja, da bi bili resnično rešeni. Ta nauk je neposredno nasprotoval Pavlovemu evangeliju opravičenja po veri, kar ga je spodbudilo, da je napisal to direktno in plemično pismo, da bi ponovno potrdil pravo naravo evangelija in ubranil svojo apostolsko avtoriteto (Moo 2013, 10).

Pavel poudarja, da ljudje vstopijo v krščansko izkušnjo skozi vero in s pomočjo Svetega Duha, ne pa z upoštevanjem judovskih običajev ali Mojzesove postave. Trdi, da so pravi Abrahamovi otroci tisti, ki verujejo v Kristusa, ne pa tisti, ki so obrezani in se natančno držijo judovskih norm. Pavlov odgovor vključuje temeljito razlago evangelija, ki poudarja nezaslužno naravo Božje milosti in nesmiselnost zanašanja na človeška prizadevanja za odrešitev. Poudarja, da je bila postava zgolj začasen ukrep, ki je imel velik duhovni pomen do Kristusovega prihoda. Zdaj pa je vera v Kristusa edino sredstvo za doseganje pravičnosti in opravičenja. Pavel združuje osebno pripoved, teološke argumente in svetopisemska sklicevanja, da bi potrdil svoje trditve. Svoje apostolsko poslanstvo in evangelij, ki ga oznanja, zagovarja s pripovedjo o svojem spreobrnjenju in povezanosti z jeruzalemskimi apostoli. Pavlov ton je direkten in odraža resno grožnjo, ki jo predstavljajo lažni učitelji, ter izraža svojo globoko zaskrbljenost za duhovno dobrobit Galačanov. Za razliko od Pisma Rimljanom, ki ponuja bolj umirjen in obširen teološki diskurz, je Pismo Galačanom napisano v žaru polemike in obravnava specifične zmote, ki so ogrožale celovitost evangelija in obstoj mlade krščanske skupnosti (19–20).



Za namen jedrnatega pregleda Pavlovega sporočila Galačanom lahko pismo strukturiramo v tri dele (Stanton 2001, 52–53):

- 1) *Uvod in osebna izpoved (Gal 1,1–2,21)*: Pismo se začne tako, da Pavel izrazi svojo apostolsko avtoriteto in pripoveduje o svojem spreobrnjenju in odnosu z jeruzalemskimi apostoli. Ta del služi za obrambo njegove misijonske in voditeljske poklicanosti ter evangelija, ki ga oznanja. V 2,16 Pavel trdi, da človek ni opravičen po delih postave, ampak po veri v Jezusa Kristusa.⁶ Ta odlomek je temelj Pavlovega argumenta proti določenim judovskim učiteljem, saj poudarja, da je vera v Kristusa edino sredstvo za doseg pravičnosti.
- 2) *Osrednja argumentacija (3,1–5,1)*: Pavel poudarja, da se krščansko življenje začne z izkušnjo vere in Duha. Trdi, da so pravi Abrahamovi potomci tisti, ki verujejo v Kristusa, in ne tisti, ki so obrezani ter se držijo postave. V 3,10–14 obravnava pasti postave in odrešitev, ki jo najdemo v Kristusu. Pavel pojasnjuje, da so tisti, ki se zanašajo na postavo, pod prekletstvom, ker je ne morejo popolnoma izpolnjevati. Navaja odlomek 5. Mojzesove knjige, ki pravi, da je preklet vsak, ki ne udejanja tega, kar je zapisano v knjigi postave.⁷ Pavel nato razloži, da je Kristus odrešil ljudi pred prekletstvom postave tako, da je sam postal prekletstvo namesto nas. Ta odlomek poudarja nezadostnost postave za doseganje pravičnosti in nujnost Kristusovega odrešitjskega dela. Pavel trdi, da so ljudje po veri v Kristusa razglašeni za pravične v Božjih očeh in s to vero postanejo člani Božjega ljudstva. Temeljito razlaga evangelij, poudarja moč Božje milosti in nesmiselnost zanašanja na človeška prizadevanja za odrešitev. Pavel poudarja, da je bila postava začasen ukrep do Kristusovega prihoda, zdaj pa je vera v Kristusa edino sredstvo za doseganje pravičnosti in opravičenja.⁸ Za utemeljitev svojega primera uporablja osebni nagovor, izkustvo

6 »Vemo, da človek ni opravičen po delih postave, ampak edinole po veri v Jezusa Kristusa. Zato smo tudi mi začeli verovati v Kristusa Jezusa, da bi bili opravičeni po veri v Kristusa, in ne po delih postave, saj nobeno meso ne bo opravičeno po delih postave.« (Gal 2,16)

7 »Preklet, kdor ne potrjuje besed te postave s tem, da bi jih izpolnjeval!« (5 Mz 27,26)

8 »O nespametni Galačani, le kdo vas je uročil, ko je bil prav vašim očem prikazan Jezus Kristus, in sicer križani? Rad bi izvedel od vas samo tole: ste prejeli Duha zaradi del postave ali zaradi vere v to, kar ste slišali? Tako nespametni ste? Začeli ste z Duhom, zdaj pa končujete z mesom? Ste toliko pretrpeli zaman? Ko bi vsaj bilo zaman! Mar ta, ki vam daje Duha in dela med vami čudeže, to dela zaradi del postave ali zaradi vere v to, kar ste slišali? Tako je bilo z Abrahamom, ki je verjel Bogu in mu je bilo to štetó v pravičnost. Spoznajte vendar, da so Abrahamovi sinovi tisti, ki verujejo.« (Gal 3,1–7)



nagovorjenih, teološke argumente in reference iz hebrejskega Svetega pisma.⁹

- 3) *Evangeljska etika (5,2–6,10)*: Ta del poudarja svobodo, ki jo imajo verniki v Kristusu, in jih poziva, naj vztrajajo in se ne pustijo obremenjevati z jarmom postave.¹⁰ Pavel trdi, da v Kristusu niti obreza niti neobreza nista pomembni; kar šteje, je vera, ki se izraža skozi ljubezen. Poziva Galačane, naj trdno stojijo v tej svobodi, ki jih osvobaja od bremena postave. Na ta način je vzpostavljena nova identiteta vernikov v Kristusu, za katero sta značilni vera in ljubezen. Dihotomija vere in postave je v tem delu močno izražena, dodano pa je še nasprotje med Duhom in mesom.¹¹ Fokus etično čistega življenja je v tem, da morajo osebe vztrajati v Duhu, da ohranijo svoj pravičen status in se veselijo dokončnega opravičenja v končni sodbi, ko bodo združeni s Kristusom. Združitev s Kristusom zato zajema tako opravičenje kot preobrazbo po Duhu, kar tvori temelj Pavlovega teološkega sporočila Galačanom.

Douglas Moo pojasnjuje, da ima opravičenje kljub sodobnim eksegetskim raziskavam, ki poudarjajo teme, kot sta Duh in vključenost v Božje ljudstvo, še vedno osrednje mesto v Pismu Galačanom. Opravičenje je uvedeno kot glavni argument in doseže vrhunec v Pavlovem pozivu Galačanom za življenje po Duhu. Jezik opravičenja se najpogosteje pojavlja na kritičnih točkah pisma, kar poudarja njegov pomen. Moo ugotavlja, da je Pavlova uporaba jezika opravičenja »ofenzivna«, kar pomeni, da aktivno in odločno izpodbija argumente lažnih učiteljev, ki so človeška dela postavljali pred milostni in osvobodilni dar vere. Pavel s tem odpravi

9 Velja omeniti, da v sodobni eksegezi ni popolnega soglasja o točnem sporočilu vseh pomembnih izjav Svetega pisma. Eden od primerov je prav odlomek iz 1 Mz 15,6, ki ga citira Pavel, ko poudarja, da je Abraham veroval v Boga »in mu je bilo to šteto v pravičnost« (Gal 3,6). Pri tem se pojavlja vprašanje, kdo je subjekt pravičnosti, kajti hebrejski izvirnik ni povsem jasen (Klein 2008, 29). Ali je Abraham zaradi svoje vere pripisal pravičnost Bogu ali je Bog zaradi Abrahamove vere njemu pripisal pravičnost? Kljub tem dilemam lahko še vedno zaključimo, da je vera poglobilni hermenevitični ključ za interpretacijo svetopisemskih tem pravičnosti. Najsi je pravičen Bog ali Abraham, za prepoznavanje obojega je potrebna vera.

10 »Kristus nas je osvobodil za svobodo. Zato stojte trdno in se ne dajte ponovno vpreči v jarem sužnosti.« (Gal 5,1)

11 Pavlova uporaba besede »meso« (grško: *σάρξ*, *sarx*) v Pismu Galačanom zajema kompleksno povezavo konceptov. Predvsem označuje človeško naravo in težnje, ki so v nasprotju z Božjim Duhom, vključno z grešnim vedenjem, moralnimi šibkostmi, zanašanjem na človeški trud in legalizem. Pavlovo glavno sporočilo je, da morajo verniki živeti po Duhu, kar vodi v življenje, ki ga zaznamujejo vrline Duha, in ne slabosti mesa. (Bruce 1998, 235)



zahtevo po religioznem sledenju črk judovske postave. V primerjavi s tem agresivnejšim jezikom pa se pojavlja tudi »obrambni« jeziki opravičenja, za katerega je značilna inkluzivnost. Nanaša se na vključevanje poganov v odrešeno Božje ljudstvo in nasprotuje ekskluzivizmu lažnih učiteljev, ki so vztrajali pri natančnem izpolnjevanju judovskih zapovedi. Pavel trdi, da je vera v Kristusa, in ne zanašanje na človeška dela, osnova za vključitev v Božjo družino. To vključujoče sporočilo trdi, da so vsi verujoči, ne glede na svoje etnično poreklo, enakovredni del Božjega ljudstva po veri v Jezusa Kristusa. S tem se odstranijo legalistične ovire za pogane, ki jim odrekajo status pravičnosti in preprečujejo polno udeleženo v življenju cerkve. Pismo Galačanom tako artikuliira Pavlov nauk o opravičenju po veri, nasprotuje lažnim naukom in poudarja moč Božje milosti nad človeškimi prizadevanji, ki so zaznamovana s končnostjo in propadom. Pismo tako ostaja osrednjega pomena za razumevanje Pavlove teologije in njenega vpliva na krščanstvo (Moo 2013, 57–58).

1.3 Sinteza ugotovitev iz obeh pisem

Ta sinteza poudarja več ključnih tem in teoloških implikacij, ki so bistvene za razumevanje Pavlovega nauka o pravičnosti in opravičenju. Tako v Pismu Rimljanom kot v Pismu Galačanom Pavlovi nauki o pravičnosti zagotavljajo skladen teološki okvir, ki poudarja osrednjo vlogo vere in Božje milosti pri odrešenju človeštva.¹²

Če primerjamo obe pismi, lahko vidimo medsebojno prepletena izhodišča:

- 1) *Pravičnost kot Božji dar*: Pavel trdi, da je pravičnost Božji dar, prejet po veri v Jezusa Kristusa. Ta pravičnost ni pridobljena s človeškim trdom ali spoštovanjem postave, ampak je podarjena z Božjo milostjo. V Rim 1,16–17 Pavel razlaga, da se pravičnost razodeva skozi evangelij in je dostopna vsem, ki verujejo. Podobno tudi Gal 2,16 poudarja, da opravičenje pride po veri v Kristusa, in ne po delih postave.

¹² Poleg izbranih odlomkov v Pismu Rimljanom in Pismu Galačanom so tu še vrstice ostalih Pavlovih pisem, ki nudijo dodaten kontekst njegovi teologiji opravičenja in jih lahko med ostalim najdemo v: 1 Kor 1,30; 2 Kor 5,21; Fil 3,9; Ef 2,8–9; 1 Tes 5,9; Tit 3,5–7. Ti odlomki kažejo Pavlov dosledni poudarek na pravičnosti kot Božjem daru, prejetem po veri v Jezusa Kristusa. Sporočajo moč Božje milosti ter osrednjo vlogo Kristusove smrti in vstajenja pri vernikovem opravičenju in odrešitvi.

- 2) *Osrednja vloga vere*: Vera je osrednjega pomena za Pavlov koncept pravičnosti. V Rim 4 Pavel uporabi primer Abrahama, da ponazori, kako pravičnost prihaja po veri in celo predhaja Mojzesovo postavo. To dokazuje, da je vera, in ne dela postave, osnova za pravičnost. V Gal 3,10-14 Pavel poudarja, da so tisti, ki se zanašajo na dela postave, pod prekletstvom, ker ne morejo vzdrževati tovrstnega prizadevanja. Namesto tega so verniki opravičeni z vero v Kristusovo odrešilno delo.
- 3) *Opravičenje po veri*: Opravičenje ali razglasitev za pravičnega pred Bogom je ključna tema obeh pisem. V Pismu Rimljanom 3,21-26 Pavel opisuje opravičenje kot dar milosti skozi odrešenje, ki je v Kristusu Jezusu. Ta utemeljitev je na voljo vsem, ki verujejo v Jezusa, ne glede na to, ali so Judje ali Nejudje. V Gal 2,16 Pavel poudarja, da nihče ni opravičen po delih postave, ampak po veri v Jezusa Kristusa. Ta odlomek je temeljni kamen Pavlovega argumenta proti Judom, ki so učili, da morajo spreobrnjenci iz poganskih vrst slediti judovskemu zakonu.¹³
- 4) *Omejenost zakona*: Pavel v obeh pismih obravnava omejenost postave. V Rimljanom 7 pojasnjuje, da je postava dobra, saj razkriva greh, vendar ni odrešujoča, saj ne daje moči za premagovanje greha. Zapovedi tako služijo kot poudarek potrebe po rešitelju. V Pismu Galačanom 3,10-14 Pavel podobno pojasnjuje, da zakon prinaša prekletstvo, ker zahteva popolno poslušnost, ki je nihče ne more doseči. Kristusova žrtvena smrt vernike odreši tega prekletstva in poudari nezadostnost postave za doseganje pravičnosti.
- 5) *Svoboda v Kristusu*: Pavlovi nauki o pravičnosti poudarjajo tudi svobodo, ki jo imajo verniki v Kristusu. V Rimljanom 8,1-4 Pavel izjavlja, da ni nobene obsodbe za tiste, ki so v Kristusu, saj so bili osvobojeni postave greha in smrti. V Galačanom 5,1-6 podobno poudarja svobodo od postave, ki jo uživajo verniki. Pavel poziva Galačane, naj trdno stojijo v tej svobodi in se ne vrnejo v jarem suženjstva, ki ga predstavlja zakon.

13 Koncept opravičenja po veri ni prisoten samo pri Pavlu. Krašovec pojasnjuje, da je to temelj celotne novozavezne teologije, ki dela krščanstvo drugačno od drugih religij. Ta koncept vključuje dve božanski dejanji: negativno, ko Bog osvobodi človeštvo greha in njegovih kazni, tako da jih razglasi za pravične; pozitivno, ko Bog pripisuje Kristusovo pravičnost vernikom. Razumevanje opravičenja z vero spodbuja duhovno rast in vodi k posvečenju. Ker je vera bistvena za opravičenje, nastane jasna razlika med verniki, ki veljajo za »pravične«, in neverniki, ki veljajo za »nepravične«. Za človeško pravičnost so značilni vera, zaupanje in odprtost za Božje razodetje. Pavel uporablja izraze, kot je »grešnik«, da poudari splošno človeško grešnost, in poudarja, da človeštvo ne more samo od sebe doseči pravičnosti in potrebuje Božje posredovanje. Vera v Božjo pravičnost naj bi preobrazila človeštvo, saj so ljudje popolnoma odvisni od svojega stvarnika (Krašovec 2020, 58).



- 6) *Edinost vernikov*: Posledice Pavlovih naukov o pravičnosti imajo močne skupnostne implikacije, saj oblikujejo poziv k enotnosti občestva. Pavlovo sporočilo namreč spodbuja edinost vseh vernikov ne glede na njihovo etnično pripadnost. V Rim 3,29-30 apostol potrjuje, da je Bog enako Bog tako Judom kot Nejudom, saj oboje opravičuje z vero. V Gal 3,28 to krepi z navedbo, da v »Kristusu ni ne Juda ne Grka, ne sužnja ne svobodnega, ne moškega ne ženske, kajti vsi so eno v Kristusu Jezusu«. Ta enotnost je ključni vidik Pavlove teologije, saj podira kulturno pogojene ovire in ustvarja raznoliko, a enotno skupnost opravičenih.
- 7) *Etične posledice*: Pavlovo učenje o pravičnosti ima pomembne etične implikacije. Opravičenje po veri vodi v spremenjeno življenje, ki ga zaznamujejo sadovi Duha. V Rimljanom 6,1-14 Pavel pojasnjuje, da morajo verniki, ki so umrli v grehu, zdaj živeti v pravičnosti, omogočeni z vero in krstom, ki služi kot preobrazbena moč Kristusove smrti in vstajenja. V Pismu Galačanom 5,13-26 Pavel primerja dela mesa s sadovi Duha in spodbuja vernike, naj živijo po Duhu in ne zadovoljujejo omejenih želja mesa, zaznamovanega z razpadom. Ta globoka etična sprememba je neposreden rezultat opravičenosti z vero in življenja v Kristusovi svobodi.
- 8) *Milost in identiteta v Kristusu*: Milost je osrednjega pomena za Pavlovo razumevanje pravičnosti. V Rimljanom 5,1-2 Pavel piše, da imajo verniki mir z Bogom po Jezusu Kristusu in so z vero pridobili dostop do te milosti, v kateri zdaj stojijo. Pismo Galačanom 5,4 svari pred padcem od milosti, če bi se poskušali opravičiti z deli postave. Pavlovo sporočilo je jasno: pravičnost in odrešenje sta darili Božje milosti, in ne človeška dosežka. To vernikom zagotavlja varno in trdno identiteto v Kristusu. V Pismu Rimljanom 8,15-17 Pavel govori o vernikih, ki prejmejo Duha posinovljenja, zaradi česar postanejo Božji otroci in Kristusovi dediči.¹⁴ Galačanom 4,6-7 odmeva to zagotovilo, ko kristjanom pravi, da je Bog poslal Duha svojega Sina v njihova srca in jim omogočil, da ga kličejo kar »Abba – Oče«.¹⁵ Ta milostna identiteta, ki je izjemno osebna, intimna

14 »Saj niste prejeli duha suženjstva, da bi spet zapadli v strah, ampak ste prejeli duha posinovljenja, v katerem kličemo: 'Aba, Oče!' Sam Duh pričuje našemu duhu, da smo Božji otroci. In če smo otroci, smo tudi dediči: dediči pri Bogu, sodediči pa s Kristusom, če le trpimo z njim, da bomo z njim tudi poveljani.« (Rim 8,15-17)

15 »Ker pa ste sinovi, je Bog poslal v naša srca Duha svojega Sina, ki vpije: 'Aba, Oče!' Potemtakem nisi več suženj, temveč sin, če pa si sin, si tudi dedič po Bogu.« (Gal 4,6-7)



in hkrati sveta, vernikom zagotavlja njihovo odrešitev in mesto v Božji družini.

- 9) *Prepletenost opravičenja, pravičnosti in presežnost odrešitve*: V Pavlovi teologiji so koncepti pravičnosti, opravičenja in odrešenja tesno prepleteni, a hkrati različni. Pravičnost se nanaša na stanje, ko ljudje gojijo notranjo moralno držo, ki ima svoj izvor v Božji pravičnosti, podeljeni verujočim. Na tej točki se pravičnost poveže z opravičenjem, ki bolj neposredno označuje dejanje Boga, ko grešnika razglasi za pravičnega na podlagi vere v Jezusa Kristusa. Pavel poudarja, da nihče ni opravičen po delih postave, ampak po veri v Jezusa Kristusa, kot je razvidno iz Rim 3,28. Opravičenje lahko razumemo kot pravni izraz, ki pomeni spremembo statusa, ko Bog razglasi verujočo osebo za pravično.¹⁶ (Brown 1997, 208–209)

Odrešenje pa se nanaša na vsesplošno osvoboditev iz greha in njegovih posledic. Zajema tako sedanjost izkušnje Božjega odrešitvenega dela kot prihodnje upanje na večno življenje, ko bo odrešenje popolnoma realizirano, kar je običajno izraženo kot zveličanje. Odrešenje, tako kot pravičnost, je po veri, ki je milostni Božji dar. Vključuje preobrazbo celotne osebe in je proces, ki vključuje začetno opravičenje, stalno posvečevanje in končno zveličanje. Ključni svetopisemski odlomki, kot sta Rimljanom 5,16 in Efežanom 2,8-9, poudarjajo odrešenje kot obsežen proces delovanja Božje milosti. To je omogočil Kristus s svojo smrtjo in vstajenjem, ki je naredil odrešitev dostopno vsem po veri v osebo in delo Božjega Sina (Donaldson 2001, 52).

Če strnemo, sta opravičenje in pravičnost poseben vidik širšega koncepta odrešenja. Medtem ko se opravičenje nanaša na bolj legalno obarvan položaj vernika pred Bogom, odrešenje vključuje celotno Božje delo, ki človeka privede iz greha v večno življenje. Opravičenje lahko vidimo kot pretekli dogodek, odločilni trenutek, ko Bog razglasi vernike za pravične, medtem ko je odrešenje stalen proces, ki doseže vrhunec v večnem življenju.

16 Analiza Douglasa Mooa potrjuje pomembno prekrivanje dveh besed v Galačanih; *δικαιοσύνη* (opravičiti) in *δικαιοσύνη* (pravičnost). Nakazuje, da oba izraza zavzemata podoben semantični prostor. To sovpadanje kaže na idejo osebe, ki stoji v pravem položaju pred Bogom. Pavlov jezik s tem močno črpa iz starozaveznih tem o opravičenju, ko GOSPOD po svojem služabniku razglasi vzpostavitev pravice in pravičnosti (Iz 49,1-7). V Pismu Galačanom je bil ta hebrejski vidik pravičnosti del običajnega jezika prvih kristjanov, še preden je Pavel napisal svoje pismo. (Moo 2013, 53)



Opravičenje je ključnega pomena za odrešitev, vendar odrešitev zajema več kot le status pravičnega, saj je povezano z duhovno rastjo in končnim zveličanjem. Razumevanje opravičenja pomaga vernikom, da so prepričani o svojem pravičnem položaju pred Bogom, saj vedo, da temelji na veri v Kristusa, in ne na njihovih delih. Nasprotno pa razumevanje odrešitve spodbuja vernike, da aktivno sodelujejo pri svoji duhovni rasti in se veselijo končne odrešitve. Tako sta v Pavlovi teologiji opravičenje in odrešenje globoko prepletena, a različna koncepta. Opravičenje se vzpostavlja kot začetna točka vernikovega novega, pravičnega statusa pred Bogom, odrešenje pa se razodeva kot razvijajoči se proces duhovne poti, na kateri oseba raste v svetosti in hodi proti cilju zveličavne združitve s Kristusom (52–53).

S teološko sintezo nauka o pravičnosti na podlagi pisma Rimljanom in Galačanom lahko zaslutimo koherentnost in globino Pavlove duhovne misli.¹⁷ Obe pismi poudarjata, da je pravičnost Božji dar, prejet po veri v Jezusa Kristusa, in ne po delih postave. Tovrstna sinteza Pavlove misli nam lahko predoči moč vere in milosti v vernikovem življenju in zagotavlja jasen teološki okvir, ki še naprej informira in navdihuje sodobno krščansko misel in prakso. V naslednjem delu tega prispevka si bomo pobližje ogledali implikacije, ki jih globina Pavlove izkušnje in nauka ima za sodobna teološka spraševanja.

2 Sodobni teološki poudarki

Pavlov koncept opravičenja je že več stoletij predmet intenzivnih teoloških razprav. Raymond Brown pojasnjuje, da Pavel uporablja nauk o opravičenju z namenom, da opiše učinek na vernike, ko jim Bog oprosti grehe. To opravičenje ne temelji na njihovi nedolžnosti, temveč na Kristusovi žrtvi (2 Kor 5,21). Nadomešča pravičnost po postavi (Fil 3,6) in je prejeto kot milost ali dar po veri (Rim 3,24-25). Ob natančnejšem branju Pavlovih

17 Dunnova analiza dodatno osvetljuje Pavlovo teologijo, s poudarkom na njeni dinamični in kontekstualni naravi. Dunn poudarja, kako Pavlova teologija združuje temeljne zgodbe o Bogu, Izraelu, Jezusu in Pavlovih lastnih izkušnjah. Pri tem nagovarja večplastno realnost človeške eksistence; njeno podedovano izročilo in tradicijo, globoko osebno in duhovno preobrazbo ter pereča aktualna vprašanja. Ta dinamični pristop omogoča Pavlu, da svoje sporočilo prilagodi posebnim potrebam in težavam vsake skupnosti, hkrati pa ohranja teološko skladnost, zaradi česar so njegovi nauki ustrezni in praktični za vsakodnevno življenje osebe in občestva. (Dunn 1998, 18)



besedil pa se zaplete, saj teologi razpravljajo o tem, ali Pavel vidi to opravičenje zgolj kot formalno, sodno izjavo (tako imenovani forenzični vidik opravičenja) ali kot dejansko preobrazbo verujoče osebe (tako imenovani transformativni in participativni vidik). Možno je trditi, da Božja izjava o opravičenju sama po sebi že vključuje preobrazbeno moč. To pa sproža nadaljnja vprašanja o tem, ali je za spravo z Bogom potrebna dejavna udeležba v procesu preobrazbe in kakšne implikacije ima to za svetopisemsko razumevanje odrešitve, ki je nezasluženi in milostni dar Boga. Tovrstne razprave pokažejo kompleksnost in večplastnost Pavlovega nauka, ki zajema tako deklarativno kot transformativno razsežnost opravičenja ter odraža niansirano razumevanje pravičnosti in milosti. Ta del članka bo nekoliko približal tovrstne dileme in vprašanja (Brown 1997, 209).

2.1 N. T. Wright o Pavlovem pojmu pravičnosti in opravičenja

N. T. Wright v svoji knjigi *Pavel in Božja zvestoba* ponuja obsežen pregled Pavlove teologije, pri čemer se osredotoča zlasti na koncepte forenzične in zavezne pravičnosti ter opravičenja.¹⁸ Wrightov izvirni prispevek je, da združi legalno-forenzični vidik Božje pravičnosti in zavezni vidik opravičenja, ki se opira na zavezo med Bogom in njegovim izvoljenim ljudstvom. Prikaže, kako delujeta skupaj znotraj Pavlovega širšega teološkega konteksta.

Wright začne z analizo grškega izraza *δικαιοσύνη* (*dikaiosynē*) in hebrejskega izraza *תְּשׁוּבָה* (*tsedaqah*), oba sta prevedena kot »pravičnost«. V hebrejski misli je pravičnost tesno povezana z zavezno zvestobo, s poudarkom na odnosnem in skupnostnem vidiku, ki vključuje usmiljenje, pravičnost in zvestobo Božji zavezi z Izraelom. Ta koncept presega pravno korektnost in zajema širšo dinamiko odnosov, vključno z Božjo zavezo, ki je ključna za urejanje sveta z dejanji pravičnosti in usmiljenja.¹⁹ Grški izraz *dikaiosynē*,

18 N. T. Wright, znan tudi kot Tom Wright, je ugleden poznavalec Nove zaveze, pavlinski teolog in upokojeni anglikanski škof. Wright je avtor več kot 80 knjig, vključno s pomembnimi deli, kot so *Surprised by Hope*, *The Day the Revolution Began in Paul: A Biography*. Je vodilni zagovornik eksegetskega gibanja Nov pogled na Pavla (The New Perspective on Paul), ki sveže interpretira apostolove spise v njihovem judovskem kontekstu iz prvega stoletja in preizprašuje tradicionalne poglede na opravičenje in odrešitev.

19 Pogled Jožeta Krašoveca na pravičnost (*šdq/šdqh*) dopolnjuje Wrightovo zavezno razlago pravičnosti. Krašovec pojasnjuje, da hebrejski koren za pravičnost skozi celotno Sveto pismo ohranja svoj osnovni pomen. Božja pravičnost je del Božjega načrta za odrešenje in zvestobo svojemu ljudstvu,



uporabljen v Septuaginti (grški prevod hebrejske Biblije) in Novi zavezi, ohranja te hebrejske konotacije, vendar uporablja tudi sodni vidik. V grško-rimski kulturi je pravičnost pomenila pravno poštenost, izpolnjevanje obveznosti in dolžnosti ter najvišjo obliko vrline. Wright pojasnjuje, da Pavlova uporaba *dikaioynē* odraža vse te vidike: tako hebrejski značaj Božje zaveze v svoji občestveni in odnosni naravi kakor tudi sodno natančnost in etično odličnost Božje pravičnosti. Ta večplastnost je bistvenega pomena za razumevanje Pavlove teologije pravičnosti, saj zajema celostnost Božjih dejanj zvestobe in opravičenja (Wright 2013, 796–797).

2.1.1 Forenzična in zavezna pravičnost

Wright pojasnjuje, da sta zavezna in forenzična pravičnost globoko povezani v Pavlovi misli, kajti zavezni okvir ima pomembne relacijske značilnosti in zagotavlja potreben kontekst za razumevanje forenzičnih razsežnosti Božje pravičnosti. Po Wrightu Pavlova teologija radikalizira zavezno pravičnost tako, da odpira njene forenzične razsežnosti. Pojasnjuje:

Zaveza je bila že izražena v legalnem jeziku sodišča. In ko je on (Pavel) radikaliziral »zavezni« pomen pravičnosti tako enega Boga kot njegovega ljudstva, se je ta pomen odprl in razkril svojo forenzično globino. (2013, 933)

Ta integracija nakazuje, da Božja zavezna zvestoba sama po sebi vključuje forenzični vidik, v katerem Bog deluje kot sodnik, ki razglša pravičnost. Ta izjava ni le pravno-formalna, temveč je zakoreninjena v zaveznem odnosu med Bogom in njegovim ljudstvom.

2.1.2 Forenzična eshatologija

Wright razvija koncept forenzične eshatologije in pojasnjuje, da Božja vloga pravičnega sodnika vključuje nepristransko sodbo in opravičenje verujočih (2013, 935). Pavlova forenzična eshatologija predstavlja stvarnika kot pravičnega sodnika, ki bo obnovil stvarstvo in ob koncu časov sodil nepristransko, kot je izraženo v Rim 2,1-16. Forenzična eshatologija

izraža pa se v neomajni ljubezni, pomoči in zmagi nad nasprotniki. Temelji na Božji suverenosti in ni odvisna od človeških norm ali zaslug. Velja za vse člane ljudstva zaveze, ki se odzivajo z vero in zvestobo. Le človeška nezvestoba je merilo, po katerem se ločijo pravični od krivičnih in odnosu do Božje naklonjenosti. (Krašovec 2020, 9)

tako poudarja, da je Božja sodba usmerjena v prihodnost in je zakoreninjena v njegovih zaveznih obljubah, pri čemer poudarja končno obnovo stvarstva, kjer bo Božja pravičnost v celoti razkrita (Wright 2013, 857). Zvestoba Boga znotraj zaveze in njegova forenzična pravičnost sta prepleteni razsežnosti ene resničnosti odrešitjskega načrta, kjer obe delujeta v smeri rešitve stvarstva pred propadom smrti in zla. Prihod Mesije združuje ta dva vidika in ju obogati z eshatološko globino ter dokazuje večpomenskost Božje pravičnosti. Vsako poenostavljanje in reduciranje Pavlove misli na zgolj en vidik izgubi kompleksno veličino duhovnega sporočila (942).

2.1.3 Wrightovo forenzično opravičenje, ki reformira Lutrovo razlago

V nasprotju s tradicionalnim luteranskim modelom, kjer je opravičenje predvsem deklarativno dejanje Boga, ki pripiše grešniku pravičen status neodvisno od njegovega notranjega stanja, Wrightova razlaga vključuje dodatne dimenzije. Po Wrightu je opravičenje tesno povezano z zvestobo zavezi in vključitvijo v Božje ljudstvo. Poudarja, da opravičenje ni samo pravno-formalna izjava Boga glede statusa osebe, temveč je hkrati participativni proces, v katerem osebe sodelujejo v Kristusovi smrti in vstajenju, kar vodi v dejansko preobrazbo njihovega življenja. Wright poudarja, da je ta preobrazba že zdaj prisotna, vendar bo v polnosti razodeta ob končni sodbi. Verujoči so tako že zdaj opravičeni, vendar njihova opravičenost vključuje dinamiko rasti in spremembe, ki je rezultat delovanja Svetega Duha. To razlikuje Wrightov pogled od Lutrovega, ki opravičenje vidi predvsem kot enkratno in dokončno pravno dejanje brez inherentne preobrazbe. Poleg tega Wright trdi, da opravičenje vključuje izpolnitev Božje obljube Abrahamu in razširitev Božje družine na vse narode, kar je ključni element njegove teologije. Ta širša zavezna in skupnostna dimenzija opravičenja presega klasično luteransko osredotočenost na individualno in pravno stanje grešnika pred Bogom. Združuje legalni, participatorni in transformativni vidik, kar daje opravičenju bolj holističen in dinamičen pomen v primerjavi s tradicionalnim protestantskim modelom (2013, 944–949).

2.1.4 (Novo)zavezno opravičenje

Wright poudarja, da je tovrstno opravičenje umeščeno v širšo zavezno pripoved, ki izpolnjuje Božje obljube o Mesiji. Zavezna izjava o Mesiji je predstavljena skozi evangelij in delo Duha ter ponovljena v življenju



vernikov (2013, 948). Ta vidik poudarja, da je forenzično opravičenje del Božjega zaveznega odnosa z Njegovim ljudstvom, izpolnjenega v Kristusu. Članstvo v tej zavezi vključuje tako forenzične kot participativne vidike, pri čemer Božja razglasitev pravičnosti zajema sodelovanje vernika v življenju Kristusa: »Udeležba pri Mesiji in forenzična izjava pravičnosti sta del ene celote. In ta enotna celota je članstvo v zavezi in njena redefinicija skozi Mesija in Duha.« (990) To razumevanje združuje forenzično utemeljitev s članstvom v skupnosti zaveze, kar kaže, da je biti razglašen za pravičnega hkrati pravni status in realna udeleženosť pri odrešilnem delu Jezusa.²⁰

Če povzamemo, Wrightovo raziskovanje forenzične in zavezne pravičnosti ter opravičenja v Pavlovi teologiji razkriva globoko medsebojno povezan okvir. Z integracijo teh razsežnosti Wright poudarja, da sta zvestoba Božje zaveze in forenzična pravičnost del enotnega Božjega načrta za obnovitev stvarstva in rešitev človeštva po Mesiji Jezusu. Forenzična utemeljitev, razumljena kot pravna izjava, je umeščena v širšo zavezno pripoved, ki izpolnjuje Božje obljube in vzpostavlja skupnost verujočih preko udeležbe v odrešenjskem delu Kristusa. Ta celoviti pristop na novo opredeljuje tradicionalne kategorije pravičnosti in opravičenja ter zagotavlja bogatejše razumevanje Pavlove teološke vizije, kjer podobe zaveze in sodstva delujejo skupaj, da razkrijejo globino Božjega odrešenjskega načrta. Wrightova analiza izziva bralce, da vidijo Pavlovo teologijo kot povezano celoto, globoko zakoreninjeno v zavezni zvestobi in forenzični pravičnosti Boga.

20 To razumevanje podpira razprava Bena Witheringtona o konceptih pravičnosti in zaveznem nomizmu. Witherington pojasnjuje, kako zavezni nomizem, kot ga je uvedel E. P. Sanders, prikaže, da Judje vstopijo v zavezo po Božji milosti in ostanejo v njej tako, da sledijo postavi. To se ujema s Pavlovim poudarkom v Rimljanom 3,21-26 in Galačanom 2,16, kjer trdi, da je opravičenje dar milosti po veri v Jezusa Kristusa brez razlike med Judom in Nejudom. Witherington pojasnjuje, da so bile Pavlove kritike judovstva usmerjene v specifične razlage, ki so poudarjale človeško delo. Poleg tega Witherington ugotavlja, da se »Božja pravičnost« pogosto nanaša na Božji značaj, izražen v odrešenju in sodbi, kar se ujema s Pavlovim mnenjem, da zakon, čeprav je dober, ne more rešiti, in namesto tega poudarja potrebo po odrešeniku. Pomembno je, da Pavel ne zavrača v celoti vrednosti postave; namesto tega se mu zdi sama po sebi nezadostna za doseganje pravičnosti. Ta vidik podpira Wrightovo stališče, da Pavlova teologija vključuje tako pravno izjavo kot transformativni proces postajanja pravičnega skozi vero, medtem ko še vedno priznava vlogo postave v širšem kontekstu zaveze (Witherington 2004, 346–356).



2.2 Douglas Campbell o apokaliptični razlagi Pavlove teologije

Delo Douglasa A. Campbella²¹ *The Deliverance of God: An Apocalyptic Rereading of Justification in Paul* ponuja celovito kritiko zavezne razlage Pavlovega evangelija, pri čemer poudarja radikalno apokaliptično razumevanje Pavlovega sporočila.²² Campbell trdi, da Pavlova teologija predstavlja globok odmik od tako imenovanega zaveznega nomizma in razodeva radikalno transformativno in brezpogojno naravo odrešenja. Zavezni nomizem je koncept, ki opisuje judovsko prepričanje, da je Božja zaveza z Izraelom osnova za odrešitev, kjer vstop v zavezo temelji na Božji milosti, ostajanje v njej pa vključuje izpolnjevanje postave.²³ Pri poslušnosti postavi pa ne gre za to, da si ljudje zaslužijo odrešitev, temveč da ohranijo svoje mesto v zavezni odnosu z Bogom. Izraz zavezni nomizem je populariziral E. P. Sanders v svojem delu o judovstvu drugega templja in njegovem odnosu do zgodnjega krščanstva, pri čemer je poudaril, da judovska verska praksa ni bila legalistična, ampak je vedno temeljila na Božji milostni zavezi (Sanders 1977, 75–79).²⁴

2.2.1 Kritika zavezne interpretacije

Tovrstna sodobna razlaga, ki je pogosto povezana z »Novim pogledom na Pavla«,²⁵ poudarja torej vlogo zavezne nomizma pri razumevanju

21 Douglas Campbell je teolog in profesor Nove zaveze na Duke Divinity School. Znan je po svojem kritičnem delu o Pavlovi teologiji, zlasti po izzivalnih interpretacijah tradicionalnega nauka o opravičenju. Campbellova pomembna dela vključujejo *The Deliverance of God: An Apocalyptic Rereading of Justification in Paul* in *Pauline Dogmatics: The Triumph of God's Love*.

22 Apokalipsa (iz starogrškega ἀποκάλυψις/*apokálypsis*) pomeni »razodetje, razkritje«. V teologiji označuje razkritje resnic o koncu sveta in usodi človeštva. Nanaša se tudi na literarno zvrst, ki obravnava te tematike. V krščanstvu je najbolj znana knjiga Razodetja, ki opisuje konec sveta, sodbo in drugi prihod Kristusa. Apokaliptična literatura se pojavlja tudi v judovstvu, na primer v Danielovi knjigi.

23 Nomizem (angl. *nomism*) je izpeljanka grške besede »nomos« (νόμος) 'zakon, normativna pravila, običaji'. V kontekstu novozaveznih študij ima pogosto specifični pomen, kjer označuje judovsko postavo, ki vključuje Toro – prvih pet (Mojzesovih) knjig hebrejskega Svetega pisma.

24 Legalizem je pojem, ki se v religijskem kontekstu uporablja za opis pretirano stroge zavezanosti zakonom ali pravilom, pogosto do te mere, da se spregleda duh ali namen teh zakonov ter ignorira notranja motivacija osebe.

25 »The New Perspective on Paul« označuje velik eksegetski premik v razumevanju spisov apostola Pavla, zlasti glede njegovih pogledov na judovstvo in postavo. Ta perspektiva se je začela v poznem 20. stoletju in so jo sprožili učenjaki, kot so E. P. Sanders, James D. G. Dunn in N. T. Wright. Trdi, da Pavlov nauk o opravičenju po veri predvsem obravnava vključevanje poganov v zavezno skupnost in ne nasprotuje judovskemu pogledu na pravičnost. Tradicionalne protestantske razlage, ki prikazujejo judovstvo kot vero samopravičnosti iz človeških del in Pavla kot nasprotnika tej legalistični religiji, veljajo za netočne, saj Pavel nasprotuje le specifičnim izkrivljenim predstavitvam postave. Za nadaljnje branje gl. E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion*



Pavlove teologije. Eksegeti, kot je E. P. Sanders, pojasnjujejo, da judovstvo drugega templja v osnovi ni bilo legalistična religija samopravičnosti, ampak vera zavezne milosti, kjer je bila poslušnost postavi odgovor na Božjo zvestobo zavezi in njenim obljubam. Pavlovo kritiko postave lahko s tega vidika razumemo kot kritiko njene zlorabe ali napačnega razumevanja znotraj tega zaveznega konteksta. Toda Campbell kritično ovrednoti to interpretacijo Pavla, ki jo pogosto imenuje »teorija opravičenja«. Opozarja na njene šibkosti, saj zavezno-nomistični model ne more v celoti pojasniti radikalne narave Pavlovega evangelija (Campbell 2009, 574). Trdi, da čeprav ta perspektiva popravlja nekatere napačne predstavitve judovstva, po drugi strani ne prepozna dovolj močno apokaliptičnih razsežnosti Pavlovega sporočila:

Apokaliptični pristop k Pavlu poudarja razodevajočo in zato brezpogojno naravo njegove soteriologije. V nasprotju s teorijo opravičenja deluje torej nazaj, ne naprej. Spreobrnjenci so v bistvu prestavljeni v novo, krščansko stanje v dogodku milosti—apokaliptičnem trenutku razodetja. (2009, 1159)

Po Campbellu Pavlova teologija ni zgolj preoblikovanje zaveznega nomizma, temveč radikalen prelom od »nomističnega« dela zaveze. Poudarja, da zavezni nomizem ne gre dovolj daleč v priznavanju transformativnih in osvobajajočih vidikov Pavlove soteriologije. Campbell trdi, da je v preučevanju Pavlove teologije pomembno sprejeti ostro dihotomijo in je ne mehčati z nomistično konceptualizacijo. Slednja vidi apostolove na videz legalistične opredelitve judovstva v smislu »del postave« kot problematiziranje, ki gre v smer pravilnejšega razumevanja judovstva drugega templja, ki je »zavezni nomizem«. Toda Campbell zagovarja, da je Pavlov lastni vzorec vere bistveno drugačen od obeh, saj sledi apokaliptični – razodetveni dinamiki, ki povsem spremeni starejša prepričanja. To pomeni, da je Pavlova teologija oblikovana s poudarkom na dramatičnem posegu Boga v zgodovino skozi Kristusovo smrt in vstajenje, kar pomeni konec starega reda in začetek novega stvarjenja (575).

(Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1977); James D. G. Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007) in N. T. Wright, *What Saint Paul Really Said* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997).

Campbell kritizira tudi posebno različico forenzičnega pogleda, imenovano »forenzično povračilo«, za katero trdi, da je v osnovi napačna. Primerja jo s »forenzično-osvobodilno perspektivo«, kjer je Božje opravičenje videti kot učinkujoče dejanje osvoboditve, in ne povračila ali kazni. Po Campbellsu forenzično-povračilni model predstavlja Božjo sodbo kot nagrado na temelju Kristusovih zaslug, pripisanih človeku. Vendar ta model ne zajame pravega bistva Pavlovega sporočila. Božje dejanje je odločilno v tem, da Kristus osvobodi človeštvo iz brezbožnega in zaslužjenega stanja. Poudarja, da je Božje opravičenje dejanje dobrohotnosti in osvoboditve, ki razodeva globoko ljubeč značaj Boga s tem, da osvobaja ljudi v Kristusu. To razumevanje ne prikazuje Božje sodbe kot kaznovalnega ukrepa, ampak kot preobražajoče in osvobajajoče dejanje, ki poudarja radikalno in milostno naravo odrešenja v Pavlovi teologiji (857).

2.2.2 Apokaliptični vidik Pavlove teologije

Campbell vidi apokaliptični pogled kot natančnejšo predstavitev Pavlove teologije od nomističnega modela, ki išče pravo različico judovstva v Pavlovih pismih, ali še bolj problematičnega modela, ki išče povračilne vidike. Campbell trdi, da je za apokaliptični dogodek odrešenja značilen brezpogojni Božji poseg, ki razkriva globino človeške nezmožnosti in zahteva transcendentno razrešitev. Ta poseg ni povračilo niti reforma, ampak radikalna preobrazba, ki ljudi osvobaja moči greha. Tovrstni dogodek Campbell opisuje kot »brezpogojen, razodevajoč, preobražajoč in osvobajajoč«, pri čemer poudarja, da Bog sproži to odrešenje iz ljubezni. On je rešitev (2019, 585).

Po Campbellsu apokaliptični model razkriva nekakšno »retrospektivno epistemologijo«, kjer je razumevanje predkrščanske situacije osvetljeno predvsem v luči transformativnega dogodka odrešenja (112). Ta dogodek implicira velike ontološke spremembe, pri čemer se posameznikov um preoblikuje v Kristusov um po Duhu. Ta transformacija se ne zgodi le na intelektualni ravni, temveč gre za globoko preobrazbo celotne osebnosti, ki vključuje nov način življenja, miselnosti in etičnega obnašanja v skladu z Božjo voljo (271; Rim 12,2; 1 Kor 2,16; Fil 2,5). Campbell ugotavlja, da ima apokaliptični prikaz Pavlove argumentacije poleg značilnih epistemoloških premikov »pnevmatološke in participativne vzporednice«



(2019, 590).²⁶ S tem je vzpostavljen kontrast tradicionalnemu protestantskemu modelu razumevanja Pavlove misli, ki jo Campbell imenuje »teorija opravičenja«. Slednja temelji na forenzično-povračilnih razlagah, ki Božjo pravičnost in odrešenje predstavljajo kot predpisujočo, pogojevano in osredotočeno na prihodnost. Nasprotno pa apokaliptična interpretacija deluje retrospektivno, izhajajoč iz dogodka razodetja in osvoboditve, ter reinterpreтира pretekle izkušnje v luči nove resničnosti v Kristusu. Campbell trdi, da apokaliptični pristop poudarja »razodetje in brezpogojno naravo Pavlove soteriologije«, ki izhaja iz univerzalne narave preteklega dogodka, da vzpostavi novo realnost odrešenja (595).

2.2.3 Participativna dimenzija vere

Campbell ponuja participativno razumevanje vere, ki osvetli staro dilemo med človeškimi deli in nezasluženo milostjo v novi luči. Kajti vere ne bi smeli razumeti le kot dejanje človeške volje ali intelektualne privolitve, temveč kot globoko sodelovanje v Kristusovi pripovedi. Ta vidik nakazuje, da je krščanska vera dinamična izkušnja, ki jo omogoča Sveti Duh, kjer so verniki pritegnjeni v samo Kristusovo življenje in zgodbo. Krščanska vera zajema več razsežnosti, kot so zaupanje, zvestoba in predanost. Te razsežnosti niso samostojna dejanja, temveč so odraz Kristusove vere. To zrcaljenje Kristusove vere pritegne verujoče, da motrijo njegovo trpljenje in vstajenje, ter poudarja žrtvene in odrešilne vidike Jezusovega življenja. Kristjani niso le sledilci Kristusa v doktrinalno-razumskem smislu, ampak so dejavni udeleženci Kristusove zgodbe, ki še poteka. Ta vključenost vodi vernike v resničnost novega stvarjenja, kot ga pričakuje eshatologija. Kristjani z vero postanejo udeleženci duhovne preobrazbe, kjer sodelujejo v eshatoloških pripovedih, ki presegajo sedANJI čas in kažejo na končno izpolnitev Božjega odrešitvenega načrta (2019, 972–973).

Če povzamemo: Campbellova apokaliptična razlaga Pavla se osredotoča na radikalno in transformativno razumevanje opravičenja in odrešenja,

26 Pogled Michaela J. Gorman na teozo dopolnjuje koncept transformativne pravičnosti Douglasa Campbella, saj poudarja, da je osrednja tema v Pismu Rimljanom udeležba v Božjem življenju ali teoza. Gorman trdi, da to sodelovanje vključuje preobražanje v podobnosti z Bogom s transformativno močjo Božje milosti, kar je sam po sebi misijonski proces. Ta perspektiva se ujema s Campbellovim poudarkom na participativni in transformativni naravi Božje pravičnosti, kar nakazuje, da Pavlova teologija vključuje dinamično interakcijo, kjer se verniki preobrazijo v Božjo podobo in sodelujejo pri Božjem poslanstvu v svetu (Gorman 2015, 15–16).



ki se kritično odmika od nomističnih modelov, imenovanih teorija opravičenja. To pomeni, da opravičenje in vera nista primarno razumljena kot legalno dejanje, temveč kot skupnostna izkušnja spremembe in svobode, ki temelji na osebni vključenosti v Kristusovo telo. Krščanska vera se tako kaže kot skupna udeležba pri velikem razodetju Božjega odrešenjskega načrta. Poudarjena je brezpogojna narava Božjega posega v zgodovino ter retrospektivno preoblikovanje vernikovega razumevanja svoje pozicije. Sodobno razumevanje Pavla tako dobi izrazit pečat apokaliptičnega izročila ter temeljito redefinira in rekonstruira tradicionalne zavezne razlage. Vzpostavi se smiseln okvir za razumevanje globine in radikalnosti Pavlovega oznanila svetu (974).

2.3 Benediktova razlaga opravičenja: pomen zakramentov

Kateheze papeža Benedikta XVI. o svetem Pavlu ponujajo celovit pogled, ki poudarja nujnost tako vere kot del skupaj s preobrazbeno močjo milosti in pomenom zakramentov v življenju kristjanov. V nasprotju s forenzičnimi in apokaliptičnimi dilemami, ki prevladujejo v kontekstu protestantske teologije in o katerih razpravljata Wright in Campbell, se Benedikt manj osredotoča na tovrstne vidike. V njegovih katehezah ga zanimajo bolj zakramentalne in pastoralne razsežnosti Pavlove teologije opravičenja. Papež poudarja osrednjo vlogo zakramentov na vernikovi poti, ki omogočajo globlje zedinjenje s Kristusom in Cerkvijo.²⁷ Benediktov pristop hkrati prepoznava potrebo po pastoralni oskrbi, ki vodi vernike pri njihovi duhovni rasti in zagotavlja, da vera ni le intelektualna privolitev, temveč živeta, izkustvena resničnost skozi zakramente in služenje. Pojasnjuje, da mora biti resnična vera preobrazbena in mora voditi v življenje, polno dobrodelnosti in ljubezni:

27 Benediktovo poudarjanje pomena zakramentov v Pavlovi doktrini opravičenja potrjuje tudi Raymond Brown, ki opozarja na pojav »zgodnjega katolicizma« ž v zgodnjekrščanskih besedilih. To obdobje zaznamujejo visoka ekleziologija, sakramentalizem, hierarhija in dogma, kar predstavlja začetek prepoznavnih značilnosti katoliškega krščanstva. Brown priznava, da nekateri trdijo, da se je ta razvoj začel v drugem stoletju, medtem ko drugi vidijo njegove korenine že v Novi zavezi. Poudarja pomembnost prepoznavanja teh zakramentalnih elementov, da bi uravnotežili in obogatili sodobne teološke perspektive (Brown 1997, 228–230).



Vera, če je resnična, če je realna; postane ljubezen, postane do-
brodelnost, se izraža v ljubezni. Vera brez ljubezni, brez tega sadu,
ne bi bila prava vera. Bila bi mrtva vera. (Benedikt XVI. 2009, 64)

Ta pogled izraža klasičen katoliški nauk, da sta vera in dela neločljiva; prava vera nujno vodi v življenje dobrih del. Toda Benedikt XVI. ob tem opozarja, da izvor opravičenja ni človeški trud, temveč globoka zedinjenost s Kristusom. Pojasnjuje, da se človek ne more opravičiti s svojimi dejanji; namesto tega Bog daje človeštvu svojo pravičnost in ga po veri združuje s Kristusom. To nakazuje večplastno naravo katoliškega razumevanja opravičenja: milost je brezplačni dar od Boga, vendar je človeško sodelovanje bistveno za njeno učinkovitost. Milost spreminja vernike in jim omogoča, da živijo v skladu z Božjo voljo. Osrednje mesto v procesu opravičevanja ima vedno združenost s Kristusom. Skozi to združitev verniki prejmejo Božjo pravičnost, ki ni samo pripisana, ampak podeljena, kar pomeni, da resnično spremeni posameznika. Benedikt XVI. poudarja, da ta preobrazba vključuje celotno osebo, prenavo njenega uma, srca in dejanj, da se uskladijo z Božjo voljo.²⁸ (63–64)

Prenova pa poteka na najbolj temeljit način skozi učinkujočo milost zakramentov. Papeževa razmišljanja glede zakramentov krsta in evharistije zato nudijo širše razumevanje o neločljivi povezanosti zakramentalnih dejanj s Pavlovo teologijo opravičenja in pravičnosti.

2.3.1 Krst: vstop v opravičenje in pravičnost

Krst po Benediktu ni le simbolično dejanje, temveč preobrazbeni dogodek, ki označuje vernikovo smrt v grehu in ponovno rojstvo v življenje milosti. Pojasnjuje, da je »postati kristjan pasiven proces. Samo drugi nas lahko naredi kristjane in ta 'drugi', ki nas dela kristjane, ki nam daje dar vere, je v prvi vrsti skupnost vernikov, Cerkev. Od Cerkve prejmemo vero, krst.« (75)

28 Ta trditev se lahko vidi kot zelo drugačna od Lutrovih razlag. Kot smo že omenjali pri N. T. Wrightu, je Martin Luter trdil, da je pravičnost, ki jo prejmemo od Boga, samo pripisana in ni podeljena na način, ki bi posameznika notranje preobrazil. Po Lutru je pravičnost predvsem pravni status, ki ga Bog pripiše verniku zaradi Kristusovega zaslužnja. Medtem pa Benedikt XVI. govori o pravičnosti kot daru, ki človeka notranje prenavi in ga preobrazi v skladu z Božjo voljo. Po drugi strani pa se Benedikt povsem strinja z Lutrovim poudarkom na primarnem pomenu vere (*sola fide*) za opravičenje in odrešenje, pod pogojem, da vera dejavno deluje skozi ljubezen, kot pojasnjuje Pavel v Gal 5, ko opisuje značilnosti krščanske svobode (Benedikt XVI. 2009, 62–63).



Ta izjava poudarja, da opravičenje in pravičnost prejmemo po milosti, ne pa z individualističnim trudom. To se ujema s Pavlovim naukom, da je opravičenje Božji dar, prejet po veri (Ef 2,8-9). S krstom so verniki združeni s Kristusom v njegovi smrti in vstajenju. Ta zakrament jih uvede v življenje milosti in označuje začetek njihove poti vere in pravičnosti. Benedikt poudarja, da je to združenje s Kristusom v krstu bistvenega pomena za preobrazbo vernika in mu omogoča novo življenje v Kristusu (2 Kor 5,17). Pri krstu je vernikovo staro grešno življenje pokopano s Kristusom in vstane v novo življenje pravičnosti, ko Sveti Duh pooblašča vernike, da živijo v skladu z Božjo voljo (Benedikt XVI. 2009, 75).

2.3.2 Evharistija: zakrament edinosti in daritve

Papež Benedikt XVI. v svojih razmišljanjih o evharistiji poudarja njeno temeljno vlogo pri opravičenju vernika. Evharistija se spominja in prikazuje Kristusovo žrtveno smrt, ki je osrednjega pomena za Pavlov nauk o opravičenju. To se ujema s Pavlovim naukom, da je pravičnost dana po veri v Kristusovo žrtev (Rim 3,21-26). Benedikt pojasnjuje, da je prava žrtev prav ljubezen Sina, ki prenavlja zavezo in začenja novo zgodovino človeštva (Benedikt XVI. 2009, 76). Evharistija zato uteleša skupnostni vidik opravičenja in pravičnosti. Pavlov nauk v Prvem pismu Korinčanom 10,16-17 poudarja, da je evharistija udeležba pri Kristusovem telesu in krvi, zaradi česar mnogi deli postanejo eno telo. Benedikt XVI. to razširi s pojasnilom, da se v evharistiji Kristus združi z vsakim človekom, in po tej združitvi se verniki združijo med seboj. Ta občestveni vidik je ključen za Pavlovo razumevanje Cerkve kot Kristusovega telesa, kjer so vsi člani med seboj povezani in prispevajo k rasti v pravičnosti.

Papež Benedikt XVI. na ta način pojasnjuje preobrazbeno moč evharistije, kjer se pravičnost udejanja z vključenostjo verujočih v Kristusovo telo. Pavlov nauk o opravičenju tako dobi evharistično razsežnost, v kateri verniki postanejo preobraženi del Kristusovega telesa. Ta preobrazba poudarja resničnost opravičenja in pravičnosti v Kristusu ter pričuje o realni udeležbi v Kristusovem življenju. Verujočim daje moč, da svojo vero živijo na konkretne načine (Benedikt XVI. 2009, 76-77).

2.3.3 Etične implikacije

Etična konkretnost zakramentalnosti se kaže v papeževem pozivu, da obhajanje evharistije brez duha solidarnosti pomeni zlorabo zakramenta:



»Kristus in moj bližnji sta v evharistiji neločljiva. In tako smo vsi en kruh in eno telo. Evharistija brez solidarnosti z drugimi je zlorabljen evharistija.« (76) To stališče usklajuje s Pavlovim opominom v 1 Kor 11,27-29, ki svari pred nevredno udeležbo pri evharistiji. Benedikt poudarja, da resnična pravičnost ne obsega le individualnega odnosa s Kristusom, temveč hkrati zajema etično življenje in pristno ljubezen do drugih. To načelo je zakoreninjeno v ideji, da se vera kaže skozi ljubezen, kot je izraženo v Gal 5,6. Ljubezen, ki je hkrati sad in dokaz pristne vere in opravičenja, je osrednjega pomena za krščansko življenje.

Papež torej opozarja, da evharistija ne le združuje posameznike s Kristusom, ampak jih tudi povezuje med seboj. Ta skupnostni vidik je ključnega pomena, ker so osebe s sprejetjem Kristusa poklicane tudi k edinosti z bližnjim, kar odseva neločljivo vez med Kristusom in človeštvom v evharistiji. Evharistija je prava daritev ljubezni, saj izpolnjuje novo zavezo in prinaša novo zgodovino človeštva. Po tej edinosti postane Cerkev kot Kristusovo telo živ organizem, in ne le institucija. Sodelovanje pri evharistiji vključuje preobrazbo, ki vodi vernike, da darujejo sebe v ljubezni do Boga in bližnjega. V tem oziru papež premosti ostro ločitev vere in del, saj pojasni, da opravičenje po veri dopolnjujejo sadovi Duha, med katerimi so ljubezen, veselje, mir in prijaznost. Te kreposti, ki izhajajo iz vere, so bistvene za življenje po Duhu. Povezava med vero in ljubeznijo je ključnega pomena, saj zagotavlja, da vera ni zgolj intelektualna privolitev, ampak transformativna sila, ki vodi vernike, da ljubijo druge in jim služijo ter tako izpolnjujejo postavbo skozi ljubezen. Končno Benedikt trdi, da je vera, izražena z ljubeznijo in etičnim življenjem, sestavni del krščanskega življenja. Ta pogled se povezuje s Pavlovimi nauki in potrjuje, da pristen odnos s Kristusom sam po sebi vključuje solidarnost, etično vedenje in ljubezen do drugih – znamenja resnične pravičnosti (Benedikt XVI. 2009, 77–78).

Z osredotočanjem na zakramente papež Benedikt XVI. poudarja njihovo ključno vlogo na vernikovi poti vere in pravičnosti. Krst in evharistija nista le simbolična, ampak sta bistveni sredstvi, s katerima se verniki vključijo v življenje Kristusa in Cerkve, preobrazijo po milosti in združijo v Kristusovo telo. Ti zakramenti igrajo ključno vlogo v procesu opravičenja in poudarjajo katoliški nauk, da so vera in dela, milost in zakramenti neločljivo povezani v krščanskem življenju. Zakramentalna teologija bogati



razumevanje Pavlovega nauka o opravičenju s poudarjanjem preobrazbene moči milosti in skupnostne narave vere v življenju Cerkve. Kateheze Benedikta XVI. tako predstavljajo celovit pogled na opravičenje, ki združuje vero, milost, zakramente in etično življenje. Ta pristop zagotavlja globoko razumevanje tega, kako so verniki poklicani živeti svojo vero v dinamičnem in pristnem odnosu z Bogom, ki se nenehno obnavlja in krepi z zakramenti. Papež Benedikt prinaša večje spoštovanje kompleksnosti Pavlove teologije in njenega pomena za sodobno krščansko življenje.

2.4 Primerjalna analiza Wrighta, Campbella in Benedikta o Pavlovi teologiji pravičnosti in opravičenja

Če na podlagi dosedanje razprave primerjamo vse tri teologe, lahko zatrdimo, da vsi priznavajo participativne in transformativne razsežnosti Pavlove misli, čeprav se njihovi pristopi in poudarki razlikujejo. To je deloma posledica protestantskega ozadja Campbella in Wrighta, ki je v kontrastu s katolicizmom Benedikta XVI., vendar to ni tako odločilno, da bi onemogočalo ekumensko resonanco med njimi.

Kot smo videli, Wright ohranja močan forenzični element, pri čemer opravičenje razume kot pravno izjavo, ki izpolnjuje zavezne obljube. Integrira forenzično in zavezno pravičnost v eshatološki okvir ter poudarja zvestobo Božje zaveze in sodno pravičnost. Opravičenje vidi kot razglasitev pravičnosti v kontekstu Božjih zaveznih obljub (Wright 2013, 933). Nasprotno pa Douglas A. Campbell kritizira tradicionalne protestantske interpretacije in predlaga močno apokaliptično gledanje, ki se bolj osredotoča na osvoboditev od sil zla in na vernikov odločni prelom s starimi vzorci mišljenja in življenja. Poudarjen je apokaliptični okvir, pri čemer je dogodek Božjega učlovečenja upodobljen kot radikalen poseg v zgodovino, ki osvobaja človeštvo moči greha in smrti (Campbell 2009, 1159).

Poudarek papeža Benedikta XVI. na participativnem vidiku zakramentov se ujema z obema protestantsko usmerjenima teologoma. Papež v svojih katehezah o Pavlu dopolni zavezno razumevanje opravičenja tako, da ga obogati z zakramentalno razsežnostjo, s poudarkom na preobrazbeni moči milosti in zedinjenosti vernika s Kristusom po krstu in evharistiji. Pri vseh treh teologih lahko najdemo soglasje, da krst in evharistija omogočata



vernikom udeležbo pri osvobajajoči moči Kristusove žrtve, pri čemer je vključena tako deklarativna kot participativna razsežnost opravičenja.

Wright poudarja, da zakramenti, zlasti krst, naredijo Božjo izjavo opravičenja oprijemljivo in vidno ter spremenijo Božjo besedo v konkretno dejanje. Človeško dejanje krsta se poveže z delom Duha in z Jezusovim vstajenjem, kar označuje vernikov novi dejanski položaj pravičnosti, ko stoji na tleh vstajenja. Wright prepoznava Pavlovo osredotočenost na opravičenje po veri, pri čemer krst služi kot javna deklaracija sodelovanja pri Jezusovi smrti in vstajenju (Wright 2013, 962–964).

Podobno tudi Campbell vidi zakramente kot močne simbole odrešenja s karakteristiko dejavne udeležbe, in ne le kot simbolično reprezentacijo evangeljske zgodbe. Kritizira tradicionalne protestantske poglede, ker so osiromašeni in omejeni, ter se zavzema za bogatejšo teologijo, kjer zakramenti predstavljajo čudežno vpletenost v Kristusovo smrt in vstajenje, kar zagotavlja globlje, participativno razumevanje odrešenja (Campbell 2009, 298).

Po drugi strani pa lahko tako pri Wrightu kot pri Campbellu še vedno opazimo manjše osredotočanje na pomen zakramentov za opravičenje, če ju primerjamo s papežem Benediktom XVI. Papež skladno s katoliško tradicijo vrednoti zakramente na posebej izrazit način, saj jih vidi kot najvišje sredstvo milosti, ki uresničuje vernikovo opravičenje in preobrazbo. Krst uvaja vernike v življenje milosti, kar označuje začetek njihove poti vere in pravičnosti, medtem ko evharistija uteleša skupnostni vidik opravičenja in pravičnosti (Benedikt XVI. 2009, 76–77).

Pri vseh obravnavanih teologih lahko najdemo skupno misel, da opravičenje vodi k etičnemu življenju in ljubezni do drugih. Wright in Benedikt XVI. poudarjata, da se mora vera izražati skozi konkretno etično prakso, kar odraža novozavezni nauk, da je vera brez del mrtva (Benedikt XVI. 2009, 77; Wright 2013, 442). Campbell poudarja pomen skupnostne in participativne izkušnje vere, kjer opravičenje in etično življenje nista ločena, temveč združena v skupno izkušnjo znotraj Kristusovega telesa. Po Campbellu teorija opravičenja ni dovolj, če se ne poveže s konkretnim etičnim življenjem in zavezanostjo krščanski skupnosti (Campbell 2009, 299–300). Vsi trije teologi kljub različnim cerkvenim ozadjem tako skupaj bogatijo

razumevanje Pavlove kompleksne teološke vizije in zagotavljajo celovit pogled na opravičenje, ki združuje forenzične, zavezne in participativne razsežnosti. Potrjujejo globino Pavlove teološke misli, ki nudi neizčrpen vir refleksije in neusahljiv navdih za življenje pod obzorjem odrešujoče milosti in ljubezni Najvišjega.

2.5 Pavlov odnos do judovstva: podlaga za dialog in ekumenizem

Dobro je omeniti, da je Pavlova teologija opravičenja globoko zakoreninjena v njegovem judovskem ozadju, kar pomembno vpliva na njegovo razumevanje in razlago pravičnosti in postave. Tega se zavedajo tudi Wright, Campbell in papež Benedikt XVI., ko govorijo o Pavlovem odnosu do judovstva. Njihovi prej opisani teološki poudarki nudijo iztočnice za vrednotenje hebrejskih korenin Pavlove misli.

Wright v duhu svoje zavezne razlage poudarja, da je Pavel videl Jezusa kot izpolnitev judovske zaveze, in ne kot zavračanje judovstva. Pavlovo sporočilo je govorilo o obnovitvi zaveze z Izraelom po Mesiju, Jezusu Kristusu. Wright trdi, da se je Pavlova kritika judovstva nanašala na ekskluzivno razumljeno vero. Nasprotno temu je zagovarjal eshatološko izpolnitev v Kristusu, ki je razširil obljube zaveze na vse narode, ne le na etnični Izrael. Pavel je strastno verjel, da je nova zaveza inkluzivna, saj vključuje pogane v vseobsegajoče mesijanske obljube, ki so prvotno bile dane Izraelu (Wright 2013, 362).

Campbell, kot smo videli, predstavlja radikalen apokaliptični pristop, pri čemer je Pavlova teologija razumljena kot radikalen odmik od zakonsko interpretirane zaveze. Trdi, da Pavlovo srečanje s Kristusom predstavlja eshatološki premik, ki na novo definira odnos med postavo in vero: razodetje osvobajajoče moči vere premaga pogojujočo moč postave. Po drugi strani pa Campbell kritizira stare protestantske razlage opravičenja med drugim tudi zaradi vsiljevanja monolitnega pogleda na judovstvo, ki je pogosto označeno kot legalistična in represivna vera. Namesto tega vidi Pavlovo kritiko kot zavrnitev povračilnih interpretacij postave in zaveze,



ne pa kot zavrnitev celotne legitimnosti judovske vere (Campbell 2009, 767).²⁹

Benedikt XVI. je podobnega mnenja kot Wright in poudarja tako kontinuiteto kot spremembo znotraj Pavlovega odnosa do judovstva. Na Pavlov premik gleda kot na priznanje izpolnitve judovskih eshatoloških upov v Kristusu. Namen Tore je bil začasen in je kazal na končno razodetje v Jezusu. Pavlova teologija govori o vključujoči novi zavezi po veri v Kristusa, ki presega etnične meje. Benedikt pojasnjuje, da je s Kristusom Izraelov Bog postal Bog vseh ljudstev, ki je podrl ovire med Judi in pogani (Benedikt XVI. 2009, 62).

Razberemo lahko, da se kljub nekaterim razlikam v poudarkih Wright, Campbell in Benedikt XVI. strinjajo v več ključnih točkah glede Pavlovega pogleda na judovstvo. Vsi trije teologi priznavajo, da Pavlovo razmišljanje ostaja globoko zakoreninjeno v judovski tradiciji, saj vidi Jezusa kot izpolnitev, in ne zavrnitev judovstva. Poudarjajo eshatološko razsežnost Pavlove teologije, kjer je Pavel videl Kristusov prihod kot pomemben dogodek, ki izpolnjuje obljube, dane Izraelu. Vsi trdijo, da Pavlovo sporočilo govori o obnovitvi Božje zaveze z Izraelom, in ne o zamenjavi judovstva z novo religijo. Strinjajo se, da je Pavel verjel, da je nova zaveza s Kristusom vključujoča in sega onkraj etničnega Izraela, da vključi vse narode v odrešitveni načrt. Obravnavani teologi izražajo konsenz, da je Pavel na novo razložil stare hebrejske teme v luči Kristusa. Videl jih je kot pomembne v njihovem prvotnem kontekstu, a na novo opredeljene z resničnostjo življenja v Kristusu. Jezus je izpolnitev judovske postave in vrhunec izraelske zgodbe.³⁰

29 Namesto tega Campbell priznava močan vpliv judovstva drugega templja, zlasti njegove apokaliptične razsežnosti. Slednje so poudarjale Božje posredovanje, kozmične bitke med dobrim in zlim ter končno odrešitev. Campbell kritizira napačne predstavitve judovstva ter poudarja transformativne in osvobajajoče vidike Pavlove soteriologije, ki prikazuje kontinuiteto z judovskimi apokaliptičnimi pričakovanji Božjega delovanja in prenove. Kot razpravlja Campbell: »The constituents of Paul's thinking [...] bear the clear stamp of a great Jewish heritage: monotheism, providence and even election; the contrast between two ages, one eschatological; the evil heart of man known to the Jewish apocalyptic books; the devastating effects of the sin of Adam, namely, death; the roles of angels and demons; and the importance of the Scriptures.« (Campbell 2009, 261)

30 To dodatno potrjuje Matjaž, ki trdi, da je treba Pavlovo teologijo razumeti v širšem kontekstu judovske tradicije. Pavel na postavo ni gledal kot na sredstvo za dosego opravičenja, temveč kot na temeljno Božje razodetje, ki je vzpostavilo njegovo izvoljeno ljudstvo. Nova perspektiva o Pavlu (NPP) umešča apostola v njegov judovski kontekst, spodbija tradicionalne interpretacije, ki ga prikazujejo kot nasprotnika judovskega zakona, in poudarja kontinuiteto med Pavlovo teologijo in judovsko



Na podlagi tega razumevanja se lahko vrnemo k Pismu Rimljanom, saj slednje na splošno velja za Pavlovo največje delo, ki uteleša vrhunec njegove zrele teološke misli, vključno z njegovim pogledom na judovstvo. Med protestanti je to pismo še posebej cenjeno in natančno preučevano. Rimljani so pomembno oblikovali reformacijsko vizijo krščanstva kot sprejetja Božje milosti po veri. Nasprotno pa je mnoge bralce, od Markiona naprej, napeljalo k temu, da so na judovstvo gledali kot na krivo vero, ki temelji na zaslugah in delih ter ni vredna krščanske pozornosti. Tovrstna ignoranca je vlivala dodatno olje na ogenj protestantsko-katoliških polemik in judovsko-krščanskih sporov. Katoliki so dolgo dvomili o pravilnosti protestantskih razlag pisma Rimljanov in pogosto navajali kanonični protest, ki ga najdemo v Jakobu 2,14-26. Medtem so Judje zavračali negativen prikaz svoje teologije v Pavlovih pismih ali bolje rečeno – problematično razlago Pavlovega nauka. Šele pred kratkim, z ekumenskimi prizadevanji po drugem vatikanskem koncilu in medversko zavestjo po holokavstu, so ti stari in težavni interpretativni modeli začeli razpadati. Tako katoliški kot protestantski učenjaki si danes prizadevajo presegati prejšnje meje, ko vrednotijo apostolova besedila z novo resnostjo, kar prinaša velik napredek v študiju Nove zaveze. (Hill 2001, 57)

Pavlova pisma imajo torej še naprej osrednje mesto v krščanski teološki refleksiji in samorazumevanju. Postajajo osnova za ekumenski in celo medverski dialog, kar je pomemben premik od preteklosti, ko so bile Pavlove misli zlorabljene v kontekstu verskih konfliktov. Ta sprememba še posebej odmeva v *Skupni izjavi o nauku o opravičenju*, v kateri se luteranski in katoliški teologi strinjajo glede učenja Nove zaveze (in Pavla), da so »vsi ljudje popolnoma odvisni od odrešilne Božje milosti za svoje odrešenje« (Svetovna luteranska zveza in Katoliška cerkev 1997, 14–21). To dopolnjuje vizijo koncilskega dokumenta *Nostra Aetate*, ki svoj poziv k medverskemu dialogu med drugim gradi tudi na podlagi Pavlovega poudarjanja usmiljenja in medsebojnega spoštovanja (NA 5). Ta sporočila skupaj poudarjajo

tradicijo. Rekontekstualizirano razumevanje Pavla, zlasti iz Pisma Galačanom, lahko spodbudi izboljšane krščansko-judovske odnose s poudarjanjem skupnih teoloških temeljev in spoštljivega dialoga. Pavlovo osrednje sporočilo v Gal se vrti okoli opravičenja po veri in moči Kristusove smrti in vstajenja. Njegova kritika »del postave« v Gal je ciljala na doseganje pravičnosti ločeno od vere, ne pa na samo postavo. Ta premik v razumevanju Pavlovih spisov vpliva na sodobno krščansko teologijo in medverske dialoge ter spodbuja ponovno vrednotenje doktrin za boljše teološko razumevanje (Matjaž 2020, 67–69).



pomen sprave in dialoga pri spodbujanju produktivnih odnosov tako med različnimi cerkvami kot religijami. Odmeva pomembna sprememba pri uporabi Pavlovih pisem kot temelja za ekumenski in medverski dialog.

Kot že opisano, so podobni tudi vidiki Wrighta, Campbella in Benedikta XVI., ki vidijo Pavlovo misel kot ukoreninjeno v judovski tradiciji in usmerjeno v prenavo in povezanost na podlagi nezaslužnega daru Božje milosti in opravičenja. Pavlova misel na neki način postaja to, kar si je vedno želel – pot do združitve med različnimi člani svetovne cerkve. Njegova povezovalna moč je očitna, ko spodbuja razumevanje, dialog in spravo med različnimi krščanskimi stališči ter med kristjani in Judi. Vsi trije učenjaki tako priznavajo kompleksnost Pavlovega nauka, pri čemer ugotavljajo, da njegove kritike človeških del niso bile obsodbe religije, temveč del širšega teološkega in eshatološkega okvira. Ta pristop zagotavlja celovito razumevanje Pavlovih pogledov, pri čemer poudarja pomen zgodovinskega konteksta ter izpolnitve in preobrazbe skozi Kristusa. Pavlova združevalna vizija, kot je povzeta v njegovih pismih, še naprej navdihuje prizadevanja za večjo enotnost znotraj svetovne cerkve in zunaj nje.

Sklep

Ta razprava je raziskovala nauk apostola Pavla o pravičnosti in opravičenju v njegovih pismih Rimljanom in Galačanom, pri čemer je vključila poglede sodobnih teologov Douglasa Campbella, N. T. Wrighta in papeža Benedikta XVI. Pavlov nauk o pravičnosti, kot je predstavljen v Rimljanom in Galačanom, uči, da je pravičnost Božji dar, prejet po veri v Jezusa Kristusa, neodvisno od človeških zaslug ali spoštovanja postave. Ta pravičnost je zakoreninjena v Božji milosti, ki poudarja preobrazbeno moč vere. Campbellov participativni in apokaliptični model poudarja dinamično in eshatološko naravo božjega posega, medtem ko Wrightova osredotočenost na zavezo zvestobo in forenzično pravičnost zagotavlja zgodovinski in pripovedni kontekst. Zakramentalni poudarek papeža Benedikta XVI. povezuje Božjo milost s človeškim sodelovanjem, kar bogati razumevanje opravičenja in pravičnosti. S sintezo teh pogledov je prispevek približal večplastno naravo Pavlovega pojma pravičnosti. Apostolovi nauki tako zajemajo teme Božje milosti, človeškega odziva in nezaslužno moč vere ter poudarjajo etično in skupnostno razsežnost opravičenja. Ponujajo celovit



pogled na opravičenje, ki vključuje preobrazbo posameznika, skupnostno identiteto in etično prakso.

Posledice teh ugotovitev za sodobno teologijo so globoke. Pozivajo k ponovnemu poudarjanju dejavne narave vere in milosti ter pomembnosti skupnostnega in zakramentalnega življenja ter k etičnemu uresničevanju pravičnosti v krščanski praksi. Poleg tega je nakazan tudi potencial Pavlove teologije za spodbujanje ekumenskega in medverskega dialoga. Teološke podobnosti in razlike, ki so jih izrazili Wright, Campbell in Benedikt XVI., prikazujejo, kako lahko Pavlovi nauki premostijo doktrinarne razkole in spodbujajo globlje razumevanje vere in milosti. Na ta način Pavlov nauk o opravičenju in pravičnosti postaja gradnik harmoničnih odnosov znotraj krščanske skupnosti in navzven.



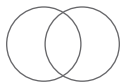
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Ambrož Kvartič

The Shibboleth Incident (Judges 12:5-6) as a Migratory Narrative Folklore Motif

*Zgodba o šiboletu (Sodniki 12,5-6)
kot migracijski pripovedni motiv*

Abstract: Shibboleth is a special sociolinguistic category, denoting a functional communicative mechanism; a word, a phrase, or merely just a phoneme used as a test or a marker to identify people through their pronunciation. The term and the concept originate in a short passage in the Old Testament of the Bible, Book of Judges, chapter 12, verses 5 and 6 – called The Shibboleth incident – which describes a language trial administered by the Gileadites in order to identify disguised Ephraimites and kill them. Throughout history in different parts of the world, strikingly similar stories have emerged, set in comparable contextual circumstances of inter-ethnic bloodshed. In the article, a comprehensive folkloristic comparative analysis of various shibboleth accounts is presented, prompting a question if these stories are standalone narrative material; or if they are rather individual articulations (ecotypes) of an otherwise shared timeless migratory narrative folklore motif.

Keywords: Shibboleth incident, the book of Judges, shibboleth test, ecotypes, comparative analysis, folklore studies

Izvleček: Šibolet je posebna sociolingvistična kategorija oziroma funkcijski komunikacijski mehanizem – beseda, besedna zveza ali zgolj fonem, ki se uporablja kot preizkus (oziroma kot označevalec) identitete posameznikov prek njihove izgovarjave. Termin in koncept izhajata iz kratkega odlomka iz Stare zaveze Svetega pisma, kjer v 12. poglavju Knjige sodnikov v 5. in 6. vrstici beremo o jezikovnem preizkusu, ki so ga izvedli Gileadci, da bi v svojih vrstah prepoznali preoblečene Efrajimce ter jih ubili. Zgodovinopisje in pripovedna folklorja pa skozi čas in na različnih koncih sveta »beležita« presenetljivo podobne zgodbe, upete v primerljive kontekste medetničnega prelivanja krvi. V članku je predstavljena obsežna folkloristična primerjalna analiza različnih zgodovinskih primerov uporabe tega jezikovnega preizkusa, pri čemer se zastavlja vprašanje, ali gre pri posameznih pričevanjih za nepovezane pripovedne artefakte ali pa le za posamezne artikulacije (pripovedne ekotipe) sicer občečloveškega in brezčasnega ter v času in prostoru potujočega pripovednega folklornega motiva.

Ključne besede: šibolet, Knjiga sodnikov, preizkus s šiboletom, ekotipi, primerjalna analiza, folkloristika

Introduction

One of the most intriguing narratives found in the book of Judges in the Old Testament is the so called »Shibboleth incident« (Judges 12:5-6):

Then the Gileadites took the fords of the Jordan against the Ephraimites. Whenever one of the fugitives of Ephraim said, »Let me go over,« the men of Gilead would say to him, »Are you an Ephraimite?« When he said, »No,« they said to him, »Then say Shibboleth,« and he said, »Sibboleth,« for he could not pronounce it right. Then they seized him and killed him at the fords of the Jordan. Forty-two thousand of the Ephraimites fell at that time.

This short Bible passage has garnered quite a lot of attention by biblical scholars, historians, linguists and other scholars over the past century with their texts focusing on incidents' various historical and cultural contexts (see for instance Willesen 1958; Marcus 1992; Chisholm 2013, 17–109) – sometimes questioning the veracity of the account itself (Speiser 1942, 11) – as well as tackling the unique linguistic (phonetic) challenge it presents (see for instance Speiser 1967; Beeston 1988; Hendel 1996). The linguistic analyses had varying degrees of success, however: »All in all, I am inclined to think that we do not have adequate evidence for achieving any conclusive 'solution' to the phonetic problems of the shibboleth story.« (Beeston 1988, 261) The Shibboleth incident passage is also acknowledged as the only explicit acknowledgment of variations in Hebrew dialects in the Old Testament (Hendel 1996, 69).¹

With this article, however, I would like to propose a fairly new perspective on the Shibboleth incident from the Old Testament – one that is provided by *folkloristic* comparative analysis.² I've come across this short passage only after learning about several alleged historical instances of using

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- 1 I recognize that the shibboleth is first and foremost a linguistic problem, as the biblical narrative itself centres around pronunciations, phonemes and dialects. Linguistics is not my field of study and research, however, so I will not delve into the linguistic and etymological material that has been presented thoroughly (and much better than I could ever do it) elsewhere – see all the authors quoted above.
 - 2 In general, collaboration between the disciplines of folkloristics and Bible studies has always been rich and fruitful, sharing both content and methodology (for an overview see Niditch 1993).



a language test in order to determine one's identity and subsequently decide if they should live or die. At the same time as I started reading into these historical examples and recognizing traits of folklore/tradition in them, I was collecting contemporary narrative folklore material in Slovenia, and found similar stories in circulation today. In addition to all this it became apparent that both the word »shibboleth« and the concept it describes are sporadically used (if not articulated) in today's art and popular culture as well. The comparisons were quickly drawn and all this led me to Judges 12:5-6 – the passage that many scholars deem »the original shibboleth«.

This is of course true of the name »shibboleth« itself – the very word used as a test of Ephraimites' identity in the story. However, faced with many narratives of and about it with several apparent similarities spanning across millennia and various cultural contexts, a bold hypothesis formed about the said »original«. What if the biblical account is not just the story from which all others originated, but is *itself* an example of a (written down) migratory narrative folklore? This idea can only be explored using comparative analysis, which is why the article presents several historical and narrative instances of shibboleth test side by side with the biblical account, looking for textual and contextual parallels and their potential meaning.

Shibboleth: a linguistic mechanism of identification and distinction

The biblical term *shibboleth*, originating in Judges 12, has long been »at home« as a loan word in many languages outside of Hebrew. The term – and the concept it describes – is primarily defined as a functional communicative mechanism, i.e. as »a word by which one knows someone« (*Slovar tujk* 2002, 1120), that is to say a criterion, a catchword, or a password. Furthermore, this term describes a word, a phrase, or merely just a phoneme used as a test or a marker to identify people through their pronunciation. Shibboleth is thus a (socio)linguistic mechanism, marked by condensed symbolic communication, that demonstrates how differences in accents, pronunciation and other variability in all forms of linguistic communication convey one's cultural identity (Senior 2004). It is an arbitrarily pre-arranged sign (signifier) in a language that becomes



an element of distinction on the basis of linguistic identity. This, of course, also has a wider cultural and social impact, since the question of shibboleth is a question of the »tenability« and boundaries of a cultural or linguistic community (Esposito 2009, 211), since it presupposes active participation in it – you are part of the group if you are able to pronounce the word (and vice-versa).

Within the cultural reality of various social groups, the question of identity and identification is unbelievably broad. The symbols used to articulate identity are numerous and are chosen consciously or subconsciously by communities themselves to project said identity inwards or outwards. Although other cultural elements can function as shibboleths as well (for example clothing or habits), identity differences or boundaries between the Self and the Other(s) are firstly and most clearly revealed in the symbolic field of language. This can be observed, for example, in generationally defined communities (slang), professional communities (jargon), provincially defined communities (dialects), exclusive groups that also communicate using agreed gesticulation (e.g. criminal gangs or medieval monastic orders). Large imagined social groupings, where individual members do not necessarily know each other – such as the nation – are primarily established on the basis of language (Anderson 2000, 161). The establishment of identity boundaries in the recognition of the Other is thus often focused on the search for *linguistic* differences on the one hand, and markedness in and by language on the other. This markedness is what French philosopher Jacques Derrida has called the »legitimate habitation of a language« (Esposito 2009, 209).

The shibboleth can best be understood by understanding its function. Jacques Derrida has pointed to a detail from the initial biblical story as its essence: »Only those who pronounce *the shibboleth* correctly can pass through, or are granted life.« (Derrida 1994, 3) Those who are unable to pronounce *the shibboleth* correctly are literally murdered in the biblical account; which translates to symbolic »death« – irreversible characterisation of an individual as being a non-member of the group – in the context of everyday communication where a need for language differentiation occurs. In this respect, »it is not enough to understand the meaning of a word, to know what it means, or to know how to pronounce it, but the individual must be *able to* pronounce it [...] and to *do so* is an act



of *signification*.« (Derrida 1994, 29) It is precisely because of their inability that an individual gets to be (symbolically) marked as an alien, as Other, or as an enemy. In this vein, Canadian biblical scholar Francis Landy proposes that a shibboleth is an expression of the »boundary to the ideals of cultural integration, a linguistic demarcation of 'the Other' which may be impossible to hide« (Landy 1990, 97).

Examples of discriminatory identification through linguistic distinction abound in general discourses (i.e. media, popular culture) (Kvartič 2016, 257–263), but an even more important »timeless« field of articulation of *the shibboleth* is narrative folklore with all its genre manifestations.³ Collections of traditional and contemporary narrative material contain numerous examples of short narrativized episodes that highlight dialectal and other linguistic differences between for instance neighbouring towns and regions. These are often humorous tales of linguistic differentiation, which continuously become part of the repertoire of locally bounded stories (for Slovenian examples, see Gričnik 1995, 192–191; Kleindienst 1995, 52). The establishment of points of linguistic distinction in these stories is not only evident from their texts – during their »performance«, the narrators often change the texture of the narratives to convey the message effectively. Staying with Slovenian examples, in many cases of stories about immigrants, the narrators change their voice, imitating the (presumed) speech from the various places of former Yugoslavia. The shibboleths in this case are very clear but reduced to individual phonemes, with the »hard« (palatal) L [lʲ] and open-mid front unrounded E [ɛ] standing out when the narrator wishes to indicate an immigrant from the Slavic areas of the Balkans, or the softening of the speech by inserting the [lj] and [nj] into different words, which is supposed to illustrate the speech of immigrants from Albania and Kosovo.

Various narrative (folklore) materials collected by the researchers focus on the existence of communicative and, consequently, identity boundaries between outsiders and the environment that sees them as such. The implied cultural contact where recognition of Otherness occurs can

3 Narrative folklore is one of the most important fields of construction and representation of the cultural Other in general (for comprehensive overviews see: Kunej and Hodžar 2006; Mlakar 2019; Golež Kaučič 2019).



be gradual and prolonged, but it can also be instantaneous and impactful, even traumatic. It is in this case, where the use of shibboleth occurs most prominently in narrative folklore. However, there is a special narrative motif employing shibboleth as a test of identity in the context of violent clash amongst two ethnic (linguistic) groups. This motif keeps appearing throughout history and all around the world, attaching itself to specific situations, creating a lot of narrative variants (ecotypes⁴) that prompt comparative reading.

Shibboleth identity test

The Bible

The biblical account of the Shibboleth incident (Judges 12:5-6) tells of a group of Ephraimites that wanted to escape persecution or death in the land of Gilead, after suffering defeat to Gileadites led by judge Jephthah. The incident is thus embedded in a wider historical conflict that places it around eleventh century B. C.

The Ephraimites were an invading party of this conflict and Gileadites defeated them in defensive campaign. Ephraimites were thus trying to flee back home by crossing the river Jordan westward to Palestine. As the Gileadites took over the crossing points (fords) and stopped the Ephraimites from advancing, the latter pretended to be natives of Gilead. A linguistic test was presented to them though by the Gilead guards, which betrayed their pretence – they were asked to say the word *šibbōlet* (with a shin). When the fugitives pronounced the word as *sibbōlet* (with a samekh), as they were unable to do otherwise, they were slain. The test was thus a phonetic one, involving a dialectal difference, burdened with an identity signifier as well. It is of note that Ephraimites were not asked to name an object presented to them but were told specifically to say the word »shibboleth«.

4 For an explanation of the folkloristic concept of *ecotypes*, see below.

The original meaning of the test word »shibboleth« is twofold. The first one, as is apparent in some other passages of the Old Testament, is that of »ear of corn« or more broadly »ear of grain«. The second potential meaning is »flood« or »stream«, with broad etymological Semitic background (Speiser 1942, 10). Most prominent medieval Hebrew scholars have put more emphasis on the former meaning, and later (and modern) experts agreed with it.

Middle ages

The Sicilian Vespers (*Vespri siciliani*) was a successful revolt on the island of Sicily that pushed against the rule of French house of Anjou over the Kingdom of Sicily. The rebellion broke out on the Easter Monday of 1282 and stood up to French-born king Charles I of Anjou who had ruled the island since 1266. During the six-week revolt approximately 13.000 French were killed by the Sicilians. The conflict, however, escalated further as it engaged several competing European ruling houses into a War of Sicilian Vespers that lasted up until 1302. The revolt is said to have been sparked by an incident on the 30th of March 1282 just outside Palermo where a religious ceremony was set to take place at the church of Santo Spirito. The locals were gathering at the place of worship and a young married couple was among the crowd. At some point, a Frenchman met them, shouting a gross insult to the lady. His rudeness shook her so much that she fainted, and her husband caught in a rage exclaimed: »Death to the French!« As he said that, he pushed a knife into the heart of the Frenchman. The crowd responded and the bloody revolt took off. Historian Steven Runciman describes what followed thusly:

To the sound of the bells messengers ran through the city calling on the men of Palermo to rise against the oppressor. At once the streets were full of angry armed men, crying »Death to the French« – »moranu u Franchiski« in their Sicilian dialect. Every Frenchman that they met was struck down. They poured into the inns frequented by the French and the houses where they dwelt, sparing neither man, woman, nor child. Sicilian girls who had married Frenchmen perished with their husbands. The rioters broke into the Dominican and Franciscan convents; and all the foreign friars were dragged out and told to pronounce the word »ciciri«



(chickpea), whose sound the French tongue could never accurately reproduce. Anyone who failed the test was slain. (Runciman 1958, 237)

In 1302, Flanders was governed by the French King Philip the Fair, who had imposed his rule over the region by the threatening presence of a large French army. The Flemish towns considered this French military and government presence as an undesired intrusion into their own internal affairs, which inhibited the effective rule and imposition of the French laws. To override the Flemish insubordination, the French governor James of St. Pol led his army to the town of Bruges, and arrived there on 17th of May. The tension between occupiers and occupied escalated and rumours of French atrocities spread throughout the town, reaching the majority of the rebels that fled the town before the French arrived. The Flemish decided to actively rebel and, at sunrise on 18th of May, while most of the French army was asleep, they attacked with the battle cry »*Scilt ende vri-ent!*« (Shield and friend!). However, this phrase was also used to identify the French and their supporters amongst the population. The phrase was so difficult to pronounce for the French that they immediately stood out among the towns-folk. This led to the massacre of over 300 French soldiers. The massacre at Bruges would eventually become known in history as the Bruges Matins (Brugse Metten) (Pergalias 2012, 10–11). This particular language test is mentioned for the first time by chronicler in 1435, a whole century after it had supposedly occurred (Scales 2017, 286).

Ever since the establishment of the city of Krakow in 1257 under the Magdeburg Law, the people of German origin had played a significant role in the economy and the social life of the city. They strongly supported the Bohemian (Czech) pretenders to the Polish crown, first among them being King Wenceslas (Waclaw) II, who laid claim to rule Poland in 1296. His main rival to the Polish throne at the time was the Duke of Brzeg-Kujawy, Władysław Łokietek, who began to take back a lot of the Polish lands from the German-backed Bohemians (Přemyslids) in the first years of 14th century. Łokietek, having disrupted the social peace, displeased many of the prominent German(ized) people in Krakow. They were the ones who feared Łokietek's rule the most, claiming that he would be unable to hold up city's economic development, centred around trade with Bohemia and Silesia. Thus in 1311, an armed revolt broke out in Krakow



and the neighbouring town of Sandomierz by German bourgeoisie wishing to reunite with Bohemia, led by Albert, the German mayor of Krakow. After several months of fighting, Łokietek captured Krakow and he exercised the cruellest revenge on the rebels: he dragged the imprisoned ones all over the city with horses and hanged them on gallows outside the city walls – the events of the revolt and its aftermath were presented in contemporary Krakow city chronicles (Strączyński 2017). It was a later retelling of these events, however, which added the information that, after Łokietek had seized Krakow from Albert, the soldiers dragged the townspeople out of their houses and ordered them to say these words: »Soczewica, koło, miele, młyn!« (»Lentil, wheel, grind, mill!«) Anyone who did or could not say these words was sentenced to death. The Germans, even those who had lived in Polish lands for years, were helpless as the correct pronunciation of the word »soczewica« or the distinction between sounds [l] and [ł] is practically impossible to a non-Polish speaking foreigner. The oldest example of this information is preserved in the Krasinski Chronicles (Rocznik Krasieńskich), of which only a 16th-century copy is known to historians (Rożek 2014).

20th century and today

October 2nd, 1937, marks the start of a genocide on Caribbean Island of Hispaniola, shared among Dominican Republic and Haiti. On that day the execution of between 18,000 and 35,000 Haitian Creoles began under the orders of U.S.-backed Dominican dictator President Rafael Trujillo, a former sugar cane plantation guard. The events that followed have later become collectively known as the Parsley Massacre (Turtis 2002). The genocide resonated with the contemporary turmoil in Europe as the Dominican Republic was facing growing economic difficulties and as power-hungry Trujillo has become obsessed with ideas of race and status. By 1937 the Dominican Republic, which based its economy largely on sugar exports, was practically broke. At that time Trujillo had put forth a nationalist (populist) plan to distract Dominicans in times of austerity, telling the nation that they cannot afford to feed foreigners as well. Thus, the government cracked down on migration from neighbouring Haiti, where a lot of the sugar plantation workers came from. On October 2nd Trujillo gave orders for the »solution« to the Haitian problem, justifying it by claiming that »Haitians are foreigners in our land. They are dirty,



rustlers of cattle, and practitioners of voodoo. Their presence within the territory of the Dominican Republic cannot but lead to the deterioration of the living conditions of our citizens.» (Farmer 1994, 103) The massacre earned the moniker »Parsley Massacre« because of an alleged language test, that some soldiers allegedly carried out in order to identify Haitian Creoles:

For Haitians [...] in the streets or in the fields—the soldiers applied a simple test. They would accost any person with dark skin. Holding up sprigs of parsley, Trujillo's men would query their prospective victims: »¿Como se llama esto?« What is this thing called? The terrified victim's fate lay in the pronunciation of the answer. Haitians, whose Kreyol uses a wide, flat *r*, find it difficult to pronounce the trilled *r* in the Spanish word for parsley, *perejil*. If the word came out as the Haitian *pe'sil* [...] the victim was condemned to die. (Wucker 1999, 49)

During World War II several (narrative) examples of alleged shibboleth tests are known, with varying degrees of veracity or verifiability. Various national army personnel or civilian people are said to have used shibboleths to identify invading Germans. The Dutch used the name of a seaside Dutch town Scheveningen. The Soviet Red army reportedly used several such words, one of them being described in the diaries of one of the most famous military snipers in history, Vasily Zaitsev, who came to prominence in the battle for Stalingrad:

The corporal trotted off through the dark, while Gryazev and I hid and waited. Soon we heard his voice calling out: »Doroga, doroga.« »Doroga« is a good Russian word: by having people say it, you know immediately if you've got a Russian or a German heading your way. Germans can't pronounce it properly, when they say it, it always comes out sounding like »taroka«. That word would trip up even a German scout dressed like a Russian. As soon as he said »taroka«, we would nail him. (Zaitsev 2003, 129)

On the Pacific front, a shibboleth test word of »lollapalooza« occurred, used by Americans to supposedly identify Japanese soldiers infiltrating their ranks (McCarthy 1943, 552). The shibboleth itself was the Japanese pronunciation of the [l] sound. This was somewhat acknowledged and



formalized by the U.S. army as it included it into *Pocket guide to China*, an instructional booklet, published in 1942 for its soldiers stationed on the islands in the Pacific:

Sometimes the jap officers have none of these characteristics – many of them speak English, some know our American slang [...] But most Japanese hiss when they pronounce the letter »S« [...] Have the two men repeat a sentence like »Smith left the fortress« (or a similar line). Or try Lalapalooza on them! That's a panic! The JAP sucks in on any »S« sound – and he can't pronounce the letter »L«. (Caniff 1942, 71)

Heading back to the Middle East, a shibboleth test appeared once again during Lebanon's civil war, which raged for 15 years, from 1975 to 1990. During this conflict, religious identities overlapped with ethnic (and linguistic) ones as Shia Muslims, Sunni Muslims and Christians clashed in a conflict that produced estimated 120,000 casualties. During the conflict, it is reported that in at least one instance, members of Lebanese Christian paramilitary group called Phalangists set up checkpoints, stopped civilians, showed them a tomato and asked them to give the Arabic word for the vegetable to pass. Depending on the answer, an individual lived or was sentenced to death. If the person used the Lebanese Arabic pronunciation »banadurra«, the pass was granted; if they pronounced the word the Palestinian way – »ban-dora« – the Phalangists' men would torture and kill them. It is believed that the same shibboleth test occurred between the 16th and the 18th of September 1982 during the massacre at Sabra and Shatila, two Palestinian refugee camps southwest of Beirut, where two days of killing left up to 3500 Shia civilian casualties (Dean 2016).

Collecting contemporary legends and other contemporary narrative material in Slovenia, I've come across a rumour that a shibboleth »Kekec« – a name of a Slovenian hero of children's literature – was used among The Territorial Defense of the Republic of *Slovenia* to identify spies sent by Yugoslav people's army who were supposedly unable to pronounce the close-mid front unrounded vowel [e] properly (Kvartič 2016, 265).

The most recent example of alleged shibboleth test comes from the Russian-Ukrainian war, which started in 2022. Thereafter the immediate



need for clear-cut national/ethnic identity as well as identity of oppressed/oppressor occurred, prompting Ukrainian news media to write instructional pieces, like this one, which was published only three days (!) after the Russian invasion began:

Every day, Russian sabotage and reconnaissance groups are detected in Ukrainian cities, which were deployed in our country by the enemy at different times. Apostrophe⁵ explains how easy it is to tell a Russian from a Ukrainian. An old and effective method is often used to do this – they ask you to pronounce the Ukrainian word »palianytsia« (bread). People who have never studied a foreign language think they have a good command of their language apparatus, but in practice, they find it difficult to pronounce some sounds, and sometimes cannot do it at all. Despite the many similarities between the Ukrainian and Russian languages, the pronunciation of some words and sounds is a problem for Russian speakers who have not learned Ukrainian since childhood. For example: palianytsia (bread), polyunitsia (strawberry), Krynytsia (name of a village). Russians pronounce these words with a soft »i« sound instead of »и«, and »ц« sometimes replaces »тс«. (Apostrophe 2022)

Shibboleth test as a migratory narrative folklore motif

Reading all the given examples back-to-back brings up some very striking textual and contextual similarities shared amongst all the accounts: (1) The broader context in all of them is a situation of inter-group (ethnic, national) bloodshed, which is for the most part historically accurate. This context heightens the need for a clear understanding of an individual's identity, belonging to either one of two clearly defined sides – there is no middle ground or any third alternative. (2) Because of that, failure to pass the test results in severe punishment, death or imprisonment – a literal »erasure« of an individual. (3) The words used as shibboleth tests are chosen arbitrarily, although a pattern is showing as they are often taken from the context of everyday (domestic) life (i.e. parsley, tomato, lentils, bread).

5 An Ukrainian news outlet, publishing online.

Thus, they seem to be in a somewhat of a semiotic or ideological disconnect to the identity creation they convey by being used as shibboleths.⁶

An important difference that has shown among individual accounts is one of power-dynamics. In examples where this dynamic is lopsided, it is sometimes the oppressor who administers the test and sometimes the rebel side. Where power-dynamics are even, the narrative is usually about recognizing hidden infiltrators (i.e. spies) within the group.

According to folklore scholars and their texts based on comparative analysis, the presence of this kind of similarities across time and space, as well as their simultaneous occurrence on the geographically very distant areas, is the very proof that these narratives (or their motifs) are in fact *migratory*. This means that their basic ideas are not confined to one social and linguistic group or political entity, but are part of a wider tradition, whose emergence and dissemination knows neither geographical nor social boundaries (Hobbs and McCulloch 2007, 117). These motifs are narrative »parcels« that are constantly »travelling«, passing through time and space, through various folklore genres,⁷ as well as between linguistic and otherwise identifiably bound environments. For this reason, their occurrence can be sought both on a *synchronic* (horizontal or spatial) as well as on the *diachronic* (vertical or temporal) axis (Wolf-Knuts 1987, 173).

Looking for similarities shared among widely dispersed narratives is the key to observing diachronic migration of individual motifs over a long period of time. However, a mere recognition of the folklore motif's broad presence is not enough when trying to understand its concrete effect (*function*) in concrete narrative situations. For this, the fact that with each new transmission (narration), the motifs are repeatedly adapting to the real (historical, cultural) contexts is of much greater importance.

6 There is, however, also one important difference among individual accounts; one regarding power-dynamics, as in certain cases it is the oppressor who administers the test and in others it is the rebel side.

7 Because hereby described migratory motifs usually »attach« themselves to the experiential, everyday reality of people (as they are usually presented as true or at least plausible) they most often create new folklore material in the genre of legend. An example of a general definition of the genre of legend: »A story that [...] takes place in the real world and the unusual event it describes is not impossible or unimaginable; it may even sound plausible. It fits the everyday life of ordinary people and the contemporary value system that surrounds it.« (Dégh 1994, 29)



Migratory motifs tend to contextualize and localize within the cultural realities of people. This contextualization shows itself in the ways of how the narrators – either the ideological authority or everyday storytellers – incorporate elements of their own experiential world into these motifs and vice versa, thereby bringing the narrative closer to their own reality and that of their audience.

Thus, the key to exploring synchronic migration is the comparative search for differences. These differences can be observed in a wide array of different facts, elements of the environment, people, material culture and more broadly, values, emotions, ideologies and other things that are in convention with the experiential world of the bearers of the story. Migratory narratives spread through a process of *selective appropriation* (Bird 2002, 522; Simonsen 1993, 124), i.e. by narrative inclusion of facts, descriptions and other contextual elements during the process of storytelling. In doing so, a multitude of versions specific to particular environment or community emerge, which Carl von Sydow called *ecotypes* (Sydow 1932). This is a direct consequence of the fact that people never remember stories literally, but rather they always reconstruct (Fine 1995, 158) or create them (Lord 1960). Furthermore, this process always takes place in dialogue (Dégh 2001, 45), because in order for a story to be understandable and fulfil its function, both the storyteller and the listener have to come from the same starting discourse (Berger and Luckmann 1966). That is why individual shibboleth accounts strike differently despite their apparent similarities – Haitian Creole cultural reality is thoroughly different from the ancient Hebrew one, and both created a unique new variant(s) (ecotypes) of the otherwise migratory »shibboleth narrative« in the process.

Understanding of context is of vital importance here. The contextualization of migratory folklore means that »[e]vents take place in the world, which is as close as possible to the reality of their bearers. The environment in the migratory stories is thus the environment of the community, so to speak.« (Tangherlini 1994, 5–6) All the narrative accounts share the same context – that of violence (rebellion, war, genocide) between two clearly defined groups. It is thus apparent that this very context seems to be the fertile ground for the shibboleth test migratory narrative motif to »take roots«, to actualize, localize and subsequently create new folklore ecotypes that respond to »here and now« of the people experiencing said



(need for) identity division and subsequent violence – be it Ephraimites and Gileadites in ancient Middle East or Ukrainians and Russians today.⁸

When reading into presented material comparatively, there is one more element that demands reflection. What can the *primary meaning* of shibboleth, as it is presented time and again, tell us? Why are the words such as »shibboleth/ear of corn«, »lentils«, »chickpea«, »bread«, »path« or »Kekec« chosen as a test word, and not any others? Some scholars conclude that the words seem to be chosen deliberately to evoke the notions of domestic life, the taken-for-granted solidarities, which distinguish the natural and known from the artificial and foreign (Scales 2017, 286). This would explain, for instance, the overwhelming presence of »food words« being chosen. It can also be argued that in some conceptual frameworks, Kekec (to focus on a Slovenia example) can be understood as a Slovenian »national« character (Špelec 2013), i.e. linked to the identity of the one who defines and uses the name as a shibboleth.⁹ Other scholars disagree with the notion, stating that the original meaning of the chosen word is without such interpretive weight or is at least of minor importance (for the biblical account, see Speiser 1942, 10). This also corresponds to Derrida's definition of shibboleth: »[I]t has no meaning in and of itself, but becomes something that the individual must be able to recognize and, above all, to label.« (Derrida 1994, 28) The question of the primary meaning of the shibboleth is thus much less crucial than the question of its potential as a signifier of the Other. Just as other symbols of the Other are chosen arbitrarily, the shibboleth seems to also be arbitrary and is thus merely a functional symbol.

8 There is one whole other field of research that can shed some additional light on the matter – that of children's counting-out rhymes (Abrahams and Rankin 1980). Researchers in children's folklore have identified a sub-set of these short folklore forms, by which children choose an individual among themselves by basically performing a shibboleth test. The context here is surprisingly similar to examples, presented in this article – there is an implied »conflict«, where the necessity of an identity distinction is increased, facilitated by the use of a consensually chosen linguistic test. The incorrect pronunciation of the chosen test word symbolically singles out the individual child and temporally ascribes them a different identity to all the others (distinguishing between those who flee and those who chase). This suggests that the »institution« of the linguistic test may be even more important element of narrative folklore than suspected (Kvartič 2016, 266).

9 After a word or a phrase has been used as a linguistic test of identity, it can acquire a whole new set of meanings. »Schild en vrienden«, for example, is today a name of a metapolitical youth movement, related to the popular alt-right movements in Flanders, focusing on Flemish identity and family values.



There is admittedly one important flaw with the analysis I am exercising here, though – the question of veracity of the accounts of shibboleth tests. The narratives present them as true, of course, and it is entirely possible that they are in fact historically (objectively) accurate – not only with their historical context, but the tests themselves. The migratory motif hypothesis I propose here does not allow for that option (Bennett 1985), which is why I will address this question using other researcher's work.

The book of Judges is (along with eleven other books) a part of the historical division of the Old Testament. One of course cannot read these texts merely as accounts in historiography (in the modern sense of the word), describing events objectively, as they truly happened. These books present a wide variety of narrative genres and their intention when composed went far and beyond mere historical reporting (history for history's sake). The biblical writers were not primarily interested in the accurate recording of real events, but rather used stories set in the shared past to illustrate various issues of importance to their audience, namely that of Israelites in B. C. (Coogan 2007, 309).¹⁰ One can therefore reasonably assume that the »aura« of folklore in the Judges 12:5-6 passage is not that far-fetched. Furthermore, some Bible scholars have concluded (using etymological data) that the Shibboleth passage is showing »elements of tradition« and that it is therefore most likely a folkloric rather than a historical record (Speiser 1942, 11).

In the middle ages, narratives of inter-ethnic bloodshed were tightly woven into medieval thought, and it is for that reason only the accounts of it need to be read with caution. The narratives (scarce as they are) tended to fit to these established patterns, projecting ideas of massive ethnic purges onto smaller outbreaks of violence, which were often fairly limited in scope and far more complex in character (Scales 2017, 286). Both Polish and Flemish examples of the language tests are mentioned for the first time in the chronicles much later than when they supposedly happened. In the case of the Flemish uprising (Brugge Metten) in particular, the language test which supposedly sealed the fate of the French is mentioned by just a single chronicler more than a century later

10 For an overview on the Bible's place in Jewish historiography, see Jelinčič Boeta 2023, 186–191.

(see cales 2017, 286). Furthermore, it is hypothesized that the chosen shibboleth »*schild en vriend*« might be etymologically incorrect as the actual shibboleth could have been *s'gilden vriend* (a Friend of Guilds), changing through later retellings. All this led Belgian linguist Pierre Swiggers to call this particular account a »parallel folk-linguistic story« (Swiggers 1981, 205).

An extensive analysis of Creole survivors' recollections of the »Parsley Massacre«, conducted by researcher Lauren Derby, has shown that reports of ethnic identification through the pronunciation of the word *parsley* are most likely folk narratives rather than historical facts (Derby 2006). Other sources also mention that the Dominican dictator Trujillo himself denied identifying Haitian Creoles using said shibboleth (Llosa 2000, 240).

The examples of »lollapalooza« from the World war II and the contemporary Ukrainian one are somewhat distinct as they are not strictly narratives but rather straight instructions, supported and propagated first and foremost by actors of (dominant) ideology.¹¹ However, there doesn't seem to be any concrete evidence that these instructions were ever implemented in real life – my research into this has admittedly not been very thorough, but I could not find any (first hand) memoirs or personal narratives of how »lollapalooza« test had actually been used. I have, on the other hand, been trying very hard to verify the account of the example of Slovenian territorial defence using the shibboleth »Kekec« during the nine-day war for Slovenian independence, only to find out that most of my informants have never even heard of this being the case.

As one can see, there exists quite a significant amount of doubt about the verifiably objective nature of several historic shibboleth tests. I claim, however, that when it comes to (supposedly) migratory folklore material, the question of its veracity is of secondary importance. What is much more important is looking at the concrete variants (ecotypes) and how they are connected to the experiential reality of people or groups that share these stories among themselves. Certain events might have happened, but it is the fact that people feel the need to talk about it through stories

11 As I have remarked already, media instructional pieces on how to recognize Russians among Ukrainians by using certain words were published just three days after the Russian invasion began.



that is of utmost importance, when we try to understand people and their culture. Getting to know and understand this side of (folk) narratives requires fieldwork, participation-observation, a personal and long-lasting connection to the people that tell them and live through them. With most of the presented historical accounts, especially with the biblical one, this is, of course, impossible.

Conclusion

Shibboleth – a mechanism of checking and determining one's identity through speech and pronunciation – is an important cultural and linguistic element that is reflected in narrative folklore as well. Though often overlooked, it is nonetheless an integral part of how communities define themselves inwards and outwards. When employed in everyday or ritualized communication, it plays a vital role both in maintaining the boundaries of an already existing communal identity and in establishing a new one, determining who belongs to it (legitimately habituates it, according to Derrida) and who does not. Shibboleth is thus an illustration of how deeply ingrained into our sense of self our speech patterns are and how the formation of various cultural boundaries is instilled in us through language and communication at an early age.

A very special aspect of this dynamic is a »shibboleth test«, a formalized linguistic trial that decides whether the tested (symbolically or literally) lives or dies. The shibboleth test manifests itself in the contexts of intense inter-ethnic violence, when the need for clear understanding of an individual's identity – belonging to either one of two clearly defined sides – is heightened.

Various examples of such contexts have been presented here, found throughout history and across wide geographical space. However, after a comparative overview of these accounts that point out intriguing similarities across time and space, it is reasonable to assume that at least a significant portion of them can be viewed as examples of ecotypes of an otherwise migratory (folk) narrative motif. This is a motif which follows humanity wherever it goes, and gets articulated, told, retold, and even written down whenever and wherever (inevitable) violent conflicts among



different ethnic, linguistic, national, or otherwise defined human groups occur.

The same is probably true of the biblical account of Judges 12:5-6, known as the Shibboleth incident. The passage has garnered a lot of attention from numerous scholars and various disciplines so far, to which I hope I have added a fresh perspective. I realize that a comparative analysis and interpretation in folkloristics can never be truly finished, as long as new and new narrative materials are showing up – and, as I have illustrated, even the modern new conflicts create new stories of the shibboleth test. After comparing some of the existing accounts, however, I can propose a conclusion that the Bible's Shibboleth incident is neither the »original shibboleth narrative«, from which all the subsequent ones derive, nor is it a standalone story one can read without knowing about other examples. What it is, is the very first recorded (written down) ecotype of an otherwise timeless narrative.



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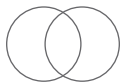


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Mojca Ramšak

Pleasant and Unpleasant Smells in the Bible

Prijetni in neprijetni vonji v Svetem pismu

Abstract: In the Bible and in various religions in general, odour appears in connection with ritual scents, offerings to God, devotion to God, the body odour of anointed bodies, and as a protective agent in the ritual fumigation of rooms. In religious texts, the deities are also described as having a pleasant smell. Incenses, which produce and spread a pleasantly fragrant smoke when burned and are used in religious ceremonies, can be divided into those of plant origin (frankincense, myrrh) and those of animal origin (ambergris), depending on the source of production. Frankincense and myrrh are the fragrances most frequently mentioned in the Bible, but they were also used in cosmetics and medicine due to their pleasant odour and disinfectant effect. Ambergris is not mentioned in the Bible, but its occasional ritual use in Christianity can be deduced from other sources. In addition to frankincense, the Bible also mentions other fragrant substances, mainly of plant origin (galbanum, mastic, cassia, cinnamon, aloe, cypress, sweet flag, saffron), various plant mixtures (nard, balsam), and mineral fragrances. On the other hand, the sacred texts also mention the stench, which is always associated with impurity and immorality. In the article, the author uses examples from the Bible to show the binary nature of odours according to their function.

Keywords: smell, malodour, religion, Bible, symbolism

Izleček: V Svetem pismu in nasploh v različnih verstvih se vonj pojavlja v povezavi z obrednimi vonjavami, darovanjem Bogu, predanostjo Bogu, telesnim vonjem maziljencev in kot zaščitno sredstvo pri obrednem pokajevanju prostorov. V verskih besedilih so božanstva opisana tudi kot prijetno dišeča. Kadila, ki pri gorenju proizvajajo in širijo prijetno dišeč dim ter se uporabljajo pri verskih obredih, lahko glede na izvor pridelave razdelimo na tista rastlinskega izvora (kadilo, mira) in živalskega izvora (ambra). Kadilo in mira sta dišavi, ki ju Sveto pismo največkrat omenja, a so ju zaradi prijetnega vonja in razkužilnega učinka uporabljali tudi v kozmetiki in medicini. Ambra v Svetem pismu ni omenjena, vendar je o njeni občasni obredni uporabi v krščanstvu mogoče razbrati iz drugih virov. Poleg kadila Sveto pismo omenja tudi druge dišavne snovi, predvsem rastlinskega izvora (galbanum, mastiks, kasija, cimet, aloja, cipresa, pravi kolmež, žafran), različne rastlinske mešanice (narda, balzam) in mineralne dišave. Nasprotno pa sveta besedila omenjajo tudi smrad, ki je vedno povezan z nečistostjo in nemoralnostjo. Avtorica v članku prikaže binarnost vonjav glede na njihovo funkcijo na primerih iz Svetega pisma.

Gljučne besede: vonj, smrad, religija, Sveto pismo, simbolika

Introduction

Within the complex web of human sensory experience, the interplay of smell and religion proves to be a fascinating area of research.¹ By illuminating the subtle complexities underlying the olfactory aspects of religious experience, the complex relationships between scent and ritual, sacred spaces, and spiritual beliefs in different civilizations, especially in the Bible, we better understand the symbolic significance of scent and its function in religious devotion.

According to Jonathan Reinartz, who has written about the history of the senses, smell plays an important role in various religious traditions (Reinartz 2014, 25). He summarizes the studies on the relationship between smell and religion and divides religious smells into several categories: sacrificial smells, incense, holy oils, and other fragrant scents in the presence of the divine; the smells of saints and martyrs; and the stench of hell.

Reinartz emphasizes that as part of rituals and ceremonies, odours could cleanse, purify, heal, ward off, or initiate communion with God; they could also contaminate, pollute, and endanger; at the very least, they could serve as a warning of potential dangers and evil inclinations. Smells have permeated religious practices and are central to deciphering their various meanings (Reinartz 2014, 25).

The earliest associations between perfume and religious practice, for example, come from Egyptian culture, where many fragrant plants were known as »fruits of the eye of Re« (or Ra), which sprang from the eye of the Sun god; others were believed to have come from the bones of deities. In the Buddhist tradition, some of these plants were referred to as »beloved by a particular god«. Although the senses were not embedded in early Christianity, by the 4th century, even Christian practices became deeply sensual and the importance and use of smells increased dramatically. The emergence of »a lavishly olfactory piety« dates from the 5th century in Christian expressions, rituals, and associated devotional experiences.

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Incense, which had previously been condemned for its association with pagan rituals, quickly became a part of every private and public Christian ceremony. Fragrant oils were also gradually used sacramentally. They were applied to individuals during paraliturgical rites as well as baptisms and other rituals in order to distinguish a select group from others and, at the same time, link them to a single God. The hagiographic literature of this period also began to emphasize smell. Scents and smells were increasingly mentioned in hymns, sermons, and other texts and manuals. Christianity spread its aromatic message throughout the Roman Empire and beyond. When the Germanic tribes invaded the empire, the heavily perfumed rituals were thoroughly dismantled and corrupted by the foul-smelling hordes (Reinarz 2014, 26). By the 8th century, prayers, then the liturgy itself, and all religious occasions were immersed in the scent of incense. Aromatic scents enveloped every Christian house, every shrine, every tomb, every church, every pilgrimage site, and every monk's cell, transforming these earthly spaces into ceremonial ones. Although the sense of smell was no more important than the other senses, it became an integral part of religious life at the time. This is also true of the aromatic metaphors used in rabbinic interpretations of biblical stories, which evoke a variety of scents and meanings when reflecting on themes such as love, death, and the divine (Reinarz 2014, 27).

1 Smells, mentioned in the Bible

There are various views on the relationship between religion and smell. For example, the Zondervan *Encyclopedia of the Bible*, edited by Tenney in 1976, contains terms that refer to ritual odours, perfumes, aromatic substances of natural origin, vessels, places of worship and symbolic function of smell in religion. Among the biblical scents, incense, and frankincense are the ones that receive the most attention, and therefore most entries refer to these scents (e.g. altar of incense, censer[incense-burner], perfume, smoke, myrrh, spikenard, stacte [storax], galbanum, cassia, and cinnamon).

The Encyclopedia of the Bible provides a comprehensive exploration of various aspects related to aromatic substances in the Bible. The entry on *Incense* looks at the etymology of incense, its historical use in the



ancient Near East, the various sources from which it originated, the different types of incense and their methods of preparation, its importance in daily life, its religious applications, the symbolic references to incense, and the purpose of offering incense. A thorough examination of the multifaceted nature of incense highlights its cultural, religious, and symbolic dimensions. It defines incense as a material burned to produce a fragrant smoke, or the fragrant smoke produced in that way, and states that it was used by the Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Arabs, and Canaanites from the earliest times for which there are records of worship. The Canaanites, the closest neighbours of the Hebrews, have left various incense stands, altars, censers, and spoons in cities dating to the second millennium BC. Egyptian depictions of sieges of Canaanite cities sometimes show a man on the wall holding a stand in which incense is smoking, doubtless to reinforce the prayers of the men standing behind him with arms raised. Incense came from southern Arabia (frankincense, myrrh), Somaliland (frankincense), Palestine (saffron, stacte), the Red Sea (onycha), Persia (galbanum), India (nard), and Ceylon (cinnamon). The Arabs controlled much of the incense trade (Genesis 37:25; 1 Kings 10:10; Ezekiel 27:22), and this trade brought wealth to Sheba and other kingdoms in southern Arabia (Tenney 1976, s.v. »Incense«).

The incense most often mentioned in the Bible is frankincense, sometimes used alone and also in the holy incense. It was mixed in equal parts with stacte, onycha, galbanum and some salt to make the holy incense for the altar of incense (Exodus 30:34-35). This recipe was not to be used for secular purposes (Exodus 30:38). The offerings provided incense for use in the sanctuary (Numbers 7:14-86; Jeremiah 17:26; 41:5), and it was kept in the Temple (Nehemiah 13:5.9).

The writer of Jubilees reflects the Jewish practice of the 2nd century BC by attributing incense offerings to the patriarchs: to Adam: frankincense and galbanum (3:27), to Abraham: frankincense, galbanum, stacte, nard, myrrh, spice and costus (16:24), and to Jacob: incense (32:6). Josephus says that in the temple of his time (1st century AD) thirteen elements were used for the holy incense. According to the Talmud, the following ingredients were used in the production of the holy incense of the Second Temple: resin (corresponding to the stacte in Exodus 30:34), onycha, galbanum,



frankincense, seventy manehs² each; myrrh, cassia, spikenard, saffron, sixteen manehs each; costus, twelve manehs; aromatic bark, three manehs; cinnamon, nine manehs; lye from leeks, six kabs; Cyprus wine, three seahs and three kabs; salt of Sodom, a quarter kab; smoke-raiser, a small quantity; and also Jordan resin, a small quantity. The Egyptian incense called »kyphi« had sixteen elements, and in the Babylonian and Assyrian incense offerings, several materials were combined. The priestly family of Abtinas was responsible for pounding and mixing the holy incense, and only they knew the secret of making incense whose smoke rose straight up. Incense is described in ordinary life as »perfume« that brings joy (Proverbs 27:9). It could be burned by a prostitute at a banquet (Ezekiel 23:41) and passed around in bowls after a banquet. It perfumed the litter of Solomon (Song of Solomon 3:6) and was an element of luxurious living in Rome (Revelation 18:13). Numbers 16:46-48 illustrate the use of incense for fumigation to stop a plague. Incense was burned at the funerals of kings (2 Chronicles 16:14; 21:19; Jeremiah 34:5), and perhaps Amos 6:9-10 indicates the same custom among common people. As for the religious use of incense, the worship of Baal, the Queen of Heaven, and other foreign gods by means of incense is frequently condemned in the Old Testament (e.g. 1 Kings 11:8; Jeremiah 44:17.19.25). Also condemned are the pagan »altars of incense«, usually »images« (Leviticus 26:30), and the »altars for burning incense« (2 Chronicles 30:14). The burning of incense at the shrines on »high places« is also often criticized (e.g. 1 Kings 22:43), either because these high places were associated with idolatry (14:23) or because they contradicted the centralization of worship in Jerusalem (3:2). The prophetic criticism of the offering of incense in the worship of the Lord (Isaiah 1:13; 66:3; Jeremiah 6:20) is not an absolute denial but only part of the prophets' condemnation of empty formalism. The bronze serpent (Numbers 21:9) was worshipped with incense until Hezekiah removed this temptation to idolatry (2 Kings 18:4). It was apparently believed that incense would help drive out demons (Tobit 6:7; 8:2, 3). According to the law, only priests descended from Aaron were allowed to offer incense (Leviticus 2:2). Those who attempted to usurp the priestly function of offering incense were punished with death (Numbers 16:31-32) or disease (2 Chronicles 26:19), and even priests who improperly offered incense

2 *Māneh* or mina (Hebrew), an ancient unit of weight and value equal to 1/60 talent.



were killed (Leviticus 10:1-2). In the special case of a plague, Aaron offered the incense with a censer, not in the sanctuary as usual, but in the camp (Numbers 16:46-47). Frankincense was added to various meal offerings on the altar of burnt offering (Leviticus 2:1-2.15-16; 6:15). It was also added to the bread of the Presence (Leviticus 24:7) in two dishes, which were made of gold. After a week, this frankincense was burned together with the bread on the altar of burnt offering. The priest offered the compound holy incense morning and evening on the gold-covered altar in front of the curtain. According to Exodus 30:1-10, Aaron, the high priest, did this; later the priests were chosen by lot to fulfil this task (Luke 1:9). On the Day of Atonement, the high priest offered the compound incense in a censer on the ark or, in the second temple, on a stone in the Holy of Holies (Leviticus 16:12-13) (Tenney 1976, s.v. »Incense«).

Zondervan *Encyclopedia of the Bible* also mentions figurative references to incense. The beauty of wisdom and the memory of Josiah are compared to incense. In the New Testament, incense is used as a symbol for the knowledge of Christ (2 Corinthians 2:14), for the offering of the Philippians to Paul (Philippians 4:18), and for the prayers of the saints (Revelation 5:8; 8:3-4). The various materials of holy incense are interpreted allegorically as a symbol of God's ownership of the whole world. The main purpose of incense, like other offerings, was to honour God (Malachi 1:11). Incense symbolized and expressed prayer (Psalm 141:2; Judith 9:1; Luke 1:10; Revelation 5:8; 8:3-4). The incense offering served as atonement for sin (Numbers 16:46, 47). The smoke of the incense on the Day of Atonement veiled the mercy seat from the eyes of the high priest so that he would not die from seeing God's glory (Leviticus 16:13). Hyrcanus and Zechariah were given divine revelations (Luke 1:5-21) while offering incense. Maimonides, a physician, suggested that the incense also had the practical value of counteracting the odour of the bloody sacrifices (Tenney 1976, s.v. »Incense«).

According to Jütte (2012), the symbolic value of smell is repeatedly emphasized in the Bible in the sense that smell carries the seal of the Lord, and that Jesus was sweet-smelling, which explains the great importance of smell in Christian worship, e.g., in the cults around saints and in the ritual use of incense, myrrh, and scented chrism. In Judaism, there are spice boxes with fragrant herbs that are consumed at the end of the Sabbath



as a sign of distinction between the secular weekday and the sacred day of rest. Considering the widespread use of fragrances in world religions, we must not overlook the fact that the missionary early Fathers of the Church considered fragrances as a source of temptation, and were only prepared to accept them, if at all, in a purely spiritual form, purged of the dross of profanity (Jütte 2012, 315–316).

In early modern visual representations of the five senses (e.g. those of the Dutch painter Marten de Vos, 1532–1603) we find painted scenes in which God breathes soul into Adam («Then the Lord God formed man from the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man became a living being» [Genesis 2:7]) or in which Mary Magdalene anoints the feet of Jesus («Mary took a pound of costly perfume made of pure nard, anointed Jesus' feet, and wiped them with her hair. The house was filled with the fragrance of the perfume.» [John 12:3]). These examples show how breath and fragrance were seen as symbols of divine proximity or presence. Hrabanus Maurus (c. 780–856) points out that Jesus was sweet-smelling, a reading for which there is much support in the New Testament: «But thanks be to God, who in Christ always leads us in triumphal procession and through us spreads in every place the fragrance that comes from knowing him. For we are the aroma of Christ to God among those who are being saved and among those who are perishing to the one group a fragrance from death to death, to the other a fragrance from life.» (2 Corinthians 2:14–16) This also explains why Francis of Sales (1567–1622) used images such as «odeur» (smell), «onguents» (ointment) or «parfums» in his vocabulary of devoutness. Fragrances can also be a sign of paradise, especially in the medieval veneration of saints and relics (Jütte 2012, 316).

In the Christian churches, including the Roman Catholic, Maronite Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Assyrian Church of the East, Armenian Apostolic, Oriental Orthodox, some Lutheran, Old Catholic, Methodist, Reformed, Presbyterian, and Anglican churches, and various other spiritual or ritual traditions, including some Gnostic churches and Freemasonry, a portable censer on one or more chains is used in the performance of ceremonies in which the altar server burns incense on burning coals.

Frankincense occurs fourteen times in the Old Testament and twice in the New Testament. Most of the references in the Old Testament are



instructions on how to and how not to use this fragrance (Leviticus 2:1; 5:11). Song of Solomon 3:6 refers to frankincense as a perfume. The references in the New Testament are Matthew 2:11, where frankincense is one of the gifts brought by wise men, and Revelation 18:13, which deals with the fall of Babylon. Frankincense is obtained from the resin of the *Boswellia* tree. There are three species from which the resin can be extracted, namely *B. carterii*, *B. papyrifera* and *B. thurifera*. The gum is collected in the summer. It is customary to first peel the bark back and then make a deep cut with a sharp knife (Tenney 1976, s.v. »Frankincense«).

Until the early 19th century, our knowledge of frankincense and myrrh and their role in the economy of ancient southern Arabia was based exclusively on mentions in the Bible and Greek and Roman literature. The biblical authors made it clear that the incense trade was one of the pillars of the South Arabian economy, and to this general picture, classical authors added a wealth of information. Unfortunately, their testimonies are not equally reliable and often contradict each other, as their sources contain legendary material and were obtained second- or third-hand, and these conflicts could not be resolved until new data came to light. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, several researchers and investigators discovered important clues to the production and distribution of incense. Although some scholars have looked at various aspects of this material, the first thorough evaluation of the ancient sources in the light of modern data was undertaken by Adolf Grohmann. According to van Beek, Grohmann's study, which was published in two parts in 1922 and 1933 (*Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet I, in Osten und Orient*, Vienna, 1922; *Schriften der Philosophischen Fakultät der Deutschen Universität in Prag*, 13, Brünn, 1933), remains the standard work in this field (van Beek 1958, 141).

When the incense, the resin of some trees, such as frankincense or olibanum tree (*Boswellia sacra*) and myrrh (*Commiphora myrrha*), melts, it emits a pleasant fragrance (Thurible 2021). Sacred frankincense is the tree resin of the *Boswellia sacra* plant, a 2–8-metres high, deciduous semi-desert tree that grows in Yemen, Oman, Somalia, and on the Yemeni island of Socotra in the Indian Ocean. The sacred frankincense is the incense resin used in Christian religious services. The trees start to produce resin when they are about 8–10 years old. The resin is obtained



by making a small, shallow incision in the trunk or branches of the tree or by removing part of the bark. The resin comes out in the form of a milky substance that coagulates in contact with air. The resin is collected by hand. Frankincense was an important commodity in the Middle East and the source of its great wealth. Frankincense has been traded on the Arabian Peninsula for over 5,000 years. The ancient frankincense route led from present-day Yemen through the former Kingdom of Saba to Egypt and via Aqaba to Gaza. Over time, this land route became less important, and trade was carried out by sea. During the Silk Road period, incense was also traded from the Horn of Africa. The Greek historian Herodotus wrote that frankincense was harvested from trees in southern Arabia. He reported that collecting the resinous ooze was dangerous because of the winged snakes that guarded the trees and that the smoke from the burning resin drove the snakes away. Incense is also mentioned by Pliny the Elder. Crusaders and other Western Europeans brought it with them to Western Europe on their journeys to the Eastern Roman Empire, where incense was commonly used in religious services. In ancient times, southern Arabia was an exporter of frankincense, which was traded as far away as China. Incense can also mean a mixture of different resins burned for ritual purposes (Shintoism, Buddhism, Orthodox, and Catholic churches). Christian ritual incense burning has its origins in pagan rituals that served to ward off evil spirits, secure the favour of unknown powers, and ensure a rich harvest. Christianity replaced this with its blessings, sacramentals, and offerings such as incense, which later became a symbol of prayer ascending to God. Frankincense is mentioned as one of the gifts that, according to the biblical story, the wise men from the East who came to worship the newborn Jesus brought with them. This was intended to symbolize the divinity of Jesus (Boswellia sacra 2023; Frankincense 2023; Fiebach and Grimm 2000, 7). When offering a Grain Offering to God, the Bible advises believers in several places to take a handful of flour and oil together with frankincense and the priest should burn it on the altar as a memorial offering. It is an offering for a sweet fragrance to God (Leviticus 2, Grain Offerings).

The price of incense used to be high, but today it is more affordable. But the high price is justified because it takes twenty years, from the time the tree is planted, for it to secrete enough resin. During this time, it must be cared for and watered, and the collectors of resin drops must be paid.



This resin must then be dried and turned into an essential oil. The price of frankincense resins on the market includes all of these things. You also need to think about ethical cultivation. The user must remember that a small piece of incense on a burning coal is enough for a religious or other spiritual ceremony.

Another fragrance used in Christian worship is myrrh. Myrrh is a natural gum or resin obtained from small, thorny African-Arabic trees of the genus *Commiphora*. It is obtained by cutting the tree several times so that the resin flows out. Myrrh is waxy and hardens quickly. After picking, it becomes firm and shiny. The resin is yellowish and can be clear or opaque. The older resin is darker and has white streaks. Myrrh is often harvested from the *Commiphora myrrha* tree. Another common name, *Commiphora molmol*, is now considered a synonym of *Commiphora myrrha*. It is native to parts of Saudi Arabia, Oman, Yemen, Somalia, Eritrea, and eastern Ethiopia. The granular, reddish-yellow mass contains gum, resin, essential oil, and bitter substances; it has a pleasant aromatic smell and a bitter taste. In the past, it was used as an incense, perfume, and anti-inflammatory agent (e.g., in the form of a bandage to treat wounds or as a painkiller for toothache), but now it is also used in dental care products as an antiseptic for rinsing the mouth, gargling, toothpaste, and ointments. It is also used in pain-relieving poultices and healing balms as a poultice for abrasions, bruises, sprains, pain, and skin diseases. The uses of myrrh are similar to those of *Boswellia sacra*, with which it is often combined in poultices and ointments and as incense. Its use was already attested in ancient Egypt, where it was one of the ingredients for embalming. Today, it is used as incense for liturgical purposes and is mixed with frankincense and other fragrances in the Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches, the traditional Roman Catholic Church, and the Anglican Episcopal Church. Myrrh is also used in the preparation of sacramental chrism (Myrrh 2023).

The chrism (Gr. *khrisma*) is consecrated holy olive oil with a fragrant balsam containing, among other things, myrrh. The priest uses it to anoint the believers during certain Christian ceremonies, e.g., the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, ordination to the priesthood, and the sacrament of consecration. A chrism container is a chrismarium. Chrism is prepared by the bishop on Maundy Thursday (the Thursday before Easter) in a special Chrism Mass. Holy oils were also used to anoint kings during the



coronation ritual (e.g., Napoleon was anointed with chrism by Pope Pius VII). In the Middle East, the Eastern Orthodox Church traditionally uses oil scented with myrrh (and other fragrances) to perform the sacrament of Chrismation (Chisholm 1911; Chrism 2023).

Since olive oil is naturally rich, diffuse, and persistent, it is suitable as a symbol of the abundant flow of sacramental grace, and balsam, which exudes very pleasant and fragrant odours, stands for the sweetness of Christian virtue. Balm protects against corruption, while oil gives strength and flexibility to the limbs. Therefore, the term »anointing with chrism« precisely describes the fullness of grace and the spiritual strength that enables us to ward off the spread of sin and bear fruit that is both delicious and virtuous (Morrisroe 1908).

In the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, myrrh is mentioned as a body odour or a gift, namely in the Book of Psalms in the Royal Wedding Song (Psalm 45), which is characterized by a rich figurative style and is dedicated to the worship of God: »You love righteousness and hate wickedness. Therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness beyond your companions« (Psalm 45:7); and »Your robes are all fragrant with myrrh and aloes and cassia. From ivory palaces stringed instruments make you glad.« (Psalm 45:8)

Myrrh is further mentioned in the Song of Songs. First in the Solomon's Song of Songs, when the betrothed worships King Solomon of the Jews (Song of Songs 1): »While the king was on his couch [in his enclosure or garden], my nard gave forth its fragrance. My beloved is to me a bag of myrrh that lies between my breasts.« (Song of Songs 1:12-13) However, Zondervan *Encyclopedia of the Bible* states that the words »a bag of myrrh« could not refer to *C. myrrha*. Botanists doubt that it could have been in one of King Solomon's gardens (Tenney 1976, s.v. »Myrrh«).

And the betrothed, in the most famous part of the Song of Songs (Song of Songs 4), after admiring her fiancé, calmly concluded, »Until the day breathes and the shadows flee, I will hasten to the mountain of myrrh and the hill of frankincense. You are altogether beautiful, my love; there is no flaw in you.« (Song of Songs 4:6-7) »How sweet is your love, my sister, my bride! How much better is your love than wine, and the fragrance



of your oils than any spice! Your lips distil nectar, my bride; honey and milk are under your tongue; the scent of your garments is like the scent of Lebanon. A garden locked is my sister, my bride, a garden locked, a fountain sealed. Your channel is an orchard of pomegranates with all choicest fruits, henna with nard, nard and saffron, calamus and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense, myrrh and aloes, with all chief spices – a garden fountain, a well of living water, and flowing streams from Lebanon.« (4:10-15) With these words, he metaphorically opens the door to her fiancé's paradise garden, for she answers him, »Awake, O north wind, and come, O south wind! Blow upon my garden that its fragrance may be wafted abroad. Let my beloved come to his garden that he may eat its choicest fruits.« (4:16) And further, »I arose to open to my beloved, and my hands dripped with myrrh, my fingers with liquid myrrh, upon the handles of the bolt« (5:5).

The Song of Songs is a love song to a flamboyant eroticism, a celebration of the privileged relationship of a people to its God or an anticipation for others of their spiritual union with Christ. The diffusion of perfumes or aromatics and their power of attraction extend to both carnal and spiritual relations. People did not make use of the same products in everyday life, but fragrant oils and perfumes, as the Song of Songs reminds us, were commonly used to seduce a lover, welcome visitors, or anoint the dead (Le Breton 2017, 155). The Song of Songs calls it »pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, with all the fragrant powders of the merchant« (3:6).

The Book of Esther (Esther 2) tells the story of the adopted and imprisoned Jewess Esther who saved the Jews in Persia from the massacre prepared by the scheming royal advisor Haman. In the part about Esther becoming queen, it says: »Before a young woman's turn came to go in to King Xerxes, she had to complete twelve months of beauty treatments prescribed for the women, six months with oil of myrrh and six with perfumes and cosmetics.« (Esther 2:12)

In the New Testament, myrrh is mentioned in connection with the offering of the Magi to Jesus, which was brought at his birth in the Gospel according to Matthew, Visit of the Magi (Matthew 2:1-12): »On coming to the house, they saw the child with his mother Mary, and they bowed down



and worshiped him. Then they opened their treasures and presented him with gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh.«

The fragrances that accompanied Jesus at his birth also accompanied him at his death. The apostle John (John 19), Jesus' favourite disciple, describes the burial of the latter as follows:

Later, Joseph of Arimathea asked Pilate for the body of Jesus. Now Joseph was a disciple of Jesus, but secretly because he feared the Jewish leaders. With Pilate's permission, he came and took the body away. He was accompanied by Nicodemus, the man who earlier had visited Jesus at night. Nicodemus brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about seventy-five pounds [or about 34 kilograms] Taking Jesus' body, the two of them wrapped it, with the spices, in strips of linen. This was in accordance with Jewish burial customs. (John 19:38-42)

The New Testament ends in Revelation (Revelation 18) with the fall of Babylon:

The merchants of the earth will weep and mourn over her because no one buys their cargoes anymore—cargoes of gold, silver, precious stones and pearls; fine linen, purple, silk and scarlet cloth; every sort of citron wood, and articles of every kind made of ivory, costly wood, bronze, iron and marble; cargoes of cinnamon and spice, of incense, myrrh and frankincense, of wine and olive oil, of fine flour and wheat; cattle and sheep; horses and carriages; and human beings sold as slaves. (Revelation 18:11-13)

2 Malodour, mentioned in the Bible

In contrast to the good smell of Christ, sin was foul affair, and the correspondence between bad smells and evil was widespread in religious literature. In Mesopotamian mythology, the descent of Ishtar into the underworld was noted for the absence of pleasant odours in the realm of the dead. Sinners were often described as the human equivalent of pigs, wallowing in their sins as if in dung. They took on an unpleasant odour



associated with their offensive activities, and by the 14th century, they had become stinking to God. The lecherous and the heretics supposedly smelled like boars or pigs and carried their stench everywhere. The physical consequences of immorality, such as illness, physical decay, and decomposition, were also regularly interpreted as direct consequences of sin. These and the presence of smell announced the presence of sin. That is, to be mortal was to reek of sin; in other words, life on earth stinks, while heavenly scents come only after death (Reinarz 2014, 43).

The Bible mentions the connection between sin and stench in several places, for example, in relation to hatred: »The righteous hate what is false, but the wicked make themselves a stench and bring shame on themselves« (Proverbs 13:5); or, by refusing to believe in God: »I hate, I despise your religious festivals; your assemblies are a stench to me. Even though you bring me burnt offerings and grain offerings, I will not accept them. Though you bring choice fellowship offerings, I will have no regard for them.« (Amos 5:21-22)

The stench was not caused by God, neither as a sign of punishment nor of disfavour. Its source was always the work of Satan. It was the result of human sin and the condition brought about by sin. Wherever such odours occurred, whether sulphurous or faecal, they proclaimed the continuing presence of Satan and his threat to the community. Moreover, candidates for sainthood were occasionally warned of sweet odours of diabolical origin. It is not surprising that reports of hell were more often associated with bad odours and hateful exhalations (Reinarz 2014, 43-44).

Sulphur odour, which actually smells like rotten eggs and is usually associated with a natural gas leak, is mentioned in both the Old and New Testaments as »burning sulphur« (Genesis 19:24; Deuteronomy 29:23; Job 18:15; Psalm 11:6; Isaiah 30:33; 34:9; Ezekiel 38:22; Revelation 14:10; 19:20; 20:10; 21:8). In the Bible, the smell of sulphur stands for death, immorality, the devil, God's wrath, the punishment of the wicked, and destruction.

The geologist Salomon Kroonenberg (2013) explains that many biblical stories can be explained by geological phenomena. Biblical stories in which sulphur does not come out of the ground but falls from the sky like rain could be a reference to the eruption of Thera around 1600



BC, or perhaps come from one of the volcanoes on the Golan Heights, although they are actually too old, or from the sulphur deposits in Be'eri on the coast, but certainly not from Gehenna or sheol. What hell actually was in the Bible remains unclear. In the Old Testament, the Hebrew word sheol is translated as »hell«, but also as »grave« or »pit«. From the texts, it is hard to tell much more than that it was deep underground and that fire blazed there. There is no indication of where sheol was located, and it did not smell of sulphur (Kroonenberg 2013, 19).

In Revelation (20:10), there is the explanation of the punishment, which tells us how the devil was first thrown into the abyss for 1,000 years, after which he was released. Then the beast, the false prophet, the devil himself, and finally »the unbelieving, the vile, the murderers, the sexually immoral, those who practice magic arts, the idolaters and all liars – they will be consigned to the fiery lake of burning sulphur, where they will be tormented day and night forever and ever« (Revelation 20:10; 21:8). So the abyss, the lake of fire, and brimstone are different places, indicating that there is some spatial planning in the underworld. And there is sulphur, which comes from a lake that, according to Kroonenberg, represents the end of a geological mystery that is only revealed at the end of Revelation (2013, 19).

Summary

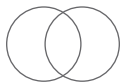
In various religious traditions, pleasant odours are often associated with purity, holiness, and spiritual well-being, while bad odours can be associated with impurity, sin, and moral corruption. Despite the seemingly binary nature of scents, their meanings can vary greatly depending on the specific beliefs and practices of each religion. The only way to understand the differences is to read sacred texts and place them in contexts that are known and taken for granted today but were not in the past.



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Predrag Ljubotina and Andrej Raspor

Does Religious Affiliation Affect Students' Entrepreneurial Intention?

*Ali verska pripadnost vpliva
na podjetniško namero študentov?*

Abstract: In the present research, we have analysed the differences between important global religious orientations in entrepreneurial intention, which the student population shows when making a career decision. Using quantitative approach, we investigated the influence of personal and environmental factors on students' entrepreneurial intention at a global level. 154,535 students from 52 countries participated in the survey. We examined and detected the different influences of individual factors on students' entrepreneurial intention in four observed groups: Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and individuals who do not belong to any religion. Important differences were detected between the groups, which can help state and religious institutions create their programs and activities to fulfil their mission. Our findings show that members of Islam have the strongest entrepreneurial intention. The lowest level of entrepreneurial intention was detected among students who do not follow any religion. In all groups, men express a stronger entrepreneurial intention compared to women. Among the members of Islam, we detected significant differences compared to the other groups, namely in the influence of the university environment, locus of control and subjective norms. Similarly, we found that the perceived level of inequality in society significantly shapes the entrepreneurial intention among Muslims and individuals who do not follow any religion, while there is no such influence among Buddhists and Christians. In addition to the above, the research findings also opened up several new questions, which we want to be the motive for further in-depth research.

Keywords: religions, student's entrepreneurial intention, university environment, entrepreneurial skills, power distance, entrepreneurial attitude

Izvelek: V raziskavi smo analizirali razlike med pomembnimi globalnimi verskimi usmeritvami na področju dejavnikov, ki oblikujejo podjetniško namero študentov. S kvantitativnim pristopom smo raziskovali vpliv osebnostnih in okoljskih dejavnikov na podjetniško namero študentov na globalni ravni. V raziskavi je sodelovalo 154.535 študentov iz 52 držav. Preverili in zaznali smo različne vplive posameznih dejavnikov na podjetniško namero študentov v štirih opazovanih skupinah: budizem, krščanstvo, islam in posamezniki, ki ne pripadajo nobeni veri. Med skupinami so zaznane značilne razlike, ki lahko pomagajo državnim in verskim ustanovam pri oblikovanju programov in aktivnosti za izpolnjevanje njihovega poslanstva. Naše ugotovitve kažejo, da imajo pripadniki islama najizrazitejšo podjetniško namero. Najnižjo stopnjo podjetniške namere smo zaznali pri študentih, ki ne pripadajo nobeni veroizpovedi. V vseh skupinah moški izražajo močnejšo podjetniško namero

kot ženske. Med pripadniki islama smo zaznali pomembne razlike v primerjavi z drugimi skupinami, in sicer v vplivu univerzitetnega okolja, lokusu nadzora in subjektivnih normah. Podobno smo ugotovili, da zaznana stopnja neenakosti v družbi pomembno oblikuje podjetniško namero pri muslimanih in posameznikih, ki ne sledijo nobeni veri, medtem ko pri budistih in kristjanih tega vpliva ni zaznati. Poleg naštetega so izsledki raziskave odprli tudi nekaj novih vprašanj, za katera želimo, da so motiv za nadaljnje poglobljeno raziskovanje.

Ključne besede: religije, podjetniška namera študentov, univerzitetno okolje, podjetniške sposobnosti, distanca moči, podjetniška naravnost

1 Introduction

Understanding students' career intentions is crucial for educational institutions and policymakers to design effective career development programs and interventions. The same can be said about other institutions that are important for humanity but rarely mentioned in entrepreneurial research, among which religious institutions are certainly in the first place. Researching students' career intentions provides valuable insights into their aspirations, motivations, and decision-making processes regarding their future careers. This paper discusses the importance of religious affiliation on students' career intentions, highlighting the various factors that influence these intentions and the potential implications for educational institutions, religious institutions and students themselves.

Existing evidence suggests that the period after study is essential for career decisions. Understanding the results and implications of career decision-making is important, and can be relevant to the post-study period (Ma 2018). Understanding the reasons for differences in career maturity levels is vital for career decision-making after study (Duru 2022). It is emphasised that students need to know why they need education, find and use information, look for alternatives, and make plans. This suggests that career decision-making is relevant to the post-study period (Abdullah 2019; Park et al. 2019). It is critically important that student gather knowledge through education to help them decide their future careers. Religious institutions have been one of the most important institutions offering this knowledge for thousands of years.

Career guidance programs for students have to be as effective as possible to decrease difficulties in career decision-making. This implies that career guidance programs can benefit individuals during the post-study period



when making career decisions (Monica 2018). Considering that religious institutions remain active in the students' lives even after the end of their studies, they ensure continuity over a more extended period. Besides that, religion significantly shapes the associations between career decision-making difficulties and negative emotional states since career decision-making difficulties can be associated with depression, anxiety, and stress (Anghel and Gati 2021).

Factors such as entrepreneurship personality, family environment and entrepreneurship education have been found to contribute to students' career planning (Adha et al. 2022). By identifying these factors, educational institutions can implement interventions and support systems that promote positive career intentions and outcomes. Researching students' career intentions helps educational institutions develop targeted and effective career development programs. By understanding students' career aspirations, institutions can tailor their curriculum, extracurricular activities, and support services to align with students' interests and goals (Adha et al. 2022). This alignment enhances students' engagement, motivation, and satisfaction, ultimately leading to better academic and career outcomes (Tuffley and Brent 2019).

Researching students' career intentions allows examining potential cultural variations in career decision-making processes. A study using social cognitive career theory found that culturally diverse undergraduate students may have different sources of learning that contribute to their career intentions (Byars-Winston and Rogers 2018). Differences in religious affiliation are undoubtedly critical factors of intercultural differences. By understanding these variations, educational and religious institutions can develop inclusive career development programs that address the unique needs and experiences of diverse student populations (Walker et al. 2022).

Overall, the references provide evidence that suggests career decision-making is essential during the post-study period. They highlight the need for understanding career maturity and the effectiveness of different career guidance programs. Existing findings imply that the post-study period is critical for individuals to make informed career decisions and consider various factors that can impact their career paths. It is why researching students' career intentions is paramount for educational institutions,



policymakers, and researchers. It provides valuable insights into students' aspirations, motivations, and decision-making processes regarding their future careers. By understanding these intentions, institutions can develop targeted career development programs, identify factors influencing career decision-making, enhance career adaptability, promote diversity and inclusion, and support students' career intentions. Researching students' career intentions contributes to better educational outcomes, increased student satisfaction, and successful career transitions.

A critical decision when choosing a career is choosing between employment and entrepreneurship. For the latter, the entrepreneurial intention of the individual is fundamental (Kolvereid 1996). Religion has been found to have an essential influence on entrepreneurial intention. Several studies have explored the relationship between religion and entrepreneurial intentions, examining the impact of religious beliefs, religious affiliation, and religiosity on individuals' intentions to start their businesses. It is found that religious affiliation, compared to identifying as Agnostic/Atheist, had a positive relationship with entrepreneurial intentions. Additionally, the studies showed that religiosity, beyond religious affiliation, affected intentions differently across different religions (Giacomin et al. 2023). Religious beliefs have also been found to play a role in shaping entrepreneurial intentions. The influence of religious beliefs, psychological and cognitive factors, and social influence on the entrepreneurial intentions of students in higher education institutions was analysed in the past. A recent study found that religious beliefs were one of the dimensions that directly influenced entrepreneurial intentions (Rodrigues, Silva, and Franco 2023). Furthermore, the influence of religion on entrepreneurial intentions has been examined from an Islamic perspective. Majid et al. (2018) conducted a study comparing the entrepreneurial intentions of religious and non-religious groups of students. The study found that religion affected entrepreneurial intention by influencing students' perceptions (Majid et al. 2018).

Religiosity, which refers to the intensity of religious beliefs and practices, has also been found to be a significant factor in entrepreneurial intentions. In a study by Paiva et al. (2020), the influence of religious beliefs on entrepreneurial intentions of university students was found to be a moderating variable in the relationship between personal values and entrepreneurial activity (Paiva et al. 2020).



The influence of religion on entrepreneurial intentions is not limited to specific regions or cultures since entrepreneurs consider their different religious beliefs as a stimulator of their entrepreneurial identity (Namatovu et al. 2018). The Research suggests that religion, religious beliefs, religious affiliation, and religiosity can impact individuals' entrepreneurial intentions. These factors can shape individuals' attitudes, perceptions, and behaviours related to entrepreneurship. Understanding the influence of religion on entrepreneurial intentions can provide valuable insights for policymakers, educators, and entrepreneurs in fostering an entrepreneurial ecosystem that considers religious factors.

However, we note that there are still too few global studies that have focused on the influence of religion on career choices (Sigalow, Shain, and Bergey 2012). Limited studies have found aspects of Spirituality and religion to relate positively to career decision self-efficacy, career values, and job satisfaction (Duffy 2006). Rashad (2013) explored the relationship between religious commitment and career decision-making among students. The study found a positive correlation between confidence in career decisions and religious commitment (Mohamed Rashad 2013). Religious beliefs often emphasise concepts such as faith, determination, and perseverance, which can contribute to individuals' confidence in their abilities (Bird 1988). For example, religious teachings may instil a sense of purpose and provide individuals with the belief that they can overcome challenges and succeed in their entrepreneurial endeavours (Gary et al. 2009).

Furthermore, religion can also shape individuals' values and motivations, influencing their entrepreneurial intentions. Religious teachings often emphasise the importance of serving others, contributing to society, and ethical behaviour (Bird 1988). These values can align with the goals and motivations of entrepreneurship, such as creating innovative solutions, generating employment opportunities, and positively impacting society. Therefore, individuals with strong religious beliefs may be more inclined to pursue entrepreneurial ventures that align with their values and contribute to the greater good.

It is important to note that the influence of religion on entrepreneurial intention is likely to vary across different cultural and religious contexts. Different religious traditions may have distinct teachings and values that



shape individuals' attitudes towards entrepreneurship. Additionally, cultural factors such as social norms and expectations may also shape individuals' entrepreneurial intentions within religious communities. On the other hand, the principle of separation of the state and religious communities is a more or less accepted civilisation achievement in Europe today (Trontelj 2022). In some environments, they still do not fully recognise the separation between the secular and spiritual spheres. In such an environment, religion shapes the entire public life, for example, in Hindu or primarily Islamic countries, where the religious legal system defines the way of life in all areas (Osredkar 2013).

Interestingly, there has been a recent advance of interest in religion and entrepreneurship as an important facet of broader issues (Audretsch, Boente, and Tamvada 2007). Researchers have evaluated and investigated these ideas along various methodological paths. Within the entrepreneurship field, qualitative methods have been used extensively. However, econometric studies using large-scale microdata are more scarce and limited in number, and an assessment of findings to date is mixed and not firmly conclusive (Audretsch, Boente, and Tamvada 2007).

Because of the above, in the present Research, we analysed to what extent the selected factors influence students' entrepreneurial intention. We were interested in the relationships between individual factors and entrepreneurial intention. In the career selection part, we focused on the entrepreneurial intention. We analysed the above relations separately in the four most numerous global religious populations, which are always listed in alphabetical order (Atheism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam).

The study aims to investigate the differences between the studied relations. In the following, we first give the theoretical starting points of the individual influencing factors on which our hypotheses are based. For transparency, we also present the hypotheses in the same chapter. We continue the article with the methodological work, where all hypotheses are tested for each religion target group, and conclude it with findings and a discussion.

2 Theoretical background with hypotheses development

2.1 Educational environment

There is evidence from multiple studies that support the claim that a university's supportive entrepreneurial environment influences students' entrepreneurial intentions. Fayolle and Gailly researched the impact of entrepreneurship education programs (EEPs) on participants' attitudes and intentions toward entrepreneurship. They found that the positive effects of an EEP are more pronounced when previous entrepreneurial exposure has been weak or nonexistent (Fayolle and Gailly 2015). Other researchers found that cultural values modify how individuals perceive entrepreneurship, indicating the influence of the environment on entrepreneurial intention (Liñán and Chen 2009). Additionally, Trif et al. (2022) emphasised the importance of universities creating compelling environments for developing entrepreneurial capacities in their staff and students, highlighting the role of entrepreneurial academic education in nurturing entrepreneurial intentions. These studies provide evidence that support the claim that a university's supportive entrepreneurial environment influences students' entrepreneurial intention.

H1: The more positive the university is towards entrepreneurship, the more pronounced the student's entrepreneurial intention is.

2.2 Entrepreneurial education

Entrepreneurial education plays a significant role in influencing entrepreneurial intention among individuals, particularly college students. Several studies have examined the effects of entrepreneurial education on entrepreneurial intention and have found positive associations (McMillan and Woodruff 2002; Zellweger, Sieger, and Halter 2011). A study by Liu et al. (2019) investigated the effects of entrepreneurial education and self-efficacy on college students' entrepreneurial intention. The findings revealed that entrepreneurial education significantly positively affects entrepreneurial intention (Liu et al. 2019). It suggests that through entrepreneurial education, college students can develop the necessary knowledge and skills to pursue entrepreneurship and increase their chances of success in starting a business.



Furthermore, entrepreneurial education has been found to stimulate the ideas and behaviour necessary for entrepreneurship (Liu et al. 2019). It implies that by providing individuals with the required knowledge and exposure to entrepreneurial concepts, entrepreneurial education can inspire and motivate them to pursue entrepreneurial endeavours.

It is important to note that other factors may influence the effects of entrepreneurial education on entrepreneurial intention. For example, Asimakopoulos et al. (2019) examined the contingent impact of social norms on the relationship between entrepreneurial education and intention to undertake entrepreneurial activity (Asimakopoulos, Hernández, and Miguel 2019). They found that social norms can moderate the association between entrepreneurial education and entrepreneurial intention. The finding implies that the influence of entrepreneurial education on entrepreneurial intention may vary depending on the social norms and expectations surrounding entrepreneurship.

Entrepreneurial education positively influences entrepreneurial intention by providing individuals with the necessary knowledge, skills, and inspiration to pursue entrepreneurship. However, social norms may affect the effects and may differ across religions. Understanding these factors can help design effective entrepreneurial education programs that foster entrepreneurial intention among individuals.

H2: A richer range of entrepreneurship study content leads to a higher level of entrepreneurial intention of the student.

2.3 Entrepreneurial attitude

Evidence from multiple studies supports the claim that entrepreneurial attitude influences entrepreneurial intention. Liñán & Chen (2009) developed an entrepreneurial intention questionnaire based on Ajzen's theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen and Fishbein 1980) and found strong support for the model in a sample from Spain and Taiwan. They concluded that personal attitude is one of the most relevant factors explaining entrepreneurial intentions (Liñán and Chen 2009). Some recent research also found that entrepreneurial education, entrepreneurial mindset, and creativity



positively influence entrepreneurial intention, and entrepreneurial self-efficacy partially mediates this relationship (Jiatong et al. 2021).

Furthermore, Maghfiroh et al. (2022) found that attitude, subjective norms, and achievement needs all affect entrepreneurial intention, and these variables collectively influence the intention to start a venture (Maghfiroh, Achsa, and Ikhwan 2022). A study conducted in 2022 showed that social capital positively predicts entrepreneurial attitude and intention, and entrepreneurial attitude significantly affects entrepreneurial intention (Yuan 2022). The same year, another study examined the effect of entrepreneurial attitude and knowledge on entrepreneurial intention and found that entrepreneurial attitudes and knowledge influence entrepreneurial intentions (Harfandi, Zulhelmi, and Sonita 2022). However, while there is evidence supporting the claim that entrepreneurial attitude influences entrepreneurial intention, there are also studies that present competing evidence. Harfandi et al. (2022) found that entrepreneurial attitudes did not significantly affect certain students' entrepreneurial intentions. This suggests that the relationship between entrepreneurial attitude and intention may vary depending on the context or population being studied. Kolvereids' study applied the theory of planned behaviour to predict employment status choice intentions, which can be seen as a proxy for entrepreneurial intention. The findings of this study suggest that demographic characteristics, such as family background and prior self-employment experience, indirectly influence employment status choice intentions through their effect on attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioural control (Kolvereid 1996). It implies that entrepreneurial attitude may not be entrepreneurial intention's sole or primary determinant.

Additionally, Liñán & Chen (2009) acknowledge the role of culture in shaping individuals' perceptions of entrepreneurship. They found that cultural values can modify how individuals perceive entrepreneurship, suggesting that the influence of entrepreneurial attitude on entrepreneurial intention may vary across different cultural contexts (Liñán and Chen 2009). This indicates that the relationship between entrepreneurial attitude and intention may not be universally applicable and may be influenced by cultural factors.



These findings highlight the complexity of the relationship between entrepreneurial attitude and intention. While some studies support the influence of entrepreneurial attitude on entrepreneurial intention, others suggest that demographic characteristics and cultural values may play a significant role. It is essential to consider these factors when examining the relationship between entrepreneurial attitude and intention and to conduct further research to understand better the underlying mechanisms and contextual factors that influence this relationship.

H3: A more pronounced positive attitude towards entrepreneurship leads to a higher entrepreneurial intention.

2.4 Entrepreneurial skills

The model suggesting that entrepreneurial skills positively influence entrepreneurial intention is strongly supported (Liñán and Chen 2009). Ibrahim and Mas'Ud (2016) conducted a study using a PLS approach and found that entrepreneurial skills positively influence entrepreneurial intentions (Ibrahim and Mas'ud 2016). They also cited previous studies that reported a significant relationship between entrepreneurial skills and entrepreneurial intention. Kusumawijaya & Astuti (2021) found that entrepreneurial competency significantly affects entrepreneurial intention and mediates the relationship between personality traits and entrepreneurial intention (Kusumawijaya and Astuti 2021). They concluded that entrepreneurial competency partially mediates the relationship between personality traits and entrepreneurial intention.

Majid et al. (2018) conducted a study from an Islamic perspective and found that entrepreneurial knowledge positively correlates with entrepreneurial intention (Majid et al., 2018). They also mentioned that entrepreneurial knowledge increases positive perception towards entrepreneurial intention.

These studies prove that entrepreneurial skills, competency, and knowledge positively influence entrepreneurial intention. This suggests that individuals with strong entrepreneurial skills are more likely to have the intention to become entrepreneurs.



H4: Stronger entrepreneurial skills lead to stronger entrepreneurial intention.

2.5 Locus of control

Locus of control refers to an individual's belief about the extent to which they have control over their lives and the outcomes they experience. It can be categorised as either internal or external. Individuals with an internal locus of control believe that they have control over their own actions and outcomes, while those with an external locus of control believe that external forces or luck play a more significant role in determining their outcomes (Fishbein and Hall 2002).

Several studies have examined the influence of locus of control on entrepreneurial intentions. It has been found that individuals with a higher internal locus of control are more likely to have entrepreneurial intentions and exhibit entrepreneurial behaviour (Gurel, Altinay, and Daniele 2010; Arkorful and Hilton 2022; Annisa, Tentama, and Bashori 2021). Individuals with an internal locus of control tend to have a higher need for achievement, are more willing to take risks, and are more likely to persist at tasks and take responsibility for their actions (Arkorful and Hilton 2022). They believe that their actions can directly influence the desired outcomes, which aligns with entrepreneurship's proactive and self-determined nature. On the other hand, individuals with an external locus of control are less likely to have entrepreneurial intentions. They may feel that external factors such as luck or influential people influence their outcomes more, leading to a lower sense of personal agency and self-efficacy (Arkorful and Hilton 2022). Such a perception can decrease motivation to pursue entrepreneurial opportunities and take risks.

Locus of control has been consistently identified as a significant predictor of entrepreneurial intentions and behaviour. Individuals with an internal locus of control are more likely to have entrepreneurial intentions and exhibit entrepreneurial behaviour due to their belief in personal agency and control over outcomes. On the other hand, individuals with an external locus of control may have lower entrepreneurial intentions due to a decreased sense of personal agency and reliance on external factors. Understanding the influence of locus of control across different cultures



and religions can help identify individuals with a higher propensity for entrepreneurship and design interventions to foster entrepreneurial intentions.

H5: The more pronounced the internal locus of control, the stronger the students' entrepreneurial intention.

2.6 Power distance

Hofstede (1985) defines power distance as »the extent to which the members of a society accept that power in institutions and organisations is distributed unequally« (Hofstede 1985). Liñán and Chen (2009) suggest that power distance can influence students' entrepreneurial intention. Power distance can modify individuals' perceptions of entrepreneurship. Students from societies with high power distance may have different perceptions of entrepreneurship compared to those from cultures with low power distance.

Hofstede also discussed the influence of cultural dimensions, including power distance, on work-related values. While his study focused on interlocking in the corporate world, it provides insights into how power distance can affect individuals' behaviour and decision-making (Hofstede 1985). This suggests that students from societies with high power distance may be more inclined to seek external support and resources for their entrepreneurial endeavours.

The relationship between power distance and entrepreneurial intention is complex and can be influenced by various factors. Liñán and Fayolle (2015) highlighted the need for further research and categorisation in entrepreneurial intention. They emphasised the importance of cultural factors, such as power distance, in understanding and explaining entrepreneurial intentions (Liñán and Fayolle 2015). Consequently, further research is needed to fully understand the relationship between power distance and entrepreneurial intention, especially across different cultural surroundings.

H6: A higher level of power distance leads to a lower level of entrepreneurial intentions among students.



2.7 Subjective norms

Subjective norms have been identified as one of the three motivational factors in the theory of planned behaviour that influence entrepreneurial intention (Icek Ajzen 2012). Subjective norms and other cultural values modify individuals' perceptions of entrepreneurship (Liñán and Chen 2009). Shi, Yuan, Bell, and Wang conducted a survey on business school students' entrepreneurial intention in China using the theory of planned behaviour and found that subjective norms had a significant influence on entrepreneurial intention, along with attitude and perceived behavioural control (Shi et al. 2020). Other studies examining the link between subjective norms and entrepreneurial intention gave mixed results, suggesting that the correlation between the two variables is inconsistent (Duong 2022). Recent research found that subjective norms played a major role in influencing entrepreneurial intention among engineering students (Saraih et al. 2018).

However, some studies have found conflicting evidence regarding the influence of subjective norms on entrepreneurial intention. Liñán and Fayolle (2015) identified research gaps in the field of entrepreneurial intention and noted that there were studies that did not easily fit into the main areas of specialisation, suggesting that subjective norms may not always be a significant factor (Liñán and Fayolle 2015). A study in 2019 observed inconclusive evidence regarding the impact of subjective norms on entrepreneurial intentions (Ranga et al. 2019). Similarly, a meta-analytic path analysis found that subjective norms did not directly influence entrepreneurial intention, but had an indirect effect through factors such as entrepreneurial self-efficacy and attitude toward entrepreneurship (Doanh and van Munawar 2019).

Therefore, we conclude that further research is needed to better understand the complex relationship between subjective norms and entrepreneurial intentions, especially considering cultural and religious differences.

H7: A higher level of subjective norms leads to higher entrepreneurial intentions of students.



3 Methodology

3.1 Sample

Religion plays a significant role in shaping economic behaviour, national consciousness, and collective identities, highlighting its importance compared to nationality. Existing research argues that religion is a higher and more important category than nationality. According to Grosby (2019), the distinctiveness of religion as a category of human thought and action sets it apart from nationality and makes it a variable in comparative analysis (S. E. Grosby 2019). Additionally, Mättö and Niskanen (2019) found that religion and national culture are important determinants of trade credit management, indicating the significance of religion in shaping economic behaviour (Mättö and Niskanen 2019).

Moreover, Grosby suggests that the relationship between nationality and religion is variable over time and across different nations and religions, indicating the complexity and significance of this relationship (S. Grosby 2018). Grosby further argues that the nation is invested with sacred qualities drawn from older religious beliefs and that national attachments have their sources in the sphere of religion. These findings suggest that religion holds a higher and more important position than nationality in shaping collective identities and attachments.

Based on these findings, we divided the participating students into four groups based on their religious definition and regardless of nationality. Our sample consisted of 154,535 students from 52 countries. The data was collected from the GUESSS 2019 Global Student Career Intent Survey. The entire database includes more than 210,000 valid surveys. For our study, we excluded from the database unidentified students and those individuals who have already established their own companies. That way, we allowed a prospective view and avoided survivor bias from which retrospective studies might suffer while interviewing entrepreneurs about their motives after starting a business (Gartner 1989). We also excluded from the database all individuals who did not define themselves in terms of religious affiliation. We tested all our hypotheses separately in all four observed religious groups of respondents.



Gender	Percent	Parent entrep.	Percent	Career (%)	after study	after 5 years
Male	42,7	No	65,1	Employee	90,4	58,1
Female	57,3	Yes	34,9	Entrep.	9,6	41,9

Table 1: Sample descriptives

Table 1 summarises the structure of our sample. Men represent 42.7% of the sample, while women make up 57.3%. In the sample, 34.9% of students come from entrepreneurial families. We asked the respondents whether at least one parent is an entrepreneur. We asked respondents about their career goals immediately after graduation and five years after graduation. The five-year interval is chosen based on existing studies, which find that the typical entrepreneur works elsewhere for five years before starting his own business (Brockhaus 1987). Our results also show that as much as 90.4% of surveyed students will find employment elsewhere immediately after completing their studies. Only 9.6% of them will immediately go down the entrepreneurial path. After five years, the percentage of students employed elsewhere drops to 58.1%.

Religion	Percent
Buddhism	2,4
Christianity	49,4
Islam	9,2
No religion	39,0

Table 2: Sample frequencies: religion affiliation

Table 2 shows the structure of the sample according to religious definition. At the same time, it should be noted that this structure naturally depends on the geographical coverage of the research. It is an informative presentation of the sample composition, with which we only want to show that



a sufficient sample size is ensured in all four groups, which are compared with each other in the research. Table 3 shows the sample structure by field of study of the respondents.

Study	Percent
Arts / Humanities (e.g., cultural studies, history, linguistics, philosophy, religion)	7,4
Business / Management	23,7
Computer sciences / IT	7,2
Economics	5,6
Engineering (incl. architecture)	16,6
Human medicine / health sciences	9,5
Law	4,0
Mathematics	1,3
Natural sciences	5,8
Science of art (e.g., art, design, dramatics, music)	1,5
Social sciences (e.g., psychology, politics, education)	9,5
Other	8,0

Table 3: Sample frequencies: field of study



3.2 Variables

Scientifically validated seven-point Likert scales are used to capture all survey data. Our dependent variable is the entrepreneurial intention of the respondent. To capture the independent variable (6 items) as well as the entrepreneurial attitude (5 items) and subjective norms (3 items), we employed the measuring instruments according to a high-profile study of measurement tools for measuring students' entrepreneurial intentions from 2009 (Liñán and Chen 2009). The impact of the university environment is calculated using a 3-item scale, previously used in similar studies (Franke and Lüthje 2004). We captured the level of mastery of entrepreneurial skills following the 7-item model of the study of innovation and entrepreneurial intentions (Zhao 2005). The influence of entrepreneurial content in the course of the study was measured with five Likert items taken from the 2007 students' career intention study (Souitaris, Zerbinati, and Al-Laham 2007). Locus of control was captured with the 3-item scale used in the psychiatric patient locus of control study (Levenson 1973). The mentioned scale is also often used in economic sciences and entrepreneurship (Zellweger, Sieger, and Halter 2011). The power distance scale consists of three items used in the GLOBE study of 62 countries (House et al. 2004). We also included two control variables in the regression models, namely gender and information on the family's entrepreneurial background. We asked the respondents if at least one of their parents (or both) is an entrepreneur.

Variance inflation factor is calculated for all variables in all four models. We found that in no case does it exceed the value of 4.2, which is well below the defined upper limit of 10, which means that multicollinearity does not appear to be a problem (Hair, J. F., Black, W. C., Babin, B. J. and Anderson 2010). Harman's single-factor test confirmed the variables were empirically distinct. One factor solution accounted for 35,673% of the total variance.



3.3 Results

In the phase of analysing the collected data, we first looked at the mutual correlations between our variables. Only these are shown in Table 4.

	Parent entrepreneur	Environment	Ent. program	Intention	Attitude	Skill	Locus	Power dist.	Subj. norm	Gender	
Parent entrep.	Corr.	1,000									
	Sig.										
Environment	Corr.	0,073	1,000								
	Sig.	0,000									
Ent. prog	Corr.	0,077	0,731	1,000							
	Sig.	0,000	0,000								
Intention	Corr.	0,130	0,370	0,428	1,000						
	Sig.	0,000	0,000	0,000							
Attitude	Corr.	0,110	0,339	0,393	0,856	1,000					
	Sig.	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000						
Skill	Corr.	0,112	0,426	0,521	0,643	0,631	1,000				
	Sig.	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000					
Locus	Corr.	0,079	0,286	0,329	0,356	0,357	0,520	1,000			
	Sig.	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000				
Power dist.	Corr.	-0,026	-0,073	-0,059	0,014	0,016	-0,011	-0,013	1,000		
	Sig.	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000			
Subj. norm	Corr.	0,100	0,276	0,275	0,370	0,410	0,370	0,336	-0,046	1,000	
	Sig.	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000		
Gender	Corr.	-0,012	-0,045	-0,063	-0,117	-0,108	-0,103	-0,013	-0,027	0,009	1,000
	Sig.	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,001	

Table 4: Correlations

The comparison of the four observed religious groups was carried out using the analysis of variance, which showed highly statistically significant differences between the observed groups in all observed factors. Results are displayed in Table 5.



<i>Between Groups</i>	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Environment	26897,918	3	8965,973	370,285	0,000
Entrepreneurial prog.	165189,038	3	55063,013	856,199	0,000
Intention	276960,214	3	92320,071	722,983	0,000
Attitude	136676,835	3	45558,945	633,494	0,000
Skill	141516,894	3	47172,298	471,452	0,000
Locus	18188,199	3	6062,733	460,475	0,000
Power distance	21216,480	3	7072,160	293,251	0,000
Subjective norms	21788,000	3	7262,667	552,054	0,000

Table 5: Results of the ANOVA test

Table 6 shows the results of Turkey's post hoc test for our independent variable, entrepreneurial intention. It turns out that entrepreneurial intent differs between all four groups with a high degree of statistical significance ($p = 0.000$). The most pronounced entrepreneurial intention was detected in the Islam group, while students who do not belong to any religion have the lowest level of entrepreneurial intention.



Entrepreneurial intention		Mean difference (I-J)	Std. error	Sig.
i	j			
Buddhism	Christianity	1,051*	,204	,000
	Islam	-2,384*	,235	,000
	None	3,185*	,205	,000
Christianity	Buddhism	-1,051*	,204	,000
	Islam	-3,435*	,135	,000
	None	2,133*	,069	,000
Islam	Buddhism	2,384*	,235	,000
	Christianity	3,435*	,135	,000
	None	5,568*	,137	,000
None	Buddhism	-3,185*	,205	,000
	Christianity	-2,133*	,069	,000
	Islam	-5,568*	,137	,000

Table 6: Turkey’s Post Hoc test for independent variable (Entrepreneurial intention)

With the desire to gain a more detailed insight into the differences between the observed groups of students, we continued the analysis by creating a linear regression model for all four groups. The model contains all observed factors and enables the comparison of regression coefficients between groups. Like previously mentioned, we tested all our hypotheses separately in all four religious groups of respondents.

The regression coefficients are summarised in Table 7. First of all, it is worth mentioning the difference between the groups in the value of the coefficient of determination (r^2). The Islam group shows the lowest value of the coefficient of determination. The selected factors of entrepreneurial intention in this group explain the smallest part of variance of the independent variable. It means that in this group, additional factors shape the entrepreneurial intention of students and are either not present at all or are less pronounced in the other groups. Selected variables explained



the highest portion of the independent variable variance in the Buddhism group (81,3%). Perceived differences in the coefficients of determination between regression models should be researched more closely in the future.

Regression models	Buddhism		Christianity		Islam		No religion	
	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.
(Constant)	-8,525	0,000	-5,286	0,000	-1,332	0,005	-5,571	0,000
University env.	0,233	0,000	0,066	0,000	0,013	0,508	0,065	0,000
Entrepren. prog	0,047	0,036	0,054	0,000	0,060	0,000	0,071	0,000
Attitude	0,778	0,000	1,017	0,000	0,824	0,000	0,977	0,000
Skill	0,290	0,000	0,152	0,000	0,221	0,000	0,149	0,000
Locus	-0,045	0,190	-0,028	0,001	-0,013	0,591	0,007	0,390
Power_ distance	0,146	0,000	0,004	0,486	-0,035	0,023	0,025	0,000
Subj_norm	0,051	0,085	-0,021	0,009	0,012	0,580	-0,015	0,048
Gender	-1,103	0,000	-0,293	0,000	-0,794	0,000	-0,603	0,000
Parent entrep.	0,509	0,011	0,807	0,000	0,681	0,000	0,560	0,000
r ²	0,813		0,751		0,629		0,767	

Table 7: Regression coefficients

The university environment with a high level of support for entrepreneurs influences students' entrepreneurial intentions in three groups. The exception is the Islam group, where we did not detect a statistically significant influence of the university environment. The noticeably highest coefficient in the model was detected in the Buddhists group ($b = 0,233$). Hypothesis H1 is thus confirmed in three groups. In the Islam group, our data do not contradict the null hypothesis ($b = 0$).



The implementation of richer entrepreneurial content in the curricula has an expected effect on students' entrepreneurial intention in all four observed groups. The results in this segment are highly statistically significant in all groups. Thus, our hypothesis H2 is confirmed in all four models.

In the case of entrepreneurial attitude, we confirmed our third hypothesis H3 in all four groups, as we recorded a high level of statistically significant influence on entrepreneurial intention. As expected, the impact of this factor is the highest in all four groups. The standardised beta regression coefficients vary between the values of 0,575 and 0,744, while they do not exceed the value of 0,271 for the other factors.

Hypothesis H4 is also confirmed in all four observed groups. Stronger entrepreneurial skills are the second most influential factor shaping the entrepreneurial intention of students. It is given the most importance in the group of Buddhists and the least in the group of students who do not follow the teachings of any religion.

We detected a noticeable difference between the groups in the internal locus of control level. We did not record statistically significant results in the three groups, based on which we rejected our hypothesis H5. On the other hand, hypothesis H5 was confirmed with a highly statistically significant effect in the Christian group ($p = 0.001$).

With hypothesis H6, the picture is just the opposite. Statistically significant results were detected in three groups. Even in this case, the exception is the group of Christians, where we did not find statistically significant results and thus rejected hypothesis H6. However, we confirmed hypothesis H6 only in the Islam group. It is only for this group that the more they perceive inequality in society as students, the lower the level of their entrepreneurial intention. We note a distinctive but opposite effect in the groups of Buddhists and those who do not belong to any religion. Thus, the higher the perceived level of inequality in society, the higher the level of entrepreneurial intention among students in these two groups.

Hypothesis H7 can also be confirmed only in one group, namely among members of Buddhism, where a higher level of subjective norms leads to a higher level of entrepreneurial intention. The more important the opinion



of their loved ones is to students, the stronger their entrepreneurial intention. Statistically significant but opposite results were observed in the groups of Christians and students who do not follow any religion. In these two groups, the greater importance of the opinion of those close to the student lowers the level of entrepreneurial intention. We did not detect any statistically significant dependence among members of Islam in this part.

In all four groups, the level of entrepreneurial intention is higher among men compared to women. The highest regression coefficient was recorded in the group of Buddhists, while the lowest perceived difference between the sexes was found in Christians. Likewise, in all groups, we detected a highly statistically significant influence of parents of entrepreneurs. Students from entrepreneurial families show a higher level of entrepreneurial intention compared to their colleagues whose parents are not entrepreneurs.

4 Discussion

In this paper, we assumed that understanding students' career intentions is crucial for educational institutions and policymakers in designing effective programs and interventions for career development. Our research provides valuable insight into their desires, motivations and decision-making processes regarding their future careers. We focused on the importance of religious affiliation on students' career intentions, intending to enable institutions to better adapt their activities to the needs of young individuals and societies.

The idea that religious values may impact economic behaviour can be traced back at least as far as the work of Max Weber (Henley 2020). Some religions may encourage specific values or practices that can be beneficial for developing entrepreneurial behaviour. For example, in Islam, there is a concept called »Halal entrepreneurship« or »Halalpreneurship«, which refers to entrepreneurs in the Halal industry who integrate Islamic values into their businesses (M. A. Abdullah and Azam 2020). Similarly, some Christian denominations emphasise the importance of hard work and financial responsibility (Audretsch, Boente, and Tamvada 2007).



The results of our research show how important the university environment is for the development of entrepreneurship (H1). Universities and religious institutions must encourage students to an entrepreneurial way of thinking and perhaps even enable them to open businesses more efficiently in a controlled environment. Activities in this direction can be carried out by students themselves or under mentorship. In any case, it is necessary to provide entrepreneurial subjects related to practice (H2). Today, religious institutions mostly do not have this function, but that is not the rule. The important role of Muslim cultural centres in the Muslim world in this context is worth mentioning. There are several ways in which Islamic cultural centres provide support to entrepreneurs, like networking platforms, mentorship, training, funding and information dissemination (Ashraf 2021; Salaheldeen 2022). Perhaps precisely because of the already existing robust business support infrastructure in the Islamic world, in our research, we did not detect a statistically significant significance of the business support of the university environment in the group of members of Islam. Students receive this support within the framework of religious institutions. It is a finding that can be useful for all religions in future.

Can belonging to a religion influence an individual's decision to become an entrepreneur? Our findings suggest that members of the Buddhist faith are most inclined towards entrepreneurship. The existence of a direct connection between Buddhism and entrepreneurship cannot be confirmed. However, some Buddhist values and practices can benefit entrepreneurs. For example, Buddhism encourages self-reflection and contemplation of life, which can help entrepreneurs shape the vision and goals for their business. Additionally, some Buddhist practices such as meditation and yoga can help manage stress and improve productivity (Xu, Liu, and Wu 2022).

Our findings confirm that embarking on an entrepreneurial career without mastering the relevant skills is more challenging. In this context, religion can play an essential role as an institution that offers the infrastructure and overall framework for developing the necessary skills. For instance, self-reflection and contemplation of life, which are encouraged in Buddhism, can help entrepreneurs shape the vision and goals for their business. Additionally, religious practices, such as meditation and yoga, can help relieve stress and increase productivity (Henley 2020). At the



same time, it should be emphasised that religion is not a prerequisite for entrepreneurial behaviour. It can only help shape and strengthen it (Xu, Liu, and Wu 2022). Many successful entrepreneurs do not follow any religion or spiritual practice. However, we must not forget that in the present research, we analysed the point of view of a young student before making a career decision. The finding that all four groups recognise the great importance of mastering entrepreneurial skills should not be ignored. It can be very useful for institutions in creating a youth-friendly creative environment.

Judging by the results of many existing researches, locus of control (both internal and external) has a positive relationship with entrepreneurial intention (Arkorful and Hilton 2022). Internal locus of control positively affects entrepreneurial intention among university students (Zellweger, Sieger, and Halter 2011). Internal locus of control is associated with higher levels of need for achievement, innovativeness, and risk-taking, which are important personality traits for entrepreneurs (Icek Ajzen, Brown, and Carvajal 2004; Kolvereid 1996; Arkorful and Hilton 2022). In our research, we find conflicting results. A statistically significant influence of the internal locus of control on entrepreneurial intention was detected only in the group of Christians. Even in this case, the influence is negative. The more self-confident an individual is and the more he believes that he alone influences what happens to him, the less he will be inclined towards entrepreneurial behaviour. All the remaining three groups showed no significant association. These exciting findings require further, more detailed research aiming to find the reasons for the perceived differences.

When examining the influence of power distance on students' entrepreneurial intention, our findings largely confirm the previous findings in this field. We detected a statistically significant effect in three groups. Among the Muslims, we noticed a significant negative relationship. For these students, a higher level of perceived inequality leads to a lower level of entrepreneurial intention, just as expected. In the case of Buddhists and the group that follows no religion, we perceive a positive correlation. A higher level of perceived inequality leads to higher entrepreneurial intention. We did not detect a statistically significant effect among the Christians. Our research cannot provide answers to the questions of why these differences occur. In any case, this can be the basis for a call for further



research of a qualitative nature, which should investigate the mentioned reasons. In any case, it is worth noting that we can confirm with a high degree of certainty the different influences of individual religions on an individual's entrepreneurial intention. The finding is consistent with the literature since we already know religion can influence power distance by providing a framework of values, ethics, and culture that may encourage or discourage hierarchical structures and authority relations (Mättö and Niskanen 2019). The same studies have found that Catholicism and Islam are associated with higher levels of power distance than Protestantism and Buddhism. However, the relationship between religion and power distance may also depend on other factors, such as a country's level of economic development, political freedom, and social diversity (Mättö and Niskanen 2019; Nickerson 2023).

In the analysis of subjective norms, our findings generally confirm that subjective norms can significantly impact entrepreneurial intention (Phamn et al. 2023). Buddhism encourages self-reflection and reflection on life, which can help entrepreneurs form a vision and goals for their company. However, we can't find any direct evidence that a higher level of subjective norms leads to higher entrepreneurial intention in Buddhism. Nonetheless, the study of Phamn suggests that subjective norms can be influenced by individual religiosity, including participation in religious activities. We can agree with the statement, considering that we recorded different results in our four groups. In the group of Christians and individuals who do not belong to any religion, we confirmed the significant influence of subjective norms on entrepreneurial intention. The more important the opinion of their close ones is to these individuals, the lower their entrepreneurial intention is. We can speculate that they do not want to risk their decision to become an entrepreneur and thus spoil the opinion of their loved ones about them. In the Muslim group, we did not perceive a typical connection between the opinion of those close to the individual and his entrepreneurial intention. We may conclude that religion plays such a decisive role that the individual does not need the approval of close ones. In any case, this is also a speculative assumption that requires further research.



Conclusion

Religions are an essential factor in values, ethics and culture. As such, they can promote or negate entrepreneurial intentions and activities (Audretsch, Boente, and Tamvada 2007). Individual religious affiliation, including participation in religious activities, can condition the extent to which such broader societal values influence personal entrepreneurial decisions. Religions can play an essential role in creating social capital, which provides networking and trust-building among co-religionists, contributing to entrepreneurial success (Audretsch, Boente, and Tamvada 2007). Finally, although not directly related to the issue of religion as a source of entrepreneurial values, culture and social capital, religious organisations can act entrepreneurially themselves. They may seek to attract businesses to gain new followers or charitable giving for social programs.

Our research detects differences between important world religions, which have consequences for the entrepreneurial intention of young people. The present research findings can help state and religious institutions formulate their approaches and programs for working with young people. The present research aimed to detect possible differences between religions. The task of future research is an in-depth qualitative analysis of the reasons for the described differences.



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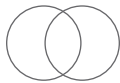


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Akoš Anton Dončec

Pisni viri o Blažu Berkeju

Written Sources about Blaž Berke

Izvleček: Članek obravnava predstavitev pisnih virov o slovenskem evangeličanskem duhovniku Blažu Berkeju in njegovi rokopisni prekmurski pesmarici v madžarščini in slovenščini od 18. do 21. stoletja. Ti viri deloma omogočijo vpogled v Berkejevo življenje, čeprav nam ne dajo dovolj informacij, le nekaj osnovnih, vendar nepopolnih življenjskih podatkov. Drugi viri oziroma strokovna literatura se osredotočajo na pastoralno, pridigarsko in književno delo Blaža Berkeja, ki ga je opravil v današnjem Prekmurju in na Madžarskem. Po teh analizah lahko vidimo njegov pomen v verskem življenju protestantskih ogrskih Slovencev in tudi pomen njegove pesmarice v prekmurski književnosti.

Ključne besede: Prekmurje, prekmurščina, luteranizem, pesmarica, Blaž Berke, protestantizem

Abstract: *The article deals with presenting written sources about the Slovenian evangelical priest Blaž Berke and his handwritten hymnal in Prekmurian language in Hungarian and Slovenian (from the 18th to the 21st century). These sources provide some insight into Berke's life, although they do not give us enough information, only some basic but incomplete life data. Other sources or professional literature focus on the pastoral, preaching, and literary work of Blaž Berke, which he carried out in today's Prekmurje and Hungary. In these analyses, we can see his importance in the religious life of Protestant Hungarian Slovenes and the significance of his songbook in the literature of Prekmurje.*

Keywords: *Prekmurje, Prekmurian language, lutheranism, hymnal, Blaž Berke, protestantism*

Uvod

Blaž Berke je bil slovenski evangeličanski duhovnik na Ogrskem v drugi polovici 18. in prvi polovici 19. stoletja. Berke je avtor pomembne prekmurske rokopisne pesmarice *Szlovenszke dűhovne peszmi*, ki je nastala med letoma 1768 in 1769. O Blažu Berkeju je sorazmerno malo podatkov. Znani so nekateri osnovni življenjski podatki ter podatki o njegovem duhovniškem in pisateljskem delovanju. Poleg omenjene rokopisne pesmarice je v tisku objavil še eno latinsko delo.

Madžarski viri omenjajo bistvene informacije o poreklu in delu Blaža Berkeja, medtem ko se slovenski ukvarjajo zlasti z njegovo duhovniško dejavnostjo in rokopisno pesmarico, ki jo hranijo v Narodni in univerzitetni knjižnici v Ljubljani (NUK).

V razpravi se ukvarjam z viri, ki vsebujejo podatke o življenju in delu Blaža Berkeja.

1 Zgodovinsko ozadje

Pokrajina med Muro in Rabo, kjer živijo Slovenci, govorci prekmurščine, je od srednjega veka (Novak 1935, 20) do leta 1919 spadala h kraljevini Ogrski (Sedar 2020, 225). V preteklosti ta kraj ni imel enotnega poimenovanja. Srednji in severni del (Ravensko in Goričko), ki je cerkveno-upravno pripadal škofiji Győr, je v virih poimenovan s krajevnim imenom *Tótság*, predvsem po 16. stoletju (*Viri za zgodovino Prekmurja* 2008, 129). Nekoč so Madžari imenovali slovanske narode (pa tudi Slovence) *tótok* (Kozar 1996, 162–163). *Tótság* je bil pravzaprav dekanija győrske škofije, ki je združila slovenske župnije v Železni županiji z latinskim poimenovanjem *Districtus Tóthságiensis* (Smej 1997, 39). To poimenovanje je Mikloš Küzmič prevedel v slovenščino (prekmurščino) kot *Slovenska okroglina* (Slovenska/Slovensko = *Tótság*, okroglina = *districtus/distrikt*)¹ in ga objavil na naslovnici svojega lekcionarja *Szvéti evangyeliomi* (1780): *Po Postüvanom Gofzpoudi Küzmics Miklósi, Szvétoga Benedeka Fare Dühovniki, ino Okroglíne Szlovenfszke Vice-Öfpöröfja obrnyeni* (1780).²

Leta 1777 je cesarica Marija Terezija ustanovila novo škofijo v Sombotelu (Szombathely), ki je obsegala celotno Železno županijo (ki je bila tako izločena iz Győrske škofije) in okrožje Zalaegerszega v Zalski županiji, ki je prej pripadalo Veszprémski in Zagrebški škofiji (*Viri za zgodovino Prekmurja* 2008, 285). S tem so bile vse slovenske župnije med Muro

1 Če pogledamo latinsko-kajkavski slovar *Lexicon Latinum* (1732), ki so ga morda poznali tudi ogrski Slovenci, za latinski izraz *Districtus* daje naslednji prevod v kajkavščini: *okolni kraj* (Jambrešić 1742, 225).

2 V zbirki *Viri za zgodovino Prekmurja* (2008, 130) pripisujejo Francu Temlinu, avtorju prve prekmurske tiskane knjige (iz leta 1715), ustvarjanje poimenovanja *Slovenska okroglina*. Vendar Temlinov *Mali katechismus* ne vsebuje poimenovanja *Slovenska okroglina*.

in Rabo združene pod eno cerkveno upravno oblastjo. Pozneje, zlasti v 19. stoletju, se pokrajina imenuje *Vendvidék*, ker so Madžari pod nemškim vplivom prevzeli nemško poimenovanje Slovencev *wendisch* kot *vend* (Kozar 1996, 169), čeprav je bilo poimenovanje *Tótság* v rabi tudi v 19. stoletju (Lülik 1833, 171). Za poimenovanje *Vendvidék* je bil tvorjen izraz *Slovenska krajina* v prekmurščini, ki se najprej pojavi v učbeniku puconskega učitelja Štefana Lülika (1833), ki je ostal v rokopisu (Lülik 1833, 172). Krajevno ime *Slovenska krajina* je bilo najbolj rabljeno v začetku 20. stoletja, zlasti v času Jožefa Klekla st., ki se je boril za avtonomijo (Novak 1935, 96) in priključitev Prekmurja k matici (Sedar 2020, 235). Klekl je vztrajal pri nazivu *Slovenska krajina* tudi po priključitvi, ker se je veliko prekmurskim Slovincem zdel izraz *Prekmurje*, ki je prišel v uradno rabo po priključitvi, slabšalen (Göncz 2000, 7).

Poimenovanje *Prekmurje*, ki je v rabi do danes, je dobesedni prevod latinskega naziva *Transmurania*. V zagrebški škofiji so tako imenovali okrožje, kjer so bile Zagrebu pripadajoče slovenske župnije (Novak 1935, 88). Morda je tvorec tega naziva publicist, jezikoslovec in politik Božidar Raič, saj ga je uporabil v svoji razpravi o ogrskih Slovincih iz leta 1869 (57–84).

Vse to je bilo nujno razjasniti, da primerno umestimo Blaža Berkeja in njegovo delo v tistem obdobju, v katerem je živel. Glede na prej predstavljeno zgodovinsko ozadje bomo govorili o Blažu Berkeju, ki je bil rojen v Slovenski okroglini (*Tótság*) na območju današnjega Prekmurja.

2 Madžarski viri

Blaž Berke se v madžarskih virih (ki so napisani deloma v latinščini) pojavi kot *Blasius Berke* ali *Berke Balázs*. *Balaž* je starejša različica osebnega imena Blaž ne samo v prekmurskem jeziku (Pustaj 1893, 552), ampak tudi v prleškem govoru (Rajh 2005, 99). Nekateri v knjižni slovenščini napisani viri tudi v stari različici uporabijo Berkejevo ime, torej ga pišejo v obliki *Balaž*, in ne *Blaž* (Kerčmar 1995, 303–305).

Zapisnik o dijakih wittemberške univerze, ki so bili z Ogrske, *Memoriae Vngarorum qui in alma condam Vniversitate Vitebergensi a tribus proxime concludendis seculis studia in ludis patriis coepta confirmarunt*



(1817), vsebuje nekaj osnovnih podatkov o Blažu Berkeju. V tem dokumentu je Berke omenjen 30. oktobra 1777.

30. okt. Blaž Berke iz Kančevcev Železne županije. Pozneje v septembru 1782 se je vrnil v svojo domovino in je postal pridigar ogrsko-vandalske eklezije Hodoš v Prekodonavju.³

Torej je Blaž Berke izviral iz Kančevcev, naselja v severnem delu Prekmurja (na Goričkem) (Sever 1990, 160–161). Kančevska cerkev je prvič omenjena leta 1208 (Kiss 2000, 389). V času reformacije so tudi Kančevci sprejeli luteransko vero, čeprav je madžarska veleposestnica leta 1672 vzela cerkev protestantom (Šebjanič 1979, 18). Še v 19. stoletju so v Kančevcih živeli evangeličani v velikem številu (Fényes 1851, 172).

Berkejeva družina je plemiškega rodu. V zvezi s tem je treba omeniti delo madžarskega zgodovinarja Gyule Balogha o plemiških družinah Železne županije. V tej knjigi piše, da so Gregor Železen (Gergely Szelezen), njegov brat Štefan in njun sorodnik Ambrož Berke (Ambrus Berke) dobili plemiški naziv od Matije Habsburškega (Balogh 1901, 172). Dodana sta kratek opis o grbu Berkejevih in omemba dokumenta, ki priča o plemiškem položaju in so ga leta 1762 pokazali Jurij Berke (György Berke), Matjaž Berke (Mátyás Berke) in Janoš Berke (János Berke) v Lončarovcih (Balogh 1901, 172).

Ta podatek ima posebno pomembno vlogo, če prelistamo dokument o vizitaciji v hodoški župniji iz 20. julija 1798, ki ga hranijo v Evangeličanskem deželnem arhivu v Budimpešti (*Evangélikus Országos Levéltár*) (Visitatio Ecclesia Hodosiensis habita 1798 20. July hora 10. Ante mer. in Templo). Po vizitaciji je Blaž Berke, star 44 let, rojen v Lončarovcih (Gerentserótz),^{4 5}

3 »30. Oct. Blasius Berke, Kancsoczino Castriferei. Posteaquam in Sept. 1782 in Patriam rediisset, Ecclesiae Hungaro-Vandalicae trans Istrum in Hodos existentis, Evangelii Praeco factus est.« (Bartholomaeides 1817, 277)

4 Vas leži komaj 2 kilometra od Kančevcev.

5 V zgodovinskih dokumentih zasledimo podobna protislovja. V kaptolskem arhivu v Zagrebu so podatki katoliškega duhovnika Štefana Haužerja, ki je služil v Medžimurju v 19. stoletju, po rodu pa je bil iz Slovenske krajine (z Goričkega). V šematizmu zagrebške škofije iz 1860 piše, da je *Haužer Steph.* rojen na Pertoči 21. decembra 1797 (Schematismus 1860, 239). Šematizem ta podatek napačno oziroma nenatančno navaja. Po matični knjigi župnije Pertoče se je namreč Haužer rodil 20. 12. 1796 v Gerlincih (Krstna knjiga 1753–1797, 172).

prišel iz Jene ter govori vandalsko⁶ (prekmursko) in madžarsko. Na Hodošu imajo bogoslužje v obeh jezikih, ki jih ima Berke v različnih terminih, odvisno od zime ali poletja (Visitatio 1798, 28–29).⁷

Če je Blaž Berke res rojen v Lončarovcih (in ne v Kančevcih), potem je verjetno, da so Berkeji iz te vasi, ki so po Baloghu (1901, 172) leta 1762 dokazovali svoj plemiški položaj, sorodniki Blaža Berkeja (ali vsaj eden od njih). Tudi hodoška vizitacija v krajšavi omeni Berkeja kot *Nob.* (latinsko *nobilis* = plemič) (Visitatio 1798, 28). Brez drugih konkretnih podatkov še ni mogoče predstaviti točnega sorodstva.

Szlovenszke diuhovne peszmi niso edino delo Blaža Berkeja. Leta 1777 je v latinščini napisal pesem v čast duhovnika in rektorja šopronskega liceja na Ogrskem Adama Farkaša z naslovom *Ode Saphica honori ac venerationi Adami Farkas solemnna suis nominis celebrantis*. Farkaš je bil po rodu Slovenec iz Suhega Vrha (pri Tešanovcih), odličen vzgojitelj študentov in priznan metodik. Poleg tega je ustanovil štipendijski sklad, ki ga je namenil zlasti dijakom iz Slovenske okrogline in ureditvi tamkajšnjih cerkva ter šol (Kerčmar 1995, 146).

Berkejevo latinsko pesem omenjajo pomembne madžarske bibliografije, npr. katalog današnjega OSZK (Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár)⁸ iz 1803 (62) in bibliografija Géze Petrika iz 1888 (249).

Madžarski evangeličanski pastor in zgodovinar György Hrabowszky je podrobnejše podatke o Berkeju objavil v svojem delu *A dunántúli evangy. aug. conf. superintendentia predikátorai* iz 1803:

6 Poimenovanje *Vandal* je bilo znanstveni naziv Slovencev na Ogrskem do 19. stoletja (Novak 1958, 8–11). Prvič se pojavi v obdobju reformacije v naslovu obrednika *Agenda Vandalica*, ki je bil natisnjen leta 1587 za protestante v Slovenski okroglini (Novak 1976, 40).

7 »III. Minister Ecclesiae Rev. Nob. ac Clar. D. Blasius Berke ex Gerentserótz C.C. annor 44. Venit in Jane C edam 1792. 2. Vet. Diebus Dominicis lingua duplici servat cultum divinum, cum concione iusto tardius, idq̃ ordinatum aestate a 79. Cultum Vandalicum, Hung. a 9 11: hieme vo ab 8-10. Vandala 10-12. Hungaricum. Concionat in Ecclesia populariter: post meridiem intermisit buccum explicaonem Epta, et Catechisaones, elequo ad monitus est.« (Visitatio 1798, 28–29)

8 Državna knjižnica Istvána Széchenyija.



T. T. N. N. Blaž Berke, gospod pridigar, rojen v Kančevcih v Železni županiji leta 1754. Študiral je v *Šopronu* do 1779, v Wittenbergu tri leta, od koder vrnivši je bil posvečen 24. septembra 1783 za prvega pridigarja v Puconcih po prečastitem gospodu superintendentu G. Perlakiju. Na koncu 1787 je bil premeščen namesto častitega Nyirőja v Patrő; 2. oktobra 1792 je bil poklican na Hodoš namesto častitega Smoditša, kjer je v letošnji pomladi nehal nositi svoj pridigarski poklic. V tisku se dajo brati tele njegove pesmi: Ode Saphica, pro Onomastico Adami Farkas & c. Sopronii 1777. una philtera Fol.⁹

Madžarski literarni zgodovinar, leksikograf in knjižničar József Szinnyei je po Bartholomaeidesu in katalogu Széchényijeve knjižnice objavil kratek članek o Berkeju:

Blaž Berke, augsburško-evangeličanski pridigar po rodu iz Železne županije; 30. oktobra 1779 se je vpisal na Univerzo v Wittenbergu, od koder se je v septembru 1782 vrnil v svojo domovino, kjer je na Hodošu bil duhovnik med Vendi (Slovenci). Njegovo delo: Ode Saphica honori ac venerationi Adami Farkas solemnia suis nominis celebrantis. Sopronii, 1777.¹⁰

Szinnyei v svojem leksikonu *Magyar írók élete és munkái*¹¹ omenja še druge slovenske avtorje iz današnjega Prekmurja, npr. Števana Küzmiča (Szinnyei 1900, 567), Jožefa Košiča (Szinnyei 1900, 1087) in Jožefa Pustaja (Szinnyei 1906, 275). Poleg teh pa še osebnosti, ki so bile slovenskega rodu, vendar niso pisale v prekmurščini, npr. škofa Blaža Jaklina (Szinnyei 1897, 300). Poseben članek nameni Juriju Dalmatinu, saj piše, da je bil »po rodu iz Slavonije« (Szinnyei 1893, 577). Ni jasno, v katerem viru je Szinnyei našel

9 »T. T. N. N. Berke Balás Predikátor Úr, füzletett Kántósztzon Vas Vármegyében 1754. tanúlt Sopronyban 1779-ig Wittenbergában három éltendeig, a' honét meg jöven 1783. 24. Sept. Putzintzra fzenteltetett első Predikátornak Fő T. Perlaki G. Superint. Úr által; 1787. végén Patrőba adatott T. Nyirő' helyébe; 1792. 2. Oct. Hodosra rendeltetett T. Smodits' helyébe, a' hol éppen ez idén tavaszal fzünt meg predikátori hivataljának viselésétől. Nyomtatásban olvastatnak ilyen versei: Ode Saphica, pro Onomastico Adami Farkas & c. Sopronii 1777. una philtera Fol.« (Hrabovszky 1803, 94–95)

10 »Berke Balázs, ág. ev. prédikátor vasmegyeyi származású; 1779. okt. 30. iratkozott be a wittenbergaei egyetemen és 1782. szept. tért onnan vissza hazájába, hol Hodoson a vendek közt lett lelkész. Munkája: Ode Saphica honori ac venerationi Adami Farkas solemnia suis nominis celebrantis. Sopronii, 1777.« (Szinnyei 1891, 58)

11 Prevod v slovenščino: *Življenje in delo madžarskih pisateljev*.



podatek o Dalmatinovem morebitnem slavonskem poreklu. Verjetno so ga zmedli starejši viri, ki za notranjeavstrijske Slované uporabljajo poimenovanje *Slaven*¹² (Dular 2022, 131–141; Golec 2022, 161–162).

V 20. stoletju je evangeličanski duhovnik in zgodovinar Sándor Mesterházy napisal kratko monografijo o evangeličanski cerkveni občini v Nemespátróju (1903). Pred Blažem Berkejem so v Nemespátróju služili še drugi slovenski evangeličanski duhovniki. Berke je bil naslednik duhovnika Zsigmonda Nyirőja, ki se je leta 1787 preselil v Zalaistvánd (Mesterházy 1903, 26). Berkejevo življenje in delo v Nemespátróju osvetljujejo naslednje vrstice:

Verniki povabijo sem za njegovega¹³ naslednika Blaža Berkeja, ki od 1. januarja 1788 že vodi matične knjige. Spet so lahko nadaljevali voditelji in verniki gradnjo te majhne Gospodove cerkve. In sicer so nadaljevali. Med drugimi je 1789 eklezija odkupila štiri srebrite svečnike od častnega gospoda Blaža Berkeja za dva akova vina.¹⁴

Mesterházy še doda, da je bila vizitacija v občini 22. oktobra 1789 po superintendentu Sámuelu Hrabovszkyju, a žal ni podrobnih podatkov o tem obisku (Mesterházy 1903, 27). Nato se Berkejevo življenje zaradi družinske tragedije spremeni:

Domačija Gospodovega služabnika se zavije v žalost, ker 27. novembra 1791 med porodom umre duhovnikova žena Rozina Gyenese. V naslednjem letu pa se žalosten mož poslovil od svojih vernikov, da sprejme duhovniški urad na Hodošu Železne županije.¹⁵

12 V zgodovinskem podatku iz leta 1349 je omenjen toponim *Slavonia*, ki je lahko služil tudi kot označevalec za slovenski etnični prostor (Kočevár 2022b, 309–310).

13 Nyirőjevega.

14 »Utódjául a hívek ide meghívjak Berke Balázst, ki 1788 január 1-én már vezeti az anyakönyveket. Ismét folytathatták tehát a vezetők és hívek az Ur ezen kisdé egyházának építését. Folytatták is. Így többek között 1789-ben 'az oltáron lévő négy megezüstözött gyertyatartókat az ecclesia Tiszt. Berke Balázs Uramtól két akó borban megvette.'« (Mesterházy 1903, 27)

15 »Az Ur szolgájának háza gyászba borul, mert a lelkészné Gyenese Rozina 1791-ben nov. 27-én gyermekszülésben meghal. És a bánatos férj a következő évben elbucszik hiveitől hogy a vasmegyei Hodoson vállalon lelkészi hivatalt.« (Mesterházy 1903, 27)



V nadaljevanju Mesterházy več ne omenja Berkeja niti tega, kako je končal svoje življenje, potem ko se je (verjetno po 1802) vrnil v Nemespátró.

3 Slovenski viri

Od slovenskih virov najprej izpostavljam vire v prekmurskih tiskih. To so bili prvi slovenski viri, ki so se ukvarjali z Blažem Berkejem.

Najprej se Berkejevo ime pojavi v verskem mesečniku *Düsevni liszt* iz 1924 v zvezi s 140. obletnico puconske cerkvene občine (DL 20. 12. 1924, 14). Avtor tega članka ni znan (oziroma ni zabeležen). Morda je bil Adam Luthar, ki je bil v tem času duhovnik v Puconcih (Kerčmar 1995, 154), hkrati tudi odgovorni urednik *Düsevnega liszta* (Kuzmič 1999, 18):

140 lêtница. Püconszka fara sze je na Adventszko II. nedelo z-lêpim ôszvetkom szpomínala z-toga, ka szo nyéno prvo cérkev Klement Dániel Körtvélyeski sinyôr z-pomocsjôv Bakos Mihály kri'zevskoga – i Berke Balás domácsega dühovnika 1784. dec. 8. goriposzvétli.

Düsevni liszt vsebuje niz člankov, ki jih je napisal Janoš Flisar pod naslovom *Prêkmurja szvetszki evang. znameniti môzje* in leta 1926 objavil v samostojni knjigi (Kuzmič 1999, 67). V tem nizu se Flisar podrobno ukvarja z družino Berke (*Berketova família*) (DL 20. 5. 1926, 67; DL 20. 6. 1926, 80), vendar nikjer ne omenja Blaža Berkeja.

Ob priložnosti 150. obletnice puconske gmajne¹⁶ so že leta 1932 postavili steber (DL 20. 11. 1932, 117), ki še danes stoji v Puconcih blizu današnje pošte. Besedilo na stebru je v prekmurščini, ampak že v gajici. Tudi tukaj je omenjeno ime Blaža Berkeja:¹⁷

16 Gmajna = evangeličanska cerkvena skupnost (Novak 2006, 109).

17 Besedilo na stebru je navedeno tudi v *Düševnem listu* in *Evangeličanskem kalendariju* (DL 20. 11. 1932, 117; DL 20. 8. 1938, 101; EK 1935, 89), vendar navedka nista natančna. Zato sem besedilo prepisal neposredno s spomenika.



»Zmisli si na zdávnja vrêmena, brodte lêta preminôči porodov,
opitaj tvojga oço, naj ti pripovê, tvoje starce, oni ti vsa nazvêstijo,«
V. Moz. 32.7.

Pred 200 lêtmi so na porob prôtireformácie spadnole cvetêce
evang. gmâne krajîne naše. Po dúgi 50 lêtaj je Dùh Gospodnov
na žitek pôzvao Püconsko správišče cêrkveno i od 1783.okt.12.
do 1784.dec.8. je na etom prestori vu gümni Kûhar Ferenc Jákoba
držao evang. božo slûžbo Berke Baláž prvi püconski dûhovnik
prerodníkom, verníkom vezdášnje Püconske, Bodonske, Sobočke,
Morávske, Lendavske, i Radgonske, fare. »Eben-Haezer,« t.j. doeti-
mao nam je pomágao Gospôd I.Šam.7.12.

Ob priložnosti je Janoš Flisar napisal zdravico z naslovom *Spominanje z-1783 oktobra 12-ga*, kjer je v tretji kitici omenjen tudi Blaž Berke. Pesem je na proslavi recitiral Zoltan Kerčmar, ki je bil takrat misijonski pridigar v Apačah (DL 20. 11. 1932, 119):

Ščíščena vera je têlo dobila,
Kô sta eti v-prvoj Božoj slûžbi
Na Kûhar Ferenc Jákoba funduši
Bakoš Mihály, Berke Baláž glásila.

Flisar je napisal še pesem *Na stôpétdesétlêtnico*, ki jo je recitirala dijakinja 6. gimnazijskega razreda Vilma Vlaj (DL 20. 11. 1932, 122). V peti kitici najdemo naslednje vrstice:

Jer držána v etom mesti,
Vu Kûhar Ferenca gjümni,
Kak se tô i dnesdén právi
Na Jákovovom funduši,
Prva boža svéta slûžba
Po Bakoš Mihálj križevskom
i Berke Baláž püconskom
Dûhovniki spelávana.

Düševni list je 20. decembra 1933 objavil še en kratek spis o 150. obletnici križevske gmajne, v katerem pišejo tudi o Blažu Berkeju in njegovi



duhovniški službi, ki jo je opravljal v Križevcih na Goričkem (DL 20. 12. 1933, 9):

150 lètnica Križevske fare. Križevska fara je tüdi okt. 22-ga hválo dávala Gospôdi za svoj 150 lètni obsto. 1783. okt.19-ga je bila obdržüna v Križevci vu hiži Gergár Mikloša ta prva Boža slůžba. Prvo sv. predgo je meo Bakoš Mihálj dühovnik, ki je z Šurde bio pozváni ese, drůgo predgo je pa obdržao Berke Baláz puconski dühovnik. Skôz cêle zime je križevsko faro tüdi Berke Baláz pastorizálivao, ár se je Bakoš dühovnik li 1784. apr. 11 ga priselo v Križevce. Boža slůžba se je vu imenüvanøj hiži do 1784 nov. 14-ga obdržávala. Med têm so začnoli zidati cêrkev i dokeč je tá nê zgotovljena bila vu k njénoj zhodnoj stêni goripostávlenom lesenom šatori je bila držána Boža slůžba do 1785. okt. 30 ga, na šterom dnévi je že zgotovljena cêrkev posvetšena Bôgi na diko po Bakoš Mihálj dománjem-, Berke Baláz puconskom- i Laki Števan hodoškom dühovniki. – Križevska fara je tak 1783-ga leta začnola pôt svojega historičnoga osnávlanja.

V *Evangelíčanskem kalendariju* iz 1935 je bil objavljen članek z naslovom *Krátka hištorija puconske 150-letne fare* (EK 1935, 77–82). Avtor ni naveden, morda je to bil Adam Luthar, glavni urednik (Kuzmič 1999, 42). V tem članku lahko zasledimo omembo Blaža Berkeja (EK 1935, 78):

Vu düši vernikov je tak globoki bio žež za božov rečjôv, ka so niti tečas nej ščeli brez bože slůžbe biti, dokeč se cêrkev z-gotovi, nego so gori prosili ednoga vrêloga vernika, Kühar Ferenc Jákoba, naj njim prêkdá svojo gümlö na držànje bože slůžbe. Eti je bila držána 1783-ga okt. 12-ga, na rojstni dên Püconske gmâne po dugi 50 letaj ta prva evangelíčanska predga, štero je meo Bakoš Mihálj križevske gmâne prvi dühovnik i eti je gláso skôz 14 mēsecov rêč Božo Püconske fare prvi dühovnik Berke Baláz.

V članku avtor še enkrat omeni Berkeja: »Fare prvi duhovnik je bio Berke Baláž, ki je eti 4 lêta slúžo, i od etec je v Nemespátró (Šomogyska župnija)¹⁸ odišao.« (EK 1935, 79)

V *Evangelíčanskem kalendariju* iz 1936, v članku (EK 1936, 54–62) *Križevske (Prêkmurje) evang. verske občine hištória od 1783 do 1934* (tudi tu ni naveden avtor), je omenjena Berkejeva dejavnost v Križevcih (EK 1936, 56–57):

To drúgo Božo slúžbo so pa držali Berke Baláž, tüdi tistoga hipa osnovlene püconske gmâne duhovnik i prêk čeres zíme so Berke Baláž obslúžávali vu obeme gmânama v-Križevci i v-Püconci bože slúžbe ár so Bakoš ešče po zími v Šurdi ostali za slabe pôti volo so se samo 1784 aprilá 11-ga zoselili v-Križevce. Boža slúžba je vu Gergárovom gümni do 1784 nov. 14. držána. Vu tom vrêmeni Je začnjen na vezdášnjem brêgi stojêče cêrkvi zídanie, štera dokeč je nê zgotovljena, tečas je k-zhodnoj njénoj stêni v gori postávenom šatori držána Boža slúžba do 1785-ga okt. 30-ga, na šteri dên je na Božo díko pozdignjena cêrkev posvetšena i prêkdána svojemi nebeskomi pozvánji po Bakoš Mihálji mêstnom, Berke Baláži püconskom i Laky Števani hdoškom duhovniki. Pri toj prilíki so domànji duhovnik na podlági Mat. 22, 21: »Dajte záto, štera so casarova, casari, ino štera so Boža, Bôgi« predgali, naprê so pústili z-27. Žoltára 4 veršuš: »Edno sem proso od Gospodna i zdá tüdi tô prosim, da bi mogao vu Gospodna Hiži ostánoti vse dní žítka mojega i glédati násladno čést Božo i hoditi vu cêrkev njegovo.« Visiko poštvvani Berke Baláž duhovnik so vu vogrskom jeziki držali predgo, rávno na podlagi tê isti sv. rêči.

Avtor tega članka ne navede nobenih virov za te podatke. Ni izključeno, da se je naslanjal na ljudsko izročilo, ki je ohranilo nekatere zgodbe in spomine. V Gornjih Petrovcih je na primer Andraž Mikola zbral veliko podatkov iz zgodovine tamkajšnje gmajne (Kerčmar 1995, 222).

18 Nemespátró, kjer je umrl Blaž Berke, je najprej pripadal županiji Somogy (Šomodska), potem so ga 16. 3. 1950 priključili k Zalski županiji (Káli 2009, 74–76).



V tematičnem seznamu Ivana Škafarja *Bibliografija prekmurskih tiskov od 1715 do 1919* so v posebnem delu navedeni še nekateri ohranjeni prekmurski rokopisi, med njimi tudi Berkejeva pesmarica, hranjena v Narodni in univerzitetni knjižnici v Ljubljani (Škafar 1978, 99–100):

Inv. št. 5/61. – Szlovenszke Dühovne peszmi pizsane po Berke Balázsi vu Nemes Csobi. – Prvi del pesmarice ima 339 strani in je napisana leta 1768 in 1769; drugi del ima 54 strani in vsebuje večinoma mrtvečne pesmi, ki jih je pozneje vpisala druga roka, nekaj tudi Berke leta 1784. Velikost: 16 + 19 cm. Berkejev del vsebuje cerkvene pesmi. Pesmarica je evangeličanska. Imela je 185 pesmi.

V knjižni slovenščini je ena od najpomembnejših literatur, v kateri je omenjen Blaž Berke, monografija bivšega evangeličanskega duhovnika Vilija Kerčmarja *Evangeličanska cerkev na Slovenskem* (1995). V tem delu Kerčmar večinoma predstavi reformacijo in protestantsko vero med Muro in Rabo (Kerčmar 1995, 328–330), čeprav se ukvarja tudi s kranjskim protestantizmom (Trubarjevim, Dalmatinovim, Bohoričevim in Kreljevim delom) (Kerčmar 1995, 327).

V posebnem poglavju se ukvarja s prekmurskimi protestantskimi književniki: *Literarna dejavnost evangeličanov v Prekmurju* (Kerčmar 1995, 142–158). Podrobno so predstavljeni avtorji kot Mihael Bakoš, Štefan Baler, Mihael Barla, Franc Berke, Ivan Berke, Juri in Rudolf Cipot, Adam Farkaš, Janoš Flisar, Matjaž Godina, Janoš Kardoš, Mihael Kerčmar, Tomaž Križan, Števan Küzmič, Adam Luthar, Avgust Peter Lutarič, Mihael Sever Vanečaj, Štefan Sijarto, Štefan Smodiš, Franc Temlin, Ivan Terboč in Aleksander Terplan. Berkejevo ime v tem poglavju ni omenjeno, čeprav je njegova pesmarica izjemno veliko delo za prekmursko rokopisno književnost.¹⁹

V poglavju *Popis evangeličanskih cerkva v Sloveniji* (Kerčmar 1995, 194–320) v podpoglavju *Puconci* (Kerčmar 1995, 303–315) zasledimo omembo o Berkejevi dejavnosti v tej gmajni (303–305):

19 To je presenetljivo, saj tudi Kerčmar (1995, 144) omenja npr. o Štefanu Balerju: »Razen nekaj pridig literarno ni ustvarjal.«

Prvi duhovnik v Puconcih je bil Balaž Berke (1784–1788). V času njegovega delovanja so začeli graditi cerkev, katere temeljni kamen je bil položen 1. aprila 1784. Želja po čimprejšnji izgradnji je bila velika, zato so verniki hiteli z delom in cerkev je bila že na II. Adventno nedeljo istega leta blagoslovljena. Obred blagoslovitve je 8. decembra opravil tedanji senior Dániel Klement iz Körtvélyesa [...] Kot je težak vsak začetek novoustanovljene cerkvene občine, tako je bilo tudi delo Balaža Berkeje precej težko. Nanašalo se je predvsem na gradnjo cerkve in je zahtevalo veliko požrtvovalnosti. Po štiriletnem službovanju je Berke zapustil puconsko cerkveno občino in odšel v Nemespatro.

V monografiji *Martjanska pesmarica* (1997) se tudi Vilko Novak ukvarja z Blažem Berkejem (1997, 56). Berkejeva pesmarica vsebuje mnogo pesmi, ki so prepisane iz *Prve Martjanske pesmarice* (prvega prekmurskega rokopisa), kar je zelo pomembno, saj je bilo tako mogoče rekonstruirati nekaj pesmi, ki so bile nepopolne npr. zaradi poškodovanih listov.

Ne smemo pa pozabiti vzporedne, evangeličanske smeri, v kateri so se prav tako, čeprav – kot vsaj kažejo ohranjeni primerki – v mnogo manjšem številu, prepisovale in nadaljevale pesmarice, izvirajoče najverjetneje iz MP I.²⁰ Med tistimi v razvidu je najobsežnejša ter vsaj med najstarejšimi, celo z ohranjenim naslovom (kar je redko), *Dühovne peszmi pizsane po Berke Balázsi vu Nemes Csobi* (tj. artikularni kraj Nemes Csó na zahodnem Madžarskem). »Prvi del pesmarice ima 339 strani in je napisana 1768 in 1769 [...] Imela je 185 pesmi.« (Škafar 1978, 99–100) Papir je mnogo slabši in tudi berljivost slabša kot pri vseh starejših in istodobnih pesmaricah, pomembne pa so iste pesmi, kot jih ima MP I. Za njo bi mogli postaviti le še MP II.

V zadnjih opombah monografije našteje Novak vse pesmi *Prve Martjanske pesmarice*, zapiše tudi, v katerih drugih pesmaricah se pojavijo iste pesmi (Novak 1997, 375–390). Večina Berkejevih pesmi izvira iz *Prve Martjanske pesmarice*.

20 MP I = Prva Martjanska pesmarica; MP II = Druga Martjanska pesmarica. Dva rokopisa v Martjancih sta nastala v različnih stoletjih: prvi v 16./17., drugi v 17./18. (Škafar 1978, 102–103; Novak 1997, 20).



Podatki vseh prej navedenih literatur in virov (Hodoška vizitacija, Hrabowszky, Szinnyei, Mesterházy, Mályusz, Škafar, Novak, Kerčmar, Šebjanič) so povzeti v spletnem članku o Blažu Berkeju *Novega Slovenskega biografskega leksikona* (Just 2013). Članek je leta 2017 sestavil publicist, urednik in literarni zgodovinar Franci Just, ki je eden najpomembnejših poznavalcev in raziskovalcev literarne dejavnosti v pomurski in porabski regiji.

V prvem odstavku je predstavljena Berkejeva življenjska pot v časovnem zaporedju (od šolanja v Čobi do spora na Hodošu). V drugem odstavku se podrobneje ukvarja z Berkejevo latinsko pesmijo, ki je bila namenjena Adamu Farkašu. »V kontekstu tujejezičnih (latinskih in madžarskih) pesmi, ki so jih prekmurski avtorji pisali v 18. in na začetku 19. stoletja, gre Berkejevi latinski verzifikaciji časovno prvenstvo v sklopu slavnih pesmi, ki so jih avtorji (npr. Simon Čergič, Mikloš Küzmič, Mihael Barla, Jožef Košič) posvečali mecenom, dobrotnikom, predpostavljenim in prijateljem.« (Just 2013)

V tretjem (zadnjem) odstavku objavi podrobnosti o vsebini in sestavi Berkejeve rokopisne pesmarice. Ker je nekatere pesmi napisal nekdo drug, Just meni, da je s paleografsko analizo mogoče z gotovostjo ugotoviti, kateri so Berkejevi zapisi v pesmarici. Omeni še primerjalna preučevanja Vilka Novaka, ki je vzporejal pesmi v Berkejevi pesmarici s pesmimi *Prve Martjanske pesmarice*, Bakoševega *Nouvega Gráduvála* in Sijartovih *Mrtvecsnih peszmi*. Iz tega lahko razberemo, da je bila Berkejeva pesmarica vezni člen med rokopisno in tiskano tradicijo prekmurske evangeličanske pesmi (Just 2013).

Marko Jesenšek v razpravi *Prekmurske protestantske pesmarice od Mihaela Severa do Janoša Kardoša* na kratko predstavi Berkejevo pesmarico. Razprava je objavljena v znanstveni reviji *Slavia Centralis* (letnik 12, številka 1). Jesenšek – tako kot Just – meni, da je Berke soavtor pesmarice in ni edini zapisovalec, medtem ko sta imela Vilko Novak in Franc Kuzmič Berkeja za edinega zapisovalca (Jesenšek 2019, 245). Postavi se še vprašanje, koliko mrliških pesmi je zapisal Berke. Škafar je namreč ugotovil, da je Berke zapisal nekaj teh pesmi, a Just pripisuje Berkeju večino mrliških pesmi. Ne glede na to Berkejeva pesmarica povezuje prekmurski jezik rokopisnih pesmaric s knjižnim jezikom prekmurskih tiskanih knjig in tako kaže na nepretrganost jezikovnega razvoja med Muro in Rabo (Jesenšek 2019, 246).



Literarna zgodovinarka in jezikoslovka Nina Ditmajer je leta 2021 za *Register rokopisov slovenskega slovstva* (RRSS) sestavila opis o Berkejevi pesmarici (Ditmajer 2022). Opis je sestavljen neposredno po izvirniku, naslanja se tudi na Jesenška in Justa. V opisu najdemo informacije o kraju in času nastanka (Čoba, druga polovica 18. stoletja), vsebini (178 ohranjenih pesmi, medtem ko je doslej veljalo število 185), sestavi (pesmarica je razdeljena na dva dela) ipd. Še posebej so omenjene vsebinsko nepopolne pesmi (ali so nekatere pesmi navedene v celoti ali pa njihova vsebina delno manjka). Jezik pesmarice je prekmurski knjižni jezik, ki izhaja iz pretekle rokopisne literarne tradicije panonskega območja, v naslovih pa se sklicuje na madžarske verzije pesmi (Ditmajer 2022).

V opisu najdemo tudi fizične podatke o rokopisu (o obliki, obsegu, materialu, foliaciji) (Ditmajer 2022).

Sklep

O življenju in delu Blaža Berkeja imamo sorazmerno malo podatkov. Poznamo pa njegov (morebitni) rojstni kraj (Visitatio 1798), študije (Hrabovszky 1803, 94) in družino (Mesterházy 1903, 27) ter nekatere pomembnejše dogodke na njegovi življenjski poti, npr. ustanovitev puconske gmajne (DL 20. 12. 1933, 9).

Kljub pomanjkljivostim imamo več informacij o Berkeju kot o Francu Temlinu, avtorju prve tiskane prekmurske knjige *Mali katechismus* (1715). Vilko Novak domneva (brez kakršnega koli vira), da je bil Temlinov oče rakičanski grajski upravitelj Blaž, ker je bil študij v tujini za kmečkega sina takrat skoraj nemogoč (Jesenšek 2018, 58).²¹ Edino, kar je ostalo od Temlina, je pismo, ki ga je pisal nemškim pietistom in v katerem prosi za pomoč pri izdaji svojega katekizma (*Viri za zgodovino Prekmurja* 2008, 202).

21 Temlin je študiral v Wittenbergu (Kerčmar 1995, 156). Francè Kidrič v članku o Juriju Dalmatinu v *Slovenskem biografskem leksikonu* piše: »Roditelja sta mu sicer bila vsaj 1571 še oba med živimi, a sta živela v tako skromnih razmerah, da nista mogla sina med študijami niti z obleko in knjigami oskrbovati.« (2013)



Kratici

DL *Düsevní liszt: Mészecske verszke novine*
EK *Evangelíčanski kalendari*

Reference

Arhivski vir

Evangelíčanski deželni arhiv Budimpešta,
 Visitatio Ecclesia Hodosiensis habita
 1798 20. July hora 10. Ante mer. in
 Templo.

Časopisni viri

Düsevní liszt: Mészecske verszke novine.

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---. 20. 12. 1924. 3/1.

---. 20. 5. 1926. 4/6.

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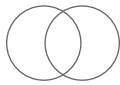


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Akoš Anton Dončec

Izročilo in dediščina rokopisnih pesmaric v prekmurščini od 16. do 20. stoletja

The Tradition and Legacy of Handwritten Hymnals in Prekmurian Language from the 16th to the 20th Century

Izvleček: Poleg tiskanih knjig ima prekmurska slovenščina tudi bogato tradicijo rokopisov (zlasti rokopisnih pesmaric), ki izvira iz 16. stoletja. Ohranjene rokopisne pesmarice so večinoma zbirke verskih, cerkvenih pesmi. Najti je veliko mrliških pesmaric. Prvi prekmurski rokopis je bil t. i. stara ali *Prva Martjanska pesmarica*, ki so jo začeli protestanti v 16. stoletju v vasi Martjanci (blizu Murske Sobote). Prepisovalci so prevzeli pesmi iz te pesmarice v svoje rokopise, tako so se razširile pesmi povsod med Muro in Rabo. Tradicija pesmaric se je nadaljevala v 18., 19. in 20. stoletju. Med prepisovanjem so različni avtorji jezikovno izboljšali in tudi dopolnili pesmi. Veliko so jih prevzeli drugi avtorji v svoje tiskane molitvenike in pesmarice (npr. Mikloš Küzmič, Štefan Sijarto, Mihael Bakoš, Jožef Pustaj, Anton Števanec). Danes nekatere rokopise hranijo v arhivih ali knjižnicah, nekateri drugi pa so še vedno v zasebni lasti. Več rokopisov je za vedno izginilo.

Ključne besede: rokopisi, pesmarice, prekmurščina, Prekmurje, ljudsko izročilo, kajkavizem, jezik, katoliki, protestanti, prepis

Abstract: In addition to printed books, Prekmurian Slovene language has a rich tradition of manuscripts (especially handwritten songbooks), which dates back to the 16th century. The preserved manuscript songbooks are mostly collections of religious, church songs; however, many mortuary songbooks can also be found. The first manuscript in Prekmurje was the so-called *Prva Martjanska pesmarica* (songbook), which was started by Protestants in the 16th century in the village of Martjanci (near Murska Sobota). The copyists included the songs from this songbook into their own manuscripts, and the songs spread everywhere between the Mura and the Raba. The tradition of songbooks continued in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. In the process of copying, various authors improved and added to the poems linguistically. Many of them were taken over by other authors in their printed prayer books and songbooks (e.g. Mikloš Küzmič, Štefan Sijarto, Mihael Bakoš, Jožef Pustaj, Anton Števanec). Today some manuscripts are kept in archives or libraries, while others are still in private ownership. Several manuscripts were never recovered.

Keywords: manuscripts, hymnals, Prekmurian language, Prekmurje, folk tradition, kajkavism, language, Catholics, Protestants, transcript

Uvod

Rokopisno izročilo je poseben in tudi zelo pomemben del prekmurske slovenske književnosti. Prekmurske rokopisne pesmarice so utemeljile prekmursko književno tradicijo v 16. stoletju in so v tem obdobju imele zelo pomembno vlogo, saj so pred objavo tiskanih knjig med ljudstvom širile pisno besedo ter ohranjale slovanski duh in jezik med Muro in Rabo.

Rokopisi so imeli pomembno vlogo tudi takrat, ko so ogrski Slovenci že imeli možnost izdajati tiskane knjige v maternem jeziku. Ker tiski iz različnih razlogov (npr. cena knjige, nepismeno ljudstvo) niso dosegli vseh ljudi, so ljudski pisci (prepisovalci) v svoje knjižice prepisali pesmi ali molitve, ki so jih nato širili v svojem okolju in so jih tudi drugi iz sosednjih krajev prevzeli v svoje prepise.

Med prepisovanjem so se besedila slogovno in jezikovno preoblikovala, kar je igralo pomembno vlogo pri razvoju prekmurskega knjižnega jezika. Najstarejši rokopisi (npr. *Martjanska* in *Markišavska pesmarica*) so v veliki meri prežeti s kajkavskimi jezikovnimi elementi. Ogrski Slovenci so namreč uporabljali kajkavske hrvaške knjige, ki so nadomeščale manjkajočo književnost v maternem jeziku. V prepisih lahko zasledimo prizadevanja prepisovalcev prilagajati se domačemu prekmurskemu slovenskemu jeziku. Kljub temu je kajkavski vpliv še vedno mogoče opaziti v oblikoslovju pesmaric iz začetka 19. stoletja, ko so prekmurske tiskane knjige že izkazovale izvirne prekmurske jezikovne značilnosti.

Tradicija rokopisnih pesmaric se je nadaljevala tudi v 20. stoletju. Točno število prekmurskih rokopisov ni znano, saj se še danes najdejo pesmarice, ki so bile javnosti doslej nepoznane. Mnogo pesmaric in drugih rokopisov hranijo zasebniki, veliko rokopisov pa je bilo tudi uničenih.

1 Rokopisna tradicija iz svetovne književnosti

V večini razvitih kultur pomeni rokopisno izročilo prehod iz ustnega v pisno izročilo.



Običajno štejejo za rokopis vsi na roko napisani dokumenti v nasprotju z mehanično tiskanim ali z drugim avtomatičnim načinom razmnoženim dokumentom. V bližnji preteklosti so izraz *rokopis* razumeli kot kakršno koli avtorjevo pisno delo, ki je natipkano na pisalnem stroju oziroma računalniku, torej se razlikuje od natisnjene in razmnožene objave (*Veliki splošni leksikon* 1997–1998, 6: 3658). Pred izumom tiska so bila vsa besedila rokopisna (*Slovenski veliki leksikon* 3 2005, 308). Rokopisi niso opredeljeni po svoji vsebini, ki lahko združuje pisne znake, matematične kalkulacije, zemljevide ali druge zapise.

Zgodovinski rokopisi so bili zapisani na pergament ali papirus. Papirus je bil izdelan iz papirjevca,¹ njegovi listi so bili združeni v knjižni zvitek, kar je bila najpogostejša oblika knjig v starem veku (antiki). Obrtno so izdelovali papirus v Egiptu (*Veliki splošni leksikon* 1997–1998, 6: 3126). Papirusova največja pomanjkljivost je ta, da ni trajni material, papirjavec – ki je bil njegova surovina – pa je bilo možno pridelovati v toplih regijah, na primer v Egiptu. Dosti primernejši in obstojnejši za pisanje je bil pergament, ki so ga izdelali iz živalske kože (s čiščenjem, strganjem in barvanjem). Pergament je bilo mogoče izdelovati povsod, primeren je bil tudi za obojestransko pisanje, njegova gladkost je bila večja in možno je bilo izbrisati staro besedilo ter napisati novo (*Veliki splošni leksikon* 1997–1998, 6: 3176). Papir se je razširil iz Kitajske, najprej med Arabci, v 14. stoletju tudi v Evropi (*Veliki splošni leksikon* 1997–1998, 6: 3124–3125).

V odličnem stanju so bili ohranjeni najstarejši rokopisi npr. v kumranskih votlinah v Izraelu (t. i. mrtvomorski rokopisi) (*Veliki splošni leksikon* 1997–1998, 4: 2176), v puščavnih grobiščih v Tarimski kotlini na Kitajskem (napisani so v toharščini) (Diringer 1953, 347–348) in še v Herkulaneju² pod okamnelim vulkanskim pepelom (Maiuri 1974, 35–39).

V jugovzhodni Aziji so na zelo tanke kovinske ploščice (Quenzer, Sobisch in Bondarev 2014, 221) ali palmove liste in palmovo lubje (Singh 2008, 14) ter na slonovo kost pisali rokopise (Hester 2020, 198). V Rusiji so že

1 Papirjavec (*Cyprus papyrus*) je vrsta šašev v tropskih in afriških pokrajinah. Iz njegovega debelega stebra so pridobivali nekoč papirus (*Veliki splošni leksikon* 1997–1998, 6: 3126).

2 Herkulanej (Herkulaneum) je bilo starodavno rimsko mesto, ki je bilo uničeno skupaj s Pompeji po izbruhu ognjenika Vezuva v Južni Italiji (*Veliki splošni leksikon* 1997–1998, 3: 1467).



v 11. stoletju pisali dokumente na brezovo lubje (Bahn 2017, 441), med drugim v t. i. stari novgorodščini, ki je bila izumrla severna različica starega ruskega jezika (Žuravljev 1994, 63).

Najlepši primeri evropskih rokopisov so kodeksi, ki so bili predhodniki zdajšnjih knjig. Kodeksi so v 4. in 5. stoletju popolnoma nadomestili knjižne zvitke (*Veliki splošni leksikon* 1997–1998, 4: 2006). V srednjem veku so npr. krščanski meniški samostani med seboj širili kodekse, in sicer tako, da so za nekaj časa posodili svoje kodekse drugim samostanom, ki so jih potem prepisali. Tako je bilo razširjeno mnogo informacij (Hunt, Smith in Stok 2017, 160).³ Ta način je do neke mere podoben tistemu, ki je bil značilen za prepisovalce starih prekmurskih rokopisov (kot na primer *Prve Martjanske pesmarice*). Duhovniki pa tudi laiki so prepisovali (adaptirali) pesmi iz *Martjanske pesmarice* in tudi drugih rokopisnih pesmaric, ki so jih potem uporabljali v svoji vasi ali svoji širši okolici (Jesenšek 2010, 39). Sčasoma so prepisovalci prepoznali jezikovne koherence in razlike ter izoblikovali pravičen domači prekmurski jezik, kar je dosti prispevalo k razvoju prekmurščine, da lahko preide v tiskane knjige (Novak 1997, 49).

Glede na število ohranjenih rokopisov ima Afrika največji rekord. V knjižnici mesta Timbuktuja v Maliju je ohranjeno npr. 250.000 rokopisov, medtem ko v mestu hranijo še 700 tisoč drugih rokopisov (Babel Unbound 2020, 145; Khumalo 2013; Buckley 2005, 11).

2 Prekmurski rokopisi v obdobju reformacije in baroka

Iznajdba tiskanja knjig je precej pospešila širjenje pisnih besedil (oziroma informacij) (Wheeler 2019, 52), kljub temu pa rokopisna izročila niso bila prekinjena, saj je bil tisk potratna in dolgotrajna dejavnost. Tudi Janez Vajkard Valvasor je moral veliko žrtvovati, da je lahko dal natisniti svojo pionirsko knjigo *Slava vojvodine Kranjske* (1689). Zaradi velikih stroškov je prodal svoj grad Bogenšperk pri Šmartnem (Golec 2016, 56) in tudi svojo rojstno hišo v Ljubljani (Dolgan, Fridi in Volk 2014, 217).

3 Pozneje so se kodeksi in rokopisi širili po samostanih pa tudi na univerzah, kjer so jih prodajali tudi na sejmih (Rouse 1991, 78.269).



Istočasno s širjenjem tiska je nastala uradna državna cenzura, kar pomeni, da je bilo mogoče objaviti rokopis v tiskani knjigi z dovoljenjem uradnega preiskovalnega odbora. Papež Pavel IV. je dal sestaviti prvi uradni seznam prepovedanih knjig *Index librorum prohibitorum* (1559) (Betten 2012), nato pa je leta 1571 papež Pij V. ustanovil odbor, ki je sestavljal dopolnjene sezname prepovedanih knjig (Green in Karolides 2014, 258).

Slovenci med Muro in Rabo v t. i. Slovenski okroglini⁴ (*Viri za zgodovino Prekmurja* 2008, 129; Smej 1997a, 39) so bili odvisni od svojih madžarskih vladarjev (Kerčmar 2000, 149), in sicer so po načelu *Cuius regio eius religio* (Čigar dežela – tega vera) prevzeli protestantsko vero od svojih madžarskih veleposestnikov (*Viri za zgodovino Prekmurja* 2008, 132–133). Če se je veleposestnik spreobrnil in prestopil iz ene vere v drugo (iz katoliške v protestantsko ali obratno), je to veljalo tudi za njegove podložnike⁵ (Kerčmar 1995, 92–93).

Slovenci med Muro in Rabo so se spreobrnili v protestantsko (večinoma luteransko) vero v zelo temnem obdobju madžarske zgodovine (Kerčmar 1995, 93–94). Stara ogrska kraljevina je v 16. stoletju propadla, izbruhnili so notranji razdori in država je prišla na psa (Kubinyi 1986, 59–64), z juga pa ji je grozilo Osmansko cesarstvo. Leta 1526 so Turki premagali Madžare v bitki pri Mohaču (*Magyarország története* 1976, 152–153), nato so ogrski prestol zasedli Habsburžani, ki pa so se morali nenehno boriti proti Turkom (Várkonyi 2001, 7), ki so zavzeli ogrsko prestolnico Budim (1541) ter velik del Ogrske in Hrvaške (Csorba, Estók, Salamon 1999, 75).

V takih okoliščinah je puščal svoje korenine protestantizem v Slovenski okroglini. Prva protestantska skupnost je nastala na Boreč na Goričkem (Kerčmar 1995, 93), nato so nastale še druge skupnosti v Murski Soboti,

4 Ogrska škofija v Győru je v srednjem veku ustanovila dekanijo na srednjem in severnem delu današnjega Prekmurja (na Ravenskem in Goričkem), ki se je imenovala *Tótság*, ker so v tem času Madžari imenovali slovanske narode »tótok« (Kozar 1996, 162–163). Latinski izraz *Districtus Tóthságiensis* je Mikloš Küzmič v prekmursko slovenščino prevedel kot *Slovenska okroglina* (Slovenska/Slovensko = *Tótság*, okroglina = *districtus/distrikt*), ki se prvič pojavi na naslovnici Küzmičevega lekcionarja *Szvéti evangyeliomi* iz leta 1780: *Po Pofüvanom Gofzpoudi Küzmics Miklósi, Szvétoga Benedeka Fare Dühovníki, ino Okrogline Szlovenfzke Vice-Ófpöröffa obrnyeni* (Skafar 1978, 18).

5 Načelo je bilo sprejeto v augsburškem verskem miru leta 1555 (Shaw in Demy 2017, 847).



Tišini, Selu, Gornjem Seniku, Martjancih, Monoštru, Gornjih Petrovcih in Svetem Juriju pri Rogašovcih (Munda Hirnők 2000, 170–171). Protestanti so bili deležni tudi verskih preganjanj (Kerčmar 1995, 104–106; 2000, 154–156) in osmansko-srbskih napadov (Kozar Mukič 2004, 123–126).

Kljub vsem težavam se je v Slovenski okroglini začel duhovno-kulturni razvoj. V Dolnji Lendavi (današnja Lendava) je delovala protestantska tiskarna pod vodstvom kranjskega Janža Mandelca. Leta 1587 so natisnili protestantski obrednik *Agenda Vandalica*⁶ (Kerčmar 1995, 97), o katerem ni podatkov, saj ni ohranjenega primerka, čeprav ni verjetno, da je bila napisana v prekmurskem ali vsaj nekem slovanskem jeziku (npr. v kajkavščini, ki je bila v splošni rabi v tistem času na tem območju).

V teh viharjih obdobjih je bila edina možnost za revne ogrske Slovence, da uporabijo svojo materinščino v rokopisih. Protestantska vera je namreč omogočila pouk in pridigo v maternem jeziku ljudstva. Čeprav v tem času prekmurščina še ni bila knjižna, so pomanjkljivost poskusili nadomestiti z drugimi knjigami, ki so bile napisane v slovanski različici, ki je sorodna jeziku ogrskih Slovencev (Šebjanič 1979a, 16; Jesenšek 2010, 38–40).

Od konca 17. stoletja si je katoliška cerkev polagoma ponovno pridobila večino med Muro in Rabo. V sedemdesetih letih 17. stoletja je zemljiški gospod Péter Széchy evangeličanom v Murski Soboti odvzel cerkev (Fujs 2022, 110).

Na današnjem prekmurskem območju so v času reformacije nastale tri pomembnejše rokopisne pesmarice: *Prva Martjanska pesmarica*, *Druga Martjanska pesmarica* in *Markišavska pesmarica*.

6 Pojavlja se več vprašanj v zvezi z obrednikom *Agenda Vandalica*. V naslovu je naziv *Vandal*, kar je bilo latinsko in hkrati tudi znanstveno poimenovanje ogrskih Slovencev (Novak 1958, 8–11). Torej je bil naziv v rabi že v 16. stoletju, toda še do danes ni razčiščeno, kdaj in kako je nastal kot poimenovanje za ogrske Slovence. Drugo vprašanje je, kakšna je bila vsebina obrednika in v katerem jeziku je napisan. Po naslovu lahko domnevamo, da je namenjena Slovencem, vendar je knjiga izgubljena in ni drugih konkretnih podatkov o vsebini. Iz l. 1785 je ohranjen rokopisni obrednik Mihaela Bakoša, ki tudi nosi latinski naslov *Agenda Vandalica*, a je napisan v prekmurščini (Šebjanič 1979b, 27–29). Lahko da gre pri dolnjelendavski *Agendi Vandalici* za ponatis Dalmatinovega obrednika *Agenda, tv ie, kokv fe te imenitijfe Boshie flushbe opravljajo po Wirtemberfki Zerkovni ordnungi* (1585) (Adam 2010, 41).

V *Prvi Martjanski pesmarici* so različne pisave, tudi slog in jezik sta drugačna, poleg tega je kakovost papirja različna na posameznih listih. Na podlagi teh značilnosti so slovenski literarni zgodovinar France Kidrič, slovenski zgodovinar Franc Kovačič ter hrvaški filolog in zgodovinar Franjo Fancev poskusili ugotoviti starost te pesmarice (Novak 1997, 19). Očitno je, da so jo od časa do časa dopolnjevali različni avtorji. Prve pesmi so nastale približno v prvi polovici 16. stoletja, ko se je začela širiti reformacija v Slovenski okroglini, medtem ko so zadnji deli pesmarice nastali v 17. in 18. stoletju. Zadnji vpisan datum v rokopisu je 1710 s podpisom nekega Nikolaja Legena⁷ (Novak 1997, 20–21).

Enote pesmarice se nanašajo na tri glavna obdobja cerkvenega leta; dva dela vsebujeta splošne verske pesmi, nekaj moralnih in apokrifnih besedil ter nekaj posvetnih⁸ pesmi (Novak 1997, 6–10.18).

Glede na pesniško obliko so nekatere pesmi literarno bolj »ambiciozne« (kakor tudi v opombi omenjena *Pthicsicze leipo pojejo*). V teh pesmih se kitice začnejo z veliko začetnico, ki je v nekaterih delih pesmarice posebej poudarjena ali celo prizadevno lepo izpisana. Za zadnjo vrstico v kitici pa je v nekaterih pesmih zapisana latinska beseda *Versus* (odpev) (Novak 1997, 13).

Najpomembnejša posvetna pesem *Martjanske pesmarice* je pesnitev o bitki pri Sigetu.⁹ Začetek pesnitve je izgubljen (Novak 1997, 388). Tudi ta pesem ni bila prevzeta v druge rokopise, čeprav lahko zasledimo njen motiv v pesmarici, ki je nastala na Kraščih na Goričkem (Novak 1997, 389).¹⁰

7 Morda je bil lastnik (Zvonar 1996, 286).

8 Taka pesem je npr. *Pthicsicze leipo pojejo*, ki kot ljubezenska pesem brez verskega značaja ni bila prepisana v nobene druge prekmurske rokopise (Novak 1997, 376). *Pthicsicze leipo pojejo* je zgodnji pojav leposlovne ustvarjalnosti v Slovenski okroglini, ki še priča o neki renesančni duhovnosti (Zvonar 1996, 287). Prvo samostojno, hkrati tudi v pravilni prekmurščini napisano posvetno pesem, ki je ohranjena tudi v rokopisu, je leta 1774 napisal študent David Novak v Požunu (v današnji Bratislavi) (Just 2003, 42).

9 Leta 1566 je osmanski cesar Sulejman Veliki oblegal grad Siget (madžarsko Szigetvár) na Južnim Ogrskem (v županiji Baranja), branil pa ga je hrvaški ban Nikola Šubić Zrinski, ki je padel junaške smrti. Tudi cesar Sulejman je umrl med obleganjem (Ranogajec 2014, 43–44). Pravnuk Zrinskega, pesnik in hrvaški ban Nikola Zrinski, je ovekovečil dogodke v svoji baročni epski pesnitvi v madžarščini *Szigeti veszedelem/Obzidio Szigetiana* (Lőkös 1984, 471), ki jo je njegov brat poskušal prevesti v hrvaščino kot *Obzida Sigecka* (1666) (Schmidt-Haberkamp 2011, 114).

10 Treba je omeniti kitico iz zadnjega (četrtga) dela (Quarta Pars): *I nasse Goszpode ondi vnogo/pogimolo, Horvacske, Szlovenfzke,/Vogerfzke Goszpode, Nemske Lengyelfzke i Csehske Goszpode,*



Čeprav ni brez humornih elementov, še vedno nosi značaj srednjeveškega patriarhalnega duha (Zvonar 1996, 287).

Druga Martjanska pesmarica je glede na grafiko, oblikovanje in leksiko nastala približno v 17./18. stoletju (Smej 2005, 211). Na koncu rokopisa je poznejši vpis *Michaelis Terplan¹¹ Anno 1786 6 Januarij* (Škafar 1978, 103). Skupaj s *Prvo Martjansko pesmarico* jo hranijo v Univerzitetni knjižnici Maribor (Smej 2005, 211). Ta rokopis je manj pomemben od *Prve Martjanske pesmarice*, ker doslej v nobenih znanih prekmurskih rokopisih niso opazili pesmi, ki so bile morda prevzete iz te pesmarice. *Druga Martjanska pesmarica* je kljub temu pomembna, saj vsebuje prevode iz Svetega pisma oziroma prevode psalmov. V prevodu se je avtor (prevajalec) ravnal po Vulgati in verjetno tudi po madžarskih prevodih (Smej 2005, 213–215).¹²

Markišavska pesmarica je tretji najpomembnejši rokopis iz tega obdobja, ki ga hranijo v Narodni in univerzitetni knjižnici v Ljubljani (DLIB, Markišavska pesmarica). Pesmarico so našli v Markišavcih na Ravenskem blizu Martjancev (Jembrih 1997, 83). Za datiranje nam v pomoč *Peszen od Sodoma Gomorhe*, v kateri piše: »[O]d Christussevoga, na szveit porodi enya, da sze ie pizvalo, ietero i seszt szto Inôber toga, trideszet i drugo, pesz/en ie szpravljenja, Boguvi na diko.« To pomeni, da je pesmarica nastala okrog leta 1632 (Jembrih 1997, 86).¹³

i dobri vaidove zdrobrimi junáki (Novak 1997, 340). Lengyel-fizki = poljski. Po podatkih in raziskavah so se pri Sigetu borili hrvaški in madžarski vojaki, omenjajo še nekega Nemca (Mesić 1866, 242–244). Poleg tega ni zanesljivo, da je avtor mislil Slovence, ko je pisal o *slovenskih gospodih*, ki so skupaj z junaki drugih omenjenih narodov branili grad Siget pred Turki. Ne pozabimo, da so nekoč menili, da kajkavski Hrvati pripadajo Slovencem, in so imenovali kajkavščino *szlovenzki jezik* (Jesenšek 2010, 37–38; Jembrih 1997, 297–298). Dosti bolj je verjetno, da *szlovenzki* pomeni Slavonijo, ki je zgodovinska pokrajina Hrvaške, kjer deloma govorijo tudi kajkavščino (Jembrih 1997, 42–47).

11 Mogoče lastnik ali avtor nekaterih poznejših pesmi.

12 V Pokrajinski in študijski knjižnici Murska Sobota hranijo veliko rokopisno pesmarico (identifikacijsko število Ro 150), ki je bila doslej neznana in jo raziskujem v okviru projekta *Neznani rokopisi slovenskega slovstva*, ki je potekal na Inštitutu za slovensko literaturo in literarne vede ZRC SAZU (zbiranje informacij o rokopisnih gradivih prekmurskih pesmaric in popisovanje tega gradiva). Pesmarica je veliko delo, nastala je morda v 17. ali 18. stoletju. Tudi v tem rokopisu najdemo psalme. Po mojem mnenju bo imela pesmarica poseben pomen, saj so nekateri psalmi popolnoma enaki psalmom *Druge Martjanske pesmarice*.

13 Alojzije Jembrih še doda, da leto 1632 lahko velja samo za omenjeno pesem, in ne za celo pesmarico (Jembrih 1997, 86).



Čeprav je bila odkrita v Markišavcih, lahko zasledimo v rokopisu pesem z naslednjim podatkom: »Veta peszem szpravlena ie zdai verse i Szvetoga pizma vunka vzeta ie, v Nedelischi pondelek pervo posztni, Meiszecza je den oszmi.« Po Alojziju Jembrihu je morala ta pesem nastati v Nedelišču (Nedelišće), ki je naselje v neposredni bližini Čakovca v Medžimurju na Hrvaškem (Jembrih 1997, 87). Zaradi tega se rokopis v hrvaških virih imenuje *Nedeliščansko-markiševečka pjesmarica*.

V to pesmarico so približno 17 pesmi prepisali iz *Prve Martjanske pesmarice* (Jembrih 1997, 87; Novak 1997, 375–388).

3 Jezik zgodnjih pesmaric

Viri *Prve* in *Druge Martjanske* ter *Markišavske pesmarice* so bili večino- ma kajkavsko-hrvaški. Najdemo pa tudi adaptirane pesmi iz gradiščanske hrvaščine (Jembrih 1997, 88) in še od Jurija Dalmatina ter čeških virov (Novak 1997, 374–375.378). Prva *Martjanska pesmarica* poleg tega kaže močno sorodnost z dvema pomembnima kajkavskima pesmaricama: s *Pavlinskim zbornikom* in *Drnjansko pesmarico* (Novak 1997, 34). *Pavlinski zbornik*, ki ima poleg pesmi tudi note, je nastal med letoma 1644 in 1654 v samostanu Svetega Petra v Šumi na Istri. Nekatere pesmi so nastale v 16. stoletju (Zvonar 1996, 289), korenine pa imajo tudi v 12. stoletju (Zvonar 1996, 290). Avtor *Drnjanske pesmarice*¹⁴ je Juraj Ščrbačić (Jurij Šerbačić/Shcerbachich). Tudi ta pesmarica ima posvetne, lirične pesmi, ki pričajo o odmevu nemške baročne poezije na Hrvaškem (Zvonar 1996, 292). Več pesmi se spominja Nikole Šubića Zrinskega (Zvonar 1996, 293).

Te povezave močno vplivajo na jezik zgodnjih prekmurskih pesmaric, zaradi česar je mnogo hrvaških raziskovalcev menilo (in še danes menijo), da so te pesmarice napisane v kajkavskem, in ne prekmurskem jeziku (Zvonar 1996, 287; Lőkös 2014, 25). Žal take razprave pripadajo staremu, občutljivemu vprašanju, ali so slovansko govoreči ljudje med Muro in Rabo res Slovenci ali pa pripadajo kajkavskim Hrvatom. V času priključitve Prekmurja k matici so Hrvati zahtevali, da mora Prekmurje pripadati

14 Imenuje se *Drnjanska*, ker je bila ohranjena v knjižnici v Drnju pri Koprivnici (Zvonar 1996, 292).



Hrvaški, ker Prekmurci v resnici govorijo kajkavsko narečje (Jesenšek 2010, 121–122).

Jezikovne sorodnosti ter zgodovinske in kulturne povezave med kajkavskimi Hrvati in prekmurskimi Slovenci so očitne (Lončarić 1996, 154; Jesenšek 2010, 26–29), kljub temu pa so ogrski Slovenci ohranili svojo narodno in jezikovno samozavest. Niso se poistovetili s Hrvati (Jesenšek 2010, 27), ampak so se naslonili na razvito kajkavsko književnost, zlasti ko je to bilo nujno pri nadomestitvi manjkajočih strokovnih terminologij v prekmurskem knjižnem jeziku (Novak 1972, 95–102; Smej 1997b, 534).

Grafično se te pesmarice naslanjajo na takratno kajkavsko pisavo, ki se je izoblikovala v 16. stoletju in je bila v rabi do 19. stoletja (Dudás 2022, 208–211). Npr.: glas *g* je označen z *g* ali *gh*, glas *č* pa s *ch* ali glas *dj* z *dy* (Novak 1997, 44–46; Jembrih 1997, 93). Teh znakov v prekmurskih tiskanih knjigah ne najdemo več, predvsem odkar je bila prekmurščina kodificirana v delih Števana in Mikloša Küzmiča (Novak 1972, 96–98).

Kajkavski vpliv je najbolj viden v sklanjatvenih končnicah. Sklanjatve se v prekmurščini v veliki meri ujemajo s kajkavščino (Novak 1997, 50), hkrati pa tudi razlikujejo. Poglejmo samostalnike moškega spola v dajalniku ali mestniku ednine. V splošnem imajo končnico *-u*, npr.: *Gofzpodnu, kralyu, vu varaffu* (Novak 1997, 51). Pravilna končnica v prekmurščini je *-i* (Pavel 2013, 97–98). Seveda lahko najdemo tudi pravilne primere, npr. *v Betlehemi, pri Oczi, v grobi* (Novak 1997, 51), ki so sicer zelo redki.

V *Drugi Martjanski pesmarici* zasledimo največ takih samostalnikov moškega spola v dajalniku ednine, ki imajo končnico *-o*, npr.: *Dika boidi Oczo Bogho* (s. 59), *daimo hvalo Gofzpodno Bougo* (s. 83), *Daite Goszpodno Bougo vszi narôdi Diko* (s. 103), kar je značilno za spodnjemedžimurski govor (Dončec 2016, 58.73). V *Prvi Martjanski pesmarici* so te končnice dokaj redke.

Podobne oblikoslovne značilnosti so v *Markišavski pesmarici* (Jembrih 1997, 86). Zaradi teh mešanih značilnosti so zgodnje pesmarice jezikovno zelo neenotne. Hkrati pa lahko opazimo različne poskuse, s katerimi so se želeli avtorji ali prepisovalci približati domačemu prekmurskemu jeziku. Tako se pojavi raba glasov *ü* in *ö* (Novak 1997, 48), ki so zelo

značilni na slovenskem panonskem jezikovnem področju (Zorko 2009, 218–219.241.273).¹⁵ Tudi Alojzij Jembrih omeni zelo pomembno besedo iz *Markišavske pesmarice*, ki lahko priča o namenu avtorja oziroma avtorjev, da se približajo domači prekmurščini: »Našu pozornost privlači naziv 'rusalska nedela', naziv koji je uobičajen i danas u Prekmurju u obliku 'risali(ja)' (binkošti)«, medtem ko tiskane kajkavske knjige, nadaljuje Jembrih, ki so bile v rabi tudi med Muro in Rabo, nimajo »rusalske nedele«¹⁶ (Jembrih 1997, 84). *Binkošti* so v kajkavščini *trojaki* (Lipljin 2013, 2018). *Markišavska pesmarica* prav tako nima toliko značilnih prekmurskih oblikovnih posebnosti, kakršne zasledimo v *Prvi Martjanski pesmarici* (Jembrih 1997, 89).

Med prepisom teh pesmi v druge rokopise je mogoče opaziti spremembo iz kajkavskega v domači prekmurski jezik, kar so prevzeli tudi v tiskane knjige v pravilni prekmurski obliki (Novak 1989, 110). Seveda *Martjanska* ali *Markišavska pesmarica* nista popolnoma prekmurski niti kajkavski besedili. Kljub temu so to koristni viri za raziskovanje zgodnjega kajkavskega pesništva, saj so avtorji omenjenih pesmaric adaptirali te pesmi tudi iz kajkavskih rokopisov.

4 Pesmarice v 18. in 19. stoletju

V drugi polovici 18. stoletja se je kulturni razvoj med Muro in Rabo pospešil. Leta 1771 je bil objavljen *Nouvi Zákon*, prevod Nove zaveze v prekmurščino evangeličanskega duhovnika Števana Küzmiča, s katerim je kodificiral prekmurski knjižni jezik (Jesenšek 2013, 95). Leta 1777 je cesarica Marija Terezija, ki je bila hkrati kraljica Ogrske, ustanovila novo škofijo v Sombotelu, ki je odvzela Železno in del Zalske županije Győrski in Zagrebški škofiji. Tako so prišli ogrski Slovenci pod eno cerkveno oblast (Dóczy 1830, 220; Jesenšek 2010, 164; Sasfi 2013, 345). Prvi škof sombotelske škofije János Szily je bil velik dobrotnik slovenske manjšine, zato je spodbujal slovenskega dekana Mikloša Küzmiča k pisanju knjig

15 Glas *ű* se pojavi kot subfonetičnost v nekaterih kajkavskih podnarečjih (npr. v Zagorju in Podravini) (Lončarić 1996, 69), vendar ga knjižna kajkavščina nikoli ni rabila.

16 *Risali* izvirajo iz starocerkvenoslovenskega izraza *rusalije* (praznik rož) (Novak 2009, 127).



za Slovence za rabo v cerkvi in šoli (Smej 1997c, 5–6; Jesenšek 2010, 164; 2013, 100). Mikloš je sledil Števanovemu jeziku, ga dopolnjeval in tudi izboljševal (91).

V tiskanih knjigah so poskusili zbrati nekaj gradiva iz starih rokopisnih pesmaric. Te pesmi najdemo v *Knigi molitveni* Mikloša Küzmiča (1783), cerkveni pesmarici *Nouvi Gráduvál* evangeličanskega duhovnika Mihaela Bakoša (1789) in v mrliški pesmarici *Mrtvecsne peszmi* evangeličanskega učitelja Štefana Sijarta (1796). Te knjige so deloma ohranile tudi starodavno ustno in rokopisno izročilo (Novak 1976, 58).

Mikloš je iz starih pesmaric prevzel pesmi za svoj znameniti molitvenik, katerega jezik je podomačil izraziteje kot npr. Mihael Bakoš. Zato so te predelane pesmi pomemben člen v razvoju cerkvenega petja v prekmurščini, zlasti pri katolikih (Novak 1976, 58).

Kljub temu rokopisno izročilo med Muro in Rabo še ni bilo prekinjeno, ampak so imele rokopisne pesmarice še vedno pomembno vlogo v prekmurski književnosti. Največ prekmurskih rokopisnih pesmaric je nastalo prav v 19. stoletju (Škafar 1978, 99–103). Vsakega človeka prekmurske tiskane knjige namreč niso mogle doseči, zaradi česar so v svoje zvezke prepisovali ljudske verske pesmi, ki so jih slišali ali videli v drugih rokopisih ali pa v tiskanih knjigah.

Bakošev *Nouvi Gráduvál* je prva tiskana evangeličanska pesmarica, hkrati pa tudi prva prava prekmurska cerkvena pesmarica, ki se je objavila kot tiskana knjiga. Bakoš v predgovoru obrazloži svoj namen, saj je gradivo prevzel iz prejšnjih rokopisnih pesmaric. Ugotovil je, da imajo te v rokopisu ohranjene pesmi mnogo napak v jeziku, ritmu, rimah in notah. Zaradi tega jih je bilo nujno popraviti in preoblikovati (Novak 1976, 61). Bakoš je prevzel približno 50 pesmi iz *Prve Martjanske pesmarice* in nekaj drugih rokopisnih pesmaric (npr. vsaj 22 pesmi iz *Markišavske pesmarice*) (Novak 1976, 62). Bakošev *Gráduvál* ima torej dvojni pomen: ohranil je večstoletno izročilo, hkrati pa popravil in razvijal jezik, v katerem je bila prekinjena premoč kajkavskega jezika (Novak 1976, 62).

Sijartove *Mrtvecsne peszmi* so prva pesmarica v tiskani obliki, ki je nastala za posebne potrebe (za pogreb). Sijarto je s svojo pesmarico imel isti

namen kot Bakoš: poboljšati in popraviti pesmi, ki naj zadonijo v pravilnem slovenskem jeziku (Novak 1976, 65). Sijartova pesmarica ni edina zbirka mrliških pesmi, saj so bile podobne rokopisne pesmarice že pred njo in so nastale tudi pozneje. Toda poznejše rokopisne pesmarice z mrliškimi pesmimi jezikovno niso dosledne kot Sijartove, ampak imajo nekatere neprekmurske (kajkavske) oblike, ki jih je Sijarto odstranil (Novak 1976, 65).

5 Razvoj jezika v poznejših pesmaricah

Čeprav so tiskane knjige kodificirale prekmurski knjižni jezik, lahko v jeziku rokopisnih pesmaric iz 19. stoletja še opazimo tuji vpliv.

Najprej pogledjmo rokopisno evangeličansko pesmarico Blaža Berkeja z naslovom *Szlovenszke dühovne peszmi*, ki je nastala med letoma 1768 in 1769 ter je verjetno najobsežnejša znana protestantska rokopisna pesmarica v prekmurščini (Jesenšek 2019, 245). Vsebuje 178 pesmi, med katerimi so nekatere prepisane iz *Prve Martjanske pesmarice*. Rokopis ni enoten, verjetno Berke ni edini avtor pesmarice (Ditmajer 2022; Just 2013; Jesenšek 2019, 246). V *Nouvem Gráduválu* je mnogo pesmi, ki jih najdemo tudi v Berkejevi pesmarici (Novak 1976, 62). Zaradi tega primerjam nekaj značilnosti zbranih pesmi *Prve Martjanske*, Berkejeve in Bakoševe pesmarice, da predstavim majhne korake v razvoju prekmurskega knjižnega jezika.

V nadaljevanju primerjam pesem, ki jo zasledimo v vseh treh pesmaricah: *Jasz szponiznim szerczem, k Tebi fetujem* (Novak 1997, 263–264). Ker tej pesmi v Berkejevi pesmarici manjka prva kitica, predstavljam pesem od druge kitice naprej (Berke 1768/69, 8). Bakoš je objavil popolno besedilo pod naslovom *Jasz szponiznim szrczom ktebi fetijem* (Bakoš 1789, 363–364) in ji dodal še eno kitico, ena od kitic pa je popolnoma drugačna. Ker ti dve kitici manjkata v *Martjanski* in Berkejevi pesmarici, ju nisem upošteval. Razlike so označene s krepkimi črkami.



Martjanska pesmarica (Novak 1997, 263–264)	Berkejeva pesmarica (s. 8–9)	Bakoševa pesmarica (s. 363–364)
Sztvom pravom praviczom ne kastigai me, za vrednofzt Christusfa, greihov varui me , po v Reidnofzti Tvoje, klefztva mentuy me.	8. fztvojev právov praviczov, ne kastigai me, za v Reidnofzt Xtussa grehe odpűfztimi , po v Reidnofzti tvoie klefztva varui me.	9. Pouleg tve pravíce , ne kařtigaj me, Zgrejhov vu Krifztufi vřzej odvězi me , Da ne prineřžėjo preklefztva na mẽ.
Vuneisnyega kvára, men tui Ti Mene, da falofzt, ni tuga , ne zadusi Me, zdersi mi vu zdrávgyi , gibko me řzercze.	10. Vűneisnyega kvára, mentui ti mene da falofzt ni radofzt ne zadusfi me, zderfi mi vu zdrávji nevolno me řzercze.	11. Vari me od kvára dneřz vinejsnyega : Da me ne zadiři 'zalofzt ni tuga ; Zdr'zi me vu řzlabom teřli zdravoga .
Moi Bog Tebe boidi, Dika pořtenye, vřzvėtom Troisřtvi ki řzi jedne zmosnofzti , Tebe fze prifřtzi , lisřtor pořtenye . Amen.	11. Moi Bough tebi boidi, Dika pořtenyė, vřzvėtom troiřtvi ki řzi edne řřtálnofzti , teběřze dofřtáia vřřáko pořtenyė .	12. Moj Boug, tebi bořdi dika pořtenyė, Kí řzi nasa pomoucs edno vűpanye , Tebė fze prifřřtája vřřáko molenyė .

Med verzijami lahko opazimo veliko razlik v besedju, řrkopisu in tudi se-
stavi. Berke je bolj zvest *Prvi Martjanski pesmarici*, medtem ko je Bakoř
pesem predelal, verjetno, da bi jo ritmično in melodično izboljšal.

Glede na pravopis Berke označi glas ř z grafemom 's, medtem ko je
v *Martjanski pesmarici* za to uporabljen grafem s. Pri Bakořu je ř ozna-
čen z grafemom řz.

Na glasoslovni ravlini jezika je pri Berkeju raba grafema *ű* pogostejša kot
v *Martjanski pesmarici*, npr. *mertiűni*, *dűh*, *vűnejřnji* (v *Martjanski pe-*
smarici mertuűlivi, *duih*, *vunejřnji* ipd.). Samo Bakoř izpričuje prekmursko
vokalizacijo -o v deleřniřskih konřnicah mořkega spola ednine, npr. *dao*,
spadno. Berke ohrani iz *Martjanske pesmarice* trdi kajkavski -l in piře *dal*,
spadnol, *obűdil*.

Berke poskuřa nadomestiti nekatere kajkavske izraze z domařimi prek-
murskimi, npr. nameřto *jutro* piře ũtro, nameřto besedne zveze *zla hotenja*
(mn.) piře *hűdo delo* (ed.). Zelo zanimivo je, da v *Martjanski* in Berkejevi



pesmarici najdemo prekmursko besedo *vsaki fěle* (Novak 2009, 42), ki jo Bakoš nadomesti s kajkavsko *vsakojački* (Lipljin 2013, 1692).

Verjetno ima v oblikoslovju Berke najmanj razlik v primerjavi z *Martjansko pesmarico*. Nekaj je premikov proti prekmurskim oblikam, saj piše v 8. kitici s *tvojov pravov pravicov*, kar ustreza slovničnim pravilom prekmurščine (Pavel 2013, 83), medtem ko je verzija *Martjanske pesmarice s tvom pravom pravicom* kajkavska slovnična značilnost (Lončarić 1996, 99–100).

V moškem spolu, v mestniku ali tožilniku ednine prevladujejo končnice na *-u* (v pesmih *Boidi Dika zmósnomu, Oczu Goszpodnu Bougu, postenye nyega szinu, takai szvétomu Duhu*) (Berke 1768/69, 265), kar je skoraj popolnoma enako kot v *Martjanski pesmarici: Boidi Dika zmosnomu Oczu Goszpodnu Bogu, postenye nyega Szinu, takai Duho szvetomu* (Novak 1997, 88–89). Pravilna končnica v prekmurščini bi bila *-i* namesto *-u* (Pavel 2013, 97–99, 121).

Med prekmurskimi rokopisi so zelo pogoste mrliške pesmarice (prekmursko *mrtvečne pesmi*). Štefan Sijarto je podobno kot Bakoš prevzel mrliške pesmi v svojo zbirko iz starih pesmaric, tudi iz starejših tiskov kot *Réd zvelicsánsztva* Mihaela Severja Vanečaja iz leta 1747 (Novak 1976, 65). Ni točno znano, iz katerih rokopisov je črpal Sijarto, vendar se mrliške pesmi pojavijo v mnogih drugih katoliških rokopisnih pesmaricah.¹⁷

Treba je poudariti, da je Sijarto kot tudi Bakoš jezikovno in metrično popravil te pesmi. Te se namreč pojavijo tudi v poznejših rokopisih v jezikovno neenotnih oblikah. Zato bom primerjal pesem, ki se pojavi v Sijartovi pesmarici in poznejšem katoliškem rokopisu. To je mrliška pesmarica Mihaela Gaberja iz Serdice in Štefana Bokana iz Gerečavcev¹⁸ (z Goričkega). Rokopis je nastal med letoma 1824 in 1825, vsebuje pa 45 mrliških pesmi (Škafar 1978, 102). Večina je znanih iz Sijartove pesmarice. Morda sta bila Gaber in Bokan ljudska kantorja, ki sta vodila petje

17 »Sijarto je zbral – po izjavi v naslovu knjige – pesmi, ki so jih vsaj nekatere več stoletij, druge pa tudi že dolgo peli prekmurski Slovenci pri pogrebu in čutju. Nekatere izmed njih so protestanti prevzeli za časa reformacije od katoličanov, druge pa so katoličani ob rekatolizaciji prevzeli od protestantov.« (Novak in Škafar 1971)

18 Gerečavci, Geričavci, Geričovci ali Jerečavci so nekdane naselje nad Svetim Jurijem pri Rogašovcih in Večeslavcih. Danes pripadajo Svetemu Juriju (Rajšp in Serše 2001, 110).

na pogrebih (Dončec 2022, Katoliška mrliška pesmarica iz Gerečavcev). Ker mnogo kitic ni enakih ali jih ni v obeh pesmaricah, sem upošteval le tiste, ki jih je mogoče primerjati med seboj. Tudi tukaj sem izpostavil razlike s krepkimi črkami.

Sijartova pesmarica
(s. 65–68)

Gaber-Bokanova pesmarica
(s. 46–52)

1. **Vfzakoja**cske **fzküsnyáve**, fzo nad nami v'sivoti, Vu koteri tak hodimo, kak riba vu voudi; A neznamo gde fzpádnemo fztrasnoj fzmrti vroké.

Vszakovacsje szkusnyave szo nad nami vřivoti, Vu koteri tak hodimo, kak riba vu vodi, à Neznamo gde szpadnemo fztrasnoj fzmrti vrouke.

2. Tejlo **puno jefzt' z'-salofztmi**, ino z-nevoljami, **Ké moremo** mi **trpeti** natom fzvejti **z-jajmi**; Ali známo, ka **je nej tou** fzpripetjá nad nami.

Teilo **puno je salofzti** ino **drefzelnofzti**, **Ka neznamo** mi **tarpeti** **znikakvimi mirmi**, da tou znamo da **nistar** nei je szpripetja, nad nami

3. Toga fzvejta **rú'sno jálnofzt**, **tí** cslovik pogledni, **Ka** obecca toga nedá ifztino **tí vöri**, Zátó merkaj profzim tebé eti **fze ne vkani**.

Toga fzveita **csalarijo oh** cslovik pogledni, **Kaj** obecca toga neda isztino ti **vöroi**, zato cslovik tebe profzim da **sze ne fzprevejdis**.

4. **Príliko** fzi vzemi fztoga; ftero ti bom dávo: Alexander toga fzvejta véksi táo je **ládao**; Ali dönok **to brítko fzmrt nej je 'snyim obládao**.

Példa fze nam sztoga daje vnougi preminoucsi, Alegfzander toga fzveita véksi tao **ladal** je **vbolsoj moucsi** sztoga fzveita hitro odsztavil je.

6. I Atilla tomi fzvejti **kak radüvao fzeje?** Gde je hodo vfzáki cslovik **nyega bojao fze je**; Naj prvi dén fzve radofzti, **znáglov fzmrtjov mrou je**.

I Atila tomi szveiti, **Krouto radüval sze**, na tom fzveiti vnougi ludje **nyega sze bojase**, naj prvi dén szve radofzti **zadavil sze on bil**.

7. Ne obeccaj tí fzám fzebi **ütrásnyega** dnéva, **Niti** eti natom **fzvejti fztálnoga prebítka**, **Zadaví** te **escse denefz lejhko** ta fzmrt **brítka**.

Ne obeccaj ti szam fzebi **ütrosnyega** dnéva, **lifztor hvalo daj ti bougi** da **szi sivel** do dneszka, **tou sze navcsi vunka** **fzpifzma szvétoga Jakoba**.



8. **Tvoja mladofzt oh mladéncz!** naj te kak ne v-kani: Szmrt ne csáka **vřákoga do řztarofzti** vu hrámi, **Lejhko prvle, kak bos řtímo, ona te orani.**

11. Vnougí hí'sniczke vnogokrát **fze radűjo řzebi;** Dűgi 'sítek, oh nevolní! obecsajo řzebi: **Ali nacci je Boug řzkonsao od nyíh v-řzvojoj nébi.**

12. **Z-boleznofztjom řzvojo deczo matere rodijo, Hránijo jo řzřřřdom, z-delom řze za nyou řzkrbűjo: A nevejo, za zrok káksi jo gori hránijo.**

13. **Vu modrouřzti řteri nejřzo, hitro znorijo-řze, Bole** teda da nyíh decza vu dűgoj mantri **řzo, V-toj řzkűsnyávi** tak řze placso, kak **nevűrni lidű.**

14. Dabi **v-vűri** oh krscsenik! **tí obřztojěcsi bio,** Prouti Bougi **v-táksem meřzti, tí bi řze ne-boro; Nego bole** z-tű'snim řzřczom nyega bi tí **hválo.**

15. **Defzétero deczė** Joba eden dén mrlo je, **řtímas, li** kak dober Ocsa 'salofztio nej řze je? **V-toj řzkűsnyávi glávo** k-Bougi etak **nařzlono** je:

16. **Boug je je dáo, Boug je je vzéo,** hvála nyemi bojdi; **Kak on hocse,** tak naj bode, nyega vola bojdi: **Tak tí cslovik v-řzákóm deli v-nyega vouli hodi.**

Vu gořzposřzťvi tvoja mladofzt tebé naj ne vkani ne csaka řzmrt toga **vřřgdar dabi bíl cslovik řztari, ní ne řtima kajbi lehko te ne meřla popařzti.**

Vnougí hisniczi **vu mladofzti med řzobom řze lűbi** dűgi sitek oh nevolní obecsajo řzebi **na tou gleděcs more bití bougi řzenemoli.**

I matere řzvo deccřczo řzplacsom na řzveit rodi na tom řzvejtí **vűrofztujocs ne bouge nyė hrani, ní neznajo oh nevolne, zakej zrok nyė hrani.**

Vu Mladosřzi^{modrouřzti} řteri nej řzo hitro znorijo řze, **bolje** teda da nyíh decza vu dűgoj řzo mantri, **vtoi řzkűsnyavi** tak řze placso kak **řzagliví ludje.**

Dabi **vűre** oh Kerscsenik **tí obřztojěcsibil,** prouti bougi **vtakvom meřzti tí bi řze neboril, nego řzřvojím** tusnim řzřřczom nyega bi tí **hvalil.**

řzvėta Joba **defzėt decze** eden dén merlouje, **vűrojes** kak dober Ocsa **salofztíl** nej řzeje, **vtoi řzkűsnyavi** bougi **glavo** etak je **naklonil.**

Boug je bíl dal boug je pak vzél hvála nyemi bojdi, **kak je on řtel** tak naj boude **řto řcsė řztati prouti, gli ravno** tak pretarpeti tebi je **potřejbno.**



17. Ne **placsmo fze nad mrtveczom nasim**, kak poganye: **Ár mí známo, ino mámo v-tom dobro vüpanye; Kaj pá gori fztánemo vfzi na Bo'se pozványe.**

Kak poganye tak **mi nafse mrtvecze ne placsmo, Pavel veli da fzteim vöro Krouto poblatimo, hvalo zdanyem bole bouga zmosnoga dicsimo.**

19. Obézfeli, **oh Gofzpodne!** tí **víze náfz 'salofztne**, I dokoncza v-právoj vöri zdr'si tvoje vörne: **Grejh odpüfzti i kaftige vzemi znáfz nefzmerne.**

Obézfeli **dobri boug náfz 'salosztne** i szleidnye, dokoncza ti vpravoj vöri zdarsi tvoje vörne, **ako ti náfz boug ofztavis, sto nam scsé pomocs ti.**

21. **Hvála bojdi Ocsi Bougi, kí je vfzamogoucsi, I tak Színi nyegovomi, kí nám je k-pomoucsi, Navküp Dühi, kí náfz trousta, vu vfzákoj teskoucsi.**

Szvét gofzpon Boug vfzei seregouv gofzpon naj zmosneisi, fzvétim dühom poszvétí náfz, te náfz ne ofztavi, da poidemo po Krisztufsi vu tvoj szvétí orfzag. Amen.

Čeprav je med tema verzijama veliko podobnosti, je tudi zelo veliko razlik. Mogoče so Sijarto, Gaber in Bokan črpali iz istega vira, vendar je največ sprememb nastalo v Sijartovi verziji. Morda je Gaber-Bokanova verzija bližje izvirniku, saj je ohranila veliko kajkavizmov, poleg tega je tudi verjetno, da Gaber in Bokan nista imela pri roki Sijartove pesmarice. Sijarto uporabi lastno pesniško obliko, ki jo prilagaja prekmurščini. V Gaber-Bokanovi pesmarici je slog zelo drugačen.

Vredno si je ogledati razlike v verskem razmišljanju, ki jo zrcali 17. kitica v Sijartovi pesmarici, ki dvomi o žalovanju nad mrtvimi, saj imajo kristjani upanje v vstajenje vseh mrtvih (Sijarto 1796, 68). Gaber-Bokanova pesmarica pa se sklicuje na apostola Pavla (Gaber in Bokan 1824/25, 51), ki meni, da žalovanje nad mrtvim kot poganska navada krši krščansko vero, names-to tega pa naj hvalimo Boga tudi v primeru velike izgube.

Glede na leksiko je tudi Sijarto ohranil kar nekaj kajkavskih besed, npr.: *ružno, jest, denes, hoče, plačo* ipd. (Lipljin 2009, 64–65.179.437.1186.1688). Kajkavske besede v Gaber-Bokanovi pesmarici so: *z nikakvimi, v bolšoj, v takvom, ako, bolje* ipd. (Lipljin 2009, 9.81.82.956–957.1972). Zasledimo še madžarske in nemške izposojenke, ki so hkrati značilne pogovorne oblike: *pelda, čalarija in caglivi* (Novak 2009, 29.96; Snoj 2016, 97), namesto



katerih uporabi Sijarto domače (slovanske) besede *prilika*, *ružna jalnost* in *nevörni*.

Na glasoslovni ravnini jezika v več besedah manjka glas *ü* v Gaber-Bokanovi verziji, npr. *skušnjave*, *ludje*, ki so v Sijartovi verziji *sküšnjave* in *lidje*.¹⁹ Vendar glede na ta glas in tudi na glas *ö* Gaber-Bokanova pesmarica ni tako malomarna kot prejšnji rokopisi.

Na oblikoslovni ravnini jezika je še pogost trdi kajkavski *-l* v pretekliku moškega spola v ednini (Lončarić 1996, 70–71). Gaber-Bokanova pesmarica navaja *zadavil*, *ladal*, *se bil*, *radiival se*, *dal*, *živel*, *bi bil*, *bi hvalil*, *je naklonil*, *vzel* ipd. Sijarto je bolj pozoren na vokalizacijo v *-o* in piše *ladao*, *obladao*, *radiivao se je*, *skončao*, *naslono*, *dao*, *vzeo* ipd.

V poznejših rokopisih kajkavske deležniške končnice počasi izginejo. Zaradi tega bom primerjal isto pesem iz Gaber-Bokanove pesmarice z verzijo pesmarice Jožefa Gostonja, ki je nastala približno v drugi polovici 19. stoletja na Verici v Porabju.^{20 21}

Gaber-Bokanova pesmarica (s. 46–52)

Vszakovacsje szkusnyave szo nad nami vřivoti, Vu **koteri** tak hodimo, kak riba vu vodi, à Neznamo gde szpadnemo řztrasnoj řzmrti vrouke.

Teilo puno je salofzti ino **dřefzelnofzti**, Ka neznamo mi tarpeti **znikakvimi mirmi**, da tou znamo da **nistar** nei je szpřipetja, nad nami.

Gostonjeva pesmarica

Szákojácsko szküsnyava szo nad nami v'sivoti vu **steri** mi tak hodimo kak riba vu vodi a neznámo Gde szpadnemo sztrasnoj szmrti vrouke.

Teilo puno je 'saloszti ino **znevolami** ka nemremo mi trpéti **znikaksmi mérmí** a tou znamo Da **nikaj** nej připejtye med nami.

19 V drugih prekmurskih govorih lahko rečejo tudi *ludje* (Novak 2009, 72).

20 Rokopis je danes last Aleksandra (Šanjija) Merklja na Verici – v Ritkarovcih.

21 Strani v Gostonjevi pesmarici niso oštevilčene.



Gaber-Bokanova pesmarica
(s. 46–52)**Gostonjeva pesmarica**

Toga fzveita csalarijo oh cslovik
pogledni, Kaj obečsa toga neda
isztino ti vöroi, zato cslovik tebe
proszim da sze ne fzprevejdis.

Pélða fze nam sztoğa daje vnougi
preminoucsi, Alegfzander toga
fzveita véksi tao **ladal je vbolsoj**
moucsi sztoğa fzveita **hitro**
odsztavil je.

I Atila tomi szveiti, Krouto **radüval**
sze, na tom fzveiti vnougi **ludje**
nyega sze bojase, naj prvi dén szve
radoszti **zadavil sze on bil**.

Ne obečsaj ti szam fzebi
ütrosnyega dnéva, lifztor hvalo daj
ti bougi da **szi sivel do dneszka**, tou
sze navcsi **vunka** fzpiřma szvétoga
Jakoba.

Vu gofzposztvi tvoja mladofzt
tebé naj **ne vkani** ne csaka fzmrt
toga vfzigdar **dabi bil cslovik sztari**,
ni ne stima kajbi **lehko te ne mejla**
popafzti.

Vnougi hisniczi vu mladofzti
med szobom fze lübi **dugi sitek**
oh nevolni obečsajo szebi na tou
gledécs more biti bougi szenemoli.

Zapouvit fze **on csafz** daje
od zmosnoga bouga, oh kak hitro
on razloucsi **lubo od luboga, kak**
bi mogel vkakvom mefzti zdarsati sze
szplacsa

Toga szvejta csalarijo ti cslovik
pogledni ka obejcsa toga najda
Isztino ti vöri zato cslovik tebé
proszim Da sze ne szprevejsti.

Pélða nam sze sztoğa Daje
vnougim preminejnyem
Alekszánder toga szvejta Veksi
tao **ládaoje vbougsoj** moucsi toga
szvejta **hütro osztavoje**.

I Átila tomi szvejti krouto **radüvao**
sze na tom szvejti vnougi **lidje**
nyega sze bojali naj prvi. Dén szve
radoszti on **sze je zadávo**.

Neobečsaj ti szám szebi
ütrosnyoga Dnéva szamo Hvalo
Dajti bougi ka **szi 'sivi ti dnesz** tou
navcsi vsze **vö** szpizma szveto
Jakoba.

Vu goszposztvi tvoje mladoszti
tebé naj **ne znouri** necsaka szmrt
vszigdar toga ka **bi bio cslék**
sztari i ne stima ka **lekou to nejma**
popadnoti.

Vnougi Hi'sniczi vu mladoszti
med szebom sze lübio **Düga 'sitka**
oh nevolni obečsajo szebi natou
Gledoucs more biti bougi sze
ne moli.

Zapouvid sze **Ednouk** vödá
od zmo'snoga bouga oh kak hitro
on razloucsi **lubo od luboga sto**
bi mogao vtaksem mészti drsati szve
placse



Gaber-Bokanova pesmarica
(s. 46–52)

I matere **szvo decciczo** szplacsom
na fzveit rodi na tom fzvejti
vörofztujocs ne bouge nyé hrani,
ni neznajo oh nevolne, zakej zrok
nyé hrani.

Vu Mladosztimodroufzti steri nej
szo hitro znorijo sze, **bolje** teda
da nyih decza vu dugoj szo mantri,
vtoi **szkusnyavi** tak sze placso kak
czaglivu ludje.

Dabi vöre oh Kerscsenik
ti obfztojécsibil, prouti bougi
vtakvom mefzti ti bi sze neboril,
nego fztvojim tusnim szarczom
nyega bi ti hvalil.

Szvéta Joba defzét decze eden dén
merlouje, vörojes **kak** dober Ocsa
salofztil nej szeje, vtoi **szkusnyavi**
bougi glavo etak **je naklonil**.

Boug **je bil dal** boug **je pak vzél**
hvala nyemi bojdi, kak je on
stel tak naj boude sto scsé sztati
prouti, **gli ravno tak** pretarpeti tebi
je potrejbno.

Kak poganye tak mi nafse
mrtvecze ne placsmo, **Pavel** veli
da fzteim vöro Krouto poblatimo,
hvalo zdanyem bole bouga
zmosnoga **dicsimo**.

Obézfeli **dobri boug** nafz 'salosztne
i szleidnye, dokoncza ti vpravoj
vöri zdarsi **tvoje vörne**, **ako** ti nafz
boug ofztavis, sto nam scsé
pomocs ti.

Gostonjeva pesmarica

Ino mati **szvojo Deczo** szplacsom
na szvejt rodi na tom szvejti
verosztüjócs Nevolne nyé ráni **nine**
znajoucs oh nevolni za kaj zrok
nyé hráni.

Vu modrouszti steri nej szo
hitro znourijo sze **bola** téda **Gda**
nyi Decza vu Dugoj szo mantri
vtoj **szküsavu** tak sze placeo kak
czaczlivu lidje.

Da bi vöri oh krscsenik
ti obsztojécsi bio prouti bougi
vtaksem meszti tí bisze neboru nego
sztvojim tu'snim szrczom **hvalo biti**
Dávao.

Szvétoga Joba Deszét Deczé Eden
den mrlou je vöri **kako** dober ocsa
salosztio nej sze je vtoj szküsnyávi
kbougi Glavo etak **naszlonu je**.

Boug **je szám dao** boug **je pa Vzeo**
hvala bojdi nyemi kak je on **steo**
tak naj boude sto scse prouti sztati
Gli i ravno pretrpeti te bi potrejbno
je.

Kak poganye takmi nase mrtvecze
neplacsimo **paveo** veli **ka** sztejm
vöro krouto poblatimo **zválom**
Danyom bole Bouga zmosnoga
vtisamo.

Obészeli **zmo'sni boug** nasz
salosztne i Szleidnye do koncza ti v
pravoj vöri zdarsi **szvoje vörne** ar **csi**
ti nasz boug Osztaavis sto nam scsé
pomocsti



Gaber-Bokanova pesmarica
(s. 46–52)**Gostonjeva pesmarica**

Szvét gofzpon Boug vfzei
seregouv gofzpon naj **zmosneisi**,
fzvétim dühom poszvétí nafz,
ti nafz ne ofztavi, da **poidemo**
po Krisztufsi vu tvoj szvétí orfzag.
Amen.

Szvét Goszpon boug vszej
seregouv Goszpon naj **zmosnesi**
szvetim Dühom po szveti nasz
tí nasz ne osztavi da **pridemo**
po Krisztusi vu tvoj szveti orszag
amen

Zanimivo, da lahko v tej pesmi zasledimo manjkajočo peto kitico iz Sijartove pesmarice, ki omeni lidijskega kralja Kreza^{22 23} (Krezuš). Gostonj je morda prepisal pesmi iz drugega vira, hkrati pa je njegova verzija precej bolj blizu Gaberjeve in Bokanove verzije, ne pa Sijartove.

Sijartova pesmarica (s. 66)**Gostonjeva pesmarica**

Nezgovorno vnogo blága **je i**
Krezus fzpravo: Dönok je fzmrt 'snyim
od fzébe fzvojo nej odpravo; V-lüczkoj
vouzi **je mrou**, i vfze je drüгим
ofztavo.

Nezgovorno vnogo Blaga **te Krezus**
krao meo je Jalni szvej tomi Csloveki
tak vnogo Dao Jeszti Ali szletkár
vlüczko vouzi **szvejta preminoje**.

Sodeč po slogu in rabi besed v teh vrsticah, Gostonj ni poznal Sijartove pesmarice. Gostonjeva veriška pesmarica je v mnogo pogledih boljša od gerečavske mrliške pesmarice Mihaela Gaberja in Štefana Bokana.

Če primerjamo glasoslovne značilnosti v citiranih odlomkih, v Gostonjevi verziji ni kajkavskega trdega *-l* in prepisovalec pazi na vokalizacijo v *-o*, ki ustreza jezikovnim pravilom knjižne prekmurščine (Pavel 2013, 85–86).

22 Krez ali Krojz (grško Κροισος [Kroisos]) je kraljeval v 6. stoletju pr. Kr. v Lidiji v zahodni Mali Aziji. Po zgodovinskih virih je bil precej bogat vladar, ki je prvič dal kovati zlate in srebrne kovance (Metcalf 2016, 51). Bil je tudi prevzetnež in se je nenehno vojskoval s svojimi sosedi. Po legendi je prosil za nasvet preročišče v Delfih. Ker je narobe razumel napoved, je objestno napadel Perzijce, in ti so ga premagali. Krez je verjetno umrl v perzijskem ujetništvu (*Veliki splošni leksikon* 1997–1998, 4: 2126).

23 V največ prekmurskih rokopisnih mrliških pesmaricah najdemo pesmi, ki omenjajo Aleksandra Velikega, Julija Cezarja, Absaloma (čednega, ampak zelo oblastželjnega sina judovskega kralja Davida) in Samsona (Števanec 1907, 449). Vsi so bili bogati, močni in znameniti ljudje, vendar so vsi morali umreti. Te pesmi poudarjajo zastojnost zemeljskih zakladov, ker so ljudje v resnici vsi enaki pred Bogom.



Manjkajoči glas *ü* uporabi v tistih besedah, kjer je to potrebno v prekmurščini, npr.: *sküšnja*, *lübi* (Mukič 2005, 182; Novak 2009, 72; 2015, 659).

V besednem zakladu se Gostonjeva pesem do neke mere poskuša prilagoditi domačemu narečju. Gostonj namesto glagola *vkaniti* (Gaber in Bokan 1824/25, 48) uporabi glagol *znouriti*. Glagol *znouriti* je namreč bolj značilen za govor Verice, medtem ko so glagol *fkániti* poznali le iz starih knjig, vendar ga niso uporabljali. Tudi pridevnik *caclivi* (preplašen), ki je namesto pridevnika *caglivi* (Gaber in Bokan 1824/25, 50), je veriška beseda, poznajo pa jo samo najstarejši ljudje.

V Gostonjevi verziji namesto kajkavskih izrazov najdemo domače prekmurske besede. Gostonj piše *nikakši*, *takši* in ne *nikakov*, *takov* (Gaber in Bokan 1824/25, 47, 50).

Glede na oblikoslovno raven jezika je med Gaber-Bokanovo in Gostonjevo verzijo ena razlika res izstopajoča. V kitici o Jobovi molitvi Gaber in Bokan namreč uporabita predpreteklik: *Boug je bil dal boug je pak vzel, hvala njemi bojdi* (Gaber in Bokan 1824/25, 51). V Gostonjevi pesmarici je preoblikovan v preteklik: *Boug je sam dao boug je pa vzeo, hvala bojdi njemi*.

6 Nekaj o pesmaricah na prelomu 19. in 20. stoletja

Anton Trstenjak je leta 1883 obiskal ogrske Slovence. Svoje potovanje je zapisal v potopisu, v katerem omenja rokopisno pesmarico iz Svetega Jurija pri Rogašovcih na Goričkem:

Še jedna knjiga je bila slovenska, a to je knjiga, katero potrebuje kantor. Ta knjiga je rokopis in bode ostal rokopis, ker ga vlada ne bode dala nikdar tiskati. To so namreč pesmi, katere poje učitelj pri pogrebu, to so molitve in nagovor duhovnika. Posamični oddelki imajo naslove: Na düsni den, Peszem o treh Králih, Molitev za celo občino, Mertvecska (molitev), Na križev teden (pesem), Od imena Jezusa, Od S. Stevan Krála (življenjepis), Sv. Stevan Marternik. Od najsv. srca Marije. (Trstenjak 2006, 39)

V drugi polovici 19. stoletja in pred prvo svetovno vojno (1914–1918) je potekala močna madžarizacija narodnih manjšin na Ogrskem, zato je bilo veliko težav z izdajanjem knjig v slovenščini (prekmurščini) tudi v Slovenski krajini (Jesenšek 2010, 108.111). Ogrska vlada je podpirala predvsem tiste avtorje, ki so ustregli madžarizaciji (Dončec 2016, 67).

V tem obdobju je nastalo veliko rokopisov (pesmaric), ki so nadaljevali ne samo rokopisno izročilo, ampak so nekoliko prispevali k ohranitvi slovenskega jezika med Muro in Rabo. Gradivo teh rokopisov so deloma uporabili v tiskih.

Leta 1887 so katoliški župniki Slovenske krajine na pobudo sombotelskega škofa Kornéla Hidasyja začeli govoriti o tem, da bi sestavili veliko katoliško pesmarico, ki se lahko objavi v tisku. Gradivo je zbiral martjanski učitelj Jožef Pustaj,²⁴ ki je uporabljal tudi pesmi cankovskega župnika Jožefa Borovnjaka²⁵ (Kociper 1976, 12.25). Pesmarica se je objavila leta 1893 pod naslovom *Krscsánszko katholicsánszke cerkvene peszmi* v založništvu Društva Sv. Štefana v Budimpešti.

Pesmarica vsebuje 526 pesmi, med katerimi je 160 pesmi dvojezičnih (madžarsko-slovenskih) (Kociper 1976, 25). Bolj verjetno je, da so slovenski verniki raje peli slovenski prevod teh pesmi, in ne madžarskih izvirnikov, toda ker je rodoljubni katoliški kler Slovenske krajine imel Pustajevo pesmarico za madžaronsko delo,²⁶ je niso dali ponatisniti (Dončec 2016, 68).

Pustajevo pesmarica je dala pobudo Francu Ivanocyju in njegovim duhovniškim tovarišem, da pregledajo čim več ohranjenih rokopisnih pesmaric

24 Po Jožefu Kleklu st. je izdajo rokopisnih pesmaric oviralo tudi to, da je le malo ljudi znalo brati (Klek 1905a, 281).

25 Jožef Borovnjak, pomemben kulturni in politični voditelj ogrskih Slovencev v 19. stoletju, je tudi zapisoval pesmi in molitve v rokopisne knjige. Mnogo pesmi je bilo prevzetih iz štajerskih slovenskih virov in jih je Borovnjak objavil v svojih natisnjenih molitvenikih *Dühovna Hrána* (1868) in *Szvéti Angel Csudár* (1875) (Dončec 2022, Rokopisna katoliška pesmarica Jožefa Borovnjaka).

26 Res je, da Pustaj sam prizna madžaronski namen svoje pesmarice v predgovoru: »[Á]r sze je solszka deca i mladézen zdaj zse tüdi privádila, vszamogócsega i dobrotivnoga Oco po lejpom vogrszkom jeziki hváliti i zvisávati.« (Pustaj 1893, 5) Kljub temu jezikoslovec Vatroslav Oblak o Pustajevi pesmarici poroča, da smo ji lahko hvaležni, ker je napisana v njej vsa prekmurska cerkvena književnost, poleg tega ima lep in pravilen prekmurski jezik (Kociper 1976, 14).



in zbrane pesmi objavijo v *Marijinem listu* (Kociper 1976, 15), ki je začel izhajati leta 1904 (Škafar 1978, 71).

Leta 1896 je učitelj in kantor v Števanovcih Anton Števanec (po rodu iz Vanče vasi pri Tišini) izdal v Monoštru svoj molitvenik in pesmarico *Szerczé Jezus* (v naslednjih ponatisih *Szerczé Jézus*) (Škafar 1978, 63.69.74.83.86). Posebnost Števanovčeve knjige je, da vsebuje 77 pesmi, ki še niso bile objavljene v prejšnjih prekmurskih knjigah. Pesmi so bile prevzete iz nekaterih porabskih rokopisov. Pomembnost te pesmarice je v tem, da je ohranila pesmi, ki so jih peli ljudje iz starih rokopisnih pesmaric²⁷ (Škafar 1971).

Jožef Klekl st., ki je bil med letoma 1905 in 1910 župnik v Pečarovcih na Goričkem (Vecsey 1943, 343), je v *Marijinem listu* objavil članke, v katerih je predstavil stare rokopisne pesmarice nekaterih župnij v Slovenski krajini. V članku *Nase sztare cerkvene peszmi* obrazloži, da želi seznaniti bralce s starimi pesmimi, ki so jih nekoč peli stari očaki v cerkvicah. Avtorji oziroma prepisovalci so bili duhovniki, učitelji in drugi pobožni kristjani (Klekl 1905a, 281). Po njegovem mnenju je nujno ohraniti te ostanke pradedov, kadar se morajo boriti proti hitro spremenljivemu svetu.

Klekl je v Pečarovcih odkril pesmarico, ki jo je v 19. stoletju sestavil učitelj Mihael Bertalanitš (*Marijin liszt* 2 1906, 50; Mukič in Kozar 1982, 81) in ima podobne pesmi kot pesmarice v Črenšovcih ali Bistricah (Dolnja, Gornja, Srednja) (Klekl 1905a, 281). Zaslediti je mogoče še druge rokopise v Turnišču, Kančevcih, Gornjih Petrovcih ali Seniku. Klekl posebno prosi vernike, kantorje in učitelje, da mu poiščejo te stare rokopise (Klekl 1905a, 283).

Klekl pripomni npr. o dveh Marijinih pesmih iz pečarovske pesmarice, da »ne tecséta gladko, koncse recsi szo tüdi ne poleg neprejpisza pesznikov

27 Rabo ponatisa knjige iz 1916 je sombotelska škofija leta 1917 prepovedala z razlogom: »V Monoštri od Wellisch izdano molitvena knjigo *Srce Jezus*, je cerkvena oblast ne potrdila. Zato ka se več reči najde v njej proti pravoji veri i ešče nedostojne reči, je vsakomi katoličanci ostro prepovedano, ka bi jo za knigo molitveno meo.« (*Novine* 24. 6. 1917, 2) Števanec je bil slabega glasu zaradi svojega alkoholizma in zavoženosti. Števanovski župnik Karel Fodor je 1898 dosegel, da ga odpustijo iz Števanovcev (Szombathelyi Egyházmegyei Levéltár, Püspöki Levéltár, Acta Cancellariae, Iktatott iratok 1900/1676 (I. 2. B)). Fodor je nekoč srečal tudi Trstenjaka v Gornjih Petrovcih. Trstenjak piše o Fodorju kot o redkobesednem človeku in grobem madžaronu (Trstenjak 2006, 60–61).

vküp glaszne, ali da je düh te dvoje proszve peszmice csiszta detinszka lübézen do lübléne nebeszke Matere Marije» (Klekl 1905b, 319).

Najpomembnejši prepisovalci poznejšega obdobja prekmurskega rokopisnega izročila so bili člani družine Županek iz Šalovcev na Goričkem: Mihael, njegov sin Janoš in vnuk Vilmoš. Vsi trije so zbrali 468 različnih pesmi (Škafar 1991).

Mihael je bil t. i. »popevkar«, ki je vodil petje na romanjih, v cerkvi in pri pogrebih. Njegova pomembnost je, da je ohranil kulturno bogastvo dolenske župnije, ki ji je pripadala njegova rojstna vas Šalovci (Škafar 1991). V Dolencih je namreč služboval od leta 1858 do leta 1864 župnik in pesnik Franc Žbül (Géfin 1935, 352), in ta je zamenjal pesmi stare dolenske cerkvene pesmarice z drugimi pesmimi, ki so bile njegova dela ali pa prevodi drugih pesmi (Szinnyei 1908, 292). Te stare pesmi je v svojih rokopisih ohranil Mihael Županek. Poleg pobožnih pesmi je imel zapiske o vojaškem življenju v prekmurščini. Zapisal je tudi molitve in prepisal knjigo Štefana Sijarta²⁸ *Sztarisinsztvo i zvacsinsztvo* (1807) v rokopisno knjižico (Škafar 1991). Ta knjiga je bila namreč razširjena v mnogih prepisih, ker vsebuje bistvene podatke o slovenskih svatbenih navadah med Muro in Rabo (Novak 1976, 66–68).

Mihaelov sin Janoš je podedoval očetove rokopise. Bil je pomožni kantor in organist v cerkvi Sv. Nikolaja v Dolencih. Pel je pri bedenjih in vodil petje na romanjih, ki so bila tudi v Sveti Trojici v Slovenskih goricah (Škafar 1991), torej onstran Mure. V svoje rokopise je prepisal nekaj očetovih pesmi ter zapisal tudi različne verske in posvetne pesmi v prekmurščini, latinščini in madžarščini (Škafar 1991).

Na pobudo Jožefa Klekla je Janoš Županek izdal dve tiskani knjigi s svojimi pesmimi in zapisanimi molitvami. Prva knjižica je *Válen bojdi Jezus Krisztus* (1908) in vsebuje dve molitvi ter dve pesmi z apokrifom *Jezusovo pismo* (Škafar 1978, 75). Svojih 44 mrlških pesmi je objavil leta 1910 pod

28 Vilko Novak meni, da je avtor Sztarisinsztva verjetno Štefan Sijarto, hkrati pa pripomni, da je jezik nekoliko različen od jezika drugih Sijartovih knjig (Novak 1976, 68; Škafar 1978, 23).



naslovom *Mrtvecsne peszmi*,²⁹ tiskarske stroške sta pa krila Jožef Konkolič in Mikloš Kovač³⁰ iz Šalovcev (Škafar 1978, 79).

Zanimivost Župankovih *Mrtvecsnih peszmi* je ta, da jih v tisku niso predelali, ampak so objavili pesmi v izvirni obliki, kakor so bile zapisane v rokopisu. Knjiga se zdi kot faksimile. Pisava je prekmurska, ki je nastala po madžarski, vendar je starejša od pisave tistih prekmurskih tiskov, ki so bili objavljeni v drugi polovici 19. in začetku 20. stoletja. V tej pisavi se piše glas *ž* z grafemom *'s* (Novak 1976, 14), npr. *'sé* (Županek 1910, 3), *v-'sivoti* (11), *zmo'sen* (29). V drugih pesmih se pojavi tudi grafem *zs*, npr. *zsitek* (24), *zsaloudec* (21). Tu in tam je glas *j* označen z grafemom *i*, npr. *neiga* (15), *vszeim* (26), *velkoi* (93). Tudi glas *nj* je povsod pisan z grafemom *ny*, npr. *nyihovi* (27); *zacsinyáva* (54), *skorpionye* (82), medtem ko je že Jožef Borovnjak vnesel v prekmursko pisavo črko *nj*.

V Župankovih natisnjenih *Mrtvecsnih peszmih* so ohranjeni dvoglasniki, npr. v besedah *nadvouje* (Županek 1910, 83), *szpoumente sze* (102), *modri* (34), ki jih je tudi Borovnjak odstranil in zamenjal z enoglasniškimi glasovi (Jesenšek 2010, 105). Zasedimo tudi podvojen *š* (ss), npr. *düssa* (Županek 1910, 8) ali *nass*, ki je bil značilen pri starih avtorjih, npr. pri Miklošu Küzmiču (Novak 1976, 60). Značilno se piše samostalniki *wöra* (ura) (Županek 1910, 18).

Pogovorne značilnosti zrcalijo besede kot *patekar*, *flajster* ipd. (Županek 1910, 26).

V nekaterih pesmih lahko opazimo slovnične arhaičnosti oziroma kajkavske jezikovne vplive v sklanjatvah, npr. v orodniku ženskega spola ednine po drugi ženski sklanjatvi *szvojom szmrtyom* (Lončarić 1996, 105), kar je bilo značilno v starih pesmaricah (Novak 1997, 52). V stari knjižni prekmurščini je pravilna končnica *-jov*, *-jouv* (Pavel 2013, 93). V današnji pogovorni prekmurščini sta prav tako ohranjeni ti končnici kot *-of*, *-ouf*, *-jof*, *-jouf* (Zorko 2009, 277).

29 V istem letu je bil objavljen tretji ponatis Sijartove mrliške pesmarice, ki nosi isti naslov (Škafar 1978, 79).

30 Tudi Konkolič in Kovač sta napisala rokopisno pesmarico (Škafar 1991). Konkoličev rokopis je izgubljen, medtem ko je Kovačev ohranjen.

Mihaelov sin Vilmoš (Viljem) je bil župan v Šalovcih od 1930 do 1934. Večkrat je tudi organiziral znano prekmursko navado *borovo gostüvanje* v okolici. Podedoval in ohranil je rokopise svojega dedka in očeta ter tudi sam prepisoval romarske pesmi, ki jih je zbiral pod naslovom *Proskarsze peszmi* (1922) (Škafar 1991).

Sklep

Prekmursko rokopisno izročilo je opravilo zelo dolgo pot. Najprej, od 16. do 18. stoletja, se je samostojno razvijalo in prispevalo k nastanku knjižne prekmurščine (Jesenšek 2010, 40). Po kodifikaciji prekmurskega slovenskega knjižnega jezika so se rokopisi začeli prilagajati prekmurskim knjigam, v katerih so avtorji poskusili normirati prekmurščino. Zaradi tega so odstranili tiste – večinoma kajkavske – jezikovne elemente, ki so napolnili jezik starejših rokopisov (Novak 1972, 95; Jesenšek 2010, 28).

Zanimivo bi bilo primerjati vse ohranjene rokopise iz različnih obdobj, saj bi bilo mogoče točno ugotoviti korake v razvoju knjižne prekmurščine oziroma kako se je mogel prekmurski slovenski knjižni jezik ukoreniniti in uveljaviti v rabi med slovenskim ljudstvom med Muro in Rabo, da so ga sami lahko uporabili in ga obogatili v rokopisih s svojimi domačimi narečnimi izrazi.



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Znanstvena knjižnica 88

Maria Carmela Palmisano, Samo Skralovnik, Miran Špelič in Aljaž Krajnc (ur.)

Navajanje in raziskovanje svetopisemskih, judovskih in zgodnjekrščanskih pisnih virov

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doc. dr. David Movrin, recenzent monografije

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Obseg izvirnega in preglednega znanstvenega članka naj praviloma ne presega dolžine 20.000 znakov (vključno s presledki), poročila ne več kot 10.000 znakov, ocene knjig ne več kot 8.000 znakov. Slikovno gradivo (in/ali tabele) mora biti poslano ločeno (v formatih JPG ali TIF), v besedilu članka mora biti označeno mesto, kamor spada.

Slog besedila mora ustrezati znanstveni ravni, besedilo mora biti pred oddajo **jezikovno pregledano (lektorirano)**. **Opombe** morajo biti pisane enotno kot **sprotne opombe pod črto**.

3 Navajanje

Način navajanja mora biti v skladu z metodologijo znanstvenega dela na Teološki fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani. Priimek avtorja, leto izida citiranega dela in stran zapišemo za citatom v obliki (priimek leto, stran), npr. (Žust 2007, 109). Na isti način navajamo citate iz periodičnih publikacij. Če sta avtorja dva, navedek zapišemo v obliki (priimek in priimek leto, stran), npr. (Škafar in Nežič 1998, 33). Pri več kot treh avtorjih uporabimo obliko (priimek idr. leto, stran), npr. (Sorč idr. 2003, 21). Če avtor dela ni naveden, namesto priimka uporabimo naslov, lahko po potrebi tudi skrajšanega, npr. (*Devetdnevnica k časti milostne Matere Božje* 1916, 5). Če priimek navedemo že v citatu, ga v navedku izpustimo in navedemo samo leto in stran. Npr.: »Kakor je zapisal Avguštin Lah (2000, 57) [...]«. Če v istem oklepaju navajamo več del, ločujemo eno od drugega s podpičji,

npr. (Škafar 1998, 16; Lah 2003, 73). Če v istem odstavku ali poglavju ne prekinjeno navajamo isto delo, navedemo referenco v celoti samo prvič, v nadaljevanju pa v oklepajih navajamo le še številko strani. Izpuščene dele znotraj navedka označujemo z [...].

3.1 Postavljanje referenc/sklicev

Pri **citatih** stoji ločilo

- **za referenco**, če referenca označuje del povedi:

Nastopi brez vsake utemeljitve, nenadoma in brez obrazložitve, ko Ezra izve, da se »izraelsko ljudstvo še ni ločilo od ljudstev dežel, kajti izmed njihovih hčerá so jemali žene zase in za svoje sinove ter oskrunili sveti zarod z ljudstvi dežel« (Ezr 9,1-2).

- **pred referenco** (referenca sama je brez ločila), če referenca označuje eno poved ali več povedi:

Tobit začne moliti z besedami: »Pravičen si (δίκαιος), Gospod, in pravična so vsa tvoja dela in vse tvoje poti so usmiljenje (ἐλεημοσύναι) in resnica (ἀλήθεια).« (Tob 3,2)

Pri **parafrazah** stoji ločilo

- **pred referenco**, če referenca označuje celoten odstavek oz. več povedi:

Z razmahom ideje individualnih človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin, izrazito v času po drugi svetovni vojni, avtonomija verskih organizacij ponovno pridobiva pomen v političnem, ekonomskem in pravnem ustroju družbe. Izključne pristojnosti na področju članstva, upravljanja premoženja in vodenja organizacije, izvzem od splošno veljavnih predpisov države in možnost uporabe religiozno zaznamovanih norm vedenja in ravnanja so v današnjem času univerzalno priznani elementi kolektivnega vidika individualno zagotovljene pravice do svobode vesti oziroma veroizpovedi. (Šturm 2010, 444–457; 122–139)



- **za referenco**, če referenca označuje eno samo poved:

V večini so razlike, drugačnosti predvsem med Pravoslavno in Katoliško cerkvijo v manjšini in v temelju premagljivega (Janežič 2006, 94).

Marija, Jezusova mati, in Elizabeta, mati Janeza Krstnika, sta se, denimo, povezali v nosečnosti in v medsebojni pomoči v zanju novem, veselem in presenetljivem ter zato ranljivem položaju (Lk 1,31-56).

Za citiranje cerkvenih dokumentov, *Zakonika cerkvenega prava* (ZCP), *Katekizma Katoliške cerkve* (KKC) in drugih standardnih besedil, ki jih obravnavamo kot vire, uporabljamo ustaljene okrajšave (*Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete* 1992). Kratice domačih del, zbirk in leksikonov se uporabljajo, če so splošno znane in priznane. Kratice revij/časopisov so v ležeči pisavi (kurzivi), kratice zbornikov, leksikonov ali monografij so v pokončni pisavi.

3.2 Navajanje Svetega pisma

Za navajanje Svetega pisma in drugih svetopisemskih, judovskih in zgodnje krščanskih virov se avtor ravna po znanstveni monografiji *Navajanje in raziskovanje svetopisemskih, judovskih in zgodnjekrščanskih pisnih virov* (2024). Pri krajšavah (okrajšavah in kraticah) v tujem jeziku se avtor ravna po priročniku *The SBL Handbook of Style*.

Pri navajanju svetopisemskih besedil v slovenščini se med vrsticami uporablja stični vezaj (-), med poglavji pa stični pomišljaj (-):

2 Mz 20,17 Mr 4,35	ena vrstica
Ezk 11,22-25 Jn 1,2-3	več neprekinjenih vrstic v istem poglavju
2 Mz 24,3.7 Mt 5,1.5.7	več prekinjenih vrstic v istem poglavju
Jer 7,1-5; 12,5-6 Jn 1,2-3; 4,2-6	več neprekinjenih vrstic v različnih poglavjih
Mih 2 Apd 12	eno poglavje
5 Mz 32-34 Mr 3-6	več neprekinjenih poglavij
5 Mz 4,44-28,68 Mr 3,1-4,45	več neprekinjenih poglavij z vrsticami

4 Seznam referenc oz. literature

Prispevek ima **na koncu seznam referenc oz. literature**. Knjižna dela se navajajo v obliki: Priimek, ime. Leto. *Naslov*. Kraj: založba.

En avtor:

Lah, Avguštin. 2001. *Skrivnost troedinega Boga*. Maribor: Teološka fakulteta.

---. 2008. *V znamenju osebe: poskus trinitarične antropologije*. Ljubljana: Družina.

Dva avtorja:

Rode, Franc, in Anton Stres. 1977. *Kriterij krščanstva v pluralistični družbi*. Tinje: Dom prosvete.



Trije avtorji:

Sajama, Seppo, Matti Kamppinen in Simo Vihjanen. 1994. *Misel in smisel: uvod v fenomenologijo*. Ljubljana: Znanstveno in publicistično središče.

Članki iz revij se navajajo v obliki: Priimek, ime. Leto. Naslov članka. *Ime publikacije* letnik: prva–zadnja stran.

Krašovec, Jože. 1991. Filozofsko-teološki razlogi za odpuščanje. *Bogoslovni vestnik* 51: 270–285.

Sorč, Ciril. 2004. Trinitarično pojmovanje osebe. *Tretji dan* 33 (julij–september): 25–33.



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1 The term author used in the masculine grammatical form shall refer neutrally to both men and women.



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2 Abstract, key words, scope

The text of the scientific article must comprise the **abstract** and the **key words**. The maximum length of the abstract should be 160 words or 800 characters. The abstract should present the exact definition of the topic of the article, methodology, and conclusions. The title of the article must be concise and unambiguous, and not longer than 100 characters.

The length of the article should not exceed 20,000 characters (including spaces); reports should not be longer than 10,000 characters, and the length of book reviews should not exceed 8,000 characters. Any graphic material (and/or tables) must be sent separately (in JPG or TIF formats) with an indication of its position in the text. The style of the text must correspond to the scientific level, and prior to submission the text must be **language-edited (proofread)**. **Notes** must always be included in the form of **footnotes**.

3 References

References must be provided in accordance with the methodology of scientific work at the Faculty of Theology, University of Ljubljana. The surname of the author, the year of the publication, and page(s) are inserted after the quote in the form (surname year, page(s)), e.g. (Žust 2007, 109). The citations from periodic publications are written in the same manner. If there are two authors, the citation is written in the form (surname and surname year, page), e.g. (Škafar and Nežič 1998, 33). If there are more than three authors, we use the form (surname et al. year, page), e.g. (Sorč et al. 2003, 21). If no author is indicated, we use the title instead of the surname and abbreviate it, if necessary. If the last name is already mentioned in the quotation, it shall be omitted in the quote and we only indicate the year and page(s). If there are several works cited in the same brackets, these shall be separated by semicolons. If the same work is being cited throughout the same paragraph or chapter, we indicate the reference in its entirety



only once, and thereafter only the page number is indicated in brackets. We do not use abbreviation cf.

3.1 Form of references

In **citations**, the punctuation is placed

- **after the reference**, if it refers to part of the sentence;
- **in front of the reference** (the reference itself has no punctuation), if it refers to an entire sentence or several sentences.

In **paraphrases**, the punctuation is placed

- **after the reference**, if it refers to a single sentence;
- **in front of the reference**, if it refers to several sentences.

When citing church documents, *Code of Canon Law* (CCL), *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (CCC) and other standard texts used as sources, we use standard abbreviations (*Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete* 1992). Abbreviations of domestic texts, collections, and lexicons are used, if they are generally known and recognized. Abbreviations of journals are in italics, while abbreviations of lexicons or monographs are indicated in an upright font.

3.2 Citing the Holy Bible

For the abbreviations (and other acronyms) in a foreign language, the author should use *The SBL Handbook of Style*.

When quoting biblical texts, a hyphen (-) is used between the lines and a dash (–) between the chapters.



4 List of references/literature

At the end of the article, a list of references or literature is included. Literary works are listed in the following form: **Surname, Name.** Year. *Title*. Location: Publisher.

Journal articles are listed in the following form: **Surname, Name.** Year. Title of the article. *Name of publication* year: first–last page.





Znanstvena knjižnica 88

Maria Carmela Palmisano, Samo Skralovnik, Miran Špelič in Aljaž Krajnc (ur.)

Navajanje in raziskovanje svetopisemskih, judovskih in zgodnjekrščanskih pisnih virov

»Monografija prinaša resnično obsežno in temeljito raziskavo, ki pomeni novo raven v predstavitvi teh virov in njihovih zakonitosti slovenskim bralcem ter bo generacijam prihodnjih študentov močno olajšala prve korake pri delu z njimi. Zasnovana je na interdisciplinarnem pristopu, skupina avtorjev, ki se ponaša s širokim strokovnim zaledjem, ponuja izčrpen pregled različnih teorij in vidikov, hkrati pa z jasnim slogom pisanja omogoča razumevanje tudi začetnikom.«

doc. dr. David Movrin, recenzent monografije

Ljubljana: Teološka fakulteta, 2024. 340 str.

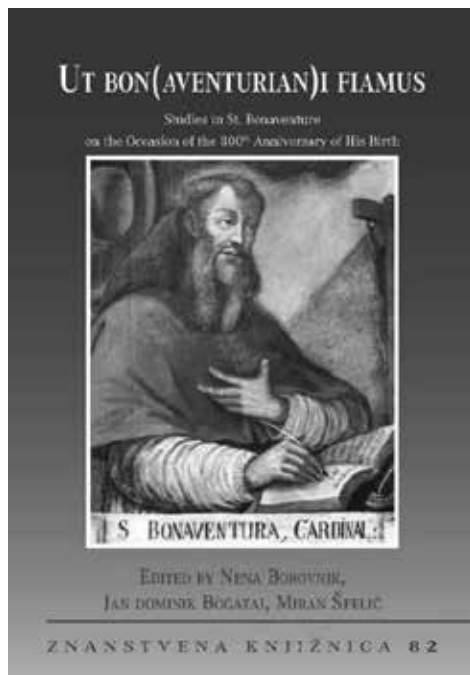
ISBN 978-961-7167-19-1, 15 €

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Znanstvena knjižnica 82

Nena Bobovnik, Jan Dominik Bogataj in Miran Špelič (ur.)

UT BON(AVENTURIAN)I FIAMUS:

Studies in St. Bonaventure on the Occasion of the 800th Anniversary of His Birth

»V tem zborniku avtorji osvetljujejo filozofske, teološke in druge vidike sodobnega razumevanja Bonaventurove misli. Zanimiv bo tako za znanstvene kot tudi za neznansvene bralce, zlasti tiste, ki se ukvarjajo s študijem frančiškanstva in širšim področjem srednjeveške filozofije ter evropske kulturne zgodovine.«

doc. dr. Simon Malmenvall, recenzija zbornika

Ljubljana: Teološka fakulteta, Brat Frančišek, 2022. 170 str.

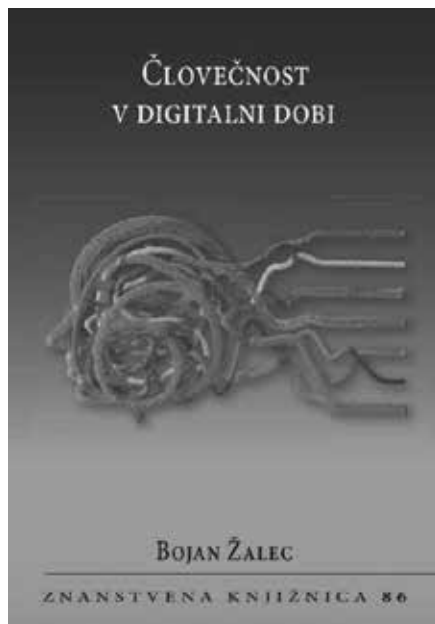
ISBN 978-961-7128-74-1, 20 €

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Znanstvena knjižnica 86

Bojan Žalec

Človečnost v digitalni dobi: Izzivi umetne inteligence, transhumanizma in genetike

Avtor na naslovnici zapiše: »Namen pričujoče knjige je prispevati k oblikovanju ustrezne filozofske in teološke antropologije za sodobno digitalno dobo. Izhajam iz stališča, da je naloga kritične (javne) humanistike, filozofije in teologije zaščita človeka in obramba človeškosti in človečnosti pred razvojnimi trendi, nauki in ideologijami, ki ju ogrožajo. To poslanstvo in potenciali kritične humanistike so še posebno pomembni v sedanjí tehnološki dobi, ko je človeškost človeka ogrožena tako korenito, kot ni bila še nikoli. Humanistično razumevanje človeka vse bolj izpodriva scientistični pogled na človeka, ki ga razume kot proizvod algoritmov in podatkov. Scientistično podobo človeka je zato treba podvreči kritični raziskavi in jo utemeljeno zavreči ter obenem razvijati alternativno človekoslovje, ki je primerno sodobnemu času in v skladu z resničnimi znanstvenimi spoznanji.«

Ljubljana: Teološka fakulteta, 2023. 133 str.

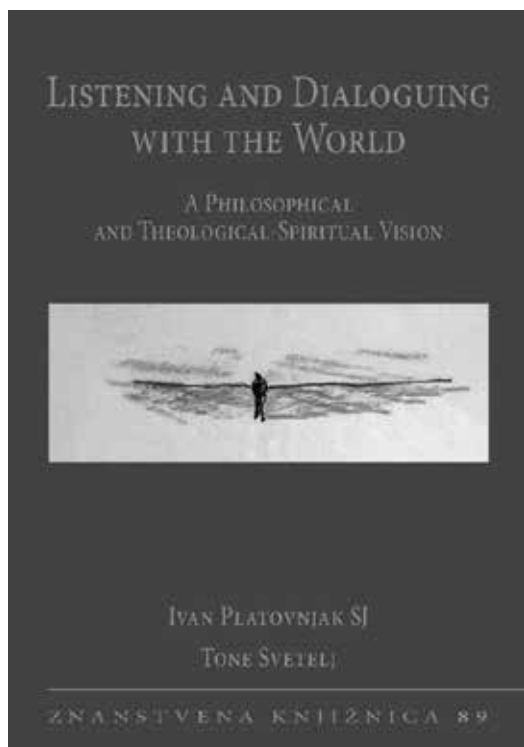
ISBN 978-961-7167-17-7, 15 €

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e-naslov: zalozba@teof.uni-lj.si

Knjiga je v e-obliki prosto dostopna.



Znanstvena knjižnica 89

Ivan Platovnjak in Tone Svetelj

LISTENING AND DIALOGUING WITH THE WORLD:

A PHILOSOPHICAL AND THEOLOGICAL-SPIRITUAL VISION

»Ta knjiga ponuja svež pristop k teologiji, ki jo vidi kot racionalno disciplino, sposobno brati pomen sveta in ki je nujna za doseg izpolnjenosti. Erudicija avtorjev daje bralcu občutek, da hodi skozi moderne čase ob spremstvu dveh odličnih vodičev. Razlagata zapleteno resničnost, vendar ne mislita namesto bralca.«

prof. dr. Piotr Roszak, recenzent zbornika

Ljubljana: Teološka fakulteta, 2024. 207 str.

ISBN 978-961-297-350-6, 20 €

Knjigo lahko naročite na naslovu:

TEOF-ZALOŽBA, Poljanska 4, 1000 Ljubljana;

e-naslov: zalozba@teof.uni-lj.si

Knjiga je v e-obliki prosto dostopna.

Edinost in dialog

je znanstvena revija Inštituta Stanka Janežiča za dogmatično, osnovno in ekumensko teologijo ter religiologijo in dialog Teološke fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani z recenzijo.

Revija je nova serija revij *Kraljestvo božje*, letnik 1 (1924)–15 (1941) in 16 (1957)–24 (1968), ter *V edinosti*, letnik 25 (1970)–67 (2012). Revija *Edinost in dialog*, letnik 68, je izšla leta 2013.

V razvid medijev, ki ga vodi Ministrstvo za kulturo RS, je vpisana pod zaporedno številko 1818. Izhaja dvakrat letno. Objavlja izvirne in pregledne znanstvene članke in prispevke s področja ekumenizma in medverskega dialoga, vezane na svetovne religije, s poudarkom na krščanskih verstvih, judovstvu in islamu. Objavlja v slovenskem, srbskem, hrvaškem, italijanskem, angleškem in nemškem jeziku. Besedilo, ki ga avtor pošlje na naslov revije *Edinost in dialog*, je besedilo, ki istočasno ali prej ni bilo poslano v objavo na noben drug naslov in bo v tej reviji objavljeno prvič. Podrobnejša navodila avtorjem so objavljena v vsaki številki. Objave v reviji *Edinost in dialog* se ne honorirajo. Rokopis in obrazec za prijavo prispevka, objavljen na spletni strani, je treba poslati v elektronski obliki na naslov edinost-dialog@teof.uni-lj.si.

Unity and Dialogue

is a scientific journal of the Stanko Janežič Institute of Dogmatic, Fundamental and Ecumenical Theology and of Religiology and Dialogue at the Faculty of Theology of University of Ljubljana with recension.

The journal is a new series of journals: Kraljestvo božje, volume 1 (1924)–15 (1941) and 16 (1957)–24 (1968), and V edinosti, volume 25 (1970)–67 (2012). Unity and Dialogue, volume 68, was issued in 2013.

In the media registry records kept by the Ministry of Culture, it is entered under sequence number 1818. It is published twice a year. It publishes original and reviewed scientific papers and contributions in the field of ecumenism and interreligious dialogue related to world religions, with an emphasis on Christian religions, Judaism, and Islam. It publishes in Slovenian, Serbian, Croatian, Italian, English, and German. A manuscript sent by the author to the address of the journal Edinost in dialog is a text that has not been sent at the same time or earlier to any other address and is to be published in the journal for the first time. Detailed instructions to authors are provided in each issue. Published works in the Edinost in dialog are not paid for with a fee. Manuscripts and contribution applications should be sent in electronic form to the following address: edinost-dialog@teof.uni-lj.si.



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