Bojan Žalec, Stjepan Štivić (Eds.)

Intellectual History and Culture Wars in Central and Eastern Europe in the Light of Modern Theories of Religion

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Founded by
Prof. Dr. Janez Juhant and Prof. Dr. Albert Franz (†)

edited by

Prof. Dr. Janez Juhant
(University of Ljubljana)

and

Prof. Dr. Margit Eckholt
(University of Osnabrück)

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Bojan Žalec and Stjepan Štivić, the editors

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INTRODUCTION

The title of the book tries to cover the range of the subject of the book. We explore and discuss themes and issues from the second half of the 19th century until the beginning of World War II through different scientific lenses. Our starting point is that many historiographical studies have been conducted so far on this period, but there is a lack of in-depth, comprehensive, and interdisciplinary interpretation of the collected material, which would be embedded in a broader context and would be the result of systematic coordinated team research.

The book focuses on the religious aspects and applications of contemporary theories of religion, especially those useful in terms of secularisation, modernisation, violence, understanding of culture, culture war (Ger. Kulturkampf), and ideological conflict.

The book is relevant from the point of view of national and European interests since understanding ideological conflicts in the past is also crucial for understanding such frictions and conflicts in the present. The book is not only relevant to the area of theology, philosophy, history, and religious and cultural studies but also to other fields of humanities and social sciences. It has both a cultural heritage dimension and European importance.

The issues are discussed from various aspects: theological, philosophical, from the point of view of (intellectual) history, religious and cultural studies. We believe that intellectual history and culture wars can be understood better if approached through different, complementary viewpoints. Therefore, our book is interdisciplinary.

Let us now make a quick overview of the papers in the book. The first paper (**Palaver**) presents a view of what type of religion has an affinity to war and what type is a source of peace from the theological-philosophical point of view. **Žalec** describes the life and work of the Catholic philosopher and theologian Aleš Ušeničnik (1868-1952), their context, genesis, tensions, and outcome. Ušeničnik was the main ideological leader of Catholics in Slovenia during the first half of the 20th century, up until the rise of communist rule after the end of World War II. He can be characterized as the "neuralgic point" of this period. His example reveals the key ideological characteristics and conflicts of this era in Slovenia, as well as more broadly. Ušeničnik was the leading representative of Slovenian neo-scholastic thought. **Klun** questions Ušeničnik's critique of modernity and the necessity of Aristotelian-inspired metaphysics as the "natural basis" of the Christian worldview. **Janeš and Belić** deal with the response of prominent Croatian Jesuits to the "isms" in the cultural and political context of the late nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. **Štivić** sheds light on Slovene priest and philosopher Franc Šanc SJ (1882–1953) who lived in the Croatian-speaking area,

his understanding of philosophy and responses to the crisis of his time. **Valčo** presents insights of philosopher and theologian Samuel Štefan Osuský (1888–1975) on the dangers of totalitarian regimes and naturalism in modern science.

Valčová depicts the theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-1945) in the context of his time and its key concepts: understanding of self, sin, evil, solidarity, collective guilt, collective spirit, and true community. **Kovács** draws attention to the figure of Dezső Szabó (1879-1945) and his concepts in the intellectual-cultural Hungarian and international contexts. **Mester** explicates the ability of the tradition of the Hungarian Calvinist scholarship to create the needed narratives of the history of Hungarian philosophy.

Two papers deal with the figure of Anton Mahnič (1850–1920). **Bilobrk** deals with Mahnič's Croatian period, his anti-modernist attitude and his influence on cultural trends in Croatia. **Furlan Štante** tackles the shaping negative view of women and the socio-religious constructions of female identity that emerged during Mahnič's time and under his pen.

Two other chapters belong to the area of art history. **Tratnik** depicts the situation of degradation of politically suspect Slovenian artists from the beginning of the twentieth century who dealt with the theme of Slovenianness. For political reasons, their works were not accepted as works of high culture, even though by aesthetic standards they were just that. **Avsenik Nabergoj** deals with the reception of Ivan Cankar (1876–1918) by literary critics Izidor Cankar and France Koblar. The paper aims to overcome the contradictions in the perception and interpretation of the writer's central works from the perspective of Cankar's worldview.

Pudłocki discusses the way the hierarchs of the Latin and Uniate Churches in Galicia in the years 1900–1914 tried to keep a balance between faithfulness to the Holy See, loyalty towards the Emperor's house and the feeling of national identity. **Smoczyński** examines the dominant role of the Polish intelligentsia strata since its emergence in the late 19th century from the sociological perspective. **Malmenvall** delas with Franc Grivec (1878–1963) a pioneer in systematic research of Eastern Christian Slavic cultures among Slovenes. He depicts Grivec's critical approach to Eastern orthodoxy and Bolshevism.

Bojan Žalec, Branko Klun, Stjepan Štivić, Nadja Furlan Štante, Polona Tratnik, Irena Avsenik Nabergoj, and Simon Malmenvall are researchers in the research project J6-3140 funded by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS). Their papers in this monograph are results of their work in the mentioned project. We thank agency for the support.

Bojan Žalec and Stjepan Štivić, the editors

HOLY, NOT THE SACRED: ON WAR AND RELIGION

Wolfgang Palaver, Innsbruck

Today religion is often accused of being a main source of violence and war. All too simple theories even identify religion and violence and should not be taken seriously. Better attempts point towards a fundamental ambivalence of religion to explain its violent and peaceful potential. Contrary to these approaches this article follows French discussions about theories of religion that resulted from the Dreyfus affair. Henri Bergson distinguished between static religion and dynamic religion and explained how these two types relate to the closed society on the one hand and to the open society on the other. René Girard partly follows Bergson in his distinction between the sacred and the holy. A profound understanding of it helps us to recognize what type of religion has an affinity to war and what type is a source of peace. Distinguishing between the sacred and the holy also helps to come to a better understanding of religious legitimizations of war and to explain religious support of populism. We can also discover the holy at the centre of the project of a peaceful Europe that emerged after the Second World War.

1 An Interreligious Rejection of Manipulations and Interpretations of Religion to Incite Violence

This article starts with a remarkable interreligious document that was signed by Pope Francis and the Sheikh or Grand-Imam of Al-Azhar, Ahmad Al-Tayyeb in Abu Dhabi in 2019. I am referring to "A Document on Human Fraternity for World Peace and Living Together". In this document, these leaders of two world religions express an astonishing statement regarding the relationship between violence and religion:

> "We resolutely declare that religions must never incite war, hateful attitudes, hostility and extremism, nor must they incite violence or the shedding of blood. These tragic realities are the consequence of a deviation from religious teachings. They result from political manipulation of religions and from interpretations made by religious groups who, in the course of history, have taken advantage of the power of religious sentiment in the hearts of men and women to make them act in a way that has nothing to do with the truth of religion. This is done to achieve objectives that are political, economic, worldly and short-sighted. We thus call upon all concerned to stop using religions to incite hatred, violence, extremism and blind fanaticism, and to refrain from using the name of God to justify acts of murder, exile, terrorism and oppression.

> We ask this based on our common belief in God who did not create men and women to be killed or to fight one another, nor to be tortured or humiliated in their lives and circumstances. God, the Almighty, does not need to be defended by anyone and does not want His name to be used to terrorize people." (Francis and Al-Tayyeb 2019)

Why is this statement astounding? Well, it makes a normative claim that true religion is opposite to violence. Hopefully, many of us agree that it is important to say that clearly and that religious leaders distance themselves from all those abuses and instrumentalizations of religion that incite hatred and violence.

As I recently learned from German colleagues, however, this statement is not without problems. The critiques of the statement claim that it expresses an essentialist vision of religion and that one cannot separate a true religion from its deviations. We all know, of course, too many examples of religiously motivated violence. As theologians or people committed to a particular religion, we should also ask ourselves critically if the claim of a nonviolent core of all true religion is not an attempt to whitewash religion and put all the blame on people outside of religion who instrumentalize religion for their own political or economic interests. For this reason, it is important to see that the Pope and the Grand Imam do not exempt religious people from abusing religious teachings when they refer to bad "interpretations by religious groups". Not only politicians deserve to be blamed in this regard.

It also matters to understand how the two religious leaders look at religion. I agree with the German Jesuit and Islam scholar Felix Körner that Francis and Al-Tayyeb write normatively about religion and "are not describing Christianity and Islam historically or sociologically" (Körner 2019, 11). Körner also shows that Pope Benedict XVI defended the "true nature of religion" against the accusation of being a cause of violence in his address in Assisi in 2011 (Benedict XVI 2011).

Those who oppose an essentialist vision of religion refer instead to the ambivalent nature of religion. I will engage with this thesis in my next step.

2 On the Janus Face of Religion

Those who oppose an essentialist vision of religion refer to its fundamental ambivalence. Dirk Ansorge, a German theologian who referred me to the debate about the essentialist vision of religion, mentions the practice of human sacrifices by Meso-American Aztecs to give a well-known example of how the religious conviction of the necessity of sacrifices to keep the sun moving is a violent intolerable practice if we view it from our modern standard of human rights (Ansorge 2017, 39).

The French American cultural anthropologist René Girard provides us with a theory of religion that helps us to understand the ambivalence of the sacred of early religions. According to Girard, early religions stem from a scapegoat mechanism by which a tribal group solved internal conflicts by expelling or killing a single victim. A double transference that attributed both the crisis as well as its solution to the victims turned them into deities who were seen as absolutely negative and positive at the same time. It is for this reason that Girard observes a "double nature of all primitive divinities" and claims that early religions were Janus-faced by default:

> "Dionysus is at the same time the 'most terrible' and the 'most gentle' of the gods. There is a Zeus who hurls thunderbolts and a Zeus 'as sweet as honey.' There is no ancient divinity that does not have a double face. If the Roman Janus turns to his worshippers a countenance alternately warlike and peaceful, that is because he too reflects the same alternation; and if he comes in time to symbolize foreign war, that is because foreign war is merely another form of sacrificial violence." (Girard 1977, 251)

There are, of course, also contemporary examples that seem to prove an ambivalent nature of religion. Heinrich Schäfer, a German scholar in religious studies, dealt with the so-called "new wars" – the Bosnian war is his main example – to demonstrate the Janus face of religion (Schäfer 2004). A quote from Cvijeta Novakovic, a peace activist from Tuzla, illustrates his thesis: "Every religion is a base for respect and coexistence *and* violence and war. It's up to the people what to do with religion." (Schäfer 2004, 407)

The most elaborated thesis about the fundamental ambivalence of religions stems from the US-American historian R. Scott Appleby in his famous book *The Ambivalence of the Sacred* in which he refers among other scholars of religion also to Girard:

> "Like Rudolph Otto, Girard acknowledges the nonviolent and life-affirming aspects of religion, but he is concerned primarily with what he sees as the prior question, namely, the inseparability of violence and the sacred in archaic religion." (Appleby 2000, 78)

Appleby himself recognizes the religious potential for peacebuilding as well as for inciting violence. But is Appleby's thesis helpful? The Catholic theologian William Cavanaugh is doubtful because he observes that Appleby relies too strongly on Rudolf Otto's ambivalent concept of the numinous, which does not help us to understand the complex mixture of causes of violence (Cavanaugh 2009, 44–49). Cavanaugh refers to the Iranian Revolution of 1979 to illustrate the danger of explaining its violence with the help of Otto's numinous:

> "For Westerners, it is comforting […] to find the source of Iranian Islamic militancy in some mysterious encounter with the sacred, instead of in the not-so-mysterious encounter of Iran with U.S. and British military and economic might. In 1979, when our television screens were suddenly filled with black-robed militants in Tehran chanting and pumping fists, it was more convenient to blame the matter on a mystifying irrational religious experience than examine the empirical data, which would include the U.S.-backed overthrow of a democratically elected Iranian government in 1953 and the installation of the Shah's brutal regime." (Cavanaugh 2009, 49)

The general claim of an ambivalent nature of religion is too broad and discounts the Axial revolution that has fundamentally changed the nature of religion. Appleby recognizes with Girard that "modern religions have within their power the capacity to resist deadly violence and to do so in the name of the holy" (Appleby 2000, 79). There is nevertheless lacking a clearer distinction between the sacred and the holy, and how strongly Girard distanced himself from Otto. The Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor is close to Girard's theory of religion and has incorporated the thesis about the Axial revolution in his study of religion. For this reason, he understands that even if we find Janus-faced images in post-axial religions they are interpreted in such a way that the ambivalence is overcome normatively:

> "These post-Axial 'higher' religions can still have a place for spirits who are ill-disposed toward the human good, such as Satan or Mara. But now they are classed as radical enemies of the normative order and are destined in the end to be defeated. Or else a god can retain his or her Janus-faced ambivalence, as with Pattini or the Isvara form of Shiva in Sri Lankan Buddhism; but the destructive side is marked as against and the restorative side as for the normative order." (Taylor 2012, 40)

We can also refer to the Biblical tradition that is so important for Girard's distinction between the sacred and the holy to show how the ambivalence of early religions has been overcome. In the first letter of John, we can read that "God is light and in him, there is no darkness at all" (1 Jn. 1:5 NRS).

3 We Have to Distinguish Between Two Types of Religion

The Axial Revolution requires us to distinguish between two types of religion, early or pre-axial religions and post-axial religions. The concept of the axial age

was introduced by Karl Jaspers after the Second World War.[1] We can find insights close to Jaspers in Henri Bergson's late book *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion* from 1932. According to Bergson, Religion was a central element of early human cultures that strengthened internal solidarity by unifying human groups against external enemies. War was a natural condition for these early human communities. They were organized in a way "that the group be closely united, but that between group and group there should be virtual hostility; we were always to be prepared for attack or defence." (Bergson 1977, 57) Bergson called the religion that characterized early human communities "static religion". This type of religion comes close to what Girard called the sacred which results from the scapegoat mechanism. Static religion comes also close to Durkheim's identification of religion with society.

Contrary to Durkheim, however, Bergson recognizes two different types of religion as the title of his book so well indicates. And it is the second type that he sees as "specifically religious" (Bergson 1977, 98–99; 203; 268).[2] As much as

1 Karl Jaspers coined the term "axial age", which lasted from 500 BC until the rise of Islam about one thousand years later, including ancient Greek philosophy, religious developments in India, Iran, China, and the Jewish prophets, with its influence on Christianity and Islam. The main features that characterize post-Axial religions as distinct from pre-Axial religions are close to the difference between dynamic and static religion. No longer are religion and human power closely interwoven but the emergence of transcendence allows their distinction. Moreover, the identification of religion with the collectivity of one group gives way to a universal perspective.

2 "People are fond of saying that religion is the helpmeet of morality in that it induces a fear of punishment and a hope of reward. This is perhaps true, but they should add that, in this direction, religion does little more than promise an extension and rectification of human justice by divine justice: to the rewards and punishments established by society, whose application is so far from perfect, it adds others, infinitely higher, to be meted out to us in the City of God, when we shall have left the city of men; still it is on the same plane of the city of men that we thus remain; religion is brought in, doubtless, but not in its specifically religious aspect; however high the teaching may rise, it still looks upon moral education as training, and upon morality as discipline; so that it still clings to the first of our two methods, it has not yet sprung over to the second. […] Here indeed we are concerned with the second method, but then we are dealing with mystic experience. I mean mystic experience taken in its immediacy, apart from all interpretation. True mystics simply open their souls to the oncoming wave. Sure of themselves, because they feel within them something better than themselves, they prove to be great men of action, to the surprise of those for whom mysticism is nothing but visions, and raptures and ecstasies. That which they have allowed to flow into them is a stream flowing down and seeking through them to reach their fellow-men; the necessity to spread around them what they have received affects them like an onslaught of love. A love which each one

closed societies are accompanied by static religion, it is dynamic religion that enables the open society. These two types of religion are connected to two quite different moralities. Closed societies rely on the social pressure of "pure obligation" whereas an "absolute morality" characterizes the open society (Bergson 1977, 33–34). This morality entered the world through "exceptional men" – such as heroes and saints. Bergson mentions among others the "sages of Greece", the "prophets of Israel, the Arahants of Buddhism", or the "saints of Christianity" (Bergson 1977, 34). It is here that we can realize that holiness is at the centre of dynamic religion.

Whereas static religion is closely interwoven with the collective, dynamic religion roots in an individual mystic experience. It is important to note in this regard that Bergson had a very special understanding of mysticism. He did not mean a contemplative turning away from the world but was endorsing an active mysticism as he recognised it in the Jewish prophets and their fight for justice. According to Bergson, "complete mysticism is action" and stems as "active mysticism" from the "Jewish prophets" (Bergson 1977, 226, 240). Bergson claimed that dynamic religion culminated in Christ of the gospels and he especially underlined the Sermon on the Mount with its call to love one's enemies (Matthew 5: 43–45) (Bergson 1977, 59, 239–240). To go beyond the usual friendship with one's group and enmity with the outside marks a decisive step towards an open society. In Bergson's eyes, the "passage from the closed to the open, is due to Christianity" (Bergson 1977, 77).

Bergson's distinction between static and dynamic religion comes close to Girard's insight that we have to distinguish between a "religion that comes from man" and a "religion that comes from God" that he later developed into a systematic differentiation between the "sacred" and the "holy" (Girard 1987, 166; 2010; cf. Palaver 2020). With Bergson's understanding of dynamic religion, we can envision a peaceful future in which wars will be abolished forever. Saying this in a world that is currently threatened by the war in Ukraine and about which Pope Francis has said since 2014 that "we are going through World War Three but in instalments" sounds quite naïve (Francis 2014). As we will see in the next step Bergson was quite aware of the difficulties that the abolishment of war faces.

> of them stamps with his own personality. A love which is in each of them an entirely new emotion, capable of transposing human life into another tone. A love which thus causes each of them to be loved for himself, so that through him, and for him, other men will open their souls to the love of humanity." (Bergson 1977, 98–99)

4 On War, Imperialism, and an Open Patriotism

When Bergson published his book in 1932, he was recognised in the League of Nations as a proper step toward peace. He was not naïve, however, because he understood that "the difficulty of abolishing war is greater even than is generally realized by most people who have no faith in its abolition" (Bergson 1977, 287). This rather sober and realistic insight does not mean that the French philosopher thought that it would be forever impossible to overcome war. He recognized the difficulties but claimed that "no single one of these difficulties is insurmountable if an adequate portion of humanity is determined to surmount them. But we must face up to them, and realize what has to be given up if war is to be abolished." (Bergson 1977, 290).

Reflecting on the First World War, Bergson realized that static religion was still shaping the European nations. Superficially many European countries seemed to follow with Christianity's dynamic religion that should make wars between them impossible. The First World War and the first signs of a further outbreak of a global war convinced him, however, that the spirit of closed societies was still alive. He coined the term "mixed religion" to describe this state of the world and observed that the

> "nations at war each declare that they have God on their side, the deity in question thus becoming the national god of paganism, whereas the God they imagine they are evoking is a God common to all mankind, the mere vision of Whom, could all men but attain it, would mean the immediate abolition of war." (Bergson 1977, 214–215)

If we look at our world of today, we realize that we are still in this state and that we currently are even struggling with a tendency toward closed societies. Religious people, however, are called to live a life that is shaped by dynamic religion to contribute to a more peaceful world.

There is one more insight of Bergson that is important to highlight because it addresses a misunderstanding that is part of the global mess we are in right now. Closed societies do not necessarily remain small communities or nations. It is, according to Bergson, not possible to open up closed societies by just enlarging them. "It is not by widening the bounds of the city that you reach humanity; between a social morality and a human morality, the difference is not one of degree but of kind" (Bergson 1977, 35). This insight has implications for Bergson's harsh criticism of all types of imperialism on the one hand and why he sees a positive possibility in an open patriotism on the other hand. In both these cases we can find a peculiar way to deal with dynamic religion or mysticism.

Bergson strongly criticized imperialism which he saw as "a counterfeit of true mysticism" insofar as it "instinctively decks itself out" by endowing "the God of the modern mystic with the nationalism of the ancient gods" (Bergson 1977, 310–311). According to Bergson, imperialism is "incompatible" with true mysticism that is due to a "God who loves all men with an equal love, and who bids them to love each other" (Bergson 1977, 311). In contrast to imperialism and its counterfeiting imitation of true mysticism, Bergson admits that patriotism "may be tinged with mysticism" so that it differs from a warmongering nationalism by being "as much a pacific as a warlike virtue" (Bergson 1977, 277). By "imitating the mystic state" it can "overcome so deep-seated a sentiment as the selfishness of the tribe" (Bergson 1977, 277). Although the love of the fatherland differs from the "love of humanity", its being tinged by mysticism allows an opening beyond a narrow nationalism (Bergson 1977, 32, 38, 234).

5 A Fraternal Europe Inspired by Dynamic Religion

Fraternity, the third element in democratic theory besides equality and liberty as it is expressed in the famous formula of the French Revolution is, according to Bergson, an important bridge to reconcile the contradiction between the other two. Fraternity was essential for him, and he regarded it as an offspring of dynamic religion. This allowed him to say that "democracy is evangelical in essence and that its motive power is love" (Bergson 1977, 282). His emphasis on fraternity and his concept of open patriotism influenced the founding fathers of the European Union. The French philosopher Jacques Maritain equipped them with some important insights from Bergson.

With Jacques Maritain's integral humanism and other Catholic thinkers, a fraternal type of modernity has developed inside Catholicism that remained in the minority compared to its paternal variant but has influenced the Catholic Church's option for an open patriotism against all hostile nationalisms (Chappel 2018). The fraternal type differs from the paternal by preferring civil society to the state: "Instead of looking to a sacral state, as their forebears might have done, they looked to a robust civil society" (Chappel 2018, 15). They also emphasized the religious dimension of it as Maritain's "commitment to the saints" exemplifies, "who played a central role for him in fomenting moral transformation amongst the laity" (Chappel 2018, 134). Maritain claimed that the common task is the "realization of a fraternal community" and not the "medieval idea of God's empire to be built on earth, and still less would it be the myth of Class or Race, Nation or State" (Maritain 2017, 280).

Robert Schuman, one of the founding fathers of the European Union and deeply influenced by the work of Maritain belongs to this fraternal Catholic

modernity. In his book *For Europe*, he emphasized the difference between nationalism and patriotism and recommended educating young people toward a "true patriotism" separated from nationalist distortions:

> "We must prepare people to accept European solutions by fighting against claims to hegemony and superiority, but we must also counter the narrow-mindedness of political nationalism, autarkic protectionism and cultural isolationism. We shall have to replace all the tendencies inherited from the past with the notion of solidarity, that is to say, the conviction that the real interest of all lies in acknowledging and accepting the interdependency of all. Egoism does not pay any more." (Schuman 2010, 35)

Schuman's understanding of Europe can be summarized with the formula unity in diversity. He did not want to erase the differences between the countries because "their diversity is a good thing and we do not intend to level them down or equalize them" (Schuman 2010, 16). Protecting diversity, however, does not mean overlooking the need to cooperate in solidarity for a common good that goes far beyond the individual nation-state:

> "Beyond each country, we increasingly acknowledge the existence of a common good, superior to the national interest. […] The law of solidarity between the peoples is a must for the modern conscience. We feel solidarity with one another to maintain peace, to fight poverty, in the respect of treaties, in safeguarding justice and human dignity, or protecting ourselves from aggression." (Schuman 2010, 30–31)

Schuman and other founders of the European Union such as Konrad Adenauer and Alcide De Gasperi shared an understanding of Christianity as a dynamic religion leading them to a fraternal overcoming of narrow and war-prone nationalisms.

Today, we are called to strengthen this spirit of dynamic religion to create sustainable peace in Europe and provide an example for the whole world. This task will only be possible, however, by the example of people who live their lives out of this dynamic spirit building communities committed to holiness. The old patterns of the sacred will not disappear immediately but will still be part of what shapes our religious communities and our cultures. To think that we can separate ourselves from the past by overlooking the remnants of the sacred in our own lives would result in new excesses of violence as Charles Taylor maintained in his reflections on our secular age. According to Taylor, the more we think we can completely break free from the bloody past the more we are in danger of increasing our dependency on scapegoating. Taylor warns us that the "recreation of scapegoating violence both in Christendom […] and in the modern secular

world" results from attempts of reform that try to break entirely with the past: "It is precisely these claims fully to supersede the problematic past which blinds us to how we are repeating some of its horrors in our own way" (Taylor 2007, 772).

What is necessary is the transformation of the sacred into saintliness (Palaver 2020). It should be at the centre of religious people in all religious communities. This task is not confined to Christian communities, but as the interreligious document on human fraternity shows a task that calls all religions to collaborate. For a peaceful future, more and more people must understand the truth of religion that does not allow hostilities and the incitement of violence. The true God does not need our defense and violence is not the name of God.

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ALEŠ UŠENIČNIK (1868-1952): A PORTRAIT OF THE "CONTRADICTIONS" OF HIS PERSONALITY AND ERA

Bojan Žalec, Ljubljana

1 Introduction

Philosopher and theologian Aleš Ušeničnik (1868–1952) was the main Catholic philosophical and ideological authority in the 20th century until the end of World War II and, in a way, the 'neuralgic point' of events in Slovenia in the first half of the 20th century (until 1945). He believed – utopianly (Pirc 1986, 312) – in the possibility of a Catholic renewal of all areas and subsystems of Slovenian culture and society. Philosophically, he was a representative of neo-Thomism. Politically, he advocated for Christian democracy (310). Economically, he supported corporatism (cooperatives, and corporations as appropriate economic forms), while rejecting (economic) liberalism, to which - in his view - corresponds a certain form of capitalism, and materialistic socialism or communism. He called the right path Christian socialism (later he abandoned the term "socialism" as a designation for his position), Christian solidarism, and the Christian social system (Ušeničnik 1910a, 457ff).

It should be noted that Ušeničnik did not reject capitalism as such, but rather the form of capitalism based on the "usury" of the working classes, as he expressed it. He understood capitalism, as it prevailed during his lifetime, in this way. He did not reject capitalism as an economic system based on capital in the form of modern devices and means (large machines, factories, etc.), a prerequisite for large-scale modern production that we cannot and do not want to renounce. In this sense, he stated that the wheel of development cannot be turned back. Moreover, he believed it was the state's duty to ensure the greatest possible production. But this must be achieved morally – which, in his view, was not the case for the prevailing capitalism of his time.

It is evident from what has been said that researching Ušeničnik's personality and work is of extraordinary importance for Slovenian (intellectual) history. In this chapter, I focus on his personality, personal and character traits, and the components that influenced his views, attitude, conduct and actions and how they manifested.

One of the aims of this portrait[1] is to show that Ušeničnik's personality and views were very complex and not without certain tensions among their components. This applies to his personality, where the poet on one side intertwines with an emotionally disciplined and logically ordered systematic thinker on the other, as well as to his scientific, philosophical, and theological perspectives, where tensions between modern and pre-modern elements are particularly noticeable. For example, he uses modern philosophical approaches to justify fundamentally pre-modern philosophical views. Their complexity and deep consideration are such that a dismissive attitude, which quickly writes them off as uninteresting and one-dimensional examples of a musty clerical Catholicism and neo-scholasticism long surpassed in our "enlightenment," is entirely inappropriate.

2 Childhood and Family

Aleš Ušeničnik was born on July 3, 1868, in Poljane nad Škofjo Loko to a smallholding family (Tominšek 2004, 13). His father's name was Janez and his mother's name was Marija, known as Micka, her maiden name was Kržišnik. His father was a tenant farmer, and his mother came from a respectable farming family. Therefore, their union and subsequent marriage were not greeted with enthusiasm. By the time their first child Franc (1866-1952) was born and Aleš was on the way, they married on February 24, 1868 (Debeljak 2018, 33). The father soon died, when Aleš was only one year old, leaving his wife to bear the full burden of caring for Aleš and his two-year-old brother Franc. The Ušeničnik family lived in Predmost near Poljane for a good five years before moving to Stara Loka (Debeljak 2018, 33). Later, in 1886, his mother remarried Franc Ozebek, with whom she had another child, Aleš's half-brother Maksimiljan Maks. Maks moved to the USA where he lived to old age and died.

3 Education and (Personal) Formation

The early death of his father left certain psychological effects on Ušeničnik. It influenced his choice of priestly vocation (Juhant and Trontelj 2019, 223), but it did not take away the exceptional intellectual talent that he and his brother shared (Tominšek 2004, 13). This talent, character traits, and curiosity were quickly

1 For a comprehensive presentation of Ušeničnik's life and work see Pirc 1986, and Ogrin and Juhant, eds. 2004.

noticed. The local priest in Poljane, Janez Globočnik, ensured their continued proper education to the best of his ability. Aleš attended primary school first in Poljane and later in Škofja Loka (Debeljak 2018, 33). He then became a student at the Imperial and Royal Gymnasium in Ljubljana (1880-1888), where he was a boarder at the student seminary Alojzijevišče (Collegium Aloysianum) (Juhant and Trontelj 2019, 33). Collegium Aloysianum was established in 1846 by Ljubljana Bishop Anton Alojzij Wolf (1782-1859) for gifted students from poor families to receive top-notch education. The Church expected the college's alumni to choose a priestly vocation. However, Ušeničnik was not enthusiastic about it in those years (Debeljak 2018, 35). He was drawn to literature, especially poetry. He read and translated the masters of world literature and wrote and published poems (Gantar 2018, 59). He soon became famous among classmates and professors, like his brother, as the best student in his year. He excelled in Greek and Latin (Jerman 1982, 311; Ganar 2004, 197), and as well in Slovenian and German, writing excellent essays (Tominšek 2004, 14). His poetic talent was widely recognised. Fran Saleški Finžgar (1871-1962), a writer and Catholic priest, who was never close to Ušeničnik ideologically, said he was "undoubtedly a poet" (Tominšek 2004, 14). According to Finžgar, Ušeničnik was a born poet. And he would have become a poet if Rome had not drawn him to philosophy (Pirc 1986, 26). Ivan Tavčar (1851-1923), his local, respectable writer and liberal politician, dissuaded young Ušeničnik from studying priesthood, promising him financial support for study in Vienna. However, following his brother's example and his study of church teachers, theologians, and philosophers, Aleš eventually decided to study theology. After graduating with honours on July 20, 1888, he entered the seminary (Pirc 1986, 22). A key figure in his scientific development was the then Rome-oriented Ljubljana Bishop Dr Jakob Missia (1838-1902), later Archbishop of Gorizia and Cardinal, who strove to secure free studies for Slovenian students in Rome and succeeded in this endeavour. Following this path, Aleš joined his brother in Rome.

In Rome, Aleš resided at the Collegium Germanicum[2], managed by the Society of Jesus, and studied at the renowned Pontifical Gregorian University, where he became well-acquainted with scholasticism and particularly the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas, crucial to his philosophical thinking (Juhant and Trontelj 2019, 223). However, it should be emphasised that Ušeničnik strongly advocated for independent, yet not arbitrary and subjective thinking. Independent thinking is

2 The full name is *Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum*.

not a mere repetition of authority but following its example by nurturing thought that goes to the first causes and ultimate ends, as Strle expressed, "to the ultimate roots of being and knowing." Such independent thinking, Ušeničnik believed, is necessary, especially for Christians (Strle 1968, 184). Aquinas' philosophy expresses a general understanding of healthy natural reason (Strle 1968, 185, n. 43). A healthy natural reason is enriched by the finest philosophical and theological tradition and subjected to revelation while thinking independently and continually renewing itself. Ušeničnik always advocated the need for independent thinking, noting its lack in our era. Few thought independently, and many gained infallible status even if they were gravely mistaken, with the masses repeating their errors, believing they were thinking independently and not allowing objections (Strle 1968, 184).

Ušeničnik's attitude aligns well with the neo-Thomist emphasis on the importance of familiarity with and consideration of modern science. Such an ideal approach, loyal to tradition yet constantly updating, attentive to the signs of the times, trying to understand and respond to them, and applying general principles to concrete and particular situations, was also Ušeničnik's ideal. Whether he was successful in realising it is another question. However, it is crucial to understand Ušeničnik's ideal correctly. Moreover, this is fundamental for understanding the entire Ušeničnik's era in Slovenia, as he and his work represent one of its key neuralgic points that touches on all its most important (ideological) currents.

At the Gregorian University, Ušeničnik soon gained fame as the best student in his year, a new testament to the intellectual brilliance of this Slovenian smallholder's son. The theologian and Jesuit Father Louis Billot (1846-1931), one of the leading professors and later a cardinal (raised to the title by Pope Pius X), said Aleš had an angelic mind (Strle 1968, 181). How great this compliment was can be properly appreciated if we consider that an exceptional Thomist gave it; and that Thomas Aquinas himself was called Doctor Angelicus (the Angelic Doctor). Billot taught Ušeničnik dogmatics (Lah 2004, 294). It is worth noting that Billot resigned from the cardinal's office and rank on September 21, 1927, due to the Vatican's harsh stance against Action Française, a conservative French association condemned by the Holy See in 1926 (the condemnation was lifted by Pope Pius XII in 1939). This action is somewhat contrary to Ušeničnik's advocacy of absolute obedience to the authority of the Church. Besides Billot, a great critic of modernism, Aleš was influenced in Rome by Pope Leo XIII, some of his other professors (especially Remer, also de Maria and de Mandato) (Strle 1968, 180), and, of course, the great thinkers he studied and translated (from Greek philoso-

phers through Dante and Thomas Aquinas to Pascal and German theologians).[3] Like his brother Franc, Aleš earned two doctorates at the Gregorian University (1888-1895), first in philosophy (1891) (Trontelj 2019, 73), and then in theology (1895) (Trontelj 2019, 74). In 1894, he was ordained a priest at the Collegium Germanicum and became a priest (Trontelj 2019, 74). He then returned home with two doctorates.

4 Functions and Positions

Ušeničnik became a chaplain in Stara Loka (July 1895), where he stayed until November 1896, when he became a cathedral vicar at St. Nicholas Church in Ljubljana (Trontelj 2019, 74). He remained in the cathedral for only a few months, as in March 1897, he took up the position of substitute professor in the diocesan seminary in Ljubljana. He taught philosophy and basic theology for the first three years (1897-1900). He was a substitute for Janez Ev. Krek (1865-1917) who had gone to Vienna as a deputy. After three years, Ljubljana Bishop Anton Bonaventura Jeglič (1850-1937) appointed him a regular professor of dogmatic theology (Trontelj 2019, 74). Thus, from 1900, following the unexpected death of Dr Frančišek Lampe (1859-1900), he taught dogmatics, and from 1907 also sociology (Trontelj 2019, 75). In 1919 he became a regular professor at the Theological Faculty of the newly established University of Ljubljana, where he held the chair of Christian philosophy until 1933, and also taught sociology (Trontelj 2019, 76). He lectured at the Theological Faculty until his retirement in 1938, and part-time until the end of World War II (he taught a course on the "Summa" of St. Thomas Aquinas) (Trontelj 2019, 76). He was dean of the mentioned faculty three times (Tominšek 2004, 15) and once rector of the University of Ljubljana (1922/3). In 1928, he became a corresponding member of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb. In 1937 he was admitted as the only Slovenian to date to the Pontifical Roman Academy of St. Thomas Aquinas (Pontificia Academia Romana S. Thomae Aquinatis et Religionis Catholicae).

3 Regarding other influences on Ušeničnik's formation, from D.-F.-F.-J. Mercier and the Louvain neoscholastic school, through the German philosopher and theologian J. W. K. Kleutgen (openness to modern science), H. Pesch (Christian solidarism) all the way to N. Berdyaev, and many others, see Tominšek 2004, 19, and especially Strle, On the Centenary of Ušeničnik, particularly the chapter The Great Student of Great Teachers (1968, 179ff). For the neo-scholastic foundations of Ušeničnik's ontology, see Klun 2004, and for the foundations of his epistemology, see Petkovšek 2004.

5 Socialist Yugoslavia

In 1937 he was among the founding members of the Academy of Sciences and Arts (from 1943, the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SAZU, hereafter Academy)) and its honorary president until the election of the linguist Dr Rajko Nahtigal (1877-1958) as its first president in 1939. In 1948, shortly before his eightieth birthday, he received a "birthday present" from SAZU - he was removed, along with the legal scholar and philosopher Leonid Pitamic (1885-1971), from the list of members. This list was confirmed and issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Slovenia on June 25, 1948 (Pirc 1986, 23, note 24). This ended Ušeničnik's membership in the Academy.[4] Before this, he actively participated in Academy meetings even after 1945, offering interesting proposals. One of these concerned the name of the new state. He proposed that it should not be called the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, as this name is different in the various languages of the Yugoslav nations: Federativna *ljudska* republika Jugoslavija in Slovenian, and Federativna *narodna* republika Jugoslavija in Croatian and Serbian, resulting in different abbreviations (FLRJ and FDRJ) and connotations. To avoid these differences, he suggested the name the Federal Democratic Republic of Yugoslavia. Whether this proposal was also cunning and not just practical, we do not know (Gabrič 2004, 79). After the war, the authorities sidelined Ušeničnik and left him forgotten. He was removed from the Academy, and his works were placed on the list of banned books issued by the authorities, although it should be noted that the list was later shortened. It is unknown whether the authorities at the time were aware that the author of the anti-communist booklet *Komunizem: njegov pravi obraz* (Communism: Its True Face) (1943), Primož Ločnik, was Ušeničnik. This book was on the banned list, but whether it was the concrete reason for Ušeničnik's exclusion from the Academy is unknown.

Ušeničnik was also forgotten on other occasions. For example, in his inaugural lecture at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana in 1954, Boris Ziherl (1910-1976), Marxist and "officially" the head Slovenian sociologist of the time, omitted him when mentioning the pioneers of sociology in Slovenia (Potočnik 2004, 156), although Ušeničnik undoubtedly was one, having written an over 800-page first comprehensive work on sociology in Slovenian (*Sociologija* (Sociology) (1910)). He wrote it after taking over sociology lectures at the Ljubljana seminary.

4 In 1996, both he and Pitamic were rehabilitated as members of SAZU.

Ušeničnik cited Janez Ev. Krek as the pioneer of sociology in Slovenia, with his book *Socijalizem* (Socialism) (1901) as the first Slovenian sociological work. After Ušeničnik, at the Theological Faculty, the subject of Sociology was lectured by Ivan Ahčin (1897-1960), who graduated there in 1921. Ahčin wrote two interesting essays about Ušeničnik, one on Ušeničnik's sixtieth birthday (Ahčin 1927/28), and the other upon his death (Ahčin 1952). In both, he spoke very highly of him. In the first period of Ušeničnik's reception as a sociologist, the reviews of his sociology were mostly praiseworthy, even admiring, as Vinko Potočnik states. The second period of "reception" was after the war when Ušeničnik was "forgotten." The path for the third wave reception was paved by theologian and Catholic priest Jožko Pirc (b. 1948, 1986). This wave is constituted by the works of sociologists Marko Kerševan (b. 1942, Kerševan 1995) and Maca Jogan (b. 1943, Jogan 1995) (Potočnik 2004, 156), followed by Vinko Potočnik's assessment (Potočnik 2004)[5]. We can certainly conclude that Ušeničnik is among the founders of sociology in Slovenian lands. He was well-acquainted with the sociological currents of his time and met Max Weber in person in Vienna (Potočnik 2004, 158). Of course, his works were theoretical, but he did not dismiss statistics and empirical research; on the contrary, he lamented that we must start using numbers, citing American sociologists as an example, as only numbers can tell us the actual situation (159).

Returning to Ušeničnik's fate after the war, as we said, the authorities tried to push him out of public life and they succeeded. When he turned eighty, that was not mentioned anywhere except in the religious press, unlike what is customary in a normal society on such occasions. After the war, Ušeničnik wanted to publish the XI and XII volumes of his *Selected Works* (1939-1941), which would have been a revised edition of his *Sociology* from 1910. However, the authorities prevented it, and the manuscript of the revised version disappeared. This and other factors made Ušeničnik bitter (Debeljak 2018, 44). On the other hand, it should be noted that Ušeničnik was granted a regular professor's pension according to the 1938 legal decision, and he continued to receive an academic allowance even after his exclusion (Gabrič 2004, 77-78). His civil rights were not revoked either, as he was on the voter list for the Tabor district (Gabrič 2004, 77). In this respect, he and his brother remained loyal to the new authorities in line with their belief that all authority comes from God. They also participated in elections. Ušeničnik

5 Potočnik (b. 1947) is a Catholic priest who was a professor of sociology at the Faculty of Theology, University of Ljubljana.

once ironically remarked that he had strived all his life to live according to the belief that material goods are not the most important. But now the authorities had left him only that.

6 A Life with His Brother

Mentioning his brother, it should be noted that they were closely connected throughout their lives. Both studied in Rome, both earned doctorates in philosophy and theology, and both were professors at the Theological Faculty in Ljubljana. For thirty years, they lived together in the Collegium Aloysianum. They even went for walks together regularly, one after the other, so punctually that one could set the clock by them (Pirc 1986, 41, note 104). They died in the same year, 1952, within a short period: first Aleš on March 30, followed by Franc on April 16. They are buried in a common priestly grave at the Ljubljana Žale cemetery.

Franc was a practical person and he took care of his brother's practical needs (Pirc 1986, 41, note 104). Some said that Ušeničnik couldn't even buy trousers without his brother. Ušeničnik, on the other hand, was detached from the everyday world, a "true" academic and professor. He was also awkward in appearance but knew how to joke about it. There is an anecdote about an exam when Ušeničnik was old and had difficulty moving. He tried to sit on a chair, but it slipped, and he fell. When he got up, he joked: "Well, this is the first time I failed an exam."[6] As a lecturer, he was always punctual and well-prepared, regardless of the subject. He spoke clearly, understandably, and calmly. Only occasionally he got excited, and then whatever he had in his hands did not fare well (Debeljak 2018, 41).

7 Conservatives, Traditionalists versus "Moderns", Innovators

The Ušeničnik brothers belonged to the conservative group of priests, even regarding dress, behaviour, etc. This is vividly illustrated by the words of the head of the Ljubljana seminary, Ignacij Nadrah (1868-1951), also a conservative, in his memoirs where he describes the arrival of the new spiritual director, Dr Janko Arnejc (1877-1967), at the Ljubljana seminary just before the start of the academic year 1921/22. Arnejc belonged to the "modern" orientation, believing priests should adapt to the contemporary world and go to theatres, social events,

6 This is a pun in Slovenian that cannot be translated into English. In Slovenian, the same words, "padel sem" are used in the following sentences, but having different meanings - "*I failed* the exam" and "*I fell* from the chair".

and even pubs. They criticised him for dancing in his Carinthian parish: "Now we will have a spiritual director who dances," said Bishop Jeglič sarcastically, although he did not revoke his decree. When the new spiritual director brought his furniture with a freight car, he was dressed in civilian clothes, wearing a layman's coat and a cap, Nadrah reports. The long priestly robe was in the way to the modern ones; sometimes, they even removed the collar, Nadrah complained. In the conservative group, there were mostly Anton Mahnič's (1850-1920) successors, raised in his and Bishop Missia's spirit, including Ušeničnik's brothers. The most visible representatives of the modernist or "enlightened" movement were Izidor Cankar (1886-1958) and already mentioned parish priest Fran (or Franc) Saleški Finžgar, Cankar's confidant (Nadrah 2010, 32-33). This was the time of the emergence of a youth movement that wanted to free man from rigid bonds. They went to nature, camped, etc. Nadrah says that few dared to say anything to the youth. But Ušeničnik, who knew how to express his opinion in a very unique way, dared. However, they rejected him, Nadrah reports, saying: "Our leader is Bishop Jeglič, we will listen to him alone." Once Nadrah complained to Ušeničnik about this, saying that the youth needed a true leader like Mahnič, to clearly say what was right, and what was not right. Ušeničnik replied that Mahnič could not have achieved what he did without the support of Bishop Missia. Ušeničnik lacked this episcopal support, so he told Nadrah: "Yes. But Mahnič alone could not have accomplished anything. Missia was also needed." (Nadrah 2010, 44; Debeljak 2018, 43)

Let me now make a brief digression about Izidor Cankar, as the events associated with him are relevant and informative from the perspective of understanding Ušeničnik, his personality, attitude, and actions.

Like Ušeničnik, Izidor Cankar was one of the most brilliant and educated Slovenians, significantly marking Slovenian intellectual history. He was an art historian, art critic, diplomat, writer, and translator. He was born in Šid in Vojvodina and died in Ljubljana. He was a cousin of the "greatest" Slovenian writer Ivan Cankar (1876-1918). Izidor's mother was born in a wealthy German family from Srem in Vojvodina. He spent his childhood with his aunt Karolina and married Hofbek. He moved in circles of wealthy German families in Srem, which affected his later lifestyle. They spoke only German and Croatian in his aunt's house, so Izidor learned Slovenian only after arriving in Ljubljana in 1897. In Ljubljana, he completed classical gymnasium and theological studies. He then studied aesthetics at the University of Louvain and art history with Max Dvořák in Vienna, where he earned his doctorate in 1913. From 1914 to 1919, he was the editor of the journal *Dom in svet* (Home and World), and in 1918/1919, the chief editor of the newspaper *Slovenec* (The Slovenian). He became a lecturer in the winter semester of 1919/20, an associate professor in 1923, and a full professor

of art history in 1928, all at the University of Ljubljana. In 1920, he established the Chair of Art History at the University of Ljubljana, where he lectured until entering the diplomatic service. In subsequent years, he founded the Art History Society and *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino* (Journal of Art History). He reorganised the National Gallery and initiated the founding of the Modern Gallery. In his youth, he began to deal with the issue of aesthetic evaluation, dedicating a series of writings to this topic from 1908 to 1923, in which he, opposing (neo)Thomistic aesthetics, approached a formalistic view of art. The theme also marks his literary work. In 1926, he abandoned the priesthood, as he could no longer agree with the institution of celibacy. That same year, he married Niča, the daughter of patron entrepreneur Dragotin Hribar. After the tragic death of their first-born, daughter Kajtimara, the couple became alienated, although they maintained the appearance of a happy marriage, also due to diplomatic protocol. From 1936 to 1944, he was the ambassador of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Argentina and Canada. In 1944, he became the Minister of Education, Post, and Telegraph in the government of Ivan Šubašić in London, but resigned after a few months. At the same time, he connected with Osvobodilna fronta (The Liberation Front), abbreviated as OF.[7] After the war, he was the Yugoslav ambassador to Greece. In 1947 he retired. He was only recognised with a professor's pension, not a ministerial one. In retirement, he translated extensively and focused on writing art historical studies. Finally, he was elected a regular member of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SAZU) in 1953, as a negative opinion about him was issued in 1949. The following year (1954), he officially divorced Niča. Loneliness became "a constant" in his life. He fell into melancholy and "accusations of the world." Just before his death, he returned to faith with the help of Fran Saleški Finžgar. On September 13, he received the last sacraments.

7 The full name is The Liberation Front of the Slovene Nation (Slovene: Osvobodilna fronta slovenskega naroda). The OF was an organization founded on April 26, 1941, in Ljubljana by "representatives" of various organizations and social groups (including Christian socialists). However, it was controlled and directed by communists from the very beginning, who later explicitly took over the leading "organizational" role within it by the Dolomites Declaration (Slovene: Dolomitska izjava), signed by representatives of the founding organizations/groups on February 28, 1943. They justified the signing of the declaration with the necessity for unity of action. Initially, the OF was called The Anti-Imperialist Front (Slovene: Protiimperialistična fronta).

He died on September 22, 1958, in the Emona sanatorium. He is buried at the Žale cemetery in Ljubljana.[8]

Cankar's departure from the priesthood was a severe blow to the modern, innovative (cultural) direction of Catholicism in Slovenia. Intellectuals who gathered around him suddenly faced, more or less, dangerous accusations: modernism, Christian socialism, and some were even labelled cultural Bolsheviks, although they were mostly just radical innovators within the framework of official Catholic doctrine. Catholic traditionalists were pleased, and Bishop Jeglič, without whose help Cankar and his like-minded followers could not have established themselves, began to doubt the correctness of his support. (Grdina 2004, 119) From then on, the Catholic intellectual, Christian-social and personalist non-traditionalists followed their own, more or less separated paths, as their aspirations no longer found adequate understanding within the Church (120).

Traditionalist Ušeničnik was more open to non-traditional views on art in the early 1920s. But amid the mentioned upheavals, it became evident that this was not as much due to internal conviction as to respect for the authority of the Ljubljana Prince-Bishop Jeglič. After 1930, Ušeničnik, for example, in a polemic with Josip Vidmar, again firmly defended his "old" views that the judgment of art was not based solely on aesthetic criteria, but also ethical ones. (Ibid.)

Regarding Ušeničnik's post-war oblivion, it must be said that many people, not only communists but also Catholics, held grievances against him, accusing him of throwing obstacles in the way and harassing those trying to elevate Catholic culture (Izidor Cankar to Finžgar) and blaming him (along with his brother) for "all clericalism of the Mahnič era" (Izidor Cankar to Edvard Kocbek (1904-1981)), for which he (Ušeničnik) would also be responsible (Izidor Cankar to Finžgar). Such harassment led Cankar to be disappointed in "official Catholic culture" and to give up on it, as France Koblar (1889-1975) noted (Gabrič 2004, 85). Besides Cankar and Kocbek, who, despite everything, had some spiritual kinship with Ušeničnik, it is worth mentioning some communists, especially Boris Ziherl, who did not. For them, Ušeničnik was the ideological leader of clericalism, which they equated with mysticism, idealism, and reactionism. Boris Ziherl, who was the main person in Slovenia for humanities and social sciences in the first decade after the Second World War, had already labelled Ušeničnik with these terms before the war, focusing on his work in the areas of philosophy and history (Ga-

8 Wikipedia, Izidor Cankar. https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Izidor_Cankar (accessed May 21, 2023).

brič 2004, 85). At the session of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Slovenia on June 21, 1948, which unanimously confirmed the removal of Pitamic and Ušeničnik from the list of the Academy members, there were also eminent cultural figures Josip Vidmar (1895-1992) (president), Edvard Kocbek, and writer France Bevk (1890-1970), along with France Lubej (secretary) and Stane Kavčič (1919-1987) (Gabrič 2004, 81).

8 Personality Traits

At the end of this outline of Ušeničnik's life and personality, let's add a few words about his character, mental and spiritual nature, and physical aspects. Pirc notes that his character indicates a strong presence of the artist in him (Pirc 1986, 39). He was introverted, inclined to pessimism and a sense of the tragic nature of human life and history. In his free time, he spent much time in Rome researching tragedy (39). "A certain pessimistic, gloomy tone runs more or less constantly through Ušeničnik's writings. This mood is expressed in mostly negative assessments of modern man, the world, and culture" (Pirc 1986, 39).[9] Alojzij Odar (1902-1953) (Odar 1953, 74) reports that Ušeničnik bore his illnesses calmly and resignedly. Only his closest acquaintances knew how much he suffered from

9 For Ušeničnik's intellectual perspective on his age, the significance of Catholic culture, and his plans regarding it, see Juhant 2004, 42-44. Ušeničnik's goal was to achieve the primacy of Catholics and Catholic culture in Slovenia. This direction is evidenced, according to Juhant (43), also by Ušeničnik's opposing the separation of Church and state. This separation was advocated, at least from 1905 onwards, by Janez Evangelist Krek (Krek 1905; 1908), a Catholic priest, politician, and member of parliament. Krek believed that such a separation was inevitable (Juhant 2004, 43) and that, under the given circumstances, the lack of separation harmed the Church and its mission. Therefore, in the given situation, separation was a better solution, although Krek also asserted that, in principle, it was better for the Church and state not to be separated. For the debate between Krek and Ušeničnik on the separation of Church and state, see the aforementioned articles by Krek, Ušeničnik 1908a, 1908b, and Pelikan 2018, 144-145. Krek advocated for "Realpolitik," while Ušeničnik insisted on the "official" positions and dogmatic postulates of the Catholic Church (145). In this discussion, we can clearly observe the general difference between the two personalities: the dogmatic Ušeničnik, who emphasized principles, and the "practical" Krek, who had the vision and a sense for reform. The latter was lacking both in Mahnič and Ušeničnik. (Kermauner 1990, 256) In this sense, Ušeničnik was the true successor of Mahnič, not Krek. This was also demonstrated by subsequent historical developments (of Slovene Catholicism). Mahnič's and Ušeničnik's line was continued by traditionalists and staunch opponents of socialism and communism, while Krek was referred to as a predecessor by innovative or even "left" leaning personalities and movements (Andrej Gosar, Christian socialists).

heart disease and rheumatism. He was confined to bed for weeks (Pirc 1986, 39). Odar attributes his timidity and hesitant step to his heart disease. On the other hand, these illnesses reveal the tremendous will he must have had to accomplish such a great body of work despite them (Odar 1952, 75; Pirc 1986, 39, note 95). Ušeničnik's character was marked by two qualities: firstly, extraordinary humility, and secondly a focus on the supernatural world (Pirc 1986, 40). He intertwined these with spiritual zeal and fervour for God's honour (Cajnkar 1968, 166; Pirc 1986, 41; Strle 1986, 7-8). Nothing for our glory, everything for God's, was his motto.

This character description aligns well with the portrait of Ušeničnik as a professor that emerges from testimonies (Strle 1968, 185-193; Strle 1986, 9-10; Debeljak 2018, 41-42). The general judgment is that he was excellent. One had to be well-prepared for exams. To get a good grade, one had to answer concisely, logically, point by point, and without unnecessary words. Ušeničnik did not like unnecessary talk. At exams, he mostly remained silent. However, if someone spoke too much, giving way to enthusiasm or essayistic "breadth" and verbosity, he would nervously interject with an exclamation: "Sir, what are you talking about! …" (Strle 1968, 192). His disdain for unnecessary chatter and empty words is also evident in his youthful notes on why he liked poetry: because everything there is said clearly and concisely without rambling and gossiping. Even in this, Ušeničnik sounds very modern. Let us recall Wittgenstein, the "icon" of 20th-century philosophy, and his "contempt" for babbling. It is also interesting to note Strle's observation of the eroticism in the poems that young Ušeničnik published in *Ljubljanski zvon* (Ljubljana Bell), the central Slovenian literary monthly journal of the time. Strle states that these would undoubtedly not have passed the strict "censorship" of his mentor Mahnič, and they would have had trouble even before the court of Ušeničnik himself later (Strle 1968, 177). A detailed discussion of this must be left for another occasion, as the topic of Ušeničnik's (literary) aesthetics and poetics is certainly too extensive to even touch upon here.

9 Conclusion

There is much more to say about Aleš Ušeničnik, but unfortunately, I do not have space. To summarise, he was a priest, philosopher, theologian, apologist, ideological leader of Catholic life and movement, an unwavering advocate of following the truth, loyalty to the Church, absolute obedience to its authority,

and the greatness of reason.[10] He was a successor of the radical defender of the separation of spirits, Anton Mahnič, believing (utopianly) in the possibility of the Catholic renewal of Slovenian culture and society. Politically, he advocated Christian democracy and was close to integrism.[11] Economically, he supported cooperatives and corporations while rejecting economic liberalism (capitalism) and materialistic socialism or communism. The third true path he called Christian socialism or solidarism.[12] He wrote countless reviews and critiques of works by domestic and foreign authors, aiming to properly inform, educate, and guide Slovenians on the right path. He was a poet, translator, professor, editor (journals *Katoliški obzornik* (Catholic Observer) (1897-1906), *Čas* (Time) (1907-1919)), the first secretary of Leonova družba (Leo Society)[13] (Strle 1968, 193), and its honorary member. He signed with various pseudonyms (Tominšek 2004, 17). He wrote practically about everything, from cosmology to alcoholism. He cultivated different genres. He wrote texts for a wider audience and also at the highest sci-

10 Even in this regard, his view was very complex. To understand that Ušeničnik was not such an "intellectualist" and also not a "principlist" as many perceive him, see Strle 1968, 197-198.

11 The thesis on Ušeničnik's integrism is rejected by Anton Strle (1986, 9-10).

12 For a more detailed presentation of Ušeničnik's vision of the spiritual, ethical, economic, and social renewal and transformation of Slovenian society and the social model he advocated, including the broader frame and (historical) context and origins of his relevant views, see Žalec 2022a; 2022b.

13 Leo Society was a Catholic scientific society. It was established on the recommendation of Pope Leo XIII and was named after him. It was officially established in Slovenian lands on November 19, 1896 in Ljubljana, although it was formed already earlier in Austria in 1892 (Juhant 2004, 43, n. 17). The first president of the society established in Ljubljana was Janez Kulavic (1838-1906), the vice president was Janez Evangelist Krek, and the secretary was Ušeničnik. The society published the scientific journal *Katoliški obzornik*. Members of the society organised public lectures, and the texts of the lecturers, along with discussions and reviews, were published in *Katoliški obzornik*, which was succeeded by the journal *Čas* in 1901. The members strived to establish a university and an academy of sciences in Ljubljana. The university, including a theological faculty, began operating in 1919. In 1920, they established the theological-scientific section which was renamed to Theological Academy. After 1945, Leonova družba and the Theological Academy ceased to operate. In 1978, Slovenian theological professors in Rome established the Slovenian Theological Academy, which regularly organizes symposiums, with the proceedings published by Mohorjeva družba in Celje. (Wikipedia, Leonova družba. https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leonova_dru%C5%BEba (accessed May 22, 2023)). The activities of the Leo Society were initially prepared by Anton Mahnič with the journal *Rimski katolik* (Roman Catholic) and his other activities, as he spread the ideas of Leo XIII in Slovenia. After his departure, when he became a bishop in Croatia, Ušeničnik took over these activities. (Juhant 2004, 43, n. 17).

entific level. He mastered Latin, Ancient Greek, Modern Greek, Italian, German, and also Spanish, French, English, Russian, and of course Croatian and Serbian (Debeljak 2018, 38). He received many awards and important titles not mentioned here and held numerous significant diocesan functions (Debeljak 2018, 43). He has exceptional merits for Slovenian philosophical terminology (Komel 2004) and was, besides France Veber (or Franz Weber, (1890-1975))[14], the most important Slovenian philosopher of the first half of the 20th century. All this and more. His bibliography includes 1,251 entries (Pirc 1986, 345-421), and the list of works about him until his death in 1952 has 150 entries (Pirc 1986, 423-434). He was highly educated and could significantly contribute to the rise of philosophical, theological, and general intellectual and academic levels in the Slovenian space. Without a doubt, he was one of the most intellectually capable, diligent and productive Slovenians ever, a brilliant mind that astonished both his homeland and abroad. His last text was the devotional booklet *Jožefova evharistična ura* (Joseph's Eucharistic Hour) (1946). From the perspective of intellectual history, we can say he was a child and actor in the Catholic renewal movement spurred by Pope Leo XIII. This movement reached its peak in Slovenia before World War I and its decline with World War II and the communist revolution. (Pirc 1986, 435) After 1945, the world of Aleš Ušeničnik has no longer existed. The dream of utopia was definitively shattered.

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14 For more on the relationship between Ušeničnik and Veber, their comparison, and the European context of Veber's philosophy, see Žalec 2004; 2005.

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ALEŠ UŠENIČNIK'S NEO-SCHOLASTIC METAPHYSICS AND HIS UNDERSTANDING OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE LIGHT OF (POST)MODERN PHILOSOPHICAL AND THEOLOGICAL CRITIQUE

Branko Klun, Ljubljana

1 Introduction

In the first half of the 20th century, one of the main schools of thought in Slovenia was (neo)scholastic philosophy, which provided the conceptual basis for the Catholic Church both in terms of its self-understanding and its relationship to society. The insistence on the medieval scholastic foundations, which were understood as philosophia perennis, had a repulsive attitude towards the rise of modernity and the new philosophy, which, especially with Descartes and Kant, abandoned the ontological foundations of classical metaphysics. One of the main representatives of Slovenian neo-scholasticism was the philosopher, theologian and priest Aleš Ušeničnik (1868-1952), who was highly critical of modernity. He saw in it a falling away from truth and moral decay. But today, even modern thought has in many ways been overtaken, and we often speak of late modernity or even postmodernity. For Ušeničnik, this era would probably represent the darkest scenario of nihilism, which results not only in the dissolution of truth, but of human existence as a whole.

Of course, such a judgement is only acceptable if one accepts the neo-scholastic starting point or if one insists on the "perennial philosophy". It is different if we allow that modern philosophy has its justification and that postmodern thought also addresses important questions that cannot be resolved by the moral condemnations of nihilism alone. The first level of this article concerns the relationship between philosophical positions within the broader context of Western intellectual history (ancient-modern-postmodern) and is not directly related to theology. The second level concerns the relationship between Christianity and philosophy, or rather, it touches upon the question of whether Christianity is necessarily related to a certain philosophical understanding of reality, without which Christian faith and theology would lose their "natural" basis. In this article I will try to show that Ušeničnik's position, which insists on the "old" metaphysics and understands the latter as the natural basis for Christianity, is not convincing. On the contrary, modern and even postmodern thought can become an important interlocutor to Christianity, because the latter is not based on philosophical insights

but on the revelation of the biblical God. Does this mean that Ušeničnik's or neo-scholastic thought is obsolete and that we are starting from a modern or even postmodern position that rejects all metaphysics out of hand? Absolutely not. What is needed is a differentiated approach, which could be called hermeneutical in the broad sense of the word. Hermeneutics here does not mean postmodern freedom of interpretation and the denial of truth, but caution about linking "objective" meaning or truth too quickly to a single interpretation, thereby doing them a disservice. This hermeneutical approach was also made by theology in relation to scholastic thought, and was particularly manifest in the Second Vatican Council, which sought a renewed and updated understanding of the eternally true Christian proclamation.

2 Ušeničnik's Ideological Struggle against Modern Philosophy

Ušeničnik studied at the Pontifical Gregorian University and fully embraced Neo-Thomistic philosophy, which became the official philosophy of the Catholic Church after Pope Leo XIII's encyclical "Aeterni Patris" (1879). Ušeničnik appreciates in Thomas that "he constructs all metaphysics with a mathematical clarity and certainty" (Ušeničnik X, 243) and that in this aspect "Scotus and Suarez cannot be compared with Thomas. Their logic is weaker from the Thomistic point of view, and their conclusions are less obvious." (244) In contrast to the Dominican Thomas Aquinas, the Friar Minor John Duns Scotus (1265/6–1308) and the Jesuit Francisco Suarez (1548–1617) conceived their own scholastic schools of thought, which were especially alive in their respective orders. There were considerable differences between these schools, but it is true that they all drew on Aristotle's ontological foundations, and so Ušeničnik sees them as "three stages of scholastic philosophy, all of which derive from the same Aristotelian sources and flow into a powerful metaphysics of the world, the soul, and God." (244)

This metaphysics has been challenged with the rise of modern philosophy. According to Ušeničnik, Kant plays a special role in this process: "Kant's philosophy can be taken as the starting point of all modern metaphysical fallacies." (Ušeničnik VII, 293) Kant dismisses the traditional metaphysics and its belief to conclusively prove the existence of God and of a transcendent human soul, declaring the ideas of the world, the soul and God as dialectic illusions of pure reason. Kant's critique of metaphysics, however, is based on new philosophical presuppositions that characterize modernity and its "turn to the subject". Unlike the old philosophy, modern philosophy no longer starts from the self-evident givenness of the world ("cosmos"), within which man experiences and understands himself, but from the "subject", who, starting from his interiority, has yet to secure "objective" knowledge of the world. According to Ušeničnik, moder-

nity has sown "doubt" (13) not only in particular contents of knowledge, but in human's overall capacity to know reality and to attain truth.

The problem of knowledge in modernity and the all-presence of doubt is not only a challenge to philosophy but also to faith. Ušeničnik writes: "Religious doubt is one of the most terrible punishments that God has sent upon mankind!" (Ušeničnik X, 99) In this context, it is necessary to examine Ušeničnik's understanding of faith, which draws on the broader Catholic tradition and especially on the neo-scholastic perspective. Faith means to believe something or to hold something to be true. Faith is first and foremost "fides quae", that "what" someone believes, or the doctrinal content of faith. This doctrinal faith completely overshadows "fides qua", which in contrast is a personal act of trust, the faith "with which" (qua) someone believes. Moreover, faith as trust is reduced to the necessary instrument to remove doubt and to achieve certainty about dogmas that cannot be proven rationally. Similar to the role of philosophy, which aims to attain certainty of "natural" knowledge, the role of theology is to show certainty of Christian faith, i. e. of Christian "supernatural" (revealed) truths. We also see how Ušeničnik and neo-scholasticism narrow the concept of truth to its cognitive content (definition, dogma) and how they totally neglect what Levinas (1972) calls the biblical understanding of truth as "testimony".

But let us return to the problem of modern philosophy as Ušeničnik sees it. The epistemological doubt and the rejection of metaphysics have caused the former solidity of thought to collapse, leading to "anarchy" in modern philosophy. "Modern philosophy – where are you? We see some achievements of modern science, we see fragments, but the synthesis, the unified philosophical thought, is nowhere to be seen. One system beats another system, and there is intellectual anarchy everywhere. And in this anarchy, there is no clarity, no light!" (Ušeničnik X, 24) The most disturbing consequence of this situation, however, is not the theoretical chaos, but the inability of modern philosophy to answer practical questions of human life. Ušeničnik is primarily concerned about the practical life and that is why his most original work is entitled "The Book of Life". He divides the book into three parts with the following headings: (1) The Doubt of Life, (2) The Good News of Life, and (3) The Meaning of Life. In the first part, he addresses the problem of doubt with the question "Is life worth living?" (7) Human life, according to Ušeničnik, must have a goal, a telos, which, in accordance with Aristotle, can be seen as happiness. The striving for happiness forms the basis for ethics and for human moral conduct. "These two – the moral seriousness of life and the longing for happiness – show clues as to where the true aspect and the truth of life must lie." (21) Human longing does not stop at temporal and finite things, but is imbued with a desire for eternity, for "beatitude". Is this desire for eternal happiness a mere illusion? Do moral and other ideals have any ontological

grounds, or are they a bare projection? "All ideals arouse in the soul a desire to be realised. The soul feels that it is made for ideals, that the realisation of ideals is its life, the consolation of its longing for peace, for happiness, for bliss." (141) If modern philosophy rejects metaphysics, or if it remains in an indecisive agnosticism about the realisation of ideals, then it is incapable of giving meaning to life. Ušeničnik does not mince words in his critique: "Agnosticism is therefore a false outlook, good for philosophers in their warm rooms, natural for bon vivant, but worthless for people who seek support and strength in the difficult struggles of life." (57) The answers offered by modern philosophy, which do not aim at eternity, cannot resolve the doubts of life.

According to Ušeničnik, the good news of life is that "the truth of life must exist, and it does exist." (63) This truth of life is brought about by Christianity. "Christianity has solved the riddle of life. It has pointed into eternity and infinity, and from eternity and infinity has shone light into darkness." (66) For Ušeničnik, life without fulfilment of his longing for eternal happiness has no meaning. "Without immortality, everything is meaningless!" (67) There can be no compromise, no middle ground, and therefore a "separation of spirits" is necessary. Now even metaphysical transcendence is not enough, as it is essential to accept the truth of Christianity. "Modern humanity has rejected Christ. Ours is an age of great apostasy. […] Therefore modern humanity is sinking into agnosticism, scepticism, intellectual nihilism." (79) Ušeničnik's uncompromising attitude leads to exclusion: "Either nihilism or Christianity. There is no other alternative." (81) "Either faith or ruin." (95) The meaning of life is given by the Christian faith, but this suprarational faith must be based on the rational knowledge offered by the metaphysics of the perennial philosophy. That Kant, for example, allows for a different notion of faith[1] proper to the Protestant tradition is irrelevant for Ušeničnik, who is absolutely convinced of the superiority of the Catholic conception of faith as a comprehensive explanation of reality. Only Catholic Christianity possesses the truth. Here Ušeničnik replaces the power of argument with the argument of power (qua authority). He writes:

> But the fundamental, essential difference that distinguishes the Roman Church from the Protestant Churches is not this or that dogma, but the authority that underlies the dogmas. The Roman Church rests on infallible authority.

1 Cf. Kant's famous quote: "I *had* to deny *knowledge* in *order* to *make room* for faith." (Kant 1983, 33)

> (91) […] If we speak of revelation, we must speak only of Christianity. The oldest, the most legitimate, the most consistent form of Christianity is to be found in the Catholic Church. *The Catholicism of the Roman Church is the only logical revelation*!" (92)

The theme of infallibility, which echoes the First Vatican Council convoked by Pope Pius IX in the year in which Ušeničnik was born (1868), was the Catholic response to the growing doubts in modernity, just as the call for Thomism as the official philosophy of the Catholic Church was a response to the "anarchy" and "errors" of modern philosophy. But these positions – both in theology and philosophy – proved too one-sided and experienced a thorough revision with the second Vatican Council (1962–1965). Ušeničnik's intransigent stance – linking certainty with strength and the possession of truth with intolerance of dissent – represented the spirit of Catholicism at that time, but it has lost its persuasiveness and acceptability today. Modernity has not been hindered in its course and the critique of metaphysics has only grown further – up to the present state, where the term "philosophy" denotes extremely diverse styles and contents of thought, and where openness to metaphysical transcendence is more a memory than a lived experience. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to see this course of events only as a destruction of solid Catholic truth and the road to "ruin". What if the problem is the rigidity of the (neo)scholastic edifice, which has claimed the status of the only true understanding of Christianity, and which has staked its claim on a single "perennial" metaphysics? Perhaps the criticism that has befallen this edifice in modern times has positive aspects that force Christianity and Catholicism to rethink their own starting points in more depth?

3 The Historical Complexity of the Relationship between Christianity and Metaphysics

Within Ušeničnik's neo-scholastic framework, there is a clear dividing line. On the one side there is Christian truth, which unites natural reason and supernatural revelation; on the other side there are modern deviations and apostasies from the truth. Natural reason is identified with the perennial philosophy "first grasped by Aristotle, perhaps the greatest thinker of all time, but after him formulated in a mighty synthesis by Thomas Aquinas." (Ušeničnik X, 249) However, twelve centuries had to pass for Aristotle to become "the greatest thinker", so important also for Christianity, since in the first millennium Plato and his legacy are of much greater importance for Christianity and for the development of its theology. In fact, Aristotle was long synonymous with what we would today call "science", and Thomas Aquinas was not undisputed in his attempt to bring together the

Christian faith and Aristotelian philosophy. Many outstanding Christian theologians were reticent about the introduction of Aristotelian ontological categories into the Christian experience of the world and of life. Greek metaphysics, both in Plato and in Aristotle, is fundamentally "cosmological" because the fundamental concepts (categories) in which it attempts to articulate reality are drawn from the experience and understanding of the world (the cosmic order). The discovery of unchanging regularities and universal essences in the world led to the conclusion that "to truly be" (the ideal "being") could only mean something unchanging, eternal and universal. Consequently, time, and even more so history, took on a secondary role. For Plato, temporal change was not something real at all, because what truly and really "is" must be firm and unchanging. Aristotle explained time and movement with the help of his ontological pair "possibility–actuality". But can Aristotle's ontological concepts such as possibility-actuality, substance-accident, act-potency, matter-form and his other categories provide an adequate basis for a biblical or Christian understanding of reality? In the biblical view, time is not merely an "accident", but takes on a fundamental role. In contrast to the eternal Greek cosmos, the world began with creation, and the relationship between the Creator and man as God's interlocutor evolved as a temporal process or a history of redemption (Dilthey 1979, 252). Can this man as God's image be understood from an overarching universality, or is every man unique, singular, and irreplaceable? Already the early Church Fathers saw the limits to which Greek (philosophical) concepts could be used to express the Christian mystery of the triune God in the specific character of his "personal" relationships. Is there room in Greek metaphysics for such a personal God who creates not by logical necessity but in the freedom of love? Is there room for a uniqueness of man that is primarily defined not by the immortal part of his soul, but by the history of his relationship to the revealed God? It is not surprising, therefore, that Duns Scotus[2] wanted to safeguard the uniqueness of man with his category of "haecceity", and that his fellow Franciscan friar Ockham went so far as to reject the ontological order of reality in defence of particularity and free will. With his nominalism, Ockham made a significant contribution to the rise of modern philosophy. Do we not feel similar unease today when we read Thomas's interpretation of the human

2 John Duns Scotus conceives of a different metaphysical approach and marks what Honnefelder calls "the second beginning of metaphysics" (Honnefelder 1987). Duns Scotus sees no room in Aristotle's metaphysics for a specifically Christian understanding of God, man and the world.

soul, which draws on Aristotle and explains it as "forma corporis"? Is such an interpretation able to grasp the drama involved in man's experience of his own transcendence?

The critique of Greek metaphysics began deep in the Middle Ages. In the second half of the 14th century, more books were published at the University of Paris which followed the "modern way" (*via moderna*) of nominalism than the "old way" (*via antiqua*) of Thomist-Aristotelian realism. Distrust of Aristotelian metaphysics was one of the key elements of the Reformation, not only because of Luther's famous remark that he belonged to the "school of Ockham", but because Protestantism wanted to renew Christianity from its biblical foundations. In this context it is worth asking whether the emergence of modernity represents a break with Christianity, or whether Christianity may be one of its causes. One of the further blows for Aristotelian philosophy was the rejection of its interpretation of the universe and the rise of the new Galilean science. Many assumptions of Aristotle lost their plausibility and persuasiveness. Ušeničnik admits that "a Thomist often fails to see how, for example, his proofs for the existence of God do not seem obvious to moderns, or how they fail to adequately grasp his metaphysics about God. This is due to the fact that the principles of act and potency are no longer familiar to them." (Ušeničnik X, 243-244) What does "familiar" mean here? That they are no longer commonly accepted and have been replaced by other interpretations.

That the development of modern philosophy was not merely something opposed to Christianity, but that Christianity was to a large extent the generator of modern ideas, even if these were given a secular interpretation, is of course beyond the horizon of Ušeničnik's thought. For him, the understanding of Christianity defended by the Catholic Church in the 19th century is equated with eternal metaphysical truth. From today's point of view, that understanding is not only philosophically but above all theologically controversial (Welte 1965, 380–409). Its focus is not on the biblical perspective of God's revelation with its emphasis on existential and historical dynamics, but on a "natural" philosophy that rests upon static essences which provide the solid "substance" to the Catholicism of that time and legitimate its power and authority. Accordingly, the Catholic Church understands itself as a "perfect society", leaving aside the temporal character of its eschatological dynamism. It was not before the Second Vatican Council that the Church began to understand itself again as a "pilgrim", never at home in the existing world. For all its criticisms of secularity, Catholic neo-scholasticism forgets how profoundly "secular" its own starting points are. The "secular" metaphysical presupposition of eternal essences and firm substances (Gr. ousia) had a direct impact on how the Church understood its presence (Gr. parousia) in the world (Reali 2021, 37), in which it wanted to "gain ground". Since truth

was also understood in a static way, this led to a highly critical and exclusionary attitude towards all other views. Ušeničnik, who quite directly equates the "rock of Peter" with the "rock of metaphysics" (Ušeničnik II, 32), faithfully follows the understanding advocated by the official Church of the time, since he was completely formed in its spirit.

The Second Vatican Council made a major shift when it departed from the (neo)scholastic presuppositions and thus indirectly showed that Christianity is not bound to any metaphysics that humans in their own power could conclude from the world. Christianity should be "theological", which means that God's revelation is such an incomprehensible event that cannot be predicted or anticipated by the "natural" logic of the world. Revelation is God's self-revelation – as an absolute event – whose logic transcends all the logic of the world. Therefore, one cannot start with nature (or the world) and then show how the Christian God teleologically perfects that nature. One must also be careful about the natural longing or desire (Lat. desiderium naturale) that is so important for Ušeničnik and for the scholastic tradition. The Augustinian tradition of the "restless heart" (Lat. cor inquietum) cannot serve as a natural philosophical anthropology. Only when God reveals himself and when the believer responds to this revelation of love in faith, does he/she realize what he/she has always lacked and longed for. The goal of the restless heart is only realised after the fact and cannot be explained by Aristotelian or any other natural teleology (Reali 2021, 48-53). Ušeničnik argues for the reverse path. He starts with metaphysics and the human longing for bliss. He takes as his starting point ideals that call for fulfilment. For him, it is Christianity that has brought about the fulfilment of natural aspirations. It has brought the answer to the "riddle" of life. But it was already clear in Ušeničnik's time, and even more so today, that this "key" that Christianity holds is not so effective that it is *naturally* accepted. Christianity brings a challenge – an address from a personal God and an invitation to a communion of love – which calls our natural convictions into question, and which demands an existential decision to believe in response to God's personal address. It is therefore necessary to relativize Ušeničnik's philosophical-theological starting points, as the second Vatican Council did with regard to the (neo)scholastic heritage. To *relativize* does not mean to reject them, but to understand them in *relation* to the ideological and historical context of the time. We cannot accept an absolute position that advocates an exclusive binary logic. Christianity, which understands itself within a dynamic and historic perspective, and that regards transformation (qua conversion) as essential to the life of faith, finds it difficult to embrace static and unchanging ontological presuppositions. But does this not lead us to the other extreme, to that relativism which Ušeničnik identifies as a fall into nihilism and apostasy from Christianity?

4 Christianity Facing the Challenge of Postmodernity

If Kant is considered one of the central thinkers of modernity, Nietzsche can be considered one of the founders of late modernity or postmodernity. Ušeničnik knows Nietzsche but takes his thought as an extreme deviation and unreservedly describes him as a "mad philosopher" (Ušeničnik X, 79). Nietzsche is supposed to defend "an ideal of brutal egoism" (147; also Ušeničnik II, 177). But what Ušeničnik fails to realise is that Nietzsche's critique of Christianity and Western metaphysics is considerably more subtle, as he links the question of truth with the question of power. The modern subject, which in Descartes and Kant found the knowledge of reality through the universality of reason, is called into question in late modernity. Is not human knowledge conditioned by deeper motives, in particular the desire for power and control? According to Nietzsche, it is the will to power that influences the formation of convictions, beliefs, and truth in general. Heidegger, while rejecting Nietzsche's positive evaluation of this will, nevertheless agrees with Nietzsche's assessment that the will to power is a key element in the origin and development of Western metaphysics. Humans, who lack the power to accept their finite and limited existence, conceive of a truth that seemingly overcomes time and provides existence with a firm metaphysical meaning and certainty. For Heidegger, a human being is in fact finite, but he/she should understand his/her finitude not as something negative (presupposing the ideal of infinity) but as a positive givenness which alone is capable of discovering the truth of human existence (human "being"). When Christianity took over metaphysics, it introduced a thinking diametrically opposed to the religious experience of an overwhelming and uncontrollable transcendence. The rigid structure of scholastic metaphysics made God the supreme Being (Lat. summum ens) into which it projected its ontological ideals of stability, eternity and power. But before such a God, Heidegger says, man "can neither pray nor offer sacrifice" and cannot "fall on his knees in awe" (Heidegger 1957, 64). Heidegger early rejected what he called "the system of Catholicism". For him, any attempt to translate the lived faith of the Christian proclamation into a rigid metaphysical doctrine based not on biblical but on Greek philosophical categories (beginning with the notion of "ousia") would hollow out religiosity from within and turn the Catholic faith into a special kind of worldview or ideology. [3]

3 Ušeničnik mentions Heidegger only in passing and never comes into close contact with his thought. For him, Heidegger is "the leader of contemporary German existential philosophy"

Unlike the modern belief in a unified rationality, which inspires the Enlightenment ideals of human autonomy and freedom, postmodern thought develops a distrust of reason as a universal foundation. What is considered rational and universally valid, what seems self-evident, necessary, and "normal", often turns out, on deeper analysis, to be contingent, conditioned and "constructed" within certain contexts of power. This is why "deconstruction" takes on a central role in postmodern thought, as it aims to dismantle what appears solid and evident, but in reality resulted from different mechanisms of power. What classical metaphysics conceived of as being ("ousia" as substance and essence) is in fact not self-evident, but the result of a construction that carries elements of violence. For this reason, postmodern approaches often criticize metaphysics under the aspect of power and violence. It is interesting to note that the postmodern rejection of metaphysics does not necessarily mean a rejection of Christianity. The Italian philosopher Gianni Vattimo is an example of such a differentiated position. He is influenced by Nietzsche and Heidegger, but he says that these two thinkers have opened up a new view of Christianity for him (Vattimo 1996, 24). For Vattimo, Christianity is not on the side of metaphysics and its "strong" thinking. At the heart of Christianity is the incarnation of God, which is no longer the God of natural religions who rules reality by force and power. Jesus embodies God's "kenosis" (60): God gave up his power and "weakened" himself in order to become one of us and to bring us a message of love that replaces the logic of power. The renunciation of power in favour of love (Vattimo 2002, 51-52), which also implies a loving acceptance of another person and of the otherness of his/her "truth", is, according to Vattimo, one of the main motifs of the transition from modern universal rationality to a postmodern plurality of interpretations. For there is no single truth, but always only interpretations. This is why postmodern "weak thinking" (It. pensiero debole) has greater moral justification than the strong thinking of metaphysics. Vattimo sees the transition from modernity to postmodernity as a consequence of the Christian message (71), which carries within itself a "deconstructive" or "weakening" potential. Jesus "deconstructed" both the metaphysical gods and the God of the Old Testament and proclaimed

(Ušeničnik X, 247), and the basic human mood, which Heidegger calls "angst" (Eng. anxiety), Ušeničnik translates as "horror". Man is terrified "if he looks back from whence he came, for he has come out of darkness, out of nothingness; he is terrified if he looks ahead, for there is night and nothingness before him again. All being is precisely 'being from nothingness to death'. Isn't that a terrible philosophy of contingency?" (248)

the commandment of love to humanity. Love figures as the antipode of violence, which, according to Vattimo, is intrinsically linked to every "strong" thinking.

Such a postmodern interpretation of Christianity, which does not question the existence of God and which reduces Christianity to a story, a narrative or an interpretation of reality – with admittedly important influence on the development of Western culture –, is also found in other contemporary thinkers such as Jean-Luc Nancy or Slavoj Žižek. What they all have in common is the rejection of a metaphysics that believes in a transcendent foundation of reality which could surpass the finitude of time and human thinking. Therefore, truth is also finite: there is no timeless truth that is independent of the interpretative horizon. Vattimo even suggests that we should abandon the very notion of "truth" (Vattimo 2011) because so much intolerance and violence has been committed in its name.

It is not difficult to see that such a postmodern weakening of truth and of its ontological foundation (being) leads to the other extreme, which is even more unacceptable for Christianity than scholastic metaphysical rigidity. It is therefore necessary to seek a mediating path that, while wanting to go beyond a certain form of metaphysics, does not want to refuse all metaphysics, since its rejection would lead to a free-floating hermeneutical game in the interpretation of the world and to a closure to any kind of transcendence. This raises the question to what extent classical metaphysics is still acceptable from a Christian point of view, and how to design an adequate critique of it (in Kant's sense of the term). The question is also directly related to the evaluation of Ušeničnik's thought: according to which criterion should we judge neo-scholastic metaphysics? This criterion can only be Christian revelation itself, the understanding of which, although it is shaped in history and therefore cannot escape the hermeneutical process, has an *ontological* basis. The revelation of the biblical God takes place in historical events, and the culmination of this revelation is the resurrection event in which God attested Jesus Christ as his own "incarnation" in the world. Of course, this requires faith, but faith refers to ontological events and not merely to hermeneutical narratives. In general, biblical faith in God means first and foremost believing and trusting in God's "ontological" presence ("being") and action – and therefore cannot do without a metaphysical and ontological dimension.

Some contemporary attempts that are open to biblical revelation suggest a metaphysics that is no longer linked to ontology, a metaphysics "beyond being". Because of its historical burden, they also often renounce the word "metaphysics". For the philosopher and Jewish thinker Emmanuel Levinas, transcendence reveals itself in the ethical relationship with another person and this ethical metaphysics surpasses the horizon and the logic of being (ontology). For Jean-Luc Marion the self-revelation of reality is prior to man's understanding of being, and this transcendent "self-giving" (Fr. donation, givenness) precedes ontology

(Marion 2005, 59). In both cases, transcendence should be thought "otherwise than being or beyond essence" (Levinas 1978). God cannot be approached starting from the world and its ontological categories. Marion speaks of God "without being" (2002). Such a deconstruction of ontology is not something new, as it can be found in the Christian apophatic tradition, notably in Dionysius the Areopagite, who for his part was inspired by a long tradition of Platonism. Plato believed that the good was "beyond being" (gr. epekeina tēs ousias, Pol. 509b), which allowed for a different dialogue between Plato and Christianity than the scholastic appropriation of Aristotle. Of course, "Christian Platonism" should also be subjected to criticism – the Christian revelation of God in three "persons" required an entirely different, "personal" ontology, which was inaccessible to Plato's categories – but this discussion is beyond the scope of this paper.

The metaphysics of scholastic Aristotelianism, which is considered self-evident by Ušeničnik, is therefore in need of a critical rethinking. On the one hand, its rigid logic of substance and the static nature of its essence must be called into question; on the other hand, its fundamental intuition that reality is "objectively" determined by transcendental properties and that not everything is the result of the "subjective" projections that characterize the modern subject and postmodern hermeneutics can be taken up. We discover determinations and laws that govern reality – *discover* rather than construct by our own will and power. Perhaps the origin of metaphysics lies precisely in this belief in a transcendent "objectivity" – despite the inadequacy of this notion. But our knowledge about this "objectivity" must be significantly humbler than is the case in neo-scholasticism. Above all, this knowledge must be open to the revelation of a surprising and "totally other" God who, as the loving Father of Jesus Christ, challenges and transforms every natural metaphysics.

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CHALLENGES AND CONTROVERSIES OF "-ISMS" PRESENT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY EVALUATED THROUGH THE LENS OF CROATIAN JESUITS

Luka Janeš and Ante Belić, Zagreb

1 Introduction

The first decades of the 20th century could be described as one of the most turbulent periods in human history. The complete departure from solid and systematic metaphysics, which leads to the loss of the meaning of men and their existence, has been prepared for several centuries, and in this period it is witnessing its peak. At the borderline between the old and new world – the world of values and the world of "absolute freedom" – man feels lost and randomly thrown into the world. In the search for meaning it becomes an easy target, leading to the creation of various ideologies, supported by various philosophical assumptions. Opening the doors of the various phenomena that share the suffix "-ism": materialism, positivism, nihilism, scientism, liberalism, communism, anarchism, socialism, as well as naturalism, pantheism, spiritualism, agnosticism, indifferentism, scepticism, etc.

It seems that various philosophical assumptions are transformed into new social, political, cultural, but also religious theories and phenomena. Croatian Jesuits, on the other hand, cherish the Neo-Scholastic tradition, built on solid metaphysical foundations, with staunch anthropological pillars. They stand in opposition to the "modern" phenomena as *par excellence* fighters for the dignity and freedom of the individual man—an individual who exists and who is always in a relationship with others and with the Other. With philosophical arguments, they try to fight against all the "-isms" mentioned above and to show the danger of the implications of such thought systems and theories. In this chapter, we will evaluate their position, with a focus on the thoughts of Croatian Jesuits Ante Alfirević and Stjepan Tomislav Poglajen.

2 Context of Time

The end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century is a period full of historical turning points and epic events—the epicentre of numerous technological discoveries, as well as the propulsive scientists' and thinkers' activities. In the context of the mentioned, it is the time when various "isms" appear on the world map/scene, which flourished and spread during that period and are

permanently enthroned on the world-historical scene, until contemporary times especially in the frame of philosophy, history and sociology academic evaluation on the high education scale, confronted with the postmodernism as the breaking point.

Under the umbrella of social, political and scientific movements, they hide important ideological components and controversies, which intensity continues to a significant extent to the present day, further causing many doubts and controversies. First of all, there are disputations and controversies related to the relationship between religious and scientific positions, which at the beginning of the twentieth century were at the peak of a kind of "militant animosity". Shaking the foundations of the Catholic Church, especially in Europe, and causally – all around the world.[1]

In the focus of this paper`s discussion, we are placing positivism, materialism and scientism as the "scientific" ideological paradigms. Liberalism, socialism and communism as political and social paradigms and modernism as a kind of cultural paradigm. A few more "isms" could be introduced into the discussion, but for this paper, let's stick to the latter.

In the framework of the given -isms, we will place the reflection of the Croatian Jesuits active in the respective period. First of all, to present the key ideological controversies with which the Catholic Church, and to that extent the representatives of the Jesuit order, were faced in the period in question. After that, we will elaborate on the methodical and subject paths they used in their argumentation. Mainly apostrophizing the aspiration for open dialogue and academically honest discussion without "turning a blind eye" and without hiding in dogmatic towers, as a kind of paradoxical mark of Croatian Jesuits.

It is the time when the "palace of enlightenment", built over a few previous centuries beginning from the 17th and 18th centuries, gains its full empirical momentum. Marked by somewhat blind faith in the ultimate and boundless progress in all fields of humans and their civilization. Along with the development of technology, which was not analogously accompanied by moral development, as well as with the development of awareness of the responsibility of human actions. Opening the door of the First World War, by which the "wave of enlightenment" receives a great blow. Putting a lot of questions, doubts and fears over Europe and the rest of the world. Leaving behind many questions and a worrying

1 More on this topic see can be found in *Pascendi dominici gregis*, Encyclical of Pope Pius X on the doctrines of the modernists.

atmosphere, which was further confirmed and blackened by the beginning of the Second World War.

3 "Isms" on Wave Tops of the Enlightenment

Let's devote a few remarks to enlightenment. And just as the etymology of this term suggests, it is aimed at spreading light/illuminating all possible darkness and unknowns. The breaking of myths and the descent of humanity (Conrad, 2012) into purely scientific, factual knowledge, along with the shift of rationalism and individualism as the fundamental paradigms.

In the Encyclopaedia Britannica, among other things, it is stated: Central to Enlightenment thought were the use and celebration of reason, the power by which humans understand the universe and improve their condition. The goals of rational humanity were considered to be knowledge, freedom, and happiness." (Duignan 2023)

The Enlightenment, as the dominant movement and current that ushered in the second half of the 19th century, built its pillars on the criticism of religion and spirituality (Barnett 2003, 45). On the one hand, the belief in the unlimited progress of the human spirit is introduced as a paradigm. On the other hand, as an empirical historical product, we state the thesis that the human spirit is being mechanized throughout this process. With the empiricist effort to express the world and its phenomena mathematically, actuality and teleology are radically nihilized. More precisely – the focus of the discussion is the criticism of all existing metaphysical dogmas and systems that dominated the thought and philosophical scene for centuries. In this way, we claim, the image of man has also been shaken and changed. The man who, by losing the spiritual dimension as the basis, increasingly enters the domain of the materialistic mechanic ontology of a machine kind.

On the historical wave crests of the Enlightenment's nominally constructive, uplifting, but practically "destructive" ethos, the mentioned "isms" surf onto the world stage. Positivism, materialism and scientism as "scientific" ideological dogmas, and liberalism, socialism, communism and anarchism as a kind of social dogmatization of the historical discourse in the era of modernity (Schwartzmantel 1998).

In the background of the respective -isms, humanism is hidden and awaits to shine as a paradigm again. Humanism, as Cicero's rudimental projection directed to the cultivation and refinement of the human spirit and teleology, in the eyes of the Jesuits gets a new, pluriperspective sign and direction – to place man in the context of contemporary reflections, with the transdisciplinary dialogue as a specificity.

The call for humanization and humanism is precisely the counterpoint that Jesuits all over Europe (O'Malley 2000), and to that extent also in the territory of today's Croatia, direct against the emerging ideological -isms. Before we evaluate it in the frame of Croatian Jesuits, let`s take a brief look at the context of the space where they lived and worked.

4 Context of Space

In the twilight of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and under the dominance of bourgeois liberalism, rapid secularisation and "attractive" atheistic Marxism, the Church slowly but surely loses the wideness of its influence and social (politics) significance. Although the given empire is legislatively still joined with the Vatican[2]. Nevertheless, around fifty years after their return to the Croatian regions, the Jesuits, thirsting for knowledge development and spreading, entered into a dialogue with the challenges of this, for the Church, unfavourable age. And for the Croatian people and nation, as well.

But the threats of liberal ideology are nothing compared to the censorship, attack and tyranny that the entire Church in Croatia will experience after World War Two, under the boot of a repressive communist system. When many magazines are shut down, the activities of the clergy are limited, and many priests are condemned, mistreated and executed. As the clearest symbol of the repression in question, we set an example of Alojzije Stepinac – Archbishop of the Zagreb Archdiocese in the period before and during World War Two.

Regarding the violence issue in the context of the given space, it is also worth noting that before the First World War, the Balkans were often called a "powder keg" (Reiter 1995). Because of constant animosities and turmoil between the great powers and interests of Austria-Hungary, Italy and Russia. What resulted in the assassination of the heir to the throne Francis Ferdinand in Sarajevo, which started the First World War. These turmoils did not stop until 1990 and the war on the territory of ex-Yugoslavia, and we can say that they are still actual even in modern times.

The journals *Život* (*Life*) and *Hrvatska straža* (*Croatian Guard*) represent the creative core of Jesuit neo-scholasticisms in the Croatian area, and more on the

2 Guliana Chamedes wrote on the Vatican relation with the European governments after the World War I in her article "The Vatican and the Reshaping of the European International Order After the First World War". (Chamedes 2013).

given journals will be proposed in the following chapter of this article. With the publication of various studies and books in a huge volume, they opened the door to many inspiring and distinctive authors of neo-scholastics who lived and worked throughout the 20th century.

5 Croatian Jesuits against -isms

Croatian Jesuits strongly opposed all -isms at the beginning of the 20th century – from those related to various newly emerging philosophical trends that denied millennial ontological and epistemological foundations, to anthropological ones that denied man's purposefulness, to finally those social-political, totalitarian - isms. It was precisely against these totalitarian -isms that the Croatian Jesuits particularly opposed with the pen, but also with active action. Before we present just a few of them – and considering the given framework of this work, we will not be able to mention many – we would like to get a glimpse of the sources and inspirations by which they were inspired.

Firstly, we know how popular journals were in the late 19th and early 20th centuries – they were not reserved exclusively for highly academic circles and sometimes ended in themselves as in recent times, but were full of life and spirit. The Croatian Jesuits were inspired by the Jesuit periodicals that came to them from Europe – the Italian *Civilta Cattolica* (1850), the *French Etudes* (1865), and the German *Stimmen der Zeit* (1865). (Šestak 2019) Inspired by these examples, they decided to start their own journal. In 1919, they launched *Život*. We can thank the founder and first editor Miroslav Vanino, who will probably be mentioned again, for the launch of that Journal, and the Journal itself will soon become the main bearer of the philosophical and theological thought of Croatian Jesuits – theologians, philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, etc.

Another source of inspiration, not only for the Croatian Jesuits but also much more widely, was the encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (AP) (1879) by Pope Leo XIII. It was subtitled "On the Restoration of Christian Philosophy in Catholic Schools in the Spirit (ad mentem) of the Angelic Doctor - St. Thomas Aquinas". It was the Pope's - or rather the Church's - response to increasingly strong materialism, positivism, evolutionism, and atheism. The Pope begs: "We exhort you, venerable brethren, in all earnestness to restore the golden wisdom of St. Thomas and to spread it far and wide for the defence and beauty of the Catholic faith, for the good of society, and for the advantage of all the sciences." (AP, §31).

This pope's call initiated the revival of Thomistic philosophy around the world and the creation of a whole new philosophical thought: neo-scholasticism. It was the Croatian Jesuits who "rode the wave" and accepted this momentum of neo-scholasticism. That is why their writing is decorated with references to

Thomas Aquinas, a solid structure, clear argumentation, and rigorous observance of logical rules. All of this was the fruit of the encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, which we believe deserves more attention as a unique document in history that, like no other, consciously and deliberately provoked the practice of a certain type of philosophy and succeeded in doing so.

Finally, the third source of inspiration that we would like to mention is the formation of personalistic philosophy – against certain depressing "philosophies of death" that take the central place on the global map of philosophy and that deprive man of certain elements of human dignity, human "logos" and human purposefulness.

Now we will try to briefly mention some of the prominent Croatian Jesuits and a few of their thoughts that will show us their preoccupation with the fight against the great -isms. Let's go back to the journal *Život.* We mentioned the founder and initiator of the Journal, Miroslav Vanino. We can single out the fight against scientism and "atheistic materialism" (Vanino 1920, 244) - which occupied an important place in his works. In his papers, he regularly brought examples of great scientists who were also devout believers, thus trying to prove that science does not contradict faith and that science cannot provide answers to ultimate questions. Although the figure and work of Miroslav Vanino would require a separate paper, we would like to introduce the other two editors-in-chief of the journal *Život*, two Jesuits who understood that behind all conflicts and wars are different ideologies built on various philosophical and ontological foundations.

6 Ante Alfirević

The first is Ante Alfirević. He will run the Journal in the spirit of the new movement under the patronage of the Catholic Church – Katolička akcija, Azione Cattolica, Katoliška akcija, Akcja katolicka, Katholische Aktion – a movement that is the fruit the result of several decades of efforts and social processes, and a movement whose key trigger was the first encyclical of Pope Pius XI: *Ubi Arcano Dei consilio* (UAD) (1922) – published in the same year in which Alfirević assumed the role of editor-in-chief of *Život.* Apology - the defence of the faith, but also the defence of the "correct philosophy" (pilosophia perennis) – was a special task, and Alfirević did it with a positive presentation of Catholic truth and Catholic life, holding that this is also an apology, and maybe the best one (Šestak, 2015). Even today this is probably the best tactic that should be followed if we want to maintain peace and prosperity: not to focus primarily on criticism, but to offer and create something. Ante Alfirević and the Jesuits in Croatia understood this and performed in this way. In 1931, Alfirević wrote very relevant lines then, but are probably still very relevant today: " 'This is how the new password should

be set: Si vis pacem, ama justitiam.' — If you want peace, love justice. Justice is the basis of peace in the state and outside it. God's word does not say in vain: 'Righteousness raises the nations' " (Alfirević 1931b, 408). Alfirević noticed strange and dangerous philosophical-ideological currents in Europe and joined a wider movement that wanted to restore society through Christian principles - and he is aware that the restoration must be complete, must start from the ground up (that we also see in Zagreb after the 2019 earthquake). That's why Alfirević wrote: "Should politics be completely removed from the Catholic Action?" and answered:

> "No. But politics in its own time, when and as it should, and let those who are called to do it deal with it, after proper, complete, religious, mental, economic, and social preparation. Because Catholic Action, if it does not act politically, wants to teach Catholics how to best use politics, what good citizens in general, and Catholics in particular, are obliged to do." (Alfirević 1931b, 269)

We can conclude that Ante Alfirević, during his editorial internship at the journal *Život*, did not directly criticize or refute the various -isms that appeared on the world stage. However, from his positive approach and Apology for Christian principles – we understand that it is constructive criticism of the radical distortion of the image of man and his dignity.

7 Stjepan Tomislav Poglajen

The second person we would like to introduce is Stjepan Tomislav Poglajen, probably much more famous in Slovakia than in Croatia, even though he was a Croat. We could say that he established and stabilized the Catholic Church in Slovakia - underground, during the Second World War and after it. Thus, it bears certain merits in the preservation of the Catholic faith in Slovakia during the long and difficult period of communism. His whole life is in a way "underground" - we know very little about him. We know that he presented himself with different names – Tomislav Kolaković, Father George, Abbe Georges, Hounag, Vlado, prof. Yoris, etc. He wrote and actively acted against the Nazis (Šestak 2007). in Zagreb - he becomes a target of the Gestapo - and against the fascists in Split - he has to run away back to Zagreb again (he takes off his priest's robes on the way); In Zagreb, he hides in various apartments until the Slovak ambassador meets him and sends him to Slovakia with forged documents. In Slovakia, he operates underground - at one moment he was very close to the Red Army and even convinced that renewal of society could come from Russia - he quickly became disillusioned when he saw communist atrocities and the killing of priests. After the war, he worked against the communist government but was already arrested

and tortured in 1946. Since then, until 1990, we do not know much about him - he appears under various names in China, Vietnam, Taiwan, and India, allegedly very active in Rome during the Second Vatican Council. The last information we have is that in 1990 a memorial Mass was celebrated in Paris for Stjepan Tomislav Poglajen - but we do not know where his grave is. He often appears, and stands out as a "grey eminence" - he actively fought against totalitarian regimes in various parts of the world, of course in the underground, so it is clear why we affectionately call him the *Croatian James Bond.* In particular, the words he wrote in the journal *Život* in 1939, under the pseudonym Miroslav, stand out:

> "And the night came into being… Those two forces met, both of which, right from their inception, represented a terror for humanity. The dangerous character of both was known. Many hoped that they would do the world a favour, that they would feed each other. But they did not do the world these favours but made a Pact with each other. We don't know what all the secret clauses of that pact are, but we know that the future, which approaches under such signs, will be terrible." (Miroslav/Poglajen 1939, 385).

We know from history that Poglajen is talking about the pact between Hitler and Stalin, and he is aware in advance of the danger that this pact brings - and his darkest forecasts (the descent of the night) will soon come true.

Poglajen was the editor-in-chief of the journal *Život* from 1937 to 1941, after having distinguished himself in previous years with his articles. In 1938, he published an editorial in *Život*, signing himself only as N.N, in which he harshly criticized those within the Catholic Church in Croatia who sympathized with Nazism only because it was set up as the only barrier to Communism, and wrote that both ideologies were dictatorships one of which has a racial and the other a class sign and that they are irreconcilable with Christianity (N.N/Poglajen, 1938). Poglajen was a personalist, and at the centre of his thought was a man with an inalienable dignity. For him, all the great dictatorships of the 20th century are primarily wrong and fatal because at their centre is not an individual - a person. This is how he wrote:

> "Since the order is for the sake of man because man is its central concrete reality and meaningfulness, it is the first prerequisite of any healthy order to be human, i.e. to sustain, harmonize and as much as possible perfect all that makes a man a man, all its essential integral parts, connected in one indivisible whole. Whichever system therefore underestimates or even denies any integral part of man or even man as an independent and purposeful unity in himself, that system is completely out of the question for the serious construction of humanity." (Poglajen 2010, 241)

For Poglajen's critique of -isms, a solid anthropological thought that perceives the man in his entirety is crucial. There were totalitarian systems of the 20th century that radically emphasized one human dimension and neglected the others. For Poglajen, it is clear - any system that does not approach man as a whole is not acceptable and is doomed to failure.

8 Conclusion

The nature of this work does not allow us to devote ourselves to a more detailed analysis of the mentioned Jesuits, nor to mention many other Croatian Jesuits who worked and wrote in the 20th century. Unfortunately, the 70 or so years of communist rule in Croatia made it impossible to study the characters and works of these great Croatian Jesuit thinkers. They predicted with incredible precision what consequences certain philosophical theories and ideological currents would bring and they offered an alternative to the various philosophical-cultural-political ideologies. They promoted and worked on the renewal of society based on personalistic philosophy and Christian principles. It is so obvious that the majority of people in Croatia have unfortunately never heard of these names, but their ideas are still alive, and we hope that with this work we will contribute to the knowledge of this spiritually rich period from which we can learn a lot for our days as well – and for the prevention of many possible future conflicts.

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FRANC ŠANC SJ: HIS LIFE AND PHILOSOPHY

Stjepan Štivić, Ljubljana

1 Introduction

This article is the result of a reflection on Slovenian intellectual history from an unusual angle. Here we present the Jesuit and Slovene Franc [Franjo] Šanc, who worked in Croatia as a priest, theologian and philosopher. Franc Šanc wrote in Croatian, Latin and very little in Slovenian. However, there is no reason not to consider Šanc a Slovenian philosopher, because he wrote in a foreign language. This is supported by three reasons: 1) specific historical state reasons; 2) Šanc calls Slovenia his homeland; and 3) sources in the Croatian language do not deny Šanc's nationality.[1] Šanc was not recognized in Slovenia until now, unlike his fellow Jesuit and theologian Janez Kozelj, who was active at the same time in Zagreb, Croatia (Kolar 1995).

In his time, Franjo Šanc published little in Slovenian journals, but he was well acquainted with the philosophical work of Dr. Aleš Ušeničnik and Dr. France Veber; and publications of the *Bogoslovni vestnik*, which is evident from the references in his works. In his time, Šanc gained attention outside the church institutions,[2] and from then until today his name is indispensable in all depictions of the philosophical and theological stage of that era in the Croatian language. However, Šanc's archival legacy and its historical importance have not been systematically researched and published until now.

1 In the summer of 1926, in the magazine "Čas" he published a review of Ušeničnik's Introduction to Philosophy in Slovenian language, where he wrote: "I thank Ušeničnik from the bottom of my heart for donating to our homeland his Introduction with Ontology, the ripe fruit of tireless writing and professorial work, which he has been devoting for thirty years to the temporal and eternal benefits of our dear homeland. May God give his abundant blessing." (Šanc 1926, 77)

2 In 1942, Miroslav Krleža referred in a short text to Šanc's book *History of Philosoph*y without concrete criticism, but with a touch of cynicism, which was not so much aimed at Šanc personally, as perhaps it was a consequence of Krleža's frustration with the Catholic Church (Krleža 168-169). More about reviews of Šanc's works and some philosophical controversies can be found in the literature at the end of the article, but we will not talk about them here (Schiffler 1992; Josipović 1995).

Franc Šanc was a fruitful philosophical worker. He wrote respectively: Sententia Aristotelis: de compositione corporum e materia et forma in ordine physico et metaphysico in elementis terrestribus considerata; solutio eorum quae in primis ab E. Zeller Aristoteli opponuntur (1928); The Creator of the World (1935); Providence of God (1939); History of philosophy. Philosophy of the Greeks and Romans (1942); History of philosophy; Philosophy of the Middle Ages (1943) and many articles integrated into books and others that we will mention here.

We believe that Šanc's understanding of philosophy is the key assumption of his methodological approach to philosophical and theological issues. Šanc understands philosophy as the bearer of special knowledge, which enables judgment in the light of truth. Questions such as providence and the creator of the world are usually classified as theological topics. For Šanc, these are valuable philosophical questions, within which he contemplates several relevant phenomena, such as pantheism, atheism, evolutionism, attributes of God, God's will, man's freedom, etc.

2 Philosophical Path of Franc Šanc

This article on Franc Šanc is a contribution to the consideration of Slovenian intellectual history from an unusual point of view for he invested his life in the cultural development of the neighboring nation. Šanc worked in Croatia for a good part of his life as a priest, theologian and philosopher. He was born on February 2, 1882 in the parish of Sveti Rupert nad Laškim, in the municipality of Svetina (Belić 1994, 453). In 1902, he graduated and began studying theology in Maribor, where in 1903 he entered the Jesuit order. In the years 1906-1912, he studied philosophy in Bratislava and then theology in Innsbruck between 1912 and 1915. He received his doctorate in Rome at the Gregorian University (1922-1924), where he wrote an extensive professional work on Aristotle's teaching on matter and form. With this work, he received his doctorate in philosophy, and in 1931 in theology. In 1935, Šanc became a member of the Croatian Theological Academy, and in 1943 he was promoted to private assistant professor with the title of associate professor at the University of Zagreb (Belić 1994; Josipović 1995, 251).

Šanc taught for some time at the Archbishop's High School in Travnik (Kovačič, ‚Šanc, Franc'). From 1919, he taught several philosophical subjects at the Catholic Theological Seminary in Sarajevo until the opening of the Philosophical Institute in Zagreb. In 1920, in the Jesuit house on Junija Palmotić Street, which was later named *Collegium Zagrabiense*, philosophy studies were started for Jesuit novices (scholastics). Šanc taught philosophy there (Macan 1988, 301). On September 21, 1937, the Jesuits founded the Institute of Philos-

ophy at Jordanovac in Zagreb. Together with Professor Karl Grimm, Šanc was the main lecturer of philosophical subjects. Of the official classical philosophical disciplines, he taught the history of philosophy up to Peter of Lombardy, Thomas Aquinas' doctrine of the properties of being, Aristotle's understanding of form, etc. The first rector of the institute was Janez Kozelj SI, who was also Slovenian (302).

Šanc's student Franjo Jambreković SI says about his lecturer that "as a professor he was clear, persistent and patient" (Miklobušec 2018, 35). In addition to philosophical work, he was quite engaged in the priestly mission. He died in Zagreb on January 31, 1953 (Belić 1994, 453). Franc Šanac's legacy is preserved in the Archives of the Croatian Province of the Society of Jesus in Zagreb and exceeds five archive boxes. Šanc paid special attention to the study of F. Suarez, he dealt with his metaphysics and doctrine of the soul, which is preserved in the aforementioned archive (Šestak 2012, "Franjo Šanc"). Towards the end of his life, the mentioned manuscript was edited and prepared for printing by the philosopher Ivan Macan SI, which was interrupted by his death.

3 Šanc's Understanding of Philosophy

Franc Šanc published the second history of philosophy in the Croatian language, which was printed in Zagreb in two volumes in 1942 and 1943. The first was published by Zagreb professor Albert Bazala in 1906–1912 in three volumes. Šanc's was the first such history of philosophy within church institutions. Ivan Macut maintains that his History of Philosophy is his most significant work, which is a clumsy statement, because this can be said for every work of Šanc, albeit under different aspects (Macut 2015, 229). It is certainly his most cited work, compared to his other works. The first volume was already translated into Slovakian in 1946.

Šanc's successor as a professor, Belić, considers his key research philosophical work to be *Sententia Aristotelis: de compositione corporum e materia et forma in ordine physico et metaphysico in elementis terrestribus considerata; solutio eorum quae in primis ab E. Zeller Aristoteli opponuntur* (1928). Belić's assessment is more reliable because he was an excellent researcher of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas. Belić states that the work was so new and unusual at the time that excellent experts Dr. Aleš Ušeničnik (1868-1952) and Dr. Karlo Grimm (1898-1952) refused to review it, so professors from Gregoriana did it (Belić 1994, 454). Furthermore, Belić states that the fundamental contribution of Šanc's work is the discovery of the distinction between physical and metaphysical concepts of matter in Aristotle's work (Belić 1993, 4; 8).

Franc Šanc, as can be seen from his books and articles after Sententia, combined three approaches in his philosophical work: historical approach, problematic approach, and social need of the time. These three recognizable components make his work original. His writing does not belong to textbook theory or framed factography. At the same time, we should keep in mind that all books were published with censor approval (lat. Imprimatur). The mentioned three components of Šanc's approach derive from his understanding of philosophy, which mediates special knowledge and has a practical role and benefit. Special knowledge is not in any of the components, but unites all three. This special knowledge is what enables us to recognize and judge philosophical problems and solutions in the light of truth (Šanc 1942, 26).

> "It would be of little use if we did not know how much these solutions are worth in the light of truth. This is the main value of any thought, not its novelty, independence, or aesthetic qualities. Without truth, these virtues do more harm than good, because they arouse sympathy for error. And what are the true philosophical problems, and what is their true solution, can only be judged by the one who knows and accepts true philosophy, not only its individual sciences, but the entire system." (Šanc 1942, 25)

In his History of Philosophy, Šanc writes about true philosophy (lat. vera philosophia). It is about the position that philosophical problems and solutions should be judged in the light of truth (lat. lux veritatis). In other words, it is about striving for wisdom, which is a gift. Loyalty to the truth is opposed to loyalty to a system, a national philosophy or the origin of a philosophy. True philosophy is universal philosophy under the guise of truth (Šanc 1944a, 223; Schiffler 1992, 258). Such an approach takes into account the universal development of the human spirit, which Šanc classifies within the eternal philosophy (lat. philosophia perennis). Šanc believes that Greek philosophy is the perfect fruit of such purely human thinking. Plato, Aristotle and Plotinus had the strongest influence on the development of eternal philosophy (Šanc 1942, 33; 37; 136).

> "It [op. history of philosophy] makes us similar to God, insofar as it helps us to observe and judge the development of human thought in a similar way to God, and that precisely with regard to the most important issues. Thus we become partakers of divine philosophy or wisdom. This is how we gain a better knowledge of the human soul, its psychology. In this way, we can better and more easily understand ourselves and others. All this enables us to more easily and more safely find the right path that we should follow in our lives, so that we can also lead others to their purpose." (Šanc 1942, 28)

Entry into the history of philosophy presupposes entry into the essence of what philosophy is actually about. "[An] introduction to the history of philosophy presupposes the knowledge and adoption of true philosophy, and therefore everything that belongs to a general introduction to philosophy." (Šanc 1942, 26) This means that in looking at the past of philosophy and its problems, one should remove all "indifference and relativism of truth, and admit that one must be the perfect truth" (28-29). Even though Greek philosophy is the highest form of human thinking, Christianity in a methodological sense was crucial for perfecting what was then created among the Greeks.

> "The Christian faith brought philosophy to perfection, which it had never achieved before. The reason is that the Christian faith gave philosophers a multitude of problems along with final solutions. However, philosophy had to examine how reason can find this solution independently of faith. Faith set theses, and philosophy had to look for rational interpretation and evidence if it could, and as much as it could. The Christian philosophers of the ancient Greeks and Romans brilliantly began to solve this task, and mostly solved it." (Šanc 1942, 305)

In this effort of searching for wisdom, as a participation in eternal philosophy, Šanc believes that what we call scholastic philosophy is best suited. "Scholastic philosophy gives us everything we expect from true philosophy." However, Šanc's position was not exclusive, that there would be no truth in other philosophies (Šanc 1944, 191; 201). In principle, it has the best-constructed model for distinguishing between true and false doctrine and accordingly solves important and secondary problems correctly (Šanc 1944, 185).

The book God's Providence (1939) was written by Šanc before the start of the war. It is a scientific work, which was prompted by a social crisis and is intended for the cultural elite. We can read this between the lines of the introductory pages of the book. Šanc says that his intention is to establish or restore faith in God's providence to those who are wavering or have completely lost their faith (Šanc 1939, 20). It is faith that is shaken, because misery appears in social circumstances; the freedom of individuals, nations, and the Church is trampled upon; hatred of various social classes and peoples, etc. The level of these evils could hardly be worse. All these evils culminate in doubt, which destroys all trust and hope. "The problem of evil, and of God's Providence in general, is definitely especially relevant in our days, because all kinds of evil have taken hold in the world, and it seems as if good has lost all power." (Šanc 1939, 19) Šanc further writes: "Against this type of plague, which poisons the soul, it is difficult to use even the best medicine, because its use is prevented by those who have power in their hands." (Šanc 1939, 19)

Šanc sees the crisis of his era primarily in the concept and meaning of God's presence in the world. In that frame, he analyzes the teachings of the church fathers about God and his attributes, about God's will, about human freedom, about evil, about immortality, etc. The book, under the guise of historical offerings, belongs to the area of patristic philosophies; thematically, it wants to answer the fundamental crisis question of the time: who and where is God; the anthropological contribution is the thematization of freedom of will; thematizes evil and God's will, which belongs to the traditional theodicy question; under an apologetic view, he shows that the most intelligent people of the patristic era believed in a personal God, etc. So Šanc's goal is to shed light on the meaning of Christian God in a time of crisis (Šanc 1939, 303-338)

4 Philosophy of Religion

Franc Šanc's philosophy of religion should be seen as a philosophy about religious truths or a philosophy about God. In this sense, philosophy is for him *ancilla theologiae*. This, in turn, means that he is trying to justify the scholastic position in view of the religious challenges and social crisis of his era with the help of a philosophical apparatus. His approach is in the full sense actual. In terms of the works written, his contribution can be divided into a historical overview of theism, theodicy problem, and new cultural and religious forms. Šanc's key work in that context is The Creator of the World (1935), the translation of which was published in Slovak in Trnava in 1944. In this book, Šanc incorporated a whole series of previously published articles, for this reason, we will mention articles from later years.

The purpose of the mentioned work is for those who already have the correct understanding of God and his relationship to the world to determine their position, and to help those who think differently to examine their understanding (Šanc 1935, VII). There are two key socio-political problems of his era, which cloud the question of all questions. These are the "bread crisis" and the "peace crisis". The first refers to the existential misery caused by the economic collapse. The second refers to the dead of the new world war. Šanc believes that now "at the time of the most terrible crisis" the problem of God is the foundation and key to all other problems (1–9). The question about God is the horizon for solving all questions: "If God exists, then no crisis can be solved without Him, and with Him, you can find yourself out of the collapse of the whole world." (8)

In this context, Šanc analyzes the shortcomings of the pantheistic idea of an impersonal God and positivism as agnosticism. Pantheism does not resolve the issue of contradictions, which exist between beings and therefore within the deity. Furthermore, some beings have what the pantheistic deity does not have, such

as free will, and reason (1935, 15–22). Šanc's fundamental objection to positivism is that it is based on the wrong form of hypothetical syllogism, i.e. the sophism of *fallacia consequentis*.

> "Positivism has a devastating effect, wherever we encounter it. He despairs of seeking the truth; it is agnosticism. It destroys entrepreneurship, that's why it could be called defeatism […] It is not true that positivism respects facts, but takes away their honor because it attributes them to lies. The facts, which are the subject of experience, say that what we experienced could have been and is absolutely possible; but from the fact that we have not experienced something, it does not follow that it cannot be." (45)

Šanc sees the key to the supersensible world in the causal principle. At the same time, he distinguishes the causal law that applies to the physical world from the causal principle, which applies to every event. The last one answers the question, of how can we recognize a caused being from one that is not (Šanc 1935, 54). Through the causal principle, we can recognize that there is a God, the uncreated Creator of the entire world (69). Šanc maintains that the human spirit in general cannot renounce the desire for metaphysics. In the sense that, in a purely rational way, man must and can say something about the beginning of everything (42).

In this light, Šanc discusses evolutionism (73–82), dialectical materialism (Šanc 1937a), militant atheism (Šanc 1937b; 1937c) and various threats to theism, such as the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche (Šanc 1940). In all these phenomena Šanc sees open enemies of religion, epistemological realism and scholastic metaphysics. He believes that on a practical level they threaten culture and its meaning as well as the legal and moral order, and on a theoretical level they spread false ideas about the origin of the world and its ruler. He recognizes dialectical materialism as a threat to the foundations of religion, philosophy, science and life. In other words, this theoretical direction does not bring any happiness or progress to either the individual or the nation (Šanc 1397a, 420; 432–433).

On the fortieth anniversary of Nietzsche's death, he writes an overview of his philosophical system. Šanc points out the differences between the Christian understanding of morality and the idea of God and Nietzsche's understanding of morality and God. Ultimately, he regrets the popularity of his philosophy and its implementation in life – "not only in private but also in public" (Šanc 1940, 385). This remark shows that Šanc is writing this article from a Christian point of view and that he has before his eyes concrete events in the German-speaking area of his time.

Šanc sees the atheism of that time as militant atheism. He recognizes its proselytizing character, which aims to destroy faith in God in the individual and human society. He further believes that it is difficult to talk about a system of

atheism, although he tentatively uses this term in the sense of a system of wrong answers to the deepest human questions. The similarity is only in the same starting point, because atheism also deals with the idea of a personal God, claims Šanc (Šanc 1937b, 97–98). The author sees the stated combativeness in the field of culture and education – excluding classical education, Latin and Greek. In addition, he sees a struggle in the field of upbringing: "Since the foundations of faith in God are laid from a young age, when the child is still under the protection of the family, under the almost exclusive influence of father and mother and brothers, therefore atheism tends to spoil this family influence." (Šanc 1937c, 203)

5 Conclusion

In our time, we are witnessing a conflict, which manifests itself as an attempt to destroy the culture and identity of one people from another. Examples like Franc Šanc SJ are in the context of the unrest we witness, pearls. Franc Šanc SJ as a Slovenian acted and contributed to the neighboring nation like many of his compatriots. This example is a symbol today in the circumstances of the manifestation of superiority and ethnophiletism.

Little has been written about Franc Šanc SJ in Slovenia so far. As a priest and philosopher, Šanc worked in the Croatian language area, where he mostly wrote in the Croatian language. He wrote his key works in a revolutionary age, in which the memory of the Great War was still alive, but at the same time a new world war was in the air. Šanc's works can be viewed in several ways, and we emphasized that they are an attempt to respond to the crisis of those values that were disappearing at that time. In this sense, each of his books and articles can be considered his response to the crisis of the time in which the question of God and his relationship to the world disappeared from cultural life; materialism spread as an intellectual ideal; the truth was treated ideologically, etc. We might say that Šanc understands this crisis as "an uncertain state in which there is something that should not be and there is not what should be" (Mordenstein 1966, 7).

Šanc does not care to dissect the crisis in detail, but to draw attention to it and offer answers. These answers can be found in his understanding of philosophy and philosophy of religion. We can indicate them through three considerations: philosophy is not an ideology or a worldview, but examines problems and solutions *sub specie veritatis*; the Christian God is not outside of historical processes; the Christian God is a person. These attitudes must affect the social level, especially morals and culture. Since Šanc opens such a cultural perspective, we believe that his thoughts should continue to be presented in this direction.

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SAMUEL ŠTEFAN OSUSKÝ'S PROPHETIC INSIGHTS AGAINST FASCISM, HITLERISM, BOLSHEVISM AND WAR

Michal Valčo, Bratislava

1 Introduction

Samuel Štefan Osuský (1888-1975), a prominent bishop of the Slovak Lutheran Church and theology professor in Bratislava, was known for his expertise in philosophy, psychology, religious history, and sociology. Despite humble beginnings, he received a quality education in Slovakia and continued his studies in Germany and Prague, earning doctorates in philosophy and law.

Osuský's main philosophical interests were Slovak and Slavic philosophy, and his theological views leaned toward rational theism, drawing on his Lutheran background. He often referenced idealist thinkers like Emanuel Radl and Henri Bergson. (Gažík 2012, 4) Osuský was critical of the humanistic ideals and scientistic optimism of liberal intellectuals before the World Wars. He directed his criticisms at two major ideologies of the 20th century: Fascism (including Nazism) and Communism (particularly Stalinist Bolshevism).

As a "rational theist," Osuský sought insights into life's meaning and purpose by combining theological and philosophical perspectives. He believed a theologian should not be confined to dogmatic propositions or church traditions but should engage with intellectual challenges. Osuský's work was deeply rooted in theology and religious philosophy, and he often turned to faith when exploring humanity's experiences in "boundary situations" such as war and suffering.

Osuský's legacy is both stimulating and unsettling, especially when considering the resurgence of totalitarian ideologies in contemporary society. Our evaluation of his work focuses on his book War and Religion (1916) and his article on The Philosophy of Bolshevism, Fascism, and Hitlerism (1937). These texts offer prophetic insights that can help us understand and combat the creeping forces of totalitarianism today.

2 Osuský's Perspective on Religion and War: Intersections and Implications

Osusky views "War and Religion" as the foundational question that intersects with other important questions such as the suffering of the innocent and the relationship between God's Kingdom and earthly kingdoms. He feels the burden to address the question of why a just God would allow such bloodshed during

WWI and poses the question of how a highly cultivated culture could result in such terror. (Osusky 1916, 3) He outlines different perspectives on war from philosophers, politicians, theologians, and children in his religious classes, and concludes that war is proof of human depravity. (Osusky 1916, 6) Osusky defines religion as the collection of all divine and human expressions relative to God, with two movements from God to creation and from man to God. He believes war and religion are two incommensurable phenomena that intersect, but if misunderstood can cause confusion and unfortunate action. "God's relationship to his creation includes namely his relationship to war (as something that humans, created in God's image, are responsible for); furthermore, due to man's relatedness to God and God's creation, it is necessary to establish what ought to be man's attitude to war." (Valco et al. 2019, 769) He surveys available New Testament interpretations of war and the thoughts of John Hus, Martin Luther, and German theologians. Osusky highlights the cautious stance of Slovak Lutheran pastors towards the war, with the church's role seen in preparing for and working toward peace. He criticizes the magazine "The Zion Watchtower" for portraying the war as something that "God wanted". In the end, Osusky concludes that it is necessary to establish what ought to be man's attitude to war and lift the stance of Martin Razus (Osuský 1916, 24-28) that God's passivity concerning ongoing human war efforts makes it illegitimate to call upon God's name when fighting for victory. (Osuský 1916, 19)

In the final section of his book, Osuský delves into the complex topic of "God and War." He breaks his discussion into two parts: a) God's relationship to war, and b) a Christian believer's relationship to war. Osuský emphasizes that understanding God requires considering His attributes, which he categorizes into three types: (1) physical attributes, such as omnipotence, omniscience, and eternity; (2) logical attributes, including justice, holiness, and wisdom; and (3) ethical attributes like goodness, benevolence, and faithfulness. (Osuský 1916, 32)

Osuský argues that people's interpretations of God can vary depending on which attributes they prioritize, leading them to adopt differing theological perspectives. However, he insists that Christians should emphasize God's ethical attributes, while also considering His physical and logical attributes to achieve a balanced understanding. Osuský maintains that God does not send or will war but allows it to happen as part of His providential care for creation.

> "God is neither a pagan, arbitrary tyrant, demanding fear of his slaves; nor is He a deity relentless in His justice; but while being omnipotent and just, He is, above all, our good and gracious father, whom we ought to fear as his children but whom we can also love." (Osuský 1916, 36)

Although it is difficult for humans to understand why a good, just, and omnipotent God permits wars and suffering, Osuský suggests that the value of human freedom may be a factor. He also notes that divine omnipotence is guided by His justice and goodness, so even when it appears that He is not taking action, there is a higher plan. Instead of judging God, we should trust His promises and the history of salvation.

Osuský acknowledges the remaining mystery of why innocent people suffer and others remain in rebellion. (Osuský 1916, 38) He suggests that the ultimate resolution will come at the end of time when God will bring good out of evil, demonstrating the perfect balance of goodness, justice, and wisdom. For now, we are tasked with learning from our mistakes and growing morally and spiritually.

Osuský addresses a Christian's relationship to war by shifting from theological to ethical reasoning. He acknowledges that humans, as citizens of specific nations led by imperfect leaders, may need to engage in war to protect their sovereignty. He emphasizes the importance of distinguishing between responsibilities towards God and those towards fellow humans and creation.

In Osuský's view, Christians may participate in just wars as a civic duty, but not as a religious calling. He argues that Christian soldiers should be guided by their faith, treating their enemies as neighbours and aiming for the gentlest means of neutralizing them. However, he criticizes those who revolt against Christian involvement in the war as fanatics, arguing that they fail to address the root causes of human depravity.

Instead, Osuský calls for Christians to cultivate virtues, overcome sin, alleviate suffering, and contribute to reconciliation among warring parties. He dismisses the idea that wars or human ideologies like socialism can bring world peace. (Osuský 1916, 47) Instead, he suggests that "internationalized Christianity" may hold the potential for peace and prosperity when applied competently to civic responsibilities. (Osuský 1916, 50)

Osuský's concerns about the dangers of totalitarian ideologies such as Marxism, Fascism, and Bolshevism proved to be prophetic. His legacy lies in his struggle against these insidious threats to human dignity and his belief in the power of Christianity to positively influence society.

3 Osuský's Analysis of Fascism: Roots, Ideologies, and Ethical Implications

Osusky's views on Fascism and 'Hitlerism' are well summarized in a lecture by Osusky called "The Philosophy of Bolshevism, Fascism, and Hitlerism" which was delivered on November 11, 1937, at a meeting of Slovak Lutheran pastors in Ruzomberok. Osusky and three other lecturers, Ján Jamnický, Ján Beblavý, and Juraj Struhárik, all concurred that the liberal Protestant theology had resulted

in deviation from Christ's gospel and led to the idolatrous worship of the visible church and uncritical praise of human culture. The four lecturers called the pastors back to Luther's theology, emphasizing his theology of the cross against the deviant theology arising from racial ideology. (Valco et al. 2019, 772)

Osusky's lecture set out to analyze the sources underlying Fascism, including Hitler's racial-biological conception of Fascism, commonly known as Nazism. (Hitler 1936) Osusky identified four elements that helped Fascism emerge as a potent ideological movement: the Renaissance movement, Machiavelli's The Prince, Hegelian idealistic philosophy, and Giovani Gentile. Osusky pointed out that Gentile made the philosophical mind into a creator of reality, where truth is based on the identity of reason and will. (Osuský 2013, 204) Hence, what Osusky saw behind the ideologies of Fascism and Communism was the self-assertion of the human will to power. In this regard, Osusky refers to Zdenek Smetacek, a Czech philosopher of his time who labels this tendency '*collective spiritualism.*' (Smetacek 1933, 210) Despite Hitler's rhetoric about building a "German democracy," he envisioned an aristocratic leader, the "Fuehrer," who would take on all responsibility for the nation and become a political messiah for the race. In this view, the nation is a biological entity, with individuals seen as organs with only duties and no rights.

Osuský argues that the ideologies of Fascism and Communism are rooted in the modern philosophical concept of the sovereign self. He believes that the act of knowing, as a creative act of the mind, is the foundation of Giovanni Gentile's metaphysics, where reality is created and validated by the human self.

Osuský identifies similarities between Fascism and Communism, citing Mussolini's case as an example. Mussolini's Fascism is seen as a reaction to Communist action, but both ideologies ultimately stem from the idea of the sovereign self.

To elevate the doctrine of the sovereign self, Fascists sought to remove any sense of transcendence or overarching meaning from the world. Osuský foresaw the descent of the modern sovereign self into post-modern nihilism (Hinlicky 2016, 82) as he witnessed its rise in Italy and Nazi Germany. He feared that this vision of reality would also infiltrate Czechoslovakia in the late 1930s.

Additionally, Osuský criticized the idealization of the state and the aristocrats who believed they had a natural right to rule. He notes that the new aristocrats, accountable only to their dreams and ambitions, breathe freely in a world without any divine guidance or reason. This mentality is described as "gigantism" or "modern titanism," where the divinized state replaces God, and politics becomes religion.

> "We said that fascism divinizes the state and in it sees the incarnation of the mind of the nation. From all that has been said we see that the gigantist mentality of the nation takes the place of God for fascism and that politics is religion for it." (Osuský 2013, 210)

Osuský identifies another root of Fascism as the idealization of war, which assumes that conflict is the primary expression of life and vitality. Fascists, such as Mussolini, advocate for class solidarity and national warfare instead of international solidarity and class warfare proposed by Communists. This view ultimately leads to a perpetual state of war between nations. (Osuský 2013, 208)

Osuský warns against the ethical consequences of Fascism, Hitlerism, and Bolshevism and calls for a return to Christian Platonism and acknowledging a transcendent God as the foundation for morality. He also critiques the appeal of Fascism to the Catholic majority in Slovakia (e.g., Mussolini's rhetoric is echoed in the slogans of the Hlinka Volk's Party) and the Protestant minorities, particularly Lutherans, expressing concern over their inclination towards this ideology.

Osuský's critique of Hitlerism, or German Nazism, identifies it as a Neo-Darwinist synthesis of genetics applied to human races and societies. This view positions race as the primary determinant of culture, technology, and scientific knowledge, leading to the belief that weak races should not live at the expense of strong ones. Osuský warns that Nazi propaganda will result in ruthless acts against Jews and other races deemed inferior. (Osuský 2013, 213)

Hitlerism shares many traits with Italian Fascism, such as extreme nationalism, authoritarianism, exclusivism, propaganda, and expansionism. Hitler aimed to make the German Aryan race more powerful and successful and demonized Jews on racial grounds. In his vision of "German democracy," the individual decides and bears responsibility for the nation, with the "Fuehrer" serving as a political Messiah for the entitled race.

4 Osuský and Bolshevism: Analyzing the Dangers of a Voluntaristic Ideology

In his lecture in 1937, Osusky analyzed the ideology of Communism, specifically the version of Stalinist Bolshevism. He characterized Communism as a philosophy of materialism, rooted in the concept of dialectical materialism (Osuský 2013, 194-195), which sees matter as the first thesis and mind as the antithesis arising from matter. He critiques the tension between the materialistic and idealistic tendencies in this ideology and explains that it aims to create a psychology that is in line with its view of reality. Osusky also highlights the importance of praxis in the Bolshevistic approach to knowledge and the central role that

economic interests play in history according to this ideology. He then focuses his critique on the Bolshevistic definition of morality, which he argues is not absolute and only serves the proletariat. (Osuský 2013, 199) He argues that this new morality is troubling as it allows anything that serves the goal of the proletariat to be considered good and permitted, which he sees as dangerous.

Osusky summarizes this new morality in the following words: "Morality is what serves the proletariat. Good is what is profitable to the proletariat. Evil is what is not profitable to the proletariat. … There are no absolute moral names, as there is no absolute truth." (Osuský 2013, 200) Christian morality may have helped exploit people for a time, but it also complicated and slowed down the inevitable social progress by delaying the coming revolution. In Russia, a new Kingdom is being built, 'the kingdom of the proletariat'. "Communism with the organization of the proletariat actualizes the kingdom of the proletarians and equality." Osuský finds the notion that "the end justifies the means" particularly concerning, as it implies that any action, no matter how morally questionable, is acceptable as long as it serves a desired goal. This idea holds significant implications, as it can potentially lead to the normalization of unethical behaviour and the undermining of moral values in the pursuit of specific objectives. (Osuský 2013, 200)

Osuský expresses concern over the idea that the collective takes precedence over the individual in Bolshevism, relegating human dignity and individual rights to a secondary status. In this ideology, the focus is on the collective of the proletariat, and individual rights are only maintained when they align to achieve a classless society. Osuský also notes the inherent voluntarism in Bolshevism, where action and activity are prioritized based on the knowledge of what is possible. (Osusky 2013, 201)

However, this voluntaristic approach, which disregards normative moral principles and values, can potentially result in humanitarian disasters. Osuský foresaw the tragic consequences of this belief system even before the discovery of Russian gulags, highlighting the dangers of blind faith in the promise of a utopian society brought forth by the "dictatorship of the proletariat." His insight serves as a stark reminder of the potential consequences when ideologies prioritize collective goals over individual rights and moral values.

5 Conclusion: The Timeless Relevance of Osuský's Legacy in the Struggle against Totalitarianism

Osusky asserts that Christians must reject both Bolshevism for its atheistic, materialistic nature and Hitlerism for its naturalistic, evil character. He emphasizes that neither can be accepted as they deny individual freedoms and human

dignity. Osusky's lecture appeals to Christians not to endorse these ideologies. The last sentences of Osusky's lecture carry an emphatic appeal to his listeners and, indeed, to the next generations of Christians in Czechoslovakia and beyond:

> "[T]he method, terror, the denial of individual freedom, we cannot accept neither as Christians nor as Lutherans, and Hitlerism we cannot accept either as Slavs. I have expressed my astonishment at how anyone from the ranks of the Lutherans could agree with fascism and no less astonishment do I express how anyone from the Slovak Lutherans could sympathize, preach, and write sympathetically about the philosophy of Hitlerism." (Osusky 2013, 2020)

Three key assets of Osusky's intellectual personality include his critical thinking, ability to draw from his theological heritage, and ethical resolve. His voice helped the Protestant minority in Slovakia reject Fascism, while his warning against Bolshevism was partially heeded post-WWII. Despite being silenced after the 1948 communist revolution, Osusky's voice remained respected.

Osusky's struggle with totalitarianism teaches us several lessons. First, faulty anthropological starting points lead to desperate individual and socio-political solutions. The human tendency to blame external enemies stems from the denial of our shared human predicament of 'depravity.' Second, we idealize the state as the bearer of stability and justice, leading to the rise of political messiahs. This new conception of sovereignty disregards justice and objective reality. Also, 19th-century liberal Protestant theology shares some anthropological presuppositions with totalitarian ideologies, such as the belief in inevitable human progress. Our current indifference towards truth resembles that of Fascist and Communist ideologies, and the potential consequences should be equally unsettling.

As we confront the challenges of the 21st century, it is crucial to learn from Osusky's struggle with totalitarian ideologies. We must be vigilant in recognizing the allure of misguided anthropological beliefs and their potential to foster destructive societal solutions. It is essential to maintain a balanced perspective of the state and its role in ensuring stability and justice while avoiding the rise of political messiahs that compromise individual freedoms and human dignity.

Furthermore, we must remain critical of any theological or philosophical system that romanticizes human nature and overlooks our inherent limitations and imperfections. In an era marked by indifference towards truth and the prevalence of 'post-truth' thinking, it is vital to seek and uphold objective truths, fostering open dialogue and encouraging critical thought. (Adkins – Hinlicky 2013, 203)

In reflecting on the legacy of Samuel Stefan Osuský, we find a unique and insightful voice that offers a timely perspective on the dangers of totalitarian ideologies. As we continue to grapple with the resurgent manifestations of neo-fas-

cism, neo-Marxism, and other forms of totalitarianism, Osuský's work offers a critical framework for identifying and responding to these threats.[1]

One of the key insights from Osuský's analysis is the importance of recognizing the inherent dangers of extreme ideologies that prioritize the collective over the individual. As Osuský astutely observed, the suppression of individual rights and dignity in favour of a collective ideal inevitably leads to humanitarian catastrophes. As we witness the rise of various extreme ideologies today, it is crucial to remember this lesson and strive to uphold the value of human dignity and individual rights as a means of countering totalitarianism.[2]

Furthermore, Osuský's prophetic understanding of the ethical consequences of totalitarianism serves as a sobering reminder of the potential for societal degradation under such systems. His call for a return to the tradition of Christian Platonism and the acknowledgement of transcendent moral values offers a compelling alternative to the nihilism of totalitarian ideologies. In an era where moral relativism often seems to dominate public discourse, revisiting Osuský's emphasis on the importance of a firm moral foundation can provide valuable guidance in navigating the challenges of contemporary society.

Additionally, Osuský's critique of the dangerous tendency of totalitarian ideologies to justify any means necessary to achieve their ends highlights the need for vigilance in recognizing and rejecting such justifications. As we confront modern manifestations of totalitarianism, we must remain cognizant of the potential for these ideologies to rationalize violence and oppression in the name of their goals. (Hinlicky 2013) The Christian tradition has the potential for renouncing the will to violence and promoting peace.[3]

1 In this regard, I highly recommend Bojan Žalec's insightful examination of the phenomenon of genocide as a consequence of 'social death.' Žalec, a Slovenian author, provides an in-depth analysis of the underlying factors that contribute to such extreme acts of violence. (Žalec 2015)

2 Paxton (2004) highlights several events in Europe that suggest the persistence of fascist ideologies: ethnic cleansing in the Balkans, increasing exclusionary nationalisms, anti-immigrant violence in various countries, the rise of far-right political parties such as Italy's Alleanza Nazionale, Austria's Freiheitspartei, and France's Jean-Marie Le Pen, as well as the emergence of nonconformist outsider Pym Fortuyn in the Netherlands. These developments challenge the notion that fascism can be relegated to history (Paxton 2004, 173).

3 This theme is explored in depth by Ekpunoby (2018) who invokes the strengths of the Girardian tradition. According to René Girard's groundbreaking work on mimetic desire and scapegoating, humans often imitate each other's desires, leading to rivalry and violence. However,

Osuský's legacy also reminds us of the importance of intellectual engagement and debate in combating the spread of totalitarian ideologies. His critiques of fascism, Hitlerism, and Bolshevism serve as a testament to the power of rigorous analysis and clear thinking in exposing the flaws of these dangerous systems. In an age where misinformation and echo chambers can often amplify extremist ideas, the example of Osuský's intellectual courage and dedication to the truth is particularly inspiring.

In conclusion, Samuel Stefan Osuský's legacy offers a timely and instructive guide for understanding and confronting the dangers of totalitarian ideologies in the modern world. His emphasis on the preservation of individual rights and dignity, the need for a transcendent moral foundation, and the importance of intellectual engagement all serve as valuable tools in the ongoing struggle against neo-fascism, neo-Marxism, and other vestiges of totalitarianism. By revisiting and applying the insights from Osuský's work, we can better equip ourselves to face the challenges of today and work towards a more just and equitable future.

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the Christian faith, with its emphasis on forgiveness, self-sacrifice, and love for one's neighbor, offers an alternative path to address these destructive tendencies.

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DIETRICH BONHOEFFER´S *COMMUNIO SANCTORUM* AS THE RELEVANT PROPHETIC VOICE OF THE CHURCH IN A CHANGING WORLD

Katarína Valčová, Bratislava

1 Historical and Theological Background[1]

Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-1945) was a German Lutheran pastor, theologian, and anti-Nazi dissident. As a young man, he excelled both academically and athletically and went on to study theology at the University of Berlin and later in New York City at Union Theological Seminary, where he was exposed to the ideas of the Social Gospel movement.

After returning to Germany in 1930, Bonhoeffer became a pastor and lecturer at the University of Berlin, where he quickly established himself as one of the leading voices in the German Church. He advocated for a renewal of theology and the Church's role in society and was a vocal opponent of the Nazi regime and its policies. Bonhoeffer spoke out against the persecution of Jews and other marginalized groups and joined the Confessing Church, a group of Christians who opposed the Nazi-controlled German Christian Church.

As the Nazi regime tightened its grip on Germany, Bonhoeffer became more involved in the resistance movement. Bonhoeffer was part of a group of pastors who established an illegal seminary in Finkenwalde, where he trained a generation of young pastors to resist the Nazi regime. Bonhoeffer also participated in the plot to assassinate Hitler, for which he was arrested by the Gestapo in 1943 and imprisoned in a series of concentration camps.

Despite the difficult conditions of imprisonment, Bonhoeffer continued to write and reflect on his faith, producing some of his most famous works, in-

1 There are numerous contemporary works containing the story and the evaluation of Bonhoeffer´s life, for example: BETHGE, Eberhard. *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: A Biography*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press. 2000.; METAXAS, Eric. *Bonhoeffer: Pastor, Martyr, Prophet, Spy*. Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers. 2010.; MARSH, Charles. *Strange Glory: A Life of Dietrich Bonhoeffer*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. 2014.; KELLY, B. Geffrey and NELSON, Burton F. *The Cost of Moral Leadership: The Spirituality of Dietrich Bonhoeffer*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. 2003.

cluding "The Cost of Discipleship" and "Letters and Papers from Prison." In these works, he explores themes such as the nature of discipleship, the role of the Church in society, and the relationship between faith and politics.

Bonhoeffer's involvement in the resistance and his outspoken opposition to the Nazi regime ultimately led to his execution by the Nazis in April 1945, just a few weeks before the end of the war. However, his writings and his example continue to inspire people around the world to this day.

One of the most enduring contributions of Dietrich Bonhoeffer to theology is his emphasis on the importance of living out one's faith in the world. He posits that Christianity is not merely a matter of personal belief, but rather a way of life that is actualized in the world through acts of love, justice, and compassion. He asserts, "When Christ calls a man, he bids him come and die" (Bonhoeffer 1995, 31). Bonhoeffer maintains that true discipleship entails a radical reorientation of one's life, involving the abandonment of all to follow Jesus. This idea lies at the core of his theology and has had a profound impact on the Christian understanding of their role in the world.

Another essential aspect of Bonhoeffer's theology is his emphasis on the importance of community. He contends that Christians are called to live in community with one another, sharing their lives and supporting each other in their faith journeys. He writes, "The physical presence of other Christians is a source of incomparable joy and strength to the believer" (Bonhoeffer 2012, 32). Bonhoeffer's concept of the Church of Christ's existence in the world is dynamic. He does not perceive the Church as a hidden and secluded entity, but rather an active servant to the world, embodying the love and justice of God in all aspects of life. As he writes in "Letters and Papers from Prison," "The Church is the Church only when it exists for others… not dominating, but helping and serving" (Bonhoeffer 1971, 369).

2 The Influence of Barth, Neo-orthodox Theology, and Luther's Theology of the Cross

During the period of German Protestant theology in the 1920s and 1930s, several prominent theologians contributed significantly to the field. One such theologian, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, was strongly influenced by the neo-orthodox theological movement, also referred to as the "dialectical theology" movement. This movement was largely shaped by the works of Swiss theologian Karl Barth, who aimed to counter the liberal theology that had prevailed in the Protestant Church during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

At the core of Barth's neo-orthodox theology was the rejection of the notion that religion was a personal, subjective experience. Instead, he emphasized the

objective reality of God's revelation in Jesus Christ, and the centrality of the Bible as the Word of God. In Barth's own words, "The Church's task is not to satisfy man's curiosity, but to be the Church of Jesus Christ, to witness to the gospel of the free grace of God in Jesus Christ" (Barth 1956, 35). Additionally, Barth challenged the notion that the Church could remain neutral in the face of political and social issues. He believed that the Church had a responsibility to actively engage in addressing the struggles and problems of the world, promoting social change, justice and peace, and famously said, "The Church must always be in the world, but never of the world. The Church must be in the world, but it must never be the world's Church" (Barth 1962, 56).

Despite its many merits, the neo-orthodox movement faced criticism, with some theologians asserting that its emphasis on the objective reality of God's revelation led to a neglect of personal religious experience. Furthermore, some scholars criticized the movement's political engagement as being too focused on the Church's societal role rather than on the gospel message itself.

While Bonhoeffer was deeply influenced by the neo-orthodox movement, he also developed his ideas about the Church's role in society, asserting the need for Christians to actively engage in the struggles of the world and emphasizing the importance of the Christian community in this regard. For Bonhoeffer, the Church needed to be a prophetic witness to the gospel in all areas of life, including politics and culture. Like Barth, Bonhoeffer also viewed the Bible as central to his theological beliefs and held the conviction that the Church must be engaged with the world to carry out its divine mission.

Moreover, the theology of the cross expounded by Martin Luther profoundly influenced Bonhoeffer's understanding of the role of the Christian Church in society. As a German Lutheran pastor and theologian, Bonhoeffer was deeply influenced by Luther's emphasis on the centrality of the cross and the call to follow Christ in His vulnerability, suffering, and sacrifice. The cross of Christ was not merely a random event in human history, but rather the very foundation of Christian life, calling Christians to take up their crosses and follow Christ in His humility, vulnerability, suffering, and even death. According to Luther, human sin and pride were the primary obstacles to a proper understanding of God's grace and the cross. Under the cross of Christ, all human efforts to attain righteousness were completely futile, since salvation was a gift from God, received through faith.

As described by Martin E. Marty in his book "Martin Luther," Luther also believed that the cross was not merely a personal matter but also a matter of the Church. He viewed the Church as the community of those who were saved by the cross of Christ and were called to proclaim the gospel of Christ the Crucified to the entire world. This idea that the Church had a public role to play in the world

was also appealing to Bonhoeffer. Following Luther's theological thinking, Bonhoeffer believed that the cross was the ultimate demonstration of God's grace and formed the basis of Christian hope. He emphasized the importance of the Church being a place where people could experience God's grace and love through faith in Christ. In his work "Sanctorum Communio", Bonhoeffer wrote, "The Church is not a religious society that stands outside the world, but the body of Christ in the world" (Bonhoeffer 1998, 45) and "The Church must be the Church of the Crucified. This means that it must not be afraid to enter into the secular world and to be involved in the political and social struggles of the day" (Bonhoeffer 1998, 60). He clearly stated that the Church must not remain outside of the world; rather, it must engage with the secular world and actively participate in the issues and concerns of society as the body of Christ, Who Himself set the example.

3 Bonhoeffer on the Individual and the Nature of Humanity

Throughout his oeuvre, Dietrich Bonhoeffer investigates the fundamental significance of community in moulding our perception of the human condition. Bonhoeffer's theological reflections evince a notable interdependence between the individual and the collective. Bonhoeffer posits that human beings are designed to exist in communion with one another and that through such interaction, they can comprehend their authentic nature and purpose. In Bonhoeffer's view, an individual human being was never intended to live in isolation, as a single life amid society. The social capacity to engender community and the urge to achieve it is, beyond question, not only a gracious gift from the Creator but the Image of the Creator Himself (Imago Dei) impressed within each human being. According to Bonhoeffer, "Man is not simply an individual, but a being in the community" (Bonhoeffer, 2009, 35), and the only way that individuals can be wholly transformed and completely liberated from the grip of sin and evil is through the community of the Church. In the Church, which is the living body of Christ, the forgiving and reconciling love is proclaimed and demonstrated not only within the community itself but also to the world (Bonhoeffer 2009, 153). Consequently, the Church can never be limited to the private sphere of personal faith but must inevitably venture into society to confront the problems that give rise to sin and evil, as it is mandated to do so by Christ Himself.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer asserts that the origin of sin and evil in the world is the failure to live in the right relationship with others and with God. In his view, sin is a systemic problem that arises from a fundamental separation from God and the rejection of His will, leading to a breakdown in relationships with others. Sin is not merely an issue of individual wrongdoing but a turning away from God and a rejection of His will, leading to a distorted view of the self and the world and

ultimately to further sin and evil. Bonhoeffer's view is clear when he states that "The root of all sin is the egoism that wants to have everything for oneself and to deny others the share that belongs to them" (Bonhoeffer 2009, 69).

Human beings cannot break free from the bondage to sin on their own. While they may gain an illusory, temporary freedom, true full freedom is only possible through faith in Jesus Christ. Bonhoeffer rejects the idea that humans can attain freedom through their efforts or by fulfilling their desires, positing that "Man's freedom is not the freedom to do whatever he wants, but the freedom to do what is right" (Bonhoeffer 1971, 123). This kind of freedom is possible only through Christ and in Christ, the Crucified and Risen.

Bonhoeffer believes that the sin of egoism lies at the root of many of the social and political problems of his day, including the rise of National Socialism in Germany. He contends that the Church must remain faithful to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and address social and political issues by following the words and acts of Jesus Himself. Bonhoeffer expresses his view by writing, "The Church must not simply bandage the wounds of the victims beneath the wheels of injustice; it must be a voice of protest against the powers that cause the wounds" (Bonhoeffer 1995, 88).

4 The Church

Bonhoeffer's understanding of the nature of the Church is primarily expounded in his doctoral dissertation completed in 1927 and published in 1930 under the title "Sanctorum Communio: A Theological Study of the Sociology of the Church". In this work, Bonhoeffer presents a comprehensive and nuanced analysis of the Church's character. "Ethics," his second most significant book dealing with the Church and its features, also explores this theme. In both texts, Bonhoeffer argues that the Church is not a mere human institution or organization but rather a distinct and dynamic community rooted in the person and work of Jesus Christ. Its identity is not defined by its organization, doctrine, or membership but by its obedience to Jesus and participation in the divine life of the Trinity. Bonhoeffer asserts, "The Church is the community of those who confess Jesus Christ as Lord and who, based on this confession, share life together" (Bonhoeffer 2009, 107). The Church is a fellowship of individuals who confess Jesus as Lord and follow Him in all aspects of life, rather than a mere religious institution. It is a community of believers called to love and care for one another. Bonhoeffer also stresses the importance of the Church's unity and diversity, noting that it is composed of many diverse individuals and groups, each with their gifts, talents, and perspectives. Despite this diversity, the Church is called to maintain its unity in Christ, who is the head of the Church. "Christ is the foundation of the Church,

and all the diversity of the Church is founded upon him" (Bonhoeffer 1998, 30). This community united in and by Christ, is firmly grounded in the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which are signs of the Church's unity and fellowship. According to Bonhoeffer, "The sacraments are the signs of the community which is gathered around Christ" (Bonhoeffer 1998, 70). Sacraments are not mere symbols but means of grace where Christ is tangibly and personally present, according to His promise, empowering His followers in their daily tasks of life.

Bonhoeffer underscores the paramount significance of the Church's relationship to the world. As a countercultural community, the Church stands in opposition to the world and its values, embodying God's love, justice, and truth. According to Bonhoeffer, the Church is in the world but not of the world (Bonhoeffer 1998, 130). The Church must also hold its members accountable for living out their faith in the world and struggle for justice and peace, which is an integral part of their living faith. Bonhoeffer insists that all Christians, not just the clergy or the institutional Church, are called to serve as witnesses to the world proclaiming God's love and grace. Church's ultimate goal is not to establish a Christian society but to serve as a sign of God's kingdom in the world, offering service and hope to those who are suffering. "The Church is the Church only when it exists for others…not dominating but helping and serving" (Bonhoeffer 1998, 4).

Furthermore, the Church is called to engage actively and effectively with the world and address the social and political issues of the day. The community of disciples is called to live lives of radical obedience and sacrifice, following the example of Jesus Christ. In his later work "Ethics," Bonhoeffer writes that "the Church is not a community of the perfect, but a community of sinners. It is the fellowship of the weak that the Church is the Church. It is for the losers that Christ died. Without the burden of afflictions, it is impossible to reach the height of grace. The Church must share in the burden of every member and sympathize with the sorrows and struggles of every member. It must suffer with those who suffer" (Bonhoeffer 2009, 78). This requires living in solidarity with the marginalized, speaking out against injustice, and embodying the love and forgiveness of God in all aspects of life.

Bonhoeffer's ecclesiology presents a dynamic vision of the Church as a community of disciples gathered around the Word and Sacraments, obedient to Jesus Christ, proclaiming the gospel, and embodying the love and justice of God in the world. In contrast to an understanding of the Church as a mere religious institution or source of moral guidance, Bonhoeffer's vision calls for a radical rethinking of what it means to be the Church. The Church must remain faithful to God and the Gospel, resisting any temptation to reduce or dilute its message. As Bonhoeffer writes, "Cheap grace is the preaching of forgiveness without

requiring repentance, baptism without church discipline, Communion without confession, absolution without personal confession" (Bonhoeffer 1995, 31).

Bonhoeffer sees the Church as the bearer of God's future and promise, a community that engages with the secular world while maintaining its own distinct identity. The Church does God's redemptive work in the world, proclaiming the Gospel and serving as a sign of God's kingdom, even when this goes against the dominant values and interests of society. According to Bonhoeffer, the Church's mission is not yet complete, but it looks forward to the day when Christ will return and make all things new. This eschatological hope animates the Church's mission, giving it a unique identity and purpose.

Bonhoeffer critiques the false dichotomy between the "secular" and "religious" spheres of life, advocating instead for an integrated understanding of Christian faith and practice. He believes that all aspects of life are to be lived in a relationship with God and under the authority of Jesus Christ. The Church must be a prophetic witness to the Gospel in all aspects of life, not simply confined to religious institutions or practices. Bonhoeffer's ecclesiology emphasizes the Church's active engagement with the world and its commitment to embodying the love and justice of God in all aspects of life.

5 The Church in the World

The concept of the Church being "in the world but not of the world" has its origins in the Gospel of John, where Jesus prays for his disciples, affirming that "They are not of the world, just as I am not of the world" (John 17:16). This signifies that while Christians exist within the world, they are called to live according to principles that are distinct from worldly values. Thus, they are to bear a prophetic witness to the gospel in all areas of life. Accordingly, Bonhoeffer maintained that the Church could not be limited to serving solely as a space for personal salvation, but should primarily function as a loud public voice that testifies to the world. The Church should therefore denounce oppression and injustice and work towards social change and the common good while staying faithful to the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

For Bonhoeffer, the Church's mission extended beyond the provision of spiritual support to its members and included a transformative role in society that sought to promote change and justice. He viewed the Church as a vehicle of God's love and grace, working towards the betterment of humanity. Bonhoeffer argued that the Church had a responsibility to engage with the social, political, and economic issues that affected its members and society at large.

Bonhoeffer maintained that the Church's involvement in the world should not take a partisan stance in political matters, but rather be guided by a deep com-

mitment to justice, peace, and compassion. He asserted that "The Church has to maintain its critical distance and its independence from everything temporal and earthly" (Bonhoeffer 2009, p. 242). He emphasized that the Church had a unique role to play in promoting these values and advocating for the marginalized and oppressed. He regarded the Church as a beacon of hope, illuminating the path to justice and peace in a world often characterized by conflict and injustice. According to Bonhoeffer, "The Church is the visible sign of God's presence in the world…it points beyond itself to the God who is love and justice" (Bonhoeffer 1997, 142). Therefore, the Church must exemplify the love, justice, and truth of God in all domains of society, such as politics, economics, and culture. Bonhoeffer claimed that "The Church is called to proclaim the gospel to the world and to testify to the love of God…The Church cannot remain silent when God's love is denied or when human dignity is threatened" (Bonhoeffer 1998, 103).

Bonhoeffer's conception of the Church's social role was largely influenced by his experiences of the Nazi regime in Germany. The persecution of Jews, the mentally ill, and other marginalized groups was perceived as an explicit attack on the gospel of love and justice, which he regarded as the crux of the Christian faith. Bonhoeffer's observation of how the Church's withdrawal from the secular world had facilitated the broad acceptance of Nazi ideology and the persecution of marginalized groups led him to conclude that the Church must be actively engaged in societal issues to fulfil its mission. Consequently, he became a vocal critic of the Nazi regime.

To be a relevant voice in society, the Church must resist the temptation to become the supreme authority over the world and to exert control over people's lives. Bonhoeffer cautioned, "The Church must resist the temptation to make itself the supreme authority over the world and thus to enslave the world" (Bonhoeffer 1998, 44). If the Church becomes a tool of political or economic power, it would lead to the enslavement of the world. Instead, it must reject any attempts to be co-opted by the world and its values and must instead stand as a prophetic witness to the gospel in all aspects of life. Bonhoeffer believes that the Church must also resist any attempts to compromise its message or values. He writes, "The Church must not conform to the world but transform it" (Bonhoeffer 1998, 126).

Bonhoeffer's goal was to find the proper balance. On one hand, the Church must be involved in the political sphere and work towards social change. "The Church must be involved in the political sphere, and it is responsible for the welfare of society" (Bonhoeffer 1998, 46). On the other hand, it must not become a ruling oppressive power abusing its authority. This perspective is rooted in his belief that the Church is called to be a humble servant, yet, at the same time, a prophetic voice in the world, speaking truth to those in power. Therefore, it is

vital to be part of a Church that is actively engaged in the struggles and problems of the world, working to bring about social change and advocating for justice and peace. This idea is reflected in his famous statements, "The Church is the Church only when it exists for others" (Bonhoeffer 1971, 53) and "The Church is not a religious society that stands outside the world, but the body of Christ in the world" (Bonhoeffer 1998, 45). This statement is a fundamental aspect of Bonhoeffer's theology and one that has significant implications for the Church's role in society.

For Bonhoeffer, the Church's primary mission was to serve and love others, regardless of their social status, race, or religion. He believed that Christians are called to be agents of change in the world, working to bring about God's kingdom on earth. He wrote, "Only the suffering God can help" (Bonhoeffer 1971, 31), and he saw the Church as a means of helping to alleviate the suffering of others.

6 Bonhoeffer on Christian Extremism

Dietrich Bonhoeffer's critique of Christian extremism and religious zealotry reflects his deep concern for the dignity and rights of all people. He believed that the gospel message should never be invoked to justify violence or oppression and that true faith must be grounded in love for others and a commitment to justice. In his work "Ethics," Bonhoeffer cautions that preaching the gospel in a manner that coerces individuals to surrender their freedom of conscience and become subservient to others is a perversion of the gospel of Jesus Christ (Bonhoeffer 2009, 218).

Bonhoeffer insisted that the Christian response to evil must be rooted in love and non-violence. Even in the context of war, a Christian soldier must be a Christian before being a soldier, and continue to abide by Christian principles while serving in the army (Bonhoeffer 2009, 219). Moreover, he warned against religious extremism, which could lead to the Church's separation from the secular world, a development he deemed perilous. Instead, he underscored the Church's active involvement in the struggles of the world and its promotion of justice and peace (Bonhoeffer 1998, 45).

Bonhoeffer placed great emphasis on the importance of recognizing the inherent dignity and worth of all individuals and urged Christians to work towards a world where everyone's rights and freedoms are respected. He believed that the gospel was a message of hope and liberation, and the Church had the responsibility of embodying this message in its actions and the world. According to Bonhoeffer, the gospel is not a private possession of individuals or any particular community; rather, it is the word of God for all humanity, and it creates the Church, not the other way around (Bonhoeffer 1998, 17).

In sum, Bonhoeffer's critique of Christian extremism reflects his conviction that the gospel message is one of love, justice, and compassion and that the Church must actively resist oppression and injustice in the world. His advocacy for non-violence, love for others, and recognition of the inherent worth and dignity of every person is of enduring relevance to Christians seeking to understand the role of faith in promoting justice and peace in a world riven by conflict and inequality.

7 Conclusion

In his various writings, Bonhoeffer posits that the Church is not a mere human institution, but a community of believers united by their faith in Jesus Christ. He emphasizes the communal nature of faith and the pivotal role of the Church in fostering this experience, as well as the importance of sacraments, particularly the Eucharist/Lord's Supper, in uniting believers in the body of Christ. Bonhoeffer's work has exerted significant influence on Christian theology and practice.

Bonhoeffer staunchly rejects the notion of the Church as a human institution, created and controlled by human beings, and instead underscores its divine nature, rooted in God's revelation and the work of the Holy Spirit. Bonhoeffer asserts that "the Church is not a human institution that one can take or leave as one wishes; it is the body of Christ, in which the revelation of God and the redemption of the world are present" (Bonhoeffer 1998, 43). His emphasis on the spiritual reality of the Church is also evident in his emphasis on sacraments as a means of uniting believers in the body of Christ.

Additionally, Bonhoeffer accentuates that the Church is not a construct of human beings, but a gift of God to humanity. "The Church is not something that man can create, but something that God has given" (Bonhoeffer 1998, 44). This understanding of the Church as a divine gift is intimately linked to his emphasis on the communal aspect of faith and the role of the Church in nurturing a sense of community among believers.

Moreover, Bonhoeffer explores the relationship between the Church and the secular world, as well as the Church's function in society. He posits that the Church must engage with the secular world and actively participate in the issues and concerns of society. Bonhoeffer notes that "the Church is not a religious society that stands outside the world, but the body of Christ in the world" (Bonhoeffer 1998, 45). Furthermore, he contends that the Church must be involved in the political sphere, responsible for the welfare of society, and engaged in acts of social justice and the fight against oppression while remaining a humble serving community without any intention to abuse its status and power and become an oppressor.

Above all else "The Church must maintain its own distinct identity, even as it engages with the secular world" (Bonhoeffer 1998, 47). The emphasis on the Church's need to preserve its distinct identity while engaging with the secular world is strongly present in Bonhoeffer´s works. This requires the Church to refrain from compromising its beliefs and values to align with secular norms. Bonhoeffer advocates for the Church's identity as the body of Christ and stresses the importance of remaining rooted in Christ to maintain relevance and truth. Deviation from this source risks the Church becoming irrelevant and losing its identity as the true Church.

Bonhoeffer's vision of the Church as a divine gift, a communal experience, and a transformative force in society continues to influence Christian theology and practice. In the present day, communities worldwide must recognize the importance of balancing the preservation of the Church's distinct identity with engagement in the secular world. This balance ensures the Church's continued relevance as a transformative force promoting justice, peace, and compassion in all spheres of life.

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FAILURE OF INDIVIDUALISM – THE INTERPRETATION OF SZABÓ'S VIEW ON MODERNITY AND THE ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN HISTORY

Gábor Kovács, Budapest

1 Introduction: Contexts. Fin de siècle in Hungary

Hungary, after the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867, became the centre of the two-centred reshaped and updated Empire of the Habsburg. (Lendvai 2003, 81-298) This cohabitation was full of tensions and proved short-lived; did not survive WWI. Hungary became a co-tenant of a European major power but her national independence was only partial: military affairs and foreign affairs were conducted together with Vienna. It was the price of the temporary maintenance of the Historical Greater Hungary. Power-administrative positions were in the hands of Hungarian noble-origin elites; at the same time, the Hungarian ethnic group was in the minority. Hungary was rapidly modernized, mainly in the economic field; the process of modernisation inevitably led to tensions as it happened everywhere in societies in which old premodern material and cultural-psychic structures were replaced by new modern ones. Emerging capitalism was managed by Jewish-origin entrepreneurs – this was a consequence of the fact that entrepreneurial ethos was not widespread in traditional Hungarian society dominated by Hungarian ethnic groups, nobility and peasantry; so, the foreign-originated new capitalist class entered the empty social niches. This bourgeoisie was vitally important for economic modernisation, but the situation, because of the concurrence of the elites produced the well-known phenomenon of status-envy. However, anti-Semitism, in the decades of the dual monarchy, was an underground stream that sometimes came to the surface but was not able to become a mainstream political narrative. It was a consequence of the assimilative liberal political strategy of the Hungarian noble political elites monopolising political power. This Hungarian noble liberalism was a peculiar phenomenon. (Vermes 1994, 170-200) The ideology of economic laissez-faire went hand in hand with state protected education policy of assimilation. (Lendvai 2003, 299-309) However, the Hungary of the fin de siècle was a many-coloured country in cultural and linguistic meaning. This was true for the new capital Budapest emerged from the unification of three towns: Pest, Buda and Óbuda in 1873. In Budapest, initially, the Hungarian language was in the minority position among the German and Slovakian languages; it was able to get a dominant position and

become the first language of the inhabitants only at the end of the 19th century. The festivals of the Millennium in 1896, celebrating the thousand anniversary of the occupation of the Carpathian Basin, were taking place in different scenes of Budapest, which was the object of national consciousness, the symbol of the successful Hungarian modernisation, a new Central-European metropolis concurring with Vienna. This perspective of evaluation began to change after the years of the turn of the century and mainly after WWI, as a consequence of the collapse of the Dual Monarchy and the Historical Greater Hungary; Budapest appeared as a rootless metropolis, with foreign culture inhabited by a superficially assimilated population whose way of life, thinking and lifestyle were a sharp contrast to the Hungarian countryside, inhabited by an ethnically Hungarian peasant population. This radical transvaluation of the Budapest picture mirrored the dissimilative political strategy of the shocked Hungarian political and cultural elites which replaced the pre-war assimilative strategy of nation-building applied by liberal nationalism of the Hungarian gentry monopolizing the positions of the political leadership. (Trencsényi 2012) Our hero, Dezső Szabó was one of the protagonists of this new approach; his renowned and influential book *Az elsodort falu* (*The Willage Swept Away*) (Szabó 1919) was a milestone in the Hungarian history of political ideas. (Kovács**,** 2017, 102-103) The author became the forefather of the interwar Hungarian populism. (Borbándi 1976) But this epoch is beyond the framework of this paper: I intend to reconstruct the ideas of the young Dezső Szabó, before the rupture of the Hungarian cultural and political situation, originated in the special atmosphere in the Hungarian fin de siècle.

2 The Hungarian Kulturkampf

The relationship of the Catholic Church with the Hungarian state was strenuous because of the sharp political struggles around the ecclesiastical-political questions. (Péter 1989, 79-138) The law of 1894 introducing obligatory civil marriage and registration put an end to a very tense period. The relations of the Christian Churches and the Hungarian state were very ambivalent. Hungary was a country with a Catholic majority; Catholics gave two-thirds of the population while the Protestants gave about 20 percent. Hungary as a political unit was called the Empire of Saint Steven. Saint Steven and his successors, according to their official titulature, were apostolic kings possessing the chief seigniorial right of ius placenti and Catholic hierarchy was traditionally intertwined with the state. At the same time, after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, among the members of the noble-originated political elites, the Protestants were over-represented. Moreover, in Hungarian historical imagination, Calvinism was *the* Hungarian religion: the rebels against the Habsburg dynasty were mainly Calvinists while loyalists

to the dynasty were mainly Catholics: so, the frequently mentioned *kuruc-labanc* opposition was a very strong religious root. Moreover, Calvinism was able to assimilate liberalism, accepting its political consequences while mainstream Catholicism opposed it.

However, there was an anti-clerical mood in Hungary in the last decade of the 19th century around the years of the ecclesiastical-political struggles. One of the most renowned contemporary writers, Kálmán Mikszáth, a descendant of a Lutheran family of North Hungary, Palócföld gave a voice to this mood in his classical novel *Különös házasság* (*A strange marriage*) published in 1900. The plot revolves around the questions of ecclesiastical marriage and the divorce. Count Butler, the hero of the novel, as a student asking for a night's accommodation in the estate of Baron Dőry, is forced by the host to marriage with his homely daughter who is pregnant. The father of the would-be child is the local Catholic priest, the confessor of the girl. Count Butler tries to get the annulation of the enforced marriage without success. At last, he arranges his false death and funeral escaping anonymously to a foreign country where priests have lesser power than in Hungary, where, according to the writer, even the frogs croak: 'The priests are the lords, the priests are lords'. In Hungarian it sounds in an onomatopoeic manner: 'Urak a papok, urak a papok.'

3 Dezső Szabó and the Hungarian Fin de siècle

Dezső Szabó (1879-1945), a writer and ideologue, an important figure in the Hungarian history of ideas was socialized in the peculiar atmosphere of the Hungarian fin de siècle. (Szabó 1989, 209-217; Kovács 2014, 19-37) He came from a Calvinist family in Transylvania and spent his youth as a student of the famous College of the Reformed Church of Kolozsvár (Kolozsvári Református Kollégium), and after the completion of his studies in its secondary grammar school he simultaneously enrolled in the Faculty of Humanities of Budapest University and the newly grounded College of Baron Eötvös József, an institution focused upon the elite-education – its educational method followed the French L'École normale supérieure. The young intellectual voraciously devoured literature and philosophy in an eclectic manner looking for points of orientation for his Weltanschauung. He was, undoubtedly, inspired by the vitalistic philosophies of his time from Schopenhauer and Nietzsche to Bergson. (Szabó 1989, 209-217. The theory of Auguste Comte, the grounding father of the 19th century positivism was a point of orientation for him. (Kovács 2014, 28-29) The truth-theory of Pragmatism influenced him – he wrote a short essay review on William James. (Szabó 2003c, 88-89) He probably had some information on the theory of Freudian psychoanalysis concerning the three-layered human psyche – ego, super-ego

and sub-consciousness. The exploitation theory of Marxism was a source of inspiration for him. (Szabó 1989, 209-217; Kovács 2007, 477) Moreover, at last but not least, the theories of the French fin de siècle rightist new radicalism, Charles Maurras and Maurice Barres had an impact on him.

His eclecticism mirrored the peculiar intellectual climate of the last decade of the 19th century. The most conspicuous peculiarity of this climate was the emerging distrust in the pseudo-religious belief of progression; this discredit was associated with a critique of the values of Enlightenment. Dezső Szabó was reading French and Hungarian literature and linguistics; the scholarship periods he spent in the fin de siècle Paris gave a deciding impetus for his intellectual-cultural and ideological development. He became an enthusiastic lover of French culture and he was eminently inspired by contemporary cultural criticism attacking modernity in the fields of economy, culture and politics.

The period of the fin de siècle was a turning point in the history of ideas; there was a common pattern on the international scene adapted and tailored to the local needs. There were three centres of cultural criticism: the Victorian critiques of modern world from Thomas Carlyle to John Ruskin and William Morris, German thinkers from Nietzsche, Wilhelm Riehl to Oswald Spengler and, last but not least French cultural criticism in the overlapping fields of literature, first of all the poetry of Paul Verlaine, Charles Baudelaire, Arthur Rimbaud, and philosophy and political thought; Henry Bergson, Charles Maurras, Maurice Barres and others. However, it was a multi-coloured cultural package; it was the base of the conservative revolution rooted in the fin de siècle atmosphere; after WWI it became a strong colour of the ideological spectrum mainly in Weimarian Germany. (Mohler 1989) However, the primary source of inspiration for Dezső Szabó, besides Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, was French cultural criticism. (Kovács 2014, 23-24; Szabó 1989, 209-217)

4 Dezső Szabó's Position in the Hungarian Cultural-ideological Spectrum

The most conspicuous feature of the young Dezső Szabó's intellectual-ideological career is a continuous change of positions, a path-seeking. As a young secondary grammar school teacher and a promising essayist, he for a time joined the progressive-leftist circles of the journals of the *Huszadik Század* (*Twentieth Century)* and the *Nyugat (West)* These groups aimed at the social-political modernisation of Hungary, the emancipation of the lower classes, workers and peasantry, both in political and social meaning. The breaking out of the Grand War proved a radicalising factor: the idea of a revolution appeared on the horizon. Dezső Szabó, in the new situation, broke with the progressivist Weltanschauung and was drifting apart from the intellectual circles representing this way of thought. His essay

entitled *Az individualizmus csődje* (*The failure of individualism* (1915) was yet published in the *Huszadik század*; it generated a debate and it was not by chance because it was a declaration of war to the progressivist world-view. (Szabó 2003a, 156-166)

Before the treating of this essay, we need a detour to the relation of Szabó's to religion, first of all to Catholicism. As it was mentioned above, he came from a Calvinist family in Transylvania, and at the same time, he gave great respect to Catholicism. It is important to emphasize that this respect was not fed on a personal spiritual belief. In his self-biography, he reconstructed the moment when he realized that he had lost his belief. He describes the situation when telling his prayer before going to bed, he felt that these words were empty to him: there was no echo in his soul. (Szabó 1996, 448-449) This admission of the loss of faith is very similar to the situation described in the self-biographical notes of Spengler: a German thinker, who similarly to Dezső Szabó estimated very highly the Church as a historical institution, tells that in childhood he realised that God only was an empty word for him. (Koktanek 1968, 36-38) In the life of the Calvinist Dezső Szabó, years before the war was a period when saw the warranty of cultural and social renewal in a hoped Catholic renaissance opening a new period in history. Calvinism seemed to him, for a short time an outmoded, old-fashioned religion unable to become to lead the needed historical paradigm shift. (Szabó 2003d, 145-148)

Az individualizmus csődje (*The failure of individualism*) is an essay reflecting the transition of Dezső Szabó to a new period; it is a sharp ideological turn, his leaving the camp of the leftist progressivism; it is an important document of the emergence of a collectivist world-view amalgamating very different sources of inspiration from vitalism, pragmatism, the new French rightist radicalism of Maurice Barres and Charles Maurras acquainted with during his visits to France and Marxism. However, this eclecticism is not exceptional in this period; among the thinkers of the conservative revolution this mixture of very different, usually contradictory elements is typical; the common denominator is a sharp critique of Enlightenment. So, Dezső Szabó can fit into the pattern of contemporary cultural criticism. History, according to him, is not a linear value-accumulating temporal process. His conception assumes a cyclical change: in history, there is an everlasting alternation of collectivistic and individualistic ages. He sees the years about the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries as a transitory period: the age of individualism labelled by the Cartesian philosophy, Rousseau's moral individualism and romanticism is approaching to its end. It will be replaced by a new collectivist era dominated by the idea of socialism which will be an authoritative political arrangement. (Szabó 2003a, 164) This conception is very similar to the later theory of Oswald Spengler explained in his essay entitled *Preussentum und*

Sozialismus published in 1919. Collectivist and individual historical epochs, in the conception of Dezső Szabó, are based on different psychological attitudes; in the age of collectivism the dominant attitude, determining its economic, social, cultural and political arrangements, is the logical-social psychic character based on a strong institution supplying the necessary set of dogmas and discipline. The last great historical period was the epoch of the Middle Ages with the Catholic Church as a basic institution. What is important for Szabó is not the spiritual content of Catholicism but its centralized structure and clerical hierarchy. The idea of God, for Szabó, is important only for its role in legitimating the collectivist order: it is avowedly a functionalist approach. What counts is not the content of the idea but its social role.

The modern world emerging after the collapse of the collectivist Middle Ages was based on the individual psychic character manifesting itself in the conceptions of Descartes, Rousseau and the Romantic movement. (Szabó 2003b, 54-61) Unrestrained individuality as an absolute foundation is at the centre of the thought of these centuries. Moreover, it is a self-propelling process from the rational theory of Descartes to Rousseau's and romanticism's emotional-instinctual self. The result of anarchy manifests itself in the competitive-capitalist democracies and culminating in the vertigo of the Grand War. The cultural criticism of Dezső Szabó uses a wide spectrum of sources: the metaphor of vitalism on life as an infinite flow of life energies embodying individual-instinctual volitions of the selves and the diminishing rational control play an important role in his thought. He incorporates some ideas of Schopenhauer's philosophy while criticizing Nietzsche's theory on the Übermensch in an ironic manner – it is, in his interpretation an excessive form of the romantic ego-centred modern thought. The critique of democracy of Dezső Szabó is, in many respects, similar to Oswald Spengler's sharp criticism given on this kind of political arrangement. (Spengler 1928, 453-468)

5 Conclusion: Catholicism as a Historic Model

Catholicism, in the train of thought of the essay entitled *Az individualizmus csődje* (*The failure of individualism*), is no longer a robust, living institution determining the face of the coming collectivistic age but it is a great and respectful historical model for socialism needing a new kind of religion: the idea of Auguste Comte on the religion of humanity, in which society is the functional equivalent of God, according to him, can be a serviceable substitute for supplying the necessary dogmas, hierarchy and discipline.

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HIDDEN CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT PATTERNS IN THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE HUNGARIAN PHILOSOPHY

Béla Mester, Budapest

1 Introduction

In the self-identification and self-understanding of the Hungarian nation in the cultural memory, *narratives* of the history of the Hungarian cultural and intellectual life had always a fundamental role. Within this genre, the most influential scholar narratives were formulated mainly in three fields; the political history of the Hungarian Kingdom, the history of the Hungarian literature, and the history of Hungarian philosophy. Surprisingly, the earliest endeavours emerged in the field of the history of philosophy, in the time of the Hungarian Reform Era (1825–1848), by the initiative of the Hungarian Scholarly Society (today: Hungarian Academy of Sciences). It was continued in the time of Neo-Absolutism (1849–1867) by the classic work written by János Erdélyi (1865–1867), which was dominant in its approach in the period of Dualism (1867–1918), and almost until nowadays. These narratives met three structural challenges; at first, they must mark an *initial point* of the history of Hungarian philosophy; later, they must narrate a continuous, meaningful *nation-level history* of philosophy what is the field of the *universality of thinking,* and the solution of linking the European and Hungarian narratives of the history of philosophy. The third challenge was to fulfil the task of making a *unified national narrative* from different stories based on different cultural memories of the institutions (mainly higher schools) with *different religious backgrounds*. However, the main endeavour was to create a national narrative above the denominational ones; in the materialized 19thcentury historiographies of the Hungarian philosophy, it is palpable the dominance of the authors with Protestant, mainly Calvinist cultural background. My contribution aims to offer an explication of the ability of the tradition of the Hungarian Calvinist scholarship to create the needed narratives of the history of Hungarian philosophy.

In the following, at first, it will be outlined the emergence of the modern Hungarian national culture exemplified by several phenomena of the history of the Hungarian orthography. Later, I will offer an overview of the role of the great narratives in 19th-century Hungarian intellectual life, linked by a previous paper of mine published in the series *Theology East–West* (Mester 2019). In the following section, it will be shown the narratives of three emblematic histories of

the Hungarian philosophy, formulated in the 19th century. After that, it will be mentioned the role of the Protestant cultural background in the establishment of the first professional periodical of philosophy in Hungary. In the ending section of my writing, it will be mentioned several cases of a new self-separating policy of the Hungarian Catholic intelligentsia, in the last decades of the century.

2 A Prelude to the Catholic-Protestant Cultural Parallelisms: History of the Hungarian Orthography

The main prerequisite of the establishment of a modern Hungarian culture, at the beginning of the 19th century was to make a unified, national amalgam of the different cultural elements of the Hungarian Protestantism and Catholicism. This new culture must be religiously neutral, but it must be built from the different elements of the Catholic and Protestant cultural backgrounds. This process can be best exemplified by the development of the Hungarian orthography. Until the 19th century, Protestant and Catholic orthographies were clearly distinguished in Hungarian scholarship; however, the native Hungarian intellectuals could easily read the texts written by the orthography of another tradition. It can be easily exemplified by the different usage of the peculiar Hungarian double consonants. In the most emblematic case, the first half of a Catholic double consonant and the second half of a Protestant double consonant make together a new, religiously neutral double consonant for the same phoneme, in the modern Hungarian orthography. For example, the phonetic equivalent of the Slovenian č (pronounced as in the English **ch**air) was in the Catholic orthography **ch** (e.g. in the old family name **Ch**ázár), and in the Protestant orthography **ts** (e.g. in the name of the Cartesian thinker János Apáczai **Ts**ere). This phoneme in modern Hungarian orthography is marked by **cs** (e.g. in the word **cs**end ‘silence’), but it was standardised as late as the beginning of the 19th century.

In other cases, this harmonisation of the two orthographies was not possible, a choice between two opposite conceptions was needed. The last one in this genre was the so-called *upsilon–iota* war between the phonetic writing used mainly by Catholic scholars and the etymologic writing used mainly by the Protestants. However, in this debate were used linguistic arguments, and several scholars both from the Catholics and Protestants were in this question against their orthographical traditions, the religious background was clear for everyone. One of the witnesses wrote about it in his memoirs by the following words, in 1849–1851:

> "All of our writers in this period were *ex-professio* philologists. In the period of my lieutenancy,[1] when they had a meeting, they always had philological disputations, sometimes so violently like the politicians later. A testimony of it is the controversy of the usage of 'y' and 'j'; in the lifetime of Révai,[2] it was almost depraved to religious fanaticism. Papistical people wrote upsilon where the Protestants wrote iota, excluding Révai himself, and it was a sensitive harm for the Catholics to see a so great papistical authority against them. Consequently, a rich writer from the city of Győr, who was a zealot of the 'upsilonism', wanted to corrupt Révai with cash in the presence of Kazinczy[3] and István Horvát,[4] as it is narrated in a humorous form in a manuscript of Ferenc Kazinczy, preserved by Pál Szemere."[5] (Szontagh 2017, 118.)[6]

At the time of this story, Szontagh was a young man, at the beginning of his career; he wrote this case as a retrospection to the *prehistory* of the Hungarian literature, before the narration of the building of the modern Hungarian national culture. Let us turn to the next period.

3 History of Philosophy in Hungary at the Beginning of the 19th Century

This process was finished just by the publication of the first edition of the orthographical manual of the Hungarian Scholarly Society, today: Hungarian Academy of Sciences (HAS 1832). This new-type institution was a catalyst for the establishment of the modern Hungarian culture within the framework of cultural nation building, in other fields, as well. The Academy has two fundamental roles in its early period. The first task of every department was to edit the scholarly dictionary of its research field. In most cases, it was not a *creation ex nihilo,* but a collection and standardisation of the existing terms. After the mathematicians,

1 The author of the memoirs quoted above, Gusztáv Szontagh (1793–1858), a significant public intellectual of his age, was a military officer in the first period of his career (1813–1837).

2 Miklós Révai (1750–1807), Piarist monk, linguist, professor of the Hungarian philology at the University of Budapest, founder of the Hungarian historical linguistics.

3 Ferenc Kazinczy (1759–1831), a classic of the Hungarian literature, leader of the linguistic reform.

4 István Horvát (1784–1846), historian, professor of the University of Budapest, founder of the Hungarian diplomatics.

5 Pál Szemere (1785–1861), romantic poet.

6 In the following, I will refer the Hungarian sources in the main text in English translation, for the original titles see the list of references.

the Department of Philosophy was the second in the publication of the scholarly dictionary (HAS 1834), written based on an analysis of a relevant text-corpus of Hungarian philosophy.

In the field of humanities, the second task was to write the historical manuals of the different fields, particularly the history of the Hungarian language, the history of Hungarian literature and the history of Hungarian philosophy. It seems to be that this close link between the cultural identity and the historical narrative is a Hungarian speciality, at least in the field of philosophy. For example, in the neighbouring cultures, Augustin Smetana (1850), or, Ľudovít Štúr (1931, written in 1851) wanted to establish the Czech and Slovakian philosophies by future-oriented prophecies, and not by historical narratives, in the same period. The basis of this historical orientation is the Academy as the institutional foundation of the cultural nation-building process; serious historiography of philosophy requires a serious institutional background. It is not surprising that all the serious works about the history of Hungarian philosophy were written by the initiative of the Academy. In a recent writing on a similar topic, based on my previous lecture in Celje a few years ago, entitled *Catholic and Protestant Narratives of the Historiography of the Hungarian Philosophy,* I described this historical character of the self-understanding of the Hungarian philosophy and the role of the Academy in it (Mester 2019). In my previous paper, the change from the religious traditions to the narrative of the national culture was exemplified by a fictional figure, an erroneous date in the history of philosophy. He was at first a part of the cultural memory of the Hungarian Province of the Dominican Order in the time of the Catholic revival, later he became a part of the national narrative. (Later, in the 20th century, it turned out that *Boëthius de Dacia* was not born in *Transylvania,* but in *Denmark;* in the mediaeval Latin, Dacia was the name of Denmark, and not Transylvania.)

In the following, I will outline the conceptions of three historiographers of Hungarian philosophy in the 19th century, but before that, I must make several notes about the status of the history of philosophy in European scholarship at this time. The history of philosophy as a discipline of philosophy and as a part of the curricula of higher education was a relatively new phenomenon, yet, in the period of our story. The first serious scholarly manuals of the history of philosophy were published in the middle of the 18th century, amongst them the most relevant was Jacob Brucker's masterpiece (Brucker 1742–1744). In Hungarian education, in the last decades of the 18th century, the history of philosophy was an obligatory part of the curriculum. All the remained textbooks in this field were based on Brucker's work, both in the Catholic and Protestant schools (e.g. Handerla 1782/2021; Rozgony 1821). The difference was how could they narrate the story of the philosophies *after Brucker's lifetime,* that is the thought of the

French and Scottish Enlightenment, and Kantianism. It seems that the Protestant authors were in a better position because of their experiences in *peregrinatio academica*. It does not mean that they all were disciples of these new schools, but they were better informed and formulated better critiques. For example, the book of Josephus Rozgony (1821) contains a chapter of the Scottish common sense tradition and a detailed critique of Kantianism, but just a short remark about the French Enlightenment.[7]

4 The First Professional Historiography of the Hungarian Philosophy: Pál Almási Balogh

My first hero is Pál Almási Balogh (1835). He was mentioned in my recent writing on this topic, as well (Mester 2019), as an example of the creative usage of the old term of *philosophia barbarorum* for the ends of the national narrative. Almási Balogh identified the ancient Greek data about the Scythian sages with the ancestors of the Hungarians, solving the problem of the beginning of the national narrative of philosophy. He has another task, as well; it is to narrate the Hungarian philosophy *in comparison with the European thinking*. For this reason, it needed to describe the history of European philosophy as a *series of national philosophies,* with a retrospective regard, detecting nations in antiquity and in the mediaeval times, as well. The long title of his work is the question of the competition of the Academy on this topic. It mirrors the ruling backwardness narrative: *Answer to the Following Question: What is Mirrored in Different Periods of the History of our Scholar Culture, Concerning the Conditions of Philosophy; Why and For What Reasons are We More Backward in Terms of Philosophy Compared to Several Other Countries?* Almási, as a personal disciple of Rozgony, the leader of the anti-Kantians in the greatest Hungarian philosophical debate of this epoch, had first-hand information about the early Hungarian Kant reception and the controversy about Kant (1792–1822); therefore, the description of the recent past is detailed and well done.

From the point of view of the religious identity, it is interesting how he discussed the authors with a Catholic background. He had methodological problems at this point, because he, as a Calvinist, was unfamiliar with the Catholic school

7 E.g. for Voltaire, just a sentence: "Maria-Franciscus Aruet Voltair [sic!] (Voltér) anno 1694. natus, anno 1778. mortuus, Poëta Satyricus, Epicus, Dramaticus, Historicus, incertum an Philosophus." (Rozgony 1821, 134–135.)

philosophy of his epoch. He could not identify the contemporary and recent past Hungarian Catholic authors with any philosophical school of his main narrative, but his task was to edit a detailed narrative with all the existing Hungarian philosophical writers. The solution was to create a new category, the so-called *eclectic philosophers*. All his *eclectic philosophers* were Catholic clerical professors, whose task was to teach official textbooks based on the Scholastic tradition, in Latin. At the same time, they were informed about the philosophy of their age, as well, and published on actual issues in the Hungarian periodicals. The meaning of their *eclecticism* is that there is a tension between their school teaching and their publications.

5 Almási's Concurrent: János Hetényi

The second historiographer of the Hungarian philosophy, discussed here, is another intellectual with a Calvinist background, János Hetényi, who was an active pastor of his native village in his all life. Hetényi was a notorious participant in the competitions of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in the fields of history and philosophy. His writings in these fields completed each other; his history of the Hungarian towns and his history of philosophy were called today's *intellectual history, or, history of ideas* (Hetényi 1837; 1841). Hetényi chose a very different solution for the problem at the beginning of the narrative; his starting point is the Hungarian language itself (Hetényi 1837).[8] This solvation is connected with his conception formulated about the essence of philosophy, based on the Continental interpretation of the Scottish *common sense* tradition. For this school, the basis of every philosophy is the common human ability of thinking, which is embedded in the human social praxis and cannot be separated from it. In the interpretation of Hetényi, this philosophical faculty of humans is incarnated in the languages; consequently, the story of human thinking, or, a part of it, for example, the history of the philosophy of a nation, must begin with the analysis of the language.

Another face of Hetényi's philosophical historiography is incarnated in his monograph on the role of the cities in the development of the Hungarian civilization.[9] In this work he introduces the term 'civic philosophy', which is the equivalent of the 'popularphilosophie' as it was used by the German Pre-Kantian philosopher, Ernesti; that is the cultivated and educated thinking of the 'populus',

8 *A Schema of the Historiography of Hungarian Philosophy* (1837).

9 *The Influence of the Inland Towns to the Development and Refinement of Our Nation* (1841).

the nation in political meaning, the whole of the citizens, or, the electorate. This clear political aspect appeared in his history of philosophy, as well; his narrative was focused on the history of the political usage of *common sense* in Hungarian intellectual history. By this perspective, philosophers, works and schools *are not values in themselves,* they are always embedded in the social praxis, their final verification depends on their efficiency, or, how can they help the political community in the right choice between the important historical and political alternatives. Hetényi's work won the second grade in the competition of the Academy, after the monograph of Almási Balogh, with a highly close score. Probably, its clear connection with the aspects of the political community - called by him 'the philosophy of citizenship'- was the reason why it was published just a few years later, in an abbreviated, censored form.

6 A Synthesis in Fragment: János Erdélyi

János Erdélyi's masterpiece, entitled *The Philosophy in Hungary* (Erdélyi 1865–1867/1981) was written in the 1860s, at the personal request of the chief secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. It was just after the first editions of the history of Hungarian literature, written by the same secretary, Ferenc Toldy, who became later the first professor of Hungarian literature at the University of Budapest. Erdélyi was in a special situation, concerning the possibility of a narrative of philosophy, because he published just a few years before his history of philosophy a highly Hegelian discussion paper about the conditions of the present Hungarian philosophy, entitled *The Present of the Inland Philosophy* (Erdélyi 1857/1981). In this debate, his main opponents were the representatives of the Hungarian *common sense* tradition, amongst them, posthumously, the abovementioned János Hetényi. Erdélyi, in his argumentation, makes a strict distinction between professional philosophy and *common sense* thinking, based clearly on Hegel, and separates the literature-centred, emotional national cultures and the universal world of philosophical thinking. From this starting point, it is difficult to develop any national narrative of philosophy, but it is not impossible. He uses the proposed hidden philosophical elements of the Hungarian language as a starting point, similarly to Hetényi, but in a different form. For him, the philosophical content of the language is not a warranty of the *common sense* of a communicative community, but a treasury of secret Hegelian ideas for recovering and developing. The history of Hungarian philosophy, by Erdélyi, was equivalent to the development of the Hungarian philosophical vocabulary, and at the same time, a long Odyssey of the common human Spirit in Hungary from the darkness of the alienated, Latin Scholastic philosophy until the philosophy in Hungarian language and with Hegelian content. It is an ending point of the history of phi-

losophy both generally and in Hungary. Several details of this great narrative are not clear to us, because Erdélyi's work remained a fragment. The story is finished before the philosophy of his lifetime, but the conception was formulated in the foreword. (Erdélyi died unexpectedly in 1868, probably by stroke.) The role and importance of historiography in Hungarian philosophy were formulated in the clearest form in this historical work of Erdélyi. The self-understanding of philosophy is incarnated in the narration of the history of philosophy, based on the institutional background of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, by his interpretation. Erdélyi regarded *his* historiographical work as the top of Hungarian philosophy and as a top of the philosophical self-understanding of the Hungarian nation, both as a cultural and as a political entity.

7 Possible Reasons for the Overrepresentation of the Calvinist Authors in the History of Hungarian Philosophy

There were shown above three typical narratives of the history of philosophy as a mirror of the Hungarian nation, as well, as they were formulated in the historicist cultural environment of the 19th century. They are, especially the last one, fundamental elements of the canon-creating mechanism of the self-understanding of the Hungarian culture, until nowadays. However, this cultural canon is an element of a modern, religiously neutral national culture; it is interesting that Calvinist authors, two of the three from the same Calvinist College, Sárospatak, developed all of these narratives. At the same time, within the framework of the more extended Catholic institutional network, there were not any significant endeavours to offer a narrative of the Hungarian philosophy. In the following, it will be inquired, why the Calvinists were so overrepresented in the historiography of the Hungarian philosophy, and why the Catholics are almost missing in this field, however, the cultural and institutional background was offered for similar cultural and scientific activities.

The first reason is the narrative of the mediaeval Hungarian chronicles, before the Reformation. They are not simple annals, but well-formed, teleological narratives, combinations of the Pagan historical traditions of the great aristocratic clans and Scriptural patterns. The most important common point is the emblematic Hebrew–Hungarian historical parallelism. Nomadic nations are wandering on the prairie for generations, searching the Promised Land, Canaan for the Hebrews and the Carpathian Basin for the Hungarians. This ancient parallelism later was used mainly by the Protestants, after the Reformation; the collapse of the Hungarian Kingdom, Turkish occupation and Hapsburg rule were easily identified with the double kingdom of Israel and Judea, and with the Assyrian and Babylonian captivity.

Later, before the beginning of the historiography of Hungarian philosophy, a separate genre of church history was developed, especially within the Calvinist institutional network, using the same patterns: freedom and the Babylonian captivity of the (Hungarian Calvinist) Church, etc. One of the earliest and best-known works of this genre is the book of Pál Debreceni Ember (1728). In this narrative, however, the Hungarian Reformed Church is a part of the European Protestant community; it appears as an independent, individual agent of history, who represents the whole of the nation. (However, the abovementioned work of Pál Debreceni Ember was written within the framework of an all-European collaboration for the historiography of European Protestantism.) This narrative was formulated sometimes clearly, sometimes just in a hidden form, but it was always a characteristic feature of the Calvinist historiography. These ecclesiastical narratives always contain chapters about the schools, literature and other cultural activities within the institutional network of the Calvinist Church; especially the school history was an obligatory element. Symbolically speaking, a Calvinist writer can just separate these chapters, generalise for the whole of the nation, and make a new, religiously neutral, national narrative. It appears in the clearest form in the abovementioned works of János Heténi. These new narratives remained the core of the well-formed, theological patterns of the model, and they fitted for the requirements of the 19th-century historiography of philosophy, as it was shown above, in the case of János Erdélyi's Hegelian narrative.

Another reason for the Protestant dominancy in this field is the different structure of the *peregrinatio academica* amongst the Protestants and Catholics. Summarising this phenomenon, Protestant students from Hungary were strongly represented at the universities of the Protestant parts of Germany, where they can be familiar with different branches of 19th-century historicism. On the Catholic side, the structure of the church history was different; it remained a list of the honoured persons and works, a new series of the old genre of *historia litteraria*. Without useful patterns of the church history and the input of German historicism, Hungarian Catholic philosophers could not be involved in the making of narratives of Hungarian philosophy, and found other fields of research for themselves.

8 Instead of a Conclusion

Seemingly, the story ended with the establishment of the narrative of the national philosophical tradition, and the fact that the most important authors had a Calvinist background, is just a historical date. However, it is just one-half of the reality. From the last decades of the 19th century, it was palpable the endeavour to create a separate Catholic philosophy in Hungary, with special topics and institutions,

for example, a Catholic periodical of philosophy. It is the influence of the *Aeterni Patris* encyclical, primarily. These new Catholic institutions mirror the spirit of neo-scholasticism, they are the Saint Thomas Aquinas Society, marked its program in the name, as well, and the journal entitled *Periodical of Philosophy,* with a clear and detailed Neo-Thomist program formulated in the leading article of the first issue. (For the complete repertorium of this periodical from 1886 until 1906, see Balog–Laczkó 2010). This new Neo-Thomist wave of Hungarian philosophy was not so dominant as in several neighbouring cultures, e.g. the Piarist professors of philosophy at the University of Budapest preserved their previous (different) philosophical opinions and preferred to publish in secular periodicals of the Academy. The new Catholic philosophy remained the issue of the Catholic seminaries, but in this network, surprisingly, the Neo-Thomist protagonists were the protagonists of the Hungarian language of philosophical education, publication and the cultivation of the Hungarian philosophical terminology, at the same time. It seems that the new Catholic philosophy caused a hidden break within the clergy, as well. Concerning the ones who chose the new Catholic philosophy, we can detect a discomfort feeling of the Catholic intellectuals in the background, in the environment of the philosophical institutions of the modern Hungarian national culture. On the surface, they were critics of modernity in general, but in the special case of the Hungarian philosophical tradition, this modernity was – consciously or unconsciously – too 'Protestant-style' for them.

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ANTON MAHNIČ: A TIRELESS FIGHTER AGAINST MODERNISM

Petar Bilobrk, Zagreb

1 Introduction

The provisions of the First Croatian Catholic Congress (1900) were not implemented. Therefore, the Bishop of Krk Anton Mahnič (1896-1920) began implementing the Congress's program three years later. So today, we consider him the founder of the Croatian Catholic movement. Mahnič was himself a native Slovene, but he emphasised that his ancestors had immigrated from Croatia, and most of them called themselves Croats. Interestingly, he advocated a state union of Croats and Slovenes in that context.

Before coming to Krk, Anton Mahnič (1850-1920) was active in the Slovenian public sphere, where he worked as a public intellectual, authoring numerous philosophical and theological essays and literary criticism and discussions in Slovenian church and secular journals. He was the initiator, editor, author, and owner of the journal *Rimski katolik* (*Roman Catholic*). Mahnič made significant contributions to establishing Leo Societies in Slovenia and Croatia and strongly advocated an anti-liberal orientation. When appointed Bishop of Krk in 1896, he brought a firm and well-developed system of opposition to liberalism from Slovenia, which he applied to new contexts in Croatia. As bishop, he closely followed ideological and cultural events, analysed the forces that shaped them, and concluded that Croatian public life faced challenges similar to those in Slovenia. I will present how Bishop Mahnič opposed modernist and liberal ideas and compare his reaction from two different periods, the Slovenian and Croatian.

2 Storm from the Karst

The charismatic leader and initiator of the Croatian Catholic movement, Anton Mahnič, was born on September 14, 1850, in Slovenia, Kobdilj. (Bozanić 2013, 18) After being ordained a priest on August 30, 1874, he was entrusted with the office of theological teacher. He was also appointed prefect of the archbishop's boy's seminary in Gorizia (old Gorica). Even then, Anton Mahnič met the students with "love", but misunderstandings arose between students and colleagues in certain situations. (Bozanić 2013, 19) In Vienna, where he continued his studies, he met the future vicar Volarić, with whom he worked. (Bozanić 2013, 19) After defending his doctoral thesis in 1881, he became a professor of the New

Testament at the Central Theological Seminary in Gorizia, and this was the time when he wrote intensively.

Anton Mahnič's most devoted work was evident in creating the contents of the journal *Rimski katolik (Roman Catholic)*, which he launched in 1888. Through time, the influence of *Rimski katolik* became great, and Mahnič became better known as a „prolific writer of neo-scholastic and apologetic texts" than he was as a young professor. (Golubović and Polić 2009, 178) Mahnič invested all his energy and knowledge in creating Rimski katolik because he realised that it served as a platform to express his views and criticisms of society and allowed him to spread his ideas. It is well known that Anton Mahnič was already fighting in the Roman Catholic Church against the liberalism that was increasingly penetrating the country. This intrusion of liberalism took place mainly through the press, philosophy and literature, especially between 1888 and 1896 during Mahnič's independent journal editorship, where he wrote many published articles, by some accounts, up to sixty pages per year. His texts were full of criticism of public figures in Slovenia while also clearly expressing his views. Thus, he did not hesitate to criticise famous poets and writers such as France Prešern, Josip Stritar, Ivan Tavčar and Janez Trdina. (Bozanić and Strčić 2002, 29-31) In his criticism, he never addressed the work's literary value but commented on the ideological level by his philosophical and religious views. (Bozanić and Strčić 2002, 29-31) He reproached Stritar for pessimism and Gregorčič for a tendency toward pantheism. He criticised Prešeren for his love poetry. (Bozanić 2013, 21) It is precisely these elements of the thematic-ideological level that Mahnič found incompatible with his religiosity and Catholic values. Mahnič did not fail to write about socially engaged and literary themes. (Bozanić 1991, 16) Through his writings and critical reviews, he became an essential figure in the literary criticism of the time in Slovenia, so much so that he discussed the function and aesthetics of literature with many people. In *Rimski katolik*, he called for a meeting of all the faithful in Ljubljana, which took place on August 30 and 31, 1892. (Bozanić and Strčić 2002, 32)

Shortly before he was appointed Bishop of Krk, the Catholic scientific society Leo Society was established in Ljubljana. This society published the journal *Katoliški obzornik* (Catholic Observer), which was succeeded in 1907 by the magazine *Čas* (Time) and other publications. Mahnič was the main initiator of the establishment of the Leo Society, marking his final contribution to Slovenian public life. (Golubović and Polić 2009, 178)

"Storm from the Karst" is the description Simon Gregorčič used to describe Mahnič's fruitful work in Slovenia. In the short period of his work, Mahnič tackled the problems of the society of the time decisively and radically, always starting from the idea of preserving already existing, established, conservative

values. (Bozanić and Strčić 2002, 32) When he arrived as bishop in the diocese of Krk, Mahnič did not immediately take up the fight against dissidents. He took time to adapt to his new environment, confirmed by his decision to Croatianise his surname. (Bozanić and Strčić 2002, 51)

3 Reason for the Posting to Krk

Even a hundred years after Mahnič's death, the question remains why such an active and enterprising person with such clearly expressed values and ideas was marginalised by being sent to a small and poor diocese. However, time has shown that it was a good move for Croatia because although he is still unknown to the public today, many of the fruits of Mahnič's work have remained in Croatia. It is a logical assumption that a person who defends Catholic values like Mahnič, who tries to eliminate liberalism and modern political trends in his public statements, would be welcomed, promoted and very influential in a multi-ethnic empire. (Bilobrk 2022, 64)

Some scholars who study the character and work of Anton Mahnič point out that "it is assumed he was primarily influenced by the Roman Catholic Church, especially since the Viennese liberal authorities banned his readings in Slovenian schools. As a result, the authorities promoted him to Bishop of Krk to remove him from Slovenia" (Golubović and Polić 2009, 178). Some scholars go even further, claiming that imperial politicians sought to remove Mahnič this way and that the clergy on this small island were not enthusiastic about welcoming a foreigner seen as an opponent of the Old Slavonic liturgy (Krišto 1994, 143). Though this interpretation may seem harsh, it reflects Mahnič's situation upon his arrival on Krk.

The literature also notes that "the new bishop remained silent for six years after arriving on Krk, studying conditions in Croatia, especially regarding journalism and literature" (Golubović and Polić 2009, 178). This supposed passivity lasted from his arrival on Krk in 1897 until 1903. However, given that Mahnič founded a printing house on Krk in 1899, convened the Synod in Krk in 1901, and ordered the listing of parishes with over thirty years of Glagolitic tradition—indicating his attention to the diocese's main challenges and its controversies—this claim of passivity and silence during his first six years seems questionable. During this so-called period of inactivity, some of his journals had already begun to appear shortly after his arrival (Bilobrk 2022, 65).

As bishop, Anton Mahnič played a significant role in preserving Old Slavonic worship, Glagolitic books, and folk traditions. There was some concern on the island regarding the new bishop's stance on the Glagolitic tradition. Upon his arrival, indications of a negative attitude toward Old Slavonic services were al-

ready evident (Bilobrk 2022, 65). Mahnič encountered this atmosphere upon his arrival on Krk in 1897. The issue of Old Slavonic worship became immediately apparent at his ordination in Gorizia on February 7, 1897, when emissaries from Krk presented him with a recently printed, bound Glagolitic missal by Dragutin Antun Parčić (Bolonić 1980a; 1980b). In response, Mahnič promised to examine the use of Old Slavonic as a liturgical language on the island.

At the formal reception prepared for Mahnič's arrival on Krk on March 25, 1897, one of the local candidates for the episcopate, the vicar of Krk, Franjo Volarić, bluntly and somewhat ominously warned the new bishop: "We know about the instructions you have regarding Glagolitic, but your plans can only be realised over our bodies" (Bozanić and Strčić 2002, 36). The new bishop grasped the gravity of the issue and understood that his collaborators might become his adversaries.

Bishop Anton Mahnič spent much time preparing for the Diocesan Synod in Krk in discussions with priests. (Bozanić 2006, 51) The extent of his involvement in the community's life is also shown by the fact that he convened two synods during his stay on Krk, whereas synods "were not so common in Croatia" at that time. (Bozanić 2006, 51). The synods were held in 1901 and 1911. The synod planned for 1921 was not held because the bishop died in 1920. (Bozanić 2006, 51)

The synod was held for three days, from 1st to 4th September 1901, in Krk. (Milovčič 2006, 17) On 18th November 1902, Mahnič held a founding meeting of the *Academia Palaeoslavica Veglensis - Old Slavic Academy*, officially founded on June 13, 1902. (Štefanić 1944, 17) The Academy began its work in December of the same year. Although founded by only a few enthusiasts, the Old Slavic Academy was "the third highest scientific and cultural institution in the entire South Slavic area, the third in the order of its foundation". (Bozanić and Strčić 2002, 52) Its importance and role in the growth of interest in folk traditions, in the awakening of national consciousness, in revival events and thus in increasing the interest of Slavists in the remains of the Old Slavic language, in monuments and Glagolitic singing is excellent. The expansion of the Academy, which its founder Anton Mahnič wished for, was not yet possible due to its isolation from the rest of the country. The revised list shows that from its foundation in 1902 until its dissolution in 1927, the Academy published twenty-seven titles in Latin and Croatian, the most frequent author and editor of which was Josip Vajs. (Bozanić and Strčić 2002, 71-75)

The largest part of the Academy's publishing house was the "Kurykta printing house", where journals for the clergy and educational content were printed with Mahnič's assistance. The period of the First World War did not leave the Academy's activities untouched, as did the post-war period when the number of

members declined. (Bozanić 2013, 55) Together with the Kurykta printing house, which was destroyed by the Ardites in 1920, the Academy's publishing activities also came to an end. Nevertheless, the Old Slavonic Academy continued to operate after 1920 until June 22, 1927, when it was decided to dissolve it formally and to join "through the Old Slavonic (philological) Department of the then Croatian Theological Academy in Zagreb, the directors of which were Msgr. Svetozar Rittig and Josip Dujmović". (Bozanić and Strčić 2002, 64)

Although the printing house was founded before the Old Slavonic Academy, its activity was closely related to the Academy, the main activity of which was publishing. Mahnič understood very well and knew the role and importance of printing, which he used to spread his thoughts to fight against the ever more frequent and ever stronger penetration of modern ideas and liberalism. (Bozanić 2013, 99) Therefore, we can rightly say that Kurykta's printing house was his means of media activities, along with the sharp pencil. He gained this experience, especially in his public activities in Slovenia, where his words reached the media and found great resonance. Here, Mahnič's journal, *Rimski katolik*, well-known and influential in Catholic circles, should be mentioned above all. With his move to Krk, he could be expected to continue his work with the same means.

The press played a significant role in the re-Christianisation of society. How Mahnič understood this importance, his famous statement shows: „I cannot do without a printing house!" (Bozanić and Strčić 2002, 64) The printing house also printed official diocesan documents, catechetical manuals, prayer books, and other diocesan information and content. Mahnič wanted to keep the printing house for the dioceses and other needs.

Thus, „the following was printed in Kurykta: *Pučki prijatelj* (1899-1911), *Hrvatska straža* (1903-1908), the journal *Sanctissima Eucharisia*, which later became the journal *Svećenička zajednica* (1911-1918), *Glagolitika* (1902-1919) and *Vjesnik Staroslavenske akademije u Krku* for the years 1912 and 1913" (Bozanić 2013, 101).

Their content also differed since the printed materials were intended for different target groups. What they had in common was that all the texts published in them embodied the same conservative Catholic values. Kurykta's action was the basis for many of the bishop's moves. It was the basis for his independence in action and support in promoting the values he held. Through the journals of this printing house, the bishop established a solid connection with a broader circle of readers in Croatia.

4 The Organisation of the Croatian Catholic Movement

Bishop Mahnič began to act in the practical-organisational area, knowing that he had to attract and activate the youth to achieve long-term changes. Therefore, he began to organise the youth with the help of his collaborators, especially the young priest from Krk, Ivan Butković. (Bilobrk 2022, 76)

On the occasion of his trip to Vienna at the end of 1902., Bishop Mahnič visited Ivan Butković, whom he had sent to study philosophy in Vienna. During the discussion about the need to organise Croatian Catholic youth, they concluded that the Croatian Catholic Academic Society should be founded in Vienna for Croatian students, of whom about five hundred were studying in Vienna then. (Radić 1940, 84) For comparison, it should be mentioned that 677 students were enrolled at the University of Zagreb, which included the Faculty of Law, Philosophy and Theology. Until then, there was only one academic society for Croatian students in Vienna, Zvonimir, which had no religious character but worked nationally.

The Croatian Catholic Academic Society *Hrvatska* (*Croatia*), the first society to gather Croatian Catholic students as part of the emerging Croatian Catholic movement, was founded in Vienna on May 12, 1903. On that day, the inaugural meeting was held at the premises of the Slovenian Catholic Academic Society *Danica*. Ivan Butković, Milan Marković, Matija Dević, and the priests Kamilo Dočkal and Josip Frančišković participated in the founding of the Society. The Society adopted the slogan *Za vjeru i dom!* (*For faith and home!*) (Radić 1940, 90) Soon, they published a book with their articles, *Nepredavana predavanja* (*Unpresented Lectures)*, with which they wanted to acquaint the public with their work and plans, thus breaking out of anonymity. The priest Ivan Butković was the primary person responsible for their foundation. Eight days after its foundation, on May 20, 1903, the civil authorities formally confirmed the Society. Many Croatian Catholic students passed through the Society and later became prominent Catholic intellectuals in their homeland. Ljubomir Marković and later his student Dr Ivan Merz stand out among them. Society was the starting point of the organised Croatian Catholic laity, who has since been massively and actively involved in the life of the Church. (Bilobrk 2022, 76)

I want to emphasise that Bishop Mahnič pursued, above all, the spiritual-intellectual formation of the young generation of Catholic laity. In forming the Catholic intelligentsia, Bishop Mahnič aimed to achieve three goals: 1. solid cultural and philosophical education; 2. better knowledge of the Christian faith through studying basic theological disciplines; 3. spiritual and ascetic life of the members.

Two key events marked the Catholic movement in Croatia. The first was the publication of the journal *Hrvatska straža*, and the second was the founding of the Croatian Catholic Academic Society *Hrvatska* in Vienna, both in 1903. Bishop Anton Mahnič was the driving force behind these initiatives (Deželić 2011, 505). Through *Hrvatska straža*, established in 1903, Bishop Mahnič conveyed his revivalist ideas and calls for gatherings to counter the threat of liberalism.

The journal *Hrvatska straža* was published from 1903 to 1918. (Bozanić 1993, 102) The aim was to analyse possibilities and give guidelines for action in the light of Christian principles and with the help of philosophy for all public life, especially in the fields of literature, art, science, social movements and politics, the defence of Christian principles in public social life, the defence of the Catholic Church and its social rights, and the constant study of the situation and evaluation in the light of Christian principles. (Bozanić 1993, 105) *Hrvatska straža* created and formed the Croatian Catholic movement, the goals of which Mahnič presented to Pope Pius X in 1904. Namely, the goals of the Croatian Catholic movement were the defence of the faith and public rights of the Catholic Church, the transformation of public life according to religious Catholic principles, the struggle for the rights, political freedom and independence of the Croatian people, the creation and promotion of social organisation according to the instructions of Leo XIII, and the realisation of the ideal of Christian democracy. (Bozanić 1993, 105)

The author of most of the texts in *Hrvatska straža* is Bishop Mahnič. However, he rarely signed them with his first and last name but with pseudonyms, which he often changed: Hrvatska straža, Doctor criticus, Stražar s Adrije, Kalifron, Katolik, Čuvar s Jadrana, etc. Readers quickly recognised his texts by the way he wrote and formulated his thoughts. (Bilobrk 2022, 135) We will not be wrong if we say that *Hrvatska straža* is to Croats what *Rimski katolik* was to Slovenes.

Hrvatska straža did not want any consideration, and the initiators knew they would not be accepted in Croatian society without a guarantee. They felt they would be accused of being fanatics and destroyers of the popular forces. To the accusation of fanaticism, they replied that all advocates of their convictions were fanatics, including Croatian liberals. To the complaint about the unification of national forces, they replied that the opponents of Christianity had divided the Croatian nation, which had always been Christian. (Alfirević 1903, 7)

With its often radical critique of modernist ideas, *Hrvatska straža* provoked considerable criticism. Responses from liberal circles were expected to follow quickly, and indeed, reactions emerged in journals such as *Novi list*, *Pokret*, *Suvremenik*, *Jedinstvo*, *Crvena Hrvatska*, and *Narodna obrana*. However, this

did not discourage Bishop Mahnič or the editors; rather, it served as motivation to persevere. They continued to write, steadfastly acting as the "Bulwark of Christianity" (*Antemurale Christianitatis*), as highlighted in the inaugural issue of *Hrvatska straža*.

Mahnič was convinced that there was a lack of common sense and that philosophical issues were of primary importance. Wrong thinking, according to Mahnič, destroys the foundations of faith. The titles of the articles from the first year alone speak for themselves: "Vocation of the Catholic Laity in Our Time", "The Task of Christian Philosophy in the 20th Century", "Catholic Church and Patriotism", "Is Faith a Private Matter", "Idea and Form in Fine Art", "On the Beginnings and Essence of Christianity", "Reason and Faith", "L'art pour l'art or Art and Faith" etc.

Hrvatska straža systematically addressed key topics in philosophy and apologetics, followed by specific issues in recent Church history and literature. It should be mentioned immediately - it will be discussed later - that Mahnič's literary criticism has no particular value because he was not an aesthete, as he admitted. (Mahnić 1903, 1-2) With the appeal to Christian principles, the „separation of spirits" began in a certain sense, i.e. the separation of Christian ideas and positions from those incompatible with Christianity. At the same time, the struggle against liberalism, which undermines the foundations of religion, was emphasised.

Considerable space is dedicated to analysing literary achievements and publishing activity. Bishop Mahnič, a highly rational man with clear principles, wrote extensively on this topic. Among his works, we find Mahnič's literary critique of the most influential and famous poet of the time, Silvio Strahimir Kranjčević (Mahnič 1903, 97–117). In Kranjčević's poems, Mahnič identified pessimism that, influenced by Schopenhauer, repeatedly emerges as a desperate cry (Criticus 1903, 411). He argued that such pessimism is fundamentally incompatible with the Christian worldview. From the first edition, Mahnič emphasised that the journal's purpose was not to evaluate artists from a purely aesthetic or literary perspective but to clarify the spiritual horizon to which the artist had ascended and to illustrate how their views align with Christian truth.

A detailed examination of the content in *Hrvatska straža* reveals that the authors, especially Mahnič, consistently evaluated literature and writers by measuring them against Christian principles and truths. Names like Balzac, Tolstoy, Ibsen, Zola and the Croats: Kumičić, Novak, Nehajev, Kranjčević, then Matoš, Tresić-Pavičić, were subject to this judgement. Entire literary formations, especially verism and naturalism, were also judged. (Lončarević 2004, 61)

Mahnič took an unequivocal position towards modernism in philosophy and literature. He saw in modernism something that has no place in Croatia. In his

debates with those he criticised, he pointed out most contemporary literature's anti-Christian or non-Christian orientation. He also emphasised the importance of preserving Christian principles in literature and aesthetics. For him, modernism promises to replace religion and morality with its art. However, it turns out that along with religion and morality, it also destroys art and throws its essence - ethics and aesthetics - overboard. (Bilobrk 2022, 142)

Hrvatska straža criticised not only modernist writers and critics but also some Catholics such as Kerubin Šegvić or Jovan Hranilović etc. The fierce criticism emanating from *Hrvatska straža* was therefore not withheld from Catholics by name or collectively, mainly because of their "negligence, and discord and envy, which harmed the flourishing of Catholic literature more than faithless journalists". (Mahnič 1908, 147; 671-672)

5 Conclusion

One of the most significant phenomena in Croatian Catholicism in the first half of the 20th century is the Croatian Catholic Movement. The article presents the circumstances that conditioned the movement and the ideals that inspired the first generation of Croatian Catholic organised laity: it was about saving Christian values among the Croatian people, who were threatened by aggressive liberalism in all spheres of public life.

The Bishop of Krk, Anton Mahnič, gave the real impetus for the development of Catholic cultural programs with the founding of the Old Slavonic Academy in 1902, the preservation of the Glagolitic alphabet and Old Slavonic liturgy, and then the promotion of the organisation of Catholic youth. Its beginnings date back to 1903, when the first Croatian philosophical journal, *Hrvatska straža,* was launched, and the Croatian Catholic Academic Society *Hrvatska* was founded in Vienna, which published the newspaper *Luč* (*Light*). The Croatian Catholic Academic Society *Domagoj* was founded. The weekly Catholic newspaper *Dan* from Split had a partly cultural and literary character. The founding of the first daily newspaper, *Riječke novine,* in 1912 was particularly important for the movement. The founding of the Croatian Catholic Casino, the *Pius Society* for the Promotion of the Catholic Press, the weekly *Jutro*, and the Leo Society for Christian Philosophy and Science were also important for the cultural work of Catholics at that time. Bishop Anton Mahnič applied in his work in Croatia the knowledge and methods he had previously introduced in Slovenia.

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CRITICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION OF ANTON MAHNIČ'S VIEW OF WOMEN IN THE SLOVENIAN CULTURE WAR

Nadja Furlan Štante, Koper

1 Introduction

The period of culture war and *separation of spirits* in Slovenia was a time of profound changes that radically affected the very understanding of women and their identity, which had been trapped for centuries in prejudicial, negative stereotyping that denied women their inherent value and worth. A woman's role had only been understood next to, through and for the benefit of the man – the husband. Finally, during this period, women began to increasingly engage in advocating equal recognition based on the humanity and godlikeness of both genders.

For Slovenian society to truly shake off its patriarchal stamp in the context of today's global culture it must grow cognisant of the impact of negative gender stereotypes co-shaping gender identities, gender roles and self-perception, and affecting the image and perception of the other. Negative gender stereotypes are insidious elements that exert a profoundly negative impact on both the formation of one's own identity or self-image and inhibit the formation of a positive attitude towards the other.

Christianity, markedly egalitarian in its doctrine, has throughout history undergone various changes and transformations concerning the impact of gender stereotypes, which increased proportionally to the influence of patriarchal authority. Numerous prejudices, though not part of the *Evangelion*, have through the centuries moulded and shaped the view of a woman and a man. The intensity of the influence of the markedly patriarchal system on society and on the Christianity that developed and acculturated therein, varied among historical moments, which was reflected in the selection of Biblical texts that were regarded as more important or were ascribed greater power in a given period. Biblical texts display a duality of traditions; be they from the Old or the New Testament, they all feature two views: the patriarchal and the egalitarian. Throughout various historical eras, society and the Church foregrounded passages that corresponded best with the mindset and social systems of the time. Furthermore, the Church, which is always characterised by the society in which it lives, as it consists of a living and working community of the faithful, admitted to its theology certain scientific assumptions that at that moment suited its views. The Church, heavily branded by patriarchy, thus often fostered and spread patriarchal views and gender-stylised

images of women and men. But on the other hand, and perhaps just as often, it also acted as a catalyst for peace and relations of equal recognition. (Furlan 2006, 113)

In this context and using a hermeneutical key of Christian feminist theology we wish to illustrate the origin and ideological function of Anton Mahnič's views of women. Rather than seeking to prove the fallacy of his stance, the treatise steers the focus onto the presence of the principal negative gender stereotyping of the woman and her identity at the epochal *time of the separation of spirit*.

2 Anton Mahnič – Guardian of Slovenian Orthodoxy, and the Separation of Spirits

To facilitate the understanding of Mahnič's attitude towards women and the women's issue it is necessary to briefly outline the importance and place of Anton Mahnič[1] during a time that was strongly marked by the search for a new relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the world. This new model of relationality began to emerge from an imprint of a *Corpus Christianum* Christian society, i.e., of the period when it was mainly Christianity that set the pace for Slovenian society and gave it its distinctive character. For centuries (up to the end of the First World War), the Slovenian national community lived under the Habsburg monarchy, in an entity where Christianity was the dominant religion, where the Roman Catholic Church acted as "the axiomatic provident institution of true morality, and religious education as a guarantee for the preservation of the social order (i.e., class, gender and national order)." (Jogan 2016, 13)[2]

However, while in the first half of the 19th century, the priests still enjoyed an important position in public and cultural lives, they were in a sense "demoted" to the role of petty officials as the secular authorities asserted their dominance even over ecclesiastical affairs. Mahnič's action thus largely stems from resistance to such a situation (Josephinism).

1 Anton Mahnič (1850-1920) was a Slovene bishop, theologian, poet, writer, critic of Slovenian cultural and spiritual life, and editor.

2 Given that from the second half of the 18th century to at least the mid-19th century, in the relationship between the Austrian state and the Roman Catholic Church, the clergy was clearly subordinate to secular authority, this begs the question of who actually dictated public morality. While both actors were rooted in basic Christian views informed by the spirit of the time, it would be too strong to claim that the clergy could "order around" the state and society.

During this period, the share of priests among the intellectuals began decreasing, which historians interpret as a sign of the progressive secularisation of Slovenian society. The clergy were divided in their views. There were quite a few liberal-minded people in their ranks who saw the dissemination of a wide range of knowledge – including the Slovenian language – as one of their important tasks. While the followers of Josephinism and the so-called Jansenists preserved their leverage, their strictness and opposition to popular piety often led them into conflict with not only church authorities and believers but also supporters of the anti-Josephinist current, most notably embodied by the Redemptorists. From the late 1860s onwards, the influence of the clergy and the Church on the conservative current of Slovenian politics increased, as did the number of ecclesiastical orders and monasteries. Nevertheless, the clergy persisted in their political and ideological disunity, with not a small number of them supporting Josephinist ideas and so-called liberal Catholicism. The process of social secularisation, particularly after the revocation of the concordat in 1870, progressed rapidly, while liberal laws, a reduced influence of the Church on schools, and the strengthening of the bourgeoisie and lay intelligentsia increased the sway and ambit of liberal views. Whereas the priests retained the position of influential promotors of national awakening as well as spiritual and political guides in smaller towns and rural areas, their authority in larger towns and among the bourgeoisie was declining. (Vodopivec 2007, 16)

Mahnič's era was thus a period of radical change, a period of reorientation in the light of the challenge that the dynamic time of secularisation posed to the Roman Catholic Church: how to continue to preserve and carry out its mission. Stanko Cajnkar vividly describes the signs of this time:

> "Slovenia was but a painstakingly enclosed bed in the Austrian spiritual garden. This patch of the garden was some sort of God's reservation. Such was the belief of many. Almost everything that the country could be proud of had been given to it by Slovenian priests. They were the ones who preserved Slovenia's language, national awareness, appropriately modest pride, spiritual health, pure ethics and, most of all, a living faith. This gave them the eternal right to provide it with spiritual food and maintain order within its borders. If, in the big, God-estranged world, people were toying with the dangerous ideas of positivism, naturalism, evolutionism, modernism and reform Catholicism, this was an evil that the warders of Slovenian orthodoxy could not prevent. But the storms of spiritual revolutions were not to bring this weed to our lands. This was the fundamental thought of Mahnič and all other types of Slovenian integralism. This holy duty made the guardians of Slovenian orthodoxy strict, implacable and intolerant." (Cajnkar 1976, 10-11)

In the pursuit of the ideal of a "new Christian society of the future" put forward by Leo XIII in *Aeterni Patris* (1879), a renewal of Christian philosophy was to take place according to the teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas, and a *new Christian social order* was to be established in this same spirit.

In this context, the role of Anton Mahnič should be understood as that of a relentless guardian and watchman of Slovenian orthodoxy under the motto "To restore everything in Christ!" Naturally, all in the spirit of opposition to the subordination of the Church hierarchy to the State and the Josephinist model.

Mahnič set in motion the process of ultimate *separation of spirits* between the Catholic and liberal camps in Slovenia. This was the start of a new ideological clash among the Slovenians – against liberalism and for the implementation of strict Catholic principled positions not only in politics but also in culture. As a result, the Slovene Catholic political movement emerged. In this framework, Anton Mahnič appears as "a storm from the Kras," as the Slovenian poet Simon Gregorčič described him, or "a giant" who "grabbed our whole nation with the hands of his mighty spirit, shook it and forced it to forsake a life of platitudes and weepy sentimentality and begin a new life chapter, which should be characterised by the firm Catholic tenet and serious pragmatic principle for the welfare of the people" (Pirc 1990, 109). With his principled radicalism, Anton Mahnič became a synonym for the cultural clash that anchored itself deep into Slovenian society. He expressed his ideas primarily through *Rimski katolik* (*Roman Catholic*), the most important journal of the period for theological, philosophical, cultural, political and social welfare issues, of which he was editor and which was first published in 1888.

Egon Pelikan has advanced the thesis that both Anton Mahnič and other leading contributors to *Rimski katolik* "operated trapped in the shadow of the psychosis of the *Syllabus* and Pius IX, on the one hand, and the interventions of Leo XIII, on the other." (Pelikan 2018, 31) Attempts at defining and positioning the Church-State relationship echoed in the teetering between radical retrospective integralism of "Instaurare omnia in Christo" (*Syllabus of Errors* by Pius IX) and the efforts and appeals of Leo XIII to face the social change.

Rimski katolik thus addressed all the relevant issues and challenges of the late 19th century and represented for Mahnič an efficient tool for waging a battle on the "domestic front," or, as Pelikan explains: "what [the topics of] liberalism, social democracy, the issue of parliamentary democracy, the so-called women's issue, anti-Semitism or relationship between faith and nationality were for Mahnič on the 'domestic front,' that was 'outwards, on the foreign front' the relationship to other churches." (Pelikan 2018, 41). Mahnič's articles in Catholic publications caused the so-called *separation of spirits*. His idea of the precedence of religion over nationality (according to him, the Slovenian Catholics were closer to Ger-

man or any other Catholics than to the Slovenian Liberals) fuelled the split of the Slovenian political sphere into the clerical and liberal camps, with the schism growing larger up to the Second World War (except the immediate aftermath of the First World War, when this conflict almost completely abated) and persisting even after the introduction of democracy in 1990.

Mahnič justified his views as an advocate of radical Catholicism with arguments of neo-scholastic metaphysics. He was the most prominent initiator of *the separation of spirits*, actively participating in debates about culture, religion, and even women's issues. He was a markedly public figure, very present and influential in the media space, and an authority in the Slovenian cultural sphere.

3 Women's Identity at the Time of the Separation of Spirits

To be able to more coherently understand and contextualise Anton Mahnič and the women's issue, which fluttered the dovecotes by heralding a change towards the democratisation of society, let us first briefly elucidate the issue of the position of women in Slovene lands during that period that was marked by the dynamics around the struggle for women's suffrage and the emergence of women's magazines and women's movements.

The second half of the 19th century was a period of rapid ingression of women into public life and raising of the "women's issue," which would in the following century develop into a veritable women's movement for equality. Although the commonly held ideal continued to see women primarily as housekeepers, good wives and mothers, their role in the immediate family circle, their influence on the husbands and the upbringing of their children, were much greater than the unwritten rules, the press and the husbands themselves were willing to admit. This was especially true of the emerging bourgeoisie, in which, as Aleš Šafarič writes, "the closer the man was to the top of the social elite, the more he was just the 'finance minister' in his home, as all other matters were decided by his wife" (Šafarič 2016). In her monograph *Ženski so pa vzrasle svetlejše dolžnosti nego kuhati in prati… Podoba in pojavnost žensk na Slovenskem: Slovenke, od sredine 19. stoletja do 2. svetovne vojne* [*A Woman Has More Eminent Innate Duties than Cooking and Doing Laundry... The Woman and Her Image in Slovenia from the Mid-19th Century to WWII*], Sabina Žnidaršič Žagar analyses in detail the changing of the two roles "that were regarded as the most female: motherhood and housekeeping" (Žnidaršič Žagar 2009, 7).

The time preceding WWI bore the heavy stamp of modernisation and gradual democratisation. In a society adopting bourgeois patterns and values, women were increasingly growing into and recognised as a constitutive part of the Slovenian nation. Their work was gaining importance in the social and cultural

spheres and, like elsewhere in Europe, the number of educated and intellectual women was rising.

In the 19th century, the problem of unequal education of men and women in Slovenia was raised too. "But it was felt that for a woman education was only necessary insofar as it helped her improve the life within her family (as a mother, wife, housekeeper) or qualified her for a woman-appropriate profession if she did not marry, i.e., a preschool carer or teacher, a schoolteacher, a doctor" (Budna Kodrič 2003, 35-37). In Slovenia, the first to systematically write about the need for educating our girls, too, was the high-school student magazine *Vesna*, the vision of which, however, did not extend beyond the natural mission of women either or, at least, did not fight it in any way. (Žnidaršič Žagar 2009, 63) The trapping of women within the woman-mother-housewife stereotype in the preferential education agenda is also foregrounded by Vesna Leskošek in her monograph *Zavrnjena tradicija*: *ženske in ženskost v slovenski zgodovini od 1890 do 1940* [*A Rejected Tradition: Women and Femininity in Slovenian History from 1890 to 1940*], which documents the first steps that the women's movement took towards the improvement of women's condition as early as the 19th century, and describes the everyday life of women as determined by the organisation of womanhood and manhood. How marriage, motherhood, housekeeping and the private sphere functioned and were conceived placed women in a situation of dependence with no way out.

The Catholic Church played a crucial role in this, as it affected the daily lives of women more than any other institution. Vesna Leskošek draws attention to the principal negative gender stereotypes and prejudices that defined the woman's identity and her role in the social order at that time. About the importance and necessity of equal education for men and women, she relates that even one of the most important voices of women's emancipation in Slovenia, the first lady of Slovenian female novella and novel, Pavlina Pajk (1854-1901), advocated the education of a woman's hearth, rather than mind, claiming that the only true vocation of a woman was motherhood and therewith subservience and devotion to the husband. She was opposed to compulsory education for girls, asserting that learning math, physics and other things would be torture for them … According to her, women were made to bear and raise children, but they also needed to be educated a little to be able to successfully fulfil the role that nature had intended for them. (Leskošek 2002, 41-42). On the other hand, in her 1894 essay *Nekoliko besedic k ženskemu vprašanju* [*A Few Words on the Women's Issue*] Pavlina Pajk analysed the position of the woman and her role throughout history and in Christianity. She saw in the latter a harbinger of ethics that regarded man and woman as two beings standing before the Creator as equals. But this, as she said, was

only true of educated and Christian nations, while "in the barbaric and uneducated ones the woman used to and continues to play a very sad role." (Pajk 1894)

The 1850s saw an organised integration of women into the national movement, which in turn led to the foundation of numerous societies that would be joined by women, but the door to political associations remained closed to them until 1918. In fact, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, women were not allowed to enter political organisations. Instead, their public works were primarily in charity, national defence associations and religious societies. In 1865, Slovenian Protestant women established the Evangelical Women's Society [Evangeljsko žensko društvo]. This was followed by Catholic societies (during the late 1880s, several women's branches of the national-defence organisation Cyril-Methodius Society [Družba sv. Cirila in Metoda] were established, the first in 1887), then by professional associations (the first Slovenian professional women's organisation, the Catholic Society for Women Workers [Katoliško društvo za delavke], was founded in 1894), and by the establishment, in 1898, of the first society to put women's suffrage in their programme – the Slovenian Woman Teachers' Association [Društvo slovenskih učiteljic].[3] For a short period in the early 1870s, women were also members of Sokol [Falcon], the gymnastics society that stood at the forefront of the national struggle. (Verginella 2014-2020)

The last decade of the 19th century thus saw radical advancement in the women's issue. The advocates of women's equality were increasingly more numerous, their demands ever louder. Their efforts came to fruition with the establishment of the first women's magazine *Slovenka* [*Slovenian Woman*] – which began its publication in 1897 in Trieste – and – four years later, in 1901 – with the Gener-

3 In 1902, the Slovenian Woman Teachers' Association articulated a demand for the right to vote. After WWI, all three political forces (Liberals, Catholics, and Social Democrats) campaigned for women's suffrage, but the state framework of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes rejected all such demands. On 15 May 1920, the Slovenian *Official Gazette* published a decree on universal suffrage at municipal elections, which allowed all men and women over 21 years of age to cast their votes. This was the first time that universal womanhood suffrage was enacted in Slovenia, but on 17 February 1921, the Liberals in Belgrade repealed the decree. During WWII, women participating in the National Liberation War were given the right to vote, while universal women suffrage was reintroduced only after 1945, when the Communists took power and established a one-party system. After WWII, the state also regulated the status of illegitimate children and the citizen status for women, as these, previously, sometimes lost their citizenship if they married a foreigner. Since 1991, equal rights for women in Slovenia have been provided under Article 14 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia.

al Slovenian Women's Association [Splošno slovensko žensko društvo], which developed into the main Slovenian women's organisation. *Slovenka* started as a biweekly supplement to the Trieste political daily newspaper *Edinost* [*Unity*]; in the last year of publication, it came out as an independent monthly. Marica Nadlišek Bartol, the editor of this first women's magazine, kept alive among female readers a magazine that raised their awareness of women's equality to men, "but all the time the articles convey a similar message to that of Pavlina Pajk. A call for a better, longer education for girls, which must, nevertheless, include home economics, for only a woman who does not renounce her profession of housewife is a true woman". (Leskošek 2002, 48)

Despite perpetuating the woman-mother-housewife stereotype, *Slovenka* succeeded in cultivating active female contributors and readers, not only among intellectuals but ordinary women too. It played an important role in the development of women's literature, emancipation of Slovenian womanhood and, not least, in the establishment of the first feminist society. From the very beginning, the editorial board of the magazine set itself the task of explaining new concepts that the new times had brought among Slovenian women and filling in the gaps. *Slovenka* soon went beyond the outlined framework of education and raising national awareness among Slovenian women, broaching the most delicate topics and probing into the most burning issues of the period: prostitution and sex workers, sex education, divorce, and equal moral criteria for men and women. As it appears, it raised many for that time taboo questions. (Žnidaršič Žagar 2009, 13) Up to 1914, several women's magazines were published in addition to *Slovenka*, including *Naša gospodinja* [*Our Housewife*], *Slovenska žena* [*Slovenian Woman*], *Ženski list* [*Women's Paper*], and *Slovenska gospodinja* [*Slovenian Housewife*].

Another female protagonist in the struggle for equal rights was Franja Tavčar, wife of the renowned liberal politician (and writer) Ivan Tavčar, who was head of the Women's Gymnastics Society [*Žensko telovadno društvo]*. In 1901, in its fifth year of activity, the latter separated from its Ljubljana Sokol [Ljubljanski Sokol] parent society and women's gymnastics made its way into other Sokol societies as well. Interestingly, a few years later, women's gymnastics was, only exceptionally, promoted by the Catholic physical education organisation Orel [Eagle], although the Catholic camp clung to more conservative views about the women's issue. (Šafarič 2016)

Mahnič's era was certainly an important, turbulent time in which women played a major role in the national movement: they were active in various women's societies, they supported the establishment of Slovenian schools, and during WWI collected signatures in support of the May Declaration.

The old was giving way to the new, with emancipation no longer an 'if' or even a 'when,' but firmly weaving its way across the Slovenian territories.

4 Anton Mahnič and the Women's Issue

In the 1890s, the Catholic side strongly opposed any changes in the area of the women's issue. Anton Mahnič severely criticised the women's *emancipatory* movement (claiming it was an expression of widespread corruption and decadence brought by capitalism and liberalism) and often used prejudicial arguments of women's ontological inferiority, subordination and weakness of nature to support his words.

His censure exerted a major impact on the Slovenian socioreligious sphere both in the area of the women's issue and of the understanding of women's identity and role in the social order. Particularly about the former, "the giant" Anton Mahnič revealed himself to be a misogynist with radically negative views of womanhood, women's roles and female corporeality, which are from the contemporary perspective of (Christian feminism and) the efforts towards the ethicalisation of an individual, religion and society in light of a complementary equal recognition based on the fundamental godlikeness and equality of the sexes[4], utterly unacceptable. Aleš Maver, Dejan Juhart and Janez Osojnik have also pointed out that Mahnič was "known as a virtually lifelong opponent of women and of the female influence" (2021, 596), supporting their statement with the testimony of his secretary on the Island of Krk, Ante Pilepić, who wrote that Bishop Mahnič could not stand a woman in the house or at the table and labelled him a gynophobe (Pilepić in Maver, Juhart, Osojnik 2021, 586). Egon Pelikan has also drawn attention to the misogyny of Mahnič's views: "Although today some of his opinions (e.g., on Jews or women) sound appalling, one certainly could not accuse A. Mahnič of being ignorant, unread or deficient in argumentation." (Pelikan 2018, 31)

While it may be understandable in the context of the time in which Mahnič lived, it is completely inadmissible from the point of view of contemporary Christian equal recognition of women, that Mahnič so ardently defended the status quo regarding the position of women in the socioreligious order. Maca Jogan clearly defines the challenges that the women's issue and the consequent changes entailed: "For the advocates of the 'right order,' women's emancipation or ingression of women into the public sphere, in general, represented one of the

4 The term gender equality was coined to promote equal visibility, power and participation of women and genders in general in all areas of public and private life and refers to providing the conditions for women to enjoy equal opportunities and equal recognition in society.

severe disruptions of this 'natural' state of society, 'an evil' that was allegedly the cause of all moral and other disintegration of social communities. Many fundamentalist organisations have also taken a stand against this 'evil' in recent decades (in various milieus)." (Jogan 2016, 112).

The thing that is so controversial and unacceptable about Mahnič is, above all, his disrespectful argumentation of the nature and social role of women. Both in the writings in the *Vesna* magazine and the texts of female individuals he saw an oncoming crisis of values, which others would claim to perceive more clearly and define only decades later. An important part of this crisis was the so-called "women's liberation" movement, which was supposedly striking at the very foundations of the Catholic world order. Sabina Žnidaršič Žagar points out that Mahnič was completely outraged and furious over women's efforts and declared the women's issues to be a grand conspiracy: *"This programme has been copied sentence by sentence from the textbooks of some freemasonic lodge!"* (Mahnič in Žnidaršič Žagar 2009, 13). This led him into conflict with many prominent women intellectuals. The exemplary case was his clash with the editor-in-chief of *Slovenka*, Marica Nadlišek Bartol:

> "Marica Nadlišek had been known for her writing and views years before *Slovenka* started to come out, and had in those years provoked quite a bit of resentment (and just as much approbation); her most bitter opponent that was also the most eloquent in style was Dr Anton Mahnič. We cannot but mention here some of his attacks on Marica Nadlišek (who became his metaphor for all fallen Slovenian intellectuals), which display for our milieu so rare a combination of blatant misogyny and rhetorical perfection, and clearly show the author's (and not only his) attitude towards women and especially towards the (results of any) women's movement." (Žnidaršič Žagar 2009, 13)

Mahnič opposed virtually all women's efforts at emancipation and prescribed the woman a place exclusively in the domain of motherhood and domestic chores, relegating her, in relation to her husband, to a position of subservience and subordination. In Mahnič, gender roles are trapped in a model of pronounced subordination of the woman to the man: a woman is there to serve her husband and possesses no inherent value in herself. The latter is obvious from his attack on Marica Nadlišek Bartol below:

"Woman, guide the spindle and direct the loom![5] Stand over the pots and pans and keep stirring lest you burn the food and make the husband angry! /…/ Yes, Marica, stick to your i.e., women's chores. If you are married, mend your husband's trousers and bathe and swaddle the babies, if you have them. If you are single, scour the list of women's embellishments that you will find on page 92 of Mantegazza's *Il secolo tartufo*, for it is carnival time and there is no shortage of dancing parties in Trieste and surroundings at carnival time! And since Maričkа[6] used to attend a teacher-training college, we are allowed to assume that she is now a teacher. Well then – let Maričkа teach children a, b, c, d … Let her avoid religious truths and grind not the views of her god Stritar[7] and others into anyone, or her [boys] might end up shooting themselves or running away God knows where like the 'ideal' 'Zorin' and the Lenčkas of this world, like the 'Fair Vida'[8] that she so worships! If, on the other hand, she is a nursery or kindergarten teacher, she should open the second volume of Levstik's poetry, where among 'children's games' she may, for example, find a rhyme about a child learning to hold the spoon … This is a Woman's, meaning, Your job – but warfare, i.e., deciding what idealism is, what realism is, what Lindner's Christianity is like what doctoral theses are – all this and the like, you kindly leave to us men; we'll settle all that out ourselves." (Mahnič 1893a, 114-115)

5 Mahnič cites and 'translates' from Homer's *Iliad* for Marica Nadlišek, who he assumes that, unlike him, has never read this poem in the Greek original. This line is from Book VI, from a conversation between Hector and Andromache – while he goes off to war, she should take care of their household. However, the Greek original just states the duties that were assigned to the man and the woman in the Greek society of the time without the contempt and feeling of superiority that pour forth from Mahnič's writing. The 'warfare' further on is part of the same reference.

6 Maričkа is a hypocorism of Marica. Usually, hypocorisms or diminutives are used to address children; when used among adults they are meant to express familiarity or affection. Addressing someone with a hypocoristic version of their name in more formal contexts is rude and condescending, and the fact that this particular female name was more common in rural, less educated areas, makes it in this case even more offensive.

7 Josip Stritar was a writer, poet, and editor of a literary magazine. In his essayistic pieces he expressed cultural and social criticism. Mahnič attacked him and other leading Slovenian authors (including Fran Levstik, mentioned a few lines further on) for the elements of naturalism, liberalism, atheism, Weltschmerz, and nihilism that he discerned in their works.

8 Zorin and Lenčka are characters from Stritar's novels; Lepa Vida [Fair Vida] is a character from Slovenian folk lore, who left her husband and child for a promise of money and the hope of a better life.

Mahnič also opposed women's education, deeming it most pernicious and finding it impossible that "a female creature, superficial by nature, could contemplate one thing only." To him, the husband was a reflection of God's beauty, and the wife but a mere reflection of that reflection. (Lenard 1922, 517)

In his theological work, Anton Mahnič opposed the public action of women, and his most common argument against the women's movement in Slovenia was that the emancipated women would lose their nature, disavowing it and changing their character. Mahnič's appeal to women was to remain silent in public.

In-depth studies by Vesna Leskošek (2002), Maca Jogan (2016) and Sabina Žnidaršič Žagar (2000, 2009) analyse, directly or indirectly, the ideological functions of Mahnič's sexist views on women and of his prejudicial entrapment in the stigmatisation and negative stereotyping of the women's nature and hence her role in the social order.

Vesna Leskošek points out that Mahnič's writing is characterised by emphasising the duality of the women's nature (the gentleness and docility concealing dissolution and unbridled passion). The church discourses of the period about the female body were not about female biology, which was understood as immutable, but the women's nature, seen as an abstract, undefined and infinitely elastic concept. At the turn of the 20th century, for instance, *Slovenka* started publishing articles that radically changed the view of the female body and remained the subject of public debates for decades afterwards. Thus, in the last two decades of the 19th century, there were articles about women's physical exercise that could strengthen the weak female body. In a polemic between Marica Nadlišek Bartol and Anton Mahnič due to his condemnation of certain literary works, the two touched on gymnastics as well, with Mahnič strongly rejecting it, deeming it unnatural for women and offending their moral sense. (Mahnič 1893b)

Mahnič did not refute Marica Nadlišek Bartol's argument; on the contrary, he confirmed it. But while she claimed that exercise would change the woman's body and that that was desirable, he argued that it would indeed change the woman's body, but to him, that was *not* desirable. Bartol believed that exercise would make the woman more confident and stronger, Mahnič that it would make her less timid. They agreed that changes would take place, but as ideological opponents, each interpreted their consequences differently. Mahnič wanted the *female nature* to remain unchanged and perpetuated the negative gender stereotype of femininity as being shy and weak. Despite his initial opposition to women exercising, he ultimately made a concession: the woman was allowed to exercise, though not to become more agile and stronger, but to prepare for an easier childbirth and bear healthier children, and also to make her body more attractive. (Leskošek 2002, 63)

The way their discourse on physical exercise progressed illustrates the process of the constitution of femininity. Women have long understood that the differences in upbringing allow for the subordination of the woman and the domination of the man, which applies to the body as well. The project of the body is sexually determined, but it can also be used for the construction of identities able to break the negative stereotypes about femininity and masculinity. Cultures express themselves through the images of the body, which reflect the aspects of everyday life.

In the perspective and methodology of Christian feminist hermeneutics, the body is understood as the primary starting point for the understanding, revelation and experience of God (transcendence). Consequently, the entire process of theology is based on our experience of the embodiment. Through our bodies, we are exposed and at the same time open to the world and to the other, and like the other we are exposed and vulnerable through and using our bodies. In this sense, vulnerability represents the universal, indispensable part of embodiment.

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THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY TROUBLES WITH SLOVENIANNESS AND THE DEGRADATION OF POLITICALLY SUSPECT ARTISTS

Polona Tratnik, Ljubljana

1 Introduction[1]

In the nineteenth century, as a result of industrialization, possibilities were given for the mass production of products from the field of culture, initially printed works. In the twentieth century, the development of new media, such as photography, film and radio increased the possibilities for mass production of cultural products (Benjamin 2008, 19–55). According to the development of the labour market works from the field of culture are understood as commodities. Cultural production has begun to be produced according to the market economy. The critics denoted it as low culture (Leavis 1930) or cultural industry (Horkheimer and Adorno 2002, 94–136), later popular culture. Modern art developed as the opposite of low culture, not paying regard to the market interests,[2] as an autonomous activity independent of other social spheres, which represents the authenticity of expression, poetic complexity and a profound relationship with the truth (Adorno 1970).[3] Modernism was established as a high culture. In relation to art

1 The chapter was written with the support of ARRS within the framework of projects no. J6-3140 Slovenian Intellectual History in the Light of Contemporary Theories of Religion: From Separation of Spirits and Culture War to Communist Revolution and no. N6-0268 Political Functions of Folktales and program no. P6-0435 The practice of resolving disputes between customary and established law in the area of what is now Slovenia and neighboring countries, funded by the Slovenian Research Agency.

2 The irony is that in the course of the twentieth century, particularly after the World War II, when the USA gallerists became relevant players in the world of art, the collectors and art traders conquered the world of art with the market logic and it were precisely the modernist works of art that reached high prices at the market. This led to an increasing interest of the modernist and later contemporary artists to produce the so-called "autonomous" (i.e. "disinterested" as defined by Clement Greenberg (Greenberg 1984)) works of art for financial interests (see Tratnik 2021, 105–122).

3 Modernist art inherited this interest or even essence, as Theodor Adorno understood art, from the earlier modern art. Hegel ascertained "art presents itself to *sense*, feeling, intuition, imagination" (Hegel 1975, 5). The beautiful has its being in "pure appearance" (Hegel 1975, 4). "But

as a high culture, a third creative direction was established at the beginning of the twentieth century, the avant-garde,[4] which represented an attack on artistic autonomy (Bürger 2009). Avant-garde did not mind using the means of low culture, as it aimed at reaching the wider public with essentially political messages. Accordingly, avant-garde could also explicitly represent political ideologies.

Thus, three types of creativity were formed by the end of the nineteenth century: 1.) low culture, that which is created according to the dictates of the market economy, 2.) art as high culture, which is committed to deeper ideas such as the representation of truth and critical aesthetic investigations (Greenberg 1984), and 3.) avant-garde art (Tratnik 2008, 277–329). In Slovenia, modernism as high art began developing at the turn of the century. The avant-garde began in 1920 and pseudo-art appears on the market, supported by the petty bourgeoisie. But beyond these orientations, in the nineteenth century, art and especially literature served national consolidation. It was the writers who made a special effort to establish the Slovenian nation as cultivated and internationally politically important through art (Tratnik 2022, 1042–1044). At the beginning of the twentieth century, visual art came to be characterized by the addressing of Slovenianness, which was not received with universal approval in the homeland. Ideologically suspect artists were increasingly marginalized by the tightening of socio-political conditions in the mid-twentieth century. For political reasons, their works were not accepted as works of high culture, even though by aesthetic standards they were just that.

2 Dark Modernism and the Vesnans

If literature of the nineteenth century did not address deeper existential themes, visual art from the late nineteenth century did. According to the respected art historian Tomaž Brejc, the painting *At Home* (*Doma*,) painted by Jožef Petkovšek in 1889 included dark existentialist elements that were so typical for the Slovenian modernism, which Brejc called "dark modernism" precisely for the

appearance itself is essential to essence. Truth would not be truth if it did not show itself and appear" (Hegel 1975, 8). Later on Martin Heidegger defended visual art as the highest form to express the truth, referring to Van Gogh's painting (Heidegger 1993).

4 The term avant-garde was introduced from military usage into politics and culture in the nineteenth century and connotes bold, progressive investigations. It soon came to denote revolutionary, forward-looking philosophies. Avant-garde is comparable to modernity, but it is more radical, less flexible and less tolerant (Calinescu 1987, 96).

relevance of the existential dimensions. This painting therefore according to his interpretation represents the beginning of the dark modernism and was also deeply appreciated by a series of modernist and contemporary artists.[5] With this painting, sadness entered Slovene art, which was later reflected in Ivan Cankar's oeuvre and throughout modernism. However, the beginnings of this orientation are to be found already in the paintings *Alone* (*Sama*, 1882–83) by Jurij Šubic and *Paris Vegetable-Seller* by Ivana Kobilica (*Pariška branjevka*, ca. 1892). At the same time, modernism was already foreshadowed in the works of Slovenian artistic realists from the second half of the nineteenth century with characteristics such as incompleteness and above all the melancholy, anxiety and dark existentialism characteristic of Slovenian modernism (Brejc 1991, 61–75), which refers to the works of the esteemed modernist artists, such as Rihard Jakopič, Tone and France Kralj, Veno Pilon, Marij Pregelj, Gabrijel Stupica, Janez Bernik and others. In other words, painters, such as Ivana Kobilica and Ferdo Vesel began to solve aesthetic issues instead of national ones (Brejc 2006, 43) and thus represent the beginnings of the Slovenian dark modernism, in parallel with them, the Vesnans placed stress on the Slovenianness instead of following the modernist streams of art.

If in this current of artistic activity, one can recognize parallels with the Western development of modern art, i.e. the development of art as an autonomous sphere that is interested in aesthetic rather than social issues, i.e. as high culture, there were also fine artists at the end of the nineteenth century and the turn of the twentieth century who were socially engaged for the national thing. As elsewhere in Central Europe, in the spirit of national awakening movements, ethnographic "Slovenianness" was sought in Slovenia at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1903, in Vienna, former students of the Ljubljana Art and Craft School founded the art club Vesna (Saša Šantel, Gvido Birolla, Maksim Gaspari, Hinko Smrekar, Fran Tratnik, et al.), whose purpose was to create for the needs of Slovenes in the spirit of Art Nouveau, following the example of the Czechs and Poles and Croats, with a special emphasis on Slovenian national art in an authentic Slovenian spirit. Vesnanstvo even became a stylistic label for creativity based on the folk tradition. Maksim Gaspari dedicated himself to documenting Slovenian

5 Gabriel Stupica, Marko Šuštaršič, Janez Bernik, Marij Pregelj paid tribute to him with the painting *Pietà – Petkovšek's Return*, 1965, Marjan Dovjak with the painting *Hommage à Petkovšek*, 1969, and Dušan Kirbiš with the painting *How my friend JP sat at* the table, 1988; he was also appreciated by the writer Ivan Cankar and by Tomaž Brejc (Brejc 1991).

farm life. Vesnans also used media and techniques that were not conceived of as means of high culture. These were illustration, postcard drawing, caricature, satire and graphics. In particular, Hinko Smrekar was strong and prolific in these techniques and also drew motifs from fairy tales and folk beliefs.[6] However, in the art historical canon (Šumi 1975, Cevc 1967, Brejc 2006), these painters do not occupy an important place and are largely omitted (except Tratnik), which indicates that their works were less important from the point of view of the art history and art theory, which prioritize aesthetic criteria. Even less appreciated by eminent art historians and theoreticians have been the contributions of lay creators, such as the paintings on the panels of beehives. The situation with art history and art theory is similar to the situation in literary history and literary theory, which has not appreciated folktales as works produced by uneducated and untrained storytellers, which have remained to be considered as folklore that is to be studied by folkloristics. In other words, works that are interpreted as "folk" products, i.e. not contributed by academically properly qualified authors, have been excluded from the sphere of art and literature as high culture and have been, as a result, considered as low culture. These works have not received the professional recognition of the world of art as works of art, and at the same time, they have not received the ritual elevation from the environment of everyday life to the environment of high culture, which is the world of art, but have remained to be considered in tight relation to the milieu of the everyday, as a rule, peasant life and everyday use, also when they have been placed as evidence of the past in an ethnographic museum, which is still not a museum of high, but of ordinary, folk culture.

The Vesnans did not follow the modernist canon. Instead, they openly preserved the interest in Slovenianness and in the Slovenian folklore, which was conceived of as low culture. Accordingly, they did not represent the artistic mainstream and occupied a less relevant position in the dominant art historian discourse.

6 The public became more familiar with Hinko Smrekar only in 2021 with a transparent two-part exhibition of his rich oeuvre.

3 Slovenian Impressionism: The Admiration and Troubles with the Slovenianness

In 1904, Slovenian impressionists who were students of the Munich school of Anton Ažbe exhibited in Vienna in the prestigious Miethke salon: Rihard Jakopič, Ivan Grohar, Matija Jama and Matija Sternen. They refused to accept the name Slowenische Künstler proposed by Miethke. Their letters show how they felt that being "Slovenian" outside of Slovenia would not help them, but most likely harmed them. Grohar wrote in 1903 that he was in no way in favour of the name proposed by Miethke: "How does 'Slovenia' help us, at most, to throw us out of the frying pan and into the fire? We saw this at the last exhibition, and we are not bound to push through the walls of Vienna with this seal on our foreheads. Besides, we remain who we are, namely: Slovenians, because we cannot resist this." (Brejc 2006, 157). He suggested the name Sava for the group, which they kept. In another letter, Grohar wrote how his compatriots from abroad, as well as the Minister in charge, were astonished at how they dared to bring their "knšt" [art in pejorative] to the capital, "why doesn't he stay at home by the fireplace, perhaps he would have achieved something, but here, it is very doubtful" (Brejc 2006, 157). The Viennese reception after the opening was positive. But in their homeland, the artists were initially treated with disdain – they were called "haymakers." Even Ivan Cankar was reluctant before the opening, while later he was impressed by Grohar's painting *Spring* (*Pomlad*, 1903) and the idea that a genuine Slovenian art was beginning: "There, look, the homeland spreads out, beautiful as paradise /…/ the homeland looked itself in the face and blushed with joy" (Cankar 1920, 167).

The case of the presentation and reception of the Slovenian Impressionists shows that Slovenianness and Slovenian culture, especially in the homeland, or among Slovenians, was perceived as something less valuable, as something one should not be proud of, but that could only cause harm. Compared to the "high" Austrian and Western cultures, Slovenian culture was perceived as inferior.[7] At the same time, it is precisely in the works of these painters, who included *en plein*

7 This is a complex issue as to why Austrian culture was perceived as higher than Slovenian. It is related to the nineteenth century's consideration that the high cultural achievements (works of art and literature) of a nation reflect the relevance of a nation. The relevance of a nation, which basically means "historical" relevance (as it was interpreted by Hegel) is actually based on the economic and political power and is accordingly also represented as a cultural power (see Tratnik 2022, 1042–1044). From this perspective, Slovenian nation was economically

air in their work, that one can feel an extraordinary attachment and admiration for the Slovenian land as a homeland, which Cankar also testified to. Slovenian Impressionists painted landscapes, but this landscape is not only an opportunity for painterly invention, a different view of the motif, but in this case, it has a surplus value, because it also means homeland.[8] Mountains play a similar role in Slovenian poetry and painting (on this topic, see Dović 2021).

At the same time, we should not neglect the high aesthetic quality of the works of Slovenian impressionist painters. Although they worked three decades after their famous French colleagues, whose achievements have a greater historical significance from this point of view, Slovenian impressionists were often more modernistic in terms of art, namely as they primarily painted paintings, not motifs, and created an artistic, poetic reality, rather than simply presenting different optical views of non-artistic reality, which was nevertheless an important goal of the early Impressionists. For example, a comparison of two works entitled *Argenteuil Railway Bridge* by Claude Monet from 1874 and the painting *Bridge over the Dobra* (*Most čez Dobro*) by Matija Jama from 1907 aptly demonstrates this. Compositionally, these paintings are very similar, but there is a significant aesthetic difference between them: Monet's paintings are focused on the presentation of the bridge, while Jama's painting is, first of all, a painting with an obvious aesthetic composition and colour and tonal design, which were beautifully rendered by the artist. If we apply the aesthetic criteria, the achievements of the Slovenian Impressionists can be understood as important contributions to high culture from a global perspective, as modernist works of art.

4 The Novo mesto Spring

The representatives of the more radical movements of the historical avant-garde were characterized by writing manifestos, organizing public performances of various kinds and using various techniques and means of creation. Under the influence of futurism, the poet Anton Podbevšek as a sixteen-year-old student of the Novo Mesto High School performed with such a power, that Izidor Cankar called him - and a group of like-minded people - a "trop of hot-blooded kids" (Kocuvan Štukelj 2020b,36). They organized "soares" in Novo mesto and

and politically weaker and "historically less relevant" than the Austrian nation and so was considered also Slovenian culture.

8 Tomaž Brejc writes about the mythology of the landscape (Brejc 2006, 156–174).

its surroundings. In 1915, Podbevšek sent the editor of *Ljubljanski zvon*, Janko Šlebinger, a collection of his poems entitled *Yellow Letters* (Žolta pisma) and wrote: "I belong to the most modern current and now I step on the surface" (Jasna Kocuvan Štukelj 2020b, 37). This letter is considered to be the beginning of the Slovenian historical avant-garde, the proto-manifesto of the events (Dović 2009, 15). With the *Yellow Letter* collection*, Podbevšek* introduced radical modernist innovations on the textual level, and communication with the editor was also based on the avant-garde model, as presented in Marinetti's technical manifesto on futurism (Dović 2009, 22–25). Šlebinger rejected Podbevšek's work and wrote: "I have not found anything so abnormal even by the most exotic futurist." It is an "impudent way of trivializing language… nebulous content without suggestions, poetry as a collection of rebuses." (Kocuvan Štukelj 2020b, 37; see also Dović 2020, 66–67). Podbevšek was then called up to the front during the First World War. After his return, his "overthrowing" activities continued in the spring of 1920 in Novo mesto, when he held an art day (September 26, 1920) along with a group of fellow high school students. Podbevšek recited his poems "ecstatically" (Vidmar 1985, 70). Rihard Jakopič described his performance, which followed the mystical performance of Miran Jarc: "Then a man came – a man from the battlefields. He floated on the clouds, full of suspense, and from the heights of fantasy he rode to drop hissing rattlesnakes among the astonished audience and to throw his effective bombs with bold courage and calm heart. The audience gasped and a movement ensued." (Kocuvan Štukelj 2020b, 39). With his work, Podbevšek wanted to address a wider audience. This can be seen also in the way in which he used advertising to publicize the event.[9]

5 The Avant-Garde of the 1920s and the Submission

In 1922, Anton Podbevšek, Marij Kogoj and Josip Vidmar co-founded the journal *Trije labodje,* modelled on the Almanac *Blue Rider* of the German Expressionists from 1912. Due to a dispute related to Podbevšek's forceful recommendation of socialist art in a lecture at City Hall, with which Kogoj and Vidmar disagreed, Podbevšek left the journal and founded the socialist-oriented magazine *Rdeči pi-*

9 He was the first artist who hired an advertising company to put up advertising posters for him (Vrečko 1998, 36).

lot in the same year.[10] (Vidmar 1985, 68). Podbevšek connected with the socialists from Zvonimir Bernot's circle and became the editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Naprej*. While in this role, he was made to pay a fine several times, so he left the editorial office. He was then hired as an assistant secretary by lawyer Stefanovič, General Secretary of the National Radical Party for Slovenia, and together, when they no longer saw their future there, they left the party and sold the list of Slovenian members (Vidmar 1985, 69; 70). The last time Podbevšek made a provocative public appearance was in 1927, after which he quarrelled with most of his former supporters. In the 1930s, he founded the publishing house Ivan Grohar and published a monograph about him in 1937. Together with Rihard Jakopič, he founded the Sejalec publishing house, which published a monograph on Jakopič and an anthology of Slovenian lyric poetry. Otherwise, the family's income depended to a greater extent on his wife's teaching salary. After the war, he took several short-term jobs (at the Newspaper Agency and Jugoreklam, then at the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Science and Culture and in the administration of the Slovenian National Theatre). From 1952 until his retirement in 1973, thanks to Vidmar, he was employed as a house manager at SAZU (Kocuvan Štukelj 2020a, 97–98).[11] During and after the war, his poetic role model was Ezra Pound, who glorified fascism. Regarding his political views, Podbevšek remained silent during this time, raising doubts and suspicions among many. Vidmar even wrote: "Some were even afraid of him and even warned me against him" (Vidmar 1985, 71).

Like Podbevšek at the beginning of the twentieth century, the musician Marij Kogoj also thought of art as futuristic: "All art is futuristic - that is, it is oriented towards the future – and if it is not, it has no meaning. Stereotyped art is nonsense. Every artist should have his world." (Kogoj 1923, 325) Kogoj experienced a difficult childhood.[12] He studied counterpoint and composition in Vienna for two years and then privately studied instrumentation with Schönberg. He made a living as a locksmith's apprentice but lived in extreme poverty during the First World War (Jevnikar 2013). In 1918, he moved to Ljubljana, where he

10 At the end of December 1920, a proclamation of the government of the Kingdom of SHS was adopted, which banned communist and other propaganda. But Vidmar writes that they were so poorly informed politically that they barely knew the proclamation.

11 Vidmar cites the period from 1953 to 1981 (Vidmar 1985, 71–72).

12 At the age of four, he survived a serious illness, after the death of his younger brother, he was given his name, his father died early, and his mother abandoned the children. He grew up in a Catholic boarding school.

socialized with Josip Vidmar and Anton Podbevšek, who took him in to live in his home. Together they co-founded the Youth Club. From 1919, he made a living by writing criticism, which he believed must always express the truth, and with which he offended many people. He isolated himself more and more. On September 26, 1920, he performed a celebratory concert as part of the Novo mesto spring, about which Marjan Mušič wrote: "It was just as we expected. Among the audience that filled the hall, the youth were, if not warmed, at least interested, while the bourgeois elite took a dismissive position without exception. However, despite this, there were no interruptions, nor did the audience leave the hall during the performance. Loud comments were heard that Kogoj's music was confusing, even crazy, that it was Bolshevist anarchic and it was just a shame that such a beautiful and illustrious singer had to suffer with it" (Mušič 1974, 113). On November 6, 1920, Kogoj repeated his celebratory concert in Ljubljana's Union Hall. He impressed the youth and critics sympathetic to his work, while Ljubljana's "higher" society boycotted the concert due to Kogoj's harsh criticism (Kocuvan Štukelj 2020c, 109). Glasbena matica terminated his employment as a teacher of harmony and counterpoint. On Vidmar's recommendation, he got a place at the Ljubljana Conservatory of Music, where he lectured for three months, after which any further cooperation with the "unacceptable artist" was terminated. During this time, he published and performed several works.[13] Due to difficult economic conditions, he returned to Gorica in 1922, and then in 1924 he got a job as an accompanist at the Ljubljana Opera, where he worked until 1932 when he was hospitalized for the rest of his life due to mental health issues. *Black Masks* from 1929 was, in Josip Vidmar's opinion, the only notable opera of musical expressionism in general, in addition to Alban Berg's opera *Vojček* from 1925 (Vidmar 1985, 62).

Kogoj was interested in the folk music he arranged, about which he expressed the following opinion in a letter to Stanko Premrl on February 24, 1914, which is also reflected in the choral adaptations "The Field Stands for Me" ("Stoji mi

13 In print, he published: *Three soliloquies* ("I Will Remember You," "A Walk in Winter," "Istrian motif" - 1919), *Soliloquies* ("In the Evening," "That I Were Jesus," "Gazelle" - Glasbena matica, 1921), *14 Maria's Songs* (arrangements - Pevec, 1921), Vidmar published *Six Piano Pieces* and a lithographic print of two choirs: *Barčica* and *Requiem*. For Sophocles' *King Oedipus*, which he staged with the students of the diocesan classical high school at the Institute of St. Stanislav in Šentvid near Ljubljana, he set the choirs to music. He also published treatises "*On Art, Especially Music"* (*Dom in svet* 1919), "On the Folk Song" (*Dom in svet* 1921) and, later, "Educational Choral Production by Slovenes" (*Ljubljanski zvon* 1929) (Jevnikar 2013).

polje"), "A Folk Song" ("Narodna") and "A Suffering Heart" ("Trpeče srce"): "As for the harmonization of folk songs, I think that harmonization is not a goal in itself, but it has to achieve that expression, which a song has in the people, a kind mass spirit" (Jevnikar 2013). The painter France Kralj was his friend and greatly appreciated Kogoj, recognizing him as a Slovenian artist in his essence: "Marij was a great son of his land, he was not an international Salooner, he was a primitive Slovenian expressionist" (Kralj 1996, 205).

6 Discredit

France Kralj also had a close relationship with his homeland, especially with culture and spirituality, which he learned while growing up in Dolenjska. He understood art as nation-building: "Art is – the soul of a nation. Nations are not great because of their numerousness, they are great because of the mental qualities and nobleness of the heart of individuals." (Kralj 1933, 60) His parents were devoted Christians, which deeply marked the painter's life, as he wrote: "Love for prayer, for faith, was imprinted in the depth of our feelings, and this love, the early faith in God inseparable from it, became for us a dogma, closely related to a child's love for a mother." (Kralj 1933, 8–9) In his autobiography, *Moja pot* (*My Path*), Kralj presented his view on art and the state of the contemporary art scene. The highest authority in the world of art in Slovenia at that time was undoubtedly Rihard Jakopič, whom Kralj even calls "the highest god," also because he set up an exhibition space for artists. Otherwise, Jakopič was a representative of "the then highest Slovenian elite society of bourgeois artists gathered in the Sava Club" (Kralj 1996, 65). According to Kralj, the bourgeois aristocratic class, who had been trained by the elite Impressionism to become art lovers or admirers, began to socially decline. On the other hand, the petty-bourgeois class, which was growing stronger and "is backward by nature and only accepts art of lower values, controlled the money market and thereby made extensive decisions about the entire artistic production" (Kralj 1996, 66–67). The petty bourgeoisie supported secessionists, pseudo-impressionists, and pseudo-youth, or in other words, pseudo-art, while Kralj wanted high art to create an "artisanal national style with a contemporary, modern expression," which failed to happen (Kralj 1996, 68–69). By writing his book, Kralj encouraged society to feel a sense of responsibility towards modern artists and to provide them with the conditions for operation and development. When the work was published in 1933, it was met with controversy.

From the end of the nineteenth century until the 1920s Slovenes were politically and ideologically divided into catholic, liberal and socialist blocs. The latter two were both explicitly anti-clerical. By the second half of the 1930s, these

three political orientations merged into two: on the one hand there was one that established a common line with the communists and on the other, there was one that rejected any collaboration with the communists. The relations between the left and right outgrew from enthusiasm into hatred (Čepič et al. 1995, 28–29). In the context of aggravated political circumstances, an artist who openly expressed affinity to Christianity and represented Slovene identity in his work risked experiencing a negative reception.

In 1939, extremists from left-wing circles (unionists) first moved, then broke, and finally poured tar over his statue titled *Nature* (*Priroda*), because it was supposed to represent an example of degenerate art. In articles, it was renamed into *Slovene Woman* (*Slovenska žena*) (Kralj 1995, 9). Kralj himself noted that there was no one (from the National Gallery, the Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Pen Club, the municipality as the owner, or Sodobnost) who would condemn the perpetrators and the act (Kralj 1996, 181). At this time, Kralj also proposed the merger of the Slovenian Figure Association (Slovenski lik)[14] with the Slovenian Fine Artists Association (Društvo slovenskih likovnih umetnikov), but in 1940 attempts to bring them together failed, and the door to the Slovenian Figure in the Jakopič Pavilion were closed. After 1945, disputes took on a political tone which had an impact on Kralj's further complete marginalization (Kralj 1995, 9). In 1945, his employment at the Technical High School was terminated and he was even deleted from the voter's register (in 1946 he was re-entered), in 1947 he was denied the right to a pension. He was employed as a drawing professor at II State Boys' High School in Ljubljana, but in 1950 the city of Ljubljana formally terminated his employment; he was assessed to be permanently incapable of working but was unsuccessful in asserting his right to a pension (Kralj 1995, 10–11). Because he felt he had been subjected to extreme professional and personal degradation, in 1953 he tacked hand-written protest statements to the frame that held his painting *My Wife with a Venetian Background* (*Moja žena z beneškim ozadjem*, 1932) from the collection of the Modern Gallery. In 1956, a retrospective of his work was shown in the Modern Gallery, and a dispute arose between the artist and the organizer which ended in court. In the second half of the 1950s, at the great exhibition of the art of the Yugoslav nations, Kralj was labelled the first decadent, based on which he was not included in the selection.

14 Slovenian Figure Association was co-founded by Kralj in 1934 as a response to the establishment of the Association of Fine Artists of the Drava County (Društvo likovnih umetnikov Dravske banovine).

At the same time, he wrote in his memoirs: "Perhaps this was one of the greatest merits of the young doctor, the critic Stane Mikuž,[15] who was already tried in the struggle at the art festival and a well-deserved critic for the Salooners, and who from time to time played the role of a big bully, especially by breaking down the Slovenian Figure." (Kralj 1996, 191). France Kralj was increasingly depressed after the war. He was starving and, due to the impossible living conditions, he did not even have the basic conditions for work. To scratch out a living he produced religious art, so-called "little gods" ("bogce") for novel priests and friends (Kralj 1996, 222).

7 Conclusion

With the Industrial Revolution came the split between high and low culture, which was expressed in the West as early as the nineteenth century, while at the same time, national consolidation was important for Slovenian poets, writers and other cultural figures. In other creative fields such as painting and music, the expression of Slovenianness was relevant for some artists in the first two decades of the twentieth century, but it was not universally accepted. On the contrary. In the twentieth century, modernism, which focused on aesthetic issues, was gradually gaining ground in Slovenia as well, and was acceptable also after the war, even though it was influenced by the West. On the other hand, artists who performed more passionately, free-thinking and radically, and who addressed folk and religious themes submerged by the 1930s when the ideological divide deepened and the left became radicalized to the point of becoming completely intolerant of those who did not ideologically share their views. Ideologically inadequate or suspect artists were existentially and professionally tortured in the emerging communist regime, as well as they were excluded from the artistic mainstream and denied teaching posts. The representatives of power in the regime that was established after the Second World War degraded the works of such artists. Labelling their art as degenerate or decadent was a convenient political tool to discredit them professionally and even destroy their lives.

15 Stane Mikuž (1913–1985) was an art historian who was employed at the National Museum (1938–1944), then from 1945 he headed the Department of Fine Arts and Museums at the Ministry of Education, and from 1952 (until 1983) was a professor at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana.

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THE ART AND WORLDVIEW OF THE SLOVENIAN WRITER IVAN CANKAR (1876–1918) IN THE LITERARY CRITICISM OF IZIDOR CANKAR AND FRANCE KOBLAR

Irena Avsenik Nabergoj, Ljubljana

1 Introduction

Ivan Cankar (1876–1918) holds a special position, namely, as the greatest Slovenian writer. He began his artistic career by writing poetry, and in his relatively short lifetime, he produced an extensive oeuvre of artistic prose and drama, as well as a significant corpus of non-fiction prose – political articles, essays and published speeches, criticism and polemics. For this reason, in the more than one hundred years since his death, numerous critical writings have been produced, representing a wide variety of views on his personality, his artistic work, and his political activity.[1]

Cankar's works attracted critics for their high artistic value, but also because they reflected the writer's commitment to the historical, political, national, cultural and literary issues of his time. Moreover, the psyche of the great Slovenian artist was marked by many inner contradictions. That is why, from the first assessments of his work to the present day, the question of the most appropriate reading of Ivan Cankar has arisen again and again.

Among the most important older literary historians and critics who have evaluated the work of Ivan Cankar are Ivan Grafenauer (1880–1964), Ivan Prijatelj (1875–1937), Alojz Kraigher (1877–1959), Izidor Cankar (1886–1958), France Koblar (1889–1975), and Josip Vidmar (1895–1992). In this article, I will limit myself to an evaluation of the main features of Cankar's artistic work and attitude, as published in the introduction and notes to the first edition of the writer's works by its editor, Izidor Cankar, who was the writer's cousin (introductions and notes to the first 19 volumes of Cankar's Collected Writings), and by his close

1 The article is the result of work carried out within the research project J6-3140: *Slovenian Intellectual History in the Light of Contemporary Theories of Religion: From Separation of Spirits and Culture War to Communist Revolution* and the programme P6-0262: *Values in Judeo-Christian Sources and Tradition and the Possibilities of Dialogue*. Each is co-financed by the Slovene Research Agency.

collaborator France Koblar (introduction and notes to the 20th and last volume of the collection).

As far as the intellectual basis of literary evaluation is concerned, we distinguish between Catholic, liberal and Marxist critics, according to the main ideological currents of the period between the two world wars. In Matija Ogrin's *Literary Valuation in Slovenia: From 1918 to 1945* (2003) the first, i.e., Catholic writers of the older generation, who in many ways continued the tradition of the 19th century, were among the first to be included. Aleš Ušeničnik, Izidor Cankar, Ivan Pregelj, France Stele, Stanko Majcen, as well as important proponents or co-creators of the younger Catholic culture, such as France Koblar, Tine Debeljak, Jakob Šolar, Anton and France Vodnik, Božo Vodušek, and Janez Remic.

They are followed by writers with a liberal orientation, both older ones who were still forming in the modern era – Anton Aškerc, Ivan Cankar, Oton Župančič, and younger ones such as Josip Vidmar, Fran Albreht, Juš Kozak, Božidar Borko, Anton Slodnjak, Anton Ocvirk, Srečko Kosovel, Anton Podbevšek, Ferdo Delak. These are, in turn, followed by a socialist- and Marxist-oriented group that includes an older and a younger generation: Angelo Cerkvenik, Vladimir Martelanc, Bratko Kreft, Dušan Kermauner, Edvard Kardelj, Boris Ziherl, Ivo Brnčič, and Bogomil Fatur (Ogrin 2003, 12–13). These various authors evaluated Slovenian literature of the interwar period in very different ways, depending on their literary sensibility and critical competence, and on the intellectual and sociocultural background against which they formed their critical criteria; as well, the degree of reflection on these criteria also played a role in their evaluations.

It is therefore not unusual that the Slovenian literary historian Boris Paternu, in his article "The Question of a New Reading of Ivan Cankar," points out the contradictions that have coloured the last hundred years of the reception of Cankar's works: "What at first sight testifies to a never completed reading of Ivan Cankar is the deep disagreement, the schism in the perception and interpretation of the writer's central works, which has been going on for more than a century. To put it simply, the perpetual polemic between the preoccupation with Cankar's revolutionary character, on the one hand, and the preoccupation with his religiosity, on the other. A polemic that was, of course, always ideologically and politically determined in its respective time" (Paternu 2019, 11).

Cankar's contemporaries were aware of the difficult task of objectively assessing the significance of the writer's work. In their critiques, they illuminated, to varying degrees, the socio-cultural, philosophical, religious, and other spiritual foundations of Cankar's work, while analysing Cankar's literary works in terms of their cognitive, ethical, and aesthetic roles, and establishing the overall artistic specificity of the writer's literary oeuvre.

2 Assessments of Ivan Cankar's Art and Worldview by Izidor Cankar

Among the older experts on the literary oeuvre of Ivan Cankar, Izidor Cankar has given a comprehensive presentation of the writer's literary and critical works. In compiling Cankar's oeuvre, he followed the chronological order of the writer's publications in the last version, which was prepared at the author's will, from his earliest literary beginnings to the autobiographical works of the writer's last years. His judgments have become the cornerstone of Cankar's scholarship and have been praised but also doubted, with most referring to Izidor's attempt to define Cankar's worldview. For example, in his article "Ivan Cankar: Nazor," the interwar literary critic Josip Vidmar, whom Ogrin classifies as a prominent writer with liberal tendencies (Ogrin 2003, 12–13), welcomes the publication of Ivan Cankar's Collected Works at a time when the first epoch of Cankar's literary estate was beginning to wane (Vidmar 1951, 178). He writes the following:

> The collected writings […] create an overview and a view through his work, and the great personality of Ivan Cankar, in whom so many different ideologies and ways of thinking could find their confirmation, becomes clearer and more understandable in its path of development. Gradually it also becomes clear which thoughts and insights the poet touched upon only in passing and which accompanied him throughout his life as the expression and meaning of his being. With this, an age of blind and uncontrolled exploitation of his authority comes to an end, an age in which he was invoked, mostly unjustifiably, by all who held this or that way of thinking: Catholics, freethinkers, socialists, Tolstoians, neo-Catholics, Marxists, and Nietzscheans. (Vidmar 1951, 178–179)

Vidmar points out that the anarchic exploitation of the great writer intensified in particular the need for a thorough and factual treatment that would impartially and perceptively explain, based on Cankar's life and work, the worldview that left the deepest trace in his life and work and that best suited his nature at the time. He notes that this task was undertaken in volume 13 of Cankar's Collected Writings "in the narrow sense" by the editor of the collection, Izidor Cankar. Further, he notes the sense of this task from the great resonance that Izidor's attempt aroused, especially in the Catholic press; at the same time, however, Vidmar stresses the need for "a more definite and less relative definition of Cankar's worldview," which "must sooner or later be described without regard to the main intellectual orientations of our life, then and now, and even without regard to the main European currents of thought of his epoch" (Vidmar 1951, 179). He considers Izidor's experiment "an important beginning" and therefore finds it necessary to give it his full attention, aware that with his discussion he touches

on "many great and interesting problems in Cankar's personality" (Vidmar 1951, 179).[2]

As a theologian, Izidor Cankar expresses himself clearly and precisely on concepts related to faith, religion, Christianity, Catholicism, conscience and morality. In 1926 he left the priesthood and married. He was active as a literary critic, writer, translator, editor, politician and diplomat, but above all as an art historian and theoretician, studying aesthetics for a year at the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium from 1909–1910, and then, after World War I, in 1919 he continued his studies in art history in Vienna, earning a doctorate under Professor Max Dvořák and becoming the first professor of art history at the newly founded University of Ljubljana.

Izidor concludes that Ivan Cankar's worldview broadened and deepened throughout the periods of his life and work and that the works from his last creative period, in which he said the most about his view on life, are particularly important for assessing the solidity of the writer's principles. In this article, therefore, I confine myself to Izidor's assessments of Cankar's works in the introductions to volumes 16 and 19 of his Collected Writings.

In the introduction to the 16th volume of Cankar's Collected Writings (1933), Izidor Cankar notes that nowhere had Ivan Cankar revealed as much about his view on life as in the writings that comprise this volume – both in his criticism and especially in his work *Volja in moč* (*Will and Power*), and in his most abstract and least stage-ready piece *Lepa Vida* (*Fair Vida*). The critic remarks: "In it, he showed himself to be a pronounced dualist, an adherent of the view of the coexistence of two principles in the world: God and the world, the soul and the body, ethical striving and sinful behaviour, this world and the world beyond, mind and conscience, mental cognition and another perception of truth 'through the eyes of the soul'" (Iz. Cankar ZS 16, x).

During the period in which these works were written, Ivan Cankar repeatedly referred to the phenomenon of freethinking. The reasons for this were literary, party-political and personal. In literary terms, Cankar was inspired by the late poems of Anton Aškerc, in which he interpreted the "deterioration of the artistic value of poetry" by the poet's "freethinking zeal" (Iz. Cankar, ZS 16, v). According to Izidor's assessment, Ivan Cankar regarded freethinking as the "worldview" of the liberal bourgeoisie and as a kind of "gospel" of the party, which he fought

2 Due to the space limitations of the article, a more detailed insight into Vidmar's assessment of Cankar's worldview will be given in a separate study.

against as a socialist (Iz. Cankar, ZS 16, v–vi). He was to take seriously the practical party slogan of Social Democracy, namely, that questions of faith are a "private matter" for party members. For Izidor, however, the strongest reason for Cankar's characterization of the phenomenon of freethinking was a personal, psychological one. It was "the natural resistance of the poet's differently oriented personality, to which the 'freethinking' that grew out of materialist philosophy, which was directed not only against the confessions but against religiosity in general, could not fit" (Iz. Cankar, ZS 16, vi).

According to Izidor Cankar, the writer's opposition to "free thinking" was so strong and loud that some of his freethinking friends, who stayed with him at the Hotel Tivoli until the spring of 1910, when he moved to Rožnik, "quietly thought he was a devout Catholic" (Iz. Cankar, ZS 16, viii). According to Izidor, Cankar declared himself to be a Catholic at this time, for example to the poet Oton Župančič. Nevertheless, Izidor thinks that Cankar's friends are mistaken. He thinks that Cankar wanted to belong to a religious collective, but that he did not feel committed to it in his behaviour and thought (Iz. Cankar, ZS 16, viii).

In 1909, Cankar wrote in a sonnet that "There is light and there is God!" (Cankar, ZD 18, 111), and the following year also tried to describe his idea of God, comparing him to beauty. In his essay "Our Artists," Cankar writes:

> Beauty is like God. Eternal and infinite, boundless and immeasurable. Light weaves through the whole universe in a thousand rays; it shines in the sun, the moon, and the stars, breathes in the air, and swarms with the wind; it pervades the stone, lives in the plant, the animal, and the human being. Beauty is like God: it is everywhere and nowhere; nowhere is it embodied, fully expressed, so that longing and foreboding have no place. The eye has not seen it, the ear has not heard it, the tongue has not expressed it, the hand has not created it. The heart of the poor man has heard it and sought it, has foreseen it and will seek it forever. And this longing is called art. (Cankar, ZD 24, 138)

According to Izidor Cankar, the writer's notion of longing builds up into a kind of "broad philosophy of life" in this period, as Cankar writes about it in two books from this period, *Will and Power* and *Fair Vida*. Izidor believes that Cankar was not a pantheist (Iz. Cankar, ZD 16, XI) and that his theory of desire is theological in origin (Iz. Cankar, ZD 16, XI). He considers Cankar's theory of longing to be of theological origin. This view of life, which Cankar never again explains at length in later years, is connected with the writer's religious experience in Sarajevo in 1909, where he "heard, perhaps for the first time in his life, that God is 'absolute beauty'" (Iz. Cankar, ZS 16, xii).

According to Izidor Cankar, the fact that Cankar was unable to cope well in his short political career was due to his conscience. Cankar himself confessed

this in the collection of three novellas *Will and Power* (in the novella Dana). Izidor considers *Will and Power* to be a series of images from the eternal struggle between soul and body, desire and action, purity and sin, and the most systematic confession of Cankar's dualistic worldview. Although the characters in these novellas are initially weak, in the final section Cankar renews his faith "in the future triumph of the will, of desire, of the soul!" (Iz. Cankar, ZS 16, xv). The thesis of "the ever-conquered and someday yet victorious longing, the victory of the 'soul' over the world, of the future 'harmony of day and eternity'" is also to be illustrated by Cankar in the play *Fair Vida*" (Iz. Cankar, ZS 16, xv–xvi).

In the introduction to the nineteenth volume of his Collected Works, published in 1936, Izidor Cankar describes how deeply Cankar was shaken by the First World War. The war caused him to reflect once again on himself, his work and the life of his nation. He wrote these thoughts down in a form which represented his last, pre-death realisation (Iz. Cankar, ZS 19, v). Cankar now began "to concern himself more intensely than ever with the problem of the political and cultural life of his nation" (Iz. Cankar, ZS 19, viii). According to Izidor, Cankar's faith strengthened during the war. The writer gave this "new faith" its most beautiful literary form in some of the lines of his last collection *Podobe iz sanj* (*Dream Visions*), and in 1918 he was to speak about it in public (Iz. Cankar, ZS 19, ix). Izidor points out that Cankar had a surprisingly sober view of the political and cultural problems of the Slovenes. In 1913, he formulated his thesis on the relationship of Slovenes to Yugoslavs, for which all Slovenian newspapers rejected, ridiculed, or tried to intimidate him. According to Izidor, Cankar was a socialist to the end, but he was never an orthodox Marxist (Iz. Cankar, ZS 19, x).

Izidor Cankar believes that in the last years of Cankar's life, his art reached the highest peak that his talent could reach. He believes that no Slovenian writer had ever written better prose than Cankar and that Cankar's most beautiful short stories of the last period are artistically on a par with the most outstanding literature of their kind in the world (Iz. Cankar, ZS 19, xii). During these years Cankar also changed as a person: the formerly unforgiving judge became soft "to the last grace still given to man" – he judged only himself, and in his letters constantly questioned his conscience, forgetting everything else, because he did not dare to judge "where justice stops and injustice begins" (Iz. Cankar, ZS 19, xii–xiii; on Cankar's life and art in the last period of his life, see Avsenik Nabergoj 2015). In Cankar's last short story, "The Evildoer Janez" ("Hudodelec Janez") the critic notes a great change compared to the writer's earlier descriptions of "righteous" people who were marked by fate, such as in *Hlapec Jernej* (*The Bailiff Jernej*) or *Jakob Nesreča*. The earlier "gloomy philosophy" had been replaced "by a serene and broad view of external events, which can no longer shake the deep peace of

the soul: no one can say that he is not guilty, and everything must be forgiven […]" (Iz. Cankar, ZS 19, xiii).

3 The Assessment of Ivan Cankar's Art and Worldview by France Koblar

The introductions to Cankar's Collected Writings are concluded with an introduction to the twentieth volume by France Koblar. Koblar was the editor of the journal *Dom in svet* (*Home and World*) until 1937 and the foremost critic in Catholic circles in the 1920s. He worked to give Catholic literary journalism an equal place alongside liberal journalism. In his assessment of literary works, he was particularly attentive to their aesthetic dimension and the merits of their literariness. Matija Ogrin notes that Koblar refrained from evaluating the content of works to avoid accusations of bias in Catholic criticism (Ogrin 2003, 70). Nevertheless, in his evaluation of Cankar's last works, he addresses their content and ideas in addition to their formal aspects.

Koblar considers Cankar's collection of short prose, *Dream Visions*, written during the years of the First World War, to be Cankar's greatest work. He notes that there is little of the external in it and that the material is almost devoid of the typical characteristics found in other war writers (cf. Avsenik Nabergoj 2015). But the writer's experience of war is vast and shocking: "Every externally insignificant event is a mystery unto itself, it grows out of itself into the whole world and turns into an image of universal suffering" (Koblar, ZS 20, VII). In the short prose, the critic discovers Cankar's questioning of the meaning of suffering while staring wistfully at the horror of time. In his visions, Cankar sees a "universal mankind" "standing naked before a giant mirror," above which stands an invisible, righteous judge who judges man without words (Koblar, ZS 20, VII). Koblar points out that these visions were created in Cankar's search for the ultimate truth. It was then that the "higher commandment" to "seek the light and bring it to the people" spoke in Cankar (Koblar, ZS 20, vii).

Koblar notes that a "new world" opened up for Cankar in *Dream Visions*. The war brought the writer closer to the idea of "horror and mystery" on "the other side." He expressed the thought of a wonderful life and love "on the other side," which gives comfort in the terrible present, in his sketches "Kostanj posebne sorte" ("A Chestnut of a Special Kind"), "Ugasle luči" ("Fading Lights") and others. In his short story "Zaklenjena kamrica" ("The Locked Chamber"), Cankar urged that man and nation should accumulate treasures from suffering and store them safely for the future (Koblar 1936, ZS 20, viii). In the face of apocalyptic horror, he stresses in his short story "Sence" ("Shadows") that man "should wait for the end, purified and prepared" (Koblar 1936, ZS 20, viii). In the short story "Nedelja" ("Sunday") Cankar revives his former faith in the reward of suffering,

but now differently and more clearly. His thought on the ethical value of suffering is transformed into the almost dogmatic postulate that suffering is necessary for glorification and that purification is necessary for salvation. He writes: "Good Friday was for Easter Sunday, God Himself had to die for the glorious resurrection to ring and sing to humble man" (Koblar, ZS 20, ix).

Koblar also expresses his judgment on Cankar's religiosity. He believes that Cankar's faith in glorification is deep and firm and that it "springs from the poet's last mental and emotional insights" (Koblar 1936, ZS 20, ix–x). In Cankar's faith he discovers the faith of the writer's early youth, the faith of his mother, and the faith of his nation, which clings to humiliation and divine suffering and from it spring hopes for its purification and glorification (Koblar 1936, ZS 20, x).

In Cankar's cry "Mother, Motherland, God" in the collection *Dream Visions*, the critic Koblar recognises Cankar's approach to perfection of form that he has not achieved in any of his earlier works. In the sketches "Gospod stotnik" ("The Lord Centurion") and "Otroci in starci" ("Children and Old Men") the writer's wealth of words condenses itself into a bitter directness that nevertheless retains all its tenderness. Cankar turns to metaphor and legend and, in the form of a mystical grotesque, also bears witness to the horror within and beyond himself (Koblar 1936, ZS 20, xi). During this period, he also reflects on his death and penetrates the near future with a kind of clairvoyance. To his threefold confession, he adds a new threefold meaning: "Life, Youth, Love" (Koblar 1936, ZS 20, xiii).

In the introduction, Koblar also describes the biographical circumstances surrounding the creation of Cankar's last works. From Koblar's introduction, we also learn that in the autumn of 1917, Cankar moved from Rožnik to Ljubljana, at the urging of his friends. The writer's short story "On the Move" ("Ob selitvi") shows that at that time he could already sense that death was approaching. During this period, his sharpness of character was gone, and he even reconciled with some of his old adversaries. Although he still professed to be a member of the Socialist Party "outwardly," he alienated himself from it intimately, and drew closer to "the small circle of young political and cultural workers who had gathered around the glorified symbol of the national community, Dr. J. Evangelist Krek, and had taken up his social heritage" (Koblar 1936, ZS 20, xiv).

As Koblar writes, at this time Cankar was striving "for complete order in his life," and so he began to think again of marriage. This did not come to fruition, nor did his hope for a permanent job. He suspected that he would soon die, although he outwardly denied it. His health deteriorated, and towards the end of the war, his will was said to have weakened as well. In October 1918, he had an accident in his flat at 5 Kongresni trg in Ljubljana and suffered a concussion. He was taken to the hospital, where his health recovered, but he returned on

November 25 already deathly ill. He contracted pneumonia and died "peacefully and resignedly" on December 11 (Koblar 1936, ZS 20, xiv).

Regarding the writer's religiosity in the last period of his life, Koblar believes:

> Following his work, which was itself the highest expression of his faith, Ivan Cankar did not die a cold deist. If he claimed to be a Christian and a Catholic without performing the actual duties of the ecclesiastical community, his inner circle knew that these were not empty words. He felt his Catholicism not in its whole dogmatic structure, but in its supernatural foundations. His belief in accountability before God, in the goodness of God and life after death, and his intimate closeness to the image of Christ, all went back to the most primal emotions of his youth and grew into a longing for redemption. That is why in his work he was not a socialist according to Marx, but according to Christ, as the German critic noted. There are several witnesses of his true faithfulness, which in special moments struck out forcefully, from his last days. (Koblar 1936, ZS 20, xv)

4 Conclusion

In determining the values that critics saw in Cankar's literary works, we pay attention to the different foundations, value assumptions, aesthetic principles, and evaluation criteria of each critic, as well as to the values contained in Cankar's specific literary works, their contextual and aesthetic components, and their integrity. The most pronounced judgments of Cankar's art are found among those critics who, in addition to reviews, wrote theoretical texts in which they described their starting points in both cognitive and value terms; for others, the criticism is descriptive rather than critical in the strict sense.

For Izidor Cankar, the editor of the first collection of Cankar's collected writings, it is known that after 1918 he abandoned literary criticism and devoted himself to art history and aesthetics. An exception to this new path is his introductions to the works of Ivan Cankar, which, in Ogrin's opinion, "are of a literary-historical rather than literary-critical and value-oriented nature" (Ogrin 2003, 26). In his introduction to Cankar's Collected Writings, Izidor Cankar tried to present the personality and work of Ivan Cankar in an integrated way, focusing on both the formal and the substantive features of Cankar's works as they developed, which he paralleled with the development of Cankar's views – his artistic and aesthetic view, his attitude to the Slovenian nation and its history, to the Slovenian language and literature, to the role of art and the artist, as well as to Marxism, liberalism and Christianity, and religiosity in general (cf. Avsenik Nabergoj 2014, 2019).

Izidor recognised the exceptional and entirely new level that Cankar had achieved in his fiction and literary criticism. He saw above all Cankar's awareness of the deeper, mysterious nature of man, which awakens a longing for truth. This longing is expressed in his works, in which he is always able to express only a tiny part of the great, all-encompassing longing for the unknown and unattainable. In his insight into Cankar's existential orientation of art, Izidor was followed by France Koblar. In their introductions, neither Izidor Cankar nor Koblar avoided presenting Cankar's works in which his poetic-philosophical reflection is expressed, including intuitive-experiential reflections on the relationship between longing, art, and God.[3]

Izidor Cankar's remarkable reflections on the form and central themes of Cankar's works – on longing, on the workings of the personal conscience, and especially on the meaning of suffering as a condition for the purification and redemption of man and the Slovenian nation – have become the basis of Slovenian Cankar studies. However, in the passages where the critic addresses Cankar's religiosity and his attitude towards Marxism and freethinking, Izidor's reflections stimulated new debates and polemics. In particular, the view that art should be completely independent of worldviews and ideologies was at the forefront, and this view characterised much of the subsequent evaluation of Cankar's oeuvre in Slovenia, in which Cankar was most often presented and considered based on those works that represented his social critique, rather than his existential works.

Abbreviations

ZS **Ivan Cankar**. 1925–1936. *Zbrani spisi* [Collected Writings], vols. 1–20. Editor and author of introductions and notes Izidor Cankar, in vol. 20 France Koblar. Ljubljana: Nova založba.

ZD **Ivan Cankar**. 1967–1976. *Zbrana dela* [Collected Works], vols. 1–30. Main editors Anton Ocvirk et al. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

3 There have been many interesting works on Christian art, which differs from purely humanistic art in its use of familiar Christian symbols (Stump 2010; Efird and Gustafsson 2015; etc.).

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ECCLESIA, NATION OR KAISER? THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN AUSTRIAN GALICIA BEFORE 1914

Tomasz Pudłocki, Kraków

1 Introduction

The history of the Church in Austrian Galicia is still little researched, especially in comparative terms. And yet the two dominant rites, Latin and Uniate, despite the competition for the rule of souls, were part of one Catholic Church. Therefore, I would like to have a closer look at the problem of how local hierarchs before the outbreak of World War I functioned within the triad: faithfulness to the Holy See, loyalty towards the ruling dynasty and a hot issue in the Habsburg Empire: national ideology, for which the Church was one of the major factors shaping ethnic identity. All three were the Church's allies in the struggle for ruling people's hearts and minds, and yet they started to be mutually exclusive. The hierarchs wanted to maintain their influence, so they had to keep their balance to do that.

Michel Foucault writes about the mechanisms of exerting power. He emphasizes three criteria important for disciplining the groups over which power is exercised: 1) tactics, as cheap as possible and discreet, almost secret so that it causes the least resistance, 2) maximum efficiency with the broadest range, 3) combining the growth of power with the efficiency of the apparatuses within which power is exerted (e.g. pedagogical, political, military etc.). Although the French philosopher did not write about the reality of the Church in the period I am examining, his methodological proposition is extremely inspiring for me (Foucault 1998, 212). I am therefore interested in how the Catholic hierarchy at the time of heightened nationalism tried to maintain power, balancing between the three forces necessary for them to maintain the influences.

The choice of the period stems from the enormous mental change at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries in the Galician Church. As Nataliia Kolb proved on the example of Uniate junior clergy,[1] the 1890s were vital in departing from Moscophilia (previously professed by a majority of the clergy) in favour of the nationalist option (Колб 2015; Himka 1999; Wójtowicz-Huber 2008). Moreover,

1 This Church is called in historiography: the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Byzantine rite, the Ruthenian Catholic, Greek Catholic, or Uniat(e) Church.

around 1900 changes came about almost in all dioceses in Galicia, which found reflection in the functioning of the local Church.

In Przemyśl in 1897 the Uniate diocese was taken over by Konstanty Czechowicz and in Stanyslaviv by Grzegorz Chomyszyn (Khomyshyn). Yet the greatest advocate of the national trend in the Uniate Church and with time unofficial leader of Galician Ukrainians was Andrey Sheptytsky – since 1900 Metropolitan Uniate Archbishop of Lviv. Significant changes also came about in the Latin hierarchy at the time. In 1900 a new Latin Bishop of Przemyśl became Józef Sebastian Pelczar, Latin Metropolitan in Lviv – Józef Bilczewski and a year later the Bishop of Tarnów – Leon Wałęga. What was more, in 1901 a new Armenian Catholic Archbishop in Lviv became Józef Teodorowicz. Therefore, within four years – apart from the bishopric in Kraków ruled by Prince Jan Puzyna – changes occurred everywhere. The dioceses were taken over by people shaped by the pontificate of Pope Leo XIII and the theses of his encyclicals. They were not unanimous but in the case of each of them, the periods of their rule in particular dioceses are recognized in historiography as periods of development of religious and institutional life (Śliwa 1979: 642–643; *Metropolita* 1994; Czechowicz 1998; Андрухів, Камянский, 2006; Єгрешій 2006; Королевський 2015; Nowak, 2018).

2 Struggle for Political Influences

While the Galician episcopate was hardly a point of reference in the history of the general Church, the conclave after the death of Pope Leo XIII in 1903 changed that for a brief moment. Cardinal Jan Puzyna, Prince Bishop of Kraków, in the name of Emperor Franz Joseph I (to whom he owed becoming cardinal) filed a protest called *ius exclusivae* against the attempt to elect Cardinal Mariano Rampolli for Pope. The protest was allegedly the result of a hostile attitude of the Austro-Hungarian Emperor to Rampolli, who had been opposed to the Catholic burial of the Emperor's son, Rudolph, who had committed suicide. The would-be pope also supported circles in Austria-Hungary hostile towards Franz Joseph. Puzyna had also another reason not to support the candidacy of the Holy See Secretary of State. Rampolli conducted a pro-Russian policy, promising Czar Nicolai II to consent to introduce the Russian language to the liturgy of the Catholic Church in the territories ruled by the czar. The protest – even though not binding – had its political significance, as it had been filed in the name of the monarch known for his favourable attitude towards the Church. Eventually, the one elected pope was Cardinal Giuseppe Sarto, who, as Pope Pius X in the constitution *Commissum Nobis* abolished the *ius exclusivae* (Urban 2002: 273-276).

The example of Puzyna's behaviour shows very well that the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the Habsburg monarchy until the end of the existence of that state was at a crossroads. On the one hand, they were responsible for the development of their subordinate dioceses and the integrity of the teachings of the Church in constant contact with the pope, on the other hand, they were imperial officials, expected to guard loyalty towards the ruling dynasty. Fidelity towards the Holy See did not exclude loyalty towards the ruling dynasty, particularly as the aged Franz Joseph I was genuinely pious and devoted to the Church. Moreover, bishops used to sit in the Diet in Lviv, which was their second function, watching the intricacies of political life not only in the provinces but also in Vienna. They would often speak out on matters important from the point of view of the Church in the Diet or the press, which they used to communicate with the faithful and to exert pressure on politicians (Lamberts 1916, 117-309). Paradoxically, as a result of the persecution of Poles, including Roman Catholic clergy in Russia and Prussia, the Latin Church since the second half of the 19th century had become one of the major factors shaping Polish national identity. It was similar in the case of Ruthenians/Ukrainians.[2] Because of the Russian czarism fighting against even the minor manifestations of Ukrainian culture and the Greek Catholic Church in favour of promoting the Orthodox faith and Russianness, the Uniate Church had become their support. Additionally, in Galicia politically dominated by Poles, only that Church was at first a force which Polish nobility honoured, and since celibacy was not obligatory to the secular clergy, it was from the clergy that most of that nation's intelligentsia originated. Regular moments of maintaining the influences of the episcopate in Vienna and the Vatican were frequent visits of hierarchs to both capitals and watching over the interests of the local Church.

In the face of the emergence of mass political parties, hierarchs supported the programs of those which had Catholic slogans on their banners. That was the case with the still influential Conservatives and some increasingly popular nationalists.[3] It was also, or perhaps above all, the time when enormous influence on interpreting religion and religiousness was exerted by such trends as liberalism, socialism and Darwinism, which, if not negated, undermined the role of an institutional organization in people's spiritual life. That bred a lot of conflicts

2 I am aware of the vagueness and ambiguity of both terms. See more in e.g.: Świątek, 2014; Орлевич, Киричук, 2018; *Національна* 2016.

3 The issue of religion in the national press around 1900 is far more complicated and by no means identical with what the conservative movement claimed.

and feuds, often leading to an open and blunt discourse dragging on for years with various intensities (Olszewski 1996: 33–38; Eberhardt 1998; Chwalba 2007). Both in their pastoral letters to the congregations and in letters to the Emperor, bishops called for maintaining the role of religion in the state. In political matters Latin hierarchs and Uniate ones held regular but separate debates, hardly ever meeting together; an exception was the joint session on 13 November 1906 in Przemyśl and on 30 April 1912 in Stanyslaviv (Андрухів, Камянский, 2006: 72; Czechowicz, 1998: 62–63, 68–69). Perhaps the most meaningful example of bishops' involvement in politics was their objection to the plan of a new election reform in 1913, which was being forced through by Governor Michał Bobrzyński. The idea was discredited by them. The bishops evaded voting over it by leaving for Rome, and the governor, bereft of the support of the Church, eventually handed in his resignation (Wołczański 2017: 97).

3 Being Visible in Public Space

In the period under discussion, religiousness was identified with belonging to a specific, institutionalized religious denomination. Next to large and visibly present in public spaces Jewish populations, mainly two rites of the Catholic Church were dominant: the Roman and Greek ones. Ukrainians outnumbered Poles and Jews in the villages of eastern Galicia, but not in towns. It is hardly surprising then that in towns the central role was played by Roman Catholic churches. Only Stanyslaviv was the capital of a Uniate diocese but the cathedral was placed in a former Jesuit church and from the outside it did not resemble a typical Eastern church. Still, irrespective of the number of residents, the principle was preserved that there was one parish church in the town and the other churches (usually monastic ones) only supported the local parish priest in developing religious attitudes. Although from the second half of the 19th century, the bishops of both rites started building new stone and brick churches, Greek Catholics showed more determination in that field. They, however, erected their churches in the countryside rather than in towns. An exception is the monumental neo-Gothic Latin Church of St. Elizabeth in Lviv, whose erection near the railway station started a several-year feud between the local Poles and Ukrainians.

Another plane of the competition was various festivals, celebrated with as much splendour as possible. They were often combined with parades or open-air church services and the number of participants, including lay people, was supposed to evidence the triumph of the Church in public space. The point was to show its power, significance, and spiritual and political authority over not only those who defied the position of the Church but also within the congregation.

Bishops required parish priests to be leaders of social and pastoral life in their parishes. They were to be paragons of an active attitude of a Catholic in a local community, opposing any attempts at ousting or weakening religion from the life of the community entrusted to them. For around 1900 it was not enough to declare one's affiliation to the community. One had to manifest one's faith and the faith constituted a part of public life. That approach bred constant attacks of priests on all trends and ideologies which claimed that the professed faith is a purely private matter.

No wonder then, that priests did all they could to highlight their role among townspeople. That often led to considerable clericalism in public life. Clericalism manifested itself e.g. in bishops and priests partaking in political life (like in the work of national and local legislative organs), in all major state celebrations, in cultural, educational, social and charitable events as well as in official greetings of representatives of authority. A Holy Mass started all major celebrations and in those circumstances, even religiously indifferent people would not risk losing their position or influence, trying to violate the accepted norms. The model of a priest involved in the social life of intelligentsia was promoted by all Galician bishops in the early 20th c. (Wołczański, 1998: 181–386; *Święty* 2005; Wołczański 2004: 379–431; *Arcybiskup* 2017).

4 Teaching as a Form of Controlling Knowledge

Education can be regarded as one of the major ways of shaping religious attitudes among people. It comprised above all the whole broad pastoral activity and work with the faithful as part of religious services as well as delivering sermons, which were supposed not only to explain basic evangelical truths to the faithful but also motivate them to live a more moral and pious life. Local bishops subscribed to the trends of that time and imitated ideas rather than contributing anything original to the life of the general Church.

Apart from writing pastoral letters or works on Christian spirituality, bishops of both rites also tried to promote publishing religious press, whose distribution among the faithful was one of the basic forms of exercising piety. Each of them financially supported at least one title, however, the extent of their involvement in the work of individual editors varied (Wołczański, 1998: 228).

The teaching of articles of faith and principles of religious life also meant organizing various courses, and lectures on moral, social, historical and religious themes, as well as major religious and academic meetings. A great event was two Marian Congresses: in Lviv on 28-29 September 1904 and in Przemyśl on 26-28 August 1911. The Congresses were also significant manifestations of the Latin Church's power and position, as the lecturers were not only clergymen but

also eminent Polish intellectuals from all partitions, not only Galicia (*Kronika Diecezji Przemyskiej* 1911, 11, 4: 265).

No wonder bishops attached enormous significance to the suitable place of religious instruction especially in high schools. The catechists, who were supposed to directly supervise not only the level of religious knowledge of their students but above all their moral stance and attitude towards the Church, were carefully selected (Chrząszcz 2014). They often performed various functions in towns: they used to be town and district councillors, members and chairmen of many associations and charities. Religion was not limited to being taught two hours a week; it also involved numerous forms of developing religiousness. An offence against religious feelings or challenging the articles of faith could result in expelling a student from school (or an even stricter punishment) (Державний архів Івано-Франківської області, ф. 292, оп. 1, спр. 166; Пахолків 2014: 188-193).

Despite democratization and civilization changes followed by a rise in popularity of new ideologies like liberalism, positivism, Darwinism or socialism, and despite frequent criticism of excessive clerical influence over school life, that subject and its teachers maintained its superior and privileged position throughout the period under discussion (Pudłocki 2019: 123-142).

The enormous influence of the Church on the process of education and daily life was not without its opponents. Particularly the left-wing intelligentsia complained about the clerical impact on public life. The socialist *Nowy Głos Przemyski* condemned the Church's influence on high schools in Przemyśl, arguing mockingly that under the pretence of false piety, their headmasters arranged their businesses.

The best way to win a bishop's favour is to kiss the hand of the purple reverend and promote pious thought, i.e. religious bigotry among the students. The high school headmasters are seeking an opportunity to meet the princes of the Church. Be it an anniversary of Piotr Skarga or a great service, they are always on the lookout to spot a purple-clad man and lick his hand (*Nowy Głos Przemyski* 1914, 13, 10: 1)

The newspaper accused the local school headmasters largely of hypocrisy and falsehood under the pretence of religious instruction for the youth, which included almost all aspects of their lives. It is hard not to agree with the journalist, the more so because the dominance of the Church in social and political life was tremendous at that time. Przemyśl was by no means an exception in that respect.

At the same time, it is difficult to state explicitly how participation in services was an expression of real piety of the participants of the given festivals, celebrations and demonstrations and to what extent it was a certain characteristic of contemporary society, i.e. attending religious celebrations for customary reasons – as it was aptly put by Eugeniusz Romer about his parents and the Jasło commu-

nity – "a need for a stylish life" (Romer 1988: 35). A conflict with local priests who had real influence on their congregation could have serious consequences. The support of local religious authorities was so important that lack of it could mean rejection, also in the social sense.

5 Religious or National Leaders?

Galicia, largely inhabited by Poles and Ukrainians, became in the early 20th c. the scene of intensifying church and national conflicts. Enormous tension was connected with the issue of the so-called soul stealing. As the network of Latin parishes was incomparably smaller than that of Uniate ones, a lot of Roman Catholic faithful, having difficulty going to church, would receive the sacrament of baptism in Uniate churches. For the same reason children from mixed marriages were recorded in Uniate baptism registers, though according to *Concordia*, an agreement ratified in 1863 by Pope Pius IX, it was supposed to be done according to the child's gender and rite of one of the parents: daughters in the mother's rite and sons in the father's. (Krochmal 1995: 162-166; Nabywaniec 1998: 221-231; Osadczy 1999). In reality, till the end of the epoch the problem was not solved causing lots of tensions. What is more, in political questions they could sometimes clash head-on. On 14 January 1911, Chomyszyn wrote to Bilczewski, aptly diagnosing the problem:

The relations between the Polish and Ruthenian clergy are becoming increasingly tense. And who is appointed in the first place to heal those wounds if not we, bishops? If bishops ignore the problem, we may expect unpleasant experiences in the future and unpredictable painful results (Wołczański 2003: 244).

But sometimes even the Polish elite had little influence on Roman Catholic bishops. In Galician reality, where in the eastern part of the province there were more Ukrainians than Poles, it was believed that the Latin Church was a means of conveying Polishness. It was repeatedly attempted to divide the Lviv Archdiocese and section off a bishopric either in Ternopil or in Stanyslaviv. In both cases Bilczewski, fearing a decline in the prestige and income of the archdiocese entrusted with him, blocked the initiatives, even though he was backed up by prominent politicians and authorities of both cities (J. Wołczański 2017: 101; *Kurier Stanisławowski* 1911, 26, 1364: 1).

Poles also had lots of problems with Cardinal Puzyna. He was a very stubborn man and at the beginning of the 20th c., pretty ailing. In 1901 he refused to give consent to a Catholic funeral of a popular writer Michał Bałucki, who had been depressed and committed suicide. In the same year, visiting High School No. 3 in Kraków, Puzyna considered the greeting from the catechist Rev. Wojciech Puszet not to have been humble enough and cried out: "On your knees!" That

event got publicity in the press and also in literature (in *Wyzwolenie* by Stanisław Wyspiański). Because of his obstinacy and conflict with the authorities of the Jagiellonian University, important chairs at the Faculty of Theology remained without staff for a few years. Poles, not only in Galicia, were shocked at Puzyna's refusal to have the ashes of the Romantic poet Juliusz Słowacki buried in the Wawel Cathedral as well as the refusal to celebrate a Holy Mass in the Błonia Park on 15 July 1910 on the 500th anniversary of defeating the Teutonic knights at Grunwald (Tannenberg). He explained that he was an opponent of "street patriotism" (Szczerba, 2017: 209, 389–393).

One of the major tests of to what extent the bishops guarded the Gospel and how much the national interests, was their reaction to the murder of Governor Andrzej Potocki on 12 April 1908 by a Ukrainian student Myroslav Sichynsky, son of a Greek Catholic priest from Chernovtsy. The Polish side was extremely outraged by the crime and the Ukrainians feared that Poles would want to kill Archbishop Sheptytsky in retaliation. Delivering a sermon on Good Friday on 24 April, Sheptytsky said the following about Sichynsky's deed:

The man who was Christian only by name perpetrated a terrible crime on the representative of the supreme secular power in our country… A public crime must be publicly judged. It must evoke a resolute, explicit protest in Christians, an outrage and revulsion against violating God's law… So far, the matter of our national revival has never been stained with blood. However, when we are judging a bloody deed with outrage and revulsion as Christians, as Ruthenians we need to raise the loudest protest against the very thought that one may serve the national cause with blood on one's hands (Hawryłyszyn 2022).

Therefore, in a fundamental question, which a political murder was, Uniate bishops – even if they might have agreed with the arguments given by Sichynsky, who had acted against inequality in the treatment of Ukrainians in Galicia – were unanimous. In matters of national struggle, it was not allowed to resort to violating the commandments.

It was not only current politics that was a challenge for the hierarchs. Also, minor or major scandals among the clergy would cause considerable problems; scandals which could be an aftermath of mutual animosities and conflicts of interests. Efforts were made not to let them arise or to downplay them in order not to undermine the position of the Church in a world which was becoming secularized.

One of them was the attempt on the life of Bishop Chomyszyn by Rev. Pavlo Kaminsky. He was a Uniate administrator in Russów, a widower and father of three, who, for disciplinary reasons, had been transferred to the post of a private curate to Zaluchye on Zbruch River. As a man with a problem with alcohol and a penchant for gambling, who often revelled in bars in Stanyslaviv, he was

repeatedly admonished and punished by the ordinary Chomyszyn. Eventually, Kaminsky, feeling resentment towards his superior, took advantage of a clergy convention which gathered in Stanyslaviv to counteract the antireligious propaganda of some Ukrainian politicians and writers. After the rally, the priest forced his way into the bishops' palace and tried to beat up the ordinary. Ultimately Chomyszyn did not file a complaint about deliberate injuries to the body and a public order offence, and Kaminsky was sentenced only for abusing alcohol in public space. As it was proved that the defendant had become an alcoholic due to an illness, on 18 January 1912 he was acquitted. That might have resulted from the fact that Kaminsky came from a respected family of parish priests (his father used to be one in Vidnyky) and the bishop tried to soften the effects of his actions, which cast a shadow over the whole clergy (Pudłocki, 2019: 136-137).

6 Conclusion

In the reality of the early 20th century, when the previous order was still going strong but at the same time there were rapid social and economic changes, Galician bishops tried to make an effort to meet the challenges. Despite their unquestionable conservatism and attachment to the Habsburg dynasty, they were responsible for implementing the encyclical by Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*, which was a response to the social and political changes in the 19th century connected with the emergence of new societies. It had become an important basis, well used by the local hierarchs to introduce the community of the Catholic faithful to the reality of the changing civilization. It is worth remembering that in East-Central Europe the model of a priest actively participating in the lives of his parishioners, far exceeding his basic duties, resulted also from the model of an intellectual who changed the world around him. Also, it was the time of intensified national movements for which the Church started to play an important role in building modern national identity. The appearance of a new ideology, promptly transplanted to politics, which noticed the additional value of religion, resulted in the instrumentality of the Church in the areas where the rite started to be identified with nationality. Bishops, balancing between faithfulness towards the Holy See and loyalty to the Emperor's house, became to a large extent symbols of Polishness and Ukrainianness. In the struggle for extending influences, opposing the process of secularization would quite often get out of hand and the enormous activity of priests in the *publicum* contributed to the growth of their role compared with the early autonomy period; it was not without a cost though. Pope Pius XI tried to put an end to priest talking politics. The new pope, formerly a papal nuncio in Poland in 1923, issued a prohibition on accepting public offices by church hierarchs. And even though hierarchs were then forced to give up the

posts of MPs and senators, that did not temper their political ambitions. To a large extent, it was the time before World War I that proved to them that skilful functioning between the religious authorities, secular authorities and their nation gave them enormous opportunities for action.

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MAPPING SOCIAL STATUSES IN POLAND WITHIN A DURKHEIMIAN PERSPECTIVE

Rafał Smoczyński, Warsaw

1 Introduction

According to Emil Durkheim (1968), totemism is a ritualized social system that had been historically found in most societies where people identified with a particular animal, plant species, or with any contingent empirical objects as their emblems, and these emblems (e.g. national flag, religious relics) had been considered sacred, unique or special. For Durkheim, totemic practices represented the ritualized forms of the collective consciousness of a society, and they were a way for people to express their shared beliefs, values, and culture, but also social organization, desirable hierarchies, and statuses and totems represented these invisible social forces. He believed that totemism helped to reinforce social bonds and solidarity among the group members, as well as reinforced the moral contours of the society. Moreover, in Durkheim's view, totemism was not just a set of beliefs or practices, but it was an integral part of the social structure and played a significant role in protecting the moral contours of a given society thereof blocking the inflow of anomie forces. This study, following neo-Durkheimian insights proposed by scholars such as Robert Bellah (1970), Randal Collins (1998), and Roy Rappaport (1999) assumes that the concept of totemism can be relevant for studying modern differentiated societies, including contemporary Polish society, in several ways. Firstly, Durkheim's idea of totemism as a collective consciousness can be applied to modern societies, where people may identify with various symbols or ideologies that represent their social group's self-reported sense of belonging and ontological security. For example, political parties, sports teams, charismatic leaders, and social movements can all function as totems in the sense that they serve as a unifying symbol for a group of people with shared interests or beliefs. Secondly, Durkheim's emphasis on the importance of shared beliefs and values in reinforcing social bonds and solidarity can be applied to modern societies, where people may have diverse backgrounds and identities. By identifying with shared symbols or ideologies, people can find a sense of common purpose, even amid social diversity which eventually protects individuals from group disintegration. Lastly, Durkheim's idea of totemism as a way to reinforce moral norms and ideological comprehensiveness can be applied to modern societies, where people may face complex socio-economical dilem-

mas. By identifying with shared symbols or ideologies, people can find guidance and support in navigating these dilemmas and can work together to uphold shared values amidst sometimes conflicting group interests. Overall, while the specific forms of totemism may differ between traditional and modern societies, the underlying functions of totemism as a means of social identification, cohesion, and normative reinforcement remain relevant across different historical contexts.

Following the above insights this paper will examine the Polish intelligentsia's uses of the noble legacies and Jewish identities to increase its cultural hegemony. It is argued that in both cases these were international relationships imageries which, among other imageries, allowed members of the intelligentsia fractions to position themselves within the collective national imagination as the cosmopolitan avant-garde of the Polish elite and to act functionally as totemic figures resonating with the sensitivities and lived experiences of the public. For those individuals who use a noble legacy, this involves drawing on cultural traditions of European aristocracy and its international networking activities to assert a cosmopolitan identity but also includes uses of imageries of the glorious past of the noble First Republic of Poland (1454-1795) ruled by the ancestors of today's Polish aristocratic families' members. Therefore, the narratives related to a noble milieu in today's Poland can be seen as a cultural currency for the intelligentsia members who are using this symbolic substance to assert their cultural legitimacy and to differentiate themselves from other social classes. This is for example relevant in the context when the intelligentsia refers to their noble ancestors or claims to have networking ties with contemporary noble families. Overall, the adoption of noble cultural traits, along with other factors, has helped to reinforce the hegemonic position of the intelligentsia as the national moral leader of the wider population.

On the other hand, as the rich literature demonstrates, the Jewish community in Poland has a long and complex history, with Jews playing important roles in the economic, cultural, and intellectual life of the country up to the Holocaust which led to their near-total destruction, with only a small fraction remaining today (Polonsky 2013; Mendelsohn 1987). Despite this, the heirs of Jewish traditions in Poland continue to play a significant role in the country's cultural and intellectual life, particularly within the intelligentsia milieu. Today, for those using imageries of a Jewish legacy, understood as an intellectual and cultural agency that has driven modernization in Central and Eastern Europe, these imageries have been a key way of asserting a sense of cosmopolitan identity (Goldberg 2017; Slezkine 2004). The ability of both the aristocratic and Jewish legacies to position the intelligentsia strata as the cosmopolitan avant-garde of the Polish elite has been an important aspect of their totemic function. This function involves serving as a symbol of the internationalization of the Polish elite, which as this imagery

alludes - has always been open to global influences that are underpinned by the emancipatory aspirations of the semi-peripheral population gravitating towards the Western core countries perceived as the source of modernization. Additionally, both intelligentsia fractions drawing on either noble or Jewish legacies have been able to assert a sense of cultural and intellectual distinction, positioning themselves as the guardians of a rich and sophisticated cultural heritage. At the same time, as it is argued here, their totemic function has allowed them to play a key role in shaping the broader Polish cultural imagination, reinforcing the idea that Poland is an intelligentsia-ruled Republic where cultural capital assets (education, informal lifestyle, elite networking activities) dominates other resources (e.g., material capital) in creating the social hierarchies, prestigious status positions, the interpretative frameworks of upward social mobility, etc. (Zarycki et al 2017).

2 The Dominance of the Cultural Capital Elite in Recent Polish History

The role of the intelligentsia in dominating the cultural, social, and political landscape of Poland has been a visible feature since the late 19th century (Gella 1976). With a history of struggle against foreign occupation and suppression, the intelligentsia members have emerged as the key collective actors in semi-peripheral Eastern Europe, providing the intellectual and moral leadership that has driven Poland's destiny over the last two hundred years (Davies 1981). Their prominence has been underpinned by their access to education, expertise, and influential social networks, including noble or post-noble milieux, which have given them a significant advantage in society. Also in contemporary Poland, the intelligentsia remains a potent force, acting as the middle-man between semi-peripheral Poland and the Western core countries (Zarycki 2015). As globalization and the knowledge economy continue to shape the global landscape, the Polish intelligentsia has become an essential conduit for the transfer of ideas, skills, and resources between Poland and the Western world. Its dominance was not significantly challenged by the post-communist re-distribution of private assets among the population and the general inflow of economic capital which decisively changed power relations in a renewed capitalist Polish society. However, while economic capital did become generally an important asset governing social logic in the Eastern European region, it did not assume the dominant position as a resource shaping the hierarchy of elites, since it is cultural capital that remained the primary means of accessing power and influence in semi-peripheral Poland (Smoczynski, Zarycki 2017). Interestingly, it continues holding its privileged position not only because economic capital has been often seen as more superficial than cultural capital, but the former is also associated with more meaningful and

enduring assets, as it reflects a person's education, knowledge, and creativity. More importantly, after the fall of communism in the semi-peripheral conditions of Eastern Europe there have been limited possibilities to accumulate financial capital for local elites which could constitute the basis for the re-emergence of the sound native bourgeoisie class (Eyal et al 1998). The reason is underpinned by the structural asymmetry between the core Western world and Eastern European peripheries, namely, most of the financial operations and investments in post-communist Poland have been dominated by international investment funds which constrain the possibilities of gaining an upper hand in the Polish field of power by the native bourgeoisie (Drahokoupil 2008, 2009). As a result, in Poland, the intelligentsia elite continues to use cultural capital as their primary asset which allows them to maintain their dominance in the field of power.

When discussing the hegemonic position of the intelligentsia in Poland, it is also important to consider the post-1989 orientalist ideology commonly used by the intelligentsia members which helped to secure their dominant position in the field of power after the fall of communism (Kuus 2007). The original concept of Orientalism, coined by Edward Said (1978), refers to how Western scholars, artists, and writers have historically depicted the East (primarily the Middle East and North Africa) as exotic, primitive, and inferior to the West. While Orientalism is typically associated with the East-West dynamic, it can also be applied to the study of Central and Eastern European countries. These countries have often been viewed by Western scholars and intellectuals through an Orientalist lens, which has led to several distortions as this region was portrayed as dominated by backwardness and irrationality. Interestingly, following Said's (1978) line of argument, it has been acknowledged by various authors that the orientalist attitude is not only used by Western authors but also became a certain interpretative framework of social reality used by the intelligentsia elites which has given legitimacy for those who played the role of middleman experts between the Western core countries and the Eastern European indigenous population (it is especially a prevalent situation occurring in Hungary and Poland) (Böröcz 2006).

Orientalism in this context cannot be conceived as simply a matter of cultural representation, but it also involves the exercise of political and economic power. In the case of Central and Eastern Europe, Western nations have often used their cultural and economic dominance to exert control over these countries, strengthening the pattern of dependency (Hardy 2007). For instance, this ideological construct has reinforced the idea that Poland needs Western guidance and expertise which allowed the intelligentsia members to assert their authority, positioning themselves as the gatekeepers to Western knowledge and resources. Secondly, it reinforced the idea that the Western core countries are superior in terms of civilization and moral advantages and their development model should be emu-

lated by junior partners from the Eastern European region, thereby legitimizing the intelligentsia elite's pursuit of reproducing its hegemony and a hierarchy of knowledge and expertise.

3 The Totemic Figure of Nobility

While explaining the totemic function of the intelligentsia it might be helpful to shed light also on specific feudal features of its collective identity as a moral superiority ostentatious narratives distributed among members of this milieu or discourses self-reporting themselves as political and national leaders. All these features the intelligentsia inherited from its noble predecessors who had been a national elite for several centuries until the late 19th century. The intelligentsia members not only symbolically inherited these features, but some of its members are also considered direct descendants of noble families (Smoczynski, Zarycki 2022). Namely, the latter mainly from the mid-19th century started to turn into new post-noble class positions, including the intelligentsia class positions, due either to political repercussions or economic impoverishment of former feudal elites. However, with the growing dominance of the intelligentsia over the 20th century a peculiar interrelation of the intelligentsia members with the waning noble milieu has been established which lasts until the very present day. That is to say, the intelligentsia-oriented form of cultural capital has facilitated the noble milieu to be located as a specific subfield within the wider intelligentsia field (Smoczynski, Zarycki, 2017). Most contemporary descendants of historical aristocratic families formally speaking are intelligentsia members employed in professions requiring cultural capital assets (e.g., in education sectors, governmental sector). By leveraging cultural capital, the noble families have been able to maintain their privileged status as the relic of the ancient national elite despite the loss of their economic assets what took place, especially during the communist period. It is argued here that only due to their affiliation with the hegemonic intelligentsia field, the old elite of noble families in Poland have avoided social exclusion and have not turned into a sort of "Amish people niche" in the modern democratic society. Instead, they enjoy a totemic position within the dominant intelligentsia elite spheres since they embody a flavour of the cultural and historical anchor of Polish history. In other words, the noble families symbolize a sense of continuity and tradition that serves as a point of reference for the broader Polish cultural imagination as they are often portrayed by the intelligentsia authors in literature, art, and other forms of cultural production, as well as in the way that they are invoked in political discourses. The Polish cultural imagination over hundreds of years had inherited several noble cultural traits including citizenship patterns informed by feudal imageries which represent an

idealized social order featuring notions of honor, duty, and civic responsibility (Tazbir 1986). By invoking the post-noble features in reproducing ideals of civic responsibilities and creating the informal hierarchy of "good" and "bad" citizens, the Polish intelligentsia can assert a certain vision of continuity of the Polish nation and locate itself as a collective moral leader or specific "the new Polish aristocracy".

Let's make no mistake. The modern intelligentsia decisively varies in many respects from the noble feudal formation. For instance, its social structure is not governed by kin-based networks, which were and still are a prominent feature of traditional noble communities. Instead, the intelligentsia embraced novel family structures that emerged during the 19th and 20th centuries democratic social changes, characterized by the decline of extended multigenerational families usually located in rural areas and the emergence of small nuclear families based in urban areas. On top of that, this shift in family structures had important implications for the intelligentsia's social and cultural capital. Unlike traditional nobility, the intelligentsia's cultural capital has not been inherited through kinship ties but is acquired through education, professional training, and socialization in professional milieus. Relatedly, the intelligentsia's dominance in the field of power has not been based on kinship ties or inherited privileges, but on their education, competitiveness, innovativeness, and meritocratic expertise.

4 The Totemic Figure of the Jewish Legacy

Alongside the peculiar relationship between the noble milieu and the intelligentsia in Poland, there exists another segment of the Polish intelligentsia that revolves around different uses and references to Jewish identities. Building on the "totemic hypothesis" about the role of the noble milieu in Poland for the intelligentsia, it is also possible to consider the heirs of Jewish traditions in Poland as playing a similar totemic role for a significant fraction of the Polish intelligentsia elite. On the one hand, this may be due in part to the symbolic value that Jewish identities hold within Polish culture, as well as the continued interest in Jewish history and culture among the intelligentsia. This strategy might be seen as a form of intellectual play or self-referentiality, with the use of Jewish identities and symbols serving as a kind of inside game among members of the intelligentsia including the incorporation of Jewish themes into literature and art, and the exploration of Jewish history and culture. In this sense, the discourse around Jewish identities may be seen as a way for the intelligentsia to assert their cultural and intellectual dominance, while also demonstrating their ability to operate in highly symbolic and ambiguous spaces. But on the other hand, Jewishness has also its totemic relevance which represents an attempt by the Polish intelligentsia

to engage with and come to terms with the complex and often fraught history of the Polish-Jewish bourgeoisie elite. In this sense, their function would differ from that of the noble families in that it would primarily be a substitute for the missing Polish bourgeoisie.

Here, the hypothesis that the heirs of the Polish Jewry act a totemic role in the Polish intelligentsia can be related to the intelligentsia's ambitions to serve as agents of modernization within the new capitalist environment in Poland when many members of the intelligentsia are employed in business institutions and international corporations. This model rests on the assumption that Poland lacks a proper bourgeoisie in historical terms due to the broken nature of the reproduction of the capitalist class in Polish territories over the 20th century, as well as the relative economic and political weakness of the new, post-communist economic elite. The Polish bourgeoisie, which was traditionally associated with industrialists, and merchants, was destroyed after the Second World War as the Communist government nationalized industries and businesses, suppressed the development of a new capitalist class by limiting economic opportunities and maintaining control over key industries, effectively eliminating the capitalist class in Poland. However, not only communism had a detrimental effect on the conditions of possibility for building a sound capitalist class in Poland. The Second Republic of Poland also did not encourage the growth of the bourgeoisie, on the one hand, because of the limited availability of economic resources in the semi-peripheral Eastern Europe, on the other, due to the dominant intelligentsia class in the Polish field of power which successfully competed with other classes for the national hegemony (Zarycki et al 2017). As a result, Poland today lacks a traditional bourgeoisie with deep roots in the country's history and culture. With the advent of the new realities of post-communist Poland, we can, however, observe that the Polish intelligentsia has ambitions to imitate also a bourgeoisie role in society, especially understood as the driving force of modernization to create globally connected knowledge-based economies. Here the Jewish symbolic legacy comes to the fore as it is also possible to view those who are referring to the Jewish capitalist families in Poland as associating themselves with this specific ethnic tradition of the Polish bourgeoisie. In the absence of a strong native capitalist class, the intelligentsia may look to the Jewish legacies as totemic figures of a desired native economic capital class. By using the symbols of Jewish traditions, the intelligentsia can assert a certain level of economic and social legitimacy, as well as position themselves as part of a broader global elite. Furthermore, by embracing some of the cultural and intellectual traditions of the Jewish bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia besides relating to noble roots can also create an additional sense of continuity for their role in society.

5 Conclusion

There are several similarities between the two intelligentsia groups referring to either noble legacy or Jewish traditions in contemporary Poland. One of the most peculiar similarities is the style in which individuals within these groups construct their identities. In both cases, the analyzed individuals may feel disconnected from their family's traditional way of life and seek to reconstruct their identities based on a personal interpretation of either noble or Jewish cultural heritage. This can be seen as a response to the changed social and economic conditions in post-Second World War Poland, which have made it difficult or impossible to maintain traditional Jewish and noble identities. Therefore, for those with a noble legacy, this may involve a series of enactment practices associated with the traditional Polish nobility even if they no longer possess the wealth or social status that once accompanied this heritage. These practices include joining the noble associations, and purchasing historical properties (e.g. manors, palaces, stud farms), but also practicing matrimonial homogamy among individuals of noble pedigree. Similarly, for those with a Jewish legacy, the focus may be on reconstructing a personal connection to Jewish culture and traditions, and engaging in activities of Jewish organizations even if their family history has been disrupted by the Holocaust or other historical events. The enactment practices may involve a renewed interest in Judaism, even though these traditions were often neglected in previous generations of Polish Jews. By reconstructing these identities, the Polish intelligentsia asserts an ongoing totemic value of these cultural traditions.

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"RUSSIAN THREAT": CRITICAL APPROACH TO EASTERN ORTHODOXY AND BOLSHEVISM IN THE WORKS OF FRANC GRIVEC

Simon Malmenvall, Ljubljana

1 Introduction

This article elucidates an important aspect of the research and education work of Franc Grivec (1878–1963), a Catholic priest, theologian (ecclesiologist) and historian, professor at the University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Theology, and the first Slovene to systematically study Eastern Christianity and the religious culture of the Slavic world throughout his academic pursuits.[1] It aims to analyze Grivec's reception of the Bolshevik Revolution and its partial origin in the previous centuries decisively shaped by the Russian Orthodox Church. Before and during the Second World War, when the Slovene author explored this theme, the latter was a burning issue in the Slovene/Yugoslavian and European social context (often perceived as "the Russian threat"), both in theoretical and practical terms.[2] Like Dostoyevsky, Grivec emphasizes that Socialism is primarily "a question about God" and the transformation of the whole of human life (Malmenvall 2022, 71). According to him, the extremism of the Bolsheviks is placed in the broader cultural mechanism of a messianic mission of Russia, starting in the sixteenth century with the idea of Moscow as the "Third Rome", which established Russian distrust towards both the Greek Orthodoxy and the European West (67–68).

The analysis of the topic at hand is based on the contextual approach of intellectual history[3] and historical theology; its methodology provides an inter-

1 Referring to Slavic reciprocity constituted one of the most recognizable characteristics of the Slovene national movement (Vodopivec 2006). Notably, Slavic ties were emphasized during the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century by both the liberal and the Catholic political camps (Perovšek 2019).

2 An overview of the political flows and ideational confrontation in the territory of present-day Slovenia, which led to direct (state) terror during this period, is provided by the following monographic study: Čepič 1995.

3 As a special branch of (post)modern historiography and related humanities, intellectual history asserted itself in the second half of the twentieth century; its guiding principles are the study of ideas in correlation with the social-cultural background of a particular period and

lacement between historiography and consideration for the theological giving of meaning to reality. In particular, the article discusses the following publications by Grivec: "Pravoslavna nevarnost?" (An Eastern Orthodox Threat?, 1915a), "Ruski problem" ("The Russian Problem", 1915b), "Ruska revolucija" (The Russian Revolution, 1917), "Boljševiška brezbožnost" (Bolshevik Godlessness, 1925), and passages from the first part of the monograph *Narodna zavest in boljševizem* (National Consciousness and Bolshevism, 1944). Given the tense relations between Russia and the West in contemporary times, a well-known Slovene author, such as Grivec, elucidating chapters of Russian culture while also being critical towards it is all the more valuable from the perspective of intercultural and interconfessional dialogue.

2 "Dangerous" Russian Orthodoxy

Considering issues relevant before and during the First World War, Grivec discusses Orthodox Christianity in the article "Pravoslavna nevarnost," published in 1915 in the periodical *Čas* (Time). With this text, Grivec builds on his theological arguments and indirectly touches upon both society and international policy. His central message is that the world war, in which it is also possible to discern a clash between Orthodox and Catholic countries (e. g. Russia and Serbia on the one hand and Austria-Hungary on the other), entails an open opportunity to either deepen the conflicts or strengthen religious knowledge and activities for reconciliation between the nations. In addition to this, Grivec notes: "The victory or defeat of Russia shall also be the victory or defeat of Orthodoxy." (1915a, 8) He claims that due to the impossibility of separating Orthodoxy from the state regime, "in strictly Orthodox countries, religious tolerance or freedom is impossible; such countries include Russia, Serbia and Greece." (11) Moreover, in the event of Russian victory and the occupation of Galicia in the north-east of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, around three million Greek Catholic believers would be "lost," as the Russian state would "ruthlessly depose the Ruthenian hierarchy" – as it already has in other Ruthenian or Ukrainian regions.[4] Similarly,

space and the discursive or linguistic dimension of expressing ideas. Quentin Skinner (1969) and John Pocock (1987), professors at the University of Cambridge, are considered the founders of intellectual history.

4 Since the early eighteenth century, in parallel with the Russian Empire's westward expansion – to the area of contemporary Ukraine and Belarus – there had been a process of "reunification" or the reintegration of the Uniate, i. e. Greek Catholic structures into the Russian

as a patron of Orthodoxy, Russia would suppress or at least hinder the Catholic Church in the Balkans in the event of its victory. (12) Grivec continues by highlighting the key link between national consciousness and modern liberal thought, which successfully fits the traditional Orthodox ecclesiastical arrangements in the contemporary situation:

> "The Orthodox primacy of nationality in religion and the Church fits modern freethinking, which proclaims nationality to be the supreme criterion of morality and law, well. /…/ Pobedonostsev[5] taught that religion was based on emotion and that each person had a religion and Church that suited their character and emotion. /…/ A strange parallel with freethinkers! The extremes converge!" (18)

Grivec concludes his article in a conciliatory tone and emphasizes the importance of religious and general education, which should overcome the prejudice between the Catholic and Orthodox sides. He adds that "the Eastern Church issue is a Slavic issue," which should be addressed especially by those nations that "are the intermediary link between the East and West in terms of geography, character and language." (20) The reflection on the unifying mission of Slavs and, in particular, Slovenes was not shaken even by the state of war, when the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, of which Grivec was a citizen, directly fought against Orthodox Russia and Serbia (Malmenvall 2022, 58).

The article "Ruski problem," which Grivec published the same year in the same periodical, also relates to the content in question. His starting point is that Russia is a "world unto itself" and that for the rest of Europe – ever since the sixteenth century when diplomats from Catholic lands started to visit it more often, including the "Slovene compatriots" Sigismund Herberstein and Johann Cobenzl – it has always been a "great mystery." He says that only in the late nineteenth century, with the influence of the fame of the "giants of Russian literature," Russian politics and culture could be understood somewhat better. (1915b, 121–122) According to Grivec, the anti-Catholic attitude in Russian lands

Orthodox Church. See the classical overview monograph: Kojalovič 1873. See also: Andreev and Andreeva 2019.

5 Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev (1827–1907) was a jurist, court adviser and the head (Chief Procurator) of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church. He acquired the reputation of one of the most incisive and most controversial conservative political thinkers in the Russian cultural history of the nineteenth century. The quintessential intellectual biography of Pobedonostsev: Polunov 2010.

was propagated by ecclesiastical and political representatives of Byzantium, from where Christianity reached East Slavic soil. Then, in the fifteenth century, following the fall of its former "teacher," the Muscovite state assumed the role of the protector of worldwide Orthodoxy and consequently adopted a more rigid stance towards people of other faiths. In the early eighteenth century, following the example of Protestant regional Churches, Peter the Great subordinated the Moscow Patriarchate to the state, taking away its independent initiative and "tearing it away from organic development." (126–127) Grivec adds: "Byzantine Christianity, the Tartar yoke, Muscovite absolutism, Peter's reform; all these influences forced foreign elements upon Russians without organic transitions or a psychological bond." (129) According to him, even the intellectual ferment of the nineteenth century and the later revolutionary developments took inconstant and extreme forms. Notably, unlike in the West, the Russian Socialist movement did not originate in the working class; most revolutionaries were educated people. According to Grivec, the latter took Western atheist ideas "out of the Western cultural context, transplanted them blindly" to the Russian environment and tinged them with a "religious fervour." (134–136)

Interestingly, the article "Ruski problem" directly touches upon neither the Uniate issue nor the prospects for the future operation of the Catholic Church among East Slavic nations. Considering other historical and ecclesiological writings by Grivec, this is fairly unexpected. The text in question is thus predominantly focused on the ideational background and realities of the Russian societal and cultural situation of the time. (Malmenvall 2022, 62)

3 Religious Roots of the Revolution

The Slovene author adopts a similar interpretative note in his 1917 article "Ruska revolucija," also published in *Čas*. Here, he opens with the categorical claim that Russian society has amassed so many contrasts that it can no longer develop organically, being able to move only in sudden interruptions and leaps – thus, the "Russian problem" is the "revolution problem" as well. (Mlakar 2003, 289; Malmenvall 2022, 63) Grivec detects the deepest roots of revolutionary activity in "Byzantine conservatism," i. e. the specific development of Christianity on Russian soil, which "barred Russians from the much-needed cultural and social progress." When in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Russia was forced to "open windows to Western Europe," the difference between Russian and Western cultures was too great, "so a very harsh wind blew through these windows," knowing no gradualness and bringing a revolutionary spirit. (Grivec 1917, 203) Grivec also draws attention to the centuries-old practice of the absolute power of

a tsar and the consequently weak aristocratic and institutional autonomy.[6] "When the yearning for political freedom and a constitution arose, there was no adequate historical and legal support on which to base the new aspirations. As a result, Russian patriots turned to revolutionary means." (204)

Grivec references the main cultural history emphasis from the article "Ruska revolucija" in his scientific article "Boljševiška brezbožnost," published in 1925 in the journal *Bogoslovni vestnik* (Theological Quarterly), providing the first comprehensive Slovene analysis and one of the most systematic depictions of the attitude of the early Soviet authorities to religion. While Grivec did not (yet) hint at potential similarities with the situation in Slovene lands, this work undoubtedly drew attention to the fundamental reasons why the Bolshevik Revolution and the fight against religion occurred in the first place. (Mlakar 2003, 290–291; Malmenvall 2022, 65) According to Grivec, the "anti-religious stance" and "anti-religious fight" of Lenin's Bolsheviks – which are part of their essential and systematically performed responsibilities – arise exactly from the fact that the different branches of Russian revolutionaries over the decades adopted "Western Socialist ideas" with a "childhood naivety of sorts" and a "religious fervour" similar to "fanatical religious sectarians." (Grivec 1925, 98; 100; Malmenvall 2022, 65–66)

Grivec believes the extremism of Bolsheviks is neither coincidental nor a unique characteristic of them alone or the time in which they act – he says it is an integral part of a broader mechanism of Russian cultural history, in which there were "repeated occurrences of the idea of the special Christian mission of the Russian nation" in relation to other lands and peoples, something also discussed by Slavophiles, Dostoyevsky and Solovyov (Malmenvall 2022, 67). "In its way, this idea was expressed a long time ago[7] in the belief that Moscow was the Third

6 The historical weakness of the legal consciousness, institutional autonomy as well as of the creative role of men as individuals is particularly highlighted by Nikolai Berdyaev (1874–1948), a Russian philosopher, and Richard Pipes (1923–2018), a Polish American historian of Jewish descent who is one of the leading authorities on Russian revolutionary movements: Malmenvall 2017; Berdjaev 1990, 10–16; 99–104; Pipes 1990. Pipes' view is backed by Orlando Figes (1996), a contemporary British cultural historian, in his breakthrough monographic study of Russian revolutionary violence.

7 Among recent works, an overview of the idea of Moscow as the "Third Rome" – the successor to the Byzantine Empire and the protector of Orthodoxy in the "end times" before the Second Coming of Christ – is provided in: Sinicyna 1998.

Rome." (Grivec 1925, 108) Based on this, it is possible to highlight Grivec's key finding about the origins of the anti-religious fervour of the Soviet ideologists:

> "The Bolshevik Revolution, however, developed this 'messianic idea' of the noble mission of Russia in the opposite direction, flying the flag of godlessness and relating to maximalism in the political, social and economic spheres. Bolshevism, too, involves a faith, a religious fervour of sorts, but opposite in direction and content, with fanatical godlessness." (108)

Notably, in addition to Grivec (but independently), a link between the uncompromisingness of the Bolshevik idea as a substitute for religion and past notions about the special mission of Russia in the salvation of the world is also recognized by Nikolai Berdyaev in his work *The Origin of Russian Communism* (1937) (Malmenvall 2017, 676–677; Berdjaev 1990, 8–11; 18–19; 24–25; 100–101; 117; 125–126; 137–138). Similarly, the Slovene author's interpretation is coherent with the view of Georges Florovsky expressed in the *Ways of Russian Theology*, which was published the same year as Berdyaev's *Origin* – namely, that the Bolshevik anti-religious stance is the reflection of a deep and long-lasting spiritual crisis in Russian culture, which was caused by the subordination of the Church to the state, which in turn resulted in the Church's intellectual powerlessness and lack of creativity in addressing social challenges (Malmenvall 2022, 68; 2017, 657–676; Florovskij 1983, 199–201; 235–236; 240–242; 250–253; 285–288; 291–292; 313–321; 408–413; 450–451; 454–456; 492–499). "The Russian nation was religious, but religion did not seep into public life as the leading, regulating and educative force." (Grivec 1925, 108) Supposedly, that is why it was in Russia that "the conflict between Christianity and godlessness appeared first and the most terrifyingly" (108–109).

In the final part of the article, Grivec cautions the (Slovene) Catholic public against "identifying with the reaction" as that would only make Socialist ideas even stronger internally and more attractive externally (109). Grivec thus not only analyzes the reasons why Socialist dictatorship has prevailed in Russia but also aims to highlight the role of (Central) European Christianity, which he says can counter this threat (Mlakar 2003, 292). Like in his 1909 article "Vzhodno cerkveno vprašanje," Grivec relates to his own time and the Slovene sociopolitical environment, which is characterized by a Kulturkampf between Catholic and secular, i. e. liberal or Socialist, forces. This conclusion conveys a twofold message: Catholic leaders and intellectuals should act with social responsibility and, to prevent a successful revolution, apply Christian principles in public. At the same time, he does not portray the Bolshevik regime as some distant or exceptional happening, allowing for the possibility that a similar revolution could unfold on Slovene soil. (Malmenvall 2022, 69)

Grivec built further on the content of the article from *Bogoslovni vestnik* discussed above in the initial part of a short monographic publication entitled *Narodna zavest in boljševizem*, which was created based on wartime popular scientific lectures to the secondary school teachers of Ljubljana and published in 1944.[8] At the very beginning of this part, he asserts that "Bolshevism is no coincidental disaster but the final and extreme stage of the revolutionary movement at least partly triggered by Peter the Great, who took too little heed of Russian national traditions and the Russian national consciousness." (Grivec 1944, 3) In this context, it is worth noting Grivec's insight into the double estrangement of the Russian intelligentsia – both in relation to the people and to Orthodoxy, which played a different societal role than Catholicism in the West, as was revealed in the mid-nineteenth century at the latest.

Among Russian socially engaged authors, Grivec highlights the foresight of Fyodor Dostoyevsky – despite his anti-Catholic attitude and ideological similarity to Slavophiles. This is because Dostoyevsky focused the novels *Demons* (1873) and *The Brothers Karamazov* (1880–1881) on the revolutionary mode of thinking, "with an amazingly accurate portrayal of the radical (maximalist) extremism and godlessness of Russian Socialism." Dostoyevsky realized that Socialism was "not only a social or economic question but a religious one, i.e. a question about God /…/ and the thorough transformation of the whole of human life." The Russian writer thus demonstrated that this was a new global ideology "destroying all traditions" and being "a unique construct of the Russian soul." The guiding principles of Socialism, "while first established in the West, are put together and transformed originally." (8) On the other hand, Grivec considers Dostoyevsky's ecclesiology to be his main weakness.

Grivec believes the most reliable path to prevent revolutions such as the Bolshevik one is harmony between faith and social life.[9] Only a "firmly anchored"

8 He held these lectures between January and April 1944 as an activity of the administration of the Province of Ljubljana led by General Leon Rupnik (1880–1946), specifically his commissary of propaganda, Ludovik Puš (1896–1989). This is the only instance of Grivec actively engaging in wartime political activities of the Slovene anti-revolutionary forces, who collaborated with the German occupying forces. The lecturers included other reputable names of the cultural-academic world of the time, such as Leonid Pitamic (1885–1971), a professor of law, and France Veber (1890–1975), a professor of philosophy. (Mlakar 2003, 294–295; Malmenvall 2022, 69)

9 Overcoming the duality or extreme choice between Socialism and capitalism in favor of the Christian "middle ground" was emphasized in the Slovene cultural sphere in the interwar

Christian and national culture can resist revolution. Grivec concludes: "The only solution for humanity is to return to consistent and active Christianity. Half-heartedness is doomed to servitude and ruin." (Grivec 1944, 14; Malmenvall 2022, 71–72) In such a way, he places his reflection on the Socialist revolution in the context of Kulturkampf, which, at its core, is a fight between faith and atheism, between Christianity and secular substitutes for religion. In this respect, it is worth noting Grivec's assessment of the harmfulness of political fantasising and of attempts to create an ideal society regardless of differences in historical or ideological origin – both the pre-modern messianic notion of Moscow as the "Third Rome" and the liberal glorification of material progress or the Socialist establishing of authority weaken the soundness of the human mind, undermine the vivacity of the Christian faith and strip the Church of its freedom. (Malmenvall 2022, 72)

4 Conclusion

Grivec's exploration of Russian ecclesiastical and cultural history provides the first scientific elucidation of East Slavic Orthodoxy and Russian (literary) classics of the modern era from a theological perspective in Slovene language. His historical approach takes into account relevant questions, which he always explains through placement in their original and developmental context. In light of this, it is no surprise that the published texts of Franc Grivec about Russian themes are not, nor do they strive to be, factually impersonal; in addition to their empirical basis, which familiarizes the Slovene (academic) audience with thitherto unknown or little-known facts for the first time, they reflect his views. (Malmenvall 2022, 73) As the temporally closest aspect of Russian culture, Grivec's works feature the theme of the revolutionary ferment during the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, which finished with the triumph of Bolshevism. He believes the extremism of Bolsheviks is an integral part of a broader mechanism of Russian cultural history, in which there were repeated occurrences of the idea of the messianic mission of Russia, starting with the idea of Moscow as the "Third Rome." The Bolshevik Revolution only developed this messianic idea of the noble mission of Russia in the opposite direction, flying the flag of

period by Andrej Gosar (1887–1970), a Catholic jurist, sociologist and politician who encapsulated and commented on the Catholic social teachings up to that time in his overview monographic study: Gosar 1939.

godlessness and radical change in the political, social and economic spheres. Like Dostoyevsky, Grivec emphasizes that Socialism is primarily "a question about God" and the transformation of the whole of human life. This is why Grivec calls on Catholic leaders and intellectuals to apply Christian principles in public to prevent a successful revolution while not portraying the Bolshevik regime as some distant happening, allowing for the possibility of a revolution unfolding on Slovene soil. In such a way, he places his reflection in the context of the Kulturkampf of his time, which, at its core, is a fight between Christianity and secular substitutes for religion. (76–77)

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ABSTRACTS

Wolfgang Palaver
Holy, Not the Sacred: On War and Religion

Is religion the main source of violence and war? Whereas all too simple theories identify religion and violence better attempts point toward its fundamental ambivalence. Contrary to these approaches this article follows Henri Bergson's distinction between static and dynamic religion and his explanation of how these two types relate to the closed society on the one hand and to the open society on the other. René Girard follows Bergson by distinguishing between the sacred and the holy. A profound understanding of it helps us to recognize what type of religion has an affinity to war and what type is a source of peace. Distinguishing between the sacred and the holy also leads to a better understanding of religious legitimizations of war and explains religious support of populism. We can also discover the holy at the centre of the project of a peaceful Europe that emerged after World War II.

Keywords: *religion, war, violence, sacred, holy, saintliness, Europe*

Bojan Žalec
Aleš Ušeničnik (1868-1952): A Portrait of the "Contradictions" of His Personality and Era

Philosopher and theologian Aleš Ušeničnik was the main Catholic philosophical and ideological authority in the 20th century until the end of World War II and, in a way, the 'neuralgic point' of events in Slovenia in the first half of the 20th century (until 1945). He believed – utopianly – in the need and possibility of a Catholic renewal of all areas and subsystems of Slovenian culture and society. Researching Ušeničnik's personality and work is of extra importance for Slovenian (intellectual) history. The author focuses on Ušeničnik's personality, his personal and character traits, and the components that influenced his views, attitude, conduct and actions and manifested in them. One of the aims of this portrait is to show that Ušeničnik's personality and views were very complex and not without certain tensions among their components. This applies to his personality, where the poet on one side intertwines with an emotionally disciplined and logically ordered systematic thinker on the other, as well as to his scientific, philosophical, and theological perspectives, where tensions between modern and pre-modern elements are particularly noticeable. The chapter also contributes to

a wider portrait of Ušeničnik's era, viewed through the lens of focusing on one of its central figures in Slovenian lands.

Keywords: *personality portrait of Slovenian philosopher and theologian Aleš Ušeničnik, Ušeničnik's character traits, Ušeničnik's era, Catholicism in Slovenian lands, Catholic conservatism versus "modern" and innovative currents inside Catholicism, Ušeničnik in socialist Yugoslavia*

Branko Klun

Aleš Ušeničnik's Neo-scholastic Metaphysics and His Understanding of Christianity in the Light of (Post)Modern Philosophical and Theological Critique

Aleš Ušeničnik (1868–1952) – philosopher, theologian, and priest – was the leading representative of Slovenian neo-scholastic thought in the first half of the 20th century. The first part of the paper presents Ušeničnik's neo-scholastic metaphysics and his understanding of Christianity and Catholicism. Ušeničnik criticizes modern philosophy, which refuses the eternal truths of classical metaphysics and which he considers incompatible with the Catholic faith. The second part of the paper questions both Ušeničnik's critique of modernity and the necessity of Aristotelian-inspired metaphysics as the "natural basis" of the Christian worldview. It is argued that Christianity with its biblical understanding of time and history cannot be expressed in a static and rigid metaphysical structure. In history, there has been a constant tension between the novelty of biblical revelation and Greek metaphysics, and this tension was also one of the important factors for the rise of modernity (and its "turn to the subject"). The third part of the paper addresses the challenges of postmodernity and its rejection of metaphysics, which is not acceptable from the Christian point of view. It pleads for a new understanding of metaphysics which can recognize the positive dimensions of tradition – including Ušeničnik – while taking into account the specific character of Christian revelation in its existential and historical dimension.

Keywords: *Aleš Ušeničnik, neo-scholastics, metaphysics, Christianity, modernity, postmodernity*

Luka Janeš, Ante Belić

Challenges and Controversies of "-isms" Present at the Beginning of the 20th Century Evaluated Through the Lens of Croatian Jesuits

In this paper, the cultural and political context of the late nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century is being evaluated. It is a period in which many

-isms appeared on the world stage, ranging from materialism, positivism and scientism, to liberalism, modernism, socialism and communism. Those who, historically speaking, were unfavourable to the Catholic Church and the believers throughout Europe and the world. This paper aims to precisely present some of the most prominent Croatian Jesuits of the given period, such as Ante Alfirević and Stjepan Tomislav Poglajen. To present their analysis and criticism of the new social, political and religious phenomena that will soon lead to a catastrophe of global proportions, in the frame of the First World War.

Keywords: *meaning of men, -isms, metaphysics, Croatian Jesuits, religious theories*

Stjepan Štivić

Franc Šanc SJ: His Life and Philosophy

In this article, the author presents the philosopher Franc Šanc SJ (1882–1953), who was little known to the modern Slovenian public. Šanc was a Slovene priest and philosopher who spent most of his life in the Croatian-speaking area and also wrote most of his works in the Croatian language. The article is based on basic biographical facts and descriptions of the author's philosophical path. The author emphasizes Šanc's understanding of philosophy and its character in responding to the crisis of his time. We further outline the themes of his philosophy of religion that reflect the fundamental political and cultural challenges of the time in which he lived.

Keywords*: philosopher, priest, Franc Šanc SJ, philosophy, philosophy of religion, intellectual history*

Michal Valčo

Samuel Štefan Osuský's Prophetic Insights against Fascism, Hitlerism, Bolshevism and War

Samuel Štefan Osuský was a Slovak philosopher and theologian who lived through two world wars and the rise of totalitarian regimes in Czechoslovakia. He wrote about the relationship between religion and war and the dangers of ideologies like Fascism, Nazism, and Communism, which Osuský considered pseudo-religious ideologies. Osuský also warned about the dangers of naturalism in modern science and encouraged Christian intellectuals to engage with society to promote human flourishing. As a 'rational theist,' he attempted to draw from theology, philosophy and science as complementary sources of wisdom combining them in his struggle to find satisfying insights for larger questions of

meaning. In his writings, Osuský focused on the human response to difficult/boundary situations and argued that religion can provide important guidance. He believed in combining insights from theology, philosophy, and science to find answers to larger questions of meaning. His book *War and Religion* (1916) and his article *The Philosophy of Bolshevism, Fascism, and Hitlerism* (1937) offer valuable insights for understanding and combating totalitarianism. Among other things, this paper argues that Osuský foresaw the dangers of the naturalistic tendencies within the modern sciences (including the behavioural sciences and humanities) and encouraged Christian intellectuals to return to a meaningful engagement in and with society to recover the notion that there are important religious sources for human flourishing. His legacy, therefore, remains relevant today as we struggle with a crisis of democracy in the West.

Keywords: *Samuel Štefan Osuský, Fascism, Nazism, Hitlerism, Bolshevism, Communism, war, totalitarianism*

Katarína Valčová

Dietrich Bonhoeffer's *Communio Sanctorum* as the Relevant Prophetic Voice of the Church in a Changing World

Dietrich Bonhoeffer´s search for the understanding of the healthy, vital and most of all relevant body of Christ as expressed in the Christian Church in its earthly existence led him to explore more deeply and profoundly the role of a human being and the role of Christian theology/Church in wider society. His main goal is to describe and interpret the Church as "Christ existing as church-community." We may consider this work of Bohnoeffer as the root of his understanding of ecumenical activities, also later commitment to the confessing church, and his actions in the resistance movement against the oppressive state power of dictatorship.

While seeking the true meaning of Church and community in today´s culture of virtual reality and selfies, we may look more deeply and profoundly at Bonhoeffer´s discoveries concerning the ultimate understanding of self, sin, evil, solidarity, collective guilt and collective spirit within the framework of the true community (the Church of Jesus Christ) created by the Spirit bringing forth also the questions of authority, freedom, common rituals and common future (eschatology). His fresh sound voice examining the true nature of single human existence within the Community of Saints offers genuine examination not only on a general level but on a very practical level for each Christian community in the present time. The questions we are facing today are – how to remain a

true relevant prophetic voice of God in our societies without being ideological or oppressive?! How to create and nurture a true community of Christ – true *Communio Sanctorum*?!

Keywords: *Communio Sanctorum, Church, prophetic voice of God, authority, freedom, sin*

Gábor Kovács

Failure of Individualism – The Interpretation of Szabo's View on Modernity and the Role of the Catholic Church in History

Dezső Szabó (1879-1945) is one of the most debatable figures in the Hungarian history of ideas. He was a writer and ideologue, the main pioneer and preparatory thinker of the Hungarian Populist Movement emerging in the interwar period. Szabó was socialized in the ambivalent intellectual–cultural climate of the Hungarian turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. First, he joined the circle of the journal *Nyugat (West*), the organ of the Hungarian liberal-moderniser movement. His seminal article entitled *Failure of Individualism* (1915) was a radical break with the pseudo-religious progress belief of the 19th century. Szabó was the Hungarian representative of a new kind of conservatism called conservative revolution in the history of ideas. This intellectual-ideological movement became a mainstream way of thought in interwar cultural criticism, especially, but not exclusively, in Germany; it was rooted in the years of the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries burdened with tensions. It was the preliminary period of the modernity crisis completed after the cataclysm of the Grand War. Szabó, in his essay, rejected the liberal historical philosophy based on the conception of cumulative progress, an infinite melioration of humanity in economic, social and cultural-moral terrains. Szabó replaced, anticipating Oswald Spengler's approach, the idea of linear historical movement with a cyclical theory: in history, according to him, there is an alternation of individual and collective epochs. He prophesied the end of the age of liberal individualism and the emergence of a collective historical epoch which, similarly to the Middle Ages, would be a synthesis of collective and individual existence. Szabó belonged to the Calvinist Church, but, interestingly, wrote in a respectful manner of the historical role of the Catholic Church. The paper intends to contextualise the conception of Szabó putting it into the contemporary intellectual-cultural Hungarian and international contexts.

Keywords: *Dezső Szabó, progressivism versus cyclical theory, conservative revolution, cultural criticism, Protestantism, Catholic Church*

Béla Mester

Hidden Catholic and Protestant Patterns in the Historiography of the Hungarian Philosophy

In the self-identification and self-understanding of the Hungarian nation in the cultural memory, *narratives* of the history of the Hungarian cultural and intellectual life had always a fundamental role. Within this genre, the most influential scholar narratives were formulated mainly in three fields; the political history of the Hungarian Kingdom, the history of the Hungarian literature, and the history of Hungarian philosophy. Surprisingly, the earliest endeavours emerged in the field of the history of philosophy, in the time of the Hungarian Reform Era (1825–1848), by the initiative of the Hungarian Scholarly Society (today: Hungarian Academy of Sciences). It was continued in the time of Neo-Absolutism (1849–1867) by the classic work written by János Erdélyi (1865–1867), which was dominant in its approach in the period of Dualism (1867–1918), and almost till nowadays. These narratives met three structural challenges; at first, they must mark an *initial point* of the history of Hungarian philosophy; later, they must narrate a continuous, meaningful *nation-level history* of philosophy what is the field of *universality of thinking,* and the solution of linking the European and Hungarian narratives of the history of philosophy. The third challenge was to fulfil the task of making a *unified national narrative* from different stories based on different cultural memories of the institutions (mainly higher schools) with *different religious backgrounds*. However, the main endeavour was to create a national narrative above the denominational ones; in the materialised 19th-century historiographies of the Hungarian philosophy, it is palpable the dominance of the authors with Protestant, mainly Calvinist cultural background. The planned contribution aims to offer an explication of the ability of the tradition of the Hungarian Calvinist scholarship to create the needed narratives of the history of Hungarian philosophy.

Keywords: *Calvinism, Catholicism, cultural memory, history of philosophy, Hungarian philosophy, narratives, self-understanding*

Petar Bilobrk

Anton Mahnič: A Tireless Fighter against Modernism

Before coming to Krk, Anton Mahnič (1850-1920) was active in the Slovenian public sphere, where he worked as a public intellectual, authoring numerous philosophical and theological essays as well as literary criticism and discussions in Slovenian church and secular journals. He was the initiator, editor, author, and

owner of the journal *Rimski katolik* (*Roman Catholic*). Mahnič made significant contributions to the establishment of Leon Societies in both Slovenia and Croatia and was a strong advocate of an anti-liberal orientation. When appointed Bishop of Krk in 1896, he brought with him a firm and well-developed system of opposition to liberalism from Slovenia, which he applied to new contexts in Croatia. As bishop, he closely followed ideological and cultural events, analyzing the forces that shaped them, and concluded that Croatian public life faced challenges similar to those in Slovenia.

Keywords: *Anton Mahnič, Croatia, Slovenia, Croatian Catholic movement, liberalism, modernism*

Nadja Furlan Štante
Critical Contextualization of Anton Mahnič's View of Women in the Slovenian Culture War

The presentation connects perceptions and analyzes the practical consequences of prejudiced, negatively stereotyped notions of women's identity and women's body as a symbol of national-religious identity in the time and the work of one of the main actors of the culture war (*Kulturkampf*) in Slovenia, the Slovenian priest and bishop of Krk Anton Mahnič. The focus is on analyzing the influence or shaping of the negative conceptualization of women and the socio-religious constructions and representations of female identity, which took place in Slovenia from the second half of the 19th century to the present. Both, the conceptualization of female identity during the "separation of spirits" in Slovenia and the influence of Anton Mahnič's neo-scholastic metaphysical arguments on the conceptualization of female identity are analyzed in more detail. In this context, the article also indirectly draws attention to the question of how and where in the Slovenian socio-religious sphere one can still find visible and tangible effects of the negative conceptualization of female identity that emerged during Mahnič's time and under his pen.

Keywords: *the woman question, Anton Mahnič, women's identity, gender stereotypes*

Polona Tratnik
The Twentieth-Century Troubles with Slovenianness and the Degradation of Politically Suspect Artists

The existing debates link low culture to the development of the market economy. As a negation of market culture, modernism developed as art, independent of

other social interests. The avant-garde, which contributed more radical, future- or politically-oriented approaches, did not strive for such autonomy; moreover, it also used means of low culture. In addition to these three orientations, art and in particular literature in the nineteenth century's Slovenia served national consolidation. In the twentieth century, artists still represented Slovenian identity. This was, however, not generally approved. Modernism emerged as high culture, focusing on aesthetic issues, which was acceptable also in times of political aggravation after World War II, even though it was influenced by Western culture. On the other hand, ideologically suspect artists were increasingly marginalized. Their works, which were works of high culture according to the aesthetic criteria, were not accepted as such for political reasons.

Keywords: *art, modernism, avant-garde, France Kralj, Marij Kogoj, Anton Podbevšek, nation-building, aesthetics*

Irena Avsenik Nabergoj

The Art and Worldview of the Slovenian Writer Ivan Cankar (1876–1918) in the Literary Criticism of Izidor Cankar and France Koblar

The paper deals with how two important Slovenian literary critics, Izidor Cankar and France Koblar, assess the literary works of the Slovenian writer and playwright Ivan Cankar (1876–1918). In their comprehensive assessments, the critics present the content and form of Cankar's short stories, novellas, novels, poems and plays, which he wrote under the influence of Romanticism, Naturalism, Decadence, Symbolism and Impressionism. They also address the question of the writer's artistic and aesthetic attitude, his attitude towards the Slovenian nation, as well as towards Marxism, liberalism, Christianity, and religiosity in general. As part of an in-depth examination of Slovenian evaluators of Cankar's work from different worldviews, the article aims to contribute to overcoming the contradictions, disagreements and schisms that have characterised the last hundred years of perception and interpretation of the writer's central works from the perspective of Cankar's worldview.

Keywords*: Ivan Cankar, literary criticism, worldview, socialism, freethinking, Catholicism, art and Christianity*

Tomasz Pudłocki
Ecclesia, Nation or Kaiser? The Catholic Church in Austrian Galicia before 1914

The author, using Michel Foucault's theory of power, discusses the way the hierarchs of the Latin and Uniate Churches in Galicia in the years 1900–1914 tried to keep a balance between faithfulness to the Holy See, loyalty towards the Emperor's house and the feeling of national identity. Around 1900 bishops in almost all dioceses had changed and the new leaders, shaped by the pontificate of Pope Leo XIII, started motivating the clergy and lay people to action on an unprecedented scale. It was largely a response to the secularization of society, embracing positivist ideals of socioeconomic work as well as implementing the ideals of the *Rerum novarum* encyclical.

Keywords: *Latin church, Uniate church, Galicia, Holy See, Franz Joseph I, nation*

Rafał Smoczyński
Mapping Social Statuses in Poland within a Durkheimian Perspective

This paper seeks to contribute to the discussion on the dominant role of the Polish intelligentsia strata since its emergence in the late 19th century by employing the Durkheimian concept of totemism in studying collective identity-building processes. This classical sociological category will be used to explain the dynamics of shaping social hierarchies, statuses, and citizenship ideals in semi-peripheral Poland. Following the above insights this paper will examine the Polish intelligentsia's uses of the noble legacies and Jewish identities to increase its cultural hegemony. Namely, it is argued that various intelligentsia fractions use cosmopolitan imageries to position themselves within the collective national imagination as the avant-garde of the Polish elite and by this to act functionally as totemic figures. This practice resonates with the sensitivities and lived experiences of the public. For individuals who use noble legacy imageries, this totemic practice involves drawing on cultural traditions of European aristocracy and its international networking activities to assert their cosmopolitan identity. For those using imageries of a Jewish legacy, understood as an intellectual and cultural agency that has driven modernization processes in Central and Eastern Europe, these strategies have been a key way of asserting a sense of cosmopolitan identity. This function involves serving as a symbol of the internationalization of the Polish elite, which as this imagery alludes has always been open to global influences that are underpinned by the emancipatory aspirations of the semi-pe-

ripheral population gravitating towards the Western core countries perceived as the source of modernization.

Keywords: *the Polish intelligentsia, modernization, Polish Jews, East-West divide, noble legacy, totemism*

Simon Malmenvall
"Russian Threat": Critical Approach to Eastern Orthodoxy and Bolshevism in the Works of Franc Grivec

Franc Grivec (1878–1963) is considered a pioneer in systematic research of Eastern Christian Slavic cultures among Slovenes. A significant part of Grivec's works – organically intertwined with his pedagogical engagement at the Faculty of Theology in Ljubljana – is dedicated to the reception of the Bolshevik Revolution and its partial origin in the previous centuries shaped by the Russian Orthodox Church. Like Dostoyevsky, Grivec emphasizes that Socialism is primarily "a question about God" and the transformation of the whole of human life. According to him, the extremism of the Bolsheviks is placed in the broader cultural mechanism of a messianic mission of Russia, starting in the sixteenth century with the idea of Moscow as the "Third Rome", which established Russian distrust towards both the Greek Orthodoxy and the European West. Furthermore, Grivec brings attention to the structural turning point in Russian history that took place in the time of Emperor Peter the Great, when the Church was made subordinate to the state – this weakened its intellectual creativity and social power. The Slovene author explains that the Bolshevik Revolution spread due to the long-term inorganic development of Russian culture. Furthermore, Grivec does not portray the Bolshevik regime as some distant happening but allows for the possibility that a revolution could also unfold on Slovene soil.

Keywords: *Franc Grivec (1878–1963), Bolshevism, Russian Orthodox Church, Russian messianism, history of high education*

AUTHORS

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Palaver
em. Professor of Catholic Social Thought
Catholic Theological Faculty of the University of Innsbruck

Prof. Bojan Žalec, PhD
Head of the Institute of Philosophy and Social Ethics
Faculty of Theology, University of Ljubljana
Member of the European Academy of Sciences and Arts (residence in Salzburg)

Prof. Branko Klun, PhD
Faculty of Theology, University of Ljubljana

Assist. Prof. Luka Janeš, PhD
Faculty of Philosophy and Religious Studies, University of Zagreb

Assistant, Ante Belić
Faculty of Philosophy and Religious Studies, University of Zagreb

Research Assistant, Stjepan Štivić, PhD
Faculty of Theology, University of Ljubljana

Prof. Michal Valčo, PhD
Evangelical Lutheran Theological Faculty, Comenius University Bratislava

Assoc. Prof. Katarína Valčová, PhD
Evangelical Lutheran Theological Faculty, Comenius University Bratislava

Gábor Kovács, PhD, Senior Research Fellow
Institute of Philosophy of the Research Centre for the Humanities, Budapest

Béla Mester, PhD, Senior Research Fellow
Institute of Philosophy of the Research Centre for the Humanities, Budapest

Petar Bilobrk, PhD
University of Zagreb

REVIEWS

The subject of the monograph *Intellectual History and Culture Wars in Central and Eastern Europe in the Light of Modern Theories of Religion* is, as its title indicates, the intellectual history of the Slovenian and broader Central European region, with a primary focus on religious aspects. However, since religion cannot be separated from other segments of society and culture, the chapters in the book also address other fields, particularly philosophy, art, and politics. Geographically, the authors mainly focus on events in Slovenia, Croatia, Poland, Hungary, and Slovakia. Recognising that all these areas were interconnected within broader political, cultural, and other frameworks is essential.

The book presents significant personalities, social and intellectual movements, and challenges within the period it focuses on, specifically from the second half of the 19th century to the beginning of World War II. However, some contributions extend beyond this timeframe. The authors employ various approaches: theological, religious studies, philosophical, historiographical, sociological, cultural, and literary-historical. Thus, the book is interdisciplinary. Its particular value lies in the authors' ability to interpret the past through various perspectives within these disciplines, connecting them and not limiting themselves solely to historiographical, literary, or cultural history approaches. Works like this are rare and valuable, as they require a complex effort and knowledge from researchers, shedding new light on phenomena.

Therefore, this monograph is an original scientific work that significantly contributes to understanding the intellectual history of the Slovenian and Central European region, as well as more broadly, since the events in Central Europe during that time had global dimensions and significance.

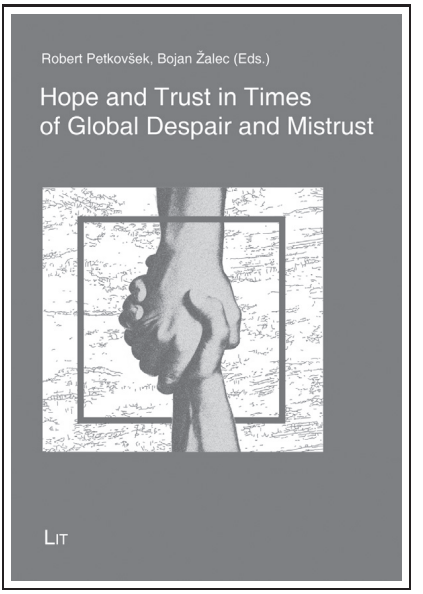
Prof. Nenad Malović, PhD
Department of Philosophy
Catholic Faculty of Theology
University of Zagreb

The scientific monograph *Intellectual History and Culture Wars in Central and Eastern Europe in the Light of Modern Theories of Religion* addresses themes that are exceptionally significant for our present, both within Slovenia and across a broader European context. The book provides a more profound theological and philosophical foundation for understanding these topics. Its authors come from renowned scientific institutions across various European countries. The discussions shed new light on noteworthy segments of intellectual history, focusing primarily on religious dimensions and associated factors. One of the book's key strengths lies in its demonstration of the complexity of the phenomenon of religion and the dangers of an inadequate or oversimplified understanding of it. Such an understanding can lead to inappropriate attitudes toward religion, misuse, violent actions by religious subjects, and other adverse occurrences. The authors develop these points on multiple levels: some chapters address more general topics, while others delve into specific cases of significant social movements, groups, and personalities, using case studies to support and illustrate their conclusions.

In doing so, the authors explore various aspects and cultivate diverse approaches within the humanities and social sciences. Their contributions interconnect and complement each other, forming a cohesive interdisciplinary scientific monograph that examines its subject from multiple perspectives within these academic disciplines. High scientific methodological standards, familiarity with relevant literature and sources, and a robust scholarly framework distinguish the chapters. This monograph is an important and original academic work appropriate to developing the humanities and social sciences and holds significance in cultural, political, and moral contexts. As such, it is also important from the standpoint of Slovenian national interest, European development, and the promotion of Slovenian scholarship abroad.

Grzegorz Szamocki
Associate Professor
University of Gdańsk
Faculty of History

Theologie Ost – West
Europäische Perspektiven
hrsg. von Prof. Dr. Janez Juhant (Universität Ljubljana) und Prof. Dr. Albert Franz (†)



Robert Petkovšek; Bojan Žalec (Eds.)
Hope and Trust in Times of Global Despair and Mistrust
Hope and trust are key problems of the present world and should therefore be at the centre of interest of science and society. Climate change, pandemics, dangerous global and social polarization, people's distrust of politics and institutions, social isolation and the rise of mental problems in developed countries of material prosperity are problems that we will only be able to cope with if we know how to cultivate hope and trust. The authors deal with them from various aspects of the humanities: philosophy, theology, religious studies, intellectual history, cognitive science, psychology and psychotherapy. This gives the book an interdisciplinary character.
vol. 31, 2023, 242 pp., 39,90 €, pb., ISBN-CH 978-3-643-91506-1

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Theologie Ost – West
Europäische Perspektiven
hrsg. von Prof. Dr. Janez Juhant (Universität Ljubljana) und Prof. Dr. Albert Franz (†)

Margit Eckholt (Ed.)
Synodality in Europe – Theological Reflections on the Church on Synodal Paths in Europe
The publication of the ESCT (European Society for Catholic Theology) with the title "Synodality in Europe" reflects on the synodal process in Europe and challenges of theological work in view of the learning process to become a "synodal church". The different articles lay theological foundations of synodality, they present regional and world church perspectives, they show tensions and processes of pluralisation which are understood as a "laboratory" of synodality related to the liberating and healing Gospel of Jesus Christ.
Most of the authors are members of different sections of ESCT (in Belgium, Croatia, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Ireland, Lithuania, Portugal, Slovakia and Spain). Integrated are also a protestant and two world-church contributions.
vol. 33, , 298 pp., 39,90 €, pb., ISBN-CH 978-3-643-91632-7

Robert Petkovšek; Bojan Žalec (Eds.)
Ethics of Resilience
Vulnerability and Survival in Times of Pandemics and Global Uncertainty
The term resilience refers to a new realistic paradigm in tackling the challenges required by the modern world, in which changes are happening faster and faster and are becoming less transparent and predictable. Therefore, the paradigm of stability and protection against disturbances is no longer realistic and has been replaced by the paradigm of resilience. People, natural and social systems can no longer be protected from ruptures, but must become as resilient as possible. This, in turn, raises a number of issues involving ethical questions and challenges for religions. This book addresses these issues.
vol. 29, 2022, 260 pp., 24,90 €, pb., ISBN-CH 978-3-643-91211-4

Robert Petkovšek; Bojan Žalecc (Eds.)
Transhumanism as a Challenge for Ethics and Religion
The crucial question of our time is: How to preserve humanity, humanitas, in a world of radical and not so long ago practically unimaginable technological possibilities? The book addresses this issue through its treatment of transhumanism, a diverse movement the representatives of which promise and advocate for the enhancement of human being through modern science, technology, and pharmacology. Their views differ in the degree of extremity, and they contain many ambiguities, as well as pitfalls and dangers that require an answer from both ethical and religious points of view.
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