

BAŽNYČIOS ISTORIJOS STUDIJOS

BIS

IV
TOMAS

CHURCH HISTORY BETWEEN
ROME AND VILNIUS:
CHALLENGES TO CHRISTIANITY
FROM EARLY MODERN AGES
TO THE 20TH CENTURY



VILNIUS
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SUDARYTOJO PRATARMĖ

Tuo metu kai didesnėje Europos dalyje Bažnyčios istorijos tyrimų/rašymo tradicija vystėsi be didesnių pertrūkių, dėl politinių aplinkybių Lietuvoje lygiai pusę XX amžiaus jie beveik nevyko. Todėl natūralu, kad nepaisant tam tikrų pastangų juos atgaivinti per pastaruosius du dešimtmečius, Bažnyčios istorija Lietuvoje tebėra ankstyvojoje stadijoje. Daugiausia dėmesio skiriama šaltinių paieškai ir jų publikavimui, lieka daugybė visiškai nenagrinėtų temų, trūksta aktyvesnės komunikacijos su tarptautine Bažnyčios istorikų bendruomene. Naują postūmį šiai istoriografijos krypčiai galėtų suteikti Lietuvos krikščionėjimo istorijos integravimas į platesnį europinį kontekstą, drąsesnis atsivėrimas kitur vykdomų Bažnyčios istorijos tyrimų teminiam, probleminiam ir metodologiniam diskursui. Remiantis tokia prielaida, ilgai buvo brandinama idėja Vilniuje surengti Bažnyčios istorijos problematikai skirtą tarptautinę mokslinę konferenciją. Platesnės akademinės diskusijos poreikį sustiprino ir prieš aštuonerius metus Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijoje vykęs tarptautinis seminaras, kuriame buvo nagrinėjamos Bažnyčios istorijos problemos Baltijos šalyse XX amžiuje.

2011 m. rudenį pagaliau pavyko įgyvendinti sumanymą išplėsti dialogo su kolegomis užsienyje rėmus geografiniu ir chronologiniu atžvilgiu. Rugsėjo 22-23 dienomis Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijoje įvyko konferencija „Bažnyčios istorija nuo Romos iki Vilniaus: iššūkiai krikščionybei nuo Ankstyvųjų Naujųjų laikų iki šių dienų“. Renginio kokybės garantu buvo kelios svarbios prielaidos. Visų pirma, konferencijos pranešėjai reprezentavo skirtingas tyrimų tradicijas ir geografines žiūrų perspektyvas: Vakarų Europos (Italija, Vokietija, Didžioji Britanija), Vidurio ir Rytų Europos (Lenkija, Čekija, Estija), taip pat Lietuvos. Antra, į konferenciją atvyko ne tik istorikai, bet ir kitų humanitarinių bei socialinių mokslo šakų atstovai – politologai, filologai, teologai, kurių tyrimų tematika glaudžiai siejasi su Bažnyčios istorijos problematika. Trečia, konferencija nesiribojo vien katalikybės istorijos tyrimų lauku, nes pranešėjai ar jų pranešimų temos aprėpė ir protestantiškąją krikščionybės istorijos tyrimų tradicijas. Pagaliau konferencijos pranešimų tematika atspindėjo skirtingas dalykines prieigas: vieni pranešėjai pristatė temas, kuriose lygino krikščionėjimo reiškinius skirtinguose regionuose, kiti nagrinėjo lietuvišką tematiką iš išorės perspektyvos, treči supažindino su šiuo metu vykdomais krikščionybės istorijos tyrimų ir šaltinių publikavimo projektais. Taigi apibendrinant

galima teigti, kad konferencija buvo ne tik tarptautinė, bet ir multiperspektyvinė, tarpdisciplininė bei ekumeninė.

Naujame Bažnyčios istorijos studijų tome spausdinami konferencijoje skaitytų pranešimų pagrindu parengti straipsniai. Į šį straipsnių rinkinį taip pat pateko Pietų Italijos Popiežiškojo teologijos fakulteto profesoriaus Ugo Dovere straipsnis, pristatantis Italijos Bažnyčios istorikų asociacijos iniciatyva prieš keletą metų atvertą įdomią Bažnyčios istorijos tyrimų perspektyvą. Tai Bažnyčios finansinių resursų akumuliacinio mechanizmo istorinės raidos analizė, suvokiama plačiame tarpdisciplininio tyrimo uždavinių ir metodų kontekste. Šis straipsnis gerai dera su pagrindiniu minėtos konferencijos tikslu, o jo autoriui tik dėl objektyvių kliūčių nepavyko jo minčių pristatyti konferencijoje. Straipsniai publikuojami anglų kalba, taip irgi siekiant Lietuvoje besiformuojantį Bažnyčios istorijos tyrimų diskursą išplukdyti į platesnius tarptautinio akademinio gyvenimo vandenis. Publikacijų užsienio kalba reikšmę akivaizdžiai patvirtina ir šiame tome spausdinama neseniai pasirodžiusios Klaipėdos universiteto dėstytojo, liuteronų kunigo Dariaus Petkūno knygos recenzija.

Arūnas Streikus

EDITOR'S COMMENT

At the time when in the greater part of Europe the tradition of Church history research/writing developed without any major breaks, due to political circumstances they almost did not occur in Lithuania for exactly half of the 20th century. Therefore, it was natural that disregarding certain efforts to revive them in the past two decades, the Church history of Lithuania remains in an early stage. Most of the attention is devoted to the search for sources and their publication. There remains a multitude of totally unanalyzed topics; there is an absence of more active communication with the international community of Church historians. The integration of the history of Lithuania's Christianization into a broader European context could provide a new stimulus for this direction of historiography, as well as a bolder opening to the thematic, problematic, and methodological discourse in the research of Church history carried out elsewhere. Based on that condition, for a long time the idea of organizing in Vilnius an international scholarly conference on problems in Church history was ripening. The international seminar at the Lithuanian Catholic Academy of Science eight years ago, at which the problems of Church history in the Baltic States in the 20th century were analyzed, strengthened the feeling of the necessity of broader academic discussions.

In the fall of 2011 we finally succeeded in carrying out the plan to expand the frames of dialogue with colleagues abroad from geographical and chronological aspects. On September 22-23 the conference "Church History between Rome and Vilnius: Challenges to Christianity from the Early Modern Ages to the 20th Century" occurred at the Lithuanian Catholic Academy of Science. Several important premises were a guarantee of the quality of the event. First, the conference's speakers represented different traditions of research and perspectives of geographical looking: Western Europe (Italy, Germany, Great Britain), Central and Eastern Europe (Poland, Czech Republic, Estonia) as well as Lithuania. Second, not only historians but also representatives of other branches of the humanities and social sciences – political scientists, philologists, theologians, the themes of whose research are closely related to the problems of Church history were present. Third, the conference was not restricted to only the field of investigations of the history of Catholicism as the speakers or the topics of their reports enveloped also the Protestant traditions of the history/its research of Christianity. Finally the themes of the conference's reports reflected different

EDITOR'S COMMENT

subject approaches: some speakers presented topics which compared the phenomena of becoming more Christian in different regions, others analyzed Lithuanian topics from an exterior perspective, still others presented projects being carried out at this time on the research of the history of Christianity and the publication of sources. Thus, in general one can assert that the conference was not only international, but also multi-perspective, interdisciplinary as well as ecumenical.

In the new volume of Church history studies, articles prepared on the basis of the papers read at the conference are published. In this collection of articles the article of Pontifical Theological Faculty of Southern Italy professor Ugo Doveve, presenting the initiative of the association of Italy's Church historians several years ago opening an interesting perspective of Church history research was included. This is an analysis of the historical development of the mechanisms of accumulating financial resources understood in the broad context of the problems and methods of interdisciplinary research. This article conforms well to the main goal of the mentioned conference, while its author only due to objective impediments did not succeed in presenting his ideas at the conference. The articles are published in English thus also seeking to launch Church history research being formed in Lithuania into the broader waters of international academic life. The importance of publications in a foreign language is clearly confirmed by the review of the recently published book of Klaipėda university lecturer, Lutheran minister Darius Petkūnas printed in this volume.

Arūnas Streikus

UMBERTO MAZZONE

THE APOSTOLIC VISITATION IN THE POST-TRIDENTINE CHURCH

The apostolic visitation frequently runs the risk of losing its specificity and being substantially considered as a version of the pastoral visitation ordered by the Roman center, with an overlapping of the fields, both in terms of the role of the visits and of the historical research.¹

At times the fact that the Diocesan Ordinary has been submitted to visit by the Roman Delegate and the visitor's possibility to intervene, albeit not completely in the exempt places, have not been considered to be truly appreciable variants.

¹ If we can find a lot of tractations about the pastoral visitations, e.g. Lucio Croci, *Instructio visitationis dioecesium*, 1563 (see L. Fiorani, "Le visite apostoliche del Cinque-Seicento e la società religiosa romana", *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma. Studi, documenti, inventari*, 1980, 4, p. 53-148, p. 71), Paolo Fuschi, *De visitatione et regimine ecclesiarum libri duo*, Romae, ex typ. Accolti, 1581, Luca Antonio Resta, *Directorium visitatorum ac visitantium cum praxi et formula generalis visitationis omnium et quarumcumque ecclesiarum monasteriorum, regularium, monialium, piorum locorum et personarum*, Romae, ex typ. G. Facciotti, 1593, Giuseppe Crispino, *Trattato della visita pastorale*, Napoli: Salvatore Castaldo, 1682, (G. De Rosa, "Giuseppe Crispino e la trattatistica sul buon vescovo", in: *Idem, Chiesa e religione popolare nel Mezzogiorno*, Bari, 1978, p. 103-143), about the apostolic visitation we have only the *Tractatus visitationum sive declarationes R.D. Annibalis Rochi I.U.D. Veron. ad Breve Gregorii XIII Pont. Max*, Veronae, apud Hieronymum Discipulum impressorem episcopalem, 1590.

Giovan Battista De Luca wrote only about the apostolic visitation in Rome, see *Repertorium seu index generalis rerum notabilium quae continentur in Theatro Veritatis et Justitiae Cardinalis De Luca*, Venetiis, apud Paulum Balleonium, 1698, p. 654 and G.B. De Luca *Theatrum veritatis et Justitiae*, Venetiis, apud Paulum Balleonium, 1698, liber XII *De Beneficiis*, disc. XVI, sub. XIV, p. 78, and *Ibid.*, liber XV, pars II, *Relatio Romane Curiae Forensis*, disc IV, sub. 8, p. 15 and disc. XXIV, p. 69-70. See S. Pagano, "Le visite apostoliche a Roma nei secoli XVI-XIX. Repertorio delle fonti", *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma. Studi, documenti, inventari*, 1980, 4, p. 317-464.

A variety of aspects have conspired to this simplification, and to this assimilation of different realities.

Generally speaking, it seems that, at least up until recent times, a thorough analysis of the diverse essence of the two types of visitation – i.e. pastoral and apostolic – has not been particularly well developed.

Our feeling is that the lack of a precise delimitation is the result of an over-extensive use of the concept of Catholic reform that has aimed to assimilate, according to criteria that in this case are really apologetic and damaging for their exact collocation, two phenomena that are different between them, not only in juridical terms (such as the authority that possesses the right of visit) but also in theological, ecclesiological, and political terms.

As a first approximation we can rather assume as a working hypothesis² the prospect of an apostolic visitation that is not simply a “special edition” duplicate of the pastoral one but one that has its own objectives and limited choices, that are developed as a function not so much of a capillary inculcation of principles and laws, but also as the uptake of information, control, correction, and direction *vis-à-vis* the work of the local bishop, with the analyses relating to the function of intervention in the jurisdictions exempted by the bishop.³ In that place it was underlined that it was the bishop’s task to oversee “very diligently” so that all the issued decrees should be enforced and implemented.⁴ So the apostolic visitation finds in the test of the Diocesan Ordinary and in the dispositions that he is given, some of its peculiar characteristics, which differentiate it from the pastoral visitation.⁵ Thus, a situation is often created that is characterized, in the best of cases, by

² C. Socol, *La visita apostolica del 1584–85 alla diocesi di Aquileia e la riforma dei regolari*, Udine, 1986, p. 99.

³ See A. G. Ghezzi, “Conflitti giurisdizionali nella Milano di Carlo Borromeo: la visita apostolica di Gerolamo Ragazzoni nel 1575–76”, *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 1984, p. 108-109, p. 193-237 and “Vita religiosa esente dalla giurisdizione dell’ordinario: i dati della visita apostolica di Gerolamo Ragazzoni a Milano (1575–76)”, *Studia Borromaica*, 1994, p. 8, p. 215-249.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁵ See C. Socol, *La visita apostolica*, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

reciprocal embarrassment. In Bologna even a leading representative of post-Tridentine Catholicism, Gabriele Cardinal Paleotti, did not particularly appreciate the fact that his diocese was submitted to the apostolic visitation by Ascanio Marchesini, who even tried to collaborate positively with the cardinal, and he showed his disappointment.⁶ This is a further element that shows how, with the consolidation of the apostolic visitations, these took on a particular tone, and not a wholly pleasant one.⁷ Also the difference in the institutional roles could pose problems, such as when the visitor was a bishop and the inspected had a cardinal rank, as was the case of Bologna.

The archbishop of Turin, Girolamo della Rovere, moreover like the Savoy Duke, did not welcome the visitation of Girolamo Scarampi, the Bishop of Campagna and Satriano.⁸

Finally, to finish off this brief review of some negative reactions to the visit, when the apostolic visitation of Bishop Angelo Peruzzi was announced to the diocese of Luni-Sarzana in 1584, a group of priests wrote to the general vicar of the diocese, Tiberio Grandi, delegating him to represent them before the visitor but above all asking him “in tutto ciò che potrà, difenderci”⁹ [in all that you could, defend us].

The apostolic visitations in their specificity have a particular meaning in the reality of the ancient states¹⁰, and they become a

⁶ P. Prodi, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti*, Roma, 1959–1967, II, p. 370. The documents of the visitation of Ascanio Marchesini are in *Archivio Arcivescovile* of Bologna, *Visite* 7, 8, 9.

See I. Cassoli, *La visita apostolica a Bologna di mons. Ascanio Marchesini del 1573–74 e l'opera del card. Gabriele Paleotti*, Bologna, 1973.

⁷ P. Prodi, *Il cardinale*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 371.

⁸ M. Grosso - M.F. Mellano, *La Controriforma nella Arcidiocesi di Torino (1558–1610)*, Città del Vaticano, 1957, I, p. 218.

⁹ *La visita apostolica di Angelo Peruzzi nella Diocesi di Luni-Sarzana (1584)*, I. *Le visite a Sarzana e nella bassa Val di Magra*, a cura di E. Freggia, presentazione di E. Massa, Roma, 1986, p. LXVI.

¹⁰ See C. Nubola, “Visite pastorali fra Chiesa e Stato nei secoli XVI e XVII”, in: *Il concilio di Trento e il moderno*, a cura di P. Prodi e W. Reinhard, Bologna, 1996, p. 383–413, p. 405.

privileged road to try to overcome the problems of a jurisdictional nature through direct agreements and negotiations between the Holy See and the political authorities, who actually exclude and marginalize the Diocesan Ordinaries. It seems evident that the bishops are not wholly urged to take on full responsibility for their own role but the choice is to intervene with an action promoted by the Roman curia; rather than reinforcing the bishopric's powers they prefer to resort to papal delegates endowed with "full powers" even when the bishops explicitly ask for aid and greater powers from Rome to overcome the difficulties that arise in the course of the visit.¹¹ In some cases, above all when the diocesan bishop had a strong reformist fiber, as in the case of Carlo Borromeo, it may have been the possibility that the very same Diocesan Ordinary urged the sending of an apostolic visitor thereby bending the visiting instrument in order to swiftly resolve situations that had been dragging on for too long, in order to have access to female and male monasteries, to the *loca pia* and to the confraternities run by secular persons, actually closed to the ordinaries and, above all, to allow at the end of the visit, for the faster and definitive execution of the decrees issued.¹²

On the powers towards the exempted places it is rightly remembered how even the single convents or monasteries enjoyed certain exemptions. Subject to visitations were only their churches and these only in regard to the care of the souls of the laymen or the secular people. Excluded from the visitation was the internal life of the community, except for those particular aspects that the Council of Trent or common law entrusted to the bishops as delegates of the Apostolic See or in any case that were not visited by their own religious superiors.¹³ The powers granted to the visitor underline the immediate universal jurisdiction of the Roman See in the dioceses submitted to visitation and in general over all dioceses; at times, however, precisely because they could be used as a constraint on the existing power relations; instead of actually resolving the tension, they ended up making matters even worse.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 406.

¹³ C. Socol, *La visita apostolica, op. cit.* p. 61.

It should always be remembered how it was undeniable that analogous measures had a different character and value because, if they were issued by the archbishop even in the solemn form of the decrees of a provincial council, they could be appealed in Rome, while if they were adopted by the apostolic visitor they were immediately enforced and could not be appealed.¹⁴ It is in this difference that we should grasp all of the diffidence and the concern through which, perhaps with contrasting motivations, the diocesan institutions expressed their varying concerns regarding the apostolic visitation.

In order to further clarify some aspects of the complex theoretical and juridical system that supported the visitor's authority, we should say a few words on a formula that is often found in the apostolic visitations: that of the *delegatus Sedis apostolicae*, a theme dealt with by Hubert Jedin in the light of an instrument elegant on the canonistic level but not satisfactory on the theological one¹⁵ and repeatedly used by the Council of Trent to reinforce some aspects of the Episcopal authority trying, at the same time, not to harm the papal prerogatives. A certain vagueness towards the Tridentine on the apostolic visitations should, however, be remembered.

“Nostrum et Apostolicae Sedis generalem et spetialem reformatorem et delegatum” is the usual definition of the apostolic visitor, we are reminded by Annibale Rocchi in his writing *Tractatus visitationum* (1590).¹⁶ The chief intention seems, however, to be that of safeguarding the papal prerogatives towards political authorities and exempt places and a lot less to safeguard the bishopric's spaces. It thus seems like an instrument to pull in the opposite direction to that of the reinforcement of Episcopal jurisdiction. In any case for the episcopate this is certainly a double-edged weapon. In this case we have recorded two opposing uses

¹⁴ A. G. Ghezzi, *Conflitti giurisdizionali*, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

¹⁵ “Die apostolische Delegation war eine kanonistisch elegante, theologisch aber unbefriedigende Lösung des Problems der bischöflichen Gewalt”, H. Jedin, “Delegatus Sedis Apostolicae und bischöfliche Gewalt auf dem Konzil von Trient”, in: *Kirche des Glaubens-Kirche der Geschichte*, Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1966, II, p. 414-428, p. 428.

¹⁶ A. Rochi, *Tractatus visitationum*, *op. cit.*, p. 30 and S. Tramontin, “La visita apostolica del 1581 a Venezia”, in: *Studi veneziani*, 1967, 9, p. 453-533, p. 453.

and actually, if the apostolic visitor's powers were vast, an attempt had to be made in order not to make them appear in contradiction with those of the Diocesan Ordinary.¹⁷

In fact, again according to Annibale Rocchi "Summus Pontifex potest per se, vel per suos Legatos, Nuntios et Delegatos eas ad beneplacitum suum visitare, pro ut et potest visitare universum clerum et populum Christianum, in vim potestatem Clavium et mandati de pascendis omnibus, apud eum namque est suprema potestas, quam a Deo accepit"¹⁸ and, furthermore, for the pope "totus mundus ... est una Dioecesis".¹⁹ Again he recalled that "Nostrum et apostolicae Sedis generalem et spetialem visitatorem reformatorem et delegatum"²⁰ in various cities "constituimus et deputamus" and he points out that a difference is established between "our delegate" where "delegare est vice sua alium dare"²¹ and the delegate of the apostolic See, where "our" (*Nostrum*) means the person of the pope and "apostolic See" (*apostolicae Sedis*) means the institution and so the charge of visitor preserves its fullness even after the death of the pope, because if a person dies the institution of the papacy certainly does not die with him. The figure of the apostolic visitor thus tends, in the work of Rocchi, even to become authorized in respect to the delegating pope, to become almost a permanent Church institution, while for the methods of the visit he refers to the decisions of the 24th Tridentine session.²²

The apostolic visitation is like the pope's visitation, a visit the latter cannot perform in person: "Summus Pontifex tenetur ipse visitare" but as he cannot do it he delegates others, also the visit "facta per hunc delegatum dicetur facta per papam".²³ Rocchi then reiterates, towards

¹⁷ A. G. Ghezzi, *Conflitti giurisdizionali*, op. cit., p. 206.

¹⁸ A. Rochi, *Tractatus visitationum*, op. cit., p. 14.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 231. For the Council of Trent see *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, a cura di G. Alberigo et al., Bologna, 1991, p. 761s., *Decretum de reformatione, Canon III.*

²³ A. Rochi, *Tractatus visitationum*, op. cit., p. 37.

the regulars, the need for their strong reference with the convent or the monastery thereby condemning any form of itinerancy.²⁴

As regards the method of the visit it has been underlined how by insisting on an assessment of the local situations, Rome intends to actively promote a Church model not to be discussed but to be applied according to particular criteria and needs for which the center, by taking on responsibility for the reform, becomes the promoter.²⁵

The aims of this operation can be summarized as follows: a) to standardize the episcopacy and the canons decided in Rome; b) to homogenize the training, the preparation and the spirituality of the bishops; c) to bureaucratize the role of the bishop to make him very similar to a curial official; d) to spread conformism and formalism as prevalent values.

In any case, the apostolic visitation will almost always be felt as an odious instrument²⁶, concentrating in itself the moment of control with that of the reassertion of a distant and hostile power. As early as 1570 the visitation of Bartolomeo da Porcia, conducted from Aquileia to Caporetto, recorded strong opposition from the curia of Udine and in particular from the general vicar Iacopo Maracco, who considered the visit as an offence, a demonstration of mistrust *vis-à-vis* the ordinary government of the dioceses and an insulting attempt to put in a state of accusation.²⁷ Perceiving that this judgment might be highly widespread among the clergy and the faithful, on the occasion of the visit of Gerolamo Ragazzoni even Carlo Borromeo himself had tried to de-dramatize the visitation by presenting it as a normal Church practice.²⁸ An exemplary case is that of the Valtellina, in the land of the Grisons where Giovanni Francesco Bonomi, Bishop of

²⁴ “Sicut piscis sine aqua caret vita, ita Monachus et monacha sine monasterio” *Ibid.*, p. 159.

²⁵ C. Socol, *La visita apostolica, op. cit.*, p. 97.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

²⁷ G. Paolin, “La visita apostolica di Bartolomeo da Porcia nel goriziano nel 1570”, in: *Riforma cattolica e controriforma nell’Austria Interna 1564–1628*, Klagenfurt, 1994, p. 133-142, p. 135.

²⁸ A. G. Ghezzi, *Conflitti giurisdizionali, op. cit.*, p. 205.

Vercelli²⁹ in 1578 made a short as well as risky mission. Bonomi was appointed on April 15, 1578 with a brief of pope Gregory XIII as visitor, reformer, and delegate of the apostolic See for the cities and the dioceses of Novara and Como³⁰, while the following day, on April 16, another brief of the pope completed the definition of the powers given over to Bonomi.³¹

On 2 July he expresses his fear to Carlo Borromeo that he might be forbidden (this being most feared) from entering the Valley as an apostolic visitor³² and again he writes to Cardinal Borromeo on July 14, 1578 to inform him that in the case of difficulties he should use the title of delegate of the bishop of Como, rather than that of apostolic visitor “perché qui è troppo odioso questo nome” and in the end he must abandon the valley thereby avoiding “uno terribile affronto”.³³

Perhaps the crisis of the late 17th century episcopate³⁴ can also be traced back to the dark and tense atmosphere that was created in the great season of apostolic visitations.

A season that had started with Pius V and Gregory XIII³⁵, even if it appears to us that Paul IV prepared in March 1558 for the visitation to Istria, Friuli and Dalmatia³⁶ and the issuing of powers to the ordinaries to visit the exempt places date back to as early as the start of the 1550's “nostra et dicte Sedis auctoritate.”³⁷

²⁹ See *Nuntiaturberichte aus der Schweiz seit dem Concil von Trient. I. Abteilung. Die Nuntiatur von Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini 1578–1581. Documente*, bearbeitet von F. Steffens-H. Reinhardt, Solothurn, 1906, I, p. 118-180, abbrev.: NBS.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 118, doc. 93.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 119, doc. 94.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 136.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 157, “because here that name is too odious” and “a terrible affront”.

³⁴ See C. Donati, “Vescovi e diocesi d'Italia dall'età post-tridentina alla caduta dell'antico regime”, in: *Clero e società nell'Italia moderna*, a cura di M. Rosa, Roma-Bari, 1992, p. 321-389, p. 350.

³⁵ See S. Tramontin, *La visita apostolica*, op. cit., p. 453.

³⁶ I. Vitezic, *La prima visita apostolica postridentina in Dalmazia (nell'anno 1579)*, Roma, 1957, p. 6.

³⁷ H. Jedin, *Delegatus*, op. cit., p. 425.

The plan to generalize the apostolic visitations was very successful and these thus became an ordinary instrument, instead of being an exceptional one, of intervention.³⁸ On October 24, 1566 Pius V ordered Tommaso Orfini³⁹, who was preparing to enter his bishopric of Strongoli, in the Kingdom of Naples, to visit, as his own delegate and that of the apostolic See, some of the locations that he would have met during his journey. His mission in the kingdom aroused a broad and far-reaching jurisdictional controversy.

Already starting from this first post-Tridentine visitation we can appreciate what would later become an almost constant element in the apostolic visitations, that is the jurisdictional clash with the civil and political authorities.⁴⁰ Orfini immediately violated age-old traditions and clashed with the viceroy by refusing to submit his right to visit to the royal *exequatur*.

The viceroy went so far as to order Orfini to suspend the visit because he wanted to consult the pope and beg him not to bring any changes to the Kingdom⁴¹, being in his turn dramatically and personally involved in the clash between the king of Spain Philip II and Pope Pius V⁴², which seemed to be concluded with just a tacit, and at that point pragmatically appreciated by all, consent to continuing with the visit.⁴³

A striking case, which by positioning itself chronologically towards the end of the great season of visits confirming that the problem had always been left unsolved, is that of the apostolic visitation to the Savoy, planned and never done, when in 1604 the Bishop of Geneva François

³⁸ C. Socol, *La visita apostolica*, p. 31.

³⁹ P. Villani, "La visita apostolica di Tommaso Orfini nel Regno di Napoli (1566-1568)", in: *Annuario dell' Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea*, 1956, 8, p. 5-79, L. Fiorani, *Le visite apostoliche*, *op. cit.* p. 95.

⁴⁰ See R. Bizzocchi, "Conflitti di giurisdizione negli antichi stati italiani", in: *Fonti ecclesiastiche per la storia sociale e religiosa d' Europa: XV-XVIII secolo*, a cura di C. Nubola e A. Turchini, Bologna, 1999, p. 267-275.

⁴¹ P. Villani, *La visita apostolica*, *op. cit.* p. 11.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

de Sales saw his application for *placet* advanced to the Duke rejected.⁴⁴ In the course of the project of Gregory XIII to extend the apostolic visitation to the greatest number of dioceses ever new problems could not fail to arise. Of particular interest there seems to be that which arose at the time when the wish was expressed to visit the *Levante* (East) islands of the Venetian Republic.⁴⁵ There arose significant opposition from the Signoria of Venice due partly to political reasons such as the lack of information given by the pope of his intentions, which thus interfered with the delicate sphere of Venetian interests in the East with no concertation whatever, and in part also to reasons of cohabitation with the Orthodox Church. Indeed, it was thus feared that in the presence of an over-rigorous apostolic visitation the Catholic priests would decide to pass over to the Orthodox Church and again that the same Orthodox Church, before the display of Roman power, might decide in turn to start up visits or other strong reassertions of its presence such as to disturb the delicate confessional balance that had been established in the course of time in the East Venetian territories. The pope accepted the Venetian objection and the brief of the nomination on January 25, 1581 of the Bishop of Parenzo Cesare de Nores as visitor was never published.⁴⁶ If we pause on what is contained in the nomination briefs of the apostolic visitors we cannot miss the repetitiveness of the formulas that we find therein.

The construction of a brief for a visitor, by means of the use of the powers attributed to others, is effected with various levels of merging of texts.

The text of the powers for the visitation of Aquileia is almost the same as that issued to Agostino Valier for the apostolic visitation to Padua and Vicenza.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ See A. Erba, *La chiesa sabauda tra Cinque e Settecento. Ortodossia tridentina, gallicanesimo savoiaro e assolutismo ducale (1580–1630)*, Roma, 1979, p. 68. See Luoghi, *chiese e chierici del Salento meridionale in età moderna: la visita apostolica della città e della Diocesi di Alessano nel 1628*, a cura di A. Jacob e A. Caloro, Galatina, 1999.

⁴⁵ C. Socol, *La visita apostolica*, *op. cit.* p. 57.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

The powers of Angelo Peruzzi, who had just visited the diocese of Luni-Sarzana⁴⁸, as a visitor of the dioceses of Turin (1584–1585) referred to the same powers already granted for the visits to the dioceses and cities of Pistoia, Arezzo, Cortona, Montepulciano, San Sepolcro, which were part of the Great Duchy of Tuscany.

There thus appears to be a disconcerting geographical and temporal continuity between the guidelines traced out for the different visits.

The fact that a visitor went to Bologna, Bergamo, Turin or in Friuli or Dalmatia does not seem to very significant. There are, of course, some differences but they are the fruit of adaptations tied to very particular situations.

In the documents we can find a list of general priorities that the visitor had to pay attention to: buildings of cult, ecclesiastic personnel, state of the life of the parish community, monasteries and convents both male and female, hospital, lay confraternities, behavior of the laypeople, inventories of goods, parish registers.⁴⁹ Particular attention was aroused by the tending to the souls exercised by the religious orders, even if care was taken to avoid the risk that particularly vigorous incursions into the domestic lives of the orders might arouse reactions on the part of the regulars. In this context the theme of the role of the papal nuncio as visitor is decisive.

The fact that the apostolic nuncio was one of the main elements for the enforcement of the Council of Trent has for some time been recognized.⁵⁰ So the nuncio in Venice had to inculcate in the bishops the loyalty to the decrees of Trent and had to insist especially on the obligation of residence: that the bishops establish their residence, ordering to each one separately the execution of the Tridentine Council

⁴⁸ See *La visita apostolica di Angelo Peruzzi, op. cit.*

⁴⁹ C. Socol, *La visita apostolica, op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁵⁰ P. Blet, "Pio V e la riforma tridentina per mezzo dei nunzi apostolici", in: *San Pio V e la problematica del suo tempo*, a cura della Cassa di Risparmio di Alessandria, Cinisello Balsamo, 1972, p. 33-46, p. 35: "una prova ci è fornita dagli inviati di Pio V. Senza dubbio il successore di Pio V, Gregorio XIII, darà alle nunziature una estensione più vasta ed una struttura più organica ma già ... i nunzi di Pio V furono degli agenti molto attivi della riforma tridentina".

and the violators be immediately punished; similarly the curates for all of the states do the same.⁵¹

In this phase it is extremely important to evaluate the overlap of the figure of the apostolic nuncio with that of the visitor as a testimony of the fact that the apostolic visitations are inserted into the broader frame of the new set-up of the Catholic Church and its relations with the states and their specific religious situations.

Girolamo Federici, bishop of Lodi, nuncio in Turin from 1575, in 1577 published in the Savoy States a collection of decrees at the end of his apostolic visitation made with the powers of legate *a latere* and apostolic visitor⁵² and from his visit, albeit still conducted along general lines, the first complete picture emerges of the religious situation in the territory of the Italian Piemonte. Starting from this general definition a few years later the apostolic visitation of Girolamo Scarampi took shape. Of particular interest then is the application of Scarampi's dispositions enforced in the dioceses of Mondovì by Bishop Giovanni Antonio Castruccio, of whom an important visitation questionnaire also remains.⁵³

Exemplary of this path is the episode of the Bishop of Vercelli Giovanni Francesco Bonomi. The latter had been educated by a rigidly Borromaic pastoral practice, having for a long time collaborated with Carlo Borromeo and having followed him in numerous visits also in Swiss territories, which he thus came to know deeply, also dealing with the welcoming of the Swiss students at Italian seminaries.

As early as in 1576 Bonomi was collaborating with the nuncio Girolamo Federici visiting Savoy. As a visitor in Valtellina in 1578 he drew his conviction of the need to set up for the Swiss territories a nunciature with full visiting powers. The task, and the title of nuncio, were attributed to him, also due to the intercession of Carlo Cardinal Borromeo. In particular, Bonomi insisted on receiving the title of nuncio,

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁵² M. F. Mellano, *La Controriforma nella Diocesi di Mondovì*, *op. cit.*, p. 137 and H. Federici, *Generalia Decreta in Visitatione edita*, Taurini, 1577.

⁵³ M. F. Mellano, *La controriforma nella Diocesi di Mondovì*, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

in that he believed that only with it could he overcome the resistance, both of the clergy and the political power. The brief of nomination by Gregory XIII of Bonomi to nuncio in Switzerland “cum facultate visitandi et reformandi” is dated May 2, 1579.⁵⁴ In the brief, in which reference is made to the powers and the missions of Bonomi for the dioceses of Novara and Como⁵⁵, as further clarification of the spirit with which the visits were conducted in the zones where the Protestant Reformation could be successful, Bonomi is also given the power to receive public abjures of the reformed.⁵⁶ This was a very delicate point and obviously very unwelcome to those who saw with concern a possible breakaway, as a result of this activity of Catholic re-conquest, of equilibriums that were already believed to be consolidated.

From 1579 to 1581 he was a visiting nuncio in Switzerland, with a specific scope of intervention in the dioceses of Konstanz, Chur, Lausanne, Sion, and Basel. His work also aroused reactions of strong opposition, both from the political authorities, first and foremost the Archduke of Tyrol, Ferdinand, and even the population of Bern. However, he did manage to make stable the presence of the order of Jesuits in Freiburg. In 1582 he was already in Hungary, then in Austria, then in Augsburg. In 1583 he was in Rhineland to resolve the very delicate matter of the Archbishop of Köln Gebhard Truchsess, apostate of the Catholic Church. In 1586 he was again in Köln as nuncio and he visited the city, the diocese and performed diocesan synods. He died in Liege in 1587. We have paused on the activity of Bonomi, but the examples could be multiplied, suffice to think to Feliciano Ninguarda⁵⁷, to show how the figure of the nuncio and that of the visitor are almost inextricably interwoven in the age of Counter-reformation and how the

⁵⁴ *NBS*, I, p. 325, doc. 282.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ See K. Schellhass, *Der Domenikaner Felician Ninguarda und die Gegenreformation in Süddeutschland und Österreich (1560–1583)*, Rom, 1930–1939, and *NBS*, I, p. 327. He was apostolic visitor of the Dominican Order (1573), bishop (1577), from 1578 till 1583 apostolic nuncio in Germany, nuncio in Switzerland (1586), bishop of Como (1588).

ineluctable link between the two role constitutes the strong point of the proposal of control that comes from the Roman Church.⁵⁸

Another aspect of that Sarpian “totato”, of that new universalism of the pope which later, as is well-known, would be exhausted in the crossed confrontation between confessionalization and secularization, in the bitter and irresolvable encounter with modernity.

Suffice to think of the diffusion in the Germanic area of the diplomatic missions, the apostolic visitations, such as those of Ninguarda and Bonomi, then find fresh confirmation the statements that it is probably due to the weakness of the Empire that the papacy manages to handle directly through the work of the nuncios and the religious orders the Catholic restoration in the countries to the north of the Alps.⁵⁹ Unlike what had happened in France where the few initiatives of apostolic visitations in 1569 in Avignon and in 1584 in the three bishoprics of the Lorraine all failed.⁶⁰

The growth of the importance of the figure of the nuncio, on the one hand, results to be the effect of the new political order that finds its legitimation in the existence of the new modern state, such as the papal one inserted fully in the concerto of European powers, while on the other hand on the ecclesiological plane, there occurs a radical change in the relationship between Rome and local churches, with the entrance of this Roman representative continuously in relation to and mindful of the political world and contemporaneously active, also in the disciplinary subject, in the questions strictly of religious competence, with all the possible overlaps of fields and evaluations that could be born from it.

The diffidence towards solutions that would have reassessed the episcopate in respect to the papal primacy and the fact of no longer needing to cast doubt over the new political-ecclesiastical set-up that

⁵⁸ For some problems see the note of the nuncio in Turin Vincenzo Lauro (1582), M. Grosso-M. F. Mellano, *La Controriforma nella Arcidiocesi di Torino, op. cit.*, I, p. 215 s.

⁵⁹ P. Prodi, *Il sovrano pontefice*, Bologna 1982, p. 329.

⁶⁰ M. Venard, “Le visite pastorali francesi dal XVI al XVIII secolo”, in: *Le visite pastorali*, a cura di U. Mazzone e A. Turchini, Bologna, 1985, p. 13-55, p. 30 s.

had developed mid-way through the 15th century⁶¹ mean that the apostolic visitors become the completion, in the spiritual, of the nuncio or the legate, as a consequence if the charges are concentrated in the same person, in the new pontifical perspective, only a positive synergic relationship can be gleaned from it.

Moreover, it needs to be recognized that the activity of the nuncios often appears to be religiously inspired and dominated by the concern of implementing the Tridentine reform, even if in a centralized Roman perspective; the same figures are at times of very different extraction from those of the traditional bureaucratic career.⁶²

We are interested in recognizing in the figure of the apostolic visitor the fruit of a new relationship between the episcopate and the papacy, with the desire to limit the space of episcopal autonomy using an expression, such as that of *delegatus Sedis Apostolicae*, that at the Council of Trent had been formulated with different meanings and identify in the figure of the visitor/nuncio or nuncio/visitor, albeit in the last part of the 16th century very frequent, genuinely infused with a religious spirit, a further aspect of the process with which the papacy tries to deal with the new modernity of politics. In this also in Bonomi, just to cite an example, the primacy of politics remains decisive. Suffice to recall how he leads the visit to the Grisonais Valtellina.⁶³

An attempt in which the attribution of the title *delegatum nostrum* takes on value both in the religious, and in the mixed, and directly in the civil.

Some documentary evidence allows us to confirm the validity of these conclusions also for the Polish-Lithuanian *Respublica*.

Only by way of pure exemplification we should recall how the Croatian Alexander Komulovic (Comuleo) was extraordinary Apostolic Nuncio in Transylvania, Moldova, Poland and Muscovy from 1593 till

⁶¹ P. Prodi, *Il sovrano pontefice, op. cit.*, p. 310.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 317.

⁶³ See U. Mazzone, "Visitatori in Valtellina tra 500 e 600", in: *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, 1991, 27, p. 27-54, p. 29 s.

1597 as well as apostolic visitor of the dioceses of Vilnius in 1596.⁶⁴

Some apostolic nuncios in Poland had had prior experiences as apostolic visitors or were request to make visitations during the their mission⁶⁵ and the relationship between temporal and spiritual activity of the nuncios is often testified, e.g. on 27 August 1671 the Congregation of the Holy Office granted broad-ranging powers on the issue of the repression of the heresy the nuncio in Poland Angelo Maria Ranuzzi.⁶⁶

We can also find the figure of the apostolic missionary, as is testified by the documentation of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide for Lithuania, Samogitia, Curland and Russia in 1639.⁶⁷

Finally, a point that goes beyond the modern era to directly refer to the contemporary one. Here we have dealt with the question of the apostolic visitation as an element for taking up information, controlling, correcting and directing. In such a light, the apostolic visits are certainly not limited to the start of the modern era. It is well-known how, in a particularly bitter moment of the contemporary Church and in which there emerges yet another confrontation with modernity, in the years of the papacy of Pius X, ample recourse has been made to the apostolic visits to investigate above all the questions of Modernism.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ See *Acta Nuntiaturae Poloniae*, auctore H. D. Wojtyska, I, Roma 1990, p. 239s., *Acta Nuntiaturae Poloniae*, ed. L. Jarminski, XVI(1), Cracoviae 2000, p. LXV-LXVI, *Die Hauptinstruktionen Clemens' VIII. für die Nuntien und Legaten an den Europäischen Fürstenhöfen 1592–1605*, ed. K. Jainter, I, Tübingen, 1984, p. CCVs.

⁶⁵ Onorato Visconti, nuncio from 1624 till 1627, was inquisitor and apostolic visitor, *Acta Nuntiaturae Poloniae*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 254, the *consilia* for the nuncio (1599) assert that “esso Nuncio visita alle volte in persona alcune Chiese Cathedrali, al meno le più vicine alla residenza” *ibidem*, p. 358, doc. 7 and the instructions for Cosimo de Torres, nuncio in Poland (1621), remind that “non son rimasti i nuntii, mentre andavano ne' viaggi e talhora nelle città, di mettersi a visitare in persona delle chiese, e specialmente de' monasterii”, *Die Hauptinstruktionen Gregors XV für die Nuntien und Gesandten an den Europäischen Fürstenhöfen 1621–1623*, ed. K. Jainter, Tübingen, 1997, II, p. 707, doc. 10.

⁶⁶ *Acta Nuntiaturae Poloniae*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 376 s., doc. 14.

⁶⁷ *Relationes Status Dioecesium in Magno Ducatu Lituaniae*, a cura di P. Rabikauskas, *Fontes Historiae Lituaniae*, I, Roma, 1971, p. 259 s.

⁶⁸ Vedi L. Bedeschi, *La curia romana durante la crisi modernista. Episodi e metodi di governo*, Parma 1968, p. 74-82, *Idem*, “Relazione della visita apostolica compiuta

UMBERTO MAZZONE. THE APOSTOLIC VISITATION
IN THE POST-TRIDENTINE CHURCH

Now we have had apostolic visitations for moral issues.

The apostolic visitation appears as an institution, a long-term instrument, that accompanies the life of the Church up to our present day and age.

nel 1911 ai seminari beneventani”, in: *Il contributo dell’archidiocesi di Capua alla vita religiosa e culturale del Meridione. Atti del convegno nazionale di Studi Storici promosso dalla Società di Storia Patria di Terra di Lavoro, 26-31 ottobre 1966*, Roma, 1967, p. 25-42, *Idem*, “Radiografia dell’ Umbria Sud nelle relazioni dei visitatori apostolici”, *Fonti e documenti. Centro studi per la storia del modernismo*, 1991-92, 20/21, p. 343 s. But now see G. Vian, *La riforma della Chiesa per la restaurazione cristiana della società: le visite apostoliche delle diocesi e dei seminari d’ Italia promosse durante il pontificato di Pio X (1903-1914)*, Roma, 1998.

CLARINDA E. CALMA

EDMUND CAMPION'S *RATIONES DECEM*:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE POLISH AND
ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

The main object of this study is a sixteenth century printed work first published in 1581 by the English Jesuit, Edmund Campion. I would like to begin by giving you a brief history of the text, *Rationes Decem*, this in turn shall be followed by a summary of the translated editions of this text, namely Piotr Skarga's and Kaspar Wilkowski's translations both of which were published in Vilnius in the year 1584, three years after the first edition was published. I should also like to briefly describe the English translation of 1632. In conducting the analysis of these texts, I have made use of two translation theories. One of these theoretical frameworks is based on the one developed by Polish writer and translator, Edward Balcerzan in 1968, a descriptive theory that enumerates four techniques, reduction, inversion substitution and elaboration (Balcerzan, 1998). The other theory called polysystem theory was first developed by the Jewish cultural historian, Itamar Even-Zohar and allows for the interpretation of a text in its social, historical, and literary context (Zohar, 1990). One aspect of this theory proved particularly useful in this analysis, namely that it allows one to take into consideration the translator and how his intention and other socio-cultural factors that affect him, in turn, influenced the translated text. To demonstrate, how I have applied these theories, I shall provide a sample of the comparative analysis in the later using the four texts.

Following the reinforcement of the Act of Uniformity of 1580 and 1581, Catholics found themselves deprived of the freedom of worship and without any pastoral guidance. In order to address this need, some Catholic priests came to England after having completed their theological

studies abroad in Louvain. Under the real and looming threat of arrest and eventual execution, these priests nonetheless devoted themselves to the enormous tasks of attending to the Catholic faithful throughout the country who refused to acknowledge the Established Protestant Church. It was a tall task to fulfill especially when one considers the number priests available. In fact, Edmund Campion was one of the first to arrive in the British Isles precisely to take part in the English Mission. Upon arriving in the British Isles for the English Mission, Campion wrote a letter to the Council of Advisers and Senate of the English Realm, otherwise known as the *Challenge* or the *Brag*. Here Campion not openly confessed himself as a Jesuit but also challenged the theologians of the country to a public dispute. We know from a letter that Campion wrote to the Jesuit General Everard Mercury that he made sure that this letter reached the Queen and that he himself carried a copy so that in case of arrest he would be easily identified as the author of the letter. In this same letter Campion likewise wrote that while the challenge was widely commented by pastors in different Churches, no one openly accepted the challenge (Campion, *Ten Reasons*, 2004).

The head of the first so-called English Mission was Robert Persons, who was also perhaps the one who first gave the idea of writing the *Rationes Decem* itself, most probably after having realized how powerful the *Challenge* as a text had been having apparently converted many to the Faith. Persons was likewise aware of another thing, that a kind of defense had to be written particularly addressed to the academic communities of Oxford and Cambridge and since Campion, whose rhetorical skills were still well remembered in Oxford, where he had studied and briefly worked as lecturer prior to his conversion. Campion then set to write the text, while Persons sought to organize his “magic press” in Lady Stonor’s house, some twenty miles from London (Campion, 2004).

Campion begins writing the *Rationes Decem, quibus fretus, certamen adversariis obtulit in cause fidei, Edmundus Campianus, et Societate Nominis Iesu Prebyster: Allegatei Ad clarissimos viros, nostrates Academicos* [Ten Reasons in which Edmund Campion of the Society of Jesus, priest, insisted in his Challenge, to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge]

most probably some time in late autumn of 1580. In this less than 10,000 word text, Campion, by an exact exegesis of the texts not only of the Bible, Early Fathers of the Church, the early Church Councils but also of the most prominent Protestant theologians such as Zwingli, Calvin, Luther, and Beza, argues against Protestant Theology. By March 1581 the draft was ready to be proofread and by June, it was ready to be distributed. The next step was to insure the wide distribution of the text among representatives of the Academe, and so the event that was chosen was the Commencement Act in the Church of St. Mary in Oxford, when the suplicants of degrees defend their thesis hence it was an event, which insured the presence of most of the academics of the university. William Hartley, himself a former fellow of Campion at St. John's College in Oxford, undertook the task of distributing the text, perhaps as he was most familiar with the proceedings of this event. The Jesuit Robert Persons, the head of the English Mission at that time, best describes the reception of the text (Reynolds, 1980, p. 102-103).

By most ingenious means – at one time mixing with such as he knew, at another with strangers, he was enabled to distribute more than four hundred copies, giving them partly to those who knew of the work or to those who were led by curiosity to see what it was, partly leaving copies in the Church of St. Mary. Great was the consternation of the university when the copies were found. There was at first a most unusual silence, and so furtively intent were many in perusing the book that never perhaps was discourse listened to with greater apathy than on this occasion. The professors and fellows who knew not as at what had occurred, wondered at the unusual silence. When the meeting came to a close and the when affair was noised abroad, men's minds were swayed according as devotion or hatred moved them.

It is worth adding that the “*Rationes Decem*” was Campion's last text as a freeman, for a week after its printing he was arrested and detained for six months until he was finally tortured, put on public trial, and executed. The text, however, was destined to withstand all forms of criticisms and repression through time (Campion, *Ten Reasons*, 2004).

It likewise naturally provoked disputes from the leading theologians of the time. Within the years 1581–1584, William Clarke, Meredith

Hanmer, William Fulke, Lawrence Humphrey, William Whitaker, John Field, Alexander Nowell, and William Day published replies. It is likewise worth adding that in seventeenth century Poland in 1610 and 1615, the Polish Arian, Thomas Pisecius, would also publish his reply (Pisecki a Martowice, 1610). The *Rationes Decem* itself, as Pollen notes would see up to 47 later editions including editions printed in Vilnius in 1594 and in Kraków in 1605, plus four translations into English, published the same year, 1584, and in the same place in Vilnius. Moreover, numerous editions of the *Rationes* can be found in various libraries in the country.

So far I have established that editions of the *Rationes Decem* can be found in the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdansk, in the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Torun, in the University of Wrocław Library and the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław, in the Krasinski Palace Library and the University of Warsaw Library in Warsaw. While in Kraków alone I have found editions of the *Rationes Decem* in the Jagiellonian Library, Czartoryski Library, and in the libraries of the Franciscans, Jesuits, and Dominicans. While the very first edition of 1581 can be found in the Braniewo Collection of the University of Uppsala, a collection that once belonged to the Braniewo Jesuit College until the collection of the college library was sacked by the Swedes in the late eighteenth century.

The statement that E. Reynolds writes in his book *Campion and Parsons: The Jesuit Mission of 1580–81*, in which he argues “Since *Rationes Decem* was written in Latin as were the replies and counter replies, its impact was limited,” can now be corrected as I have established that many editions of the *Rationes* have been reprinted in Latin up through the early eighteenth in many parts of Europe – Mainz, Paris, Rouen, Rome, Vienna, Cologne, Ingolstadt, Antwerp, Prague, Vilnius, and Kraków. Moreover, so far I have also found later translations into modern languages such as German, French, Italian, and Polish in addition to the 1631 English translation. I also found an early seventeenth century response by Polish Arian theologian Thomas Pisecki printed in 1610 and 1615 (Pisecki a Martowice, 1610). What is striking is that many of the later Latin editions and German, French, and Polish translations

can be found in various libraries in Poland as well. This surely attests to the fact that, contrary to what Reynolds has written, there was indeed a very keen interest in the *Rationes*.

The two Polish translations of 1584 had been thoroughly transcribed by Magdalena Smulewska in her MA thesis, where she likewise provides a history of these two editions (Smulewska, 2005). Piotr Skarga's translation is connected with another equally impressive story of yet another English Jesuit, James Bosgrave. We find references to the *Rationes* in the correspondences between the Papal Nuncio Calligheri, the Polish King Stephan Bathory, and the Wojewode of Vilnius and Nieswieza, Mikolaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł. As Urszula Szumska narrates, Calligheri writes to Bathory requesting him to intervene for James Bosgrave, a mathematics professor of the Academy of Vilnius who was also imprisoned with Edmund Campion. After three years of imprisonment, freedom is eventually granted to Bosgrave and in gratitude the Papal Nuncio grants Bathory the *Rationes Decem* as a token of gratitude. Bathory in various correspondences with the prominent noblemen of the time – who were Calvinists – recommends that the *Rationes* be read. Bathory likewise has the book sent to a convert to Catholicism, Mikolaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, who in turn on behalf of the king asked Piotr Skarga, then rector of the Academy of Vilnius to translate the book into Polish (Szumska, 1938, p. 91).

Skarga's translation of the *Rationes Decem*, as he mentions in the title page includes two letters and a short account of Campion's martyrdom "for a better understanding of the text (Campion, *Dziesięć Wywodow*, 1584, ii)." The edition begins with a preface written by Skarga in which he addresses the reader saying that in this book, the reader shall be acquainted with the weaknesses of the adversaries of the Church who though far greater in number "could not gather themselves to accept the intellectual challenge to a dispute made by a single man." This is followed by Campion's *Challenge*. Campion's letter to the Jesuit Father General in Rome, Everard Mercury, in turn precedes this. Next comes what seems to be the standard texts printed in the various editions of the *Rationes* that I have inspected that is the letter to the academic community and the *Rationes Decem* proper. A detailed account

of Campion's arrest, torture, trial, and martyrdom is likewise included in the end. Finally, Skarga closes this edition with a brief afterword, in which he invokes the reader to pray for the Catholics of England and of Poland lest they suffer a similar fate. I must add that of all of the *Rationes* editions that I have inspected, this particular edition, as of the moment, has been the most complete one. Skarga by publishing the three letters and the martyrdom of Campion along with the text of the *Rationes* provides the reader with the necessary texts for the full appreciation of the context of the text.

Another edition, equally interesting and unique is another Polish translation by Kaspar Wilkowski published likewise in Vilnius in 1584. Kaspar Wilkowski was the court physician of Mikolaj Radziwiłł. Though nothing is yet known of his early life and education, we do know that he studied medicine in Germany and Italy. He was raised as an Arian, that is a member of a Calvinist *Ecclesia Minor* also known as Polish Brethren. In 1583 Wilkowski converted to Catholicism and then moved from Lublin to Vilnius to become the court physician and proprietor of the Catholic printing press in Vilnius. Wilkowski opens his edition by dedicating it to the Polish Queen, Anna Jagiellonczyk, commending her virtues and contrasting her to Elizabeth I, whom he calls a "murderer" by accusing her of yielding to the false counsels of her advisers and implicating her of the murder of one of the country's most learned men. This dedicatory preface is immediately followed by the *Rationes*. The *Rationes* is in turn followed by a short explanation of the context of the text. It provides a brief summary of the letters that Campion writes to the Council and to the professors of Oxford and Cambridge. Then follows a short reply to an "antidotum," that is an anonymous text, which addresses an earlier text printed by Wilkowski in which he explains the reasons for his conversion from Arianism. Striking similarities appear in both Skarga's and Wilkowski's texts. They both stress Campion's excellent scholarship and fine rhetoric. Both authors obviously had at their disposal Campion's letters and an account of the martyrdom. While Skarga translates Campion's two letters, the letter to the Privy Council and the letter to the Father Jesuit General Everard Mercury, Wilkowski provides a summary of both letters in the Campion's biography at the

end of the edition. They both mention Whitaker's and Drury's texts and so were aware of the polemical debate surrounding the text. Finally they both express the gross injustice of not only of depriving an academic the right to an open intellectual dispute, but of suppressing his scholarship by crude force.

The English translation of 1632 was obviously translated by a priest as he says in his translator's epistle to the reader, "having ever allotted certain howers from the dailie exercising of my function of Priesthood (1632, p. 14)", as most probably published in London. It was in all probability an edition translated for the Jesuits' as he says, "since you are all members of that Societie, in which he dyed. (Campion, *Ten Reasons*, 1632, aii)." This is followed by the translator's epistle to the reader, in which Campion's "exquisite Latin" is often praised (Campion, *Ten Reasons*, 1632, 15), the letter to the Academics of Oxford and Cambridge and finally the text of the *Rationes Decem*.

The word count itself can clearly summarize the differences in the texts. While the original text written in Latin, has a word count of only 8470, Piotr Skarga's translation counts 9881 words, Kaspar Wilkowski 14377 while the English translation of 1631 has about 10545 words. It is most probable that the reason for this large difference in the number of words result from the need to use substitution or even elaboration as translation techniques (Smulewska, 2005, xxvi). With respect to the text of the *Rationes Decem* itself techniques such as inversion or reduction seem hardly used especially since all the editions maintain the same order of chapters except for the usual addition of the translator's preface of the ten reasons printed in the same order and the short conclusions. All editions except Wilkowski's translation, print the letter to the Academicians at the beginning of the text while Wilkowski merely paraphrases this letter in the chapter of the edition devoted to the short biography of Campion.

Examples of substitution can be seen for instance in the example below:

The First Reason: The Sacred Scriptures

Source Text (ST):

Quid Luther ut Epistolam Iacobi "contentiosam, timidam, aridum,

stramineam,” flagitiosus apostate nommaret, et “indignam spiritu censeret apostolico?” Desperatio. (18 words)

Skarga’s Target Text (STT):

Co przywiodło Lutra, iż sam będąc zbrodniem i apostata List św. Jakuba nazwał swarliwym, nadętym, suchym, słomianym i ducha apostolskiego niegodnym? Rozpacz. (22 words)

Wilkowski’s Target Text:

Tych zasię czasów, z której przyczyny Luter list Jakuba świętego swarliwym, nadętym, suchym, słomianym nazwał i nieprzystojnym być duchowi apostolskiemu sądził? Z desperacyjej. (23 words)

English Target Text:

What induced Luther (that flagitious Apostata) to alleviate the worth of the Epistle of St. James, by stiling it *Contentious, swelling, dry flawy, and unworthy the spirit of an Apostle?* Desperation. (31 words)

We can see on the basis of this example the extent of the substitution and at some other areas transformation undergone in the translations. The original text of 18 words is rendered in 22 words in Skarga’s translation, 23 in Wilkowski’s and up to 31 in the English translation. Moreover, we likewise see some changes in the cases. While in the original text, the adjectives describing “Epistolam Jacobi” are composed right next to the object and are maintained in the same Accusative Case, both the Polish translations change it into the Instrumental Case, as the verb “nazwać [to name]” requires the object in such a case. The English translation introduces the adjectives in the predicative nominative, “by stiling it *Contentious, swelling, dry flawy, and unworthy the spirit of an Apostle?*” Another significant difference in the translations is the change of word order, while in the original we have “Quid Luther ut Epistolam ... nomaret” becomes “Co przywiodło Lutra [What made Luther]” in Skarga’s translation, “Tych zasię czasów, z której przyczyny Luter” [In those early times, for what reason Luther] in Wilkowski’s translation to the English “What induced Luther to alleviate ...” In Wilkowski’s translation, we see how elaboration is employed by the use of an additional adverbial phrase “tych zasię czasów.” While when

comparing the English translation to the Latin original. In the English we have the Accusative with the infinitival verb form "What induced Luther to alleviate" substitutes the original and change of sentence structure "What induced Luther to alleviate" from the sentence, "Quid Lutheram ut Epistolam nomarret."

A close study of the texts likewise provides us with information as to the probable context and readership for which these editions were published. As I have already mentioned, the English translation of 1632, as can be clearly deduced from the translator's preface, was addressed to the English-speaking Jesuits, however, the translator's letter to the reader, does allow us to speculate that the edition was meant for any English speaker both Protestant or Catholic, "to turne my self to thee good Reader) if thou be Catholike, I could with thee to peruse this Treatie for thy greater corroboration ... if a Protestant (as, o, too many thousands in our poore Country are) then for thy instruction and Conversion (Campion, *Ten Reasons*, 1632, 29)." Skarga's edition was most probably meant for a very wider Polish readership as it includes a detailed account of Campion's life and publishes the letters. It can also be presumed that his readers, such as clergymen or noblemen, knew enough Latin to be able to tolerate the Latinized grammatical structure transferred onto the Polish translation of the Polish. Wilkowski's edition dedicated to the Polish Queen is a definitely popularized edition as it includes a more expounded and descriptive translation. As recent Polish philologists have recently observed, editions usually dedicated to a female patron were in all probability meant for female readers, and as they were not that familiar with Latin, hence were translated in more popularized Polish (Maszarykowa-Psun, 2006, 70-72). This could also explain why, contrary to the other editions, there is a commentary or an explanation at the end of each chapter. The fact that at the end of the book, the author includes a short "Antidotum" explaining the reason for the translator's conversion, suggests that this edition was meant either as an "apologetical work," most probably to complement the translator's other known printed work "Nawrocenie" printed in 1583. Finally, Skarga's edition proves in one respect to be catered to the reader with no background at all on Campion. It was most probably meant

for a very wider Polish readership as it includes a detailed account of Campion's life and publishes the letters. It can also be presumed that his readers, probably clergymen or noblemen, knew enough Latin to be able to tolerate the Latinized grammatical structure transferred onto the Polish translation. This edition, as I have so far established, seems to be first one to include Campion's two letters, the letter to the Father Superior, Everard Mercury, and the Challenge to the Privy Council that until then had only existed in manuscript form. This translation of all under study proved to be the closest to the original text in terms of language and style.

This paper aimed to provide a comparative analysis of the Polish and English translations of Edmund Campion's *Rationes Decem*. I provided the historical background of the source text, *Rationes Decem* and likewise of the translated editions. Finally, on the basis of Edward Balcerzan's system of translation techniques and Itamar Even Zohar's polysystem theory, I provided samples of the comparative analyses of the texts. As there are other translations of Campion's texts in other modern languages such as two sixteenth century German translations, an eighteenth century French and nineteenth century Italian, further comparative translation studies should consider these other translations, as they shall definitely throw light on the readership of Campion's text in Europe.

WIOLETTA PAWLIKOWSKA

THE CHALLENGE OF TRENT AND THE RENEWAL
OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE GRAND
DUCHY OF LITHUANIA:
THE HIGHER CLERGY OF VILNIUS AND THE
PROBLEMS OF PLURAL BENEFICES AND
RESIDENCE IN THE SIXTEENTH
CENTURY

From the very beginning of the existence of the Catholic Church, both the highest authority of the Church and individual bishops have had the right to form and reform those destined to administer the sacraments. One of those institutions, which played an important role in many aspects of the life of the Church, and also in the history of canon law, was the Council of Trent (1545–1563).¹

The problem of the implementation of the Tridentine reforms in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is not only important, but also able to be grasped from the traces left in documentary sources. Trent merely started a process, which would, over time, bring results that are known today. Historians have for a long time analyzed the records of the council, synods and visitations, and on this basis have shown how the Tridentine decisions were implemented in particular churches.²

¹ The subject may be approached via: R. Bireley, “Redefining Catholicism: Trent and Beyond”, in: *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 6, *Reform and Expansion 1500–1660*, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia, Cambridge, 2007, p. 145–61.

² A. Petrani, “Reforma trydencka (w czterechsetlecie zakończenia soboru trydenckiego)”, *Prawo Kanoniczne*, 7 (1964) no. 3–4; W. Wójcik, “Znaczenie uchwał soboru trydenckiego dla historii prawa kanonicznego”, *Zeszyty Naukowe KUL*, 8 (1965); W. Góralski, “Diecezja płocka i jej synody w okresie potrydenckim (szkie

The council introduced many new solutions and established new ecclesiastical institutions. The Tridentine decrees applied, among other things, to pastoral work, and within this field they introduced a ban on the plural tenure of benefices and a requirement of residence.

In the sixteenth century the plural tenure of benefices, or pluralism, was a social phenomenon across Europe. It often aroused scandal and sometimes caused chaos in the day to day functioning of the Church.³ This was because the accumulation of benefices made it impossible for a canon to carry out the one duty – residence – on which depended the performance of all the others.

Therefore, the Council of Trent, which laid lasting foundations beneath future legislation regarding pluralism and the duty of residence, devoted particular attention to this question. It was decided that “in future only one ecclesiastical benefice to individual persons [should be given]. If however this proves inadequate for the decent maintenance of that person, on whom the benefice had been conferred, it is possible to allocate that same person another *beneficium simplex*, providing an adequate income, as long as both benefices do not require residence in

do badań nad recepcją soboru trydenckiego w świetle synodów diecezjalnych”, *Studia Płockie*, 14 (1986); *ibid.*, *Reforma trydencka w diecezji i prowincji kościelnej mediolańskiej w świetle pierwszych synodów kard. Karola Boromeusza*, Lublin, 1988; M. Banaszak, “Reformacja i reforma katolicka w diecezji wileńskiej (1527–1591)”, *Studia Teologiczne. Białystok Drohiczyn Łomża*, no. 5-6 (1987–1988); A. Kakareko, *La riforma della Vita del clero nella diocesi di Vilna dopo il Concilio di Trento (1564–1796)*, Rome, 1996; J. Gręzlikowski, *Recepcja reformy trydenckiej w diecezji włocławskiej w świetle ustawodawstwa synodalnego*, Włocławek, 2000; J. Hochleitner, *Religijność potrydencka na Warmii (1551–1655)*, Olsztyn, 2000; D. Kisiel, *Recepcja reformy trydenckiej w diecezji płockiej*, Pułtusk, 2004; *Tridento visuotinio Bažnyčios susirinkimo (1545–1563) įtaka Lietuvos kultūrai*, ed. A. Aleksandravičiūtė, Vilnius, 2009.

³ See K. Dola, *Wrocławska kapituła katedralna w XV wieku. Ustrój – skład osobowy – działalność*, Lublin, 1983, p. 162. The phenomenon of pluralism grew by degrees. While in the 13th century it was marginal, by the 15th and 16th centuries clergymen accumulated every kind of position that could be acquired in the course of an ecclesiastical career. In the diocese of Kraków in 1529 the number of beneficed clergymen was 25 per cent lower than the number of benefices. Parish priests and higher clergymen held 60 per cent of the lower benefices – altaries – while six parishes were held by canons. J. Wiesiołowski, “Środowiska kościelne i kultura”, in: *Kultura Polski średniowiecznej XIV–XV w.*, ed. B. Geremek, Warsaw, 1997, p. 261.

person. These principles are to apply not only to cathedral churches, but also to all other benefices, of all titles and kinds.”⁴

The essential condition for the implementation of any of the Tridentine decisions, was the acceptance of the council’s decrees by the episcopate. This was no easy matter. The conditions laid down at Trent aroused controversies, in Catholic and Protestant communities alike, and among both clergy and laity. Bishops and members of chapters accepted the decrees with misgivings and reservations. The higher clergy saw in the decrees the means by which its material position might be severely weakened by the ban on plural benefices.⁵ In the Kingdom of Poland, it was the king who in 1564 decided to accept the Tridentine decrees. At the suggestion of the nuncio Giovanni Francesco Commendone, he accepted them at the Sejm held that year at Parczewo,⁶ whereas some of the bishops demanded a renewed examination of the question. In 1564 the only bishop to accept the decrees – with a reservation regarding the ban on the plural tenure of benefices – was the metropolitan archbishop of Lwów (Lviv), Paweł Tarło. It would be another thirteen years before the province of Gniezno accepted the decrees. This occurred at the provincial synod held in Piotrków in 1577.

The process of implementing the Tridentine reforms in the diocese of Vilnius began at the diocesan synod of 1582, and so almost two decades after the council had closed. The bishop, Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł, issued a pastoral letter regarding benefices.⁷ Parish priests and other beneficed clergymen were obliged to show the bishop,

⁴ *Dokumenty soborów powszechnych, Lateran V, Trydent, Watykan I*, ed. A. Baron, H. Pietras, vol. 4, Kraków, 2004, p. 763.

⁵ S. Litak, “Reformy kościelne w XVI w.,” in: *Uniwersalizm i swoistość kultury polskiej*, vol. 1, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Lublin, 1989, p. 164.

⁶ P. Aleksandrowicz, “Przyjęcie przez Króla i Senat uchwał Soboru Trydenckiego w Parczewie w 1564 r.,” *Prawo Kanoniczne*, 9 (1966), no. 3-4, p. 363-81.

⁷ The statutes of the Vilnius synod, issued on February 12, 1582, and the pastoral letter of Jerzy Radziwiłł, issued shortly afterwards, are printed in: *Concilia Poloniae. Źródła i studia krytyczne. Synody diecezji wileńskiej i ich statuty*, ed. J. Sawicki, vol. 2, Warsaw, 1948, p. 133. See also A. Kakareko, “List pasterski biskupa wileńskiego Jerzego Radziwiłła z dnia 25 lutego 1582 r.,” *Rocznik Teologii Katolickiej*, 2 (2003), p. 107-15.

episcopal visitors or the rural deans the letters granting them their positions.⁸

It should not be overlooked, however, that one way of avoiding the ban on plural benefices introduced by Trent was to apply for a dispensation – either for several years, or for life – from the prohibition on holding separate benefices. Therefore, plural tenure of benefices did not become impossible, but required greater efforts.

As Andrzej Radzimiński has observed, the system of accumulating prebends, for all the scandal it occasioned, had important social consequences, for example by enabling royal chancery officials to acquire additional income.⁹ A royal privilege could free clergymen in royal service (and residing with the king) from the obligation of permanent residence in the cathedral city – capitular acts record such cases. Initially, canons looked quite favorably on their brethren who resided at the royal court instead of the vicinity of the cathedral. They particularly appreciated those who looked after the common interests of the chapter, and by the same token, the interests of the Church in Lithuania. The chapter was even capable of sending money, due to a clergyman from his benefice, “to Warsaw or wherever the court of His Majesty shall happily reside.”¹⁰ Nevertheless, *pace* Aleksander Stępkowski, after the Council of Trent the office of royal secretary did not in itself give any entitlement to accumulate benefices.¹¹ It must be acknowledged, of course, that royal

⁸ *Plebani caeterique beneficiati sint a nobis vel a praedecessoribus nostris instituit et teneantur nobis aut decanis ruralibus seu visitoribus nostris literas institutionis ostendere, Concilia Poloniae*, vol. 2, p. 134.

⁹ A. Radzimiński, “Społeczne funkcje prebend kanonickich w Polsce późniejszego średniowiecza”, in: *Homines et Societas. Księga Pamiątkowa Prof. A. Gąsiorowskiego*, Poznań, 1997, p. 322.

¹⁰ During the nineteenth century, Canon (later Dean) Mamert Herburt compiled a very detailed summary of the acts of the capitular sessions, translating from Latin into Polish. Extensive comparisons with the original acts of the chapter, preserved in the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (Lietuvos Mokslų Akademijos Vrublevskių Biblioteka, cited henceforth as LMAVB) have revealed the accuracy and reliability of Herburt’s registers, which are located in the Czartoryski Library in Kraków (3516). Cited here and henceforth as Herburt I, § 5-6, f. 197.

¹¹ A. Stępkowski, “Wawrzyniec Grzymała Goślicki: przyczynek do biografii”,

connections could help when applying for a dispensation. For example, King Stefan Batory and Queen Anna Jagiellonka sent a request to the pope that the newly nominated bishop of Chełm, Adam Pilichowski, a canon of Vilnius, be allowed to retain all his benefices on succeeding to the see.¹²

The basis for waiving the requirement of residence could be a situation, in which the income from the benefice in question did not suffice for decent maintenance. This was the argument used – appealing to a royal privilege – by the dean of Vilnius, Jan Wirbkowski, who on April 24, 1564 declared to the chapter, that “because of his slender provision and the smallness of his prestimonium, as well as the non-payment of his stipend for the year 1563, without the means of supporting himself, in order to carry out his duties, he does not consider himself obliged to reside constantly near the cathedral, according to his royal privilege.”¹³

Initially a royal privilege, and after Trent a papal dispensation could free a clergyman from the requirement of residence. This does not, however, alter the fact that the duties of the benefice had to be performed. Theoretically pastoral duties were carried out on behalf of non-resident clergymen by salaried vicars, but – as the records and bills reveal – in practice these duties fell upon colleagues from the chapter. Although they discharged the duties conscientiously, they were not always rewarded accordingly. For example, on May 12, 1568 a session of the Vilnius chapter discussed the matter of the procurator, Jan Makowiecki, who had been neglecting his duties because he had been occupied by royal business. So the canons decided, that they would distribute additional monies only among resident clergymen. This step was all the more justified, in that the clergymen, “have no consolation or *refectio* for the continual performance of duties for absent

in: *O senatorze doskonałym studia. Prace upamiętniające postać i twórczość Wawrzynca Goślickiego*, ed. A. Stępkowski, Warsaw, 2009, p. 22.

¹² *Propozycje konsystorialne w XVI wieku*, ed. H. Fokciński, Rome, 1994, no. 20, p. 79.

¹³ *Herburt I*, § 424, f. 171.

prelates and canons.”¹⁴ This far from unique example also bears witness to the fact, whatever may be alleged in the historiography, that even clergymen holding capitular offices (such as that of procurator) did not always reside close to the cathedral.¹⁵ This question is in itself a separate problem for research. Nevertheless, at this point I wish to attempt an answer to the question of the scale of the phenomenon.

Before embarking on that task, however, I wish to define the group of clergymen I have studied. In speaking of the Vilnan higher clergy I refer to members of the Vilnius cathedral chapter (prelates and canons) in the second half of the sixteenth century (75 clergymen, 32 prelates, 58 canons).¹⁶ Concentrating on this group is justified, because the prelates and canons of Vilnius were a consolidated group of clergymen, for whom we possess relatively complete, and internally comparable documentary sources. Nevertheless, for some clergymen we have only fragmentary knowledge, and so further research may yield more plural benefices. The figures quoted here are minimum, not maximum numbers of benefices.

That said, the current state of knowledge, especially regarding the lower clergy and the relations between the cathedral clergy and other churches and chapels remains unsatisfactory in many respects. Sometimes we have only fragmentary information, merely that a given clergyman possessed a benefice. So conclusions regarding the scale of the phenomenon will be based on the number of benefices acquired by the clergyman in question.

Efforts were made to deal with the problem of plural benefices by the means of suitable provisions of general law. There was permission

¹⁴ Herbut I, § 548, f. 179.

¹⁵ E. Wólkiewicz, *Kapituła kolegiacka św. Mikołaja w Otmuchowie. Dzieje-organizacja- skład osobowy (1386–1477)*, Opole, 2004, p. 217.

¹⁶ The basis of this article is the prosopographic material assembled in the appendix to my doctoral dissertation (in preparation) on the Vilnius cathedral chapter in the second half of the 16th century, as well as the following works: J. Ochmański, *Biskupstwo wileńskie w średniowieczu. Ustrój i uposażenie*, Poznań, 1972; G. Błaszczyk, *Diecezja żmudzka od XV do początku XVII wieku. Ustrój*, Poznań, 1993; V. Ališauskas, T. Jaszczolt, L. Jovaiša and M. Paknys, *Lietuvos katalikų dvasininkai XIV–XVI a.*, Vilnius, 2009.

to join simple benefices, including mansionries, rectorships of hospitals, altaries and chaplaincies with the exception of canonries – because this benefice (although counted as a simple benefice) required residence. However, the joining of so-called incompatible benefices, which, from the consideration that no one can perform the said duty, “if he abandons the sheep consigned to him”, required residence. Incompatible benefices included those linked to pastoral work – bishoprics, capitular prebends in cathedral and collegiate churches, prelatures, parishes, and permanent vicariates.¹⁷

In this period benefices were classified as compatible and incompatible, pastoral (*curata*) and simple; double (*duplicia*) and individual or simple (*simplicia*); with the duty of residence (*residentiam exigentia*) and without (*sine obligationis residentiae*); greater (*maiora*) and lesser (*minora*).¹⁸ The correct division, nomenclature and classification of benefices possessed by clergymen, as well as the establishment, as accurately as possible, of the dates of the beginning and end of their tenure, is of fundamental importance to research on the phenomenon of pluralism.

Moreover, in order to fill out and verify the results obtained, and to display the principal trends and the changes that occurred over the fifty years in question, I have divided the half-century into two twenty-five year sub-periods. Fully aware of the limitations and generalization implicit in such prosopographical conclusions, I nevertheless consider that there is a need to attempt at least a hypothesis, regarding the scale of the phenomenon of pluralism. This could serve comparisons with other chapters.

Among the chosen group of clergymen only five (7%): Izajasz (OP), Cyprian (OP), Ludwik Fulgineusz, Andrzej Jurgiewicz, Izaak Feuchtin, possessed only a single prebend. The remaining clergymen each accumulated from two to over a dozen prebends of various kinds – often holding them concurrently.

¹⁷ See B. Szady, “System beneficjalny w diecezji chełmskiej w latach 1600–1621”, *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 45 (1997), no. 2, p. 39-43.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

When we compare the group of prelates with the canons, we note that all the Vilnius prelates had more than one benefice. All of the above clergymen who possessed only a single benefice were canons. Many Vilnan clergymen combined their canonry and/or prelature with a parish, altary or vicariate.¹⁹

My calculations indicate that the prelates and canons of Vilnius accumulated from two (7% of the group) to twenty (1%) benefices (parishes, altaries, vicariates and mansionries). Vilnan clergymen were most often possessors of benefices in the cathedral chapter of Kraków, with twelve documented cases (16%) (Piotr Arciechowski, Stanisław Fogelweder, Józef Jasiński, Maciej Kalecki, Maciej Kłodziński, Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki, Aleksander de Pessenti, Piotr z Poznania, Jan Przerębski, Zygmunt Rościszewski, Bartłomiej Sabiniusz, Jan Benedykt Solfa); almost as many held benefices in the cathedral chapter of Samogitia – 10 persons (13%) (Ambroży Bejnart, Stefan Grabia Jałbrzykowski, Maciej Kłodziński, Jerzy Pietkiewicz, Walerian Protasewicz, Piotr Roizjusz, Waclaw Wierzbicki, Wiktoryn Wierzbicki, Jan Wiewiórka, Jan Wirbkowski); while we find eight (11%) in the cathedral chapter of Łuck (Lutsk) (Jerzy Albin, Jan Domanowski, Wojciech Narbut, Stanisław Narkuski, Jan Pikarski, Walenty z Pilzna, Wiktoryn Wierzbicki, Wawrzyniec Wolski). Benefices in other chapters were much rarer.

Vilnan clergymen, like others in this period, gladly topped up their income as canons or prelates with revenues from parishes.²⁰ As stated earlier, only five of the seventy-five clergymen in question did not have another benefice. Twelve of them (16%) each had three benefices. Following them were clergymen who each had four or five benefices – taken together there were twenty such.

¹⁹ The table shows the scale of the problem.

²⁰ See S. Jujeczka, *Duchowni średniowiecznej Legnicy. Studium prozopograficzne nad klerem diecezjalnym*, Legnica, 2006, p. 96-97.

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TABLE 1

Number of benefices	Name	In sum	%
1	Izajasz (OP), Cyprian (OP), Ludwik Fulgineusz, Andrzej Jurgiewicz, Izaak Feuchtin	5	7
2	Jerzy Pietkiewicz, Benedykt Woyna, Jan Bulpat, Andrzej Taglia	4	5
3	Mikołaj Pac (†1585), Mikołaj Niemczynowicz, Szymon Krzywański, Mateusz Piskorzewski, Paweł Górnicki, Jan Kukrowicz, Mikołaj Dicus, Mikołaj Kostka, Jan Ryszkowski, Mikołaj Pac († 6 IX 1624), Jan Jussoila, Abraham Woyna	12	16
4	Jan Kunicki, Stefan Grabia Jałbrzykowski, Wojciech Grabowski, Jan Jarczewski, Mikołaj Kochanowski, Bartłomiej Niedźwiecki, Ambroży Bejnart, Stanisław Wilczopolski, Stanisław Szydłowski, Grzegorz Świącicki	10	13
5	Paweł Wiszeński, Bartłomiej z Kowna, Paweł Skaszewski, Jan Ostrowski, Marcei Suchodolski, Jerzy z Tyczyna, Stanisław Gorecki, Szymon z Brzezin, Melchior Giedroyc, Piotr Roizjusz	10	13
6	Walenty z Pilzna, Maciej Dobratycki, Wiktoryn Wierzbicki, Tomasz Makowiecki, Mikołaj Koryzna, Zygmunt Rościszewski, Jerzy Fabiusz	7	9
7	Wacław Wierzbicki, Wojciech Narbut, Stanisław Narkuski, Jan Wiewiórka, Jan Makowiecki, Maciej Kłodziński, Mikołaj Jasiński, Eustachy Wołłowicz	8	11
8	Jerzy Albin	1	1
9	Wacław Czyrka, Walerian Protasewicz, Wawrzyniec Wolski	3	4
10	Stanisław Dąbrówka	1	1
11	Aleksander de Pessentis, Piotr Arciechowski, Piotr z Poznania, Jan Pikarski,	4	5
12	Jan Domanowski, Bartłomiej Sabiniusz, Stanisław Fogelweder	3	4
13	Józef Jasiński, Adam Pilichowski, Jan Wirbkowski,	3	4
14	Jan Przerębski,	1	1
16	Jan Benedykt Solfa, Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki	2	3
20	Maciej Kalecki	1	1
Total	75	75	100

Using the data in Table 1, we can try to answer the question of how many prebends were possessed by Vilnan higher clergymen. In practice some of them held several benefices at once, but it was sometimes the case that the acquisition of a new benefice involved resignation from one that was already in the clergyman's possession. This procedure occurred more often when the canon or prelate was promoted within the chapter itself, than when he obtained another benefice in another diocese. In the case of the Vilnius chapter, in the third quarter of the sixteenth century several clergymen combined a canonry with a prelature. For example, Józef Jasiński was simultaneously archdeacon and canon until he died; likewise, Bartłomiej Sabiniusz was prepositus and canon. On the other hand, Paweł Skaszewski resigned from his supernumerary canonry of Vilnius on the day when he acquired a new benefice (October 27, 1562). On February 17, 1563 he was elected dean of Vilnius by his colleagues. He was installed one week later and resigned his canonry before April 2, 1563.

Throughout the entire half-century in question we can find real "prebend hunters" (*łowcy prebend*).²¹ The greatest number of prebends (of various kinds), both in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in the Polish Crown, was held by Maciej z Małolina Kalecki. He retained some of them for life (his canonries of Vilnius and Pułtusk, the cantorship of Płock, the parish of Maków, and probably also the rectorship of Trakai). The list may lengthen in the light of new research.²² His colleague, Jan Benedykt Solfa, also retained many canonries until he died. In all he acquired fourteen benefices. We know that he retained his canonry of Vilnius and scholastery of Wrocław for life, and probably also kept his stalls in Kraków, as well as the office of prepositus in the chapter of Warmia. Bartłomiej Sabiniusz and Stanisław Fogelweder, received twelve benefices each, and of those Sabiniusz kept for life

²¹ A phrase introduced by Ewa Wólkiewicz, *Kapituła kolegiacka św. Mikołaja w Otmuchowie*, p. 214.

²² I make such optimistic assumptions on the basis of the best-known chapter – Vilnius. 61 per cent of clergymen retained benefices for life. The figure for other chapters in this period would probably be at least as high, especially in wealthiest chapters.

the following: the custodianship of the collegiate churches of Saint Giles and Saint Florian in Kraków, his canonry of Kraków cathedral, the archdeaconry of Lublin, his canonry of Vilnius, and the prelature of prepositus in the same cathedral, a canonry of Sandomierz, the archdeaconry of Łęczyca, and the parishes of Gumniska, Piotrowin, Stężyca and Rzejowice.

A comparison between the two sub-periods (1550–1575 and 1576–1600) reveals that both the number of clergymen accumulating benefices and the number of plurally held benefices fell over the course of the second half of the sixteenth century. During the third quarter of the century the average number of benefices acquired by Vilnan canons was eight. Maciej Kalecki had twenty, Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki and Jan Benedykt Solfa – sixteen each, Jan Przerębski had fourteen, and Stanisław Fogelweder had twelve. In contrast, the mean number of benefices for canons installed in the fourth quarter of the century was three. Mikołaj Jasiński acquired most – eight. Maciej Kłodziński and Eustachy Wołłowicz came next with seven.

A separate research problem is the plural tenure of benefices by bishops. Before their enthronement, they should have resigned all their benefices – including capitular benefices. In practice, however, clergymen who sought an episcopal miter frequently also applied for a papal dispensation, enabling them to retain their benefices – especially the most lucrative ones.

All of the thirty-two prelates of Vilnius cathedral in the second half of the sixteenth century had more than one benefice. This is illustrated by Table 2. Vilnan prelates accumulated from two (6%) to thirteen (3%) benefices. Six of the thirty-two (19%) held three benefices each; five of them (16%) each had five. The real “prebend hunter” proved Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki, who in total, although not concurrently, held sixteen prebends.

TABLE 2: PLURAL TENURE OF BENEFICES BY THE PRELATES OF VILNIUS

Number of benefices	Name	In sum	%
2	Benedykt Woyna, Andrzej Taglia	2	6
3	Mikołaj Pac (†1585) (x 2), Jan Kukrowicz, Mikołaj Dicus, Mikołaj Kostka, Jan Ryszkowski	6	19
4	Stefan Grabia Jałbrzykowski, Jan Jarczewski	2	6
5	Paweł Wiszeński, Paweł Skaszewski, Jerzy z Tyczyna, Szymon z Brzezin, Melchior Giedroyć, Piotr Roizjusz	6	19
6	Zygmunt Rościszewski	1	3
7	Stanisław Narkuski, Jan Makowiecki, Maciej Kłodziński, Mikołaj Jasiński, Eustachy Wołowicz (x 2)	6	19
8	Jerzy Albin	1	3
11	Piotr Arciechowski	1	3
12	Jan Domanowski, Bartłomiej Sabiniusz	2	6
13	Józef Jasiński	1	3
14	Jan Wirbkowski (x 2), Jan Przerębski	3	9
16	Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki	1	3
Total	32	32	100

When we turn our attention to the cathedral canons, we see that they possessed from one (9%) to twenty (2%) benefices. The greatest proportion (28%) held three or four benefices each. Seven clergymen (12%) each acquired five benefices.

TABLE 3: PLURAL TENURE OF BENEFICES BY THE CANONS OF VILNIUS

Number of benefices	Name	In sum	%
1	Izajasz (OP), Cyprian (OP), Ludwik Fulgineusz, Andrzej Jurgiewicz, Izaak Feuchtin (SJ)	5	9
2	Jerzy Pietkiewicz, Jan Bulpat	2	3
3	Mikołaj Niemczynowicz, Szymon Krzywański, Mateusz Piskorzewski, Paweł Górnicki, Mikołaj Dicus, Mikołaj Pac (†6 IX 1624), Jan Jussoila, Abraham Woyna	8	14

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4	Jan Kunicki, Wojciech Grabowski, Mikołaj Kochanowski, Bartłomiej Niedźwiecki, Ambroży Bejnart, Stanisław Wilczopolski, Stanisław Szydłowski, Grzegorz Świącicki	8	14
5	Bartłomiej z Kowna, Paweł Skaszewski (x2), Jan Ostrowski, Marcei Suchodolski, Stanisław Gorecki, Piotr Roizjusz	7	12
6	Walenty z Pilzna, Maciej Dobratycki, Wiktoryn Wierzbicki, Tomasz Makowiecki, Mikołaj Koryzna, Jerzy Fabiusz	6	10
7	Wacław Wierzbicki, Wojciech Narbut, Stanisław Narkuski, Jan Wiewiórka, Eustachy Wołowicz	5	9
9	Wacław Czyrka, Walerian Protasewicz, Wawrzyniec Wolski	3	5
10	Stanisław Dąbrówka	1	2
11	Aleksander de Pessentis, Piotr Arciechowski, Jan Pikarski	3	5
12	Jan Domanowski, Bartłomiej Sabiniusz, Stanisław Fogelweder	3	5
13	Józef Jasiński, Adam Pilichowski, Jan Wirbkowski	3	5
14	Jan Przerębski	1	2
16	Jan Benedykt Solfa	1	2
20	Maciej Kalecki	1	2
Total	58	58	100

Among the pluralist canons, we can observe significant differences – between those who held two benefices, and those who acquired a dozen or more. Among the canons – and the chapter as a whole – the record holder was Maciej Kalecki z Mąkolina, with twenty. Besides the benefices he retained for life, mentioned earlier, on November 17, 1531 he resigned his canonry of Sącz, and on September 3, 1544 gave up his canonry in Kraków's collegiate church. And in 1548 he exchanged his parish of Nur for the parish of Maków. The fact that we do not know how long he held his other benefices allows us to conclude that the list of benefices he held for life was in reality rather longer.

Having examined both prelates and canons separately, we can see that both groups were keen to accumulate benefices. Among the canons who held stalls in the second half of the sixteenth century, 40% of the canons held three, four or five benefices. But more than half of the prelates (eighteen out of thirty-two, or 56%) acquired three, five

or seven benefices. In all, 91% of the canons and 100% of the prelates possessed some benefice besides their cathedral prebend – 93% of the members of the chapter, when counted together.

When we ask where Vilnan higher clergymen held their additional benefices, we can state that most were in the metropolitan province of Gniezno – to which the diocese of Vilnius belonged. The available primary sources and the secondary literature inform us that Vilnan prelates and canons passed through – and often remained in – the cathedral and collegiate chapters of Chełm, Frombork, Głogów, Gniezno, Kalisz, Kamieniec, Kielce, Kraków, Kruszwica, Lublin, Łęczyca, Łowicz, Łuck, Sącz, Samogitia, Skalbmierz, Środa, Płock, Poznań, Przemyśl, Pułtusk, Sandomierz, Sieradz, Warsaw, Wiślica, Wojnicz, Wołborz and Wrocław. We know too, that Jerzy Fabius was until his death archdeacon of Kolozsvar (Cluj Napoca), canon of Loreto, and very generally, that he was a canon *ecclesiae Transsilvaniae*. Three years after becoming abbot of Sulejów, he resigned his canonry of Vilnius. Further north, Jan Jussoila was vicar and provost of Parnawa (Pärnu).

The prelates and canons of Vilnius also joined their capitular benefices with numerous so-called minor benefices, such as parishes, altaries, vicarships, mansionries and such like. Of these seventy-five clergymen, forty of them (53%) began their careers in a lesser benefice, such as a parish or an altar, and only later acquired a benefice within the Vilnius chapter.

For thirteen of our seventy-five clergymen (17%), their first benefice was in a chapter other than that of Vilnius. This was the case for Aleksander de Pessentis, whose first benefice was the deanship of Przemyśl with a prebend in Kraków cathedral; Stefan Grabia Jałbrzykowski, whose began with a canonry of Samogitia; Maciej Kalecki, who started with a canonry of Sącz (*fundi Niskowa*); Bartłomiej Sabiniusz, whose first prebend was the custodianship in the collegiate church of St. Giles in Kraków, Jan Przerębski, who was first installed as canon of Kruszwica; Jerzy Pietkiewicz, whose first benefice was in the cathedral at Miedniki; Jan Ostrowski, who commenced his clerical career as canon of the collegiate church of Wołborz; Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki, who like Przerębski began with a canonry of Kruszwica; Stanisław

Fogelweder, who first held a canonry of Płock; Szymon Krzywański, whose first benefice was a canonry of Kamieniec; Jerzy Fabius who started as archdeacon of Kolozsvár; Maciej Kłodziński – archdeacon of Samogitia; and Zygmunt Rościszewski – canon of Chełm.

My research shows that twenty-two clergymen (29%) began their clerical career with a canonry or prelatry of Vilnius cathedral (as in the cases of Bartłomiej z Kowna, Mikołaj Pac (†1585), Wojciech Grabowski, Izajasz (OP), Tomasz Makowiecki, Marcelli Suchodolski, Szymon z Brzezina, Benedykt Woyna, Mateusz Piskorzewski, Cyprian (OP), Ludwik Fulgineusz, Paweł Górnicki, Jan Bulpat, Mikołaj Dicus, Mikołaj Kostka, Andrzej Jurgiewicz, Andrzej Taglia, Izaak Feuchtin, Grzegorz Święcicki, Jan Jussoila, Abraham Woyna, Mikołaj Jasiński). However, doubts regarding this figure arise when we consider that in other cathedral chapters, the acquisition of a prebend was usually preceded by a period working in a collegiate church, or a parish. So as research proceeds, this figure may well be diminished.

Clergymen also accumulated benefices within the Vilnius cathedral chapter. My calculations indicate that as many as fourteen (19%) acquired a second benefice within the chapter, as shown in Table 4. The question of whether this should always be viewed as a promotion remains open.

TABLE 4: PROMOTIONS WITHIN THE VILNIUS CATHEDRAL CHAPTER

Dignity	name
prepositus	Jan Domanowski: May 17, 1529 – November 28, 1555 (resigned)
canon	Jan Domanowski: November 26, 1548 – †
canon (by grace)	Jan Kunicki: October 1, 1527 – July 11, 1529 (r.)
canon	Jan Kunicki: July 11, 1529 – †
archdeacon	Józef Jasiński: before June 6, 1536 – †
canon	Józef Jasiński: December 6, 1555 – †
canon	Walerian Protasewicz: August 4, 1537 – before September 28, 1555 (r.)
dean	Walerian Protasewicz: 1544/45 – April 16, 1547 (r.)
canon	Jan Wirbkowski: before November 10, 1548 – †
dean	Jan Wirbkowski: July 1, 1558 – June 23, 1561 (r.)

dean	Jan Wirbkowski: October 20, 1562 (dean of Vilnius, not installed); on February 16, 1563 he officially rejected the election
dean	Mikołaj Pac (†1585): before March 12, 1549 – before June 10, 1558 (r.)
prepositus	Mikołaj Pac (†1585): before February 25, 1561 – February 12, 1582 (deposed)
canon	Stanisław Narkuski: before September 5, 1550 – before May 31, 1560 (r.)
archdeacon	Stanisław Narkuski: May 15, 1560 – at least until June 21, 1564 (r.)
canon	Bartłomiej Sabiniusz: before 1551 – †
prepositus	Bartłomiej Sabiniusz: November 28, 1555 – †
canon	Piotr Arciechowski: before February 21, 1556 – †
dean	Piotr Arciechowski: July 28, 1561 – †
prepositus	Jan Przerębski: August 29, 1556 – May 13, 1558 (r.)
canon	Jan Przerębski: August 29, 1556 – May 13, 1558 (r.)
canon (by grace)	Paweł Skaszewski: December 19, 1559 – October 27, 1562 (r.)
canon	Paweł Skaszewski: December 27, 1562 – before April 2, 1563 (r.)
dean	Paweł Skaszewski: February 24, 1563 – †
canon	Piotr Roizjusz: October 23, 1567 – before August 23, 1569 (r.)
custodian	Piotr Roizjusz: August 26, 1569 – †
canon	Mikołaj Dicius: November 28, 1586 – May 24, 1596 (r.)
dean	Mikołaj Dicius: June 11, 1596 – †
canon	Eustachy Wołłowicz: November 12, 1592 – before July 19, 1597 (r.)
cantor	Eustachy Wołłowicz: July 19, 1597 – before December 12, 1600 (r.)
custodian	Eustachy Wołłowicz: December 5, 1600 – ?

We can see that initially, that is until the 1560s, clergymen who acquired a second benefice within the Vilnius chapter retained their first one. The exception was Mikołaj Pac (†1585). In the later period all the clergymen resigned their existing benefice before taking possession of their new one.

The existing historiography tends to associate the acquisition of a new benefice and resignation from an earlier one with promotion. It is certainly the case that most of the clergymen in Table 4 moved to a benefice that ranked higher. It might be supposed that this was linked to higher income. However, doubts are raised by the case of Jan Wirbkowski, who began his career in the Vilnius chapter as a canon. He was elected dean in 1558, and remained in that office until June 23,

1561. He again performed the duties of dean towards the end of 1563, but he was never installed. On February 16, 1563 he officially refused to accept the office. From the sources it transpires that the reason for his refusal was the slender provision attached to the deanship. So the income from this prelature must have been lower than that from his ordinary canonry, given that he resigned from the former in order to remain a canon of Vilnius for the rest of his life.

The consequence of plural tenure of benefices (in different locations) was the impossibility of fulfilling the duty of residence. That in turn led to the neglect of other duties. Only a canon or prelate in residence could take part in Divine worship or in meetings of the chapter.²³ According to my calculations attendance at general sessions varied between three to six canons in the winter, two to seven in the spring, and one to eight in the autumn.

On the basis of the protocols of the capitular sessions three groups of clergymen have been distinguished. The first are non-residents, or occasional residents. These made up about 52% of the total. Then there were temporary residents – about 18%, and residents – about 30%.

Therefore, the cathedral chapter of Vilnius, like other chapters in this period,²⁴ was affected by the problem of non-residence. This means that some members of the chapter had a fairly loose association with their corporation, which, on the face of it, negatively affected its functioning. Without doubt this is the first conclusion that comes to mind. Nevertheless, the available source material indicates that the canons and prelates who remained in residence did not lament the absence of their fellow-clergymen. Instead they rubbed their hands gleefully, when it came to the division of capitular income.

Prelates and canons in residence alike had the right to so-called foundation money, whose maximum annual amount was set at 20 Lithuanian schocks. *Refectioes*, on the other hand, was paid every

²³ S. Librowski, *Kapituła katedralna wrocławska*, Warsaw, 1949, p. 55.

²⁴ For example, in the 16th-century cathedral chapter of Wrocław, 84 of the 280 canons (29%) were permanent residents, 47 (17%) were temporary residents and 159 (57%) were non-residents, G. Zimmermann, *Das Breslauer Domkapitel im Zeitalter der Reformation und Gegenreformation (1500–1600)*, Weimar, 1938, p. 149.

week. The weekly system of payment was supposed to incline (or force) clergymen to reside more conscientiously, and so to heal the “faltering Divine service in the cathedral”. This is hinted at by the forty-second decree of the capitular statute “De refectiōibus et quotidianis distributionibus dandis.”²⁵ The decree “about daily *refectiōes* and distributions” indicates that the capitular procurator was to pay every canon who said or sang Mass, or was present at Mass, two Lithuanian *grosze* daily.

The weekly quota of money paid out to individual canons increased when fewer clergymen were in residence. Moreover, it increased along with the increase in the total amount available for distribution. Perhaps it was for this reason that clergymen in residence often condoned the absence of their colleagues.

For example, in the week before October 29, 1580, only the cantor resided for all seven days, while two canons, Tomasz Makowiecki and Marcelli Suchodolski, spent only one day of the week in residence. So the cantor obtained a *refectiōes* of three schocks and fifteen Lithuanian *grosze*, as well as fourteen *grosze* for bread.²⁶ The two canons mentioned were given “*pro uno diebus*” a *refectiōes* of 15 Lithuanian *grosze* and 2 *grosze* for bread.²⁷

We note that those clergymen who accumulated the most benefices (both among the prelates, and among the canons) were closely associated with the royal court. This group also tended to be the best educated. These clergymen were usually among the group of “non-residents” or “temporary residents”. This does not mean, however, that they exercised little influence on the fortunes of the corporation or the diocese. Undoubtedly, although this is more difficult to show from capitular sources – the non-residents had the opportunity to represent the interests of the chapter at the royal court or the tribunals – supreme courts of appeal – of Lithuania and Poland. By the same token, they could represent royal interests in the chapter.

²⁵ LMAVB, F43-155, f. 20-20v.

²⁶ LMAVB, F43-453, f. 6.

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

On the basis of my research into the clergymen present at capitular sessions, it is however possible to identify those prelates and canons who – together with the bishop – had an influence on the life of the diocese through their work within it. Those who accumulated significantly fewer benefices could more easily reside in the diocesan capital permanently, or do so with shorter and less frequent interruptions. As a result, they were in a position to influence the choices made by the chapter.

In the last quarter of the sixteenth century we note a certain decline in the phenomenon of the plural tenure of benefices by the higher clergy of Vilnius. The question of the extent to which the fall-off in pluralism resulted from the implementation of the Tridentine decrees remains without a full answer. Towards the end of the century fewer members of the Vilnius chapter were associated with the royal court – and so with the patron who most influenced the assignment of benefices in the chapter – than half a century earlier.

DR RICHARD BUTTERWICK

FROM THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
TRIDENTINE REFORM TO “THE ENLIGHTENED
AGE”: CHALLENGES FACED BY THE CATHOLIC
CHURCH IN THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY*

Most scholars of early modern Catholicism would now agree that the implementation of the Tridentine reform was a long-drawn out process, reaching well into the eighteenth century. Much depended on the energy and commitment shown by individual bishops – few of whom could approach the prototype – Saint Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan.¹ If the mid-eighteenth century in France saw “the termination of a long Counter-Reformation in which the Gallican Church at last drew breath from its work of inculcating the faith of the Tridentine Fathers”, as Nigel Aston has put it,² then it was not yet time to pause in East-Central Europe. Much work remained to be done, for example, in the Kingdom of Hungary. Following the Habsburgs’ reconquest of the central part of the kingdom from the Ottoman Empire at the end of the seventeenth century, monasteries needed repair if not complete reconstruction, and the parish network had to be rebuilt from scratch. In Transylvania the Catholic Church of both rites – Latin and

* This paper draws on parts of the Polish edition of my forthcoming book, *Polska Rewolucja a Kościół katolicki 1788–1792*, Kraków: Arcana, 2012.

¹ See J. Bergin, “The Counter-Reformation Church and its Bishops”, *Past and Present*, 165 (1999), p. 30-71.

² N. Aston, *Religion and Revolution in France, 1780–1804*, Basingstoke, 2000, p. xi. See also *Idem.*, *Christianity and Revolutionary Europe, 1750–1830*, Cambridge, 2002, p. 2-3 and part 1, *passim*.

Uniate – encountered strongholds of various Protestant confessions and Orthodoxy alike. The policies of re-Catholicization violently imposed on the Habsburgs' Austrian and Bohemian lands had to be pursued much more circumspectly in the Kingdom of Hungary.³

Following an immensely destructive cycle of wars, lasting from the 1650s to the 1710s, a generally similar situation applied in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The Catholic Church embarked on a long period of expansion and recovery. But it did so from a less favourable starting point than in the Kingdom, or Crown of Poland, with which the Grand Duchy was joined in the Commonwealth of the Two Nations. Protestant nobles retained their numerical and political significance for a longer time than in the Polish Crown. Orthodoxy remained strong in parts of the south and east. Not only was the proportion of Catholics lower in Lithuania than in the Kingdom of Poland, but also the majority of the Catholics were of the Ruthenian, or Uniate rite. Even among the ordinary flock of the Latin rite, mostly Lithuanian speaking and mostly located in the north and west of the Grand Duchy, successive bishops of Samogitia and Vilnius (or Wilno) complained of the ignorance of the basic tenets of the Faith and the persistence of pre-Christian beliefs and practices. So the Catholic Church in many areas was, as in Hungary, a missionary Church. And that meant there was much work for the religious clergy.

Derek Beales's comment on the Catholic clergy in the Habsburg Monarchy – “the relatively meagre corps of regulars made an exceptionally large contribution to the relatively still more meagre overall provision of clergy” can be applied to the Latin rite in the Commonwealth – and especially to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.⁴ Much of the expansion of Catholicism in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was carried out by

³ See R. J. W. Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Central Europe c. 1683–1867*, Oxford, 2006, p. 7-9, 25, 54, 149-150; D. Beales, *Joseph II*, vol. 2, *Against the World, 1780–1790*, Cambridge, 2009, p. 298-300; J. Bahlcke, *Ungarischer Episkopat und österreichische Monarchie. Von einer Partnerschaft zur Konfrontation (1686–1790)*, Stuttgart, 2005.

⁴ D. Beales, *Prosperity and Plunder: European Catholic Monasteries in an Age of Revolution, 1650–1815*, Cambridge, 2003, p. 180.

thee religious orders – notably the Jesuits, the Priests of the Mission (or Lazarists), the Dominicans, and the Basilians. Much of this effort was focused on bolstering the position of the Uniate Church at the expense of Orthodoxy; the Latin-rite orders played a supporting role to the Uniate Basilians. Several Dominicans were prominent in seeking to convert Jews, although the proportion of Jews who agreed to baptism remained very small. The Mariavite nuns, founded in the mid-eighteenth century looked after converted Jewesses, and these young women often became Mariavites in their turn. However, most parish missions in the central and northwestern parts of Lithuania concentrated on basic levels of catechization and religious observance among the peasantry. The orders ensured that some at least of their missionaries could communicate with the populace in the language of the latter – dialects of Lithuanian in the northwest, Ruthenian (or Belarusian) further south and east. The colorful and theatrical spectacle of baroque Catholic worship, appealing to the senses and the emotions, could, especially when periodically repeated over several decades in a prolonged and concerted missionary effort, bring the rural masses somewhat closer to what the ecclesiastical hierarchs wished them to be.⁵

Among the Polonophone Lithuanian nobility – virtually all of whom embraced the Latin rite of the Catholic Church – were many benefactors of monasteries. Latin-rite noble families were often willing to aid the Basilians of the Ruthenian rite. In turn, a number of noble families developed a strategy whereby one son would be baptized, confirmed or ordained in the Ruthenian rite, so that they could advance within the elite Basilian order and in time wear an episcopal or even metropolitan miter.⁶ Wealthier noble (especially in outlying areas) were

⁵ See J. Flaga, *Działalność duszpasterska zakonów w drugiej połowie XVIII w. 1767–1772*, Lublin, 1986. A model mission is recorded in “Missia Bialska XX. Bazylianów przez Tymoteusza Szczurowskiego Z. S. B. W. ułożona i do druku podana roku 1792”, ed. A. Weiss, *Wiadomości diecezjalne podlaskie*, 61 (1992), 10, p. 328–49.

⁶ On the Basilians, and the Uniate Church more generally, see L. Bierikowski, “Organizacja kościoła wschodniego w Polsce”, in: *Kościół w Polsce*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, vol. 2, *Wiek XVI–XVIII*, Kraków, 1969, p. 779–1049; M. Piđłypczak-Majerowicz, *Bazylianie w Koronie i na Litwie. Szkoły i książki w działalności zakonu*, Warsaw and Wrocław, 1986;

keen to employ regular clergymen, usually mendicant friars, as domestic chaplains and tutors.⁷ But whether at home or at school, most nobles from at least moderately wealthy families received their education from the religious clergy. Radiating out from their academy in Vilnius, founded in 1579, the Jesuits were extremely successful in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – significantly more so than in the south and east of the Polish Crown. Those of other orders, notably the Piarists and the Basilians, supplemented well-frequented Jesuit colleges and schools. The latter educated many more noble youths of the Latin rite than trainee priests in their own, Ruthenian rite.⁸

Besides providing spiritual and educational services to nobles, conducting missions, and helping out at times of particular need (such as in hearing confessions before Easter), the religious orders had direct charge of many Latin-rite parishes. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the diocesan network was underdeveloped compared to the Polish Crown. Lithuania had only four dioceses – plus a part of the diocese of Lutsk that covered the Grand Duchy's southwestern corner. Of the Lithuanian dioceses, that of Samogitia was of medium size – by the Commonwealth's standards – and averagely endowed. However, the bishopric of Smolensk (cut down following the loss of vast swathes of territory to Muscovy in 1667) contained just three parishes, but they were gigantic – over 4000 square kilometers each. The bishop of Livonia ministered to about thirty parishes in the Lithuanian-Polish condominium of Livonia and the

B. Skinner, *The Western Front of the Eastern Church: Uniate and Orthodox Conflict in 18th Century Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia*, DeKalb, IL, 2009, p. 76-87.

⁷ Flaga, *Działalność duszpasterska zakonów*, p. 128-38; J. Kłoczowski, "Zakony męskie w Polsce w XVI–XVIII w.", in *Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 2, p. 483-730, at 632-33, 714-17.

⁸ There is a vast literature on the Jesuits and their schools, including S. Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkolnictwa jezuickiego w Polsce* [1933], repr. Kraków, 2003; *Jezuici a kultura polska*, ed. L. Grzebień and S. Obirek, Kraków, 1993; *Z dziejów szkolnictwa jezuickiego w Polsce. Wybór artykułów*, ed. J. Paszenda, Kraków, 1994; *Wkład Jezuitów do kultury i nauki w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów oraz pod zaborami*, ed. I. Stasiewicz-Jasiukowa, Kraków and Warszawa, 2004. On the Piarists see *Wkład pijarów do nauki i kultury Polsce XVII–XIX w.*, red. I. Stasiewicz-Jasiukowa, Warsaw and Kraków, 1993.

predominantly Lutheran vassal Duchy of Courland. The diocese of Vilnius, covering most of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was quite enormous. Within the Commonwealth as a whole, the only comparable diocese was that of Lutsk, which sprawled in two disjointed parts from Podlasie to the southeastern extremities of the Polish Ukraine. As one traveled southeastwards from a line connecting Grodno, Vilnius and Dyneburg, the parish network of the Latin-rite thinned out. As the distances between parishes increased – reaching above one hundred kilometers in places, so did the proportion of parishes consigned to the regular clergy. On the eve of the first partition, the diocese of Vilnius contained no less than eighty-eight parishes run by the orders – about a fifth of the total and twice the average for the Commonwealth as a whole. Even in the Ruthenian rite, dioceses were fewer and parishes significantly larger in most of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania than in the lands further south.⁹

Successive Latin-rite bishops of Vilnius, aided by their suffragans and other helpers, expended much effort in founding new parishes, raising standards of education and conduct among the diocesan clergy, and enhancing their own authority – with regard to the religious orders, and also to non-Catholics – called “infidels” (Jews, Muslims and Karaites), “heretics” (Protestants), or “schismatics” (Orthodox and Old Believers). The last synod before the partitions in the diocese of Vilnius, called by Bishop Michał Zienkowicz in 1744 passed several provisions aimed at the Jews and Protestants, while also extending episcopal control over exorcisms and the trial of suspected witches. Most of the synodal decrees expected tighter discipline and godlier conduct among the clergy, and higher standards of pastoral care.¹⁰

⁹ See S. Litak, *Atlas Kościoła łacińskiego w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w XVIII wieku*, Lublin, 2006; W. Kolbuk, *Kościół wschodnie w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku*, Lublin, 1998. As yet there is no Lithuanian counterpart to B. Szady, *Geografia struktur religijnych i wyznaniowych w Koronie w II połowie XVIII wieku*, Lublin, 2010. See also J. Flaga, *Zakony męskie w Polsce w 1772 roku*. t. 2, cz. 1, *Duszpasterstwo*, Lublin, 1991, *passim*.

¹⁰ J. Kurczewski, *Biskupstwo wileńskie od jego założenia aż do dni obecnych, zawierające dzieje i prace biskupów i duchowieństwa djecezji wileńskiej, oraz wykaz kościołów, klasztorów, szkół i zakładów dobroczynnych i społecznych*, Vilnius, 1912, p. 137-40.

The essentially post-Tridentine character of such reforms was not abandoned, but modified during the long pontificate of Zienkovicz's successor, Ignacy Jakub Massalski (1762–94). Although he called no diocesan synod, Massalski issued many decrees and pastoral letters on his own authority.¹¹ Expansion continued. Fifty-two new parishes were founded in the Diocese of Vilnius between the First Partition in 1772 and the Third Partition in 1795.¹² The great eighteenth-century expansion of the religious orders in the Commonwealth is usually thought to have come to a halt around the time of the First Partition, but the building work undertaken or continued in the 1770s and 1780s suggests that the mendicant orders in particular had plenty of confidence in their future. Gradually, sinuous late baroque and rococo splendor – epitomized by so many churches in this city – cooled into a more austere, but elegant and monumental classicism. The finest example of all is Vilnius cathedral.¹³

There were new emphases, as well as a new architectural style. Massalski's policies, like those of several bishops from the Polish Crown, can be helpfully analyzed in the wider European contexts of “enlightened Catholicism” and “Catholic Enlightenment”. The latter term remains more popular among scholars, but I would distinguish between the two.¹⁴ When Catholic goals were pursued by “enlightened” means and expressed in “enlightened” rhetoric, I would call this tendency “enlightened Catholicism”. When the goals were essentially those of an essentially secular Enlightenment, but were furthered using ecclesiastical resources in the context of a Catholic state, this is better described as “Catholic Enlightenment”. In either case, it seems essential to me to assess

¹¹ See T. Kasabuła *Ignacy Massalski, biskup wileński*, Lublin, 1998; E. Raila, *Ignotus Ignotas. Vilniaus vyskupas Ignotas Jokubas Masalskis*, Vilnius, 2010.

¹² Kasabuła, *op. cit.*, p. 388-92.

¹³ See *Lietuvos architektūros istorija. Nuo XVII a. pradžios iki XIX a. vidurio*, ed. A. Laganavičius, vol. 2 Vilnius, 1994; T. Račiūnaitė and A. Sverdiolas, *Baroque in Lithuania: Guide*, Vilnius, 2007.

¹⁴ Compare, for example, the various usages adopted in *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*, ed. U. L. Lehner and M. Printy, Leiden and Boston, MA, 2010. I make this case at greater length in my own contribution to the *Companion*: “Catholicism and Enlightenment in Poland-Lithuania”, p. 297-358, here at 307-11.

eighteenth-century discourses of “enlightenment” or the “enlightened age” in their own terms. From the 1760’s onwards the Polish word “enlightenment” (*oświecenie*) was increasingly used to mean education and rational thinking rather than as a traditional metaphor for the light of Divine revelation. Its opposite, “unenlightenment”, was associated with superstition, prejudice, ignorance and barbarity.¹⁵

Massalski was the first chairman of the Commonwealth’s Commission for National Education, established in the aftermath of the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773. He had met some of the group of *philosophes* known as the Physiocrats during his voyages to France.¹⁶ With his imagination fired by their enthusiasm for lifting the rural population out of ignorance, squalor and superstition, he threw himself into the work of founding parish schools. By 1777 he claimed there were 330 such schools in his diocese. It is noteworthy that over a quarter of the newly founded schools taught girls as well as boys. During the autumn and winter months, they were taught to read and write – in Polish and either Lithuanian or Ruthenian, depending on the location – and arithmetic as well.¹⁷ The campaign was accompanied by sermons preached on public occasions by the bishop’s chief protégés – Michał Karpowicz and Wilhelm Kaliński – who under the partial influence of Physiocratic doctrine challenged the religious, moral and economic basis of serfdom.¹⁸ Moreover, a senior

¹⁵ See R. Butterwick, “What is Enlightenment (*oświecenie*)? Some Polish Answers, 1765–1820”, *Central Europe*, 3 (2005), p. 19-37; T. Kostkiewiczowa, *Polski wiek światła. Obszary swoistości*, Wrocław, 2002, p. 399-432.

¹⁶ A. Jobert, *Magnats polonais et physiocrates français (1767–1774)*, Paris 1941, *passim*.

¹⁷ Kasabuła, *Ignacy Massalski*, p. 561-83. E. Raila, “Vilniaus vyskupas Ignotas Masalskis ir katališka apšvieta: edukacijos ir pastoracijos simbiozė”, in: *Kultūros istorijos tyrenėjimai*, Vilnius, 1997, vol. 3, p. 92-146. See also A. Jobert, *La Commission d’Education Nationale en Pologne (1773–1794). Son oeuvre d’instruction civique*, Paris, 1941, p. 203-10; I. Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim, Wrocław, 1973, p. 97-116, 230-39; S. Litak, *Parafia w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku. Struktura, funkcje społeczno-religijne i edukacyjne*, Lublin, 2004, p. 299, 315-16.

¹⁸ See M. Ślusarska, “Powinność i należytość. Wzajemne relacje między właścicielami dóbr a społecznością wiejską w świetle kazań z epoki stanisławowskiej”,

clergyman in the diocese of Vilnius – Reverend Paweł Brzostowski, conducted the Commonwealth’s best-publicized experiment in enlightened rural reform, encompassing cash rents, education, and even a peasant militia.¹⁹ Few lords were prepared to follow his example. Many of the schools founded by the bishop failed to survive – victims of peasant indifference and economic interests, noble hostility and intimidation, and the diocesan clergy’s own lack of enthusiasm.

The Educational Commission was more interested in secondary schools – for nobles. Massalski was ousted from the helm of the commission when financial malefactions came to light. Within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the main educational impetus now came less from the bishop than from the reformed university of Vilnius – formerly the Jesuit’s principal academy in the Commonwealth, now renamed the Principal School of Lithuania. Among the professors there were many ex-Jesuits, who on the whole worked harmoniously with Piarists, secular priests, and laymen. Many former Jesuits continued their work in secondary schools, and most of the school visitors were also former members of the Society of Jesus. As a result, the conflicts between ex-Jesuits and other teachers, and between the expectations of noble parents and reformist pedagogues, were far less intense in the Grand Duchy than they were in the Polish Crown.²⁰ As Massalski’s moral authority among both clergy and laity eroded in later years, so the star of the rector of Vilnius University rose. Marcin Poczobut was widely respected – as a famous astronomer (a Fellow of the Royal Society in

in: *Dwór, plebania, rodzina chłopska. Szkice z dziejów wsi polskiej XVII i XVIII wieku*, ed. M. Ślusarska, Warsaw, 1998, p. 69-102.

¹⁹ Compare: E. Rostworowski, “Reforma pawłowska Pawła Ksawerego Brzostowskiego (1767–1795)”, *Przegląd Historyczny*, 44 (1953), p. 102-152 with J. Bartyś, *Rzeczpospolita Pawłowska na tle reform włościańskich w Polsce w XVIII wieku*, Warsaw, 1982; M. Górka, “Paweł Ksawery Brzostowski – autoportret ustawodawcy i mecenaś”, in: *Dwór, plebania, rodzina chłopska*, p. 103-21.

²⁰ Some older work, including that of Ambroise Jobert, was heavily influenced by the “black legend” of the Jesuits and ex-Jesuits that gained currency in the early nineteenth century. But see Szybiak, *Szkolnictwo*, and J. Kamińska, *Universitas Vilmensis. Akademia Wileńska i Szkoła Główna Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego 1773–1792*, Pułtusk and Warsaw, 2004.

London), as a priest known for his undemonstrative but genuine piety, as a patriot, and as a leader.²¹

The new style was also felt in inter-confessional relations. Massalski insisted that parish missions should avoid abuse of non-Catholics.²² The greater degree of toleration in the later eighteenth century did not please all clergymen – the sixty-five-year old rector of Kaunas complained in 1782 that Lutheran and Calvinist immigrants from the Kingdom of Prussia were buying up houses in town from Catholics, and employing Catholic servants, who “having heard heretical errors from their masters, weaken greatly in the true religion and boldly assert, that the Lutheran faith is as good as the Catholic.”²³

The enthronement of Massalski in Vilnius cathedral also coincided with a significant relaxation of attitudes towards Jews among the higher clergy in the Commonwealth. This followed the report by Cardinal Lorenzo Ganganelli (the future Pope Clement XIV) which condemned the blood libel – the belief that Jews ritually murdered Christian children.²⁴ Massalski rarely refused such requests to build or extend synagogues, although he also liked to show who was in charge – he would usually specify that the synagogue should not compete with the town’s church in size or style.²⁵

Massalski also discouraged efforts to convert Jews to Catholicism, believing that the converts were not worth the trouble.²⁶ Many of

²¹ See M. O’Connor, “Oświecenie katolickie i Marcin Poczobut SJ”, in *Jezuici a kultura polska*, ed. L. Grzebień and S. Obirek, Kraków, 1993, p. 41-49; E. Rabowicz, “Poczobut, Marcin”, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 27, Wrocław, 1982, p. 52-62. The many letters addressed to Poczobut as rector and so preserved in Vilnius University Library (Fondas 2) testify to his exceptional moral authority.

²² Kasabuła, *op. cit.*, p. 440-49.

²³ *Vyskupo Ignoto Jokūbo Masalskio Kauno dekanato vizitacija 1782 m.*, ed. V. Jo-gėla, Vilnius, 2001, p. 88-90.

²⁴ See Z. Guldon and J. Wijaczka, “The Accusation of Ritual Murder in Poland 1600–1800”, *Polin*, 10 (1997), p. 99-140.

²⁵ Kasabuła, *Ignacy Massalski*, p. 477-84. Cf. M. Grzybowski, “Kościelna działalność Michała Jerzego Poniatowskiego biskupa płockiego”, *Studia z Historii Kościoła w Polsce*, 7 (1983), p. 5-225, here at 46, 154.

²⁶ Quoted after Kasabuła, *Ignacy Massalski*, p. 484.

those who converted could not cope with uprooting and exclusion from their own communities. From 1783, the bishop laid down formal procedures for the examination of all Jews (and Muslims) wishing to be baptized in the diocese of Vilnius. He also forbade his priests to baptize Jewish children without their parents' consent.²⁷ Massalski even tried – not entirely successfully – to suppress the Mariavites in 1773.²⁸

Changes were also felt in the style of worship. Although Massalski was personally fond of ceremonious liturgy and rich musical accompaniment, for others he favored the simpler, more participatory style advocated by Ludovico Muratori. Indeed, Muratori's *Della regolata divozione dei Cristiani* was translated into Polish in Massalski's circle.²⁹ The bishop's salon gathered a sometimes worldly circle of learned clergymen for stimulating conversation and discussion, as well as cards.³⁰ Massalski strongly opposed ascetic practices such as flagellation, and, like some bishops in the Polish Crown and elsewhere in Europe, sought to turn devotional and penitential (or hooded) confraternities into charitable ones. Visitation records show the effects. We can read, for example, that in the parish of Kavarskas in 1784 "after the hoods had been abolished

²⁷ See *Ibidem*, p. 484-91, and J. Goldberg, "Żydowscy konwertyci w społeczeństwie staropolskim", in: *Spółczesność staropolskie. Studia i szkice*, vol. 4, ed. A. Izydorczyk and A. Wyczański, Warsaw, 1986, p. 195-248, here at 218-29.

²⁸ Goldberg, "Żydowscy konwertyci", p. 212-13. The Mariavite congregation, despite its rapid growth, still had only sixty sisters and very few material resources. The order's visitor journeyed to Rome, whereupon the Apostolic See refused to recognize the bishop's suppression. Finally in 1788 Massalski agreed to a renewal of the congregation's activity within the Diocese of Vilnius. M. Borkowska, "Dzieje zgromadzenia Mariae Vitae czyli mariawitek", *Nasza Przeszłość*, 93 (2000), p. 107-152, here at 124-33. Eadem, *Zakony żeńskie w Polsce w epoce nowożytnej*, Lublin, 2010, p. 348-55.

²⁹ Ludovico Muratori, *O porządnym nabożeństwie chrześcijan*, trans. Mateusz Tokało, Vilnius, 1787. On Muratori and his influence elsewhere, see O. Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution*, Oxford, 1981, p. 395-402; J. Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria*, Cambridge, 1988, p. 76-83.

³⁰ The atmosphere was recorded by one of those talented priests, W. Kaliński, in his *Dziennik*, ed. Łukasz Kurdybacha, Wrocław, 1968, *passim*.

they neglected the confraternities, and they only manage to assemble to assist at monthly processions.”³¹

For several decades, the interests of the Catholic Church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania seemed compatible with the cause of “enlightenment”. A synthesis between the tasks set down by the Tridentine Fathers and the fashionable discourse of light, reason and even tolerance seemed achievable.³² Of course there were tensions, but compared to the situation in France, and still more so to the confrontational atmosphere of the nineteenth century, such tensions could still be managed. Freemasonry provides a good example.

For more than two centuries Freemasonry has been condemned as anti-Christian, and in particular, anti-Catholic. A respected historian of Polish spirituality could not conceive how a Freemason, Tadeusz Matuszewic, could translate the *Imitatio Christi* by Thomas à Kempis into Polish.³³ Before the French Revolution, such things were less surprising. As Derek Beales has argued, citing two abbots of Melk who were buried in their masonic aprons, “Many modern writers cannot shake themselves free from the assumption that all Freemasons must have been anti-Catholic, anti-clerical and, still more, anti-monastic [...] In the 1780s it was clearly possible to be both a Mason and a pillar of the Catholic Establishment.”³⁴

In the Commonwealth, during the second half of the eighteenth century, Freemasonry facilitated contacts between Poles and foreigners, soldiers and civilians, royalists and republicans, laymen and clergymen, Catholics, Protestants and Orthodox, patrons and poets, and nobles and wealthy burghers, albeit in a strictly hierarchical environment.

³¹ *Ukmergės dekanato vizitacija 1784 m.*, ed. S. Jegelevičius, Vilnius, 2009, p. 29. Cf. *Vyskupo Ignoto Jokūbo Masalskio Kauno dekanato vizitacija 1782 m.*, p. 108. For European comparisons, see Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution*, p. 33-41.

³² M. Ślusarska, “Oświeceniowe modele biskupa, plebana i parafii. Kontynuacja czy zmiana tradycji?”, in: *Dwór, plebania, rodzina chłopska*, p. 37-53.

³³ K. Górski, *Zarys dziejów duchowości w Polsce*, Kraków, 1986, p. 266.

³⁴ D. Beales, “Mozart and the Habsburgs”, in: *Idem, Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, London, 2005, p. 99-100. See *Idem, Joseph II*, vol. 2, p. 526-43.

Ladies had separate lodges. Freemasonry undoubtedly carried the cachet of “enlightenment”, it was fashionably philanthropic, and was a form of sociability for those considered themselves opposed to “fanaticism”, “superstition” and “dark ignorance”. Its language and symbols were full of light – not least the triangular eye of Divine Providence. However, not everything that was “enlightened” was rational, let alone materialist. Freemasonry was in its own way liturgical and even mystical. Some masons were keen on alchemy and the occult. Such tendencies had as little in common with a rationally defined Enlightenment as they did with the orthodox teaching of the Catholic Church.

Popes Clement XII and Benedict XIV condemned membership of or assistance to masonic organizations in 1738 and 1751. In 1780 the chapter of the Vilnius cathedral quoted these bulls, when it stated that rumors that some canons and prelates were Freemasons were a “calumny”. However, the chapter added prudently that if any of its members was a Mason, he should immediately abandon “this shameful sect.”³⁵ The rumors were well founded. Canons, prelates and other senior clergymen in the diocese of Vilnius held high office in Lithuanian Freemasonry – which was growing rapidly at this time.³⁶ Although some Polish-

³⁵ Jan Kurczewski, *Kościół zamkowy, czyli katedra wileńska w jej dziejowym, liturgicznym, architektonicznym i ekonomicznym rozwoju*, vol. 3, Vilnius, 1916, p. 372-73. The author’s sulphurous commentary reveals just how difficult it was after the French Revolution to accept that a priest could be a Mason, or sympathize with Freemasonry: “in the eighteenth century the chapter had to cast off the suspicion of supporting Freemasonry and prevent this delusive and harmful sect from spreading. It had spread itself in the Crown, and transplanted to Lithuania found here numerous devotees, fantasists and idlers, fond of novelties and comedies. When Freemasonry acquired status among intellectuals and in the salons of the great lords, it began to be murmured, not only in the salons, but among the populace, that some members of the Vilnius chapter belonged to this sect and frequented masonic meetings.” Kurczewski, *Biskupstwo wileńskie*, p. 121-22.

³⁶ They included the canons of Vilnius Nikodem Puzyna and Antoni Michniewski, and Massalski’s helpers Ignacy Houwalt and Stefan Roussel, both canons of Livonia. However, Hieronim Stroynowski, who would later become Bishop of Vilnius himself, left the movement when he took higher orders. S. Małachowski-Lempicki, *Wolnomularstwo na ziemiach dawnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego 1776–1822. Dzieje i materiały*, Vilnius, 1930, repr. Warsaw, 2005, p. 3-10, 158, 165.

Lithuanian clergymen, and even some laymen, were already denouncing Freemasonry as a conspiracy against the Catholic Faith, such polemicists were at the margins of the Church, and not, as in the early nineteenth century, in its mainstream. Even those hierarchs who were ill-disposed towards Freemasonry, such as the papal nuncio Giovanni Archetti, preferred to avoid confrontations with the movement.³⁷

However, by the last years of Massalski’s pontificate, coinciding with the French and Polish Revolutions, the dangers presented to the Church by the “enlightened age” came to seem greater than the opportunities it offered to advance the cause of religion. In Warsaw, the Commonwealth’s parliament imposed double taxation on the clergy, compared to the lay nobility, and moved to confiscate some episcopal property to pay for a larger army.³⁸ Although the anti-clericalism of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility had a long and traditional pedigree, clergymen increasingly associated criticism of the clergy and calls to reorder its property with the baleful influence of an age that had the presumption to call itself “enlightened”.

One example must suffice here. On the feast of Saints Peter and Paul in 1789 Michał Karpowicz used strong language, partly borrowed from a pamphlet, when he accused critics of the clergy of seeking to overthrow religion in the name of a so-called “enlightenment”:

These unbelieving debauchees sow their opinions, infected with the venom of debauchery, under the appearance of enlightenment, they undermine virtue, they inflame and unchain all the passions of hearts, they set alight the most dreadful intentions and crimes, they break the bonds of human society, they bring honest souls to fear and despair, and covering all this with the mask of zeal for the public good, they place the

³⁷ On April 5, 1780, G. Archetti reported the progress of Freemasonry, especially in Vilnius, to the secretary of state, Cardinal Opizio Pallavicini. The nuncio warned that because, among other things, of the many “*Moscoviti*”, especially army officers, in Vilnan lodges, publishing “*le fulminate scomuniche*” in churches would be “*un espediente quanto inutile, altrettanto pericoloso*”. The Bishop of Poznań and Warsaw, Antoni Okęcki, was said to hold a similar opinion. *Ibidem*, p. 167-68.

³⁸ See W. Kalinka, *Sejm Czteroletni*, 2 vols., 4th edn, Warsaw, 1991; R. Butterwick, *The Polish Revolution and the Catholic Church, 1788–1792: A Political History*, Oxford, 2012.

flattering perspective of the happiness of the Fatherland in the overthrow of the authority of the Church, in the dissolution and oppression of the altar, and in the absorption of the properties and estates of the clergy!³⁹

This did not mean, however, that Karpowicz had abandoned the discourse of “enlightenment”. Preaching a sermon to the Lithuanian Tribunal, when it swore to uphold the Commonwealth’s new constitution on March 15, 1792, he set out a vision of almost unlimited progress: “Enlightened *education* under the supervision of the nation, then, is confirmed by our happy Constitution; what happy posterity does it promise to future centuries?”⁴⁰

The endorsement of the Commonwealth’s new Constitution as a monument to the nation’s “enlightenment” was tinged with warnings that irreligion might provoke the withdrawal of Divine favor. But ambivalence towards the tendencies of the age could cut both ways. The counter-revolution that triumphed in the summer of 1792 tried to harness religious discourse and fear of the French Revolution in its propaganda. Bishop Massalski issued a strongly worded pastoral letter against irreligious books. In warning his clergy against political agitation, he also stated that “the Word of God is strong and wisest in

³⁹ M. F. Karpowicz, *Kazanie o władzy Kościoła, jak jest narodom zbawienna, i o majątkach Kościołów, jak narodom są użyteczne w dzień ŚŚ. Apostołów Piotra y Pawła w Wilnie na Antokolu w Kościele Kanoników Lateranenskich miane 1789*, p. 9-10. For a bilingual edition of some of Karpowicz’s sermons, see M. P. Karpavičius *Rinkiniai pamokslai*, ed. and trans. Kristina Mačiulytė and Regina Jakubėnas, Vilnius, 2003. W. Skarszewski, *Odpowiedź plebana na nowe zarzuty przeciwko duchowieństwu polskiemu*, s.l. 1789, p. 3. See M. Ślusarska, “Sejm Czteroletni w okolicznościowym kaznodziejstwie lat 1788–90”, in: *Ku reformie państwa i odrodzeniu moralnemu człowieka. Zbiór artykułów i rozpraw poświęconych rocznicy ustanowienia Konstytucji 3 Maja 1791 roku*, ed. Piotr Żbikowski, Rzeszów, 1992, p. 65-80, here at 69-70; R. Butterwick, “Between Anti-Enlightenment and Enlightened Catholicism: Provincial Preachers in Late Eighteenth-Century Poland-Lithuania”, in: *Peripheries of the Enlightenment*, ed. R. Butterwick, S. Davies and G. Sánchez Espinosa, *SVEC*, 2008:1, p. 201-28, here at 216-18.

⁴⁰ M. F. Karpowicz, *Na zaprzysiężeniu uroczystym Ustawy Rządowej 3. i 5. maja od Trybunału G. W. X. L. jego palestry, kancelaryi, y chorągwi trybunalskiej w dniu 15. marca roku 1792. w Kościele Akademickim S. Jana w Wilnie Kazanie...*, Vilnius, 1792, p. 9-10.

its Evangelical simplicity” – just as he had been urging for decades. In some ways the Bishop of Vilnius continued to promote an enlightened strain of Catholicism.⁴¹

The model priest promoted by “enlightened Catholicism” was expected to care for the bodies and minds, as well as the souls, of his parishioners, and to contribute to the “enlightenment” of his own flock and perhaps even the public at large. He should live respectably but not luxuriously, perform public duties, and comfort the afflicted and oppressed, while convincing peasants to obey their masters. He should live on polite terms with those of other confessions, but he was also to uphold religious observance, and preach the Gospel with “Evangelical simplicity”, setting a moral example in his own lifestyle.

The enlightened Catholic response, first to the challenges presented by the implementation of the Tridentine reform, and later to the excesses of the “enlightened age” itself, continued well into the nineteenth century. Of course Catholic and “enlightened” discourses underwent severe polarization from the 1790’s onwards. But pastoral work changed much less, even after the destruction of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. While Russian rule placed Catholicism of both rites on the defensive against Orthodoxy in the Ruthenian parts of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in the north and west of the country the Catholic Church of the Latin rite was well placed to extend its qualitative hold on its flock, well beyond the noble elite. The characteristic popular piety of the mid- and later nineteenth century – among speakers of both Lithuanian and Polish – was built on foundations laid in the “enlightened age.”⁴²

⁴¹ I. Massalski, *Calemu duchowieństwu...*, Vilnius, September 21, 1792.

⁴² See, *inter alia*, A. Prašmantaitė, *Žemaičių vyskupas Juozapas Arnulfas Giedraitis*, Vilnius, 2000.

UGO DOVERE

CHURCH AND MONEY:
A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL SITE OPENED

Eight years ago, in September 2003, the Association of Italian Professors of Church History held, in Aosta, its thirteenth congress on the theme: *Church and Money between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Possession, Use, Image*. Its papers were later published by the author of this paper.¹

Various reasons, of greater or lesser importance, led the Council of Presidents of the Association in the selection of the theme tackled during those days of meetings. Talking and writing about “Church and money”, in fact, is delicate, definitely complex, but necessary. Until then, Church historians had focused on this issue mainly with reference to the late Middle Ages, when the Western Schism had exacerbated the fiscal management of the Papal Curias, respectively of Rome and Avignon, by directing the accumulation of wealth acquired by the institutions to sustain the parties in conflict between obedience to Rome or Avignon. Concurrently this exacerbation influenced the subsequent historical events of the Early Modern Church, torn as it was by the effects of the sale of indulgences and the legitimate and inevitable Lutheran denunciation.²

¹ See *Chiesa e denaro tra Cinquecento e Settecento: possesso, uso, immagine. Atti del XIII Convegno di studio dell'Associazione italiana dei professori di storia della Chiesa, Aosta, 9-13 settembre 2003*, ed. Ugo Dove, Cinisello Balsamo, San Paolo, 2005. See also the report about the Congress by Simona Negruzzo, in: *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 58 (2004), p. 564-580.

² *Opus classicum* in this field is the study of Luigi Nina, *Le finanze pontificie nel medioevo. Raccolta di studi a cura dell'Istituto di politica economica e finanziaria della R. Università di Roma*, 3 vols., Milano: Treves, 1929–1932; but see also a complex reconstruction of the period outlined in *L'Église au temps du Grand Schisme et de la*

As regards the Modern Age, the issue of “Church and money” seemed fairly marginal compared to the mainstream life of the Church and its post-Tridentine pastoral addresses; and if any, it was delegated to the civil sphere of the newly capitalist bourgeois society.

Subsequently the discussion inevitably began to emerge in the context of historical-religious studies, but the topic remained confined to the level of the central Church institutions³, to the dynastic-patrimonial systems of families that were historically linked to both the Roman Curia and the ecclesiastical hierarchies⁴, to the

crise conciliaire, 1378–1449, by Étienne Delaruelle, Edmond-René Labande, Paul Ourliac, 2 vols., s. l., Bloud et Gay, 1962–1964 (Histoire de l'Église, ed. Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin, XIV); Italian edition by Giuseppe Alberigo, 3 vols., Torino, S.A.I.E., 1979–1981. More recent studies, mostly devoted to the Modern Age: Enrico Stumpo, *Il capitale finanziario a Roma fra Cinque e Seicento. Contributo alla storia della fiscalità pontificia in età moderna, 1570–1660*, A. Milano, Giuffrè, 1985; Andrea Gardi, “La fiscalità pontificia tra medioevo ed età moderna”, *Società e Storia*, 33 (1986), p. 509-557; Maria Grazia Pastura Ruggiero, “La fiscalità pontificia nel Cinquecento: aspetti e problemi”, in: V. Sisto., *Atti del VI corso internazionale di alta cultura, 19-29 ottobre 1989*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna: *Roma e Lazio*, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1992, p. 213-231.

³ See Maria Grazia Pastura Ruggiero, *La Reverenda Camera Apostolica e i suoi archivi (secoli XV–XVIII)*, with a contribution of Paolo Cherubini, Luigi Londei, Marina Morena and Daniela Sinisi, Roma, Archivio di Stato, 1984. Papal finances in the broader perspective were viewed by Massimo Carlo Giannini, *Loro e la tiara. La costruzione dello spazio fiscale italiano della Santa Sede (1560–1620)*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003.

⁴ See Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *Il bisogno di eternità. I comportamenti aristocratici a Napoli in età moderna*, Napoli: Guida, 1988; Renata Ago, *Carriere e clientele nella Roma barocca*, Bari: Laterza, 1990; *Signori, patrizi, cavalieri in Italia centro-meridionale nell'età moderna*, ed. Maria Antonietta Visceglia, Roma–Bari: Laterza, 1992; *Costruire la parentela. Donne e uomini nella definizione dei legami familiari*, ed. Renata Ago, Maura Palazzi, Gianna Pomata, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1994; *La corte di Roma tra Cinque e Seicento teatro della politica europea*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia, Roma, Bulzoni, 1998 (English translation: *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Renata Ago, *Economia barocca. Mercato e istituzioni nella Roma del Seicento*, Roma, Donzelli, 1998; *La nobiltà romana in età moderna. Profili istituzionali e pratiche sociali*, ed. Maria Antonietta Visceglia, Roma: Carocci, 2001.

world of charitable assistance pertaining to the historical-sociological dimension⁵ or to some particular season of the history of the institutes of consecrated life.⁶

Ecclesiastical historiography, in other words, seemed unsure as to whether or not to turn its gaze on the wealth of the Church, real or imaginary, which was needed for the Church's survival. The fact that, especially from the age of Enlightenment onwards, it was also the object of constant anti-clerical debate did not help. This uncertainty, during the twentieth century, was fuelled by the anti-Marxist prejudice of rejection of its interpretation of the economic life of the Church. This was followed, in turn, by those who reconstructed the history of modern and contemporary ecclesiastical institutions with undisguised bitterness, through the "contra-apposition" between the hegemonic and the underdog classes, or through statistical-sociological engineering, both of which were light years away from the religious *animus* of the body of the Church. It was only with the end of ideology and the emergence of a historiography more generally careful to anthropological phenomena, including that of religious life, that it became possible to fix the gaze of the historian and his documentary tools of the trade, with renewed attention though not without some unavoidable uncertainty, on the non-secondary aspect of the economic life of Church institutions.

⁵ See Piercarlo Grimaldi, Renato Grimaldi, *Il potere della beneficenza. Il patrimonio delle ex-opere pie*, Milano: Angeli, 1983; *La generosità e la memoria. I luoghi pii elemosinieri di Milano e i loro benefattori attraverso i secoli*, ed. Ivanoe Riboli, Marco G. Bascapè, Sergio Reborà, with the texts of Federico Cavalieri et al., Milano, Amministrazione delle II.P.P.A.B. ex ECA, 1995 [1999]; *Il patrimonio del povero. Istituzioni sanitarie, caritative, assistenziali ed educative in Campania dal XIII al XX secolo*, Napoli: F. Fiorentino, 1997. For more profound research, among the most recent studies, See Daniele Montanari, *Il credito e la carità*, 2 vols., Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2001; *L'uso del denaro. Patrimoni e amministrazione nei luoghi pii e negli enti ecclesiastici in Italia (secoli XV–XVIII)*, ed. Alessandro Pastore and Marina Garbellotti, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003.

⁶ See Fiorenzo Landi, *Il paradiso dei monaci. Accumulazione e dissoluzione dei patrimoni del clero regolare in età moderna*, Roma: NIS, 1996; *Accumulation and Dissolution of Large Estates of the Regular Clergy in Early Modern Europe. Proceedings of the Twelfth International Economic History Congress*, ed. Fiorenzo Landi, Rimini: Guaraldi, 1999.

The choice of the theme of the above-mentioned Congress, which had the object of soliciting the activity of its participants, started with an experiential observation which those who make history seriously cannot escape: i. e. that among the documents – in particularly the ecclesiastical – archives, one finds an abundance of documentation, of both an economic and financial nature, that for the most has so far been neglected.⁷ If in fact one comes upon archival files that appear more dusty than others, they are bound to be those relating to the finance of institutions, and they are usually the most numerous since they preserve and jealously guard over time the property rights of the institutions about which they speak. Audiences, ledger-books, introit and exit registers as well as parallel documentation, lie on the shelves, mostly untouched, accumulated “for perennial memory”, though in fact forgotten, mostly because of the complexity involved in reviving the historical-documentary memory, which not only requires the historian to draw on his usual humanistic-philological arsenal but also on the knowledge of financial accountancy as well as on obsolete systems of weights and measures, which are virtually unlimited given that they correspond to the (many) pre-unification states (of Italy) to which the archives pertained.

It is from here that the focus of the Congress theme arose and also the desire to engage in an interdisciplinary way with experts in the history of economic thought and finance, in order not only to give adequate expression to the mentioned documentary memory, but also to establish a frame of historical reference, which won't reduce itself to rows of numbers and measures, but remains focused on the principal object of Church history: the everyday life of the *homo religiosus*.

Thus, the vast and un-confined theme of “the Church and money” has been channelled, obviously through sample address, on methodologically feasible and better defined rails, which should contribute to illustrate the why and how of the ownership and use of

⁷ Beside the considerations proposed in the volume of Salvatore Palese, see also Mario Taccolini, “Le fonti ecclesiastiche per la storia economica”, in: *Studi di storia moderna e contemporanea in onore di monsignor Antonio Fappani*, ed. Sergio Onger and Mario Taccolini, Brescia: Grafo, 2003, p. 211-222.

the financial wealth and property of the Church, as well as the external image of the Church that it proffered in the Italy of the old regime.

It is impossible to determine, historically, the quantitative richness of the Church, even if one were to limit oneself to the Modern Age, and this is so not just because even if one were to confine oneself to it, there is the temptation – as Enrico Stumpo warned⁸ – of getting lost in a sea of data concerning the mere ownership of goods which for a long time were tied to the possession of land, but also because the interest of such research only emerges in the social, economic and cultural aspects that the use of these assets generated in the tissue in which the Church institutions operated. The investigation into the possessions of the Church, then, must be addressed not only within the evolutionary analysis of the binary Church-money in the legal and financial documentation of both the Middle Ages and the Modern Age, as well as on an essential survey of key archival sources regarding the subject matter, but also by questioning the three major areas concerning 1) the central entities (i. e., the papal finances), 2) the peripheral entities (i. e., diocesan finances) and 3) the administrators, both the men and the women.

The historical research on this subject matter cannot evade the question, and therefore the research, on the “cost free” activities of the Church. Through this oxymoron I indicate the primary functions of the body of the Church: the Christian proclamation (preaching), the exercise of the cult (sacramental and devotional life) and of charity (confraternal grants), and the testimony of the eschatological “man” (consecrated life). The core activity of the Church, namely that related to its saving mediation which in the motivations of the Divine Founder constitutes the Church’s sole *raison d’être*, has through time been linked to the economic life of civil society and therefore qualified by a specific cost. This often happened in contradiction with the words of the Gospel (here it suffices to quote Christ’s explicit precept: “Freely you received,

⁸ See Enrico Stumpo, “Il consolidamento della grande proprietà ecclesiastica nell’età della controriforma”, in: *La Chiesa e il potere politico dal medioevo all’età contemporanea*, ed. Giorgio Chittolini and Giovanni Miccoli (Storia d’Italia. Annali 9), Torino, Einaudi, 1986, p. 263-289.

freely give” *Mt* 10, 8). The call to strict poverty given to the witnesses of the Faith, and rigorously kept in early Christianity, did not represent a special quality of holiness and detachment of the spirit, but was rather it was to be lived in relation to the dialectic that the proclamation of the Gospel established, i. e. between the one that offers and the one that accepts the Word. Investigating the how and when this activity became a transaction deserving compensation presupposes addressing it, through a historical and social analysis, in the context of the evolution of human community, and collaborating with the handful of lawyers and liturgists who from time to time have queried on the costs of the cult.⁹ The development of the techniques of trade has influenced Christian life since, in non-thematic ways, it led to the transformation of the gift of salvation (or forms of it) into an object of promotional marketing. This development in time led to the delineation of two diagrams that processed side by side, often converging in the *Societas Christiana*, but at times separating themselves between the distant poles of Christian holiness and the secularist indifference typical of the contemporary secularist.

If the investigation on the history of theological and moral thought can bring out the reasons for the changes and the objectives to be pursued, not less illuminating is the view on the Church from the outside. Looking at the Church from beyond its internal life one will be able to grasp how the Church has manifested itself in the eyes of the world as regards its possession of wealth. Beyond the apparently evident, this ownership will turn out to be multiple, subtle, transversal, non-univocal, tied to the Church’s way of being and doing, and – in the perception of the observer – qualified by the observer’s various interests and given preconceptions. The manifest display of wealth through the artistic and architectural commissions is evident. This can be seen in the “monumentalization” of the places of worship that culminated in the Vatican basilica – around which, in the Modern Age, flowed the tortuous and internal conflict of both Luther’s dialectic between charisma and institution and also Michelangelo’s, between genius and religion.

⁹ See *Rivista Liturgica*, 84 (1997), no. 2, an entire volume dedicated to *Il prezzo del gratuito*.

Related to this are the already though only partially acknowledged issues concerning the material as well as the spiritual development of the religious life of the Baroque Age, expressed by the ostentatious magnificence of churches, monasteries and convents...

The life of the individual Church institutions and persons of faith, in isolation or in association, cannot escape similar dynamics of historical analysis. The relationship of the Christian community with the territory in which it received the proclamation of the Gospel and celebrates the Christian mystery inevitably becomes economic, down to the point of interdependence, with the risk, never completely avoided, of abuse and of contradiction to principles. Thus the search for personal salvation becomes embroiled with the economic dimension of life, even while it seeks total detachment as the ideal path to salvation. This is manifest, to take an example, in the experience of pilgrimage, which starting from the interruption of the roots in one's home country leads to the search of a spiritual analogue elsewhere, but which all the same requires the organisation of a patrimony of services, as for example the *Via Francigena* has documented, i. e. a network of stations and hostels and an economy which involved the clergy of sanctuaries, the devotees of charitable confraternities, tradesmen and bankers – whether they are believers or not – who sustain these activities, coordinators and administrators of civil authorities who offer services and promote their localities, etc. Another striking example is the growth, natural and contradictory at the same time, of the wealth of the poor Franciscans.

Parallel to the history of ecclesiastical wealth, and intersecting with it, there is still to be written a history of the debt entered into, sometimes imprudently, during the Modern Age, justified by the need to maintain functions and facades. This Modern Age phenomenon brought together people of various religions and created such “parallel histories” as that of Innocent VII depositing the papal tiara as warranty and that of the Ottoman sultan Suleiman doing the same with his helmet of gold in Venice in 1532.¹⁰ Still better known and the subject of ongoing research,

¹⁰ For a recent attempt see Lisa Jardine, *Ingenious Pursuits. Building the Scientific Revolution*, Talese Doubleday, New York, 1999 (New York, Anchor Books, 2000²; Italian translation: *Affari di genio. Una storia del rinascimento europeo*, Roma, Carocci,

and not without manifesting a degree of triumphalism, is the story of the prophetic avowal of poverty as a way of Church life together with the commitment to charity, which purports to be the real face of the medal and not only as an occasional flap...¹¹

In recent years, the thrusts of deeper investigation on the theme “Church and money” have multiplied with fruit, although not without difficulty. Here I shall only mention three areas relating to three quite significant periods: 1) the investigation on the origin of credit which develops over a long Mediaeval period, 2) the research on the reasons, consequences and ways to combat usury which in the Modern Age down to the contemporary era has seriously conditioned the social relations between individuals and groups, and 3) the evaluation of the economic and social impact that the monastic and conventual patrimony has had on the territory from the end of the old regime onwards, especially following the civil legislation suppressing the ecclesiastical Orders and the forfeiture of ecclesiastical assets. And with regard to each one of these areas may I point out a few, but very good studies, which are methodologically sharp and indispensable for deeper and wider study.

Giacomo Todeschini, who teaches at the University of Trieste, has dedicated dozens of contributions to a re-reading of the medieval economic ethic, each one more interesting than the other.¹² He suggests some genuine historiographical reversals on the subject. His starting

2001). See also the suggestions of Claudio Tommasi, “Il pudore della ricchezza. Usura, lusso e filantropia nei Paesi Bassi durante il primo Seicento”, *Filosofia Politica*, 17 (2003), p. 467-483.

¹¹ Among numerous editions see *Timore e carità. I poveri nell'Italia moderna. Atti del convegno “Pauperismo e assistenza negli antichi Stati italiani”. Cremona, 28-30 marzo 1980*, ed. Giorgio Politi, Mario Rosa, Franco Della Peruta, Cremona, Libreria del Convegno, 1982; *La storia dei poveri. Pauperismo e assistenza nell'età moderna*, ed. Alberto Monticone, Roma: Studium, 1985.

¹² The most important volumes of Giacomo Todeschini are: *Il prezzo della salvezza. Lessici medievali del pensiero economico*, Roma: NIS, 1994; *I mercanti e il tempio. La società cristiana e il circolo virtuoso della ricchezza fra medioevo ed età moderna*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002; *Ricchezza francescana. Dalla povertà volontaria alla società di mercato*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2004; *Come Giuda. La gente comune e i giochi dell'economia all'inizio dell'epoca moderna*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011.

point is the semantic analysis of the Christian language from its Judeo-Christian roots to its monastic and conventual lexicon, which indicates wealth as being directed to a useful purpose for both salvation and daily living. The meta-linguistic processes of ownership emerge within the context of a society – that of the Middle Ages through to the Carolingian age – which develops on the monastic model of perfect society and therefore has as its the sole aspiration the possession of God. Hence the re-reading of the Middle Ages with all of its facets – including for example the denunciation of simony, the struggle for the *libertas Ecclesiae*, etc. – in a holistic key, so that even the less obviously economic phenomenon could be explained with the dynamics of the economic logic of ownership. In the Christian language of the high Middle Ages, expressions like *depositum fidei* (deposit of faith) which later became common in the Western cultural and religious lexicon, indicated the reciprocity in solidarity with which the One Faith bonded the Christians together, and this included the possibility of a commercial bond that could ensure the perpetuity, also economic perpetuity, of the ecclesial realities and the exclusion there-from of the diverse. In practice, during this period, business activity does not only meet the needs of daily life, but also illustrates the fundamental way by which Christians related amongst themselves on the model of the bond that Christians had with the divine. In fact, we encounter here the development together of a theological reading of wealth as a gift of God in accordance with Thomas Aquinas, the gift becomes an integral part of the economy insofar as wealth takes the form of a sale in exchange for a payment on the assumption that the gift bestowed postulates a comparable amount in value. In the Middle Ages the use of money pertains to the “economy of the gift”, even when monetary currency returns in current use. Indeed – as Jacques Le Goff recently noted in a fine essay – the *caritas* which retains the dominant role in this economy continues to sustain the moral principle from which the gift derives and ensures the centrality of the Church in social life.¹³

¹³ See Jacques Le Goff, *Le Moyen Age et l'argent. Essai d'anthropologie historique*, Paris: Perrin, 2010; Italian edition: *Lo sterco del diavolo. Il denaro nel Medioevo*,

The reflection of Todeschini, both documented and profound, captures in the success of the bourgeois and capitalist spirit of the medieval West and the early Modern period, not so much the pressures that come from beyond through the evolution and the organization of society, as much as the internal calls of an entity that aims at organizing its external articulation on the basis of the clear distinction of the diversity with “trade is done” or exchanged.

And Judas, to whom the scholar has devoted his last brilliant effort, becomes an expression of this diversity to be rejected: the gravity of his betrayal is not only to be attributed to the absence of a privileged personal relationship with Christ, but also to the disruption of the codes of behaviour and rationality of the community. The economic illiteracy of the apostle is at the basis of his offence: thirty pieces of silver, the price of a poor farm, for the son of God. Infidelity becomes foolishness, brutishness. The discourse on Judas reveals unsuspected worlds. If Judas is first and foremost the one who misunderstands and acts on the basis of a huge error of judgement (*mercator pessimus*, the Fathers of the Church would say), his figure evokes the guilt of infidelity and stretches a sinister shadow over all of a mediocre and uncultivated humanity which is capable of betraying any trust, over a “mechanical populace” (poor and ignorant, servile and subordinate) which does not grasp the rules of community and hence is increasingly exposed to the risk of error and sin. The stubborn *infidelitas* is the primary source of greed and alienation, in practice, the inability to grasp the value of Christ and the code of values that regulate the living-together of the Christian community. Judas, narrow-minded and rough, a prisoner of animal carnality, defines within the Christian horizon the profile of the dangerous diversity that does not share the same economic and social values of the *Societas Christiana*. Thereby arise the clear boundaries, which are religious, political, economic and cultural.

translated by Paolo Galloni, Roma–Bari: Laterza, 2010. Some additional details were added in the discussion between Giuseppe Galasso and Le Goff himself in the pages of *Corriere della Sera* (January 14, 2011).

Similar insights regarding the Modern Age have been developed by Paola Vismara of the University of Milan. Though she prefers the perspective of the history of ideas rather than specifically that of the economic phenomenon, Vismara has been much involved in exploring the attitude of the Tridentine Church regarding loan with interest.¹⁴ This is a topic of intersection between economics, law, ethics, and the religious experience of a theme which is intrinsically complex.

Apart from the interest rate charged (low or high) and the conditions imposed by the creditor on the debtor, both a loan with interest and usury fell into the same negative assessment, into the same prohibition by virtue of natural law, divine law and ecclesiastical law. This has been repeatedly and authoritatively confirmed. However, during the Modern Era, the more clever authors have posed questions from different angles regarding the nature and function of money. They have found new perspectives, some of which would also be of a pastoral nature, to guide the Christian on how to behave in this field at such a time as the Modern Age, an age that knows great mutability in the world of finance. The analysis of the theological stances and of the Magisterium of the Church on usury has led modern ecclesiology to better define, for the conscience of the believer, the image of God, specifically with reference to the economic life of the faithful, to the idea of gift economy, to gratuity. “The recurrent ecclesiastical diffidence with regard to money”, according to a Paola Vismara reflecting on the teaching of Alfonso Maria de Liguori, Ambrose and the Jesuit Carlo Cattaneo, “intends above all to avoid turning into commodity and to call for caution in those activities that could push the human being into such a state of weariness with human time whereby his space devoted to prayer and charitable work is diminished.”¹⁵

Reflection in the Modern Era has dwelt on the coexistence within Christian theology of ethics and economics, interest and gift, free

¹⁴ The fundamental point of reference is the study of Paola Vismara, *Oltre l'usura. La Chiesa moderna e il prestito a interesse*, Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2004, however, to be considered together with other precedent and subsequent articles.

¹⁵ Vismara, *Oltre l'usura*, p. 416.

enterprise and the common good. Here what has emerged is the problem of how to bring together individual interest and common needs. The social use of wealth becomes a sort of fulfilment of God's plan for man, seen at the summit of creation as its lord. From the late eighteenth century we see a reversal of the prevailing vision of the Church, whereby the interest on a loan becomes, under certain conditions specific to relational ethics, admissible: the subjective interest is firmly connected to the Christian's conscience and with due respect to the natural and social rights of people.

Vismara's approach, although moving away from the technicalities of the financial and economic sciences which in the Modern Age become ever sharper, analyzes, in a broad and comprehensive way, the evolution of theological thought on the subject, thus providing an important new tool for the understanding of the phenomenon over this long period of time.

In a more technical approach however, and extended to the contemporary age, Fiorenzo Landi of the university of Bologna has set up a large team of experts to investigate the issue, just as vast and complex, of the heritage of the Religious Orders in view of an economic history of the clergy.¹⁶

The economic history of the clergy has never been at the centre of specific research, despite the importance that the ecclesiastical heritage in modern times could attribute to it. At times this heritage (or patrimony) appeared superior to the social weight of some members of the clergy, in particular, the regular clergy. Wanting to fill this gap, Landi's studies are showing the great benefit that can be drawn from ecclesiastical bookkeeping, through research that may be carried out not only on the local territory and tied to the local economies, but also by over a

¹⁶ The scholar has thus entitled one of the major works: Fiorenzo Landi, *Storia economica del clero in Europa. Secoli XV–XIX*, Roma: Carocci, 2005. But see also *Accumulation and Dissolution of Large Estates of the Regular Clergy in Early Modern Europe. Proceedings of the Twelfth International Economic History Congress*, ed. Fiorenzo Landi; essays and researches with an English summary by Maximiliano Barrio Gozalo et al., Rimini: Guaraldi, 1999.

broader perspective of political and administrative history. In terms of the technical quality of the sector, one notes the emergence of the high quality of the accounting tools, unfairly maligned by the eighteenth century encyclopaedists and historians of the economy of the Romantic era. The research shall also outline the techniques of asset growth, which was undoubtedly based on donations by the faithful, but also on a wise purchasing policy that allowed for the concentration of country funds in the more productive regions and along the more accessible commercial routes. Such research or investigation on the large country estates would show the transition from an economy of ownership, substantially immobile, to one that gave new value to the given patrimony and added value to the territory by importing techniques and measures in order to create wider social relations for the marketing of products. The fundamental objective of the land administration of ecclesiastical institutions was to pursue a stable income for the attainment of their ends. It was difficult to document forms of reinvestment and recapitalization since these were generally the exception, never the rule. When this happened, generally as an exception to the rule, it was to provide for the growth of the community or to provide for some expense which was unexpected and more exceptionally necessary.

The studies of Landi, which were generically tackled the finances of the clergy but more pointedly the economy of the monasteries and convents, are interesting also in another respect. In fact, next to the study of the direct management of these assets by the ecclesiastical subjects, he also researches the purpose of this wealth in terms of land ownership, at a time – we are speaking of the period between the modern and contemporary age – when the assets, for various reasons, were dismembered, divided, taken from their legitimate owners, confiscated and so on. What use had these riches formerly belonging to the Church? Were they perhaps a fund for development of local rural capitalism, as had happened in France? Or were they scattered without any political project of financing extraordinary transactions/activities, as happened in Italy with the Napoleonic wars in the early nineteenth century or the (failed) attempt to pay off the debt of the newly formed Kingdom of Italy after 1860?

The ambition of Landi's project obviously leaves the door open to more research, both because of the difficulty of documenting in a serious and comparable manner the heritage of the great ecclesiastical bodies, and also because of the difficulties that a technical analysis of the kind involves. Landi's work, however, allows for the identification of reliable results that go beyond a general intuition, as for example, the size of the land of great Monastic Orders or the diversity of technique in asset and financial management of the various Religious Orders, amongst whom in particular the mendicants and the regular clergy. Landi's contribution also permits insights of other possible variations on the theme, as for example, the influence of ecclesiastical trade on the markets or the role that ecclesiastical riches played on credit activity.

In recent years, in Italy, the historical research on the subject (more or less directly dealing with) "Church and money" has multiplied, supported and developed in several helpful congresses of study.¹⁷ But there is still much that remains to be done, starting with a much-needed integration of perspective on these history textbooks of the Church. In addition to the aspects of the financial management of the Papal States, which arrived very late to the elaboration of a budget well separated from the management of assets destined for the life of the Church, in order to grasp the self-consciousness that the Christian community has had of its ends in the course of time, the study of Church history conjoined to ecclesiology and economy becomes interesting. And from this binomial do arise interesting and enlightening questions.

How has, for example, simony, an element of financial mobility well documented throughout the Middle Ages when the denunciations of the Magisterium and of moral theologians were never lacking, evolved

¹⁷ See, e. g., the programmes of the Centre for Studies of History of Clergy and Seminaries in Siena. The Centre, together with other institutions, has numerous times proposed discussion of the topic, from the congress in 2006, entitled *Clero, economia e contabilità in Europa tra medioevo ed età contemporanea* (its papers were published in 2007 by the Carocci publishing house in Rome), up to the recent congress, *Soppressioni delle istituzioni ecclesiastiche in Europa dalle riforme settecentesche agli stati nazionali: modelli storiografici in prospettiva comparativa* (2011).

in the modern age? Has it totally disappeared or has it been evolving, changing its modes of being a commodity, and developing both on the strength of “nobility of blood” and system of clientelism?

The economic implications of the history of the missions have often been highlighted in relation to local areas (just think of the dispute that in China pitted the Jesuits and the mendicants prior to the crisis of the rites), but we still lack an economic history of the missionary activity of the Church that, during the twentieth century often found herself involved in the processes of decolonization of the developing countries, when it was accused of involvement in the processes of exploitation of the different regions of the South.

The benefice system for the maintenance of the clergy has found careful scholars, particularly amongst lawyers. But we still lack a comprehensive analysis on the cost of the priest borne by the community. We also lack an important analysis of how much the local churches have invested in the training of the clergy, and how much they have contented themselves with the wide availability of ministers without otherwise worrying about the high quality that their ministry would have required. This discourse can develop in parallel both for the diocesan and the regular clergy.

What I have offered here are just some working hypotheses. However, a concrete and comprehensive consideration of the life of the People of God will manifest the links between “Church and money”. But when they are opportunely illuminated by research, they shall provide a better understanding of the past, as well as a new and hopefully freer conduct of the Christian community in the world.

SASCHA HINKEL

CRITICAL ONLINE EDITION OF THE NUNCIAL
REPORTS OF EUGENIO PACELLI (1917–1929)*

Eugenio Pacelli is one of the most controversial personalities of the 20th century. For some he simply is “Hitler’s Pope” (John Cornwell)¹, for others he is “the greatest benefactor of the Jewish people” (Pinchas Lapide)². Ever since the publication of Rolf Hochhuth’s drama *The Deputy, a Christian tragedy* there is a continuing debate on his “silence” regarding the Holocaust and the guilt of the Catholic Church for the systematic murder of more than six million Jews. Consequently, research is focussed on the period of his pontificate as Pius XII (1939–1958) and more precisely on the period of the Second World War.

* My thanks go to Giovanna de Serio and Elisabeth-Marie Richter, who translated the present text into English. The oral style was deliberately maintained and the text was enhanced by footnotes. For more detailed information on the edition see www.pacelli-edition.de. The edition is also presented in: H. Wolf, *Digitale Edition neuzeitlicher Quellen (DENQ) Pius XII. als Nuntius in Deutschland oder Vom Recht auf eine eigene Biographie anhand der Quellen*, in: M. Matheus/H. Wolf (ed.), *Bleibt im Vatikanischen Geheimarchiv vieles zu geheim? Historische Grundlagenforschung in Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Beiträge zur Sektion des Deutschen Historischen Instituts (DHI) Rom, organisiert in Verbindung mit der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Seminar für Mittlere und Neue Kirchengeschichte. 47. Deutscher Historikertag, Dresden 30. September-3. Oktober 2008, Rome, 2009*. URL: http://www.dhi-roma.it/Historikertag_Dresden.html, (date 2011-09-26); H. Wolf e.a. (ed.), *L’edizione critica online dei rapporti delle Nunziature di Eugenio Pacelli (1917–1929)*, in: A. Guasco/R. Perin (ed.), *Pius XI: Keywords. International Conference Milan 2009 (Christianity and History)*, Münster, 2010, p. 49-62; H. Wolf (ed.), *Eugenio Pacellis als Nuntius in Deutschland. Forschungsperspektiven und Ansätze zu einem internationalen Vergleich*, Paderborn, 2011 (in preparation).

¹ J. Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope. The Secret History of Pius XII*, London, 1999.

² H. Wolf, *Pope and Devil. The Vatican’s Archives and the Third Reich*, Cambridge – London, 2010, p. 15.

Pacelli's contribution to the Vatican's perception of Germany and Europe first of all in his role as nuncio in Germany from 1917 to 1929 and later as cardinal secretary of state from 1930 to 1939 has been scarcely considered, especially as far as his "silence" as Pope regarding the Second World War and the Holocaust is concerned. The twelve years as nuncio, however, must have been crucial in shaping his view of Germany and with it his pontifical politics.

Ever since 2003 and 2006, the altogether roughly 7.000 nuncial reports by Pacelli, which he sent to Rome from Munich and Berlin, are accessible in the Vatican Secret Archives. As we are editing the drafts as well as the definitive versions, we are confronted with about 14.000 documents. Moreover, there are about 5.000 directives, which were sent to the Nuncio from Rome. Moreover, about 5-6.000 enclosed documents were attached to the reports and the dispatches – namely letters from Pacelli to third parties or vice versa, memoranda, newspaper articles and so forth. Altogether there are about 25.000 documents that are to be edited. It is impossible to imagine this edition in a printed version; no research support institution would ever finance a classical edition of such a large amount of text. Only as an online edition can a project of this kind be put into practice. The DFG (German Research Federation) has approved a long-term project with the duration of twelve years. It has been initiated in January 2008 and aims to present an online edition of the reports, dispatches, and enclosed documents. The project is directed by Professor Hubert Wolf at the Department of Medieval and Modern Church History of the University of Münster and developed in cooperation with the Vatican Secret Archives and the German Historical Institute of Rome.

Under which point of view does this gigantic corpus of sources offer anything really new? I would like to emphasize two aspects. On the one hand, it is extremely interesting to see Pacelli analyzing the ecclesiastical, political, and cultural conditions and developments in Germany and in the world from a Roman perspective – not to forget the reactions of the Roman Curia. On the other hand, the reports permit an extraordinary view of Pacelli's personality.

As far as the first aspect is concerned, Pacelli, the Roman, dispatches

his observations on the situation in Germany and the world daily or even several times a day. From 1920 onwards he resides in Berlin, in the whirl of the events. While most of the facts and events themselves are already well-known, the valuation of those facts by Pacelli in those twelve years is completely new. This “view from Rome” (quoting David Schultenover)³ does not only have internal importance but is ever more important on a worldwide scale.

Just to give an example: on the level of world politics Pacelli as a Roman agent residing in Rome instructed by the Pope opened secret negotiations with the Soviet Union. Moreover the Nuncio was involved in the dismissal of the Apostolic Administrator of the diocese of Vilnius, Kazimierz Mikołaj Michalkiewicz, in 1918 – I will come back to this topic later.

As far as the second aspect is concerned, the reports permit an extraordinary view of Pacelli’s personality and of his “German” conditioning. He admires many German qualities as for example punctuality, tidiness, and neatness as well as decent behavior during Mass. He was enchanted by German technical standards. This is what he refers to the Cardinal Secretary of State after his settlement in Munich in May 1917, enthusiastic because of his new official car: “It is a beautiful Benz 18/45 H. P. , strong and elegant. It has all the innovations of the automotive industry, from the gear shift lever on the electric cigarette lighter, then the speed gauge, the gradient gauge, and the safety catch. It is really a car worthy of a Pope’s Representative.”⁴ This is the typical way Pacelli used to express himself. For the Nuncio, as a representative of the Pope, it was very important to be recognized and adequately esteemed by everyone.

With the edition of the reports and directives of Pacelli’s nunciature the research on Pius XII is consciously called into question again. On the basis of the new sources several hypothesis can be verified or

³ *Ibid.*, p. 18, 21; D. G. Schultenover, *A View from Rome. On the Eve of the Modernist Crisis*, New York, 1993.

⁴ Document no. 9390, nuncio report, final version, Pacelli to Gasparri, 1917-05-29, in: “*Kritische Online-Edition der Nuntiaturreporte Eugenio Pacellis (1917–1929)*”, URL: www.pacelli-edition.de/Dokument/9390 (date 2011-09-26).

rejected. If we bear in mind the suppositions on the “silence” of Pius XII often reported with moralizing verve, it becomes evident that this way of proceeding is not only desirable because it corresponds to professional historical science, but also because it deals with the safeguard and protection of ethical standards: ill-considered judgments are as inopportune as uncritical apologies. Like every other personality that becomes the object of historical analysis, Pius XII has the right to a multifaceted biography, which is the result of comprehensive scientific analysis of the sources.

The critical online edition of Nuncio Eugenio Pacelli’s reports is based on the software system DENQ. This is the acronym of “Digital Edition of Contemporary History’s Sources”. The German Historical Institutes in Rome and London cooperated in developing this software. To go a bit more into details, the software is based on an open source XML (Extensible Mark-up Language) database, expanded by PHP and Java modules. Hence, it does not depend on commercial software products. When developing the system we were careful to use only those formats and techniques that can guarantee time stability. XML is the leading open license-free standard and can be read and written with any text editor whatsoever. This format is also particularly appreciable as the development of specific XML databases allows immediate filing, data management and data analysis. It is therefore possible to keep data in a safe format for a long time; at the same time complex solutions are made available in the form of a web database system. Last but not least, the perhaps greatest advantage for the scientific community is that the user’s technical requirements are very low.

Let us have a look at the possibilities our database offers. From the homepage www.pacelli-edition.de the user is directed to the database by clicking on “Datenbank”. The chosen example fits quite well with the town in which this conference has taken place. Kazimierz Mikołaj Michalkiewicz was apostolic administrator of the diocese of Vilnius from 1908 to 1918. During the German occupation in the First World War there was harsh antagonism between the Germans and Michalkiewicz. The occupying power wanted to establish a Lithuanian satellite State and considered Michalkiewicz as an obstacle, while the Germans blamed

him for “polonizing” the diocese. The latter wanted to remove him from his office and to appoint a pro-German Lithuanian bishop. If we look for Michalkiewicz in the index of the biographies in our data base, we are directed to his biographical datasheet, written in German, which contains the most important steps of his life as well as the respective references. If we scroll down, we see a list of documents which contain a link to Michalkiewicz’s name. At present there are 100 documents, but we may presume that in the future it is going to be longer; – after all, Michalkiewicz is one of the most-mentioned persons in our database in the years 1917 and 1918. As we can see here, many letters written by Michalkiewicz or directed to him have been included in our data base as enclosures to the reports.

Let us scroll to the document no. 2125, which is the final version of a report written by Pacelli to Gasparri on June 24, 1917, and click on it. By doing so we open a window that contains an edited report. In the heading section of the document we find basic information on the kind of document, sender, addressee, date, archive shelf mark and so on. This is followed by a summary of the document in italics, which abstracts the content of the Italian report in German, as well as by the subject and the text. By clicking on the name “Michalkiewicz” we open a window, which includes the entire name of the person quoted, his biographical details and the position he held. If we click on “mehr” (more), the window is enlarged, and we are provided with additional information. Clicking on “Vollansicht” (full frame) we are redirected to the previous page, which includes the references. Let us, however, return to the report.

Pacelli reports on the director of the Military Administration in Lithuania, Franz-Joseph Prince of Isenburg-Birstein, who called on him at the Nunciature in Munich to deliver a complaint about Michalkiewicz, which was supposed to be forwarded to the Cardinal Secretary of State, as Pacelli indeed did. As we can see here, ten documents were enclosed to the report. A mouse-over reveals a brief list of the documents enclosed. The fifth document, for instance, is a letter written by the Vilnius canon Johannes Ellert to Michalkiewicz on June 2, 1916. Let us click on it to be immediately directed to our

document.⁵ To get back to the former nuncial report, we click on the report's respective number, which is to be found in the document's heading section.

Let us analyze the passage in which Pacelli judges both parties involved in the conflict, just to have a first impression of his "way of rendering information". "Mi permetto qui soltanto di notare subordinatamente come la lettura del documento in questione sembra rivelare un'eccessiva ingerenza della Autorit  militare tedesca nelle cose ecclesiastiche. Pu  ben essere che Mgr. Michalkiewicz, e specialmente il Canonico Ellert, Arciprete della Chiesa di S. Giovanni in Vilna, abbiano mancato di prudenza e di moderazione."⁶

Pacelli notes mistakes by both parties: the German authorities meddle in interior ecclesiastical questions and both Michalkiewicz and the canon Ellert lack prudence and moderation.

I would like to show you another feature of the data base, our so-called "layer model". The drafts, most of which we were able to find in the Vatican Secret Archives, are particularly interesting for the genesis of a report. The very first draft of a report may be followed by other revision stages, sometimes also by different people, although it is always Pacelli who corrects the last version and therefore has the last word. Let me show you an example. This is the draft of a nuncial report by Pacelli, sent to Gasparri on June 24, 1918, in which he refers to a letter by the Bishop of Cologne, Felix Cardinal von Hartmann. It says that the German authorities took Michalkiewicz to Cologne, whereupon the Cardinal provided him with accommodation at the abbey of Maria Laach.⁷

Several things catch our eye: drafts are not furnished with summaries and there is no link to persons or keywords. The green font colour indicates that we have to do with a draft first written by the auditor

⁵ Document no. 8633, enclosure, letter, Ellert to Michalkiewicz, 1916-06-02, in: *Ibid.*, URL: www.pacelli-edition.de/Dokument/8633 (date 2011-09-26).

⁶ Document no. 2125, nuncial report, final version, Pacelli to Gasparri, 1917-06-24, in: *Ibid.*, URL: www.pacelli-edition.de/Dokument/2125 (date 2011-09-26).

⁷ Document no. 9213, nuncial report, draft, Pacelli to Gasparri, 1918-06-24, in: *Ibid.*, URL: www.pacelli-edition.de/Dokument/9213 (date 2011-09-26).

of the Nunciature, Lorenzo Schioppa. We find his name in the field “Schreiber” (writer). Here we see the first draft of the writing. If we click on the second “Schioppa”, his cancellations and additions appear in angled brackets; in this case the only word deleted is “č ora”, which was corrected by “trovasi”. After finishing his version, Schioppa handed the report to Pacelli, who mainly made stylistic corrections, which appear when we click on “Pacelli”. He, for instance, added a “rispettoso” before “cifrato”, “il Sig. Amministratore” becomes “Mons. Amministratore Apostolico” and “Chiostro” becomes “Monastero”.

Moreover, we can compare the different stages of the draft with the final version in a second window by clicking on “Ausfertigungsnummer” (final version’s number). Here the same possibilities to comment as before are at our disposal.

ALBERTO MELLONI

THE PIUS XI EUROPEAN NETWORK

Between the many weakness and the great potential of Europe, historical research as well as contemporary history deserves a special place. Mistreated as a part of “tourism and heritage” programs, the history of the 20th century should have been the real preamble of the EU constitution. The founders and dreamers of the peaceful Europe we now live in (some of us since 1945, some since 1956 or 1968, other since 1999) thought of an open space of freedom and prosperity: what they had in their eyes was not a dispute about roots, rather a vision of the tragedy they left behind.

World War II, the Shoah, and very soon the new nuclear threats constituted real dangers to curb that was plain for all Europeans to see. When the moment came to change the paradigm, from *memoria in re* to *historia rerum gestarum* – this historical fact disappeared.

And the entire constitutional building of the Union was undermined by this hidden pathology; during the crucial passage of the constitutional building it became a more and more visible issue. If I may presume, I would say that this specific unbalanced deficit – the lack of a common idea on one European history – is among the reasons for the constitution’s collapse.

It is true for me, and I guess also for many colleagues here and all over Europe who accepted a cooperative approach in the building of an EU network for the study of the archives, policies, doctrines of Pius XI. A network capable of coordinating scholars, schools, research centers – and also approaches, political visions, differences in method and style around historical research on the role of the Roman Catholic Church in the years of totalitarianism.

When in 2006 the Holy See announced the opening of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano for 1922–1939, historical research involved in this specific field – at the crossroad between church history, political science, international relations, social history, theology, etc. – was actually in poor condition and humiliated by what had happened after the 1980's.

The previous Vatican archive opened to scholars –, i.e., Pius X and Benedict XV – did not attract coordinated research at all. Individuals and institutions did more or less what they wanted to do. Only a few monographs and a few articles may be considered in the higher ranks of historiography. The best edition of sources on the subject was produced by the very Prefect of the Archive, F. Sergio Pagano – which honors his high role not only with an exquisite kindness to all scholars, but also with a personal commitment to the hard work of a critical editor.

In the meantime the years 1939–1945 remained a battlefield for a history affected by the übertribunalisierung explained by Odo Marquard: the origins of totalitarian systems, the explosion of Nazism and anti-Semitism, the War and the Shoah... – all this was a debated issue and the harshest quarrel came on what the Church, and mostly Catholicism, the Vatican, and the Pope did or omitted to do at that time.

Therefore the opening of the years 1922–1939 of the ASV was an opportunity to rescue the bad reputation of the historian in general and the historian of the Roman Catholic Church, in particular.

To study what the Roman Catholic Church has been in those almost twenty years in all its multiple dimensions (Holy See, dioceses, parties, movements, lay people, etc.) was something much more “general” than expected: between 1922 and 1939 Catholicism was much more than a fragment of a large spectrum of actors on the public scene; the study of ecclesiastical archives says more than the study of the military elites, or philosophers or businessmen.

To focus on the Roman Catholic Church means to “dive” into something common and deep inside European society: it means to work on a level where weakness and forces – moral weakness and moral forces – are face to face: it means to touch the competition between totalitarian views, as the tentative title of our network says.

The opening of the ASV was and is a real challenge for EU historians and of EU history, in our view: for many of us who had the chance to come together and cope with research perspectives which are different and not opposed.

My colleagues and friends here in Münster Professor Hubert Wolf, in Rome the Director of the Section in the EFR Jean-Francois Chauvard and his colleague Laura Pettinaroli were the first ones who agreed to talk about a coordinating effort between the national circles that almost spontaneously arose in Germany, France, and even in Italy.

Germany has started a program we today celebrate in such an important lunch honored by the presence of many important guests such as my friend the Ambassador Mordechai Lewy, and by the friendship of President Romano Prodi who deserves our most sincere gratitude for the endorsement he gives our program tonight.

France did co-ordinate three research groups focusing on Action française, missionary strategies, and the functioning of the Roman Curia in which the Ecole has tradition and Continuity.

Italy through fscire, the Bologna Foundation for Religious Studies, tried to create links between scholars with different foci, and all aware that new sources on Church-and-Fascism relations will change our perception of the issue. It is now supported by a National research program group – a PRIN, in the Italian acronymous – among the three Universities of Rome, Verona, and Modena/Reggio Emilia.

Each of us has received different support from the National Government and/or Agencies – and here again the differences which are the substance of Europe become evident and, for an Italian scholar, very sad.

However, we realized that the new sources call for a reconsideration of some common ideas. The confrontation with the different and expanding totalitarianism in the Twenties and the Thirties represented a real challenge for the Papal government that offered a variety of nuances – made of cooperation, competition, affinity, distance, fight. Mostly the very fact of a mass society implied for the Vatican new partners and the reshaping of its views about society, parties, and politics. These aspects, if appropriately studied, may also underline the democratic impulses

which derived from these years by the Christian-Democratic leaders of the post WW2 era, who were urged from these experiences to create the view of a common future for European diversities and pluralism.

These new materials offered to the scholar may be wasted in the false option between apology and polemics: or it could be at the core of a collective effort, carried out by the most important research institutions in Europe, with the best scholars on an international scale through a coordinated effort of active cooperation.

For such a purpose we decided to work on the establishment of an European network for the study of Totalitarian truths between conflict and agreement in the years of Pius XI's rule and the study of political ideology and the Holy See in the archives pertaining to Achille Ratti's papacy may be placed as the mission of this network. The founding institutions I mentioned did agree on five goals:

- 1) to test the network, as we did in Milan, Rome and here;
- 2) to foster the circulation of scholars and their priorities;
- 3) to optimize the definition of research topics;
- 4) to establish a "school" at the 3rd EU academic level and beyond;
- 5) to share a common view on the scientific duties of truth, originality, impartiality and fair behavior toward colleagues, third parts and sources which are required for academic cooperation and archival research.

The willing could come aboard and participate as David Kertzer and Dina Porat did by offering seminars and symposia. The members will also cooperate sending applications to EU agencies as well as to private donors in order to increase the good use of the ASV and any other public or private archive.

The response has been tested in the past year, – since the conference held in Rome in March 2009 and again in March 2010, where the Ecole française gave room to its fellows and to many of us as guest speakers; – then in Milan in June 2009, on Pius XI keywords, whose proceedings are published here in Münster by the Lit Verlag and edited by one of the network scholars, Alberto Guasco, and a researcher of the University of Venice, Raffaella Perin; – now in this conference in Münster, whose program shows the capacity of the Münster dream team to gather ideas, scholars and decision makers – again in October in Providence, Rhode

Island, at Brown University where David Kertzer and Charlie Gallagher are working on the North American Pole of this program – and hopefully at some point next year in Tel Aviv and later (why not) in Vilnius.

By now the centers and people involved into this program, besides all the German Colleagues I have met here and in Munich last June, are represented by their book and their work.

Alcal. de Henares, Feliciano Montero Bologna,
Alberto Guasco, with Lucia Pozzi, Sergio Apruzzese, Mara Dissegna
Brown, David Kertzer
Cambridge, John Pollard
Columbia, Victoria De Grazia
Fiesole, Magali Della Sudda, IUE Fiesole
Firenze, Francesco Margiotta Broglio
Frankfurt, Klaus Arnold
Geneva, Charles Gallagher
Leuven, Lieven Boeve
Lille, Jacques Prévotat
Lvov, Antoine Arjakovsky
Lyon, Jean-Dominique Durand, Claude Prudhomme
Milan, Agostino Giovagnoli and Elisa Giunipero
Modena-Reggio, I myself with Gianni La Bella and Alfonso Botti
Moscow, Eugenia Tohareva
Pernanbuco, Luiz Carlos Marques
Rome 3, Carlo F. Casula, with Liliosa Azzara
Rome, Ecole, Jean-François Chauvard, Laura Pettinaroli
Rome 2, Francesco Piva, with Lucia Ceci and Filippo Frangioni
Rome 1, Emma Fattorini and Giulia D'Alessio
Toronto, Michael Marrus
Trno, Slovakia, Emilia Hrabovec, member of the PCHS
Venezia, Giovanni Vian and Raffella Perin
Verona, Maurizio Pegrari
West Virginia, Gerald Fogarty
West Ontario, Robert Ventresca
Wien, Rupert Klieber

Beyond this list there is the real opportunity of this network: namely dozens and dozens of young scholars in their first stage of academic career, who are bringing new insights in to this field in which also a totalitarian way of making historical research is very visible. Namely the idea that indeed we may work out some millions of documents and papers only to prove that what we were supposed to know was right. A new generation of young historians may work on equal foot with their supposed masters in this network and the benefit will be impressive for both I think.

REGINA LAUKAITYTĖ

THE INTEREST OF LITHUANIA'S CHURCH
IN THE APOSTOLIC ACTIVITY IN RUSSIA
AND AMONG RUSSIANS

The past 20th century, witnesses of which all of us still are, was filled with important events and even more important ideas. One of them was to convert Orthodox Russia to the Catholic faith. The idea had a sufficient theoretical basis – for a Catholic the events in Russia in the first half of the 20th c. were prophetic. Looking from the West, a secular society at that time appeared to be a total anomaly. Thus, after the Bolsheviks had defeated the Orthodox Church (that in essence had been done in the 1920s, by breaking it apart, closing all the spiritual seminaries, monasteries), it appeared to more than one Catholic that it was worth gathering forces and waiting for the favorable moment to prepare missionaries for the apostolic activity in Russia. The prophecies of the Virgin Mary made in Fatima provided invaluable moral support for this idea. Having declared to the little shepherds about the possible future conversion of Russia, she emboldened the Vatican to prepare for these great events and to discuss concrete plans of action.

The period after 1917 was the time of the most intensive efforts of the Vatican to unite Russian Orthodox and Old Believers with the Catholic Church*. Particularly great hopes were placed in the propagation of

* In 1917 Pope Benedict XV established the Congregation of Eastern Churches (which he himself headed), opened the Institute for Eastern Studies in Rome. In 1925 the Papal Commission Pro Russia (Pontificia commissione Pro Russia) founded by Pope Pius XI began its activities. The Jesuits began to play the most important role in this area of Vatican policies: the mentioned institute and Commission Pro Russia were entrusted to them, an Eastern rite branch was established in the order and the Jesuits also headed the college Russicum founded in 1929 in which Orthodox students also studied. Cardinal Luigi Sincero and Bishop Michel d'Herbigny SJ headed the

Catholic Eastern Rites, i.e. while instilling Catholic dogma there was an effort to provide the possibility for Russian converts to continue to hold their traditional rites in the Old Slavic language. This method of evangelization was encouraged by the conviction that the faithful were mostly attached to their rites and appropriate respect for them would banish obstacles for millions of Russians to become Catholics.

Lithuania, a Catholic neighbour of Russia, did not remain aloof from the implementation of this important idea for the conversion of the Orthodox East to the Catholic faith. Both local dedicated clergymen and the Vatican urged Lithuania's Church for this action. Lithuanian priests were well acquainted with church life in Russia. Many of them had worked there in both the periods of the tsarist and Soviet empires and were interested in Orthodox doctrine (many doctoral dissertations were devoted to these problems). The conviction dominated that namely a favorable perspective for apostolic activity is opening for Lithuanian priests and monks as they were not tied with the cultural image of Catholicism propagated by Polish missionaries that was not acceptable to most Russians.

Depending on the changing political circumstances in Lithuania several projects tied with the missions gained a broader range: 1) the Mission of Eastern rite, active in Kaunas before World War II, which tried to unite Lithuania's Orthodox and Old Believers to the Catholic Church; 2) the attempt to send priests to the Nazi occupied areas of the USSR in 1941–1944; 3) the apostolic activity by priests and monks in various regions of the USSR when Lithuania was one of the Soviet republics. Relying on data from Lithuanian archives, published documents and historiography, we will here discuss the circumstances of the appearance of these three projects, their initiatives, and most important, their results.

For the recent historical past, the long time dominating suspicious attitude of Catholics, Russian Orthodox, and Old Believers to one another is still reflected in the complicated mutual relations of the

Commission Pro Russia. The latter traveled to the USSR several times in 1925–1926 and secretly ordained four Catholic priests as bishops, appointed ordinaries. The NKVD quickly discovered and repressed all the clergymen he had appointed.

Churches. We can observe the polite, but cold ecumenical meetings as well as the inert efforts to “experiment” with alternative ceremonies. The reasons for such a situation could become the object of broader discussions.

THE MISSION OF EASTERN RITE BISHOP PETRAS BŪČYS
IN KAUNAS

The community of Russian Old Believers and Orthodox in the independent Republic of Lithuania was quite small, contrary as it was in Latvia and Estonia. There used to live only about 55 thousand of Russians. Their few parishes, scattered through the state, were quite closed, especially those of the Old Believers. They probably would not have attracted the special attention of Lithuania's Catholic Church if it had not been for the idea of church unity propagated by the Vatican. Persons converting to the Catholic faith in Lithuania as in other European states would simply become Catholics because the possibility to create the conditions for them to continue to practice their rites would have required large investments: one had to have Eastern rite Catholic priests and separate churches. The search for such investments began in 1927. With the encouragement of the Vatican there was an attempt to establish the structure of an Eastern rite Church. Essentially, this was a project aimed at the future. It was intended to help determine the means able to encourage not so much the union of Lithuania's but of Russia's Orthodox and Old Believers to the Catholic Church.

However, the greatest input for the introduction of Lithuania's Church into the projects for evangelization in Russia was provided by one of its most known participants Archbishop Jurgis Matulaitis MIC (the renewer of the Marian congregation, former Bishop of Vilnius, now Blessed). In reestablishing the Marian congregation of monks he held one of its most primary tasks to be the areas of Russia and Siberia “where so many souls are wandering without leaders”.¹ As Bishop of Vilnius he cooperated with the ordinaries of Poland and the Vatican in organizing

¹ T. Górski MIC, *Palaimintasis Jurgis Matulaitis*, Kaunas, 2009, p. 294.

evangelization among the Orthodox Belarusians (established a Marian monastery in Druja, and founded a separate women's congregation – the Handmaids of Jesus in the Eucharist). In 1926 in the Vatican (in the *Commission Pro Russia*) he was recognized as the most acceptable candidate for the post of the bishop for the Russian emigrants living in Europe². He himself had plans to travel to Russia as well as to encourage missions among Lithuania's "schismatics".³ But the unexpected death of Matulaitis (in the beginning of 1927) ended such plans. His predecessor became Petras Būčys MIC, the new elected Superior General of the Marian congregation. He continued the works of in the area of missions: the Eastern Rite Ordinate in Harbin (China)⁴ was assigned to the Marians and Būčys himself was appointed as an advisor to the Eastern Churches Congregation and the *Commission Pro Russia*. We do not have too many priests having had such careers in the Vatican.

At the end of the 1920s officials of the Vatican embassy in Kaunas began unofficial negotiations with the leaders of the state – Lithuania's Prime Minister and President – seeking to include them in the preparations for missions in Russia. Initially, they had a favorable attitude to the project, they promised to finance part of it, but the government changed in 1929 and the state authorities withdrew from the project.⁵ They did not react to the Vatican's urging to restrict the communities of Orthodox and Old Believers of Lithuania (e.g. ending the spiritual courses for preparing a new generation of clergymen).⁶

² *Ibid.*, p. 295-305.

³ J. Bukowicz MIC, T. Górski MIC, *Błogosławiony Jerzy Matulewicz, Puszcza Mariańska*, 2003, p. 29. A report of J. Matulaitis on May 26, 1926 to Cardinal P. Gasparri is cited.

⁴ See also: Placówka wschodnia w Harbinie, *Marianie. 1673–1973*, Rzym, 1975, p. 244-268; M. Š., Rusų katalikų misija ir jos veikimas Charbine, *Tiesos kelias*, 1934, no. 9, p. 495–507.

⁵ Apostolic delegation secretary's Luigi Faiduttio reports of August 24 and September 14, 1927 to Pietro Cardinal Gasparri; nuncio's Riccardo Bartoloni's note of February 22, 1929 to Cardinal L. Sincero, *Lietuva ir Šventasis Sostas (1922–1938): Slaptojo Vatikano archyvo dokumentai*, Vilnius, 2010, p. 192, 197, 265.

⁶ Cardinal P. Gasparri's report on February 8, 1930 to nuncio R. Bartoloni, *Ibid.*, p. 292. The Vatican feared that while the courses were being held, the Orthodox

Thus, the mission for evangelization among Lithuania's Russians was solely a church matter.

The burden of the mission fell to Būčys who in 1930 was ordained as an Eastern rite bishop and later spent several years in Western Europe, the Balkan countries, and the USA, visiting the Russian emigrant colonies living there, informing the Congregation of Eastern Churches about the activities of the Eastern rite parishes. However, in 1934 after changes in the *Commission Pro Russia* (when Bishop M. d'Herbigny was fired from the post of the Commission's head) Bishop Būčys lost his duties in the Vatican and was forced to return to Lithuania. Following the instructions from the Vatican, he propagated the Eastern rite Catholic faith among the Russians living in Lithuania: conducted Eastern rite Masses, wrote articles, gave lectures, and looked for missionaries among Catholic priests as well as from the Orthodox and Old Believers.

The problem was that Būčys arrived in Lithuania not by his own choice. Sensing that he was in the Vatican's bad graces as a co-worker of d'Herbigny, Būčys sought to escape from the jurisdiction of the Eastern Churches Congregation and to join the province of the Lithuanian Marians in America.⁷ However, despite the stubborn efforts of Būčys and Marian Superior General Andriejus Cikota (their requests even reached Pope Pius XI), he was not released from his duties. The categorical reply of the Eastern Churches Congregation was that "the request can not be accepted for the prestige of the Bishop and the very matter".⁸ At the beginning of 1937 a papal *Mission for Spiritual Assistance to Lithuania's Russians* was established in Kaunas and Būčys was appointed as its head.

propaganda, which "could be the cause of disastrous religious disturbances, bringing great harm to Lithuania, would increase".

⁷ Report of Bishop P. Būčys on August 20, 1936 to Marian congregation general A. Cikota, Lithuanian central state archives (LCVA), f. 1674, a. 1, b. 51, leaf 27; "Memorijalas" of the priests of the American Province of the Marian congregation on January 18, 1936 to the Marian congregation general council, *Ibid.*, l. 18. In America the post of the head of the Marian spiritual seminary near Chicago was foreseen for Bishop P. Būčys.

⁸ Letter of Marian congregation general A. Cikota on November 30, 1936 to Bishop P. Būčys, *Ibid.*, l. 30.

He received several assistants and was forced to continue the mission among Lithuania's Russians.

Bishop P. Būčys and his assistants made many attempts to form ties with Orthodox scholars, priests, for they most likely agreed with the opinion of Kaunas metropolitan Juozapas Skriveckas: "I see the only possibility of missions among the Orthodox schismatics to be Russian nationality priest converts, well known to the peasants",⁹ – he wrote to the nuncio still in 1930. And both the bishops and the pastors of Catholic parish, in which there was a Russian community, willingly assisted Būčys – they sought out the moods of Old Believers and Orthodox priests, gave them apologetics literature, organized Eastern rite Masses. Būčys would often be informed that one or another Orthodox parish priest expressed an interest in Eastern rite Catholicism, wanted „to go into a union”, but not one of them became a Catholic. In the 1930's the tendency of the decrease in the number of conversions of Russian Old Believers and Orthodox to Catholicism became clearer. The activities of the missions encouraged the Orthodox and Old Believers' communities to take countermeasures, come together, develop their priests.¹⁰

Bishop P. Būčys had to be disappointed with his activities. He did not succeed in converting any influential Russian intellectual or clergyman to the Catholic faith, to establish even one parish. Many of the potential converts hardly hid (or even did not hide) their selfish calculations. Activities in Latvia were also not optimistic. In December 1937 Būčys was appointed to head the pastoral care for the Eastern rite in Latvia. However, a year later the numerous and influential Russian minority succeeded in blocking this invasion into their religious life – the Latvian authorities did not allow Būčys to enter their country.¹¹

It is difficult to say what hopes Būčys fostered in January 1938 when he invited the leader of Lithuania's Orthodox Diocese Metropolitan Eleutherius (Bogojavlenskii)* to a meeting. He wrote that he wanted

⁹ Report of Metropolitan J. Skvireckas on February 24, 1930 to nuncio R. Bartoloni, Lithuanian state historical archives (LVIA), f. 1671, a. 5, b. 91, l. 155.

¹⁰ R. Laukaitytė, *Staciatikių Bažnyčia Lietuvoje XX amžiuje*, Vilnius, 2003, p. 72-77.

¹¹ De Pontificio Opere ad Succurrendum Spiritualiter Russis in Lithuania. Relatio 1938 annua, LCVA, f. 1674, a. 5, b. 29, l. 39.

to learn directly how the metropolitan looks at “the never so relevant necessity of the believers in God and His Only Son Jesus Christ to unite”.¹² On January 27 this meeting took place. The press of Latvia, France, and America wrote quite a lot about it. After listening to the rather long speech of Būčys about the Pope’s good-will toward Orthodoxy, Eastern rite services, Metropolitan Eleutherius told him that as long as the Popes ruling the Church of Rome seek absolute rule the union of the Churches is impossible. He also rejected the invitation to cooperate fighting the bellicose attack of atheism, doubting that they would be able to make an agreement on this question.¹³

It might be that after many years of apostolic work in asking for this meeting Būčys sought to demonstrate to the Eastern Church Congregation officials the real possibilities of his mission. “[...] the Orthodox do not look at the outstretched hand of Lithuania’s Catholics and firmly reply: “No!” to the invitation for Christians to unite, after coordinating both of their forces for a fight with threatening atheism”,¹⁴ – he observed in the press. It is difficult to say that whether due to this step or due to changes in the Vatican’s political line after the death of Pope Pius XI, Būčys finally succeeded in escaping from Lithuania. In July 1939 after being elected general of the Marian congregation he departed for Rome. The soon afterwards newly appointed leader of the mission in Kaunas did not last for a long time – the activities of the mission were ended by the first Soviet occupation begun in June 1940.

Why did the quite intensive apostolic activity among Lithuania’s

* Metropolitan Eleutherius (Bogojavlenskii) ruled Lithuania’s Orthodox Diocese in 1923–1940. Besides that he was appointed exarch in Western Europe by the Moscow Patriarchate. Unlike the heads of the Orthodox Church in the neighbouring countries, he remained in the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate. When it declared its loyalty to the Bolshevik regime, metropolitan Eleutherius could not avoid a conflict with the Russian political and social activists, bishops living as émigrés.

¹² Report of Bishop P. Būčys on January 19, 1938 to Metropolitan Eleutherius, LCVA, f. 1674, a. 1, b. 194, l. 1.

¹³ Митр. Елевферий отклонил предложение об унии с католической церковью, *Сегодня*, 1938 03 13, no. 73, p. 3.

¹⁴ P. Būčys, Rusijos krikšto jubiliejus, *Draugija*, 1938, no. 23, p. 836.

Russians seeking to join them to the Catholic Church not result in any concrete results? Probably the most important reason was that the organizers of the mission did not take into account the resistance of Lithuania's Orthodox and Old Believers to Catholic proselytizing. Moreover, the analogy with the Union of Brest immediately discredited the new Vatican inspired goals of Church unity in the eyes of Russians. The passivity of both the state authorities and bishops of Lithuania limited the effectiveness of the mission for evangelization among the Russians. It received far fewer workers than expected. The priests returning from Russia's prisons did not participate in the mission, which was also not supported by the Marian congregation (in which P. Būčys without doubt had strong influence). Except for submission to the Vatican, Lithuania's bishops did not have any motives to advocate Eastern rites in their own land; the necessity of which was not easy to explain to Catholic Lithuanians.

EFFORT TO SEND CATHOLIC PRIESTS TO NAZI OCCUPIED REGIONS OF THE USSR IN 1941–1944

As the German army swiftly advanced into the depths of the USSR, projects for the evangelization of Russia were again begun to be created both in the Vatican and in Lithuania. First, they were tied with the possibilities for Catholic priests to return to the parishes from which they had been forced to withdraw due to the repressions of the Bolshevik regime. Because the Germans began to rebuild the destroyed Russian Orthodox Church, it was hoped that the Catholic parishes would also be restored. However, one must note that the occupying German authorities tolerated only Orthodox missions, Catholic priests were not allowed to return.

During the twenty years of Soviet rule the Catholic Church of the USSR was almost totally destroyed.* Many priests and bishops of Polish, German, and Lithuanian nationalities already in the 1920's departed the

* After World War I about 1,6 million Catholics were living in the USSR. The majority – about 80 percent – were Poles. The Mogilev archdiocese, 5 dioceses, two

country fearing the started repressions. Those remaining (also including the secretly ordained and appointed bishops by Bishop M. d'Herbigny who Pope Pius XI had delegated) were soon imprisoned or punished with the death penalty. In the USSR there did not remain any freely living Catholic bishops and priests, operating churches and monasteries, but there were still Catholic believers. The Russian Orthodox Church endured even greater repressions by the Bolshevik regime, thus the young generation growing up in the Soviet system did not have any experience of religious life. As understood at that time it was open for religious searches. The broken up by the Bolsheviks, compromised by cooperation with the regime Orthodox Church seemed to lack the spiritual forces to be born anew.

The leaders of Lithuania's Church at the beginning of the war did not have apparently any wide scale plans to organize missions to Russia. Nevertheless, one bishop, Teofilus Matulionis, on August 21, 1941 wrote a letter to the Pope, asking for permission to return to his former duties in Russia. This, without doubt, was not done without the support of the Church authorities. The biography of Matulionis is directly tied with Russia's Catholics. After his ordination he worked for three decades in various parishes of the Mogilev Archdiocese and was imprisoned several times by the Soviet regime. As the Vatican tried to restore the ordinaries of Russia's Catholic Church underground, he was secretly consecrated as a bishop and was the nominal apostolic administrator of the Leningrad District.

“But now, as hope is already lit, the gates from Bolshevism have been shut and hammered up, with the help of God, when the new desire to spread, to evangelize Christ's teachings, handed over in the name of the Holy See, grows in my heart and the hearts of priests from Russia living in Lithuania”,¹⁵ – Bishop T. Matulionis wrote to the Pope. In this

apostolic vicariates were alive; about 620 parishes and twice as many non-parish churches, chapels were active in which about 400 priests worked. Until 1940 90% of the Catholic churches in the USSR were closed. In 1942 there remained only two (in Moscow and Leningrad), left to serve the personnel of the diplomatic embassies.

¹⁵ Report of Bishop T. Matulionis on August 21, 1941 to Pope Pius XII, *Arkivyskupas Teofilus Matulionis laiškuose ir dokumentuose*, Vilnius, 2002, p. 69-70. In

letter Matulionis provided a list of 23 Lithuanian priests who had earlier worked in Russia. They were about 50–60 years old, but according to the bishop “all of them were in part suitable for shepherding souls in Russia”¹⁶. The bishop was sure that the spiritual seminaries of Lithuania would actively contribute to the evangelization. He wrote to the Pope that the priests educated in them “would take over the evangelization to convert Russia” (exactly he wrote about “the evangelization to convert Russia” and not the pastoral care of Russia’s Catholics).

The Kaunas Spiritual Seminary was the first one to respond to the project initiated by T. Matulionis. In January 1942 the *Institutum Russicum* was established in it, studies of Eastern Church doctrine and liturgy were begun, almost half of the seminarians began to attend not required Russian language courses.¹⁷ In all the parishes of Lithuania during the war years donations “for the missions”, “for the missions in Russia” were collected.

The Apostolic See agreed to the request of Bishop T. Matulionis. Already at the beginning of October it gave him permission “with the greatest desire” (*libentissime*) to travel to the Nazi occupied areas of the USSR. This was not limited to priests who had worked earlier in Russia as all priests willing to do so could travel there to work.¹⁸ Bishop Matulionis received quite broad authorization for the administration of pastoral care.¹⁹

Lithuania in the 1930’s there lived two more priests nominated as apostolic administrators, but not ordained as bishops: Mykolas Juodokas (Kazan, Samara and Simbirsk) and Julius Gronskis (Siberia vicariate). Like Bishop T. Matulionis, through the efforts of diplomats in the 1930’s they escaped from the USSR. They did not participate in the project of sending missionaries initiated by Bishop T. Matulionis.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 70.

¹⁷ Account of the activities of *Institutum Russicum* from September 25, 1942 to October 1, 1943, The Department of Manuscripts of Lithuanian Institute of History, fund of Bishop T. Matulionis.

¹⁸ Report of Cardinal L. Maglione on October 4, 1941 to Bishop T. Matulionis, LVIA, f. 1671, a. 5, b. 109, l. 23.

¹⁹ Addendum to the report of Cardinal L. Maglione on October 4, 1941 to Bishop T. Matulionis, authorizations signed on October 2, *Ibid*, f. 1650, a. 1, b. 239, l. 45-49.

The Vatican very quickly organized the apparatus for the hierarchs responsible for the evangelization of the Nazi occupied areas of the USSR. Already on September 10, 1941 the duties of the Apostolic Administrator of the Mogilev Archdiocese (it included all the territory of European Russia and eastern Belorussia) and Minsk Diocese were assigned to Vilnius Archbishop Metropolitan Romuald Jałbrzykowski. The Vatican's choice, apparently, was determined by the fact that the Vilnius Archdiocese had a border with Belorussia and it would be easiest to send priests from there. However, it was not taken into account that in view of the especially strict Nazi occupational regime there could not be any talk about negotiations by a Polish bishop with the Nazi authorities on the sending of Polish priests to the East. The war circumstances were also not considered and there were no deliberations about the end of the war. The victories of the Wehrmacht on the Eastern front did not raise any doubts about the swift collapse of the USSR. It was not thought that missionaries tied to the occupants could be a danger to the small number of Catholics in Russia.

Without waiting to get the permission of the German occupying authorities Vilnius Archbishop R. Jałbrzykowski sent about 30 priests to the territory of former Soviet Belorussia. However, all of them after several months were returned back, several were arrested by the Germans and killed.²⁰ Apparently for this reason Bishop T. Matulionis first tried to obtain the official permission of the military and civil German authorities. He presented the travel of the priests to the occupied USSR districts as returning to their parishes. He appealed to the highest German civil and military authorities: the Ostland Reichskomisar in Riga, the Minsk General Commissar and even Ostland Minister Alfred Rosenberg. But none of these offices gave such permission.²¹ The highest authorities of

²⁰ Letters of Bishop T. Matulionis on January 5 and July 17, 1942 to priest Vincentas Dainys, P. Gaida-Gaidamavičius, *Nemarus mirtingasis arkivyskupas Teofilius Matulionis: ganytojas, kalinys, kankinys ir laimėtojas*, Roma, 1981, p. 233-236.

²¹ K. Jūra, *Monsinjoras*, Brooklyn, NY, 1979, p. 136-137; reports of Bishop T. Matulionis on February 25, 1942 to the Ostland Reichskomisar in Riga and the Minsk General Komisar, *Arkivyskupas Teofilius Matulionis laiškuose ir dokumentuose*, p. 104-105; report of Bishop T. Matulionis to General Komisar for Belarus on March 9, 1942

the Germany Reich had decided not to allow Catholic missionaries into the occupied areas. The Vermacht authorities also forbade most severely war chaplains (not only German, but also Italian, Hungarian, Slovak) to have contacts with the local population.²²

The refusal of the occupying authorities to allow Catholic missionaries, without doubt, made national and religious conflicts more difficult. These were begun already in 1941. Relations between the Orthodox and Catholics (Belarussians and Poles) were extremely strained.* Not only the Germans, but also the Belorussian administration impeded the travel of Catholic missionaries to Belorussia. They tied their culture with the heritage of the Orthodox Church and held the Catholic faith to be a “Polish” religion. Therefore, they were unwilling to talk about the entry of priests, even clergymen of Belorussian nationality were hardly tolerated. For the Polish and Lithuanian priests they appeared to be dangerous Belorussian nationalists, forming

and Ostland Reichskomisar on March 15, *Ibid.*, p. 107, 108; Undated “Pro memoria” of T. Matulionis to Eastern lands General Komisar, *Ibid.*, p. 82-83.

²² August 16, 1941 operative order no. 10 “Attitude to the church question in the conquered districts of the Soviet Union” М. Шкаровский, *Политика Третьего рейха по отношению к Русской Православной Церкви в свете архивных материалов 1935–1945 годов.* (Сборник документов), Москва, 2003, p. 184; A. Vubnys, *Vokiečių politika Lietuvoje Bažnyčios ir religijos atžvilgiu (1941–1944), Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis*, 1999, t. 14, p. 210. In fact, some of the military chaplains ignored the categorical prohibition of serving the civilian population.

* In December 1941 the metropolitan suspended Belarussian priests Stanisław Glakowski, Dioniz Malec, Kazimierz Rybałtowski, who already during the summer without receiving permission traveled to German occupied Belarus, held Masses in Minsk and other places. All three were arrested by the Nazis and executed. In November 1941 in Borisov the priest Henryk Hlebowicz, whom Belarussian nationalists, dissatisfied with his pastoral care in the Polish language, had betrayed to the Germans, was executed; in 1943 Belarus Uniate egzarkh Antonij Niemancewicz died in a Minsk prison, see Ю. Туронак, *Беларусь над нямецкай акупацыяй*, Мінск, 1993, p. 82-83; February 14, 1942 report of R. Jałbrzykowski to Cardinal L. Maglione, *Le Saint Siège et la situation religieuse en Pologne et dans les pays Baltes*, 1939–1945, Libreria editrice Vaticana, vol. 2, p. 532; A. Hlebowicz, “Kościół katolicki na Białorusi Sowietckiej po II wojnie Światowej”, *Dla Boga i Wielkiego Księstwa dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, (Materiały międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej), Менск–Літоўскі, 2005, p. 124; Z. Ignonis, *Praeitis kalba*, Vilnius, 2007, p. 44, 48, 76.

national consciousness in the region to which their political leaders had expressed territorial claims.

In Russia the Catholic missionaries had to have an unavoidable encounter with Russian partisans whose armed resistance to their occupiers and their collaborators was very strong. They even persecuted Orthodox clergymen whom most of the local population invited and supported. The war awakened not only religious, but also nationalistic, patriotic attitudes in the Russian community. Activists of émigré organizations returned to their homeland and in the underground spread the idea of the restoration of the Russian state. In such circumstances Catholic missionaries could administer to Catholics with considerable risk. However, it is hard to imagine a less favorable time “to convert Russia”.

THE EVANGELIZATION OF PRIESTS AND MONKS IN THE USSR REPUBLICS IN 1944–1990

Let us look at the third period in which Lithuania's Church ended up in totally new conditions in the Soviet system. As is known, it endured great repressions – it was forced to end all public ties with society, the monasteries were officially liquidated, the priests and faithful were terrorized. However, at the same time one of the noblest pages in the history of Lithuania's Church – its activities underground – was begun.

Under underground conditions the quite active evangelization by Lithuanian priests and monks took place in almost all the USSR republics. How was it organized? One has to note that this was care for Catholics living in the USSR.

The already mentioned Vilnius Metropolitan R. Jałbrzykowski and Leningrad Apostolic Administrator Bishop of Kaišiadorys T. Matulionis made the first initiatives to send priests to the East. The first of them also this time held church matters to be exclusively in his own competence and acted without informing the authorities. Already in the fall of 1944 Jałbrzykowski looked for priests able to travel to the East. The priests of the Vilnius Archdiocese Poles without doubt took

advantage of the newly opened USSR borders and travelled to serve their countrymen. Meanwhile, Matulionis immediately after the end of the war before the religious policies of the Soviet regime had become clear and massive repressions had not begun, hoped to send several priests to Belorussia and Russia (Leningrad) legally – he presented official requests to state institutions.²³ However, these permits were not given, but so, in 1946 the elderly (73 year old) Bishop Matulionis was repressed.

Namely the initiators of broader scale missions were priests who in the middle of the 1950s were released from the labour camps and willingly remained to serve Lithuanian deportees and Catholics of other nations. Understandably, they could carry out their priest duties only secretly, in their free time after work in factories or offices.

The role of Lithuania's monasteries was especially important in these missions. Namely, they had numerous secretly ordained priests who could not carry out duties in parishes legally so they departed to evangelize among the Catholics of the USSR. These monasteries worked in the underground. Some priests removed from duties in Lithuania's parishes also travelled there (according to Soviet laws, priests of all confessions could work in parishes only after getting from the representative of the Council of Religious Cults Affairs at the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers a certificate about registration: by not issuing "the certificate of cult official registration" or later withdrawing it, the Soviet authorities forced the church authorities to transfer the untrusted priests to remote parishes or in general did not allow them to fulfill the duties of a priest). The Marians and Jesuits of Lithuania sent the most priests for shorter or longer "work assignments". In the 1980s the young generation of Lithuanian Franciscans began to take part in such evangelization. In the novitiates of Lithuania's Marians and Jesuits many Belarusian and Ukrainian priests, who now hold high posts in the hierarchies of their Churches, were educated.

²³ June 2, 1945 report of Bishop T. Matulionis to the representative of the Council of Religious Cults Affairs at the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, LCVA, f. R 181, a. 1, b. 5, l. 37. In June 1945 Kaišiadorys Bishops T. Matulionis wanted to send two Lithuanian priests to Leningrad and its districts.

Nuns assisted the priests in the missions a great deal. All of the women convents of Lithuania were active underground during the Soviet period. From the beginning of the 1970s they began to send nuns to USSR republics – Georgia, Armenia, Ukraine, Moldavia, Kazakhstan, Tadjikistan, Siberian cities. Some of them would depart for a long time, obtain work in the factories of major cities where were more opportunities for evangelization. Another method of missionary work was short-term trips from Lithuania, usually during vacations. Settling in the families of acquaintances, the sisters would teach the catechism to children and adults for several weeks, prepare them for the sacraments that were administered by traveling missionaries. Thanks to the priests and sisters Catholic communities were formed. They later founded parishes, opened churches. Some of the convents opened their own chapters in the former USSR republics.*

It is difficult to say who were initiators of the missions in the USSR, the organizers are better known. They are considered to be the Marian and Jesuit monks, most bravely, most active in the underground – Pranas Račiūnas MIC and Pranciškus Masilionis SJ.²⁴ There is no doubt that they carried out the will of the Apostolic See. Every more capable Lithuanian male and female monastery contributed to the missions.

Evangelization among Catholics of various nations under underground conditions, overcoming thousands of kilometers required considerable sacrifice so only truly dedicated individuals decided to undertake it. The diary of the missionary nun Birutė Žemaitytė about trips to the USSR is entitled *Viešpaties trupinėliai* (Crumbs of the Lord)²⁵

* Namely four sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus congregation regularly visited the Volga German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Moldavia, and Armenia; another branch of this congregation Handmaidens of the Sacred Heart of Jesus congregation had for a longer period 1976–1993 sent 9 sisters as missionaries, they worked in Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan (especially in its capital Alma Ata), the Transcaucasus (Neviešos Švč. Jėzaus Širdies kongregacijos Lietuvos Katalikių moterų kultūros draugijos) istorija [manuscript], l. 70.

²⁴ V. Spengla, Žiupsnelis iš neparašytos *Apštalų darbų* knygos. From: B. Žemaitytė, *Viešpaties trupinėliai. Misijų dienoraštis*, Alytus, 1999, p. 154-165.

²⁵ B. Žemaitytė, *Viešpaties trupinėliai. Misijų dienoraštis*, Alytus, 1999.

because thousands of kilometers had to be traveled for the religious needs of several or up to 20 people. Nevertheless, due to the Lithuanian priests and nuns multinational Catholic communities formed in the USSR.*

After Lithuania regained its independence in 1990 the monasteries one after the other began to call back their priests and sisters from the disintegrated USSR. Lithuania's church authorities encouraged this, trying to embrace the multitude of arising works in their own land. On the other hand, the social and political circumstances changed essentially: many Germans and Poles used the opportunity to depart from the former USSR republics, under the changed conditions aid from the rich funds of Western Churches reached this region, the number of clergy and sisters from various Western states increased. The Orthodox Church was also reborn and became the most important impediment for the spread of the Catholic faith in Russia.

Is the history of Lithuania's Catholic Church's apostolic work among Russians over? Does ecumenism encourage a new era of mutual trust between Churches based on cooperation? Hardly – it is not known how long will it take for real changes, when will the attitude of the Catholic and other faith Christians to each other change essentially. The leaders of the Churches and the clergy continue to rub shoulders and cooperate, but the real distance between the confessions does not decrease. In spite of the changes encouraged by the Vatican II Council, most likely there is only sluggish movement in the same direction. One of the first steps of the reborn Catholic Church after Lithuania restored its independence 20 years ago was the establishment of a hearth for the Eastern rite Catholic faith in Vilnius. Because there were no Eastern rite Catholics in Lithuania two Basilian monks from the Ukraine were invited. In 1991 one of the Catholic churches in Vilnius closed during the Soviet period was handed over to them. Where the liturgy was held

* Namely the sisters of the Eucharistic Jesus Congregation (founded in 1947 by the Jesuit priest Pranciškus Masilionis) at this time has chapters in Latvia, Moldova, Kazakhstan, the St. Catherine Congregation sisters – in Sovetsk (in the Kaliningrad oblast), *Katalikų žinytas 2011*, Vilnius, 2011, p. 193, 199).

in the Ukrainian language. According to the 2001 census there were 364 Uniates in the Republic of Lithuania.*

It is not surprising that Lithuania's Church cares for the Ukrainian Uniates with whom close ties were maintained in the Soviet period, working in the underground. However, the mentioned Holy Trinity church handed over to them in 1991 has an unambiguous history. It was built as an Orthodox church at the site of the death of the 14th c. Orthodox martyrs Ivan, Anthony, and Eustaphius. The current building was built in the 16th c. with funds from the Orthodox magnate Konstanty Ostrogski. The Orthodox church became a Catholic one only after the Union of Brest (1596) when its property was transferred into the hands of the Uniates. In czarist times it was returned to the Orthodox diocese, and after World War I Masses were held in it for Catholics. It is ironic that the church is located by the Gates of Dawn, several steps from the historically formed center of Lithuania's Orthodox Church. One should think that this hearth of Easter rite Catholic faith did not appear incidentally,** but in any case it significantly actualized historical memory and remains functioning in the background of the ecumenism era.

CONCLUSIONS

In general one has to note that Lithuania's Church was a quite active participant in the Vatican's efforts to convert Russia and Russians, especially in the years between the wars. It was a small "polygon of practical training". Public and non-public methods of evangelization, the effectiveness of Eastern and Latin rites were tried out. None of the

* According to the data of the 2001 census, Lithuanians comprised 83,45% of the population of the Republic of Lithuania, Poles – 6,7, Russians – 6,3, Belarusians – 1,2, Ukrainians – 0,7%. 93% Poles, 85% Lithuanians, 13% Ukrainians, 47% Belarusians consider themselves as belonging to the Roman Catholic community; 32% Belarusians, 52% Ukrainians, 46% Russians – to the Orthodox community; 11% Russians – to the Old Believers' community (Statistikos departamento Informacinis pranešimas nr. 8, October 3, 2002).

** A priest of Lithuania's Orthodox Diocese converted to the Greek Uniate Church.

mission methods provided anticipated results even though there was no lack of idealism and dedication to implement this impossible idea among the evangelizers.

The failures of evangelization in Russia and among Russians (not only in Lithuania, but also in other states of Europe and America) significantly changed the Catholic Church's point of view toward Orthodoxy, the Second Vatican Council approved radical changes, the Catholic Church joined the ecumenical movement. However, one cannot say the same about the views of Orthodox believers and especially the Russian Orthodox Church. As in the past Catholics and the Vatican were viewed with antagonism and a lack of trust. For distance divides not only different religions, but also different cultures, pierced by historical memory.

DARIUS PETKŪNAS

EARLIEST ECUMENICAL ACTIVITIES IN
LITHUANIA INVOLVING THE ROMAN CATHOLIC,
RUSSIAN ORTHODOX, AND LUTHERAN
CHURCHES AND SOVIET REACTIONS

The decree *Unitatis Redintegratio*, which came out of the deliberations of the participants in the Second Vatican Council, called for an increasing involvement in ecumenical activities by Roman Catholic bishops around the world. It opened the door for participation in joint activities along with theological discussions between theologians and churchmen of major Christian groups. At the same time, the Moscow Patriarchate announced a new initiative concerning relationships with other major Christian Confessions. On the basis of these pronouncements ecumenical activities began in Lithuania during a period when all the Churches were being closely watched and in so far as possible supervised by the Council for Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers in Moscow and its commissioner in Vilnius.

The ecumenical services which were held involved mainly Roman Catholic, Russian Orthodox, and Lutheran clergy. These services received much publicity in church calendars at that time, but little has been written concerning the reaction to these ecumenical initiatives by the communist government.

This article seeks to provide a firsthand picture of ecumenical activities involving these three Churches in the 1960's and 1970's and the reactions of the Commissioner of Religious Affairs to them. The circumstances which called forth these ecumenical observances and the degree of involvement by higher Church officials are examined. Note is taken also of the reports of the commissioner to Moscow and his evaluation of the phenomenon of ecumenism and the possible dangers

inherent in it, as well as his comments concerning the useful purposes to which ecumenical activities could be put by communist authorities. The study is based chiefly upon archival documents, although church calendars and the personal correspondence of the clergy have also been valuable resources.

SIGNIFICANT PROTESTANT ECUMENICAL INITIATIVES

In the 1960's new interest arose concerning the mutual relationships between churches which were theologically and liturgically isolated from each other. This new interest could be placed under the general heading: ecumenism.

The ecumenical movement had long been a part of the Protestant scene. It was a major theme of the International Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh 1890 and the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1888 which had been born by an interest in creating a united Protestant Church in the United States. The Life and Work and Faith and Order movements also in their 1937 conferences voted to merge into a World Council of Churches (WCC), which was to meet first in Utrecht in 1938. World War II interrupted further activity for almost a decade, and it was not until 1948 that 147 churches representing 44 countries participated in the completion of the organization of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam.¹ The old International Missionary Council continued to function as a separate organization. Also maintaining their separate existence while at the same time maintaining close ties with the WCC were the World Alliance of The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), and the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF).

During this period the Lutheran Church in Lithuania, along with all other Churches in the Eastern Block, were behind an "iron curtain" which effectively isolated them from almost all contact, including ecclesiastical, with the West. The only close relationship with another churches which the Lithuanian Lutherans were able to maintain were

¹ *Churches & Europe: a Reader*, 2002, p. 14.

with sister Lutheran Churches in Latvia and Estonia and the Reformed Church in Lithuania. Festal events of the Lithuanian Lutherans would usually include official representatives from these Churches.

A friendly, but somewhat more distant, relationship was maintained with the Russian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate in Lithuania. Even before the World War II both Churches had welcomed each others parish congregations to make use of their facilities when necessary. In Tauragė and Žeimelis the Lutheran congregations permitted congregations of the Russian Orthodox Church to use their buildings for divine services, and in Pasvalys and Kaunas the Lutherans had been permitted to make use of Russian Orthodox churches and chapels. In 1941 the communist government appropriated for its own use the property of the Kaunas evangelical Lutheran parish and would not permit the congregation to hold divine services there any longer. In April consistory chairman Erikas Leijeris wrote to the Eparchial Council of the Russian Orthodox Church reminding it of the good relations which had long since existed between the Russian and Lutheran Churches in Lithuania and asking that the Kaunas Lutheran congregation be permitted to hold divine service one or two times a month in the Russian Orthodox Church until a permanent home for the congregation could be secured.² Both Churches continued to welcome each others parish congregations to share their facilities during the World War II. It is likely that during the war the Russian Orthodox celebrated their liturgy in Lutheran churches in the Šiauliai-Mažeikiai region.³ In 1958 the Orthodox parish in Klaipėda permitted the Lutherans to use their church building.⁴ This was the old Lutheran cemetery chapel which had been given to the

² April 30, 1941 letter of Erikas Leijeris to the Eparchial Council of the Russian Orthodox Church. Vyskupo Jono Kalvano archyvas (The Document Collection in the Library of Bishop Jonas Kalvanas, Sr., – henceforth JKA), Gauti raštai 1941–1944 (unpaged).

³ March 4, 1944 letter of Erikas Leijeris to Gustavas Rauskinas to open Lutheran churches for use by Russian Orthodox Congregations in need of a place to worship, Alkiškių liuteronų parapijos archyvas (Records of the Lutheran Parish Church of Alkiškiai, henceforth – ALPA), Lietuvos Ev. – lut. Baznīcas Konsistorijas raksti par 1933. gadu. 1941–1944 g. (unpaged).

⁴ LCVA f. R-181, a. 1, b. 217, 7.

Russian Orthodox by the communist government. These and similar instances might better be called examples of ecumenical hospitality rather than examples of ecumenical activity.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW ATTITUDE TOWARDS ECUMENISM
BY THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL AND THE MOSCOW
PATRIARCHATE

Protestant notions of ecumenism which had led to the creation of the WCC were primarily, but not exclusively, concerned with inter-church collaboration in practical matters. The Roman Catholic Church and the Moscow Patriarchate viewed ecumenism as a theological and ecclesiological problem and looked askance at the WCC. The Vatican regarded the Roman Catholic Church as the one, true, visible body of Christ on earth and insisted that primary emphasis must be put on the reunion of Churches under the Roman Pontiff. The Moscow Patriarchate also was not much interested in anything that had to do with the WCC. In general terms, it shared Stalin's anti-Western attitudes and regarded the WCC as a Western Protestant phenomenon irrelevant to them. When it was invited to join the WCC in 1948 the Moscow Patriarchate was emphatic in its statement that it was not interested. With the issuance of an October 4, 1958 Communist Party Central Committee directive *Shortcomings of the Scientific Atheist Propaganda*, calling for stronger control over the Churches, the Russian Orthodox Church then began to consider its need for contacts with Churches in the West. They had now lost their privileged position and found themselves isolated and persecuted. Metropolitan Nikolaj, head of the Church's foreign relations' department, was pressured by the Soviet government to resign in 1960. He was replaced by Bishop Nikodem who had a somewhat wider vision of the Church and its relations. It was his position that the Church must seek more contacts with Churches outside the Soviet Bloc.⁵ In response to his initiatives the meeting of

⁵ М. В. Шкаровский, *Русская Православная Церковь при Сталине и Хрущеве*, Москва, 2005, p. 373-374.

the Holy Synod on March 30, 1961 resolved to seek entrance into the WCC. Its stated purpose was to teach western Christians about Eastern Orthodoxy and establish mutual bonds of love and peace among the Churches. On April 11, 1961 Patriarch Aleksij wrote to the WCC stating that the Russian Church was in full agreement with the constitution of WCC and was thereby applying for membership. He further stated that the Russian Church believed fervently in One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church and regarded itself as an integral part of it. It had always in its prayers interceded for all the holy Churches of God and for the unity of all. It might be asked whether this statement represented something of a shift in the understanding of the Ektania Prayer in which this phrase was found, since traditionally it had been understood that the Prayer referred to autocephalic Orthodox Churches and not other confessions or so-called “church bodies.” The Communist Party gave permission because it believed it could achieve some propaganda advantage by doing so. Here, they claimed, was clear proof of the freedom of religion in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, it would indicate that the Church’s representatives could travel freely to Church meetings outside the Soviet Union.⁶ It goes without saying that were anything to be said in WCC gatherings about religious oppression or persecution in the Soviet Union, the delegates from Russia would immediately protest and contradict these statements.

At the same time the announcement of the coming convocation of the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in the Second Vatican Council also provoked interest among the Russian Orthodox. It was evident that the Roman Catholic Church was beginning to redefine its ecumenical perspective. It was not doing so from any sense of isolation, but as John XXIII stated it was “to open up the windows and let in some fresh air”. In May 1961 Augustin Cardinal Bea, Vatican Secretary of State, announced that the Council would welcome observers from other Churches, including representatives of the Moscow Patriarchate. They

⁶ *Русская Православная Церковь в советское время (1917–1991): Составитель Герд Штриккер. Книга 2, Москва, 1995, р. 27-28; Церковная жизнь, 1961, по. 5-7, р. 95-96.*

would not offer any official invitations, but it should be known that any official observers sent by the Patriarch would receive a warm welcome.⁷ For his part Patriarch Aleksij responded to the Vatican that he would be pleased to send observers. It was not until October 10, the day before the official opening of the Council, that the Central Committee of the Communist Party gave the necessary permissions.

The Decree on Ecumenism formulated in the Council on November 21, 1964 declared that the Roman Catholic Church envisioned the eventual unity in one earthly Church of all people baptized into Christ. The lengthy *Unitatis Redintegratio* did not speak concerning political, social, economic, geographic, or ideological factors but regarded Christian unity as an outward expression of the Oneness of the Church. The lack of it, according to this document, represented a contradiction of the will of Christ and was a significant cause for the failure of preaching to reach its goal of creating faith. While recognizing that dissensions, schisms, and heresies resulted for various reasons, the three most common are the failure to adhere to apostolic doctrine, differences in discipline, and disagreements concerning the outward structure of the Church on earth. According to the document it is precisely these differences which had to be prayerfully addressed without rancor, for there can be no true ecumenism where these issues are not laid open and thoroughly discussed by those who take differing positions. *Unitatis Redintegratio* also stated that from the side of the Roman Catholic Church, as well as from the side of those with whom it is in dialogue, there must be a realization that all involved stand together under the grace of God given in Holy Baptism. The realization of this important common character must not, however, lead anyone to gloss over the differences which still need to be resolved. Again from the Roman Catholic side the faith must be presented accurately but in a manner which is as non-prejudicial as possible. In short, there can be no true ecumenism where in matters of doctrine the disputing sides simply agree to disagree without any further attempt to reconcile those differences and come to the truth. Although the Churches stand together on many issues facing humanity, the unity

⁷ Журнал Московской Патриархии, 1961, no. 5, Non possumus! (unsigned).

to be sought is not simply the development of common statements and programs addressing such issues. The document also opens the possibility of common prayer and some degree of common worship in appropriate settings and approvals.⁸ *Unitatis Redintegratio* has proven to be of immense significance in forswearing inter-church relationships.

No Lithuanian Roman Catholic bishop attended the sessions of the Second Vatican Council. Representing them were the diocesan administrators who brought back from Rome a full report of the decrees and constitution of the Council. The Council had called for the establishment of ecumenical relations with other Christians, and the administrators made it clear that Rome expected this to be done.

The Church of Rome was not alone in implementing programs to foster improved relationships with other Churches within the borders of the Soviet Union. On July 16, 1965 the *Журнал Московской Патриархии* (*Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*) announced that it was forthwith inviting the Baltic Churches to enter into ecumenical relations with the Patriarchate.⁹ The fruit of this announcement was the development of improved relations between the Russian Orthodox and Evangelical Lutheran Churches and as the result of *Unitatis Redintegratio* the Roman Catholic Church also entered into close relations with the Orthodox and Lutherans.

LUTHERAN INITIATIVES IN THE FIRST ECUMENICAL CELEBRATIONS

The first ecumenical service in the Baltic States in which all three confessions were represented was celebrated on December 5, 1965, the Second Sunday in Advent, in the Evangelical Lutheran church in Šilutė. The occasion was the 80th birthday of consistory chairman Pastor Vilius Burkevičius. Lutherans and Orthodox had earlier participated in some

⁸ Cardinal Walter Kasper, *Searching for Christian Unity*, New York, 2007, p. 219-241.

⁹ Алексей I, Патриарх Московский и всея Руси, "Послание архипастырям, клиру и пастве Эстонской, Литовской и Латвийской епархий Московского Патриархата", *Журнал Московской Патриархии*, 1965, no. 8, p. 1-2.

joint ecumenical services but at Šilutė Roman Catholic representatives were for the first time present. Participating in the service were the Chairman Burkevičius, Archbishop Gustavs Tūrs of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia, Archbishop Jaan Kiivit, Sr., of the Lutheran Church of Estonia, Roman Catholic Prelate Rapolas Kuodis of Žemaičių Naumiestis, Archpriest Joan Semionov of the Lithuanian Russian Orthodox Church, and Senior Pastor Povilas Jašinskas of the Lithuanian Reformed Church. Since that day joint services had become a common occurrence in Lithuania.¹⁰

On February 24, 1966 Pastors Jonas Kalvanas, Jonas Armonaitis, Gustavas Rauskinas, and Mikas Preikšaitis traveled to Tallinn, Estonia, to participate in a service honoring Archbishop Jaan Kiivit, Sr., on the occasion of his 60th birthday. Also participating in the service were Archbishop Tūrs of Latvia, and Archbishop Aleksij, Moscow Patriarchate Bishop of Estonia and Administrator of the Holy Synod (later Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church). Also participating was Rev. I. Ivanov, head of the all-Union Baptist Union, along with Estonian senior pastors and consistory members.¹¹

The Roman Catholic priest in Šilutė organized an ecumenical service in his church as a follow up to the Lutheran service. It was planned that the service would be held on September 18, 1966. Unfortunately the service was never held. Pastor Kalvanas explained in his September 27-29, 1966 meetings in Riga with representatives of the LWF that the Šilutė executive committee had forbidden the holding of the service. He noted that in their meeting the Latvian commissioner for religious affairs had stated that there must have been an unfortunate breakdown in communications, because it was understood that no special permissions were required when a parish wanted to invite guests to address them.¹² Of course, he did not speak for Lithuanian

¹⁰ Burkevičius V. (1885-23.XI/6.XII/-1965), JKA, Viliaus Žano Burkevičiaus asmens byla (unpaged); December 10, 1965 letter of Jonas Kalvanas to Fricas Šlenteris, JKA, Atskiri nuorašai nuo 1958.06.27 (unpaged); *Lietuvos TSR evangelikų bažnyčios kalendorius*, 1968, p. 69.

¹¹ *Lietuvos TSR evangelikų bažnyčios kalendorius*, 1968, p. 68.

¹² LCVA f. R-181, a. 1, b. 147, 22-22ad; Pranešimas apie Lietuvos TSR

Commissioner Justas Rugienis, and it is more than likely that what he said was stated only for the benefit of western observers and did not correspond with the facts.

REACTIONS OF THE COMMISSIONER TO ECUMENICAL EVENTS AND ATTEMPTS TO INFLUENCE THEM

Commissioner Rugienis did not appear to have been overly concerned about the ecumenical contacts of the Lithuanians. What did concern him was that the meetings of the Lithuanian Lutheran clergy with the archbishops of Latvia and Estonia always seemed to culminate in festal divine services. Rugienis saw this as a blatant attempt to create enthusiasm among the people and invigorate them. He wrote to Moscow on March 14, 1967 that he would much rather that the clergy would sit quietly together somewhere where they would not attract any public attention. In his view it was advisable to limit excessive trips and meetings of the Baltic clergy.¹³

Another ecumenical service in Lithuania was held in Tauragė, and again it was the Lutherans who were the hosts. Participating in the service on June 25, 1967, the 400th anniversary of the 1567 founding of the congregation, were Consistory Chairman Burkevičius, officiant, assisted by Pastor Jonas Kalvanas. Other participants were Archbishop Tūrs, Provost Pēteris Kleperis, Archbishop Jaan Kiivit, Sr., August Leepin, General Secretary of the Estonian Synod, Russian Archpriest Joan Semioniov, Dean Stanislovas Gorodeckis of the Roman Catholic parish in Tauragė and Reformed Ministers Povilas Jašinskas and Mykolas Frankas. As was always the case this jubilee celebration attracted large crowds of Lutherans as well as many worshipers from the other confessions.¹⁴

Evangelikų-liuteronių Bažnyčios atstovų susitikimą su Pasaulinės Liuteronų Sąjungos delegacija Rygoje, 1966 m. rugsėjo 27-29 d., JKA, Pasaulinė Liuteronų Sąjunga 1966–1967 (unpaged).

¹³ LCVA f. R-181, a. 3, b. 75, 37-38.

¹⁴ LCVA f. R-181, a. 3, b. 74, 42-44; June 30, 1967 transcript of Jonas Kalvanas to Commissioner Justas Rugienis, JKA, Atskiri nuorašai nuo 1958.06.27 (unpaged).

Rugienis was not prepared to proscribe such services, but he made this whole ecumenical question an important topic in his January 1968 report to Moscow. He noted that the Second Vatican Council Decree on Ecumenism had insisted that Roman Catholic priests take the initiative in establishing ecumenical contacts with other Christians. He stated that not much attention had been paid to the establishment of ecumenical contacts in Lithuania by Catholic leaders. Priests were permitted to participate in such gatherings, but the initiative was always taken by the Orthodox or the Lutherans. It seemed that the Roman Catholic leaders were of the opinion that their Church was so much larger than any other Christian group in the country that they could afford to take a passive role. However, he did note that the decree of the Council has not been without effect. One no longer heard sermons condemning non-Catholics or consigning them to hell. Even non-believers were being spoken of in kinder terms. Of course there were still a few fanatical priests who outspokenly condemned any form of ecumenism.

Rugienis noted that, on the other hand the Lutherans were showing great enthusiasm even to the point of turning every special parish celebration into an ecumenical event. On such occasions they would abbreviate the liturgy and put their central emphasis on those parts of the Divine Service concerning which there was general agreement between the ecumenical partners. What might cause trouble was simply left out. As a result such services were shorter than usual but more festive.

The Russian Orthodox also showed some initiative in sponsoring ecumenical services. According to Rugienis Archpriest Fiodor Rakecki, a highly educated man who served the parishes in Lebeniškiiai, Zarasai, and Gegobrastai established a contact with Roman Catholic Priests Albertas Talačka of Lebeniškiiai and Juozas Varnas of Vabalninkas. He suggested that an ecumenical service be held in his Lebeniškiiai church. Father Varnas agreed and it was agreed that the service would be held on Holy Trinity Sunday, June 11, 1967. Varnas announced the coming service to his parishioners from the pulpit and mentioned that Archbishop Antonij of the Russian Orthodox Church would be officiating. The rumor soon spread throughout the region that this service was being held to bring the Russian Orthodox clergy and believers under the Roman obedience.

This infuriated many Russians, especially the old people, who defiantly proclaimed that they would die before they would surrender their ancient faith. Of course, no such reunion was either planned or carried out. What did occur and caused great concern to Commissioner Rugienis and earned father Varnas a strong reprimand, was that at the offering he put 65 rubles in the plate. Rugienis declared that this was a clear violation of Soviet religious laws. No further ecumenical services as such were held for a time, although Roman Catholic priests were invited to participate in the funeral services of Orthodox priests. Rugienis noted that although there were cordial relations between Roman Catholic and Orthodox priests, no official dialogues had been instituted in Lithuania and no contacts had been initiated between the Christians and Jews.

There were two groups which were not expressing any interest in ecumenism at all, he wrote. The first was the Old Believers. This Church was shunned by the other Churches and their priests were described as ignorant old men. The Old Believers took an equally dim view of other Churches and especially of atheists who were nothing but dogs according to Vilnius Priest N. Abramov in his pre-Christmas sermon to his people. Abramov declared that the atheists were an ungrateful bunch who bit the hand that fed them and needed to be kept at a distance.

The other was the Reformed Church the members of which were very anti-Catholic. One Reformed minister said in private that Roman Catholic priests always looked down upon them even when they came with smiles in their faces and declared that they wanted to be friends. It was clear that they only wanted to entice the Reformed into the Roman Church. He went on to say that none of the Reformed would ever become Romanists. Pious Reformed people had long memories, he said. They would never forget the errors of Rome and the great pains that the Roman Church had caused them. He went on to say that the less pious people were more likely to become atheists than Romanists. Commissioner Rugienis added his own comment that while the Roman Catholics were miles away from atheism, for the Reformed it would be only a single step.

It was his conclusion that the ecumenical movement had not made much progress in Lithuania. It existed chiefly on the personal and had

little or no effect on the institutional level. He ventured the opinion that ecumenical services were all for show. In them the clergy exalted themselves to emphasize their power over their congregations.¹⁵

In a subsequent report in January 1969 Rugienis gave a further evaluation of the ecumenical movement. This time he looked at it in pragmatic social terms and described it as not as much a result of the influence of the Vatican II, as an outward expression of the new socialist reality of friendship and proletarian internationalism among people who in the days of the old bourgeois nationalism had been at enmity with each other. What Vatican II proposed was unacceptable both to Lithuanian Catholics and other Christian churches. So the present movement could be best described as a passing phenomenon in the life of the nation with no real substance to it. It was little more than an expression of the interests of individual priests. It was obvious to everyone that the Vatican Council initiative was political rather than religious. It was simply an attempt to create a united front against “godlessness,” that is against communism and the communist goal of opening up a new era for all mankind. He wrote that his own careful study of Vatican ecumenical documents had not revealed any single central objective of the movement. The reason why was clear to him. The central objective, which was being kept from the people under the guise of religious language, was really the mobilization of the masses into an anticommunist movement. He further stated that hidden purposes in the ecumenical movement would never accomplish their objective in Lithuania.

It was his opinion that the dialogue between believers and unbelievers called for by John XXIII and Paul VI and the Second Vatican Council was a fanciful notion. It could never happen. The purpose of this invitation was simply to spread anticommunist propaganda and obstruct the forward march of scientific atheism and communism. This would have no effect in Lithuania, he stated, because in this country the believers were actively working together with atheists “in building paradise on earth.” There had for many years been dialogue between

¹⁵ LCVA f. R-181, a. 3, b. 74, l. 50-54.

communists and believers in Lithuania, and it had nothing to do with any Vatican initiative. Its purpose was to free man from his bondage to religious superstition and unscientific thinking and replace them with a materialist worldview.¹⁶

Over a period of several years there were a number of ecumenical services, mostly to celebrate special occasions, such as the consecration of Lutheran Archbishop Janis Matulis in Latvia on September 14, 1969. Included among the participants were Pastor Kalvanas and representatives of the Russian Orthodox, Old Believers, and Baptist Churches. The 60th birthday of Archbishop Matulis was observed on February 21, 1971 with Pastor Kalvanas, Estonian Archbishop Alfred Tooming, Latvian Roman Catholic Bishop Julijans Vaivods, and representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church attending. An ecumenical celebration also took place at the investiture of Jonas Kalvanas as senior priest of the Lithuanian Lutheran Church. This took place on June 20, 1971 with representatives of the Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches participating. In response to the participation of Roman Catholic Priest Stanislovas Gorodeckis, Pastor Kalvanas paid a courtesy visit to Telšiai Bishops Juozas Pletkus and Liudas Povilionis on March 29, 1972. They in turn visited the Lutheran consistory on April 20.¹⁷ Later on September 17, 1972 an ecumenical service was held in Alkiškiai sponsored by the local Lutheran parish to celebrate the 70th birthday of Pastor Rauskinas and 40th anniversary of his ordination. Russian Orthodox and Roman Catholic clergy participated. The 80th birthday of Prelate Rapolas Kuodis of Žemaičių Naumiestis was celebrated in the Roman Catholic Church in that town on July 17, 1973. Local Lutheran Pastor Jonas Armonaitis participated in the service and recalled that the prelate had participated eight years earlier in the 80th birthday of consistory Chairman Burkevičius.¹⁸

¹⁶ LCVA f. R-181, a. 3, b. 76, l. 22-29.

¹⁷ *Lietuvos TSR evangelikų bažnyčios kalendorius*, 1970, p. 20; *Lietuvos TSR evangelikų bažnyčios kalendorius*, 1972, p. 2; *Lietuvos TSR evangelikų bažnyčios kalendorius*, 1973, p. 19-20.

¹⁸ LCVA f. R-181, a. 1, b. 203, l. 118; *Lietuvos TSR evangelikų bažnyčios kalendorius*, 1974, p. 19, 33.

The Reformed held a sort of ecumenical service in Biržai on July 25, 1971 to which they invited only Lutherans and Baptists. The January 1968 analysis of ecumenism in Lithuania by Rugienis was at least partially accurate. It was largely ceremonial. No dialogues or doctrinal discussions were ever initiated.¹⁹

New concerns were raised by the commissioner's office when in 1972 the new Russian Orthodox Bishop Anatolij arrived in Lithuania. Assistant Commissioner Andrej Murnikov informed Moscow on February 15, 1973 that the bishop was not behaving as expected. He had begun his ministry in Lithuania by visiting his parishes to invigorate the believers. He was also actively seeking stronger ecumenical ties with the Old Believers, Roman Catholics, and Lutherans by meeting with their highest administrative officers and participating in ecumenical services in Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches. Murnikov stated that when Anatolij came to Klaipėda to visit the Russian Orthodox parish on July 8, 1973 he also attended the Lutheran Divine Service and brought his greetings to the congregation. Murnikov viewed this with some alarm, stating that while ecumenism on the international level for the purpose of promoting peace was perfectly acceptable, ecumenical programs within the country were more troublesome because they stirred up the people, created enthusiasm, and helped to fortify a united front against atheism.²⁰

The new Commissioner Kazimieras Tumėnas summoned the bishop to his office to caution him that the Religious Affairs Department expected him to act more circumspectly and with greater modesty. This caution went unheeded and the commissioner wrote on February 8, 1974 that it appeared it would be necessary to apply pressure on him through the Moscow Patriarchate. However he did state that the bishop's sermons did not contain anything offensive.²¹

In the course of that year Anatolij was moved elsewhere and Bishop German was put in charge of the Lithuanian Russian Orthodox

¹⁹ Lietuvos Ev. Reformatų Konsistorijos posėdžių protokolų knyga 1946–1995 m., p. 115-119.

²⁰ LCVA f. R-181, a. 3, b. 85, l. 23-24.

²¹ LCVA f. R-181, a. 3, b. 88, l. 33-34; LCVA f. R-754, a. 13, b. 1213, l. 34-35.

parishes. The 1976 report of Commissioner Tumėnas to Moscow stated that German was every bit as troublesome as his predecessor. He was working to revitalize his parishes and strengthen ecumenical ties with other Churches. Although the bishop presented himself as a loyal soviet citizen, even a patriot, many of his actions were causes for concern. In the 1976 report of the bishop to the patriarchate he stated that he was maintaining close ecumenical ties with Roman Catholics and the Lutherans, and that Lutherans were worshipping in Orthodox Churches in Klaipėda, Šiauliai, and Mažeikiai.²²

Bishop German was one of the participants in the Tauragė Divine Service celebrating the 35th anniversary of ordination of Pastor Kalvanas on July 27, 1975. At that service he greeted the pastor, the assembled Lutheran, Roman Catholic, and Reformed clergy, saying that he was a newcomer among them but not a stranger. He said that he had known Pastor Kalvanas for several years from the time of Prague Peace Conferences and had always held him in high regard. He said also that he knew that he was closely related to all present in their mutual faith and confession of the Lord Jesus Christ, their Savior and Lord. Similar greetings came from the Archbishop Matulis of Latvia and Archbishop Alfred Tooming of Estonia, as well as Dean Alfonsas Sirus, Pastor of the Tauragė Roman Catholic Parish.²³ A year earlier, on April 21, 1974, a service in the same church had celebrated the 60th birthday of Pastor Kalvanas with Russian Orthodox and Roman Catholic priests participating. A Roman Catholic ecumenical service was held in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul in Šiauliai on November 23, 1975 to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the building of the church and to consecrate a new high altar. Dean Liudvikas Mažonavičius of Šiauliai invited Pastor Rauskinas of the Šiauliai Lutheran parish and other parishes in the region to participate and bring greetings from the Lutherans.²⁴

²² LCVA f. R-181, a. 3, b. 90, l. 35; LCVA f. R-181, a. 1, b. 217, l. 7.

²³ G. Rauskinas, „Kaip malonu ir miela,“ *Lietuvos TSR evangelikų bažnyčios kalendorius*, 1976, p. 20-26; *Lietuvos TSR evangelikų bažnyčios kalendorius*, 1975, p. 25-27.

²⁴ November 16, 1975 letter of Liudvikas Mažonavičius to Gustavas Rauskinas, JKA, II-asis pokarinis visuotinis sinodas Tauragės Martyno Mažvydo bažnyčioje 1970.08.23, introdukcija 1971.06.20 (unpaged).

RUDIMENTARY ATTEMPTS TO INITIATE THEOLOGICAL DIALOGUE

Although the participation of Roman Catholics in ecumenical services was a response to *Unitatis Redintegratio* formulated in Vatican II, it did not represent a real attempt by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Lithuania to fulfill in any serious manner the objectives of that document. No Roman Catholic bishop took part in any ecumenical gathering involving both Orthodox and Lutheran clergy in the 1960's and 1970's. Those who did participate were either deans or parish pastors. It was only in private that Roman Catholic bishops met with leaders of other Churches, and only with the Russian Orthodox were they willing to appear in public services, and such services were held only infrequently.

At no time were there any theological discussions or dialogues between the Churches. It was left to the local clergy in the Churches to meet with each other to share the results of the dialogues going on in Europe and North America. In 1971 Pastor Kalvanas sent to the Roman Catholic Senior Priest Albinas Budrikis in Žeimelis the document, entitled *Official reports (Offiziellen Bericht)* of the Lutheran – Roman Catholic dialogues in Europe. This marked the beginning of extended correspondence between the two. Father Budreikis responded that he was delighted to see the high degree of agreement that had been achieved in the dialogues. He was especially appreciative of the papers presented by Jan Cardinal Willebrands and American Lutheran Church President Dr. Kent Knutson. He was also delighted at the high degree of unanimity expressed about the Holy Eucharist and the Holy Ministry in the document *Amt und Abendmahl*. He stated that he was aware that some theologians might want to go further and others felt that already the dialogues had gone to far, but that it was clear that significant hurdles still lay ahead: the Eucharistic sacrifice, birth control, and the education of children of mixed families. He noted that in the long run none of these should inhibit the possibility of intercommunion between the Churches.²⁵

²⁵ May 18 and June 22, 1971 letters of Albinas Budrikis to Jonas Kalvanas, JKA, Lietuvos TSR evangelikų-liuteronų Bažnyčios pirmojo pokarinio visuotinio sinodo, įvykusio Kretingos bažnyčioje 1955 metų gegužės mėn. 22 d. (unpaged).

Such theological conversations were not taken at the highest official levels. It may be that the Roman Catholic hierarchy was not anxious to enter into dialogue with Churches from the East or “Ecclesial Communities” in the West. Ecumenical hospitality was in order because it had been ordered, but the hierarchy was unwilling to move beyond that.

STANISLAV BALÍK

STATE AGAINST CHURCH. STATE EFFORTS TO
BIND THE APPLICATION OF THE RESULTS
OF THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL
IN THE CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The aim of this contribution is to show in what way the Communist non-democratic regime in Czechoslovakia tried to impede the Catholic Church from accepting and applying the results of the Second Vatican Council. The contribution represents the results of primary research of archive sources in a project financed by the Czech Science Foundation.¹

Of course, I have to warn that these are sources of Communist provenance – the reports and materials of ministries or the Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party. Let's say that in the sources we can find mostly the interpretation of the reality (not the reality itself) about how the Communist rulers and their collaborators inside the Church perceived the Church and the Council. The sources indicate that there was a targeted effort by the Communist regime to minimize the Church – and so in this case to minimize the innovative changes made by the Council.

THE SELECTION OF THE DELEGATION

When John XXIII announced the holding of the Council, it was totally unclear whether the bishops from the Communist countries would be able to attend it. On the contrary, this possibility was

¹ This text has been written as part of the research plan *History of the Reception of Vatican II in the Czech Lands* (GAČR č. 409/09/1286).

considered somewhat unlikely – indeed many of them (e.g. just from Czechoslovakia), if they were not in prison, had not been to Rome since the 1940's.

Until it became clear that Czechoslovakia would allow the presence at the Council of at least some of its bishops, the Vatican intended that the Czechoslovak Church would be represented by the Italian rector of the Czechoslovak Pontifical College Nepomucenum Alfredo Bontempi, who had been ordained bishop in 1962 just for this reason.²

All of the Czechoslovak bishops (including those the state didn't acknowledge such as Ladislav Hlad – or weren't in the bishop's office – e.g. Vasil Hopko, Stanislav Zela, Ján Vojtaššák, and others) received the invitation. 15 Catholic bishops lived in Czechoslovakia in 1962 (not including bishops who received their ordination secretly without knowledge of the state).³ The vast majority of them had to decline the invitation.

Although they were apparently forced to write letters to the Holy See, which were censored by the state authorities, they didn't agree to be represented by the so-called procurators – although this was in accordance with the Council rules. The authorities pushed them to be represented by the Communist collaborators within the Church. Although the procurators couldn't vote at the Council, they could take part at its sessions and to sign the Council deeds. None of the Czech and Moravian bishops designated any procurator. Only 4 bishops⁴ attended the Council as Czechoslovak delegates.

As well in the “Council case” it was shown that the Communist state had abolished the one thousand years valid separation of spiritual and secular power and integrated both powers. This denied the European development, which brought the freedom of man. The Communist

² Národní archiv, f. Ministerstvo školství a kultury (MŠK), Praha, 1945–1967, sign. 47 – odbor pro věci církevní, k. č. 39, Informativní zpráva VI. oddělení MŠK o II. vatikánském koncilu, 17.12.1962; <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bbontem.html>.

³ S. Balík, J. Hanuš, *Katolická církev v Československu 1945–1989*, Brno, 2007.

⁴ Eduard Nécsey, Ambróz Lazík, František Tomášek, Róbert Pobožný.

state not only controlled the Church through its agents in the bishop's offices, but also decided who could take part at the meeting of the Church Council. It was namely the state, or in the last resort the Central Committee of the Communist Party, which decided who could take part in the Council.

The party even thought that an officer from the party secretariat should prepare the discussion papers of the Council fathers. The party devoted so much attention to the Council that the Minister of Education and Culture and the Minister of Interior assigned two support staff (with knowledge of the Latin language) to it. At the Czechoslovak embassy in Rome a special worker of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs worked for the whole Council period of four years. He was in regular contact with the Czechoslovak delegates and was probably a collaborator of the secret service.⁵

Czechoslovak delegates not only had to write reports about their activities, but they also had to take part in individual and collective talks at the Ministry of Education after returning home.

The ways for determining the delegations changed during the four years of the council. So for example at the end of the council in 1965 the composition of the delegation was consulted with the Ministry of Interior and with the chairman of the priests' collaborationist organization (he was also the Minister of Health). The Ministry of Education and Culture proposed the members of the delegation that were approved by the party Central Committee.⁶

CZECHOSLOVAK COUNCIL PARTICIPANTS

In total 16 Czechoslovak delegates took part in (at least one) of the Council sessions. But only 4 of them were legitimate Council

⁵ Národní archiv, f. Ministerstvo školství a kultury (MŠK), Praha, 1945–1967, sign. 47 – odbor pro věci církevní, k. č. 39, Náměty k besedě s. ministra s delegací na 4. část II. vatikánského koncilu, 9.IX.1965.

⁶ Národní archiv, f. Ministerstvo školství a kultury (MŠK), Praha, 1945–1967, sign. 47 – odbor pro věci církevní, k. č. 39, Návrh na složení delegace katolických hodnostářů z ČSSR pro čtvrtou část II. vatikánského koncilu v Římě, 1965.

fathers – bishops. The remaining 12 were supporting members of the delegation.⁷

The largest delegation took part at the first Council session – 12 participants (although only the 3 Council fathers had the right to vote, they were accompanied by 9 other members). With each of the following sessions the delegation dwindled, until at the last session there were only seven participants from Czechoslovakia (four Council fathers, accompanied by three other members).

It is very interesting to view the national structure of the delegation. Although Czechoslovakia was in the sixties a unitary state of Czechs and Slovaks, the national aspect had its importance. The national division was used by the Czechoslovak exiles – there were large differences between Czechs and Slovaks; also the Council delegation itself was internally (also mentally) divided into Czechs and Slovaks. At the beginning in 1962 there were two thirds Czechs against only one third Slovaks. Already in 1963 there was proportional representation. And at the end there were only two Czech delegates against five Slovaks. But it must be said that the situation from 1965 better reflected the force and vitality of the Church in both parts of the Republic.

The accompanying staff was so large probably because the Communist regime believed that the presence of its collaborators within the Church at the Council could bring greater benefit to the Communists. But likely over time the state found out that these benefits were minimal (or zero), so the number of procurators was significantly reduced. The expected gathering of information on the attitudes of bishops and other background information failed – the bishops did not trust the people assigned to them as secretaries, so they did not tell them anything. The people without the right to participate in the Council did not receive the background information. No new information about the Czechoslovak exiles in Rome was gained, as they were on their guard.

Among the 16 members of the delegation there were 9 registered agents of the State Security, as well as 9 overt collaborators with the Communists – but these two categories were not always identical.

⁷ Národní archiv, f. Ministerstvo školství a kultury (MŠK), Praha, 1945–1967, sign. 47 – odbor pro věci církevní, k. č. 39, Účastníci koncilu.

Czechoslovaks in exile also attended the Council. The most important of them were Josef Cardinal Beran,⁸ Pavel Mária Hnilica,⁹ and Michal Rusnak.¹⁰

While the accompanying staff was more a shame for the delegation, nothing like that can be said about the bishops. Nevertheless, the Czechoslovak Council fathers (out of all Czechoslovak bishops) were more responsive and more accessible to look for a way that the Church and State could live together, but they did not agree to play the role of puppets.

The Soviet Orthodox observers (protojerej Vitalyj Borovoj) praised the discussion paper of František Tomášek on the decree about ecumenism. Because of this paper the whole Czechoslovak delegation received a Jubilee Gold Medal from Patriarch Alexei. Only three of these medals were awarded – one was given to the Archbishop of Geneva Francesco Charrière who in 1963 congratulated (on behalf of the Pope) Moscow Patriarch Alexei with his fifty-year anniversary as a bishop. The second medal was given to Augustin Cardinal Bea, the President of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity. The patriarch gave instructions to give the third medal to the person who executes the best work in the field of convergence of Christians at the Council.¹¹

There were not many discussion papers by the Czechoslovak Council fathers. At the first session probably no one spoke. We don't know why this occurred. Perhaps because all of them were in Rome for the first time after many years or perhaps due to their shyness. Other possible explanations are that they did not believe to be experts on the topics or the fact that until the last moment they didn't know whether they would be able to attend the council.

⁸ S. Vodičková, *Josef kardinál Beran*, in: S. Balík, J. Hanuš a kol.: *Primasové katolické církve. Země střední a východní Evropy v čase komunismu*, Brno, 2010.

⁹ Pavol Mária Hnilica http://www.kbs.sk/do_pdf/index.php?cid=1230378204.

¹⁰ <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bRusnak.html>.

¹¹ Národní archiv, f. Ministerstvo školství a kultury (MŠK), Praha, 1945–1967, sign. 47 – odbor pro věci církevní, k. č. 39, Zpráva o pobyte československej delegaie na II. časti II. vatikanskeho koncilu v Ríme od 25.9.-5.12.1963, Š. Zárecký.

In 1963 they spoke four times – F. Tomášek three times and Slovak bishop E. Nécsey once. They had papers on the Church and ecumenism. Just the last paper aroused the response mentioned above. F. Tomášek in this paper suggested convening a special council of Catholic and Orthodox bishops to accelerate the unity.

From the point of view of the Czechoslovak discussion papers the most interesting period came at the end of Council, in September 1965. F. Tomášek's paper on the program of world help to the family was no problem for the Communist regime. The three others were considerably more problematic. Prague Archbishop Josef Cardinal Beran, who was at this time for the first half year in exile in Rome, gave a speech on the freedom of religion.¹² Two exile bishops with Czechoslovak roots – M. Rusnák and P. Hnilica provoked a literary scandal (from the perspective of the Communist regime). They spoke in the debate about the pastoral constitution of the Church in the modern world. In this debate they led the discussions about atheism, but in the frame of the beginning of Vatican's Ostpolitik no separate declaration on atheism was adopted. The Council with prolonged applause received both "Slovak" contributions; the world press also noticed them. Communist Czechoslovakia responded with a prolonged hysterical campaign.¹³

STATE APPROACH TOWARDS TWO COUNCIL POPES

Generally we can say that despite the later great helpfulness of Pope Paul VI with his Ostpolitik, the Communist regime perceived John XXIII in a more positive manner. His election was perceived as a big chance for change. Pius XII had been seen as the greatest enemy of Communism whose influence created the negative attitude of the Czech Catholic Church towards Communism.

The growing enthusiasm of Communists for John XXIII (which culminated with his encyclical *Pacem in Terris*), and the subsequent

¹² Hanuš, Jiří: *Malý slovník osobností českého katolicismu 20. století*. CDK, Brno, 2005, p. 261-262.

¹³ M. Hudaček, *Totalitný systém a jeho vplyv na jezuitov (1950–1989)* <http://jezuiti.sk/blog/dejiny/2010/totalitny-sytem-1950-1989-a-jeho-vplyv-na-jezuitov/>.

disappointment with Paul VI (that he is not the same as his predecessor), did not allow the Communists to evaluate properly the shifts that have occurred in the Church. They noticed that the tone of the anticommunism of Vatican was blunted, but they didn't notice that the Church might revive through the empowerment of the role of laity. Until in 1965 they noted that "since the accession of John XXIII there is an ongoing strong wave of religious and political mobilization of Catholicism in the whole world".¹⁴

STATE APPROACH TO THE COUNCIL TOPICS

In following the Council's work, the main interest of the Communist regime was primarily focused on the topic whether Communism will be rejected. The regime did not understand that other topics could be a greater threat – that the change within the liturgy (stronger position of the laity, the national language of liturgy) or ecumenism could be important in the process of strengthening the Church.

But already in 1963 Communist analysts noticed the voices stating that today "the Church has greater concern with the liberalism and atheism in the West than with dialectic materialism". Despite that they had to bind this information to the relationship with the socialist countries: "the Church leaders see the danger in the decline of religion in capitalist countries because this weakens the forces for the fight against Communism".¹⁵

The church department at the Ministry of Education and Culture perceived the following two main topics after the end of the first Council session: a) the question of the union of the Christian churches, which can concern the forces defending the economical, political, and ideological positions of the Church in contemporary social development; b) the

¹⁴ Národní archiv, f. Ministerstvo školství a kultury (MŠK), Praha, 1945–1967, sign. 47 – odbor pro věci církevní, k. č. 39, Informační zpráva o situaci mezi duchovními ke vztahu k II. vatikánskému koncilu, 1965.

¹⁵ Národní archiv, f. Ministerstvo školství a kultury (MŠK), Praha, 1945–1967, sign. 47 – odbor pro věci církevní, k. č. 39, Informativní zpráva o průběhu a výsledcích druhé části II. vatikánském koncilu, 1963.

question of the revision in the international relations of the Vatican so that its relations better reflect the contemporary world situation and aid the perspectives of further development, first of all with the revision of the relations with the socialist countries.¹⁶

For a long time there were doubts whether the change of Vatican politics towards socialist countries was real – whether it had “only a strategic and tactical character”. But simultaneously already the careful optimism regarding the friendlier attitude of the Vatican dominated.

But then the state probably recognized, how much the application of the results of the Council could improve the force of Catholicism in the society. Therefore, the state tried by all possible means (especially by administrative ways) to hinder this application. The State refused to give paper for new publications – catechisms, manuals for the preparation for the sacraments (First Communion, Confirmation, Confession), new Mass schedules or the hymnbooks. Documents of Council were not collectively published in the Czech lands until 1989 (only a small part in the magazine for priests), while the Council documents were published in all other socialist countries, even in Slovakia. The state also limited the publication of usual Church texts. The state approval for publishing the post Council missal and breviary did not come until 1982; they were actually published in 1983. However, before publishing the state reviewed and approved these sacred texts! The tradition of Byzantine Caesaropapism came back to life. The state for the whole period of Communist government demanded that any materials that were to be sent or forwarded to the Vatican be approved by the Ministry of Education and Culture.

The state vehemently prohibited the Episcopal ministry from working collegially.¹⁷ Almost for the whole Communist period it did not allow the majority of the dioceses to be managed by regular diocesan

¹⁶ Národní archiv, f. Ministerstvo školství a kultury (MŠK), Praha, 1945–1967, sign. 47 – odbor pro věci církevní, k. č. 39, Informativní zpráva VI. oddělení MŠK o II. vatikánském koncilu, 17.12.1962.

¹⁷ Národní archiv, f. Ministerstvo školství a kultury (MŠK), Praha, 1945–1967, sign. 47 – odbor pro věci církevní, k. č. 39, Záznam o besedě s představiteli římsko-katolické církve na MŠK, 29.12.1964.

bishops. Moreover, the state resisted the founding of the collective body – the conference of Catholic Bishops.

The creation of a diaconal ministry was a never-ending story in the negotiations between state and Church. By 1968 almost once a year František Tomášek, later cardinal, sent repeated requests to the state authorities for the establishment of the diaconal ministry, but without any success.

At first the state would allow diaconal ministry only for single men for whom the diaconate would be his main occupation. Of course it was funny – such men could be priests. But the Church lacked these priests. That is why the bishops and other representatives of Church tried to establish the diaconal ministry – they intended to confide the managing of many parishes without priests to them. Bishops counted about 1500 new deacons (mostly married, with civilian employment) who could manage the parishes.¹⁸ It was the time when the lack of Czech priests culminated – their number decreased in forty years between 1948 and 1989 from 2934 to 1450.¹⁹

The Communist regime by not allowing the diaconal ministry for married men largely determined the image of the Czech Church after 1989. Namely after this year it was decided to restore the old, clerical model of the Church where its administration is built on priests, and not laymen or married deacons. Although the situation with the low number of priests is now continuing, the administration of the Church now does not count on anyone else contributing. Of course, it is hard to say today whether 1500 deacons could be possibly found; but it is not impossible and very likely it would greatly change the Church's mentality. Today the situation is dramatically different.

The Communist regime understood very late, how dangerous is the change of liturgy, which is based on the stronger role of laymen. The state only for a long time refused the possibility of laymen leading the liturgy of the Word, declaring that it is against Church laws.

¹⁸ Národní archiv, f. MK ČSR, SPVC, k. č. 129, Stanovisko SPVC MK ČSR k dopisu kardinála Tomáška prezidentu ČSSR, 1981, s. 1.

¹⁹ S. Balík, J. Hanuš, *Katolická církev v Československu 1945–1989*, Brno, 2007.

But the Church tried to connect laymen in a maximum number of possible ways – in the sense of the Decree on the apostolate of the laity.

Retrospectively seen – the greater involvement of the laity in the Church is one of the greatest mental transformations of the Church, inspired by the Council. Since the late sixties we can observe the growing importance of the laity. While in the forties and fifties it was almost impossible to think that the Catholic Church actions, including political parties could be managed by anybody else than priests. Later it became obvious that these actions are managed by laymen. The first fruits were already visible in 1968, when the legendary Work of Council Renewal was dominantly based on the activity of the laity. Laymen gradually got into a consultative body of Cardinal Tomášek, in the late eighties other laymen held Catholic events associated with resistance against the Communist regime.

In concluding we can say that the Second Vatican Council came literally as a godsend for the Czech Church in the middle of totalitarian times. Even though the Communist state refused by all means to apply its conclusions to church life, it failed to stop them. Also through the transformation of the liturgy the Council changed the understanding of the role of the laity in the Church. It is very difficult to imagine in what condition the Church would be after the fall of Communism without the Council, but very likely the conditions would have been much worse than with the Council.

GERHARD LINDEMANN

DIVERGING EXPERIENCES OF CHURCH
UNDER COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP AND IN
DEMOCRACY: THE GERMAN PERSPECTIVE

GENERAL CONDITIONS

Before we consider the situation of the Christian Churches in East and West Germany during the period from 1945 to 1989 I will look back on the situation in the previous decades. The Weimar Republic, founded in 1919, offered the churches a lot of opportunities. There was the separation of state and church (marked by the statement of the Weimar constitution “There is no state church”), but the main (state) Churches remained public corporations. The state considered these Churches in another way than for example registered societies or syndicates. It was the first time in Germany that the Churches were free to mind their own business. Apart from this, the Churches received support from the state through taxes. With the exception of Bremen, confessional religious education remained a regular subject at public schools, furthermore the state maintained theological faculties at universities for the scientific training of future pastors and priests, and the constitution guaranteed the Churches privileged spiritual welfare e.g. in the army, hospitals, or prisons.¹

The clergy of the Catholic Church was quite sceptical toward the idea of the sovereignty of the people,² but the Center party representing

¹ See Ernst Rudolf Huber, Wolfgang Huber, *Staat und Kirche im 19 und 20 Jahrhundert. Dokumente zur Geschichte des deutschen Staatskirchenrechts*, vol. IV Staat und Kirche in der Zeit der Weimarer Republik, Berlin (West), 1988, 128-132.

² See Stefan Gerber, “Legitimität, Volkssouveränität und Demokratie. Clemens August Graf von Galen und die Weimarer Reichsverfassung”, in: Joachim Kuroepka (ed.), *Streitfall Galen. Studien und Dokumente*, Münster, 2007, p. 95-114.

political Catholicism became a stabilizing factor of the young democracy.³ Only in the final stage of the Republic, did the positions which preferred an authoritarian corporative state gain more influence.⁴ On the other hand, there was no explicit Protestant political party. This was one reason that the accommodation to the new type of state was for Protestants more difficult than for Catholics. Democracy was considered as an alien Western political system which seemed not to correspond to the German national character.⁵ Because of its neutrality in these matters the Republic was considered as an areligious “state without God”.⁶ Both major confessions cooperated with the state in social affairs – the welfare state had attained a constitutional status.⁷

³ See Herbert Hömig, *Das preußische Zentrum in der Weimarer Republik*, Mainz 1979; Rudolf Morsey, *Die Deutsche Zentrumspartei 1917–1923*, Düsseldorf, 1966; Karsten Ruppert, *Im Dienst am Staat von Weimar. Das Zentrum als regierende Partei in der Weimarer Republik 1923–1930*, Düsseldorf, 1992; *Idem.*, “Die Deutsche Zentrumspartei und die Weimarer Demokratie 1918–1933”, in: Wolfram Pyta, Carsten Kretschmann, Giuseppe Ignesti, Tiziana Di Maio (eds.), *Die Herausforderung der Diktaturen. Katholizismus in Deutschland und Italien 1918–1943/45*, Tübingen, 2009, p. 13-37.

⁴ See Hans Mommsen, *Die verspielte Freiheit. Der Weg der Republik von Weimar in den Untergang 1918 bis 1933*, Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, 1990, p. 268; Gerhard Besier, “Berufsständische Ordnung” und autoritäre Diktaturen. Zur politischen Umsetzung einer “klassenfreien” katholischen Gesellschaftsordnung in den 20er und 30er Jahren des 20 Jahrhunderts, in: *Idem.*, Hermann Lübke (eds.), *Politische Religion und Religionspolitik. Zwischen Totalitarismus und Bürgerfreiheit*, Göttingen, 2005, p. 79-110.

⁵ See Roland Kurz, *Nationalprotestantisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik. Voraussetzungen und Ausprägungen des Protestantismus nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg in seiner Begegnung mit Volk und Nation*, Gütersloh, 2007; Manfred Gailus, “Protestantismus und Nationalismus in der Kriegs- und Zwischenkriegszeit 1914–1945”, in: Berndt Hamm, Harry Oelke, Gury Schneider-Ludorff (eds.), *Spielräume des Handelns und der Erinnerung. Die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in Bayern und der Nationalsozialismus*, Göttingen, 2010, p. 19-41; Kurt Nowak, *Evangelische Kirche und Weimarer Republik. Zum politischen Weg des deutschen Protestantismus zwischen 1918 und 1932*, Weimar–Göttingen, 1981, p. 85-87.

⁶ See Nowak, *Evangelische Kirche*, *op. cit.*, p. 76-84.

⁷ See Werner Abelshäuser (ed.), *Die Weimarer Republik als Wohlfahrtsstaat*, Stuttgart, 1987; Jochen-Christoph Kaiser, “Die Diakonie als subsidiärer Träger des Sozialstaats der Weimarer Republik”, in: Traugott Jähnichen, Norbert Friedrich

While the Catholic bishops first were warning of National-Socialism as an anti-Christian ideology,⁸ Protestants sympathized more with the Hitler movement. One reason for this attitude was the formula of “positive Christendom” in the program of the brown party. Other reasons were its strong nationalism and anti-Bolshevism, its model of an authoritarian state or the promise of a national community of people (*Volksgemeinschaft*) instead of the so called atomisation of human beings in the modern mass society.⁹ After Hitler’s seizure of power in January 1933 Protestants (and Catholics) accepted his promises of a future political course being in favor of the Churches.¹⁰ The Catholic bishops withdrew their warnings, and the Center party agreed at the Reichstag to the Enabling Act which facilitated Hitler to enact laws without the consent of the parliament. The Holy See concluded a treaty with the German Reich, a concordat, which seemed to guarantee the Catholic fields of work by surrendering political Catholicism, but on the other hand from the point of view of foreign affairs it was a great win for Hitler’s reputation.¹¹ Both Protestants and Catholics agreed with wide fields of Hitler’s policy, but this agreement was made more and more difficult by the increasing interventions of the totalitarian regime in the

(eds.), *Protestantismus und Soziale Frage. Profile in der Zeit der Weimarer Republik*, Münster, Hamburg, London, 2000, p. 113-128; *Idem.*, “Protestantische Sozialarbeit in der Weimarer Republik”, in: Waltraud Schreiber (ed.), *Die religiöse Dimension im Geschichtsunterricht an Europas Schulen. Ein interdisziplinäres Forschungsprojekt*, Tagungsband, Neuried, 2000, p. 227-244; *Idem.*, *Sozialer Protestantismus im 20. Jahrhundert. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Inneren Mission 1914–1945*, München, 1989, p. 67-71, 95-185.

⁸ See Heinz Hürten, *Deutsche Katholiken 1918–1945*, Paderborn–München–Wien–Zürich, 1992, p. 163-166. About the situation of the German Catholic Church during the Nazi-Dictatorship See Christoph Kösters, Mark Edward Ruff (eds.), *Die katholische Kirche im Dritten Reich. Eine Einführung*, Freiburg–Basel–Wien, 2011; Karl-Joseph Hummel, Michael Kißener (eds.), *Die Katholiken und das Dritte Reich. Kontroversen und Debatten*, Paderborn–München–Wien–Zürich, 2010.

⁹ See Nowak, *Evangelische Kirche*, *op. cit.*, p. 297-320.

¹⁰ See Christoph Strohm, *Die Kirchen im Dritten Reich*, München, 2011, p. 16-23.

¹¹ See Thomas Brechenmacher, *Das Reichskonkordat 1933. Forschungsstand, Kontroversen, Dokumente*, Paderborn–München–Wien–Zürich, 2007.

internal affairs of the Evangelical church,¹² its intrusions on the rights of both Churches¹³ and the defamation of the Catholic clergy.¹⁴

THE CHURCHES IN OCCUPIED GERMANY (1945–1949)

In the international Western perspective the resistance of the churches against the regime¹⁵ seemed to be stronger than it had really been, so that a directive of the European Advisory Commission of the future victorious powers of World War II in 1944 marked the bounds of future church policy: a far-reaching unimpeded holding of services and

¹² See Kurt Meier, *Der evangelische Kirchenkampf*, 3 vols., 1984; *Idem.*, *Kreuz und Hakenkreuz. Die evangelische Kirche im Dritten Reich*, München, 2001; Klaus Scholder, Gerhard Besier, *Die Kirchen und das Dritte Reich*, 3 vols., Frankfurt am Main–Berlin–Wien, 1977, 2000; Carsten Nicolaisen, Gertraud Grünzinger, *Dokumente zur Kirchenpolitik des Dritten Reiches*, 5 vols., München–Gütersloh, 1971–2008; Siegfried Hermle, Jörg Thierfelder (eds.), *Herausgefordert. Dokumente zur Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*, Stuttgart, 2008.

¹³ See Martin Greschat (ed.), *Zwischen Widerspruch und Widerstand. Texte zur Denkschrift der Bekennenden Kirche an Hitler (1936)*, München, 1987.

¹⁴ See Hans Günter Hockerts, *Die Sittlichkeitsprozesse gegen katholische Ordensangehörige und Priester 1936/37. Eine Studie zur nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftstechnik und zum Kirchenkampf*, Mainz, 1971; Petra Madeleine Rapp, *Die Devisenprozesse gegen katholische Ordensangehörige und Geistliche im Dritten Reich. Eine Untersuchung zum Konflikt deutscher Orden und Klöster in wirtschaftlicher Notlage, totalitärer Machtausübung des nationalsozialistischen Regimes und im Kirchenkampf 1935–36*, Diss. phil. Bonn, 1981; Ulrich von Hehl, *Christoph Kösters, Petra Stenz-Maur, Elisabeth Zimmermann, Priester unter Hitlers Terror. Eine biographische und statistische Erhebung*, 2 vols., Paderborn–München–Wien–Zürich, 1996–1997; Eike Lossin, *Katholische Geistliche in nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern. Frömmigkeit zwischen Anpassung, Befehl und Widerstand*, Würzburg, 2011.

¹⁵ See Gerhard Ringshausen, *Widerstand und christlicher Glaube angesichts des Nationalsozialismus*, Berlin, Münster, 2008; C. Strohm, *Die Kirchen*, *op. cit.*, p. 105–111; Andreas Henkelmann, Nicole Priesching (eds.), *Widerstand? Forschungsperspektiven auf das Verhältnis von Katholizismus und Nationalsozialismus*, Saarbrücken, 2010; Hubert Wolf, *Papst Pius XII und die Juden. Zum Stand der Forschung*, in: *Theologische Revue* 105 (2009), p. 265–280; Michael F. Feldkamp, *Mitläufer, Feiglinge, Antisemiten? Katholische Kirche und Nationalsozialismus*, Augsburg, 2009; Clemens Vollnhals, *Evangelische Kirche und Entnazifizierung. Die Last der nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit*, München, 1989.

undertaking of gatherings in the parishes, an independent regulation of internal affairs, a dissolving of anticlerical Nazi-laws, the return of confiscated buildings, the continuation of the collection of church taxes by the state and of giving state subsidies to the churches and the admission of a church press, of Religious Education at school and of societies within the churches.¹⁶ After the end of the war the occupation powers mostly followed these agreements in their occupation zones.¹⁷

In all these zones the churches emphasized the public responsibility of Christians and churches. This was a consequence of the failure of the Weimar democracy, of the totalitarian experience during the time of Nazi-dictatorship and of the political and moral omissions of Christians during this dark period of German history.¹⁸ In this context the churches wanted to activate laypersons to take on responsibility for the society and political affairs. Special target groups were social elites as jurists, economists, doctors, or university teachers. For this purpose and for the encounter between church and society both Christian confessions founded academies where relevant issues were openly discussed.¹⁹ Similar

¹⁶ See Clemens Vollnhals (ed.), *Die evangelische Kirche nach dem Zusammenbruch. Berichte ausländischer Beobachter aus dem Jahre 1945*, Göttingen, 1988; Jürgen Heideking, "USA und deutsche Kirchen. Beobachtung, Planungen und Besatzungspolitik 1942 bis 1949", in: Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, Joachim Mehlhausen (eds.), *Christliches Ethos und der Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus in Europa*, Stuttgart–Berlin–Köln, 1995, p. 119-138.

¹⁷ See Jörg Thierfelder, "Die Kirchenpolitik der vier Besatzungsmächte und die evangelische Kirche nach der Kapitulation 1945", in: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, no. 18, 1992, p. 6-21; about the Soviet Zone See J. Jürgen Seidel, *Aus den Trümmern 1945. Personeller Wiederaufbau und Entnazifizierung in der evangelischen Kirche der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands. Einführung und Dokumente*, Göttingen, 1996; *Idem.*, "Neubeginn" in der Kirche? *Die evangelischen Landes- und Provinzialkirchen in der SBZ/DDR im gesellschaftspolitischen Kontext der Nachkriegszeit (1945–1953)*, Göttingen, 1989.

¹⁸ See Martin Greschat, *Die evangelische Christenheit und die deutsche Geschichte nach 1945. Weichenstellungen in der Nachkriegszeit*, Stuttgart, 2002, p. 292-296; Heike Springhart, *Aufbrüche zu neuen Ufern. Der Beitrag der Religion und Kirche für Demokratisierung und Reeducation im Westen Deutschlands nach 1945*, Leipzig, 2008.

¹⁹ See Hermann Boventer (ed.), *Evangelische und katholische Akademien. Gründerzeit und Aufstieg heute*, Paderborn, 1983; Thomas Mittmann, *Kirchliche*

goals were pursued with the student parishes²⁰ and Church congresses (on evangelical side founded in 1949).²¹ Later on the council of the Evangelical Church in Germany, established since 1945,²² founded so called “chambers”, committees dealing with political, economical, and theological issues.

Akademien in der Bundesrepublik. Gesellschaftliche, politische und religiöse Selbstverortung, Göttingen, 2011; Leonore Siegele-Wenschkewitz, “Hofprediger der Demokratie“. Evangelische Akademien und politische Bildung in den Anfangsjahren der Bundesrepublik Deutschland”, in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* no. 108, 1997, p. 236-251; Rulf Jürgen Treidel, *Evangelische Akademien im Nachkriegsdeutschland. Gesellschaftspolitisches Engagement in kirchlicher Öffentlichkeitsverantwortung*, Stuttgart-Berlin-Köln, 2001; Martha Friedenthal-Haase (ed.), *Evangelische Akademien in der DDR. Quellen und Untersuchungen zu Bildungsstätten zwischen Widerstand und Anpassung*, Leipzig, 2007; Nikolaus Hueck, *Lerngemeinschaft im Erziehungsstaat. Religion und Bildung in den evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR*, Gütersloh, 2000.

²⁰ See Gisela Sommer, *Grenzüberschreitungen. Evangelische Studentengemeinde in der DDR und BRD. Geschichte – Verhältnis – Zusammenarbeit in zwei deutschen Staaten*, Stuttgart, 1984; Christina Müller, “Die Jungen Gemeinden in der DDR am Beispiel der Evangelischen Studentengemeinde Halle”, in: Hermann-Josef Rupieper (ed.), *Hallische Beiträge zur Zeitgeschichte. Studentische Beiträge zur Universitäts- und Stadtgeschichte*, Halle, 2003, p. 63-96; Tobias Netzbandt, “Eine Gemeinschaft Gleichgesinnter. Zur Geschichte der Evangelischen Studentengemeinde (ESG) Jena”, in: Uwe Hoßfeld, Tobias Kaiser, Heinz Mestrup (eds.), *Hochschule im Sozialismus. Studien zur Geschichte der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena 1945–1990*, Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2007, p. 871-900; Raimund Nitzsche, Konrad Glöckner (eds.), *Geistige Heimat ESG. In Freiheit leben aus gutem Grund. Erinnerungen aus 60 Jahren Evangelischer Studentengemeinde Greifswald*, Greifswald, 2006.

²¹ Harald Schroeter, *Kirchentag als vor-läufige Kirche. Der Kirchentag als eine besondere Gestalt des Christseins zwischen Kirche und Welt*, Stuttgart-Berlin-Köln, 1993; Dirk Palm, “Wir sind doch Brüder!”, *Der evangelische Kirchentag und die deutsche Frage 1949–1961*, Göttingen, 2002; Rüdiger Runge, Margot Käßmann (eds.), *Kirche in Bewegung. 50 Jahre Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchentag*, Gütersloh, 1999; Peter Beier, *Missionarische Gemeinde in sozialistischer Umwelt. Die Kirchentagskongreßarbeit in Sachsen im Kontext der SED-Kirchenpolitik (1968–1975)*, Göttingen, 1999; Traugott Jähnichen, “Kirchentage und Akademien”, in: Norbert Friedrich, Traugott Jähnichen (eds.), *Gesellschaftspolitische Neuorientierungen des Protestantismus in der Nachkriegszeit*, Münster, 2002, p. 127–144.

²² See Annemarie Smith-von Osten, *Von Treysa 1945 bis Eisenach 1948. Zur Geschichte der Grundordnung der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland*, Göttingen, 1980.

Both Churches included first of all West and East Germany, where in 1949 as a consequence of the cold war²³ two separate states arose,²⁴ the West German Federal Republic of Germany grew to a parliamentary democracy, while the German Democratic Republic in the East was a Communist dictatorship.

WEST GERMANY

At first I will focus on the situation of the Churches in West Germany.²⁵ Because of the close relationships between the Churches in both parts of Germany until 1989, West German development had an influence on the thinking of Christians in the GDR. The West German constitution (*Grundgesetz*) contained the Church articles of the Weimar constitution from 1919. Therefore, the Churches had a strong position in West German society. The major churches had wide possibilities in participating in shaping the modern society (educational sector, health service, penal system, military, and the electronic mass media).²⁶ There was close cooperation between the state and church.

In regard to the engagement in political affairs Protestantism had better opportunities than in the Weimar Republic.²⁷ The newly

²³ Wilfried Loth, *Die Teilung der Welt. Geschichte des Kalten Krieges 1941–1955*, München, 2000; Gregor Schöllgen, *Geschichte der Weltpolitik von Hitler bis Gorbatschow 1941–1991*, München, 1996; Owen Chadwick, *The Christian Church in the Cold War*, London, 1993; Dianne Kirby (ed.), *Religion and the Cold War*, Basingstoke, 2003; Martin Greschat, *Protestantismus im Kalten Krieg. Kirche, Politik und Gesellschaft im geteilten Deutschland 1945–1963*, Paderborn, 2010.

²⁴ See Christoph Klessmann, *Die doppelte Staatsgründung. Deutsche Geschichte 1945–1955*, Bonn, 1991; Peter Graf Kielmansegg, *Das geteilte Land. Deutsche Geschichte 1945–1990. New Edition*, München, 2007.

²⁵ For the Protestants See Martin Greschat, *Der Protestantismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1945–2005)*, Leipzig, 2010.

²⁶ See Götz Klostermann, *Der Öffentlichkeitsauftrag der Kirchen. Rechtsgrundlagen im kirchlichen und staatlichen Recht*, Tübingen, 2000.

²⁷ See Michael Klein, *Westdeutscher Protestantismus und politische Parteien. Anti-Parteienmentalität und parteipolitisches Engagement von 1945 bis 1963*, Tübingen, 2005.

founded Christian Democratic Union was a interdenominational party. This was a consequence of the experiences of the *Third Reich*.²⁸ The Catholic Church had ended its support for the Center Party. The Social Democratic Party (SPD) transformed to an ideological neutralism by opening to church and Christendom.²⁹

The division of Germany affected the Protestant churches more than the Catholic Church³⁰, because a wide majority of the East German population was Evangelical. At first the EKD treated both states with a position of equidistance³¹ (like the World Council of Churches at its founding assembly at Amsterdam 1948³²), but soon abandoned this position in January 1950 in the face of the increasing number of infringements of the law in the GDR. Now from a Christian perspective, the governing body of the German Protestants considered human dignity and freedom as inviolable.³³ But in the 1950's for Protestants

²⁸ See Frank Bösch, *Die Adenauer-CDU. Gründung, Aufstieg und Krise einer Erfolgspartei 1945–1969*, Stuttgart, 2001; Gerhard Besier, "Christliche Parteipolitik" und Konfession. Zur Entstehung des Evangelischen Arbeitskreises der CDU/CSU", in: *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte*, no. 3, 1990, p. 166-187.

²⁹ See Greschat, *Der Protestantismus*, op. cit., p. 76.

³⁰ See Claudia Lepp, *Tabu der Einheit? Die Ost-West-Gemeinschaft der evangelischen Christen und die deutsche Teilung (1945–1969)*, Göttingen, 2005; *Idem.*, Kurt Nowak (eds.), *Evangelische Kirche im geteilten Deutschland (1945–1989/90)*, Göttingen, 2001; Diether Koch, *Heinemann und die Deutschlandfrage*, München, 1972; Martin Lotz, *Evangelische Kirche 1945–1952. Die Deutschlandfrage. Tendenzen und Positionen*, Stuttgart, 1992; Joachim Mehlhausen, Leonore Siegele-Wenschkewitz (eds.), *Zwei Staaten – zwei Kirchen? Evangelische Kirche im geteilten Deutschland. Ergebnisse und Tendenzen der Forschung*, Leipzig, 2000; Friedrich Winter, Werner Radatz, *Geteilte Einheit. Die Evangelische Kirche Berlin-Brandenburg 1961 bis 1990*, Leipzig, 2000; Christian Hanke, *Die Deutschlandpolitik der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland von 1945 bis 1990. Eine politikwissenschaftliche Untersuchung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des kirchlichen Demokratie, Gesellschaft und Staatsverständnis*, Berlin, 1999.

³¹ See Karl-Heinz Fix, *Die Protokolle des Rates der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland*, vol. 3, 1949, Göttingen, 2006, p. 352.

³² See W. A. Visser't Hooft (ed.), *Die erste Vollversammlung des Oekumenischen Rates der Kirchen in Amsterdam vom 22. August bis 4. September 1948*, Genf–Zürich, 1948, p. 104.

³³ See Anke Silomon, *Die Protokolle des Rates der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland*, vol. 4, 1950, Göttingen, 2007, p. 51 s.

the integration of West Germany in the Western system of alliances was highly controversial. There were intense debates in the synod of the EKD, a good practice of a culture of democratic debate which at this time was nearly totally lacking in the Catholic Church. Prominent Protestants took part in demonstrations against West German rearmament and the equipment of the West German army with atomic weapons.³⁴ These acts either were contributions to the vivification and animation of the young democracy.

German Catholicism became involved in the new order of West German politics and society much more easily than the Protestant Church. According to the conception of Chancellor Adenauer the recovery of Western Europe, the “occident”, was considered as the only chance to prevent the territorial spreading of Soviet Communism. Therefore, West Germany had to be connected with the Western community of values being a protective wall for Christian belief.³⁵

³⁴ See Johanna Vogel, *Kirche und Wiederbewaffnung. Die Haltung der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland in den Auseinandersetzungen um die Wiederbewaffnung der Bundesrepublik 1949–1956*, Göttingen, 1978; Martin Greschat, “Der Militärseelsorgevertrag zwischen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland”, in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, no. 119, 2008, p. 63–79; Ulrich Möller, *Im Prozeß des Bekennens. Brennpunkte der kirchlichen Atomwaffendiskussion im deutschen Protestantismus 1957–1962*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1999; Christian Walther (ed.), *Atomwaffen und Ethik. Der deutsche Protestantismus und die atomare Aufrüstung 1954–1961. Dokumente und Kommentare*, München, 1981; Hans Karl Rupp, *Außerparlamentarische Opposition in der Ära Adenauer. Der Kampf gegen die Atombewaffnung in den fünfziger Jahren*, Köln, 1970.

³⁵ See Anselm Döring-Manteuffel, *Katholizismus und Wiederbewaffnung. Die Haltung der deutschen Katholiken gegenüber der Wehrfrage 1948–1955*, Mainz, 1981; Irene Dingel, “Der Abendlandgedanke im konfessionellen Spannungsfeld. Katholische und evangelische Verlautbarungen (um 1950/60)”, in: *Idem.*; Matthias Schnettger (eds.), *Auf dem Weg nach Europa. Deutungen, Visionen, Wirklichkeiten*, Göttingen, 2010, p. 215–236; Arnd Bauerkämper, “Zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement im Katholizismus? Die Debatte über das „christliche Abendland“ in Deutschland, Österreich und Italien, 1945 bis 1965”, in: *Idem.*; Jürgen Nautz (eds.), *Zwischen Fürsorge und Seelsorge. Christliche Kirchen in den europäischen Zivilgesellschaften seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main–New York, 2009, p. 175–214.

In the second half of the 1950's German Protestantism accepted modern society more and more.³⁶ In view of the political and economic success of the young Federal Republic the traditional Protestant skepticism about Western democracy decreased. But there was still no profound understanding of democracy.³⁷

The rise of democratization in the 1960's connected with a higher rating of individuality, the gradual collapse of authoritarian structures³⁸ and the establishment of a pluralism of opinions and values had an effect on the churches and their members. The Second Vatican Council opened the Catholic Church to the modern world.³⁹ In connection with the Church congress movement under Protestants a discussion of Church reform was begun. There should be a higher degree of joint responsibility for the laypersons, smaller districts for the parishes, and an "open church".⁴⁰ There were new versions of services, for example. the

³⁶ See Axel Schildt, Arnold Sywottek (eds.), *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau. Die westdeutsche Gesellschaft der 50er Jahre*, Bonn, 1993; Axel Schildt, *Moderne Zeiten. Freizeit, Massenmedien und „Zeitgeist“ in der Bundesrepublik der 50er Jahre*, Hamburg, 1995.

³⁷ See Norbert Friedrich, Traugott Jähnichen (eds.), *Gesellschaftspolitische Neuorientierungen des Protestantismus in der Nachkriegszeit*, Münster, 2002; Thomas Sauer, *Westorientierung im deutschen Protestantismus? Vorstellungen und Tätigkeit des Kronberger Kreises*, München, 1999.

³⁸ See Ursula Krey, "Der Bruch mit der Gehorsamstraditio", in: Bernd Hey, Volkmar Wittmütz (eds.), *1968 und die Kirchen*, Bielefeld, 2008, p. 13-34.

³⁹ See Otto Hermann Pesch, *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil. Vorgeschichte, Verlauf, Ergebnisse, Nachgeschichte*, Würzburg, 2011; Franz Kaufmann, Arnold Zingerle (eds.), *Vaticanum II und Modernisierung. Historische, theologische und soziologische Perspektiven*, Paderborn, 1995; Verena Schmidt, *Das Bistum Essen und das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil. Eine Untersuchung zum Rezeptionsprozess in den Pfarreien*, Münster, 2011.

⁴⁰ See Greschat, *Der Protestantismus, op. cit.*, p. 120-125; Angela Hager, *Ein Jahrzehnt der Hoffnungen. Reformgruppen in der bayerischen Landeskirche 1966–1976*, Göttingen, 2010; Hermann Ehmer, Rainer Lächele, Jörg Thierfelder (eds.), *Zwischen Reform und Revolution. Evangelische Kirche in Württemberg in den sechziger Jahren*, Stuttgart, 2007; Heinrich Grosse, HansOtte, Joachim Perels (eds.), *Kirche in bewegten Zeiten. Proteste, Reformen und Konflikte in der hannoverschen Landeskirche nach 1968*, Hannover, 2011; Michael Ahme, *Der Reformversuch der EKD 1970–1976. Vorgeschichte, Verlauf, Ergebnisse*, Stuttgart, 1990.

political night prayer – an ecumenical project.⁴¹ The churches became mentors of the policy of détente between East and West.⁴²

In the 1970's church members joined the new social movements,⁴³ pastors supported movements directed against atomic energy or dealing with ecological questions.⁴⁴ In 1985 a memorandum by the EKD praised parliamentary democracy as a type of state and emphasized the principle of the sovereignty of the people, human dignity and human rights, but also the protection of minorities and the right to resist by

⁴¹ See Dorothee Sölle, Fulbert Steffensky (eds.), *Politisches Nachtgebet in Köln*, 2 vols., Stuttgart, Mainz, 1969–1971.

⁴² See Martin Greschat, "Protestantismus und Evangelische Kirche in den 60er-Jahren", in: Axel Schildt, Detlef Siegfried, Karl Christian Lammers (eds.), *Dynamische Zeiten. Die 60er Jahre in beiden deutschen Gesellschaften*, Hamburg, 2000, p. 544-581; Siegfried Hermle, Claudia Lepp, Harry Oelke (eds.), *Umbrüche. Der deutsche Protestantismus und die sozialen Bewegungen in den 1960er und 70er Jahren*, Göttingen, 2007; Klaus Fitschen, Siegfried Hermle, Katharina Kunter, Claudia Lepp, Antje Roggenkamp-Kaufmann (eds.), *Die Politisierung des Protestantismus. Entwicklungen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland während der 1960er und 70er Jahre*, Göttingen, 2011; Martin Greschat, "Vom Tübinger Memorandum (1961) zur Ratifizierung der Ostverträge (1972). Protestantische Beiträge zur Aussöhnung mit Polen", in: Friedhelm Boll, Wiesław Wysocki, Klaus Ziemer (eds.), *Versöhnung und Politik. Polnisch-deutsche Versöhnungsiniciativen der 1960er-Jahre und die Entspannungspolitik*, Bonn, 2009, p. 29-51; Thomas E. Heck, *EKD und Entspannung. Die Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland und ihre Bedeutung für die Neuformulierung der Ost und Deutschlandpolitik bis 1969*, Frankfurt am Main, 1996; Reinhard Henkys (ed.), *Deutschland und die östlichen Nachbarn. Beiträge zu einer evangelischen Denkschrift*, Stuttgart, 1966; Edith Heller, *Macht – Kirche – Politik. Der Briefwechsel zwischen den polnischen und deutschen Bischöfen im Jahre 1965*, Mainz, 1992; Anton Legerer, *Tatort Versöhnung. Aktion Sühnezeichen in der BRD und in der DDR und Gedenkdienst in Österreich*, Leipzig, 2011; Katharina Kunter, *Die Kirchen im KSZE-Prozeß 1968–1978*, Stuttgart, 2000.

⁴³ See Dieter Rucht, *Modernisierung und neue soziale Bewegungen. Deutschland, Frankreich und USA im Vergleich*, Frankfurt am Main, 1994; Christian A. Widmann, "Der "Linksprotestantismus" und die evangelischen Kirchen in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren", in: Cordia Baumann, Stefan Gehrig, Nicolas Büchse (eds.), *Linksalternative Milieus und Neue Soziale Bewegungen in den 1970er Jahren*, Heidelberg, 2011, 211-236; Greschat, *Der Protestantismus, op. cit.*, p. 154-161.

⁴⁴ See Freia Anders, "Die Evangelische Kirche von Hessen und Nassau im Konflikt um die Startbahn West", in: Bernd Hey, Volkmar Wittmütz (eds.), *1968 und die Kirchen*, Bielefeld, 2008, p. 207-237.

the extension of limits by the state as appropriate to the Christian understanding of existence. The text called upon the Christians to engage themselves in democratic institutions, to take part in open discussions and debates about controversial questions, but also to take care of the further shaping and preservation of a democratic basic consent. The Protestant Church showed that it had finally arrived at parliamentary democracy.⁴⁵

EAST GERMANY⁴⁶

With the exception of the Christian holidays, religious education at school, and confessional schools the articles dealing with the church in the constitution of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in 1949 were phrased in close connection to the constitution of the Weimar Republic. The churches got the right to give their own opinion on “vital matters of the people” (Art. 41, 2). This was an enactment of the requirement of the church to public effectiveness as a legal right.⁴⁷ On the other hand, the constitution prohibited the abuse of the institutions of religious communities, religious acts, and of religious education for unconstitutional purposes (Art. 41, Abs. 2). The constitution based on a so-called “dynamic interpretation” (preamble, art. 3). The development of rights depended on the current stage of the development of the socialist society. This principle opened the way to uncertainty and arbitrariness.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ See *Evangelische Kirche und freiheitliche Demokratie. Der Staat des Grundgesetzes als Angebot und Aufgabe*, Gütersloh, 1985.

⁴⁶ See Gerhard Besier, *Der SED-Staat und die Kirche*, 3 vols., München, 1993; Berlin–Frankfurt am Main, 1995; Rudolf Mau, *Der Protestantismus im Osten Deutschlands*, Leipzig, 2011.

⁴⁷ See Thomas Friebel, *Kirche und politische Verantwortung in der sowjetischen Zone und der DDR 1945–1969. Eine Untersuchung zum Öffentlichkeitsauftrag der evangelischen Kirchen in Deutschland*, Gütersloh, 1992.

⁴⁸ See about these aspects Thomas Boese, *Die Entwicklung des Staatskirchenrechts in der DDR von 1945 bis 1989. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Verhältnisses von Staat, Schule und Kirche*, Baden-Baden, 1994; Holger Kremser, *Der Rechtsstatus der evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR und die neue Einheit der EKD*, Tübingen, 1993.

In 1952 the leading party, the SED, began a forced building up of socialism, combined with the accomplishment of a monopoly of the Marxist-Leninist ideology.⁴⁹ A struggle against the churches began. It came to a climax with a specific repression against the so-called “young parishes” of the Protestant church in the spring of 1953. Nearly 3.000 young Christians were expelled from school, most of them in public assemblies. Some youth and student priests were arrested.⁵⁰ After Stalin’s death the Kremlin urged the SED to finish this course of open repression. Instead the Soviets suggested a change to atheistic instruction and propaganda.⁵¹ As in the other East European countries the aim of the German Communists was the systematic dispelling of Christendom and the church to the fringes of society.⁵² In 1954 a wave

⁴⁹ See *Beschluß der 2. Parteikonferenz der SED zur gegenwärtigen Lage und zu den Aufgaben im Kampf für Frieden, Einheit, Demokratie und Sozialismus*, Berlin (East), 1952; Horst Dähn, “Die 2. Parteikonferenz der SED und die Kirchenpolitik der Partei 1952/53”, in: *Jahrbuch für historische Kommunismusforschung*, 2002, p. 55-82.

⁵⁰ See Ellen Ueberschär, *Junge Gemeinde im Konflikt. Evangelische Jugendarbeit in SBZ und DDR 1945-1961*, Stuttgart, 2003, p. 186-203; Hermann Wentker, “Kirchenkampf” in der DDR. Der Konflikt um die Junge Gemeinde 1950-1953”, in: *Vierteljahresshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, no. 42, 1994, p. 95-127; Peter Helmberger, *Blauehemd und Kugelkreuz. Konflikte zwischen der SED und den christlichen Kirchen um die Jugendlichen in der SBZ/DDR*, München, 2008; Christine Koch, *Die Junge Gemeinde der evangelischen Landeskirchen in Sachsen und Thüringen 1945–1953. Dargestellt unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Konfliktes zwischen Staat und kirchlicher Jugendarbeit (Theorie und Forschung/Zeitgeschichte, 9)*, Regensburg, 2000; Jan Schönfelder, *Klassen-Kampf. Die Oberschule Pößneck und die Junge Gemeinde 1952–1954*, Leipzig, 2007; Ulrich Schröter, “Der Kampf des MfS gegen die Hallenser Studentengemeinde 1953 und ihren Pfarrer Johannes Hamel”, in: Hermann-Josef Rupieper (ed.), “... und das Wichtigste ist doch die Einheit”. *Der 17. Juni 1953 in den Bezirken Halle und Magdeburg*, Münster–Hamburg–London, 2003, p. 381-402; Axel Noack, “Die Evangelische Studentengemeinde im Jahr 1953. Hintergrundinformation zu einem Kapitel der SED-Kirchenpolitik”, in: Horst Dähn, Helga Gotschlich (eds.), “Und führe uns nicht in Versuchung ...”. *Jugend im Spannungsfeld von Staat und Kirche in der SBZ/DDR 1945 bis 1989*, Berlin, 1998, p. 60-88.

⁵¹ See Martin Georg Goerner, *Die Kirche als Problem der SED. Strukturen kommunistischer Herrschaftsausübung gegenüber der evangelischen Kirche 1945 bis 1958*, Berlin, 1997, p. 111-119.

⁵² See Christian Winter, *Gewalt gegen Geschichte. Der Weg zur Sprengung der*

of anti-religious propaganda started.⁵³ Until 1958 the SED succeeded in a nationwide action to make the youth initiation ceremony a substitute ritual for the Evangelical confirmation.⁵⁴ From 1956 the Churches had no right to demand the payment of church taxes, after 1958 religious education was expelled from the public schools.⁵⁵ The official relationships to the EKD⁵⁶ were broken down. Christians got fewer educational opportunities⁵⁷ and prospects for promotion than people

Universitätskirche Leipzig, Leipzig, 1998; Rüdiger Lux, Martin Petzoldt (eds.), *Vernichtet, vertrieben – aber nicht ausgelöscht. Gedenken an die Sprengung der Universitätskirche St. Paul zu Leipzig nach 40 Jahren*, Leipzig, Berlin, 2008; Stefan Welzk, *Leipzig, 1968. Unser Protest gegen die Kirchensprengung und seine Folgen*, Leipzig, 2011.

⁵³ See Alfred Hoffmann, “Mit Gott einfach fertig”. *Untersuchungen zu Theorie und Praxis des Atheismus im Marxismus-Leninismus der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, Leipzig, 2000.

⁵⁴ See Ellen Ueberschär, “Die Einführung der Jugendweihe. Zähes Ringen im Staat-Kirche-Konflikt 1954 bis 1958”, in: Jochen-Christoph Kaiser (ed.), *Vom Ertrag der neueren Kirchengeschichte für Kirche und Gesellschaft. Symposium zum 70. Geburtstag von Martin Greschat*, Marburg, 2008, p. 121-139; Detlef Urban, *Hans Willi Weinzen, Jugend ohne Bekenntnis? 30 Jahre Konfirmation und Jugendweihe im anderen Deutschland 1954–1984*, Berlin (West), 1984; Christian Fischer, *Wir haben euer Gelöbnis vernommen. Konfirmation und Jugendweihe im Spannungsfeld. Ein Beispiel für den Einfluß gesellschaftlicher Verhältnisse auf praktisch-theologische Argumentationen in der DDR (1949–1978)*, Leipzig, 1998; Albrecht Döhnert, *Jugendweihe zwischen Familie, Politik und Religion. Studien zum Fortbestand der Jugendweihe nach 1989 und die Konfirmationspraxis der Kirchen*, Leipzig, 2000; Hermann Wentker, “Die Einführung der Jugendweihe in der DDR. Hintergründe, Motive und Probleme”, in: Hartmut Mehringer (ed.), *Von der SBZ zur DDR. Studien zum Herrschaftssystem in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands und der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, München, 1995, p. 139-165.

⁵⁵ See Dieter Reiher (ed.), *Kirchlicher Unterricht in der DDR von 1949 bis 1990. Dokumentation eines Weges*, Göttingen, 1992.

⁵⁶ See Sigurd Rink, *Der Bevollmächtigte. Propst Grüber und die Regierung der DDR*, Stuttgart–Berlin–Köln, 1996.

⁵⁷ See Harald Bretschneider, “Konflikte der Weltanschauung zwischen sozialistischer und christlicher Erziehung”, in: Gerhard Barkleit, Tina Kwiatkowski-Celofiga (eds.), *Verfolgte Schüler – gebrochene Biographien. Zum Erziehungs und Bildungssystem der DDR*, Dresden, 2008, p. 77-90; Ilona Katharina Schneider, *Weltanschauliche Erziehung in der DDR. Normen – Praxis – Opposition. Eine kommentierte Dokumentation*, Opladen, 1995; Gerhard Schreier, *Förderung und Auslese*

without ties with the church⁵⁸. This policy demanded that members of the new socialist elites and specific professions as teachers, policemen, or professional soldiers leave the churches. The escape of great parts of the educated classes and of middle-class property owners to West Germany led to a strong process of contraction of the so called “peoples’ church” and to its marginalization.⁵⁹

In addition to this course the SED pursued a policy of differentiation between progressive Christians getting awards⁶⁰ and so called “reactionary” church members being restricted and attempted to infiltrate the churches with unofficial members of the East German secret service.⁶¹

After the erection of the Berlin wall on August 13, 1961⁶² meetings and encounters between Christians from East and West Germany became more difficult.⁶³ In 1969 the East German Protestant state churches

im Einheitsschulsystem. Debatten und Weichenstellungen in der SBZ/DDR 1946 bis 1989, Köln–Weimar–Wien, 1997; Reimund Blühm, “Die staatliche Bildungspolitik und die evangelische Kirche in der DDR”, in: *Die Christenlehre*, no. 46, 1993, p. 238-256; Kirstin Wappler, *Klassenzimmer ohne Gott. Schulen im katholischen Eichsfeld und protestantischen Erzgebirge unter SED-Herrschaft*. Hg. von der Bildungsstätte am Grenzlandmuseum Eichsfeld, Teistungen, Duderstadt, 2007.

⁵⁸ See Peter Maser, “Benachteiligung durch Religiosität. Ungleichbehandlung von Gläubige”, in: Lothar Mertens (ed.), *Soziale Ungleichheit in der DDR. Zu einem tabuisierten Strukturmerkmal der SED-Diktatur*, Berlin, 2002, p. 103-118.

⁵⁹ See Detlef Pollack, *Kirche in der Organisationsgesellschaft. Zum Wandel der gesellschaftlichen Lage der evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR*, Stuttgart–Berlin–Köln, 1994, p. 147, p. 150 s., p. 155 s., p. 381.

⁶⁰ See Peter Beier, *Die “Sonderkonten Kirchenfragen”. Sachleistungen und Geldzuwendungen an Pfarrer und kirchliche Mitarbeiter als Mittel der DDR-Kirchenpolitik (1955–1989/90)*, Göttingen, 1997.

⁶¹ See Clemens Vollnhals, “Die kirchenpolitische Abteilung des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit”, in: *Idem.* (ed.), *Die Kirchenpolitik von SED und Staatssicherheit. Eine Zwischenbilanz*, Berlin, 1996, p. 79-119; Gerhard Besier, Stephan Wolf (eds.), “Pfarrer, Christen und Katholiken”. *Das Ministerium für Staatssicherheit der ehemaligen DDR und die Kirchen*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1992; Katharina Lenski, Angelika Schön, Walter Schilling et al. (eds.), *Die “andere” Geschichte. Kirche und MfS in Thüringen*, Erfurt, 1993; Sandra Pingel-Schliemann, *Zersetzen. Strategie einer Diktatur*, Berlin, 2002.

⁶² See Michael Höhle, “Der 13. August 1961 und die Kirchen”, in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, no. 114, 2003, p. 364-383.

⁶³ See Claudia Lepp, *Das Tabu*, op. cit., p. 383 s.

separated from the Evangelical Church in Germany and founded the Federation of the Evangelical Churches in the GDR (BEK).⁶⁴ The external reason for this decision was the new constitution of the GDR in 1968. The wide church articles of the former constitution were reduced to the grant of the freedom of worship and conscience. The Churches were obliged to act in correspondence with the constitution and the law of the GDR. In future further details were to be laid down by negotiations between the church and state. Furthermore the constitution prohibited organizations transcending the territory of the GDR. So it seemed to be better to separate from the Western dominated EKD.

Internal reasons⁶⁵ were e.g. the increasingly different situation in West and East Germany⁶⁶ which required a differentiated propagation of the gospel and the state policies of differentiation which had given preference to the more state loyalist church of Thuringia.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ See Reinhard Henkys (ed.), *Bund der Evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR. Dokumente zu seiner Entstehung*, Witten, 1970; Peter Maser, Manfred Wilke, *Die Gründung des Bundes der Evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR. Materialien aus dem Zentralen Parteiarchiv der SED und aus dem Archiv der Ost-CDU*, Berlin, 1994; *Kirche als Lerngemeinschaft. Dokumente aus der Arbeit des Bundes der Evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR, Bischof D. Albrecht Schönherr zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Sekretariat des Bundes der Evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR, Berlin (East), 1981; *Gemeinsam unterwegs. Dokumente aus der Arbeit des Bundes der Evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR 1980–1987*, Ed. by Bund der Evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR, Berlin (Ost), 1989; Christoph Demke, Manfred Falkenau, Helmut Zeddies (eds.), *Zwischen Anpassung und Verweigerung. Dokumente aus der Arbeit des Bundes der Evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR*, Leipzig, 1995; Manfred Falkenau (ed.), *Kundgebungen. Worte, Erklärungen und Dokumente des Bundes der Evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR*, 2 vols., Hannover, 1995; 1996.

⁶⁵ See Lepp, *Das Tabu*, op. cit., p. 781-850; Anke Silomon, *Anspruch und Wirklichkeit der "besonderen Gemeinschaft"*. *Der Ost-West-Dialog der deutschen evangelischen Kirchen 1969–1991*, Göttingen, 2006, p. 45-148.

⁶⁶ See Gottfried Kretzschmar, *Völkiskirche im Umbruch*, Berlin (East), 1967; Hagen Kühne, "1968 – ein Schwellenjahr. Erfahrungswandel und kirchlich-theologische Urteilsbildung in den östlichen Gliedkirchen der EKD", in: *Herbergen der Christenheit*, no. 20, 1996, p. 40-58.

⁶⁷ See Christine Koch-Hallas, *Die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in Thüringen in der SBZ und Frühzeit der DDR (1945–1961). Eine Untersuchung über Kontinuitäten und Diskontinuitäten einer landeskirchlichen Identität*, Leipzig, 2009; Christoph Marksches,

In the 1970's the Protestant church made more accommodations to the Socialist development of society. Since 1971 the relations to the state became closer and reached a first climax on March 6, 1978 when the chief of the state and the SED, Erich Honecker, talked with the leading board of the church federation.⁶⁸ Indications for the church's course were the formula "church in socialism" which could be interpreted in different ways⁶⁹ and the characterization of the church federation as "a community of the service of the churches in the socialist society of the GDR". As a church for others (Dietrich Bonhoeffer)⁷⁰ they strived for overcoming the gap to the socialist society. More and more the situation as a Christian minority was considered as a chance for a new definition of church and a new way of Christian existence: A church without privileges in a secularized society searching for new shapes for Christian life.

But due to the financial support by the West German EKD moreover, the Protestant churches and in some aspects also the Catholic Church in the GDR had the structures of state churches so that the church was present in nearly every village. The GDR-state also

"Kirchenhistorische und systematisch-theologische Bemerkungen zur Diskussion über den "Thüringer Weg", in: Thomas A. Seidel (ed.), *Thüringer Gratwanderung. Beiträge zur fünfundsiebzigjährigen Geschichte der evangelischen Landesgeschichte Thüringens*, Leipzig, 1998, p. 209-220.

⁶⁸ See Martin Onnasch, "Das Spitzengespräch vom 6. März 1978 – Glücks- oder Sündenfall?", in: *Das Spitzengespräch vom 6. März 1978. 20 Jahre nach dem Gespräch zwischen dem Vorstand der Konferenz der Evangelischen Kirchenleitungen und dem Vorsitzenden des Staatsrates der DDR*. Ed. by Gesellschaft zur Förderung Vergleichender Staat-Kirche-Forschung e.V., Berlin, 1998, p. 8-21; Martin Ziegler, "Spitzengespräche. Zur Gesprächsstrategie des Bundes der Evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR 1978-1989", in: *Ev. Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte. Mitteilungen*, no. 19, 2001, p. 31-65.

⁶⁹ See Wolfgang Thumser, *Kirche im Sozialismus. Geschichte, Bedeutung und Funktion einer ekklesiologischen Formel*, Tübingen, 1996; Heino Falcke, "Kirche im Sozialismus" als Kompromißformel?, in: *Die Zeichen der Zeit*, no. 47, 1993, p. 82-86; Richard Schröder, "Kirche im Sozialismus", in: *Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift. Neue Folge*, no. 26, 2009, p. 317-322.

⁷⁰ See Wolf Krötke, "Dietrich Bonhoeffer als "Theologe der DDR". Ein kritischer Rückblick", in: *Zeitschrift für Evangelische Ethik*, no. 37, 1993, p. 94-105.

profited⁷¹ from the Western financial support. In its constitution from 1969 the East German Protestant church federation did profess the “special community of the whole Christianity in Germany” (Art. 4, 4). Since 1973 the visits of West Germans to the GDR were facilitated. Now on all levels of the Protestant church there were personal encounters connected with personal interchanges of ideas and information.⁷²

Similar to the new social movements in Western Europe since the end of the 1970’s on the side of the Protestant church so-called “basic groups” arose.⁷³ They dealt with topics such as peace⁷⁴, ecology⁷⁵, human

⁷¹ See Armin Boyens, “Den Gegner irgendwo festhalten. Transfersgeschäfte” der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland mit der DDR-Regierung 1957–1990”, in: *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte*, no. 6, 1993, p. 379-426.

⁷² See Walter Hammer, Uwe-Peter Heidingsfeld (eds.), *Die Konsultationen. Ein Ausdruck der “besonderen Gemeinschaft” zwischen der EKD und dem BEK in den Jahren 1980–1990*, Hannover, 1995; *In besonderer Gemeinschaft. Gemeinsame Worte des Bundes der Evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR und der EKD*, ed. by Kirchenamt der EKD, Hannover, 1989; Anke Silomon, *Anspruch, op. cit.*; Karoline Rittberger-Klas, *Kirchenpartnerschaften im geteilten Deutschland. Am Beispiel der Landeskirchen Württemberg und Thüringen*, Göttingen, 2006; Martin Cordes (ed.), *Durch die Ritzen der Mauer. Kontinuitäten, Brüche, Neuanfänge in kirchlichen Partnerschaften nach 1949*, Hannover, 2011.

⁷³ See Wolfgang Rüdtenklau (ed.), *Störenfried. DDR-Opposition 1986–1990. Mit Texten aus den “Umweltblättern”*, Berlin, 1992; Detlef Pollack, *Politischer Protest. Politisch alternative Gruppen in der DDR*, Opladen, 2000; Christa Sengenspeick-Roos, *Das ganz Normale tun. Widerstandsräume in der DDR-Kirche*, Berlin, 1997; Christoph Wunnicke, Fernziel Zivilgesellschaft, “Die Selbstorganisation der kirchlichen Basisgruppen in der DDR”, in: *Zeitschrift des Forschungsverbundes SED-Staat*, no. 23, 2008, p. 113-135; Anne-Cathrin Schreck, *Gesellschaftskritische Gruppen im Umfeld der evangelischen Kirche in Karl-Marx-Stadt (Chemnitz) in den 1980er Jahren. Ein Beitrag zur Zeitgeschichte der Stadt Chemnitz*, Berlin, 2008.

⁷⁴ See Wolfgang Büscher, Peter Wensierski, Klaus Wolschner (eds.), *Friedensbewegung in der DDR. Texte 1978–1982*, Hattingen, 1982; Klaus Ehring, Martin Dallwitz (eds.), *Schwerter zu Pflugscharen. Friedensbewegung in der DDR*, Reinbek, 1982; Olaf Lingner, “Friedensarbeit in der Evangelischen Kirche der DDR 1978–1987”, in: *Kirchliches Jahrbuch*, no. 114, 1987, p. 96-265; Anke Silomon, “Schwerter zu Pflugscharen” und die DDR. *Die Friedensarbeit der evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR im Rahmen der Friedensdekaden 1980 bis 1982*, Göttingen, 1999; Helmut Zander, *Die Christen und die Friedensbewegungen in beiden deutschen Staaten. Beiträge zu einem Vergleich für die Jahre 1978–1987*, Berlin (West), 1989; Matthias Kluge, *Das Christliche Friedensseminar Königswalde bei Werdau. Ein Beitrag zu den Ursprüngen der ostdeutschen Friedensbewegung in Sachsen*, Leipzig, 2004.

rights⁷⁶, gender questions⁷⁷, and problems of the “Third World”.⁷⁸ There were conflicts between these groups and the governing bodies of the Church, but, on the other hand, the church remained as a place of freedom, especially among young people.

Because of its minority status the Catholic Church was more reluctant in this respect, there were no protests against the policies of the regime in public, but, on the other hand, there were no accommodations to the Communist ideology. In 1976 an independent East German conference of bishops was created.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ See Hans-Peter Gensichen, “Umweltverantwortung in einer betonierten Gesellschaft. Anmerkungen zur kirchlichen Umweltarbeit in der DDR 1970 bis 1990”, in: Franz-Josef Brüggemeier (ed.), *Natur und Umweltschutz nach 1945. Konzepte, Konflikte, Kompetenzen*, Frankfurt am Main, New York, 2005, p. 287-304; Peter Wensierski, *Von oben nach unten w ächst gar nichts. Umweltzerstörung und Protest in der DDR*, Frankfurt am Main, 1986; Carlo Jordan, Hans Michael Kloth (eds.), *Arche Nova. Opposition in der DDR. Das “Grün-ökologische Netzwerk Arche” 1988–90*, Berlin, 1995.

⁷⁶ See Wolfgang Templin, Reinhard Weißhuhn, “Die Initiative Frieden und Menschenrechte”, in: Eberhard Kuhrt (ed.), *Opposition in der DDR von den 70er Jahren bis zum Zusammenbruch der SED-Herrschaft*, Opladen, 1999, p. 171-211; Stephan Bickhardt (ed.), *Recht ströme wie Wasser. Christen in der DDR für Absage an Praxis und Prinzip der Abgrenzung. Ein Arbeitsbuch*, Berlin (West), 1988; Anke Silomon, *Synode und SED-Staat. Die Synode des Bundes der Evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR in Görlitz vom 18. bis 22. September 1987*, Göttingen, 1997.

⁷⁷ See Cordula Kahlau (ed.), *Aufbruch! Frauenbewegung in der DDR. Dokumentation*, München, 1990; Sonja Ackermann, *Christliche Frauen in der DDR. Alltagsdokumente einer Diktatur in Interviews*, Leipzig, 2005; Ingrid Miethe, *Frauen in der DDR-Opposition. Lebens- und kollektivgeschichtliche Verläufe in einer Frauenfriedensgruppe*, Opladen, 1999; Stefanie Krautz, *Lesbisches Engagement in Ost-Berlin 1978–1989*, Marburg, 2009; Hans-Jochen Tschiche, “Die Kirche ist für alle da, aber nicht für uns!” Die Kirche(n) und ihre (Basis-)Gruppen sowie der besondere Umgang der Kirche(n) mit den Lesben- und Schwulengruppen (Arbeitskreise Homosexualität)”, in: *Lesben und Schwule in der DDR. Tagungsdokumentation*, Halle, 2008, p. 67-82.

⁷⁸ See Inkota-Netzwerk (ed.), *Zwischen Rostock und Dresden, 2/3-Welt-Gruppen. Ein Handbuch*, Gießen, 1990.

⁷⁹ See Martin Höllen, *Loyale Distanz? Katholizismus und Kirchenpolitik in SBZ und DDR. Ein historischer Überblick in Dokumenten*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1994–2000; Reinhard Grütz, *Katholizismus in der DDR-Gesellschaft 1960–1990. Kirchliche Leitbilder, theologische*

The basic-groups were the active formers⁸⁰ of the revolution in 1989 which led to a collapse of the regime. In September 1989 the synod of the East German Protestant Church Federation called for the basic elements of a liberal democracy: a variety of political parties, democratic elections, the freedom of travelling, economic reforms, and the freedom of the press.⁸¹ During the revolution⁸² the churches

Deutungen und lebensweltliche Praxis im Wandel, Paderborn–München–Wien–Zürich, 2004; Ute Haese, *Katholische Kirche in der DDR. Geschichte einer politischen Abstinenz*, Düsseldorf, 1998; Christoph Kösters, Wolfgang Tischner (eds.), *Katholische Kirche in SBZ und DDR*, Paderborn–München–Wien–Zürich, 2005; Bernd Schäfer, *Staat und katholische Kirche in der DDR*, Köln, 1999.

⁸⁰ See Christian Dietrich, Uwe Schwabe (eds.), *Freunde und Feinde. Dokumente zu den Friedensgebeten in Leipzig zwischen 1981 und dem 9. Oktober 1989*, Leipzig, 1994; Christian Sachse (ed.), “Mündig werden zum Gebrauch der Freiheit”. *Politische Zuschriften an die Ökumenische Versammlung 1987–89 in der DDR*, Münster, 2004; *Ökumenische Versammlung für Gerechtigkeit, Frieden und Bewahrung der Schöpfung. Dresden – Magdeburg – Dresden. Eine Dokumentation*, ed. by Aktion Sühnezeichen, Friedensdienste, Berlin (West), 1990; Katharina Seifert, *Glaube und Politik. Die Ökumenische Versammlung in der DDR 1989/90*, Leipzig, 2000; *Der Konziliare Prozess in der DDR in den 1980er Jahren*, Berlin, 2009; Heino Falcke, “Der Beitrag der Evangelischen Kirchen zur Herbstrevolution 1989 – gezeigt am Beispiel der “Ökumenischen Versammlung”, in: *Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift*. Neue Folge, no. 18. 2001, p. 272-284; Stephen Brown, *Von der Unzufriedenheit zum Widerspruch. Der konziliare Prozess für Gerechtigkeit, Frieden und Bewahrung der Schöpfung als Wegbereiter der friedlichen Revolution in der DDR. Mit einem Vorwort von Margot Käßmann*, Frankfurt am Main, 2010; Tobias Hollitzer, Reinhard Bohse (eds.), *Heute vor 10 Jahren. Leipzig auf dem Weg zur friedlichen Revolution*, Bonn–Fribourg–Leipzig–New York, 2000; Karl Wilhelm Fricke, “Die DDR-Kommunalwahlen 1989 als Zäsur für das Umschlagen von Opposition in Revolution”, in: Eberhard Kuhrt (ed.), *Opposition in der DDR von den 70er Jahren bis zum Zusammenbruch der SED-Herrschaft*, Opladen, 1999, p. 467-505; Andrea Herz, Aribert Rothe, *Wahl und Wahlbetrug im Mai 1989. DDR-Kommunalwahlen im Thüringer Raum. Kirche und gewaltfreie Revolution. Die Wende 1989 am Beispiel Erfurts*, Erfurt, 2004; Christoph Kösters, “Revolution, Wiedervereinigung und katholische Kirche 1989/90”, in: *Historisch-politische Mitteilungen*, no. 17, 2010, p. 55-112; Katharina Kunter, *Erfüllte Hoffnungen und zerbrochene Träume. Evangelische Kirchen in Deutschland im Spannungsfeld von Demokratie und Sozialismus (1980–1993)*, Göttingen, 2006.

⁸¹ See Demke et al., *Zwischen Anpassung, op. cit.*, p. 391-395.

⁸² See Klaus-Dietmar Henke (ed.), *Revolution und Vereinigung 1989/90. Als in*

provided their rooms for protest assemblies and later for the round tables.⁸³

CONCLUSION

The democratic Federal Republic of Germany offered the major Christian churches a high privileged status, connected with wide possibilities in participating in shaping the modern society. There was (and is) a close cooperation between church and state. At first, the Catholic church supported the Western orientation of the young Republic mostly because of its anti-communist tendencies. Because in the 1950's a lot of Protestants lived in East Germany and because of its nationalistic tradition great parts of the Evangelical Church criticized this course, but later there was a great accommodation to the parliamentary democracy. In East Germany the Communist regime first of all took a tough line against churches and Christians. Owing to the policy of détente between East and West the official line of the church policy became softer, in the Protestant Church there were tendencies to more conformist positions. On the other hand, the political basic groups beyond the parishes and critical pastors created a basis for the revolution of 1989 and the change to democracy. A central factor as well was the

Deutschland die Realität die Phantasie überholte, München, 2009; Ehrhart Neubert, *Unsere Revolution. Die Geschichte der Jahre 1989/90*, München, 2008; Ilko-Sascha Kowalczyk, *Endspiel. Die Revolution 1989 in der DDR*, München, 2009; Gerhard Rein, *Die protestantische Revolution 1987–1990. Ein deutsches Lesebuch*, Berlin, 1990; Arnd Brummer (ed.), *Vom Gebet zur Demo. 1989, die friedliche Revolution begann in den Kirchen*, Frankfurt am Main, 2009; Karl Czok, *Nikolaikirche – offen für alle. Eine Gemeinde im Zentrum der Wende*, Leipzig, 1999; Christoph Pötzsch, “Die Rolle der katholischen Kirche im Transformationsprozess von der Diktatur zur Demokratie in der DDR 1989/1990”, in: Klaus Stüwe/Eveline Hermannseder (eds.), *Die Wiedervereinigung geteilter Nationen. Erfahrungen aus Deutschland und Perspektiven für Korea*, Berlin, Münster, 2011, p. 295-313; Gerhard Lindemann, “Die christlichen Kirchen und der deutsche Vereinigungsprozess”, in: Gerhard Besier, Katarzyna Stokłosa (eds.), *15 Jahre Deutsche Einheit. Was ist geworden?*, Berlin, 2007, p. 129-148.

⁸³ See Friedrich Winter (ed.), *Die Moderatoren der Runden Tische. Evangelische Kirche und Politik 1989/90*, Leipzig, 1999.

close contacts between the churches and Christians from East and West Germany which had been intensified as a result of better opportunities in crossing the “iron curtain” between the two parts of Germany since the 1970’s.

ALAR KILP

HISTORICAL REASONS FOR THE DECLINE
OF RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION: COMMUNISM,
CONFESSION OR CHURCH'S RELATION WITH
NATIONAL IDENTITY?

In the beginning of the 19th century, the European populations in culturally Western Christian societies were religiously affiliated. By the end of the 20th century some decline of religious affiliation had occurred in all societies. Among the post-communist societies, however, the decline in religious affiliation has occurred with significant variations. The data from the World Values Surveys (WVS) of 1999/2000 shows an extraordinary high level of religious affiliation in Poland, which is surpassed only by Malta. At the opposite extreme, the three least religiously affiliated traditionally Western Christian cultures come also from the post-communist region. In general, the levels of church membership have declined less in Catholic, mono-confessional, and West-European societies. The alienation of individuals from the traditional Christian Churches, however, has not been *primarily* caused by the Confessional tradition, the Communist politics of religion or modernization, but because of the nature of the cultural relationship between the traditional religion and the national identity during the last two centuries.

European nation-building started with the process of *confessionalization* (confession-building) of societies¹, which united or,

¹ The confessionalization of society aimed at "Christianizing" the everyday life and the (re)imposition of religious discipline. The confessionalization of politics meant "a deepening of the alliance between church and state and a tightening of the relationship between confessional and "national" identity." P. S. Gorski, "Historicizing the Secularization Debate: Church, State, and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, ca. 1300 to 1700", *American Sociological Review*, no. 1, p. 152, 153.

if to use the sociological term, de-differentiated the “political” and “religious” spheres of life to the extent that the “sense of religious belonging” became equivalent to the sense of political membership. The Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed (Calvinist), and Anglican confessions of faith, formulated since the Reformation, defined the political membership and guaranteed the internal coherence of the society and culture. Typically, where religious minorities were tolerated, they were tolerated also *as confessional* minorities.

During the 19th and 20th centuries secular nationalism² replaced the earlier confessional basis of political membership with the idea of political “citizenship”. In the present world of nation-states, political “citizenship” does not need to be accompanied by a formal connectedness to a particular religious association, tradition, membership, and identity. In fact, in a world, where religious freedom is perceived to be a universal human right, where individuals are free to adhere to the religion of their choice and preference, and where religious coercion of any kind is contrary to the fundamental values of the liberal cultures and democratic polities, the overlap of political and religious “sense of identification” occurs only in cases, where “the politically national” is positively related to the “culturally religious”.

The particular focus of this study is on the extent to which the “culturally religious” is connected both to the national identity and to a single historical confession. The main indicator for the evaluation of this connection is the religious affiliation.

Societies may build their internal cohesion on a functional equivalent of a religious homogeneity that secures cultural cohesion and provides a shared political identity also in the context of religious diversity.³ All functional political communities behave in a religion-like manner, but not all of them are related to a particular religious tradition. As Timothy Crippen has put it, every society has its “unified systems of beliefs and rituals relative to conceptions of the sacred... beliefs

² For present purposes all types of nationalism, which base their legitimacy on the popular sovereignty, belong to the category “secular”.

³ P. E. Hammond, “Secularization, Incorporation, and Social Relations”, *The American Journal of Sociology*, 1966, no. 2., p. 189.

and rituals that encourage individuals to subordinate their *apparent* self-interest in relation to the *collectively expressed* interest of sovereign organization". For that reason, religion is "a universal component of human societies" and every human society is inevitably "characterized by some form of sacred (although not necessarily transcendental) symbolism and ritual".⁴

To the extent that the religio-political symbiosis is not accompanied by a predominant membership in a related religious tradition, the religion that is functional in this symbiosis, is represented singularly by a *political community*, the sense of affiliation is singularly *political*. The sacralised political community retains its connections to religious symbols, but has become autonomous from a religious institution.

The sense of belongingness to a particular confessional tradition is in the weakest – in comparison with the other types of identification with a religious tradition such as belief in the doctrines of the particular religious tradition and attendance in religious services – and widest – because of being numerically the largest – possible manner manifested by the self-proclaimed membership in it.

The paper argues that the widest and weakest connection to a religious association – religious affiliation – persists mostly in cases, where the particular religious tradition is related to the cultural identity of the political community. Therefore, those who are the most "weakly" connected to a confessional tradition and to its religious institution, are worthy of our most thorough attention. As those, who are not committed believers and practitioners, who are neither self-conscious anti-clericals nor convinced atheists, but for various – cultural, social, and national – reasons are still loyal to a religious tradition, form typically the numerically largest category among the forms of identification with a religious institution, this "weakest" link may well be the "strongest" cultural asset that any church may have in its social environment.

The analysis proceeds in two parts. In the first part four forms of

⁴T. Crippen, "Further Notes on Religious Transformation", *Social Forces*, 1992, no. 1, p. 221, 223.

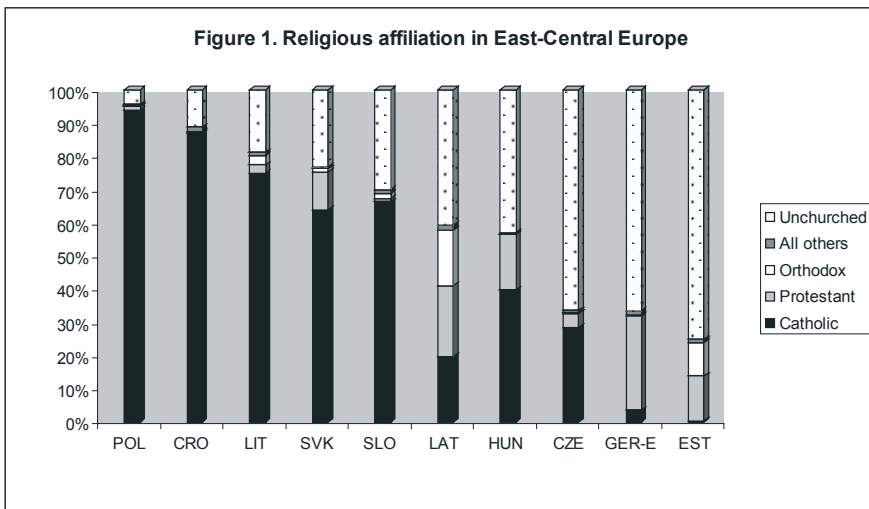
religion – belief, affiliation, attendance, and self-identification – are distinguished in order to map the patterns of church-related religion and un-churched religiosity in the traditionally Western Christian societies of Eastern and Western Europe. The data used is derived from the World Values Surveys of 1999/2000, which polled ten East-Central European (ECE) societies – Croatia, the Czech Republic, East Germany, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia – and seventeen West-European societies (WEST) – Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and West Germany.⁵

The second part presents five alternative explanations to the diverging patterns of religion in European societies based on confession, confessional diversity, the legacy of Communist politics of religion, modernization, and the nature of the relationship between national identity and a church. These explanations enable one to identify the reasons why in some societies the cultural connection between the national community and the traditional religion has persisted and other societies have lost the common *sense of religious belongingness* to a particular religious institution. Each of the explanations presented offers useful insights. The main reason, however, for the decline of religious affiliation is based on a weak or a hostile nature of the relationship between a religious tradition and a national political identity.

⁵ The 1999/2000 round of WVS did not include traditionally Western Christian societies like Andorra, Monaco, Norway, Liechtenstein and Switzerland. The tables, graphs and figures include data for territories within political states which were polled separately such as West Germany (eleven states which formed the Federal Republic of Germany during 1949–1990), East Germany (five states which formed German Democratic Republic during 1949–1990), and Northern Ireland. The names of the countries are abbreviated by the three-letter style used in the Olympic Games: AUT – Austria, BEL – Belgium, CRO – Croatia, CZE – Czech Republic, DEN – Denmark, ESP – Spain, EST – Estonia, FIN – Finland, FRA – France, GER-W – Germany West, GER-E – Germany East, GBR – Great Britain, HUN – Hungary, ISL – Iceland, IRL – Ireland, ITA – Italy, LAT – Latvia, LIT – Lithuania, LUX – Luxembourg, MLT – Malta, NED – Netherlands, NIR – Northern Ireland, POL – Poland, POR – Portugal, SLO – Slovenia, SVK – Slovakia, SWE – Sweden.

PATTERNS OF RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, BELIEF, PRACTICE, AND
IDENTIFICATION

Studies have demonstrated that the levels of affiliation, belief, practice, and identification of self as a religious person do not have to be mutually dependent and in accordance with each other.⁶ Correspondingly, the varying patterns of affiliation, belief, practice, and identification may each require different explanations.



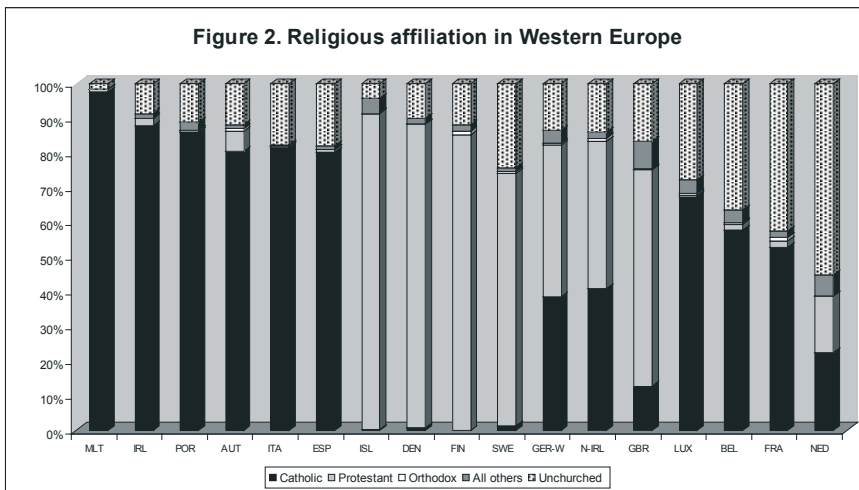
Source: www.worldvaluessurvey.org, online data analysis (WVS, 1999/2000).

According to the data from WVS 1999/2000, the ten post-communist societies are characterized by a *lower* level of affiliation (60.6%) than the West-European societies (79.6%). In order to visualize the society-specific patterns of religious affiliation, Figures 1 and 2 present the post-communist and West-European populations according to the main types of religious affiliation.

In West-Christian Europe, those who have given up membership in the traditional churches of their forefathers, have not converted in significant numbers to pre-Christian indigenous or non-Christian

⁶ I. Storm, "Halfway to Heaven: Four Types of Fuzzy Fidelity in Europe", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 2009, Nr. 4, p. 702.

religions. Therefore, the term “un-affiliated” can suitably be replaced by the term “un-churched”, which refers to the proportion of the society that has lost their membership in a church. Following Robert C. Fuller, the category “un-churched” includes anyone, who lacks identification with the church, but includes those, who identify with the church, but lack faith.⁷ Correspondingly, the “un-churched” category includes also those, who consider themselves as believers and religious persons, but lack religious affiliation.



Source: www.worldvaluessurvey.org, online data analysis (WVS, 1999/2000).

In societies with the highest levels of religious affiliation, affiliation typically outnumbers the level of those who consider themselves as religious persons. In the WVS of 1999/2000, Malta had the highest level of religious affiliation (97.5% Catholics, 1% Protestants, look Graph 3 below). Concomitantly, the proportion of those who consider themselves as religious persons (74.7%) in Malta is significantly lower.

In regional comparison, 2.8% self-proclaimed atheists admitted belonging to Protestantism and 1% to Catholicism in WEST (in ECE

⁷ R. C. Fuller. *Spiritual, but not Religious: Understanding Unchurched America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

the numbers were 0.5% and 0.8% respectively). Although relatively few in number, there still exist some members of the church who are lacking both Christian faith and a religious reason for identification with the church.

Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate that in both post-communist and Western Europe the traditional religions overwhelmingly dominate the religious landscape. Where individuals have become *unchurched*, they have typically been alienated from all kinds of organized religions and have not *chosen* culturally alien types of religion. The culturally non-traditional religions typically emerge and increase due to recent waves of immigration (Muslims in Western Europe) or increased due to the internal migration within the Soviet Union (the increase of the Russophone Orthodox in Estonia and Latvia).

RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND AFFILIATION

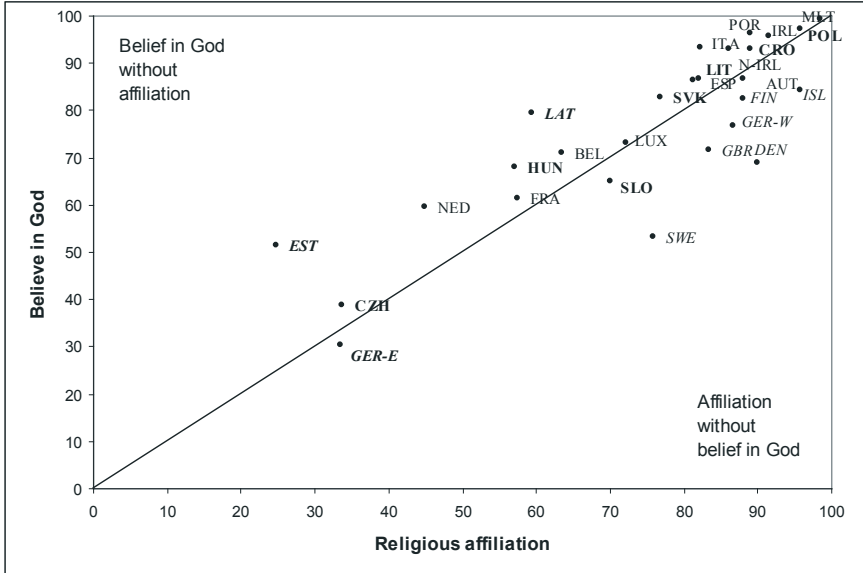
The relationship between religious belief and affiliation is ambiguous in nature. The specific articles of faith and the basic doctrines of the Christian churches are typically known, competently, and cognitively accepted by not many.⁸ Therefore, in the sociology of religion the “belonging” aspect of religious identity in European societies is assumed to be more important than “belief”.⁹ The distinction between traditional and modernized (or easily modernizable) types of belief, however, can give us some insight about the social and cultural strength of the traditional religion. Some beliefs—such as belief in sin, hell, soul, and life after death—are more closely related to traditional religion than, for example, the belief in God.¹⁰

⁸ D. Voas, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

⁹ I. Storm, *op. cit.*, p. 703.

¹⁰ This list of social beliefs that were socially important in traditional societies uses examples from beliefs usually asked in social surveys. The other core beliefs of traditionally Christian societies were also the belief in the existence of the Devil, in the power of miracles, in the threat of damnation. P. S. Gorski, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

GRAPH 1. BELIEF IN GOD AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION



Source: www.worldvaluessurvey.org, online data analysis (WVS, 1999/2000). Post-communist societies are showed in bold type. The largest confession is mostly Catholicism. The societies, where the largest confession is Protestantism, are in italics. The diagonal “equality line” shows the perfect overlap of the levels of two indicators tested.

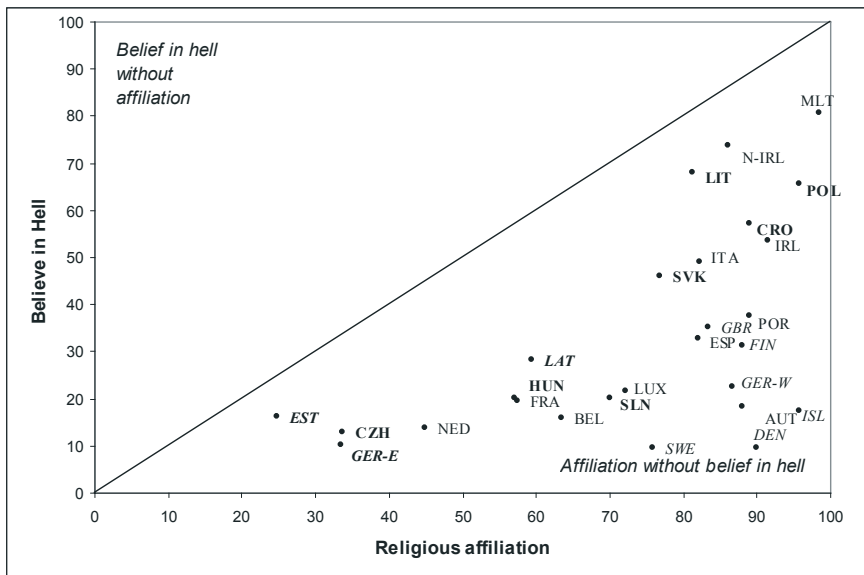
Graph 1 shows a significant correlation between the overall level of religious affiliation and the proportion of those, who “believe in God” (most of the societies are situated close to the “equality line”). In some societies – most significantly in Sweden, Denmark, and Great Britain – the level of religious affiliation surpasses the level of belief in God. In few others – mostly in Estonia and Latvia – there are more of those who believe in God than are church members.

In general, the “belief in God” can be considered to be the weakest kind of belief that can relate a person to a religious tradition. On one hand, the general belief in God is related to the overall level of church membership, because these two variables have a significant correlation. On the other hand, the belief in God is extraordinarily ambiguous and multi-vocal. It can easily be subscribed by devout Catholics and pious Protestants, by atheist soldiers before or after the military operations and

by agnostics who feel “somebody” has miraculously taken care of them during various crises in life.

In modernizing societies, the belief in God can be interpreted in multiple, both traditional and detraditionalized¹¹, ways. Additionally, the belief in God can also be efficiently individualized, subjectivized and contextualized, nationalized, politicised, and adapted to the varying environments and experiences, concerns and aspirations. Individuals and groups, political parties, nations, and cultures can interpret the belief in God on the basis of their subjective experiences and particular aspirations. By relying on the faith in God, they can give meaning to their present existence and identity, past origins and future mission in the human world.

GRAPH 2. BELIEF IN HELL AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION



Source: www.worldvaluessurvey.org, online data analysis (WVS, 1999/2000).

¹¹ P. Heelas, “The spiritual revolution: from “religion” to “spirituality”” in: Paul Fletcher, Hiroko Kawanami, David Smith, Linda Woodhead (Eds.) *Religions in the Modern World: Traditions and Transformations*, London: Routledge, 2002, p. 236.

It is commonly known that the *way how* the societies believe in *God*, has changed enormously since the times of the Reformation. Michael Burleigh has identified a particular trend of conversion of religion into “a political convenience” from “an end in itself”, which it used to be in pre-Reformation times. Instead of using religion to direct men towards God, rulers started to use religion in order to advance their worldly goals.¹² Within this process, the ambiguous belief in God remained a significantly more instrumental religious resource in politics than the belief in hell.

In some nations the references to God still exist in lyrics of national anthems, in the texts of constitutions or are being typed on their banknotes. The belief in hell is never used in such cases, because individuals – and churches too – have an increasing difficulty in relating oneself to any particular conceptualization of hell in modernized societies. The “belief in hell” was functional in traditional societies, but has lost its relevance thereafter. The global study by Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris has shown that during transitions from agrarian to industrial and from industrial to post-industrial level of socioeconomic development, the most obvious changes in beliefs were related to the declining belief in hell – 59% was the average for agrarian, 36% for industrial, and 26% for post-industrial societies.¹³

If we assume that the belief in hell is the main indicator of the traditional Christianity, then Graph 2 demonstrates that every society and confession has a significant proportion of those who “belong, but do not believe” in the way their forefathers traditionally did (which itself is an indicator of the secularization of *beliefs*). Not a single society has more of those who believe in hell than of those who are religiously affiliated. In this dimension, however, the religious beliefs are less detraditionalized in Catholic societies and in post-communist societies. Paradoxically, in un-churched post-communist Estonia the level of belief in hell is higher than in several church-friendly Scandinavian Lutheran societies (Sweden, Denmark, and Iceland).

¹² M. Burleigh. *Earthly Powers: The Clash of Religion and Politics in Europe from the French Revolution to the Great War*, New York: HarperCollins, 2005, p. 20.

¹³ P. Norris, R. Inglehart. *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 57.

In general, the liberal and Protestant understanding of religion based singularly or primarily on belief *and* on individual choice¹⁴ describes adequately only tiny proportions of religious affiliation (and un-churched religiosities) in contemporary Europe (including traditionally Protestant societies). Such Protestant conception of religion may be instrumental in the private life of a particular individual, but is strongly normative (i.e. it does not describe accurately the way individuals identify themselves with religion in real societies and cultures). It assumes the separation of the religious sphere from non-religious spheres of life from the start.¹⁵ It requires the churches to distance themselves from the ethnic and national communities and to be transformed into organized groups of *interest* within a civil society.¹⁶

Religion may have become a matter of an individual choice to a level unprecedented in previous history, yet the renowned statement of John Locke in his *Letter Concerning Toleration* – “Nobody is born a member of any church”¹⁷ – is still in strong discord with the most contemporary patterns of religious affiliation in Europe, where “being born” still forms an overwhelmingly larger category of religious affiliation over the “having individually chosen”. Additionally, the Lockean assumption of the supremacy of an individual over the secular rulers and religious leaders in his choice of a religious association and the conception of a church as a free and voluntary society of men who join themselves in order to save their souls and secure eternal life by

¹⁴ L. Woodhead, “Five Concepts of Religion”, *International Review of Sociology*, 2011, no. 1, p. 112.

¹⁵ John Locke defined religion as a form of human association that is separate from the other types of human relations and associations (political, parental, marital and economic). Michael Walzer’s liberal system of separations requires the separation of the sphere of religion from non-religious spheres of life (such as education, politics, economy and family). M. Walzer, “Liberalism and the art of Separation”, *Political Theory*, 1984, no. 3, p. 315-330.

¹⁶ C. Hann, “Problems with the (De)Privatization of Religion”, *Anthropology Today*, 2000, no. 6, p. 14, 15.

¹⁷ J. Locke, “A Letter Concerning Toleration”, in: Ian Shapiro (Ed.) *John Locke: Two Treatises of Government and A Letter Concerning Toleration*, London: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 220.

worshipping God in ways *they* (as individuals in their consciences) believe to be pleasing to God¹⁸ introduces inevitably the marketing of religion and the relativizing of any particular systems of religious belief. As Locke himself observed, “For every church is orthodox to itself; to others, erroneous or heretical”.¹⁹

In modernized societies, individuals seek *more intensively* answers to the questions related to the individual and social existence than in traditional societies and find less answers in traditional religious doctrines partly because the giving of meaning to the social and individual existence has become increasingly *marketized, commodified* and thus turned into an object of consumer choice.²⁰ Recently introduced new means of mass communication (such as television, internet, and social networks) have resulted in multiplication of the products and producers of the “meaning” that can be attached to the individual and social existence, and in the proliferation of the channels of inter-personal and inter-associational communication. In the dimension of religion as belief, religious meaning *is* becoming increasingly a matter of an individual choice (largely irrespective of whether an individual belongs to a religious confession or not), yet the overwhelmingly dominant form of religious identification everywhere in Europe is still *cultural* and strongly overlapping with the ethnic and national identities.

The connections between religion and culture make the religious alternatives inevitably unequal. To convert from Lutheranism to Islam in a traditionally Lutheran Estonia involves significantly higher “*cultural cost*” for an ethnic Estonian than to convert from Lutheranism to Catholicism. Additionally, to the extent that the Lutheran connection to the national identity is shared by all members of the political community, this type of religion is not a subject to individual choices at all.

Any issue related to a national identity and to a political community in general (such as a security threat) tends to be immune from the

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 219-222.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

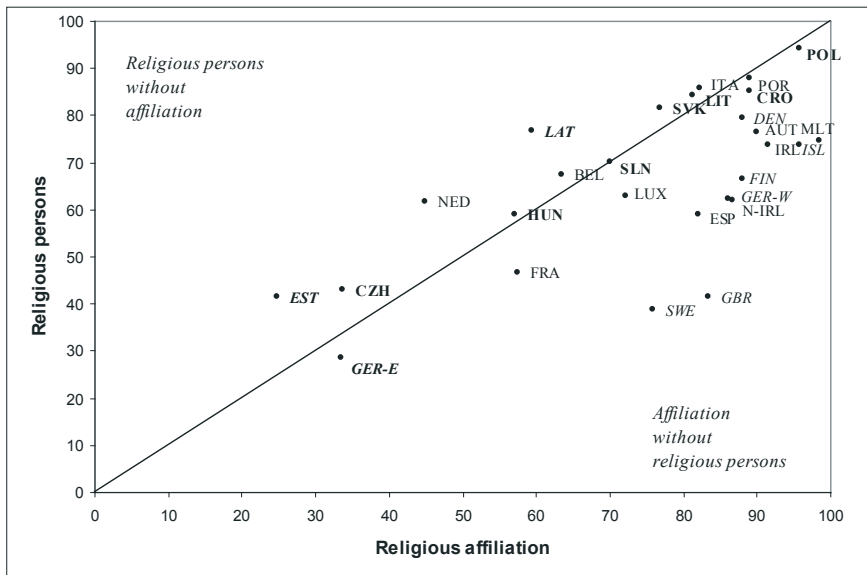
²⁰ Bryan Turner has observed that the main threat to religious faith in postmodernity is not cognitive, but is based on “the commodification of everyday life”. B. S. Turner, *Orientalism, Postmodernism and Globalism*, Routledge: London, 1994, p. 9.

competition of ideas and beliefs that otherwise divide the contemporary populations and disintegrate the societies internally. Common symbols of the national identity and shared cultural identities *unite* the members into a holistic whole. In these cases we speak about “Us” as a culture in singular.

The national religion, however, is not the only symbolical representative of the nation. The contemporary nationalisms are represented also by national art, economy, entertainment, sports, media, and non-religious producers of culture such as artists, politicians, composers, celebrities, athletes, and scientists, who – to the extent that they are autonomous from religion – compete with a traditional religion in the symbolical cultural representation of the national community. Importantly, the national culture can be symbolized by a basketball team, which were non-existent in the national communities of the late 19th century. The symbolical representation of the nation becomes particularly intense when the national team is playing with the politically and culturally relevant Other.

SELF-IDENTIFICATION AND AFFILIATION

GRAPH 3. RELIGIOUS PERSONS AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION



Source: www.worldvaluessurvey.org, online data analysis (WVS, 1999/2000).

The patterns of the level of the self-identified religious persons (Graph 3) resemble the patterns of the belief in God (Graph 1). Estonia and Latvia are again among those countries, where the level of affiliation is *lower* than the proportion of religious persons in society. Similarly, Sweden and Great Britain are among the societies that represent the contrasting extreme. In general, the *post-communist* countries are closer to the “equality line”. In West-European societies, there are more unchurched forms of religion and individualized conceptualizations of religion.

As a rule, those, who consider themselves as religious persons or believers in God, but remain unaffiliated, are less proud of their nationality than those who belong, but do not believe.²¹ The reason is simple. Any kind of shared beliefs are strongest and most plausible when supported by socialization and confirmed by everyday interactions between groups and individuals. As the belief in a nation is a shared “religion” of a national community, the higher level of patriotism among the nationally motivated “belongers, but not believers” than among the “believers, but not belongers” can reasonably be expected.

In a case, when an atheist by belief identifies with a religious tradition for national reasons, his identification with *a nation* is strong from the beginning.²² The similar situation may occur, when a traditional religion has become a cultural symbol to the extent that persons do not identify with its institution any more. For example in Estonia the cultural identification with Lutheranism is significantly higher than the level of membership in the Lutheran church. According to the interpretation by Andrew Hart, the Lutheran church in Estonia is weak as a “manifest church” (as “manifested” by buildings, formal membership, theological and social doctrines), but stronger as the “latent church”, which symbolically unifies the Estonian

²¹ I. Storm, *op. cit.*, p. 715.

²² “National atheists” and “national traditionalists” care for national religious traditions, rites and rituals as a means for being connected to the national community. E. Barker, “But Who’s Going to Win? National and Minority Religions in Post-Communist Society”, *Philosophy and Sociology*, 1999, no. 6, p. 62-63.

culture, connects it culturally with Western civilization and provides a resource "around which Estonians can rally for nationalist causes".²³ As will be argued below, this kind of cultural Lutheranism may also be interpreted not as a hidden strength of a religious institution, but as a form of public religion that has become autonomous from the Lutheran Church.

The sense of cultural bond between church and nation within an individual is always symbolic, emotional, and real. One can identify with a national culture or reject it, but cannot change it at will. Thus, the Lithuanians can support their discus thrower Virgilijus Alekna as much as Estonians support their own Gerd Kanter. We are free not to be interested in a discus throw and to be interested in a basketball or pop music instead. But we cannot support the team of Lesotho in a play between Lesotho and Lithuania (or Estonia), because by this choice we self-ostracise ourselves from our cultural community.

"God of the nation" is on the side of the nation anyway.

ATTENDANCE AND AFFILIATION

The level of regular attendance in religious services indicates the intensity of the identification with a religious association. Typically, the focus on the religious practice is an important indicator for the study of religious voting preferences in political elections, where scholars often find that religious practice causes variations that cannot be explained by formal identification with a particular religious tradition. In the latter case, however, those who regularly attend church services are found to identify themselves with a particular policy, program or political party, and not with the symbolical relationship between church and culture. The focus on the attendance is typically useful in the study of issues that divide societies internally, not in the research on cultural symbols that integrate a political community.

²³ A. Hart, "The Role of the Lutheran Church in Estonian Nationalism", *Religion in Eastern Europe*, 1993, no. 3, p. 10-12.

TABLE 1. RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, ATTENDANCE AND IDENTIFICATION
IN WEST AND ECE

	WEST	Difference WEST-ECE	ECE
Percentage of the religiously affiliated, who practically never attend religious services	51.9	+33.3	18.6
Religiously affiliated	79.6	+19.0	60.6
Percentage of the religious persons, who practically never attend religious services	34.9	+9.5	25.4
Percentage of the affiliated Catholics who consider themselves as religious persons	81.6	-11.5	93.1
Percentage of the affiliated Protestants who consider themselves as religious persons	63.6	-20.3	83.9

Source: calculated from the results of WVS 1999/2000 (www.worldvaluessurvey.org).

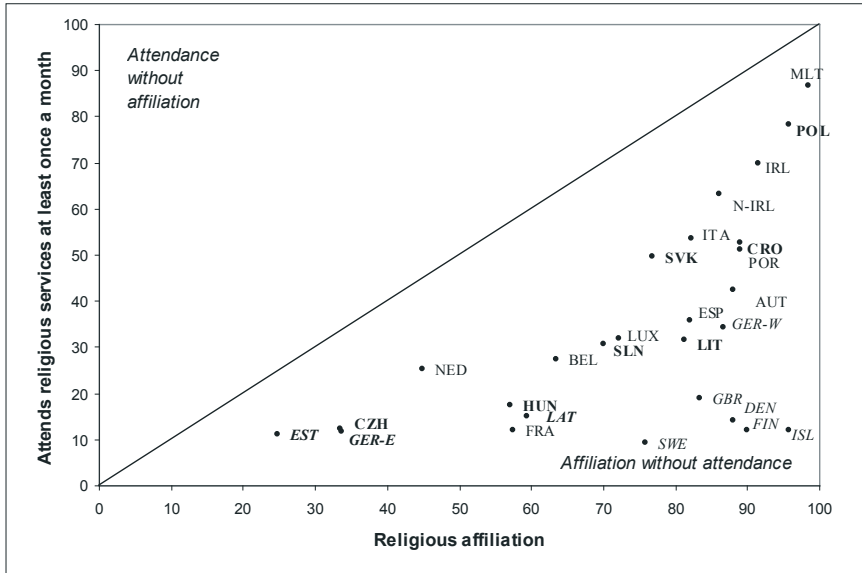
Second, the decline in religious attendance in modernized societies is subject to many interpretations. It may be argued that individuals are less committed to any kind of – religious, ideological, communal, civic – regular collective practices due to the general changes in individual habits and life-style, social mobility, patterns of cohabitation and changes in the means of mass media, and interpersonal communication. People today have simply “too much to do”, they mostly do not go regularly to church services, but at the same time they do not say that “they do not believe in Christianity any more” either.²⁴ Fewer people attend churches, political parties, trade unions, and voluntary organizations.²⁵ Such lifestyle changes are a characteristic feature that accompanies the late modernization and is reflected in the decline of previous patterns of associational commitments (“bowling alone”) as much as in the decline of collective religious practices (“praying alone”).²⁶

²⁴ R. Gill, “A Response to Steve Bruce’s “Praying Alone?””, *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 2002, no. 3, p. 336.

²⁵ G. Davie, *The Sociology of Religion*. London: Sage, 2007, p. 93.

²⁶ R. D. Putnam. *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000; G. Davie, “Praying Alone? Church-

GRAPH 4. RELIGIOUS ATTENDANCE AND AFFILIATION



Source: www.worldvaluessurvey.org, online data analysis (WVS, 1999/2000).

As seen from Graph 4, in Catholic cultures, the positive connection between a political community and a church is reflected in both high levels of religious affiliation *and* attendance. In Protestant cultures, however, the levels of religious attendance are low everywhere. Among the latter, the sole indicator that demonstrates the cultural connection between a national identity and a religious tradition is the level of affiliation.

In any society, however, the cultural connection between the church and the political community is strongest, when both regularly attending and practically never attending, believers and non-believers, religious and non-religious persons can easily identify with a religious tradition as with an inseparable part of what it means to be a full member of a political community.

Going in Britain and Social Capital: A Reply to Steve Bruce”, *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 2002, no. 3, p. 329-334.

EXPLANATIONS

CONFESSION AND CONFESSIONAL HOMOGENEITY

As the previous graphs demonstrated, the West-European Catholic societies differed less from the Protestant²⁷ ones in the levels of religious affiliation, belief in God, and in the proportion of religious persons. The starkest differences were related to the levels of religious attendance and to the belief in hell.

It can be speculated that the Protestant tradition of defining religion mostly as a matter of *belief* contributes to the pluralization and relativization of the meaning of religion. Cultural Lutheranism can still have public functions, but by becoming general, it tends to lose its particular religious characteristics (belief, values, doctrines), and by becoming public, it tends to be interpreted and defined by non-religious social actors. As noted by Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, in (Scandinavian) Protestant (public) value systems, the Protestant values “are not transmitted primarily by the church, but by the education national system and the mass media”.²⁸ In these cases the content of the Christian values in the public sphere are defined by public deliberation similarly to any other public norms.

Among the traditionally Lutheran cultures, where the level of affiliation is very low, for example in Estonia, the symbolical identification with Lutheranism can be stronger than the general sense of belonging to the Lutheran Church. In this case, the “ethno religious capital” that results from the convergence of ethnic and religious boundaries and turns religion into a source of “symbolic and authoritative moral resources” in national public sphere²⁹ is *weakly* related to the church institution and

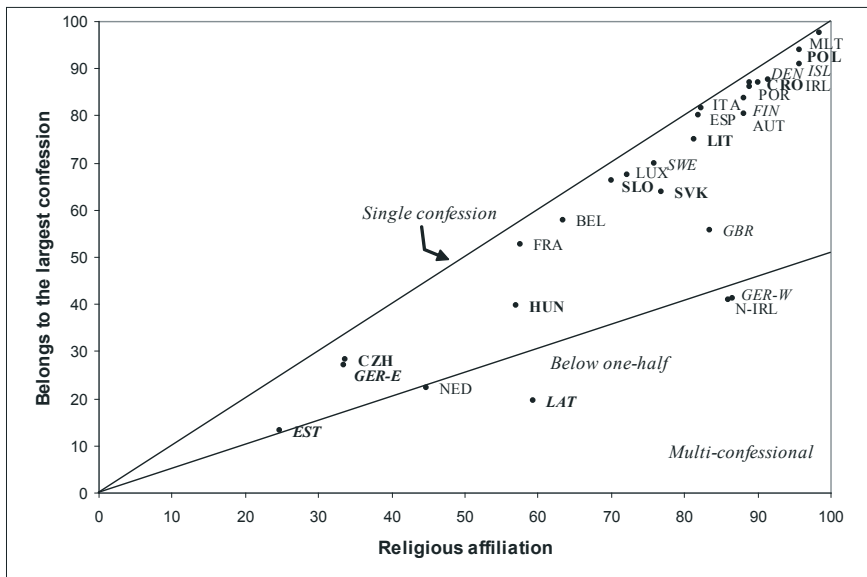
²⁷ Protestantism in tables was a compound variable. WVS used a category “free/non-denominational church” which was included to the general category “Protestant”. The “free/non-denominational church” category formed more than 3% from population in WEST only in Northern Ireland (27.3%), Great Britain (6.8%) and Netherlands (7.4%) and in ECE above 1% from population only in Latvia (4.4), Hungary (1.8%) and Germany East (1.3%).

²⁸ P. Norris, R. Inglehart, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

²⁹ J. Campling, *Religion, Ethnicity & Society*, New York, NY: Palgrave, 1999, p. 10.

largely not under the control of the church hierarchy. In Scandinavia the “ethno religious capital” is identified with institutional churches, the populations are more church-friendly, and the political and religious elites are perceived to be in closer collaboration. In the latter cases, the lack of political autonomy of the churches has motivated the emergence of the anti-clerical Protestant parties.³⁰

GRAPH 5. RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND BELONGING TO THE LARGEST CONFESSION



Source: www.worldvaluessurvey.org, online data analysis (WVS, 1999/2000).

The increasing confessional diversity (Graph 5) does not relate positively to the high levels of religious affiliation (Northern Ireland and Western Germany are the only exceptions). Other global and European survey studies also support this observation. Religious pluralism in European societies does not correlate with higher levels of religiosity.³¹

³⁰ P. Freston, *Protestant political parties: a global survey*, Aldershot, Burlington: Ashgate, p. 35-42.

³¹ V. Draulans, L. Halman, “Mapping Contemporary Europe’s Moral and

On a global level, the religious homogeneity is positively related to higher levels of self-identified “religious persons”.³²

The reasons why in multi-confessional societies the indicators of religion tend to decline can be cognitive and social. In religiously divided societies it is more difficult for individuals and groups to connect religion cognitively with the ways, how a good person should be and behave in a given society and culture. When there are multiple organized ways of defining religion and being religious, but only one way how to define the nation and culture, the emergence of the mutually supportive symbiosis between religion and nation becomes less likely. As observed by Ingrid Storm, “the value and likelihood of following national traditions depends largely on the degree to which others do the same” wherefore the degree of religious pluralism in one’s social circle typically is negatively associated with the following of national traditions.³³ And vice versa, the mono-confessional Scandinavian Protestant cultures demonstrate that even when the traditional religious beliefs are largely lost, a tiny minority attends religious services, the shared religious tradition can still remain socially functional and culturally meaningful for all members of society.

Last, but not least, the study has shown, that in both traditionally Protestant and Catholic societies, the levels of religious affiliation have remained high *in cases* when there exists a positive relationship between a religious tradition and a national identity, *and* the religious landscape is homogeneous and mono-confessional.

LEGACY OF THE COMMUNIST POLITICS OF RELIGION

The Communist period did not necessarily result in the decline of religious affiliation and religious practice or in the loss of the positive relationship between the church and a nation.

Religious Pluralist Landscape: An Analysis Based on the Most Recent European Values Study Data”, *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 2005, no. 2, p. 263.

³² J. Fox, E. Tabory, “Contemporary Evidence Regarding the Impact of State Regulation of Religion on Religious Participation and Belief”, *Sociology of Religion*, 2008, no. 3, p. 266.

³³ I. Storm, *op. cit.*, p. 705.

In cases, where the relationship between the national identity and the church was close and mutually supportive *before* the Communist period (such as in Poland, Lithuania and Croatia), the militantly secular stance of the Communists contributed to the further *strengthening* of the pre-existing *religio-national symbiosis*.³⁴ The Communists were well aware of the positive and negative character of the relationship between a particular nation and its church, and formulated therefore their politics of religion in direct correlation with their politics of nationalism.³⁵

In general, the Communist period tended to magnify the pre-existing patterns of church and nation-where the connection was weak, the hostile policies to religion and the church were more used and were more successful. In other cases, the intense and positive connection between nation and a church was carefully taken into account and at times of severe crises even encouraged and *used*. Thus, the Orthodox Churches were instrumental during the Second World War in promoting solidarity and loyalty within a Communist society.³⁶ Positive policies regarding Orthodoxy were particularly needed in order to impress Orthodox Romanians, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, and Serbs.³⁷

Consequently, the politics of religion – as well as the politics of nationalism – of Communists was largely driven by pragmatic concerns. Detlef Pollack has argued that the higher the level of repression of religion during the Communist regime, the more secularized the societies became.³⁸ I elaborate this argument – the persecution of religion

³⁴ W. Spohn, “Multiple Modernity, Nationalism and Religion: A Global Perspective”, *Current Sociology*, 2003, no. 3-4, p. 274. I. Borowik, “Why Has Religiosity in Poland not Changed since 1989? Five Hypotheses”, *Politics and Religion*, 2010, no. 2, p. 265.

³⁵ S. P. Ramet, “Politics and religion in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union”, in: George Moyser (Ed.), *Politics and Religion in the Modern World*. New York: Routledge, 1991, p. 68.

³⁶ S. M. Miner, *Stalin's Holy War: Religion, Nationalism, and Alliance Politics, 1941–1945*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

³⁷ J. H. Nichols, *History of Christianity, 1650–1950: Secularization of the West*, New York: Ronald Press, 1956, p. 454.

³⁸ D. Pollack, “Religiousness Inside and Outside the Church in Selected Post-Communist Countries of Central and Eastern Europe”, *Social Compass*, 2003, Nr. 3, p. 322-323.

succeeded only in cases, where there was a realistic and pragmatic opportunity for persecution. The more anticlerical and repressive policies succeeded among the Czechs, but did not succeed or were also less relied on among the Poles.

According to WVS 1999/2000, the Czech population had the extremely *low* proportions of those “who believe in God” or “get comfort and strength from religion” (38.9 and 25.7 percent, respectively).³⁹ Most likely such a decline in religious beliefs would never have occurred without the experience of the Communist regime. One has to remember, however, that a significant amount of the Czechs felt alienated from the Catholic Church already in the beginning of the 20th century. After the First World War, more than 10% of the population (1.5 million out of a total 13.5 million) in Czechoslovakia left the Catholic Church mainly due to the nationally inspired anti-Catholic sentiments.⁴⁰ Correspondingly, the study of Paul Froese identified the main cause for the religious decline in the Czech society not in modernization or religious repression, but in the failure of the dominant religious group of the country “to establish a credible link between itself and a popular nationalist movement”.⁴¹

For Communists, the Protestants were more easily controlled and de-socialized from their religious tradition than Catholics or the Orthodox.⁴² The Communist period succeeded in undermining the connection between Protestant populations and their traditional religious institutions in Estonia and Eastern Germany *more* than they succeeded in traditionally Catholic, Orthodox or Islamic cultures. It is also true that the traditionally Lutheran Estonia and East Germany

³⁹ L. Halman, *The European Values Study: A Third Wave, Source book of the 1999/2000 European Values Study Surveys*, Tilburg: WORC, 2001, p. 86, 96.

⁴⁰ D. Hamplova, Z. R. Nespov, “Invisible Religion in a “Non-believing” Country: The Case of the Czech Republic”, *Social Compass*, 2009, no. 4, p. 591.

⁴¹ P. Froese, “Secular Czechs and Devout Slovaks: Explaining Religious Differences”, *Review of Religious Research*, 2005, no. 3, p. 280, 281.

⁴² J. J. Linz, A. Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, p. 245.

are today highly secularized.⁴³ They were not, however, the countries which experienced the highest levels of repression of religion during the Communist period. The level of the repression of religion was significantly higher within the Soviet Union during the years 1922–1923, 1929–1930 and until the 1939, when the direct replacement of religion by atheism was attempted, than in post – 1939 Estonia or in post – 1945 East Germany. Estonia, however, has lower level of religious affiliation than any other post-Soviet society. Similarly, the policies of religion in the German Democratic Republic were less repressive than in Soviet Union or in Czechoslovakia.

Multiple hypotheses can be raised, why the indicators of religion are extraordinarily low in East Germany⁴⁴ and the lowest European level of religious affiliation is in Estonia. As there does not exist any post-communist traditionally Protestant society with a high level of religious affiliation, it may be speculated, that with Lutherans the Communists succeeded in their anti-clerical and anti-religious policies both in cases where the connection between religion and nation was weak (Estonia) or moderate (East Germany and Latvia). The Scandinavian societies, however, demonstrate clearly that *without* the Communist experience, the traditionally Protestant cultures are capable of retaining high levels of religious affiliation and the cultural sense of religious belongingness.

MODERNIZATION. Modernization influences the relationship of an organized religion with the state, society, and culture in multiple dimensions and in different ways. Generally, the secularization paradigms expect modernization to be accompanied by three main processes.

First, *the differentiation of the sphere of religion from non-religious spheres* (such as politics, economy, art, entertainment, culture, science,

⁴³ D. Pollack, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

⁴⁴ Paul Froese and Steven Pfaff explain the East-German “religious anomaly” by “a unique combination of weak monopoly churches prior to communism, strong substitution-oriented anti-religious policies during communism, and new religious circumstances produced by German reunification”. P. Froese, S. Pfaff, „Explaining a Religious Anomaly: A Historical Analysis of Secularization in Eastern Germany”, in: *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 2005, no. 4, p. 403.

sexuality).⁴⁵ The traditional religious institution is expected to lose its authority over all non-religious spheres of social and political life. The church is expected to be institutionally separated from the state and lose its authority and influence over all the processes related to the formation of government and the political decision-making (elections, deliberation in the public sphere, agenda-setting, public policies etc).

Second, the *pluralization within the sphere of religion*, which in some instances may result in religious revivals and increases in religious vitality⁴⁶, but always increases the number of religious alternatives due to the protected religious liberty and the amount of interpretations of any particular religious tradition due to the adaptation of the new means of communication and the protection of the free speech. Therefore, even in contemporary Catholic cultures there are several alternative ways how an individual can be Catholic today – non-practicing, non-believing, or not agreeing with Church dogmas – which were not possible earlier.⁴⁷ The related “cognitive secularization” is reflected mostly in the multiplication of the ways that groups and individuals make sense of their individual and social existence.

Third, the *cultural secularization* as manifested in the transformation of the mythic and symbolic markers of the political culture⁴⁸ and in the replacement of the traditional worldviews with the culture that is “based in large part on humanism, material values, science, and technology”.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ M. Weber, „Religious Rejections of the World and Their Directions“, in: *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, Hans H. Gerth, C. Wright Mills (Eds.), New York: Oxford University Press, 1946, p. 323-359.

⁴⁶ S. Bruce, “A Novel Reading of Nineteenth-Century Wales: A Reply to Stark, Finke, and Iannaccone”, in: *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 1995, no. 4, p. 520.

⁴⁷ C. Taylor, *Varieties of Religion Today: William James Revisited*, London: Harvard University Press, 2002, p. 106-107.

⁴⁸ K. M. Schultz, “Secularization: A Bibliographic Essay”, *The Hedgehog Review*, 2006, no. 1-2, p. 174.

⁴⁹ D. E. Smith, “Religion and Political Modernization: Comparative Perspectives”, in: Donald E. Smith (Ed.), *Religion and Political Modernization: Comparative Perspectives*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974, p. 8.

The connectedness between a religious tradition, church institution, political culture, and the national identity is capable of persisting during the processes of modernisation more intensely than any other type of church's connectedness to politics and public life. As argued by Steve Bruce, the positive relationship between religion and national identity is the main reason for the delays or reverses in the general processes of secularization.⁵⁰

The positive relationship of the church with a national identity and its aspirations undermines the processes of secularization in all three dimensions mentioned above: it sets limits to the differentiation of religion from non-religious spheres of life, because the church remains connected to a national community and culture as a whole; in this dimension the religious institution that represents symbolically the national religion is immune to the pluralization of religious choices and forms of organization that are taking place in other dimensions of the political and public life; as far as religion is related to a shared political identity, it becomes protected from public debates and rational criticisms that traditional religious belief systems otherwise inevitably experience; and lastly, the existence of the connection to the political culture by definition indicates about the low level of the secularization of the political culture.

How much can then be explained simply by the level of modernisation? If the ideological secularization or the "polity dominance secularization"⁵¹ of the Communists had no particular results, then simply from the perspective of socioeconomic modernization, the post-communist societies should be expected to score lower and to be *more religious* than the West-European societies, because the level of modernization determines the level of secularization.

By 1999–2000, Malta was the most religious of the society studied *and* was the only society of the WEST that categorized as "industrial" according to the level of economic development (all the other West-

⁵⁰ S. Bruce, *Choice and Religion: A Critique of Rational Choice Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University, 1999, p. 24-27.

⁵¹ D. E. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

European societies were “post-industrial”). And vice versa, the least religious society of the whole Europe, East Germany, was the only post-communist society categorized economically as “post-industrial”.⁵² Inside both regions, therefore, the “modernization” explanation has also its value.

In West-European societies the traditional religious beliefs are losing their appeal and the meaning of a religious person and belief in God is less related to a traditional religious institution, which is also in accordance with the “modernization thesis”. The *more modernised* West-European societies, however, have higher levels of religious *belonging*, and even in otherwise highly secularized societies – such as in Sweden, Denmark, and Great Britain – the historical churches function as the public carriers of the national religion. This cultural connection between a traditional church and a political community may not be corresponded by any significant authority of the church over others spheres of social and political life. Nevertheless, without the experience of the Communist regime, the declining levels of belief and church-related religious practices have not been accompanied by the cultural alienation from the national religious traditions. In this dimension, in Western Europe the “secular” and “Christian” have successfully accommodated with each other.⁵³

To put it differently, despite the general “Eurosecularity”⁵⁴ that characterises most of the European societies in most dimensions of religion and public life, the modernized societies of Europe *have retained the religious sense of belonging* that accompanies the political notions of citizenship. The latter has been undermined only in cases, where the historically dominant religious tradition has been negatively related to a national identity, the religious landscape is multiconfessional or the politics of religion of the Communist regimes were successful in the alienation of the Lutheran populations from their religious traditions.

⁵² P. Norris, R. Inglehart, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁵³ J. Casanova, “Immigration and the New Religious Pluralism”, in: Thomas Banchoff (Ed.), *Democracy and the New Religious Pluralism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 62.

⁵⁴ P. L. Berger, “Secularization Falsified”, *First Things: Monthly Journal of Religion and Public Life*, 2008, no. 2, p. 24.

CONCLUSIONS: NATION AND RELIGION

The study has shown that in both traditionally Protestant and Catholic societies, the levels of religious affiliation have remained high *in cases* when there exists a positive relationship between a religious tradition and national identity, *and* the religious landscape is homogeneous and mono-confessional. Correspondingly, the connection between a traditional religion and national identity is capable to persist in contemporary societies despite the increasing secularization in other dimensions of religion, society and politics. The strength of the cultural connection is reflected most simply in the extent to which the connection between, for example, Estonianness and Lutheranism, Polishness and Catholicism, is by any Estonian and Pole considered to be a part of their “natural identity”. The intensity of this kind of “cultural religion” varies among European nations, but has remained the single largest category of religious orientation in Europe.⁵⁵

When the connection between church and a nation becomes intense and strong, like it has happened in Poland since the Third Partition in 1795, religion becomes *more* than just a religion. It *defines a nation*,⁵⁶ it extends to non-religious areas and retains extra religious functions,⁵⁷ and, most importantly, it provides for the social cohesion and integration.

There are, however, at least two reasons, why the positive connection between a church and a nation should be handled with a caution.

First, the more related to culture the religious tradition is, the more general and “civil religion” like it becomes. Instead of focusing on beliefs, doctrines and moral norms that tend to divide and disintegrate the contemporary individualized, pluralized and secularized societies; it relies on collective rituals and symbols that integrate.⁵⁸ As Peter Berger

⁵⁵ N. J. Demerath III, “The Rise of “Cultural Religion” in European Christianity: Learning from Poland, Northern Ireland, and Sweden”, *Social Compass*, 2000, no. 1, p. 136.

⁵⁶ T. A. Byrnes, *Transnational Catholicism in Postcommunist Europe*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001, p. 31.

⁵⁷ I. Borowik, *op. cit.*, p. 265, 266.

⁵⁸ I. Borowik, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

has put it, as far as religion is generalized and becomes common “it lacks “reality”, insofar as it is “real”, it lacks commonality”.⁵⁹ In this case, the all-inclusive church affiliation becomes an indicator social conformity and of how members of society express their “solidarity with society and its basic values” instead of the commitment to theological beliefs or frequent practice.⁶⁰

Second, the cultural connection between a church and a nation tends to ideologize, politicize and nationalize the religious tradition involved. In this symbiosis the religion becomes a kind of “ideological religiosity”⁶¹ that allies closely with the ideological sentiments and aspirations of the national community. It still defines its orthodoxy and heterodoxy, but to the extent that it retains its theological framework, these definitions will inevitably be based on *both* ideological *and* theological frameworks.⁶²

The intense fusion of religion and nationalism helps to create and preserve cultural identity and to stimulate the intra-societal integration, but it also tends to delimitate, alienate and increase animosity “towards the “Other””.⁶³ Correspondingly, in contemporary ethno-religious conflicts religious faith, belief and creed play usually no significant role. In the latter the “religion” means just a “little more than the rituals and customs forming the core traditions of an ethnic community”.⁶⁴

All in all, the “cultural religion” is the “weakest” link between contemporary populations and traditional churches, but also the

⁵⁹ P. L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*, New York: Anchor Books, 1969, p. 134.

⁶⁰ E. M. Hamberg, “Christendom in Decline: the Swedish Case”, in: Hugh Mcleod, Werner Ustorf (Eds.), in: *The Decline of Christendom in Western Europe, 1750–2000*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 47.

⁶¹ S. Chodak, “People and the Church Versus the State: The Case of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland”, in: Richard L. Rubenstein (Ed.) *Spirit Matters: The Worldwide Impact of Religion on Contemporary Politics*, New York: Paragon House Publishers, 1987, p. 292.

⁶² B. Porter-Szucs, in: *Faith and Fatherland—Catholicism, Modernity, and Poland*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

⁶³ I. Merdjanova, “In Search of Identity: Nationalism and Religion in Eastern Europe”, in: *Religion, State & Society*, 2000, no. 3, p. 234.

⁶⁴ J. Kurth, “Religion and Conflict – In Theory”, *Orbis*, 2001, no. 2, p. 293.

“strongest” hindrance to a social, cultural and political secularization, the “largest” category of the popular identification with religion, the most common means for the European societies to secure cultural integration of societies and also the *type* of connection between religion and politics that is mostly present, active and functional in ethno-religious conflicts.

ARŪNAS STREIKUS

LONG AWAITED NEW PAGE IN THE HISTORY
OF SOVIET ERA CHRISTIANITY

Darius Petkūnas, *The Repression of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Lithuania during the Stalinist Era*, Klaipėda, 2011, 255 p.

A certain kind of freeze has settled during the last decade in Lithuania in the field of research on the anti-religious policies of the Soviet regime. After the publications issued at the beginning of the past decade, outlining the main contours of this topic¹, no other noteworthy studies in which the situation of the religious communities in the Soviet era were analyzed have appeared. Therefore, the monograph of Darius Petkūnas appearing at the end of last year was a pleasant surprise to the author of these lines whose academic biography had begun in this area. There is an additional happiness that the book was published in the English language, which indicates the efforts of Lithuania's Church historians – sovietologists to participate more actively in international academic discourse.

First one has to note that the reviewed book at least in part fills the clear gap that existed in the field of modern Church history investigations. Up to now most of the attention was clearly devoted to the development of the dominant in Lithuania Catholicism, the specific situation of Orthodox believers was also investigated a great deal while the history of the Lutheran faith leaving clear footprints in the history of Lithuania's culture in the 20th century, especially in its second half was left on the sidelines.²

¹ Irena Miklaševič, *Polityka sowiecka wobec Kościoła katolickiego na Litwie, 1944–1965*, Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza Rytm, 2001; Arūnas Streikus, *Sovietų valdžios antibažnytinė politika Lietuvoje 1944–1990 m.*, Vilnius: Lietuvos gyventojų genocido ir rezistencijos tyrimų centras, 2002; Regina Laukaitytė, *Staciatikių Bažnyčia Lietuvoje XX amžiuje*, Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2003.

² Probably the most prolific worker in this field Arthur Hermann wrote mostly about the problems of Lithuania's Lutheran history up to World War II and the period of the Nazi occupation.

Relying on the archival documents of the Soviet government institutions responsible for the implementation of anti-religious policies as well as the collection of documents remaining in the archive of the prominent Lithuanian Lutheran minister Jonas Kalvanas, Petkūnas microscopically reconstructs only one aspect of the complicated history of Lithuania's Lutheran Church (LLC) – the efforts of the Soviet regime with the use of repressive measures to erase totally this confession from the map of the country's religious and cultural life. This is revealed by analyzing two interrelated threads of these repressive policies: in the spring of 1945, less than a week before the end of the war, the deportation of ordinary Church members was carried out from which about 300 Lithuanian Lutheran families suffered as well as the repressive pressure against Lutheran clergy lasting through the whole first decade of Soviet rule.

In the second half of the book the author convincingly shows that after the return of the Soviets the first mass deportation of Lithuania's population was carried out that the investigators of Soviet terror simply call the deportation of persons of German nationality, in fact was directed against the local Lutheran community. Identifying the adherents of Lutheran faith without any scruples as Germans, the majority of the persons appearing in the lists of deportees were of Lithuanian nationality, many of whom before the occupation stood out as active proponents of making the Lutheran faith more Lithuanian, backers of its integration into the religious life of Lithuania. In many instances the only proof of the "Germanness" of the deported family were the certificates provided by the local executive committees in which Lutherans were traditionally called "Germans". Such a nature of this deportation encouraged the Lutherans remaining in Lithuania to hide their confessional identity and this allowed the Soviet authorities to justify the massive closing of Lutheran churches. Unfortunately, the book's author did not try to explain what was the reaction of the local Catholics to the stigmatization of fellow countrymen of another faith. That would allow one to see better whether the quite problematic question at the beginning of the 20th century of the distinction between confessional and national identity had been resolved. Some of the details in the book's account would

testify that the confessional reserve and the mutual stereotypes related to them were still flourishing. Looking from the perspective of today, one is a little saddened by the discussions of some Lutheran clergy whether the deportation of the Lutherans from Lithuania was organized ... by the Jesuits (p. 50).

In the third part of the book the author reveals the repressions carried out by the Soviets against Lutheran priests by the fate of five ministers. Four of them (Gustavas Rauskinas, Jurgis Gavėnis, Jonas Mizaras, and Erikas Lejeris) in 1945–1950 were sentenced by Soviet courts allegedly for anti-Soviet agitation and sent to complete their punishments in Siberian labor camps. Therefore, half of the Lutheran priests remaining in Lithuania after the war suffered from Soviet repressions. That is a very large percentage, keeping in mind that the Lutheran pastors, feeling the greater threat from the ruling attitude toward them as representatives of German culture or even Nazism, behaved much more carefully than Catholic priests (p. 75). The author does not try to answer the question (I have to admit that to answer it unambiguously would be very difficult) of whether some kind of rational logic determined the targets of the repressive policies or were they carried out without any preliminary plan. Nevertheless, after an analysis of the biographies of the convicted, certain concurrences can be noticed. All of them had finished higher theological schools and were ordained as priests before the occupation; in the 1930's they were active supporters of the "Help" society, seeking to diminish the German influence in the LLC.

The persons, who managed to escape repressions, did not have any continuing theological education, entered priestly service after the 1941 repatriations when after the departure to Germany of the larger part of the Lutheran clergy there did not remain anyone to serve the still numerous Lutheran parishes, were of quite old age (Ansas Baltris, Mikas Preikšaitis, Fridrichas Megnys). The only exception in this group was Jonas Kalvanas, who completed theological studies at the Vytautas the Great University in Kaunas and Riga University in 1939, and was ordained as a priest in the summer of 1940. He was the youngest among the Lutheran pastors remaining in Lithuania. Even though he remained free, in the years of Stalinist terror this minister was forced to work in no

less complicated conditions, surrounded on all sides by Soviet security agents. His fate is revealed in the last section of the third part. The author of the monograph relies here the most on the file of the operative surveillance of Kalvanas remaining in the Lithuanian Special Archives in which the existing documents up to now had not been introduced into academic discourse. For this reason this section of the book is probably the most intriguing and valuable from the aspect of historiography.

In general one can assert that the discussed study is the first serious attempt, relying on previously unused sources, to open to Lithuanian and foreign readers a page of the complicated fate of a small religious community in the Soviet system. The narrative of the book, interspersed with interesting illustrations (unfortunately, their source is not always indicated), provides the joy of pleasant and light reading. On the other hand, the author did not dare to make broader generalizations about the gathered really interesting materials or bolder interpretations of the presented facts. Therefore, quite a few topics remaining in the margins of this book, the professional analysis of which would help reconstruct the complete view of the history of the LCC in the Soviet era, are waiting for future researchers, or perhaps even the author himself.

SANTRAUKOS

APAŠTALIŠKOSIOS VIZITACIJOS POTRIDENTINĖJE KATALIKŲ BAŽNYČIOJE

UMBERTO MAZZONE

Straipsnyje aptariamos apaštališkosios vizitacijos kaip bažnytinė institucija, jų funkcija ir reikšmė potridentinėje Katalikų Bažnyčioje.

Dažnai linkstama pamiršti apaštališkąsias vizitacijas buvus specifiskomis, laikant jas vyskupų atliekamų ganytojiškų vizitacijų atmaina. Straipsnyje keliamą prielaidą, jog apaštališkosios vizitacijos turėjo ne vien dubliuoti parapijų vizitacijas, kuriomis buvo siekiama, kad parapijose būtų įdiegti atitinkami principai ir teisės normos, bet ir rinkti informaciją, reguliuoti bei taisyti padėtį, atsižvelgiant į vietos vyskupo veiklą. Apaštališkojo vizitatoriaus statusą painioje teorinėje ir teisinėje sistemoje padeda nustatyti apaštališkųjų vizitacijų formuluotė, atskleidžianti, jog apaštališkojo vizitatoriaus apsilankymas traktuojamas kaip asmeninis popiežiaus vizitas, kuomet šis negali atvykti pats. Italijos miestuose-valstybėse apaštališkosios vizitacijos leido valdovui tiesiogiai derėtis su Šventuoju Sostu apeinant vietos vyskopus ir taip marginalizuojant jų įtaką. Deja, tokia praktika, užuot padėjusi išspręsti vietos Bažnyčios reikalus, dažnai sukeldavo tik dar daugiau įtampos.

Nuo Pijaus V ir Grigaliaus XIII laikų apaštališkosios vizitacijos imtos rengti sistemingai ir, nustojusios būti išimtinu, specialiu įsikišimu į vyskupijos reikalus, tapo įprastu Bažnyčios valdymo įrankiu. Įtvirtinant Tridento susirinkimo nutarimus viena svarbiausių pareigybių tapo apaštališkasis nuncijus. Prasidėjus Kontrreformacijos amžiui apaštališkojo vizitatoriaus ir nuncijaus pareigos beveik neatskiriamai susipynė ir abi kartu stiprino Katalikų Bažnyčios kontrolės mechanizmą.



EDMUND CAMPION *RATIONES DECEM*:
 LYGINAMASIS VERTIMŲ Į LENKŲ IR ANGLŲ
 KALBĄ TYRIMAS

CLARINDA E. CALMA

1581 m. birželio 27 d. Oksfordo akademikai sulaukė spausdinto *Rationes Decem*, anonimiškai mesto intelektualinio iššūkio, ginančio pagrindines katalikybės doktrines tiesas. Veikalo autorius, anglų jėzuitas šv. Edmunas Kampionas (Campion), siekė iškvieisti akademinę bendruomenę į viešą intelektualinį teologinį disputą, kokie tuo metu vyko Vidurio Europos šalyse, pavyzdžiui, Lenkijoje. Tačiau užuot priėmę iššūkį, Elzbietos I pareigūnai mokslininką suėmė, kankino ir ketvirčiavo.

Anglų istorikai daugiausiai yra rašę apie 1581 m. anglišką Kampiono veikalo leidimą, dažnai pamiršdami didžiulį pastarojo populiarumą Europoje, kuri liudija daugybę leidimų įvairiuose Europos miestuose. Nors vėliau Kampionas buvo smarkiai primirštas, tai, kas buvo ištrinta iš anglų istoriografijos, gali būti atkurta tiriant vėlesnius Kampiono *Rationes* leidimus ir vertimus, ne vien tik Britų salose, bet ir visame žemyne, ypač Abiejų Tautų Respublikoje. Šiame straipsnyje susitelkiama ties ankstyvaisiais šio pamiršto, tačiau savo laiku reikšmingo veikalo vertimais į lenkų kalbą. Straipsnio tikslas – pateikti trumpą dviejų šio veikalo leidimų, išspausdintų 1584 m. Vilniuje, istoriją. Pirmąjį atliko anuometinis Vilniaus akademijos rektorius Petras Skarga, antrąjį – karaliaus dvaro gydytojas, katalikų spaustuvės Vilniuje savininkas Kasparas Wilkovskis (Wilkowski). Šie leidimai, aplenkę 1631 m. vertimą į anglų kalbą, buvo adresuoti visai kitokiam skaitytojui, nei tas, kuriam Kampionas rašė savo veikalą Elzbietos I valdomoje Anglijoje, tad įdomu juos palyginti. Straipsnyje atliekama abiejų leidimų lyginamoji analizė, nagrinėjant šiuos vertimus platesniame istoriniame ir kultūriniame kontekste.



TRIDENTO IŠŠŪKIS IR KATALIKIŠKOJI REFORMA
LIETUVOS DIDŽIOJOJE KUNIGAİKŠTYSTĖJE:
VILNIAUS DVASININKIJA IR BENEFICIJŲ BEI
REZIDAVIMO PROBLEMA XVI A.

WIOLETTA PAWLIKOWSKA

Nuo pat Katalikų, arba Visuotinės Bažnyčios pradžios tiek aukščiausieji Bažnyčios hierarchai, tiek vietos vyskupai turėjo teisę formuoti ir reformuoti tikintiesiems patarnauti turinčią dvasininkiją. Vienas svarbiausių įvykių Bažnyčios, kaip ir kanonų teisės istorijoje, buvo Visuotinis Tridento susirinkimas (1545–1563 m.). Nors susirinkimo nutarimai rėmėsi ankstesnėmis reformomis, taip pat buvo pasiūlyta novatoriškai spręsti senas ir naujas Bažnyčios problemas. Dalis paskutiniųjų Tridento nutarimų buvo skirta ganytojiškai dvasininkų veiklai. Jos iš esmės uždraudė valdyti kelias beneficijas bei įpareigojo nuolatiniam rezidavimui.

Lenkijos karalius ir Lietuvos didysis kunigaikštis Zigmantas Augustas Tridento nutarimus priėmė greitai – 1564 m. Parčevo seime. Tais pačiais metais nutarimus patvirtino Lvovo bažnytinė provincija, kuriai priklausė ir pietiniai Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės pakraščiai. Tačiau gerokai didesnė Gniezno bažnytinė provincija, kurios sudėtyje buvo ir didžiulė Vilniaus vyskupija, juos patvirtino tik 1577 m. gegužės 19–21 d. Petrakavo sinodo metu. Šis sinodas sudarė komisiją, kuri, remdamasi Tridento nutarimais, turėjo parengti Lenkijos ir Lietuvos bažnytinės teisės sąvadą.

Pirmąjį potridentinį sinodą Vilniaus vyskupijoje 1582 m. sušaukė vyskupas Jurgis Radvila. Tridento nutarimų patvirtinimas reiškė, jog Bažnyčia turi pertvarkyti sielovados darbą. Tačiau Tridento susirinkimas tik davė pradžią ilgam – labai ilgam – procesui, kurio rezultatus mokslininkai tyrinėja iki šiol. Tridento reforma paveikė visą Katalikų Bažnyčią, tačiau skirtingose šalyse ir vyskupijose ji buvo įgyvendinama nevienodai. Bažnyčios krizė, paskatinusi Tridento susirinkimą, įvairiuose kraštuose buvo įgijusi nevienodus pavidalus, todėl Tridento nutarimai skirtinguose regionuose sukėlė skirtingas diskusijas. Vietinės Bažnyčios hierarchai ir jiems padedantys katedrų ir kolegiatų ka-

pitulų nariai dažnai priimdavo nutarimus tik su išlygomis, mėgindami juos pritaikyti prie realios situacijos. Tarp kitų dalykų daug dėmesio susilaukė kelių beneficijų laikymo ir rezidavimo klausimas. Keliamos abejonės buvo grindžiamos nepakankamu beneficijų aprūpinimu. Santykinis Bažnyčios valdų Vilniaus vyskupijoje menkumas lėmė tai, jog daugelis dvasininkų negalėjo pragyventi iš vienos beneficijos, o laikydami dvi parapijas jie būtų pažeidę rezidavimo sąlygą. Viena išeitis buvo gauti dispensą nuo kanonų teisės nuostatų laikymosi.

Straipsnyje tiriama Vilniaus vyskupijos dvasininkijos padėtis kelių beneficijų laikymo ir rezidavimo aspektu, pasitelkus prozopografinius duomenis, surinktus tiriant Vilniaus katedros dvasininkus – daugelis jų turėjo daugiau beneficijų, tiek Vilniaus vyskupijoje, tiek už jos ribų. Tyrime fiksuojama šios grupės padėtis prieš Susirinkimą, jo metu, iškart po jo nutarimų patvirtinimo bei pačioje XVI a. pabaigoje. Svarbiausi keliami klausimai: Tridento nutarimų priėmimas per pirmąjį ketvirtį amžiaus nuo jų priėmimo bažnytinėje provincijoje ir vyskupijoje; sunkumai, su kuriais susidūrė Vilniaus dvasininkija pirmaisiais potridentinės Katalikų Bažnyčios atgimimo dešimtmečiais. Nagrinėjant beneficijų kaupimo ir rezidavimo klausimą mėginama atsakyti, kuo, lyginant su kitomis Lietuvos ir Lenkijos vyskupijomis, išsiskyrė Vilniaus vyskupija.



NUO TRIDENTO REFORMOS
 ĮGYVENDINIMO IKI „APŠVIESTOJO AMŽIAUS“:
 IŠŠŪKIAI XVIII AMŽIAUS KATALIKŲ BAŽNYČIAI
 LIETUVOS DIDŽIOJOJE KUNIGAİKŠTYSTĖJE

RICHARD BUTTERWICK

Neseni „Kontreformacijos“ arba „Katalikiškosios reformos“ tyrimai atskleidžia, kad Tridento reformos įgyvendinimas buvo ilgai trukęs procesas, daugelyje Europos valstybių užsitęsęs iki XVIII a. pabaigos. Jei XVIII a. viduryje Prancūzijoje buvo regima „ilgai trukusios kontreformacijos pabaiga, kai

Galikoniškoji Bažnyčia pagaliau atsikvėpė po ilgo darbo diegiant Tridento Tėvų tikėjimą“ (Nigel Aston), tai Rytų ir Vidurio Europoje dar nebuvo atėjęs laikas sustoti. Ten laukė nemažai darbo, kaip antai Vengrijoje, kur, Habsburgams atkovojus iš Osmanų imperijos centrinę šalies dalį, reikėjo iš naujo atkurti visiškai suardytą parapijų tinklą. Transilvanijoje abiejų apeigų – Lotynų ir Unitų – Katalikų Bažnyčios susidūrė su panašiomis įvairių protestantiškųjų konfesijų bei stačiatikybės citadelėmis. Panaši padėtis po Šiaurės karo susiklostė Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje. Katalikų Bažnyčia daugelyje sričių buvo misionieriška Bažnyčia tiesiogine žodžio prasme. Katalikybės plėtrą Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje didele dalimi vykdė abiejų (lotynų ir graikų) apeigų vienuoliniai ordinai – ypač jėzuitai, misionieriai, dominikonai, bazilijonai, o žydaičių atžvilgiu – ir marijavitės. Abiejų apeigų vyskupijų struktūrinis tinklas, lyginant su Lenkija, buvo žymiai menkiau išvystytas. Lotynų apeigų Vilniaus vyskupai vienas po kito dėjo daug pastangų kurdami parapijas, keldami vyskupijos dvasininkų išsilavinimo ir elgesio standartus bei išskeldami savo valdžią, pavyzdžiui, vienuolių atžvilgiu. Šis darbas vyko iki pat Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės gyvavimo pabaigos 1795 m.; jis tęsėsi ir 1773 m. Klemensui XIV panaikinus sėkmingai veikusį jėzuitų ordiną.

Ilgai (1762–1794 m.) ganytojavęs Ignotas Masalskis iš esmės neatsisakė potridentinio reformos pobūdžio, tik jį modifikavo. Masalsio politiką pravartu tyrinėti platesniame europiniame „apšviestiosios katalikybės“ arba „katalikiškosios Apšvietos“ kontekste. Dažnu atveju tradicinių katalikiškų tikslų buvo siekiama pasitelkus Apšvietos epochos priemones ir formuluojant juos Apšvietos retorika. Tiesa, kartais buvo siekiama išties Apšvietai būdingų tikslų, pasitelkiant bažnytinius resursus. Paskutiniaisiais Masalskio ganytojavimo metais, kurie sutapo su Prancūzijos revoliucija ir Ketverių metų Seimo reformomis, daugeliui Lietuvos dvasininkų „Apšvietos amžiaus“ keliami pavojai Bažnyčiai atrodė didesni nei jo teikiamos galimybės religijos pažangai. Straipsnio pabaigoje kaip tik ir nagrinėjamos reakcijos į naujus Apšvietos iššūkius, išdėstytos pamoksluose ir ganytojiškuose laiškuose.



BAŽNYČIA IR PINIGAI:
NAUJA ISTORIOGRAFINĖ PERSPEKTYVA

UGO DOVERE

Kalbėti apie Bažnyčią ir pinigus nelengva, tačiau būtina. Iki šiol Bažnyčios istorikai nagrinėdami šią temą daugiausia dėmesio skyrė Viduramžių epochai, kuomet Vakarų schizma apsunkino popiežiaus kurijos išdo valdymą, o įgytas turtas buvo skiriamas pritraukti naujiems Romos ir Avinjono popiežių šalininkams. Tokia praktika paveikė ir Ankstyvųjų Naujųjų laikų Bažnyčią, kurios skilimą paskatino būtent prekyba atlaidais. „Bažnyčios ir pinigų“ tema dažnai apžvelgiama platesnėse temose, pvz., kalbant apie Bažnyčios institucijų istoriją, atskirų šeimų, istoriškai susijusių su Romos kurija ar Bažnyčios hierarchija, istoriją ar socialinės paramos istoriją. Vis dėlto Bažnyčios istorikai nelinkę imtis šios temos, mat ją nuo Apšvietos laikų lydi nuolatinė antibažnytinė polemika. Tik kai nuslopo ideologijos ir susiformavo istoriografinės prieigos, daugiau dėmesio skiriančios antropologiniams fenomenams, taip pat ir religiniam gyvenimui, istorikai ėmė pastebėti tokį anaiptol neantraeilį aspektą, koks yra Bažnyčios institucijų ekonominis gyvenimas.

Šis straipsnis pristato Italijos Bažnyčios istorikų asociacijos pradėtus naujus ir plačius temas, disciplinos ir metodo prasme Bažnyčios finansinių resursų akumuliacijos mechanizmų istorinės raidos tyrimus. Straipsnyje aptariami 2003 m. Aostoje įvykusios tryliktojo kongreso *Bažnyčia ir pinigai XVI–XVII a. Turto turėjimas, naudojimas, įvaizdis* pranešimai, atskleidžiantys, kaip ir kodėl „senojo režimo“ laikais atrodė Bažnyčios nuosavybė, kaip buvo naudojamas finansinis turtas ir koks buvo Bažnyčios įvaizdis.

Svarbiausios Bažnyčios funkcijos – krikščionybės skelbimas, religinio kulto praktikavimas (sakramentinis ir religinis gyvenimas), labdarybė – ilgainiui įaugo į visuomenės ekonominį gyvenimą ir įgijo savo kainą.

Išskirtini šie naujausi ir svarbiausi „Bažnyčios ir pinigų“ temos tyrimų aspektai: 1) paskolų atsiradimo ir jų raidos ilgaisiais Viduramžiais nagrinėjimas, 2) palūkanų atsiradimo priežasčių, pasekmių ir būdų palūkininkavimui, nuo Naujųjų amžių iki mūsų laikų formavusiam socialinius santykius tarp individų

ir grupių, įveikti skirti tyrimai, 3) vienuolių poveikio ekonominei ir socialinei tvarkai nuo „senojo režimo“ iki mūsų dienų, ypač civilinei teisei apribojus bažnytinius ordinus ir konfiskavus bažnytinį turta, tyrinėjimas.



NUNCIJAUS EUGENIO PACELLI (1917–1929 M.)
ATASKAITŲ PUBLIKAVIMAS INTERNETE

SASCHA HINKEL

Eugenio Pacelli yra viena kontroversiškesnių XX a. asmenybių. Nuo Rolf Hochhuth dramos *Vietininkas, krikščioniška tragedija* išspausdinimo netyla diskusijos apie jo „tylą“ dėl Holokausto ir apie Katalikų Bažnyčios kaltę dėl sisteminių daugiau nei šešių milijonų žydų žudynių. Dėl to daugiausia tyrinėjamas jo pontifikatas (1939–1958), konkrečiai Antrojo pasaulinio karo laikotarpis. Pacellio, pirmiausia kaip Vokietijos nuncijaus 1917–1929 m. ir vėliau kaip Vatikano valstybės sekretoriaus 1930–1939 m. vaidmuo formuojant Vokietijos ir Europos įvaizdį Vatikano akyse itin menkai teaptartas, ypač lyginant su jo „tylėjimo“ laikotarpiu Antrojo pasaulinio karo metais. Vis dėlto dvylika nunciatūros metų veikiausiai buvo lemtingi formuojantis tam, kaip jis pats matė Vokietiją bei jo pontifikato politikai.

Nuo 2003 ir 2006 m. Vatikano slaptuosiuose archyvuose yra prieinamos apie 7.000 Pacelli ataskaitų, siųstų iš Miuncheno ir Berlyno. Vokietijos tyrimų federacija patvirtino 2008 m. sausį inicijuotą ilgalaikį dvylikos metų projektą, kuris numato šių ataskaitų, atitinkamų Vatikano valstybės sekretoriaus nurodymų kartu su jų priedais publikavimą internete. Projektą koordinuoja Miunsterio universiteto viduramžių ir moderniosios Bažnyčios istorijos katedros profesorius Hubert Wolf bendradarbiaudamas su Vatikano slaptuoju archyvu ir Vokietijos istorijos institutu Romoje.

Pacelli nunciatūros ataskaitų ir nurodymų publikavimas vėl grąžina prie Pijaus XII pontifikato tyrimų. Remiantis naujais šaltiniais galima patvirtinti arba paneigti keletą hipotezių. Žinant, su koku moralizuojančiu pakilumu dažnai yra kalbama apie Pijaus XII „tylėjimą“, ši veikla reikšminga ne tik kaip

profesionalus istorijos mokslo tyrimas, tačiau ir kaip etinis veiksmas, nes tiek neteisingi kaltinimai, tiek nekritiški pateisinimai yra žalingi. Kaip ir bet kuri kita istorinė asmenybė, Pijus XII turi teisę į daugiaaspektę biografiją, kurią gali pateikti išsamus dokumentinis tyrimas.



PIJAUS XI TYRIMŲ TINKLAS EUROPOJE

ALBERTO MELLONI

2006 m. Šventasis Sostas atvėrė 1922–1939 m. laikotarpio Slaptųjų Vatikano archyvų fondus. Galimybė giliau ištirti šį totalitarinių diktatūrų iškilimo ir įsitvirtinimo laiką iš karto išjudino daugybę mokslininkų, besidominčių Bažnyčios istorija, politikos mokslais, tarptautiniais santykiais, socialine istorija, teologija, etc. Iki atsiveriant Vatikano archyvams šiam laikui – totalitarinių sistemų iškilimo, nacizmo įsitvirtinimo, karo, Holokausto laikui – skirtose publikacijose svarbiausias, aršiausias diskusijas kėlė klasusimas ką Bažnyčią, labiausiai Katalikų, o konkrečiai Vatikanas ir popiežius darė ar ko nepadarė. Tuo tarpu Vatikano archyvų dokumentai atveria platesnes anuometinės visuomenės ir jos veikėjų tyrimo galimybes. Siekiant jas efektyviai išnaudoti bei vengiant bereikalingo jėgų švaistymo apologetikai ar bergždiai polemikai, Europos tyrimų centrų mokslininkai įsteigė Pijaus XI tyrimų tinklą bei patvirtino bendrus jo siekius: 1) dalintis tyrimų rezultatais; 2) skatinti mokslininkų mobilumą ir jų idėjų sklaidą; 3) kuo optimaliau formuluoti tyrimų kryptis ir temas; 4) laikytis vieningo požiūrio į mokslininkų pareigas ir mokslinę tiesą, siekti autentiškumo, objektyvumo, gerbti kolegas ir trečiąsias šalis, teisingai elgtis su akademiniam bendradarbiavimui ir archyviniam tyrimui būtiniais ištekliais. Šio tinklo darbo rezultatai pastaraisiais metais pristatyti jau keliuose mokslinėse konferencijose – 2009 m. bei 2010 m. kovą Romoje, 2009 m. birželį Milane, 2010 m. Miunsteryje, planuojama toliau juos skelbti būsimuose akademinuose renginiuose, taip pat pritraukiant daugybę jaunų, pradedančių mokslininkų, kurie prisidėtų prie šio plačiai pradėto tyrimo.



LIETUVOS BAŽNYČIOS APAŠTALAVIMAS
TARP RUSŲ RUSIJOJE

REGINA LAUKAITYTĖ

Lietuva – katalikiška Rusijos kaimynė – neliko svarbios idėjos dėl stačiatikiškų Rytų atvertimo į katalikybę įgyvendinimo nuošalėje. Tam Lietuvos Bažnyčią skatino ir savi pasišventę dvasininkai, ir Vatikanas. Lietuviai kunigai gerai žinojo bažnytinio gyvenimo Rusijoje aplinkybes, daugelis ten dirbo ir carinės, ir sovietinės imperijos laikais, domėjosi stačiatikybės doktrina (nemažai daktarų buvo skirti būtent šiai problematikai, ypač tarpukariu).

Priklausomai nuo besikeičiančių politinių aplinkybių Lietuvoje platesnį užmojį įgavo keletas su misijoms susijusių projektų: 1) rytų apeigų misijos, 1934–1940 m. veikusios Kaune, bandymas prijungti prie Katalikų Bažnyčios Lietuvos stačiatikius ir sentikius; 2) mėginimas pasiūsti kunigų į nacių okupuotas SSRS sritis 1941–1944 m.; 3) kunigų ir vienuolių apaštalavimas įvairiose SSRS respublikose 1944–1990 m.

Straipsnyje norima išvelgti šių projektų paskatas, pagrindinį dėmesį skiriant pasirengimo apaštalavimui iniciatyvoms – viešosios nuomonės formavimui, misijinėms struktūroms (iki šiol istoriografijoje neliestiems rytų apeigų vyskupo Petro Būčio veiklos Lietuvoje (ir Latvijoje) aspektams ir kt., vienuolių vaidmeniui) bei jų sąveikai su valstybinėmis institucijomis.

Katalikų požiūris į stačiatikybę XX a. gerokai pasikeitė, tačiau to negalima pasakyti apie stačiatikių požiūrį į katalikybę. Mat distancija skiria ne tik skirtingas religijas, bet ir skirtingas kultūras, persmelktas istorine atmintimi.



ANSTYVASIS KATALIKŲ, STAČIATIKŲ
IR LIUTERONŲ BAŽNYČIŲ EKUMENINIŲ
VEIKLŲ LAIKOTARPIS LIETUVOJE
IR SOVIETŲ VALDŽIOS REAKCIJA

DARIUS PETKŪNAS

Ekumeninio judėjimo ištakos glūdi protestantiškoje aplinkoje. Pirmą kartą ekumeniškumas, kaip pagrindinė tema, buvo iškelta 1890 m. vykusioje tarptautinėje misijų konferencijoje (International Missionary Conference) Edinburge. Iki Antrojo Vatikano Susirinkimo, kuomet Katalikų Bažnyčia ėmė naujai formuoti ekumeninę perspektyvą, raginančią atskirų krikščionių konfesinių grupių dalyvavimą bendrose religinėse apeigose bei jų teologines diskusijas, ekumeniškumas praktiškai buvo protestantų siekiu. Maždaug tuo pačiu metu, po to, kai Sovietų Sąjungoje vėl buvo atnaujintas religijos persekiojimas, Stačiatikių Bažnyčia, kuri iki tol laikėsi indiferentiškai ekumeninių judėjimų atžvilgiu, pradėjo svarstyti bendravimo su kitomis pagrindinėmis krikščioniškomis konfesijomis galimybę.

Ekumeninė veikla Lietuvoje prasidėjo laikotarpiu, kuomet visos religinės bendruomenės buvo stebimos ir prižiūrimos Religijos reikalų tarybos Maskvoje bei jos įgaliotinio Vilniuje.

Remiantis įgaliotinio ataskaitomis straipsnyje pristatoma Katalikų, Liuteronų ir Stačiatikių Bažnyčių ekumeninė veikla Lietuvoje septintajame ir aštuntajame dešimtmečiais bei komunistų valdžios reakcija į šį reiškinį. Įgaliotinio ataskaitose kaip aktyviausia ekumeninio judėjimo grupė išskiriami liuteronai, labiausiai siekę mežgti ir palaikyti ryšius tarp protestantiškų konfesijų. Ne tokie aktyvūs, tačiau taip pat artimi ryšiai buvo palaikomi tarp Liuteronų ir Stačiatikių Bažnyčių, daugiausia reiškęsi bendromis religinėmis apeigomis ar naudojantis vieni kitų kulto pastatais. Po II Vatikano susirinkimo į šias praktikas įsitraukė ir Katalikų Bažnyčia. Ekumeninio bendravimo iniciatyvose beveik nedalyvavo sentikiai bei evangelikai reformatai. Pateikiant padėties Lietuvoje apibendrinimą konstatuojama, jog ekumeninis judėjimas čia nebuvo itin pastebimas. Ekumeninės veiklos vyko iš esmės individualiu lygmeniu, asmeninių

parapijų dvasininkų ryšių dėka, tuo tarpu instituciniu Bažnyčių lygmeniu beveik arba visai nevyko.



ČEKOSLOVAKIJOS REAKCIJA Į II VATIKANO SUSIRINKIMO REZULTATUS

STANISLAV BALÍK

Straipsnyje analizuojama, kaip komunistinis režimas Čekoslovakijoje mėgino sutrukdyti vietos Katalikų Bažnyčiai pasinaudoti II Vatikano Susirinkimo rezultatais. Remiantis daugiausia valdžios institucijų – ČSSR švietimo ir kultūros ministerijos, ČKP CK – archyviniais dokumentais atskleidžiamas valdžios kišimasis į Čekoslovakijos delegatų į Susirinkimą atrankos procesą, jos požiūris į Susirinkimo eigą ir jame svarstytas temas, trukdymai įgyvendinti ir netgi kalbėti apie Susirinkimo nutarimus. Vis dėlto daroma išvada, kad režimas nepajėgė visiškai izoliuoti Čekoslovakijos katalikų nuo atnaujinančio Susirinkimo poveikio ir tai buvo svarbus veiksnys, padėjęs Bažnyčiai išvengti dar skaudesnių komunistinio režimo pasekmių.



SKIRTINGA BAŽNYČIOS PATIRTIS KOMUNISTINIO REŽIMO IR DEMOKRATIJOS SĄLYGOMIS: VOKIŠKOJI PERSPEKTYVA

GERHARD LINDEMANN

Straipsnyje lyginama Krikščioniškųjų Bažnyčių padėtis Vokietijos Federacinėje Respublikoje ir Vokietijos Demokratinėje Respublikoje 1945–1989 m. Vokietijos Federacinėje Respublikoje, sekant Veimaro Vokietijos tradicija, pagrindinėms Krikščionių Bažnyčios buvo suteikta privilegijuota padėtis ir plačios galimybės veikti visuomenėje. Bažnyčia ir valstybė tampriai bendradarbiavo. Katalikų Bažnyčia palaikė jaunos Respublikos vakarietišką orientaciją, daugiausia dėl pastarosios antikomunistinės laikysenos. Dėl to, kad vokiš-

kos liuteronybės centras liko Rytų Vokietijoje, Vakarų Vokietijos Liuteronų Bažnyčia iš pradžių laikėsi gana rezervuotai, tačiau vėliau liuteronų bendruomenė irgi organiškai įsiliejo į parlamentinę demokratiją.

Rytų Vokietijoje komunistų režimas iš pradžių vykdė gana griežtą religinių organizacijų veiklos varžymo politiką, tačiau vėliau, Vakarų ir Rytų Vokietijoms įtvirtinus détente politiką, oficialioji politinė linija bažnyčių atžvilgiu sušvelnėjo. Tai buvo svarbiausias veiksnys, nulėmęs Rytų Vokietijos Liuteronų Bažnyčios komformizmą. Antra vertus, bazinės bendruomenės ir režimo kritika užsiimantys pastoriai buvo pagrindinė jėga, sukėlus 1989 m. revoliuciją ir iš jos sekusią demokratinę posūkį. Pagrindiniu tai nulėmusiu veiksniu tapo artimi ryšiai tarp Rytų ir Vakarų Vokietijos krikščionių Bažnyčių bei asmeniniai ryšiai tarp tikinčiųjų, sustiprėję aštuntajame dešimtmetyje, atsiradus daugiau galimybių judėti per „geležinę uždangą“.



ISTORINĖS RELIGINGUMO MAŽĖJIMO PRIEŽASTYS: KOMUNIZMO, KONFESIJOS AR BAŽNYČIOS IR NACIONALINĖS TAPATYBĖS TARPUSAVIO PRIKLAUSOMYBĖ?

ALAR KILP

XIX a. pradžioje krikščioniškosios Vakarų Europos tautos buvo religiškai angažuotos. Vieningai pripažįstama, kad bendras religingumo lygis antroje XX a. pusėje smuko.

Per pastaruosius du dešimtmečius atliekamos socialinės apklausos rodo, kad bažnyčios narių skaičius ženkliau krito postkomunistinėse šalyse, kuriose didelė visuomenės dalis (kaip antai Vengrijoje) arba visuomenės dauguma (kaip Estijoje ir Latvijoje) yra ne katalikai. Skirtinga religijos ir tautos santykio dinamika čekų, slovakų, lenkų, slovėnų ir kroatų tautose įgalina kelti hipotezę, jog individų atitolimas nuo krikščioniškų Bažnyčių labiausiai priklauso ne nuo komunistų politikos religijos atžvilgiu (religinės priespaudos lygio) arba konfesinės tradicijos, tačiau nuo atitinkamos religinės tradicijos ir politinės tautos konstravimo santykio.

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3. Lotynišku alfabetu rašyti asmenvardžiai pateikiami originalo rašybos forma su pilnais vardais, kitais alfabetais užrašyti asmenvardžiai transliteruojami į lotynišką alfabetą pagal Lietuvių kalbos komisijos patvirtintas taisykles. Pirmą kartą paminėjus pilną asmenvardį, toliau rašoma tik pavardė, o esant reikalui (kai sutampa kelių asmenų pavardės) – pavardė su inicialu. Dievų, šventųjų, karalių, imperatorių, kunigaikščių, popiežių, kardinolų, arkivyskupų ir vyskupų vardai tradiciškai rašomi lietuviškai.

4. Išnašos ženklas (skaičius, žvaigždutė, raidė) tekste dedamas prieš skyrybos ženklą, pvz., *---*¹; „*---*“², *---*³. Iškeltinėje (atskira pastraipa teikiamoje) citatoje išnašos ženklas dedamas po paskutinio skyrybos ženklo. Straipsnyje ar publikacijoje (jos komentare) taikoma ištisinė išnašų numeracija.

5. Bibliografija (šaltiniai, literatūra) teikiama išnašose. Kitakalbių leidinių aprašas pateikiamas originalo kalba ir rašmenimis; nelotyniško alfabeto antraštiniai duomenys gali būti transliteruojami į lotynišką alfabetą. Esant reikalui laužtiniuose skliaustuose galima pateikti pavadinimo ar kitų duomenų vertimą į lietuvių kalbą.

- 5.1. Duomenys leidinio aprašui imami iš antraštinio puslapio ir pateikiami be sutrumpinimų ar korekcijų. Esant reikalui, nuorodos į senuosius ir retuosius leidinius (konkrečius egzempliorius) bei archyvinę medžiagą gali būti pateikiamos kaip išsamus antraštinių bei kitų (fizinės būklės, įrišimo, saugojimo vietos, signatūros, nuosavybės) duomenų aprašas. Tuo atveju dera perteikti antraštinio puslapio grafinius duomenis – didžiųjų ir mažųjų raidžių skirtumą, ligatūras, įkypu brūkšniu pažymėti antraštinio teksto skaidymą eilutėmis ir kt.
- 5.2. Knygų ir kitų leidinių apraše pirmiausia nurodoma autoriaus pilnas vardas (vardai) ir pavardė; skyrybos ženklais neskiriama. Toliau nurodomas knygos pavadinimas kursyvu; atskiriamas kableliu. Toliau nurodoma leidimo vieta, leidykla ar leidėjas (senųjų leidinių – spaustuvė), metai. Leidimo vieta nuo leidyklos ar leidėjo atskiriama dvitaškiu; leidėjas nuo metų atskiriamas kableliu. Knygos puslapis nurodomas po metų; atskiriamas kableliu ir rašomas po lietuviškos santrumpos *p.*:

Antanas Tyla, *Garšvių knygnešių draugija*, Vilnius: Mintis, 1991, p. 10.

- 5.3. Kai knygos ar straipsnio autoriai yra keli, jie nurodomi atskiriant kableliu. Kai knygos antraštiniame puslapyje autorius nėra iškeltas į priekį, nėra įrašytas arba tik spėjamas, jį aprašo pradžioje galima nurodyti laužtiniuose skliaustuose; atskiriama kableliu.
- 5.4. Kai autorius yra pasirašęs slapyvardžiu, jis irgi apraše nurodomas laužtiniuose skliaustuose po slapyvardžio; skyrybos ženklu neskiriama:

[Mykolas Krupavičius], *Ko siekia L. krikščionių demokratų blokas Steigiamajam Seime*, Kaunas: „Šviesos“ spaustuvė, 1920.

Meškus [Justinas Staugaitis], *Katalikų tikėjimas ir jo priešai*, Seinai: Laukaičio, Dvaranausko, Narjausko ir B-vės spaustuvė, 1908.

6. Kai knyga ar leidinys turi paantraštę, tai ji nurodoma po pavadinimo ir rašoma stačiai; atskiriama dvitaškiu:

Vytautas Merkys, *Motiejus Valančius: Tarp katalikiškojo universalizmo ir tautiškumo*, Vilnius: Mintis, 1999.

7. Kai vienoje išnašoje nurodomi keli to paties autoriaus veikalai, autorius antrą ir kitus kartus nurodomas santrumpa *Idem*.

8. Kai knygoje ar leidinyje niekur nėra nurodyta leidimo vieta, metai, tai žymima santrumpomis laužtiniuose skliaustuose, pvz., be vietos – [s.l.], be metų – [s.a.]; rekonstruota tikroji kontrafakcijų leidimo vieta ir metai nurodomi laužtiniuose skliaustuose, pvz., [Bitėnai: M. Jankaus spaustuvė, 1896].

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Lietuvių klausimas Rusijos imperijoje XIX a.–XX a. pradžioje, sudarytojas Rimantas Vėbra, Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 2001, p. 201.

Mindaugo knyga: Istorijos šaltiniai apie Lietuvos karalių, parengė ir į lietuvių kalbą išvertė Darius Antanavičius, Darius Baronas, Artūras Dubonis (atsakomasis sudarytojas), Rimvydas Petrauskas, Vilnius: LII leidykla, 2005, p. 105.

10. Keliatomio leidinio tomas žymimas lietuviška santrumpa *t.* po pavadinimo; atskiriamas kableliu. Tomo ar dalies pavadinimas rašomas kursyvu; atskiriamas dvi-taškiu:

Zigmas Zinkevičius, *Rinktiniai straipsniai*, t. 2: *Valstybė ir kalba. Senųjų raštų kalba. XVIII–XIX a. rašomoji kalba. XX amžius. Rytų Lietuva*, Vilnius: LKMA, 2002, p. 59.

11. Cituojant antrą kartą iš eilės, nurodoma kursyvinė santrumpa *Ibid.* Cituojant antrą ar kelintą kartą ne iš eilės, nurodomas autorius ir kursyvinė santrumpa *op. cit.*:

Vanda Aramavičiūtė, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

Ibid., p. 29.

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Mečislovas Jučas, „Lietuvos parapijų fundacijos XV–XVIII a.“, *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis*, t. 25, Vilnius, 2005, p. 77–96.

Aldona Prašmantaitė, „Vilniaus Biblijos draugija (1816–1826)“, in: *Atgimimas ir Katalikų Bažnyčia*, sudarytojai Egidijus Motieka, Rimantas Miknys, Vladas Sirutavičius, (*Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos*, kn. 7), Vilnius: „Katalikų pasaulio“ leidykla, 1994, p. 8–23.

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Jučas Mečislovas, „Lietuvos parapijų fundacijos XV–XVIII a.“, *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis*, t. 25, Vilnius, 2005, p. 77–96.

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