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# Connections between the Migrating Early Magyars and Byzantine Christianity<sup>1</sup>

István BAÁN

1. Introduction; 2. “Symphony” of Church and Empire; 3. Missionary activities in the Cimmerian Bosphorus region; 4. Missionary activities in Khazaria; 5. Missionary work among the Slavs; 6. Byzantine missionary work among the Bulgarians – an analogy with the mission of Hierotheos; 7. Hierotheos’ missionary activity; 8. The assessment of Greek missionary activities; 9. The consequences of Hierotheos’s missionary activities

## *1. Introduction*

Discussing the connections between the migrating early Magyars (Hungarians) and Byzantium raises a range of serious questions, chief among them being the concern whether such an attempt could be viable and feasible at all. The necessary documents are of a rather small number compared to the situation with other periods or peoples. The current wealth of information creates the impression as though sources – be they written or material/archaeological records – were equally available on the subject. (It must be noted, for instance, that, at the time of the 1204 and 1453 sack of Constantinople, the entire Byzantine imperial and patriarchal archives perished, and patriarchal documents produced between 1315 and 1402 are only known from two Viennese manuscripts.) As one must take account of a loss of sources on an immense scale, it is only natural that the attempt made may only be aimed at sketching a collage in which the gaps between

1 Translation by Dávid Veljanovszki

relatively secure points are not occupied by the imagination but by the knowledge of academically verifiable facts.

Sketchy as this picture might be, a more ambitious undertaking in the subject would not be possible at the moment.

At this point, it seems fitting to consider the character and quantity of sources one can rely on insofar as the subject under investigation is to conclude with the turn of the first millennium. Possessing written records on the migrating early Magyars' religion and connections with Christianity composed by themselves appears to be impossible since – as far as it may be currently ascertained – they did not use writing, and, even if they did, no specimens have been preserved. The information currently available may come from accounts on the ethnic groups and ruling entities in contact with them. Similarly, the relevant material remains amount only to little more than nothing. Methodologically, caution must be exercised in drawing on analogies or putting forward hypotheses as Hungarian prehistory is in the centre of academic debates even at present, and no direct reports exist on the ancient religion of the Magyars, either.

In his 1237 report on his first exploratory trip in search of the ancestral homeland of the Hungarians, Friar Julian merely notes the following about the Magyars of *Magna Hungaria* in a tone far from flattering when it comes to their religion:

They are pagans with no knowledge of God but not worshipping any idols, either, but living like animals instead. They do not cultivate land but eat horse meat, wolf meat and the like and drink mare milk and blood. They abound in horses and weapons and are particularly brave in battle.<sup>2</sup>

On the contrary, the documents available on the Byzantine side are more numerous, mainly covering periods after the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin (AD 896).

2 György Györffy (ed.), *Julianus barát és a Napkelet fölfedezése*, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, Budapest 1986, 68.

2. *“Symphony” of Church and Empire*

To explore the subject at hand, it is essential to examine on what ideological basis Christian missionary activities were conducted. This aspect has hitherto been scarcely addressed in the literature. Previously, it was tendency to accept it as a simple fact that missionary work walked hand-in-hand with the Emperor’s political endeavours and actions to expand the empire, in a sense suggesting that the Church played a subordinate role in politics. Naturally, this assertion could prove to be correct in some cases, but it failed to offer an explanation holistically.

It would be appropriate to ask how the relationship between Church and Empire, two realities of heavenly origin yet of different characters in the understanding of the age, may be captured in Antiquity. According to the edict of the Emperor Justinian addressed to Patriarch Epiphanius on 5 March 535:

The *priesthood* (ἱεροσύνη) and the *Empire* (βασιλεία) are the two greatest gifts which God, in His infinite clemency, has bestowed upon mortals; the former has reference to Divine matters, the latter presides over and directs human affairs, and both, proceeding from the same principle, adorn the life of mankind; hence nothing should be such a source of care to the emperors as the honour of the priests who constantly pray to God for their salvation. For if the priesthood is everywhere free from blame, and the Empire full of confidence in God is administered equitably and judiciously, general good (συμφωνία τις ἀγαθή) will result, and whatever is beneficial will be bestowed upon the human race.

Therefore, We have the greatest solicitude for the observance of the divine rules and the preservation of the honour of the priesthood, which, if they are maintained, will result in the greatest advantages that can be conferred upon us by God, as well as in the confirmation of those which We already enjoy, and whatever We have not yet obtained We shall hereafter acquire. For all things terminate happily where the beginning is proper and agreeable to God. We think that this will take place if the sacred rules of the Church which the just, praiseworthy, and

adorable Apostles, the inspectors and ministers of the Word of God, and the Holy Fathers have explained and preserved for Us, are obeyed.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, in the Hellenistic-Christian political system defined and endorsed by Justinian, Empire (state) and priesthood (Church) do not constitute two rigidly distinct social structures.

In practice, the *principle of symphony* was enforced in a way that wherever the Emperor's authority was recognised in some form, Christian missionary work would *ab ovo* seek to establish its presence, an effort *ex officio* supported by the Sovereign. As a consequence of the administrative structure of the Empire, divisions within ecclesiastical administration would correspond to civil structures as of the time of Constantine. Therefore, missionary activities among the surrounding pagan peoples would also start from the respective ecclesiastical provinces as mother Churches and received assistance and directions for further development from there.

Closest to Constantinople, migrant ethnic groups emerging in the Balkans and along the shores of the Black Sea provided opportunity for Christian missionary work. An institutional framework was supplied by Canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon convening in 451:

Following in every detail all the decrees of the holy Fathers and knowing about the canon, just read, of the one hundred and fifty bishops dearly beloved of God, gathered together under Theodosius the Great, emperor of pious memory in the imperial city of Constantinople, New Rome, we ourselves have also decreed and voted the same things about the prerogatives of the very holy Church of this same Constantinople, New Rome. The Fathers in fact have correctly attributed the prerogatives (which belong) to the see of the most ancient Rome because it was the imperial city. And thus moved by the same reasoning, the one hundred and fifty bishops beloved of God have accorded equal prerogatives to the very holy see of New Rome, justly considering that the city that is honored

3 Samuel Parsons Scott (ed.), *The Civil Law*, The Central Trust Company, Cincinnati 1932, novella 6, praefatio.

by the imperial power and the senate and enjoying (within the civil order) the prerogatives equal to those of Rome, the most ancient imperial city, ought to be as elevated as Old Rome in the affairs of the Church, being in the second place after it. Consequently, the metropolitans and they alone of the dioceses of Pontus, Asia and Thrace, as well as the bishops among the barbarians of the aforementioned dioceses, are to be ordained by the previously mentioned very holy see of the very holy Church of Constantinople; that is, each metropolitan of the above-mentioned dioceses is to ordain the bishops of the province along with the fellow bishops of that province as has been provided for in the divine canons. As for the metropolitans of the previously mentioned dioceses, they are to be ordained, as has already been said, by the archbishop of Constantinople, after harmonious elections have taken place according to custom and after the archbishop has been notified.<sup>4</sup>

According to canon commentators Zonaras and Balsamon, the barbarians mentioned were the Alans (on the fringes of the Province of Pontus) and the Russians (on the fringes of the Province of Thrace), adopting Christianity, though not part of the Roman Empire.<sup>5</sup> Originally, the Canon only affirmed the ordination of bishops, but later it also enabled the bishoprics evolving out of the missionary activities in the territories of the “barbarians” to occupy suitable hierarchical positions in the extensive ecclesiastical network of the Patriarchate of Constantinople as well. This process may be traced from the lists of episcopates.<sup>6</sup>

4 Canon XXVIII of the Fourth Ecumenical Council (Constantinople, 451) on the privileges of the Archbishop of Constantinople. Peter L’Huillier (ed.), *The Church of the Ancient Councils: The Disciplinary Work of the First Four Ecumenical Councils*, Scarsdale, St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1996, 267-268.

5 Ibid. 96.

6 Jean Darrouzès, *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Texte critique, introduction et notes*, Paris 1981, 241.

3. *Missionary activities in the Cimmerian Bosphorus region*

Drawing on the discoveries of his time, the first to publish a comprehensive study on the connections between the migrating Magyars and Byzantium was Gyula Moravcsik in 1938.<sup>7</sup> His views have ever since been but mostly reiterated in the literature with some modifications on varying scales. The first part of the present paper also utilises his study as a point of reference.

For the subject in focus, the first detail to scrutinise is Note 3 on the lists of bishops, reflecting conditions after about 787. Article 37 discusses the Metropolitanate of Gothia, with its seat in Doros, under Item 6II.<sup>8</sup> This ecclesiastical province comprised seven bishoprics: Khotziron, Astel, Khouales, Onogouron, Rheteg, Ounon and Tamatarkha.<sup>9</sup> The majority of these names did not refer to places but ethnicities.<sup>10</sup> In relation to Hungarians, it was the mention of the Onoğurs and the Huns, along with their link to Gothia, that piqued the interest of researchers in Hungary. Such details provided an inspiration for the examination of the allusions in Malalas's *Chronographia*, with the author describing the first step of missionary work among the Huns in conjunction with the events of the years 527 and 528:

7 Gyula Moravcsik, *A honfoglalás előtti magyarság és a kereszténység*, in Jusztinián Serédi (ed.), *Emlékkönyv Szent István király halálának kilencszázadik évfordulóján*, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia [The Hungarian Academy of Sciences], Budapest 1938, 173-212. English version: Gyula Moravcsik, "Byzantine Christianity and the Magyars in the Period of Their Migration", in *The American Slavic and East European Review* 6 (1946), 29-45.

8 J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae Episcopatum*, 241.

9 ἐπαρχία Γοθθίας.

α' Δόρος μητρόπολις, β' ὁ Χοτζίρων, γ' ὁ Ἀστήλ, δ' ὁ Χουάλης, ε' ὁ Ὀνογούρων, ζ' ὁ Πετέγ, ζ' ὁ Οὔνων, η' ὁ Ταμάταρχα.

10 Ibid. 242.

At this time, the king of the Huns called Grod, who lived near Bosphorus, appealed to the aforementioned Emperor.<sup>11</sup> He came to Constantinople and was enlightened.<sup>12</sup> The Emperor himself was made his godfather and, presenting him with many a gift, he dismissed him to his country to represent Roman interests and ensure the defence of Bosphorus. This town had been founded by Heracles of Hispania, who had provided that, instead of money, it render cattle to the Romans in the way of taxation, giving the town the name *Boon phoros* [= “cattle tax”] and obliging it to honour this duty. In this town, Italian soldiers labelled Romans, i.e. Hispanians, were accommodated [by the Emperor], along with a tribune to join them in its defence. The Romans and Huns engaged in trade by barter in this town. On his return to his homeland, this Christianised king (of the Huns) found his brother near Bosphorus. Leaving him with Hunnish auxiliary troops, he departed. And these Huns venerated idols (*ἀγάλματα*) and, taking these, they melted them down, for they were made of silver and electron, and they exchanged them for *miliaresia* in Bosphorus.<sup>13</sup> Enraged, the priests (*οἱ ἱερεῖς*) of the aforementioned Huns slew the king and installed his brother Mugel instead<sup>14</sup> and, fearing the Romans, they came to Bosphorus and slaughtered the defenders of the town. Upon hearing this, the aforementioned Emperor made proconsul Ioannes *Comes* of the Straits of the Black Sea, his responsibility being to have his seat at the estuary of the Black Sea, and dispatched him with Gothic auxiliary troops. And the said Emperor launched a military campaign against the Huns, sending ships filled with soldiers and an exarch across the aforementioned Black Sea, along with major assistance on land as well, and Magister Badouraios. Hearing this, the Barbarians

11 Justinian I (527-565).

12 I.e., he was baptised. In Greek, Baptism is called “φωτισμός”, i.e. enlightening.

13 *Miliaresion* was a 2.27-3.03 gram (0.08-0.1 oz) silver coin used in Byzantium from the 7th to the 11th century.

14 In the apparatus: *Muageris* or *Moageras*. The fact that the publisher of the text, H. Thurn, did not include such variations in the main text does not necessarily preclude the possibility that the names (and their bearers) in the different manuscripts existed in reality.

fled, and Bosphorus would live in peace under the rule of the Romans.<sup>15</sup>

It is known that missionary activities among the Goths already began in the time of Saint John Chrysostom; it would, however, produce a major impact primarily on their groups moving westwards, with the creation of the Gothic Bible and commitment to the Arian faith. Questions about the affiliation of the Huns mentioned by Malalas (Utigurs? Kutrigurs?) have not been resolved completely as yet.

Earlier attempts were made to label Mugel (Muageris) as the eponym of the Hungarians; based on its acoustic similarities with the ethnonym “Magyar”, it has been frequently identified with it since *Origines Hungaricae* by Fóris Ferenc Otrókoci (1693!). Although initially Moravcsik maintained his view that the text spoke of two princes who ruled over the “Magyars or a federation of tribes in which the Magyar elements played a role, in all probability a leading one at that”, implying that “the Magyars, or part of them, had come into contact with Christianity as early as at the beginning of the sixth century, even though this first convertive experiment had, owing to

15 Johannes Thurn (ed.), *Ioannes Malalas, Chronographia*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 35, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin 360-361. See Gy. Moravcsik, *A honfoglalás előtti magyarság*, 191-193. Moravcsik’s translation with minor modifications. In the 12th century, Michael the Syrian also adopts this episode in his *Chronicle* with substantial abridgement: “At about the same time (in the first year of Justinian I.), *Gurdios*, the king of *Hunnaye*, arrived in the capital of the Empire accompanied by a great army and, having become a catechumen, he was baptised. He was also held over the baptismal font by the King himself. On returning to his homeland, he began to smash the golden and silver idols that were worshipped there. When this was seen by his brother and even the army and the heathen priests, they set a trap for him and killed him. Afterwards, however, fearful that the King of the Romans himself would avenge them, they escaped to a different location.” Michael Syros, *Chronica*, IX, 21, 192-193; Mihály Kmoskó, *Szír írók a steppe népeiről*, Balassi, Budapest 2004, 171-172.

the resistance of heathen elements, been unsuccessful”.<sup>16</sup>

Later he refined his opinion by adding that “it seems probable that the term «Hun» is a reference to the Onogurs, who, as suggested by other sources, lived near Maeotis and whose undefined connections with the Magyars have been indicated before”.<sup>17</sup> The current state of affairs in this relation was mostly aptly expressed by Károly Czeglédy with a linguistic focus; nothing has changed ever since:

... the basis and, at the same time, principal evidence for equating *Muageris* with *Magyar* no doubt remains the similarity of the two names. Albeit in no way coercive, this resemblance is certainly a thought-provoking one... Thus, it would be premature to pass a final verdict on the *Muageris* issue... At the same time, it is also obvious that the *Muageris* episode is surrounded by too much uncertainty for this piece of data to function as support in other questions of prehistory.<sup>18</sup>

In other words, the association cannot be substantiated by any cogent arguments.<sup>19</sup> No matter what actual ethnicity the text speaks

16 Gyula Morvacsik, *Byzantine Christianity and the Migrating Magyars*, 39.

17 Gyula Moravcsik, *Bizánc és magyarság*, Budapest 1953, 35. It is remarkable to what extent the development of a particular discipline is dependent on the language skills and perspectives of its practitioners. Darrouzès does not reference Moravcsik's study *Byzantine Christianity and the Magyars in the Period of Their Migration* from 1946.

18 Károly Czeglédy, *A magyar népnév legrégebb előfordulásai a forrásokban*, in Géza Bárczi – Loránd Benkő (ed.), *Pais-émlékkönyv*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1956, 273.

19 Starting from this episode, ecclesiastical historiography verging on romanticism regarded it as proven that *Ungorda-Gordas* and *Muageris-Mogyeri* were princes of the prehistoric Magyars... Gordas-Ungorda is a martyr of Christianity. When, led by his brother, Muageris-Mogyer, the pagan element separated from his people, those staying in the tribal confederation remained faithful to Christianity as well. The Christianity that they came to know, adopt and retain was Byzantine-rite Christianity. Imre Timkó, *Keleti kereszténység, keleti egyházak*, Szent István Társulat, Budapest 1971, 377. The citation provides a typical example of the tendency insisting on demonstrating (or even

of, two aspects relevant to the subject under investigation may be highlighted here: What did missionary work consist in? What impact did it have? The mention of idols made of metal suggests that the missionary must have strived to persuade the people into destroying them because the presence of idols was not compatible with Christian religious practice. Therefore, a different devotional attitude was to be introduced to replace totemistic pagan cult. The account does not relate how this was implemented. The “change of cult” seems to have been unsuccessful though: apparently, the “priests” understood it as an act of profaning their sacred objects when the melted down metal items were exchanged for Byzantine money rather than having them turned into Christian sculptures – a move that could have supplied a justification for displacing old idols.

Odd as it might appear, based on the data available, it gradually becomes clear that, before the 9th century, Christian missionary work was not informed by a definite concept, but individual bishops sought to cope with the task as they saw it fit for specific contexts. The Byzantine Court began to develop the methodology of missionary activities from 860. The first impetus in this process was provided by the Russian attack of Constantinople from Rus, prompting Patriarch Photius to send missionaries to the Balkans at the request of Khan Boris of Bulgaria, while Constantine, the Philosopher, and his brother went to Moravia to the Court of Rastislav.

In these missionary undertakings, it was already evident that they had been prepared in Constantinople beforehand, identifying the establishment of literacy and the translation of Christian foundation

constructing) historical continuity between the sporadic records of a distant past and the current ecclesiastical *status quo* (i.e. Hungary’s Hungarian-speaking Greek Catholic community), interpreting the events of Antiquity and the Middle Ages in a peculiar (*academically* unsound) manner. The opposite, however, is also true as will be revealed by the interpretation of Hierotheos’s missionary work currently prevalent in Hungarian historical scholarship.

literature into the language of the people to be converted – in this case, into the language of the Slavs. Subsequently, missionary centres were created (Ohrid and Preslav), where the local clergy would be trained. Of course, this highly desired outcome would fail to be achieved in a number of instances: Especially in areas under the influence of Byzantine administration, the Hellenised variant of the religion was promoted, hindering the development of a local “national” Church.

The established strategy of Byzantine missionary work was henceforth characterised by the following pattern: The converter would first endeavour to win over the leader and elite of a particular people, and, once they were “officially” converted, i.e. baptised, Christianity would continue to spread “from top to bottom” in the ranks of their subjects, whom the missionaries sought to make acquainted with and endorse the faith – most commonly through church services – by performing “ongoing fieldwork”.<sup>20</sup>

#### *4. Missionary activities in Khazaria*

Later episcopate lists make no mention of the bishoprics of the Onoğurs and Huns comprised within the Metropolitanate of Doros. This circumstance may also imply that the ethnic groups known by this name no longer lived in the area of Crimean Doros, occupied by the Khazars in 787. At that time, the ancestors of the Magyars lived at first under an Onoğur and subsequently a Khazar-Turkic political system, as taxpayers of the Khazars, attaining independence from them only in the 9th century.<sup>21</sup>

In terms of religion, the Khazars present a unique or even colourful picture: Whereas their ruling elite and the majority of the nomads

20 Cf. Timothy E. Gregory – Ihor Ševčenko, *Synkellos, Missions*, in Alexander Kazhdan – Alice–Mary Talbot (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Oxford University Press, New York – Oxford 1991, 1993.

21 Cf. István Vásáry, *A régi Belső-Ázsia története*, Balassi, Budapest 2003, 147, 142.

under their rule preserved the traditional worldview of steppe peoples, Christianity from Byzantium also found its way to them, and so did Islam thanks to contact with the Arabs. Despite the ruling class's adherence to its pagan belief system, it was so profoundly affected by Judaism in the last quarter of the 8th century that the Khagan and those around him converted to Judaism. This development spurred the Byzantine ecclesiastical government to take the decision to launch a missionary campaign as well in conjunction with the political talks conducted with the Khazars.

The diplomatic mission was headed by the erudite Constantine, called the Philosopher by his *Legend* written in Old Church Slavonic. The embassy with a dual purpose was triggered by the siege of the Crimean Greek trading town, Cherson, by the Khazars around 861:

Having been informed of this, the Philosopher did not procrastinate but went to the Prince, and, by talking to him, he persuaded him with his wise words into acting with moderation. Promising to receive Baptism, the Prince retreated, doing no manner of harm to those people. Then the Philosopher continued his journey, and (one day) as he said his prayer at the first hour, he was raided by the Magyars (*Ougri*), howling like wolves, who wanted to kill him. However, he was not alarmed, nor did he interrupt his prayer, but merely cried *Kyrie eleison* as he had completed his devotional service.

Upon observing him, guided by a divine command, the Magyars were pacified and began bowing before him, and, listening to his sage admonishments, they let him go free with his whole entourage.<sup>22</sup>

The Constantine-Cyril Legend describes the encounter of a Christian missionary and the Hungarians for the first time. Though the result of an accidental event, the occasion is at once exploited by the diplomat for preaching. His ecclesiastical attire and liturgical conduct make it unambiguously clear to those carrying out an abrupt attack on him that

22 Pirooska F. Kováts (ed.), *Pannóniai legendák. Cirill és Metód szláv apostolok élete*, Madách – Európa, 1978, 33-34 (The Vita of Constantine, VIII).

they are faced with a divine emissary: Owing to either a comparison with priests of their own religion or their prior – albeit superficial – acquaintance with Christianity, they show due respect to him.

The brief meeting does not give rise to catechism, only to some “sage admonishments”. Accordingly, it seems appropriate to draw the automatic conclusion that the assertion found previously in the literature claiming that the migrating Hungarians came into contact with Byzantine Christianity could not mean that they were baptised – at least not in large numbers. Under Khazar rule, they must have been familiarised first with Islam and subsequently with Judaism as well besides Christianity.

It is also possible that the *sabretache* unearthed in a grave from the period of the Hungarian Conquest in Tiszabezdéd had been made before 895 and was brought to the Carpathian Basin by its owner. In analysing its iconography – independent of its dating – Etele Kiss observes that:

the *sabretache* already represents the local outcome of some Christian missionary activity as the cross placed on the central palmette bouquet fits into palmette foliage typical of early-Magyar ornamentation and is surrounded by mythical animals – a simurgh and unicorn – clearly as an unparalleled specimen memorialising a newly baptised nobleman’s idiosyncratic definition of faith. The *sabretache* has given rise to diverse interpretations, including retrospective evidence for the early Magyars’ shamanistic beliefs and the myth of the sky-high tree as an expression of religious syncretism, or, more recently, as a depiction of the Crucifixion. Although these readings are by no means unrealistic, the composition is most likely to evoke Psalm 73 (74), 12: “Yet God our King is from of old, working salvation in the midst of the earth”.<sup>23</sup>

23 Etele Kiss, *Ut mos est grecorum* – Byzantine Heritage and the Era of the Árpád Dynasty, in Szilveszter Terdik (ed.), *The Light of Thy Countenance. Greek Catholics in Hungary*, Debrecen 2021, 24.

During the diplomatic mission, Constantine was granted an opportunity to preach and he did make some accomplishments:

The Khazars spoke thus: “We are no enemies unto ourselves, but – better safe than sorry – we hereby order that everyone be baptised as he will. And whosoever of you prostrates himself turning to the west, prays after the manner of the Jews or persists in the Saracen faith, will before long take death from our hands”. Afterwards, they dispersed in jubilation. As many as two hundred of them were baptised, abandoning pagan abominations and illicit marriages. And the Khagan wrote this letter to the Emperor: “You sent us a man, O Sovereign, who showed us that the Christian faith is sacred in both word and deed. And thus assured that this is the true faith, we have ordained voluntary baptism, hoping that we shall also attain it. We are all supporters and friends of your Empire, always ready for your service, wherever you may require it”.<sup>24</sup>

##### *5. Missionary work among the Slavs*

Before the examination of the relationship between the early Magyars and Byzantium, it must be discussed briefly how Eastern Christianity appeared in the Carpathian Basin. After the Khazar missionary campaign, along with his brother, Methodius, Constantine was tasked with going to Moravia in order to perform missionary activities there. He did in fact begin the assignment with the support of the local prince:

When (in 863) Constantine arrived in Moravia, Rastislav received him with great honour and, gathering disciples, he gave them over to him. Translating the entire church service programme soon, Constantine would teach them the Matins, the Hours, the Vespers, the Compline and the services of the feasts.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Piroska F. Kováts (ed.), *Pannóniai legendák*, 55 (The Vita of Constantine, XI).

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 63.

The missionary work progressed:

having spent forty months in Moravia, (in 867) he left for Rome to ordain his disciples. En route he was received by Kocel, Prince of Pannonia, who became rather fond of the Slavonic books and assigned fifty or so disciples to him to familiarise them with the contents of these books. And paying great homage to him, he saw him out.<sup>26</sup>

As a result of the Slavic missionary campaign, Christianity could take root among the Bulgarians and the Slavs of the Carpathian Basin. Kocel's seat was in Mosapurc, in the vicinity of contemporary Zalavár. At this point, it may be natural to ask – apart from the Slavonic version of the liturgical texts – what the actual liturgy employed by the Apostles of the Slavs was like: Was it the liturgies named after Saint Basil the Great and Saint John Chrysostom – differing mostly in their *anaphoras* only – used in Constantinople at the time or perhaps a different Mass that would be initially more conducive to the goal of missionary work? Researchers have tried to make inferences from two documents. Previously, it was believed that the oldest Slavonic record written in the Glagolitic script, the so-called *Kievan Pages*, was the translation of a Latin Order of Mass, called the Liturgy of Saint Peter by the Greeks and in use in the Greek Churches in Italy and along the Adriatic coast as early as the 8th century.

This view, however, is no longer tenable today.<sup>27</sup> The other is a translation of the Chrysostom Liturgy in the Glagolitic script found in

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. 65-66.

<sup>27</sup> The latest research findings have revealed that the Liturgy of Saint Peter represented a formulary of Eucharistic celebration consisting of Western liturgical elements (parts of the *ordinarium*, various prayers and the Eucharistic Canon), as well as elements (i.e. prayers and hymns) of Byzantine and/or Oriental origin. Its ultimate beginnings may be traced to Southern Italy – Calabria and Campania, and its original language was Greek. However, the assumption that it could be compiled by Cyril and Methodius from Latin and Byzantine prayers is unacceptable. A thorough analysis of the manuscripts

the *Sinai Collection*; it is Constantine's work.<sup>28</sup> It must have been used by the Slavic Apostles and their successors during their missionary work.

Ordained Archbishop of Pannonia in Rome, Methodius encountered the marauding Magyars in the course of his missionary trip, before 6 April 884 at the latest.

Reaching the banks of the Danube, the Hungarian King wished to see him. Although some thought and openly said that he would not be released by him without torture, he went to see him. However, the King received him in a way fit for a prince, with honour, solemnity and pleasantries, conversing with him as such men are supposed to converse, and then kissing him and showering him with presents, he dismissed him affectionately, saying: "Remember me, honourable father, in your prayers at all times".<sup>29</sup>

From the half a century after the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin, no information pointing to missionary campaigns among the Magyars started by Byzantium is available. This does not mean that it did not strive to make contacts though, as accounted in the work *De Administrando Imperio*. The comprehensive work was compiled by (or possibly at the request of?) Constantine VII (Porphyrogenitus) by 952, from numerous documents, intended as a present for the 14th birthday of his son, Romanus. In it, he publishes detailed reports on the connections of individual peoples (the

might indicate that the Slavonic version of the "newfangled" Liturgy of Saint Peter was created in St Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai (well after the activities of the Apostles of the Slavs), where the different branches of Christian culture converged. Stefano Parenti, *Un testimone glagolitico della liturgia romano-bizantina di S. Pietro*, in *A Oriente e Occidente di Costantinopoli. Temi e problemi liturgici di ieri e di oggi*, Monumenta Studia Instrumenta Liturgica 54, Librerie Editrice Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 2010, 231-233.

28 Imre H. Tóth, *Cirill-Konstantin és Metód élete, működése*, JATE Bölcsészettudományi Kar és Szláv Filológiai Tanszék, Szeged 1991, 89-90.

29 Piroska F. Kováts (ed.), *Pannóniai legendák*, 105 (The Vita of Methodios, XVI).

Pechenegs, Oghuzes, Khazars, Alans, Russians and the Magyars called “Turks”) between themselves and with the Empire. Constantine’s work, however, says nothing about the religion of the pagan Magyars.

In the decades following the Hungarian Conquest, the Magyars represented a constant threat to Byzantium – occasionally an ally against the enemies of the Empire. Their conduct did not bode well for the success of a missionary campaign. In his *Tactica*, the Emperor Leo the Wise describes the Magyars not only in military terms:

The Turks are very numerous and independent. More than on wealth or other forms of extravagance, they focus their attention only on conducting themselves bravely against their own enemies. This nation has a monarchical form of government and is subjected to cruel and oppressive punishments by their rulers for their offences. They are governed not by love but by fear and they steadfastly bear labours and hardships. They bear up under heat and cold, as well as the further lack of necessities, since they are a nomadic people. The Turkish tribes are meddlesome but keep their plans to themselves. They are hostile and faithless. Possessed by an insatiable desire for riches, they scorn their oaths and do not observe agreements they have made. They are not satisfied by gifts; even before they receive the gift, they are making plans to break the agreement.<sup>30</sup>

In his *Synopsis of Byzantine History* written in the second half of the 11th century, John Skylitzes records:

The Turks did not discontinue their raiding and ravaging of Roman land until their chieftain, Boulosoudes [Bulcsú], came to the city of Constantine under pretence of embracing the Christian faith. He was baptised and received [from the font] by the emperor Constantine who honoured him with the title of patrician and put him in possession of great riches; then he went back to his homeland. Not long afterwards,

30 George T. Dennis (ed.), *The Taktika of Leo VI*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Vol. XLIX. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington D. C. 2010, 455 (XVII, 45-47).

Gylas [Gyula]<sup>31</sup> who was also a chieftain of the Turks came to the capital where he too was baptised and where he too was accorded the same honours and benefits. He took back with him a monk with a reputation for piety named Hierotheos who had been ordained bishop of Tourkia [i.e. Hungary] by Theophylact. When he got there, he converted many from the barbaric fallacy to Christianity. And Gylas remained faithful to Christianity; he made no inroad against the Romans nor did he leave Christian prisoners untended. He ransomed them, took care of their needs and set them free. Boulosoudes, on the other hand, violated his contract with God and often invaded Roman land with all his people. He attempted to do likewise against the Franks but he was seized and impaled by Otto their emperor.<sup>32</sup>

Albeit covertly, Skylitzes's account makes it clear that what the Byzantine Court expected from the missionary activities was that, rather than acting only as temporary allies, the newly converted would thenceforth maintain friendly ties with the Empire. This pragmatic aspect would prevail even with the Bulgarians. At the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries, Leo the Wise remarks:

Since I have mentioned the Turks, we do not judge it out of place to describe how they form up for battle and how one should form up to fight against them. Let us put in writing what we have learned from a certain amount of experience when they were our allies. At that time, the Bulgarians had disregarded the peace treaty and were raiding through the Thracian countryside. Justice pursued them for breaking their oath to Christ our God, the emperor of all, and they quickly met up with their punishment. While our forces were engaged against the Saracens, divine Providence led the Turks, in place of the Romans, to campaign against the Bulgarians. Our Majesty's fleet of ships supported them and ferried

31 Historians claim that "gylas"/"gyula" was not a proper name but a title, owned by Zombor. Cf. György Györffy, *István király és műve*, Gondolat, Budapest 1977, 47.

32 John Wortley (ed.), *Ioannes Skylitzes, Chronica*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK 2010, 231.

them across the Danube. [Providence] sent them out against the army of the Bulgarians that had so wickedly taken up arms against Christians and, as though they were public executioners, they decisively defeated them in three engagements, so that the Christian Romans might not willingly stain themselves with the blood of the Christian Bulgarians.<sup>33</sup>

An approach centred on military policy does not of course invalidate the Christian way of thinking but seeks to keep it within its own confines – a tendency that would have long-term effects during the missionary campaigns.

Leo the Wise continues thus:

These characteristics of the Turks are different from those of the Bulgarians only inasmuch as the latter have embraced the faith of the Christians and gradually taken on Roman characteristics. At that time, they threw off their savage and nomadic way of life along with their faithlessness.<sup>34</sup>

This evidently shows how the practical utility of the principle of symphony was seen in Byzantium.

*6. Byzantine missionary work among the Bulgarians – an analogy with the mission of Hierotheos*

It is therefore no far-fetched proposition to draw some internal parallel between the missionary campaign among the Bulgarians and that among the Hungarians one century later, from a Byzantine viewpoint.

Before the presentation of any further examination of the story of Hierotheos's mission, it would be by no means irrelevant to consider what preconditions it was initially based on and what expectations it set out to fulfil. The Byzantine missionaries dispatched to the Bulgarians

33 G. T. Dennis, *The Taktika of Leo VI*, 453 (XVIII, 42).

34 *Ibid.* 459.

did not only approach those to be converted in a merely religious way but also endeavoured to “Byzantinise” them simultaneously, aiming to introduce the mores of a civilisation more refined than those of a semi-nomadic people.

This is recorded in the letter of Prince Boris to Pope Nicholas I. Disappointed in the Byzantines, the ruler sent it to the Pope in the hope that the latter would, on the one hand, treat his country more favourably in terms ecclesiastical organisation and, on the other hand, give acceptable responses to the questions troubling his subjects as a consequence of Byzantine influence.<sup>35</sup>

These questions pertain to different levels. The first level is dominated by questions relative to the problems of the whole of society. The Bulgarian ruling elite was concerned how to make the traditions of their military society compatible with Christianity, placing great emphasis on honouring martial virtues and exalting military accomplishments. There was a strong potential for instances when the requirement to comply with Christian duty would hamper war efforts: What is a Christian to do when his military campaign happens to coincide with Great Lent<sup>36</sup> or news of an enemy attack is received during prayer?<sup>37</sup> How ought soldiers to devote themselves to prayer in a military camp under siege?<sup>38</sup> Some questions concerned military rituals: the use of the horse-tail as a banner;<sup>39</sup> the pursuit of

35 W. L. North, *The Responses of Pope Nicholas I to the Questions of the Bulgars A.D. 866 (Letter 99)*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae VI (Epistolae)*, Berlin 1925, 568-600.

36 Ibid. “If no necessity compels you, you should abstain from battles not only during Lent, but at all times.” *Resp.* 46, col. 998.

37 Ibid. “What else should you do, of course, than complete the good which you have begun.” *Resp.* 74, cols. 1007-8.

38 Ibid. “It is therefore more fitting that one should cease from arms than from prayer.” *Resp.* 38, col. 994.

39 Ibid. “It is more fitting that you should carry the sign of the cross as your military sign instead of that horse’s tail as you go forth in battle formation.” *Resp.* 33, cols. 992-3.

fortune-telling, practising magic before battles, the presentation of festive songs and dances;<sup>40</sup> the oath sworn on the sword.<sup>41</sup>

The contradiction inherent between Christian perseverance in mercifulness and goodness and the ruler's demands was even more disturbing because, if he was to exercise his authority efficiently, he had to be tough in confronting criminals and all who erred in discharging their military duties. Other queries included the following: Are murderers, robbers and adulterers to be forgiven?<sup>42</sup> May a confession be obtained without torture?<sup>43</sup> Can a criminal be granted asylum in a church?<sup>44</sup> How are deserters or soldiers failing to obey the command to assault the enemy to be treated?<sup>45</sup> What could be the replacement of the death penalty in the case of border guards

40 Ibid. "The observations of days and hours, the incantations, the games, iniquitous songs, and auguries are the pomp and workings of the devil, which you already renounced, thank God, in baptism and you cast off all these things completely along with the old man and his actions...Instead, go to the churches, carry out prayers, forgive sinners, be present at the solemnities of the Mass, offer oblations, make a confession of your sins to the priests, receive the reconciliation and communion, open the jails, loose the fetters and grant liberty to servants and especially to those who are broken and weak and captives, and distribute alms to the needy." *Resp.* 35, cols. 993-4.

41 Ibid. "Instead of the sword, one should rightly swear by the Gospel, for whatever is contained therein is clearly recognized to be no one's if not God's." *Resp.* 67, col. 1005.

42 Ibid. "Let the venerable laws keep their force. But if they (i.e. the murderers) have fled to a church, let them in fact be saved from the laws of death and let them submit without hesitation to the penance that the bishop or priest of the place has decided." *Resp.* 26, col. 992.

43 Ibid. "Neither divine nor human law allows this practice in any way, since a confession should be spontaneous, not compelled, and should not be elicited with violence but rather proffered voluntarily." *Resp.* 86, col. 1010.

44 Ibid. "The bishop should decide whatever it is clear the sacred canons have defined." *Resp.* 28 32, cols. 991-2.

45 Ibid. "If compassion does not mercifully prevail, at least let the severity of the laws be tempered." *Resp.* 22, 23, col. 991.

letting fugitives slip through the frontier,<sup>46</sup> or for a soldier whose weapons and horse are not found to be in proper condition before battle?<sup>47</sup> In fact, these specific questions all boil down to a broader and more complex question: Is the existence of penal law, along with its system of penalties, reconcilable with Christian ethics?<sup>48</sup> To what treatment should obdurate worshippers of pagan idols be subjected? Should they be forced to accept Christianity?<sup>49</sup>

Understandably, the ruler was also eager to know what could be the right way of contracting an alliance with a friendly nation. Alternatively, what could be done if a Christian state violated a contract that had been ceremoniously signed with another country? Additionally, was a Christian kingdom allowed to conclude a treaty with a pagan country?<sup>50</sup>

46 Ibid. "As for border guards and those crossing the border by stealth..., you should no longer desire deaths but should without hesitation recall everyone to the life of the body as well as the soul, when any opportunity is found." *Resp.* 25, col. 991.

47 Ibid. "We advise you to turn the rigor of such great severity to the exercise of piety." *Resp.* 40, col. 994-5.

48 Ibid. "Owing to the burden of sin, ruling is permissible. You are not allowed, however, to judge clerics, since it is more fitting that they be judged by themselves." *Resp.* 83, cols. 1009-10.

49 Ibid. "You move them towards the right faith by warnings, exhortations, and reason rather than by force, proving that what they know in vain, is wrong... But if they do not listen to you, you should neither take food nor have any communion at all with them, but rather remove them from your service and friendship (*familiaritas*) as if they were foreign and polluted...Yet, violence should by no means be inflicted upon them to make them believe. For everything which is not voluntary, cannot be good." *Resp.* 41, cols. 995-6.

50 Ibid. "Familiarity with the customs and words of the nation in question is required... with the person who does not have the peace of Christ, we should also not have the peace of communion...The treaty upon which you have agreed should be violated on no account, unless a clause was included in the article confirming this treaty, such that one party shall maintain the pact, only if the other party has not violated it by any evasion...If the faithful man has

Not specifically, but only tangentially related to faith, the second group of questions covered everyday conduct and the rite. It seems that the replacement of a set of ritual rules with another could obviously not dispense with the extensive involvement of society: Can work be done on Saturdays, Sundays and on certain feast days;<sup>51</sup> may polygamy be continued;<sup>52</sup> is coitus permitted on Sundays?<sup>53</sup> On how many days a year is a fast to be observed;<sup>54</sup> at what time may one have

established a pact with the infidel with this intention, namely that he be able to attract him to the worship of the true God, this should not be forbidden.” *Resp.* 80, 81, 82, cols. 1008-9.

- 51 Ibid. “Work may be done on Saturdays..., but worldly engagements must be avoided on Sundays as well as on feast days.” *Resp.* 10, 11, cols. 984-5.
- 52 Ibid. “Neither the origin of the human condition nor any Christian law allows a man to have two wives at the same time.... In whosever household two wives are found at the same time, that man shall be forced to send away the later wife, while keeping the earlier. Furthermore, he shall be compelled to accept the penance which the priest of the place provides.” *Resp.* 51, cols. 999-1000.
- 53 Ibid. “If one should cease from all worldly labour on Sunday, as we taught above, how much more should one beware of carnal pleasure and every sort of bodily pollution, especially since the name “the Lord’s day” shows clearly that the Christian should do nothing on this day except what is the Lord’s. Furthermore, the same thing goes for the nighttime on Sunday as was judged concerning the daytime. For it is one day, which consists in day period and night period, having twenty-four hours.” *Resp.* 63, col. 1004.
- 54 Ibid. “On the days of fasting on which one should especially supplicate the Lord through abstinence and the lamentation of penance, one should completely abstain from meat... One should nevertheless be even more of a slave to abstinence at times of fasting, namely so that the person who recalls that he has committed illicit deeds may keep himself on these days even from licit things in accordance with the sacred decretals, namely during Lent, which is before Easter, on the fast before Pentecost, at the fast before the assumption of the holy mother of God and the ever virgin Mary, our Lady, as well as on the fast before the feast of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ...But on the sixth day of every week [i.e. Friday] and on all the vigils of famous feasts one should cease from eating meat and should apply oneself to fasting.” *Resp.* 4, cols. 980-1.

breakfast on the mornings of non-fast days;<sup>55</sup> what animals and birds is a Christian allowed to eat,<sup>56</sup> especially when these were slaughtered without draining their blood;<sup>57</sup> is bathing<sup>58</sup> or the consumption of the meat of an animal slaughtered by a eunuch permitted on fast days, i.e. on Wednesdays and Fridays?<sup>59</sup> Is it allowed to wear trousers?<sup>60</sup> Is it appropriate for the ruler to dine at a raised table on his own as is customary?<sup>61</sup>

The question of which of the ritual practices associated with paganism could be accommodated alongside Christianity also arose. One of its important elements was ancestor cult: Could one pray to one's deceased parents if they had died as pagans?<sup>62</sup> Was it to be

- 55 Ibid. "We exhort you to consume no corporeal food at all before the third hour of the day (during fasts) even on the noteworthy festivals." *Resp.* 60, cols. 1002-3.
- 56 Ibid. "Every animal whose food is shown not to be harmful to the body and human society admits as food, is not forbidden to be eaten." *Resp.* 43, cols. 996-7.
- 57 The Pope approves the consumption of animals even without their blood drained. Ibid. *Resp.* 90, col. 1011.
- 58 Ibid. "We do not deny on Wednesday or Friday, though we preserve this distinction, that, if someone wishes to bath out of a desire for luxury or pleasure, we do not allow this to occur on any day, but if it is done because of bodily necessity, we prohibit this on neither Wednesday nor Friday." *Resp.* 6, col. 982.
- 59 Ibid. "This sounds truly strange and silly to us. But since we have not heard the reasoning of those who say these things, we are unable to decide anything definitively regarding their assertion, since it is not yet fully known." *Resp.* 57, col. 1001.
- 60 Ibid. "Pants (*femoralia*) are ordered to be made, not in order that women may use them, but that men may... but really do what you please." *Resp.* 59, col. 1002.
- 61 According to the Pope, this is not against the faith, though it is indeed in conflict with good conduct. *Resp.* 42, col. 996.
- 62 Ibid. "You are not allowed to pray for those who died without the faith (*infideles*) because of their sin of unbelief (*incredulitas*). Indeed, it is a sin unto death for those who die in this sin." *Resp.* 88, col. 1011.

tolerated if Christians resorted to magic stones for their recovery<sup>63</sup> or wore an amulet around their neck as an antidote to their illnesses?<sup>64</sup> Boris must have felt justifiably apprehensive that the rigid ritualism of Byzantine priests would block the spread of missionary efforts. Naturally, the Prince did not even mention those clearly pagan rites and customs for which he could not have hoped to receive blessing. Additional questions included: Could lay people hold public prayers for rain,<sup>65</sup> and were they to be punished when they omitted to make the sign of the cross at the table before a meal?<sup>66</sup>

Concerning conduct in church, the following questions emerged: Must the faithful stand with their hands folded on the chest;<sup>67</sup> is it allowed to wear a belt for Holy Communion;<sup>68</sup> may one receive communion every day during Great Lent;<sup>69</sup> are women to cover their heads in church?<sup>70</sup>

63 Ibid. "We respond and judge that every use of this (magic) rock should be completely forbidden and refuted in every way as the tinder of error." *Resp.* 62, cols. 1003-4.

64 Ibid. "We clearly forbid these, for amulets worn around the neck are the works of diabolical intrigue." *Resp.* 79, col. 1008.

65 Ibid. "Of course you are allowed to do this, because prayer and fasting are great virtues, and your exhortation has a great effect by having these performed constantly." *Resp.* 56, col. 1001.

66 Ibid. "You ask if you are allowed to place the standard of the holy cross over a table and to eat at a table, from which a priest or deacon is absent. You are undoubtedly permitted to do this, for all of us are allowed to protect our things from the plots of the devil with this sign and to emerge triumphant in the name of Christ from all his attacks." *Resp.* 53, col. 1000.

67 Ibid. "By not doing so, you commit no sin." *Resp.* 54, col. 1000.

68 Ibid. "We have no idea with what witnesses from sacred Scripture they are shown to have rightly forbidden this." *Resp.* 55, col. 1000.

69 The Pope's comment on daily communion in Lent: "We humbly pray to omnipotent God and exhort you all most vehemently that you do so." Ibid. *Resp.* 9, cols. 983-4.

70 Citing Saint Paul, the Pope argues for wearing a veil. Ibid. *Resp.* 58, cols. 1001-2.

### 7. *Hierotheos' missionary activity*

The basis of pagan Hungarian belief system was shamanism, with its traces surviving in popular beliefs involving the figures *táltos* (wizard) and the “wise shepherd” (medicine man).<sup>71</sup> This system accommodated a manifestation of ancestor cult, totemism – in both its collective and individual form – as may be inferred from the legends of the *Csodaszarvas* (a mythical stag) and the *Turul* (a mythical bird of prey).<sup>72</sup> Without a servile imposition of the problems mentioned by Boris on the Magyars of the 10th century, it is fair to assume that Hierotheos (along with the Western missionaries of the period) was confronted with similar questions, primarily in conjunction with a militaristic way of life. It seems clear that the Bulgarian analogy may only serve as a point of reference, providing no straightforward or safe conclusions. Naturally, it could not be expected that Gylas and his whole tribe would be baptised, but, based on the information supplied by Skylitzes, it may be speculated that a gradual process did begin. In addition, it must be taken into account that, as a result of the missionary work among the Slavs, smaller Christian “islands” had existed and these could integrate into the process organised by the missionary bishop. The number of the faithful may also have been increased by the Greek prisoners-of-war ransomed by Gylas. This could be illustrated by the outcome of the Hungarian war action recorded by Liudprand of Cremona in embassy to Constantinople. He notes: “When you were besieging Bari, not more than three hundred Hungarians laid hands on five hundred Greeks near Thessalonica and haled them off into Hungary”.<sup>73</sup>

71 Cf. Mihály Hoppál, *Hitvilág*, in Gyula Krist (ed.), *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1994, 264; Id., *Samanizmus*, *ibid.* 592.

72 László Szegfű, *Totemizmus*, in Gyula Kristó (ed.), *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon*, 681.

73 F. A. Wright (ed.), *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, Routledge, London 1930, 262.

This intelligence is corroborated by a different document<sup>74</sup> as well: The marauding Magyars carried off the majority of the inhabitants of the 36 houses belonging to the estates of the Leontia Monastery – as many as five hundred Greeks – as slaves when looting this area as the auxiliary troop of the Bulgarian Tsar Peter around the year 967.<sup>75</sup> The captives presumably included (a) priest(s) as the residents of the village were kidnapped en masse. This/these cleric(s) must also have contributed to the expansion of Hierotheos's missionary activities.

As distinct from direct traces, a somewhat remote reflection of this missionary activity may be preserved in the East-Slavic elements of the Christian terminology of the Hungarian language kereszt (= cross), karácsony (= Christmas), szent (= holy/saint), panasz (= complaint), pap (= priest), barát (= friar/friend), szombat (= Saturday), vádol (= accuse), diák (= pupil), as well as by the large number of 10-11th-century Byzantine pectoral crosses functioning as reliquaries found across most of the country. It is reasonable to expect that Hierotheos took the existing pagan customs into consideration. It is not known what training he had received in Constantinople in this regard because the historical account simply notes that he was a “pious monk”, and, in terms of his educational background, he cannot be compared to Constantine or Methodius. The missionary campaign among the Magyars did not have any political supporters other than Gylas. Although it is probable that he had his daughter, Sarolt, baptised<sup>76</sup> – and this could have an impact on her husband

74 Terézia Olajos, *Bizánci források az Árpád-kori magyar történelemhez – Fontes byzantini ad historiam hungaricam aevo ducum et regum e stirpe Arpadiana pertinentes*, Lectum, Szeged 2014, 71-76.

75 István Baán, *Újabb lehetséges adalék a magyarok balkáni kalandozásaihoz*, in Tibor Almási – Éva Révész – György Szabados (eds.), *“Fons, skepsis, lex”*. *Ünnepi tanulmányok a 70 esztendő Makk Ferenc tiszteletére*. SZTE Történeti Segédtudományok Tanszék, Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, Szeged 2010. 21-26.

76 Cf. György Györffy, *István király és műve*, 64.

as well later – no further indications of a wide political endorsement are in evidence in the records. Neither is it known if the Imperial City provided Hierotheos with any “replenishment” in terms of personnel or spiritual content to help him with his missionary efforts. It cannot be substantiated with any evidence whether he sought to lay the foundations of a Hungarian liturgy or prepare at least a partial translation of the Bible.<sup>77</sup> Such a romantic perspective in ecclesiastical history was but a vision replicating the Slavic missionary campaign.

Hierotheos could make accomplishments only step by step, a circumstance that was also favourable for the survival of earlier, pre-Christianity customs as noted by Thietmar, Bishop of Merseburg, in relation to Grand Prince Géza, and as also amply exemplified by objects found alongside pectoral crosses and other Christian items in early cemeteries:

To account for the simultaneous usage of pectoral crosses and objects of other, pagan origins, archaeologists have generated various explanations; previously, the denial or relativisation of the Christian character of these was general; nowadays, some slightly more nuanced views are also to be encountered. Nonetheless, graves frequently containing a combination of elements of personal religiousness and superstition hardly ever coincide with a particular missionary centre

– claims Etele Kiss.<sup>78</sup>

In the context of Byzantine missionary work, the portable *aspersorium* from Beszterec is a significant specimen. Albeit problematic, its inscription – a Greek verse line recorded aurally meaning “Christ, the living spring of healings” – is an allusion to the function of the item.<sup>79</sup> In Hungary, it was obviously Hierotheos’s

77 Cf. Imre Timkó, *Hierotheos “Misekönyve” és a “Halotti Beszéd”*, in Idem., *Keleti kereszténység, keleti egyházak*, Szent István Társulat, Budapest 1971, 389.

78 Etele Kiss, *Ut mos est grecorum*, 22.

79 *ibid.*

mission that introduced the practice of the blessing of waters at Epiphany, the Greek-character of which was remembered even a hundred-and-fifty years later at the foundation of the Cathedral of Zagreb, with a truly unique synthesis created in Latin on the basis of the Byzantine rite.<sup>80</sup>

#### *8. The assessment of Greek missionary activities*

It is worth considering how Hierotheos and the consequences of his contribution are seen by modern historical scholarship. (In doing so, sometimes one must inevitably cross the boundary of the first and second millennia to ensure a better understanding of the issue.)

On account of the small number of material evidence, it is to some extent understandable why Hungarian historical scholarship would for a long time accord little importance to the missionary activities of the Greek Church. Ferenc Makk argues that “it seems likely that, in the wake of the deterioration of Hungarian-Byzantine relations at the turn of the 950s and the 960s, the Greek episcopal hierarchy was forced out of Hungary...”<sup>81</sup>

László Koszta has opined that the Byzantine missionary bishop had to cease his activities in Hungary around 1003 at the latest.<sup>82</sup> In Makk’s view, after the defeat at the Battle of Arkadiopolis, in the early 970s, Hungary found itself in a vice between the Holy Roman Empire and Byzantium, nearly under the threat of a devastating attack from Constantinople.<sup>83</sup> This assessment suggests as though a

80 Cf. Miklós István Földváry, “Vízkeresztvi vízszentelés a görögök szokása szerint”, in *Magyar Egyházzene* 23 (2015/2016), 3-28.

81 Gyula Kristó (ed.), *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1994, 109.

82 Cf. Ferenc Makk, *A keresztény egyházszervezet kialakulása*, in Gyula Kristó, – Ferenc Makk (eds.), *Árpád előtt és után. Tanulmányok a magyarság és hazája korai történetéről*, Szeged 1996, 105-115, 114.

83 Ibid. 29-30.

German-Byzantine coalition had been formed, with an expressly anti-Hungarian purpose. (This view appears to overestimate the actual facts considerably as the marriage of Otto II and Theophanou was primarily the fruit of the Italian policies of the two empires,<sup>84</sup> and it does not seem plausible that the Hungarian Grand Prince could have such a broad political perspective of the events concerned.)

Irrespective of Géza's vantage point, however, Byzantium never made an effort to transcend the *limes* of the Empire in the east, and, as for crossing it in the west, it did not even dream of that because it had never had the chance to do so since the great migrations disintegrated the Western Roman Empire. (The missionary work of Cyril and Methodius among the Slavs may by no means be seen as a first step towards the territorial annexation of the Moravian Empire by Byzantium.) Byzantine expansion was mainly conservative in character. In no source is it mentioned even as a brief reference that Constantinople could pose a threat to the Grand Principality of Hungary. Thus, any such fear on Géza's part would certainly have been unwarranted, and it cannot be supported by data, either.

Therefore, there appears to be no reason to believe that, during Géza's reign, Hierotheos or his successors had to leave the territory of the country as *personae non gratae*. This might have been the case only if the Greek bishop had been brought along by the Grand Prince himself or if he had performed missionary activities within his colony. In fact, the relevant sources supply proof of exactly the opposite. Ferenc Makk also posits that an army mustered by the whole Magyar tribal confederation fought in the Battle of Arkadiopolis, thus including the troops of Gylas of Transylvania, implying that Gylas also pursued anti-Byzantine policies at the time.<sup>85</sup>

84 Louis Bréhier, *Vie et mort de Byzance*, Éditions Albin Michel, Paris 1946, 177.

85 Ferenc Makk, *Magyarország és keleti szomszédai Szent István korában*, in Ferenc Glatz – József Kardos (eds.), *Szent István és kora*, MTA Történettudományi Intézet, Budapest 1988, 81.

Byzantine sources, however, point to the contrary: “He made no inroad against the Romans”<sup>86</sup> and “kept the peace”,<sup>87</sup> suggesting that he did not participate in the military campaigns against Constantinople in 959, 961 and 968. (Why should he have changed his position by 970?) Gylas’s conduct indicates that he took Christianity seriously, implying that a member of the Christian faithful would not assault anyone from a different nation “nor did he leave Christian prisoners [captured by marauding troops] untended. He ransomed them, took care of their needs and set them free.”<sup>88</sup>

The author of the present paper published his divergent view on the matter in 1995, with the potential for a significant shift in the perception of Hierotheos’ missionary work. Among the signatories of a document on the 1028 Synod of Constantinople, Nikos Oikonomidès discovered a bishop by the name of Ióannés, who was Metropolitan of Tourkia.<sup>89</sup> Using this discovery as a starting point, the author of the present study described a different episcopate register reflecting 11th-century conditions, with Tourkia in the 60th place on the list of metropolitanates, preceding Rhosia (Kievan Rus).<sup>90</sup> Accordingly, he presented his hypothesis that, during the reign of Saint Stephen I, Hungary had a Byzantine-rite metropolitanate comprising multiple episcopates and organised only within the borders of the country: the

86 Skylitzes, 231.

87 Gyula Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet bizánci forrásai*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 100.

88 Skylitzes, 231.

89 Nicholas Oikonomidès, “A propos des relations ecclésiastiques entre Byzance et la Hongrie au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: le métropolitain de Turquie”, in *Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes* 9 (1971), 527. For the document, see T. Olajos, *Bizánci források az Árpád-kori magyar történelemhez*, 80-85.

90 István Baán, “*Turkia metropóliája*”. *Kísérlet a Szent István kori magyarországi orthodox egyházszervezet rekonstrukciójára*, in Idem., *Bizáncon innen és túl*, Szent Atanáz Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, Nyíregyháza 2018, 199-207. For the document, see: Olajos, 86-89.

“Metropolitanate of Tourkia” under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.<sup>91</sup> In this relation, the third document cited is the Deed of Foundation of the Monastery of Veszprémvölgy written in Greek, which consistently uses the reference “the Monastery of the Metropolitan”. This could be interpreted as meaning either that it was located in the territory of the Eparchy of the Metropolitan or that it was under the jurisdiction of no other (local) bishop.

Oikonomidès’s discovery published on the basis of contemporary written records, along with Baán’s hypothesis, was given a negative reception by Hungarian historians.<sup>92</sup> Their criticism centred on the claim that the Metropolitanate of Tourkia signalled merely a Byzantine demand rather than any historical reality,<sup>93</sup> as well as

91 István Baán, “*Turkia metropolitája*. Újabb adalék a bizánci egyház történetéhez a középkori Magyarországon”, in *Századok* 129 (1995), 1167–1170.

92 Ferenc Makk admits that, although “it seems likely that, in the wake of the deterioration of Hungarian-Byzantine relations at the turn of the 950s and the 960s, the Greek episcopal hierarchy was forced out of Hungary..., Hierotheos would have successors in the persons of Antonios and Theophylaktos – in all probability, to perpetuate the claim of the Byzantine Church. However, it is rather unlikely that they ever reached Hungary... Bearing the title «Metropolitan of Tourkia» (i.e. Hungary) under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1028, Ioannés cannot have operated in Hungarian territories, either. Locating his putative seat within Hungary is completely unacceptable”. Ferenc Makk, *Tourkia metropolitája*, in Gyula Kristó (ed.), *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1994, 109. This opinion was shared by László Koszta as well, with the only difference that the Byzantine missionary bishop must have ceased his activities in Hungary around 1003 at the latest in his view. László Koszta, *A keresztény egyházszervezet kialakulása*, in Gyula Kristó, – Ferenc Makk, (eds.), *Árpád előtt és után. Tanulmányok a magyarság és hazája korai történetéről*, Szeged 1996, 105–115, 114.

93 Even though (Saint) Stephen I appealed to the Pope and created a Latin-rite episcopal organisation in his country, far from hindering the expansion of the Greek Church in Hungary, he advocated it... The Hungarian King maintained equally good relations with both European centres of the Christian Church, but it is indisputable that, in ecclesiastical matters, ties with Rome were

on the circumstance that this Eparchy no longer existed in the 12th century as the corresponding source is only a compilation, i.e. not a reflection of a temporal situation, and it is not included in any list of metropolitanates after 1028.<sup>94</sup> This criticism did not bear scrutiny,<sup>95</sup> which would not, of course, prevent it from gaining currency as part of the established view thereafter. Nowadays, it appears as though a more carefully worded criticism slowly approximated to the position of accepting the existence of the Metropolitanate, even though its long-term survival remains surrounded by scepticism.<sup>96</sup>

Prior to a detailed analysis of the two documents critical to Greek missionary efforts in Hungary, the question why these two records have been rejected as valid evidence must be considered.

One of the principal reasons of this rejection seems to be an understanding that posits a close and necessary connection between society, politics and religion. Every time the question of Christian missionary work arises, it is always treated as if it were almost solely

paramount and decisive. There are strong grounds to suspect that, exploiting friendly Hungarian-Byzantine relations, in the first few decades of the 11th century, the Patriarch of Constantinople made repeated attempts at expanding his own influence in church governance to Hungarian territories by renewing at a high level of ecclesiastical organisation the Greek missionary activities that had been begun by Hierotheos but soon stalled... (It must be noted that recently discovered data suggest that the term «Metropolitan of Tourkia» is found on a later Byzantine ecclesiastical list as well. However, this is also only indicative of a Byzantine demand rather than historical reality...) Ferenc Makk, *Magyar külpolitika (896–1196)*, Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár 2, Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, Szeged 1996, 60-61.

94 László Holler, "A magyar korona néhány alapkérdéséről", in *Századok* 130 (1996), 907-964, 960, note 83.

95 István Baán, "The Metropolitanate of Turkia: A historical fact or a Gordian knot of historical writing?", in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 85/1 (2019), 139-166.

96 Cf. Gábor Thoroczkay, *Oklevelek Szent István korában*, Collectanea Sancti Martini, A Pannonhalmi Főapátság Gyűjteményeinek Értesítője 8 (2020), 12-13.

driven by politics (a consequence of the misunderstanding of the principle of *symphony*), and, as a corollary, it is also believed that its continuation may nearly exclusively be accounted for in terms of political causes. In default of an extensive discussion of this problem (i.e. how inappropriate it would be to generalise this view), mainly warnings of its negative consequences will be furnished instead.

It would be bold to regard the Magyar princes' leanings towards Christianity as a merely political decision for the following reasons. The issue should be assessed in a completely different way if, on the one hand, the Magyars had had no chance of becoming acquainted with Christianity even before the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin, and if, on the other hand, no Christianised ethnic groups had lived in the Carpathian Basin.

How strong the aforementioned influences were is impossible to determine accurately. Nevertheless, some researchers tend to be of the opinion that the missionary campaigns among the Franks and the Bulgarians alike must have provided more profound foundations for the conversion of the Magyars to the Christian faith than previously thought. As a logical conclusion of the above, the Magyar princes and chieftains (or, at least, some of them) were more likely to *choose* Christianity than to experience it as politically imposed on them and would adhere to their faith even when this did not result in even indirect political advantages. Church life and foreign policies in particular were thus not so intimately related that would have rendered Hungarian ecclesiastical activities and functioning fully subject to the prevailing political regime.

Another – only surmised – reason for the rejection is the perception that the “Metropolitanate of Tourkia” may not fit into the one-sided view long established in Hungarian historical scholarship claiming that it would represent an interruption in the concept about the hegemony of Western missionary work.

9. *The consequences of Hierotheos's missionary activities*

Inasmuch as – based on the two documents – it is accepted that, far from petering out, Hierotheos's missionary efforts would further intensify, it is reasonable to ask if the Metropolitan of Tourkia had any suffragan dioceses. This cannot be fully ascertained from the lists of episcopates available, yet such a possibility cannot be ruled out, either, given the size of Rhosia at the time and the bishoprics found there. As the list contains a number of metropolitanates without suffragans, it may be justifiable to speculate that Tourkia did not have any such under its jurisdiction, either.<sup>97</sup>

Metropolitanates without suffragans are encountered in the registers from approximately the same period. (It must be remarked that, in the Byzantine ecclesiastical system, a real distinction was maintained between metropolitans and archbishops (*archiepiskopoi*). A list of the latter came after that of metropolitans, and they never had suffragans, their only distinctive characteristic being that they were not under the jurisdiction of a metropolitan.) It would seem fair to ask what could be the cause of this situation in general.

The middle-Byzantine period saw the beginning of the process wherein the sequence of individual episcopates came to be seen as a rank order as well, prompting them to endeavour to advance from eparchy to metropolitanate. Ecclesiastically, only metropolitans and archbishops – about one tenth of all the bishops – were members of the Patriarchal Synod. Not only did this ranking have its significance within the Church, but it also set a list of precedence in relation to the dignitaries of the Imperial Court, commonly enforced at court ceremonies. Such aspects were regulated in detail in Philotheos's *Kletorologion*.<sup>98</sup>

97 Cf. Aristeides Papadakis, *Metropolitan*, in Alexander Kazhdan – Alice-Mary Talbot (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford University Press, New York – Oxford 1991, 2, 1359.

98 Cf. Alexander Kazhdan, *Philotheos, Kletorologion of*, in *Ibid.* 3, 1661.

In case a bishop was ordained by the Patriarch for a missionary area which was not under the jurisdiction of another metropolitan, the ordainee practically had the rank of archbishop as his direct superior was the Patriarch. In such an instance, the next rank for him would be the metropolitanate. Elevation to the rank of metropolitan was regulated by a specific ritual, and members of the Patriarchal Synod would vote on the matter.<sup>99</sup> Advancement in rank was also proof of progress in church organisation in a particular area.

Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume that the number of the followers of the Greek Rite increased in Hungary. During the 1028 synod, Ioannes may well have been elected metropolitan, provided he had not possessed that title previously. Filling metropolitan sees always required a synodal decree; a local candidate could not automatically obtain this position, though theoretically he did not need to appear in person in the Imperial City. Ordination was usually performed by the Patriarch himself, who did not have an ecclesiastical province of his own outside the city of his see.

Numismatics also had its share in raising public awareness of the Metropolitanate Tourkia. The obverse of the seal kept in the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC, bears a depiction of Saint Demetrius, while the inscription on its reverse states that it was owned by “Antonios, *Proedros* (Metropolitan) of Tourkia, monk and *synkellos*”.<sup>100</sup> As, unfortunately, its place of discovery is unknown, it may only be hypothesised that it was unearthed in the territory of the historic Kingdom of Hungary.

Originally, the term *synkellos* referred to the Patriarch’s advisor, fellow resident and table companion, and subsequently it became a

99 J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae Episcopatum*, 54.

100 <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1947.2.414>. The text published by Moravcsik is not completely identical: (“[proto]synkellosnak és Turkia elnökének pecsétje” [= the seal of (proto-)synkellos and President of Tourkia]). Gy. Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet*, 255.

title conferred by the Emperor, and its holder was made a member of the Senate. Whereas earlier it would be granted to priests and deacons, from the 10th century it was also conferred on ambitious metropolitans before it slowly began to lose its significance.<sup>101</sup> The title *Proedros* could originally denote any bishop, though sometimes it was used in reference to the metropolitan.<sup>102</sup> In the case of Antonios, the joint use of the two titles makes it probable that the referent in question was a metropolitan.

The seals of two other bishops – Theofylaktos and Demetrius – are also in evidence, but the fact that their inscriptions do not feature the word “Tourkia” but “(Bishop of the) Turks” as an ethnonym detracts from their validity as proof. In fact, episcopate registers frequently contain the designation “Vardariot Turks”, whose episcopate was under the jurisdiction of Thessalonike.<sup>103</sup>

Bishoprics varied greatly in structure depending on their size and location. A missionary episcopate was dissimilar from a hierarchal see active for centuries. It is unclear to this day where the centre of the Bishop (subsequently, Metropolitan) of Hungary was located and what it was like. As the seat of the converted Gylas, Alba Iulia (*Gyulafehérvár*) could be a strong candidate in this regard. The lately excavated single-apse, nave-and-aisles church, with four pillars at its centre, there is also a possibility because, according to the estimate of archaeologists, it must have been built between 950 and 1050. In case, however, the centre of the first Gylas was to be found not here but in

101 Cf. Aristeides Papadakis, *Synkellos*, in Alexander Kazhdan – Alice-Mary Talbot (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford University Press, New York – Oxford 1991, III, 1993.

102 Cf. Aristeides Papadakis, *Proedros as an Ecclesiastical Title*, in Alexander Kazhdan – Alice-Mary Talbot (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford University Press, New York – Oxford 1991, III, 1727.

103 J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae Episcopatum*, 279 (note 7, 308), *ibid.* 317 (note 10, 229), *ibid.* 371 (note 13, 832).

the Tisza/Tisa–Maros/Mureş –Körös/Criş triangle or within Ajtony’s later colony, the seat of the Greek Bishop ought rather to be located in that region.<sup>104</sup>

As a plausible centre for the initial stage of a missionary programme, György Györffy identifies several locations: Sirmium (Száva-szentdemeter/Sremska Mitrovica) Kiszombor, Marosvár (Csanád/Cenadu Vechi), Apostag, Pécs (*Pente ecclesiae*, to use its Greek-type name), Titel (with the title *Hagia Sophia*) and Szeged (with the title “Saint Demetrius”).<sup>105</sup> Archaeological specimens from these places have been interpreted in different ways.<sup>106</sup> It might well be the case that, in the beginning, only a church made from wood functioned as a liturgical centre. (Being religious, the majority of Byzantine bishops fundamentally differed in their way of life from the senior clergy associated with the Western feudal system. Comparisons could even lead to indignation, as it happened, for example, with Liudprand of Cremona, who saw the modest household of the Bishop of Leukas with puzzlement in 948, suspecting parsimony in the background.<sup>107</sup>)

104 Cf. Etele Kiss, *Ut mos est grecorum*, 30.

105 Cf. György Györffy, *István király és műve*, 47.

106 Miklós Takács, *Byzantinische oder byzantinisierende Raumgestaltungen kirchlicher Architektur im früharpádenzeitlichen Ungarn: Eine vergleichende Analyse auf Grundlage von Parallelen aus dem Balkan*, Verlag Schnell und Steiner GmbH, Mainz 2018.

107 In all Greece – I speak the truth and do not lie – I found no hospitable bishops. They are both poor and rich; rich in gold coins wherewith they gamble recklessly; poor in servants and utensils. They sit by themselves at a bare little table, with a ship’s biscuit in front of them, and instead of drinking their bath water they sip it from a tiny glass. They do their own buying and selling; they close and open their doors themselves; they are their own stewards, their own ass-drivers, their own «capones» – aha, I meant to write «caupones», but the thing is so true that it made me write the truth against my will – as I say, they are «capones», that is, eunuchs, which is against canon law; and they are also «caupones», that is, innkeepers, which is again uncanonical. F.A. Wright (ed.), *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, Routledge, London 1930, 274.

In light of the above, it is apposite to assert that the effects of Byzantine missionary work and the Greek-rite Church endured in the life of the Magyars during the period of the establishment of the Kingdom of Hungary, as well as long afterwards.<sup>108</sup>

108 This is also possibly indicated by the decisions of the 1092 Synod of Szabolcs concerning married priests and the start of Great Lent, in agreement with Eastern canons, cf. László Komáromi, *A bizánci hatás kérdése a középkori magyar jogban és a magyarországi egyházjogban*, Pázmány Press, Budapest 2013, 93-123.

## **Abstract**

Les contacts des anciens Hongrois nomades avec Byzance. Le manque des documents écrits sur la religion originale des conquérants Hongrois avait produit des hypothèses concernant la christianisation de ce peuple nomade (10<sup>ème</sup> s.), liée aux contacts avec les empires voisins comme la Khazarie, Byzance et le Saint-Empire romain-germanique. La mission byzantine conduite par l'évêque Hierotheos avait à lutter avec le paganisme dont les coutumes ressemblaient à celles des Bulgares récemment convertis. La théorie byzantine sur la symphonie entre l'Eglise et l'Empire venait à l'appui de cette mission laquelle a servi de base pour une organisation ecclésiale sous la juridiction du Patriarcat de Constantinople.

# **Alte Erbschaft, zeitgemäße Vermittlung. Die katechetische Richtlinie der katholischen Ostkirchen im neuen Direktorium für die Katechese**

László OBBÁGY

1. Die Vorgeschichte des neuen Direktoriums für die Katechese; 2. Das neue Direktorium und die Ostkatholiken: hochgeschätzte Werte, zu verwirklichende Aufgaben; 3. Weitere Nova des Direktoriums mit Blick auf die katechetische Anschauung der katholischen Ostkirchen; 3.1. Die Katechese: Die Verkündigung der Schönheit Gottes; 3.2. Die kerygmatische Art der Katechese; 3.3. Einige praktischen Fragen des neuen Direktoriums; Schlussgedanken

Die Veröffentlichung des neuen Direktoriums für die Katechese ist ein freudiges Ereignis für die Weltkirche. Auch die katholischen Ostkirchen teilen diese Freude. In der folgenden Studie werden die Elemente des Direktoriums untersucht, die sich auf die katholischen Ostkirchen beziehen.<sup>1</sup>

1 Das Direktorium wurde im Juni 2020 in Vatikan vorgestellt. Die Vorstellung vor der Presse kann angeschaut werden und eine schriftliche Zusammenfassung kann auf Italienisch auf der Internetseite <http://www.pcpne.va/content/pcpne/it/attivita/catechesi/direttorio2020.html> (heruntergeladen am 30.10.2020) von *Pontificio Consiglio per la Promozione della Nuova Evangelizzazione* gelesen werden. Die offizielle Fassung des Direktoriums ist die italienische Ausgabe, aber es wurden offizielle Übersetzungen ins Spanische, Englische, Portugiesische, Französische und Polnische bis zum Veröffentlichungstag angefertigt. Das Direktorium ist auf Ungarisch noch nicht erreichbar; für die vorliegende Studie wird die inoffizielle Arbeitsübersetzung der Deutschen Bischofskonferenz verwendet (*Arbeitsübersetzung des Sekretariats der Deutschen Bischofskonferenz*,

1. *Die Vorgeschichte des neuen Direktoriums für die Katechese*

Auf dem Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil wurde kein ausgesprochen katechetisches Dokument angefertigt, auf die Änderung der theologischen und seelsorgerischen Einstellung nach dem Konzil wurde jedoch auch das Gebiet der Katechese aufmerksam. Die offiziellen kirchlichen Dokumente zeigen hauptsächlich diese Änderung.

Das erste solche Opus nach dem Konzil war *Allgemeines Direktorium für die Katechese* (1971),<sup>2</sup> welchem dann zuerst *Evangelii nuntiandi* (1975)<sup>3</sup> folgte, für welches sich Papst Paul VI. verbürgte und in welchem es erstens um die Evangelisierung geht, das sich jedoch offensichtlich auch mit der Sache der Katechese befasst, welchem dann das Apostolische Schreiben von Papst Johannes Paul II. mit dem Titel *Catechesi tradendae* (1979)<sup>4</sup> folgte. Nach der Geburt des ersten Direktoriums verging fast ein Vierteljahrhundert, bis das Direktorium erneut ausgegeben wurde (*Allgemeines Direktorium für die Katechese, 1997*),<sup>5</sup> und dann bis zur Veröffentlichung des neuen Direktoriums 2020 eine fast genauso lange Zeit.

[https://www.dbk.de/fileadmin/redaktion/diverse\\_downloads/presse\\_2020/2020-06-25\\_Direktorium-fuer-die-Katechese\\_Arbeitsuebersetzung.pdf](https://www.dbk.de/fileadmin/redaktion/diverse_downloads/presse_2020/2020-06-25_Direktorium-fuer-die-Katechese_Arbeitsuebersetzung.pdf). Heruntergeladen am 30.10.2020.

- 2 *Direttorio Catechistico Generale (DCG)*, [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/congregations/ccclergy/documents/rc\\_con\\_ccclergy\\_dir\\_19710411\\_it.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccclergy/documents/rc_con_ccclergy_dir_19710411_it.html), heruntergeladen am 09.04.2021. Ein deutschsprachiger Text steht nicht zur Verfügung.
- 3 [http://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/de/apost\\_exhortations/documents/hf\\_p-vi\\_exh\\_19751208\\_evangelii-nuntiandi.html](http://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/de/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_p-vi_exh_19751208_evangelii-nuntiandi.html), heruntergeladen am 09.04.2021.
- 4 [http://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/de/apost\\_exhortations/documents/hf\\_jp-ii\\_exh\\_16101979\\_catechesi-tradendae.html](http://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/de/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_jp-ii_exh_16101979_catechesi-tradendae.html), heruntergeladen am 09.04.2021.
- 5 [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/congregations/ccclergy/documents/rc\\_con\\_ccatheduc\\_doc\\_17041998\\_directory-for-catechesis\\_ge.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccclergy/documents/rc_con_ccatheduc_doc_17041998_directory-for-catechesis_ge.html), heruntergeladen am 09.04.2021.

Das 1972 veröffentlichte Dokument *OICA*, also die Verordnung mit dem Titel *Ordo Initiationis Christianae Adultorum*, ist thematisch gesehen nicht umfangreich, sondern erwähnt nur die Frage des Katechumenats der Erwachsenen; es muss trotzdem hier eine Erwähnung finden, da diese Schrift eine bestimmende Rolle wegen der bedeutenden Erscheinung des katechumenalen Charakters der Katechese hat.<sup>6</sup> Es lohnt sich auch zu erwähnen, dass auch nationale Direktorien aufgrund des Direktoriums von 1997 zustande kamen, das ungarische katechetische Direktorium (*Magyar Kateketikai Direktórium* = MKD)<sup>7</sup> wurde 1999 angefertigt und dient seit 2000 die Sache der ungarischen katholischen Katechese und der Weitergabe des Glaubens.<sup>8</sup>

6 Das *OICA* wurde nicht von der Kongregation für den Klerus, welche das Gebiet der Katechese beaufsichtigt und sich um die Direktorien kümmert, sondern von der *Kongregation für den Gottesdienst* herausgegeben. Es ist eine Äußerung, die sich zwar mit der Katechese nicht direkt verbindet, sondern sich eher auf den Prozess und Ritus der christlichen Einweihung bezieht, der Zusammenhang ist jedoch inhaltlich gesehen unumstritten. Wegen unseres Themas – der Annäherung von der Seite der Ostkatholiken – soll es jedoch erwähnt werden, dass die Richtlinien des *OICA* zwar in der Ungarischen Katholischen Kirche seit 1. Januar 2000 verpflichtend sind, und jedoch meinen die Ostkatholiken, dass diese eine Verordnung für die Liturgie seien, und sich deshalb nur auf die Katholiken mit lateinischem Ritus beziehen würden und für sie nicht verpflichtend seien. Die katholischen Ostkirchen haben jedoch bis heute keine eigene Katechumenat-Regelung. In der vorliegenden Studie wird darauf noch hingewiesen.

7 <https://regi.katolikus.hu/konyvtar.php?h=413>, heruntergeladen am 17.09.2021.

8 Der einführende Rückblick des Direktoriums erwähnt in der Vorgeschichte die Entstehung des *Internationalen Rates für die Katechese* (1973) [https://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/congregations/cclergy/documents/rc\\_con\\_cclergy\\_pro\\_31051999\\_ge.html](https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cclergy/documents/rc_con_cclergy_pro_31051999_ge.html), heruntergeladen am 16.01.2022. bzw. auch die Ausgabe von *Katechismus der Katholischen Kirche* (1992) [https://www.vatican.va/archive/DEU0035/\\_INDEX.HTM](https://www.vatican.va/archive/DEU0035/_INDEX.HTM), heruntergeladen am 16.01.2022.

Das Direktorium hat – in Bezug auf vatikanische Äußerungen oder ungarische (teil)kirchliche Dokumente – keine ausgesprochen katechetische Vorgeschichte bezüglich der Themen der katholischen Ostkirche.

2. *Das neue Direktorium und die Ostkatholiken: hochgeschätzte Werte, zu verwirklichende Aufgaben*

Das erste *Allgemeine Direktorium für die Katechese* von 1971 und das zweite von 1997 haben die katholischen Ostkirchen nicht erwähnt. Aus diesem Grund ist es noch erfreulicher, dass der Ausdruck *Osten* im Direktorium von 2020 zwanzigmal eine Erwähnung findet. Punkte 290-292 und 441 beschäftigen sich ausgesprochen mit dem Thema der „Katechese der Ostkirche“. Das Dokument wendet dem Ansprechen der Katholiken mit östlichem Ritus eine große Aufmerksamkeit zu, erwähnt ihre hochgeschätzten Werte und stellt ihnen Aufgaben und Ziele. Das Lesen des Dokuments als griechisch-katholisch bedeutet es eine besonders große Freude. Wir haben dieses Gefühl besonders, weil wenn man sich das ganze Direktorium anschaut, sieht man, dass wichtige Elemente der östlichen katechetischen Ansichten in diesem wichtigen Dokument der Weltkirche, welches für die Katechese jahrzehntelang richtunggebend ist, in mehreren bedeutenden Momenten spürbar zur Erscheinung kommen, auch wenn es auf sie direkt nicht hingewiesen wird.

Sehen wir uns aber die Konkreta an, die sich auf die katholische Ostkirche beziehen!

2.1. Das Direktorium zitiert wortwörtlich das Dokument *Orientalis Ecclesiarum* des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils, außerdem weist auf die *Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium* (Gesetzbuch der Katholischen Ostkirchen) und auf die *Liturgische Instruktionen* hin; in seiner Sichtweise sind weitere päpstliche Äußerungen bezüglich der

katholischen Ostkirche zu erkennen.<sup>9</sup> Für die katholische Ostkirche sind diese Schriften gut bekannt, aber es ist wichtig für uns, mit ihnen endlich auch auf einem katechetischen Weg auseinanderzusetzen, bzw. es ist erfreulich zu sehen, dass das, was in diesen Schriften steht, dank des neuen Direktoriums bereits den Teil der gesamt-katholischen katechetischen Denkweise bildet. Die Vision über die Kirche, die „auf beiden Lungenflügeln atmet?“,<sup>10</sup> machte sich jeder katholische

9 Über die oben erwähnten drei Dokumente hinaus sind identifizierbare Hinweise auf die katholische Ostkirche auch in den hervorragendsten Äußerungen der Päpste zu finden: Papst Leo XIII: *Orientalium dignitas* (1894); Heiliger Johannes Paul II: *Slavorum apostoli* (1985), *Orientalis lumen* (1995).

10 Der Metapher von „Atmung auf beiden Lungenflügeln“ wurde im kirchlichen Kontext erstmal wahrscheinlich vom russischen Dichter Wjatscheslaw Iwanow (1866-1949) verwendet, weil er sich wünschte, sich zur „Vollkommenheit“ der Kirche zu gehören. Iwanow wurde 1926 katholisch, er wollte und konnte jedoch auf den spirituellen Reichtum der orthodoxen Kirche nicht verzichten. Er schreibt in einem seiner Briefe, dass er mit „einer Lunge“ nicht atmen könnte... Man sieht sofort, dass der Begriff sowohl die Spannung als auch den Wunsch nach der Auflösung der Spannung mit sich bringt: Bei der Geburt des Begriffs sind sowohl die Spannung zwischen der orthodoxen und katholischen Kirche vorhanden als auch der Anspruch auf die Verknüpfung der beiden. Der Metapher wurde dank Yves Congar allgemein bekannt. Er weist am Anfang – in seinem Werk *Chrétiens en dialogue* (Éditions du CERF, Paris 1964) – noch im Zusammenhang mit der Erneuerung der katholischen Theologie darauf hin, er versteht darunter jedoch in seinen späteren Schriften – so z.B. in seinem Band *Diversités et communion* (Éditions du CERF, Paris 1981) – die Kirche selbst. Der Ausdruck „Atmung auf beiden Lungenflügeln“ bekam unter Johannes Paul II. ein lehramtliches Ansehen, er wurde sogar fast zum Attribut des heiligen Papsts. Das Bild bindet sich nicht nur an die erwünschte Einheit der östlichen und westlichen Kirche, sondern drückt auch die Überzeugung aus, dass sich die östlichen und westlichen theologischen Sichtweisen ergänzen und sich im Interesse der erwünschten katholischen Vollkommenheit auch ergänzen müssen. Vgl. Der Vortrag des Erzbischof-Metropolitan Kocsis Fülöp im Haus des Dialogs (Párbeszéd Háza), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ng512s4Grwg&t=29s>, „Die zwei Lungen des Christentums“, heruntergeladen am 30.09.2020 <https://szentatanaz.hu/images/letoltesek/>

Katechet zu eigen, und wusste: Katholizität bedeutet auch, dass die Katholiken von Osten und Westen, „wie eine bunte und überreiche Menge von charakteristischen Farben, die zusammen das lebende Mosaik des *Pantokrators* bilden.“<sup>11</sup> Für einen Katecheten war es auch bisher unumstritten, dass „beide christlichen Traditionen – die östliche, die sich von Konstantinopel herleitet, und die westliche, die von Rom stammt – im Schoß der einen Kirche entstanden sind.“<sup>12</sup> Ab jetzt kann jedoch jeder Katechet als Teil der offiziellen Richtlinie, die zur Ausführung seines Berufs gehört, das Folgende lesen:

Die Ostkirchen mit ihren Einrichtungen und liturgischen Bräuchen, ihren Überlieferungen und ihrer christlichen Lebensordnung sind in der katholischen Kirche hochgeschätzt. In diesen Werten von ehrwürdigem Alter leuchtet ja eine Überlieferung auf, die über die Kirchenväter bis zu den Aposteln zurückreicht. Sie bildet ein Stück des von Gott geoffenbarten und ungeteilten Erbgutes der Gesamtkirche.<sup>13</sup>

Wie es das Direktorium weiterhin feststellt, haben die Schätze von Anfang an zur Evangelisation beigetragen. Deshalb bekräftige die

kocsis\_fulop\_ket\_tudovel\_lelegezni.pdf, heruntergeladen am 30.09.2020  
Erzbischof-Metropolit weist in seinem Vortrag auf die handschriftliche Studie von Tibor Görföl hin, bzw. zitiert Gedanken aus der Inhaltsangabe von Görföl aus *Slavorum apostoli* <https://www.magyarokurir.hu/hirek/uniformitas-helyett-sokfeleseg-szimfoniaja-i-slavorum-apostoli-i-enciklika>, heruntergeladen am 30.09.2020.

11 Rundschreiben *Slavorum apostoli* von Papst Johannes Paul II. an die Bischöfe, die Priester, die Ordensgemeinschaften und alle Gläubigen in Erinnerung an das Werk der Evangelisierung der heiligen Cyrill und Methodius vor 1100 Jahren, 18. In [http://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/de/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_jp-ii\\_enc\\_19850602\\_slavorum-apostoli.html](http://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/de/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_19850602_slavorum-apostoli.html), heruntergeladen am 30.10.2020.

12 Ibid.

13 *Orientalis Ecclesiarum* 1, <https://kir-che.com/Konzil/Orientalium%20Ecclesiarum.html>, heruntergeladen am 30.10.2020; Direktorium für die Katechese, 290.

Katholische Kirche immer wieder, dass die Orientalen das Recht und die Pflicht haben, sie zu bewahren, sie zu kennen und zu leben. Das Dokument macht also auf die Bedeutung der Bewahrung der eigenen Identität aufmerksam und ermutigt die Katechese, welche „bei dieser Verpflichtung, den Glauben in der eigenen kirchlichen Überlieferung zu schützen und weiterzugeben, eine privilegierte Rolle [spielt].“<sup>14</sup>

Dieses Kapitel des Direktoriums hebt einige Momente, die für die katholische Ostkirche traditionell charakteristisch sind, besonders hervor: „Im katechetischen Angebot ist es daher notwendig, dass das biblische und liturgische Moment und die Traditionen der jeweiligen eigenberechtigten Kirche in der Patrologie, der Hagiographie und selbst in der Ikonographie aufstrahlen.“<sup>15</sup> Das Direktorium betont die Wichtigkeit der liturgischen Feier, ihrer mystagogischen Bedeutung. Es ermutigt die Mitarbeiter der Katechese zur Bekanntmachung der Riten, zur Aneignung der zu den Riten gehörenden Kenntnisse, zum speziellen Weg der liturgischen Katechese.

Diese Merkmale und Aufgaben zitiert das Direktorium meist aus dem Gesetzbuch der Katholischen Ostkirchen, welches die Pflichten der Hierarchien bezüglich der Katechese ziemlich detailliert regelt.

Es ist eine schwerwiegende Pflicht der einzelnen eigenberechtigten Kirchen, besonders aber ihrer Bischöfe, die Katechese sicherzustellen, durch die der Glaube zur Reife gebracht und der Schüler Christi durch tiefere und geordnete Kenntnis der Lehre Christi und durch die von Tag zu Tag engere Nachfolge seiner Person selbst geformt wird.<sup>16</sup>

14 Ibid.

15 Es ist wichtig zu erwähnen, dass die liturgische, patristische, ikonographische und hagiographische Erbschaft nicht nur über einen Veranschaulichungscharakter verfügt, sondern auch bezüglich des Inhalts eine bestimmende Rolle für die Katechese hat.

16 Can. 617 CCEO (*Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium, Gesetzbuch der katholischen Ostkirchen, Lateinisch-deutsche Ausgabe, Amateca – Repertoria Band 2, hgg. von Libero Gerosa und Peter Krämer, übersetzt von Gerd Ludwig und Joakim Budin*), Bonifatius, Paderborn 2000.

Dem Hierarchenrat kommt die Aufgabe zu, innerhalb des Gebietes der jeweiligen Kirche geeignete Normen über das katechetische Direktorium zusammenzustellen. [...] Im katechetischen Direktorium muss die Eigenart der orientalischen Kirchen so gewahrt werden, dass das biblische und liturgische Moment und die Traditionen der jeweiligen eigenberechtigten Kirche in der Patrologie, der Hagiographie und selbst in der Ikonographie durch die Vermittlung der Katechese aufstrahlen.<sup>17</sup>

Das Gesetzbuch beschreibt auch die konkreten Aufgaben des Hierarchenrates, die sich auf die Organisation der Katechese beziehen.<sup>18</sup>

2.2. Beim Lesen der praktischen Folgen der Botschaft des neuen Direktoriums, also der konkreten Aufgaben bezüglich der Katechese, die sich auf die Ostkatholiken beziehen, kann man mit Freude feststellen, dass das Direktorium hier in unserer Kirche offene Türen findet. Das Partikularrecht der Ungarischen Griechisch-Katholischen Kirche, welches offiziell noch nicht erreichbar ist, da es noch vor der Bewilligung von Rom steht, enthält nämlich aufgrund

17 Can. 621 § 1-2, CCEO.

18 „Es ist Sache des Hierarchenrats, dafür zu sorgen, dass die Katechismen an die verschiedenen Gruppen der Christgläubigen angepasst und zugleich mit Hilfsmitteln und Materialien erstellt werden sowie dass verschiedene katechetische Vorhaben gefördert und aufeinander abgestimmt werden. ... In jeder eigenberechtigten Kirche muss es eine Kommission für katechetische Fragen geben... Der Kommission für katechetische Fragen muss auch ein katechetisches Zentrum zur Verfügung stehen, dessen Aufgabe es ist, den Kirchen bei der geordneten und wirksameren Durchführung katechetischer Vorhaben zu helfen wie auch der ständigen Bildung der Katechisten zu dienen. ... Es ist Sache des Eparchialbischofs, die katechetische Unterweisung in seiner Eparchie mit höchster Sorge zu fördern, zu lenken und zu leiten. Zu diesem Zweck muss es für die Eparchialkurie ein eparchiales katechetisches Zentrum geben.“ Can. 621 § 3, Can. 622 § 1-2, Can. 623 § 1-2, CCEO.

von CCEO eine ähnliche, sogar eine noch detailliertere Regelung.<sup>19</sup> Das zukünftige Partikularrecht verpflichtet den Hierarchenrat, ein eigenes, katechetisches Direktorium auszugeben.<sup>20</sup> Die Kanons über die konkreten Aufgaben, die zur Katechese gehören, sind auch detailliert ausgeführt. In den Paragraphen des Partikularrechts geht es um die Entwicklung der Werkzeuge, um katechetische Zentren, Verpflichtung zu Veröffentlichungen von Religionsbüchern, die Regelung der Organisierung der Katechese,<sup>21</sup> aber sie formulieren auch inhaltliche Elemente über das byzantinische Image der Katechese, über die Besonderheiten der mystagogischen Katechese, über die ausgezeichnete Rolle der liturgischen Katechese und über

19 Das Exemplar des Partikularrechts ist zurzeit nur als Handschrift zu lesen; seine Einführung findet voraussichtlich 2022 in den Diözesen der Ungarischen Griechisch-Katholischen Metropole statt. Die Veröffentlichung der Details des Exemplars erfolgt in dieser Studie durch die Genehmigung von Erzbischof-Metropolitén Fülöp Kocsis.

20 Das muss übrigens jede Teilkirche machen, d.h. dass auch das Mandat des Ungarischen Katechetischen Direktoriums mit der Entstehung des neuen römischen Direktoriums abläuft, es soll neugeschrieben werden. Was aber neu ist, dass die Griechisch-Katholiken jetzt zum ersten Mal ein eigenes katechetisches Direktorium haben werden, da sie vor der Begründung ihrer Metropole ihr kirchliches Leben unter beschränkter Selbstständigkeit, unter engeren kirchenrechtlichen Rahmen lebten und deshalb bisher über kein eigenes Dokument verfügten, welches ihre katechetischen Richtlinien hätte formulieren können.

21 1. § — Die griechisch-katholischen Werkzeuge der Katechese sollen ständig entwickelt werden.

1 Die wichtigsten Werkzeuge sind auch weiterhin die „Religionsbücher“. Darüber hinaus müssen auch die neueren, populäreren Mittel der modernen Technologie in die Katechese mit einbezogen werden.

2 Die griechisch-katholischen Religionsbücher und die Lehrbücher (genauso die weiteren modernen katechetischen Mittel) sollen den religiösen Inhalt immer durch die Sichtweise der byzantinischen Tradition und mit ihren Instrumenten darstellen. Partikularrecht der Ungarischen Eigenrechtlichen Metropoliten Kirche, Can. 59 § 1.

die patristische Richtung der Katechese.<sup>22</sup> Das Partikularrecht stellt als selbstverständliches Grundprinzip fest, dass die Bekanntmachung der religiösen Lehre und die Weitergabe des Glaubens erstens durch die lebendige Liturgie verwirklicht werden müssen.<sup>23</sup> Es ist auch ein Eckstein, dass

in der kirchlichen Lehre wegen der Pflicht zur Förderung der authentischen östlichen Tradition, die eine Erbschaft der apostolischen Kirche ist, der untrennbaren Verflechtung der byzantinischen Liturgie und Theologie und nicht zuletzt wegen der ökumenischen Mission in der Relation der Orthodoxie, der östlichen, theologischen Formulierungen über die Heilige Tradition und die lehramtlichen Äußerungen eine besonders große Aufmerksamkeit zugewendet werden soll.<sup>24</sup>

Es muss auch erwähnt werden, dass die Kanons bezüglich der Katechese des Partikularrechts eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit dem Ansprechen der Roma, den Gläubigern in der Diaspora, bzw. den Menschen, die aus einem bestimmten Grund in schwieriger Lage

22 Can. 57. [Das byzantinische Gesicht der Katechese.]

1. § — Der Hierarchenrat soll ein „katechetisches Direktorium“ der Metropole ausgeben (vgl. CCEO Can. 621).

1 Ein großer Wert soll auf die Methode der Katechese nach der Taufe (oder der mystagogischen Katechese) gelegt werden, welche auf die Liturgie basiert, weiterhin auf die Besonderheiten der byzantinischen Tradition, wie die patristische Einstellung der theologischen Lehre, die Hagiographie oder die besondere Rolle der Ikone. Der Religionsunterricht darf sich von der Welt der Liturgie nicht trennen, sondern die Geheimnisse der Heilsgeschichte sollen eben durch sie auf eine besondere Art und Weise dargestellt werden.

2 Eine wichtige Quelle der katholischen Ostkirchen, die auf der Spur der Kirchenväter sind, ist die „mystagogische Katechese“, die aus der Überzeugung stammt, dass die Entwicklung des Lebens in Christus in der verstandenen und aufgenommenen Liturgie entsteht. Diese grundsätzliche methodologische Annäherung soll jedoch bereits bei der Vorbereitung der Kandidaten auf die Einweihung zur Geltung gebracht werden.

23 Ibid.

24 Can. 54.

sind, zuwenden. In den Kanons geht es sowohl um die Bildung der Katecheten<sup>25</sup> als auch um die Entwicklung der liturgischen Gesangskultur.<sup>26</sup>

Papst Franziskus gab den Bischöfen der Weltkirche und darunter auch den Bischöfen der katholischen Ostkirche übrigens auch seit der Erscheinung des neuen Direktoriums eine katechetische Aufgabe. Er begründete in seinem *Motu proprio*, welches im Frühling 2021 veröffentlicht wurde und welches mit *Antiquum ministerium* beginnt, den kirchlichen Dienst der Katecheten, und forderte die Bischofskonferenzen dazu auf (die Bischöfe der Ostkatholiken wurden namentlich erwähnt), den Dienst der Katecheten – unter entsprechenden juristischen Bedingungen – tatsächlich

25 Can. 58. [*Auftrag der Katecheten*]

1. § Um bei der katechetischen Tätigkeit der Priester helfen zu können, können katechetische Aufträge auch Laien, oder Menschen mit niedrigerem Klerikerstand gegeben werden. Den Auftrag erteilen die Bischöfe für eine bestimmte Zeit.
2. § 1 Der Auftrag für die Katechese darf nur entsprechenden Gläubigern erteilt werden, die mindestens über einen Hochschulabschluss in Katechese haben und ein vorbildliches Leben führen. Falls der nötige Hochschulabschluss fehlt, soll er in kurzer Zeit ersetzt werden. Falls es nicht geschieht, darf der Auftrag nicht verlängert werden.
- 2 Die Aufsicht der Tätigkeiten der Religionslehrer und die Kontrolle durch Unterrichtsbesuche sind die Aufgaben der vom Bischof beauftragten Personen.
- 3 Bei der Anstellung der Religionslehrer sollen auch die Verordnungen der Regelungen beachtet werden, die sich auf sie beziehen.
3. § Die beauftragten Religionslehrer sollen an den Fortbildungen und geistlichen Übungen teilnehmen, die von der Behörde der Diözese organisiert werden. Bei der Bezahlung der Kosten sollen die Kirchengemeinden nach Möglichkeit beisteuern.

26 Can. 59 § 2. Die griechisch-katholische Katechese soll neben der Weitergabe der religiösen Kenntnisse auch der entsprechenden Aneignung der eigenen Liturgien und ihrer Melodien große Aufmerksamkeit zuwenden. Aus diesem Grund soll eine vollständige digitale Liedersammlung so früh wie möglich zustande gebracht werden, welche für jeden erreichbar und leicht handhabbar ist.

durchzuführen.<sup>27</sup> Es gibt also keine Zeit für Langeweile, es gibt im Bereich der kirchenrechtlichen Regelung der Katechese und der praktischen Aufgaben viel zu tun.

2.3. Meines Erachtens bilden die Stellen über die katholischen Ostkirchen wichtige Elemente des Direktoriums. Einerseits, weil das Ansprechen der katholischen Ostkirchen von der Seite der verantwortlichen Organe des Vatikans zum ersten Mal stattfindet, also die Darstellung der Mentalität des Konzils mit „zwei Lungen“ auf der Ebene der Katechese. Andererseits, weil das keine bloße Höflichkeit ist, oder ein netter Ton, eine Geste für die katholischen Ostkirchen. Vielmehr die Anerkennung (oder Erkennung), dass der in den katholischen Ostkirchen bekannte Weg der Katechese als Lehre für die Westkirche dienen kann, deren katechetische Wegbildung voll von Schlaglöchern ist. Wer die Formulierung des orthodoxen Theologen Alexander Schmemmann versteht, welche sich auf die Ziele der Katechese bezieht, den machen die Wörter des orthodoxen Theologen auch als Katholik nachdenklich. Schmemmann stellt das Folgende fest: Die liturgische Katechese, die für die Ostkirche auch heute charakteristisch ist, ist keine komische Tradition, die wir von der Urkirche geerbt haben, sondern sie ist

die traditionelle Art der Katechese, ein wesentlicher Teil der Natur und der Konzeption der Kirche, die die seelische Erhellung zum Ziel hat. [...] Die liturgische Katechese erhellt, was das primäre Ziel und Sinn der Katechese laut der Kirche ist. Das Ziel der Katechese ist, dass die Einzelperson ins Leben der Kirche eingeführt wird. Ich hebe

27 Antiquum ministerium 10: „Die Synoden der Orientalischen Kirchen oder die Versammlungen der Hierarchen können das hier Festgelegte für ihre jeweiligen Kirchen *sui iuris* auf der Grundlage des eigenen Sonderrechtes rezipieren“. [https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/de/motu\\_proprio/documents/papa-francesco-motu-proprio-20210510\\_antiquum-ministerium.html](https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/de/motu_proprio/documents/papa-francesco-motu-proprio-20210510_antiquum-ministerium.html). Heruntergeladen am 11. September 2021.

hervor: Die Aufgabe ist nicht allein die Vermittlung der „religiösen Kenntnisse“, die Steuerung des Lebens der Einzelperson in die „richtige Richtung“, sondern die Vorbereitung des Mitglieds des „auserwählten Geschlechts“, des „heiligen Stamms“ (1. Petrus 2:9), des Leibes Christi, welcher seit Pfingsten geheimnisvoll existiert, also der „Aufbau“ seiner Persönlichkeit. Die Katechese will klar machen, was mit uns geschah, als wir dank des Wassers und des Heiligen Geistes neugeboren sind, und wir Mitglied der Kirche wurden.<sup>28</sup>

Ich glaube, dass das (römisch-) katholische Ohr, Auge und Herz im Hinblick auf die Wörter des orthodoxen Theologen für die Er- und Anerkennung der katechetischen Konzeption der katholischen Ostkirche offener wird und es auch klar wird, dass die östliche Praxis in vielen Fällen, bei der Verwirklichung der im Direktorium erwähnten Richtlinien, bei der einheitlichen Sichtweise des kerygmatischen, mystagogischen und katechumenalen Charakters der Katechese und bei ihrer praktischen Durchführung ein Muster und Munition geben kann.<sup>29</sup>

Wenn ich Muster und Munition erwähne, stelle ich nicht fest, dass die katechetische Vision von Schmemmann in der Praxis der Ost- oder Westkirche perfekt funktioniert.<sup>30</sup> Der verführerische Baum der

28 A. Schmemmann, *Liturgia és élet (Liturgie und Leben)*, übersetzt von É. Mente, Corvinus 1997, 12. Die Ausgabe für die Übersetzung: *Liturgy and Life: Lectures and Essays on Christian Development through Liturgical Experience. Department of Religious Education, Orthodox Church in America, New York 1983* (2. Ausgabe)

29 Meine Feststellung zur Munition aufrechterhaltend merke ich aber selbstkritisch an, dass es die Einheit des kerygmatischen, mystagogischen und katechumenalen Charakters der Katechese zwar in der Sichtweise der Ostkirche gegeben ist, ist jedoch ihre Verwirklichung in der katechetischen Praxis oft weit vom Idealen entfernt.

30 Nicht einmal wird der katechetischen Sichtweise der katholischen Ostkirche z.B. – fast als allgemeine Erfahrung – vorgeworfen, dass die moralischen Fragen relativ in den Hintergrund gestellt werden oder dass „die Orthodoxe Kirche bei der Weitergabe des Glaubens das kritische Denken nicht beachtet, sie

Säkularisation bringt auch in der Ostkirche sein verdorbenes Obst, und dieser traditionelle Weg kann in einer leeren Kirche offensichtlich nicht erfolgreich werden. Ich bin mir jedoch sicher, die Sichtweise der lateinischen Kirche durch die Erkennung der katechetischen Sichtweise der Ostkirche bereichert wird, die im Direktorium ehrwürdig zu finden ist – und betont gleichzeitig die wichtige und dringliche Pflicht der katholischen Ostkirchen, die eigene Erbschaft zeitgemäß zu vermitteln, und die spannende Aufgabe, statt der fremden Praxen, die oft als einfacher, praktischer und zeitgemäßer scheinen, die Tradition kreativ zu aktualisieren und „neu zu lesen“.

3. *Weitere Nova des Direktoriums mit Blick auf die katechetische Anschauung der katholischen Ostkirchen*

Das Direktorium hat Themen – sogar besonders wichtige Themen –, die unmittelbar, aufgrund ihres Textes zwar nicht, jedoch aufgrund ihrer Botschaft der Anschauung der katholischen Ostkirchen sehr nahe stehen. Für so ein Thema halte ich vor allem den Weg der Schönheit bzw. die kerygmatische Art der Katechese. Darüber hinaus lohnt es sich, auch auf einige praktische Fragen einzugehen.

3.1. *Die Katechese: Die Verkündigung der Schönheit Gottes*

3.1.1. Meines Erachtens hebt sich die Anschauung von den neuen Akzenten des Direktoriums ab, die die Katechese – mit einer denkwürdigen Formulierung – als „die Verkündigung der Schönheit

diskutiert nicht genug ihr Verhältnis zur Wissenschaft oder ihre bibelkritische Bedeutung“. In Jakab Várnai – Rita Vízvárdy, „Szerzetesi iskola Cipruson. Kateketikai esettanulmány“, in *Sapientiana* 13 (2020), 86. Selbst Schmemmann schreibt kritisch darüber, dass die orthodoxen Gemeinschaften – besonders in der Diaspora – statt der kreativen Aktualisierung, „Neulesung“ der Tradition fremde Praxen übernehmen, die einfacher, praktischer und zeitgemäßer zu sein scheinen.

Gottes“ bezeichnet.<sup>31</sup> Das ist vielleicht der originellste Zug dieses Dokuments, was am meisten als Novum bezeichnet werden kann. Bei der Vorstellung des Dokuments von der Seite der Katechese nannte ein Bischof das jedoch lediglich einen „innovativen Wert“, was eine praktische, vereinfachende, störend pragmatische Annäherungsweise ist (die einen bitteren Geschmack im Mund des Auswerterers hinterlässt). Der Gedanke enthält natürlich eine viel reichere und vollkommene Botschaft, als die praktisch-banale Ausdrucksweise sie ausdrückt.<sup>32</sup>

Die Vorgeschichte kann auch in diesem Fall auf der Seite von *Evangelii Gaudium* rekonstruiert werden:

Es ist gut, dass jede Katechese dem „Weg der Schönheit“ (*via pulchritudinis*) besondere Aufmerksamkeit schenkt. Christus zu verkündigen, bedeutet zu zeigen, dass an ihn glauben und ihm nachfolgen nicht nur etwas Wahres und Gerechtes, sondern etwas Schönes ist, das sogar inmitten von Prüfungen das Leben mit neuem Glanz und tiefem Glück erfüllen kann. In diesem Sinn können alle Ausdrucksformen wahrer Schönheit als Weg anerkannt werden, der hilft, dem Herrn Jesus zu begegnen. [...] Dann wird es notwendig, dass die Bildung in der *via pulchritudinis* sich in die Weitergabe des Glaubens einfügt.<sup>33</sup>

31 „Katechese ist jedoch in erster Linie nicht die Darstellung einer Moral, sondern die Verkündigung der Schönheit Gottes, die man erfahren kann, die Herz und Verstand berührt und so das Leben verwandelt.“ Direktorium für die Katechese, 175.

32 Als Anmerkung: in den Direktorien von 1997 und 2000 (zumindest in den deutschsprachigen Texten) kommt das Wort „schön“ 40-mal vor, und davon 39-mal im neuen Dokument. – Das Wort „innovativ“ findet man übrigens auch im neuen Dokument, aber in einem anderen – wirklich praktischen – Zusammenhang; die pragmatische Verwendung des Wortes, welches sich auf die Schönheit bezieht, ist, da dieses Wort den echten Inhalt nicht verstärkt, sondern im Gegenteil abschwächt oder sogar zerstört, eine (zumindest vergebliche) Sünde.

33 EG 167. Ein wichtiger Satz von EG ist, dass der Papst hier auf keinen Fall an die Unterstützung des ästhetischen Relativismus denkt, welcher die unzerreißbare Beziehung zwischen der Wahrheit, Güte und Schönheit verschleiern kann,

Im Direktorium erfährt man im Zusammenhang mit der *Sprache der Katechese* über die Dreiheit der Narration, Kunst und Musik. Der zweite Teil des Dokuments „*Der Prozess der Katechese*“ untersucht die sprachlichen Herausforderungen der Katechese. Es hebt die Art der Narration von den vielfältigen Ausdrucksmitteln hervor, die als ein „tiefgründiges, effizientes Kommunikationsmodell“ bezeichnet wird, weil sie auf eine effiziente Art und Weise fähig ist, die Geschichte Jesu mit dem Glauben und mit dem Leben der Menschen zu verbinden. Die Rolle der Kunst ist auch wichtig, da sie durch die Anschauung der Schönheit eine unmittelbare Erfahrung mit dem Treffen von Gott möglich macht. Die Musik, insbesondere die heilige Musik, impft die Sehnsucht nach dem Unendlichen in die menschliche Seele ein.

Der Weg der Schönheit wird in den Punkten 106-109 des Direktoriums – in eigenen Unterkapiteln – detailliert ausgeführt. Es spricht über Gott als über die Quelle jeglicher Schönheit, über die Schönheit der Schöpfung, über die Schönheit des Evangeliums, der Taten und Wörter Jesu. Es wird ausgeführt, dass die Verkündigung des Auferstandenen im Laufe der Katechese in Gutheit, Wahrheit und Schönheit glänzen soll, um das menschliche Herz zu erreichen. Dazu ist es unentbehrlich, dass auch die Katecheten selbst zum wahren Zeugen der Schönheit des Glaubens werden.<sup>34</sup> Ein besonders schöner Teil ist, wo das Direktorium die verheirateten Diakonen darum bittet, authentische Zeugen der Schönheit des Heiligtums der Ehe zu werden. Die laienhaften Ehepartner und Familien, die treu zur Lehre des Evangeliums sind, werden bezüglich der Zeugenschaft um das Gleiche gebeten; „schön“ erscheint also – und was für eine Freude ist es – auch als Bezeichnung für die verheiratete und familiäre

sondern er spricht über den Rückgewinn der Schätzung der Schönheit, „um die menschlichen Herzen zu erreichen, damit dort die Wahrheit und Gutheit des Auferstandenen glänzen kann“.

34 Direktorium für die Katechese, 106-109.

Lebensform.<sup>35</sup>

3.1.2. Die Bezeichnung „schön“ steht bezüglich der katholischen Ostkirchen meistens mit der Schönheit der Liturgie im Zusammenhang. Johannes Paul II. schrieb nach Clemens von Alexandria das Folgende:

Bei der heiligen Handlung wird auch die Leiblichkeit zum Lob eingeladen, und die Schönheit, die im Orient eine der beliebtesten Bezeichnungen für die göttliche Harmonie und Vorbild der verklärten Menschheit ist, tritt überall zutage: in Gestalt und Ausstattung der Kirchen, in den Klängen, in den Farben, in der Beleuchtung, in den Düften.<sup>36</sup>

Wir haben jedoch auch über die Liturgie hinaus zum Aspekt der Schönheit etwas zu sagen.

Meiner Meinung nach ist die Feststellung des orthodoxen Theologen Oliver Clements bezüglich der Betrachtung der Schönheit erwägenswert, welche ziemlich (selbst)kritisch, aber nach meiner Ansicht auch richtig ist: „Die religiöse Tiefe des Lebens – wenn es von einem Christentum getrennt ist, welches sich anscheinend auf das Niveau einer plappernden und moralisierenden Ideologie herabließ – öffnet sich für viele nur in der Schönheit.“<sup>37</sup> Man sieht jedoch in der modernen Kunst die Krise der Schönheit, den Zerfall der Ordnung der Schönheit, ihren „Zersetzungsprozess“, und erlebt

35 Direktorium für die Katechese, 118. 226. Dieser besonders wichtiger Teil kann offensichtlich in den katholischen Ostkirchen noch stärker erscheinen, in denen der Großteil der Priester – darunter viele Katecheten – verheiratet ist und eine Familie hat.

36 Apostolisches Schreiben *Orientalium Lumen* von Papst Johannes Paul II. an den Episkopat, den Klerus und die Gläubigen zum hundertsten Jahrestag des apostolischen Schreibens *Orientalium Dignitas* von Papst Leo XIII. 11, <https://regi.katolikus.hu/konyvtar.php?h=251>. Heruntergeladen am 11. September 2021.

37 Olivier Clement, *Kérdések az emberről (Questions sur l'homme)*, übersetzt von István Baán, Varia Byzantina, Bizantinológiai Intézeti Alapítvány, Budapest 2004, 179.

den Winter der Schönheit. Laut Clement könnte den Weg der Schönheit ausschließlich ein erneuertes Christentum öffnen.<sup>38</sup> „Die erste Schönheit“ vom Paradies, die Schönheit des Ursprungs (arché) wurde vom Menschen unterbrochen; „die zweite Schönheit“, der scheiternde Versuch des Menschen, ist „die malvenfarbige Sehnsucht des gefallenen Engels“. <sup>39</sup> Die Schönheit, von der man Zeugnis ablegen soll – die die Unschuld der ersten Schönheit findet, aber nur durch die unvermeidliche Prüfung der zweiten Schönheit –, kann nur

38 Man findet ähnliche Gedanken bereits im Zeitalter des Urchristentums, in der Lehre von Clemens von Alexandria. Clemens schreibt: „Christ ist nicht nur richtunggebend für das Gute und das Schöne, sondern er ist selbst die Schönheit, der all die Wünsche der Menschen erfüllt. Der himmlische Vater ist ganz transzendent, wegen seines unbegreiflichen Wesens ist das verkörperte Wort Gottes die mit Liebe begreifliche göttliche Schönheit, die die menschliche Natur, die infolge der Sünde «hässlich» wurde, in ihrer wahren Schönheit beleuchtet. Anders gesagt, in der Schönheit Christi kann die Menschheit ihre eigene, ursprüngliche Schönheit und gleichzeitig die Schönheit Gottes entdecken. In der Interpretation von Clemens zeigen die Schönheit und Gutheit der menschlichen und göttlichen Natur Christi eine Art mystisches Drama der gegenseitigen Liebe zwischen Menschen und Gott: der Mensch sehnt sich nach Gott, weil er das höchste Gut ist, und Gott sehnt sich nach den Menschen, weil der Mensch das schönste Geschöpf Gottes ist. Da «die Güter der Freunde gemein sind», sind alle Güter (und Schönheit) des Menschen in der Liebe Christi mit Gott gemeinsam. Aus diesem Grund kann für Clemens nur der Christ tatsächlich gnadenreich, reich, weise und edel sein, also schön.“ Miklós Gyurkovics, „Az antik szép fogalma Alexandriai Kelemen újraértelmezésében“ (Der Begriff Schönheit der Antike in der Neuinterpretation von Clemens von Alexandria), in *Praeconia* 14/1 (2019), 6-13, 10.

39 Clement weist auf ein Mosaik von Ravenna hin, auf die Schönheit des gefallenen Engels auf der linken Seite Christi, der eine tödliche Traurigkeit ausstrahlt, was den Kampf zeigt, der von ihm als „zweite Schönheit“ genannt wurde, den krampfartigen Willen der Sehnsucht nach der Schönheit und das alptraumartige Scheitern, was im hervorragenden Gedankengang des orthodoxen Theologen zur Entdeckung der „dritten Schönheit“ führt. Vö. O. Clement, *Questions* 195.

die Schönheit des Kreuzes sein, die Schönheit des durch die Qual gereiften Gesichts des Sohnes.

Falls man heute vom Christus seelisch ein Zeugnis ablegen will, kann man *auf die dritte Schönheit* nicht verzichten. Es reicht weder die Schönheit des menschenlosen Gottes, dieses quälende Feuer, da Moses, um Gott „von hinten“ erblicken zu können, sein Gesicht verbergen sollte; noch die Schönheit des gottlosen Menschen, dieser negative Weg, welcher sich schließt, und welcher das Nichtwissen zum Mangel, den Trieb des Absolutums zum Wunsch nach Zerstörung verwandelt; sondern nur die Schönheit von Emmanuel (Gott ist mit uns) und vom Heiligen Geist (wir sind mit Gott).<sup>40</sup>

Falls wir nicht scheitern, kann der Weg der Schönheit – sowohl im Osten als auch im Westen – einen besonderen Reichtum, die Möglichkeit einer erneuernden Kraft in der Katechese bedeuten.<sup>41</sup>

### *3.2. Die kerygmatische Art der Katechese*

3.2.1. Das besonders bedeutende Moment des neuen Direktoriums, die kerygmatische Art der Katechese ist im Direktorium nicht ganz neu. Auch das *Allgemeine Direktorium* von 1997 erwähnt sie – sogar nicht ohne eine Vorgeschichte, sondern zitiert *Evangelii nuntiandi* – als es darüber spricht, dass das Evangelium die erlösungsbringende Botschaft ist, und führt die katechetischen Akzente der Ausfaltung

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 196-197.

<sup>41</sup> Die Bedingung „falls wir nicht scheitern“ weist auf die Gefahr hin, die auf die Schönheit in der Praxis von der Seite der „Ästhetik“ der religiösen Frömmigkeit lauert, die nicht einmal als Geschmacksverirrung bezeichnet werden kann. Kitsch bedeutet sowohl für die Kunst als auch für den Glauben eine Gefahr und es ist unumstritten, dass wir auf diesem Gebiet noch viele Aufgaben haben... Auf dem Gebiet der Literatur, Musik, bildenden Kunst oder Filmkunst wäre ein viel sauberer und wahrer Anspruch nötig, auch in Bezug auf die Katechese wäre die Entdeckung der wahren Schönheit und ihre strahlende Vermittlung notwendig.

des Kerygmas (P.102). Hier wird jedoch das Kerygma erst als ein Fachbegriff für den Kern der Lehre erwähnt; man spürt darin die durchschlagende Annäherung nicht, die das neue Direktorium durchdringt, und was für die Erneuerung der Kirche, für die Sache der neuen Evangelisierung bestimmend ist. Das letztere stellt das Kerygma bereits in der Einleitung in den Mittelpunkt, und will einen Weg zeigen, welcher die erste Verkündigung der evangelischen Botschaft und ihre Vertiefung zusammen sieht. Aufgrund Evangelii Gaudium erklärt es die enge Beziehung zwischen der Katechese und dem Kerygma und stellt fest, dass das Kerygma nicht nur zeitlich, sondern auch qualitativ die erste Verkündigung ist.

Wenn diese Verkündigung die „erste“ genannt wird, dann nicht, weil sie am Anfang steht und dann vergessen oder durch andere Inhalte, die sie übertreffen, ersetzt wird. Sie ist die „erste“ im qualitativen Sinn, denn sie ist die hauptsächliche Verkündigung, die man immer wieder auf verschiedene Weisen neu hören muss und die man in der einen oder anderen Form im Lauf der Katechese auf allen ihren Etappen und in allen ihren Momenten immer wieder verkünden muss.<sup>42</sup>

Man darf nicht denken, dass das *Kerygma* in der Katechese zugunsten einer angeblich „solideren“ Bildung aufgegeben werden kann.

Es gibt nichts Solideres, nichts Tieferes, nichts Sichereres, nichts Dichteres und nichts Weiseres als diese Verkündigung. Die ganze christliche Bildung ist in erster Linie Vertiefung des Kerygmas, das immer mehr und besser assimiliert wird, das nie aufhört, das katechetische Wirken zu erhellen, und das hilft, jedes Thema, das in der Katechese entfaltet wird, angemessen zu begreifen. Diese Verkündigung entspricht dem Verlangen nach dem Unendlichen, das es in jedem menschlichen Herzen gibt.<sup>43</sup>

42 Evangelii Gaudium 164; Katechetisches Direktorium, Einleitung.

43 Evangelii Gaudium 165; Katechetisches Direktorium, Einleitung.

Die kerygmatische Katechese ist eine Sichtweise, deren Inhalt das Kerygma ist, die Botschaft, die in der Person Jesu Christi erscheint, und ihr Ziel ist die Erfahrung des im Kerygma verkündeten Gottes – eines näheren, mit uns anwesenden Gottes –, und aus diesem Grund eine Einladung zur Bekehrung. Die kerygmatische Katechese ist keine abstrakte Theorie, sondern ein existentieller Prozess, die Vermittlung der befreienden Erfahrung, die im Sinne „die Wahrheit macht frei“ glücklich macht. Die kerygmatische Katechese ist kurz und lakonisch, erfreulich und aktuell, die Verkündigung des Evangeliums, welches uns „hier und jetzt“ anspricht, welches mit der Sicherheit lautet, dass ich „betroffen“ bin, welches mit einer persönlichen Bezeugung verstärkt ist und welches uns verpflichtet – mit der Überzeugung, dass das Christentum keine Religion der Vergangenheit ist, sondern das Ereignis der Gegenwart. Laut der Richtungslinie des Direktoriums soll die Katechese der Kirche diesen Weg gehen.<sup>44</sup> Die Wörter von Papst Franziskus verstärken diese primäre, vor allem stehende Betonung immer wieder.<sup>45</sup>

44 Als der Erzbischof Fisichella darüber sprach, dass man auf eine Gesellschaft reagieren soll, in der der Glaube von den Traditionen nicht mehr weitergegeben wird, betonte er, was für eine traurige, sogar schmerzhaft Erfahrung es ist, dass die Kraft des Kerygmas auch aus dem Leben vieler getaufter Menschen fehlt. Er sagte das Folgende: „Man muss es annehmen, dass viele Getaufte nie eine christliche Einweihung bekamen, dass sie von Kerygma nicht ermutigt wurden, dass sie das persönliche Treffen mit Christus nie erreichten, und dass sie keinen Teil an der Unterstützung und Begleitung von christlichen Gemeinschaften hatten.“

45 Letztes Mal am 17. September 2021, als Papst Franziskus die Rolle von Katechetinnen und Katecheten bei der Glaubensweitergabe betont und Tipps für die Neuevangelisierung gegeben hat. Diesen Freitag empfing er im Vatikan Vertreter der Kommissionen, die bei den Bischofskonferenzen in Europa für die Katechese zuständig sind. „Wir müssen immer wieder auf das Herz der Katechese verweisen: Der auferstandene Jesus Christus liebt dich und er wird dich nie alleine lassen! Diese erste Verkündigung dürfen wir nie müde werden, zu verkünden.“ <https://www.vaticannews.va/de/papst/news/2021-09/papst-franziskus-katechese-europa-bischofskonferenz-glaube.html>, heruntergeladen am 19. September 2021.

Dass die kerygmatische Art der Katechese in den Mittelpunkt gestellt wird, bedeutet aber auf keinen Fall, dass die Mystagogie in den Hintergrund gerät. Hier kann es nicht weiter ausgeführt werden, aber das Direktorium erwähnt öfter, dass diese zwei Momente der Katechese Hand in Hand gehen und einander ergänzen. Man kann das Gleiche auch über die katechumenale Art der Katechese sagen. Das Direktorium spricht also ausgezeichnet über das Kerygma, aber vermutet als Grundprinzip, dass die kerygmatische, mystagogische, katechumenale Art der Katechese Begriffe sind, die voneinander nicht getrennt werden können, ihre Zusammengehörigkeit ist eine Evidenz.

3.2.2. Es steht außer Frage, dass diese Sichtweise theoretisch auch von der Theologie der katholischen Ostkirche begründet wird – die Einheit ist vielleicht sogar von der Seite der Theologie der katholischen Ostkirche noch selbstverständlicher; allerdings spiegelt unsere katechetische Praxis, unsere Katechese diese Sichtweise auch nicht wirklich wider. Aus diesem Grund hat dieses schwerwiegende Moment des Direktoriums eine ernsthafte Lehre für die Katechese der katholischen Ostkirchen. Unsere Kirche ist die Kirche von Ostern, die Freude des Auferstehens durchdringt unsere Kirche. Die Texte der Vespren am Samstag (am Vorabend, bei der Auferstehung) sind Texte, die all die Wahrhaftigkeit von Ostern besingen, durch die Troparien und Kontakien von Oktoékhos erleben wir jeden Sonntag als Ostern. Die Feier unserer Heiligen Liturgie, unserer Eucharistie ist das wunderschön strahlende, besondere Ereignis des persönlichen Treffens mit dem Auferstandenen. Wir ergeben uns vor dem Kreuz, indem wir die Auferstehung Christi besingen und loben.<sup>46</sup> Wir spüren jedoch, dass unsere Katechese nicht tief genug von

46 „Vor deinem Kreuz fallen wir nieder, o Christus, und deine heilige Auferstehung besingen und verherrlichen wir...“; „Wir fallen, Herrscher, vor deinem Kreuz nieder, und beloben deine heilige Auferstehung...“ (*Auszug aus dem Brevier und aus der Heiligen Liturgie*).

dieser alles übertreffenden Freude durchdrungen ist, so dass unsere Glaubensvermittlung die Dynamik, die lebensspendende Gewissheit von Ostern, die seligmachende, wahrhaft lebensgestaltende Kraft des Kerygmas nicht ausreichend erfasst.

Jüngstgabesvielversprechende Versuche, eine Katechese zu schaffen, die über eine mystagogische Art verfügt und liturgisch begründet ist. Was unserer Kirche auf diesem Gebiet eine Schwierigkeit bedeutet, ist, dass die liturgische Katechese bei vielen Religionsschülern auf taube Ohren stößt, da sie keine liturgische Erfahrung haben. Eine der ernsthaftesten Herausforderungen der Zukunft ist, die liturgische Gemeinschaft in unseren Kirchen auf eine Art zu erleben, dass die die heutigen und zukünftigen Generationen anzieht. Nur auf diese Weise kann die katechetische Praxis, die die Gesinnung von Schmemmann strahlt, eine Chance haben, verwirklicht zu werden, so dass der Glaube, welcher von der liturgischen Feierlichkeit inspiriert ist, weitergegeben wird und ein mystagogischer Vertiefungsprozess abläuft.

Die katechumenale Art ist in unser kirchliches Jahr eingeschrieben, besonders in unsere Feierlichkeit während der Fasten- und Osterzeit. Es ist unverständlich, dass wir die Möglichkeit trotzdem nicht wahrnehmen und wie die Partisanen, in jeder Kirchengemeinschaft in einer anderen Form und mit unterschiedlichen anspruchsvollen Methoden meistens ad hoc unsere erwachsenen Täuflinge auf die Aufnahme der einweihenden Sakramente vorbereiten. Es ist gewiss, dass auch die katholischen Ostkirchen aufgrund *OICA* die eigene Ordnung des Katechumenats schaffen sollen.<sup>47</sup> Falls es verwirklicht

47 Die Liturgische Instruktion gibt zwar keinen konkreten Vorschlag, aber weist auf dem Weg des Katechumenats hin, in der man das Folgende lesen kann: „Da die Danksagung aufgrund ihrer Natur zum Weg der Bekehrung gehört, wäre es wünschenswert die frühere Praxis wiederherzustellen, die die Vorbereitung und die tatsächliche Aufnahme der Taufe auch zeitlich voneinander trennt.“  
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werden könnte, könnten die kerygmatischen und mystagogischen Momente der oben erwähnten einheitlichen Sichtweise ihren Platz leichter finden und im alt-neuen seelensorglichen und katechetischen System belebt werden.<sup>48</sup>

Ich wünsche, dass die Sichtweise des Direktoriums den katholischen Ostkirchen bei der Neuentdeckung und Verwirklichung ihrer vorhandenen Gegebenheit, der Einheit der kerygmatischen, mystagogischen und katechumenalen Momente der Katechese hilft!

*der liturgischen Vorschriften des Gesetzbuches der Kanonen der katholischen Ostkirchen*, Budapest 2010, 53. Beachtenswerte Studien zur byzantinischen Tradition des Katechumenats und zu seiner Erneuerung: Atanáz Orosz, *Megfontolandó tapasztalatok a katekumenátus patrisztikus görög gyakorlatából* (Zu überlegende Erfahrungen aus der patristischen griechischen Praxis des Katechumenats) in László Obbágy – Miklós Verdes, *Katekumenátus tegnap – ma – holnap, Máriapócsi Teológiai Napok 2012* (Katechumenat gestern – heute – morgen, Theologische Tage in Máriapócs 2012), Szent Atanáz Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, Nyíregyháza 2013, 20-33.; János Nyirán, *A katekumenátus liturgiátörténeti aspektusai a bizánci hagyományban* (Die liturgiegeschichtlichen Aspekte des Katechumenats in der byzantinischen Tradition), in L. Obbágy – M. Verdes, *Katekumenátus tegnap – ma – holnap*, 57-75; András Dobos, *A katekumenátus szertartásai a bizánci hagyományban* (Die Liturgien des Katechumenats in der byzantinischen Tradition), in L. Obbágy – M. Verdes, *Katekumenátus tegnap – ma – holnap*, 76-97.

- 48 Erzbischof György Udvardy, der Vorsitzende des Gremiums für Landeskatechese des Ungarischen Katholischen Bischofsrats, der regelmäßig Katechumenat-Konferenzen organisiert und der bei der Einführung und Praxis des Katechumenats durch eine besonders anspruchsvolle und qualitative Ausbildung hilft, schreibt zum Thema über die Griechisch-Katholiken: „Die griechisch-katholische Kirche bewahrt und deckt durch ihre Liturgie die Erfahrung der Einweihung unserer Kirche sowohl für Forscher, als auch für Priester und die Glaubensgemeinschaft auf. Es ist eine reiche Quelle, aus der man für die seelensorgliche Planung und für den Dienst der neuen Evangelisierung schöpfen kann.“ Brief von György Udvardy an die Teilnehmer: L. Obbágy – M. Verdes, *Katekumenátus tegnap – ma – holnap*, 9.

### *3.3. Einige praktischen Fragen des neuen Direktoriums*

Die katholischen Ostkirchen leben, bewegen sich und unterrichten Religion meistens in der gleichen säkularisierten Umgebung, wie die Katholiken mit lateinischem Ritus. Sie brauchen die Erfahrung der Westkirche in der weisen, aber auch praktischen Überlegung der praktischen Seite der Katechese. Die folgenden Themen sind die Ergebnisse von subjektiven – aber eher zu erweiternden als einzuschränkenden – Distinktionen.<sup>49</sup>

3.3.1. Das Direktorium hebt den ökumenischen Kontext der Katechese öfter hervor und führt ihn in den Punkten zwischen 343-353 auch detailliert aus. Es ist zwar kein neuer Aspekt (deswegen wird hier auf den Inhalt nicht eingegangen), es ist jedoch für die Ostkatholiken ein zu vertiefender Aspekt. Man begegnet in Situationen der ungarischen Katechese – in den Schulen, im Kontext des obligatorisch wählbaren konfessionellen Religions- und Moralunterrichts – während der täglichen Zusammenarbeit zumeist protestantischen Katecheten. In vielen Orten sind die erfreulichen Zeichen der praktischen Zusammenarbeit (Austausch der katechetischen Hilfsmaterialien, Hilfe für einander in Notfällen usw.), die spirituelle und gemeinschaftliche Annäherung zu finden. Die Katecheten der katholischen Ostkirche

49 Man könnte lange auch über weitere wichtige Themen des Direktoriums sprechen, da all diese indirekt auch die Ostkatholiken betreffen. Es ist z.B. ein gutes Gefühl, über die Vorstellung der Dimensionen des Glaubens, die vielseitige Annäherungsweisen an unseren Glauben zu lesen – zu dem wir uns bekennen (Theologie), den wir feiern (Liturgie), für den wir leben (Liebe), den wir beten (Spiritualität). Für die Nachfolger Jesu ist auch das Bild einer Kirche attraktiv, welche einlädt, empfängt und familiär ist. Im Direktorium erscheinen offensichtlich auch aktuelle Themen wie Bioethik, die Integrität der Person, das ökologische Engagement, das soziale und gesellschaftliche Engagement, die Arbeitswelt, die Menschenrechte, die Migration, die kulturelle Vielfalt usw. Im Rahmen dieser Studie können all diese Themen jedoch nicht ausgeführt werden.

müssen sich jedoch – meiner Ansicht nach – einen anderen Aspekt sehr genau bewusst machen.

Ihre Situation ist nämlich in Bezug auf den Dialog zwischen den Katholiken und Orthodoxen speziell, auch wenn die Gegensätze zwischen den Griechisch-Katholiken und Orthodoxen in Ungarn unmittelbar nicht spürbar sind (Gott sei Dank), die in den vom Kommunismus befreiten Nachbarländern (meistens in der Ukraine und in Rumänien) entstanden. Jedes Mal, wenn wir über die östlichen theologischen Zusammenhänge unserer Katechese nachdenken, jedes Mal, wenn wir uns mit Themen unserer liturgischen Katechese mit jubelnden Herzen auseinandersetzen, sollen wir es mit einer stillen Demut tun, aber mit der glücklichen Freude und dem Selbstbewusstsein, dass es ein fantastisches Geschenk ist, griechisch-katholisch zu sein, da wir als Mitglied der Katholischen Kirche auch am ganzen Reichtum der Ostkirche teilhaben. Diese Lebenssituation bedeutet jedoch auch Schwierigkeiten. Gespannt zwischen den großen Kirchen von Ost und West müssen wir unsere ostkatholische Identität erleben, und zwar so, dass wir die Treue zu unseren östlichen Werten und die Treue zur katholischen Kirche gleichzeitig beweisen: wir sind kein Irrtum der Geschichte.<sup>50</sup> Die katholischen Ostkirchen sind für dieses Gespanntsein dankbar und ihr verletztes Herz pocht für die Einheit.<sup>51</sup> Wir müssen uns auf unserem von der Vorsehung

50 Mit der Änderung der Beurteilung der Unionen kamen auch solche extremen Meinungen in den letzten Jahrzehnten ans Tageslicht. Heute wird die Existenzberechtigung der griechisch-katholischen Kirchen – nach der entschlossenen Stellungnahme der Katholischen Kirche – von den Orthodoxen nicht mehr in Frage gestellt, aber regionale Spannungen sind bis heute in vielen Orten vorhanden.

51 Das Gleichnis „Gespanntsein zwischen Ost und West“ wurde im Rahmen des jährlichen Treffens der Bischöfe der katholischen Ostkirchen 2019 zum Ausdruck gebracht, wo das Thema *Die ökumenische Mission der ostkatholischen Kirchen Europas heute* war. „Die Ostkirchen, erinnert der Papst daran, sind Verwahrer einer besonderen Mission auf dem ökumenischen Weg.“ <https://>

bestimmten Platz mit Demut behaupten – mit dem Bewusstsein, dass wir zwar klein sind, unsere Existenz ist jedoch gerechtfertigt – und den Weg der Annäherung zwischen den Katholiken und Orthodoxen nach unserem Vermögen ebnen. Das ist auch der persönliche Beruf eines griechisch-katholischen Katecheten.

3.3.2. Ich halte die Richtungslinien des Direktoriums bezüglich der katholischen Schulen auf jeden Fall für erwähnenswert. Eine besondere Aufgabe der katholischen Schule ist es, einen Lebensraum zu schaffen, in dem der Geist der Freiheit und der Liebe des Evangeliums lebt, und ihre Lehrgemeinschaft, die christlichen Werte vertritt, jede Bildung mit der Botschaft des Seelenheils in Einklang bringt. Das Dokument betont, dass die katholischen Schulen von einem Institut zu einer Gemeinschaft werden sollen. Mit der Dimension der Gemeinschaft ist jedoch „nicht allein eine soziologische, sondern vor allem auch eine theologische Kategorie gemeint“. Das ist – meines Erachtens – eine bedeutende Distinktion, die die gemeinschaftliche Dimension der katholischen Schule in den Rahmen der Kirchenlehre *communio* setzt und so das Aderungsmuster des Milieus der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit auf ihr Gesicht zeichnet.<sup>52</sup>

[www.ccee.eu/la-missione-ecumenica-delle-chiese-orientali-cattoliche-deuropa-oggi/](http://www.ccee.eu/la-missione-ecumenica-delle-chiese-orientali-cattoliche-deuropa-oggi/) és <https://www.vaticannews.va/hu/egyhazi/news/2019-09/gorogkatolikus-puspok-europa-okumene-parbeszed-nehezseg-kereszt.html>, heruntergeladen am 13. September 2021. Das Treffen wurde von Angelo Bagnasco und Sviatoslav Shevchuk begrüßt. Unter den Vortragenden waren Leonardo Sandri, Kurt Koch, Pietro Parolin, Ivan Dacko, Frans Bouwen, Thomas Pott, Markus Graulich und Hyacinthe Destivelle. Die Vorträge des Treffens im Buch *Pontificio Consiglio per la Promozione dell'Unità dei Cristiani* (curavit): *La missione ecumenica delle chiese orientali cattoliche d'Europa oggi, atti dell'incontro die vescovi orientali cattolici in Europa*, Roma 12-14 settembre 2019, Vatikanstadt, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2021.

<sup>52</sup> Im Rahmen dieser Studie kann nicht ausgeführt werden, aber es reicht, wenn wir an die Ikone der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit – an ihre theologische

Gott sei Dank, dass sich in der Schulvernetzung der Ungarischen Griechisch-Katholischen Kirche eine erfreuliche Entwicklung zeigt. Wir empfehlen unseren Schulungsleitern, unseren Pädagogen die Sichtweise des Direktoriums vertrauensvoll und ehrlich und ermutigen sie zu ihrer theoretischen Überlegung und praktischen Umsetzung.

3.3.3. Die unersetzliche Rolle der Familien in der Katechese findet auch in früheren katechetischen Dokumenten Erwähnung. Etwas Neues bringt das neue Direktorium jedoch damit, dass es – aufgrund der Ermutigung von *Amoris laetitia* – die Idee der Vorbereitung der katechumenalen Art der Eheschließung formuliert und ihre Umsetzung auch praktisch empfiehlt. Es bietet statt der wenigen Ehevorbereitungen und Ehegespräche eine Art Einweihungsmodell an, mit dem der Beruf zur Ehe vertieft werden und ein stabileres Familienleben beginnen kann. In der mystagogischen Fortsetzung versucht es sogar auch nach der Eheschließung zu zeigen, wozu die Ehepartner dank des gefeierten Sakraments werden können und wie sie sich das bekommene Geschenk und die Mission bewusst machen können.<sup>53</sup>

Da der Großteil der Priester verheiratet sind, ist dieser familiäre Lebenszustand eine Gegebenheit, dank deren diese ausgezeichnete Vorstellung des Direktoriums in den katholischen Ostkirchen ein heimischer Gedanke werden kann. Der Plan der katechumenalen Vorbereitung der Eheschließung kann der Vorbereitung und Begleitung der Ehen auch bei uns einen Rahmen geben, der selbstverständlich ist und der ein Beispiel und Erfahrung gewährleisten kann.<sup>54</sup>

Tiefe, spirituelle Ausstrahlung und an ihren nicht weniger bedeutenden seelensorglichen Aspekt – denken, um uns den vertikalen und horizontalen Bezug der Gemeinschaftssichtweise, die im Direktorium steht, mit einigen wichtigen Aspekten der östlichen Theologie zu verstärken.

<sup>53</sup> Direktorium für die Catechese, 232.

<sup>54</sup> Meiner Meinung nach lohnt es sich, für dieses Modell auch eine institutionalisierte Umgebung zu schaffen. Wenn das „griechisch-katholische

3.3.4. Das Direktorium ermutigt zur Kreativität. Diese Ermutigung war, wenn man ehrlich sein will, nicht immer typisch für den Ton der Kirche, dieser Begriff galt sogar hunderte Jahre lang – zuerst unbekannt dann später – als verdächtig. Dieser ermutigende Ton ist erfreulich, da dahinter das Vertrauen zu den Ortskirchen, Katecheten und Christgläubigern spürbar ist. Das Direktorium erwähnt die Kreativität auch in Bezug auf die Katechese mit Jugendlichen aber auch in Bezug auf die Herausforderungen des kulturellen Milieus; es geht auch um die missionarische Kreativität, methodologische Kreativität und auch um die kreative Seelensorge. Die Kreativität war offensichtlich auch bisher sowohl im Alltag der Christen, die sich den Werten des Evangeliums verpflichtet sind, als auch in den seelsorglichen und katechetischen Tätigkeiten der Kirche vorhanden; es ist trotzdem ein gutes Gefühl, in einem offiziellen Dokument, welches Richtungslinien verankert und gegebenenfalls Regelungen begründet, diese Ermutigung zu finden.<sup>55</sup>

Die Ostkirchen – besonders wegen ihrer Liturgie – sind in der Tradition tief verankert. Der Reichtum ihrer Vergangenheit ist ein

OICA“ zur Welt kommt, könnte es in einem Kapitel die Rahmen für die Vorbereitung katechumenaler Art der Eheschließung formulieren.

<sup>55</sup> Der Begriff selbst weist auf den Gedanken des emeritierten Papstes Benedikt XVI. hin, der mehrmals bezüglich der zukünftigen (sogar der gegenwärtigen) Kirche darüber sprach, dass die christlichen Gemeinden kreative Minderheiten sind, die in der Gesellschaft zwar eine leuchtende Rolle haben, jedoch nicht mehr zur Mehrheit gehören. Papst Benedikt macht sich Gedanken – in der Tradition des Heiligen Basilius des Großen und in Bezug auf den Propheten Amos den Feigenzüchter – über das Verhältnis des Christentums zur digitalen Kultur und gibt eine wirklich kreative Antwort: <https://pecsiegyhazmegye.hu/aktualis/vadfuge>, heruntergeladen am 15. November 2020. Zum Thema gibt die Studie von Samuel Gregg einen hervorragenden Überblick, dessen Zusammenfassung auf der Webseite *Magyar Kurír*, in der Rubrik *Kitekintő* zu finden ist: <https://www.magyarkurir.hu/hirek/xvi-benedek-kreativ-kisebbsze-es-nyugati-civilizacio-atmentese>. Heruntergeladen am 15. November 2020.

Wert, den aufzugeben nicht nur Torheit, sondern geradezu eine Sünde wäre.<sup>56</sup> Ohne eine kreative seelsorgliche und katechetische Denkweise erstarrt der Reichtum der Tradition jedoch zu einer musealen Sehenswürdigkeit. Aus diesem Grund sind die ermutigenden Zeilen des Direktoriums auch für uns wichtig und können in der Suche nach zeitgemäßen Wegen der Weitergabe, Vermittlung, Katechese motivierend wirken. Wir versuchen, uns die motivierende Ermutigung zur leidenschaftlichen und kreativen Glaubensweitergabe von Papst Franziskus anzueignen, die er gerade bezüglich der Evangelisierung von Kyrill und Method formulierte, die die großen Heiligen der Ostkirche sind und die immer neue Wege suchten: „Seid kreativ, sucht das neue Alphabet des Glaubens!“<sup>57</sup>

56 Die letzte Verstärkung dieses Gedankens ist Teil der Rede von Papst Franziskus vom 12. September 2021, die er in Budapest an die ungarischen Bischöfe richtete, in der er – mit dem Hinweis auf die Anwesenheit der griechisch-katholischen Oberhirten – die Aufmerksamkeit auf die zu bewahrende, reiche Tradition der Ostkatholiken lenkte: „Ich sehe, dass manche von Ihnen besondere historische, liturgische Besonderheiten haben [...] eine Annäherung an Ihre Liturgie, Geschichte, ohne sie zu berauben, zu latinisieren. Nicht, ich bitte Euch, tut es nicht!“ In: <https://www.magyarokurir.hu/hirek/a-szentatya-talalkozoja-magyar-puspokokkel>, heruntergeladen am 14. September 2021.

57 Es lohnt sich, aus der Rede von Papst Franziskus in Preßburg länger zu zitieren, in der er zu den Priestern, Mönchen und Katecheten sprach: „Die glänzenden Gestalten von Heiligen Kyrill und Method lehren uns, dass die Evangelisierung nie die bloße Wiederholung der Vergangenheit ist. Die Freude des Evangeliums ist immer Christus, aber die Methoden, wie die Freudenbotschaft sich Bahn bricht, sind in der Zeit und Geschichte unterschiedlich [...] Kyrill und Method bereisten diesen Teil des europäischen Kontinents und erfanden aus Leidenschaft für die Verkündigung des Evangeliums ein neues Alphabet, um die Bibel, die liturgischen Texte und die christliche Lehre übersetzen zu können. So wurden sie zu Aposteln der Inkulturation des Glaubens. Sie erfanden neue Sprachen, um das Evangelium weitergeben zu können, sie waren kreativ bei der Übersetzung der christlichen Botschaft und sie standen zur Geschichte der von ihnen bekannten Völkern, dass sie ihre Sprachen sprachen und ihre Kultur zur eigen machten. [...] Ist es nicht die dringendste Aufgabe der Kirche mit den

### *Schlussgedanken*

Das neue Direktorium „schmeckt wie das Brot, wie die Heimat“ – habe ich in einem Komment gelesen. Solange es als Gattung nicht das sein kann, wäre es gut, wenn auch wir, Ostkatholiken inhaltlich genau das gleiche Gefühl hätten.

Völkern von Europa: ein neues „Alphabet“ zu finden für die Verkündigung des Glaubens? Im Hintergrund haben wir eine reiche christliche Tradition, aber das ist für viele Menschen bloß eine Erinnerung an eine Vergangenheit, die sie nicht mehr sprechen, und die ihr Leben nicht mehr führt. Den Verlust des Gottgefühls und der Freude des Glaubens sehend hat es keinen Sinn, uns zu beschweren und uns in einen abwehrenden Katholizismus einzuhüllen oder die böse Welt anzuklagen, nein, es wird die Kreativität des Evangeliums gebraucht.“ <https://www.magyarKurir.hu/hirek/ferenc-papa-papokhoz-puspokokhoz-pozsonyban-legyetek-kreativak-keresetek-hit-uj-abecejjet>. Heruntergeladen am 14. September 2021. <https://www.vaticannews.va/de/vatikan/news/2021-09/papst-franziskus-reise-slowakei-editorial-tornielli-glaube.html> heruntergeladen am 14. September 2021. Als Ermutigung zur kreativen Weitergabe der Tradition stellte Papst Franziskus die neuen Wege suchende Evangelisierung von Kyrill und Method als Beispiel auch für die Katecheten am 17. September 2021, in seiner Rede beim Treffen des katechetischen Gremiums der Europäischen Bischofskonferenzen in Rom: „Die großen Evangelisierer, wie Kyrill und Method... waren kreativ. Sie hatten die Kreativität des Heiligen Geistes. So haben sie neue Wege eröffnet, neue Ausdrucksweisen, neue «Alphabete» gefunden, um das Evangelium zu verkünden.“ Über das Verhältnis zwischen Tradition und Katechese sagte er das Folgende: „Die große christliche Tradition des Kontinents darf nicht zu einer historischen Reliquie werden, sonst ist sie keine Tradition mehr. Entweder lebt die Tradition oder nicht! Die Katechese ist Tradition, wie auch das lateinische Wort *tradere* (also übergeben) darauf hinweist, aber *eine lebendige Tradition flattert von Herzen zu Herzen, von Vernunft zu Vernunft, von Leben zu Leben*. Zusammenfassend kann man sagen, das die Katechese mit der Kraft des Heiligen Geistes leidenschaftlich und kreativ sein soll.“ <https://www.magyarKurir.hu/hirek/ferenc-papa-kateketakhoz-hitoktat-as-legyen-szenvedelyes-es-kreativ-szentlelek-erejevel>. Heruntergeladen am 19. September 2021; <https://www.vaticannews.va/de/papst/news/2021-09/papst-franziskus-katechese-europa-bischofskonferenz-glaube.html>. Heruntergeladen am 19. September 2021.

Ich hoffe darauf, dass dieses schöne Dokument aus dem Vatikan 2021 als Weihnachtsgeschenk unter dem Weihnachtsbaum vieler ungarischen Katecheten zu finden sein wird und dass es ein schönes Geschenk für sie wird. Nachdem das Geschenkband entfernt wird, kann die Fortsetzung kommen, da es sowohl für die Ortskirchen als auch für die Ostkirchen eine erfreuliche Pflicht ist, das eigene Direktorium zu verfassen. Das ist, worauf wir warten und was wir erwarten, mit dem vollen Vertrauen in der Arbeit des Heiligen Geistes.

## **Abstract**

Ancient heritage, modern mediation. The Guidelines for the Eastern Churches in the New Catechetical Directorate. The publication of the new catechetical directorate is a joyous event for the whole Catholic Church. In our study, the elements of the directorate regarding the Eastern Catholic Churches will be examined.

The new catechetical directorate addresses the believers of the Eastern Catholic Churches, identifies their esteemed values, sets missions and appoints goals for them. It cites literally the document of the II. Vatican Council entitled *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, but also refers to the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches and to the Liturgical Instruction. The directorate affirms that it is the right and the duty of the believers of the Eastern Churches to preserve, get acquainted with, and live the treasures of their rite. It draws attention to the importance of preserving identity and encourages the Eastern Churches to preserve and pass on faith within their own ecclesiastical traditions. The specific connections of the Bible and the liturgy, the traditions of the given church, the values of patristics, hagiography and iconography should be emphasized in their catechesis. The directorate also points out the importance and mystagogical significance of liturgical feasts. It encourages the catechists to make the divine services familiar, to acquire the knowledge regarding the rite, and to the special path of liturgical catechesis.

The passages dealing with the Eastern Churches are essential elements of the directory. On the one hand, because members of the Eastern Churches are addressed by the responsible organizations of the Vatican as well as the vision of a “church breathing with two lungs” appears at the level of catechesis. On the other hand, because it is by no means a kind of courtesy, good manners or a gesture towards the Eastern rites. Instead, it is a recognition and acknowledgement of the fact that the known path of catechesis in the Eastern Churches can also provide significant lessons for the Western Church in its search

for a catechetical path. The practice of the Eastern Churches can, in many respects, provide a pattern and energy for the implementation of the guidelines suggested in the directorate, for the unified vision and practical application of the kerygmatic, mystagogical and catechumenal nature of catechesis.

Getting acquainted with this honourable catechetical approach of the Eastern Churches in the directorate will certainly enrich the vision of the Western Church as well. At the same time, it draws the attention of the members of the Eastern Churches to the important, indispensably urgent duty of the modern mediation of their own heritage, and – instead of adopting foreign practices that often seem simpler and more practical and are considered modern – to the exciting task of creative actualization and re-reading of the tradition.

# I sacrifici dell'assimilazione a Dio secondo l'esegesi di Clemente di Alessandria: aspetti antropologici<sup>1</sup>

Miklós GYURKOVICS

1. Introduzione; 2. L'assimilazione a Dio nello specchio del martire; 3. La Sacra Scrittura come lo strumento della assimilazione a Dio; 4. Assimilazione al Logos divino; 5. I sacrifici dell'assimilazione a Dio; 6. Il cuore del teologo che assimila al cuore di Cristo; 7. Conclusione – Un tema attuale per tutti che con i sacrifici coltivano la scienza della teologia

## 1. Introduzione

Uno fra i temi largamente studiati della teologia di Clemente di Alessandria è il tema della “deificazione” che, se prestiamo attenzione alla logica teologica di Clemente, e se vogliamo essere più precisi, sarebbe preferibile considerare come quell'insegnamento relativo alla “assimilazione” (ἐξομοίωσις) a Dio.<sup>2</sup> Il testo principale del presente

1 La ricerca che è presentata in questa sede è stata supportata dal Fondo Nazionale del Governo Ungherese: “National Research, Development and Innovation Office”, codice del progetto: NKFIH OTKA K 138280. L'autore desidera esprimere la sua gratitudine nei confronti del supporto fornito.

2 I passi più eloquenti relativi al tema dell'assimilazione a Dio in Clemente sono: *Strom.* I,11,52,3; II,18,80,5-81,1; II,22,131,1-136,6; gli altri saranno trattati nel corso del presente studio. A proposito del tema della deificazione e dell'assimilazione divina in Clemente cf.: George W. Butterworth, “The Deification of Man in Clement of Alexandria”, in *The Journal of Theological Studies* 17 (1915), 157-169; Cuthbert Lattey, “The Deification of Man in Clement of Alexandria: Some Further Notes”, in *The Journal of Theological Studies* 17 (1916), 257-262; Hubert Merki, *Omoiosis Theoi: Von der platonischen Angliederung an Gott zur Gottähnlichkeit bei Gregor von Nyssa*, Paradosis 7, Paulusverlag, Freiburg in der

studio sarà il brano di *Strom.* IV,14,95,1-18,117,<sup>3</sup> una argomentazione teologica che sintetizza in un breve testo i più importanti e i più rappresentativi motivi dottrinali di Clemente sul tema della assimilazione a Dio.<sup>4</sup> Nella edizione italiana curata da Giovanni

Schweiz 1952; Salvatore R. C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria. A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1971, 106-117; 163-189; Peter Karavites, *Evil, Freedom, and the Road to Perfection in Clement of Alexandria*, *Vigiliae Christianae Supplements* 43, Brill, Leiden 1999, 139-174; John Behr, *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement*, Oxford Early Christian Studies, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2000, 185-207; Arkadi Choufrine, *Gnosis, Theophany, Theosis. Studies in Clement of Alexandria's Appropriation of His Background*, Peter Lang, New York – Oxford 2002; Eric Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005, 226-251; Norman Russell, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2006, 121-140; Piotr Ashwin-Siejkowski, *Clement of Alexandria. A Project of Christian Perfection*, T&T Clark, London 2008, 79-108, 147-188; Andrew C. Itter, *Esoteric Teaching in the Stromateis of Clement of Alexandria*, Brill, Leiden 2009, 37-51, 176-216; Vladimir Kharlamov, *Clement of Alexandria on Trinitarian and Metaphysical Relationality in the Context of Deification*, in V. Kharlamov (ed.), *Theōsis Deification in Christian Theology*, Vol. 2, Clarke, Cambridge 2012, 83-99; Ilaria Ramelli, *The Christian Doctrine of Apokatastasis: A Critical Assessment from the New Testament to Eriugena*, Brill, Leiden 2013, 119-136; Kathleen Gibbons, “Moses, Statesman, and Philosopher: The Philosophical Background of the Ideal of Assimilating to God and the Methodology of Clement of Alexandria’s *Stromateis* 1”, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 69/2 (2015), 157-185, 171-185; Ead., *The Moral Psychology of Clement of Alexandria. Mosaic Philosophy*, Routledge, London - New York 2017, 49-67; Annewies van den Hoek, «I Said, You Are Gods . . .» *The Significance of Ps. 82 for Some Early Christian Authors*, in Leonard Victor Rutgers (ed.), *The Use of Sacred Books in the Ancient World*, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 22, Peeters, Leuven 1998, 203-219, 213-218.

- 3 GCS 15, Clemens Alexandrinus, Band 2, Otto Stählin – Ludwig Früchtel – Ursula Treu, 4. edizione, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1985 (2011), 290-300; SC 463, Annewies van den Hoek – Claude Mondésert, Cerf, Paris 2001, 214-251.
- 4 SC 463, 214. Cf. Dietmar Wyrwa, *Die christliche Platonaneignung in den Stromateis des Clemens von Alexandrien*, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 53, De Gruyter, Berlin 1983, 173-179.

Pini e da Marco Rizzi, il titolo di questo brano è: La figura del vero “gnostico” e martire come è trattato nelle Scritture.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. *L'assimilazione a Dio nello specchio del martire*

Già nelle righe introduttive del nostro brano, *Strom.* IV,14,95,1, Clemente fa un cenno al concetto di assimilazione a Dio attraverso i riferimenti biblici di Mt 5,44-45 e Lc 6,27-28:

E quale grande bontà! Dice [il Signore]: “Amate i vostri nemici”, “benedite quelli che vi maledicono, pregate per quelli che vi oltraggiano”, e così via; poi aggiunge “perché siate figli del Padre vostro che è nei cieli” (Mt 5,44-45 e Lc 6,27-28), e con ciò allude all'assimilazione a Dio (ἐξομοίωσις).<sup>6</sup>

- 5 Clemente di Alessandria, *Gli Stromati. Note di vera filosofia*, introduzione di Marco Rizzi, traduzione e note di Giovanni Pini, Letture cristiane del primo millennio 40, Paoline, Milano 2006, 437-451. Il procedimento di lavoro della presente ricerca è stato ispirato dal metodo suggerito da Judith Kovacs (1945 – 2020), che possiamo identificare come il metodo della riscoperta dell'esegesi biblica nella letteratura patristica. Le opere decisive per la presente ricerca sono le seguenti: Judith L. Kovacs, *Concealment and Gnostic Exegesis: Clement of Alexandria's Interpretation of the Tabernacle*, in *Studia Patristica* 31, Peeters, Leuven 1997, 414-437; Ead., “Divine Pedagogy and the Gnostic Teacher According to Clement of Alexandria”, in *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 9 (2001), 3-25; Ead., *Clement of Alexandria and Valentinian Exegesis in the Excerpts from Theodotus*, in *Studia Patristica* 43, Peeters, Leuven 2006, 187-200; Ead., *Reading the “Divinely Inspired” Paul: Clement of Alexandria in Conversation with “Heterodox” Christians, Simple Believers, and Greek Philosophers*, in Veronika Černušková, Judith L. Kovacs and Jana Plátová (eds.), *Clement's Biblical Exegesis. Proceedings of the Second Colloquium on Clement of Alexandria (Olomouc, May 29–31, 2014)*, Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 139, Brill, Leiden 2017, 326-343; Ead., *Participation in the Cross of Christ: Pauline Motifs in the Excerpts from Theodotus*, in Einar Thomassen – Christoph Marksches (eds.), *Valentinianism: New Studies*, Series: Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 96, Brill, Leiden 2019, 457-477.
- 6 Traduzione italiana di Giovanni Pini – Marco Rizzi, 437; GCS 15, Band 2, 290; SC 463, 214.

Come è stato già sottolineato, la nozione di “assimilazione” presente in Clemente è in armonia con i concetti ben conosciuti nell’ambiente dei filosofi del II secolo d.C.; come Platone, anche Clemente ha sostenuto che il progetto dell’assimilazione a Dio è un progetto etico, è anzi il progresso finale dei giusti.<sup>7</sup> Anche se Clemente conosce il famoso concetto platonico della *fuga* dal cosmo materiale, egli non dimentica di sottolineare l’aspetto pratico-etico della *theosis* dell’uomo giusto, una idea che si attesta anche in Platone.<sup>8</sup> La giustizia dell’uomo si manifesta soprattutto in una relazione armoniosa compiuta nella società, secondo i precetti rivelati da Cristo stesso, e a questo proposito parliamo del precetto dell’amore dei nemici (Mt 5,44-45), che evidentemente non si realizza con la *fuga*. Clemente concorda con Platone sul fatto che le azioni dei giusti sono alimentate dagli esempi divini e possono essere contemplate con il purificato occhio dell’anima,<sup>9</sup> e nello stesso tempo chiarisce che lo scopo finale delle azioni giuste consiste nell’oltrepassare il cosmo materiale per raggiungere lo stato beato della divinità trascendente.<sup>10</sup> Il processo di

7 Annewies van den Hoek, “Clement of Alexandria on Martyrdom”, in *Studia Patristica Vol. XXVI*, Peeters, Leuven 1993, 324-341; P. Ashwin-Siejkowski, *Clement of Alexandria. A Project of Christian Perfection*, 147-187; Matyáš Havrda, “Two Projects of Christian Ethics: Clement, *Paed.* I 1 and *Strom.* II 2, 4-6”, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 73/2 (2019), 121-137.

8 Platone, *Theaet.* 176a-c.

9 Cf. Platone, *Resp.* VI 500c-d; VII 533d; *Symp.* 219a; *Tim.* 45b-c; 90d; *Gorg.* 459d-460c; *Phaedr.* 249c; 275c-278a. Inoltre, vale la pena rileggere il testo di Alcinoos, *Epitome della dottrina di Platone* (= *Did.*) XVIII; XXIV-XXV; Plotino, *Enneadi* (= *Enn.*) I,1,10,1-15; III,7,11,15-35; IV,7 (2),1-25; IV,7 (10), 1-52; VI,4 (22),14,1-30; VI,5,7,1-15. Gregorio di Nissa, *La vita di Mosè* (=Moyasis), Pref. 11-15 (SC Ibis, 52-54).

10 Attraverso la reinterpretazione delle parole di Platone alla luce dei passi biblici Clemente di Alessandria ribadisce che lo studio della Sacra Scrittura conduce verso la realtà divina e che la Scrittura stessa aiuta ad accendere la “scintilla dell’anima e indirizza il suo occhio verso la contemplazione”. Cf. Platone, *Resp.* VII 533d; *Leg.* VIII,844a-b insieme con Is 55,1; Prv 5,15 in *Strom.* I,1,10,1-5.

assimilazione a Dio è una dialettica di teoria e di pratica, di azione corporea e di attività spirituale, di *ethos* civico e di essere divino. Tramite l'idea della *theosis* Platone rileva che, per il bene della società, l'uomo agisce come un dio e, dopo la morte, lascia un esempio indimenticabile, al punto tale che la sua anima / ricordo vive per sempre nella società.<sup>11</sup> Pertanto, l'impronta del giusto lasciata nella società non è la sua propria immagine, ma l'immagine delle idee eternamente belle, delle idee divine; detto con la maniera cristiana influenzata dal termine di Platone: lasciare lo ὑπογραμμός della icona di Cristo, per poterlo trascrivere nella società.<sup>12</sup> Per questo motivo, la vita del giusto è un modello delle idee eterne, un modello che può essere percepito e che può essere anche seguito da parte di tutti coloro che camminano sulla strada della assimilazione a Dio. Mi piacerebbe evidenziare che questa idea della *theosis*, relativa all'uomo giusto coinvolto nella vita della società allo scopo di renderla più giusta, non è affatto estranea né agli stoici né ai medioplatonici. Infatti, insegnando che gli uomini possono diventare dèi, gli stoici antichi hanno evidenziato l'esempio della legge cosmica che garantisce l'armonia nella società e la felicità degli individui; questa legge è divina, anzi essi la chiamano "dio".<sup>13</sup> Allo stesso modo, attribuendo un importante significato al processo di

Inoltre, attraverso i passi di Platone Clemente afferma che con la partecipazione del Logos divino l'uomo diventa illuminato e rinato per poter entrare nel regno di Dio (nella regione delle idee divine): Platone, *Phaedr.* 246a; 247e; 248a-249a; *Resp.* V 475e; Clemente di Alessandria, *Strom.* I,19,93,3; V,2,13,4; V,3,16,2-18,9.

11 Cf. Platone, *Gorg.* 459d-460c; 526c, *Phaedr.* 275c-278a; *Resp.* VII 540a-c; X 613a-b.

12 Cf. Platone, *Gorg.* 482a; *Symp.* 210a-e; 211c-212a; *Resp.* III,400d-403c; *Leg.* 966a-968b; 737d. Clemente di Alessandria, *Paed.* I,26, 1-2; III,1,1,5, *Prot.* 5,64,3-4; *Strom.* VI,16,136,3; VII,9,52,3.

13 Per le fonti stoiche cf. SVF III. [C.e.] 584; SVF II [B.f] 1076; SVF I [A] 179; SVF I [A] 183; SVF III [C.e.] 59; SVF III [AT] 59; SVF III [C.e.] 245-252; SVF III. [C.e.] 333-339. Per la riflessione cristiana sulla dottrina stoica cf. Clemente di Alessandria, *Strom.* VII,14,88,5; Origene, *Contro Celso* VI,48.

assimilazione a Dio, anche i medioplatonici non trascurano l'aspetto pratico della vita sociale.<sup>14</sup> Infatti, essi insegnano che le giuste attività umane nella società possono essere comprese come l'attualizzazione degli atti divini nel mondo.<sup>15</sup> È evidente che le idee filosofiche relative alla assimilazione a Dio provenienti dalla filosofia platonica, stoica e filoniana sono state recepite nella teologia di Clemente di Alessandria attraverso il medioplatonismo alessandrino.<sup>16</sup> Perciò, possiamo dichiarare che il vero filosofo/teologo per Clemente non si nasconde dal mondo, anche se lo scopo della sua vita non è di mettersi sotto i riflettori del mondo, ma in qualche modo fa risplendere la luce divina sul mondo.

### 3. *La Sacra Scrittura come lo strumento della assimilazione a Dio*

Clemente reputa che nella strada della assimilazione a Dio il più importante strumento sia la Sacra Scrittura che in qualche modo contiene le idee divine. Per essere più precisi, nell'insegnamento del nostro alessandrino la totalità delle idee divine si riferisce al Logos divino e, quindi, la Sacra Scrittura è la riflessione letterale delle multiformi idee divine. Per questo motivo, quindi, la lettera della Sacra Scrittura potrebbe custodire in sé più di un messaggio divino.<sup>17</sup> Clemente inserisce il processo etico-ascetico della assimilazione a Dio nel circuito ermeneutico dell'esegesi biblica: la lettura della Bibbia purifica lo spirito e la Bibbia, letta con lo spirito puro, trasforma l'intelletto del lettore nella somiglianza divina. Il vero gnostico è l'esegeta che, con la sua vita e con il suo insegnamento teologico,

14 Eudoro di Alessandria, fr. 25 in Stobeo, *Anth.* II,7,3, p. 49,8 (Clemente, *Paed.* I,1,1-3); Alcino, *Did.* II,2; XXVII,1–XVIII,4.

15 Alcino, *Did.* XVI,2; XXVIII,3-4.

16 Cf. S. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria. A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism*, 106-117; 163-189.

17 J. Kovacs, *Clement as Scriptural Exegete*, 1-37.

prende la mano dei discepoli e li conduce alla cima della rivelazione, per contemplarla. Quando sono arrivati al punto più alto della contemplazione della Bibbia, il maestro esce dalla vista degli allievi per non oscurare le idee divine con la propria persona. In questi momenti i discepoli, che sono stati “nutriti con le autentiche parole della verità, hanno un viatico per vita eterna e mettono le ali per volare al cielo”, per usare le parole di Platone,<sup>18</sup> con la differenza, che “le autentiche parole della verità” per Clemente sono le parole della Sacra Scrittura. Negli *Stromati* possiamo osservare spesso questo metodo didattico di Clemente: dopo una lunga argomentazione realizzata grazie ai vari concetti biblici e filosofici, all'improvviso Clemente perde il fiato e lungamente cita un brano della Sacra Scrittura, senza aggiungere null'altro, affinché i suoi lettori, guidati dai ragionamenti precedenti, contemplino direttamente la vera luce della Sapienza divina, che brilla nella Bibbia. La persona del maestro sparisce dalla vista degli allievi, non per abbandonarli, ma per lasciarli in una relazione diretta con la rivelazione divina.

#### *4. Assimilazione al Logos divino*

Anche se talvolta dalle opere dei filosofi pagani si ricava un forte ottimismo per poter arrivare alla assimilazione perfetta dei perfetti, secondo Clemente, gli esseri umani non possono diventare mai perfetti e divini in senso assoluto, in quanto solo Dio è perfetto.<sup>19</sup> Attraverso gli esempi del Logos divino incarnato e attraverso i precetti divini rivelati dal Logos stesso, l'essere umano potrebbe avvicinarsi alla cima della vita indicata dagli insegnamenti evangelici, per assimilarsi al Logos divino. Questa precisazione di Clemente potrebbe trovare le

18 Platone, *Phaedr.* 248b-e in Clemente di Alessandria, *Strom.* I,1,4,3; VII,10,57,1-5; 11,60,3-61,2; 16,94,1-105,6.

19 Cf. *Strom.* VII,10,55,1-68,5.

radici nell'insegnamento di Filone, che sottolinea che l'uomo, anche se è stato creato ad immagine di Dio, non ha la assoluta capacità di essere come Dio, in quanto l'onnipotente attività di Dio non è percepibile né imitabile da parte degli esseri umani.<sup>20</sup> A causa di questa incapacità di comprensione di Dio Padre stesso, il carattere principale e più evidente del Logos divino è di poter essere compreso e, quindi, il Logos divino rappresenta il prototipo "percepibile" della assimilazione divina. Secondo Filone, l'intelletto umano è capace di gestire i suoi pensieri, le sue parole e i suoi atti secondo l'esempio del Logos divino, ma non secondo il Dio "ultra-trascendente".<sup>21</sup> Pertanto, risulta che Filone, da serio ebreo, non insegna che l'uomo diventa Dio, ma che gli atti degli uomini possono assomigliare agli atti del Logos divino, che nel mondo attualizza la volontà di Dio.<sup>22</sup>

Per Clemente di Alessandria il Logos divino è l'unigenito Figlio di Dio che, da una parte, scruta i pensieri di Dio Padre, però dall'altra parte è il volto comprensibile di Dio Padre incomprensibile, che svela i pensieri nascosti di Dio Padre.<sup>23</sup> Dunque, è chiaro che ogni angolo di queste idee contribuisce alla teoria secondo la quale i cristiani, praticando l'esempio del Logos divino, si assimilano al Logos stesso, sia con la pratica delle virtù sia con la contemplazione della Sacra

20 Cf. Wendy E. Hellemann, "Philo of Alexandria on Deification and Assimilation to God", in *The Studia Philonica Annual* 2 (1990), 51-71, 65-67; H. Fiska Hägg, *Clement of Alexandria and the Beginnings of Christian Apophaticism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2006, 208-251.

21 Cf. Filone, *De fuga et inventione* 97; *De mutatione nominum* 28-29; *De Abrahamo* 121.

22 Cf. Filone, *De somniis* I,228-230; *Quaestiones in Genesim* 2,62; 4,188; *Opificio mundi* 144-146.

23 Cf. *Prot.* 12,120,4; *Strom.* II,19,97-106,1; VII,14,86,2. Il tema del Logos divino come prototipo dell'uomo "gnostico" in Clemente di Alessandria: *Strom.* VII: 1,2,1-3; 2,5,1-9,4; 3,15,5-6; 5,28,4-5; 9,52,1-3; 16,94,1-105,6; 18,109,1-6.

Sacrittura.<sup>24</sup> Come per Platone, così anche per Clemente, l'intelletto dell'uomo è il principio della assimilazione divina e il principio della contemplazione delle idee divine, del Logos divino e della Sacra Scrittura.<sup>25</sup> L'intelletto, "l'occhio dell'anima", si riferisce all'anima razionale che, secondo la misura della sua purezza etica, è capace di partecipare delle idee divine.<sup>26</sup>

### 5. *I sacrifici dell'assimilazione a Dio*

Concentrandoci sulla lettura di *Strom.* IV,14-18, notiamo che Clemente conosce e adopera i concetti filosofici dell'assimilazione a Dio;<sup>27</sup> tuttavia, egli sottolinea la diversità e la superiorità dell'idea cristiana e mette in rilievo che l'assimilazione a Dio si compie solo attraverso l'amore, la speranza e la fede.<sup>28</sup> Per quei cristiani di cui parla Clemente agire come Dio significa seguire amorosamente l'esempio del Signore per la salda fede nelle promesse nelle quali potranno sperare coloro che non ragionano secondo la logica dell'uomo, bensì secondo

24 Ritengo importante menzionare che, secondo Gregorio di Nissa, la via dell'avvicinamento a Dio è la via delle virtù ricavate dalla Bibbia. La logica di Gregorio è chiara: le virtù divine si riflettono nella Bibbia e negli atti del Logos divino. Gregorio ritiene che gli esseri umani siano incapaci di assimilarsi alla perfezione di Dio Padre e, per questo, pensa che nell'*eschaton* il loro aspetto sarà simile all'aspetto del Figlio di Dio. La identità personale degli uomini nell'*eschaton* è caratterizzata dalla personale combinazione della assimilazione delle virtù divine, ciascuno secondo le sue capacità. Cf. Gregorio di Nissa, *Discorso sui defunti (De mortuis)* PG 46 (532D; 536A-C).

25 Cf. *Strom.* II,18,80,5-81,2; 19,97,1-102,7; 22,131,2-136,6 (Platone, *Theaet.* 176b-c in *Strom.* II,22,133,3).

26 Cf. *Prot.* 6,68,2-5; *Strom.* VII,10,56,5 (Mt 5,8; *Strom.* I,19,94,6; V,1,7,7; 6,40,1; VII,3,13,1-3: puri di cuore); VII,14,86,2.

27 N. Russell, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition*, 122-123.

28 Cf. *Strom.* I,1,4,1 (Gal 5,6); I,1,4,3-5,3 (2Cor 6,4 e 10-11); *Strom.* I,1,6,2 (iTs 2,5-7); *Strom.* I,1,7,2; II,12,55,4; VII,10,55,6; 16,101,1-102,2. E. F. Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria*, 255-268.

la logica divina (secondo i precetti del Logos divino), che talvolta sembra illogica agli occhi dei sapienti di questo mondo, specialmente quando si tratta dell'amore dei nemici e dei sacrifici irrazionali, come ad esempio il martirio cristiano.<sup>29</sup>

Nella esposizione di *Strom.* IV,14-18 i caratteri del vero gnostico che cammina sulla strada della assimilazione a Dio sono simili ai caratteri del martire cristiano. Con la citazione di 1Cor 8,7: “non in tutti è la gnosi” Clemente non allude alla predestinazione divina, ma alla volontà umana, in quanto è convinto che non tutti sono pronti ad accettare i sacrifici per ottenere la gnosi di Dio (*Strom.* IV,15,97,1). In che cosa consiste il compimento del sacrificio della gnosi? A questa domanda Clemente, attraverso i vari passi biblici, offre una duplice risposta, che ad un primo sguardo sembra essere meno comprensibile, anzi addirittura contraddittoria. La contraddizione nasce dal modo con cui è interpretato 1Cor 10,25: “Tutto ciò che si vende al mercato mangiatelo senza nulla indagare (ἀνακρίνω) per scrupolo di coscienza”. Clemente informa, con una certa polemica, che alcuni trasformano la dichiarazione di Paolo in tono interrogativo e, quindi, si domandano, in modo scorretto, se veramente si mangia tutto, “senza nulla indagare (ἀνακρίνω)?” Dopodiché, Clemente riporta i passi biblici che, da una parte, confermano l'astensione e, dall'altra parte, la libertà dei cristiani a “causa della coscienza”.<sup>30</sup> La chiave ermeneutica di queste citazioni, messe in reciproca contrapposizione, è il rapporto che c'è tra il “sacrificio” del teologo e l’“indagine” scientifica nel nome della gnosi. Si tratta di una reinterpretazione allegorica dei “cibi” menzionati in 1Cor 10,14-31, in quanto per Clemente una parte dei “cibi” offerti in sacrificio rappresenta i discorsi filosofici nella mensa, vale a dire nella “teologia

29 Cf. A. van den Hoek, “Clement of Alexandria on Martyrdom”, 330-335.

30 I riferimenti biblici in *Strom.* IV,15,97,1-98,3 sono: 1Cor 8,1-11; 1Cor 10,25; At 15,28-29; 1Cor 9,4-5; 9,17; 9,19 e 25; Sal 23,1 in 1Cor 10,26; 10,29-31.

cristiana”.<sup>31</sup> In ogni caso, nella teologia cristiana, secondo Clemente, vale la pena usare la “filosofia” e le “indagini” scientifiche con una certa distinzione.<sup>32</sup> Si chiede se l’insegnamento pagano e il metodo scientifico delle indagini filosofiche possano essere utili per la spiritualità cristiana? Oppure sono “carne degli idoli”, giovano solo ai demoni e sono motivo di scandalo? Già in *Paed.* II,9,1 Clemente ha usato il passo di 1Cor 10,21 in un contesto simile: “Pur tuttavia non è conforme al logos che partecipino alla mensa dei demoni coloro che sono stati stimati degni di comunicare al cibo divino e spirituale”.<sup>33</sup> Con questo duplice ricorso alle citazioni scritturistiche che, da una parte, confermano la libertà scientifica e, dall'altra parte, evidenziano il pericolo della filosofia e dell'indagine scientifica, Clemente rileva che, in alcuni casi, per arrivare alla gnosi bisogna sacrificare proprio l'indagine, astenersi dalla ricerca scientifica per dar spazio alla fede, anche se il cristiano è libero in relazione a tutto, dunque anche in relazione all'uso della filosofia pagana. Tutto questo conferma che con la fede si accettano le evidenze apodittiche della gnosi.<sup>34</sup> Al contrario, ci sono altri casi nei quali i sacrifici dell'indagine scientifica, cioè i sacrifici dell'indagine attorno alla verità, sono indispensabili per arrivare alla gnosi.<sup>35</sup> L'esempio del sacrificio effettuato dalla rinuncia dell'indagine filosofica è la persona di Mosè, interpretata dall'autore della *Lettera agli ebrei*:

31 Osborn ha messo in rilievo che in *Strom.* II,20, un passo dedicato alla assimilazione divina, Clemente sviluppa una interpretazione allegorica di Lv 11 che descrive la distinzione degli animali puri e impuri da mangiare. E. Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria*, 229-230. Inoltre cf. *Strom.* VII,18,109,1-6.

32 Cf. *Strom.* I,1,7,3 (filosofia come noci, non tutto è commestibile); I,1,18,1; 20,100,1-2 (filosofia come siepe staccata dal vigneto).

33 Traduzione italiana di Dag Tessoro, Città Nuova, 2005, 139. Il tema relativo al rapporto tra fede e filosofia è espresso attraverso l'allegoria dei cibi: *Strom.* I,1,18,1-2 (cf. Filone, *De somniis* II, 245-249: bevanda); *Strom.* I,5,29,4-32,4.

34 Cf. *Strom.* I,20,97,1-100,5.

35 Cf. *Strom.* I,5,32,4: la filosofia ha per compito di indagare la verità (= Cristo); *Strom.* I,7,37,6; I,44,1,2-3.

Ritenendo ricchezza maggiore dei tesori d'Egitto l'obbrobrio di Cristo. Egli mirava alle ricompense: per fede lasciò l'Egitto senza lasciarsi spaventare dall'ira del re. Rimane saldo, come se vedesse l'Invisibile.<sup>36</sup>

D'altronde, parlando dei sacrifici delle indagini necessarie, per Clemente, il primo esempio allegorico del sacrificio delle indagini della verità è la frazione del pane dell'ultima cena (Mt 26,26 in *Strom.* I,10,46,1): "Questo perché noi mangiassimo con atteggiamento razionale con la conoscenza delle Scritture".<sup>37</sup> Dopo l'esempio del Signore, il successivo modello con il quale si illustra la necessità delle indagini scientifiche, accettando anche i sacrifici per arrivare alla gnosi della verità, è il martire cristiano. L'argomentazione di Clemente in *Strom.* IV,16,104,2 si basa sulle parole del libro della Sapienza 3,6-8: "Come oro nella fornace li saggìo e come olocausto di sacrificio li accolse. E nel momento della loro tribolazione rifulgeranno e come le scintille in un canneto divamperanno".<sup>38</sup>

Forse non siamo lontani dalla verità se assumiamo che il simbolo dell'oro nella fornace, che rappresenta i sacrifici provenienti dalle indagini dei teologi, nella biblioteca di Clemente deve essere confrontato con l'allegoria dei cercatori dell'oro di Eraclito, che "scavano molta terra e ne trovano poco", accettando i sacrifici perché la speranza e il desiderio di afferrare l'oro, cioè la verità, li fa andare avanti.<sup>39</sup> Le citazioni di Eraclito nell'opera di Clemente spesso confermano il valore della speranza delle indagini scientifico-

36 Eb 11,26-27 in *Strom.* IV,16,103,2. Inoltre: *Strom.* I,1,6,3; 5,30,2. *Strom.* I,1,8,1: Pertanto non bisogna permettere agli uditori di mettere sul banco di prova la dottrina, facendo paragoni.

37 Cf. *Strom.* I,20,100,2: la verità della fede è necessaria alla vita come pane, gli scritti della filosofia sono i dolci. Inoltre: *Strom.* VII,12,76,4.

38 Traduzione italiana di Giovanni Pini – Marco Rizzi, 442-443.

39 Eraclito, Diels – Kranz 22 B fr 22 in *Strom.* IV,2,4,2. Stirpe di oro, l'espressione di Platone (*Resp.* III 415a; V 468e) che Clemente adopera per denominare i cristiani cf. *Strom.* V,4,16,1; V,14,89,2; V,14,133,3.

teologiche, nella convinzione che sia le opere del Logos divino sia lo stesso Logos sono degni della ricerca faticosa.<sup>40</sup> Per questa ragione, la Sacra Scrittura merita di essere sottoposta a indagini profonde; inoltre, Clemente sollecita i suoi lettori a condurre la ricerca razionale anche durante la lettura degli *Stromati*.<sup>41</sup> Attraverso numerose citazioni scritturistiche Clemente ricorda che la teologia è la attività di coloro che persistono, e sollecita i teologi ad accettare la fatica e i sacrifici della ricerca di Dio;<sup>42</sup> infatti, con l'impegno si guadagna il tesoro insperabile, per dirlo di nuovo con i concetti di Eraclito.<sup>43</sup> E questa certezza del guadagno dell'insperabile è confermata anche dalle parole di Paolo, come ricorda Clemente stesso, menzionando la *Lettera ai Romani* 5,3-5 in *Strom.* IV,22,145,1:

“La tribolazione produce pazienza, la pazienza virtù provata, la virtù provata speranza: e la speranza non disinganna”. Infatti, la pazienza (si esercita) in vista della speranza futura; ed è definito con lo stesso nome “speranza” sia l'adempimento sia il compenso della speranza che “non disinganna”, perché non la si può più smentire.<sup>44</sup>

Pertanto, la dichiarazione di Clemente secondo la quale la vita del martire sarebbe una gloriosa purificazione (cf. *Strom.* IV,9,74,3) si riferisce sia ai sacrifici dei martiri torturati sia ai sacrifici dei teologi

40 Eraclito, Diels – Kranz 22 A fr. 9; inoltre in Filone, *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit* 213-214.

41 Cf. *Strom.* IV,2,4,1-7,4 specialmente il passo importante è *Strom.* IV,2,4,2-3: La Scrittura troverà infatti uno che la comprenderà (*Strom.* I,28,182,1 – Platone, *Leg.* II,658)

42 Cf. *Strom.* IV,16,99,1-104,2 (*Strom.* IV,2,5,1-3 – Esiodo, *Le opere e i giorni* 289-292). Citazioni scritturistiche come per esempio: Mt 7,14; 7,7; 11,12; Num 20,17.

43 Eraclito, Diels – Kranz 22 B fr 18 in *Strom.* II,4,17,4: Se non spera l'insperabile, non lo troverà. Inoltre per le citazioni di Eraclito in Clemente: *Strom.* IV,22,144,3; *Prot.* II,22,1 – Diels – Kranz 22 B fr 27. Sul tema della speranza ancora cf. *Strom.* IV,22,144,2 – Platone, *Phaed.* 67c; *Resp.* I 330e; 332a.

44 Traduzione italiana di Giovanni Pini – Marco Rizzi, 468-469, cf. *Strom.* II,22,136,1-6.

che, per le impegnative indagini scientifiche, possono confidare nell'adempimento della loro speranza secondo la misura del loro sacrificio.<sup>45</sup> Quindi, attraverso i sacrifici e le rinunce il teologo contempla la verità del Logos divino.

### *6. Il cuore del teologo che assimila al cuore di Cristo*

Perché la fede nelle verità apodittiche? Perché la profonda indagine scientifica? E perché i sacrifici dei martiri rappresentano i caratteri del teologo che progredisce nella scala della assimilazione a Dio? La risposta a queste domande ci conduce alla controversia gnostica che ha caratterizzato la Grande Chiesa nel contesto del II secolo d.C. Clemente ci informa che, secondo i seguaci di Basilide, la fede sarebbe un dato naturale, in virtù della teoria degli eletti, e che essa scoprirebbe gli oggetti della conoscenza senza la necessità di alcuna dimostrazione, senza la ricerca scientifica, con una sorta di intuizione intellettuale; per altro, come ci informa Clemente, i valentiniani pretendono di possedere in sé la “gnosi” (*Strom.* II,3,10,1-3). Pertanto, Clemente, in questa disputa, sottolinea la esigenza della faticosa ricerca scientifica, che si basa sulle verità apodittiche, rivelate da Dio nella Bibbia. Secondo il suo punto di vista, l'errore degli gnostici consiste nella loro teologia svolta con le indagini superficiali, al punto che essi non approfondiscono né la fede né la scienza.<sup>46</sup>

45 Sul tema del desiderio e del sacrificio cf. Eraclito, Diels – Kranz 22 B fr. 85; 22 B fr. 110. Sull'interpretazione del desiderio in Clemente: Veronika Černušková, *Four Desires: Clement of Alexandria and the Sermon on the Mount*, in Veronika Černušková, Judith L. Kovacs and Jana Plátová (eds.), *Clement's Biblical Exegesis. Proceedings of the Second Colloquium on Clement of Alexandria (Olomouc, May 29–31, 2014)*, Vigiliae Christianae Supplements, Vol. 139, Brill, Leiden 2017, 217-258.

46 Cf. *Strom.* I,20,99,3-100,5; II,2,9,2-4; 3,10,3-11,2; 4,15,5; 11,50,1-12,56,3; VIII,7,1-8; 14,3.

Dall'altro lato, bisogna tenere in conto il fatto che gli gnostici sono stati reputati dalla Grande Chiesa e anche da Clemente come uomini orgogliosi (*Strom.* I,1,8,1), sofisti ingannatori (*Strom.* I,20,100,1), “gonfi di scienza”, detto con le parole della prima lettera di Pietro.<sup>47</sup> Infine, non possiamo non menzionare anche un motivo di carattere personale: sebbene Clemente si sia allontanato dall'insegnamento dei maestri gnostici, non si è dissociato dalla cultura e dalla filosofia ellenica. Così anche Clemente stesso, in quanto uomo della cultura e della scienza ellenica (pagana), può essere stato sospetto agli occhi dei rappresentanti della Grande Chiesa. Quello che mi preme sottolineare è che Clemente, per risolvere queste contrapposizioni tra scienza, fede e vanagloria, adduce la citazione del Sal 50 (LXX).<sup>48</sup> Occorre segnalare che, nel nostro brano, i versi del Sal 50 (LXX) sono stati citati insieme con le altre parole della *Lettera ai Corinzi* di Clemente Romano. Con questa doppia autorità (con l'autorità della Sacra Scrittura e con l'autorità del vescovo di Roma) Clemente di Alessandria intende dare un messaggio convincente sulle caratteristiche del cristiano che coltiva la teologia con la scienza per progredire sulla strada dell'assimilazione divina.

Occorre notare che l'*incipit* della sezione di *Strom.* IV,16,99,1-106,4 preannuncia il tema della fede, attraverso il concetto biblico

47 1Pt 1,3 ancora cf. *Paed.* I,25,1; *Strom.* II,2,4,1 – Prv 3,5-6; 23; *Strom.* II,20,109,2 – Ef 6,11; 2Cor 10,4.

48 Le citazioni del Sal 50 (LXX) in Clemente di Alessandria sono: Sal 50,3-6 (Sal 50,3-19 in *1Clemente* 18,2) in *Strom.* IV,17,107,2-4; Sal 50,7 in *Strom.* III,16,100,7; Sal 50,8 in *Strom.* V,10,64,2; Sal 50,9-14 in *Strom.* I,1,8,3-4; Sal 50,18-19 in *Strom.* VII,3,14,1 [cf: *1Clemente* 18,2-17 (Sal 50,3-19), *1Clemente* 52,4 (Sal 50,19) e Sal 49,14-15; *Barnaba* 2,4-5 (Sal 50,18-19)]; Sal 50,19 in *Paed.* III,12,90,4; Sal 50,19 in *Strom.* II,18,79,1; Sal 50,19 in *Strom.* IV,18,113,3 [cf: *1Clemente* 18,2-17 (Sal 50,3-19); *1Clemente* 52,4 (Sal 50,19) e Sal 49,14-15; *Barnaba* 2,4-5 (*Paed.* III,89-91); *Barnaba* 2,10 (*Paed.* III,90,4; *Strom.* II,79,1)]. Uno studio dedicato al ruolo dei salmi nella teologia di Clemente di Alessandria è il seguente: Jana Plátová, “Role žalmů v díle Klementa Alexandrijského”, in *Studia Theologica* 20/3 (2018), 25-48.

del “cuore”: “Con il cuore si crede per aver giustizia, con la bocca si confessa la fede per aver salvezza” (Rm 10,10).<sup>49</sup> In seguito, attraverso le citazioni bibliche Clemente evidenzia che il vero gnostico progredisce sia nella fede sia nell’amore in modo parallelo, con la stessa misura. Quindi, si vede che l’espressione del cuore, come concetto biblico, per il nostro autore riassume in sé il tema della gnosi,<sup>50</sup> della fede e dell’amore.<sup>51</sup> Con la logica di *Strom.* IV,17,107,1 il concetto del cuore diventa più esplicito grazie alla concreta citazione del Sal 88,21 nella versione citata anche da Clemente Romano: “Altro esempio è Davide, cui il Signore rende testimonianza dicendo: «Ho trovato un uomo secondo il mio cuore, David, figlio di Jesse, e con santo olio lo unsi»”, e segue la citazione del Sal 50,3-6a:<sup>52</sup>

Ma anch’egli dice a Dio: “Abbi pietà di me, o Dio, secondo la tua grande bontà e secondo l’abbondanza delle tue misericordie cancella la mia iniquità. Sempre più lavami dalla mia iniquità e dal mio peccato purificami, perché il mio peccato io lo conosco e il mio peccato di fronte a me sempre” (Sal 50,3-5). Poi, alludendo al peccato che non cade sotto la legge, con modestia tutta gnostica aggiunge: “Contro te solo ho peccato; di fronte a te ho fatto il male” (Sal 50,6a).<sup>53</sup>

Per Clemente Romano la citazione del Sal 50 ha l’obiettivo di illustrare il comportamento umile dei cristiani, perché la lettera è nata come una reazione alla crisi della chiesa dei Corinzi, che esplose per

49 *Strom.* IV,16,99,1 – Rm 10,10.

50 Cf. *Strom.* IV,16,99,1 – Is 28,16; Rm 10,10-11; *Strom.* IV,16,99,3 – 2Cor 1,12. Inoltre, cf. *Strom.* IV,17,110-111,1 – *1Clemente* 36,2; 40,1; 38,2 e 41,1.

51 Lo stesso cuore potrà essere il luogo sia delle passioni sia dello Spirito Santo: *Strom.* IV,15,97-98; 18,114,2-117,5; 17,107,5-8; 108,5.

52 Dunque, si tratta di una citazione della Lettera ai Corinzi di Clemente Romano 18,2-4, che incorpora la citazione di Salm 50,3-6. Inoltre cf: *1Clemente* 18,1-4 in *Strom.* IV,107,4; *1Clemente* 21,2-4; 21,6-22,8 in *Strom.* IV,17,107,5-110,1, e i riferimenti di *Strom.* IV,14,95-17,117,5 in SC 463, 214-251.

53 *Strom.* IV,17,107,1-5 – *1Clemente*, 18,1-4 (e poi in seguito *1Clemente* 21,2-4; 21,6-22,8); SC 463,232-234; Traduzione italiana: Pini – Rizzi, 444-445.

la superbia di alcuni membri della comunità. In questo modo, il Sal 50, con la figura di Davide nella lettera di Clemente Romano, fa parte dell'elenco delle citazioni e delle persone bibliche che sono esempi delle ribellioni e della umile conversione dei giusti che hanno diffuso la pace di Dio.<sup>54</sup>

Clemente di Alessandria, invece, parla della conversione dei cuori dei pensatori della cultura ellenica, che sono chiamati ad accettare umilmente i concetti teologici dei "semplici" cristiani con la fede. E nello stesso tempo sollecita i cristiani meno educati a progredire nella fede attraverso i metodi scientifici della filosofia.<sup>55</sup>

Clemente di Alessandria è consapevole del fatto che la preferenza della teologia cristiana da parte del teologo colto nei confronti delle altre scienze richiede l'umiltà e la capacità di saper accettare anche i sacrifici. Infatti, solo attraverso i sacrifici, accettati per *agape* di Dio, è possibile avvicinarsi ai misteri della vera gnosi svelati da Gesù Cristo. Per confermare questo messaggio con un'autorità più prestigiosa Clemente in *Strom.* IV,18,113,4 cita dalla lettera di Clemente Romano il passo del Sal 50,19: "Poiché sacrificio per Dio è uno spirito contrito" (θυσία γὰρ τῷ θεῷ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον).<sup>56</sup> Si vede che nella logica teologica di Clemente di Alessandria il prototipo del sacrificio dello "spirito contrito" è il Cristo; infatti, il nostro brano si conclude con la allegoria dell'albero, attraverso il quale l'umanità riceve i ricchi frutti della gnosi scesi dal cielo.<sup>57</sup>

È importante ricordare che Clemente Romano, per introdurre il Sal 50, non cita il Sal 88,21 secondo la traduzione dei LXX, e questa variante è seguita anche dall'autore degli Atti degli Apostoli (13,22) e da Clemente Alessandrino. La differenza rispetto alla traduzione

54 Cf. *1Clemente* 2,1-3,4 (umiltà); 4,1-6,4 (sacrificio e ribellione); 7,1-20,12 (conversione, umiltà, pace).

55 *Strom.* IV,18,113,5; 21,130,2-5 – Rm 10,4; Mt 5,17.

56 Cf. *1Clemente* 52,4.

57 *Strom.* IV,18,117,4-5.

dei LXX sta principalmente nell'inserimento della parola "cuore" (καρδία); in sostanza, per i due Clementi è importante rilevare che Davide è un uomo secondo il "cuore" di Dio. C'è ancora qualcosa da precisare. Dalle righe di Clemente di Alessandria risulta che egli non ha paragonato il cuore di Davide direttamente con il cuore di Dio Padre, ma con il cuore di Cristo. In sostanza, l'umile e rinnovato cuore di Davide è divenuto simile al cuore di Cristo (che umilmente segue la volontà di Dio Padre).<sup>58</sup> Ecco il ritratto del cuore del vero teologo che assomiglia al cuore di Cristo, ed ecco un aspetto rilevante della teologia della assimilazione a Dio di Clemente di Alessandria.

*7. Conclusione – Un tema attuale per tutti che con i sacrifici coltivano la scienza della teologia*

Che cosa desidera il cuore del teologo cristiano? A questa domanda Clemente di Alessandria risponde con la doppia risposta ricavata dall'esegesi di Mc 10,29-30:

In verità io vi dico: non c'è nessuno che abbia lasciato casa o fratelli o sorelle o madre o padre o figli o campi per causa mia e per causa del Vangelo, che non riceva già ora, in questo tempo, cento volte tanto in case e fratelli e sorelle e madri e figli e campi, insieme a persecuzioni, e la vita eterna nel tempo che verrà.

Clemente vede nelle parole di Gesù una doppia risposta rivolta sia ai cristiani coinvolti nella vita e nelle scienze del mondo, sia ai cristiani versati nella contemplazione del mondo immateriale attraverso la fede, la gnosi e la agape di Dio. Perciò, attraverso la reinterpretazione di Mc 10,30, Clemente insegna che ai cristiani che con i pensieri sono

<sup>58</sup> *Strom.* IV,17,107,1 – Sal 88,21: Ναὶ μὴν καὶ Δαβὶδ, ἐφ' οὗ μαρτυρῶν ὁ κύριος λέγει εὖρον ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, Δαβὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί· ἐν ἐλαίῳ ἀγίῳ ἔχρισσα αὐτόν (GCS 15, Band 2, 295); *1Clemente* 18,1 (SC 167, 130); Sal 50,3-6; *Strom.* IV,107,8; 108,5; 113,4 (*1Clemente* 21,6; 52,2-4).

concentrati sul mondo fisico Dio dona qualcosa che potrà essere concepito dall'intelletto umano. Quindi, cento volte più di quello che hanno abbandonato per il Signore. Questo è il desiderio di un cuore che pensa con i pensieri umani. La loro ricompensa è di natura tale che si può cogliere per mezzo dei pensieri umani.<sup>59</sup> Tuttavia, per coloro che credono e amano Dio con la “vera gnosi”, secondo la regola della logica di 1Cor 2,9, Dio regala “quelle cose che occhio non vide, né orecchio udì, né mai entrarono in cuore di uomo”. Sul tema della assimilazione a Dio da parte del vero gnostico nel contesto della allusione al cuore del Sal 50,19 possiamo leggere delle frasi molto suggestive in *Strom.* VII,3,13,2-14,1. Probabilmente durante la composizione del passo menzionato, Clemente è stato influenzato dall'insegnamento dell'*Epistola di Barnaba* 2,1-10, formulato attraverso il commento del Sal 50,18-19:<sup>60</sup>

Questa è dunque l'attività del perfetto “gnostico”: essere vicino a Dio attraverso il gran sacerdote, assimilandosi per quanto si può al Signore (cf. *Strom.* II,18,80,5-81,1) mediante tutto il culto dedicato a Dio<sup>61</sup> esso ha per scopo la salvezza degli uomini, attraverso una sollecita benevolenza nei nostri riguardi, attraverso la sacra “liturgia” e l'insegnamento della dottrina e la pratica del bene. Anzi, oltre ad edificare e costruire se stesso (cf. Platone, *Menex.* 247e), lo gnostico forma chi lo ascolta, assimilandosi a Dio, cioè cercando più che può di assimilare a Colui che è per natura senza passioni la sua vita che per effetto dell'ascesi si riduce ad assenza

59 Mc 10,30 in *Strom.* IV,18,114,1.

60 Is 1,11-13 in *Barnaba* 2,3; Is 58,4-5; 6-10 in *Barnaba* 3,1-5; *Strom.* VII,3,14,1-6. Una simile influenza dell'*Epistola di Barnaba* si osserva anche in *Paed.* III,12,90,4, dove con il Sal 50,19 troviamo una citazione difficilmente identificabile, e questa stessa associazione enigmatica si osserva anche nell'*Epistola di Barnaba*, là dove è menzionato lo pneuma oppure il cuore contrito come il sacrificio accettato da Dio. Inoltre cf. *Paed.* III,90,4 – Sal 50,19 (καρδία). *Barnaba* 2,10: (καρδία) – Sal 50,19, e Ireneo, *Adversus haereses*, IV,17,1-2.

61 προσομιλεῖν τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως, ἐξομοιούμενον εἰς δύναμιν τῷ κυρίῳ διὰ πάσης τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν θεραπείας.

di passioni: e questo (ottiene), con l'unirsi e il convivere “con il Signore senza distrazioni” (1Cor 7,35). Mansuetudine, amore per l'umanità, pietà magnanima sono le norme dell'assimilazione “gnostica”.<sup>62</sup> Ripeto che queste virtù sono “un sacrificio accetto” presso Dio (Fil 4,18 cf. *Strom.* V,11,67,1), poiché la Scrittura afferma che il cuore senza superbia e con retta scienza è “olocausto di Dio” (Sal 50,19),<sup>63</sup> e ogni uomo che sia assunto a santità è illuminato per raggiungere un'unità non discernibile.<sup>64</sup>

Pertanto, grazie allo studio relativo al tema dell'assimilazione a Dio in *Strom.* IV,14-18 si deduce che, anche se a questo riguardo Clemente fa dei significativi riferimenti alla letteratura filosofica degli autori non cristiani, la fonte dell'ortodossia per il nostro autore sostituisce la Sacra Scrittura (attraverso la mediazione della teologia di San Paolo) e l'insegnamento di Clemente Romano e della *Lettera di Barnaba*. Come è convinto che i brani della Sacra Scrittura custodiscono in sé più di un significato, allo stesso modo Clemente cita e commenta

62 Ἡμερότης δ', οἶμαι, καὶ φιλανθρωπία καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆς θεοσεβεία γνωστικῆς ἐξομοιώσεως κανόνες.

63 Ταύτας φημί τὰς ἀρετὰς θυσίαν δεκτὴν εἶναι παρὰ θεῶν, τὴν ἄτυφον καρδίαν μετ' ἐπιστήμης ὀρθῆς ὀλοκάρπωμα τοῦ θεοῦ λεγούσης τῆς γραφῆς.

64 *Strom.* VII,3,13,2-14,1 (Traduzione italiana di: Pini – Rizzi 736-737; SC 428, 13-70; GCS 17, Band 3, 10). Secondo Clemente, il vero maestro gnostico è un'anima accesa dall'amore divino che entra nel santuario delle idee divine, affinché presenti il sacrificio spirituale per la salvezza degli uomini. Con questa immagine Clemente descrive la gioiosa contemplazione dei misteri divini e la *theosis* del vero gnostico. Cf. *Strom.* VII,3,13,1-3: Vedere le verità (misteri) divine in ogni caso è un privilegio che, secondo le beatitudini evangeliche, è riservato solo ai puri di cuore (Mt 5,8); *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 27; *Eclogae Propheticae* 51-57. Il vero gnostico, cioè il vero teologo che cammina sulla strada dell'assimilazione a Dio, insegna per amore, generosità, con sacrificio e compassione, affinché le anime a lui affidate si uniscano al Signore (*Strom.* VII,3,13-14). Dalla prospettiva di Dio, questo insegnamento possiamo chiamare “sacrificio accetto” (θυσίαν δεκτὴν) (Fil 4,18). E questo sacrificio è il sacrificio di un cuore umile, pieno con la vera scienza, che la Scrittura altrove chiama come “olocausto di Dio” (ὀλοκάρπωμα; Sal 50,18; Is 56,7).

anche gli scritti dei Padri apostolici alla luce delle esigenze teologiche del suo tempo. Occorre fare una finale osservazione, e cioè che il brano di *Strom.* IV,14-18, che delinea attraverso i concetti biblici il rapporto tra lo gnostico e il martire cristiano, mostra dei forti legami con il primo libro degli *Stromati*, nel quale Clemente esprime i suoi pensieri sul rapporto tra la filosofia elenica e teologia cristiana.

## **Abstract**

Chapters 14 – 18 of the fourth book of *Stromateis* of Clement of Alexandria draw parallels with the characteristics of the true Gnostic and with the main peculiarities of the Christian martyr, and prove that a state of assimilation to God cannot be attained without sacrifices. In this paper, we point out how Clement interpreted the nature of martyrdom through existential and intellectual approaches. This study emphasises that also in the themes of assimilation to God and martyrdom, Clement makes significant references to the philosophical literature, however, in his opinion, the orthodox truth is the Sacred Scripture, through the mediation of Saint Paul and the Church Tradition. Just as he is convinced that the passages of the Sacred Scripture contain more than one meaning, in the same way Clement also quotes and comments on the writings of the “Apostolic Fathers” in the light of the theological needs of his time.

**“L’uomo è composto d’anima e di corpo, i quali non  
possono esistere l’una senza l’altro.”  
Tracce della visione dell’uomo nella Scuola di Nisibi**

István OROSZ

1. Introduzione; 2. La presentazione dell’anima nella Causa; 3. L’attenzione sulla corporeità; 4. Conclusione

*1. Introduzione*

La Scuola di Nisibi è stata un fattore determinante per la vita ecclesiale nell’ambito della lingua siriana nel VI-VII secolo.<sup>1</sup> La

- 1 Rimando ad alcuni cenni bibliografici più importanti e più recenti sulla Scuola di Nisibi. La monografia, anche se in molti aspetti discussa recentemente ma che è ineludibile nel tema, è stata presentata da Arthur Vööbus ormai circa 60 anni fa: Arthur Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 266. *Subsidia* 26, Louvain 1965. Contributi più recenti: Gerrit J. Reinink, «Edessa grew dim and Nisibis shone forth»; *The School of Nisibis at the Transition of the Sixth-seventh century in Centres of Learning*, in Jan Willem Drijvers – Alasdair MacDonald (eds.), *Centres of Learning and locations in pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*, Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History 61, Brill, Leiden 1995, 77-131; Theresia Hainthaler, *Die verschiedenen Schulen, durch die Gott die Menschen lehren wollte*, in Martin Tamcke (ed.), *Syriaca II, Beiträge zum 3. deutschen Syrologen-Symposium in Vierzehnbeiligen 2002*, Münster 2004, 175-192. Ilaria Ramelli, “Linee introduttive a Barḥadbeshabbā di Ḥalwan, Causa della fondazione delle scuole. Filosofia e storia della filosofia greca e cristiana”, in *Ilu. Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones* 9, Madrid 2004, 127-181. Paolo Bettiolo, *Scuole e ambienti intellettuali nelle chiese di Siria*, in Cristina d’Ancona (ed.), *Storia della filosofia nell’Islam medievale I*, Einaudi, Torino 2005, 48-100; Paolo Bettiolo, *Le scuole nella chiesa siriana-orientale: status*

produzione letteraria e le persone istruite in questa scuola come patriarchi, capi dei monasteri di grande rilievo, giocarono un ruolo importante nella vita della Chiesa Siro-Orientale. La scuola nisibena

*quaestionis e prospettive della ricerca*, in Carla Noce – Massimo Pampaloni – Claudia Tavolieri (eds.), *Le vie del sapere in ambito siro-mesopotamico dal III al IX secolo*, *Orientalia Anacleta Christiana* 293, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Roma 2011, 17-46. Una monografia recente che tratta la Scuola di Nisibi piuttosto da una prospettiva socio-culturale è di Adam H. Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom. The School of Nisibis and Christian Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Pennsylvania 2006. Inoltre cf. Adam Izdebski, “The School of Nisibis: an ancient religious community?”, in *Orientalia Christiana Cracoviensia* 2 (2010), 67-72. Adam Izdebski, *Cultural contacts between the superpowers of Late Antiquity: the Syriac School of Nisibis and the transmission of Greek educational experience to the Persian Empire*, in *Cultures in Motion. Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia 8, Jagiellonian University Press, Cracow 2014, 185-204; Ute Possekkel, “Selbstverständnis und Bildungsauftrag der Schule von Nisibis”, in *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 19 (2015), 104-136; Idem, «Go and Set Up for Yourselves Beautiful Laws...» *The School of Nisibis and Institutional Autonomy in Late Antique Education*, in Peter Gemeinhardt (ed.), *Zwischen Exegese und religiöser Praxis. Heilige Texte von der Spätantike bis zum Klassischen Islam*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2016, 29-47; Dimtrij F. Bumazhnov, *Eine exegetische Rechtfertigung des philosophischen Unterrichts an der theologischen Schule von Nisibis? Die Erschaffung der Welt nach Barḥadḥsabba 'Arbaya*, in Peter Gemeinhardt (ed.), *Zwischen Exegese und religiöser Praxis. Heilige Texte von der Spätantike bis zum Klassischen Islam*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2016, 177-204; Matthias Perkams, *Ostsyrische Philosophie. Die Rezeption und Ausarbeitung griechischen Denkens in der Schule von Nisibis bis Barḥadḥsabba*, in Matthias Perkams – Alexander M. Schilling (eds.), *Griechische Philosophie und Wissenschaft bei den Ostsyryern: zum Gedenken an Mār Addai Scher (1867-1915)*, *Transmissions. Studies on conditions, processes and dynamics of textual transmission* 3, De Gruyter, Berlin 2020, 49-76; Idem, *Die Reise des Intellekts in der Ursache der Gründung der Schulen des Barḥadḥsabba (um 600)*, in Irgmard Männlein – Robert (ed.), *Seelenreise und katabasis. Einblicke ins Jenseits in Antiker Philosophischer Literatur Akten der 21. Tagung der Karl und Abel-Stiftung vom 30 Juli bis 1. August 2018 in Tübingen*, De Gruyter, Berlin-Boston 2021, 355-385.

fu un centro intellettuale per la formazione di grado elevato, a livello “universitario” anche se il concetto moderno non è del tutto esatto. Questo istituto aveva una comunità condotta da regole interne per mantenere l'indipendenza istituzionale e intellettuale della scuola e servivano a promuovere una condotta di vita ascetica regolata similmente alle comunità monastiche.<sup>2</sup>

Nel presente contributo si delineano elementi della formazione che suscitano una visione complessiva dell'uomo, composto dal corpo e dell'anima, il quale è chiamato alla salvezza attraverso la propria formazione per una vita sempre più conforme all'ideale cristiano. A questo scopo ho scelto due fonti importanti per la ricerca sulla Scuola di Nisibi che ci aiutano a ricostruire alcune linee principali sulla visione dell'uomo nella formazione di questa scuola. Una è la raccolta dei canoni della scuola, ossia *Gli statuti della Scuola di Nisibî*, l'altra è la *Causa della fondazione delle scuole*<sup>4</sup> attribuito a Barḥadbeshabbā, vescovo di Ḥalwān. Le regole della scuola si presentano in due cicli: uno ascritto a Narsai, l'altro datato nel periodo in cui Ḥēnānā diresse

2 *Gli Statuti della Scuola di Nisibi (Gli Statuti)*, in Arthur Vööbus (ed.-tr.), *The statutes of the school of Nisibis*, Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exil 12, Estonian Theological Society in Exil, Stockholm 1961.

3 *Gli Statuti*, in A. Vööbus (ed.), *The Statutes of the School*, 56-104. Nel contributo presento i canoni nella mia traduzione italiana.

4 Barḥadbeshabbā, vescovo di Ḥalwān, *La causa della fondazione delle scuole (Causa)*, in Addai Scher (ed.-tr.), *Barhadbešhabba 'Arbaya de Halwan, Mar, Cause de la fondation des écoles*, Patrologia Orientalis 4/18, Paris 1907, 327-397. Scher pubblicò con il testo siriano una traduzione francese dell'opera. Traduzione inglese con note elementari è stata pubblicata da Adam Becker: Adam H. Becker, *The Sources for the History of the School of Nisibis*, Translated Texts for Historians Volume 50, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool 2008, 94-164. Una traduzione italiana è stata fornita da Ilaria Ramelli: Ilaria Ramelli, “Barhadbeshabba di Halwan, Causa della fondazione delle scuole: traduzione e note essenziali”, in *Ilu. Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones* 10, Madrid 2005, 127-170. Nel presente lavoro consultando la traduzione di Ramelli e di Becker, presento la mia traduzione dell'edizione di A. Scher.

la comunità come capo scuola (*rabban*).<sup>5</sup> In questo nostro contributo analizziamo le regole ascritte a Hēnānā che sono contemporanee della *Causa*, la quale brevemente può essere identificata come un discorso per inaugurare l'anno accademico. Si mostra come queste fonti di diverso genere letterario ma dello stesso periodo storico, mentalità e interesse, rappresentano l'uomo come soggetto della salvezza nella totalità del suo corpo e anima.

## 2. *La presentazione dell'anima nella Causa*

In un'inaugurazione dell'anno accademico non ci sorprende tanto di trovare un trattato sulla capacità umana della conoscenza e l'elaborazione del trattato presentato dalla *Causa* e le sue fonti forniscono informazioni interessanti sul curriculum e materia intellettuale della Scuola di Nisibi. Per mostrare la visione integrale dell'anima e del corpo all'interno della mentalità scolastica rintracciabile nei due documenti fondamentali della Scuola di Nisibi, si presenta in modo conciso il trattato sulla capacità intellettuale della *Causa*. L'autore, dopo l'introduzione del suo percorso per convincere suoi destinatari a condurre il loro cammino scolastico come cammino per la salvezza, continua con un trattato filosofico.<sup>6</sup> Nella filosofia propedeutica della *Causa* si trova una presentazione delle facoltà dell'anima di matrice neoplatonica anche se le fonti esatte dirette secondo Becker<sup>7</sup> non si conoscono. La recente ricerca di Perkams ci aiuta a delineare una filosofia propria e le fonti probabilmente più dirette per la scuola la quale attinge dal commentario neoplatonico ad Aristotele.<sup>8</sup> Perkams sostiene che l'autore della *Causa* non abbia avuto in mano i testi diretti della letteratura isagogica, ma abbia attinto dal

5 A. Vööbus, *Introduction*, in *The statutes of the school of Nisibis*, 31-35.

6 *Causa* 333-347, in A. Scher (ed. tr.), *Cause de la fondation des écoles*, PO 4/18.

7 A. Becker, *Fear of God*, 144-145.

8 M. Perkams, *Ostsyrische Philosophie*, 49-76. M. Perkams, *Die Reise des Intellekts*, 355-385.





L’anima è trattata da Barḥadbeshabbā con l’intenzione di spiegare la capacità umana al lavoro intellettuale, come una capacità donata da Dio che guida e conduce l’uomo alla vita beata. L’anima stessa non è l’intelligenza (*madd’ā*), cioè la capacità della conoscenza secondo la volontà divina ma è la sua base, la sua sede, il contesto e contenitore della luce della conoscenza e della vita, ambedue donate da Dio. Come vede Barḥadbeshabba il corpo? Si può dire che la sua opera e la mentalità della Scuola di Nisibi siano caratterizzate da un puro intellettualismo?

### *3. L’attenzione sulla corporeità*

I canoni della scuola cercano di determinare la circostanza fisica possibilmente più opportuna per la crescita intellettuale che si addice a quella spirituale. Secondo questi canoni la moralità degli studenti è nel servizio della sacralità dello studio che appare anche nel proemio dei canoni.<sup>17</sup> Durante il periodo di Ḥĕnānā sono stati aggiunti dei canoni che prescrivono ai membri della comunità scolastica certi comportamenti allo scopo di mantenere l’attenzione allo studio e a propagare la buona fama della scuola presso la città di Nisibi. La dimostrazione dell’integrità della comunità scolastica diventa anche una dimostrazione della volontà e della capacità di l’autonomia in un tempo difficile per la scuola.<sup>18</sup>

In seguito si citano alcuni canoni che richiedono una condotta di vita modesta, regolando e vietando atteggiamenti legati alle passioni del corpo. Il primo divieto citato si riferisce alla partecipazione al godimento durante le festività:

Canone 16. I fratelli che dimorano nella scuola fino che saranno là, non possono mangiare nelle taverne e nei ristoranti, non possono organizzare

<sup>17</sup> *Gli Statuti*, in A. Vööbus (ed.), *The Statutes of the School*, 52,6-72,9

<sup>18</sup> Un’ipotesi probabile per l’estensione dei canoni a causa della crisi intorno alla persona di Ḥĕnānā delinea Vööbus: *The History of the School*, 269-275.



Questi canoni danno un quadro in cui lo studente delle Sacre Scritture può occuparsi esclusivamente della crescita intellettuale-spirituale. L'esclusione dei fattori che disturbano l'attenzione suppone una visione realista della corporeità. Questa visione è realista nel senso che tiene conto delle passioni carnali degli uomini normalmente giovani, non tende invece alla mortificazione, all'ascetismo estremo. Nei canoni troviamo anche divieti contro le tendenze eremitiche: come il divieto di abitare da soli fuori<sup>22</sup> della comunità o di mangiare da soli secondo la propria convinzione<sup>23</sup> ascetica, azioni queste che servono non solo a mantenere l'unità della comunità ma anche a dare un quadro in cui il corpo è a servizio dello studio. La raccolta dei canoni non è una regola per i monaci anche se rispecchia una grande esigenza per il rifiuto delle cose mondane.<sup>24</sup> Quest'ascetismo non esprime il radicalismo della lotta contro i desideri carnali per la vittoria dell'anima immortale. L'astinenza appare come lo stato ideale per l'occupazione intellettuale-spirituale.

Per questo i canoni non solo limitano certi atteggiamenti del desiderio carnale ma tengono conto delle necessità del corpo. Per il mantenimento e per il finanziamento dello studio sono stati riservati periodi in cui si poteva lavorare e guadagnare soldi. A questo scopo è stata data preferenza al lavoro fisico, come esprime il canone 12:

Canone 12. I fratelli che sono venuti nella scuola per lo studio, non possono fondare scuole per i ragazzi nella città per non essere sviati da altre cose. Quelli invece che non possono lavorare a cause della debolezza o dell'età possono insegnare a due o tre ragazzi, e se avviene che uno

22 Canone 4: *Gli Statuti*, in A. Vööbus (ed.), *The Statutes of the School*, 94,3-6.

23 Canone 9: *Gli Statuti*, in A. Vööbus (ed.), *The Statutes of the School*, 96,6-8.

24 La comunità della scuola viene considerata spesso dagli studiosi una comunità monastica. Questa teoria è discussa con accuratezza da Becker: A. H. Becker, *Fear of God*, 169-172.







#### 4. *Conclusion*

Lo studio appare nella *Causa* come occupazione intellettuale a servizio della salvezza dell'uomo nella sua totalità. L'uomo vive nella sua corporeità che per questo circolo intellettuale è una verità empirica per niente disturbante e può essere descritto almeno come neutrale. Il canone primo del ciclo di Hñnānā ci fornisce l'informazione che per la scuola fu fondato anche un ospedale e alla facoltà teologica è stata aggiunta probabilmente una facoltà di medicina.<sup>31</sup> Nonostante non siano a disposizione ulteriori informazioni sull'ospedale e su un influsso della medicina nella scuola, la semplice attestazione della sua esistenza contribuisce a dare alla nostra tesi un altro argomento, anche se non tanto forte come gli altri sopra menzionati, che la corporeità non è stata indifferente nella vita della comunità scolastica.

Le fonti esaminate danno un'immagine dell'uomo costituito da corpo e spirito ispirata dalla filosofia e dalla rivelazione. Questa immagine dell'uomo è inserita in un contesto specifico di una comunità scolastica. La comunità della scuola è invece non solo motivata dalla semplice idea pragmatica della formazione intellettuale, ma da una spiritualità secondo la quale lo studio è un modello di vita cristiana credibile e allo stesso tempo la vita del cristiano è uno stato continuo dello studente. Questo paradigma certamente appare in tutto il cristianesimo, ma una manifestazione talmente intensa e concreta non ricorre altrove nella letteratura patristica.

Come conclusione del presente lavoro risulta che nella *Causa e Gli Statuti* si articola una visione pratica sulla dualità nell'uomo con la prevalenza della dimensione intellettuale-spirituale che è logica in un ambito intellettuale. L'attenzione alla componente fisica come contesto per la crescita spirituale dà l'impressione della sobrietà antropologica attinta dalla rivelazione, come mostrano anche le citazioni scritturistiche nella *Causa*.

31 *Gli Statuti*, in A. Vööbus (ed.), *The Statutes of the School*, 92,6-93,5.

## Abstract

The School of Nisibis was an important christian center of study during the VI-VII centuries in the late Sassanid Empire. This intellectual center had a community with the purpose of education in the exegetical studies in the frame of an ascetic lifestyle regulated by canons similar to the monastic rules. The present study examines the image of the man as the complex of body and soul in two contemporaneous documents of the School of Nisibis: *The Statutes of the School of Nisibis* and the *Cause of the Foundation of the Schools*. At first is presented the concept of the soul in the philosophical introduction of the *Cause*. In the second part of the study is examined the vision of the two scholastic documents about the corporeity. The *Statutes* present along a practical regulation of the bodily passions an attention on the physical reality of the students for a successful spiritual-intellectual growth. The *Cause* attests similarly a careful attention on the body and on its needs in another way. In the latter source can be observed an explicit theological appreciation of the corporal reality.

## **The International Eucharistic Congress from a Greek Catholic point of view**

István SESZTÁK

This illustrious event of the Catholic Church was certainly of great relevance for the Greek Catholics living in Hungary and the Carpathian Basin. For many of us, the events of the Congress held in 1938, their Greek Catholic aspects, the remaining memories as well as the recollections of the faithful, have had a lasting impact on our religious life, influencing our present life, even though over eight decades passed.

In this respect, bearing in mind when the event took place, the Greek Catholic Metropolia announced a three-year phase of preparation, during which the central theme of the journals and publications they supervise as well as the programmes and activities they organise, of course, strongly focused on the Eucharist, the eucharistic approach of the church and the associated characteristics of the church's vision of God, the world, society, and humanity. One of the tangible signs of this was reflecting upon the theological and spiritual question of the simultaneous administration of the so-called Sacraments of Initiation, i.e. the "infant baptism". Certainly, the Greek Catholic community also made an active contribution to the nation-wide preparations, which were visited by the missionary cross of the Eucharistic Congress in all three dioceses as a true spiritual renewal. It was quite uplifting to experience the "encounter" between the relics of the martyrs and saints, highly important in the tradition of Eastern Christianity, and the living liturgical, pastoral and faith life of both smaller and larger communities of our church.

European Eastern Catholic Churches, with their peculiar historical, cultural, pastoral and sometimes theological qualities, constitute a very colourful world of the Catholic Church. Leaders of these churches have been holding annual meetings in an organisational framework since 1996. This year, we were given the opportunity by the International Eucharistic Congress to hold this meeting in Budapest as part of the congress, representing nearly twenty Eastern Catholic Churches, with the Byzantine Rite and the leaders of the European Armenian, Syriac and Melkite Greek Catholic Churches present. The meeting, which always offers a spiritual, theological, and cultural exchange and re-affirmation, opened new perspectives, even in its scope of topics (Eucharist and Synodality), e.g., the present commencement of the synod's journey, which will have a significant impact on the life of the universal church. In his lecture, the renowned ecclesologist Professor Roberto Repole, clearly pointed out the analogy between the community of the Eucharist and that of the synod experienced at any level of the church, with both being the fruit of the Holy Spirit.

The Greek Catholic bishops' meeting was honoured with the continuous presence and attention of Melkite Patriarch Youssef Absi I and Cardinal Angelo Bagnasco, President of the Council of the Bishops' Conferences of Europe (CCEE). The international significance of the meeting was augmented by their active participation which integrated the meeting into the harmonious unity of the Eucharistic Congress, where the joint complementary paths of Western and Eastern Christianity seek to convey the ability of experiencing the self-revelatory but always mysterious God.

On 8 September, the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Stephen's Basilica in Budapest was filled to capacity, where Patriarch Youssef celebrated the Holy Liturgy, during which the bishops participating prayed together the most sacred Act in "their own language". The Heavenly Church became almost tangible, despite our earthly imperfections. The patriarch, coming from Syria, a country "loud" with the Christians' suffering, described it as perhaps

the most beautiful and moving liturgy of his life. After a few months passing, I feel that it will be remembered by many even after over eight decades, because this prayer was sanctified by the Spirit.

Our bishops, our priests and crowd of the faithful were present at almost all the events of the Eucharistic Congress. It was inspiring to be together and constantly experience the church breathing with two lungs, where pure air could be felt as a gift of the Holy Spirit, permeating the church and the people of the Eucharist. Thus, we were present at the opening Holy Mass, listening to the testimonies and getting richer through the abundance of cultural events. It was uplifting to pray together in the procession and we were delighted to see the openness of the leaders of the Orthodox Churches, and, for all of us, it was an encounter of standing value to see the Holy Father in Heroes' Square and to pray with him.

Yes. For Greek Catholic eyes, heart and soul, the Eucharistic Congress, including the Greek Catholic bishops' meeting, was such a harmonious event, where the experience of the love of the Word, incarnated for us and for our salvation, primarily in the Eucharist, but also in the tangibility of the mere encounter, participation and presence, proved very real, affirming and uplifting.

**András Dobos, *Prassi e teologia circa l'Eucaristia nella storica Eparchia di Mukachevo. Dall'unione di Užhorod (1646) fino alla metà del XX secolo*, Aschendorff, Münster 2022 (Studies in Eastern Christian Liturgies, 3), pp. 728**

«Il mondo come lo conosciamo è la nostra interpretazione di fatti osservabili, alla luce di teorie da noi inventate» – questa affermazione di Karl Popper, alla quale il compianto Robert F. Taft s.j. piaceva fare allusione, dovrebbe premunire i lettori di qualsiasi opera storica contro quella assolutizzazione interpretativa che caratterizza le ideologie politiche, etniche, socio-economiche come anche quelle ecclesiastiche, spirituali o, addirittura, liturgiche. I fatti non sono la storia, ma la nostra interpretazione di essi. Eppure, senza interpretazione, i fatti restano muti. Ciò che rende la storia interessante è quando ai fatti viene concesso di parlare e di comunicare: comunicare tra di loro e con noi. Maggiore è la trasparenza che lo storico è in grado di conferire al metodo con cui riesce a far parlare i fatti, minore è il rischio che il lettore corre di lasciarsi trascinare nei meandri ideologici, destinati a imporre dei punti di vista esclusivistici sulla realtà che, comunque, è sempre plurale ed eterogenea.

La storia che ci offre András Dobos con questo volume, che nella sostanza riproduce la sua tesi dottorale, difesa presso il Pontificio Istituto Orientale di Roma nel 2019, non sfugge a questa regola: non sono i fatti che parlano da soli, ma è l'autore che li ha raccolti, analizzati, organizzati, e che fa in modo tale che essi raccontino una storia coerente e affascinante, in parte sconosciuta, ma da molti attesa. E di “fatti” – libri manoscritti o stampati, decreti, lettere, trattati, etc. – ce ne sono tanti, presentati e messi a parlare in modo chiaro e pertinente. Tutti hanno in comune la capacità di testimoniare una tradizione liturgica che finora poteva essere descritta solo in modo “apofatico”, essendo non-russa, non-ucraina, non-bulgara, non-romena, non-serba, non-greca. Occorre notare, però, che la realtà della quale questo studio tratta è una storia condivisa da varie chiese ed etnie odierne, storia di

cui ciascuna chiesa e ciascuna etnia custodisce la propria memoria e rispetto a cui tende a preferire la propria “interpretazione”. Una delle principali qualità di questa ricerca è che l’autore non perde mai di vista la pluralità e l’eterogeneità della realtà storica – appunto, dei “fatti” – che sono sotto esame. Ciononostante, è molto probabile che altre memorie, altre scie interpretative, con gli stessi documenti storici, pervengano a conclusioni talvolta diversificate, ma non per questo meno solide. Pertanto, un ulteriore frutto della presente indagine sarà proprio di avere suscitato degli studi complementari.

Se questa ricerca ha un carattere decisamente pluridisciplinare, offrendo materiali preziosi agli etnografi, ai filologi, agli storici dell’arte, ai liturgisti, essa offre, al contempo, anche un paradigma storiografico, pertinente ed esemplare, per lo studio di ciò che si è soliti chiamare le “periferie liturgiche”. Dalla periferia appare una visione della Chiesa meno ideologicamente allineata rispetto al cosiddetto – o presunto tale – “centro”, con un profilo liturgico e sacramentologico probabilmente più autenticamente soteriologico, in quanto meno politicamente utilitaristico. Il “centro”, infatti, per poter affermarsi come tale, tradizionalmente sviluppa una propria “memoria centralistica” alla cui visione sottomette ogni vita culturale o religiosa nel suo seno, adatta a manifestare concretamente l’ideologia centralistica che gli conferma lo specifico senso di essere. Tuttavia, da un punto di vista puramente teologico, l’unico centro possibile della Chiesa e della liturgia è la comunità che celebra. Le cosiddette “periferie liturgiche”, in principio, sfuggono all’utilitarismo politico e alla tutela parassitaria di ideologie che non hanno molto in comune con ciò che la liturgia è per essenza. Tuttavia, occorre ancora determinare in che cosa consista esattamente una periferia liturgica, soprattutto se questa sia costituita – come nel caso della storica eparchia di Mukačevo – di nazioni, di lingue e di storie diverse. L’autore introduce i suoi lettori accuratamente alla realtà storica e geografica in cui la tradizione liturgica in esame si è sviluppata ed è stata trasmessa fino a noi. Sin dall’inizio l’autore spiega il perché delle scelte che, necessariamente,

ha dovuto operare nella selezione e nella presentazione del materiale. Ancorato scrupolosamente alle varie dimensioni del tema scelto – la prassi (1) e la teologia (2) circa l'eucaristia (3) nella storica eparchia di Mukačevo (4) dall'unione di Užhgorod (1646) fino alla metà del XX secolo (5) –, l'autore non trascura di mostrare il proprio inserimento nel più ampio contesto della scienza liturgica orientale odierna. Tra i sussidi che l'autore presenta agli studiosi, per comprendere più agevolmente quale sia la realtà geopolitica in cui si svolge la storia della tradizione liturgica rutena, vanno menzionate le mappe originali e dettagliate in appendice del volume. Insieme agli elenchi di eventi e personaggi storici etc., questi materiali accrescono la qualità del volume che si presenta come una imprescindibile opera di riferimento.

Il volume è sicuramente molto vasto. Il materiale presentato avrebbe potuto offrire una base solida per almeno due studi: uno storico-liturgico e un altro liturgico-teologico. Ora, un punto di forza dell'opera consiste proprio nel tenere insieme queste dimensioni. Inoltre, il volume consente al lettore di venire in contatto con le competenze dell'autore quale esperto liturgista orientalista rigoroso, munito di una grande esperienza pratica non solo del rito, ma anche della dimensione teologico-pastorale e, nello stesso tempo, offre un paradigma affascinante di ciò che significa "teologia liturgica". In effetti, la coscienza ecclesiologica non è mai assente nelle argomentazioni teologiche o liturgiche dell'autore. Anche quando egli entra nella dimensione più tecnica dello sviluppo rituale, non perde mai di vista l'orizzonte ecclesiale, ecclesiologico e sacramentologico.

Descrivendo lo sviluppo del rituale dentro il contesto della storica eparchia di Mukačevo, più volte l'autore torna a delineare lo sviluppo della mentalità liturgica che consente di porre la questione relativa alla "tradizione liturgica rutena" dal punto di vista rituale, teologico, fenomenologico e, forse, psicologico. Dobos, a partire dalla propria sensibilità liturgica e teologica, descrive una realtà culturale in cui una certa normatività rituale bizantina comune, arricchita da elementi liturgici particolari e disparati – "ruteni" – è affidata alla

cura di generazioni di pastori per i quali la sfida più grande della propria tradizione sembra essere la trasmissione della liturgia nella sua dimensione essenzialmente soteriologica. Se questa sia una caratteristica generale della periferia liturgica rispetto al centro sarà tutto da vedere grazie all'aiuto di studi paralleli e ulteriori che ci auguriamo questa opera possa stimolare. Certo, sembra che questa sia una caratteristica evidente della tradizione liturgica della storica eparchia di Mukačevo. In questo senso, si può senz'altro affermare che András Dobos ci ha offerto non solo un modello alla luce del quale sia possibile studiare sistematicamente le cosiddette "periferie liturgiche", ma anche un esempio del fatto che lo studio rigorosamente scientifico della liturgia è, per essenza, anche un'opera teologica. Infatti, in fin dei conti, la liturgia è opera del Figlio di Dio che salva, *hic et nunc*, senza di cui la liturgia stessa perde la propria ragion d'essere.

*Thomas Pott*

**Stefano Parenti, *L'anafora di Crisostomo. Testo e contesti*, Aschendorff, Münster 2020 (Jerusalem Theologisches Forum, 36), pp. 661**

Un libro di Stefano Parenti non ha bisogno di pubblicità, e tantomeno occorre presentare un libro che si attende da cinquant'anni. L'intento del presente scritto è solo di annunciare la pubblicazione dell'opera che porta il titolo: *L'anafora di Crisostomo. Testo e contesti*. Il volume è stato pubblicato nel mese di ottobre dell'anno 2020 nella collana "Jerusalem Theologisches Forum", della casa editrice Aschendorff. Quest'opera consta di 661 pagine e comprende dodici capitoli, tre *excursus*, vari indici e un'appendice.

Come l'autore stesso avverte, il presente volume si costituisce come uno *spin-off*, ovvero come uno studio di supporto all'opera di P. Robert Taft sull'anafora. Grazie alla futura pubblicazione di quest'opera la collana sulla storia della liturgia di Giovanni Crisostomo sarà completa.<sup>1</sup> Quando era ancora in vita, P. Taft affidò la cura della sua ultima opera a Stefano Parenti. Già allora era comunque chiaro che il libro avrebbe avuto bisogno di un volume di supporto. Pertanto, Parenti assunse questo compito e compose questo volume che è dedicato alla storia testuale dell'anafora attribuita a Giovanni Crisostomo.

1 Il primo volume di questa grandiosa opera sulla storia della liturgia eucaristica bizantina fu scritto dal maestro di Robert Taft, Juan Matteos, che nel 1971 pubblicò una monografia dedicata alla liturgia della parola. Il professor Taft è andato avanti con la ricerca, i cui frutti sono stati pubblicati nei seguenti volumi: *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. Volume II: The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Pre-anaphoral Rites* (OCA 200), Roma 1975; *Volume IV: The Diptychs* (OCA 238), Roma 1991; *Volume V: The Precommunion Rites* (OCA 261), Roma 2000; *Volume VI: The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites* (OCA 281), Roma 2008. Il volume *The Great Entrance* è stato edito tre volte (l'ultima volta è stata nel 2004), quindi Stefano Parenti l'ha rivisto, tradotto ed incrementato nel 2014.

Sull'anafora c'è molto da dire, soprattutto ora che, dopo un silenzio millenario di disinteresse o di una sacra reticenza, essa ha attirato l'attenzione della teologia. L'autore comincia proprio con il tema relativo alle preghiere eucaristiche. Già la domanda in se stessa è curiosa: da quale motivo gli studiosi sono stati spinti a studiare le anafore nelle diverse epoche? Verso la metà del secolo scorso, quando alla ricerca fu dato uno slancio dalla riforma liturgica nel rito latino, l'interesse si era focalizzato sulla presunta derivazione diretta delle anafore da formule ebraiche. Eppure oggi è diventato chiaro che la liturgia ebraica in se stessa non è in grado di spiegare l'evoluzione testuale delle anafore. Stefano Parenti sceglie un metodo che è più sicuro, e, certo, più faticoso: egli parte dal più antico testo pervenuto, cioè quello del *Barberini gr. 336*, e va indietro «fino a dove è possibile». Lo stesso testo sarà successivamente il punto di partenza per un'analisi della tradizione manoscritta.

Così, fedele alla sua scelta, l'autore, nei capitoli II e III, discute il problema relativo al ruolo di Giovanni Crisostomo nell'elaborazione dell'anafora che porta il suo nome. Senza rivelare i risultati mi limito solo a rilevare che l'autore precisa la seconda delle nuove leggi liturgiche di Robert Taft: «Lo sviluppo personale spesso tradisce una mano individuale».

Nei capitoli IV e V si parla di un fenomeno interessante: l'omologazione delle anafore, ovvero l'interazione strutturale e testuale delle anafore che erano utilizzate nelle chiese locali. Il concetto di omologazione, che è estremamente importante per capire lo sviluppo delle anafore, viene chiarito bene dall'autore già nell'introduzione. Nel nostro caso si pensa prima di tutto all'omologazione delle anafore di Crisostomo e Basilio; tuttavia, per l'argomento trattato non è di scarsa rilevanza nemmeno quel processo simile che accade tra l'anafora siriana degli apostoli e l'anafora siriana di Giacomo.

Nel capitolo VI si passa all'epoca a cui risale il testo più antico dell'anafora che è giunto a noi, cioè alla recezione pre-iconoclasta. In una appendice l'autore presenta anche una possibile ricostruzione

del testo di questo periodo. Pertanto, nei capitoli VII ed VIII si segue lo sviluppo a partire dall'epoca post-iconoclasta. Il periodo post-iconoclasta, come si mette in evidenza, è significativo per il fatto che esso ha favorito il processo in cui l'impiego dell'anafora di Basilio fu ridotto alle poche occasioni in cui si usa anche oggi.

Gli ultimi tre capitoli riguardano alcuni temi particolari, come le intercessioni e le commemorazioni, l'anafora di Crisostomo in Italia meridionale, le correzioni effettuate nel testo delle anafore di Basilio e Crisostomo all'ordine della curia di Avignone nel secolo XIV. Il capitolo XII e l'*excursus* successivo sono dedicati al modo della recitazione e ai gesti riguardanti l'anafora.

Già nell'introduzione Parenti si guarda bene dall'osare contestare alcuni assunti teologici, derivanti dalla ricerca storica e testuale. Tuttavia, proprio nell'ultimo *excursus* si rivela che l'autore, pur non essendo un teologo di formazione, si dimostra come tale, perché egli stesso non solo scruta i manoscritti, ma anche vive la liturgia con la Chiesa, essendo lettore della chiesa di Sant'Antonio in cui lo stesso Robert Taft ha celebrato per lunghi decenni. In questo terzo *excursus*, infatti, l'autore propone alcuni aspetti concreti per una riforma. Fra le idee per una riforma si menzionano innanzitutto la liberalizzazione della liturgia di Basilio che, senza alcun motivo ragionevole, dovette assumere un carattere penitenziale, inoltre una revisione testuale e, infine, la recitazione del testo ad alta voce. Vale la pena di fermarsi su questo ultimo punto, siccome, benché il ripristino della prassi antica sia stato fervidamente sollecitato dalle Istruzioni liturgiche della Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali del 1996, sono poche le chiese bizantine in cui il consiglio ha suscitato una anche minima risonanza. Qui si coglie purtroppo una tendenza, cioè che le chiese cattoliche orientali, in qualità di baluardi della tradizione, spesso insistono su certe prassi non giustificabili, anziché dare il buon esempio alle altre chiese. Ci sono alcuni casi, come dice l'autore, in cui la questione non è se tornare all'antica prassi o no, ma se ripristinare la prassi corretta o andare avanti con un'anomalia, nonostante essa abbia un passato di mille anni.

La lettura del presente volume è oltremodo eccitante anche secondo il punto di vista di una certa “psicologia liturgica”. Al recensore colpisce l’attitudine clericale sempre ricorrente nella vita sacramentale della Chiesa, e cioè come il clero cerchi di attribuire la responsabilità al popolo per cambiamenti non trascurabili, richiamandosi ad esempio alla presunta preferenza del popolo. In primo luogo, si pensa qui all’argomento destinato a giustificare la promozione dell’anafora di Crisostomo rispetto a quella di Basilio, come se fossero stati i fedeli ad annoiarsi della prolissità di quest’ultima. In realtà, come sappiamo, fu il clero a optare per la preghiera notevolmente più corta. Oggigiorno, orientati dallo stesso spirito clericale, si fa soventemente un appello proprio contro qualsiasi modifica: «I fedeli non capiscono ... ».

Ciascuno capitolo del presente volume termina con una conclusione chiara e sostanziale, cui siamo stati già abituati nei volumi di P. Robert Taft. La divisione del libro è meno dettagliata, ma più nitida e meglio ordinata rispetto agli ultimi libri. Al lettore che abbia meno familiarità con la lingua greca di quanta ne abbia l’autore – e ve ne saranno numerosi – sarà più faticosa la lettura di alcuni brani in greco, non tradotti, ma lasciati sempre solo in lingua originale. Il volume, bello anche nella visualizzazione testuale, è ben provvisto di indici ed elenchi.

*András Dobos*