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Cultural Anamnesis: The *Centesimus Annus* of Henryk Sienkiewicz

Introduction

I would like to commemorate the recent centenary of the death of the Nobel Prize winning Polish novelist Henryk Sienkiewicz.¹ Here I should like to offer a few reflections chiefly on *Quo vadis*, a novel of the Christian faith in the last days of Nero's persecution under the Roman Empire, in the light of some remarks by Pope John Paul II on the topic of Christian culture, chiefly in *Centesimus Annus*.²

I: The Relation between the State and Culture in Centesimus Annus

Today I shall focus on a theme touched on in sections 44-52: the State and Culture. "A sound theory of the State" is needed "to ensure the normal development of man's spiritual and temporal activities"; John Paul II, like Leo XIII, seems to entertain "a novelty in Church teaching" by recognizing "three powers—legislative, executive and judicial" in "the organization of society." Such a "concept has been opposed by totalitarianism," which arises when "one does not acknow-

¹ Henryk Adam Aleksander Pius Sienkiewicz was born on 5 May 1846 in Wola Okrzejska, (Congress Poland) and died 15 November 1916.

² On the Memorial of St. Joseph the Worker, 1 May 1991, the late Pope Saint John Paul II promulgated his encyclical letter *Centesimus Annus* to celebrate the hundred years since the publication of Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum*.

ledge transcendent truth," especially in "the denial of the transcendent dignity of the human person" (*CA*, 44). This totalitarian tendency is not confined to the "Marxist-Leninist form," though that tendency is singled out by name.³

"The culture and praxis of totalitarianism also involve a rejection of the Church. The State or the party which claims to be able to lead history towards perfect goodness, and which sets itself above all values, cannot tolerate the affirmation of an objective criterion of good and evil beyond the will of those in power..." (CA, 45). It is noteworthy that Marxism-Leninism is not the only variety of historicism.⁴

The encyclical reiterates the Church's positive valuation of "the democratic system inasmuch as it ensures the participation of citizens in making political choices, guarantees to the governed the possibility both of electing and holding accountable those who govern them, and of replacing them through peaceful means when appropriate,"

³ Consider my essay "Which Sciences Does Political Science Direct and Use and How Does It Do So?" *The St. John's Review*, Volume 57, Number 2 (Spring 2016): 70-78 for an interesting and influential instance in Anglo-Saxon philosophical circles. What are the doctrinal implications for Aristotelian political philosophy if one follows Bywater's suppression of the manuscript tradition? In the traditional reading, the controlling power of politics is said to extend over the other *practical* disciplines, but not necessarily over the interior content of *theoretical* sciences as such. Aristotle seems to leave room for a sort of philosophical activity over and above practical or productive thinking. For Aristotle "theory" does not mean pointlessness, but rather taking what is there into the soul so as to attain truth. Attaining the truth *is* the point. To contemporary ears, Aristotle's saying—"The soul somehow is all beings" (*De anima* 3. 8)—sounds shocking.

⁴ For some treatments of this issue, it is worth consulting Leo Strauss, *Natural Right and History*, ch. 1 "Natural Right and the Historical Approach," (Chicago, 1953), pp. 9-34; *What Is Political Philosophy?* ch. 2 "Political Philosophy and History," (New York: The Free Press, 1959; rpt. 1973), pp. 56-77, esp. p. 75, n. 4 on Hegel's description of "the specific difference" between "modern philosophy" and "pre-modern philosophy" and the important exemplification of this issue in Jacob Klein's studies of the development of algebra. See also the Annual St. Thomas Lecture by Emil Fackenheim, *Metaphysics and Historicity* (Marquette, 1961).

For recent appraisals of the Klein thesis, see Arian Koochesfahani, "On Jacob Klein's *Greek Mathematical Thought and the Origin of Algebra*," *St. John's Review*, (Spring 2016), pp. 47-69 and Burt C. Hopkins, *The Origin of Symbolic Mathematics: Edmund Husserl and Jacob Klein* (Indianapolis University Press, 2011).

and calls attention the need for the rule of law and "a correct conception of the human person" so that "authentic democracy is possible" (CA, 46). Nevertheless, the Church is aware of "the danger of fanaticism or fundamentalism" in "an ideology which purports to be scientific or religious" that would "claim the right to impose on others their own concept of what is true and good. *Christian truth...* is not an ideology" (CA 46). Some caution is needed when using philosophically weighted terms like "ideology," which seems to have entered public discourse in the time of the French Revolution.⁵ Accordingly, "the Christian faith does not presume to imprison changing sociopolitical realities in a rigid schema, and it recognizes that human life is realized in history in conditions that are diverse and imperfect" (CA, 46). There are, however, occasional efforts to create rigid historical schemata even in the tradition of scriptural exegesis.⁶

In the wake of "the collapse of Communist totalitarianism and of many other totalitarian and 'national security' regimes" reforms are taking place that concern issues relating to "human rights" (including the "right to life" and certain derivative rights) and "the common good." Respecting "the legitimate autonomy of the democratic order," the Church offers "her vision of the dignity of the person revealed in all its fullness in the mystery of the Incarnate Word" (CA, 47).

Affirming the mission of the Church to be "present and active among the needy, offering them material assistance in ways that neither humiliate nor reduce them to mere objects of assistance" the encyclical notes the importance of continuing "active charity" especially through "volunteer work" so as "to overcome today's widespread individualistic mentality" and to provide "a concrete commitment to solidarity and charity, beginning in the family," while recognizing the need for "social policies which... assist the family by providing adequate resources." A "dialogue which involves past and future generations" is

⁵ Destutt de Tracy introduced the term for the first time in 1796. See the article "Ideologie" in the *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* (Darmstadt 1976) IV, coll. 158-185).

⁶ See for example Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, vol. 3, ch. 6 (Kalamazoo: Eerdmans, 2009), on Joachim of Flora, pp. 327-419 with notes pp. 685-767.

needed lest "the individual today" be "suffocated between two poles represented by the State and the marketplace" (AC, 49).

"From this open search for truth, which is renewed in every generation, the culture of a nation derives its character." It is in this context that John Paul "recall<s> that evangelization too plays a role in the culture of the various nations" (CA, 51).

II. From Polish Pope to Polish Literature: What Can We Learn from Sienkiewicz?

Curiously, from the standpoint of historical geography, Poland ranged in size at various times from large to zero political area;⁷ in 1495 it stretched from the Baltic Sea all the way to the Black Sea.⁸ For the first 28 years of Sienkiewicz's life, from birth to adulthood, Poland was a political entity; in 1874 and for more than half his life, it ceased to exist as a state. Three times Poland vanished, like the Cheshire Cat, leaving not even the smile behind. Sienkiewicz died two years before Poland re-appeared for the second time on the map. In the mean time, her territory had been partitioned by Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Under Germany, Polish children were forbidden to use the Polish language in school.⁹

After a stint in journalism and the end of his university studies in 1871, Sienkiewicz wrote a few pieces of fiction. He traveled in 1874 to Brussels and Paris. After a brief return to Poland, he left to the Western United States to write travelogues for various Polish news-

⁷ In 1492 Poland-Lithuania covered 435,547 sq. mi.; thrice it covered no physical territory at all (1795-1807; 1874-1918; 1939-45).

⁸ See Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland in Two Volumes* (Columbia University Press, 2005, I, p. 25, Map 2, Poland's Changing Territory; the authorized Polish translation *Boże Igryysko: Historia Polski* by Elżbieta Tabakowska (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Znak, 2010) in one volume has a clearer map on p. 49. There are also animated maps on line, e.g.: Historical map of Poland's borders: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JhwGW8JzH8g (12:40 animation) – Granice Polski 990-2011 – aktualizacja: poprawki w treści i poprawiona jakość filmu HD. "A 1000 years of Poland in 5 minutes" is displayed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9DK19gT6Txg.

 $^{^9\,}$ See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henryk_Sienkiewicz (accessed 20 Mar 2017).

papers. After his return to Poland in the spring of 1879, he went off in late summer to visit Venice and Rome, arriving back in Warsaw in November, to meet and eventually to marry Maria Szetkiewicz, with whom he had two children before her death in 1885.¹⁰

Bismark's *Kulturkampf* banned the singing of the Polish national anthem *Boże coś Polskę*¹¹ at Mass (to which the Church authorities acceeded); moreover it also insisted upon interfering in religious instruction in schools and seminaries (to which the Church authorities did not consent). Both the Archbishop of Cologne in the Rhineland and the Primate of Prussian Poland, Archbishop Mieczysław Ledóchowski of Gniezno and Poznań were arrested and imprisoned.

At a stroke, Bismark ensured that Polishness and Catholicity in Prussia should be permanently identified. ... On the religious, as on the educational issue, repression proved counter-productive. 12

The arrest and exile of Catholic clergy were part of this dramatic background. The *Kulturkampf* ¹³ of political liberals against the Catholic Church was not confined to Prussia in the 19th Century.

Here I shall pass over those works of Sienkiewicz that are most known in Poland. Although they, too, are usually classified as "historical novels," their trans-historical timeliness was not always lost on the censors. ¹⁴ Here I shall offer a few thoughts about the "histor-

¹⁰ Ibid.

 $^{^{11}}$ The lyrics of $\it Boże, coś Polskę$ are found sung here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jsoj_8Fp1qA&index=40&list=PLDS6jLdvX-

P_2MzZbDPfd-5uJBGQLv0HLq https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bABbppiyDzI&list=RDJsoj_8Fp1qA&index=18 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tDAft_PrRas&index=27&list=RDJsoj_8Fp1qA

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tDAft_PrRas&index=27&list=RDJsoj_8Fp1qA
The same tune supports the Marian hymn *Serdeczne Matko*, as can be heard here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qWosYUakRHQ. This hymn was and stil lis sung at Mass.

¹² Davies, p. 94.

 $^{^{\}rm 13}\,$ For an easily accessible survey, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kulturkampf.

¹⁴ Sienkiewicz's *Trilogy* of three epic novels set in during the time of the Swedish invasion of Poland consist of *Ogniem i Mieczem (With Fire and Sword)*, *The Deluge (Potop)*, and *Sir Michael (Pan Wołodyjowski)*; these were published in 1884, 1886, and 1888, respectively. Plot outlines of , the Sienkiewicz *Trilogy*, which is set in the 17th Century can be found at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/With_Fire_and_Sword; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Deluge_(novel); and, under an alternative English title, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fire in the Steppe. The film under the direction of Jerzy

ical" novel best known in the West. It goes by the same Latin title in Poland as in the Western translations: *Quo vadis?* What does this title mean? According to the apocryphal *Acts of Peter*, while Peter is fleeing Rome to avoid persecution, he has a vision of the risen Christ. When Peter asks Him "Where are you going?" Jesus answers, I am going to Rome to be crucified again. We may well wonder to whom this question is addressed in the title of Sienkiewicz's book. I suggest that this question is directed primarily at us his readers, each of us taken one at a time. The subtitle is *A Narrative of the Time of Nero*. We may wonder who is Nero? Perhaps a clue from Ezra Pound may help: "Literature is news that stays news. If If Nero was the persecutor of the first century, and Bismark in the nineteenth, might there not be others at other times? In my view, although one may consider *Quo*

Hoffman is available on 5 DVDs in Polish with English subtitles (1. With Fire and Sword: *Ogniem i Mieczem*, 2. The Deluge: *Potop*–nominated for Best Foreign Language Film 1974 Academy Award 3. Colonel Wolodyjowski: *Pan Wolodyjowski*).

Americans generally believe that they have certain rights to free speech protected under the first amendment to the U. S. Constitution; this opinion can blind us to the reality of censorship of various types. A corrective against this sort of blindness can be found in the title essay of Leo Strauss's book *Persecution and the Art of Writing* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952; reprint Greenwood Press, 1973), pp. 22-37. It is noteworthy that since the fall of Communism, Polish translations of such books as the *History of Political Philosophy* edited by Leo Strauss and Joseph Cropsey have appeared: *Historia Filozofii Politycznej* (Warszawa 2012), and concomitantly an English version of one of Ryszard Legutko's books has appeared: *The Demon in Democracy: Totalitarian Temptations in Free Societies* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016), which addresses the resurgence of European liberalism as ade-Christianizing force in the European Union. For an appreciation of the founding of modern liberalism, see Leo Strauss, *Liberalism, Ancient and Modern* (New York: Basic Books, 1968), especially chapter 9 "Preface to Spinoza's Critique of Religion" (pp.224-259).

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quo_vadis%3F reports five occurrences of the phrase in the canonical Latin Bible, but Sienkiewicz toward the end of *Quo vadis* includes the non-canonical episode. The event was mentioned in the Homily of John Paul II on the inauguration of his Pontificate, Sunday 22 October 1978: http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/homilies/1978/documents/hf_jp-ii_hom_19781022_inizio-pontificato.html.

¹⁶ ABC of Reading, (1934) chapter 8.

¹⁷ As a confirmation of Pound's insight, we might consider the first sentence uttered by Socrates in the long monologue known as Plato's *Republic*. It begins (327a, Bloom translation): I went down to the Piraeus *yesterday* with Glaucon, son of Ariston,

vadis to be literally a "historical" novel, its primary intention is much more than that.¹⁸

Unlike memory, which is the mere retention of past experience, which even some beasts seem to have, *anamnesis* is something only human beings can do. It involves calling back or deliberately retrieving the memory of some forgotten thing that we have experienced. Both memory and recollection seem to be practical sense powers. ¹⁹ At the center of Catholic spiritual life there is a new sense of *anamnesis*, of making present what has been there before. In the sacramental sacrifice of Christ's Body, Blood, Soul, and Divinity at the Mass, this same sacrifice is not merely memorialized but re-presented. The Sacrifice of Calvary is not merely re-enacted in the Mass, but Christ is really, actually and effectively present with us in the Mystery of the Eucharist. ²⁰ Participating in Christ through the communion of saints, I wonder whether when Catholics recall the saints on their feast days, our way of celebrating anniversaries is more than a mere historical recollection. What I propose to do is to explore an analogy of *anamnesis*.

In this essay, of course, I cannot even pretend to do justice to Sienkiewicz's book. Some might try to challenge the accuracy of historical details in his "historical" novel; I do not intend to focus on his use of historical sources. Nor do I intend to survey how *Quo vadis* has been

to pray to the goddess...." If we ask *when* is Socrates speaking these words, we see that he is speaking the day after yesterday. Socrates, then, is speaking *today*.

The theme governing Henri de Lubac's four-volume study *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture* (Kalamazoo, MI: Eerdmans, v. 1 (1998), v. 2 (2000), v. 3 (2009), v. 4 (in progress)), v. 1, p. 271 is this: "Littera gesta docet, quod credas allegoria./ Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia" which Sebanc translates thus: "The letter teaches events, allegory what you should believe, Morality what you should do, anagogy what mark you should be aiming for." This four-fold sense is of course familiar to great Catholic writers like Dante.

¹⁹ For a discussion of the notions of memory and recollection in the Aristotelian tradition of philosophical psychology, see St. Thomas Aquinas, *Commentaries on Aristotle's "On Sense and What is Sensed" and "On Memory and Recollection,"* translated with introductions and notes by Kevin White and Edward M. Macierowski (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), pp. 169-182 and pp. 235-260.

²⁰ For a study of the notion of sacramental *anamnesis*, see Fritz Chenderlin, "Do This as My Memorial: The Semantic and Conceptual Background and Value of Αναμνησις in I Corinthians 11:24-25 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1982).

received and adapted in various media.²¹ Suffice it to say that it is a love story and a conversion story. Plot summaries are readily available and even a free English audio version is available.²²

Though it is possible to read Sienkiewicz's *Quo vadis* as a "historical" novel and one might attempt to detect anachronisms in points where it does not follow Tacitus's account of Nero's Rome, I submit that such a reading is less valuable that reading it as illustrating paradigmatic types of human beings. We thus find in Nero a typical tyrant, with no special "ideological" commitment to what we today call "totalitarianism." Petronius, the *arbiter elegantiarum*, is a model aesthete. To be sure, a reading of *Quo vadis* may be enriched by reading the surviving parts of Petronius's *Satyricon*, ²³ especially the *Cena Trimalchionis*, which Petronius as a character in the novel recommends to the hero of the story, his nephew Marcus Vinicius. Paganism shows up especially in the depraved Nero, the refined Petronius, and the hero Vinicius.

Saints Peter and Paul, on the other hand, illustrate the transmission of Christ's law of love and mercy. The princess Lygia, the heroine of the story, is a hostage of Rome in the custody of Aulus Plautius, a re-

²¹ For a focused essay "Henryk Sienkiewicz and *Quo Vadis*" by Peter K. Gessner, see http://info-poland.buffalo.edu/classroom/sienkiewicz/QV.html . An instructive "Synopsis of the Novel and the Film Versions of Quo Vadis" can be found at http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/store/10.1002/9781444306125.oth2/asset/oth2.pdf;jsessionid=C734AB55384EA8F450766D882804E68C.f04t02?v=1&t=j0h0i398&s=7 ca3a1bf1ad49aa3134643264805c5eaf6fb15b7 (This gives a chapter-by-chapter summary of the novel using the chapters of Curtin's 1897 English translation with comparisons in parallel columns with the 1912 silent film by Guazzoni, the 1925 restored version by D'Annunzio and Jacoby, the 1951 American film by LeRoy nnow on DVD, and the 2001 Polish version by Kawalerowicz, but a separate treatment of Rossi's 1985 miniseries)

²² See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quo_Vadis_(novel) which also provide a public domain English audio link https://librivox.org/quo-vadis-by-henryk-sienkiewicz/taking about 21 hours for David Leeson to read it.

²³ For a convenient English version with a facing Latin text, see E. H. Warmington's revision of Michael Heseltine's translation in the *Petronius* volume of the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969). See also Gareth Schmeling and Aldo Setaioli, *A Commentary on the Satyrica of Petronius* (Oxford: University Press, 2011), whose "authors assume an above-average knowledge of Greek, Latin (Classical and Vulgar), and literary history" (p. vii), as well as the less technical *Petronius: A Handbook*, edited by Jonathan Prag and Ian Repath (Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

tired Roman general and his Christian wife Pomponia, who provokes the grudging admiration of Petronius for her then-unusual monogamous loyalty to her husband. The story traces the transformation of the pagan lust of Vinicius for Lygia into a new kind of love amid the Neronian persecutions.

Bearing in mind the martyrdom of Catholics and Poles under Bismark, we can see that Sienkiewicz points to the persistent possibility of efforts to suppress the Christian faith and the Polish people.²⁴ Let me now try to show how Sienkiewicz may help us in what some might like to call a "post-Christian" world. Even some of the debates in the wake of the Second Vatican Council seem to me to fall into this trap. Let me give an example. In the wake of the Second Vatican Council there seems to have been a struggle between what was called ressourcement and aggiornamento. Both of these activities are needed for human beings who act within a living tradition. The French word "ressourcement" may be translated as "getting back to the sources." One pioneer in this effort was John Henry Cardinal Newman, whose research into the works by the Fathers of the Church brought him from the Anglican communion into fuller communion with the Catholic Church. The Italian word "aggiornamento" may be rendered as "bringing up do date." Some of the controversies in the wake of the Second Vatican Council may be attributed to a tendency to take these two activities solely within a context of historical immanentism. When this happens, the effort to get back to the sources begins to look like antiquarianism or traditionalism, and the effort to bring things up to date begins to look like a revolutionary rupture, what Pope Benedict XVI called a "hermeneutic of discontinuity."25

²⁴ See http://info-poland.buffalo.edu/classroom/sienkiewicz/QV.html: "Toward the end of the novel, Sienkiewicz creates a dramatic scene, the symbolism of which would not have been lost on his countrymen: the German beast (a black Germanic bull) to whose horns Ligia (representing Poland) has been tied, is vanquished by Ursus (representing the Polish people), who thereby restores her freedom."

²⁵ For Benedict XVI, 22 December 2005, Christmas greetings to the Roman Curia, see <a href="http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2005/december/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20051222_roman-curia.html Cf. George Weigel, Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II (New York: Harper Collins, 1999), p. 33, in describing Karol Wojtyła's listening to his father reading aloud the Sienkiewicz *Trilogy*, contrasts two types of revolutionary literature in the nineteenth century: "for many political the-

Concluding the Eighth International Thomistic Congress on 13 September 1980, the late Saint Pope John Paul II observed:

Within the culture of the $19^{\rm th}$ century two extreme attitudes in fact can be singled out: rationalism (reason without faith) and fideism (faith without reason). ... The dualism setting reason and faith in opposition, not at all modern, constituted a renewal of the medieval doctrine of the "double truth"... ²⁶

To prevent philosophy from "being reduced to an arbitrary subjective opinion" man should first interrogate creatures by considering the things diligently; at that point the things interrogated answer back. "Philosophy," continues John Paul, "does not consist in a subjective system²⁷ put together at the pleasure of the philosopher, but must be the faithful reflection of the order of things in the human mind." Such a "realism, far from excluding the historic meaning, creates bases for the historicity of knowledge without letting it decline into the fragile circumstance of historicism, widespread today. Therefore, after having given precedence to the voice of things, St. Thomas takes an attitude of paying respectful attention to what the philosophers have said and say in order to evaluate it, comparing them with the concrete reality." ²⁹

orists in nineteenth-century Continental Europe, 'revolution' implied a complete break with the past.... Polish Romanticism, on the other hand, considered revolution as the recovery of a lost value that had been crucial in the nation's formation."

²⁶ John Paul II, *Two Lectures on St. Thomas Aquinas* (Reprinted from *The Whole Truth About Man*, ed. James V, Sch<a>ull, S. J. Daughters of St. Paul, 1981) reprinted at Niagara University: Jacques & Raissa Maritain Institute, 1991. The first (pp. 209-227) is entitled "Perennial Philosophy of St. Thomas for the Youth of Our Times"; the "second (pp. 262-280), "Method and Doctrine of St. Thomas in Dialogue with Modern Culture" (DMC), pp. 264-5. For a brief survey of what has come to be called "Latin Averroism," see http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ip/rep/B012.htm. For Averroes himself, there is an English version facing the Arabic original, of the *Decisive Treatise & Epistle Dedicatory*, translation, with introduction and notes, by Charles E. Butterworth (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2001).

²⁷ For a survey of the various uses of this term, see the entry "System" in the *Historisches Wörterbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie*, (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, 1998), Bd. 10, coll. 823-856.

²⁸ DMC, p. 266.

²⁹ DMC, p. 267.

To conclude, we might learn a little from Sienkiewicz about how to communicate the truth using Aesopian speech to elude the latest group of censors and perhaps for a while even elude the grasp of the latest tyrant. I wonder, further, whether we may learn not only how the Christians were persecuted under Nero, and how the Polish people were martyred under the *Kulturkampf*, but also how all who are martyred can unite their own sufferings with those of Christ crucified, and how, trusting in Him, we may share in his heavenly beatitude.

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Summary

In the article the author tries to prove that we might learn a little from Sienkiewicz about how to communicate the truth using Aesopian speech to elude the latest group of censors and perhaps for a while even elude the grasp of the latest tyrant. I wonder, further, whether we may learn not only how the Christians were persecuted under Nero, and how the Polish people were martyred under the *Kulturkampf*, but also how all who are martyred can unite their own sufferings with those of Christ crucified, and how, trusting in Him, we may share in his heavenly beatitude.

Key words: Sienkiewicz, Centesimus Annus, culture, Church, Christians