

Trieste, 13-14 ottobre 2023

Convegno Internazionale

**OLTRE PUTIN
TEOLOGIA POLITICA RUSSA NEL XXI SECOLO**

PROGRAMMA

Venerdì 13 ottobre (15:00 – 17:00)

Saluti istituzionali

Prof. Valter Sergio

Prorettore Vicario Università di Trieste

Prof. Georg Meyr

Direttore del Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche e sociali

Introduzione al Convegno

Prof.ssa Giuliana Parotto

Responsabile Scientifica del Convegno

Relazioni

(Sarà disponibile un servizio di traduzione simultanea italiano-inglese)

POST-WESTERN RUSSIA

Prof. Richard Sakwa

Emeritus: Head of School - Politics and International Relations-Rutherford College University of Kent - Canterbury Kent

The Russo-Ukrainian war marks before a turning point and an acceleration of tendencies long visible. In the case of Russia, it marks a decisive break with the 500-year-long attempt to modernise and adapt to Western modernity. Since 2012 Russia has been identified as a ‘state-civilisation’, including the affirmation of an identity and values opposed to those of the West. However, the repudiation is partial. While relations with the political West are ruptured, Russia remains ambivalent about the civilisational West, the entity that it has been trying to join for 500 years, while it remains relatively unambiguously in favour of the cultural West, the tradition drawing on Europe’s Judaic-Christian and Greco-Roman inheritance. This in turn is reflected in the coexistence and contestation between the four great macrofactions of Russian modernity: the liberals, the guardian-security (okhraniteli-siloviki) bloc, the neo-traditionalists (ranging from neo-communists to the Russian Orthodox Church), and the Eurasianists. Thus, Russia remains ideationally plurally even as it become more politically authoritarian. This shapes the debate about Russian civilisation today, although all factions seek to create some sort of ‘greater Russia’. All seek to make Russia great again, but their respective definitions of greatness differ.

META-SYN-CHRESIS: BETWEEN “SPECIAL” AND “HOLY” IN RUSSIA’S DISCUSSION OF ITS WAR AGAINST UKRAINE

Prof. Alexander V. Astrov

Central European University – Wien

Initially, Russia’s aggression against Ukraine was defined by President Putin as a “special military operation.” As this “special operation” dragged on for over a year, some media sources started referring to it as a “holy military operation.” At first, this may appear to be a playful use of language since, in both cases, the Russian abbreviation would be the same: SVO. However, there is more to it than a play on words. At stake is contestation over what semiotician Yuri Lotman and philosopher Aleksandr Pyatigorsky defined as a “cultural code” implicitly present in significant “texts” that make up a “culture,” including political culture. In this paper, I explicate and generalise this contestation as a process of meta-syn-chresis - a combination of relations exemplified in rhetoric by metaphor, metonymy and catachresis. Then, following the work of Ernesto Laclau on the rhetoricity of social organisation, I show this process to be at work in the writings of Marina Tsvetaeva, in the political speeches of Viktor Orbán, and in the Russian discourse leading up to the current war.

L’ESICASMO POLITICO E LA TEOLOGIA POLITICA NEO-BIZANTINA NELLA CHIESA ORTODOSSA RUSSA

Prof.ssa Kristina Stoeckl

Università Luiss Guido Carli - Roma

L’esicismo è una preghiera meditativa praticata dai monaci ortodossi fin dai primi tempi del cristianesimo. La pratica è stata concettualizzata teologicamente nel XIV secolo da Gregorios Palamas (1296/97-1359). Da allora, l’esicismo è diventato oggetto di numerosi trattati teologici e filosofici, in particolare durante il periodo di fioritura della filosofia religiosa russa durante l’ultimo decennio del XIX secolo ed i primi due decenni del XX secolo. Ma solo a metà del XX secolo, nelle condizioni improbabili del comunismo sovietico e della Guerra Fredda, si hanno due interpretazioni distintamente politiche dell’esicismo da parte del filologo russo Gelian Prokhorov (1936-2017) e del teologo emigrato russo di seconda generazione John Meyendorff (1926-1992). Nel suo intervento, la sociologa Kristina Stoeckl delinea le origini dell’esicismo politico nelle opere di Meyendorff e Prokhorov e poi traccia l’influenza di questo concetto sulla Chiesa Ortodossa Russa contemporanea, dove l’esicismo politico e la visione neo-bizantina della Russia odierna è diventato cavallo di battaglia per estremisti anti-occidentali e fondamentalisti ortodossi.

Political Hesychasm and Neo-Byzantinism in the Russian Orthodox Church

Hesychasm is a meditative prayer tradition practiced by Orthodox monks since early Christian times. The practice was conceptualized theologically in the 14th century by Gregorios Palamas (1296/97-1359). Since then, hesychasm has become the object of numerous theological and philosophical treatments, in particular during the “silver age” of Russian religious philosophy. But only in the mid-20th century, under the unlikely conditions of Soviet communism and Cold War, we get two distinctively political interpretations of hesychasm by the Russian philologist Gelian Prokhorov (1936-2017) and the Russian second generation émigré-theologian John Meyendorff (1926-1992). This chapter outlines the origins of “political hesychasm” in the treatments of Meyendorff and Prokhorov and then traces the influence of this concept in contemporary Russian philosophy and Orthodox theology. The focus lies on recent treatments of “political hesychasm” by Russian authors who have made the concept the ground for radical arguments about Christian Orthodox uniqueness and anti-Westernism.

Segue dibattito

OLTRE PUTIN

TEOLOGIA POLITICA RUSSA NEL XXI SECOLO

PROGRAMMA

Sabato 14 ottobre (9:00 – 13:00)

Relazioni

(Sarà disponibile un servizio di traduzione simultanea italiano-inglese)

ALLE ORIGINI DELL'IDEA DEL RUSSIJ MIR

Prof. Giovanni Codevilla

Emerito - Università di Trieste

The doctrine of Russkijmir is the result of a long historical process marked by the progressive distancing of Russian Orthodoxy from Constantinople with the refusal of the Grand Prince of Moscow to accept the decisions of the Council of Florence. In the space of a few years, the metropolis of Moscow proclaimed its de facto autocephaly and the bond of subordination of the Sacerdotium to the Imperium was strengthened, especially starting from the Council of 1503 which saw the monastic current led by Iosif of Volokolamsk, who stated a close bond between Church and sovereign, prevail on that represented by Nil Sorskyj, who supported the independence of the Church from civil power. At the beginning of the 16th century, the monk Filofej from the Pskov region enunciated the theory of the Moscow third Rome and the transfer of the imperial capital from Constantinople to Moscow. Since then the symphonic relationship between Church and Empire has been upset, no longer signifying the harmonious collaboration between them, but the prevalence of civil power over religious power, which will culminate in 1721 with Peter the Great's decision to abolish the Patriarchate established in 1589. From then on the history of the Church will be that of the State. With the end of Bolshevism which marked the full subjugation of the Church, a new symphony was reconstituted between civil and religious power: the latter provides the former with the theological justification for the affirmation of Russkijmir, or the obsessive claim to also impose manu militari the hegemony of Moscow and the supremacy of its Orthodoxy as the only way to eliminate Evil and impose Good in the reconstituted great Empire of Russia.

DAL PATRIOTTISMO ORTODOSSO AL MONDO RUSSO PUTINIANO

Prof. Stefano Caprio

Pontificio Istituto orientale – Roma

Si affronterà il passaggio dalle tesi enunciate nel 2000 nei "Fondamenti della dottrina sociale della Chiesa Ortodossa russa", fino alla giustificazione della "guerra santa" come missione della Russia nel mondo, contro l'ideologia globalista anti-tradizionale. L'intervento passerà in rassegna i discorsi del metropolita e poi patriarca Kirill, i documenti del Sinodo del patriarcato di Mosca, i vari interventi del metropolita di Pskov Tikhon (Shevkunov) e altri esponenti del patriarcato. Si potrà quindi fare attenzione alle elaborazioni ideologiche dell'attuale regime di Mosca, dall'eurasismo al russkij mir, nei discorsi di Putin, dei suoi "ideologi" ed esponenti della cultura e della società russa, fino alla retorica bellica dell'ultimo anno.

THE BYZANTINE SPIRIT: IN BETWEEN THE RENAISSANCE AND MODERNITY

Prof. Arpad Szakolczai

Emeritus - University College Cork- Ireland

The aim of the presentation will be to assess the impact of the peculiar, dualistic ‘Byzantine spirit’ on the rise of the modern world, as a background to contemporary political-theological developments. It will be using the approach and the tools of political anthropology, in particular the terms ‘liminality’, ‘trickster’, and ‘schismogenesis’. The source of such dualistic spirit is the dual nature of the Hippodrome: location of solemn public-religious rituals, on the one hand, and on the other of various circus entertainment, survivals of the pre-Christian Roman Empire; both under the authority of the Emperor, who thus embodied in his person religious and secular authority, deeply confusing charismatic and trickster roles. It was this spirit that was transmitted, in the liminal moment of the sack of Constantinople, into the West, playing a fundamental role in the rise of the modern world, which reproduced the East-West schism with the rise of Protestantism. Focus here will be on the extremely ambiguous nature of the ‘public sphere’, which was already a main theme of the hesychasm debate, and which is systematically ignored in the modern celebration of the media and the public.

IL SISTEMA SIMBOLICO DI MOSCA. LO SPAZIO URBANO TRA STRATIFICAZIONE IDEOLOGICO-RELIGIOSA E SACRALIZZAZIONE DEL POTERE.

Prof. Adriano Roccucci

Università Roma 3

Nella storia della Russia i processi di sacralizzazione del potere hanno avuto il loro epicentro a Mosca, il cui tessuto urbano e la cui trama ideologica sono intrisi di rimandi alla dimensione del sacro. Mosca è una città a cui una stratificazione ideologica e culturale secolare ha assegnato una valenza simbolica di grande rilievo politico-religioso. L'inestricabile intreccio di sacro e potere ha segnato le sue vicende e ha lasciato un'impronta profonda nei luoghi della città, che si è venuta a configurare come uno «spazio sacrale» e contestualmente come uno «spazio politico». Nel corso del Novecento sovietico il linguaggio urbano e simbolico di Mosca, in un intreccio di eredità e innovazioni, è stato declinato in maniera funzionale alla religione politica del bolscevismo. Nella nuova Russia post-sovietica la capitale, divenuta terreno per un ulteriore gioco di ibridazioni tra passato e presente, ha continuato a svolgere il ruolo di spazio di sedimentazione dei processi di sacralizzazione del potere e dei messaggi ideologici di carattere politico-religioso.

Segue dibattito

INTERVENTI PROGRAMMATI: Dr. Luciano Larivera sj (Centro Veritas); Prof. Giovanni Grandi (Università di Trieste), Dr. Egor Novikov (Heidelberg University), Dr. Stella Marega (Università di Trieste).