

LiVeS Journal
Ljubljana Slovenia
2020

LiVeS Journal
/Liberty, Verity, and Spirit/

Leto XI julij 2020
sštevilka 14

Izdajatelj revije

REVIJA SRP

i.a: <http://www.livesjournal.eu>

e.m: urednistvo@revijasrp.si

e.m: editors@livesjournal.eu

Naslov

Revija SRP, Prazhakova 13, 1000 Ljubljana,
Slovenija

UREDNIŠTVO

Peter Amalietti

Ivo Antich

Lev Detela

Damir Globochnik

Rajko Shushtarshich

LIVES JOURNAL je slovenska revija, ki nadaljuje in na novem nivoju povzema projekt Revije SRP: gre za nadaljevanje posebne publikacijske prakse (v tisku in na spletu) kot radikalno naravnane preizkusa možnosti neodvisne umetnishke, esejistichne, znanstvene refleksije v geohistorichnem kontekstu in oblik identitete v njem, ter gre za inovacijo zlasti v smislu vzporednega slovensko-angleshkega zapisa, ki se odpira sledovom slovenstva kjer koli po svetu. Usmeritev publikacije s svojo obliko in s pomenskimi razsezhnostmi nakazuje tudi ime: zacetni chrki obeh besed sta kratica za Ljubljano (LJ), v angleshki besedi LiVeS pa so simetrichni soglasniki zacetnice istih treh vodilnih pojmov kot v slovenski besedi SRP (Svoboda – Resnica – Pogum / Liberty – Verity – Spirit).

LiVeS Journal
/Liberty, Verity, and Spirit/

Year XI July 2019
number 14

Publisher of review

REVIJA SRP

i.a: <http://www.livesjournal.eu>

e.m: urednistvo@revijasrp.si

e.m: editors@livesjournal.eu

Address

Revija SRP, Prazhakova 13, 1000 Ljubljana,
Slovenia

EDITORS

Peter Amalietti

Ivo Antich

Lev Detela

Damir Globochnik

Rajko Shushtarshich

LIVES JOURNAL is a Slovenian review which continues on a new level and summarizes the project of Review SRP: a continuation of the special practice of publication (in print and online) as a radical examination of the possibilities of an independent-oriented art, essayistic, scientific reflection in geohistorical context and its forms of identity, and the innovation especially in the sense of parallel Slovenian-English writing, which is opened to the traces of Slovenian identity anywhere in the world. The orientation of publication is also suggested by the name with its form and dimensions of meaning: the initial letters of both words are an abbreviation for Ljubljana (LJ), and in English word LiVeS symmetrical consonants perform the initials of the same three leading concepts such as in Slovenian word SRP (Svoboda – Resnica – Pogum / Liberty – Verity – Spirit)

Vsebina

Valentin Polanshek	Spojen s krvjo in zemljo	6
Lev Detela	Borgesov osel	12
Ivo Antich	Martoloz (Dva triptiha)	18
Herbert Kuhner	Chrno in belo	24
Lev Detela	Krvavi dezih ob Sochi	38
Peter Amalietti	Evtanazija	46
Rajko Shushtarshich	Trivialna struktura zavesti	52
Likovna priloga		
Damir Globochnik	Stojan Kerbler, Mojster fotografije, prejemnik Preshernove nagrade za zhivljenjsko delo	78
Stojan Kerbler	Likovna dela /reprodukcije/	84
Za zgodovinski spomin		
Milan Shtruc	Sveti Hieronim in prva slovenska Biblija (Ob 1600-letnici smrti enega najvechjih cerkvenih ochetov in najvechjega prevajalca vseh chasov)	94
Iz zgodovinskega spomina		
Milan Shtruc	Srečno novo leto 3242 po emonsko (Ljubljana je starejsa od Rima)	126
Jaka Jarc	Bodleian Junius XI O anglosashkem rokopisu iz 10. stoletja in o kontekstu njegove pesniskhe obravnave biblijskih zgodb, I. del	134
Damir Globochnik	Epidemije kolere na Kranjskem leta 1886	166

Index

Valentin Polanshek	One with everything around me	7
Lev Detela	Borges's donkey	13
Ivo Antich	Armatolos (Two triptychs)	19
Herbert Kuhner	Black and white	25
Lev Detela	Blood rain on the Socha river	39
Peter Amalietti	Euthanasia	47
Rajko Shushtarshich	The trivial structure of consciousness	53
Art supplement		
Damir Globochnik	Stojan Kerbler, Master of photography, the recipient of the Presheren award in recognition of his lifetime achievement	79
Stojan Kerbler	Artworks /reproductions/	93
For historical memory		
Milan Shtruc	St. Jerome and the first Slovenian Bible (On the 1600th Anniversary of the death of one of the greatest Church Fathers and the greatest translator of all time)	95
From historical memory		
Milan Shtruc	Happy New Year 3242 Ljubljana age (Ljubljana is older than Rome)	127
Jaka Jarc	Bodleian Junius XI About the Tenth Century Anglo-Saxon Manuscript And the Context of its Unique Poetic Takes on Biblical Stories, part I	135
Damir Globochnik	Cholera epidemics in Carniola in 1886	167

Valentin Polansbek

SPOJEN S KRVJO IN ZEMLJO

KMECHKA SLIKA

Takshen zhelim biti,
kot je vonj ajdovih zhgancev
in sopara zavrelega mleka –
tako pristno jutranji za ves dan!

Takshen zhelim biti,
kot je domachi chrni kruh
in preprosti zlati jabolchnik –
tako trpezhen in opojen po trdem delu.

Takshen zhelim biti,
kot je zateglo zhebranje
in skupnost kmechkega spanja –
tako spojen s krvjo in zemljo!

SE VSAJ SPET VIDI

Dobro je,
da nich vech ni trav,
ne listja,
da je dosti golichav,
so rekli
resni
macesni
in se slekli.
Vsaj jenja
bajka cvetenja,
da nam bo jasno,
chemu smo zhiveli
sred varajochih bleshchav!

Valentin Polansbek

ONE WITH EVERYTHING AROUND ME

IDYLL

I'd like to be a morning
with the odor of buckwheat
and the steam of cooking milk –
a morning like that.

I'd like to be a morning
with homemade black bread
and new apple wine –
intoxicating after hard work.

I'd like to be a morning
with the monotony of prayers
and peaceful matrimonial sleep –
at one with everything around me.

AT LEAST YOU CAN SEE AGAIN

I'm glad
that there's no more grass
or leaves,
that everything is desolate,
said
the somber
larches
and they too stripped themselves.
At least the myth of nascence
has been dealt an end to
so that it will be clear to us
for what purpose we have lived
amidst this deceitful radiance.

BALADA O ROKAH

Bil sem otrok.
Roke so prosile
in usta jecljala.

Bil sem mladenich.
Roke so garale
in usta pela.

Bil sem vojak.
Roke so streljale
in usta krichala.

Bil sem mozh.
Roke so skrbele
in usta ljubila.

Postal sem starec.
Roke so se uslochile
in usta zhebrajo.

MOJA BRATRANKA MARIJA

se je osemnajstletna
znashla v Ravensbrücku
in je s svojimi
dekliskimi sanjami,
s svojimi dozorevajochimi
upanji,
z neshtetimi solzami
za vedno tam ostala
med stotischimi
sotrpinkami
iz vseh evropskih dezhel.

THE BALLADE OF HANDS

I was a child.
My hands implored
and I stammered.

I was a boy.
My hands worked
and I sang.

I was a soldier.
My hands held weapons
and I screamed.

I was a man.
My hands bore
and I loved.

I grew old.
My hands became gnarled
and I prayed.

MY COUSIN MARIA

at the age of eighteen
with her girlish dreams
and budding aspirations
found herself in
Ravensbrück
where she shed
countless tears
and has remained
forever
among the hundreds of thousands
of her companions in doom
from all over Europi
who shared her fate.

OB SLOVESU

Prishel je trenutek slovesa.

Zhalost in strah
sta mi preostala,
ko sem tvoje, tvoje roke izpustil –
blodne te misli izustil:

O tvoje vroče
dlani,
o tvoje zhgoče
ochi!

VALENTIN POLANSHEK (1928, Leppen bei Eisenkappel / Lepena pri Zhelezni Kapli – 1985, Dunaj), avstrijsko-koroshki slovenski pesnik, pisatelj. Po učiteljihshchu v Celovcu sholski ravnatelj. Lirika s krajinsko, ljubezensko in narodnostno refleksijo, izrazno preprosta, vendar natanko zadevajoča melanholično (tragichno) jedro koroshke eksistence. Otroshke pesmi, kratka proza, romani. Tudi aktiven glasbenik (uglasbil lastne pesmi za »Obirski zhenski oktet«; z njim obshel Evropo).

(op. ur. I. A.)

PARTING

The moment of parting came

leaving me with
sadness and anxiety.
When you let go of my hands
I could only utter truncated phrases:

O your hot
palms,
o your burning
eyes.

Translated by Herbert Kuhner (with V. Jesenik, P. Kersche, K. D. Olof, V. Polanshek)

VALENTIN POLANSHEK (1928, Leppen bei Eisenkappel / Lepena pri Zhelezna Kapla – 1985, Vienna), Austrian-Carinthian Slovenian poet, writer. After teachers' college in Klagenfurt, the school principal. Lyric poetry with a landscape, of love and national reflection, simple in expression but precisely touching melancholic (tragic) core of Carinthian existence. Children's poems, short prose, novels. Also an active musician (he composed his own songs for the »Obir female octet«; toured Europe with it).
(ed. n. I. A.)

Lev Detela

BORGESOV OSEL

OSEL

(Ho onos)

Morda je ta osel
na strmem ovinku prashne ceste
pravkar ushel iz Borgesove knjige
fantastичnih zooloških zgodb

Ostri sončni udar
mi je zaprl oči
zato ga vidim globoko v lastni notranjosti
duhovno in podvojeno

To je zagotovo tisti Borgesov osel
s tremi nogami in devetimi gobci
ki se je zaradi stalnih vojn
zatekel s sredine oceana
sem v domnevno zatishje starodavnega otoka
in prishel z dezhja pod kap

Priden osel
ki chuva chredo s tisoč ovčami

Pravichen osel
njegova hrana je duh
njegovo blato je sonce zharechi jantar

To je znamenit osel
toda ubog osel
ki na svojem hrbtu
prinasha k akropoli starih morskih bogov
stokilsko težho
poniglavega turističnega debeluha iz Kiela

BORGES'S DONKEY

DONKEY

(Ho onos)

It might be that donkey
on a steep bend of a dusty road
just escaped from Borges's book
of fantastic zoological stories

A sharp sunstroke
closed my eyes
so I see it deep inside my own interior
spiritually and duplicately

It's definitely that Borges's donkey
with three legs and nine muzzles
which due to constant wars
ran from the middle of the ocean
here to the supposed lull of an ancient island
and came from easy rain into the storm

Diligent donkey
which keeps a herd of thousands of sheep

Righteous donkey
its food is spirit
its mud is like the sunglowing amber

It's a famous donkey
but poor donkey
which on its back
brings to the acropolis of the ancient sea gods
hundred kilograms weight
of a profligate stout tourist from Kiel

MORJE

(Thalata)

Zbudil sem se in opazil samega sebe
v pretrganih shivih spoznanja
na filmskem platnu med jatami letečih rib
in petjem hitrih delfinov
na potovanju z razmajano ladjo
k staremu otoku z visoko platano

Morje razburkano utripa
kot moje srce
valovi butajo ob krn
in se razlivajo po krovu

Nemiren sem
ker she vedno ni obale
z radodarnim zhvrgolenjem ptic
in zapeljivim vonjem gostoljubnih deklet
v vinogradu zrelega grozdja

Mnogi so umrli
predno so nashli izgubljeni otok
vrtoglave sreče
s studencem zhive vode
ki bi pogasil zhejo
njihovih ubogih dush

Se to imenuje Pravichnost?

SENCA

(He skia)

Sanjal bosh goro morje
oleander sinjo ptico nad obrezhjem
rododendron in timijan
cipreso in pinijo
ter oljko dobro dishecho oljko
sredi razbeljeno vrochega dneva

Toda zaman
v dezveli senc ni oljke
in njene sence
da bi nam hladila pekocho zhalost
v razbolelih dushah

SEA
(Thalata)

I woke up and noticed myself
in torn seams of cognition
on a film screen between flocks of flying fish
and singing fast dolphins
on a trip with a rashackle ship
to the old island with a high plane-tree

The sea is pulsing
like my heart
waves thump against the stern
and they spill all over the deck

I'm restless
because there is still no coast
with generously chirping birds
and the seductive scent of hospitable girls
in the vineyard of ripe grapes

Many have died
before they found the lost island
of giddy happiness
with a well of living water
that would quench the thirst
of their poor souls

Is this called Justice?

SHADOW
(He skia)

You will dream of a mountain sea
oleander blue bird above the shore
rhododendron and thyme
cypress and stone pine
and olive good scented olive
in the middle of a scorching hot day

But in vain
there is no olive tree in the land of shadows
neither its shadow
to cool the burning sorrow
in our sick souls

JUNACHENJE V CHASU KORONAVIRUSA

Smrtni sovražnik
 je zhe na strehi
 okna so odprta na stezhaj
 vse je nared kot se spodobi
 a televizija in gospa ministrica
 she zhal niso prishli
 ampak chakamo chakamo
 vljudno chakamo
 in nas ni strah
 saj bodo skochili
 skochili bodo sem dol
 zares bodo skochili

Dunaj, marec 2020

TRIKRATNI D.D.D.OKTOR

Res nich nevarnega,
 gospod doktor.
 Samo nekoliko megle
 med listjem in travo.

Res nich posebnega
 ta zarjavela zagozda
 v rebbru chasa,
 gospod doktor.

Sploh ne boli,
 gospod doktor.
 Smo brez boleznj.
 Lahko nas pustite pri miru.

Dunaj, april 2020

Mednarodno uveljavljeni argentinski pisatelj Jorge Luis Borges je iz sveta mitologij in starih leksikografij ustvaril svojevrstne fantastične umetniskhe vizije, katerih psevdoznanstveni jezik odlično reshjuje eno od dilem sodobne umetnosti, ki se je znashla ob znanosti nezavarovana. Moja pesem *Osel* je nastala ob srečanju z osli, ki prenashajo na hrbtu turiste k razvalinam znamenite antichne akropole nad Lindosom na Rodosu, a se istočasno nanasha na Borgesovo zgodbo *Osel s tremi nogami*, objavljeno v knjigi *Manual de zoologia fantastica*, Mexico, Buenos Aires 1957. V prvem letniku trzhashke revije *Most* sem leta 1964 objavil lastni prevod tega Borgesovega teksta skupaj s prevodom njegove druge fantastične zooloshke zgodbe *Sferichne žhivali*. Kolikor mi je znano, sta to prva prevoda Borgesove literature v slovenshchino. (op. avt.)

ENCOURAGEMENT IN CORONAVIRUS TIME

A deadly enemy
is already on the roof
the windows are thrown open
everything is done as it should be
but television and a lady minister
unfortunately have not arrived yet
however we wait we wait
we are waiting politely
and we are not afraid
as they will jump
they will jump down here
they will really jump

Vienna, March 2020

THREE-TIME D.D.D.OCTOR

Really nothing dangerous,
Mr. Doctor.
Just a few fogs
between the leaves and the grass.

Really nothing special
is that rusty wedge
in the rib of time,
Mr. Doctor.

It doesn't hurt at all,
Mr. Doctor.
We are disease free.
You can leave us alone.

Vienna, April 2020

Jorge Luis Borges, an internationally renowned Argentinean writer, has created some fantastic artistic visions from the world of mythologies and ancient lexicographies, whose pseudoscientific language perfectly addresses one of the dilemmas of contemporary art that has found itself unsecured by science. My poem *Donkey* comes from the encounter with donkeys carrying tourists on their backs to the ruins of the famous ancient acropolis over Lindos on Rhodes, but at the same time refers to the Borges's story *The three-legged donkey*, published in *Manual de zoología fantástica*, Mexico, Buenos Aires 1957. In the first annual of the Trieste magazine *Most*, in 1964, I published my own translation of that Borges's text, along with a translation of his another fantastic zoological story, *The Spherical Animal*. To my knowledge, these are the first translations of Borges's literature into Slovenian. (note by author)

Translated from Slovenian by Ivo Antich

Ivo Antich

MARTOLOZ

(Dva triptiha)

TISOCHPRVI DAN

(Triptih)

ROMARJI

Hadzhi Ibrahim, sin Abdulahov,
umrl na poti v Meko; Hadzhi Sulejman, sin Hadzhi Ibrahimov, umrl na poti v Meko; Hadzhi Osman, sin Hadzhi Sulejmanov, umrl na poti v Meko; Hadzhi Mohamed, sin Hadzhi Osmanov, umrl na poti v Meko; Hadzhi Halil, sin Hadzhi Mohamedov, umrl v Meki. Vechni pokoj njihovim namuchenim dusham!

UMETNIKI

K sultanu Rasimu pride pesnik
Nashid. S chelom udari ob tla pred
Silnim. Ker je sultanov najljubshi
pesnik, je sklenil prositi milosti
za prijatelja, pesnika Nazima.
Sultanov obraz vzbuja mnogo
upanja; prijazno se smehlja
in brzih obljudi pomilostitev.
Ko Nashid odide, sultan ukazuje:
»Vrzite she njega med kobre!«

Ivo Antich

ARMATOLOS

(Two triptychs)

THOUSAND FIRST DAY

(Triptych)

PILGRIMS

Hadji Ibrahim, son of Abdullah,
died on the way to Mecca; Hadji
Suleiman, the son of Hadji Ibrahim, died
on the way to Mecca; Hadji Osman,
son of Hadji Suleiman, died on
the way to Mecca; Hadji Muhammad, son
of Hadji Osman, died on the way
to Mecca; Hadji Khalil, son of Hadji
Muhammad, died in Mecca. Eternal rest
to their tormented souls!

ARTISTS

To the sultan Rasim came the poet
Nashid. He hits the ground with his forehead before
the Mighty. Being the sultan's favorite
poet, he decided to beg mercy
for a friend, the poet Nazim.
The sultan's face raises much
hope; he smiles kindly
and quickly promises a pardon.
When Nashid departs, the sultan
orders: »Throw him also among the cobras!«

BERACHI

Mlad mozh je sklenil kupchijo, ki je obetala bogastvo. Ves vesel je obdaroval beracha. Ta pa je rekel: »Hvala, mladi mozh. A zapomni si: po svetlem dnevu pride temna noč.« – Chez chas je mladi mozh spoznal, da je ogoljufan. Obubozhal je in se pridružil berachu. Ta je rekel: »Po temni noči pride svetel dan: le berach je srečen.«

TUJE DNO JUTE DNA
(Triptih)

MARTOLOZ, MRTOLAZ

Na mokrem asfaltu odsevi luči. Kot morski pes drsi vozilo po mestnem dnu. Kulise praznih nebotičnikov zaslanjajo noč. Dezh je padal tri dni, lani morda. Po reki se blizha ladja meglè. Iz starih ulic smrad. Pri pokvarjenem semaforu proge zebre ali tigra. V steklu izlozhbe bled tujec, neznane vere, chuvar cest, sotesk.

KIT, MIT

Le v velikih morjih je dovolj prostora zanj. Daljna polja orje, iz sivih valov se dvigajo brizgi. Lovci mu sledijo, sekire in zhage chakajo nanj. Nikogar vech ne vznemiri bozhanskega falosa odsekani bes. Tujec med bitji v morju, med bitji na kopnem. Obala je prehod: zaplavaj na sipino in se obrni v nich, v dom, v dno.

BEGGARS

The young man made a bargain which
promised wealth. As he was very happy,
he gifted the beggar. But this one
said: »Thank you, young man. But
remember: after a bright day it comes
a dark night.« – After a while, the young man
found that he had been deceived. He became
impoverished and joined the beggar.
This one said: »After a dark night
it comes a bright day: only a beggar is happy.«

STRANGE BOTTOM MADE OF JUTE
(Triptych)

ARMATOLOS, DEATHCRAWLER

On wet asphalt reflections of lights.
As a shark slides a vehicle
around the city bottom. Stage scenery of empty
skyscrapers screens the night. Rain
was coming down for three days, last year maybe.
A ship of fog is approaching on the river. From
old streets stink. At the broken down
semaphore stripes of zebra or tiger.
A pale stranger in the glass of the shop window,
of unknown faith, guardian of the roads, gorges.

WHALE, TALE

Only in the great seas it is sufficient space
for it. It ploughs the distant fields, from
gray waves are rising jets of water.
Hunters follow it, axes and
saws are waiting for it. No one else
is upset by the divine phallus
with its severed anger. Alien among
creatures in the sea, among creatures on land.
The beach is a passage: swim to the dune
and turn yourself to nothing, to the home, to the bottom.

ZHOLTOPLAZ, ORTOKLAZ

Sintagme. Sin tamge, magme, mag mén,
 imen. Blavor. Nag otok, ortoklaz
 razklan. Iskra v snu prahu. Diamant
 na chelu kache. Shchit nochi, kovan
 iz zvezd. Chelada sonca, zbita iz
 tekoche zemlje. Povsod nebo, be-
 ton, juta jader, vrech. Mochvirski bik.
 Oktobrski buran. Tolpe dedov.
 Eter v tla. V krik zabita pest. Zlom, po-
 grom. Zaskok, zakol. Tujstvo psa, sna, dna.

Rasim, Nashid, Nazim – arab. osebna imena, pom. Slikar, Pesnik, Pesnik.

martoloz – tur. iz ngr. (h)armatolós = oboroženec; martolozí – neregularna turška vojska na Balkanu, v glavnem od 15. do 18. stol., obmejna »teritorialna obramba« in deloma zhandarmerija, sestavljena iz domachinov, spochetka vechinoma kristjanov, z nalogo чуvarjev cest in sotesk ter izvidnikov, eni kot peshci, drugi kot konjeniki (slednji tudi v vojnih pohodih, zlasti v vpadih na sosednje beneshko in avstr. ozemlje); plachani prostovoljci, dobili del plena, oproshcheni davkov; schasoma vse bolj nezanesljivi, nekateri so preshli v sluzhbo Benetk in Avstrije ter so se bojevali proti tur. martolozom, nadomeshchali so jih z muslimani, 1721 jih je sultan ukinitil; ostanki so postali razbojniki, posebnost pa so v Grchiji v zach. 19. st. v chasu boja za neodvisnost kot ljudski junaki; mak. pesnik Grigor Prlichev je v ngr. jeziku napisal ep *Armatolos* (1860); slov. omembe – v 16. stol. P. Trubar: »Turki in martolozí«; v 18. stol. G. Vorenc: »en martalos, kateri ludy krade, inu kupuje, ter predaja«; v kostelskem narechju: mrtvoloz (razbojnik, lenuh, postopach, hajduk, ravbar ipd.); Mrtoláz (oseba v Levstikovem *Popotovanju* – nedokonchan gimnazijec, vojak, boemsko-pijanski krojach).

zholtoplaz – sorod. rus. zheltopuzik; blavor (iz romun. balaur = zmaj), vrsta slepca, kachi podoben breznogi kushchar (Ophisaurus = kachakushchar), angl. Balkan glass lizard, znachilen habitatni tip med Istro in ustjem Donave do Turchije se pokriva s podrochjem martolozov. (op. avt.)

OPHISAURUS, ORTHOCLAS

Syntagma. Son of tamga, of magma, magus of changes,
of names. Snake-lizard. Naked island, orthoclase
split up. A spark in a dream of dust. Diamond
on the serpent's forehead. Shield of the night, forged
of stars. Helmet of the sun, coined of
liquid earth. Anywhere the sky,
beton, jute of sails, sacks. The swamp bull.
October buran. Bands of grandfathers.
Ether into the ground. The fist beaten into the cry. Break,
pogrom. Mating leap, slaughter. Alienism of dog, of dream, of bottom.

Rasim, Nashid, Nazim – Arab. prop. names, meanings: Painter, Poet, Poet.

armatolos – aka martoloz, Turkish from Modern Greek (h)armatolós = armed man; pl. armatoloi – an irregular Turkish army in the Balkans, mainly from the 15th to the 18th ct., a frontier »territorial defense« and partly a gendarmerie composed of natives, initially mostly Christians, with the task of guarding roads and gorges and as scouts, some as pedestrians, others as horsemen (the latter also in war campaigns, especially in invasions into neighboring Venetian and Austrian territories); paid volunteers, got a piece of loot, tax exempt; in the course of time, more and more insecure, some went to Venice and Austria to fight against Turkish armatoloi, consequently replaced by Muslims, and abolished by the sultan in 1721; the remnants have become bandits, but the specialty in Greece in the beginning of 19th ct. at the time of the struggle for independence as folk heroes; Macedonian poet Grigor Prlichev wrote in Modern Greek the epic *Armatolos* (1860); Slovenian mentions – in the 16th ct. P. Trubar: »Turks and armatoloi«; in the 18th ct. G. Vorenc: »a martalos, who steals, buys, and sells men; in the Kostel dialect: mtvoloz (robber, idler, loafer, haiduk, outlaw etc.); Mrtoláz (person in Levstik's *Travelling* – unfinished high school student, soldier, bohemian-drunken tailor).

snake-lizard – akin to Russian zheltopuzik (sheltopusik); aka blavor (from Romanian balaur = dragon), a species of blindworm, snake-like legless lizard (*Ophisaurus* = snake-lizard), i. e. Balkan glass lizard, a significant habitat type between Istria and the mouth of the Danube to Turkey covers the same area as that of armatoloi.

(note by a.)

Translated from Slovenian by author

Herbert Kubner

CHRNO IN BELO

Umetnikova psiha:

Kain in Abel
kot siamska dvojchka.

Al Capone in Bugs Moran

Karkoli storish,
ne najdi se ujet med
Alom Caponejem in Bugsom Moranom.
V vojni tolpa
ni nich takega
kot nedolzhnen opazovalec,
ki lahko prezhivi.
To je kot pes zhre psa,
treshchi ali bosh treshchen,
iztrgaj ali bosh iztrgan.

Imash izbiro.
V to morash vrechi svoj zhreb
z enim ali z drugim.
Ni pa med dvema manjshega zla.
Tako Capone kot Moran
ne mislita nich,
da bosta prizadela otroke,
che je potrebno.
Raje pohiti
in sprejmi svojo odlochitev,
razen che ne zhelish konchati
v koshchku tal
shest chevlyjev globoko.
Tu sta oba, Capone ali Moran,
in ni dveh poti glede tega.

Herbert Kubner

BLACK AND WHITE

The Artist's Psyche:

Cain and Abel
as Siamese twin.

Al Capone and Bugs Moran

Whatever you do
don't get caught between
Al Capone and Bugs Moran.
In a gang war
there's no such thing
as an innocent bystander
who can survive.
It's dog eat dog,
plug or be plugged
rub out or be rubbed out.

You have a choice.
You've got to throw your lot in
with one or the other.
But there's no lesser of two evils.
Both Capone and Moran
think nothing
of doing children in
if necessary.
Better hurry
and make your decision
unless you want to end up
in a plot
six-foot under.
it's either Capone or Moran
and there's no two ways about it.

Obrni rob fedore navzdol
in ovratnik svojega plashcha navzgor,
natakni si chrne rokavice
in z revolverjem v toku pod ramo
in s kosilnico v torbi za violino
pojdi ven v noč nad mestom.

Samo prizghi si chik
in pritisni sprozhilec.

Streljaj prvi
in pozneje ne postavljalj vprashanj.

Shef zhe ve, kaj pochne.
Svoj nos vzdrzhuj chist
in ustnice zapete,
ali pa se bosh lahko znashel
na dnu Wabasha.

She vedno obstaja upanje,
da krenesh po pravi poti
in pustish zadaj zhivljenje zlochina.
Po utrudljivih pokolih
Al Capone in Bugs Moran
lahko skupaj sedeta
k havanki in pivu.

Chrno in belo

Hrepenim po jasnosti
dobrih starih
chrno-belih B-vesternov.

Dobro je bilo dobro
in slabo je bilo slabo.

Junak je jahal
belega konja
in nosil bel klobuk.

Turn your fedora brim down
and your coat collar up,
put on your black gloves
and with gat in shoulder holster
and chopper in violin case
go out for a night on the town.

Just light your butt
and squeeze the trigger.

Shoot first
and don't ask questions later.

The Boss knows what he's doing.
Keep your nose clean
and your lip buttoned
or you might find yourself
at the bottom of the Wabash.

There's still one hope
of going straight
and leaving a life of crime behind.
After tiring of massacres
Al Capone and Bugs Moran
might get together
for a Havana and a beer.

Black and White

I long for the clarity
of the good old
black and white B-westerns.

Good was good
and bad was bad.

The hero rode
a white horse
and wore a white hat.

Zlobnezh je jezdil chrnega
in nosil chrno.
Prvi je bil chisto obrit;
drugi je razkazoval
tenke brke nad zgornjo ustnico.

Vedel si, pri chem si,
belo je bilo belo,
chrno je bilo chrno
in sive ni bilo pri tem.

Napetost stopnjevana
z divjim zvokom in ritmom
in s treskom chinel,
ko so dobri in zlobni
obkrozhili iste stare skalne hribe.

In med revolverskimi boji
in pregoni
Gabby ali Fuzzy
kot zagotovljen komichni predah
z zhvečenjem tobaka.

Boji niso bili prelivanje krvi.
Mozhak je le padel
ob poku revolverja.
Nich razparanih srajc
in krogel, ki prebijajo meso
v počasnem gibanju tehnikolorja.

Bilo je preprosto in chisto
in ni bilo nobenih afnarij.
Ob razkritju kart
je chrni dobil krajshi konec
boja z revolverji in pretepa s pestmi
in je bil izrochen sherifu
pred izginotjem slike.

Beli je zrushil chrnega
in to je bilo to.

The heavy rode black
and wore black.
The former was clean-shaven;
the latter sported
a slick mustache on upper lip.

You knew where you were at,
white was white,
black was black
and there was no grey about it.

Tension mounted
with frantic brass and rhythm
and the clash of cymbals
as goodies and baddies
circled the same old craggy hills.

And between gun battles
and chases
Gabby or Fuzzy
provided tobacco-chewing
comic relief.

The battles weren't bloodstained.
A man merely fell
at the crack of a gun,
No splattered shirts
and bullets piercing flesh
in technicolored slow motion.

It was simple and clean
and there was no monkey-business.
At the showdown
black got the short end
of the gun battle and fist fight
and was handed over to the sheriff
before the fade-out.

White had felled black
and that was that.

Potem je beli dvignil klobuk
pred prebivalci mesta,
rekel zbogom
Sally in njenemu ochku rancharju
in odjezdil v sončni zahod,
Gabby ali Fuzzy pa v drncu za njim.

Playboy in Playboy

Sonce nikoli ne vdre
v visoko vzpeti grad.
Zavese so spushchene
okrog ure.
Ponochi in podnevi
je noch dolga ves dan.

To je gibljiv svet
na stalnem prostoru,
mikro-mikrokozmos,
kjer se vse to zgodi,
to je
zgodi se, kar hochesh, da se zgodi,
in chesar nochesh, da se zgodi,
se ne zgodi,
to je
razen strojev
vse ostaja zunaj vzgiba.

Vse je tam.
Ni treba stopiti
onkraj velikih hrastovih vrat.

Obkrozhish lahko ves svet
na okrogli vrtljivi postelji
v mejah ene same sobe.

Ni voznega reda
razen voznega reda,
ki ga zhelish vsiliti.

Then white doffed his hat
to the towns folk,
said goodbye
to Sally and her rancher pa
and rode off in the sunset
with Gabby or Fuzzy trotting behind.

Playboy and Playboy

The sun never intrudes in
the high-rise castle.
The blinds are drawn
around the clock.
Night and day
it's night all day long.

It's a mobile world
in a stationary location,
a micro-microcosm
where it all happens,
that is
what you want to happen happens
and what you don't want to happen
doesn't happen,
that is,
unless the machinery
gets out of whack.

It's all there.
No need to go beyond
the great oak doors.

You can be taken around the world
on the round rotating bed
in the confines of one room.

There's no schedule
other than the schedule
you wish to impose.

Lahko si naročish prigrizek,
kadar koli se ti zahoče.
Obstaja dnevna in nočna izmena
v kuhinji in baru
in natakarice vedno čakajo klic.
Vse, kar morash storiti,
je pozvoniti za strezhbo.

Podpora Velikega Mojstra
sta pepsa in burger.
To je lahko nasoljeno meso in sveža hrana –
ne ravno nektar in ambrozija,
toda, kar sledi, je gurmanska jed,
vredna postrežbe Bogovom.

Jed, ki jo prinese pladenj,
se sama ponudi za desert.

Sekunde niso problem.
Enemu desertu lahko sledi drug,
in če se zhelish nazhreti,
se lahko naslajash vech kot z enim naenkrat.

Vse je tako lahkotno kot kolach
in tako gladko kot svila.

Nich nerodnih razdevichenj.
Nich nadležnih mesečnih chishch.
Nich pojavov nosečnosti.

Ni treba skrbeti zaradi
krčnih žil,
celulitisa,
obraznih gub
ali obledele kozhe.

Sogralci se ne starajo;
so zamenljivi.

You can order a snack
whenever you're in the mood.
There's a day and night shift
in the kitchen and the bar
and waitresses are always on call.
All you have to do
is ring for service.

The Grand Master's standby
is Pepsi and a burger.
That may be junk and juvenile fare –
not exactly Nectar and Ambrosia,
but what follows is a gourmet dish
worthy of being served to the Gods.

The dish that carries the tray
serves herself up for dessert.

Seconds aren't a problem.
One dessert can be followed by another,
and if you want to gorge,
you can enjoy more than one at a time.

Everything's as easy as pie,
and as smooth as silk.

No cumbersome deflorations.
No inconvenient monthlies.
No specter of pregnancy.

No need to worry about
varicose veins,
cellulitis,
wrinkles
or discolored skin.

Playmates don't age;
they're interchangeable.

Pod to streho
je neskončno polje
nezastrte cvetne favne,
preveč razsezhne za preboj skožnjo.
In tu je bazen s steklenim dnom,
bolj eksotichen kot kateri koli akvarij.

Veliki Mojster zhivi nashe fantazije.
Uresnichil je nashe sanje.

Pepsi in burgerji so na dosegu roke
za tiste od nas,
ki ne morejo chez grajski jarek,
in kar zadeva ostalo,
lahko kak nadomestek skoraj vse
prinese na doseg.

Predmet, za katerega gre,
je penasto krhka pornorezina,
zaslajena in zacinjena ravno prav
in okrashena z ovitkom
intelektualnih dražljajev.

Kar zadeva dejanje,
je za nas, navadne smrtnike, najboljše
odviti srednjo plast,
ko smo sami,
in v domishljiji oditi
k Miss tega meseca.

Filmska zvezda

Imela je
visoko frizuro,
kurje noge izbrisane,
lica botoksirana,
nos skrajshan,
usta preoblikovana,
zobe popravljenе,
dvojni podbradek odstranjen,

Under that roof
there's an endless field
of undraped floral fauna
too spacious to plow through.
and there's a glass-bottomed pool
more exotic than any aquarium.

The Grand Master lives our fantasies.
He's materialized our dreams.

Pepsi and burgers are at hand
for those of us
who can't get beyond the moat,
and as for the rest is concerned,
an ersatz can almost
bring it within reach.

The object in question
is a slice of creampuff porn,
sugared and spiced just right
and adorned with a bunting
of intellectual stimuli.

As far as action is concerned,
the best we ordinary mortals can do
is unfold the centerfold
when we're alone
and have an imaginary go
at Miss This Month.

Movie Star

She had her
hairline raised,
crow's feet erased,
checks botexed,
nose bobbed,
mouth reshaped,
teeth capped,
double-chin removed,

prsi okrepljene,
pas zozhen,
trebuh sploshchen,
zadnjico dvignjeno,
bedra stanjshana,
in za dobro mero
z nozhnih prstov izrezana kurja ochesa,
vendar je ni mogoche posneti gole,
ne zaradi skromnosti,
ampak zato,
ker je prekrita s tetovazhami.

Izbor in prevod iz angl. Ivo Antich

HERBERT KUHNER, avstrijsko-ameriški pesnik, pisatelj, prevajalec, pishe v angleščini in nemščini: poezija, romani, drama, eseji o umetnosti in filmu ter prevodi. Rojen leta 1935 na Dunaju, leta 1939 se je s starši izselil v ZDA, odrashchal v ZDA in diplomiral na Univerzi Columbia v New Yorku. Na Dunaj se je vrnil leta 1963. (op. ur. I. A.)

(B. Moran – amer. gangster, glavni Caponejev rival; fedora – znamka klobuka; Wabash – reka v ZDA; op. prev.)

waist narrowed,
breasts built up,
stomach flattened,
buttocks lifted,
thighs thinned out,
and for good measure,
the corns excised from her toes
but she can't be filmed in the nude,
not due to modesty,
but because
she's covered with tattoos.

HERBERT KUHNER, Austrian-American poet, writer, translator, writing in English and in German: poetry, novels, drama, essays on art and film, and translations. Born in Vienna in 1935, emigrated with his parents to the US in 1939, grew up in the US and graduated from Columbia University, New York. He returned to Vienna in 1963. Poems here are selected and translated into Slovenian by Ivo Antich.

(note by ed. I. A.)

(B. Moran – Amer. gangster, Capone's main rival; fedora – hat brand; Wabash – a river in the USA; n. by transl.)

Lev Detela

KRVAVI DEZH OB SOCHI

*Nad tabo jasen bo oblok,
krog tebe pa svinčena toča
in dežh krvav in solz potok
in blisk in grom – oh, bitva vroča!*

Simon Gregorchich, *Sochi*

Orel vse vidi. Vidi dolgo vojashko kolono spodaj v dolini. Njegova krila so kot jadra. Krozhi po shirjavah visoko nad vrhovi Mangarta. Veter zhvizzhga okrog njegove ponosne glave. Z ostrim pogledom opazuje chrne pike spodaj pri gozdu. Cesarjevi vojaki pravkar napadajo italijanske obrambne položaje.

Orel vidi, kako udari granata naravnost v sredino kolone. Vidi, kako granata raztrga vech avstrijskih vojakov. Vidi, kako vech krogel zadene avstro-ogrskega stotnika. Vidi trupla ubitih vojakov spodaj na polju. Orlove oči so zelo ostre.

Orel vidi vse in vse ve. Je pameten in izkushen. Ve, da je tu konchno hrana za njegov mladi rod. Upa, da tisti, ki se spodaj med seboj neusmiljeno pobijajo, ne bodo utegnili pokopati shtevilnih trupel.

Vidi, kako vojaki v strahu zbegano bezhe v gozd, da bi se pod drevesi v goshchavi zashchitili pred ponovnim sovrazhnikovim napadom.

Dishi po smodniku in krvi. V gozdu je vlazhno in mrachno. Vojaki utrujeno zhdijo pod vejami v blatnem chumovlju.

Veliki divji ptich je srechen. Ubiti vojaki raztreseno lezhijo v širokem krogu po prostranem polju. Kmalu se bo orel spustil s planin navzdol na krvave travnike in njive in z ostrim kljunom razsekal ubogo meso za svoje lachne mladiche. V vechernem somraku bo zelo zadovoljen ob obilni hrani.

Pod smreko lezhi pet pijanih vojakov.

»Za znoret! Do kolen smo se ves dan ugrezali v blato!«

»Gospod stotnik je rekel, da za nobeno ceno ne smemo prekiniti ofenzive ...«

»Pa saj je pod goro padel celotni regiment ...«

»Ja, za domovino je vredno umreti!«

Pozno popoldne pripeljejo tovarishi ubitega slovenskega stotnika. Njegovo truplo je prereshetano od shtevilnih krogel. Zhe zgodaj zjutraj je padel v boju proti Italijanom. Vech krogel ga je smrtno zadelo. Ranilo ga je tudi v obraz.

Vojaki ga prizadeto umivajo in chistijo, da ne bi bil videti kot kaka prikazen. Skushajo ga v narochju smrti in vojne groze spet narediti dostojnega in mu vrniti dostojanstvo, ki si ga je zasluzhil. Nekateri poklekajo pred mrlicem, molijo Rozhni venec in Oche nash. Pozneje, ko pride kurat, bodo stotnika za gozdom pod goro zasilno, toda chastno pokopali.

Lev Detela

BLOOD RAIN ON THE SOCHA RIVER

*A clear vault rising overhead,
Upon it tear-streams, blood rain rattle
beating down – a hail of lead
and thunder, lightning – blaze of battle!*
Simon Gregorchich, *Sochi*

The eagle sees all. It sees the long military convoy below in the valley. Its wings are like sails. It circles the expanse high above the Mangart summits. The wind whistles around its proud head. It turns its piercing gaze upon the black dots by the forest below. The emperor's soldiers are attacking Italian defences.

The eagle sees a grenade hit the centre of the convoy. It sees a grenade rip several Austrian soldiers apart. It sees the Austro-Hungarian captain hit by several bullets. It sees the fallen soldier corpses in the field below. The eagle's eyes are very sharp.

The eagle sees all and knows all. It's smart and experienced. It knows this is finally food for its offspring. It hopes that those, mercilessly killing each other below won't have time to bury their numerous bodies.

It sees the soldiers escape, confused, to the forest, to shield from further attack.

It smells of gunpowder and blood. The forest is damp and dark. The soldiers, tired, cower beneath the branches in the muddy brush.

The great wild bird is happy. The slain soldiers lay scattered in a large circle across the vast field. Soon the eagle will dive down from the mountains, descend on the blood-soaked meadows and fields, and sink its beak into the wretched meat for its hungry nestlings. In the evening dusk it will be very pleased with the ample meal.

Five drunken soldiers lay under the spruce tree.

»Crazy! Knee-deep in mud the whole day!«

»The captain said that we mustn't interrupt the offensive at any cost...«

»But the whole regiment fell there under the mountain...«

»Yes, it's worth dying for the homeland!«

Late in the afternoon, comrades reel in the fallen Slovenian captain. His body is riddled with countless bullet wounds. Already in the early morning, he fell in the battle against the Italians. He suffered several mortal wounds. Some bullets also hit his face.

The mourning soldiers wash and clean him, so he wouldn't seem like some apparition. In the embrace of death and war they try to make him proper again and regain his due dignity. Some kneel before the corpse, saying the rosary and Paternoster. Later, when the curate arrives, they will bury the captain behind the forest under the mountain, provisionally but with dignity.

Iz pushk se bo oglasil zadnji bojni pozdrav. Poveljnik polkovnik Lukich bo imel kratek nagovor.

»Kameradi,« bo rekel. »Pokopavamo domovini zvestega pogumnega stotnika Franca Bohinca, junaka nashe velike in slavne vojske, ki se je boril do zadnjega diha za sveto vero, dragi dom in presvetlega cesarja proti zahrbtnemu sovražniku. Zasluzhi si slavo in nasho vechno hvalezhnost! Bog mu daj vechni mir in pokoj!«

Spet je noch. Nekje v strelskih jarkih pojejo vojaki slovenske ljudske pesmi. To so zhalostne pesmi, polne hrepenenja po soncu, ljubezni in zhivljenju, toda te pesmi bolijo, ker je zdaj v tem tezhkem chasu smrt vsepovsod vsem na okeh.

Zgoraj v hosti sito spijo orlovi mladichi. Samo medved je she buden. Poslusha shume nochi. Jezno obracha veliko rjavo glavo, se vznemirja zaradi pokov in treskov vojne. Gleda mirne zvezde na nebu, a se ne more umiriti. Renchi, brusi zobe, izgine v globinah gozda.

»Ekscelenca, mrzlo je danes!«

Socha ... Galicija ... Verdun ... Razdruzheni vojaki vseh dezhel, zdruzhite sel Dovolj je bilo vojne ... Mladi mozhje, ne bodite vechna hrana za topove ... Ne hodite v mlin, ki melje chloveshke kosti ... Ne bodite vodnjak, v katerem se nabira vasha kri ...

Toda gospod general ima drugachne skrbi.

»Ekscelenca, mrzlo je danes. In vojna!«

»Ja, vojna. Vojna. In pivo!«

»Na ukaz, ekscelenca. Sluga pokoren. Ampak vojna.«

»Ja, vojna. Kaj je zhe vojna ... Zmagali bomo ... Pivo ...«

»Razumem. Na ukaz. Pivo. Vojna!«

»Imamo vojno ... in imamo pivo!«

»Ja, ekscelenca. Pivo.«

»Pivo, prosim!«

»Na ukaz, pivo!«

»Hvala. Pivo!«

V baraki brli petrolejka. Za zatemnjenimi okni se oglasha zbehanost. Na veliki mizi poleg svetilke lezhijo ostanki cigaret. Trije vojaki sede pri mizi. Osamljeno dremajo. Eden zachne govoriti o materi. Reche, da so njegove ochi popolnoma podobne materinim. Tudi ona ima velike modre ochi. Kot sinje nebo. Tudi ona je visoka. Prav tako kot on. Drugi vojak molchi. Poslusha. Ne reche nich. Tudi on misli na svojo mater, ki je zhe dolgo bolna. Boji se za svojega sina. Skrbi jo za oba sina, ki sta morala oditi v vojsko.

Okrog lesenega plota pri baraki zavija veter. Zemlja joche v dezhu. Tudi mati joche. Ne more spati. Moli in chaka. Tam dalech za visokimi gorami chaka na oba sina.

The guns will sound the final battle salute. Commander Colonel Lukich will hold a short address.

»Comrades,« he'll say, »we are burying our brave and loyal countryman Franc Bohinc, hero of our great and illustrious army, who fought the treacherous enemy until his dying breath for the holy faith, our beloved home, and our incandescent emperor. He deserves fame and our eternal gratitude! God grant him eternal rest and peace!«

It's night again. Somewhere in the trenches soldiers are singing Slovenian folk songs. These are sad songs filled with longing for sun, love, and life; but these songs hurt because now, in these hard times, death is everywhere for all to see.

Up in the wood the eagle's young are sleeping. Only the bear remains awake. It's listening to the noises of the night. It turns its big brown head angrily, agitated by the sounds of gunshots and explosions of war. It observes the serene starry skies but cannot settle down. It growls, sharpens its teeth, and vanishes in the depths of the forest.

»Excellency, it's cold today!«

Socha... Galicia... Verdun... Disunited soldiers of all lands, unite! There has been enough war... young men, don't remain eternally cannon fodder... don't walk into the mill of human bones... don't be the well gathering your blood...

But the general has other worries on his mind.

»Excellency, it's cold today. And war!«

»Yes, war. War. And beer!«

»At your service excellency. Your loyal servant. But war.«

»Yes, war. What's war again... We're going to win... Beer...«

»I understand. At your service. Beer. War!«

»We have war... and we have beer!«

»Yes, excellency. Beer.«

»Beer please!«

»At your service, beer!«

»Thank you. Beer!«

A paraffin lamp flickers in the shack. Confusion sounds behind the darkened windows. On the large desk beside the lamp lay remnants of cigarettes. Three soldiers are sat at the table. They're dozing off, lonely. One of them starts talking about his mother. He says that his eyes are exactly like his mother's. Her eyes are large and blue as well. Like the blue sky. She is tall too. Just like he. The other soldier is quiet. Listens. Says nothing. He also, is thinking of his mother, who has been ill for a long time. She fears for her son. She worries about both her sons, who had to go to war.

The wind is howling around the wooden paling by the barracks. The soil cries in the rain. The mother cries as well. She cannot sleep. She prays and waits. There, far beyond the tall mountains she waits for both her sons.

Vojaki v baraki spet molchijo. Ne morejo razumeti, da je na svetu tako hudo. Zakaj so te dolge vojne potrebne? Hladno je. Hribi in gozdovi za barako se pogrezajo v temo.

Med strelskimi jarki obeh vojsk se shirita strah in obup. Vojaki chepijo v vlaznih mrzlih luknjah in mokrih rovih in hrepenijo po miru. Vsi so se zhe navelichali vojne. Hočejo ven iz zadušljivih strelskih jarkov, oditi hočejo dalech proch iz hudega chasa ubijanja in unichevanja ...

Spominjajo se, kako so she pred enim letom v istih rovih s hrepenenjem v srcu ob majhnem mrshavem bozhichnem drevescu peli vechno pesem »Sveta noch, blazhena noch« v upanju, da bo ta dolga strashna nesmiselnost kmalu konchana ... In spominjajo se, da se je na drugi strani, v vlaznih luknjah nasprotnika, oglasila ista pesem. Najprej potiho, potem vedno glasneje. Sprva v polomljeni nemshchini in potem v nekem tujem jeziku, ki ga niso razumeli, vendar so vedeli, da je to ista pesem o miru in ljubezni med ljudmi ...

Vojaki tudi zdaj, leto za tem, chepijo v rovu ob polomljeni, za vojno slepi smrechici, ki so jo okrasili z umazanimi rdechimi trakovi, izrezanimi iz chasopisnega papirja ... Pojejo in upajo, toda vojna nima ne konca in ne kraja ...

Bozhichni vecher na fronti. Vojaki pojejo, kadijo, chemijo, na smrt utrujeni zapirajo oči in hočejo zaspati. Nekateri tarnajo in se prepirajo. Redki prebirajo pisma, ki so jim jih poslali domachi.

»Kaj? Povej!«

»Ubil sem enega tam na drugi strani!«

»Ja, in kaj potem?«

»Ubil sem chloveka!«

»Sovrazhnika je treba ubiti!«

»Ja!«

»Treba je ubiti!«

Zemlja joka, streli padajo, sivi veter nima usmiljenja z ubogim chloveshtvom. Vojaki se stiskajo v umazanem zhivinskem vagonu. Peljejo se poshevno v nich. Nihche ne ve, kaj se bo zgodilo. Dezhuje. V vagonu je mnozhica rok in nog. Glave in hrbti so nakopicheni kot sardine v konzervi. Nekateri pijano popevajo.

Oglasi se pesem »Travnichki so zhe zeleni« ...

Mozhje v uniformah cesarsko-kraljevske vojske so hrana za topove, cheprav se ves chas she vedno gobezda o skorajshnji veliki zmagi.

»O, ti srechna Avstrija!«

»Preklete svinje!«

»Tiho!«

»Sluga pokoren!«

»To presega vse mere!«

Chrni oblaki visijo tik nad hribom. Smrdi po ognju in dinamitu. Eden od vojakov se bozhjastno trese na tleh. Stoka in se smeje, kot da bi bil blazen.

The soldiers in the barrack are quiet again. They cannot understand that things can be this bad in this world. What use are these long wars? It's cold. The hills and forests behind the barrack are sinking into darkness.

Fear and despair are spreading through the trenches of both armies. The soldiers squat in damp cold holes and wet tunnels yearning for peace. Everyone is fed up with war. They want out of the suffocating trenches, they want to go far away from the hard times of killing and destruction ...

They remember singing the eternal »Holy Night« by the scrawny Christmas tree a year ago in the same tunnels with longing in their hearts, hoping this dreadful absurdity would soon end... And they remember that hearing this same song resounding from the other side, from the damp holes of the opponent, at first quietly and then ever louder. It started in broken German and then switched to some other language they didn't understand, but they knew that it was the same song, about peace and love among men ...

Even now, a year later, the soldiers still squat in the tunnel next to a broken spruce tree that is blind to the war, which they decorated with dirty red strips of newspaper cut-outs... they sing and hope, but there is no end to the war in sight ...

Christmas eve at the front. The soldiers are singing, smoking, crouching, dead tired, their eyes closing they want to sleep. Some lament and row. A few are reading letters from their families.

»What? Tell us!«

»I killed one over there on the other side!«

»Yes. So what?«

»I killed a man!«

»It's necessary to kill the enemy!«

»Yes!«

»It's necessary to kill!«

The soil cries, shots fire, the grey wind has no mercy for the wretched mankind. Soldiers huddle in a dirty cattle wagon. They are riding sideways into nothing. No one knows what will happen. It's raining. The wagon is filled by a mass of hands and legs. Heads and backs are pressed together like sardines in a can. Some sing drunkenly.

The song »Travnichki so zhe zeleni« sounds out...

Men in uniforms of the Emperor-King's army are cannon fodder, even though there is constant blabbering of imminent great victory.

»Oh, you happy Austria!«

»Damned swine!«

»Quiet!«

»Loyal servant!«

»This has gone beyond all measure!«

Black clouds hang low just above the hill. It stinks of fire and dynamite. One of the soldiers is seizing frantically on the floor, laughing like a madman.

Z vlaka se zdi mimobezhecha pokrajina v dezhju topa in hladna. Kot da je okamenela v grozi vojne. Srecha se je skrila za oblake in mesec za parobek gozda. Mrachi se. Nichesar ne moresh vech videti.

Vlak ropota skozi gozd. Je zhe skoraj noch.

Gozd vrshi. Veter zhvizhga. Noch je brez zvezd. To je noch s stotinami chrnih lukenj, v katere shchijejo garjavi psi.

Dezhuje kot za stavo.

Bozhjastni vojak se spet pretirano smeje. Vse, kar zhivi, je zhe od vsega zachtetka pripravljeno za smrt.

Povsod samo she blato, blato, blato. Poti in kolovozi so mokri in blatni. Kolona se dushi v blatu. Topovi, vozovi, konjska vprega, vse v blatu. Vojakom se ugreza na poti chez mochvirnato blato do kolen. Blato se lepi na mokro obleko, sili v telo.

Dezhuje brez prestanka. Pekel.

Neprijeten mrak pokriva dezhelo. Iz daljave se oglasijo strelj. Iz nasprotne strani zazhvizhgajo rafali, iz gozda zaropota strojnica.

Korporal stoji pri vznemirjenih konjih, kriči: »Hitro! Hitreje!«

Vojaki skachejo chez luzhe, blato shkropi do obraza.

»Ta vojna je popolnoma nepotrebna!« se razburja eden od vojakov.

»Tiho!«

Korporal dvigne glavo, zagradi za pishtolo.

»Hitreje!«

Iz gozda se oglashajo strelj. Od vseh strani zhvizhgajo krogle. Grmi, poka, besni ... Vsepovsod eksplozije granat ... Mozhje popadajo v blato ... Povsod blato in kri ... Stiska in strah ... Povsod blato, blato, blato ... Svet se pogreza v kri in blato.

Posochje ...

Vsak dan prebudi jutro to nasho s krvjo prepojeno zemljo in zelene veje dreves in grmovja na obrezhju ob Sochi se povesejo k vodi. Bleshchecha svetloba se shiri chez travnike, gozdove in hrbe, kot da se ni nich zgodilo. Dezhela je gorata in trpka. Dviga se strmo proti hribom, z ostrimi temnimi gozdovi se dviga v nebo ...

Nenadoma se med drevesi pojavi oglata zarez, ki spominja na temnozelen drevesni list ... Zarez se shiri na levo in desno ... Polzi med ljudi. Neti nemir ... To ni vech obichajni stari svet ... To je neki drug neprijeten svet, ki se chudno zamaje ... Stoji brezglavo na glavi ... Oglata zarez med drevesi pochрни.

Nebo se napolni s svincem, majhna drevesa nad Socho so nenadoma poshastne in tesnobne prikazni. Za nekaj trenutkov se celotna pokrajina prekrije s chрно-zlato mrachino. Zadoni staroavstrijska cesarska himna, a se zhe trenutek zatem zadushi v vodi pod strmim obrezhjem. Chez pokrajino se nevarno pobliskava. Utopljena zhalostinka preteklih chasov strashi med razkosanimi zvoki vetra in med temnimi strupenimi lisami, ki se v megli spajajo s hitro tekocho gorsko reko.

From the train the rainy landscape running past seems blunt and cold, as though petrified in the terror of war. Happiness hid behind the clouds and the Moon behind the forest's edge. Darkness is falling. Nothing is visible anymore.

The train rattles through the forest. The night is nigh.

The forest whirrs. The wind whistles. The night is starless. It's a night of hundreds of black holes pissed in by mangy dogs. It's raining like there's no tomorrow.

The seizing soldier is laughing excessively again. From the very beginning, all things living are ready for death.

Nothing left but mud, mud, mud. Paths and dirt-roads are wet and muddy. The convoy is choking in mud. Cannons, wagons, teams, all in mud. Soldiers knee-deep in the swampy ground they're crossing, mud sticking to wet clothes, pushing its way into their bodies.

It's raining ceaselessly. Hell.

Unpleasant dusk covers the land. From the distance shots resound. From the opposite side rounds shriek, a machinegun rattles from the forest.

The corporal stands at the restless horses yelling: »Fast, faster!«

Soldiers skip across puddles, mud spraying to their faces.

»This war is completely unnecessary!« rants one of the soldiers.

»Quiet!«

The corporal looks up, grabs his gun.

»Faster!«

Shots from the forest. Bullets whizz from all sides. It thunders, thuds, rages... grenades exploding... Men falling in mud... all around mud and blood... Anguish and fear... All around mud, mud, mud... The world sinking in blood and mud.

Socha valley...

Each day the morning wakes this blood-drenched soil of ours and green tree- and brush branches on the banks of the Socha bow to the water. Brilliant light spreads across the meadows, forests, and hills as though nothing happened. The land, hilly and hard, climbs steeply to the hills, its sharp dark forests rising towards the sky...

Suddenly, an angular slash appears among the trees, reminiscent of a dark green tree-leaf... The incision widens to the left and right... Slides among the people. Ignites unrest... This is no longer the normal world of old... It is some other unpleasant world, that starts strangely swaying... It stands headless on its head...

The angular incision among the trees turns black.

The skies fill with lead, tiny trees above the Socha suddenly become monstrous and anxious apparitions. For a few moments, the entire landscape is covered in black-and-gold dimness. The old Austrian anthem booms, only to be drowned in the water under the steep banks a moment later. Perilous flashes cross the land. The drowned elegy of times-past haunts among disjointed wind howls and the gloomy noxious blotches blending with the fast torrential mountain river.

Translated from Slovenian by Jaka Jarc

Peter Amalietti

EVTANAZIJA

V prvinski družbi, ko je bil chlovek she naravno bitje, je bila tudi smrt del zhivljenja narave, vse betezhne, bolehnne in ostarele so namrech pobrali zimski mraz, pomladna lakota in poletne vrochine, tiste, ki so slabshe slishali ali videli, pa so hitro pospravile zveri. Za preostale, ki so prezhiveli vse te nevarnosti, vendar so bili svojemu rodu le she v nadlego, saj od njih ni bilo vech nobene koristi, pa so imela starodavna ljudstva obichaj, da so ti sami odshli nekam v samoto, kjer so pochakali na smrt zaradi lakote, mraza in zveri, ne nujno prav v tem vrstnem redu. Japonski staroselci, imenovani Ainu, so na primer gojili lep obichaj, da je sin svojo ostarelo mater v koshari odnesel na vrh gore in jo tam prepustil njeni usodi. Japonci evtanazije sicer najbrzh sploh niso nikoli niti prepovedali, saj po izročilu negujejo lepo navado, imenovano harakiri, ki velja za dostojanstveni in chastni samomor, kakršna je v resnici tudi evtanazija oziroma blaga smrt, kot jo je poimenoval nash pisatelj Miha Remec.

Nomadska ljudstva so ob pomladni selitvi v starem taboru pustila odpisane starce in starke, vse drugo pleme pa je odshlo na nove pashnike. Ostareli in oslabei ribichi iz Tihega oceana in tudi drugod so imeli obichaj, da so se s svojim cholnom odpeljali na svojo poslednjo vozhnjo brez vrnitve, prej pa so se poslovili od družhine in vseh sovashchanov.

Tudi Indijci so dolga tisočletja ob smrti poročenega moshkega z njegovim truplom vred sezhgali tudi zhivo vdovo, kar je zagotovo zelo bolecha oblika evtanazije. Zelo priljubljen evtanazijski postopek so rimski cesarji radi predpisovali svojim politichnim nasprotnikom, po katerem so se po zadnji večerji v prijateljskem krogu obsojeni izbranci ulegli v domacho kopel, polno vroche vode in dishav, in si nato prerezali zhile na obeh zapestjih. To menda nebolecho smrt so v zgodovini uporabljali tudi pri shtevilnih avtoevtanazijah.

Sproshчени odnos do umiranja in smrti je spremenila shele krshchanska vera, ki je zaradi nachela svetosti zhivljenja strogo prepovedala samomor in zaradi tega nachela she danes nasprotuje splavu, cerkev pa je obenem zachela tudi shiriti splošni strah pred smrtjo, po njenem učenju je namrech za vse greshnike (kdo pa to ni?) smrt zachetek posmrtnega obstoja v peclu. To je vsekakor she en dober razlog, da si chlovek zheli dolgozhivosti. Kadar pa se zaradi boleznii in skrajne betezhnosti zhivljenje kronichnega in odpisanega bolnika spremeni v pravi pekel, bi moral imeti pravico do nebolechega konca oziroma blage smrti. Podobno etichno vprashanje je prinesla sodobna medicina, ki zdaj zmore ohranjati pri zhivljenju bolnika v komi in pripetega na umetna pljucha.

Peter Amalietti

EUTHANASIA

In primeval society, when man was still a natural being, death was also a part of nature's life; all the feeble, infirm, and elderley were taken by the winter cold, spring hunger, or summer heat. Those who had trouble hearing or seeing, were soon eaten by wild beasts. As for those who survived all these perils but were nothing but a nuisance to their kin, as they were no longer of any use, the ancient peoples had a custom of going somewhere in solitude and wait for the hunger, cold, and wild beasts to kill them, not necessarily in that order. The indigenous Japanese, known as the Ainu, for example, kept a beautiful tradition of a son carrying his aging mother to the top of the mountain in a basket and leaving her there to her fate. The Japanese probably never prohibited euthanasia, being that their tradition includes a beautiful old custom known as *hara-kiri*, which is considered a dignified and honourable type of suicide, which is what euthanasia – or gentle death, as our writer Miha Remec dubbed it – is.

At the spring migration, nomadic peoples left redundant old men and women in the old camp, while the rest of the tribe moved to newer pastures. The aging and weakened fishermen on the Pacific Ocean and elsewhere had the custom of taking their boats on one final voyage of no return, after having said goodbye to their families and all their fellow villagers.

In India they also cremated the living widow of along with the deceased's body, certainly a very painful type of euthanasia. A favourite among the procedures which Roman Emperors liked to prescribe their political opponents was for the condemned to follow up one final dinner in the company of their friends by taking a hot scented bath and slitting both their wrists. This, purportedly painless, method of death was also used for numerous auto-euthanasias throughout history.

Relaxed attitude towards dying and death changed with the advent of the Christian Faith, which upheld the principle of the sanctity of life also by forbidding suicide, and which, due to that same principle, continues to oppose abortion to this day; at the same time, the Church also began spreading general fear of death, namely, according to its teachings, the death of all sinners (and who isn't one) marks the beginning of their posthumous existence in Hell. This is certainly another good reason for a person to desire longevity. However, when disease and extreme frailty make a chronic written-off patient's life a living hell, the latter should have the right to a painless end, or gentle death. Modern medicine, which is now able to prolong the life of a patient in a coma hooked up to artificial lungs, brought a similar ethical quandary.

Ne glede na vse pravne, verske in praktične zadržke in druge prepreke pa so si ljudje v preteklosti vselej znali iznajdljivo pomagati pri iskanju načinov in postopkov blage smrti. V ne še tako daljni preteklosti je bilo prav nasprotno človeku vselej veliko težje preživeti kot pa umreti, dokler tega ni na glavo postavila nasha sodobna družba, v kateri je menda težje umreti kot pa živeti, kar dokazujeta tudi moralna prepoved samomora in zakonska prepoved evtanazije. Vsi pa tudi vemo, da nobena prepoved v zgodovini chloveshtva ni bila uspešna, in to od prve Bozhje prepovedi Ne jej od tistega drevesa! naprej, saj sleherna prepoved naposled doseže prav nasprotno od tistega, kar zheli dosechi.

Druga plat moralnega preizprasevanja pa je vprashanje, ali je res etichno z medicinsko oskrbo ohranjati pri zhivljenju tudi tiste, ki si tega vech ne zhelijo, torej proti njihovi volji?

V prejšnjih chasih so usmiljeni zdravniki bolnikom v strasni stiski dali prevelik odmerek opiatov, takshna smrt je namrech povsem nebolecha in bolj zanesljiva od drugih zdravil, kadar pa pri roki niso imeli usmiljenega zdravnika, so si bolniki lahko v bozhji lekarni postregli s strupenimi zelmi ali gobami, ki jih v njej kar mrgoli, chesar pa seveda ne bi nikomur priporochal, takshno umiranje je namrech predolgotrajno in prevech boleche.

Najbolj domiselni bolniki so v preteklosti povsem neopazno izvedli avtoevtanazijo s tiho pomocjo morilske mochi dehidracije in so zmanjšali svoj vnos tekochin na minimum, v nekaj tednih je bilo namrech vsega konec. Tak postopek ni prav nich bolech, vendar pa chloveka malo pred koncem zachne hudo zebsti.

Tisti bolniki, ki ostajajo pri zhivljenju zgolj zaradi velikih uspehov sodobne medicine, si zhelijo konchati svoj nadležni obstoj, se povsem odpovejo medicinskim uslugam in seveda tudi vsem tabletam.

She najpogosteje pa bolniki za avtoevtanazijo uporabijo pretiran odmerek protibolechinskih tablet, ki vsebujejo opiate. Tisti pa, ki imajo bolj mochno voljo, lahko preprosto prenehajo jesti in piti, saj sta pijacha in jedacha nashi osnovni pogonski sredstvi, brez katerih ne moremo delovati dolgo. Izstradanje do smrti je bil v Indiji pri dzhainistih celo verski postopek, ki je stradajochega tik pred smrtjo nagradil z razsvetljenjem.

Vsi ti opisani postopki avtoevtanazije so ljudem vselej na voljo ne glede na takshno ali drugachno zakonodajo. Pravica do evtanazije je zame nesporno ena od chlovekovih temeljnih pravic in svoboshchin, zato verjamem, da je njena prepoved zgrashena in jo je treba preklicati. Smrt je namrech del zhivljenja, zato bi ob pravici do zhivljenja moral chlovek imeti tudi pravico do blage smrti.

Irrelevant of all legal, religious, and practical qualms and other obstacles, the people in the past always knew ingenious ways in which to help each other find means and methods of procuring gentle death. Quite the opposite, in the not-so-distant past, it was always much harder for people to survive than it was to die, until this was turned on its head by our modern society, wherein it is supposedly harder to live than die, as evidenced by the moral prohibition of suicide and illegality of euthanasia. But we also all know that no prohibition in human history was ever successful, beginning with when God first forbade eating from that tree, as every prohibition sooner or later accomplishes the opposite from that which it sets out to achieve.

On the other side of the scale of moral deliberation stands the question of whether it is truly ethical to prolong the of those who no longer want it, i.e against their will using medical treatment

In former times, merciful doctors gave their excessively suffering patients an opiate overdose. Such a death is entirely painless and more certain than that achieved through use of other medications. When no merciful doctor was at hand, the patients could also help themselves to poisonous herbs or mushrooms in God's apothecary, which teems with such commodities, though this is something I would disadvise because such dying takes too long and is too painful.

The most imaginative patients carried out their euthanasia entirely unnoticed, with the quiet aid of the murderous power of dehydration by reducing their fluid intake to the minimum. In a few weeks, it was all over. This procedure is completely painless, though the person gets very cold at the end.

Those patients only kept alive due as a result of the great achievements of modern medicine, who want to end their burdensome existence, forego all medical services as well as, of course, all pills.

By far most frequently patients euthanize themselves by means of an overdose of pain medication, which contains opiates. And those with greater willpower can simply stop eating and drinking, since food and drink are our main propellants without which we cannot function for very long. In India, the Jainists even viewed starving to death as a religious procedure, which would reward the starving with enlightenment right before the moment of their death.

All above described methods of euthanasia are always available irrelevant of any kind of legislation. For me, the right to euthanasia is unquestionably one of man's fundamental rights and freedoms. This is why I believe that its prohibition is erroneous and must be revoked. Death is a part of life, and so, in addition to the right to live, a person should also have the right to a gentle death.

Še nikoli v preteklosti ni imel človek toliko priznanih svoboshchin, kot jih ima dandanes, svobode pa ima iz dneva v dan vse manj, saj zdaj ne sme več niti umreti, čeprav si tega iz povsem tehtnih in upravičenih razlogov morda želi. Če ima človek res svobodno voljo, bi moral imeti tudi pravico, da jo uveljavi, kot sam hoče.

Tudi sam zagovarjam svetost življenja, dokler se življenje zaradi hude in težke bolezni ne spremeni v pekel, ko to preneha biti življenje, in ko zato tudi ni več sveto. V tem pogledu tudi evtanazija kot ukinitvev življenja, ki ni več življenje, po moje ne krši načela svetosti življenja, temveč omogoča strokovno in nadzirano umiranje brez bolečin in je lahko zato nadvse primeren in dostojanstven odhod iz tega življenja, če ga pač človeku res ni več vredno živeti.

Never before, has mankind held so many freedoms as it does today. However, with each passing day our freedom is shrinking. Now, we're not even allowed to die, even if we have entirely justifiable reasons to want to. If people indeed have free will, they should also have the right to exercise it in keeping with their wishes.

I too am a proponent of the sanctity of life, that is, until a severe and difficult disease turns life into living hell, at which point it ceases being both life and sanctified. In this respect euthanasia, as the cessation of life which, in my opinion, is no longer life, does not go against the sanctity of life, but rather enables a professional and controlled painless dying and can therefore be an utterly appropriate and dignified departure from this life if said life is truly no longer worth living.

Translated from Slovenian by Jaka Jarc

Rajko Shushtarshich

TRIVIALNA STRUKTURA ZAVESTI

Izbrani odlomek – dopolnitev knjige Janezovo razodetje, Zgodbe o Pilatu (za tretjo izdajo) je primeren uvod v tako stanje zavesti, ki pripravi duha na neko drugachno komunikacijo, drugachno od vsakdanje, ki smo je sicer vajeni v pogovoru med ljudmi, in tudi drugachno, ki smo je vajeni v razpravah, traktatih, esejih ali zgolj chisti poeziji. Drugachnost je v tem, da tekst ne more biti niti chisto pesnishko svoboden, ker je duhovno voden, niti le racionalno shematischen, ker shematiko presega. Che zanemarimo ekspresivni nivo, potem komunikacija izgubi zhivost. Che pa zanemarimo shematskost komunikacije, potem duh zatava v svobodne asociacije chustev, občutenj in izgubi nivojskost in smer, ki je v teh tekstih bistvena.

Duha ne velicha, ne vodi ga v smeri proti nedoumljivemu, neizmernemu, neskonchnemu, absolutnemu, cheprav je to njen smisel in smoter. Misel se ustavi, izgubi se; vrednote, ideje ne transcendirajo k absolutu, ne vodijo v najgloblji mogochi pogovor v sebi, ne vodijo k Bogu. Komunikacija z Bogom ali pa z najgloblji v sebi, kakor hochete, je po svojem bistvu intimna molitev, meditacija, dojemanje nedoumljivega. Ni torej presenetljivo, da jo je tako tezhko dojeti, she tezhe izraziti, in she tezhe podozhiveti drugemu. Alegorije so v bistvu shifrirano dozhivetje, njihovo deshifriranje pa za globljo komunikacijo ne zadoshcha, ker ta je neposredna, je pogovor duha z duhom, zapis pa je le korelat ali srednik te komunikacije.

Simbolichno pa lahko molitev, to najglobljo komunikacijo, ki je chloveku mogocha, mnogo bolje, globlje in lepshe izrazimo. Lahko bi rekli o molitvi tole:

Ranjeni (ishchochi, vprashujochi, prosechi ...) um se obrne k Bogu s proshnjo, da ga uredi, potolazhi, umiri... On ni nikoli molil dvakrat enako, zanj je molitev pogovor z Njim.

Na pragmatichnem nivoju pa to pomeni seveda nekaj chisto dugega, nekako tole:

Beg od zhivljenja, ko subjekt zapade v tako stanje uma, v katerem je skrajno izgubljen, prizadet; drugache recheno:

zmedeni, prizadeti um se obrne v iracionalno mishljenje; grobo recheno pa: versko zblazni in ni mu pomochi od zemeljske mochi.

Rajko Shushtarshich

THE TRIVIAL STRUCTURE OF CONSCIOUSNESS

The selected excerpt – supplement to the book *Revelation to John, Stories about Pilate* (for the third edition) is an appropriate induction into the type of state of consciousness, which prepares the spirit for a different kind of communication, dissimilar from everyday communication, to which we are accustomed in conversations among men, and also different from what we are used to encountering in dissertations, treatises, essays or merely pure poetry. Its distinction is that the text cannot be entirely subject to poetic license because it is spiritually lead; nor can it be purely-rationally schematic, because it surpasses schematics. If we discard its expressiveness, communication loses its life. But if we discard the schematism of communication, the spirit slips into free association of emotion and sensation losing dimensions and direction, both of which are vital for these texts.

Spirit is not glorified, nor is it lead towards the incomprehensible, immeasurable, infinite, absolute, though this is its reason and purpose. The thought stops, is lost; values, ideas do not transcend towards the absolute, failing to bring about the deepest possible discussion within oneself, they do not lead to God. Communicating with God or with the deepest in oneself, if you prefer, is in its essence intimate prayer, meditation, comprehension of the incomprehensible. It is therefore not surprising, it is so difficult to comprehend, harder still to express, and even harder to relive by another. Allegories are in essence coded experiences; however, deciphering them does not suffice to achieve deeper communication, because such communication is direct, it is a conversation of a spirit with a spirit; its written record is merely a correlate or mediator of this communication.

Symbolically prayer – this deepest communication achievable by man, can be expressed much better, deeper, and more beautifully. The following can be said about prayer: The wounded (seeking, questioning, imploring...) spirit turns to God with a plea to be put in order, comforted, soothed... He never prayed twice in the same way, to him prayer is a conversation with Him.

On a pragmatic level, the sense is of course completely different, along these lines: Escape from life, lost, hurt; in other words:

The confused impacted mind turns to irrational thinking; put bluntly: it falls into a religious craze and no earthly power can help it.

Vsaka razlaga (globinsko) nivojske ali vertikalne strukture, tako teksta kot tega, kar ta izrazha, je v bistvu njegovo raztelesenje. In enako velja za horizontalno ali ravninsko strukturo zavesti. »Zakaj potem to sploh pochnem?« me boste upravičeno vprashali. To pochno razum in ne dá miru, dokler nechesa ne razume in tako onemogocha globlje dojetje. Moj namen je torej razchleniti strukturo ezoterichnega teksta, v našem primeru se to nanasha na knjigo Janezovo razodetje, z namenom, da bi to raztelesenje chimprej pozabili in tako morda presegle shematicnost v neposrednejši komunikaciji. Zato bom razchlenil predvsem variacije na trojno nivojsko strukturo zavesti.

V sestavljenih simbolih, alegorijah, eksemplifikacijah jih je seveda she mnogo vech, tako rekoch neskonchno.

Na primer: »iz ocheta zhelje rojeni« simbolizira prvi nivo (gonov, nagonov, zhelja), prvo rojstvo, telesno rojstvo, ali chutni nivo. Vendar je poprej potrebno razlochiti she prekrivanje trinivojske in sedmeronivojske strukture.

Prvi nivo tronivojske strukture se prekriva s prvim do tretjim oziroma do petim nivojem (odvisno od konteksta) sedmerne – sedemnivojske vertikalne strukture zavesti. Formalna razlika je v sorazmerju odnosno nesorazmerju med nivoji obeh struktur. Pravim formalno, a drznil bi si pripomniti, da je tudi dejansko v samorefleksiji zavesti ochitno, da je sedmerna struktura veliko bolj racionalistichna, v njej dominira racionalni vidik, shesti in sedmi nivo sta v neprestani tezhnji, da se racionalizirata (a o tem kasneje). V tronivojski strukturi pa dominira duhovna raven oziroma duhovna interpretacija. Zato mora deshifriranje oziroma dojemanje simbolike uposhtevati obe strukturi in hkrati svobodo sporochevalca.

Pomembneje od tega pa je, in to je treba vedno znova poudariti, da vsako shematsko rigidno analitichno deshifriranje ali dojemanje simbolov pomeni njihovo redukcijo, osiromashenje in ima svoje meje. V takem primeru je njih dojetje (deshifriranje) mogoche le do zgornjega petega, to je racionalnega nivoja. Kar je vech, pa mora prepustiti bodisi domishljiji umetnosti, bodisi veri religije ali pa gotovosti intuicije uma.

Sama delitev nivojev je do neke mere vedno shematska, v principu je shtevilo nivojev poljubno. Vendar bi tezhko ovrgli prevladujocho vlogo ravno trojne in she sedmerne strukture zavesti. Za dojemanje nashega teksta je bistvena trinivojska (vertikalna) struktura in trikomponentna (horizontalna) spoznavno-etichno-estetska struktura dejstev zavesti, ki jo simbolizirajo tri vrednote:

resnica, svoboda, ljubezen.

Ta pa je dovolj ali pa celo prevech razchlenjena v spremni besedi knjige.

Najprej pa moramo izluschiti sedemnivojsko strukturo, in she posebej njen pojmovno racionalni ali chisto abstraktni nivo.

Any explanation of a (deeply) multi-levelled or vertical structure, of either the text or what it expresses is essentially its disembodiment. The same goes for horizontal or flat structure of consciousness. »Why do this at all, then?« you would be right to ask. My reason does it, it does not leave me be, until it understands something and so prevents a more profound comprehension. My purpose is therefore to dissect the structure of an esoteric text, in our case Revelation to John, in order to forget this dissection as soon as possible and so perhaps move beyond schematism through communicating more directly. And so, I will mainly dissect variations on the three-level structure of consciousness.

The composite symbols, allegories, exemplifications of course comprise many, practically infinitely more.

For example: »born from the father's desire« is a symbolical representation of the first level (drives, instincts, desires), the first birth, the bodily birth, or the sensual level. We must begin by distinguishing the overlapping of the three-level and seven-level structures.

The first level of the three-level structure overlaps with the first-through-third or through -fifth levels (depending on context) of the septuple – seven-level vertical structure of consciousness. Formally the difference lay in the proportion, or disproportion between the levels of both structures. I say formally, but I dare note that it is in fact also obvious in the self-reflection of consciousness that the septuple structure is much more rationalistic, it is dominated by the rational aspect, with the sixth and seventh level in constant tendency to become rationalized (more on this later). The three-level structure is dominated by the spiritual level, or spiritual interpretation. This is why in deciphering or comprehending symbolism we must take into account both structures and the freedom of the communicator simultaneously.

What is more important than this, and what bares continuous repeating, is that any schematic rigid analytical deciphering or comprehension of symbols results in their reduction and impoverishment, and has its limitations. In such cases, it is only possible to comprehend (decipher) them up to the upper fifth, i.e. rational level. What extends beyond this must be left to either the fantasy of art, faith of religion, or certainty of the mind's intuition.

The very division of levels is always schematic to a degree, in principle the number of levels is unrestricted. But it would be difficult to abandon the predominant role of the tripe and septuple structure of consciousness. The three-level (vertical) structure and three-component (horizontal) cognitive – ethically – aesthetical structure of the facts of consciousness is vital for the comprehension of our text; it is symbolised by three values: truth (or verity), freedom (or liberty), love.

It is sufficiently or even overly dissected in the book's afterword. We must begin by disentangling the seven-level structure and particularly its conceptually rational or purely abstract level.

SEDEMNIHOVSKA STRUKTURA ZAVESTI

- 1 afektivna (gonsko–nagonska)
- 2 chutna (chutno–zaznavna)
- 3 chustvena (sestavljena chustva)
- 4 interesna (pragmaticšno–razumska)
- 5 pojmovno racionalna (chista racionalna)
- 6 duhovna (neposrednih dejstev zavesti)
- 7 umska (intuicije uma)

ali obrnjeno:

- 7 transcendirajoča
- 6 hermenevtična
- 5 kategorična
- 4 praktična (inteligentna, pragmaticšna)
- 3 zhivozhivljenska
- 2 iluzorna
- 1 elementarna

ali tudi:

- 1 energetska
- 2 motivacijska
- 3 aspiracijska
- 4 interesna (stremljenjska)
- 5 pojmovno–abstraktna
- 6 neposredna (duhovna)
- 7 apriorna (vrednotna)

ali:

- 1 instinktivna
- 2 chutilna
- 3 chustvujocha (obchutenjska)
- 4 stvarna (reistichna, pozitivistichna, utilitarna)
- 5 chistorazumska
- 6 duhovna (idejna, vrednotna)
- 7 absolutna (umsko celostna)

SEVEN-LEVEL STRUCTURE OF CONSCIOUSNESS

- 1 affective (arising from drives–instincts)
- 2 sensory (sensory–perceptive)
- 3 emotional (composite emotions)
- 4 Interest-relative (pragmatically–reasonable)
- 5 conceptually rational (pure rational)
- 6 spiritual (of the direct facts of consciousness)
- 7 mental (of the intuition of the mind)

Or reversely:

- 7 transcending
- 6 hermeneutic
- 5 categorical
- 4 practical (intelligent, pragmatic)
- 3 Life-living
- 2 illusionary
- 1 elementary

Or also:

- 1 energetic
- 2 motivational
- 3 aspirational
- 4 interest-relative (linked to striving)
- 5 conceptually–abstract
- 6 direct (spiritual)
- 7 a priori (linked to values)

or:

- 1 instinctual
- 2 sensory
- 3 emotive (linked to feeling)
- 4 material (reistic, positivistic, utilitarian)
- 5 purely-reasoned
- 6 spiritual (linked to ideas, values)
- 7 absolute (mentally holistic)

Racionalni (chistorazumski) nivo strukture zavesti (5)

HIPOTETIČNI SISTEM KATEGORIJ RAZUMA, asociiran v Absolutnost *1

1. Osnovna in sumarna kategorija = VSE (le to je absolutno)

BIVAJOČE :	ABSOLUT (ABSOLUTNO):
BISTVO	»ABSOLUT(NO)« BISTVO
BIT	»ABSOLUT(NA)« BIT

Edino VSE = ABSOLUTNO. Racionalna (chista racionalna) zavest ga pojmuje kot ves svet, vesolje, kot vsebivajoče, kot absolutnost, vesoljnost, kot to, po chemer bivajoče je.

Ontoloshka opredelitev:	– Bit je primarno bivajoča bit, absolut je »absolutna« bit.
	– Bistvo je izvorno bivajoče, absolut je »absolutno« bistvo.

Modalitete osnovne kategorije

REALNOST; STVARNOST;	kot substanca – akcidenca; ...
DEJANSKOST;	kot materija – ideja
RESNICHNOST;	kot forma – vsebina
NEIZBEZHNOŠT;	kot afirmacija – negacija
NEIZPODBIT(NOST);	kot eksistenca – esenca
NEPOSREDNOST, ...	kot telo – duh; ...

2. Relativne kategorije (ali DIMENZIJE) *2

KVALITETA –	»absolutna« intenziteta –
KVANTITETA	»absolutna« reduktibilnost;
	shtevnost – preshtevanje, shtetje
	merljivost – merjenje, izmere; ...
TRAJANJE –	chisto trajanje – (isto)chasnost
CHAS	sočasje – (brez)chasnost
	večnost – (vse)chasnost; ...
RAZSEZHNOŠT –	(vse)razsežnost – obsežnost,
PROSTOR	razsežnost – (brez)obsežnost,
	razsežnost – (brez)prostornost,
	razsežnost – (ne)prostornost,
	razsežnost – (nich)prostornost; ...
IDENTITETA –	enkratnost – ponovljivost
UNIVERZALNOŠT	individualnost – univerzalnost; ...
ali tudi:	
INDIVIDUALNOŠT–	posebnost – tipičnost
OBCHOŠT	posameznost – posamičnost, mnoshtvo
	enkratnost – ponovljivost
	individualno – obche(stveno); ...

Rational (purely-reasoned) level of structural consciousness (5)

A HYPOTHETICAL SYSTEM OF THE CATEGORIES OF REASON, associated in the Absolute *1

1. Basic and summary category = EVERYTHING (only it is absolute)

EXISTING :	ABSOLUTE (Absolute):
ESSENCE	»ABSOLUTE« essence
THE BEING	»ABSOLUTE« Being

Only EVERYTHING = ABSOLUTE. The rational (purely-rational) consciousness perceives it as the whole world, universe, all-existing, the absolute, universality, as that by which the existing is.

Ontological definition:

- the BEING is the primary existing Being, the absolute is the »absolute« Being,
- Essence is the original existing, absolute is »absolute« essence.

Modalities of the basic category

REALITY;	as substance – accident; ...
MATERIALITY;	as matter – idea
FACTUALITY;	as form – content
TRUTH;	as affirmation – negation
INEVITABILITY;	as existence – essence
IRREFUTABILITY;	as body – spirit; ...
DIRECTNESS, ...	

2. Relative categories (or DIMENSIONS) *2

QUALITY –	»absolute« intensity –
QUANTITY	»absolute« reducibility;
	countability – enumeration, counting
	measurability – measuring, surveying; ...
DURATION –	pure duration – (con)temporarity
TIME	contemporaneousness – time(lessness)
	eternity – (all)temporaneousness; ...
DIMENSION –	(all)dimension – sizeability,
SPACE	dimension – (lack of) circumference,
	dimension – (lack of) spaciousness,
	dimension – (un)spaciousness,
	dimension – (non)spaciousness; ...
IDENTITY –	uniqueness – repeatability
UNIVERSALITY	individuality – universality; ...
or also:	
INDIVIDUALITY –	peculiarity – typicality
COMMONALITY	singularity – distinctiveness, plurality
	uniqueness – repeatability
	individual – general (communal); ...

3. Relacijske kategorije*3

SOVISNOST –	kot »absolutna« povezanost, urejenost – kot »absolutna« neurejenost, kaos; ...
PROTISLOVNOST (SUMARNA RELACIJA)	
ali tudi:	tudi:
HIERARHE –	kot abs. hierarhija –
ANARHE	abs. anarheija
modalitete:	
VZROK –	kot abs. vzrok, prvi in poslednji vzrok –
POSLEDICA	abs. posledica
ACTIO –	kot vsedejavnost –
PASSIO	abs. nedejavnost
DEJ –	kot vsedejanskost –
MOZHNOT	abs. nedejanskost, she vsemozhnost
ZAKONITOST –	kot abs. dolochljivost, vsepredvidljivost –
NEZAKONITOST	abs. nedolochljivost, abs. nedefinitivnost
DETERMINIZEM –	kot abs. determiniranost –
INDETERMINIZEM	abs. indeterminiranost
NUJNOST –	kot abs. neizbeznost, neizogibnost –
SLUCHAJNOST	abs. sluchajnost, nepredvidljivost
ali tudi:	
NUJNOST –	kot abs. usojenost, neizbeznost, predanost –
SVOBODA	abs. osvobojenost, svojevolljnost; ...

Opomba*1: Sprva sem sledil Aristotelovi in Kantovi kategorizaciji, kasneje sem dojel, da bodisi nash razum bodisi nash um kategorije razuma neizogibno asociira do absoluta (tj. absolutno), in nazadnje doumel (po 40 letih), da razum le kategorizira dejstva zavesti v: neposredna – posredna, subjektna – objektna, subjektivna – objektivna, ..., da razum modificira sistem kategorij po svojskem, tj. neposrednem umevanju subjekta (tudi chisto razumsko mishljenje je ontoloshko opredeljivo le po individuumovem sebstvu; drugache recheno, vrednotno je opredeljeno po subjektu, chigar izvorno svojstvo je individualno). Vendar, ta neposredna dejstva zavesti so vsakemu individuumu neposredno preverljiva. To je tako, tudi v primeru, ko je sistem podprt s takima avtoritetama, kot sta to Aristotel in Kant. Socialna uveljavljenost – obche soglasje vsakokratnega miselnega sistema obchestva je seveda nekaj drugega.

3. Relative Categories*3

CODEPENDENCE –	as »absolute« connectedness, orderliness – as »absolute« disarray, chaos; ...
CONTRADICTION (SUMMARY RELATION)	
or also:	also:
HIERARHE –	as »absolute« hierarchy –
ANARHE	abs. anarchy
modalities:	
CAUSE –	as abs. cause, first and last cause –
EFFECT	abs. consequence
ACTIO –	as all-activity –
PASSIO	abs. inactivity
FACT –	as all-materiality –
POSSIBILITY	abs. immateriality, also all-capacity
LAW –	as abs. determinability, all-predictability –
LAWLESSNESS	abs. in determinability, abs. in-definitiveness
DETERMINISM –	as abs. determinability –
INDETERMINISM	abs. in-determinability
NECESSITY –	as abs. inevitability, unavoidability –
ACCIDENTALITY	abs. accidentality, unpredictability
or also:	
NECESSITY –	as abs. destiny, inevitability, dedication –
FREEDOM	abs. liberation, self-wilfulness; ...

Note*1: At first I followed Aristotle's and Kant's categorisation, later I recognized that either our reason or our mind inevitably associates the categories of reason to the absolute (i.e. absolutely); finally I realized (after 40 years) that reason merely categorises facts of consciousness into: direct – indirect, subject-object, subjective-objective, ... that reason modifies the system of categories according to its singular, i.e. direct reasoning of the subject (even purely reasonable thinking is only ontologically definable through the individual's selfhood; in other words it is evaluated by the subject whose original selfhood is individual). But these direct facts of consciousness are directly verifiable in each individual. The same is true in cases where the system is supported by authorities such as the likes of Aristotle and Kant. Social prominence – general consensus of each new thought system of the general public is, of course, another matter.

Ontoloshko oz. vrednotno opredelitev razuma pojmuje tako, da dojemamo oz. se opredelimo, najpogosteje pa nereflektirano prevzamemo enega od obeh kategorialnih antipodov osnovne, ali aktualne modalitete osnovne, kategorije kot podstat ali kot primarno oz. izhodishčno ali izvorno dejstvo, drugega pa kot izvedeno dejstvo. (Npr.: primarnost materije: – materializem; eksistence: – eksistencializem; esence: – esencializem; ...)

Opomba²: Razum relativizira celoto (**vse**) v antipodne dimenzije zavesti v **vse in nich**. Abstraktno mishljenje dela to intenzivno, z ekstrapolacijo – limitirajochim mishljenjem. Drugache recheno, mishljenje (tudi predstavno) trenutno (nepojmljivo hitro) asociira proti nich in v neskončno ($0 - ?$), v dva nasprotna skrajnostna kategorialna antipoda torej, ki sta mu sama nedoumljiva, natanchneje recheno, nerazumljiva. A ravno skrajnostni antipodi kategorij so ti, ki omogochajo vsako dedukcijo in z njo kategorialno (chistoracionalno) mishljenje. Od vserezsezhnosti, neskončnosti do absolutne neobsezhnosti nich(a) kot nich razsezhnosti prostora, skratka od tod do večnosti, in nichnosti je bliskovit razmislek, razumevanje pa nikakršno. Pouchen po izkustvu je uspehnejshi v razumevanju kvantitativnih, chasovno, prostorsko merljivih antipodih **relativnih kategorij**. Vendar to je pragmatichna, ne pa chistorazumska ontoloshka opredelitev. Lahko je tudi intuitivna, a ta je razumu nerazumljiva in sodi v področje (sintetichnega – neanalitichnega) uma.

Eno je shtevnost (kvaliteta), drugo je shtetje, preshtevanje (kvantiteta). Chas npr. ni chetrta dimenzija prostora, ampak je druga dimenzija (druga relativna kategorija)! Prostor npr. (vsak konkreten ali abstrakten prostor) je opredeljen ali umeshchen med 0 in $?$ prostora, med brezprostornost in vserezsezhnost. ...

Opomba³: Vse kategorije so relacijske oz. relativne (v odnosu med seboj in v odnosu do osnovne ali sumarne kategorije so dinamicno sovisne). Tako je npr. dandanes nadvse aktualna Einsteinova relativnost prostora in chasa, le dveh dimenzij ali kategorij, kakor hochete, vendar so vse kategorije ali dimenzije analogno relativne oz. sovisne. Dimenzije oz. kategorije ter njihove modalitete so pojmovane shematsko, tj. kot racionalno reduktibilna (zozhena) dejstva zavesti. »Absolutnost« kategorialnih antipodov je relativna! (Dosledno bi jo moral oznachiti, kot »pogojno absolutno«, »absolutno simbolichno«, z narekovaji.)

Problem socialne veljavnosti vsakokratnega miselnega sistema – vladajočega nachina mishljenja obchestva (njegova konfliktnost) ni reshljiv na chistorazumskem nivoju zavesti. To je namrech vprashanje pragmatichnoracionalne zavesti: kateri je socialno dominantni sistem mishljenja, kakshna bo prevladujochi nazorska opredelitev (vprashanje mochi, ne razuma).

We perceive the ontological or value definition of reason by comprehending or determining ourselves, most often we assume without deliberation one of the two categoric antipodes of the fundamental, or by the actual modality of the fundamental, category as a basis or as the primary fact or starting or originating fact, and the other as a consequent fact. (e.g.: the primary nature of matter: – materialism; of existence: – existentialism; of essence: – essentialism...)

Note*²: Reason relativizes totality (**everything**) to antipodal dimensions of consciousness, to **all or nothing**. Abstract thinking does this intensively through extrapolation – restrictive thinking. In other words, thinking (including representational), associates momentarily (unimaginably fast in the direction of nothing and infinity (0 - ?), so into two opposite extreme categoric antipodes, which are themselves unintelligible to it. But it is these extreme antipodes of categories that enable every deduction and by it categoric (pure rational) thinking. From all-dimensionality, infinity to absolute none-dimensionality of space, in short from here to eternity and nothingness is a matter of instantaneous deliberation but of no understanding. He, who is learned through experience, has greater success in understanding quantitative antipodal **relative categories** measurable in time and space. However, this is a pragmatic, rather than a purely reasoned, ontological definition. It can also be intuitive, but then it is unintelligible to reason and belongs in the field of (synthetic – non-analytical) mind.

Countability (quality) is one thing, counting or enumeration (quantity) another. Time (for example) is not the fourth dimension of space, but rather a different dimension (another relative category)! Space for example, (any tangible or abstract space) is defined and positioned between the 0 and ? of space, between space-lessness and all-dimensionality. ...

Note*³: All the categories are inter-dependent or relative (in relation to each other and dynamically co-dependent in relation to the base or summary category). And so, Einstein's relativity of time and space is extremely popular these days; it relates to only two dimensions, or categories if you prefer, but all categories or dimensions are analogously relative or co-dependent. Dimensions or categories and their modalities are perceived schematically, i.e. as a rationally reducible (narrowed) facts of consciousness. »The absolute nature« of antipodes by category is relative! (I ought to persistently mark it as »conditionally absolute«, »absolutely symbolic«, in parentheses).

The problem of social validity of each new thought system – the governing mode of the general public's thinking (its conflict) – is not resolvable on the pure rational level of consciousness, because it is a matter of the pragmatic-rational consciousness: which is the socially dominant system of thought, how will the dominant outlook be framed (a matter of power, not reason).

Poimenovanja sedemnivojske strukture

niso bistvena, so zadeva konvencije, relativno se spreminjajo, vendar to velja za poimenovanja in ne za njih pomen. Sedemnivojska struktura zavesti kot kompleksni simbol ostaja to, kar ona v bistvu je, tudi če posamezne njene nivoje narobe poimenujemo. Lahko rečemo, da je ta struktura arhetipska za ljudi vseh časov. Poimenovali jo bodo po svoje, a težko bo kdo trdil, da ni zhe v nekaj variacijah dovolj oznachena, da jo lahko razpozna vsak um. Je torej neposredno preverljiva! Po izvoru pa je, morda bi tako lahko rekli, proizvod razuma, kar bi lahko veljalo do petega nivoja, naprej pa je, tako bi lahko zopet rekli, slutnja uma. Ravno dejstvo, da razum lahko konstruira kategorizacije poljubno, v principu, kolikor hoče in kakor hoče, kazhe, da mu ne gre zaupati. Lahko domnevamo, da zapade v konstruktivizem, ker nima sebe presegajoče določenosti v sebi, to je na svojem nivoju. Tu se sklicuje na intuitivno utemeljitev, ki jo seveda pripishe sebi. Pa to niti ni tako problematichno, pach pa to postane takrat, ko vidimo, da s tem, ko svojo nadracionalno pogojenost racionalizira, s tem tudi osiromashi, omrtvi.

Nivojsko zaporedje simbolizira poglobljanje vase, v bistvo sebe, to je od elementarnega do transcendentnega nivoja (na primer). Če pa hočem izraziti – simbolizirati duhovno rast ali velichanje sebe (sebstva svojega), samozavedanje bistva ali osvobajanje ovojev dushe (na primer), jih moram navesti obrnjeno in jih brati hkrati tudi od spodaj navzgor, tako kot je to ustaljeno pri simbolu krizha. A tako je to le predstavno simbolno (grafichno), v resnici se molitev – komunikacija (meditacija) zachenja spontano, to je, iz zhivega zhivljenja in se spontano preliva po nivojih vrojene strukture uma, do tja, ko rečemo, da dosezhe transcendentno (sfero). Vsako deduktivno in nasprotno, induktivno shabloniziranje je le trivialna razlaga analitichnega razuma nechesa, chesar ne more doumeti.

Krizh je celostni simbol, ki simbolizira prekrizhano vertikalno in horizontalno strukturo (dejstev) zavesti na nivojih njene rasti, to je od chutnega do duhovnega ali pa na primer v sedemnivojski strukturi od elementarnega do duhovnega nivoja. Na intuitivno umskem nivoju (tretjem oziroma sedmem) pa dejstva zavesti transcendirajo, drugache bi rekli, se zlivajo (prezhemajo), »v Njem so eno«.

Nadaljnja spekulacija razuma je celotna matrica trikrat sedem polj in le težko bi nashli katerikoli jezik, katerikoli nachin izrazhanja, ki bi nedvoumno (nehomonimno) poimenoval tako razlikujocha se polja dejstev nashe zavesti, za katera pa z gotovostjo vemo, da so, ne da bi jih natanchno poimenovali. Tu je simbolno izrazhanje alegorichno poetichne zavesti neulovljivo, nepojmljivo. Vendar, ko razum to stori, namrech, ko deshifrira strukturo zavesti, ko skonstruira matrico pomenov, dobi lazni občutek ali morda preprihanje, da sedaj razume Vse. Pa ne razume in ne more razumeti Boga, ne more razumeti vech in globlje, kot je njegov domet (domet petega nivoja).

The Names of the Seven-level Structure

are unessential, a matter of convention, they change relatively; this goes for names, but not their meanings. The seven-level structure of consciousness as a complex symbol, in its essence, remains what it is, even if we mislabel its constituent parts. We can say this structure is archetypal for people of all times. They will name it in their own way, but one could hardly say a mere few variants do not define it sufficiently that any mind could recognize them. It is therefore directly verifiable! Its origin is, we might say, a product of reason, which may be true up to the fifth level; beyond this, we might call it an inkling of the mind. Precisely the fact that reason can freely construct categorisations, in principle, as many as and in any way it will, shows it may not be trusted. We may assume it falls prey to constructivism because it has no self-exceeding determinacy within itself, i.e. on its level. Here, it invokes intuitive substantiation, which it of course ascribes to itself. This is not even very problematic, however it becomes so once we see that it deadened when it rationalizes this supra-rational determination and becomes poorer for it.

The succession of levels symbolises exploring oneself, one's core, i.e. from the elementary to the transcendent level (e.g.). But if I want to express – symbolise spiritual growth or self-glorification (of my selfhood), self-awareness of essence, or liberation of the folds of the soul (e.g.), I must list them in reverse simultaneously reading them from the bottom up, as is established with the symbol of the cross. But this is only visual (graphical), in truth, prayer – communication (meditation) arises spontaneously, i.e. from living life, and spontaneously fuses across levels of the mind's innate structure, all the way to where we say it reaches the transcendent (sphere). Any deductive and contrary inductive moulding is merely the analytical mind's trivial explanation of that, which it cannot comprehend.

The cross is a holistic symbol symbolising the intersection of the vertical and horizontal structure (of the facts) of consciousness on levels of its growth, i.e. from the sensory to the spiritual, or e.g. in the seven-level structure from the elementary to the spiritual level. On the intuitive-mental level (third or seventh) the facts of consciousness transcend, in other words fuse (inculcate), »they are one in Him«.

The mind's further speculation is the entire matrix of three-times-seven fields and we would be hard-pressed to hardly find any language or mode of expression that would unambiguously (un-homonymically) name such dissimilar fields of facts of our consciousness, which we know to certainly exist without precisely naming them. Here, symbolic expression of allegorically poetic consciousness is ungraspable, incomprehensible. But when reason does, namely, deciphers the structure of consciousness, when it constructs the matrix of meanings, it gets a false sense or perhaps conviction that it now understands Everything. But it does not and cannot understand God, it cannot understand more and deeper than its reach allows (range to the fifth level).

Kaj lahko pa razum vse zhivo, razum presegajoče omrtvi, razchleni, shematsko določiti – razporedi, in tako bi rekel, da pokvari nekaj, kar je zanj le nedostopno, za druge nivoje pa svetlo – sveto. Razum torej ezoteričnega teksta ne more dojeti, lahko pa ga po svoje razume, vendar je to resnično res velik redukcijem njegovega celotnega pomena.

Zato je za globlje dojetje dejstev zavesti najboljše, da tako shematiko chimprej pozabimo, ker nas bo samo motila in blokirala na svojem četrtem ali kvechjemu petem nivoju. Shestega in sedmega nivoja ne bo nikoli razumela, kvechjemu ju bo racionalizirala. Za spodnje nivoje pa bi lahko rekli, da jih razume, ne pa chustvuje, zhivo chuti ali elementarno dozhivi.

Trinivojska (vertikalna) struktura zavesti je globlja, bolj zhiva, neposredna, zavest vodi v neskonchnost nje bivanja. Na koncu pa velja tudi zanjo, da je po formi shematska in zato toga, in tudi nje se velja osvoboditi, a le v vsej njeni shematskosti in sterotipni shablonskosti. Njene zhive variacije so neizchrpne.

Reason can, however, easily take all living things beyond its own grasp and deaden them, dissect them, schematically define – arrange them, and so to say, ruin that which is merely inaccessible to it, and bright – holy to other levels. Reason therefore cannot comprehend an esoteric text, and while it can understand it in its own way, it does so by a truly vast reduction of the text's entire sense.

This is why, for a deeper comprehension of the facts of consciousness, it is best to forget such schematics as quickly as possible; it would only bother us and block us on its fourth or at least fifth level. It will never understand the sixth and seventh levels, at best it will rationalize them. We could say, it understands the lower levels, but it does not emote, feel vividly, or experience them elementarily.

The three-level vertical structure of consciousness is deeper, more living, and direct; it leads consciousness into the infinity of its existence. In the end, this structure is likewise schematic, and therefore stiff, in form. It is also worth freeing oneself from it, but only where its schematic nature and stereotypical uniformity are concerned; its living variations are inexhaustible.

NEKAJ VARIACIJ TRINIVOJSKE STRUKTURE

(shematsko, ekspresivno)

najprej ekspresivno:

svet	zemeljski
duhovni svet	duhovni
nebo	nebeshki
ali:	
telo	telo – prvi ovoj dushe
duh	duh – drugi ovoj dushe
dusha	um – tretji ovoj dushe
ekspresivno –	shematsko:
prvi ovoj dushe –	chutno predstavni (chlovek)
drugi ovoj dushe –	nadchutno duhovni (chlovek)
tretji ovoj dushe –	transcendentno bistveni (chlovek)
she naprej ekspresivno:	
prizemljen	bivanje – rast
z duhom ozharjen	duhovno bivanje – duhovna rast
večno zhiv	bozhansko bivanje – bozhanskost
rojen	rojen
drugorojen	duhovno rojen
edinorojen	iz iskre boga (uma) rojen,
iz sebstva sebe, bistva svojega	
rojstvo	ljudje ste
duhovno rojstvo	ste vech kot to: duhovna bitja ste
večno zhivljenje (neumrljivost)	
in vech ste: bogovi ste	
rojen	rojen telesno – sin chlovekov
prerojen	duhovno rojen – sin duha
nesmrten	edino rojen – sin boga
stopnjevano:	
sin chlovekov	Sin chlovekov
duh sveti (svetli)	Sin Duha svetega
bozhji sin v Njem	Sin Ocheta Boga
sin chlovekov	Sin Chlovekov
sin Duha	Sin Duha
sin Boga	Sin Boga

A FEW VARIATIONS OF THE THREE-LEVEL STRUCTURE

(schematic, expressive)

first, the expressive:

the world	earthly
the spiritual world	spiritual
the sky	heavenly

or:

the body	the body – the first fold of the soul
the spirit	the spirit – the second fold of the soul
the soul	the mind – the third fold of the soul

expressive –	schematic:
the first fold of the soul –	sensory perceptive (man)
the second fold of the soul –	supra-sensory spiritual (man)
the third fold of the soul –	transcendentally essential (man)

continually expressive:

grounded	existence – growth
irradiated by spirit	spiritual existence – spiritual growth
eternally living	divine existence – divinity

born	born
second-born	spiritually born
only-born	born from god's (mind's) spark, from the
selfhood	

of self, from his own essence

birth	you are men
spiritual birth	you are more than this: you are spiritual beings
eternal life (undying)	and you are more: you are gods

born	physically born – son of man
reborn	spiritually born – son of the spirit
immortal	only born – son of god

ordered by level:

son of man	Son of man
holy spirit (bright)	Son of the Holy Spirit
Son of god in Him	Son of God the Father
son of man	Son of Man
son of the Spirit	Son of Spirit
son of God	Son of God

hrana telesna
 duhovna hrana, hrana duha
 bozhanska jed, jed za Boga

luch
 svetloba Duha
 vednost Boga

intelektualni preblisk
 duhovna osvetlitev
 bozhansko razsvetljenje

znakovno:
 beseda
 duh besede
 Bozhja beseda (Logos)

chrka
 duh chrke
 bozhanski navdih

pismo
 v duhu pisma
 sporočilo Boga

zakon
 duh zakona (vrednote)
 razodetje bozhjega bistva

znamenja
 pomeni
 bistva

resnično
 resnično resnično (dvakrat resnično)
 absolutno resnično

shematsko:
 prva resničnost
 druga resničnost
 gotovost

chutna
 duhovna
 intuitivna

predstave, pojmi
 ideje, vrednote, dojetja
 intuicije

razum
 neposredna dejstva zavesti
 sintetični (celostni) um

zakoni
 vrednote
 razodetja

food of the body
spiritual food, food of the spirit
divine meal, meal for God

light
light of the Spirit
knowing of God

by sign:
word
the spirit of the word
the word of God (Logos)

scripture
in the spirit of scripture
the message of God

law
the spirit of the law (values)
the revelation of God's essence

truly
truly, truly (twice truly)
absolutely truly

schematic:
the first reality
the second reality
certainty

notions, concepts
ideas, values, comprehensions
intuitions

laws
values
revelations

intellectual flash
spiritual illumination
divine enlightenment

letter
the spirit of the letter
divine inspiration

signs
meanings
essences

sensory
spiritual
intuitive

reason
direct facts of consciousness
synthetic (holistic) mind

zopet ekspresivno:

oko	ochi
duhovno oko	duhovne ochi
srce (uma)	um srca

govor besed vsakdanjih
notranji govor, neposredni (po)govor
notranji nagovor

ekspresivno – shematsko:

govor	beseda
notranji glas	duh besede
praglas	slutnja uma

zopet shematsko:

predstavni, konvencionalni, pojmovni svet
simbolno alegorichni svet
transcendentni svet

jezik, govor
notranji govor
apriorna vednost praspomina

chuti, razum	predstave, pojmi
dejstva zavesti (duha)	ideje, vrednote, dojetja
slutnje uma	umske zaznave, intuicije uma

chas
trajanje
abs. sočasnost (»vechnost«)

komunikacija preko simbolov
neposredna komunikacija duha z duhom
meditativna komunikacija s transcendirajočim v sebi

Kot zhe poprej recheno (pri sedmerni nivojski strukturi), niso bistvena poimenovanja, le-ta skoraj neomejeno variirajo, se relativno spreminjajo, vendar to velja za poimenovanja in ne za njih pomen. Kaj pa che pride do zamenjave nivojev v dejanskem pomenu (ne le v poimenovanju)?

again, the expressive:

eye	eyes
spiritual eye	spiritual eyes
the heart (of the mind)	the mind of the heart

utterance of everyday words

internal speech, direct (conversation) speech

inner address

expressive - schematic:

speech	word
inner voice	the spirit of the word
proto-voice	the premonition of the mind

again schematic:

perceptive, conventional, conceptual world

symbolically allegorical world

transcendent world

language, speech

inner speech

the a-priori knowing of proto-memory

senses, reason

the facts of the consciousness (of spirit)

premonitions of the mind

perceptions, concepts

ideas, values, comprehensions

mind perceptions, intuitions of the mind

time

duration

absolute contemporaneousness (»eternity«)

communication through symbols

direct communication of a spirit with a spirit

meditative communication with the transcendent within the self

As previously stated (in the relation of the the seven-level structure), naming is not of the essence, it varies to an almost unlimited extent, changing relatively; however, this goes for names only, not their meanings. What if a change of levels occurs in actual meaning (not merely in name)?

O tem je težko razpravljati, ker se bomo vedno vrnili na problem pomena in njegovega označevanja, iz njega skorajda ne moremo. A je vendarle bistvena neka zamenjava ali pa recimo drugachno pojmovanje nivojske strukture, v kateri sta (po moje) zamenjana drugi in tretji nivo. V tem primeru je trinivojska struktura kot kompleksni simbol nekaj povsem drugega. Naj skušam ta problem vseeno nekoliko naznčiti. Zamenjava nastopa tako, da se nivo duha pojmuje dejansko za nadrejenega transcendentnemu nivoju.

Primer:

shematsko:	stopnjevano pravilno:
chlovek	chlovek
transcendirajoči chlovek	duhovni chlovek
duhovni chlovek	transcendirajoči chlovek

ekspresivno:	stopnjevano pravilno:
telo	telo
dusha	duh
duh	dusha

Pomenska zamenjava nivojev pomeni, da je ta dosledna, to je v vseh variacijah triade. Poimenovanja slede tej zamenjavi in se njej primerno modificirajo. Vendar se sedaj ne bom preveč ukvarjal z njo, saj je dovolj pogosta.

Naj skušam naznčiti, kaj ona pomeni (zame). Lahko bi trdil, da blokira nivojsko poglobljanje vase na nivoju duha, v bistvo sebe ne more, moč duha ji zapre pot. Pomeni, da duha veliča, dusho manjša. Zmanjša iskro uma, individualnost sebe, sebstva svojega tako, da tega izreči ni mogoče. Poveliča pa moč duha, chlovekov duh in moč chloveka. Vendar s tem problemom sem se podrobneje ubadal v neki drugi knjigi – v Traktatu o svobodi.

Smisel uporabe (shifriranja in deshifriranja) kompleksnih (celostnih) simbolov ali pa le sestavljenih simbolov neposrednih dejstev zavesti (vrednot na primer) je le v tem, da vrednote simbolichno naznči (»opishe«), izrazi tako in toliko, da te izsilijo ali vsaj omogochajo tako dojemanje, ko one dejansko zazhivje v horizontalni smeri od spoznavne (razpoznavne) prek etichne do estetske komponente zavesti, in hkrati, kar je she bolj pomembno, da zazhivje v svoji rasti, prehajanju, prezhemanju po vertikalni osi trivialne strukture zavesti!

V nekem drugem jeziku pa bi rekli takole:

Smisel dushe (zavesti) je,
 da se ona shiri, pogloblja, veliča;
 da zhivi svoje lastno zhivljenje;
 da znova in znova preverja
 svojo minljivost – neminljivost.
 Ona mora uresnichiti samo sebe.

This is difficult to discuss, as we will always have to come back to the problem of meaning and its definition, this is virtually unavoidable. But a change, or let's call it different conceptualization, in the level structure is essential – one where (in my opinion) the second and third levels trade places. In this case, the three-level structure as a complex symbol becomes something completely different. Let me try to somewhat frame this issue. The exchange takes place in such a way, that the level of the spirit is perceived in fact as superior to the transcendent level.

Example:

schematic:	ordered correctly :
man	man
transcending man	spiritual man
spiritual man	transcending man
expressive:	ordered correctly:
body	body
soul	spirit
spirit	soul

The exchange of the levels of meaning must be consistent, i.e. consistent in all variations of the triad. Names adhere to this alteration and alter in accordance with it. However, I will not deal with this too much, as it is frequent enough.

Allow me to outline what it means (to me). I could say it hinders our multifaceted exploration of ourselves on the level of the spirit; it cannot enter its essence, the spirit's power blocks its path. Therefore it extols the spirit, diminishes the soul, the spark of the mind, the individuality of the self, our own selfhood beyond what words can describe. But it glorifies the power of spirit, man's spirit and the power of man. However, I have dealt with this in detail already in *The Treatise on Freedom*.

The point of using (encoding and deciphering) complex (holistic) symbols or only composite symbols of the direct facts of consciousness (e.g. values) lay only in symbolically framing, (»describing«) expressing values in such a way and to such an extent, they can force or at the least enable understanding, which allows them to come alive horizontally, from the cognitive (discernible), across the ethical, to the aesthetical component of consciousness, and simultaneously – which is even more important – in growth, transition, pervasiveness on the vertical axis of the trivial structure of consciousness!

In different language, we would put it this way:

The meaning of the soul (in consciousness) is,
 that it expands, deepens, extols;
 that it lives its own life;
 that it ensures again and again
 its transience- intransience.
 It must realize itself.

Tako je pomenska struktura knjige razchlenjena, kot jo lahko razchlenim sam. Če sem morda prihranil vsaj nekaj truda kakemu analitiku, pa cheprav bi s tem pochetjem kaj lahko prizadel samovshechnost razumnika v njem, sem zhelel le poudariti omejenost in nezadostnost analitichnega pristopa k ezoterichnim tekstom. Trdim namrech le, da jih je mogoche brati globlje kot razumsko. Z analizo pa nisem prichel shele sedaj, z namenom, da dopolnim Spretno besedo knjige. Z njo sem ves chas obremenjen, lahko bi rekel, da vchasih obseden. Morda je edini nachin, da se je osvobodim, ta, da jo zapishem. Sedaj, ko to pishem, pa se mi zdi, da sem ne sodi, da je knjigo mogoche lepshe in globlje in svobodneje brati brez te razchlenitve in brez one, ki je v spremni besedi knjige, tudi.

Morda spada ta tekst v Neke vrste metafizichno estetiko, to je knjigo, ki jo pishem in jo morda kdaj vendarle koncham, natanchneje, dopolnim tisto iz leta 1973.

Morda pa je ta tekst primernejshi za neko chisto drugachno knjigo, njen naslov bi lahko bil Estetika neke vrste.

Eno poglavje v njej bi se lahko konchalo nekako takole:

»Chloveshka bitja so res chudna vrsta bitij,
so bitja, ki spadajo predvsem v vrsto radovednih bitij,
pa taka, ki spadajo bolj v vrsto nraavnih bitij,
in she taka, ki she najbolj spadajo v vrsto obchudujochih
bitij.

Predvsem pa se je treba odlochiti o tem:
je chlovek umno bitje, bitje uma,
je bitje iz vrste umnih bitij ali le bitje iz vrste
serijskih bitij?

Tisto pa, ali je (predvsem) homo politicus
ali animal rationale
ali homo faber
ali homo militaris
ali homo religiosus
ali homo aestheticus,
pa pustimo racionalistom, ideologom, teologom,
oziroma religijski, politichni, ekonomski, znanstveni,
militantni zavesti ali natanchneje: propagandi in
propagandistom, inzhinirjem dush in duhovnim vodnikom.«

A bilo je zaman, vse to izmikanje namrech. Sedaj, ko sem s samozagovorom konchal, se me loteva chuden nemir, mochno se mi zdi, da se tudi tej dopolnitvi spremne besede nisem mogel upreti. She preden se je zdanilo, sem se tretjih odlochil za izdajo, izdajo knjige Janezovo razodetje.

Ljubljana, aprila 1993

Thus, I have broken down the book's meaning structure as much as I can by myself. If I perhaps saved some analyst a bit of work, even though the self-importance of the intellectual in them may be injured, I merely wished to highlight the inadequacy of the analytical approach to esoteric texts. In fact, I maintain that they can be read on a more profound than the intellectual level. My analysis was not conducted only now to complement the book's Afterword; it has been weighing on me throughout, I could even say I was at times obsessed by it. Perhaps the only way I can set myself free is by writing it down. As I write this, I feel as though it does not belong here and that the book is read more beautifully, deeply and freely without this breakdown and without the one in the book's Afterword as well.

Perhaps this text belongs in *Some Sort of Metaphysical Aesthetics*, a book I am writing, and will perhaps one day finish, or more precisely, supplement the one from 1973.

But perhaps this text is more suitable for an entirely different book, which could be titled *Some Sort of Aesthetics*.

One chapter in it could conclude along these lines:

»Human beings are truly a strange sort of beings,
they are beings, which belong primarily in the species of curious beings,
and such, which belong more in the species of natural beings,
and such, which belong mostly in the species of admiring
beings.

But above all a decision must be made:
is man a mental being of the mind,
is he a being of the mental species
of serial beings?

And, as to whether he is predominately a homo politicus
or animal rationale
or homo faber
or homo militaris
or homo religiosus
or homo aestheticus,

let us leave this to rationalists, ideologists, theologians,
or to religious, political, economic, scientific,
militant consciousness, or more precisely: to propaganda and
propagandists, engineers of souls and spiritual leaders.«

But it was in vain, all my evasion that is. Now that I have finished my self-defending disclaimer, a strange unrest is coming over me I feel that this complement to my afterword was something I was unable to resist, even before daybreak I decided a third time, to deliver over, the Testament to John.

Ljubljana, in April 1993

Translated from Slovenian by Jaka Jarc

Damir Globočnik

STOJAN KERBLER, MOJSTER FOTOGRAFIJE, PREJEMNIK PRESHERNOVE NAGRADE ZA ZHIVLJENJSKO DELO

Stojan Kerbler se je s fotografijo začel intenzivneje ukvarjati med študijem elektrotehnike v Ljubljani.¹ Po uspehu fotografije dečka s prevelikimi oblachili in s klobukom, ki jo je posnel med kurentovanjem na Ptuj (Sam, 1966) in se je opazno uvrstila na fotografske razstave, se je odločil, da bo na ptujskih ulicah fotografiral ljudi, zlasti kmečke obiskovalce, ki so ob tradicionalnih semanjskih dnevih na Jurjevo, Katarinino in Ozhboltovo v mesto prihajali iz Haloz. Zaradi uporabe teleobjektiva (135 mm) se portretiranci pogosto niso zavedali fotografove prisotnosti, figuralni motiv je izostren, ozadje pa zabrisano. *»Pritegnil me je sproščeni sejmarski vrvež, še bolj slikoviti in živi liki posameznikov. S teleobjektivom sem jih takorekoč trgal iz množice, jih fotografsko osamil ... zato, da bi ohranil brezštevne značajske in duševne odtenke chloveka iz množice.«*

Ciklus *Portreti s ptujskih ulic*, ki ga je Kerbler leta 1971 predstavil na samostojni razstavi na Ptuj, je bil povezan z aktualnimi fotografskimi prizadevanji skupine fotografov v mariborskem fotoklubu, ki je februarja istega leta v Razstavnem salonu Rotovzh pripravila razstavo *Mariborski krog*. Med skupnimi značilnosti fotografov t. i. »mariborskega kroga« so: vsebinska in formalna mrachnost, posluh za obrobne teme in razvijanje posnetka brez dodatnih posegov v negativ, npr. kopiranje celotnega negativa brez kompozicijskega izreza, na kar je opozarjal poudarjen chrn rob, ki so ga člani Fotokluba Maribor spoznali na fotografijah francoskega fotografa Henryja Cartier-Bressona (1908–2004). Edini naknadni poseg je bil dodatno osvetljevanje v temnici, ki je zatemnilo moteče podrobnosti in gledalca usmerilo k osrednjemu motivnemu poudarku. Vodilni predstavniki »mariborskega kroga« so bili Ivan Dvorshak, Janko Andrej Jelnicar, Zmago Jeraj, Branko Jerneich in Stojan Kerbler. Zaradi vsebine in prevladujočih chrnih površin se je pri opredeljevanju »mariborskega kroga« začel uporabljati tudi pojem »chrni realizem« oziroma »chrna fotografija«. Za razliko od vechine, ki je poudarjala tesnobno urbano in obmestno motiviko z ekoloshkim ali socialnim podtonom, je Kerbler v ospredje izrazil postavljaj chloveshko figuro.

Kerbler si je leta 1972 kupil avtomobil in začel fotografirati Halozhane v njihovem domachem okolju. Uporabljal je širokokotni objektiv, ki zahteva blizhino snemanja, zato je moral navezati neposreden stik s portretiranci. Širokokotni objektiv enakomerno izostri ospredje in ozadje motiva, figuro na ta nachin bolj povezhe s prizorishchem, omogocha pa tudi zajetje vechjega zornega kota, kot zmore chloveshko oko.

Damir Globochnik

STOJAN KERBLER, MASTER OF PHOTOGRAPHY, THE RECIPIENT OF THE PRESHEREN AWARD IN RECOGNITION OF HIS LIFETIME ACHIEVEMENT

Stojan Kerbler became involved in photography while studying electrical engineering in Ljubljana.¹ After his photograph of a boy in oversized clothes and a hat (*Alone*, 1966), taken during the Kurent Festival in Ptuj, was featured prominently in photography exhibitions, Kerbler decided to photograph people in the streets of Ptuj, especially those from the rural Haloze region who came to the town for traditional fairs on St George's, St Catherine's, and St Oswald's Days. Since he was using a telephoto lens (135 mm), his subjects were often unaware of his presence. The figural motif in these photographs was in sharp focus, while the background was blurred. *»I was drawn to the relaxed bustle of the fairs, particularly the colourful and vivid faces of individuals. Using the telephoto lens, I practically ripped them from the crowd and photographically isolated them... in order to capture the countless nuances of character and spirit of a person in the crowd.«*²

His photography series *Portraits from the Streets of Ptuj*, presented at a solo exhibition in Ptuj in 1971, was related to the contemporaneous activities of the Fotoklub Maribor, which staged an exhibition entitled *»Maribor Circle«* at the Rotovzh Exhibition Salon in February of the same year. The photographers of the so-called Maribor Circle were characterised by the sombre content and form of their work, and their attention to the themes of social marginality. They also eschewed darkroom manipulation; for instance, they printed the whole frame of the negative without cropping it, leaving a prominent black border line, a technique they adopted from the French photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson (1908–2004). The only darkroom manipulation that they used was increasing the exposure to darken distracting details and direct the observer to the central motif. The leading representatives of the Maribor Circle were Ivan Dvorshak, Janko Andrej Jelnikar, Zmago Jeraj, Branko Jerneich and Stojan Kerbler. Due to the themes and the prevalent black surfaces, the terms *zhblack realism«* or *zhblack photography«* were also used to define their work. Unlike most of the others, who focused on disquieting urban and suburban motifs with ecological or social undertones, Kerbler foregrounded the human figure.

In 1972, he bought a car and began photographing the people of Haloze in their home environment. He used a wide-angle lens that required photographing from up close, and thus needed to establish a direct rapport with his subjects. A wide-angle lens produces an even focus across the foreground and background of the shot, thus closely connecting the figure to the scene and allowing a greater field of view than that of the human eye.

Osrednji motiv je bil portret oziroma skupinski portret, pri čemer je Kerbler dopushchal, da so v kompozicijo vstopale tudi druge figure, detajli njihovih domovanj in grichevnata pokrajina, ki Halozhane zavezuječe dolocha in opredeljuje. Kerbler je vedno fotografiral z naravno svetlobo, zato imajo fotografije, posnete v notranjshchinah, mrachen podton. Pri fotografijah, ki so nastale za razstave, je dosledno vztrajal pri analogni, črno-beli tehniki. Ohranil je črn rob kot potrdilo o avtentičnosti kadra, ki ga med postopki izdelave fotografij ni spreminjal.

Osrednji motiv – portret oziroma chloveshko figuro pogosto v ozadju ali ob robovih kompozicije spremljajo stranske figure, ki se povezujejo v zhanrski prizor, in druga pomenska dopolnila. *»Stojan Kerbler je izrazit pripovednik,«* je poudaril umetnostni zgodovinar dr. Cene Avgushtin. *»Njegove figure so dobesedno iztrgane iz zhivljenja in neposredno povezane z okoljem, ki dopolnjuje naša spoznanja o upodobljencu. Kerblerjeva metoda komponiranja je izvirna in znachilna za avtorjevo gledanje na fotografijo. Osrednja figura je v mojstrovih fotografskih kompozicijah postavljena v prvi plan ali poudarjena s snopom svetlobe. Na dominantno figuro se na videz neprižadeto navezujejo ostale, vendar tako, da vsebinsko dopolnjujejo vlogo glavne nosilke kompozicijske igre.«*

Zaradi uporabe širokokotnega objektiv (28 mm) prevladuje podolgovat format fotografij, chlovek pa je najpogosteje postavljen v sredino kompozicije, s pogledom, usmerjenim v objektiv. Kerbler je Halozhane fotografiral med opravili v vinogradu, na njivah in travnikih, pri delu z zhivino ali v njihovih skromnih domovanjih, pogosti so portreti otrok med igro. Med prvimi je nastala fotografija deklice, ki se s tremi prashichki spushcha po bregu (*Deklica iz Haloz, 1972*), za katero je Kerbler med vech kot 35.000 fotografijami prejel prvo nagrado na mednarodnem natečaju Pentacon-Orwo (1973). Uspeh te fotografije je botroval odločitvi, da nadaljuje s fotografiranjem Halozhanov z osemindvajsetmilimetrskim objektivom.

Kerblerju je s Halozhani uspelo vzpostaviti topel odnos, zato so ti sproshcheno, brez zadrege in zaupljivo pozirali ter pred fotografom niso zakrivali intimnih obchutij in skromnih zhivljenjskih razmer. *»V domachem okolju se chlovek pochuti varno in se tudi bolj odpre. Svojim portretirancem sem se približhal, se z njimi pogovarjal, jih sprasheval, in medtem ko so razmishljali, kaj bi mi odgovorili, sem slikal. Da, zelo frontalno, zelo neposredno.«*

Kerblerjev ciklus *Halozhani* vsebuje pripovedne, chustvene in socialne konotacije. Med vzpodbudami za fotografiranje v Halozah je bil zbornik *Siti in lachni Slovenci* (1969), v katerem je bilo predstavljeno zhivljenje v najrevnejshih predelih Slovenije. Vendar socialna usoda portretirancev ni postavljena v ospredje, zato Kerblerjevih fotografij ne moremo uvrstiti v zvrst reportazhne ali socialnodokumentarne fotografije. Ni ga namrech zanimal novinarski pristop, s katerim bi razgaljal socialno bedo v odmaknjenih Halozah. *»To je bila ena mojih redkih zhvestnih odlochitev glede fotografiranja: sklenil sem, da bom svoje Halozhane predstavil na drugachen nachin – namrech povsem takshne, kot v resnici so. Nisem zhelel iskati ekscesov, kot je to pochela novinarska fotografija. Nikoli nisem iskal posebno revnih, bolnih ali zhapatih ljudi, ampak Halozhane, takshne, kakrshni so mi vsak dan stopali na pot.«*

While his central motif was the portrait or group portrait, his compositions allowed the inclusion of other figures, details of their homes, or the hilly landscape that marks and defines the people of Haloze. Since he always photographed using natural light, the photographs taken in the interiors carry a sombre undertone. In creating photographs for exhibitions, he consistently used black and white analogue photography. He preserved the black border line in the process of developing photographs as a mark of authenticity of the individual scene.

The central subject, that is, the portrayed human figure, is often flanked by background figures at the edges of the composition that are assembled to form the genre scene, as well as other signifying elements. »*Above all, Stojan Kerbler is a storyteller,*« wrote art historian Cene Avguštin. »*His figures are essentially ripped from life and directly tied to their environment, which furthers our understanding of the represented subject. Kerbler's compositional method is original and characterises his view of photography. In his masterly compositions, the central figure is foregrounded or highlighted by a beam of light. Other figures refer to the dominant figure as if unaffected by it, even while they substantively complement its central role in the compositional play.*«²

Due to Kerbler's use of the wide-angle lens (28 mm), his photographs are mainly in a horizontally elongated format, with the human figure frequently occupying the centre and gazing into the camera. In Haloze, Kerbler photographed people working in vineyards, fields and grasslands, tending to livestock, or inside their humble dwellings. Portraits of children at play are also common. One of the first works in this series was a photograph of a girl going down a slope with three piglets in tow (*Girl from Halože*, 1972), for which Kerbler was awarded first prize at the Pentacon-Orwo International Competition (1973), out of more than 35,000 entries. The success of this photograph motivated his decision to continue photographing the people of Haloze using a 28-mm lens.

Kerbler established a warm relationship with the locals, who posed casually and confidently, disclosing their intimate feelings and their humble living conditions to the photographer. »*In a home environment, one feels safe and opens up more. I came close to my subjects, talked to them, asked them questions, and while they were thinking about the answer, I took photos. Yes, very straightforward, very direct.*«³

Kerbler's series *The People of Halože* includes different narrative, emotional and social connotations. One of the reasons he decided to photograph in Haloze was the 1969 book *Siti in lačni Slovenci (Well-fed and Hungry Slovenes)*, which revealed what life was like in the poorest parts of Slovenia. Nonetheless, since Kerbler's photographs do not foreground the social condition of the subjects, they cannot be categorised as reportage or social documentary photography. He was not interested in pursuing a journalistic approach that would expose the social misery in remote Haloze. »*This was one of my few conscious decisions about photography: I decided to present my Halože subjects in a different way – that is, exactly as they really are. I didn't want to look for excesses like journalistic photography did. I never looked for people who were exceptionally poor, ill, or heavy drinkers, but the people of Halože as they crossed my path daily.*«⁵

Kljub preprostemu, trdemu in revnemu zhiavljenju so ljudje na fotografijah srečni, blagi, dobrohotni, včasih hudomushni, vselej povezani s bivanjsko resničnostjo in prvobitnimi zhiavljenjskimi procesi, s kmečkimi vsakdanjikom, z delom, ki jih spremlja od rojstva do smrti, in s prazničnimi, obrednimi opravili. Opazna je fotografova chustvena zavzetost. Izstopajo humane razsežnosti ciklusa, ki ga je Kerbler prvich predstavil na samostojnih razstavah leta 1974 na Ptuju in v Mestni galeriji v Ljubljani. Fotografije, ki jih izbira za razstavljanje in objave v katalogih in monografijah, so samo del obsežnega fotografskega opusa, ki ga je ustvaril v Halozah.

Vzporedno s *Haložbani* je nastal ciklus *Koline* (prvich predstavljen v Razstavnem salonu Rotovzh v Mariboru leta 1982), pri katerem se Kerbler ni vpletal v dogajanje, temvech je skrbno dokumentiral obichaj v Halozah in na Dravskem polju: od priprave zhiivali za zakol v zgodnjih jutranjih urah, zakola, razkosanja trupla zhiivali do izdelave klobas. Kerblerjeve fotografije kolinjenja mestoma spominjajo na pogansko zhrtveno obredje. Obichaj je danes skoraj izginil, zato so fotografije dragocene tudi za etnologe in druge preucevalce zhiavljenja na podezhelju.

Kerbler je kontinuirano in z vztrajnostjo negoval razlicne fotografske pristope. Intenzivno je sodeloval na razstavah doma in v tujini. V Haloze je prenehal zahajati, ko je opazil, da sta se nachin zhiavljenja in pokrajina tudi tam temeljito spremenila. Intenzivno je fotografiral tudi v tovarni aluminija v Kidrichevem (proizvodni procesi, delavci med delom in poचितkom, dogodki v tovarni, likovno zanimivi ambientu in strukture). S fotografijami je opremil tovarnishko glasilo. Kasneje je fotografiral tudi opushchene objekte za proizvodnjo glinice. Le redko se je odlochil nekatere tovarnishke motive tudi razstaviti. Prvo samostojno razstavo tovarnishkih fotografij je pripravil leta 2012. Od leta 1966 do leta 2005 je ob pustnem chasu fotografiral kurente, od osemdesetih let pretekelega stoletja tudi z uporabo barvnega filma. Fotografiral je fotografske kolege (ciklus *Portreti fotografov*). Manjša fotografska ciklusa sta nastala med fotografiranjem potujočega cirkusa in med obiskom Lizbone.

Leta 2008 je zachel fotografirati ptujska dvorishcha. Na fotografijah, ki imajo zaradi nove fotografske opreme kvadraten format, ki poudari simetrichnost kompozicij, ni vech ljudi. Vendar nam prazna dvorishcha pripovedujejo zgodbe o nekdanjih lastnikih, ki so zgradili mogochne hishe, in o novih stanovalcih, ki so jih prilagodili svojim potrebam. Nadaljevanje ciklusa *Dvorishcha* sta ciklus *Prostori*, pri katerem se je osredotočil na notranjshchine zgradb na Ptuju in na Ptujski Gori ter na ptujske ulice in trge, in ciklus *Minljivost*.

¹ Podatki predvsem po: Marjeta Ciglencehki, »Fotografije Stojana Kerblerja«, *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino* 39, 2003, str. 226–259.

² Iz pogovora S. Kerblerja in Zmaga Jeraja, septembra 1974 v Ptuju, po: katalog razstave *Haložbani*, Kidrichevo 1974, str. 4.

³ Cene Avgushtin, »Fotografije, vredne, da bi obshle svet«, *Gorenjski glas*, 6. 9. 1983, sht. 68.

⁴ Izjava v portretu S. Kerblerja »Majhne slike, ki pripovedujejo« (avtorica chlanka Ingrid Mager), *Objektiv*, 25. 1. 2020, str. 14.

⁵ Kerblerjeva izjava, junij 2006, po: M. Skochir, *Vpogled v slovensko socialnodokumentarno fotografijo poznih sbestdesetih let* (diplomsko delo), Ljubljana 2006, str. 84.

Despite their simple, hard, and impoverished lives, the people in the photographs are happy, gentle, kind, occasionally mischievous, always connected to the reality of living and the primal processes of life, the everyday peasant existence, the work that accompanies them from cradle to grave, and to the festive, ritual customs. The photographer's emotional commitment is evident. What stands out are the humane dimensions of the series that Kerbler first presented in 1974 at solo exhibitions in Ptuj and at the City Gallery in Ljubljana. The photographs he chooses to exhibit and publish in catalogues and monographs are only part of the extensive body of work created in Haloze. In parallel to *The People of Haloze*, Kerbler created the series *Pig Slaughter* (first exhibited at the Rotovzh Exhibition Salon in Maribor in 1982). Here, rather than intervening in the event, Kerbler carefully documented the traditional practice in Haloze and Dravsko Polje: from the early-morning preparation of animals for slaughter, the act itself, the cutting of animal carcasses, to the making of sausages. In some aspects, Kerbler's photographs of pig slaughter evoke pagan sacrificial rites. Since this custom has almost disappeared today, Kerbler's photographs represent a valuable resource for ethnologists and other researchers of rural life.

Kerbler has continuously and persistently cultivated various approaches to photography. He has been an active participant in exhibitions at home and abroad. He stopped visiting Haloze regularly when he noticed that the way of life and landscape had changed dramatically there as well. Another subject he photographed extensively was the aluminium factory in Kidrichevo (production processes, workers during work and rest, factory events, visually striking spaces and structures). His photographs were published in the factory newspaper. Later, he also photographed abandoned alumina production sites. Kerbler rarely decided to exhibit the factory motifs, and only prepared the first solo exhibition of these works in 2012. From 1966 to 2005, he photographed kurenti during the Shrovetide carnival, also using colour film from the 1980s onwards. He took photographs of his colleagues (the *Portraits of Photographers* series). He created two smaller photography series during the visit of a travelling circus and while on a trip to Lisbon.

In 2008, Kerbler started photographing the Ptuj courtyards. Due to the new equipment Kerbler uses, these photographs are in square format, which emphasises the symmetry of the compositions, and are devoid of people. Nonetheless, empty courtyards tell stories of the former owners who built the grand houses and the new tenants who adapted them to their needs. Continuing the *Courtyards* series are the series *Spaces*, focused on the interiors of buildings in Ptuj and Ptujška Gora and Ptuj's streets and squares, and *Transience*.

¹ Taken mainly from: Marjeta Ciglenečki, »Fotografije Stojana Kerblerja«, Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino 39, 2003, pp. 226–259.

² Interview with S. Kerbler by Zmagaj Jeraj in Ptuj, September 1974: catalogue to the exhibition *The People of Haloze*, Kidrichevo, 1974, p. 4.

³ Cene Avguštin, »Fotografije, vredne, da bi obshle svet«, Gorenjski glas, 6 September 1983, No. 68.

⁴ Kerbler's statement in a profile by Ingrid Mager, »Majhne slike, ki pripovedujejo«, Objektiv, 25 January 2020, p. 14.

⁵ Kerbler's statement, June 2006, quoted from: M. Skochir, *Vpogled v slovensko socialnodokumentarno fotografijo poznih šestdesetih let* (thesis), Ljubljana, 2006, p. 84.

Stojan Kerbler

LIKOVNA DELA /REPRODUKCIJE/

Naslovnica:

Brata, 1961, fotografija na sr. zhelat. papirju, 44,3 x 45,9 cm

1. Na trzhnici, 1972, fotografija na sr. zhelat. papirju, 28 x 28,1 cm
2. Fant (iz ciklusa Haloze), 1975, fotografija na sr. zhelat. papirju, 36,7 x 55,8 cm
3. Na zdravje (iz ciklusa Haloze), 1976, fotografija na sr. zhelat. papirju, 26,5 x 39,2cm
4. Klic (iz ciklusa Haloze), 1984, fotografija na sr. zhelat. papirju, 56,7 x 38 cm
5. Druzina (iz ciklusa Haloze), 1975, fotografija na sr. zhelat. papirju, 36,7 x 55,4 cm
6. Nozhi (iz ciklusa Koline), 1978, fotografija na sr. zhelat. papirju, 36,9 x 56 cm
7. Razdelovanje (iz ciklusa Koline), 1975, fotografija na sr. zhelat. papirju, 38,8 x 56,5 cm
8. Birmanka in botra (iz ciklusa Haloze), 1988, fotografija na sr. zhelat. papirju, 58 x 39,3 cm

Stojan Kerbler je bil rojen leta 1938 v učiteljski družini na Ptujski Gori. Leta 1965 je diplomiral na Fakulteti za elektrotehniko v Ljubljani in se kot energetik zaposlil v Tovarni glinice in aluminija v Kidrichevem. Upokojil se je leta 2000.

Prve fotografije je izdelal leta 1953 v temnici Foto-kino amaterskega drushtva Ptuj. Leta 1957 se je v Ljubljani vchlanil v fotoklub Shtudentsko naselje. Leta 1963 je bil poleg Mira Hojnika, Oskarja Dolenca in Joca Zhnidarshicha soustanovitelj Fotogrupe SHOLT. Po končanem shtudiju se je vchlanil v Fotoklub Maribor. Razstavljal je na vech kot 180 samostojnih razstavah v Sloveniji, nekdanji Jugoslaviji, Bolgariji, Avstriji, Poljski, Shpaniji, Sovjetski zvezi, ZDA, Japonski, Hrvashki in Italiji. Sodeloval je na vech kot 1400 skupinskih razstavah doma in v tujini ter za fotografije prejel 550 domasih in mednarodnih nagrad in priznanj. Leta 1972 je prejel naziv mojster fotografije (EFIAP), 1979 nagrado Preshernovega sklada za cikel Halozhani, 1981 nagrado Tosho Dabac in letno nagrado Foto zveze Jugoslavije, 1994 Valvazorjevo priznanje, 1995 Azhbetovo plaketo, 2002 nagrado Janez Puhar Fotografске zveze Slovenije, 2010 red za zasluge za vrhunske umetnishke fotografske dosezhke idr. Leta 2020 je prejel Preshernovo nagrado za zhivljenjsko delo. Deluje tudi kot mentor in zhirant. Zhivi in dela na Ptuj in Ptujski Gori.



sl.1



sl.2



sl. 3



sl.4



sl.5



sl.6



sl.7



Stojan Kerbler

ARTWORKS /REPRODUCTIONS/

Cover photograph:

Brothers, 1961, silver gelatin print, 44,3 x 45,9 cm

1. At the Market, 1972, silver gelatin print, 28 x 28,1 cm
2. Lad (series The People of Haloze), 1975, silver gelatin print, 36,7 x 55,8 cm
3. Cheers (series The People of Haloze), 1976, silver gelatin print, 26,5 x 39,2cm
4. Call (series The People of Haloze), 1984, silver gelatin print, 56,7 x 38 cm
5. Family (series The People of Haloze), 1975, silver gelatin print, 36,7 x 55,4 cm
6. Knives (series The People of Haloze), 1978, silver gelatin print, 36,9 x 56 cm
7. Cutting up (series Pig Slaughter), 1975, silver gelatin print, 38,8 x 56,5 cm
8. Confirmee and Her Godmother (series The People of Haloze), 1988, silver gelatin print, 58 x 39,3 cm

Stojan Kerbler was born in 1938 into a family of teachers in Ptujška Gora. He graduated in 1965 from the Faculty of Electrical Engineering in Ljubljana, and took a job as an energy engineer at the Alumina and Aluminium Factory in Kidričevo. He retired in 2000.

He developed his first photographs in 1953 in the darkroom of the Ptuj amateur photo-cinema club. In 1957, he joined the student photography club on the Ljubljana campus. In 1963, he co-founded the Fotogrupa SHOLT together with Miro Hojnik, Oskar Dolenc and Joco Znidaršič. He joined the Fotoklub Maribor after graduating. He has exhibited at more than 180 solo exhibitions in Slovenia, the former Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Austria, Poland, Spain, the Soviet Union, USA, Japan, Croatia, and Italy. He has participated in more than 1,400 group exhibitions at home and abroad, and received 550 domestic and international awards. In 1972, he received the title of Master of Photography (EFIAP), in 1979, the Presheren Fund Award for the series *The People of Haloze*, in 1981, the Tosho Dabac Award and the annual award of the Yugoslav Photographers' Association, in 1994, the Valvazor Award, in 1995, the Azhbe Plaque, in 2002, the Janez Puhar Award by the Photographic Association of Slovenia, in 2010, the Order of Merit for artistic achievements in photography, and many others. In 2020, he received the Presheren Award for lifetime achievement. He is also active as a mentor and a jury member. He lives and works in Ptuj and Ptujška Gora.

Milan Shtruc

SVETI HIERONIM IN PRVA SLOVENSKA BIBLIJA

(Ob 1600-letnici smrti enega največjih cerkvenih očetov in največjega prevajalca vseh časov)

1. Prvo tiskano besedilo Biblije

Kar danes vemo o prvi slovenski Bibliji, velja za njen prevod v času reformacije in njeno *prvo tiskano* obliko. Leta 1555 je Primož Trubar prichel s prevajanjem Nove zaveze, ki je bila leta 1577 tudi natisnjena¹ To je bila podlaga za celotni prevod Biblije, ki jo je Dalmatin konchal leta 1578. Dogovor o tisku je bil sklenjen z ljubljanskim tiskarjem Janezom Mandelcem, a se je vmeshal nadvojvoda Karl II. Avstrijski, vladar Notranje Avstrije in trd katolik, ter tiskanje prepovedal. Mandelc je moral tiskarno zapreti, potem pa so ga she izgnali iz Ljubljane (1582).

Sledil je dogovor s tiskarjem Samuelom Selfischem v Wittenbergu, ki je bil izven dosega avstrijskega katolishkega kneza. Selfisch je z delom prichel leta 1583 in ga konchal 1584. Biblijo so natisnili v 1.500 izvodih ter jo skrito v sodih in skrinjah prepeljali na Shtajersko, Koroshko in Kranjsko, ki so poleg drugih donatorjev tudi krile stroshke tiska.² Kljub naporom zagrizenih pozhigalcev protestantskih knjig se je zaradi razmeroma velikega shtevila natisnjenih izvodov do danes ohranilo vsaj nekaj primerkov slovenske Biblije.

Tudi slovenski Brizhinski spomeniki so bili odkriti chisto po nakljuchju, ker so bili skriti skoraj tisoehletje, zvezani med latinskimi teksti. To odkritje dokazuje, da so morala zhe dolgo pred njihovim nastankom obstajati shtevilna podobna besedila, ki pa so jih vztrajni unichevalci vseh nelatinskih, predvsem she slovenskih tekstov, uspešno unichevali.

O prvi *tiskani* slovenski Bibliji vemo torej marsikaj. Che pa zhelimo ugotoviti, ali je zhe pred tem obstajal kakshen starejsi prevod v slovenshchino, se moramo seznaniti z delom sv. Hieronima. Iz nashih krajev namrech izhaja sv. Hieronim,³ eden najbolj izobrazhenih mozh starega sveta in najpomembnejshi prevajalec svetih spisov, ki tudi zanesljivo sodi med najbolj znane svetovne zgodovinske osebnosti, rojene na obmochju Slovenije. Ob tem pa bomo prishli do she bolj zanimivih odkritij, pomembnih za slovensko zgodovino, o katerih pa vemo bistveno premalo.

2. Zhivljenje sv. Hieronima

Evzebij Sofronij Hieronim, lat. Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus (ok. 347 – 419/420), bolj znan kot sv. Hieronim, je o svojem rojstnem kraju pisal zhe sam, ko je navedel, da se je rodil v Stridonu na *slichishchu* med Panonijo in Dalmacijo.

SAINT JEROME AND THE FIRST SLOVENIAN BIBLE

(On the 1600th Anniversary of the death of one of the greatest Church Fathers
and the greatest translator of all time)

1. The first printed text of the Bible

Most of what we know today about the first Slovenian Bible is related to its translation from the time of the Reformation and its *first printed* form. In 1555, Primozh Trubar began translating the New Testament, which was then printed in 1557.¹ This was basis for the entire translation of the Bible, completed by Jurij Dalmatin in 1578. A printing agreement was made with the Ljubljana printer Janez Mandelec, but the Archduke Charles II, ruler of Inner Austria and a hard Catholic, intervened and prevented it from being printed. Mandelec had to close his printing house and was later even expelled from Ljubljana (1582).

Later, an agreement with Samuel Selfisch, a printer from Wittenberg, was made, as he was out of reach of the Austrian Catholic Archduke. Selfisch began working in 1583 and finished in 1584. A total of 1,500 copies of the Bible were printed and transported in barrels and chests to Styria, Carinthia and Carniola. Among other donors they helped to finance the printing.² Despite the efforts of fanatics, who were permanently burning down Protestant books, at least a few copies of the Slovenian Bible have been preserved to this day due to the relatively large number of copies printed.

Slovenian *Freising Manuscripts* (Monumenta Frisingensia) were also discovered only by accident, since they were hidden for almost a millennium, bound inside Latin texts. This finding indicates that long before the discovered monuments many similar texts in Slovenian may have existed, but were successfully destroyed by the persistent destroyers of all non-Latin, especially Slovenian texts.

So we know a lot about the first *printed* Slovenian Bible. However, to determine if there was an earlier *translation* into Slovenian, we need to get acquainted with the work of St. Jerome,³ one of the most educated men of the old world and the most important translator of holy scripture. He is also one of the most famous historical personalities, born in Slovenia. At the same time, we will come to even more interesting discoveries relevant to Slovenian history, which we know little about.

2. The life of St. Jerome

Evzebij Sofronij Hieronim, lat. Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus (c. 347 - 419/420), better known as St. Jerome, wrote about his birthplace himself, stating that he was born in Stridon, at the junction between Pannonia and Dalmatia.

Mladost je prezhivel na pristavi, to pomeni izven utrjenega mestnega obzidja, saj v svojih pismih naroča, kako je treba urediti dedishchino za njegovo posestvo. Hieronim naj bi imel tudi domachega učitelja in omogočen mu je bil študij, to pa kazhe, da je mladost prezhivel v premozhni družini.

Cheprav je bil rojen v krshchanski družini, je po takratnem obichaju prejel krst shele leta 366, to je po polnoletnosti, ko ga je v Ogleju krstil oglejski patriarh, potem pa se je odlochil za asketsko in samostansko zhivljenje. Med svojim bivanjem v Antiohiji (Sirija) in Carigradu si je pridobil dobro znanje aramejschine in hebrejschine.⁴ Vendar je ves chas svojega delovanja v tujini obdrzhal tudi tesne stike z rojstno Emono. Iz njegovih shtevilnih pisem v Emono lahko sklepamo, da je tu zhe obstajala mochna krshchanska skupnost. Iz njih izvemo tudi za njegov spor z »emonskimi devicami«, ki naj bi jih proti njemu nashchuval eden izmed domasih menihov. Verjetno gre za meniha Antonija, za katerega Hieronim v nekem pismu pravi, da mu je poslal zhe deset pisem, na katera pa ni dobil nobenega odgovora.⁵

Hieronim je shtudiral in deloval v Ogleju, Milanu, Rimu, Egiptu, Carigradu, Antiohiji in Palestini. Imel je izreden dar za jezike in kmalu je dobro obvladal tudi latinshchino.⁶ Poleg »vulgo« jezika svojega okolja je govoril she grshko, saj je bil takrat Carigrad zhe dolgo glavno mesto rimskega imperija, grshchina pa je zhe postala pomemben jezik v krshchanskem okolju.⁷ Shiroko jezikovno znanje mu je omogochalo, da je lahko bogoslovne dokumente shtudiral neposredno v izvorniku. Tako je kmalu veljal za enega najbolj izobrazhenih mozh tedanjega sveta, ki je lahko prevajal neposredno iz aramejskega, hebrejskega in grshkega jezika.

3. Dileme glede rojstnega kraja

Zaradi Hieronimovega izjemnega mesta v svetovni zgodovini se nenehno nachenja vprasanje njegovega rojstnega kraja, ki ga zhelijo vsi blizhnji narodi umestiti na svoja danashnja ozemlja. Tako razlicne razlage so mozhne le zato, ker shtevilni avtorji, ki sicer o njem na shiroko pishejo, ne kazhejo niti toliko sposhtovanja do resnice, da bi njegove zapise tudi dosledno *uposhtevali*. Pri tem gre lahko za slabo obvladanje logike ali pa v hujšem primeru za potvarjanje dejstev iz najrazlicnejshih namenov. Ker je Hieronim *izrecno* zapisal, da lezhi njegov rojstni kraj Stridon *na meji med* Panonijo in Dalmacijo, je s tem izlochil vse kraje, ki so bili globlje na katerem od obeh obmochij (*Slika 1*). Zato je neustrezno umeshchati njegov rojstni kraj v Dalmacijo ali Panonijo, saj je to v izrecnem nasprotju z njegovo navedbo, da gre za kraj »*na meji med*« njima.⁸ Che bi bil rojen na enem ali drugem obmochju, bi brez dvoma tako tudi zapisal.

Njegovi navedbi o *stichishchu* oziroma *vmesnem obmochju* med Panonijo in Dalmacijo ustreza predvsem ozemlje danashnje Slovenije, kjer je potrebno ugotoviti she konkretno lokacijo.

He spent his youth on the homestead outside the fortified city walls. This is known from the letters, in which he later ordered how the inheritance for his estate should be arranged. Jerome also allegedly had a home teacher, and was allowed to study, which indicates that he spent his youth in a wealthy family.

He was born in a Christian family, but according to custom of that time he was baptized only when he reached adulthood in 366, when the patriarch of Aquileia (Slovenian: Oglej) baptized him. Later he decided on an ascetic and monastic life. During his stay in Antioch (Syria) and Constantinople, he acquired good knowledge of Aramaic and Hebrew.⁴ However, throughout his time abroad, he maintained close contact with his native Emona (old Slovenian name for Ljubljana). From his many letters to Emona we can conclude that at that time, there was already a strong Christian community there. We can also learn of his dispute with the »Emonian virgins«, allegedly induced by one of the native monks. It was probably the monk Antony, to whom Jerome wrote in one of the letters that he had already sent him ten letters, to which he received no answer.⁵

Jerome studied and worked in Aquileia, Milan, Rome, Egypt, Constantinople, Antioch and Palestine. He had an extraordinary gift for languages, and he soon mastered Latin well too.⁶ In addition to the »vulgo« language of his environment, he also spoke Greek due to the fact that Constantinople had at that time long been the capital of the Roman Empire, and Greek had already become an important language in the Christian community.⁷ His extensive linguistic knowledge enabled him to study theological documents directly in the original. Thus he was soon considered one of the most educated men of the world, able to translate directly from Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek.

3. Dilemmas about the birthplace

Jerome's remarkable importance for the world's history constantly raises the question of his birthplace, which all neighboring nations want to place in their present-day territory. Different interpretations are possible only because many authors, who write widely about him, do not show even so much respect for the truth to consistently follow Jerome's own writing. This may be poor mastering of logic or, in a more serious case, misrepresentation of facts for a variety of purposes. Jerome explicitly stated that his birthplace Stridon lies on the border between Pannonia and Dalmatia. With this he eliminated all the places that were deeper in either area (*Figure 1*). It is therefore inappropriate to place his birthplace in Dalmatia or Pannonia, since this is in direct contradiction with his statement that it is a place »on the border between« them.⁸ If he were born in one area or the other, he would no doubt write so.

His statement about the intersection or intermediate area between Pannonia and Dalmatia corresponds in particular to the territory of present-day Slovenia, where the specific location remains to be determined.

Vendar bomo težko našli verodostojno reshitev, che bomo njegov rojstni kraj v Sloveniji iskali pod drevesom, namreč »pod tiso«, pod katero naj bi sv. Hieronim »oznanjal sveto vero«. Podatki o njegovi zhivljenjski poti ne dopushchajo domneve, da bi Hieronim kadarkoli v naših krajih pridigal pod kakšnim drevesom, saj naj bi se po svojem odhodu ne vrachal vech v domovino. Glede tako imenovane »Hieronimove tise« v Stranah pod Nanosom strokovne raziskave kazhejo na starost okoli 600 let, ko Hieronima zhe 1000 let ni bilo vech med zhivimi. Tam tudi ni nobenega alpskega rimskega obrambnega obzidja, she najmanj pa t. i. Ajdovskega zidu, ki je bil eden najbolj monumentalnih rimskih gradbenih objektov tistega chasa in ga Hieronim ponosno omenja v zvezi s svojim rojstnim krajem.⁹

Pri iskanju nekdanjega Stridona je treba uposhtevati, da se je na zadevnem obmochju zaporedje chrk *ST* izgovarjalo kot *SbT*, kar je podrobneje dokazoval zhe Dragan Shanda.¹⁰ Podobno se she danes v nemshkem jeziku zaporedje chrk *ST* v zacetku besede *vedno* izgovarja kot *SbT*. Zato moramo ime, ki je bilo v 4. stoletju zapisano kot *Stridon*, iskati pod imenom *Sbtridon*. Tako je za Hieronimov rojstni kraj dolgo veljala *Sbtrigova* blizu meje med Shtajersko in Hrvashko. Tu je bila velika rimska naselbina in prek nje je vodila ena od pomembnih rimskih cest. Kasneje je *Sbtrigova* spadala pod celjsko drzhavno knezhevino in je tam knez Friderik II. Celjski ob 1100. obletnici Hieronimovega rojstva leta 1447 v njegovo chast *ustanovil samostan* in dal zgraditi *Marijino cerkev*. She danes sta v Shtrigovi cerkvi sv. Hieronima in sv. Marije Magdalene, obmochje pa je poznano kot veliko nahajalishche rimskega orozhja, posode in nakita, pa tudi zaradi velikega zlochina nad Slovenci leta 1947. Neverjetno je, da so se tam poboji Slovencev, ki so zahtevali prikljuchitev Sloveniji, zgodili prav ob 1600. obletnici rojstva sv. Hieronima.¹¹

Poglobljeno je o sv. Hieronimu pri nas pisal Rafko Valenchich¹² in utemeljeno zavrnil »dokaze«, da naj bi bil njegov rojstni kraj izven obmochja danashnje Slovenije.¹³ Umestil ga je med nekdanjo Emono in Oglej oziroma na obmochje slovenskega Krasa. V blizhino Emone umeshcha njegov rojstni kraj Miroslav Premrou (glej Valenchich). Predvsem pa ga na obmochje danashnje Ljubljane umeshcha angleshka Wikipedija, ki za sv. Hieronima pravi: »Bil je sin Evsebiusa, rojen v Stridonu, *vasi blizu Emone*, na meji *med Dalmacijo in Panonijo...*«¹⁴

Rafko Valenchich navaja: »Stridon je bilo po vsej verjetnosti naselje (pagus), pod katerega je spadalo vech pristav.«¹⁵ Zato lahko sklepamo, da so do njih vodile dovozne ceste, poimenovane po lastnikih teh pristav. Pomembno sled pri iskanju Hieronimovega rojstnega kraja pomenijo zato ugotovitve Rajka Bratozha, da gre pri imenu kraja v imenovalniku »za *mnozhhinsko* obliko Stridonae, saj (je) konchnica -na(e) zapisana v mestnishki sklanjatvi *oppido Stridonis ...*«¹⁶ Podobno navaja ime rojstnega kraja v mnozhinski obliki »*Na Stridonama*« oziroma *Na Stridonib* tudi Slobodan Prosperov Novak.¹⁷

However, it will be difficult to find a credible solution if we search for his birthplace in Slovenia at a »yew tree, under which St. Jerome professed the holy faith.« The information about his life path does not make it possible for Jerome to preach under any tree at any time in this region, since he never returned to his homeland after his departure. With regard to the so-called »Jerome yew« near the hill Nanos, expert studies indicate that it is about 600 years old, when Jerome was no longer alive for 1000 years. Also, at that place there are no barriers in the form of Roman Alpine defense walls, at least not the *Ajdovski zid*, which was one of the most monumental Roman structures of that time, and was proudly mentioned by Jerome in connection with his birthplace.⁹

In search for the former Stridon, it should be borne in mind that in the area in question the sequence of letters ST was always pronounced as ShT, which was already proven in detail by Dragan Shanda.¹⁰ Similarly, in the German language today, the sequence ST is always pronounced as ShT at the beginning of a word. Therefore, we have to look for the name that was in the 4th century written as Stridon and pronounced Shtridon. That's why Shtrigova near the border between Styria and Croatia was long considered Jerome's birthplace. A large Roman settlement was located there, and it was connected by one of the important Roman roads. Later Shtrigova was part of the Slovenian Principality of Cilli (Slovenian: Celjska knezhevina), where Prince Frederick II of Cilli in 1447, on 1100th anniversary of Jerome's birth, established a monastery in his honor and built the Church of Mary. Even today the churches of St. Jerome and St. Mary Magdalene still stand there. The area is known as a great site for Roman weapons, vessels and jewelry, as well as for the great criminal act against Slovenians, who demanded annexation to Slovenia, which occurred in 1947 at the very 1600th anniversary of Jerome's birth.¹¹

Rafko Valenchich¹² comprehensively wrote about St. Jerome and justifiably rejected all »evidences« that his birthplace could be outside the territory of present-day Slovenia.¹³ He placed it between the former Emona (old name for the present-day Ljubljana) and Aquileia, or in the area of the Slovenian Karst. Miroslav Premrou locates the birthplace in the vicinity of Emona (see Valenchich). English Wikipedia also confirms that the location of St. Jerome's birthplace was near Emona stating »He was the son of Eusebius, born in Stridon, a village near Emona, on the border between Dalmatia and Pannonia ...«¹⁴

Rafko Valenchich notes: »In all likelihood, Stridon was a settlement (pagus) with several estates.«¹⁵ We can therefore conclude that they were connected by roadways, probably named after their owners, which is still common nowadays in this area. An important clue to find Jerome's birthplace is also Rajko Bratozh's finding that the name of the birthplace Stridon was in fact written in »the plural form Stridonae, since the suffix –na(e) is a form of declinations of *oppido Stridonis* ...«¹⁶ Similarly also Slobodan Prosperov Novak in his book states¹⁷ that Jerome had used the plural form »*On the Stridons*« (Croatian: »Na Stridonama«, Slovenian: »Na Stridonih«).

V zvezi z imenom *Stridoni* oziroma *Shtridoni* najdemo na južnem območju Ljubljane še danes veliko »*shtradonov*«, kot so Mihov, Urshichev, Ilovshki, Knezov, Veliki, Jesihov, Brglezov, Rebekov in Volarjev *shtradon*, pa še kakšen bi se nashel. V slovenshchini pomeni *shtradon* utrjeno cesto na močvirnatem območju, ki jo na obeh straneh obdajata odtočna jarka in drevoreda, kar dodatno utrjuje cestishche.¹⁸ Območje *shtradonov* je moralo nekdam imeti tudi svoje skupno krajevno ime, ki bi zato v množinski obliki ustrezalo imenu *Shtridoni* oziroma »*Na Shtradonib*«.

Ugotovitvam o rojstnem kraju na južnem območju danashnje Ljubljane proti ljubljanskemu barju ustrezajo tudi Hieronimove lastne navedbe, ko pravi, da je v bližini njegovega rojstnega kraja *alpski zaporni zid*.¹⁹ Tega lahko še danes občudujemo na južnem območju danashnje Ljubljane v smeri proti ljubljanskemu barju. Z navajanjem tega impozantnega gradbenega objekta svojega chasa je Hieronim omogočil tako natančno in *nesporno lokacijo* svojega rojstnega kraja, da je vsako nadaljnje sprenevedanje popolnoma neumestno.

Danes je možno celotni potek nekdanje alpske zapore zelo natančno določiti. Na podlagi ugotovitev shtudije *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*²⁰ je bil *osrednji in najpomembnejši del teh zapor Ajdovski zid*.²¹ To je najdaljši dokumentirani del obzidja z najmanj 35 obrambnimi stolpi, še danes pa je ohranjenih skoraj 8 kilometrov obzidja. Navedena alpska zapora je »verjetno največji rimskodobni arhitekturni podvig in kot tak stopa ob bok največjim antichnim spomenikom v Evropi«. ²² Hieronim je bil gotovo ponosen na to impozantno gradnjo blizu svojega rojstnega kraja in zato ni chudno, da je na njo izrecno opozoril. Pri tem je še posebej pomembno, da je bilo možno z Ajdovskega zidu proti vzhodu videti *celotno Ljubljansko barje*, to pa hkrati pomeni, da je bila mogočna gradnja vidna tudi iz Hieronimovega rojstnega kraja.²³ Ne velja torej trditev, da za bližino alpske zapore blizu Shtridona »ni na voljo arheoloshkih dokazov«. ²⁴ Nasprotno, alpska zapora je bila in jo je bilo verjetno videti celo s Hieronimove domachije, vendar je treba v tem smislu na pravo mesto postaviti lokacijo Shtridona. Sedaj je tudi razumljivo, zakaj je Hieronim tako monumentalno gradnjo, kot je bil Ajdovski zid, omenil kot posebnost svojega rojstnega kraja.

Končno je dilemo glede Hieronimovega rojstnega kraja na podlagi ohranjenih vatikanskih dokumentov razjasnil še *papezh Benedikt XVI.*, ki je v svojih avdiencah 7. in 14. novembra 2007 za sv. Hieronima nedvoumno zatrdil: »Bil je rojen leta 347 v Stridonu, v danashnji Ljubljani v Sloveniji, v krshchanski družhini.«²⁵

4. Cesar Karl IV.

Pomembno mesto pri ohranjanju spomina na sv. Hieronima ima Venceslav Luksemburshki,²⁶ bolj znan kot cheshki kralj in cesar Svetega rimskega cesarstva Karl IV. Rodil se je v Pragi 14.5.1316, kasneje pa se je moral za nekaj chasa umakniti v Francijo. V tem chasu je prejel birmo, pri kateri mu je njegov boter, francoski kralj Karl Lepi, ime Venceslav spremenil v svoje ime.²⁷

The name Stridon in the form Stradon still appears today in the name of many roadways in the southern marshy part of Ljubljana. They are pronounced Shtradon, and are named after the previous owners, such as Mihov, Urshichev, Ilovski, Knezov, Veliki, Jesihov, Brglezov, Rebekov and Volarjev *Stradon*, and still more of them could be found. What is important is that in Slovenian, *Stradon* means a hardened road in a marshy area, flanked by drainage ditches and planted with trees on both sides, to further consolidate the roadway.¹⁸ Once the place of these roadways had its common name *Na Shtradonih* or *Na Shtradonu* (*On Shtradon*), which it is still in use today.

Jerome's own statement that there are large Roman fortified barriers near his birthplace is completely in line with the findings of the magnificent *Alpine defense wall*¹⁹ in the southern part of present-day Ljubljana which we can still admire today. By citing this remarkable construction of his time, Jerome has made it possible to locate his birthplace with such precision and indisputability that any further pretending ignorance is completely futile.

Today, the entire course of the former Alpine defense system can be determined with great precision. According to the findings of the latest *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* study,²⁰ the *Ajdovski zid* (»the wall of prehistoric giants«, Aydian Wall)²¹ was its central and most important part. It is the longest documented part of the wall with at least 35 fortified towers, and today almost 8 kilometers of the wall are still preserved. The Alpine defense system »was most likely the most extensive ancient Roman architectural undertaking in the territory of modern Slovenia, and as such, ranks among the greatest cultural monuments of antiquity in Europe.«²² Jerome was certainly proud of this imposing construction near his home, and it is no wonder that he explicitly referred to it. It is especially important that from the *Ajdovski zid* to the east the entire Ljubljansko barje (Ljubljana Marshes) could be seen, which at the same time means that the mighty construction could be visible also from Jerome's homestead.²³ Therefore, it is not true that the vicinity of the Alpine Defense Wall near Stridon »does not have archaeological evidence.«²⁴ On the contrary, it was probably possible to see it even from the Jerome's homestead. But first of all the location of Stridon must be put in the right place. Now it is understandable why Jerome referred to such a monumental Roman undertaking because the Aydian Wall was a special feature of his birthplace.

Finally, Pope Benedict XVI clarified the dilemma about Jerome's birthplace, when in his general audiences on 7 and 14 November 2007, based on preserved original Vatican documents unequivocally stated for St. Jerome: »He was born in 347 in Stridon, in present-day Ljubljana, Slovenia, to a Christian family.«²⁵

4. Emperor Charles IV

Important place in preserving the memory of St. Jerome belongs to Wenceslaus of Luxembourg,²⁶ better known as the Czech king and emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Charles IV. He was born on 14 May 1316 in Prague, but had to leave home and go to France for a while. During this time, he received his confirmation, when his godfather, French King Charles the Fair, changed the name Wenceslaus to his own name.²⁷

Umrl je leta 1378 in je pokopan v cerkvi Svetega Vida na Hradchanih, kjer je pokopana tudi cheshka kraljica in cesarica Svetega rimskega cesarstva Barbara Celjska.²⁸

Da bi bolje razumeli povezanost cesarja Karla IV. z našimi kraji in s tem njegov odnos do sv. Hieronima, se moramo seznaniti z nekaterimi dogodki iz Karlovega zhivljenja. Ko je namrech Karl potoval na Tirolsko, se je zaradi nezaupanja do avstrijskega vojvode²⁹ za pot iz Prage do Lombardije raje dogovoril z ogrskim kraljem. Preko njegovega kraljestva in Dalmacije je prishel do Jadrana in se tu vkrcal na ladjo. Blizu mesta Grad, danes Gradezh, so njegovo ladjo obkolili Benechani in zajeli del posadke. Z nekaj spremljevalci je Karlu uspelo pesh pobegniti v Oglej, kjer je postal chastni gost oglejskega patriarha. Prijateljstvo s patriarhom se je she poglobilo, ko so morali s patriarhovim posredovanjem Benechani izpustiti posadko Karlove ladje, to pa mu je omogochilo nadaljevanje poti na Tirolsko. Patriarh mu je za pot dodelil she mochno oborozeno spremstvo in s Karlom sta tedaj navezala trajno prijateljstvo. Prav med svojim bivanjem v Ogleju se je Karl dobro seznanil tudi z izjemnimi deli sv. Hieronima, njegovo dezhelo in njegovim dezhelnim jezikom. Karlovo obchudovanje sv. Hieronima je bilo tudi med pomembnimi vzroki za njegovo kasnejšo odlochitev o ustanovitvi samostana v Pragi, za katerega je papezh Klemen VI. predpisal obvezno uporabo *slovenskega jezika*.

5. Prevodi svetih spisov v slovenshchino in njihova združitev v Vulgato

Ljudski jezik Hieronimovega mladostnega zhivljenja na pristavi blizu utrjene Emone je bil nedvomno slovenski, saj je znano, da se je latinsko nauchil kasneje. Zato je verjetno, da je Hieronim shtevilne in obsezhne svete spise najprej prevajal v svoj materni, to je slovenski jezik, ki pa je bil *vulgo* jezik, kot so Rimljani takrat imenovali *vse nelatinske jezike*. Ker je bila tako oblikovana *Biblija* združena iz spisov v *slovenskem*, to je *nelatinskem* jeziku, je bilo temu ustrezno tudi njeno ime *Vulgata*. Zato lahko utemeljeno trdimo, da je bila prva Biblija sestavljena iz spisov, prevedenih v *slovenski jezik*. O tem izjemnem delu sv. Hieronima lahko izvemo vech iz shtevilne korespondence med cesarjem Karlom IV. in papezhem Klemenom VI. ob pripravah na ustanovitev samostana, kot tudi iz listine o ustanovitvi *Slovenskega samostana* v Pragi v Hieronimovo chast.

Hieronim je prishel v Rim zaradi spora s shkofi v Antiohiji glede evangelijev, ki jih je vkljuchil v slovensko Sveto pismo oziroma izlochil kot neprimerne,³⁰ Hieronim pa je predlagal, da naj o sporu odlochi rimski papezh.

Naziv papezh uporabljam za *rimске shkofe* tudi v chasu Hieronima, cheprav se je izkljuchna uporaba tega naziva samo zanje uveljavila shele nekaj stoletij kasneje. Uporaba v Kristoforosovi listini *Donatio Constantini* iz 4. stoletja, s katero naj bi bil carigrajski cesar Konstantin prenesel oblast nad celotnim zahodnim delom svojega cesarstva in nad vsemi cerkvami sveta na papezha, naj bi bila tudi med dokazi, da je bila listina ponarejena.³¹

Charles IV died in 1378 and is buried in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Saint Vitus within the Prague castle complex on Hradčani, where also the Czech Queen and Empress of the Holy Roman Empire Barbara of Cilli (Slovenian: Barbara Celjska) is buried.²⁸ To better understand the connection of Emperor Charles IV with Slovenian country and thus his relation to St. Jerome, we need to become more aware of the events in Charles's life. When Charles travelled to Tyrol, he wanted to avoid the path over the land of Austrian dukes, because he did not trust them.²⁹ Therefore, he traveled from Prague to Lombardy over the land of the Hungarian king. Through his kingdom and Dalmatia he reached the Adriatic Sea and boarded a ship there. Near the town of Grad, (now Italian: Grado), his ship was surrounded by the Venetians that captured part of its crew. With a small escort, Charles managed to escape on foot to Aquileia, where he became the guest of honor of the Aquileia's Patriarch. The friendship with the patriarch was further deepened when, through the patriarch's intervention, the Venetians had to release the crew of Charles's ship, which allowed him to continue his journey to Tyrol. The Patriarch granted him a heavily armed escort for the trip, and so a lasting friendship with Charles was formed at that time. During his stay in Aquileia, Charles became well acquainted with the remarkable work of St. Jerome, his homeland, and his provincial language. Charles's admiration of St. Jerome was also one of the important reasons for his later decision to establish a monastery in his honor in Prague, in which Pope Clement VI prescribed mandatory use of the *Slovenian* language.

5. Translation of scriptures into Slovenian and merging them into Vulgate

The vernacular tongue of Jerome's youthful life on the homestead near the fortified Emona was undoubtedly Slovenian, since it is known that he acquired good knowledge of Latin only later. It is therefore likely that Jerome first translated many and extensive scriptures into his native Slovenian language, which for the Romans was a *vulgo* language, as they were used to call *non-Latin* languages at that time. As the scriptures, which he brought together into his first version of the Bible were in Slovenian, i.e. non-Latin language, they were called *Vulgate*. It is unlikely that he would translate into Latin first and only then into some vulgo language. We can learn more about this from the extensive correspondence between the Emperor Charles IV and the Pope Clement VI when they were establishing the Slovenian Monastery in Prague in Jerome's honor, as well as from the monastery's founding charter.

Jerome came to Rome because of a dispute with the bishops in Antioch concerning the Gospels, which should be included in the Bible, or excluded as inappropriate.³⁰ Jerome suggested that the dispute should be decided by the Roman pope.

I use the term pope for Roman bishops also during the time of Jerome, though the exclusive use of it came to be reserved only for them a few centuries later. The use of this term in the 4th century's Christopheros charter of *Donatio Constantini*, by which the Emperor Constantine supposedly transferred authority over the entire western part of his empire and over all the churches of the world to the pope, was also one of the proofs that the charter was forged.³¹

Moderne raziskave potrjujejo, da je bila listina sestavljena shele okoli leta 752 v chasu papezha Shtefana II.³² Kljub temu je Sveto rimsko cesarstvo kot drzhavna tvorba trajalo skoraj tisooh let vse do Napoleona,³³ ki jo je leta 1806 ukinil in zadnjo krono tega cesarstva odvezel takratnemu cesarju Francu II. Habsburshkemu. Hieronim se je prvich srechal s papezhem Damazom I. leta 382 v Rimu. Tja je prishel skupaj z antiohijskim patriarhom ves oblozhen s shtevilnimi zvitki zbranih in prevedenih svetih spisov.³⁴ Po pogovorih s papezhem, she posebej o Svetem pismu, ga je ta izbral za tajnika in svetovalca ter zadolzhil, da prevede združene biblijske spise tudi v latinski jezik.³⁵ Po smrti papezha Damaza I. naj bi bil Hieronim celo med resnimi kandidati za njegovega naslednika, vendar se je raje posvetil nadaljevanju svojega dela. Preselil se je v Palestino, kjer je ostal do svoje smrti (v Betlehemu). Kljub monumentalnim prevodom iz aramejskega, hebrejskega in grshkega jezika v *slovenski* jezik ter nato *združhivti* svetih spisov v t. i. *Vulgato*, pa je Hieronim bolj poznan po svojem prevodu Svetega pisma v latinshchino, ki ga je cerkev sprejela kot verodostojni standard ter z manjšimi dopolnitvami velja she danes.

Sicer pa je bil Hieronimov slovenski prevod Biblije dolgo chasa splošno znan. Polemike o tem najstarejšem prevodu so se posebno zaostriale v chasu, ko je Primozh Trubar pripravljaj svoj slovenski in hrvashki prevod. Takrat so Hrvati odklanjaj plachilo prejetih izvodov Svetega pisma, ker naj bi bil Trubar zhe pred tem razpolagal s prevodom Biblije v »slovanski« jeziki.

Znana je tudi zgodba o nekem Mihaelu Mojzesu, za katerega so trdili, da je takshno Sveto pismo izrochil Trubarju, ki pa naj bi ga izgubil. »Che bi bilo to res, bi Trubar nikdar javno ne pozival vseh, ki kaj vedo o menihu s Cresa in o svetem pismu, ki je bilo po njegovem lastnina grofa Bernardina Frankopana iz Grobnika pri Reki in se je nanj spomnil she iz svojih mladih let, saj ga je videl na lastne ochi.«³⁶

6. Ustanovitev Slovenskega samostana v Pragi

Hieronimovo monumentalno delo je spodbudilo cesarja Karla IV., da je z dovoljenjem papezha Klemena VI.³⁷ ob tisoohletnici Hieronimovega rojstva 21. novembra 1347 v Pragi ustanovil samostan in skupnost sv. Benedikta. Za nasho zgodovino je she posebno pomembna vsebina njegove listine o ustanovitvi tega samostana;³⁸ enako pomembno je tudi predhodno dopisovanje med cesarjem, papezhem in prashkim nadshkofom ter njihovo kasnejše dopisovanje s samostanskimi opati.³⁹

Cesar Karl IV. se svoji listini (*slika 2*) najprej najprej sklicuje na dovoljenje papezha Klemena VI., da se v Pragi ustanovita samostan in skupnost sv. Benedikta, ker je blazheni Hieronim Stridonski, slavni doktor in odlicni prevajalec, prevedel svete spise iz hebrejskega »v latinshchino in *slovenski jezik*, to je jezik, od katerega je nashe cheshko kraljestvo prevzelo svoje narechje.«⁴⁰ Nato pravi, da je papezh z apostolsko avtoriteto dolochil, da naj v obeh ustanovah bozhji sluzhabniki zaradi spomina na blazhenega Hieronima na vse vechne chase uporabljajjo *slovenski jezik*.

Modern research confirms that the charter was not written until the year 752 during the time of Pope Stephen II.³² Nevertheless, the Holy Roman Empire lasted almost a thousand years until Napoleon Bonaparte³³ in 1806 abolished it and took the last imperial crown from the then Emperor Franz II of Habsburg.

Jerome first met with Pope Damasus I in 382 in Rome. He came there, along with the Patriarch of Antioch, loaded with scrolls of collected and translated scriptures.³⁴ After long conversations, especially about the Bible, the Pope appointed him secretary and counselor, and tasked him with translating the Bible into Latin.³⁵ After the death of Pope Damasus I, Jerome was said to be even among the serious candidates for his successor, but preferred to continue his work. He moved to Palestine, where he remained until his death (in Bethlehem). Besides his translations from Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek into Slovenian and merging of scriptures into Vulgate, Jerome became most celebrated for his monumental translation of the Bible into Latin, which was accepted by the church as an authentic standard, and is with minor amendments still valid today.

Jerome's Slovenian translation of the Bible has been widely known for a long time. The controversy over this oldest translation was particularly aggravated at the time, when Primozh Trubar was preparing his own Slovenian and Croatian translation. When Croats received the copies of the Bible, they refused to pay, because Trubar »should already have a copy of the translated Bible into a 'Slavic' language«.

There is also the story of a certain Michael Moses from Cres, who claimed to have handed over such a Bible to Trubar, but who had allegedly lost it. »If this were true, Trubar would never publicly call on anyone who knows anything about the Cres monk and the Bible, which, according to him, was owned by Count Bernardin Frankopan of Grobnik near Reka, and which he remembered from his early years, since he had seen it with his own eyes.«³⁶

6. Establishment of the Slovenian Monastery in Prague

Jerome's monumental work encouraged Emperor Charles IV to use the 1000th anniversary of the Jerome's birth to found the monastery and congregation of St. Benedict in Prague. After the Emperor received the permission of Pope Clement VI,³⁷ he established it on 21 November 1347. Besides the founding charter of this monastery,³⁸ the prior correspondence between Emperor, the pope, the archbishop of Prague, as well as their subsequent correspondence with the abbot of the monastery, is also of particular importance for the history.³⁹

Emperor Charles IV in his founding charter (*Figure 2*) first refers to the permission of Pope Clemens VI to establish a monastery and congregation of Benedictines in Prague, »because Blessed Jerome of Stridon, a famous doctor and an excellent translator, translated the scriptures from Hebrew into Latin and *Slovenian*, that is, the language from which our Czech kingdom took its dialect.«⁴⁰ He declared that in both institutions the servants of God should use the *Slovenian language* in honor and memory of Blessed Jerome.

Iz utemeljitve lahko ugotovimo, da je cesar Karl IV. dobro poznal dezhelo, iz katere je izhajal sv. Hieronim, saj je nato zapisal, da je slednji s svojim delom za vse vechne chase proslavil svoj rod in svojo domovino.⁴¹ Zaradi vseh teh dejstev je samostan dobil ime »Slovenski samostan«, shirshe obmochje pa ime »Na Slovenskem«. Istochasno je dal Karl zgraditi she Marijino cerkev, saj Mariji posvechene cerkve pogosto povezujejo s sv. Hieronimom.

O problemih v zvezi z obvezno uporabo slovenskega jezika v samostanu pricha tudi dopisovanje med papezhem Klemenom VI. in prashkim nadshkofom. Slednji seznanja papezha o tezhavah pri pridobivanju dovolj velikega shtevila *slovensko* govorechih menihov in drugih, ki obvladajo slovenski jezik, da bi lahko vse zadeve v samostanu dejansko potekale v tem jeziku. V reshitev problema so bile vkljuchene shkofije na Slovenskem in seveda Oglej,⁴² ki ga nekateri imenujejo tudi »Slovenski Rim«; bil je namrech najpomembnejshe cerkveno sredishche na nashem obmochju od 2. stoletja dalje, imel pa je tudi pomembno vlogo pri ustanovitvi slovenskega samostana v Pragi.

Tudi papezh Klemen VI. je moral biti prepričan, da je slovenshchina Hieronimov materni jezik, saj bi bilo v nasprotnem primeru nerazumljivo, da bi za opravljanje sluzhbe bozhje v njegovo chast dolochil slovenski jezik. Obenem vsa navedena dejstva tudi potrjujejo, da je bil Hieronim *prvi v zgodovini*, ki je razlichne svete spise prevedel v *slovenski*, to je v *nelatinski* oziroma v *vulgo* jezik, zaradi chesar se je Biblija imenovala tudi *Vulgata*.

Nekateri zgodovinarji naziv »slovenski« jezik v besedilih naknadno spreminjajo v »slovanski«, to pa ni ustrezno, saj takega jezika takrat ni bilo in ga tudi danes ni, ampak obstaja samo slovanska jezikovna skupina. Tudi ime velikega obmochja ob samostanu so kasneje spremenili iz »Na Slovenskem« v »Na Slovanech«, cheprav je bil samostan ustanovljen kar nekaj stoletij prej, preden so Cheh Dobrovsky in drugi jezikoslovci dali tako izjemno priznanje slovenshchini, da so vso veliko jezikovno skupino poimenovali za *slovansko*.⁴³ Danes se poskusha povezava s slovenshchino dodatno zamegliti s preimenovanjem »slovanske« v nekakshno izmishljeno »baltoslovansko« jezikovno skupino.

Ko je cesar Karl IV. v svoji, v latinskem jeziku napisani listini dolochil, da se mora v samostanu uporabljati »lingua Slavonica«, s tem seveda ni mislil na slovansko jezikovno skupino, saj je v nadaljevanju izrecno razlikoval med dvema slovanskima jezikoma, in sicer med slovenskim jezikom (»lingua Slavonica«) in ljudskim jezikom svojega *cheshkega* kraljestva (»nostri regni Boemie idioma«). Ko pravi, da je Hieronim razbistril ljudski jezik *cheshkega* kraljestva s *slovenshchino kot njegovim izvorom*, je s tem slovenshchini prisodil posebno vlogo tudi v odnosu do cheshkega jezika. Po dolochilih Zlate bule, ki je predstavljala nekakshno ustavo Svetega rimskega cesarstva, je slovenski jezik sodil med shtiri uradne jezike tega imperija.⁴⁴

From his argumentation we can conclude that Emperor Charles IV knew well the country of St. Jerome's origin, as he wrote that »the latter, with his work, celebrated for all eternity his ancestry and his homeland.«⁴¹ Because of all these facts, the monastery was named »*Slovenian Monastery*« and the wider area was named »in Slovenia«. At the same time, Charles also built the Church of Mary, since churches consecrated to St. Mary are often associated with St. Jerome.

Problems regarding the compulsory use of the Slovenian language in the monastery are also evidenced from the correspondence between Pope Clemens VI and the Archbishops of Prague. The latter informs the Pope about the difficulties in obtaining a large enough number of Slovenian-speaking monks and others who are fluent in Slovenian so that all matters in the monastery could actually take place in that language. Dioceses in Slovenia and Aquileia⁴² (also called »Slovenian Rome«), the most important ecclesiastical center of the area from the 2nd century onwards, were involved in solving the problem. They played an important role in establishing the Slovenian monastery in Prague.

Pope Clement VI was also convinced that Slovenian was Jerome's mother tongue; otherwise it would be incomprehensible for him to declare the Slovenian language for performing the divine service in his honor. At the same time, all the above facts confirm that Jerome was the first to translate the various scriptures into Slovenian, that is, into non-Latin or *vulgo* language, and merged them into the Bible called *Vulgate*.

Some historians also change the term »Slovenian« to »Slavic«. This is totally inadequate since such a language did not exist at that time and still does not exist today, as only a Slavic *group of languages* exists. The name of the large area adjacent to the monastery was later also changed from Slovenian to Slavic (Czech: »Na Slovaneh«), though the monastery was founded several centuries before Czech Dobrovsky and other linguists gave such extraordinary recognition to *Slovenian* language that they named the whole large language group for *Slavic*.⁴³ Today, the connection with Slovenian is being blurred by the renaming »Slavic« into a kind of fictional »Balto-Slavic« linguistic group.

When Emperor Charles IV in his Latin-written document claimed that »lingua Slauonica« should be used in the monastery, he did not refer to a Slavic language group, since in his writings he explicitly *differentiated* between two Slavic languages, namely, the Slovenian language (»lingua Slauonica«) and the vernacular of his Czech Kingdom (»nostri regni Boemie idioma«). When he said that Jerome had clarified the vernacular of the Czech kingdom with Slovenian as its source, he thus assigned a special role to Slovenian in relation to the Czech language. According to the Golden Bull, which was a kind of imperial constitution of the Holy Roman Empire, the Slovenian language was among the four official languages of this empire.⁴⁴

Verjetno pa je cesar Karl poznal še druge svete spise, ki so bili pisani v stari slovenshchini in jo danes nekateri imenujejo »starocerkvena slovanshchina«.

Vse navedeno lahko združimo v naslednje ugotovitve o sv. Hieronimu in nashi zgodovini:

1. da je bil rojen in je svojo mladost preživel na območju danashnje Ljubljane, to pa pomeni, da je moral biti njegov materni *vulgo* jezik *slovenshchina*, latinsko pa se je naučil kasneje,
2. da je svete spise najprej prevajal v svoj materni slovenski oziroma *vulgo* jezik, kot so takrat imenovali *vse nelatinske* jezike, zaradi česar so tudi prvi prevod Biblije imenovali *Vulgata*,
3. da je na podlagi izjemnega navdiha *prvi v zgodovini* različne svete spise združil v Biblijo, kot jo poznamo danes, saj so bili prevodi sštevilnih svetih besedil v latinshchino narejeni že pred njim, torej zgolj zaradi svojega prevajanja ne bi bil deležen tolikshne svetovne slave,
4. da so vse navedene ugotovitve skladne z dejstvom, po katerem so Slovenci na svojem danashnjem ozemlju živelni že pred 4. stoletjem,
5. da najnovjshe arheoloshke izkopanine na območju Ljubljane dokazujejo obstoj krshchanstva na tem območju že najkasneje v 4. stoletju, to je v času, ko je svojo mladost tu preživljal Hieronim,
6. da v 8. stoletju ni bilo t. i. »pokristjanjevanja Slovencev«, kar je utemeljeno zavrnil že Jurij Venelin, in ob tem navedel druge vzroke za dogodke v tistem času.⁴⁵

Zato se utemeljeno zastavlja vprashanje, kako so lahko vse te ugotovitve v celoti utonile v pozabo.⁴⁶

7. Sv. Hieronim in »priselitvena« teorija

Kot recheno, navedene ugotovitve niso skladne z »uradno« tezo o t. i. priselitvi Slovencev na danashnje ozemlje ob koncu 6. stoletja, to je skoraj dve in pol stoletji po Hieronimovem rojstvu. Vztrajanje na »poznem prihodu Slovencev na danashnje ozemlje« pomeni tudi podcenjevanje vednosti papezha Klemena VI., cesarja Karla IV. in opatov v *slovenskem* samostanu, ki bi tako očitno neskladje morali takoj opaziti, če bi seveda obstajalo.

Tezo o priselitvi v 6. stoletju je v celoti zavrnil tudi svetovno znani zgodovinar in lingvist prof. dr. Mario Alinei, med drugim chlan Kraljeve shvedske akademije znanosti. Na podlagi izsledkov o prostorski razporeditvi genetskih markerjev, o njihovi povezavi z razporeditvijo jezikov in z ugotovitvami novejsih arheoloshkih raziskav ugotavlja: »*Popolnoma absurdno tezo* o tako imenovanem 'poznem prihodu' Slovanov (in s tem tudi Slovencev – op. M.Sh.) v Evropo, mora nadomestiti scenarij slovanske kontinuitete od paleolitika dalje«. ⁴⁷

However, Emperor Charles also must have known other scriptures that were written in ancient Slovenian, which some today call »Old Church Slavonic«.

All the above findings can be summarized into the following facts about the Slovenian history and St. Jerome:

1. That he was born and spent his youth in the area of present-day Ljubljana, which means that his native *vulgo* language must have been Slovenian, as he only acquired a better knowledge of Latin language later;
2. That he first translated the scriptures into his native Slovenian or *vulgo* language, the way *non-Latin* languages were called by the Romans at that time, and therefore this first translation of the Bible was called *Vulgate*,
3. That on the basis of his great inspiration, he was *the first in history* to combine the various scriptures into the Bible as we know today; translations of many sacred texts into Latin had been made before, so he would never receive such a world glory by only translating scriptures into Latin,
4. That all the above findings are consistent with the fact of Slovenians living in their present-day territory in the 4th century already,
5. That the latest archaeological excavations in Ljubljana prove the existence of Christianity at least in the 4th century, i.e. at the time when Jerome spent his youth there,
6. That in the 8th century there was no »Christianization of the Slovenians« which was reasonably rejected by Jurij Venelin already, citing other causes for the events of that time.⁴⁵

Therefore, the question arises how it is possible that all these findings could have been completely vanished into oblivion.⁴⁶

7. St. Jerome and the »immigration« theory

Of course, the above facts are not in line with the so-called »immigration theory«, which claims that the Slovenians immigrated in the present-day territory at the end of the 6th century, that is almost two and half centuries after Jerome's birth. Insisting on the »late arrival of Slovenians« underestimates the knowledge of Pope Clement VI, Emperor Charles IV, the abbots in the Slovenian monastery and many others, who would immediately notice such obvious discrepancy, if it were true.

Among other, the thesis of immigration in the late 6th century was entirely rejected already by the world-renowned historian and linguist Prof. Dr. Mario Alinei, a fellow of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences and a member of many other recognized world institutions. Based on the spatial distribution of genetic markers, on their connection with the distribution of languages and on the findings of recent archeological research, he concluded: »The totally *absurd* thesis of the so called '*late arrival*' of the Slavs in Europe must be replaced by the scenario of Slavic (and Slovenian) continuity from *Paleolithic* onwards.«⁴⁷

Znana je tudi močna prisotnost krshchanstva na Slovenskem v 2. in 3. stoletju, zato je neverjetno, kako je nekaterim uspelo, da so lahko boj za *slovenski jezik* v bogosluzhju iz 8. stoletja spremenili v izmisljeno »pokristjanjevanje Slovencev«. Za »krvave boje«, ki naj bi potekali za obstanek »stare slovenske poganske vere«, ruski zgodovinar Venelin pravi: »Morali bi razmisliti o takratnih razmerah. Pri tem moramo biti pozorni na štiri stvari: a.) na boj slovenske abecede z galsko; b.) na boj dogme z dogmo; c.) na boj starodavnega obreda z novim; d.) na boj slovenskega jezika v bogosluzhju z latinskim.«⁴⁸

Dejstvu, da je Hieronim svete spise zhe v 4. stoletju prevedel v slovenshchino in jih združil v Biblijo, se moramo zanesljivo zahvaliti za to, da so bili tudi kasnejše shtevilni sveti spisi napisani v slovenskem jeziku. Po nachelu nemshkih jezikoslovcev, ki svoj jezik v starih spisih imenujejo »visoka nemshchina«, bi morali tudi slovenshchino v nashih spisih imenovati *visoka slovenshchina*, nikakor pa ne nekakshna »starocerkvena slovanshchina«.

Izrazi kot »in Slavoniam« ter »lingua Slavonica«, ki sta jih uporabljala cesar Karl IV. in papezh Klemen VI. za *slovensko obmochje in jezik*, so bili pri nas v uporabi dolga stoletja, v latinskem jeziku pa so she danes. Tako je v sporazumu, ki je bil sklenjen v latinshchini med kartuzijami Zhiche, Bistra, Jurkloshter in Pleterje, zapisano, da so navedeni samostani »in Slavoniam«, kar lahko pomeni le v Sloveniji. Na sliki Zhichke kartuzije pishe, da je »in Slavonia«,⁴⁹ torej »v Sloveniji«. Eden od menihov iz teh samostanov je v nemshkem jeziku zapisal, da ga hrani *slovenski kruh*, pri tem pa uporabi izraz *windisch*, ki ga lahko prevedemo le kot *slovenski*. Ohranjeni so tudi zemljevidi, ki uporabljajo ime »Sclauonia oder Windisch Marck«, torej Slovenija *ali* Slovenska marka.⁵⁰ Zato moramo pomen navedenih besed razumeti tako, kot so bile zapisane, saj gre v nasprotnem primeru za nedopustno potvarjanje zgodovine.

8. Kasnejsha usoda Slovenskega samostana

S prihodom slovensko govorečega prebivalstva se je na shiršem obmochju samostana v Pragi schasoma razvila velika slovenska skupnost, zaradi chesar je obmochje dobilo ime »Na Slovenskem«. Ustanovljenih je bilo tudi vech podružničnih samostanov.⁵¹ Skupnost je imela ves chas močno podporo cesarjev iz luksemburshko-celjske dinastije.

Po smrti cesarja Karla IV., njegovega naslednika cesarja Sigismunda Luksemburshkega in zadnje cesarice Svetega rimskega cesarstva Barbare Celjske leta 1451 se je prichel polozhaj skupnosti slabshati. Cesarico Barbaro je zhe naslednje leto kot cesar nasledil Habsburzhan Friderik III., ki ni bil naklonjen dejanjem svojih predhodnikov. V poznih letih 16. stoletja se prichne namesto imena *Slovenski samostan* uporabljati ime *Emmaus*, ko slovenska skupnost izgine.⁵²

Strong presence of Christianity among Slovenians in the 2nd and 3rd centuries is well known, so it is amazing how some have succeeded in turning the 8th century struggle for the Slovenian language in worship into a fictional »Christianization of Slovenians«. The Russian historian Jurij Venelin clarified the bloody struggle in the 8th century for defending the old Slovenian »pagan religion« by the following possibilities: »Taking into account the situation of that time, we must pay attention to four possibilities: a.) The struggle of the Slovenian alphabet with Gaelic; b.) The fight of dogma with dogma; c.) The struggle of the ancient rite with a new one; d.) The struggle for the Slovenian language to be used in worship instead of Latin.«⁴⁸

Jerome's translation of the Bible into Slovenian as early as the 4th century also contributed to the fact that many later scriptures were also written in Slovenian. According to the principle of German linguists, who call their language in the old texts »High German«, similar Slovenian writings should also be called »High Slovenian«, but in no way »Old Church Slavonic«.

Latin terms like »in Slauoniam« and »lingua Slauonica« that were used by Emperor Charles IV and Pope Clemens VI, have been in use for many centuries for the *Slovenian* language and *Slovenian* territory, and they are still used in Latin today. Thus, the old agreement, concluded about that time in Latin language between the Zhiche, Bistra, Jurkloshter and Pleterje monasteries, states that they are »in Slauonia«, that is in today's Slovenia. The inscription on the picture of the Zhiche Carthusian Monastery from around 1510 says that it is »in Slauonia«,⁴⁹ i.e. in today's Slovenia. One of the monks from these monasteries wrote in German that Slovenian bread feeds him, using the term »windisch«, which can be translated only as Slovenian. Many historical maps are preserved that use the name »Sclauonia oder Windisch Marck«, i.e. »Slovenia or the Slovenian Mark«.⁵⁰ Therefore, the meaning of these words must be understood in their true meaning, otherwise it is an inadmissible misinterpretation of history.

8. The later fate of the Slovene Monastery

With the arrival of the Slovenian-speaking population to Prague, a large Slovenian community developed in the wider area of the monastery, making the area known as »Slovenian« or »Na Slovenskem«. Several branch monasteries were also established.⁵¹ All these monasteries received strong support from the emperors of the Luxembourg-Cilli dynasty.

After the death of Emperor Charles IV, his successor Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg, and the last Empress of the Holy Roman Empire Barbara of Cilli in 1451, the situation of the community changed drastically. Frederick III of Habsburg, who in 1452 succeeded Empress Barbara, did not favor the actions of his predecessors, and the Slovenian Monastery in Prague began to deteriorate. In the late 16th century, the Slovenian Monastery was renamed to Emmaus Monastery and the Slovenian community began to disappear.⁵²

Osnovni namen Slovenskega samostana, ki je bil določen z ustanovnimi listinami cesarja Karla IV. in papezha Klemenca VI., je leta 1636 nedopustno spremenil Ferdinand III. Habsburški in tja pripeljal španske benediktince iz Montserrat. ⁵³ Ta sprememba je sicer kasneje reshila samostan pred pogromi Habsburžhane Jozhefa II. nad slovenskimi samostani. Naslednja nevarnost je prishla s sholskim zakonom leta 1871, ko bi morali ukiniti samostansko gimnazijo v Klatovem in samostan zapreti, vendar so se temu uspeli izogniti z vključitvijo v red nemških Benediktincev iz Beurona, kamor sodijo še danes. ⁵⁴

Nekdanje območje »Na Slovenskem« je danes po cheshko »Na Slovanech«, ime samostana pa je Emavzejski samostan. V njem je bil ohranjen tudi izvod prve slovenske Biblije, ⁵⁵ ki pa bi ga danes tu zaman iskali, saj so samostan v teku časa prizadele shtevilne katastrofe.

Danes ni sledi o rokopisih, ki so nastajali v tamkajšnjem skriptoriju, pa tudi o nekoch veliki samostanski knjižnici rokopisnih in drugih knjig je malo znanega. Tam naj bi bila shranjena tudi knjiga, najverjetneje Biblija, na katero so ob kronanju prisegali francoski kralji. Je pa zanimivo, da je Enea Silvio Piccolomini, kasnejši papezh Pij II., svojemu prijatelju naročil, naj mu Sveto pismo kupi na Cheshkem.

Che se je od 1.500 *tiskanib* izvodov Dalmatinove Biblije po shtevilnih sezihiganjih ohranilo samo nekaj primerkov, je zato še toliko manj možno, da bi se ohranile knjige iz časov, ko so obstajale le kot rokopisi. Med pomembnimi knjigami, ki so še v samostanu, je najbolj znan evangeliarij, ki pa je le darilo iz novejšega časa. Vechina knjižnice je bila unichena zhe ob napadu chet iz Passaua na Prago leta 1611. ⁵⁶ Nazadnje je bil samostan mochno poshkodovan v treh zaporednih napadih 8. zaveznishke letalske brigade 14.2.1945. Kaj je tako motilo zaveznike, da so po lastni odločitvi ali na zheljo drugih unichevali tako izjemno zgodovinsko dedishchino, še vedno ni jasno.

9. Plechnikovi skrivni simboli o sv. Hieronimu

Nekatera dejstva kazhejo, da je zgodovino sv. Hieronima kot tudi tamkajšnjega *Slovenskega samostana* dobro poznal tudi nash veliki arhitekt Jozhe Plechnik (1872-1957). Najverjetneje se je z njo seznanil v času svojega bivanja v Pragi. Vedel je tudi, da se je samostan ob koncu 16. stoletja preimenoval v *Emauzejski samostan* in kasneje pripojil benediktincem iz nemshkega Beurona, kamor sodi še danes.

Na poti po Izhanski cesti lahko na Ljubljanskem barju vidimo samotno postavljeno izjemno Plechnikovo *Cerkev Sv. Mibaela*, ki sodi med »najbolj izvorne sakralne stavbe 20. stoletja.« ⁵⁷ Pri tem je pomembno, da se nekatere njene arhitektonske znachilnosti popolnoma skladajo s podatki iz zhivljenja sv. Hieronima.

The basic purpose of the Slovenian monastery, determined by the founding charter of Emperor Charles IV and Pope Clement VI, was in 1636 inadmissibly changed by Ferdinand III of Habsburg, who replaced the existing Slovenian monks by the Spanish Benedictines from Montserrat.⁵³ However, this change saved the monastery from the later pogroms of Joseph II of Habsburg against the Slovenian monasteries. The next danger came with the school law in 1871, when the monastery gymnasium in Klatov and the monastery itself should be closed, but the monks managed to avoid it by joining the German Benedictine Order of Beuron, to which they belong still today.⁵⁴

The name of the Slovenian area is today »On Slovanech« (Czech meaning for Slavic), and the monastery became the *Emmaus* Monastery. It retained a copy of the first Slovenian Bible,⁵⁵ but today it would be in vain to look for it, as many catastrophes had hit the monastery over the course of time. Today, there are no traces of the numerous manuscripts that were produced in its scriptorium, and little is known about the once large monastery library of manuscripts and other books. The book, probably the Bible, was kept there, that was used for a long time during coronations of the French kings to swear on. It is interesting that Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, also instructed his friend to buy him a Bible in the Czech Kingdom.

Out of the 1,500 printed copies of the Slovenian Bible (printed in 1583) after many incinerations, only a few of them have been preserved. So it is even less possible to preserve books from the time, when they existed only as manuscripts. Among the important books still in the monastery, the most famous is the Gospel, but it is only a gift from recent times. Most of the library was already destroyed at the attack of the troops from Passau on Prague in 1611.⁵⁶ Finally, the monastery was badly damaged in three successive attacks by the 8th Allied Aviation Brigade on 14 February 1945. What has annoyed the Allies so much, that they destroyed such a remarkable historical heritage, was it their own decision or at the request of others, is not clear.

9. Plechnik's secret symbols of St. Jerome

Some facts show that the history of St. Jerome, as well as the Slovenian monastery in Prague, was well known to Slovenian great architect Jozhe Plechnik (1872-1957). Most likely he became acquainted with it during his long stay in Prague. Some facts also confirm that he knew well the history of the Slovenian Monastery, its renaming to Emmaus, and later annexation to the German Benedictine order in Beuron, to where it still belongs today.

On the way along the Izhanska Road, on the Ljubljana Marshes, we can see a solitarily situated extraordinary Plechnik's Church of St. Michael, one of the »most original sacral buildings of the 20th century.«⁵⁷ It is important that some of its architectural features are fully in line with data from the life of St. Jerome.

Plechnik je leta 1937 za postavitev cerkve izbral lokacijo, ki ustreza danes znanemu ozhjemu območju Hieronimovega rojstnega kraja. Cerkev je posvečena sv. Mihaelu, njegov dan je 29. september, dan sv. Hieronima pa 30. september, kar pomeni, da si dneva svetnikov sledita neposredno drug za drugim.

Ker je cerkev na gradbeno zelo nestabilnem barjanskem območju, je Plechnik za utrditev uporabil 347 lesenih pilotov, kar je simbolično *natanchna letnica Hieronimovega rojstva*.⁵⁸ Če bi kdo hotel kdaj unichiti navedeno povezavo, bi moral cerkev prej podreti.

Kot vzor za umetnishko zasnovo je Plechnik izbral *benediktinski red iz Beurona*,⁵⁹ kamor she danes sodi Slovenski samostan v Pragi, ki ga je v chast sv. Hieronimu ustanovil cesar Karl IV.

Konchno je Plechnik uporabil simbole *etrushchanske* umetnosti in mesta *Ravena*, ki je bilo v *Hieronimovem chasu* glavno upravno sredishche zahodnega dela Rimskega cesarstva. Ime mesta *Ravena* (it. Ravenna) izvira seveda iz slovenske besede *ravena*, ki pomeni po Pletershniku⁶⁰ isto kot *ravan*, *ravnina*.

Morda bodo natanchnejshi raziskovalci na tem zanimivem Plechnikovem objektu nashli she druge povezave s sv. Hieronimom. Vendar pa lahko zhe na podlagi teh ugotovitev sklepamo, da je Plechnik vedel za kraj Hieronimovega rojstva, saj je tja umestil cerkev Sv. Mihaela na Barju, pri njeni izvedbi pa je uporabil shtevilne simbole, povezane s sv. Hieronimom.

10. Pochastitev 1600-letnice Hieronimove smrti

Sv. Hieronim je umrl 30. septembra 419 (ali 420)⁶¹ v Betlehemu, zato bosta leti 2019 in 2020 posvečeni 1600-letnici njegove smrti. Ker gre za enega najpomembnejshih cerkvenih učiteljev in enega najbolj izobrazhenih mozh v svetovnem merilu, chigar dela in pisma so uvrshchena v zakladnico ne le krshchanske, temvech tudi vse svetovne kulturne dedishchine, bi morali to obletnico she zlasti pri nas primerno pochastiti. Zhal Poshta Slovenije in Banka Slovenije nista sprejeli predloga, da bi v pochastitev obletnice izdali posebne znamke oziroma kovanca.

Pohvalno pa je, da je v Ljubljani od 23. do 26. oktobra 2019 potekal velik mednarodni posvet *Hieronimus noster* v organizaciji Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, univerze v Ljubljani, Gradcu in Varshavi, Srednjeevropske univerze na Dunaju ter shtevilnih drugih ustanov po vsem svetu.⁶² Tudi v Zagrebu so ob istem chasu pripravili posvet o sv. Hieronimu, izdali so knjigo *Sveti Jeronim, Dalmatinac*,⁶³ posebej pa nameravajo to obletnico pochastiti v prvem polletju 2020, ko bo Hrvashka sopredsedovala Svetu EU.

In 1937, Plechnik chose a location for this church, which corresponds to the now known area of Jerome's birthplace. The church is dedicated to St. Michael; his day is 29 September, the day of St. Jerome is 30 September, which means that the saints' days follow each other directly.

Because the church is in an unstable marshy area, Plechnik used 347 wooden pilots to fortify it, which is symbolically *the exact year of Jerome's birth*.⁵⁸ If anyone ever wanted to destroy this link, the church would have to be fully demolished before.

Plechnik chose the artistic design of the Benedictine order from *Beuron*,⁵⁹ to which Slovenian Monastery in Prague, erected in honor of St. Jerome, still belongs today.

Plechnik used symbols of Etruscan art and the city of Ravenna, which in Jerome's time was the main administrative center of the western part of the Roman Empire. Additionally, the city's name *Ravena* (Italian Ravenna) originates from Slovene word *ravena* (flat land, flat valley), which according to Pletershnik⁶⁰ means the same as *ravan* and *ravnina*.

Perhaps more accurate researchers will be able to find still other links to St. Jerome in this interesting Plechnik's object. However, from these findings alone we can conclude that Plechnik knew the site of Jerome's birthplace and other details from his life, since he situated the church of St. Michael on Ljubljansko Barje (Ljubljana Marches), using in it a number of symbols, which he secretly associated with St. Jerome.

10. Honoring the 1600th anniversary of Jerome's death

St. Jerome died on 30 September 419 (or 420)⁶¹ in Bethlehem, so the years 2019 and 2020 mark the 1600th anniversary of his death. He was one of the most important church fathers, teachers and most educated men in the world, whose work and scriptures are of extreme importance not only for the Christianity, but for the entire world cultural heritage.

Like in other countries, special stamps and coins are issued every year also in Slovenia to honor anniversaries of events and personalities that are most important for our history. Based on the above facts, it was expected that the life and work of St. Jerome will be also remembered in such a way, but unfortunately, the proposal was rejected.

So, it is commendable that the International Symposium *Hieronimus noster* (Our Jerome) on the 1600th Anniversary of Jerome's death was held in Ljubljana from October 23rd to 26th, 2019. It was organized by the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Universities of Ljubljana, Graz and Warsaw, the Central European University in Vienna and many other institutions around the world.⁶¹ At the same time in Zagreb (Croatia) a symposium on St. Jerome was organized, the book *Sveti Jeronim, Dalmatinac (Saint Jerome the Dalmatian)*⁶² was issued and Croatia intends to especially honor this anniversary in the first half of 2020, when it will be co-chairing the EU Council.

Translated by author

Opombe

¹ *Slovenski prevodi Svetega pisma*. https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slovenski_prevodi_Svetega_pisma; zadnja sprememba 17.3.2016 ob 13:03.

² *Dalminova biblija*. <http://www.dedi.si/dediscina/123-dalminova-biblija>.

³ Zanimivo, da sv. Hieronim ni umeshčen med *slovenske* svetnike: *Seznam slovenskih svetnikov*, Wikipedija, zadnja sprememba 4.7.2018 ob 10:41. Med slovenske svetnike ga ne umeshča niti Jozhko Shavli, *Slovenski svetniki, Založništvo Humar*, 1999. Zato pa je umeshčen med krschanske svetnike s področja Hrvashke, *Dodatak: Popis brnatskih svetaca i blazhenika*, hr.wikipedia.org, zadnja sprememba 24.2.2020 ob 12:01.

⁴ Papež Benedikt XVI. o sv. Hieronimu v svoji avdienci 7.11.2007.

⁵ *Hieronimova pisma, Pismo menihu Antoniu v Emono*; prevod Franca Ksaverja Lukmana, priredila Martina Kraljich, shtudentka III. letnika Teolohske fakultete 2000/01: »Na razgibanost krschanskega zhivljenja v Emoni v drugi pol. 4. stol. kazheta dve njegovi pismi. Obe pismi je napisal okrog leta 377 med bivanjem v halkishki pushchavi. Ker je bilo prvo pismo naslovljeno skupnosti emonskih Bogu posvechenih devic, drugo pa menihu Antoniju, lahko iz tega sklepamo, da je bila v tedanji Emoni zhe precej razvita krschanska skupnost, verjetno pod vodstvom shkofa Maksima«. Hieronim v pismu, ki ga je pisal menihu Antoniju v Emono, pravi: »Zhe deset pisem, che se ne motim, polnih vljudnosti in proshenj, sem ti poslal, ... ko se tebi niti zganiti ne ljubi«. <http://www2.arnes.si/~supmspel/patres/hieronim/index.html>. Njegovo pogosto pisanje v Emono potrjuje, da je s svojim rojstnim krajem vzdrževal stike she ves chas po svojem odhodu, nasprotno pa niti enkrat samkrat ni pisal v Strane, Starod ali Tarsatiko, kamor nekateri she vedno nashchajo njegov rojstni kraj.

⁶ *S. Hieronim*, Exodus tv, *Svetnik dneva*, 30.9. <http://www.exodus.si/oddaje/sv.hieronim>.

⁷ Marjan Zhiberna: *Archaeologists puzzle over mystery woman in early Christian Cemetery*, National Geographic, 28.1.2018. Ob navedenih dejstvih je neverjetno, da so bili lahko arheologi in raziskovalci she vedno presenečeni, ko so leta 2018 ob izkopavanjih na danashnji Gosposvetski cesti v Ljubljani naleteli na veliko krschansko pokopalishche iz 4. stoletja in predmete z napisi v grshkem, in ne v latinskem jeziku.

⁸ Ob doslednem uposhtevanju navedb sv. Hieronima tudi *Sbtrigova* ne more biti njegov rojstni kraj.

⁹ R. Valenchich se je odlochil za območje med Uchko, Snezhnik in Nanos (Valenchich, 2007, str. 160) oziroma kraj *Strane*, ker naj bi po ljudskem izročilu rastla »Hieronimova tisa« (str. 148). Danes znana dejstva ne dopushchajo nobene možnosti, da bi lahko bile Strane Hieronimov rojstni kraj. Vendar pa bi lahko starost tise okrog 600 let ustrezala tisoehletnici Hieronimovega rojstva, ko so se v vsem Svetem rimskem cesarstvu v njegovo chast gradile cerkve in ustanavljali samostani. To ni bilo povezano z njegovim rojstnim krajem, kar na primer tudi Praga ni bila. Ob tisi v Stranah je she danes cerkev s starejšo gotsko zasnovo ter posest stishkega samostana. Zato bi bil lahko ob tej pomembni obletnici tu ustanovljen samostan, zgrajena cerkev in zasajena tisa, ki bi lahko v ljudskem spominu ostala kot »Hieronimova tisa«.

¹⁰ Shanda, Dragan: *Slovenecm*, Lipa, Maribor, 2016.

¹¹ Klasinc, Peter Pavel: *Sbtrigova*, Zavod 25. junij, Ljubljana, 2008/213 in *Nekoch Stridona...*, Delo 3.3.2007; Boris Cipot, *Slovenski politični veljaki v Sbtrigoni izdali ...*, V Fokusu, Novice, 18.3.2018 ob 17:06; Miroslav Slana – Miros, *Z ognjem in mečem nad nashe vasi*, Dnevnik, 18.3.2018 ob 17:06.

¹² Valenchich, Rafko: *Sveti Hieronim - mozh s Krasa*, Družhina, Ljubljana, 2007.

¹³ Suichevo umestitev Hieronimovega rojstnega kraja v Liburnijo oziroma v severozahodni del Dalmacije je zavrnil zhe R. Bratozh, ker tam ni nobenih dokumentiranih alpskih zapor *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum* (Valenchich, 2007, str. 15).

Notes:

¹ *Slovenski prevodi Svetega pisma* (Slovenian translations of the Holy Scripture),

https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slovenski_prevodi_Svetega_pisma; last edited on 17 March 2016, at 13:03.

² *Dalmatinova biblija*. <http://www.dedi.si/dediscina/123-dalmatinova-biblija>.

³ St. Jerome is not ranked among Slovenian saints: List of Slovenian saints, Wikipedia, last edited on 7 April 2018, at 10:41. Neither Jozhko Shavli included him among Slovenian saints, *Slovenian Saints*, Humar Publishing House, 1999. Therefore, he is listed among Christian saints from Croatia, *Dodatak: Popis brvatskih svetaca i blaženika*: en.wikipedia.org, last edited on 24 February 2020, at 12:01.

⁴ Pope Benedict XVI on St. Jerome in his speech on 7 November 2007, *Benedikt XVI, Generalaudienz*,

http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/audiences/2007/documents/hf_ben-xvi_aud_20071107.html

⁵ *Hieronimova pisma, Pismo menihu Antoniu v Emono*, translated by Franz Xavier Lukman, edited by Martin Kraljich, student of the Faculty of Theology 2000/01: »We can learn about the diversity of Christian life in Emona in the second half of the 4th century from two letters of St. Jerome. He wrote them around 377 during his stay in the Chalkite desert. The first letter was addressed to the congregation of God-dedicated Virgins in Emona, the second he sent to monk Antony there. From these letters we can conclude that in his time there was a well-developed Christian community, probably led by the bishop Maxim. In Jerome's letter to the monk Antony in Emona he says: »Ten letters, if I am not mistaken, full of courtesy and requests, I have sent to you ... when you do not even want to make a move.« <http://www2.arnes.si/~supmspel/patres/hieronim/index.html>. His frequent writing to Emona confirms that throughout his absence he maintained a close relationship with his hometown and his country. On the contrary, he never wrote to Strane, Starod, Tarsatika, and many other places, where so many researchers and historians still claim to have found his birthplace.

⁶ *Hieronim*, Exodus tv, Saint of the Day, 30/9. <http://www.exodus.si/oddaje/sv.hieronim>.

⁷ Marjan Zhiberna: *Archaeologists puzzle over mystery woman in early Christian Cemetery*, National Geographic, 1/28/2018. Given the facts that were discovered by these excavations, it is still unbelievable that archaeologists and historians are still surprised to find on today's Gosposvetska Street in Ljubljana a large Christian burial ground from the 4th-century, and inscriptions in Greek, not Latin.

⁸ According to Jerome's own statements also Shtrigova can't be his birthplace.

⁹ Valenchich decided to situate Jerome's birthplace into the area between Uchka, Snezhnik and Nanos (*Valenchich, 2007, p. 160*) or *Strane*, because according to oral tradition, the »Jerome's yew tree« should grow there (p. 148). However, the facts that we know today, do not allow Strane to be Jerome's birthplace, as experts evaluate the tree to be at most 600 years old. That would correspond to the millennium of Jerome's birth, when many churches and monasteries were built in his honor all over the Holy Roman Empire. They were not related to his birthplace, which also, for example, Prague, was not. At the yew tree in Strane there is a church with an older Gothic design and a property, owned by the monastery (Stishki samostan). Perhaps they built a monastery and planted a yew tree there on this important anniversary, which could in the oral tradition remain as the »Jerome yew tree«.

¹⁰ Shanda, Dragan: *Slovenecm*, Lipa, Maribor, 2016.

¹¹ Klasinc, Peter Pavel: *Strigova*, Institute of June 25, Ljubljana, 2008/213; *Nekoch Stridona...*, Delo 3 March 2007; Boris Cipot, *Slovenski politični veljaki v Shtrigovi izdali ...*, V Fokusu, Novice, 18 March 2018, at 17:06; Miroslav Slana – Miroslav, *Z ognjem in mečem nad nasbe vasi*, Dnevnik, 18 March 2018, at 17:06.

¹² Valenchich, Rafko: *Sveti Hieronim - možb s Krasa* (Saint Jerome - A Man from the Karst), Družhina, Ljubljana, 2007.

¹³ Suic decided to place Jerome's hometown to Liburnia or to the northwestern part of Dalmatia. This was strongly rejected by R. Bratozh already, because there are no documented Alpine defense walls, Claustra Alpium Iuliarum, (Valenchich, 2007, p. 15).

¹⁴ Ker je Hieronim odrashchal na posestvu izven emonskega obzidja, se navedba »*vasi blizu Emone*« iz angleške Wikipedije v celoti ujema z ugotovitvami papezha Benedikta XVI., da je bil Hieronim rojen »*na območju danasnje Ljubljane*«. To območje je vechje od nekdanje rimske Emone in vključuje tudi takratne bližnje vasi izven mestnega obzidja. »He was born at Stridon, a *village near Emona on the border of Dalmatia and Pannonia*«. *Jerome*, Wikipedija, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jerome>, zadnja sprememba 4.9.2018 ob 08:26. (Poudarki M. Sh.)

¹⁵ Valenchich, 2007, str. 113.

¹⁶ *Stridon*, Wikipedija, zadnja sprememba 15. septembra 2018 ob 19:02.

¹⁷ Slobodan Prosperov Novak: *Sv. Jeronim Dalmatinac*, Splitsko-dalmatinska županija, Split, 2019.

¹⁸ *SSKJ*, Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovsha ZRC SAZU, geslo: "shtradon?"; http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/cgi/a03.exe?name=sskj_testa&expression=gc%3D%C5%A1tradon&hs=1.

¹⁹ Na alpske zapore (*Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*), ki jih Hieronim omenja v zvezi s svojim rojstnim krajem, se sklicujejo shtevilni avtorji (Suich in drugi, Valenchich, 2007, str. 157-158).

²⁰ *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum - med raziskovanjem in upravljanjem*, Inštitut Ivan Michler, Ljubljana, 2014.

²¹ »Zapora Ajdovski zid poteka nad skrajnim zahodnim robom Ljubljanskega barja ... Na glavni rimski cesti (*via publica*) med Emono in Akvilejo, na osrednjem delu alpskih zapor, je *Ajdovski zid* prvi v nizu zapornih zidov. Zapora je ohranjena v dolžini približno 7744 m, to je *najdaljši* dokumentirani zid v sklopu zapornega sistema. Shtel je vsaj 35 stolpov«. *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, poglavje Jure Kusetich, III. Topografski in arheološki pregled, str. 72. »Sklepamo, da je zapora v antiki nadzirala 4 cestne prehode« (isto, str. 75).

²² »... da je sistem *claustra Alpium Iuliarum* povsem primerljiv s podobnimi spomeniki v Evropi, v marsichem jih celo presega« (Kusetich, 2014, str. 12-13). Po sedanjih podatkih o izjemnosti navedenega objekta lahko prej rechemo, da je primerjava s podobnimi spomeniki v Evropi z nashe strani bistveno preskromna.

²³ »Zaradi oblike zapore je bil pregled nad njo brezhiben, saj so bile vse strateshke točke na zidu medsebojno vidne. ... Proti vzhodu je bilo *s celotne zapore vidno Ljubljansko barje* z vsemi obrobnimi vrhovi«. (Kusetich, 2014, str. 75).

²⁴ Valenchich, 2007, str. 21.

²⁵ Shtrukelj, dr. Anton: *Papezh Benedikt XVI. »Sveti Hieronim rojen v Ljubljani«*. Papezh Benedikt XVI. v svojem nemshkem nagovoru: »Er wurde 347 in Stridon, *dem heutigen Leibach in Slovenien*, in einer christlichen Familie geboren«. http://katoliska-cerkev.si/papezh-benedikt-xvi-sveti-hieronim-rojen-v-ljubljani;Audiencia_papezha_Benedikta.

http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/de/audiences/2007/documents/hf_ben-xvi_aud_20071107.html. (Poudarki M. Sh.)

²⁶ Franz Martin Pelzel ime Venceslav povezuje z besedo venec, ki je bil vchasih simbol, kot ga danes predstavlja kraljevska ali cesarska krona. F. M. Pelzel, *Kaiser Karl der Vierte, König in Böhmen*, Prag, 1780.

²⁷ Shtevilni zgodovinarji cesarja Karla IV. she vedno imenujejo tudi Karl Venceslav oziroma po cheshko Karl Vencl.

²⁸ Cesarica Barbara Celjska je po podatkih iz ohranjenih dokumentov poleg cheshke krone nosila she vsaj deset drugih evropskih kron.

²⁹ Karlovo nezaupanje je bilo utemeljeno, saj tudi drugi vladarji Habsburzhanom niso zaupali. Za najbolj znanega ugrabitelja v zgodovini velja avstrijski vojvoda Leopold V. (1177- 1194), sicer iz dinastije Babenberzhanov, ki je ugrabil angleshkega kralja Riharda Levjesrchnega na povratku s krizharske vojne. Leopold je zanj zahteval odkupnino v vishini petkratnega celoletnega dohodka angleshkega kraljevstva, kar je najvishji znesek v zgodovini. *Kaiser, Kriger, Katbedralen, MünzenRenne sbt. 9, 2017*, str. 152.

³⁰ Sporno naj bi bilo vrphanje, katere svete spise vključiti v Sveto pismo in katere izločiti kot neprimerne oziroma gnostichne, njihovo branje in posedovanje pa strogo prepovedati. *Lovci na Sveto pismo; Iskanje resnice o Svetem pismu*, oddaja televizijske hishe Viasat History, 2019.

³¹ *Donation of Constantine*, Wikipedija (en), zadnja sprememba 13.8.2018.

³² *Konstantinova darovnica*, Wikipedija (slo), zadnja sprememba 24.12.2019 ob 15:42.

¹⁴ Since Jerome grew up on a property outside the walls of Emona, the reference to the »village near Emona« in English Wikipedia fully matches with the findings of Pope Benedict XVI that Jerome was born »in the area of present-day Ljubljana.« This area is larger than the former Roman Emona, and includes also the nearby villages outside the fortified city walls of that time. »He was born at Stridon, a village near *Emona* on the border of Dalmatia and Pannonia.« *Jerome*, Wikipedia,

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jerome>, last modified on 4 September 2018, at 08:26, (Highlights by M. Sh.)

¹⁵ Valenchich, 2007, p. 113.

¹⁶ *Stridon*, Wikipedia, last edited on 15 September 2018, at 19:02.

¹⁷ Slobodan Prosperov Novak: *Sv. Jeronim Dalmatinac*, Splitsko-dalmatinska županija, Split, 2019.

¹⁸ The term »*Stradons*«, (pronounced: *Sbtradon*); SSKJ, Fran Ramovsh Institute of Slovene Language ZRC SAZU; http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/cgi/a03.exe?name=sskj_testa&expression=ge%3D%C5%A1tradon&hs=1.

¹⁹ The fortified barriers *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, mentioned by Jerome in connection with his birthplace, are referred by many authors, (Suich et al., Valenchich, 2007, pp. 157-158).

²⁰ *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum - med raziskovanjem in upravljanjem (Claustra Alpium Iuliarum - Between Research and Management)*, Ivan Michler Institute, Ljubljana, 2014.

²¹ »The Ajdovski zid barrier runs along the farthermost western rim of the Ljubljansko barje (Ljubljana Marches), ... On the main Roman road (*via publica*) between Emona and Aquileia, on the central section of the Alpine defense system, the Ajdovski zid fortifications are the first in a whole series of barriers. A total of 7744 m of these fortifications are preserved, making it the longest documented wall within the whole Alpine defense system. This section contained at least 35 towers«, *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*, Chapter III by Jure Kusetic: *A topographical and archeological overview*, p. 72. »We conclude that the fortifications controlled 4 roads that passed through them in Antiquity,« (ibid, p. 73.)

²² Kusetic, 2014, p. 11. »The *claustra Alpium Iuliarum* system is on a par with similar monuments in Europe and in some aspects even surpasses them«, (Kusetic, 2014, p. 13). The results of the latest research show all its magnificence, especially when comparing it with similar monuments in Europe.

²³ »Owing to their shape, the fortifications provided excellent visual supervision, as all the strategic points along the wall were within sight of each other ... Towards the east, the Ljubljana barje (*Ljubljana Marshes*) and all its surrounding peaks were visible throughout the length of the fortifications,« (Kusetic, 2014, p. 75).

²⁴ Valenchich, 2007, p. 21.

²⁵ Shtrukelj, Dr. Anton: *Papežh Benedikt XVI. »Sveti Hieronim rojen v Ljubljani« / Pope Benedict XVI, »St. Jerome born in Ljubljana«*; Pope Benedict XVI in his audience in German: »Er wurde 347 in Stridon, dem heutigen Leibach in Slovenien, in einer christlichen Familie geboren.« <http://katoliska-cerkev.si/papez-benedikt-xvi-sveti-hieronim-rojen-v-ljubljani>; *Pope Benedict's Audition*.

http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/de/audiences/2007/documents/hf_ben-xvi_aud_20071107.html, (highlights by M. Sh.).

²⁶ Franz Martin Pelzel associates the name *Venceslav* with the Slovene word *zmagovalni venec*, meaning conqueror's crown, and was a symbol, similar to today's royal or imperial crown. F. M. Pelzel, *Kaiser Charles der Vierte, König and Böhmen*, Prague, 1780.

²⁷ Many historians of Emperor Charles IV still call him Charles Venceslav, or in Czech Charles Vencl.

²⁸ According to the preserved documents, Empress Barbara of Cilli wore in addition to the Czech crown at least ten other European crowns.

²⁹ Charles's distrust was justified, as the most famous kidnapper in history was Leopold V (1177-1194), Duke of Austria, a member of the Babenberg Dynasty, who kidnapped King Richard of England on his return from the Crusade. Leopold demanded the ransom of five times full year's income of the English Kingdom, the highest in history. *Kaiser, Krieger, Kathedralen*, MünzenRevue no. 9, 2017, p. 152.

³⁰ The question at issue was about the gospels that should be included in the Bible, and which to exclude as inappropriate or Gnostic, prohibit their reading and possession. *Lovci na Sveto pismo; Iskanje resnice o Svetem pismu, (Searching for the truth of the Bible)*, Documentary television show, Viasat History, 2019.

³¹ *Donation of Constantine*, Wikipedia, last edited on 13 August 2018

³² *Konstantinova darovnica*, Wikipedia, last edited on 24 December 2019, at 03:42.

³³ O tem cesarstvu je francoski pisec Voltaire dejal, da skupina, ki "samo sebe imenuje Sveto rimsko cesarstvo, ni niti sveta, niti rimska, pa tudi ne cesarstvo". Leta 1512 naj bi se ime cesarstva menda spremenilo v Sveto rimsko cesarstvo *nemshkega naroda* (nemshko: Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation, lat.: Imperium Romanum Sacrum Nationis Germanicæ). *Sveto rimsko cesarstvo*, Wikipedija, zadnja sprememba 7.2.2018 ob 14:59. Ob tem je zanimivo, da naziv »narod« leta 1512 v *tem konkretnem primeru* ne moti tistih, ki sicer trdijo, da narodov v tistem času ni bilo.

³⁴ »Leta 382 je spremljal v Rim antiohijskega škofa. Bil je ves oblozhen s svojimi rokopisi, kar je spodbudilo zanimanje papezha Damaza, ki ga je imenoval za svojega tajnika. Veliko sta se pogovarjala o Svetem pismu in papezh je dal pobudo za nov prevod Svetega pisma v latinshchino.« (*S. Hieronim*, Exodus tv, Svetnik dneva 30.9).

³⁵ O obstoju »slovenskega« prevoda Biblije je krozhilo zhe veliko razlicnih teorij. Po enih naj bi bil to Hieronimov prevod v slovenski jezik in pisan v latinici (morda celo v grshki pisavi), po drugih pa naj bi bil pisan v glagolici in bi bila to »dalmatinska biblija«. Bivshi kopski shkof Peter Pavel Vergerij je dobro vedel, da je glagolica nastala shele v chasu Cirila in Metoda. V tem primeru bi bil to lahko samo prepis Biblije v glagolico, ne pa Hieronimov originalni prevod.

³⁶ »Ta skrivnostna zgodba z Mihaelom Mojzesom she dandanes strashi marsikatero duhove, ...« Jozhe Javorshek: *Primoszh Trubar*, Partizanska knjiga, Ljubljana, 1986, str. 105. Che pa bi tak prevod res kdo imel in bi ga novi prevajalci zatajili, potem bi bil to prej Vergerij, ki da je bil »znan lazhnivec, fantast in celo prevarant«, isto, str. 104. Kljub tako neprimernemu mnenju o Vergeriju pa Javorshek ne zanika njegove izjemne vloge pri Trubarjevih odločitvah. Tako naj bi ga prav on preprichal, da je sploh prichel s prevajanjem Svetega pisma. Preprichal ga je tudi, da je pri tiskanju slovenskih knjig preshel s prvotne tezhko berljive gotice na latinico, ker po Vergeriju »nima smisla slovenshchine pisati v gotici, ampak naj jo pishe v latinici, ki je za slovenshchino veliko bolj prikladna«, isto str. 105. Tudi Trubar je sam zapisal, da je Vergerij pregledoval njegov prevod in ga primerjal z izvirnikom, »kir je grshki pisan,« isto, str. 106.

³⁷ Klemen VI. je bil papezh od leta 1342 do 1352. Bil je iz reda francoskih Benediktincev in je vladal iz Avignona, Francija.

³⁸ Listina cesarja Karla IV. o ustanovitvi Slovenskega samostana v Pragi ob 1000. obletnici rojstva sv. Hieronima; *Archiv prazhskeho arhibiskupstvi (1221-1525) 10* Regesta diplomatica nec noc epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae V. Nr. 257-258.

³⁹ Pismo papezha Klemena VI. prashkemu nadshkofu, Avignon, 9. maja 1346, opatu konventa Slovenkega samostana, Avignon, 3. februarja 1349 in opatu Slovenskega samostana reda sv. Benedikta, 1. aprila 1349. Shtevilna pisma pa je pisal opatu in bratom samostana sv. Benedikta v Pragi tudi cesar Karl IV.

⁴⁰ »Pater Dominus noster Papa Clemens VI. ad nostri instantiam et requestam committere voluit, ut ipse in nostra ciuitate Pragensi monasterium conuentuale et claustrale ordinis sancti Benedicti instituere et autoritate posset apostolica ordinare, institutis ibidem Abbate et fratribus, qui Domino famulantes diuina officia in lingua Slauonica duntaxat ob reuerentiam et memoriam gloriosissimi Confessoris Beati Ieronymi Strydoniensis Doctoris egregii, et translatoris, interpretisque eximii sacre scripture de Ebraica in latinam et Slauonicam linguas, de qua siquidem Slauonica nostri regni Boemie idioma sumpsit exordium primordialiter et processit, debeant futuris temporibus celebrare.« *Regesta diplomatica nec noc epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae V. Nr. 257-258.* (Poudarki M. Sh.)

⁴¹ »...speciem et decorem in lingua Slauonica duntaxat futuris et perpetuis temporibus ob memoriam et reuerentiam prefati beatissimi Ieronymi, ut ipse in dicto regno velut inter *gentem suam et patriam reddatur perpetuo gloriosus...*«. (*Regesta diplomatica...*). (Poudarki M. Sh.)

⁴² »Oglej je bil cerkveno sredishche za ves severnojadranski, vzhodnoalpski in deloma zahodnopanonski prostor« (R. Bratozh, *Vpliv oglejske cerkve na vzhodnoalpski in predalpski prostor od 4. do 8. stoletja*. Ljubljana 1990, Zbirka Zgodovinskega chasopisa – 8).

⁴³ Izbir imena *slovensko* za celotno slovansko jezikovno skupino kazhe na pomembnost slovenskega jezika v tistem chasu in predstavlja izjemno priznanje slovenskemu jeziku in slovenski zgodovini, chesar se pri nas vse premalo zavedamo.³¹ *Donation of Constantine*, Wikipedia, last edited on 13 August 2018

³³ The French writer Voltaire said about this empire, that the group that »calls itself the Holy Roman Empire is neither holy nor Roman, nor is it an empire.« In 1512, the name of the empire was supposedly changed to the Holy Roman Empire of the *German nation* (German: Heiliges Römisches Reich *Deutscher Nation*, lat.: Imperium Romanum Sacrum *Nationis Germanicæ*). *Holy Roman Empire*, Wikipedia, last edited on 7 February 2018, at 14:59. It is interesting to note that the term »nation« in 1512 in this particular case does not bother those who claim that there were no nations at that time.

³⁴ »In 382, he accompanied Bishop of Antioch to Rome. He was all laden with his manuscripts that aroused the interest of Pope Damasus, who appointed him his secretary. They talked a lot about the Bible and the Pope initiated a new translation of the Bible into Latin.« (*S. Hieronim*, Exodus tv, Saints day 30.9).

³⁵ Many different theories have circulated about the existence of the »Slavic« translation of the Bible. One of them is supposed to be a Jerome's translation into Slovene and written in Latin (maybe even in Greek alphabet), while other claim that it was written in Glagolitic alphabet and it would therefore be the »Dalmatian Bible«. Former Bishop of Koper Peter Paul Vergerio knew very well that Glagolitic script originated from the time of Cyril and Methodius (9th century). In that case, it might just be only a Glagolitic transcript, not Jerome's original translation.

³⁶ »This mysterious story about Michael Moses still haunts many spirits today ...« Jozhe Javorshek: *Primožb Trubar*, Partizanska knjiga, Ljubljana, 1986, p. 105. However, if such translation was indeed available, and the new translators were to deny it, then according to Jerovshek, this could only be Vergerio, who was »known a liar, a fantasy and even a fraudster,« same, p. 104. Despite such an inappropriate view of Vergerio, Javorshek does not deny him an extraordinary role in Trubar's decisions, as it was he who convinced Trubar even to begin translating the Bible. He also convinced him to switch from his first used hard-to-read Gothic to Latin, because according to Vergerio, »there is no point to write Slovene in Gothic, but in Latin, which is much more appropriate for Slovene writing,« same, p. 105. Trubar himself wrote that Vergerio was even reviewing his translations, and compared them with the original, »written in the Greek script,« same, p. 106.

³⁷ Clement VI was Pope from 1342 to 1352. He was of the French Benedictine Order and ruled from Avignon, France.

³⁸ Charter of Emperor Charles IV on the Establishment of the Slovenian Monastery in Prague, the 1000th birth anniversary of St. Jerome; Archiv prazského arcibiskupství (1221-1525) 10 Regesta diplomatica nec noc epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae V. Nr. 257-258.

³⁹ The letter from Pope Clement VI to Archbishop of Prague, Avignon, 9 May 1346, to Abbot of the Convent of the Slovenian Monastery, Avignon, 3 February 1349, and to Abbot of the Slovenian Monastery of the Order of St. Benedict, 1 April 1349. However, also Emperor Charles IV wrote many letters to the abbot and brothers of the monastery of St. Benedict in Prague.

⁴⁰ »Pater Dominus noster Pope Clement VI ad nostri instantiam et requestam committere voluit, ut ipse in nostra ciuitate Pragensi monasterium conuentuale et claustrale ordinis sancti Benedicti instituere et autoritate posset apostolica ordinare, institutis ibidem Abbate et fratribus, qui Ieronymi Strydoniensis Doctoris egregii, et translatoris, interpretisque eximii sacre scripture de Ebraica in Latin et *Slauonicam* linguas, de qua siquidem *Slauonica* nostri regni Boemie idioma sumpsit exordium primordialiter et processit, debeant futuris temporibus. Regesta diplomatica nec noc epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae V. Nr. 257-258,« (highlights by M. Sh.).

⁴¹ »... speciem et decorem in lingua Slauonica duntaxat futuris et perpetuis temporibus ob memoriam et reuerentiam prefati beatissimi Ieronymi, ut ipse in dicto regno velut inter gentem suam et patriam reddatur perpetuo gloriosus ...« (Regesta diplomatica ...), (highlights by M. Sh.)

⁴² »Aquilaia was the religious center for the whole North Adriatic, East Alpine and partly West Pannonian region.« (R. Bratozh, *The Influence of the Church of Aquilaia on the Eastern and Pre-Alpine Space from the 4th to the 8th Century*, Ljubljana 1990, Collection of the Historical Journal - 8).

⁴³ The decision to name »Slavic« the entire Slavic language group shows the importance of the Slovene language at that time and represents a remarkable recognition to the Slovene language and Slovene history, which we are not really aware of.

- ⁴⁴ Shtruc, M., *Sveto rimsko cesarstvo in slovenski jezik*, Revija SRP, oktober 2017, shtevilka 135/136, str. 135–141.
- ⁴⁵ Da dogodki v 8. stoletju niso pomenili pokristjanjevanja Slovencev je podrobno pojasnil Jurij Venelin; *Starodavni in danasnji Slovenci*, prevod iz rushchine Ana Brvar, Just Rugel, prevod iz latinshchine Barbara Shega, Amallietti & Amallietti, Ljubljana, 2009.
- ⁴⁶ Pri vseh teh ugotovitvah ni nepomembno, da so takrat papezhi vladali iz Avignona. Po prenosu papeshkega sedezha v Rim se je mnogo listin »izgubilo«. Papeshke palache so popolnoma izropali in v njih naselili vojashtvo.
- ⁴⁷ »The totally *absurd* thesis of the so called 'late arrival' of the Slavs in Europe must be replaced by the scenario of Slavic continuity from Paleolithic«. Mario Alinei: *The Paleolithic Continuity Paradigm for the Origins of Indo-European Languages*, November 2014, <http://www.continuitas.org/intro.html>.
- ⁴⁸ Jurij Venelin tudi za Franke trdi, da so bili v 5. stoletju zhe kristjani in Slovani ter v ta namen citira sv. Hieronima. *Venelin (2009)*, str. 227 in 100.
- ⁴⁹ Domus valis Scti Johannis bapte in Slaunia.
- ⁵⁰ Seveda bomo zaman iskali pojasnilo zgodovinarjev, *kdaj* naj bi se v zgodovini poleg vseh drugih narodov v Evropi »pojaviло« tudi ime Slovenci ter kakšno je bilo takrat in je danes njihovo poimenovanje v *latinskem jeziku*.
- ⁵¹ »Daughter monasteries were founded in Oleshnica in Silesia (1380) and Kleparz near Krakow (1390). The last pre-Hussite Abbot Krizh (Crux) assumed the office in 1412«. Kubinova, Katerina (ed): *Slovanski klasbter Karla IV., / The Slavonic Monastery of Charles IV.*, Praga, 2016, str. 14.
- ⁵² »The name Emmaus first appeared in the late 16th century when the Slavonic community disappeared.» (Kubinova, 2016, str. 14). »The name «Emauzy» was derived from the gospel, according to which Jesus met with his disciples near the village of Emmaus ... Another version of the story says that «Emauzy» was derived from ... the castle owned by the *Czech queen Ema*«. (*Emauzy*, Prague Guide, <https://www.prague-guide.co.uk/emaуzy/>, 27.11.2015).
- ⁵³ *Emauzy Abbey*, History and Guide to the Monastery, Benediktinske opatstvi, prospekt, Praga, str. 9.
- ⁵⁴ *Emauzy Abbey*, str. 15.
- ⁵⁵ »A number of illuminated literary jewels were created here, including the so-called Reims Gospel-book and the *first complete translation of Jerome's Vulgata*,» (*Emauzy Abbey*, 2015).
- ⁵⁶ *Emauzy Abbey*, str. 7.
- ⁵⁷ *Cerkev sv. Mihaela na Ljubljanskem barju*; Damjan Prelovshek; ZRC-SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta; <https://uifs.zrc-sazu.si/sl/publikacije/cerkev-sv-mihaela-na-ljubljanskem-barju#v>.
- ⁵⁸ Cerkev sv. Mihaela na Ljubljanskem barju je Jozhe Plechnik postavil na *347 lesenih pilotih* (Jozhe Kushar: *Plechnikova cerkev sv. Mihaela na Barju*, Zhupnijski urad Barje, 1991; <http://www.zupnijabarje.si/plecnikova-cerkev-sv-mihaela.html>).
- ⁵⁹ Pri zasnovi cerkve je Plechnik za vzor uporabil *benediktinski samostan iz Beurona* (ZRC-SAZU, UZI Franceta Steleta: *Cerkev sv. Mihaela na Ljubljanskem barju*, <http://foto-https://uifs.zrc-sazu.si/sl/publikacije/cerkev-sv-mihaela-na-ljubljanskem-barju#v>).
- ⁶⁰ Beseda *ravena* pomeni isto kot *ravan*, *ravnina*, in je tudi del vzhodnoshtajerskega narečja: Maks Pletershnik, *Slovensko-nemshki slovar*, uredila Metka Furlan, Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2006, transliterirana izdaja slovarja iz leta 1894; drugi del, str. 373. Navedena beseda je tudi v naslednjih slovarjih: A. J. Murko 1832-1833, M. Cigale, 1880, *Vestnik*, znanstvena priloga »Zore«, 1873-5.
- ⁶¹ Med dokumenti, ki omenjajo letnico smrti, se leto 319 pojavlja vechkrat kot 420, kar bi lahko pomenilo, da predstavlja slednje samo zaokrozhitev nekoliko nezanesljivega podatka.
- ⁶² Posvet so organizirale Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti; univerze v Ljubljani, Gradcu in Varshavi; Srednjeevropska univerza na Dunaju (CEU); mednarodna mrežha Europa Renascens; projekt DANUBIUS (Université de Lille) in Institut des Sources chrétiennes; <https://www.teof.uni-lj.si/hieronymus-noster>.
- ⁶³ Slobodan Prosperov Novak: *Sv. Jeronim Dalmatinac*, Splitsko-dalmatinska zhupanija, Split, 2019.

⁴⁴ Shtruc, M., *Holy Roman Empire and the Slovenian Language*, SRP Magazine, October 2017, Issue 135/136, pp. 135–141.

⁴⁵ Jurij Venelin explained in detail why the events from the 8th century did not mean Christianization of Slovenes; *Ancient and Modern Slovenians*, Translated from Russian by Ana Brvar, Just Rugel, translated from Latin by Barbara Shega; Amallietti & Amalietti, Ljubljana, 2009.

⁴⁶ It is important that the Popes ruled from Avignon at that time. After the transfer of the papal headquarters to Rome, many documents were »lost«, the papal palaces were completely plundered and the military was settled there.

⁴⁷ Mario Alinei: *The Paleolithic Continuity Paradigm for the Origins of Indo-European Languages*, November 2014, <http://www.continuitas.org/intro.html>, (highlights and remark in brackets by M. Sh.).

⁴⁸ Venelin also claims that in the 5th century the Franks were Slavs and already Christians, and quotes St. Jerome, Venelin (2009), pp. 227 and 100.

⁴⁹ Domus valis Scti Johannis bapte in Slauonia.

⁵⁰ Some historians still do not understand the term »Slovene« and »Slavoniam« in Latin of that time and today.

⁵¹ »Daughter monasteries were founded in Olesnica in Silesia (1380) and Kleparz near Krakow (1390). The last pre-Hussite Abbot Cross (Crux) assumed to take office in 1412«. Kubinova, Katerina (ed): *Slovanski klasster Karla IV., / The Slavic Monastery of Charles IV*, Prague, 2016, p. 14.

⁵² »The name Emmaus first appeared in the late 16th century, when the Slovene community disappeared«, (Kubinova, 2016, p. 14); »The name 'Emauzy' was derived from the gospel, according to which Jesus met with his disciples near the village of Emmaus ... Another version of the story says that 'Emauzy' was derived from ... the castle, owned by the Czech queen Emma«. (*Emauzy, Prague Guide*, <https://www.prague-guide.co.uk/emauzy/>, 27 November 2015).

⁵³ *Emauzy Abbey*, History and Guide to the Monastery, Benedictine Abbey, Prospectus, Prague, p. 9.

⁵⁴ *Emauzy Abbey*, p. 15.

⁵⁵ »A number of illuminated literary jewels were created here, including the so-called Reims Gospel Book and the first complete translation of Jerome's Vulgate«, (*Emauzy*, 2015).

⁵⁶ *Emauzy Abbey*, p. 7.

⁵⁷ *Cerkev sv. Mihaela na Ljubljanskem barju / Church of St. Michael on the Ljubljana Marshes*; Damjan Prelovšek, ZRC-SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski institut Franceta Steleta, <https://uifs.zrc-sazu.si/en/publications/church-sv-mihaela-on-ljubljanskim-barju#v>

⁵⁸ Plečnik placed the Church of St. Michael at the Ljubljana Marshes on 347 wooden pilots, Jozhe Kushar: *Plečnikova cerkev sv. Mihaela na Barju / Plečnik's Church of St. Michael at Barje*, Parish Office of Barje, 1991, <http://www.zupnijabarje.si/plecnikova-cerkev-sv-mihaela.html>.

⁵⁹ In designing the church, Plečnik used the design of the Benedictine monastery in Beuron; ZRC-SAZU, UZI Franceta Steleta: *Cerkev sv. Mihaela na Ljubljanskem barju*, <http://photo-https://uifs.zrc-sazu.si/en/publikacije/cerkev-sv-mihaela-na-ljubljanskem-barju#v>.

⁶⁰ The word *ravena* means flat land or flat valley and is also a part of the East Styrian dialect: Maks Pletershnik, *Slovene-German Dictionary*, edited by Metka Furlan, ZRC Publishing House, ZRC SAZU, 2006, transliterated edition of the dictionary from 1894; second part, p. 373. The same meaning of the word is in the following dictionaries: A. J. Murko 1832-1833, M. Cigale, 1880, *Vestnik*, scientific supplement "Zore", 1873-5.

⁶¹ Among the documents, stating the year of death, the year 319 appears more often than 420, which could mean that the latter represents only rounding of somewhat unreliable information.

⁶² The symposium was organized by the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts; the Universities of Ljubljana, Zagreb, Graz, and Warsaw; Central European University (CEU); International Network of Excellence "Europa Renascens"; DANUBIUS Project (Université de Lille); and the Institut des Sources chrétiennes. <https://www.teof.uni-lj.si/hieronimus-noster-eng>.

⁶³ Slobodan Prosperov Novak: *Sv. Jerome Dalmatinac*, Splitsko-dalmatinska županija, Split, 2019.



Figure 1. *Historical Atlas of General and Folk History (Istoriski atlas za opшту i narodnu istoriju)*, assembled by St. Stanojević, Second revised edition, Gece Kona Publishing Library, 1 Knež Mihailova Street 1, Belgrade, 1931.

Pragenſi monaſterium conuentuale et clauſtrale ordinis ſancti Benedicti inſtituere et auctoritate poſſet apoſtolica ordinare, inſtitutis ibidem Abbate et fratribus, qui Domino famulantes diuina officia in lingua Slaonica duntaxat ob reuerentiam et memoriam glorioſiſſimi Confefſoris Beati Ieronymi Strydonienſis Doctoris egregii, et translatoris, interpretiſque eximii ſacre ſcripture de Ebraica in latinam et Slaonicam linguas, de qua ſiquidem Slaonica noſtri regni Boemie idioma ſumpſit exordium primordialiter et proceſſit, debeant futuris temporibus celebrare, ad quod ſiquidem Monaſterium conſtruendum et edificandum Parochialem Eccleſiam ſanctorum Coſme et Damiani in ſuburbiiſ noſtre ciuitatis Pragenſis predictae in Podſchal inter Wyſſegradum et Sderaz ſituatam, cuius ius patronatus ad Eccleſiam Wyſſegradenſem tunc temporis pertinebat, facta per nos dicte Eccleſie Wyſſegradenſi pro iure patronatus dicte parochialis Eccleſie reſtitutione et ſatiſſactione condigna duximus ordinandum, quam preſatam parochialem Eccleſiam in dictum Monaſterium clauſtrale et conuentuale ad honorem Dei, beatiffimeque Marie Virginis Matris eius, ac glorioſorum Ieronymi preſati, Cirullique, Methudii, Adalberti et Procopii Patronorum dicti Regni Boemie Martyrum et Confefſorum titulum et honorem, preſatum Archiepiſcopum requirimus et hortamur attente, iuxta commiſſionem a ſede apoſtolica ſibi factam erigi, et etiam exaltari inibi Abbate et fratribus auctoritate predicta inſtitutis, qui ſub regula et regulari habitu ordinis ſancti Benedicti, cui dictorum ſanctorum conuerſatio glorioſa ſuis tribuit temporibus quos adhuc per Dei gratiam retinet, ſpeciem et decorem in lingua Slaonica duntaxat futuris et perpetuis temporibus ob memoriam et reuerentiam preſati beatiffimi Ieronymi, vt ipſe in dicto regno velut inter gen-

Figure 2. From the diploma of Emperor Charles IV, founding the Slovene Monastery in Prague, by F. M. Pelzel, Kaiser Karl der Vierte, Prague, 1780

Milan Shtruc

SRECHNO NOVO LETO 3242 LJUBLJANSKE DOBE

Ljubljana je starejša od Rima

Verjetno je malo narodov na svetu, ki bi svojo zgodovino tako potvarjali v lastno škodo, kot se to dogaja pri nas.¹ Ameriški Slovenec dr. Edi Gobec zatrjuje, da je treba vzroke za to iskati v slovenski viktimizaciji, zaradi katere je pri njenih žrtvah vsaka omemba zgodovine ali drugih dejstev, ki se ne skladajo z ustaljenimi stereotipi, sprejeta s skepsjo ali celo s posmehom.² Podobno velja tudi za mite in legende, ki so sicer pomemben del vsakega narodnega izročila in identitete.

Tudi najstarejša grška in rimska zgodovina sta v velikem delu sestavljeni iz mitov in legend, med katerimi je grška legenda o Jazonovi ustanovitvi Emone povezana tudi z našimi kraji.³ Danes vemo, da so se sštevilne mitske zgodbe pogosto izkazale za opise resničnih dogodkov iz daljne preteklosti, ki so bili olepšani z mitološkimi dodatki, verjetno tudi zato, da so s tem zgodbe postale zanimivejše.

Starodavna zgodba pripoveduje, da naj bi v trinajstem stoletju pred našim shtetjem t. i. Argonavti pod vodstvom Jazona iz Tesalije s kraljichno Medejo in z zlatim runom zbezhali iz Kolhide. Potovali naj bi po Donavi, Savi in Ljubljani ter od tu nadaljevali pot do Jadranskega morja.⁴ Za to možno plovno pot naj bi Jazonu povedal njegov prijatelj Argos. Sicer pa naj bi bila argonavtska plovna pot dejansko odprta celo vse do 18. stoletja.⁵

Kar precej dejstev dokazuje, da v primeru Jazonove Emone ne gre za popolnoma izmisljeno zgodbo. Tako na primer starodavni opis poti Argonavtov prek nashega ozemlja za tisti chas neverjetno natanchno opisuje geografske znachilnosti, med katere zanesljivo sodijo znamenita *Postojnska vrata*, ki she danes najustrezneje povezujejo shiroko celinsko obmochje z Jadranskim morjem.

Podrobno o tem potovanju pishe Edvard Brown v svoji knjigi *Kratko porochilo o nekaj potovanjih na Madzharsko, Srbijo, Bolgarijo, Makedonijo, Tesalijo, Avstrijo, Shtajersko, Koroshko, Kranjsko in Furlanijo* iz leta 1673. Po Brownu so Argonavti svojo plovno pot zacheli v kraju Argos Pelasgicum v Tesaliji, pluli po rekah Ister (antichno ime Donave), Savi in Ljubljani ter se ustavili na Kranjskem. Avtor pravi, da je med svojim potovanjem od Dunaja na Shtajersko, Koroshko, Kranjsko, v Furlanijo in Benetke obiskal tudi glavno mesto Kranjske, slavno zaradi tega, ker so ga ustanovili Argonavti. Tako naj bi na svojem potovanju obiskal mesto njihovega odhoda iz Tesalije, kot tudi kraj njihovega pristanka, to je Ljubljano.⁶

Milan Shtruc

HAPPY NEW YEAR 3242 LJUBLJANA AGE

Ljubljana is older than Rome

There are certainly only a few nations in the world that would turn their history to their own detriment, as is the case with us.¹ American Slovene Dr. Edi Gobec argues that the cause of this is to be found in Slovene victimization. As a result, any mention of history or other facts that do not conform to established stereotypes is accepted by her victims with skepticism or even ridicule.² The same is true of myths and legends, which are otherwise an important part of every national tradition and identity.

Even the most ancient Greek and Roman histories are also largely composed of myths and legends, among which the Greek legend of the founding of Emona by Jason also relates to our history.³ Today we know that many mythical stories have often proved to be descriptions of true events from the distant past, which were made more attractive by mythological additions, probably also to make the stories more interesting.

An ancient story tells us that in the thirteenth century BC Argonauts led by Jason of Thessaly fled from Colchis with Queen Medea and a golden fleece. They were supposed to travel along the Danube, Sava and the Ljubljana river and from there continued their journey to the Adriatic Sea.⁴ Jason learned about this possible waterway from his friend Argos. Otherwise, this Argonaut's waterway was actually open even until the 18th century.⁵

Quite a few facts prove that in the case of Jason's Emona this is not a completely fictional story. For example, the ancient description of the Argonauts' route through our territory at that time is incredibly accurate in describing the geographical features, which include the famous Postojna Gate, which is still today the most adequate connection from the wide continental area with the Adriatic Sea.

Edward Brown writes about this voyage in detail in his book from 1673: *A short report of some voyages to Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola and Friuli*. According to Brown, the Argonauts began their voyage in Argos Pelasgicum in Thessaly, sailed along the rivers Ister (ancient name for Danube), Sava and Ljubljana and stopped in Carniola. The author says that during his trip from Vienna to Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Friuli and Venice, he also visited the capital of Carniola, famous for being founded by the Argonauts. Thus, on his journey he would visit the place of their departure from Thessaly, as well as the place of their landing, that is, Ljubljana.⁶

Avtor je prepričan, da naj bi Emono oziroma kasnejšo Ljubljano ustanovili Argonavti leta 1223 pred našim shtetjem, čeprav vechina drugih virov navaja leto 1222 kot letnico ustanovitve tega mesta.⁷

Tudi bizantinski cerkveni zgodovinar Sozomen ustanovitev prvega naselja na območju Emone pripisuje Jazonu in Argonavtom. Ti naj bi v 13. stoletju pred našim shtetjem pripluli po Savi in Ljubljani. Blizu izvira Ljubljane naj bi naleteli na barje in veliko jezero, kjer je zhivela mogochna mochvirska poshast. To naj bi Jazon v junashkem boju premagal in naj bi zato Ljubljana kot svoj zashchitni znak dobila zmaja. Ob tem je zanimivo, da she danes ne vemo, kakshna naj bi bila odrasla oblika chloveshke ribice iz postojnskega podzemlja. O tej lahko she vedno samo ugibamo, saj dejansko nikoli ne dosezhe svoje odrasle oblike.

Argonavti naj bi se ustavili tudi ob izvihu Ljubljane pri danashnji Vrhniku. Tam je bilo v antichnih chasih pomembno pristanishche, o chemer pricha tudi ime Nauport oziroma Nauportus, kot naj bi Vrhniko poimenovali zhe Argonavti. Ime naj bi sestavljali grshka beseda *nays* »ladja« in latinska beseda *portus* »pristanishche«.⁸ Argonavti naj bi tukaj ladjo razstavili, prenesli po kopnem do obale in nato nadaljevali pot v dezheo Italikov.⁹

Tudi ime mesta Emona ni izbrano nakljuchno, saj je bil Jazon v zgodbi o Argonavtih rojen v antichni provinci *Emonia* v Tesaliji, v danashnji Grchiji. Gre torej za precej logichno povezavo, po kateri naj bi Jazon novoustanovljeno naselje poimenoval Emona po imenu svojega rojstnega kraja.

Legenda o Argonavtih je bila v nashih krajih she dolgo chasa mochno prisotna, argonavtska ladja je bila upodobljena v grbu Ilirskega kraljestva (ustanovljeno 1816, v Avstrijskem cesarstvu), sedaj pa je v grbu Obchine Vrhnika.

Danes le redko kdo ve, da so Ljubljanchani poleg sploshno sprejetega shtetja let po Kristusi she do konca 19. stoletja shteli leta tudi po »ljubljski dobi« oziroma od ustanovitve Emone dalje. Takshen nachin shtetja ni bil nobena posebnost, saj so tudi Rimljani svoje shtetje let utemeljili na legendi o ustanovitvi Rima, pogosto pa so za zachetek shtetja uporabili kar nastop vladavine katerega od svojih vladarjev. Obchasnno se je podoben nachin uporabljal tudi kasneje. Tako je na primer nekaj chasa celo v Franciji kot izhodishche za shtetje let veljal zachetek francoske revolucije oziroma padec Bastilje.

Pri nas smo doslej po nepotrebnem iz zavedanja izrinili shtevilne mite in legende, ki bi lahko pomembno obogatile razumevanje nashe lastne preteklosti. Tudi v tem odnosu do mitske preteklosti se nashe okolje razlikuje od shtevilnih drugih, kjer mitologija pomeni pomemben del identitete in narodnega zavedanja.

The author is convinced that the Argonauts supposedly founded Emona, later Ljubljana, in 1223 BC, although most other sources cite 1222 as the founding year of this city.⁷

The Byzantine church historian Sozomen also attributes the establishment of the first settlement in the Emona area to Jason and the Argonauts. They were supposed to have sailed along the Sava and Ljubljanica River in the 13th century BC. Close to the source of the Ljubljanica, they are supposed to encounter marshes and a large lake where a mighty swamp monster lived. This is what Jazon was supposed to overcome in his heroic struggle and therefore Ljubljana should be given a dragon as his trademark. It is interesting to note that even today we still do not know what the adult form of the *Human fish* (*Proteus anguinus*) from the Postojna underground should look like. We can still only guess about this, as it never really reaches its adult form.

Argonauts are also expected to stop at the source of the Ljubljanica River near today's Vrhnika. In ancient times, there was an important port, as evidenced by the name Nauport or Nauportus, as Vrhnika was called by the Argonauts. The name should consist of the Greek word nays 'ship' and the Latin word portus 'port'.⁸ Argonauts were supposed to dismantle the ship here, transfer it by land to the coast, and then continue their journey to the land of the Italians.⁹

The name of the city of Emona was not chosen by chance either, as in the story of the Argonauts Jason was born in the ancient province of Emonia or Thessaly, in present-day Greece. So this is a pretty logical link, according to which Jason would name the newly established settlement Emona after his birthplace.

The legend of the Argonauts has long been widely regarded in our country as a myth with a realistic basis. Their ship was depicted in the coat of arms of the Illyrian Kingdom (established 1816, Austrian Empire), and is still now in the coat of arms of the Municipality of Vrhnika.

Today, few people know that in addition to the generally accepted counting years after Christ, until the end of 19th century the people of Ljubljana still counted years also after the foundation of Emona known as »Ljubljana counting«. This method does not differ from other similar counting, since also Romans based their counting on the legend of the founding of Rome. They also often used the beginning of the reign of their rulers to begin the count. Occasionally, a similar method was also often used later. For example, even in France, for some time the beginning of the French Revolution or the fall of the Bastille was considered as the starting point for counting years.

So far, many myths and legends have been unnecessarily removed from our consciousness, which could significantly enrich the understanding of our own past. Even in this relation to the mythical past, we differ from many other nations, where mythology forms an important part of identity and national awareness.

Dodatna zanimivost v zvezi z Jazonovo Emono je bil napis na kamniti ploshchi, vridani v steno stare zhupnijske cerkve Sv. Roka v ljubljanskih Dravljah. Zhal se je kasneje ploshcha po neki obnovi ali ob gradnji nove cerkve »izgubila«. Iz napisa na njej izhaja, da je bilo pri nas she v 17. stoletju v veljavi tudi rachunanje let po »ljubljski dobi«.

O tej ploshchi je pisal zhe Janez Vajkard Valvazor v *Slavi Vojvodine Kranjske*, kjer pravi: »Na predlog ljubljanskega kanonika Dolinarja so se zaobljubili ljubljanski gospodje in draveljska soseska, da bodo sezidali cerkev sv. Roku v chast. Kuga je takoj prenehala tako odsekano, da niti en chlovek ni vech za to boleznijo umrl. Zidanje so zacheli she v istem letu in v vechen spomin zaznamovali steno cerkve s temle napisom: 'Divo Rocho ad depellendos epidemicae morbos'«. ¹⁰

Ker je Valvazor vsebino napisa navedel le delno, je zhupnik Lojze Shtrubelj v svoji knjigi predstavil ves napis s prevodom iz latinskega v slovenski jezik: »Svetemu Roku, od Boga odbranemu zavetniku, da bi odganjal nalezljive bolezni: ne samo v njegovo chast zaradi zaobljube, da se bo tu v Dravljah sezidalo svetishche, ko je istotam l. 1644 razdivjano kugo pomiril, pogasil in zatrl, marvech tudi vso provinco Kranjske dezhele od kuge, ki je po Shtajerskem, Koroshkem, Hrvashkem in Gorishkem prav do sosednjih meja zhe tretje leto divjala in morila, otel, reshil in obvaroval, izkazuje svojemu zavetniku za mero in dokaz nebeshke mochi in chloveshkega upanja, pa tudi poznemu rodu v priporochilo mesto Ljubljana. *Krshchanske dobe 1682, kar je ljubljanske dobe 2904.*«. ¹¹

Po tem nachinu shtetja je Ljubljana torej znatno starejsa od Rima. Ker pa gre v obeh primerih za legendo, je vprashanje, zakaj naj bi bila tista o argonavtski ustanovitvi Emone manj »verodostojna« od tiste o ustanovitvi Rima, ki naj bi ga leta 653 pred n. sht. ustanovila dvojchka Romulus in Remus, zapushchena sinova boga Marsa, ki ju je dojila in vzgojila volkulja. ¹²

Zanimivo, da so si mnogi ljubljanchani she vse do pred nekaj vech kot stoletjem voshchili novo leto tudi po ljubljanskem nachinu shtetja let. ¹³ Ker letu 2020 po nashem shtetju ustreza leto 3242 po ljubljanskem shtetju, si lahko nedvomno zazelimo ne le Srechno novo leto 2020, ampak tudi ***Srechno novo leto 3242 po ljubljansko.***

An additional curiosity regarding Jason's Emona provided the inscription on a memorial tablet, built into the wall of the old parish church of *St. Rok* in Ljubljana Dravlje. Unfortunately, after some renovation or at time when a new church was constructed, the tablet was »lost«. The inscription on it shows that counting years after the »Ljubljana era« was in force also in the 17th century. Janez Vajkard Valvazor in *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola (Slava Vojvodine Kranjske)* wrote about this tablet: »At the suggestion of the Ljubljana's canon Dolinar, the nobles of Ljubljana and the community of Dravlje vowed to build the church in honor of St. Rok. The plague immediately stopped as cut off and not a single man died of this disease anymore. The erection began in the same year to eternally commemorate this event and they wrote on the church's wall the inscription: »*Divo Rocho ad depellendos epidemicae morbos*«.»¹⁰

As Valvazor cited the content of the inscription only partially, the parish priest Lojze Shtrubelj presented the entire inscription in his book, and translated it from Latin into Slovene: »Holy Rock, God's chosen patron, to chase away infectious diseases: not only to the vow that a sanctuary will be built here in his honor, because he calmed down, extinguished and suppressed the plague in Dravlje in 1644, but also the whole province of Carniola from the plague, which raged and murdered for the third year already in Styria, Carinthia, Croatia and Gorizia all the way to neighboring borders, abducted, saved and protected, to their patron, as proof of heavenly power and human hope, as well as in recommendation to later generations, city of Ljubljana. *Christian period 1682, which is 2904 of Ljubljana count.*«¹¹ According to this way of counting, Ljubljana is significantly older than Rome. However, since in both cases it is a legend, the question is why the one about the Argonaut's establishment of Emona would be less »credible« than the one about the establishment of Rome in 653 BC by the twins Romulus and Remus, the abandoned sons of the god Mars, who were breastfed and raised by a wolf.¹²

It is interesting that many Ljubljana citizens wished the New Year even until a century ago after the Ljubljana way of counting years.¹³ doubtedly wish us not only Happy New Year 2020, but also ***Happy New Year 3242 Ljubljana count.***

¹ Eno takih ponarejanj je tudi »ugotovitev«, da se je slovenski narod leta 1991 iz naroda prelevil v nacijo. Ni jasno, za kakšno »levitev« naj bi shlo, saj je nacija samo tujka z istim pomenom; France Verbinc: *Slovar tujk*, Cankarjeva založba v Ljubljani, 1968, str. 471.

² Slovenian American TIMES, *Leon von Caprivi, State Chancellor of Germany*; Vol. VI, str. 6, by Edward Gobetz: »As such, they have sometimes been stereotyped by writers, journalists and politicians of dominant nations as a "people without history; ... As anyone familiar with the consequences of victimization will easily understand, as victims of such stereotypes, quite a number of Slovenians have frequently humbly accepted them...«

³ Leta 2015 smo v Ljubljani proslavljali 2000-letnico ustanovitve Emone. Leto ustanovitve mesta naj bi temeljilo na zelo skromnih ostankih dveh kamnitih plošč, ki naj bi po sestavitvi potrjevali, da je bilo takrat v Emoni zgrajeno obzidje (*murum*). Fragmenta izvirata iz različnih plošč, ki sta bili najdeni na različnih lokacijah, izvirata iz različnih kamnolomov, različna je velikost chrk, presledki med vrsticami so različno veliki in različni sta tudi obliki obrobnic. Seveda pa tudi po sestavitvi obeh fragmentov besede *murum* ni možno najti.

⁴ Wikipedija poimensko navaja 85 članov argonavtske posadke, ki naj bi pluli z Jazonom; *Argonauts*, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Argonauts>, zadnja sprememba 1.1.2015 ob 15:14.

⁵ Tadej Bratok: *Ljubljanica, Tisoč obrazov zelene reke*, (iz članka, str. 23-24).

⁶ Božhidar Jezernik, *Potopis Edvarda Browna o Ljubljani iz leta 1673*; Ljubljana, glasilo mestne občine, nov.dec. 2004, str. 54-55.

⁷ Edvard Brown v *Kratkem poročilu o nekaj potovanjih ...* kot leto ustanovitve Emone navaja leto 1223, medtem ko vechina drugih virov navaja leto 1222 pred n. sht. Tako je bilo med drugim zapisano tudi na plošči iz draveljske cerkve. Podobno ustanovitev Emone v chas 1222 let pred n. sht. umeshcha tudi Janez Ludvik Schönleben v svojem delu o Emoni iz leta 1674.

⁸ *Vrhnika*, Wikipedija, http://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vrhnika#Prazgodovina_in_antika; zadnja sprememba 17.1.2015 ob 21:42.

⁹ *Emona*, <http://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emona>, zadnja sprememba 16.12.2014 ob 10:42.

¹⁰ Janez Vajkard Valvazor: *Slava Vojvodine Kranjske*, II. zvezek, knjiga 8, stran 820.

¹¹ Lojze Shturbelj: *Dravlje, iz starih korenin novo drevo*; Zhupnijski urad Dravlje, Ljubljana, 1981, stran 18 (poudarjeni del besedila po izboru M. Sh.).

¹² »It is said that Romulus and his twin brother Remus, apparent sons of the god Mars and descendants of the Trojan hero Aeneas, were suckled by a she-wolf after being abandoned, then decided to build a city ... (653 BC)«, *History of Rome*, Wikipedija, zadnja sprememba 29.12.2018 ob 23:01.

¹³ Marjeta Shterbenc: *Prebujena krajevna zavest v Dravljah*; Glasilo mestne občine Ljubljana, Chetrne skupnosti, ChS Dravlje, stran 58.

¹ One of such falsification is also the new »finding« that in 1991 the Slovene nation transformed from nation (narod) into nation (nacija), the latter being just a foreign word, also used in Slovene, but with the same meaning, (France Verbinc: *Slovar tujk*, Cankarjeva založba v Ljubljani, 1968, p. 471).

² Slovenian American TIMES, *Leon von Caprivi, State Chancellor of Germany*, by Edward Gobetz, vol. VI, p. 6: »As such, they have sometimes been stereotyped by writers, journalists and politicians of dominant nations as a 'people without history' ... As anyone familiar with the consequences of victimization will easily understand, as victims of such stereotypes, quite a number of Slovenians have often humbly accepted them ...«

³ In 2015, there was a celebration of the 2000th anniversary of Emona. This was based on very modest remains of two stone slabs, which after being assembled should confirm that a wall (*murum*) was built at that time in Emona. A closer investigation revealed that the fragments originate from different slabs, they are found at different locations, originate from different quarries, vary in letter size, line spacing, and also fringe shapes are different. Of course, even after composing these two fragments, the word *murum* could not be found.

⁴ Wikipedia lists 85 members of the Argonaut crew, who are scheduled to sail with Jason; *Argonauts*, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Argonauts>, last modified on 1 Jan 2015 at 15:14.

⁵ Tadej Bratok, *Ljubljana, Thousand Faces of the Green River*, (from article, pp. 23-24).

⁶ Bozhidar Jezernik, *Edward Brown's Travels of Ljubljana in 1673*, Ljubljana, newsletter of the municipality, Nov. Dec. 2004, pp. 54-55.

⁷ Edward Brown in *The Short Report on a Few Journeys ...* states the year of Emona's foundation in 1223 BC, while most other sources cite the year 1222 BC. This was among other, recorded on a memorial plate in the church of Dravlje. Similarly the foundation of Emona in 1222 BC was stated by John Ludwik Schönleben in his work on Emona in 1674.

⁸ *Vrhnika*, Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vrhnika#History_and_Antics; last modified 17 Jan 2015, at 21:42.

⁹ *Emona*, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emona>, last modified 16 Dec 2014, at 10:42.

¹⁰ Janez Vajkard Valvazor: *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola*, II volume, book 8, p. 820.

¹¹ Lojze Shtrubelj: *Dravlje, a new tree from the old roots (Dravlje, iz starih korenin novo drevo)*, Dravlje Parish Office, Ljubljana, 1981, p. 18 (highlighted by M. Sh.).

¹² "It is said that Romulus and his twin brother Remus, apparent sons of the god Mars and descendants of the Trojan hero Aeneas, were suckled by a she-wolf after being abandoned, then decided to build a city ... (653 BC)«, *History of Rome*, Wikipedia, last modified 29 Dec 2018, at 23:01.

¹³ Marjeta Shterbenc: *Awakened Local Consciousness in Dravlje*, Newsletter of the City of Ljubljana, Chetrtne skupnosti, CS Dravlje, p. 58.

Translated by author

Jaka Jarc

BODLEIAN JUNIUS XI

O anglosashkem rokopisu iz 10. stoletja, ki ga poznamo pod imenom
MS Bodleian Junius XI
in o kontekstu njegove pesniskhe obravnave biblijskih zgodb, I. del

Uvod

Kadarkoli moram sestaviti kratko komunikativno besedilo o anglosashki literarni zgodovini, se mi zachuda pisanje ustavi. Nato skochim na glavo v morje zanimivih literarnih dokazov, ki osvetljujejo nek neznani delček anglosashke socialno-kulturne miselnosti. Strastno tipkam dokler se ne zaletim v misel o naravi mojega notranjega obchinstva. Globoko namrech verjamem v pomembnost konteksta. Dandanes kontekst ni v modi, prisega se na navidezno jasnost informacije same zase, navada pa je celo odmisлити chim vech podatkov in vladi nevednosti omogochiti chim boljše pogoje za rast. A v sebi verjamem, da se bodo chasi konteksta vrnili in zato mislim, da moram svojemu izbranemu obchinstvu, povedati vech o ozadju katere koli teme, o kateri pishem. Hkrati pa moram predvidevati, da moje izbrano obchinstvo nima predznanja o staroangleshki knjizhevnosti, o chudnem izumrlem jeziku, ki jo je ovekovechil, o pesniskih oblikah, ki jo konzervirajo nedotaknjeno in svezho skozi chas, o rokopisih in pisarski kulturi desetega stoletja. Privzeti moram, da ne ve veliko o prerodu staroangleshke pismenosti desetega stoletja, o Benediktinski reformi, in da ne pozna neverjetno spretnih umov shkofov Aelfrica in Wulfstana. Pri tem pa je vse to le majhen delček nenavadnega tujega anglosashkega sveta.

A vendar nochem pristopati elitistichno in z nekakshnega vishka, saj sem sklenil, da bo moje obchinstvo rado vedno in zhejno znanja; da so ga na obale neznanja le zanesli hitri tempo zhivljenja in pragmatiche instantne reshitve moderne dobe ter neustavljivi valovi dezinformacij, ki uspesno polnijo malomarno in povrshinsko urejeno vsebino Interneta, ki do nepozorne javnosti prispe zmalichena. Rad bi posvetil del zhivljenja obveshchanju tistih, ki jih zanimajo chuda sveta nashih prednic in prednikov. A pisana beseda je enosmeren in dvodimenzionalen medij, ki pogosto obvisi v samoti, brez prave povratne informacije. Zato je tezhje najti izhodishche, kjer bi bilo mogoche zacheti obshiren pogovor. Kontekst si predstavljam kot morje, informacije predstavljene brez konteksta pa bolj kot potok ali reko, ki imata jasno zachrtano pot. Na morju lahko izberemo lastno smer, a che izberemo slabo, morda nikoli nikamor ne pridemo.

Jaka Jarc

BODLEIAN JUNIUS XI

About the Tenth Century Anglo-Saxon Manuscript known as
MS Bodleian Junius XI

And the Context of its Unique Poetic Takes on Biblical Stories, part I

Introduction

Whenever I am tasked with producing a short and accessible text about Anglo-Saxon literary history, I often find myself surprisingly stumped. I dive, head first, into some interesting literary evidence illuminating an obscure part of the Anglo-Saxon socio-cultural mind-set. I get carried away, typing passionately, but sooner or later the memory of my inner audience comes crashing down. You see I am a firm believer in the significance of context. These days context is out of fashion, face value is all the rage, and even here data is carefully omitted to allow the reign of ignorance to wax. But I believe context is due a comeback, and accordingly I think my audience, whoever he or she may be, need to be told more about the background of my chosen issue. My inner audience cannot be assumed to possess previous knowledge of Old English literature, the strange extinct language eternalizing it, the poetic form conserving it to remain fresh for consumption, manuscript, or the scribal culture of the 10th century. They must be presumed ignorant of the Old English literary revival of the 10th century, the Benedictine reform, and the strangely capable minds of bishops Aelfric and Wulfstan. And that's not even scratching the surface of the strange and foreign world that is Anglo-Saxon England.

This is not intended to be elitist, I decided my audience will be curious and thirsty for knowledge, merely abandoned on the shores of ignorance by the fast pace and pragmatic quick fixes of our times and the rampant misinformation abounding in the negligent superficial edited content that is the Internet, mishapen and presented to the unwary public at large. I would like to spend a part of my life informing these curious about the wonders of our great forefathers and mothers. But, the written word is a one-sided and two-dimensional medium, which often lacks feedback. This makes it harder to identify the vantage point for such a vast discussion. In my mind contextual knowledge is like a sea. Whereas information presented without context is more akin to a stream or river with perceivably clear itinerary. At sea, we choose our own path, but if we choose poorly, we may never get anywhere.

Tako skusam zdaj razloziti kako staroangleshka knjizhevost odseva vrednotni sistem in socio-kulturno miselnost anglosashkih avtorjev in njihovega obchinstva. Da bi ju priblizhal svojemu she neinformiranemu obchinstvu, moram povedati, da so bili anglosasi germanski priseljenci na Britansko otochje, ki so domnevno ob propadu rimske province Brittanie priskochili na pomoch tedanji etnichni meshanici romaniziranega britanskega prebivalstva, bojda v bran proti keltskim ljudstvom. Naj nalashch obidem preobshirno vprashanje, kaj zajema germanskost, in poudarim, da so do druge polovice 20. stoletja mnogi zaman prizadevno prechesavali srednjeveshke vire, v iskanju neizrechenega o germanskem poganstvu; ko pa je bil Hitler premagan, so s trdim delom in disciplino ta romantichna iskanja vechinoma opustili in se osredotochili na tisto, kar v besedilih dejansko pishe, pa cheprav krshchanskega. Tako so akademiki varno z razdalje objektivnosti obravnavali vire kot rokopise, poezijo, jezikoslovne zakladnice, umetnishka dela, celo arheoloshke dokaze. Na teh temeljih lahko zdaj v njih ishem tisto, chesar prej nismo znali razbrati, da opustim varno zavetje pozitivistichne navidezne jasnosti informacije same zase, in se, opremljen z poznavanjem preteklih zmot, in kompleksnih akademskih vzporednic na podrochjih teologije, literarne kritike ipd., trudim poglobljati zavedanje o tem, kako literatura lahko osvetli korenine nashe civilizacije in ostane she danes uzhitkonosna. A za uspeh si bom shtel zhe, che mi le malo uspe komu sporočiti, kako pomembno je opazovati stvari v njihovem kontekstu in natanchno ter kritichno.

Zhal pa je to tezhka naloga, nit zgodovinske zgodbe pa neskonchna. Zato tokrat v svet poshiljam del uvoda moje doktorske naloge, saj upam, da bo to razmeroma preprosto delo dobra odskochna deska in nekakshen prazvir, iz katerega bom lahko chrpal nadaljnje zapise o pesnishki zgodovini Anglosasov. Moj namen je zacheti vechjo zbirko del, ki bodo razumljiva vsem radovednim. Tako spet nekako zachenjam na sredini, kot se za zgodovinske pripovedi spodobi, in vas vabim da se seznanite z rokopisom iz desetega stoletja, ki ga ljubko imenujemo MS Bodleian Junius XI, po knjizhnici Bodleian library, kjer ga hranijo in po njegovem uredniku iz 17. stoletja, anglo-nizozemskemu akademiku Franciscusu Juniusu.

Bralki ali bralcu svetujem, naj si izposodi ali na spletu poishche modernen angleshki prevod pesmi Junius XI, saj teh ne bom v celoti obnavljal, ampak bom prilozhnost izkoristil za prikaz, kako natanchno in poglobljeno delo je potrebno, preden si akademik lahko dovoli sprejeti sklep. Zavedam se da vsi radi poishchemo nakljuchne povezave, ki temeljijo na pomanjkljivih informacijah. Pravzaprav tega v neki meri slej ko prej postane kriv vsak mediaevist, saj ni moch vedeti kateri in koliko virov nam manjka. Vendar pa, chetudi sprejmemo omejitve fizike in smrtnosti, se ne smemo prepustiti lenobi ter skupaj zlozhiti prvih dveh kosov sestavljanke, ki nam omogochata, da nekako zlozhimo svoj sklep. To vodi k ozkoumju, v demokratichno urejenem svetu pa ozkoumje sploshne javnosti mochno shkodi civiliziranemu in konstruktivnemu nachinu zhivljenja.

So here I am, trying to explain how Old English literature reflects its authors' and perhaps its late Anglo-Saxon audience's value system and socio-cultural basis of their interaction. For this to be accessible to my as yet uninformed audience, I need to start by explaining, that the Anglo-Saxons were Germanic settlers of the British Isles coming in after the collapse of the Roman province of Britannia to assist the strange melange of peoples we now call the Romano-British, most probably against the (less Romano-) Celtic peoples. I need to quickly pass by the issue of what is Germanic, but stress that scholars prior to the second half of the 20th century worked hard to parse medieval Germanic literary texts for the unsaid in search of the heroic and pagan, but then, after Hitler was defeated, through hard work and cruel discipline largely abandoned these romantic notions, turning in stead to what the texts are actually saying, though t be Christian. And here we stand, scholars having safely observed texts from a plethora of angles – as manuscripts, as poetry, as linguistic treasures, as works of art, even as archaeological evidence. Now I parse the texts for context, juxtapose it with other texts, again slightly abandoning the positivist harbour of face value, but attempt to fit myself with the knowledge of previous erroneous wanderings, the new understanding of the complex scholarly parallels in the fields of theology, literary criticism etc., and do my best to advance our understanding of how works of art such as literature can be informative of the roots of our civilisation today as well as a pleasure to read. But, if I achieve nothing else, I will consider it a success, if I manage to impart in some small way the significance of looking at context and doing so with precision and critically.

Alas, the task is hard, and the yarn of historic narrative has no end. So this time I am simply putting a part of the introduction to my doctoral thesis into the world to serve as a spring board and primal fount for my further accessible texts about the poetic history of the Anglo-Saxons. I hope it will be a beginning of a larger body of work, accessible to anyone who is curious. So I begin in the middle yet again, inviting you to get acquainted with a tenth century poetic manuscript, so beautifully dubbed MS Bodleian Junius XI, after the Bodleian library which takes care of it and its 17th century's own first editor, Anglo-Dutch scholar Franciscus Junius.

I advise the reader to borrow, or simply search the Internet for the English translations of the Junius XI poems, because I will not reiterate them entirely, but rather use this text as a chance to demonstrate precise and painstaking work that a scholar ought to perform before reaching conclusions. I am aware that we all like to find causal links based on scarcity of information; in fact any medieval scholar ends up guilty of the same because there is no way for us to know, what sources or in deed how many have been lost to us. However, though we may take into account physical and mortal limitations, we must not submit to laziness, and simply find two pieces of fact sufficient to form a conclusion. This leads to narrow mindedness, and in a democratic world, narrow mindedness of the general public is extremely detrimental to our civilised and constructive way of life.

Ugotavljanje konteksta biblijske poezije

V nadaljevanju sledi uvod moje doktorske dizertacije, v kateri ugotavljam, kako staroangleške pesniške parafraze Biblije, *Geneza A*, *Geneza B*, *Eksodus*, *Daniel in Kristus in Satan* iluminiranega rokopisa Junius XI konca 10. ali zacetka 11. stoletja konceptualizirajo druzbene interakcije. Izpostavil bom tiste odseke teh pesmi, kjer so bile druzbene situacije in obravnava posesti prikazane drugache, kot v Svetem pismu samem. Staroangleški pesniki so namrech svetopisemske zgodbe pogosto prirejali, bodisi z dodajanjem, izpushchanjem ali spremembami vsebinskih poudarkov. Takshna obravnava tvori svojstveno meshanico biblijskih vsebin in staroangleške pesniške oblike, sloga ter formulaike. Ta meshanica pa nudi edinstven vpogled v delovanje druzhbe: druzhbeno kulturno identiteto, pojmovanje pravice do domovine, pravice in dolzhnosti, ki urejajo hierarhichna razmerja in samo naravo avtoritete.

Naj na kratko obnovim vsebino dizertacije in tako poskrbim za potrebni kontekst. Najprej predstavim druzhbene koncepcije izrazhene v pesmih v relaciji do posesti; ta se v staroangleškem slovstvu pogosto pojavlja v tesni navezavi na druzhbene procese. Druzhbene pojave in procese obravnavam tako, da pregledam pojave materialne lastnine ter njen alegorichni simbolizem. Materialna lastnina je namrech v staroangleški literarni obravnavi pogosto njun skupni imenovalec. Lastnino delim na premichno in nepremichno. Pogledam, kako prenosljivost lastnine vpliva na kulturno identiteto Izraelitov v staroangleških pesmih in pravice ter dolzhnosti njihovih elit. Ta pristop se je izkazal kot posebno plodovit pri pesmih *Geneza A* in *Eksodus*, v katerih to ljudstvo nastopa predvsem v procesu migracij. Naslednje poglavje obravnava idejo pravice do posedovanja zemlje kot nepremichne lastnine in z njo povezane ideje domovine. Da bi predstavil koncept zemeljske posesti sem Izraelitsko ljudstvo opazoval zunaj procesa migracije, kjer je v pesmih fiksno naseljeno. V chetrtem poglavju lahko tako na prej postavljenih temeljih obravnavam hierarhichne odnose, zlasti podobnosti in razlike med odnosoma gospodar-suzhenj in gospod-podrejeni izrazhene v razlicnih delih pesmi Junius XI. V petem poglavju se ukvarjam z delovanjem avtoritete, kot so jo predstavili pesniki pesmi v rokopisu Junius XI s pomocjo dodajanja vsebin, ki jih njihovi Biblijski viri niso vsebovali. V tem poglavju sicer posest she vedno uokvirja druzhbene procese, a sama ni vech osrednji predmet obravnave. V tem zadnjem poglavju razprava ni vech usmerjena v posedovanje kot sredstvo druzhbenih interakcij, ampak obravnava avtoriteto kot abstrakten pojem, ki hkrati sluzhi kot okvir druzhbenih interakcij in uravnava ravnanje s posestmi v teku teh istih druzhbenih interakcij.

Determining the Context of Biblical Poetry

The excerpt before you is the introductory part of my doctoral dissertation examining how social interactions are conceptualised in the Old English vernacular biblical paraphrases contained in the late tenth- or early eleventh-century illustrated manuscript, MS Bodleian Junius XI: *Genesis A*, *Genesis B*, *Exodus*, *Daniel*, and *Christ and Satan*. I focus on those segments of the Junius XI poems, where scriptural depiction of social interactions and treatment of possessions departed from biblical accounts, altered by the Old English poets either through addition, omission, or change in emphasis. The poetic treatment of scriptural narrative in Junius XI presents an original blend of scriptural content and original Old English poetic form, style, and formulas. This blend promises to lend a unique perspective on social conceptions: social cultural identity, the notion of right to a homeland, rights and obligations regulating hierarchical relations, and the nature of authority.

To give you the necessary context, allow me to quickly reiterate my thesis. It began by examining how the poems frame social conceptions through their treatment of possessions, which feature heavily in social interactions and exchanges within Old English narrative. I frame my discussion of social exchanges and allegorical symbolism by examining instances of material possessions in the text. This is because material possessions are the common denominator of both. First, I focus on what I define as ‘moveable possessions’, namely items that can be uprooted and moved. Next I discuss in what way the capacity of the possessions to be moved is significant for the Israelites’ cultural identity and to the rights and obligations of its elites. This line of examination proves especially fruitful in *Genesis A* and *Exodus*, where the Israelite people are predominately depicted in migration. My third chapter discusses the right to possess land and the idea of homeland. The discussion moves away from the Israelite people in migration to the idea of the Israelite people in settlement shifting the focus to landed possessions. Chapter four examines hierarchical relations, its focus is on similarities and differences between the master-slave relationship and the lord-retainer relationship in different Junius XI treatments of scriptural narratives. Chapter five discusses the workings of authority, as imagined by the Old English poets of Junius XI and added to their scriptural sources. In this chapter possessions frame social interactions but are themselves no longer the focus of examination. This final chapter rounds up the discussion by shifting the focus of discussion from possessions as the means of social interactions to authority as an abstract notion, which simultaneously frames social interactions and governs the treatment of possessions themselves within these very interactions.

Dizertacija obravnava staroangleške družbene koncepcije kot literarne ideale, ki so vezani na krshchanske moralne imperitive, četudi so ti so skozi literarno obravnavo preoblikovani. Prilagodil so jih stilistichnim in tradicionalnim lastnostim staroangleške pesniskhe pripovedi, verjetno pa tudi predvidevanjem in prichakovanjem izhajajochim iz principov delovanja staroangleške družbe same. Moj namen ni bil oblikovati nekih splošnih zakljuchkov ampak le predstaviti nabor vpogledov. V interpretativni obravnavi pa sem zato moral vzeti v ozir tudi vpliv same pesniskhe oblike in simbolizma staroangleške poezije ter mukoma pridobljeno razumevanje in sposhstovanje poglobljenosti znanja teologije, ki so ga posedovali staroangleški pesniki in izsledke vrste zgodovinskih raziskav anglosashkih posesti.

MS Bodleian Junius XI

Vse shtiri pesmi, ki jih obravnavam so zapisane v enem rokopisu. Naj predstavim splošne informacije o tem rokopisu, njegovih dosedanjih izdajah, izdajah posameznih pesmi, o problemu datiranja rokopisa, vprashanju enovitosti rokopisa in seveda strokovni literaturi o teh pesmih, ki se navezuje na temo dizertacije.

Leta 1655 je nizozemski akademik Franciscus Junius prvich objavil rokopis Junius XI pod naslovom 'Caedmonova parafraza'. Celoto je obravnaval kot dolgo enovito pesnitev. Na podlagi jezikovnih in stilistichnih obravnav danes vemo, da je zbirka sestavljena iz vsaj pet posamichnih pesmi ki jih poznamo pod naslovi: *Geneza A*, *Geneza B*, *Eksodus*, *Daniel* in *Kristus in Satan*. Edino zadnja chrpa vsebino zunaj Stare zaveze ter poleg v krshchansko uradno potrjeno Novo zavezo sega tudi po apokrifnih virih. *Genezi A* in *B* pripovedujeta o tem, kako Bog ustvari vesolje in chloveka, o izgonu angelov iz raja, Satanovi tozhbi in njegovem delovanju, ki je privedlo do Adamovega in Evinega izгона iz Raja. Nato poroča o razvoju njunega chlovshkega potomstva, Bozhjih kaznih in ponastavitvah vesolja od Kajna in Abela pa vse do Abrahama. Naslednja pesem, *Eksodus*, je krajsha in pripoveduje o pobegu Mojzesovih Izraelitov iz Egipta in njihovem prechkanju Rdechega morja ter vstopu v obljubljeni dezhelo. Pesem *Daniel* pripoveduje o obdobju, ki so ga Izraeliti prezhiveli v Babilonskem suzhenjstvu, ko je Daniel skozi Bozhjo avtoriteto pridobil lastno avtoriteto, prikazhe Nebokadnezarjevo pot oblasti, njegove sanje, norost in vrnitev v Babilon. *Kristus in Satan* obravnava Kristusovo soochenje z Luciferjem, sprva v pushchavi, kot poroča Nova zaveza, nato pa apokrifno, v Peklu, kamor se Jezus poda v obdobju treh dni po krizhanju, da bi osvobodil dushe, ki so sicer zasluzhne, a bi ostale zunaj nebes, kamor je mogoche po krshchanski veri priti le skozi Njega. V vsebini je mogoche prepoznati nekakšno vseprisotno temo, ki so jo interpretirali na razlicne nachine, bodisi kot posledico liturgichne namembnosti, ali kot odraz strahov pred Sodnim dnem. V 9. stoletju je namrech izprichano preprihanje, da bo Bog sodil svetu leta 1000, le nekaj desetletij po izdelavi rokopisa Junius XI.

The thesis presents Old English social conceptions as literary ideals which are tied to Christian moral imperatives, though these have been transformed in their literary treatment; they were adapted at least to the stylistic and traditional traits inherent in Old English poetry if not to preconceptions and expectations of Anglo-Saxon society of the time. My intent was to assemble a collection of insights rather than to reach a single sweeping conclusion. Therefore my interpretation had to take into account the implications of form and symbolism of Old English poetry, our painstakingly gained appreciation of the depths of Christian knowledge among Old English poets, and the greatly evolved general historical understanding of individual types of possessions.

MS Bodleian Junius XI

The following discussion is focused on narratives contained within a single manuscript. I will here provide general information about the manuscript: its editions, the editions of poems, the issue pertaining to the dating of the manuscript then individual poems, the question of manuscript unity, and finally the scholarship on the poems that relates to my research question.

In 1655, the Dutch scholar Franciscus Junius first published the Junius Manuscript under the title 'Cædmon's Paraphrase.' He viewed it as a single long poem. Based on language and style currently the general consensus is that the collection consists of at least five separate poems: *Genesis A*, *Genesis B*, *Exodus*, *Daniel*, and *Christ and Satan*. The latter poem is the only one to derive its contents from outside the Old Testament, though it is in fact dipping into the pool of apocryphal biblical narrative, rather than exclusively the New Testament. *Genesis A* and *B* tell of God's creation of the Universe and Man (and woman), the expulsion of angels from paradise, Satan's lament and agency causing Adam and Eve's expulsion from Paradise. It goes on to report the evolution of their human progeny, God's punishment and resetting of his universe from Cain and Abel all the way to Abraham. *Exodus* is a short poem describing the wondering of Moses' Israelites escaping Egypt and their crossing of the red sea, reaching the Promised Land. *Daniel* treats the Israelites' Babilonian slavery, Daniel's rise in authority through God's authority, Nebuchadnezzar's authority, dreams, madness and return to Babylon. The *Christ and Satan* poem treat's Christ facing off against Lucifer, first in the desert as described in the New Testament, then, apocryphally, in Hell, where Jesus goes during the three days after his crucifixion to liberate souls, who were pure, but would have been kept from heaven, if they were robbed of the chance to enter through Him. There is a certain overarching theme, which has been interpreted in various way, from being prepared in liturgical order to being a reflection of the Domesday fears of the late 9th century. There is evidence of contemporaneous belief that the world would be judged in the year 1000, mere decades after the Junius MS is believed to have been produced.

Leta 1832 je Benjamin Thorpe izdal prvo berljivo verzijo besedila Juniusa XI pod naslovom *Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of the Holy Scriptures in Anglo-Saxon; with an English Translation, Notes, and a Verbal Index* [*Cædmonova metrična parafraza delov Svetih pism v Anglosasbini z angleškimi prevodom, opombami, in indeksom besed*].¹ Za njim so temeljito preiskali in opisali rokopis Sir Israel Gollancz leta 1927,² George Phillip Krapp leta 1931,³ in sorazemrno nedavno, leta 1996, Remley,⁴ ki se je v obravnavi omejil na parafraze Stare zaveze, ki tvorijo takoimenovano *Liber I*, izpustil pa je *Kristusa in Satana*. J. R. Hall je leta 1999 napisal izjemno kritično recenzijo Remleyeve *Old English Biblical Verse*, pri tem mu ni oporekal znanja, temveč nejasno argumentacijo in nekaj manjših pomanjkljivosti. Muirova digitalna izdaja *Junius XI*,⁵ vsebuje digitalne fotografije izvirnega rokopisa, njegove transkripcije, zraven pa tudi Kennedyjeve prevode pesmi.⁶ Ta edicija mi je dobro služila pri delu, saj omogoča računalniško iskanje po slikah dejanskega rokopisa, kar mi je omogočilo pregled izvirne pisave in ilustracij.

Literaturo, ki obravnava pesmi Stare zaveze kot enoto, so dopolnile izdaje posameznih pesmi, zlasti Doanovi zadaji pesmi *Geneza A* in *B*⁷ ter Lucasova izdaja pesmi Eksodus iz leta 1977.⁸ Ta je kronološko sicer sledila Irvingovi iz leta 1953,⁹ a je zatem Irving svoje raziskovanje posameznih aspektov *Eksodusa* v seriji komentarjev in dodatkov nadaljeval globoko v 1970ta leta.¹⁰ Najmlajši izdaji pesmi *Daniel* in *Kristus in Satan* sta Robert Finneganova *Christ and Satan*¹¹ in Farrellova *Daniel and Azarias*.¹² Doanovi izdaji pesmi Geneze sta vsebovali tudi komentarje vseh problemov obravnave rokopisa. Remleyeva *Biblical Verse* iz leta 1996 sicer ni zares edicija pesmi Junius XI, a odlično kritično pretrese strokovno literaturo o pesmih Stare zaveze (brez Kristusa in Satana), pri tem pa zajema tudi strokovno pisanje poznega dvajsetega stoletja.¹³ Nenazadnje pa moram omeniti tudi zadnjo izdajo v seriji publikacij o Juniusu XI, Daniel Anzelarkovo *Old Testament Narratives* iz leta 2011, ki je komparativno popolnoma uporaben prevod pesmi Juniusa XI na temo Stare zaveze z opombami, ki jih je mogoče primerjati s Kennedyjevimi.¹⁴ Vsi prevodi pesmi Juniusa XI vključno s tistimi v dodatku, so Kennedyjevi, a jih v svojih razlagah občasno pretresem ob Anzelarkovih in Bradleyjevih, kadar se to v argumentaciji izkazuje kot potrebno.¹⁵ Citirani odlomki iz Svetega pisma so vzeti iz Vulgate s prevodi iz Douay-Rheims Bible.¹⁶

II Pesmi: vsebina in kontekst

Prva pesem rokopisa *Geneza I* teče od vrstice 1 do 234, in opisuje stvarjenje. Nato jo prekinje *Geneza B*. Daljši del *Geneze A* sledi po koncu vrinka, in sicer od vrstice 851 do 2936, opisuje pa vsebino od izгона iz Raja do sklepa prilike o Abrahamovem zhrtvovanju Izaka.

In 1832, Benjamin Thorpe published the first readable text of Junius XI as *Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of the Holy Scriptures in Anglo-Saxon; with an English Translation, Notes, and a Verbal Index*.¹ Next, the manuscript was notably examined and described by Sir Israel Gollancz in 1927,² George Phillip Krapp in 1931,³ and more recently in 1996 by Remley⁴ who limited his discussion to the Old Testament Narratives making up the so-called *Liber I* and excluding *Christ and Satan*. J. R. Hall was extremely critical of Remley's *Old English Biblical Verse* in his 1999 review though he never reproached him for his knowledge, but rather for the lack of clarity of his argument and a few smaller omissions. Muir's digital edition of Junius XI,⁵ contains photographs of the original manuscript, transcriptions, as well as commentary and Kennedy's translations of the Junius XI poems.⁶ I used the digital edition as my main source for parsing the narratives because it includes photographs of the actual manuscript in searchable format and afforded me the option to examine the writing and the illustrations.

The scholarship examining the Old Testament poems as a whole has been augmented by editions of individual poems, especially Doane's editions of the *Genesis* poems⁷ and Lucas' 1977 edition of *Exodus*.⁸ Lucas chronologically followed Irving's 1953 edition;⁹ however Irving continued to develop his scholarship on *Exodus* in several subsequent comments and amendments well into the 1970s.¹⁰ The latest editions of the *Daniel* and *Christ and Satan* poems are Robert Finnegan's *Christ and Satan*¹¹ and Farrell's *Daniel and Azarias*.¹² Doane's editions of the *Genesis* poems included commentary on the larger manuscript issues. Though this was not an actual edition of the Junius XI poems, Remley's 1996 *Biblical Verse* critically revised the scholarship on the Old Testament narratives of Junius XI (excluding *Christ and Satan*) including that of the later part of the twentieth century.¹³ Finally I must mention the latest addition to the Junius XI publications, Daniel Anlezark's 2011 *Old Testament Narratives* which is useful as a translation of the Old Testament poems of Junius XI with notes to compare with Kennedy's.¹⁴ All the translations of the Junius XI poems featured in the thesis, including those in the Appendix, are from Kennedy's translation of the Junius XI poem, and are occasionally discussed alongside Anlezark's and Bradley's where the discussion calls for comparison.¹⁵ The scriptural passages in the original and translation are taken from the Vulgate and Douay-Rheims Bible.¹⁶

II. The Poems: Content and Context

The first poem of the manuscript, *Genesis A*, runs from lines 1 – 234, which describe the creation which is then interrupted by *Genesis B*. The majority of *Genesis A* then takes place after the conclusion of *Genesis B* and runs from line 851 to line 2936, from the expulsion from Eden to the conclusion of the episode of Abraham's sacrifice.

Med vrsticami 235 in 851 je neopazno vrinjena *Geneza B*, na mestu kjer bi pričakovali, da bo *Geneza A* opisala izvorni greh. Doane predlaga tezo, da je pisar sledil obstojechemu eksemplarju, v katerem sta bili *Geneza A* in *B* zhe združeni; meni, da je nastala potreba po interpoliranju, ker so bile dotichne strani *Geneze A* bodisi neberljive ali izgubljene.¹⁷

Z 2312 vrsticami je *Geneza A* najdaljša pesem rokopisa. Po obliki je bolj opisna kot, denimo, *Eksodus* ali *Kristus in Satan*. Ker Svetemu pismu sledi precej bolj neposredno kot druge pesmi, je precej lažje primerjati njene omembe lastnine s tistimi v Svetem pismu.¹⁸ Tudi nasploh je to pesem mnogo lažje primerjati s Svetim pismom, saj so podobnosti konsistentne in jih z lahkoto razpoznamo, zato lažje opazimo, kje je staroangleški pesnik zavil po svoje. Pomaga tudi, da je bilo o možnih drugih virih za to pesem napisane ogromno strokovne literature.¹⁹

Geneza B je staroangleška verzija kontinentalne stare Sashke pesmi. Njen obstoj je na podlagi besedilne analize Edward Sievers predvideval zhe leta 1875.²⁰ Dokaz je sledil devetnajst let pozneje, leta 1894, ko so v Vatikanski knjižnici našli *Genezo B*. Navadno se vrstice obeh pesmi shteje kar brez prekinitve, tako *Geneza B* obsega vrstice od 235 do 851. Enako jih shtejem tudi sam, a v svoji razlagi konsistentno pripisujem oznako *Geneza B*. Pesem je relativno kratka, in ne sledi Svetemu pismu, cheprav mestoma vključuje njegove dele. Za *Genezo B* velja, da je slogovno boljše kvalitete kot *Geneza A*.²¹ Vsekakor je pripovedno bolj dramatična in stilsko osredotočena na prvoosebno pripoved, njeni liki so zato tudi bolj plastični; kar pa je tu najpomembnejše, pri interpretaciji svetopisemske materije si vzame odločno vech svobode.

Pripoved obravnava Satanovo tozhbo, kot njegova motivacija za rezhiranje izgona Adama in Eve iz Raja, pa je predstavljen ponos. Na zacetku pesmi izvemo kako sta bila ustvarjena Adam in Eva, kako jima je Bog podelil v upravljanje Raj in bonitete, ki iz njega izhajajo. Kot je povedal Doane, je bila sama interpolacija bodisi stvar nujnosti ali izbire, z namenom v *Genezo A* umestiti zgodbo o padcu chloveka.²² To, da je bila pesem ustvarjena na tujem, očitno urednika ni ustavilo pri tem, da jo je vključil sredi pripovedi, zato jo tudi sam brez dvomov obravnavam ob boku drugih pesmi Juniusa XI. A prizadevam si, da bi konsistentno naznacheval do katerih zaključkov prihajam na podlagi *Geneze B* in te vzporejal z dokazi iz drugih pesmi.

Eksodus jes svojimi 590 vrsticami najkrajšha pesem rokopisa Junius XI. Podaja zgodbo o Izraelitih, ki na begu pred Egipčani prečkajo pushchavo in končno tudi Rdeche morje. Stilsko je ta pesem precej manj opisna kot *Geneza A* ali *Daniel*, a v zameno ponuja občutno vech alegorij in pesniskih podob. *Eksodus* vsebuje tudi dve t.i. patriarhalni digresiji umeshčeni v neprekinjen tok pesmi; prva obnovi zgodbo Vesoljnega potopa s posebnim poudarkom na zavezi, ki mu sledi, druga digresija pa prav tako cilja na zavezo, ko nas spomni na Abrahamovo voljnost zhrtvovati prvorojenega Izaka.

Between lines 235 and 851 *Genesis B* is seamlessly interpolated where the expected content of *Genesis A* would be the committal of the original sin. Doane suggests that the scribe was following an extant exemplar, which contained the *Genesis A* and *Genesis B* poems already in combination; he believes the exemplar necessitated the inclusion because the available version of *Genesis A* at the time was either unreadable or missing.¹⁷

With its 2312 lines, *Genesis A* is the longest of the Junius XI poems. Its form is more descriptive than that of, for example, *Exodus* or *Christ and Satan*. It follows scripture much more directly than the other poems do. This is why it is easier to compare its passages relating to possession to scripture.¹⁸ On the whole, this poem lends itself best to comparison with scripture since the similarities between the Vulgate and *Genesis A* are consistently identifiable and so it is easier to spot original additions on the part of the Old English poet. There is also plentiful extant scholarship on possible sources for the poets' additions other than the direct passage of the Vulgate.¹⁹

Genesis B is an Old English adoption of an Old Saxon poem. Edward Sievers had speculated its existence based on textual analysis in 1875.²⁰ This was conclusively proven nineteen years later in 1894, when the actual Saxon *Genesis* was discovered in the Vatican library. *Genesis B*'s lines are usually counted continuously with *Genesis A*; they run from 235 to 851. I count them in the same way, though consistently mark it *Genesis B* in my discussion. It is a fairly short poem and does not follow scripture, though it includes parts of its narrative. *Genesis B* has been perceived as superior in style to *Genesis A*.²¹ Its style is more dramatic, focused on first person speech with added plasticity of characters, and most importantly, its interpretation of scripture takes much more liberties.

At the centre of the poem is Satan's lament with pride presented as his motivation for leading of Adam and Eve into sin. The poem begins with the creation of Adam and Eve and God's grant of Paradise and its benefits into their possession. Doane viewed the interpolation as a matter of either necessity or choice allowing *Genesis A* to contain the Fall of Man story.²² The poem's foreign inception did not impact the editor's choice to include it mid-narrative, which is why I have no qualms about using it alongside the other poems of Junius XI. I do however strive to consistently remark which of my conclusions are tied to *Genesis B* and try to correlate any conclusions with evidence in other poems.

Exodus is the shortest of the Junius XI poems; consists of 590 lines of text relating the story of the Israelites' wandering through the desert and crossing the Red Sea. The style of the poem is much less descriptive than that of the *Genesis A* and *Daniel* poems but it contains considerably more allegory and imagery. *Exodus* also contains two so-called patriarchal digressions in a single continuous block of narrative; one recapitulates the story of Noah's Flood emphasising the ensuing covenant and the other recalls Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac.

Pesem vseskozi poudarja Bozhjo obljubo prihodnje sreče in rodno pravico Izraelitov do Obljubljene dezhele. Ti dve digresiji so nekateri skushali opredeliti kot interpolaciji, a danes velja konsenz, da sta bili vseskozi integralen del pesmi, ki povezujeta vrsto njenih notranjih tem.²³ V zgodnjem obdobju njene obravnave so menili, da patriarhalni digresiji motita tok pripovedi: Hugo Balg je celo predlagal, da bi ju obravnavali ločeno, kot pesem *Exodus B*.²⁴ Tudi Alois Brandl je predlagal, da bi ju obravnavali kot lastno delo in predlagal naslov 'Noah und andere Patriarhen'.²⁵ Sedgfield pasusa preprosto ni vključil v svojo izdajo in je celo kritiziral Krappa, da ga je. 26 W. P. Ker je digresijo označil kot neznosno, Charles Kenedy pa je menil, da prekinja pesniško sekvenco *Eksodus*.²⁷ Chetudi, kot je zapisal Hauer, lahko zavrachanje pasusa razumemo kot odraz stopnje znanja chasa, je sam menil, da gre za enovito pesem.²⁸ Termin digresija ostaja v rabi, navkljub prepričljivemu argumentu Richarda Marsdena, da sta pasusa v resnici integralnega pomena pri sporochilu, ki ga zheli pesem predati, o temelju pravice do Obljubljene dezhele, ki jo dosežejo na koncu pesmi, in da bi bilo treba izraz 'digresiji' zamenjati z izrazom 'ingresiji'.²⁹

Daniel shteje 764 vrstic. Pripoved se zachne za zasuzhnenjem Izraelitov in koncha nenadoma, z unichenjem zhrtvenih posod Izraelitov. Te naj bi predstavljale del Salomonovega zaklada v lasti Izraelitov. Pesem spet bolj dosledno sledi Svetemu pismu, a chrpa snov iz vech razlicnih knjig le-tega. Del svetega pisma, ki v Vulgati stoji pred knjigo Daniel, a se nanjo navezuje, je v pesmi zgoshchena v nekakshen uvod. Pesem zajema tudi dolgo verzijo pesmi treh mladenichev v pechi, vir iz katerega je chrpala pa je bila najverjetneje Himna in ne Danijel iz Vulgate.³⁰

Kristus in Satan izstopa med ostalimi pesmimi. Med drugim, ne obravnava dogodkov iz Stare zaveze in se ne navezuje na Vulgato. Kot shkof desetega stoletja Ælfric, si tudi urednik Juniusa XI ni pomishljal uporabiti apokrifov, kakrshen je na primer Pilatov Evangelij, ki velja za enega virov pesmi *Kristus in Satan*.³¹ Staroangleshka svetopisemska poezija enako rada posega po apokrifih kot po kanonu Svetega pisma. Kot pravi Biggs: "Anglosasi so podedovali tako zanimanje kot nezaupanje do apokrifov od latinskih cerkvenih ochetov zlasti Hieronima in Avgushtina."³² Po vsebini pa *Kristus in Satan* lepo dopolni cikel pesmi Juniusa XI. Sodni dan predstavi kot antipol stvarjenju v zacetku *Geneze A* in minljivemu trpljenju smrtnosti Izraelitskega tavanja v *Eksodusu* in *Danielu* doda katarzichen smisel, zraven pa v smislu vzorca objema zrcali serijo vsebinskih poudarkov z zacetka rokopisa, kot je na primer Satanova tozhba.

The emphasis throughout is on God's promise of future bliss and the hereditary right to the Promised Land. These parts of the narrative were, at various times, proposed to be interpolations but are now generally viewed as an integral part of the poem linking several of its themes.²³ Early on, the patriarchal ingressions were viewed as a disturbance in the poetic flow: Hugo Balg suggested treating the digressions excerpt separately as *Exodus* B.²⁴ Alois Brandl also proposed the ingressions be treated as a separate poem; he proposed the title "Noah und andere Patriarchen".²⁵ Sedgefield did not include the passage in his edition at all and even criticized Krapp for including it.²⁶ W. P. Ker called the digression "intolerable," and Charles Kennedy thought it interrupted the poetic sequence of *Exodus*.²⁷ Even though, as Hauer put it, the rejection by the early scholars can be understood given what was known at the time, he landed on the side of unity.²⁸ The term digressions remains in use, in spite of Richard Marsden's convincing argument that they are integral to the poem's intended message of the ancient right to the Promised Land, which is attained at the close of the poem and that the term 'digressions' should be replaced with 'ingressions'.²⁹

Daniel comprises 764 lines. The narrative begins with the enslavement of the Israelites and concludes abruptly with the destruction of the Israelite sacrificial vessels. These are perceived as a part of Solomon's treasure and as belonging to the Israelite people. It follows the Vulgate relatively closely but takes its matter from several of its books. The parts of the Vulgate preceding the beginning of *Daniel* are condensed into a short introduction to the poem's main narrative. *Daniel* also includes a long version of the song of the three Youths in the Furnace, which was proposed to have taken as its source, not the Vulgate, but the Canticle version.³⁰

Christ and Satan stands out from the other poems. Among other things it does not treat Old Testament narrative and is not dependent on the Vulgate as a source. The editor, like Ælfric, had no qualms about indiscriminately using New Testament Apocryphal matter such as the Gospel of Nicodemus, which has been identified as a possible source of parts of *Christ and Satan*.³¹ Indeed, Old English biblical poetry includes narratives of New Testament Apocrypha just as readily as canonical narrative. According to Biggs, »the Anglo-Saxons would have inherited both an interest in and a distrust of the Apocrypha from the Latin fathers, in particular Jerome and Augustine.«³² In content, however, *Christ and Satan* fits well in the cycle of the Junius XI poems. It presents doomsday as the antithesis to the creation in Genesis and provides catharsis to the transient mortal suffering of the Israelite wanderings of the *Exodus* and *Daniel* poems. It also echoes many contentual emphases from the outset of the manuscript, such as Satan's Lament.

III. Datiranje rokopisa Junius XI in njegovih pesmi

Rokopis Junius XI ni dokončno datiran. Zdi se, da je bil ob svojem nastanku premišljeno urejen; t.i. *Liber I* zajema prve štiri pesmi, ki zajemajo svojo snov v Stari zavezi, ne patudi pete *Kristus in Satan*, ki sama zase včasih imenovana *Liber II*. V celoti je pisana v enoviti inzularni minuskuli znachilni za otoshke rokopise poznega desetega stoletja, sledi enotni zasnovi razporeditve s stranmi vechinoma razdeljenimi v po shestindvajset vrstic.³³ Na podlagi paleografskih ugotovitev je Ker rokopis datiral v sam zachetek enajstega stoletja.³⁴ Francis Wormald je kopiranje rokopisa prisodil v drugo chetrtino enajstega stoletja, na podlagi prisotnosti 'skandinavske likovnega vpliva'.³⁵ Na podoben nachin je Doane datiral rokopis nekako v leto 1025,³⁶ prav tako Lucas.³⁷ Barbara Raw je dodala, da je bilo nekaj risb dodanih kasneje, morda celo 1100-1250.³⁸ Kot je leta 1996 zapisal Remley: »... njene pripombe glede prominentne razstavljenosti folianta (verjetno na podiju), torej morda ciljajo na Anglo-Normansko kultivacijo verzov v stari angleshchini, na katero poprej nismo sumili.«³⁹

Debata she ni konchana; leta 2002 je Leslie Lockett za datiranje rokopisa uporabil celostno analizo. Kot je zapisala: »Junius XI doslej she ni bil podvrzhen podrobni interdisciplinarni raziskavi, poizkusi da bi ga datirali na podlagi posameznih znachilnosti pa so proizvedli neskladne rezultate.« Zakljuchila je, da je bila zbirka Junius XI sestavljena nekako med leti 960 in 990.⁴¹ Doane zagovarja tezo, da je *Liber I* morda nastala na podlagi enega samega eksemplarja, ki pa ni vseboval pesmi *Geneza B*, ki naj bi bila dodana kasneje, ker naj bi bil del eksemplarja poshkodovan.⁴² Za eksemplar se predvideva, da je obstajal priblizhno stoletje pred nastankom Juniusa XI; tako naj bi vse te Svetopisemske pripovedi krozhile skupaj v pisni obliki tekom desetega stoletja, verjetno brez pesmi *Kristus in Satan*.⁴³

Datiranje same vezave je manj relevantno za obseg te razprave, a si zasluži kratek povzetek, kot prikaz tezhavnosti vrst datiranja, ki jih zahteva celo en sam rokopis. Stoddart obstojechi zvezek postavlja v petnajsto stoletje, s chimer se strinjajo tudi Gollanz, Timmer in nazadnje Doane.⁴⁴ Doane, ki je pisal leta 1978, je pristal na datiranje v petnajsto stoletje, kljub temu, da je imel dostop do Lucasovega (1977) sklepa, da je bila zadnja vezava izvedena zhe med 1025 in 1050.⁴⁵ Pacht in Alexander sta leta 1973 predlagala, da je bil rokopis ponovno preshit, in torej predvidoma nazadnje vezan okrog leta 1200. Na podlagi tehnicnih in stilistichnih dokazov je Barabara Raw pristala na 13. stoletju.

III. The Date of the Junius XI Manuscript and its Poems

The Junius XI manuscript has not yet conclusively been dated. The manuscript seems to have been thoroughly edited at its creation; the *Liber I* consists of the first four poems that treat Old Testament narratives and excludes *Christ and Satan*, which makes up the entirety of the so-called *Liber II*. It is written in a single insular minuscule hand typical of the late tenth century following a uniform layout, most pages being ruled for twenty-six lines.³³ On palaeographic grounds, Ker dated Junius XI to the turn of the eleventh century.³⁴ Francis Wormald dated the copying of Junius XI to the second quarter of the eleventh century, because of the presence of 'Scandinavian' artwork.³⁵ Similarly, Doane dated the manuscript to about 1025,³⁶ as did Lucas.³⁷ Barbara Raw has stated that some of the illustrations were added later, perhaps as late as 1100-1250.³⁸ As Remley put it in 1996: »... her comments regarding the prominent display of the volume (possibly on a lectern) thus perhaps suggesting a hitherto unsuspected Anglo-Norman cultivation of Old English verse.«³⁹

The debate is on-going; in 2002 Leslie Lockett applied integrated analysis to the dating of the manuscript. In her words: »Junius XI has not yet been the subject of a thorough, interdisciplinary analysis, and efforts to date it by individual features have produced discrepant results.«⁴⁰ She concludes that the Junius XI manuscript collection dates to between 960-990.⁴¹ Doane argues that there may have existed a single exemplar containing *Liber I* without the *Genesis B*, which was added later, its inclusion necessary because the exemplar was in part damaged.⁴² The exemplar is conjectured to have existed about a century before the construction of the Junius XI manuscript, which would have the scriptural narratives possibly circulating together in written form throughout the tenth century, though possibly without *Christ and Satan*.⁴³

The date of the binding is less pertinent to the scope of this thesis, but it deserves a very short recapitulation just to help us keep in mind the problematic nature of dating involved in examining even a single manuscript. Stoddart dates the current binding to the fifteenth century, a view accepted by Gollanz, Timmer and, more recently, Doane.⁴⁴ Doane, writing in 1978, decided for the fifteenth century in spite of having access to Lucas' (1977) argument for the latest binding dating to 1025-1050.⁴⁵ Pacht and Alexander in 1973 proposed that the re-sewing, and so presumably the latest binding, dates to c. 1200. Barbara Raw, based on technical and stylistic evidence, decided on an early thirteenth century date.⁴⁶

IV. Datiranje posameznih pesmi Juniusa XI: problemi in predlogi

Datiranja je vsesplošen problem pri staroangleshki poeziji, saj ta uporablja univerzalen pesniški jezik in standardne formule ter uveljavljene fraze, ne glede na to kdaj pesem nastane. Kot je razložila Elizabeth Tyler, je zaradi »izjemne stilistične stabilnosti staroangleshke poetike posamezne staroangleshke pesmi težko datirati in s tem umestiti v kronološki okvir,«⁴⁷ Splošne probleme datiranja staroangleshke poezije je detajlno razdelal Cronan leta 2004,⁴⁸ ki ga pogosto citirajo v relaciji do posamičnih pesmi.⁴⁹ Gre za naslednje probleme: ustvarjanje posamezne pesmi je odprt kumulativen proces brez določenega datuma ali kraja nastanka.⁵⁰ Tudi, če je mogoče datirati posamezne dele pesmi, recimo na podlagi jezika, narechja ali terminologije, ki označuje družbene hierarhije (na primer uvajanje tujih tērminov za družbeni status bodisi danskega ali norveskega izvora), to še ne pomeni, da lahko pesem tako datiramo tudi v celoti, oziroma da je bila pesem sploh v osnovi zamisljena v obliki, v kakršni je ohranjena. Ilustracija tega potencialnega problema, hkrati pa tudi dokaz zmožnosti akademske obravnave, je bilo osnovno predvidevanje, da sta pesmi *Geneza A* in *B* enotno besedilo, ki ji je sledila identifikacija *Geneze B* kot posebne interpolirane enote celo pred odkritjem dejanske izvirne pesmi.

Vechina *Geneze B* je v standardnem meshanem pesniškem narechju⁵¹ in jo je kot celoto v splošnem nemogoče datirati. *Terminus ad quem*, ki ga je predlagal Doane je nekako 1000-1025, kot najzgodnejši možen datum stvaritve pa navede leto 680; kot pripomne tudi Doane sam, je to enako, kot rechi, da gre za staroangleshko pesem.⁵² Ko predvideva, da je bila *Geneza A* vključena v eksemplar stoletje pred obstoječim rokopisom Junius XI, Doane naznachi, da je pesem v desetem stoletju obstajala v pisni obliki. Velik del *Geneze A* izprichuje besedne vzporednice z *Beowulfom*, *Eksodusom* in *Danielom*. Doane se v svoji edicije pridružuje mnenju, da bi lahko bila *Geneza A* sočasna z *Beowulfom*, a se ne strinja s tem, da je *Beowulf* zgodnjega nastanka.⁵³

Hipoteza, da je bila *Geneza B* interpolirana, je bila potrjena leta 1894, ko so odkrili Vatikanski rokopis, ki je vseboval dele dejanske Stare kontinentalno Sashke *Geneze*.⁵⁴ Če gre verjeti Doaneu, v tem trenutku zadnjemu resnemu uredniku pesmi, je bila staroangleshka *Geneza B* vključena v eksemplar Juniusa XI vsaj stoletje starejša kot Junius XI.⁵⁵ Doane se nasloni na kodikološke dokaze in zanika Timmerjevo hipotezo, da je bila *Geneza B* prvich vključena shele v zadnjo, torej obstoječo kopijo rokopisa *Junius XI*.⁵⁶ Prav tako dokazuje, da *Geneza B* ni bila prevedena v desetem stoletju, kot so predlagali Gordon Hall, Robert Priebsch in Thomas Ohlgren, ki so se v svojih argumentih naslanjali na ekstralingvistične analize.⁵⁷ Doane preprichljivo razdela proces prevajanja oziroma, kot se izrazi 'inskribiranja' Stare Sashke *Geneze*, ki je ohranil mnoge originalne besede, pri chemer so nekater skrajshane, da se skladajo s staroangleshkim metrumom.

IV. Dating Individual Poems of Junius XI: Issues and Suggestions

Dating is a common problem for all of Old English poetry, which adheres to poetic language and employs standard formulas and set phrases no matter the time of its creation. As Elizabeth Tyler explains, due to the »exceptional stylistic stability of Old English poetics, individual Old English poems are difficult to date and thus to fit into a chronological framework.«⁴⁷ The general issues of dating Old English poetry have been explained in detail by Cronan in his 2004 article⁴⁸ and are often echoed in relation to dating specific poems.⁴⁹ The issues may be recapitulated as follows: the creation of individual poems is an open ended accretive process with no single date or place of composition.⁵⁰ Even if parts of poems could be dated, for example on the basis of language, dialect, or terminology for social hierarchies (such as introducing foreign terms denoting ranks either of Danish or Norman origin) this is not proof of the dating of the poem as a whole, or that the poem even was initially composed in the form in which it is preserved today. An illustration of this potential problem, though also proof of the capacity of scholarly examination, is the initial assumption that *Genesis A* and *B* were a single text followed by the identification of *Genesis B* as a separate interpolated and imported poem even before the *Saxon Genesis* was discovered.

The bulk of *Genesis A* is written in a standard mixed poetic dialect⁵¹ and is generally impossible to date as a unit. The *terminus ad quem* proposed by Doane is 1000-25, while he proposes the earliest possible date to be 680; as Doane notes, this is nothing more than calling it an Old English poem.⁵² By proposing that *Genesis A* was included in an exemplar a century before the current binding of Junius XI, Doane implies that the poem existed in written form in the tenth century. A large part of *Genesis A* has been verbally paralleled with the *Beowulf*, *Exodus*, and *Daniel* poems. Doane in his edition agrees that *Genesis A* could be contemporaneous with *Beowulf*. However he does not agree with *Beowulf*'s early date.⁵³

The hypothesis that *Genesis B* is an interpolation was confirmed with the discovery of the Vatican manuscript containing parts of the actual Old Saxon *Genesis* in 1894.⁵⁴ According to Doane, at this time the poem's latest editor, the Old English *Genesis B* included in an exemplar for the Junius XI was at least a century older than Junius XI.⁵⁵ Doane leans on codicological evidence to refute Timmer's hypothesis that *Genesis B* was interpolated only at the time of the copying of Junius XI.⁵⁶ He also argues against the late tenth-century date of the *Genesis B* translation, which had been proposed by Gordon Hall, Robert Priebsch, and Thomas Ohlgren who based their individual cases on extralinguistic analysis.⁵⁷ Doane convincingly explains the process by which the Old Saxon *Genesis* was translated, or as he phrases it, 'inscribed', retaining many original words with some words shortened to fit Old English metre.

Doane pravi tudi, da je staroangleško obchinstvo razumelo staro sashchino, za *Genezo* pa meni, da je krozhila po anglosashki Angliji zhe leta 900, morda celo 850. Poudari, da, tudi che je bila pesem res vključena z namenom nadomestiti v eksemplarju poshkodovano ali nekako nezadostno svetopisemsko vsebino, to she vedno ne pojasni kako in na kakshen nachin je stara sashka pesem v osnovi prishla v anglosashko Anglijo.⁵⁸

Prvi nastanek pesmi *Eksodus* je Lucas datiral nekako med leti 700 in 800, menil pa je tudi, da je sorodna Beowulfu,⁵⁹ in se ni strinjal z Irvingom, ki je predlagal pozno sedmo ali zgodnejshe osmo stoletje.⁶⁰ Pesem deluje enovito in je oblikovno konsistentna, zaradi chesar so nekateri skushali najti njen edini vir; v poznem devetnajstem stoletju sta Groth in Mürkens predlagala *De transitu maris rubri*, pesem ki jo je v petem stoletju napisal Avitus, shkof iz Vienna.⁶¹ Vendar pa, kot navaja Irving, je leta 1911 Samuel Moore drugega za drugim ovrgel vse Mürkenove argumente.⁶² Lucas, ki se je zadnji lotil urejanja pesmi, meni, da je pravi vir *Exodus* kar »krshchanska tradicija, v okviru katere je pesem nastala« kot celota in nato izpostavi tri elemente krshchanske tradicije, ki jih je imel za primarne vire pesmi: Sveto pismo, svetopisemske komentarje in liturgijo.⁶³ Poslej ni she nihche predlagal alternativnega datuma nastanka pesmi, kar je le dodaten dokaz o tezhavnosti datiranja staroangleških pesmi.

Podobno, so tudi poskusi datiranja *Daniela* usahnili. Leta 1948 je Kemp Malone izvajal, da je bila pesem napisana v Northumbriji v osmem stoletju.⁶⁴ Ferrell pa v zadnji celoviti izdaji (1977) niti ni poskushal predlagati datuma nastanka.⁶⁵ Doane je preprichljivo ugotovil, da so morda predhodni uredniki she imeli dovolj svobode, da so lahko prihajali do »izchrpnih in samozavestnih zakljuchkov o sestavi in domovih svojih zbranih pesmi,« a je to postalo tezhje, ko je leta 1959 Kenneth Sisam objavil svoj temeljni chlanek 'Dialect Origins of the Earlier Old English Verse', v katerem je pojasnil, da je nemogoche razlochiti posamezne ohranjene plasti pesmi, ki obstaja le v eni kopiji.⁶⁶ Nenaden konec *Daniela* in odsotnost pripisa *fnit Liber I*, ki bi vzpostavil ravnovesje s pripisom *fnit Liber II, Amen* ob koncu *Kristua in Satana*, sta dva argumenta, s pomocho katerih so nekateri dokazovali, da pesmi *Daniel* v obstojechi obliki manjka konec;⁶⁷ Krapp je trdil, da je sicer mogoche, da se je ta izgubil iz obstojechega rokopisa, vendar pa je menil, da najverjetneje rokopis Junius XI ni nikoli vseboval parafraze celotne Svetopisemske zgodbe o Danielu, pa chetudi bi taka parafraza obstajala kje drugje.⁶⁸

Kristus in Satan izstopa na vech nachinov: v fizichnih lastnostih – zasnovi, rokopisu in velikosti strani – je razvidno, da je bila pesem dodana kasneje; Lucas je menil, da je bila ta pesem prej samostojna knjizhica, ki je krozhila neodvisno od ostalih, preden so jo vsihili v Junius XI.⁶⁹ To bi razlozhilo tudi nenaden konec pesmi *Daniel*.⁷⁰

He views Old Saxon as intelligible to the Old English audience and states that the poem circulated in Anglo-Saxon England as early as 900, possibly even 850. Finally he points out that even if the poem was included in order to stand in for scriptural matter which had been either corrupted in an exemplar or somehow not deemed sufficient, this does not address the question of how and in what way the Old Saxon poem came to circulate in Anglo-Saxon England in the first place.⁵⁸

For the original composition of *Exodus* an early date and similarity with *Beowulf* have been proposed by Lucas, who dated the poems to 700-800,⁵⁹ disagreeing with Irving who favoured the late seventh or early eighth century.⁶⁰ The poem exhibits a sense of unity and consistent form which is why attempts have been made to find a single source for the poem; in the late nineteenth century Groth and Mürkens proposed *De Transitu Maris Rubri*, written in the fifth century by Avitus, Bishop of Vienne.⁶¹ However, as Irving reports, in 1911 Samuel Moore demolished every one of Mürkens' arguments.⁶² Lucas, the latest editor, sees »the Christian tradition in which the poem must have been written« as the real source of the poem; he then points to three elements of the Christian tradition which were in his opinion the source for *Exodus*: the Bible, scriptural commentary, and the liturgy.⁶³ Later scholarship has not proposed an alternative dating, which I view as yet another testament to the difficulty of dating Old English poems.

Similarly the dating of *Daniel* has largely been left unaddressed ever since Kemp Malone in 1948 suggested an origin in early eighth-century Northumbria.⁶⁴ Farrell's latest edition (1977) of the poem never proposed a date at all.⁶⁵ As Doane reasoned, while previous editors had the freedom to construct »elaborate and confident conclusions about the composition and homes of their poems,« Kenneth Sisam's seminal 1959 article, 'Dialect Origins of the Earlier Old English Verse' pointing out that it is impossible to distinguish which preserved layers can be discerned in poems in a single existing copy made it difficult for later scholars to attempt the same.⁶⁶ The poem's abrupt termination, and the absence of a note *finit Liber I*, which would balance out the note penned in at the end of *Christ and Satan: finit Liber II. Amen*, have been used to argue that *Daniel* in its current form is incomplete;⁶⁷ Krapp maintained that a loss may have occurred in the manuscript, though he suggested that it was improbable that the Junius XI manuscript ever contained a paraphrase of the entire scriptural Book of Daniel, even if such a paraphrase existed elsewhere.⁶⁸

Christ and Satan stands out from the manuscript in several ways. Physical differences, the layout, handwriting and size of folia demonstrate that the inclusion of this poem was not simultaneous with the others; Lucas proposed that *Christ and Satan* was previously a separate booklet, which circulated autonomously before being added and bound into the Junius XI manuscript.⁶⁹ This would also account for *Daniel's* abrupt ending.⁷⁰

Barbara Raw pa se s Krappom ni strinjala; trdila je, da je bila pesem *Kristus in Satan* v rokopis vključena zhe vsaj, ko so rokopis zvezali v obstoječo vezavo, v trinajstem stoletju.⁷¹ Dodala je tudi, da so rokopis tudi v 12. stoletju she vedno brali.

Tako kot za *Eksodus*, tudi za *Kristus in Satan* niso identificirali enega samega vira. Wright je menil, da je v pesmi chutiti Irske vplive; prav tako je pesnik, ki je spesnil pesem *Kristus in Satan*, kot pesnik *Eksodus*, izkazal poglobljeno in obširno poznavanje Krshchanskega izročila.⁷² Glavno vprashanje obravnave pesmi *Kristus in Satan* je zhe dolgo njegova enovitost. Nekateri strastno zagovarjajo, da gre za nabor izsekov, drugi pa, da je pesem enovita.⁷³ Leta 1925 jo je Gollancz, ki se je strinjal s Clubbom, da je pesem enovita in delo enega pesnika, tematsko razdelil na dva dela: 'Zhalostinka padlih angelov' in 'Plenjenje Pekla', dodal pa je, da je dodan she tretji naknadni sklep pesmi, ki ga je poimenoval 'Skushnjava'.⁷⁴ Leta 1977, v edini bolj sodobni izdaji *Kristusa in Satana*, je Finnegan podal preprichljive dokaze za enovitost pesmi; s pomocjo analognih homiletichnih anglosashkih virov, je predstavil dramtichno tematsko strukturo, ki v treh delih nachrtno razvije Kristusa od vsemogochnega pa do chloveshkega lika, s katerim se je moch poistovetiti.⁷⁵

Enovitost rokopisa in izobrazhevalni namen

Pesmi rokopisa ni mogoche preucevati le vsako zase, temvech tudi kot enotno kompilacijo, ki jo je nachrtno zlozhila urednishka roka. V vsebini se kazhe koherenca teme in namena rokopisa, kar bom izvajal v tem poglavju. Dosedanji shtudij je identificiral mnoge faktorje, ki prichajo o enovitosti in sorodnosti tematik, vsebine, teologije in celo uporabe in namena pesmi vkljuchenih v rokopis. Zhe leta 1912 je Bright menil, da so bile prve tri pesmi rokopisa namenjene rabi v liturgiji za Veliko soboto. Njegov predlog tipoloshke serije ni vkljucieval pesmi *Kristus in Satan*, za katero je menil, da je bila dodana kasneje in ni bila nachrtovana kot integralni del prvotne zasnove. Leta 1927 je Bright nasprotoval njegovemu stalishchu,⁷⁷ kasneje, leta 1996, pa tudi Remley.⁷⁸ Rendall je leta 1974 izpostavil skupne elemente v epizodi 'Plenjenje Pekla' v pesmih *Eksodus* in *Kristus in Satan*.⁷⁹ Leta 1977 je Lucas pritrnil Brightovemu predlogu, da je bil rokopis namenjen rabi v liturgiji in interpretiral 'heofoncandel' – svecha neba – metaforo za sonce iz *Eksodus*, kot velikonochno svecho.⁸⁰ Barbara Raw se je leta 1978 pridruzila temu mnenju.⁸¹ Bolj pred kratkim, leta 2005, je Anzelark zapisal, da le patriarhalna ingresija v *Eksodusu*, ki govori o zhrtvovanju Izaka »nakazuje na možnost direktne povezave branj pri Velikonochnih mashah«,⁸² med tem ko je Lapidge leta 2006 menil, da je v celotnem Juniusu XI prisoten poudarek na simbolizmu krsta.⁸³ Danes prevladuje mnenje, da je bila sekcija *Liber I* zbrana nachrtno, z jasnim namenom uporabe, med tem ko naj bi bila *Kristus in Satan* dodana kasneje, bodisi nachrtno ali pa preprosto zato, da zakljuchi sicer odprt vsebinski dramaturshki lok od stvarjenja do sodnega dne.

Barbara Raw disagreed; according to her *Christ and Satan* was already included at the time the manuscript was re-bound in its current binding in the thirteenth century.⁷¹ She adds that the manuscript was still being read in the 12th century.

Like *Exodus*, *Christ and Satan* has no identified single source though Wright has suggested Irish influences; the *Christ and Satan* poet, like the *Exodus* poet, composed using a vast and varied knowledge of Christian lore.⁷² The central issue has long been the question of the poem's unity, resulting in a scholarly debate as to whether *Christ and Satan* is a collection of excerpts, or a single poem.⁷³ In 1925 Gollancz, agreeing with Clubb's assessment that the poem was a unit and the work of a single poet, divided it in two thematic parts: 'the lament of the fallen angels' and 'the harrowing of hell' and added that there was a third 'afterthought' which he dubbed 'the temptation'.⁷⁴ More recently, in 1977, Finnegan argued convincingly for a single poem in the only recent critical edition of *Christ and Satan*; by way of homiletic Anglo-Saxon analogues, he presented a thematic dramatic structure in three parts as purposefully developing Christ's character from omnipotent to a more relatable human character.⁷⁵

Manuscript Unity and Instructional Intent

The poems of Junius XI may be studied not only in isolation, but as a compilation purposefully chosen by an editorial hand. There is contentual evidence of some coherence of theme and purpose, which will be explored in this section. Scholarship has identified several unifying and common traits in theme, content, theology, and even use and intent of the poems at their inclusion into the manuscript. As early as 1912, Bright argued that the first three poems of Junius XI were intended for use in the liturgical service for Holy Saturday. He excluded *Christ and Satan* from his proposed typological series, noting that it was an unplanned later addition.⁷⁶ Gollancz quickly opposed him in 1927,⁷⁷ and in 1996 so did Remley.⁷⁸ In 1974 Rendall based part of his argument proposing common elements between *Exodus* and *Christ and Satan*'s Harrowing of Hell episode.⁷⁹ In 1977, Lucas joined Bright in interpreting the *beofoncandel* as the paschal candle, which he saw as further evidence for the intended liturgical use of the manuscript as a whole.⁸⁰ Barbara Raw concurred in 1978.⁸¹ Recently, in 2005, Anlezark stated that only the section of the patriarchal narrative in *Exodus* relating the sacrifice of Isaac »suggests the possibility of a direct connection to the Easter readings«,⁸² while in 2006, Lapidge generally agreed that in Junius XI there is an emphasis on the baptismal symbolism.⁸³ The prevailing view purports that at least the *Liber I* collection of Junius XI poems was a larger purposefully assembled unit intended for specific use, while *Christ and Satan* may have been added later, either by design or simply to fill a perceived void in the dramaturgical arch from creation to doomsday.

V rokopisu ni naslovov ali odstavkov, ki bi prekinjali tok verzov. Pri branju naglas, po sklopih izbranih glede na liturgichni cikel⁸⁴ in Lent,⁸⁵ bi obchinstvo she toliko tezhje znavalo posamezne pesmi kot samostojne enote. Kot je ugotovil Irving,⁸⁶ bi bilo pri branju pesmi po delih ter morda celo izven vrstnega reda, she tezhje razbrati razlike med pesmimi, oziroma bi se te obchinstvu ne zdele pomembne. Poslusanje pesmi po sklopih bi ustvarilo mochnejshi vtis uniformnosti in enovitosti, kot tiho branje posameznih pesmi, kakrshno poznamo danes.

Poleg tematske enovitosti rokopisa, je zanimiv tudi njegov morebitni namen. Pesmi bi lahko sluzhile mnogim namenom; po naravi so pouchne, svoje obchinstvo pa pouchujejo tudi o idealih druzhbenega obnashanja.⁸⁷ Zhe samo dejstvo, da je bila svetopisemska vsebina prirejena parametrom staroangleshkega pesnishkega zhanra, in ne le preprosto prevedena, kazhe na možno zheljo uparabe za učne namene. Pesmi Juniusa XI spadajo v shirsho in starejsho anglosashko pesnishko tradicije pouchevanja s pomocujo zhanrov domache literarne tradicije. Zhe za chasa meniha Bede chastitljivega so pri pouchevanju uporabljali razlichna besedila v domachem jeziku: »Beda je prepoznal veliko pomembnost uporabe domachega jezika za osnovno pouchevanje o veri in je nevedne duhovnike oskrboval z lastnimi angleshkimi prevodi molitev in ochenasha.«⁸⁸ V Angliji shtirje kodeksi, ki sestojijo v glavnem iz verzificiranih zgodb iz Biblije, napisani v poznem desetem in zgodnjem enajstem stoletju »predstavljajo precej vechji in bolj dodelan korpus poezije v domachem jeziku, kot ga najdemo na kontinentu.«⁸⁹ V tem korpusu je svetopisemska vsebina prilagojena anglosashkemu druzhbenemu in kulturnemu okolju; predstavljena pa je na dramatziran in zabaven nachin.

Pred vech kot shestdesetimi leti je Hardin Graig nakazal možnost namena pouchevanja v svoji obravnavi ciklichne drame Corpus Christi: »ochitno je, da obstajajo paralele med ciklichnimi dramami in velikimi verskimi epi srednjega veka.«⁹⁰ Woolf poudarja, da »chetudi so bili cikli premishljeno nachrtovani, avtorjev primarno niso zanimali liturgichni premisleki. Precej bolj pomemben se jim je zdel namen izobrazhevanja nepouchenih.«⁹¹ Pesmi Juniusa XI pogosto dramatzirajo svetopisemsko pripoved. Zdruzhevanje svetopisemske vsebine z zabavno pripovedjo v domachem jeziku ter obchinstvu znanimi pesnishkimi oblikami pesmim pa nudi podoben didaktichen efekt. Tudi Remley je verjel, da »moremo pesmi Juniusa XI brati kot odseve anglosashkih metod pouchevanja svetopisemskih vsebin.«⁹² Nedavno, leta 2008, je Conner izrazil enako mnenje, a je dodal, da poleg same didaktichne narave pesmi, se tudi njihova vsebina naslanja na didaktichne materiale, ki tako tvorijo tradicijo verovanja.⁹³ Conner jih je imenoval doktrinarne verske pesmi in jih v nachinu na katerega naslavljajo miselne procese vseh obchinstev primerjal s herojsko in bojno poezijo. Misel sklene s citiranjem Certauja, ki za pesmi reche »da se nagibajo bolj k sproshchujochim.«⁹⁴

(Konec prvega dela, uvoda v rokopis.)

There are no titles or paragraphs to disturb the flow of the verse across the manuscript. If read aloud divided according to the liturgical cycle,⁸⁴ and readings during lent,⁸⁵ the verse could have been read in topical clusters, making it still more difficult for the audience to perceive individual poems as autonomous. As argued by Irving,⁸⁶ reading the poems by parts, even out of sequence, would make the specific dissimilarities of individual poems even less likely to be perceived or appear relevant to the audience. If read out loud in clusters, the narrative of the manuscript would appear much more uniform and monolithic than if read to oneself, poem by poem, as the narratives are divided today.

In addition to their thematic unity, the scriptural paraphrases of Junius XI are also appropriate for my purposes because of their instructional nature and their inherent potential to relate the ideals of social conduct that they are trying to instil in its audience.⁸⁷ The mere fact that scriptural narrative was adapted to the Old English poetic genre, rather than simply translated, points to the possibility of an instructional intent. The Junius XI poems belong to a greater and older Anglo-Saxon tradition of scriptural instruction through vernacular genres. As early as Bede, separate vernacular texts had been composed for the instruction of the unlearned: »Bede saw the great importance of the use of the vernacular for basic instruction in the faith and provided ignorant priests with his own English translations of the creed and the Lord's Prayer.«⁸⁸ In England four codices mostly versifying biblical stories which were written in late tenth and early eleventh century »represent a much larger and more accomplished body of vernacular poetry than survives on the Continent.«⁸⁹ This large body reframes scriptural matter to the Anglo-Saxon social and cultural environment; it also presents it in a much more dramatic and entertaining way.

Over sixty years ago, Hardin Craig alluded to the question of the instructional intent of vernacular paraphrases in discussing the Corpus Christi cycle drama: »It is evident that a parallel exists between the cycles of plays and the great religious epics of the Middle Ages.«⁹⁰ Woolf emphasises that »whilst the cycles were consciously designed, the authors were not primarily moved by liturgical considerations. Far more important was the intention of instructing the unlearned.«⁹¹ The poems of Junius XI often add dramatization to the scriptural narrative. Combining scriptural narrative with vernacular entertainment and its familiar forms results in a similar didactic effect. Remley also believed that the »Junius poems may be viewed as reflexes of Anglo-Saxon methods of biblical instruction.«⁹² As late as 2008, Conner shared the same view but elaborated that apart from themselves being didactic, the poems are already based on didactic materials achieving a tradition of belief.⁹³ Conner dubs them »doctrinal religious poems« and compares them to heroic and battle poetry in the way they speak to the minds of all audiences. He goes on to define the poems by quoting Certeau as »situated on the side of relaxation.«⁹⁴

(End of part 1, introduction to the manuscript.)

Bibliografija / Bibliography

- Abrams, L. (2008), 'Germanic Christianities, 600-c. 1100', in Thomas F. X. Noble, Julia M. H. Smith, and Roberta A. Baranowski (eds.), *Cambridge History of Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Andersen, Hans E. (1991), *The Battle of Maldon: the Meaning, Dating & Historicity of an Old English Poem* (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen).
- Anlezark, Daniel (2011), *Old Testament Narratives* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press).
- Balg, Hugo (1882), *Der Dichter Caedmon und seine Werke* (Bonn).
- Battles, Paul (2000), »'Genesis A' and the Anglo-Saxon 'Migration Myth'«, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 29, 43-66.
- Biggs, F. M. (2003), 'An Introduction and Overview of Recent Work', in Kathryn Powell and Donald Scragg (ed.), *Apocryphal Texts and Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer), 1-25.
- Biggs, F.M., Hill T.D., Szarmach P.E., Hammond K. (ed.), (1990), *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version* (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 74; Binghamton, New York: Centre for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York).
- Brandl, Alois (1908), *Geschichte der altenglischen Literatur* (I; Strassburg).
- Breeze, Andrew (1993), 'Habakkuk 1:8 as Source for *Exodus* 161-69', *Neophilologus*, 77 (1), 161-62.
- Bright, James W. (1912), 'The Relation of the Caedmonian Exodus to the Liturgy', *Modern Language Notes*, 27 (4), 97-103.
- Calder, Daniel G. and Allen, Michael J. (eds.) (1976), *Sources and Analogues of Old English Poetry: the Major Latin Texts in Translation* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer).
- Certeau, Michel de (1988), *The Writing of History* (European perspectives; New York: Columbia University Press) xxviii, 368 p.
- Clubb, Merrel D. (1925), *Christ and Satan an Old English Poem* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
- Conner, P. W. (2008), 'Religious Poetry', in Philip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (ed.), *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Malden MA and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing), 250-67.
- Craig, Hardin (1912-13), 'The Origin of the Old Testament Plays', *Modern Philology*, 10 (4), 473-87.
- Cronan, Dennis (2004), 'Poetic Words, Conservatism and the Dating of Old English Poetry', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 33 (1), 23-50.
- Cross, J. E. and Tucker, S. I. (1960), 'Allegorical Tradition and the Old English Exodus', *Neophilologus*, 44 (1), 122-27.

- Day, Virginia (1974), 'The Influence of the Catechetical *Narratio* on Old English and Some Other Medieval Literature', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3 (1), 51-61.
- Doane, Alger N. (1978), *Genesis A: A New Edition* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press).
- (1991), *The Saxon Genesis: An Edition of the West Saxon Genesis B and the Old Saxon Vatican Genesis* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press).
- Earl, J. W. (1970), 'Christian Traditions and the Old English Exodus', *Neophilologische Mitteilungen*, 71, 541-70.
- Farrell, Robert T. (ed.), (1974), *Daniel and Azarias* (London: Methuen).
- Ferguson, Paul F. (1978), 'The Old English Exodus and the Patristic Tradition', PhD (Ann Arbor, Mich.).
- (1981), 'Noah, Abraham, and the Crossing of the Red Sea', *Neophilologus*, 65 (2), 282-87.
- Finnegan, Robert E. (1977), *Christ and Satan: a Critical Edition* (Waterloo Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press).
- Gollancz, Israel (ed.), (1927), *Caedmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry Junius XI in the Bodleian Library* (London: Oxford University Press).
- Green, B. (1971), 'Gregory's Moralia as an Inspirational Source for the Old English Poem Exodus', *Classica et Mediaevalia Kobenhavn*, 32 251-62.
- Groth, Ernst Johannes (1883), 'Composition und Alter der altenglischen (angelsächsischen) Exodus', Thesis.
- Hall, Gordon Gerould (1911), 'The Transmission and Date of Genesis B', *Modern Language Notes*, 26 (5), 129-33.
- Hall, J. R. (1975), 'The Building of the Temple in Exodus: Design for Typology', *Neophilologus*, 59 (4), 616-21.
- (1976), 'The Oldest English Epic of Redemption: The Theological Unity of MS Junius 11', *Traditio*, 32, 185-208.
- Hall, T. (2003), 'Ælfric and the Epistle to the Laodicians', in Kathryn Powell and Donald Scragg (ed.), *Apocryphal Texts and Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer), 65-83.
- (2008), 'Biblical and Patristic Learning', in Philip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (ed.), *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Malden MA and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing), 327-44.
- Hauer, S. R. (1981), »The Patriarchal Digression in the Old English 'Exodus', Lines 362-446«, *Studies in Philology*, 78 (5), 77-90.
- Hill, T. D. (1980), 'The Virga of Moses and the Old English Exodus', in John D. Niles (ed.), *Old English Literature in Context: Ten Essays* (Cambridge D. S. Brewer), 57-65.

- Hill, Thomas D. (2002), »Pilate's Visionary Wife and the Innocence of Eve: an Old Saxon source for the Old English 'Genesis B',« *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 101 (2), 170-84.
- Irving, E. B. (1953), *The Old English Exodus* (Yale Studies in English New Haven: Yale University Press).
- (1959), 'On the Dating of the Old English Poems Genesis and Exodus', *Anglia*, 77, 1-11.
- (1972), 'New Notes on the Old English Exodus', *Anglia: Zeitschrift für englische Philologie*, 90, 289-324.
- (1974), 'Exodus Retraced', in Jr. Robert B. Burlin and Edward B. Irving (ed.), *Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 203-23.
- Johnson, David F. (1998), »The Fall of Lucifer in 'Genesis A' and Two Anglo-Latin Royal Charters«, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 97 (4), 500-21.
- Keenan, H. T. (1970), 'Exodus 513; The Green Streets of Paradise', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 71, 455-60.
- Kennedy, Charles W. (1943), *The Earliest English Poetry, a Critical Survey of the Poetry Written Before the Norman Conquest* (London, New York).
- Kennedy, Charles W. and Caedmon (1916), *The Caedmon Poems, Translated Into English Prose* (London, New York: Routledge; Dutton).
- Ker, N. R. (1957), *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press).
- Ker, W. P. (1904), *The Dark Ages* (New York).
- Klaeber, Fr (1918), 'Concerning the Relation Between Exodus and Beowulf', *Modern Language Notes*, 33 (4), 218-24.
- Krapp, George P. (ed.), (1931), *The Junius Manuscript* (Anglo-Saxon poetic records, New York: Columbia University Press).
- Lapidge, Michael (2006), 'Versifying the Bible in the Middle Ages', in Jill Mann and Maura Nolan (eds.), *The Text in the Community: Essays on Medieval Works, Manuscripts, Authors, and Readers* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press), 11-40.
- Lockett, Leslie (2002), 'An Integrated Re-examination of the Dating of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 31, 141-73.
- Lucas, Peter J. (1977), *Exodus* (Cambridge: Methuen & Co Ltd.).
- (1979), 'On the Incomplete Ending of Daniel and the Addition of Christ and Satan to MS Junius 11', *Anglia*, 97, 46-59.
- Malone, Kemp (1948), 'The Old English Period (to 1000)', in A.C. Baugh (ed.), *A Literary History of England* (New York).

- Marsden, Richard (1995), »The Death of the Messenger: The ‘Spelboda’ in the Old English Exodus«, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 77 (3), 141-64.
- Martin, Ellen E. (1982), »Allegory and the African Woman in the Old English ‘Exodus’«, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 81 (1), 1-15.
- Moore, Samuel (1911), »On the Sources of the Old-English ‘Exodus’«, *Modern Philology*, 9 (1), 83-108.
- Muir, Bernard J. (2004) *A Digital Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11* [online text], Bodleian Library
- Ohlgren, Thomas H. (1975), »Some New Light on the Old English Cædmonian Genesis«, *Studies in Iconography*, 1, 38–73.
- Priebsch, Robert (1925), *The Heliand Manuscript Cotton Calligula A. VII in the British Museum* (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press).
- Raw, Barbara (1976), ‘The Probable Derivation of Most of the Illustrations in Junius 11 From an Illustrated Old Saxon Genesis’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 5, 133-48.
- (1984), »The Construction of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11«, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 13, 187-207.
- Raw, Barbara Catherine (1978), *The Art and Background of Old English Poetry* (London: Edward Arnold).
- Remley, P. G. (1996), *Old English Biblical Verse: Studies in Genesis, Exodus and Daniel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Rendall, Thomas (1974), »Bondage and Freeing from Bondage in Old English Religious Poetry«, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 73 (4), 497-512.
- Ritter, M. A. (1973), »The Angles and the Angels: A Study in the Correlation Between the Christian Doctrine of Spirits and the Aesthetics of the Anglo-Saxon Poems Genesis A and B, and Christ I and II«, PhD Thesis (University of Notre Dame).
- Sedgefield, W. J. (1923), *Specimens of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (Edinburgh).
- Sisam, Kenneth (1953), »Dialect Origins of the Earlier Old English Verse«, *Studies in the History of Old English literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 119-39.
- Steiner, Johann Wilhelm Georg (1889), »Über die Interpolation im angelsächsischen Gedichte ‘Daniel’«, Thesis.
- Steinmeyer, Elias von, et al. (1879), *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, 5 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann).
- Stoddart, F. H. (1887), »The Caedmon Poems in MS Junius 11«, *Anglia*, 10, 157—67.
- Thorpe, B. and Rogers, B. (1832), *Caedmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of the Holy Scriptures With an English Translation, Notes, and a Verbal Index* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London).
- Timmer, Benno J. (1948), *The Later Genesis* (Oxford: Scrivner Press).

- Trahern, Joseph B. (1975), »More Scriptural Echoes in the Old English Exodus«, in L.E. Nicholson and D.W. Frese (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation for John C. McGalliard* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame: University Press), 291-8.
- Tyler, Elizabeth M. (2006), *Old English Poetics: The Aesthetics of the Familiar in Anglo-Saxon England* (York: York Medieval Press).
- Weber, Robert and Gryson, Roger (eds.) (1969), *Biblia Sacra Vulgata Editio Quinta* (Stuttgart).
- Woolf, Rosemary (1972), *The English Mystery Plays* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Wormald, Francis (1945), »Decorated Initials in English Manuscripts from A.D. 900 to 1100«, *Archeologia*, (91), 107-35.
- Wright, Charles D. (1993), *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature*, eds Keynes S. and Lapidge M. (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- (1996), »The Blood of Abel and the Branches of Sin: Genesis A, Maxims I and Aldhelm's Carmen de uirginitate«, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 25, 7-19.

Opombe / Notes:

- ¹ Irving, The Old English Exodus; B. Thorpe and B. Rogers, Caedmon's Metrical Paraphrase.
- ² Gollancz (ed.), Caedmon Manuscript.
- ³ Krapp (ed.), The Junius Manuscript.
- ⁴ Remley, Old English Biblical Verse.
- ⁵ Muir, »A Digital Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11«.
- ⁶ Ibid.; Kennedy and Caedmon, The Caedmon Poems.
- ⁷ Doane, Genesis A; The Saxon Genesis.
- ⁸ Lucas, Exodus.
- ⁹ Irving, The Old English Exodus.
- ¹⁰ Irving, »New Notes on the Old English Exodus«; E. B. Irving, »Exodus Retraced«.
- ¹¹ Finnegan, Christ and Satan.
- ¹² Farrell (ed.), Daniel and Azarias.
- ¹³ Remley, Old English Biblical Verse.
- ¹⁴ Anlezark, Old Testament Narratives.
- ¹⁵ Kennedy, The Caedmon Poems; Bradley, Anglo-Saxon Poetry; Anlezark, Old Testament Narratives.
- ¹⁶ Weber and Gryson (ed.), *Biblia Sacra Vulgata Editio Quinta*; Challoner (ed.), *Douay-Rheims Bible*. Both are available online at <<http://www.latinvulgate.com>> [»Last accessed 30 August, 2015«].
- ¹⁷ Doane, Genesis A, p. 11.
- ¹⁸ The General consensus seems to be that most poets were well learned in Christian tradition including Irish and Patristic writing, whereas there were individual books of scripture these were not available in a unit: Remley, Old English Biblical Verse, p. 10. And what there was of

scripture was the Latin Vulgate: Biggs, »An Introduction and Overview of Recent Work«, p. 2; Hall, »Biblical and Patristic Learning«, p. 328.

[Splohni konsez je, da so bili vsi pesniki dobro poučeni o krshchanski tradiciji vključno z irsko in patristično literaturo. Obstajale so sicer posamezne knjige Svetega pisma, a ne skupaj v eni knjigi. Predvsem pa so imeli na voljo latinsko Vulgato.]

¹⁹ In addition to critical editions of individual poems there are several publications dealing with the possible sources of individual passages, for example: Biggs, Hill; Szarmach, Hammond (eds.), *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*; Calder and Allen (eds.), *Sources and Analogues of Old English Poetry*; Moore, »On the Sources of the Old-English 'Exodus'«; Battles, »'Genesis A' and the Anglo-Saxon 'Migration Myth'«; Hill, 'Pilate's Visionary Wife and the Innocence of Eve'; Johnson, »The Fall of Lucifer in 'Genesis A' and Two Anglo-Latin Royal Charters«; Raw, 'The Probable Derivation'; Ritter, 'The Angles and the Angels'; Wright, 'The Blood of Abel and the Branches of Sin'; Anlezark, 'Connecting the Patriarchs'; Breeze, 'Habakkuk 1:8 as Source for Exodus 161–69'; Bright, 'The Relation of the Cædmonian Exodus to the Liturgy'; Cross and Tucker, 'Allegorical Tradition and the Old English Exodus'; Earl, 'Christian Traditions and the Old English Exodus'; Ferguson, 'The Old English Exodus and the Patristic Tradition'; Green, 'Gregory's *Moralia* as an Inspirational Source'; Hall, 'The Building of the Temple'; Hill, 'The Virga of Moses'; Keenan, 'Exodus 513, The Green Streets of Paradise'; Klaeber, 'Concerning the Relation Between Exodus and Beowulf'; Martin, »Allegory and the African Woman in the Old English 'Exodus'«; Moore, 'On the Sources of the Old-English 'Exodus'«; Trahern, 'More Scriptural Echoes in the Old English Exodus'; Calder and Allen (eds.), *Sources and Analogues of Old English Poetry*.

²⁰ Sievers, *Der Heliand und die angelsächsische Genesis*; see also Doane, *The Saxon Genesis*.

²¹ Doane, *The Saxon Genesis*, p. 41.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

²³ Most notably Gollancz proposed to rearrange the three larger parts in a new order: I. Gollancz (ed.), *Caedmon Manuscript*. Brandl listed the Noah episode as a separate independent fragment under the name »Noah und Andere Patriarchen« in Irving, *The Old English Exodus*, p. 8. There is an excellent overview of the issue by Hauer, »The Patriarchal Digression in the Old English 'Exodus', Lines 362-446«. He, however, belongs among the proponents of the unity theory: Ferguson, »Noah, Abraham, and the Crossing of the Red Sea'«; Anlezark, 'Connecting the Patriarchs'«.

[Gollancz je predlagal celo nov vrstni red, v katerem bi se ti trije deli vrstili. Brandl je odsek o Noetu objavil kot posebno enoto. Hauer je objavil odlični pregled. Sam sicer zagovarja enovitost.]

²⁴ Balg, *Der Dichter Caedmon und seine Werke*, pp. 24-7.

²⁵ Brandl, *Geschichte der altenglischen Literatur*, p. 1029.

²⁶ Sedgefield, *Specimens of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*; he criticized Krapp in Sedgefield, »Review: The Junius Manuscript by George Philip Krapp«, pp. 352-5.

²⁷ Ker, *The Dark Ages*, pp. 176. 260-1; Kennedy, *The Earliest English Poetry*.

²⁸ Hauer, 'The Patriarchal Digression', p. 78.

²⁹ Marsden, 'The Death of the Messenger', p. 143.

³⁰ Steiner, »Über die Interpolation im angelsächsischen Gedichte 'Daniel'«, pp. 21-5.

³¹ Hall, 'Elfric and the Epistle to the Laodicians'; F. M. Biggs, 'An Introduction and Overview of Recent Work', p. 22.

³² Biggs, 'An Introduction and Overview', p. 11.

³³ Krapp (ed.), *The Junius Manuscript*, p. ix.

³⁴ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, no. 334, p. 406.

- ³⁵ Wormald, 'Decorated Initials in English Manuscripts from A.D. 900 to 1100'.
- ³⁶ Doane, *The Saxon Genesis*, p. 29; Doane, *Genesis A*, pp. 13, 18.
- ³⁷ Lucas, *Exodus*.
- ³⁸ Raw, 'The Construction of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11', p. 199.
- ³⁹ Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse*, p. 20.
- ⁴⁰ Lockett, 'An Integrated Re-examination of the Dating of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11', p.142.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 173.
- ⁴² Doane, *Genesis A*, p. 22.
- ⁴³ Doane, *The Saxon Genesis*, pp. 34, 48-9.
- ⁴⁴ Stoddart, 'The Caedmon Poems in MS Junius 11', p. 158; Gollancz (ed.), *Caedmon Manuscript*, p. xxxv; Timmer, *The Later Genesis*, p. 3; Doane, *Genesis A*, p. 6.
- ⁴⁵ Lucas, *Exodus*, p. 4.
- ⁴⁶ Raw, 'The Construction of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11', p. 205.
- ⁴⁷ Tyler, *Old English Poetics*, p. 157.
- ⁴⁸ Cronan, 'Poetic Words, Conservatism and the Dating of Old English Poetry'.
- ⁴⁹ Andersen, *The Battle of Maldon*; Liuzza, 'On the Dating of Beowulf'; Lockett, 'An Integrated Re-examination of the Dating of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11'.
- ⁵⁰ Tyler, *Old English Poetics*, p. 157.
- ⁵¹ Sisam, 'Dialect Origins of the Earlier Old English Verse'.
- ⁵² Doane, *Genesis A*, pp. 36-7.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.
- ⁵⁴ Doane, *The Saxon Genesis*, p. ix.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- ⁵⁶ Timmer, *The Later Genesis*, pp. 14-15.
- ⁵⁷ Hall, 'The Transmission and Date of Genesis B'; Priebisch, *The Heliand Manuscript Cotton Calligula A. VII in the British Museum*, p. 40; Ohlgren, 'Some New Light on the Old English Cædmonian Genesis', pp. 61-62; Doane, *Genesis A*, pp. 34, 49.
- ⁵⁸ Doane, *The Saxon Genesis*, pp. 49-54.
- ⁵⁹ Lucas, *Exodus*, p. 71.
- ⁶⁰ Irving, *The Old English Exodus*, pp. 23-5; Irving, 'Exodus Retraced', p. 209; Irving, 'On the Dating of the Old English Poems Genesis and Exodus'.
- ⁶¹ Groth, 'Composition und Alter der altenglischen (angelsächsischen) Exodus'; Mürkens, *Untersuchungen über das altenglische Exoduslied*.
- ⁶² Moore, »On the Sources of the Old-English 'Exodus'«; Irving, *The Old English Exodus*, p. 13.
- ⁶³ Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse*, pp. 53-8.
- ⁶⁴ Malone, 'The Old English Period (to 1000)'.
- ⁶⁵ Farrell (ed.), *Daniel and Azarias*.
- ⁶⁶ Doane, *Genesis A*, p. 25; he is recapitulating Sisam, 'Dialect Origins of the Earlier Old English Verse', pp. 119-39.
- ⁶⁷ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, p. 407; Hall, 'The Oldest English Epic of Redemption', p. 186; Lucas, 'On the Incomplete Ending of Daniel and the Addition of Christ and Satan to MS Junius 11', p. 52; Raw, 'The Construction of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11', pp. 187-207; Krapp (ed.), *The Junius Manuscript*.
- ⁶⁸ Krapp (ed.), *The Junius Manuscript*, pp. xxxi-xxxiii.
- ⁶⁹ Lucas, 'On the Incomplete Ending'. A more detailed description of the physical evidence to the poems late inclusion can be found in: Raw, 'The Construction', pp. 202-3; Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse*, pp. 21-22.
- ⁷⁰ Lucas, 'On the Incomplete Ending'.

- ⁷¹ Raw, 'The Construction', pp. 203-5.
- ⁷² Krapp (ed.), *The Junius Manuscript*, p. xxxv; Wright, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature*, p. 130.
- ⁷³ Clubb, *Christ and Satan an Old English Poem*; Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*; Sleeth, *Studies in Christ and Satan*.
- ⁷⁴ Clubb, *Christ and Satan*, p. xlvii; I. Gollancz (ed.), *Caedmon Manuscript*, p. cv.
- ⁷⁵ Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*, pp. 22-36.
- ⁷⁶ Bright, 'The Relation of the Cædmonian Exodus to the Liturgy'.
- ⁷⁷ Gollancz (ed.), *Caedmon Manuscript*.
- ⁷⁸ Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse*, p. 173.
- ⁷⁹ Rendall, 'Bondage and Freeing from Bondage in Old English Religious Poetry', p. 508. Harrowing of Hell is a designation for the typical medieval popular fable describing Christ's entering Hell not unlike a military commander freeing enslaved souls and winning them for the Kingdom of Heaven.
[Harrowing of Hell prevajam kot Plenjenje Pekla; gre za tipichno srednjeveshko temo, kjer Kristus vstopi v pekel kot nekakshen vojashki poveljnik, da bi osvobodil zasuzhnjene dushe ter jih odpelje v Nebeshko kraljestvo.]
- ⁸⁰ Lucas, *Exodus*, p. 50.
- ⁸¹ Raw, *The Art and Background*, pp. 1, 84.
- ⁸² Anlezark, 'Connecting the Patriarchs', p. 172.
- ⁸³ Lapidge, 'Versifying the Bible in the Middle Ages', p. 16.
- ⁸⁴ The idea was first presented in 1912 in Bright, 'The Relation of the Cædmonian Exodus to the Liturgy'.
- ⁸⁵ Raw, 'The Construction'.
- ⁸⁶ Irving, *The Old English Exodus*, p. 1.
- ⁸⁷ Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse*, p. 43.
- ⁸⁸ Day, 'The Influence of the Catechetical Narratio on Old English and Some Other Medieval Literature', p. 55. The four codices are: The 'MS Bodleian Junius XI', 'Cotton MS Vitellius A XV' (i.e. 'The Nowell Codex', sometimes informally referred to as the 'Beowulf Manuscript'), 'Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3501' (i.e. 'The Exeter Book'), 'Codex Vercellensis' (i.e. 'The Vercelli Book').
- ⁸⁹ Abrams, 'Germanic Christianities, 600-c. 1100', p. 127.
- ⁹⁰ Hall, 'The Oldest English Epic of Redemption', p. 189; he is referencing Craig, 'The Origin of the Old Testament Plays', p. 482.
- ⁹¹ Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays*, p. 75.
- ⁹² Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse*, p. 43.
- ⁹³ Conner, 'Religious Poetry', p. 260.
- ⁹⁴ Certeau and T. Conley, *The Writing of History*, pp. 273-4.

Damir Globochnik

EPIDEMIJE KOLERE NA KRANJSKEM LETA 1886

V srednjem veku so za najbolj smrtonosne veljale epidemije kuge, v 19. stoletju pa so evropsko prebivalstvo ogrozhale epidemije azijske kolere, ki so jo angleški vojaki leta 1829 prinesli iz Indije. Trebushna bolezen, ki je bila hitro nalezljiva in je povzročala nenadne, množične smrti, se je v dobrih šestih letih razširila po Evropi, Severni in Južni Ameriki. V Evropi je prva epidemija kolere izbruhnila leta 1831.

V obrambo pred kolero, ki se je leta 1831 razširila iz Ogrske, so avstrijske oblasti vzpostavile carinske nadzorne postaje in zdravstvene kordone, izolacijo okuzhenih predelov in druge varnostne odredbe. Kazni za nedovoljeno prečkanje kordona so bile stroge, od 5 do 10 let ječe. Dezhelo Kranjsko je prizadelo pet epidemij kolere v letih 1836, 1849, 1855, 1866 in 1886. Najhujshe so bile prve tri epidemije. Najbolj usodna je bila epidemija leta 1855. Tedaj so kolero k nam zanesli vojaki, ki so se vrachali iz Italije. Na Kranjskem je zbolelo prek 19.000 ljudi in 5.748 jih je umrlo (v Avstriji je tedaj zbolelo 662.814 ljudi, umrlo pa 270.915).¹

Shirjenju kolere ob epidemijah v letih 1866 in 1886 so se oblasti uspešno zoperstavile s higienskimi navodili (mdr. razkuzhevanje gnojishch in stranishch) in z drugimi ukrepi. Vsakega potnika iz krajev, v katerih se je pojavila kolera, je bilo potrebno takoj prijaviti policiji. Vsaka sumljiva oseba je tri dni ostala pod zdravstvenim nadzorom. Ob pojavu kolere je moral obchinski predstojnik nemudoma obvestiti okrajno glavarstvo, sklicati zdravstveno komisijo in poskrbeti za izolacijo bolnikov. Izkushnje so pokazale, da je bilo zapiranje dezhelnih, obchinskih ali krajevnih mej in kontumachne odredbe povsod neuspešno pri preprečevanju kolere in škodljivo za gospodarske razmere. Otrokom je bilo prepovedano hoditi v sholo v kraje, kjer je bila kolera; otroci iz krajev, kjer je bila kolera, niso smeli hoditi v sholo v tak kraj, ki she ni bil okuzhen. Che neugodne stanovanjske razmere niso omogochale izolacije bolnikov, so jih spravili v bolnice. Bolnike niso smeli prevazhati z vozovi, ki so bili namenjeni javnemu prevozu. Sumljive poshiljke so sezhgali. Osebe, ki so bile v stiku z okuzhenimi, so morale roke razkuzhiti s petodstotno karbonovo kislino. Poskrbeti je bilo potrebno za razkuzhevanje in chishchenje obleke, perila in posteljnine okuzhenih oseb.²

CHOLERA EPIDEMICS IN CARNIOLA IN 1886

While the deadliest epidemics of the Middle Ages were outbreaks of the plague, in the nineteenth century the population of Europe was faced with the menace of epidemics of Asiatic cholera, which British soldiers brought back from India in 1829. In just over six years, this infection of the lower intestine, which was highly contagious and caused sudden, mass fatalities, had spread throughout Europe and North and South America. The first cholera epidemic to strike Europe broke out in 1831.

In order to prevent the spread of cholera from Hungary in 1831, the Austrian authorities set up customs control stations and cordons sanitaires and ordered the isolation of infected areas and other safety measures. The penalties for crossing a cordon sanitaire without authorisation were severe: five to ten years in prison. The Duchy of Carniola was hit by five cholera epidemics: in 1836, 1849, 1855, 1866 and 1886. The first three epidemics were the worst, with the epidemic of 1855 proving to be the most deadly. On that occasion cholera was brought into the country by soldiers returning from Italy. More than 19,000 people in Carniola caught the disease, of whom 5,748 died (in Austria the figures were 662,814 sick and 270,915 fatalities).¹

The authorities succeeded in halting the spread of cholera during the 1866 and 1886 epidemics by means of clear instructions on hygiene (including the disinfecting of dungheaps and toilets) and other measures. Every traveller from areas in which cases of cholera had occurred had to be immediately reported to the police. Every suspect person was required to remain under medical supervision for three days. In the case of a cholera outbreak, the head of the local community was required to notify the district captaincy, convene a medical commission and ensure the isolation of patients – without delay. Experience had shown that closing provincial, municipal or local borders and issuing quarantine orders was not sufficient to prevent the spread of cholera and at the same time was harmful to the economy. Children were prohibited from going to school in areas where cholera was present, while children from cholera areas were not allowed to go to school in localities yet to be affected. If unfavourable housing conditions made the isolation of patients impossible, the latter were taken to the hospitals. Patients could not be transported by carriages or wagons that were used for public transport. Suspect packages were burnt. People who came into contact with infected individuals were required to disinfect their hands using a 5% solution of carbolic acid. The clothes, underwear and bed linen of infected patients had to be disinfected and washed.²

Poznavanje bolezni je napredovalo. Od leta 1883 je bilo po Kochovi zaslugi znano, da kolero povzroča bakterija, ki se širi z dotikom, bolnikovimi iztrebki, okuzheno hrano, neprekuhanim mlekom, onesnaženo vodo in muhami. Prenos po zraku ni mogoch. Za kolero so bili dovzетnejши ubozhnejши sloji, saj so zhiveli v krajih s slabimi higienskimi in komunalnimi razmerami.

Najuchinkovitejshe orozhje proti koleri so bile urejene higienske navade. Ljubljanski magistrat se je na izbruh kolere v Trstu junija 1886 odzval 5. julija 1886 z razglasom, ki je dolochal: *»Posebno pozornost obrachati je snazhnosti stanovanj, bishnega orodja, telesa, obleke, perila itd. Stanovanje je pridno snazhiti, prezrachevati in iz njih odstraniti vse smradljive stvari, ostanke jedil, mokro perilo, smeti in dr.; stranishcha, grebenichne jame je zmivati oziroma desinficirati; oblachilo in telesno perilo mora vedno chisto biti.«* Magistrat je Ljubljanchanom svetoval zmernost v hrani in pijachi; izogibati se je potrebno nezrelemu sadju, uveneli solati, kumaram, mastnemu ali pokvarjenemu mesu, slabo pechenemu kruhu, vsem tezhko prebavljivim jedem, kalnemu pivu in preobilnemu zhganju. Opustiti velja prevelike dushevne in telesne napore, *»obraniti pa srchnost in zaupanje, svariti se mora posebno pred vzhivanjem preservativnih sredstev, kapljic in tinktur proti koleri«*, saj niso uchinkovito zdravilo. Ob prvih znakih bolezni, zlasti ob bruhanju in driski, je potrebno poslati po zdravnika, medtem pa lechi v posteljo in piti kamelichin ali lipov chaj ter se izogibati hrani in drugi pijachi.³

Cesarsko-kraljevska dezhelna vlada za Kranjsko je 13. avgusta 1886 v posebnem razglasu objavila pojasnila o koleri in predpise za njeno preprechevanje in zatiranje.⁴ V razglasu z dne 20. avgusta 1886 je poudarila: *»Da se koleri, ako bi se zanesla v kakshen kraj, prepréchi nje daljshi razvoj, skrbeti je posebno za to, da se chista in snazhna ohranijo tla, pitna voda, stanovanja i. t. d. Zlasti morajo obchine, ako je mozhno vse, na vsak nachin pa vse mochnenje obljudene nesnazhne bishe, gostilne, prenochishcha i. t. d. v zdravstvenem oziru natanko pregledati in siliti na to, da se nemudoma odpravijo vse opazhene nepravilike, ter najmanj v 14 dneh znova zvrshiti ta pregled, da se prepriчhajo, so se li odpravile nepravilike ali ne.«*⁵

Chasniki so objavljali porochila o shirjenju kolere in shtevilo obolelih, mrtvih in ozdravljenih. Kolera, ki je razsajala v Italiji, se je nenadoma pojavila v Trstu decembra 1885 in ponovno izbruhnila junija 1886. Dopisnik chasnika *Slovenski narod* je na zacetku maja 1886 porochal: *»Kolera v blizhnjem Italiji jako vznemirja tukajshnje prebivalstvo, mnogo družin chaka na ugodno vreme, da zapuste Trst in se presele v lepe gorenjske kraje. Kolera se mnozhi, in je skoro po vsej Italiji razshirjena. Prizanesla je nam dve leti, a to leto bo tezhko izostala.«*⁶ Julija 1886 je iz strahu pred kolero Trst zapustilo 22.000 oseb. Vojake so iz vojashnic razporedili po zachasnih vojashnicah in shotorih.⁷ V mestu so prepovedali plese, sejme, romanja k bozhjim potem in procesijo sv. Telesa.⁸

Knowledge of the disease advanced. After 1883 it was known, thanks to research conducted by the German physician Robert Koch, that cholera was caused by a bacterium and transmitted via touch and from faeces, contaminated food, raw milk, contaminated water and flies. Airborne transmission does not occur. The poorer classes of the population were more susceptible to cholera because they lived in places with poor hygienic and sanitary conditions. The most effective weapon against cholera was good hygiene. The authorities in Ljubljana responded to an outbreak of cholera in Trieste in June 1886 with the following proclamation, issued on 5 July 1886: *»Particular attention should be paid to the cleanliness of dwellings, furniture, the body, clothes, linen, and so on. Dwellings must be carefully cleaned and ventilated and all malodorous articles, remains of food, wet linen, rubbish and so on must be removed; toilets and cesspits must be washed or disinfected; clothes and linen must always be clean.«* The municipal authorities advised citizens to eat and drink in moderation; to avoid unripe fruit, wilted salad, cucumber, fatty or rotting meat, imperfectly baked bread, all indigestible food, cloudy beer and excessive spirits. They also advised them to avoid excessive mental and physical exertions, *»while maintaining fortitude and trust«*. People should *»beware of taking preservative remedies, drops and tinctures against cholera«*, since these were not effective medicines. At the first signs of the disease, in particular vomiting and diarrhoea, people should send for the doctor, stay in bed and drink camomile or lime tea and avoid food and other drinks.³

On 13 August 1886 the Imperial-Royal Provincial Government for Carniola (*k.k. Landesregierung für Krain*) issued a special proclamation with information about cholera and regulations for its prevention and eradication.⁴ In a second proclamation, issued on 20 August 1886, it emphasised that *»In order to prevent the further spread of cholera once it has arrived in a locality, particular attention must be paid to ensuring that floors, drinking water, dwellings, and so on are kept clean and tidy. In particular, municipalities should carry out a careful sanitary inspection of, if possible, all houses, inns, guest houses etc., or in any case of all more densely populated and unclean establishments, and ensure the prompt elimination of all observed shortcomings. This inspection should be repeated after at least 14 days in order to verify whether or not said shortcomings have been eliminated.«*⁵

Newspapers published reports on the spread of cholera and the number of sick, dead and recovered. The disease, which was raging across Italy, appeared suddenly in Trieste in December 1885 and broke out again in June 1886. In early May 1886, the Trieste correspondent of the newspaper *Slovenski narod* reported: *»Cholera in nearby Italy is causing great alarm among the populace here, and many families are waiting for the good weather to arrive in order to leave Trieste and remove to the salubrious districts of upper Carniola. Cholera is increasing and has now spread throughout almost all of Italy. It has spared us for two years but it is hard to imagine it doing so this year.«*⁶ A total of 22,000 people left Trieste in July 1886 because of their fear of cholera. Soldiers from the city's barracks were billeted in temporary barracks and tents.⁷ The city authorities banned dancing, fairs, pilgrimages and the Corpus Christi procession.⁸

Gradishchansko glavarstvo je junija 1886 prepovedalo sejme, gorishko glavarstvo pa shode na bozhjih poteh na Sveti Gori, Mirenskem gradu in v Barbani ter tombolo v Gorici.⁹

Tudi na Reki je kolera povzročila paniko. Meshchani so bežhali v hribe ob karlovshki zheleznici, v Fuzhine, Delnice, Karlovac in Zagreb.¹⁰ Do sredine julija je zbolelo 85 ljudi, od tega jih je 39 umrlo. Na obali in po ulicah so vsak vecher kurili s katranom napolnjene sodove, s chimer naj bi chistili zrak. Trgovci so se pritozhevali, da ni tujcjev, veliko domachinov pa je zbezhalo in je blizhnja Opatija popolnoma prazna.¹¹

Avgusta 1886 so v Pivki (tedaj se je imenovala Shent Peter na Krasu) uredili revizijsko postajo, na kateri so carinski strazhniki pregledovali potnike iz Trsta in Reke ter njihovo prtljago. Na meji med Avstrijo in Italijo so menjavali vagone in prekajevali prtljago.¹²

Med ukrepi, ki so podobni tem, s katerimi smo se soochili ob epidemiji koronavirusa, so bile prepovedi mnozhichnih shodov, kot so romanja, procesije in sejmi. 42. chlen razglasa Dezhelne vlade za Kranjsko je dolochal: *»Dokler traje kolera v kakem kraji, ne sme se v njem in njega oblizhnji prouzrochiti nichesa, kar bi imelo za naslédek, da bi se ljudje v vechji množbici zbirali v tem kraji ali vrelj proti temu kraju. Slavnosti, procesije, ljudski zbori, semnji, zabavni vlaki i. dr. t. stvari so prepovedani.«*¹³

Okrajno glavarstvo v Radovljici je konec avgusta 1886 prepovedalo romanje na mali shmaren (8. september) na Brezje, Ljubno in na Bled.¹⁴ Pater Henrik Damish (1883–1958) je v zgodovini romarske poti na Brezjah zapisal, da se je obisk Brezij okrepil. Ljudje so hodili prosit Marijo, naj milostno odvrne morilsko bolezen.¹⁵

V Idriji so 8. septembra nameravali odkriti spominsko ploshcho na rojstni hishi ljubljanskega knezoshkofa Antona Alojzija Wolfa. Okrajno glavarstvo je slavnostnemu odboru prepovedalo, da bi na slavnost povabil drushtva in ljudi iz drugih krajev. Odbor je sklenil slovesnost prelozhiti na naslednje leto.¹⁶

Tudi okrajno glavarstvo v Kamniku je odpovedalo letni sejem. Domobransko poveljstvo v Gradcu je na predlog kranjske dezhelne vlade opustilo domobranske kontrolne zборе na Vrhniki (26. september) in v Ribnici (12. oktober). V Ljubljani so za sv. Krishtofom zgradili zasilno bolnico.¹⁷

Ukrepi so se izkazali za uchinkovite, saj se je epidemija omejila samo na shest krajev na Kranjskem. Zbolelo je 129 oseb, umrla je dobra polovica. Avgusta 1886 je v Hribu v občini Loshki potok zbolel neki delavec, ki je prishel iz Ricmanj.

In June 1886 the governor's office in Gradisca d'Isonzo announced a suspension of fairs, while the governor's office in Gorizia prohibited gatherings of pilgrims at Sveta Gora/Monte Santo, Mirenski Grad/Grado di Merna and Barbana, and banned the tombola in Gorizia.⁹

Cholera also caused panic in Rijeka. Citizens fled to the hills on either side of the Karlovac railway: to Fuzhine, Delnice, Karlovac and Zagreb.¹⁰ By the middle of July, 85 people had fallen sick and 39 had died. Barrels of tar were burnt every evening along the coast and on the city streets, since this was believed to purify the air. Shopkeepers complained that there were no foreigners in the city, that many of the locals had fled and that nearby Opatija was completely empty.¹¹

In August 1886 an inspection station was set up in Pivka (at that time called Shent Peter na Krasu – St Peter in the Karst), where customs officers inspected travellers arriving from Trieste and Rijeka and examined their baggage. Passengers changed carriages at the border between Austria and Italy and their baggage was fumigated.¹²

Among the measures similar to those we have seen with the current coronavirus epidemic were prohibitions of mass gatherings such as pilgrimages, processions and fairs. Article 42 of the proclamation of the Provincial Government for Carniola provided as follows: *»While cholera remains present in a locality, no event may be held there or in the vicinity that would result in a large number of people gathering in this locality or flocking to this locality. Celebrations, processions, popular gatherings, fairs, excursion trains and other such things are hereby prohibited.«*¹³

At the end of August 1886, the district captaincy in Radovljica prohibited pilgrimages to Brezje, Ljubno and Bled to mark the Nativity of Mary (8 September).¹⁴ Fr Henrik Damish (1883–1958) noted in his history of the Brezje pilgrimage that visits to the sanctuary there were increasing. People went to beseech the Virgin Mary to mercifully avert the deadly disease.¹⁵

In Idrija the unveiling of a commemorative plaque on the house where Anton Aloysius Wolf, Prince-Bishop of Laibach (Ljubljana), was born was due to take place on 8 September. The district captaincy prohibited the ceremonial committee from inviting groups from other towns to attend the ceremony. The committee therefore decided to postpone the ceremony to the following year.¹⁶

In Kamnik the district captaincy cancelled the annual fair. At the proposal of the Provincial Government for Carniola, the Landwehr Command in Graz cancelled musters of reserves in Vrhnika (26 September) and Ribnica (12 October). In Ljubljana a temporary hospital was constructed behind St Christopher's Church.¹⁷

The measures proved to be effective, since the epidemic was limited to just six localities in Carniola. A total of 129 people fell ill with cholera, of whom just over half died. In August 1886 a labourer from Ricmanje/San Giuseppe della Chiusa (near Trieste) fell ill in the village of Hrib, in the municipality of Loshki Potok.

Nato se je pojavila okuzhba na Igu, kjer so zboleli prisiljenci iz ljubljanske prisilne delavnice. Tudi na Vrhniko in v Veliko Ligojno sta kolero zanesli okuzheni osebi, ki sta prishli iz Trsta. V ljubljanski okolici je bilo nekaj posamichnih primerov kolere, ki so se vsi konchali s smrtjo. V Beli krajini se je pojavila samo v Gribljah v chromeljskem okraju.¹⁸

Epidemija kolere je bila obvladana do konca oktobra 1886. V Loshkem potoku po 19. oktobru ni bilo vech smrtnih zhrtev zaradi kolere, v Gribljah pa po 20. oktobru. V ljubljanski prisilni delavnici so okuzhbo odkrili 25. oktobra. Zbolelo je 15 prisiljencev, šest jih je ozdravelo in devet umrlo, zadnji 6. novembra. Od 3. novembra ni bilo novih primerov okuzhbe. Na Studencu je zbolelo 27 oseb. Od enajstih umrlih oseb je shlo za osem prisiljencev in tri domachine. Deset ljudi je ozdravelo, šest (paznik in 5 prisiljencev) pa se je zdravilo. Zdravnishka preiskava je 8. novembra 1886 pokazala, da je v Veliki Ligojni obolelo 11 oseb, v Zhazharju in na Vrhniki pa po ena oseba, 4 so umrle, 4 so se pozdravile, 5 pa jih je bilo na zdravljenju.¹⁹ Chetrtega novembra 1886 je ministrstvo notranjih zadev ukinilo zdravstvene naredbe, ki so veljale na meji med Avstrijo in Italijo.²⁰

¹ Po: Olga Jansha-Zorn, »Kolera na Kranjskem leta 1855«, *Kronika: Chasopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*, 1964, sht. 1, str. 60.

² Po: France Kobal, »O koleri na Kranjskem«, *Zbornik Slovenske matice*, Ljubljana 1911, str. 151–152.

³ Po: »Proti koleri«, *Novice*, 1886, sht. 28.

⁴ »Razglasilo c. kr. dezhelne vlade za Kranjsko z dne 13. avgusta 1886. l., sht. 2383 pr. s katerim se razglasha pouchilo o koleri«, *Dezhelni zakonik za vojvodino Kranjsko / Landesgesetzblatt für das Herzogthum Krain*, Ljubljana, 7. 9. 1886, 11. del, str. 48–62.

⁵ »Razglasilo c. kr. dezhelne vlade za Kranjsko z dne 20. avgusta 1886. l., sht. 2538 pr., o napravah zoper pretecho kolero«, *Dezhelni zakonik za vojvodino Kranjsko / Landesgesetzblatt für das Herzogthum Krain*, Ljubljana, 7. 9. 1886, 12. del, str. 65.

⁶ »Iz Trsta. 11. maja (Izv. dop.)«, *Slovenski narod*, 1886, sht. 107.

⁷ Po: »Trst«, *Slovenski narod*, 1886, sht. 163.

⁸ Po: »Iz Gorice 29. junija«, *Slovenski narod*, 1886, sht. 148.

⁹ Po: »Iz Gorice 15. junija«, *Slovenski narod*, 1886, sht. 135.

¹⁰ Po: »Primorska«, *Novice*, 1886, sht. 27.

¹¹ Po: »Z Reke se nam pishce«, *Slovenski narod*, 1886, sht. 163.

¹² Po: »Zdravstvene naredbe«, *Slovenec*, 1886, sht. 252.

¹³ »Razglasilo c. kr. dezhelne vlade za Kranjsko z dne 13. avgusta 1886. l., sht. 2383 pr. s katerim se razglasha pouchilo o koleri«, *Dezhelni zakonik za vojvodino Kranjsko / Landesgesetzblatt für das Herzogthum Krain*, Ljubljana, 7. 9. 1886, 11. del, str. 57

¹⁴ »Okrajno glavarstvo v Radovljici«, *Slovenski narod*, 1886, sht. 198.

¹⁵ Po: Henrik Damish, *Marija Pomagaj na Brezju*, Brezje 1914, str. 10.

¹⁶ Po: »Spominska ploshcha Antonu Alojziju Wolfu«, *Slovan*, 1886, sht. 17, str. 270.

¹⁷ Po: France Kobal, »O koleri na Kranjskem«, *Zbornik Slovenske matice*, Ljubljana 1911, str. 150.

¹⁸ Po: France Kobal, »O koleri na Kranjskem«, *Zbornik Slovenske matice*, Ljubljana 1911, str. 154–155.

¹⁹ Po: »O stanju kolere na Kranjskem«, *Novice*, 1886, sht. 46.

²⁰ Po: »Zdravstvene naredbe«, *Slovenec*, 1886, sht. 252.

Next came an outbreak in Ig (south of Ljubljana) among penal labourers from the prison workhouse in Ljubljana. Cholera was also brought to Vrhnika and Velika Ligojna by two infected individuals who had come from Trieste. There were a few isolated cases of cholera in the Ljubljana area, all of which had a fatal outcome. In the south-eastern Bela Krajina region, cholera only appeared in Griblje, a settlement in the Chronmelj district.¹⁸

By the end of October 1886, the cholera epidemic had been brought under control. There were no more deaths from cholera in Loshki Potok after 19 October, and none in Griblje after 20 October. The outbreak at the Ljubljana prison workhouse was discovered on 25 October. Of the total 15 inmates infected with the disease, six recovered and nine died, the last of them on 6 November. No new cases were reported after 3 November. The settlement of Studenec (today part of Ljubljana) recorded a total of 27 cases. By the time the outbreak was over, eleven people had died (eight penal labourers and three locals), ten people had recovered and six (one warden and five penal labourers) were still undergoing treatment. A medical investigation carried out on 8 November 1886 revealed that eleven people had caught the disease in Velika Ligojna, plus one person each in both Zhazhar and Vrhnika. Of these thirteen individuals, four had died, four had recovered and five were still undergoing treatment.¹⁹ On 4 November 1886, the Ministry of the Interior repealed the medical ordinances that had been in force on the border between Austria and Italy.²⁰

¹ From: Olga Jansha-Zorn, »Kolera na Kranjskem leta 1855«, *Kronika: Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*, 1964, No. 1, p. 60.

² From: France Kobal, »O koleri na Kranjskem«, *Zbornik Slovenske matice*, Ljubljana 1911, pp. 151–152.

³ From: »Proti koleri«, *Novice*, 1886, No. 28.

⁴ »Razglasilo c. kr. dezhelne vlade za Kranjsko z dné 13. avgusta 1886. l., sht. 2383 pr., s katerim se razglasha pouchilo o koleri«, *Dezhelni zakonik za vojvodino Kranjsko / Landesgesetzblatt für das Herzogthum Krain*, Ljubljana, 7 September 1886, part 11, pp. 48–62.

⁵ »Razglasilo c. kr. dezhelne vlade za Kranjsko z dné 20. avgusta 1886. l., sht. 2538 pr., o napravah zoper pretecho kolero«, *Dezhelni zakonik za vojvodino Kranjsko / Landesgesetzblatt für das Herzogthum Krain*, Ljubljana, 7 September 1886, part 12, p. 65.

⁶ »Iz Trsta. 11. maja« (original letter), *Slovenski narod*, 1886, No. 107.

⁷ From: »Trst«, *Slovenski narod*, 1886, No. 163.

⁸ From: »Iz Gorice 29. junija«, *Slovenski narod*, 1886, No. 148.

⁹ From: »Iz Gorice 15. junija«, *Slovenski narod*, 1886, No. 135.

¹⁰ From: »Primorska«, *Novice*, 1886, No. 27.

¹¹ From: »Z Reke se nam pishe«, *Slovenski narod*, 1886, No. 163.

¹² From: »Zdravstvene naredbe«, *Slovenec*, 1886, No. 252.

¹³ »Razglasilo c. kr. dezhelne vlade za Kranjsko z dné 13. avgusta 1886. l., sht. 2383 pr., s katerim se razglasha pouchilo o koleri«, *Dezhelni zakonik za vojvodino Kranjsko / Landesgesetzblatt für das Herzogthum Krain*, Ljubljana, 7 September 1886, Part 11, p. 57

¹⁴ »Okrajno glavarstvo v Radovljici«, *Slovenski narod*, 1886, No. 198.

¹⁵ From: Henrik Damish, *Marija Pomagaj na Brezju*, Brezje 1914, p. 10.

¹⁶ From: »Spominska ploscha Antonu Alojziju Wolfu«, *Slovan*, 1886, No. 17, p. 270.

¹⁷ From: France Kobal, »O koleri na Kranjskem«, *Zbornik Slovenske matice*, Ljubljana 1911, p. 150.

¹⁸ From: France Kobal, »O koleri na Kranjskem«, *Zbornik Slovenske matice*, Ljubljana 1911, pp. 154–155.

¹⁹ From: »O stanji kolere na Kranjskem«, *Novice*, 1886, No. 46.

²⁰ From: »Zdravstvene naredbe«, *Slovenec*, 1886, No. 252.



Simon Ogrin je na freski v cerkvi Marijinega vnebovzeta v Slavini leta 1888 upodobil skupino ljudi, ki so se po pomoh pred kolero zatekli k Mariji in Jezusu. Letnica 1855 na listu, ki ga drzhi mozh na levi, oznachuje tretjo, najhujsho epidemijo kolere v nashih krajih.

In 1888 the artist Simon Ogrin painted a fresco in the Church of the Assumption in Slavina (near Postojna) depicting a group of people supplicating the Virgin Mary and Jesus for protection against cholera. The date 1855 visible on the paper held by the man on the left of the painting refers to the third and worst cholera epidemic to affect the country.

Translated by author

Svojskost *LiVeS Journala – Revije SRP*

Vodilo *LiVeS Journala – Revije SRP* so tri vrednotne orientacije individua, tega ne nepomembnega drobca v sistemu institucij.

Te vrednote so: Svoboda, Resnica, Pogum. Pomembne so, vsaka od njih posebej, pomembno je prezhemanje teh vrednot.

Tak namen ima tudi uredništvo Revije SRP, ki izhaja v posodobljenem prvotnem slovenskem chrkopisu bohorichici, katere utemeljitev predstavlja *Zbornik 2001 Bohorichica*.

Individuality of the *LiVeS Journal*

Guidelines of the *LiVeS Journal* are the three values of the orientation of the individual, that irrelevant shred in the system of institutions.

These values are: Liberty (freedom), Verity (truth), and Spirit (courage) Each of them is important in its separate way, the infusion of these values is important.

This is also the intention of the LiVeS Journal editorial board, which is published in an updated version of *Bohorichica* – the primary Slovenian alphabet, the argumentation behind which is presented in *Zbornik 2001 Bohorichica*.

Sama ustvarjalnost in avtonomija,
njuna utemeljenost v raziskovanju,
nachelno in splošno nista vprashljivi,
nihče, skoraj nihče ne bo nasprotoval
takim usmeritvam. Problem se pojavlja
shele na konkretnem nivoju, kot tak je
nerazviden in skrit ali zhe prikrit
in s tem tezhko reshljiv.

Problem ukinjanja ustvarjalnosti
(in avtonomije) se kazhe v shtevilnih,
a na videz nepomembnih malenkostih.
Lahko jih ne vidimo ali pa se moramo
spustiti na nivo konkretnosti, to je
na nivo ukvarjanja z malenkostmi
in postati malenkostni.

Institucija brez spomina je
kakor podjetje brez knjigovodstva,
mochni in mogochni v njej
pochno, kar jih je volja,
ker vse, kar pochno, utone
v pozabljivi zavesti chasa.

...

a ne gre za chas, ampak za dejstva zavesti,
kjer chasa ni, je samo trajanje,
obche vrednote so neposredna dejstva zavesti,
vsakomur dojemljive, preverljive,
nihče jih chloveku ne more ne dati ne vzeti,
ne sistem ne institucija ne propaganda, tudi kulturna ne,
samo che to sam hoche, jih bo nashel
le v sebi, sebstvu svojem.

Creativity and autonomy themselves,
their justification in research,
are in principle and generally not questionable,
no one, or next to no one will oppose
such an orientation. It is not until concrete action is undertaken
that the problem will occur, and it is therefore
unevident and hidden or even already concealed
and thus difficult to solve.

The problem of abolishing creativity
(and autonomy) presents itself in numerous,
but seemingly irrelevant details.

We can either leave them undetected or
drop down to the tangible level, in other words –
become preoccupied with trifles –
and grow petty.

An institution with no memory
is like a company without accounting,
its strong and its mighty
do what they please,
because all they do is doomed to drown
in the forgetful awareness of time.

...

but it is not a matter of time, but a matter of the facts of awareness,
where time does not exist, there is only length,
general values are direct facts of awareness,
understandable to all, verifiable,
no one can bestow them or take them away,
neither system, nor institutions nor propaganda – not even a cultural one,
only if one so desires, will one find them
only within oneself, in one's own self.

»Torej vsako bitje, ki občuti svojo eksistenco,
občuti zločin pokorjenosti in težki k svobodi;
če se še zivali, ki so udomachene za sluzhenje chloveku,
lahko podrede shele potem, ko jim zatro nasprotno zheljo,
kakshna nesrecha je to lahko za chloveka,
ki je edini resnichno rojen zato,
da zhivi svobodno.

Napravila ga je nenaravnega do te mere,
da je izgubil praspomin na svoje prvobitno stanje,
in na zheljo, da ga ponovno ozhivi ...
Vedno pa se najdejo eni, srechnejshi od drugih,
ti, ki so rojeni pod srechno zvezdo,
ki občutijo težho jarma in ne morejo vzdrzhati,
da bi ga ne stresli, ti, ki se nikoli ne navadijo na jarem ...

*Ko bi bila svoboda povsem izgubljena,
zunaj tega sveta,
bi jo ti ljudje ozhivili v svoji predstavi,
občutili bi jo v **svojem duhu** in jo she vedno uzhivali.*

Suzhenjstvo nikakor ni po njihovem okusu,
celo ko je to okrasheno, ne! ...«

Étienne de La Boétie

»So every being that feels its existence,
feels the crime of submission and strives for freedom;
if even animals that are tamed to serve man,
do not submit until their opposing desires are crushed,
what misfortune can this be for man,
who alone is truly born,
to live freely.

It made him so unnatural,
that he forgot the memory of his primeval state,
and the desire to again revive it ...
But you always find some who are happier than others,
the ones who are born under a lucky star,
who feel the weight of the yoke and cannot stop themselves,
from shaking it off, the ones who never grow accustomed to the yoke ...

*If liberty were to be completely lost,
out of this world,
then these people would revive it in their imaginations,
they would feel it in **their spirit** and continue to enjoy it.*

Servitude is by no means to their taste,
not even if it is adorned! ...«

Étienne de La Boétie

OPOMBA UREDNISHTVA

LiVeS Journal (in *Revija SRP*): <http://www.livesjournal.eu> (<http://www.revijasrp.si>)

Internetna uporaba *Revije SRP* je brez omejitev; enako velja za *LiVeS Journal*, ki mu je z vzporedno dvojezičnostjo namenjena širša dostopnost, tudi za izseljenske korenine. Predvideno je, da bodo med novimi sodelavci tudi prevajalci, ki bodo postopoma dodajali prevode iz *Revije SRP* v »globalnem jeziku« (za globalni zgodovinski spomin), danes v angleškem (britanskem ali ameriškem). Izvirnik vsakega teksta je avtorski unikat, prevodov pa je lahko vech, zato bo v internetni izdaji *LJ* kak prevod lahko tudi dodan k predhodnemu ali pa ga bo nadomestil.

EDITORIAL NOTE

LiVeS Journal (and *Revija SRP*): <http://www.livesjournal.eu> (<http://www.revijasrp.si>)

Internet use of *Revija SRP* is without limits; the same is valid for *LiVeS Journal*, for which the wider accessibility is intended by the means of two parallel languages, even to the roots of diasporas. It is expected that the new translators among the contributors gradually will add new translations of the texts from *Revija SRP* in the »global language« (for the global historical memory), today in English (British or American). Every original text is unique as a fact of authorship, but translations may be several, so in the Internet edition of *LJ* new translations also could be added to the preliminary ones, or those could be replaced.