

za zavesami mojega skritega paradiža



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Revija SRP, Prazhakova 13, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija

GLAVNI UREDNIK

Ivo Antich

UREDNIŠHTVO

Lev Detela  
Damir Globochnik  
Matej Krajnc

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Ivo Antich

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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)

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## Vsebina

Mojca Selishkar	Tiger	6
Ivo Antich	Tig(e)r	10
Lev Detela	Oporoka visokega pticha	14
Matej Krajnc	Brez plashcha in pipe	16
Tatjana Pregl Kobe	Ki bosh spremenil podobo sveta	26
Rajko Shushtarshich	Zgodba o Pilatu II /Sporochilo ob Njegovem slovesu/	36
Matej Krajnc	Igra z batino	58
Ivo Antich	Reka dreka /3x zen mondo/	62
Lev Detela	Ognjeslava v plamenih	64
Iztok Vrhovec	Kacha	68
Marko Petrovich	Henry (Ari)	74
Damir Globochnik	Skrivnostna zhenska figura /Rudi Skochir/	80
Rudi Skochir	Likovna dela	84
Damir Globochnik	Zrcalo sveta /Satirichni ciklus Hinka Smrekarja iz leta 1933/	94
Chlovekov razvoj		
Rajko Shushtarshich	Drzhavo dam za konja	102
Za zgodovinski spomin		
Drago Pahor	Porabski Slovenci /Pogled v zgodovino Slovenske krajine/	112
Branko J. Hribovsek	O imenu <i>Slovani</i> , I	130
Iz zgodovinskega spomina		
Srechko Vilhar	Nekaj misli o plebiscitu v Beneshki Sloveniji (leta 1866)	162
Srechko Vilhar	Kaj so Rezijani?	170

## Index

Mojca Selishkar	Tiger	7
Ivo Antich	Tig(e)r	11
Lev Detela	Testament of a High-Flying Bird	15
Matej Krajnc	Without a coat and a pipe	17
Tatjana Pregl Kobe	You who will change the face of the earth	27
Rajko Shushtarshich	The Story of Pilate II /Message on his goodbye/	37
Matej Krajnc	'The cudgel game	59
Ivo Antich	Shit river /(3x Zen mondo/	63
Lev Detela	Brandislava is Burning	65
Iztok Vrhovec	The Serpent	69
Marko Petrovich	Henry (Ari)	75
Damir Globochnik	A mysterious female figure /Rudi Skochir/	81
Rudi Skochir	Artworks	93
Damir Globochnik	World's Reflection /Hinko Smrekar's satirical series from 1933/	95
 Human development		
Rajko Shushtarshich	I'll give my state for a horse	103
 For historical memory		
Drago Pahor	The Raba Slovenians /A look into the history of the Slovenian march/	113
Branko J. Hribovsek	About the name <i>Slovani</i> , I	131
 From historical memory		
Srechko Vilhar	Thoughts on the plebiscite in Venetian Sovenia (in 1866)	163
Srechko Vilhar	Who are the Resians?	171

*Moja Selishkar*

## TIGER

### **Tiger**

Tiger si, nevaren.  
Lepo gledash.  
Oprezno grem.  
Po prstih grem.  
Dotaknem se.  
Ne zganesh se.  
Lepo gledash.  
Zelo nevaren.  
Ni mi do iger.  
Tvoj ples, tiger.  
Bila bi zares.  
Lepo gledash:  
nisem tigrica.  
Me peche dotik.  
Po prstih grem.  
Ostalo bo vmes.

### **Angel**

Jochem za nochjo,  
ki naju skriva  
v puhest sneg,  
za menjavo dush,  
ko sva en sam  
angel bel.

Jochem v svetlechi zdaj,  
ki me grabi za obraz,  
odslej me dar njegov  
ne zapusti.

Jochem za nochjo:  
te v uho,  
v lase rotim,  
da si vzamesh,  
za kasneje  
bel poljub.

*Mojca Selishkar*

## TIGER

### **Tiger**

You are a tiger, a ferocious one.  
You are beautiful  
I move carefully  
On tiptoe.  
I touch you.  
You don't move.  
You look beautiful.  
Very dangerous  
I don't want to play games.  
Your dance, tiger.  
It is really I:  
I am not a tigress.  
The caress burns.  
I move on tiptoe.  
It will be between us.

### **Angel**

I cry for the night  
that hides us  
in fluffy snow f  
or the transformation of souls  
since we are a single  
white angel.

I cry in the glittering now  
that reaches for my face,  
from now on what he gave me  
will stay with me.

I cry for the night  
in the ear,  
in hair I implore you  
to take a white kiss  
for later.

**Barva**

Nobeno gibanje, noben glas,  
nich, kar bi potegnilo,  
nich za korenine ne za peruti.

Te gledam na miru.  
Ko vendar zhe sedem,  
da si izrechem.

Kako sva vsadila:  
vse barve izmije,  
do svoje, edine.

**Drzna misel**

Drzna misel ovijalka  
mi poganja iz telesa  
v tvoje kraje,  
v tvojo kozho  
kakor pismo po odgovor.

**Color**

No movement, no sound,  
nothing that would attract,  
nothing for roots or wings.

I look at you calmly.  
When I sit down  
to admit it to myself

As we have installed it:  
all colors will be washed out,  
save one's own, the only one.

**A Bold Thought**

A bold winding thought  
grows out of my body  
in your proximity  
into your skin  
like the answer in a letter.

Translated from Slovenian by Herbert Kuhner

Ivo Antich

TIG(E)R  
(Srchna trojka)

I

Dvobarvnost tigra,  
chrno-rumene lise,  
usodna igra:  
  
med zahodom in vzhodom  
z nedonoshenim plodom.

II

Vojna predigra  
skoz podtalne obrise  
krashkega tigra –  
  
brat (dvojcek) leoparda,  
alamutskih senc garda.

III

S chrnim panterjem  
istrska srchna trojka,  
rakava d(v)ojska –  
  
za sanjski vrt rdeche sobe  
in njene skrite grobe.

IV

Travnik, krava,  
lisasta kot tigrica,  
kruta igrica:  
  
skrita pretvorba v trojko  
v dvojni vojni z enojko.

*Ivo Antich*

TIG(E)R  
(Three of hearts)

I

Twocolored tiger,  
black and yellow spots,  
fatal game:

between West and East  
with the preterm fetus.

II

War foreplay  
through the underground shapes  
of karstic tiger –

brother (twin) of leopard,  
as Alamut's shadow-guard.

III

With a black panther  
Istrian three of hearts,  
(two-spades) breast cancer –  
for a dream garden of the red room  
and its hidden graves.

IV

Meadow, a cow,  
spotted as tigress,  
cruel little game:

hidden conversion to troika  
in a double war with the one spade.

## V

Nerazviti svit,  
tigrovski duh kot evnuh,  
spomin zbit, ubit:  
  
za hrbtom trojke stepa,  
vse vechja snezhna kepa.

*Opomba avtorja:*

TIGR – akronim (Trst-Istra-Gorica-Reka) nekdanje ilegalne borbeno-upornishke (diverzantske) organizacije zoper fashizem v Slov. Primorju in Istri (Italija pred 2. sv. v.); z izpushchenim E (tig/e/r) asociira govorno oznako za vrsto nevarne machke; ustanovljena na Nanosu sept. 1927; organizirana v t. i. trojkah; Kraljevina Jugoslavija jo je (deloma) podpirala, v povojni socialistichni drzhavi pa je bila zamolchana ali oznachevana kot avanturistichno-teroristichna (tudi »romantichna«) konspiracija ideoloshko nezanesljivih nacionalistov s podporo angleshke obveshchevalne sluzhbe; vech vodilnih tigrovcev, ki so se pridruzhili partizanskemu NOB pod vodstvom kompartije, je bilo ubitih v »sumljivih okolishchinah«. Med tigrovci so bili kulturniki, pesniki; nekateri razlagalci v svetovno uveljavljenem romanu (trzhashkega) pisatelja Vladimira Bartola *Alamut* (1938) vidijo v orientalsko (ismailitski asasini; delna podobnost z jap. ninja) temo zamaskirano metaforo za delovanje TIGR.

Termin *trojka* v vseh slovanskih jezikih pomeni trojico, v rusihini tudi trovprego, troje konj, vshtric vprezhenih v voz ali sani; v sovjetskem chasu »operativna trojka« NKVD; enojka, (pikova) dvojka, (srchna) trojka so tudi termini pri igrah s kartami; v angl. terminu *the two of spades* (pikova dvojka) beseda *spade* pomeni: pik pri kartah, lopata, skopljena zhival (spado = evnuh); Sam Spade je glavna oseba romana *Malteshki sokol* (1930) amer. pisatelja D. Hammetta in po njem istoimenskega filma noir (1941; Spade = H. Bogart). Ob gornjem ciklu tanka pesmi imajo svojo »simptomalno aktualistichno« asociativno vrednost tudi nekatere izjave iz mega-pesmi *Wrecking Ball* sijajnega amer. heartland rockerja Brucea Springsteena, npr.: »Now my home was here in the Meadowlands ... Here where the blood is spilled, the arena's filled, and Giants play the game ... Because tonight all the dead are here ... One, two, one two three four ... And your game has been decided ... Hold tight to your anger, and don't fall to your fear ... Yeah just to come again ...«

## V

Undeveloped dawn,  
tiger spirit as a eunuch,  
memory beaten, killed:  
  
a steppe behind the back of troika,  
growing snowball.

*Author's note:*

TIGR – the acronym (Trieste, Istria, Gorizia, Rijeka) of former illegal rebel-fighting (commando) organization against fascism in the Slovenian Littoral and Istria (Italy prior to WW2); the missed E (tig/e/r) associates the speech form for the type of dangerous cats; it was founded on Sept. 1927 on the Nanos mountain; it was organized in triplets of members; the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (partly) supported it, but in the postwar socialist state has been concealed or denoted as adventurous-terroristic (also »romantic«) conspiracy of ideologically unreliable nationalists supported by the British intelligence service; several leading tigroists, who joined the partisan Liberation War under the leadership of Communist Party, were killed in »suspicious circumstances«. Among tigroists were cultur activists, poets; some commentators in the world-famed slovenian novel *Alamut* (1938) by the writer Vladimir Bartol (born in Trieste) seen in oriental theme (about Ismaili assassins; partly similar to Jap. ninja) just the disguised metaphor for the activity of the TIGR.

Term *troika* in all Slavic languages means triple (trio), in Russian also the three horses put abreast in carriages or sleighs; in the Soviet time »operational troika« of NKVD; *one spade, two of spades, three of hearts* are the terms of card games, in English; in the term *the two of spades* the last word means: a suit of playing-cards, a shovel, a castrated animal (spado = eunuch); Sam Spade is the main person in the novel *The Maltese Falcon* (1930) by Amer. writer D. Hammett and in the same named film noir based on it (1941; Spade = H. Bogart). Reffering to the above tanka poems cycle have its »symptomatically actual« associative value some of certain statements from the mega-song *Wrecking Ball* by the lustrous American heartland rocker Bruce Springsteen, for example: »Now my home was here in the Meadowlands ... Here where the blood is spilled, the arena's filled, and Giants play the game ... Because tonight all the dead are here ... One, two, one two three four ... And your game has been decided ... Hold tight to your anger, and don't fall to your fear ... Yeah just to come again ...«

Translated from Slovenian by author

## OPOROKA VISOKEGA PTICHA

### Oporoka visokega pticha

Jaz, zadnji ptich iz roda Karazoki,  
jaz ptich neurij, blazni ptich visoki,  
oznanjam vsem plastem osamljenih noch:  
Prihaja doba s slepimi ochmi.

Mrtvi gozdovi nam bodo shli naproti.  
Usahla reka bo gonila zadnji mlin.  
Jaz, ptich neurij, blazni ptich visoki,  
bom na gorechi cerkvi srepi petelin.

Ugasle zvezde bodo sled v pesku  
in strte kache bodo plen zveri,  
sedeli bomo v sivem lesku  
blaznega pticha s slepimi ochmi.

### Nihche in nich

(Medeis kai meden)

Nich pa ni nich  
leti z obzorja do morja

Veseli se torej  
cheprav nihche ne ve  
kdaj se vrne radost  
nazaj v srce

*Lev Detela*

## TESTAMENT OF A HIGH-FLYING BIRD

### **Testament of a High-Flying Bird**

I, the last bird from the Karazoki tribe,  
I, the storm bird, the high-flying bird of madness,  
annunciate the depths of desolate nights:  
An age of blind eyes begins.

Dead woods will approach us.  
A drained river will make the last mill turn,  
and I, the storm bird, the high-flying bird of madness  
will become the rigid rooster of the burning church.

Extinguished stars will become traces in the sand,  
sundered snakes will be eaten by wild beasts  
and we will sit in the grey glow  
of the mad bird with blind eyes.

Translated from Slovenian by Herbert Kuhner

### **Nobody and nothing** (Medeis kai meden)

Nothing is not nothing  
it flies from the horizon to the sea

Let be glad, therefore,  
although no one knows  
when joy returns  
back into the heart

Translated from Slovenian by Ivo Antich

Matej Krajnc

## BREZ PLASHCHA IN PIPE

### PA JE BIL MOZH

Pa je bil mozh,  
pa izginil je tudi,  
med pushchavskim krichanjem,  
med pestmi rokodelcev,  
veselil se je teme,  
chakal Godota  
in se zabaval  
s soprogami staroselcev.

In she vedno, ko chas  
med nevihto obstane,  
ga vidijo, ko  
izmed platnic plane  
tak, kot je bil,  
brez plashcha in pipe,  
kot poznajo ga vsi,  
ki she berejo stripe ...

Pa je bil mozh,  
baje rodil se je tudi,  
baje zhe velik in star,  
premalo bister za shtudij ...

In she vedno, ko chas  
med nevihto obstane,  
ga vidijo, ko  
izmed platnic plane  
tak, kot je bil,  
brez plashcha in pipe,  
kot poznajo ga vsi,  
ki she berejo stripe ...

*Matej Krajnc*

## WITHOUT A COAT AND A PIPE

### THERE WAS A MAN

There was a man  
And he disappeared  
Among the shrieks from the desert  
Among the fists of the workers  
He was fond of the darkness  
Waiting for Godot  
And he loved to have fun  
With the wives of the natives

And even now, when the storm  
Stops the time as it is,  
Many among us  
See him as he appears  
Out of the books  
Without a coat and a pipe  
The very same one  
Known among readers of comics

There was a man  
He might have been born  
Grown-up and of age  
And not the knowledgeable one

And even now, when the storm  
Stops the time as it is,  
Many among us  
See him as he appears  
Out of the books  
Without a coat and a pipe  
The very same one  
Known among readers of comics

## PRAVIH NEVIHT NI VECH

Pravih neviht ni vech,  
izumrle so s pravim chajem,  
tiste, ki so ostale,  
le she malce poropotajo  
in vlak noche s perona,  
ne zdi se mu fer,  
da bi za sabo pustil  
she eno postajo.

Ubil sem sokola,  
da bi imel za vecherjo,  
njegovi sorodniki  
so me prekleli,  
vecherja ne tekne,  
ker ni zraven dezhja,  
pa tudi, che bi bil,  
mu ne bi verjeli.

Pravih neviht ni vech,  
o njih nihche ne razpravlja,  
nebo se malce namrdne  
in odkrije par streh  
in ljudje, ko bezhijo  
pred dezhjem na suho  
nimajo vech nekdanjega  
strahu v očeh ...

## Z UZIJEM PRED KRUH

Nima smisla skakati  
z uzijem pred kruh,  
branjevke ne vejo,  
trgovcem pa ni mar,  
kaj vse se pripeti  
na kaki prazni cesti,  
she preden jim odshtejesh  
zasluzheni denar.

## NO REAL STORMS ANYMORE

There's no real storms anymore  
As there's no Indian Tea  
But the ones that remained  
They just rattle a bit  
And the Special won't depart  
She thinks it's not fair  
To leave another station  
So far behind

I killed a falcon  
For supper, of course  
But his relatives  
Cursed my guts out  
And the supper is tasteless  
Because there's no rain  
Well, the rain, as you know,  
Is not to be trusted

There are no real storms anymore  
No one discusses them  
The sky puts on a grin  
And uncovers a few roofs  
And people who run  
To find solace from rain  
Don't fear anymore  
There's nothing left in their eyes

## TAKE THE UZI, JUMP THE BREAD

There's no point anymore  
to take the uzi, jump the bread  
Fruit-sellers don't know  
And traders don't care  
About what may happen  
On some old empty road  
Before they get paid  
Whatever they've earned

Drago sem plachal molk,  
she drazhje onemelost,  
zdaj plezam na drevo,  
da bi od tam krichal,  
vsak dan mi kdo grozi,  
da me bo popedenal,  
a machke sem nahranil  
in poshtarje nagnal.

Kaj se vam zdi, pastirci,  
ki se parite v gozdu  
in zhenete zhivino  
k shejkom na oddih,  
plachilo odlozheno  
ne vrne se nobeno,  
a smo se nauchili  
shajati brez njih ...

#### PREGRESHNA POZLATA

Pregreshna pozlata  
z zaves se cedi,  
pristopi fantichek  
pishchal naredi,  
zvonik se podira,  
vashchani deró,  
zvecher ni vech mashe  
in vech je ne bo.

Madona se s stene  
prikrito smehlja,  
svetniki bezhijo  
po dva in po dva,  
oltar se podira,  
vashchani vreshché,  
poslednja odveza  
od rok jim ne gre.

I paid dearly for silence  
For not talking at all  
Now I'm climbing the trees  
And I'm shouting aloud  
I get threats every day  
That I might get done in  
But I fed all my cats  
And the postmen are gone

What do you think, you old shepherds  
Who reproduce in the woods  
While riding your cattle  
Out to the sheiks  
Those who don't pay  
Have hearts made of clay  
But we learned to live  
Without those, of course

### THE SINFUL GILDING

There's a sinful gilding  
Pouring from the curtains  
There comes a boy  
And he makes himself a whistle  
The belfry falls down  
The peasants all gather  
There will be no  
Mass anymore

Madonna smiles  
Her hidden smile from the wall  
The saints are all running  
Two by two  
The altar falls down  
The peasants all shriek  
There's nobody between them  
That likes the last shrift

Ni greha brez greha,  
med mnozhico vreje,  
kdor prvi se dvigne,  
ta prvi prekleje,  
kdor dvigne se zadnji,  
dobi kelih v glavo;  
lep za chashchenje,  
a slab za prebavo ...

Pregreshna pozlata  
z zaves se cedi,  
na prizhnico stopi,  
izbulji ochi,  
prizhnica pade,  
vashchani pa z njo,  
po njih s tabernaklja  
odteka zlato ...

Pregreshna pozlata  
z zaves se cedi,  
pristopi fantichek  
pishchal naredi,  
zvonik se podira,  
vashchani deró,  
zvecher ni vech mashe  
in vech je ne bo.

## VIBRAFON

Zavezan sem molku,  
lahko le pokimam,  
Hampton ima vibrafon,  
jaz ga pa nimam,  
Hampton ima v dobrem  
she nekaj stoletij.  
Park bomo vmes  
dali zapreti.

There's no sin without sinning  
The crowd knows that it's true  
The one who stands up first  
Will cast the curse  
The one who stands up first  
Getsbeaten by the chalice  
Too beautiful to be praised  
But too bad for digestion

'There's a sinful gilding  
Pouring from the curtains  
Walks to the pulpit  
Bulging all the way  
The pulpit falls down  
The peasants do too  
And the tabernacle pours gold  
All over them

'There's a sinful gilding  
Pouring from the curtains  
There comes a boy  
And he makes himself a whistle  
The belfry falls down  
The peasants all gather  
There will be no  
Mass anymore

## VIBRAPHONE

I'm the silent one  
I can only nod  
Hampton has his vibraphone  
But me, I do not  
Hampton, he has  
A few centuries left  
Meantime, the park  
Will, alas, remain closed down

V paketu je bil  
pes s pedigreejem,  
chas bi zhe bil,  
da zanj nekaj odshtejem,  
chas bi zhe bil,  
da si nogo odrezhem  
in z muchenishtvom  
nekaj dosezhem ...

Kardiologi  
napovedujejo sneg.  
To so le sanje,  
reche mi jek.  
To so zgolj shtorije  
slabih shalijivcev  
in fame faliranih  
samomorilcev ...

Zavezan sem molku,  
Hampton pa ne,  
udarja, udarja,  
vseeno mu je.  
Ob bistrem potoku  
je mlin razstreljen.  
No ja, ni edini,  
che sem poshten ...

I opened the package  
Lo, an eminent dog  
Why can't I be one  
I'd gladly pay for it  
When will I at last  
Cut my leg off  
Proclaim myself a martyr  
A respectful citizen

Cardiologists  
Forecast the snow  
But that's only a dream  
The echo, he claims  
That's only stories  
Of the bad jokers  
And fame of the ones  
Who cannot take their own lives

I'm the silent one  
But Hampton is not  
He beats on his vibraphone  
Without nursing a care  
Down by the brooke  
There's an old blown-up mill  
It's not the only one  
To be fair

---

Tatjana Pregl Kobe

## KI BOSH SPREMENIL PODOBO SVETA

### bog vojne

nich  
skozi nich  
skozi neskonchni nich  
je vechni bog novih vojn  
dosegel sonce s hripavim krikom  
in utrujeno poljubljaj razbeljeni pesek  
dokler ni moral izginiti v molchanje  
tistega drhtechega chakanja konca  
v boju z ognjem in mechem  
in izgorel v pepel  
v donkihotski  
pepel

### samounichenje

sami v spletu nedopovedljivega  
sami s prvidom krvi na vsakem obrazu  
sami pod tezho zelene groze  
groze z zelenimi ochmi lasmi zobmi  
z zelenimi kremlji v nashih prsih  
sami pred zelenim streljanjem  
in tisto zeleno zeleno krvjo  
trdni in stvarni kot jeklo  
gorimo v breztelesnost  
: nad agonijo prestreljenih klavcev  
smo sami  
prezhiveli samounichenje unichevalcev

*Tatjana Pregl Kobe*

## YOU WHO WILL CHANGE THE FACE OF THE EARTH

### **the god of war**

nothingness  
through nothingness  
through endless nothingness  
the eternal god of new wars  
reached the sun with a hoarse cry  
and kisses the scorching sand with weary kisses  
until forced to disappear into the silence  
of that trembling waiting for the end  
in the struggle with fire and sword  
and burned away into ashess  
into quixotic  
ashes

### **self-destruction**

alone in the intertwining of the unspeakable  
alone with the vision of blood on every fase  
alone under the weight of green horror  
the horror with green eyes – hear – teeth  
with green claws in our chests  
alone before green shooting  
and that green green blood  
hard and real as steel  
we burn into incorporeity  
: above the agony of slaughterers shot-through  
we have  
survived the self-destruction of destroyers

**zhiveli bomo vechno**

hoteli so nam ukloniti duha da bi bili majhni  
hoteli so nas tolchi da bi se zlomili  
hoteli so nam raniti srce da bi se zjokali  
hoteli so nas bichati da bi se izdali  
in ubiti so nas hoteli da bi molchali  
pa se nismo uklonili  
pa se nismo zlomili  
pa se nismo zjokali  
pa se nismo izdali  
in ne bomo molchali  
hoteli so prevech: nas ne bodo pohodili  
ne iznichili in ne umorili: zhiveli bomo vechno

**ptica smrti**

odprem ochi ki z njimi sejem smrt  
potem me je groza tega pogleda  
in hochem zbezhati dalech proch  
pa ne morem ker se je ona  
vrgla vame z belim snom  
in hochem odleteti tja  
s pticami smrti a  
zakaj pozabljam  
da sem ptica  
jaz sama?  
in  
da je smrt nekaj dokonchnega

**skozi atomski vek**

ko  
boste izjokali ochi nad slutnjo bodochih rodov  
ne stojte na ramenih svojih prednikov  
ker so krizhanci bogov in zveri  
ko  
boste shli skozi atomski vek  
ne odpirajte nashih krst in ne odkopavajte prsti  
ker smo pokopani z odprtimi ochmi

**we shall live for ever**

they wanted to break our spirit so that we would be small  
they wanted to beat us so that we would break  
they wanted to break our hearts so that we would weep  
they wanted to whip us so that we would betray ourselves  
and they wanted to kill us so that we would remain silent  
yet we did not submit  
yet we did not break  
yet we did not weep  
yet we did not betray  
and we will not be silent  
they wanted too much: we will not be trampled down  
nor exterminated nor murdered: we shall live for ever

**the bird of death**

I open my eyes with which I sow death  
then I am horrified by her gaze and  
want to run far away but I cannot  
for she has cast herself into me  
with a white dream and I want  
to fly away to that place with  
the birds of death but  
why do I forget  
that the bird  
is me?  
and  
that death is something final

**through the atomic age**

when  
you exhaust your tears over the premonition of posterity  
do not stand on the shoulders of your ancestors  
for they are crossbreeds of goods and beasts  
when  
you pass through the atomic age  
do not open our coffins and do not dig the soil  
for we are buried with our eyes open

ko  
boste premagali zlo v sebi  
ne glejte v mrtve izzivalce sonchnih bogov  
ker vas bo strah in vrnitve vech ni

### **smrt planeta**

ki drzhimo svet v svojih rokah  
ki lebdimo na goli razpokani skorji planeta  
ki smo na ladji chloveshkih spoznanj  
oznanjamо nov pokol  
: po vashih telesih  
po vashi krvi  
bo noe z barko  
prevazhal rod za rodom v had  
in zemlja bo pusta in prazna in mrtva  
in na kupu kosti bo nov smrtnik postal  
in bo oznanjal nov pokol  
in bo nov noe nastal

### **razkroj nasilja**

ki bosh spremenil podobo sveta  
ti  
ki si premagal vojno in se rodil  
ki si nekje na svetu ubijal za mir  
ki si streljal jeklene solze  
ki si se lachen in blaten smejal z grmenjem  
ki si s plesom orozhja izsilil resnico  
ki si zheno ljubkoval z lepotilom skrbi  
ki si otrokom dajal strah da si mrtev  
ki si krivichnega boga izpljunil  
ti  
ki vesh da le chas razkraja nasilje

when  
you defeat the evil in you  
do not look at the dead challengers of the sun gods  
for you will be afraid and will return no more

### **the death of the planet**

we who hold the world in our hands  
who sail upon the bare cracked crust of the planet  
who are on the ship of human knowledge  
we announce a new slaughter  
: across your bodies  
across your blood  
on his ark noah will  
take generation after generation to hades  
and the earth will be bleak and empty and dead  
and on a pile of bones a new mortal will emerge  
and announce a new slaughter  
and a new noah will arise

### **the dissolution of violence**

you who will change the face of the earth  
you  
who defeated war and was born  
who killed for peace somewhere around the world  
who shot steel teardrops  
who laughed with the thunder – hungry muddy  
who enforced the truth with the dance of arms  
who caressed your wife with the balm of anxiety  
who filled the children with the fear of your dying  
who spat out the unjust god  
who bled the poem of freedom  
you  
who know that only time dissolves violence

### **sled votline**

v votlinah lastne razjedenosti  
je ostala sled nashih senc  
: ochi so nam nabreknilo od joka  
mozhgani se praznijo  
po zavozlanih ovinkih odtekajo misli  
: vse se utaplja v labirintu chasa  
v nepomembnostih in notranjem trohnenju  
od ure do ure iz dneva v dan iz leta v leto  
: za nami bodo ostale le neme sledi  
: po kotih bomo pustili razjedena srca  
izsesane dushe bodo visele v pajchevinah  
in bled spomin se bo razblinjal v daljavi

### **bit zhivljenja**

naj?  
zhivimo vechno  
naj?  
otrpnemo s krikom  
naj?  
zabrihemo chrto obstoja  
naj?  
zazhgemo  
sami sebe  
na veliki grmadi upora  
da bomo svetili  
vechno

### **strah modrih**

na spolzkem preisu obstoja je soochenje s strahom  
skrivenostni izvor mochi umirajochih  
kjer se spochenja modrost  
ki je krozhjenje misli  
ki je pozabljenje  
v megleinem  
krogu  
nochnih senc

**the trace of the cave**

in the caves of your own corrosion  
remaind a trace of our shadows  
: our eyes swelled with tears  
our brains becoming empty  
throughs flowing through knotted convolutions  
: everything is drowning in the labyrinth of time  
in insignificances and innermost decay  
from hour to hour from day to day from year to year  
: only silent traces will remain behind us  
: corroded hearts will lie abandoned in corners  
drained souls will hang in cobwebs  
and a vague memory will vanish in the distance

**the being of life**

shall?  
we live for ever  
shall?  
we stiffen with a cry  
shall?  
we draw the line of survival  
shall?  
we burn  
ourselves  
at the great stake of rebellion  
to emanate light  
for ever

**the fear of the wise**

on the slippery precipice of existence facing fear  
in a mysterious power source of the dying  
where wisdom is being conceived  
which is the circling of thought  
which is oblivion  
in the misty  
circle  
of night shadows

napojenih z molchanjem lirichne simfonije brezchasnosti  
kamor je v spokojnem objemu naravnega  
usmerjen predrzen korak  
v neskonchno praznino nepovratnosti

### **krvavo oko chasa**

v areni porushenega amfiteatra lezhijo  
zhelezne glave gladiatorjev  
in morilski veter dviga prah iz senc nichevosti  
: eksplozija biti se razleti v brezkrajen strah  
lebdeche majhnosti pred neznano silo  
: poslednje pokolenje mrtvih bogov  
v breznu obupa in ranjene osamljenosti zre  
v nerazumljivi kozmos s krvavim ochesom chasa  
: kolosi she premikajo zemeljski chas  
v spirale mogochnih polzhev pasti  
: krchevite roke molijo h krizhu vojn  
pohojenem v temi drvechega besnenja

### **rojstvo**

z mochjo  
silnic  
verjetja  
smo  
na  
zidove  
senc  
pripeti  
v embrio  
semen  
zore  
chasa

immersed in the silence of a lyrical symphony of timelessness  
where in the placid embrace of the natural  
a daring step is headed for  
the infinite space of no return

### **the bloody eye of time**

iron heads of dead gladiators  
lie in the arena of a demolished amphitheatre  
and a deadly wind raises dust from the shadows of vanity  
: the explosion of being is shattered in endless fear  
of hovering insignificance from an unknown force  
: he last generation of dead gods  
engulfed in despair and wounded loneliness contemplates  
the incomprehensible cosmos with a bloody eye of time  
: colossi move the earthly tempo  
into the spirals of mighty snails' traps  
: convulsed hands pray to the crucifix of wars  
trampled in the darkness of rushing rage

### **birth**

with forceful  
bonds  
of faith  
we are  
attached  
to  
the walls  
of shadows  
in the embryo  
of germs  
of the dawn  
of time

*Rajko Shushtarshich*

## ZGODBA O PILATU II

### *Sporochilo ob Njegovem slovesu*

*Sporochilo ob Njegovem slovesu  
O njih, o njem, in o drugih*

**Pilat** To porochilo je tako chudno, malo je verjetno; ali to kaj spremeni na njem samem, porochilu, mislim?

**On** Ne na njem, ne v njem to nichesar ne spremeni, svobodno ga zapishi.

**Pilat** Sam ga gotovo ne bom zmogel napisati, moral bom Tebe vprashati, to, chesar si nisem gotov.

**On** Vseeno je, ali vprashash mene ali sebe, v mojem imenu. Che tega vajen she nisi, naj bo po tvojem, sprashuj me, ne imej zadrzhkov, ne obzira.

**Pilat** Moram porochati, koliko je njih, tebi vdanih, zvestih, ki sledijo pot twoja. Najbolj vazhno pa je shtevilo uchencev tvojih? Dvanajst je bilo njih, potem je eden odshel, oziroma ti si ga sam poslal, in ostalo ti je enajst njih; je prav tako?

**On** Ni tako. S tem shtetjem, preshtevanjem je krizh. Kako preshtel bosh njih, ko pa jih nikoli v njih vseh ni; njih shtevilo se spreminja, v trajanju ni ga. Vendar vzemiva to na grobo. Potem je nekako tako:

Njh ni enajst, ampak dvanajst; ker dvanajsti ni odshel ves, in za vedno ni odshel; dasi je res, da sem ga jaz poslal. Potem, ni jih dvanajst, ampak trinajst, le da trinajsti she ne ve za sebe, da on je trinajsti; she natanchneje pa je, da on ves she ne ve, da on je trinajsti uchenec moj. Vendar tako shtetje je zares grobo.

V resnici jih je mnogo vech. Tako je v vsakem njih trojnost, so trije; in tudi ta trojnost ima svetlo in temno stran, zato rekel bi, da jih vsaj podvoji. Po shtetju tem jih je sedemdeset osem. Morda pravilneje je, che shtel bi jih da v vsakem njih trinajst je: she dvanajst drugih. Po tem shtetju je njih sto in petdesetsest; in redko vsi v vseh so. Nekaj njih je vedno odsotnih. To povem ti samo zato, da uvidish, da shtetje njih je nesmisel preshtevanja, tega, kar je po bistvu svojem neshtevno.

Rajko Shushtarshich

## THE STORY OF PILATE II

### *His farewell message*

*His farewell message  
About them, about him and about the others*

**Pilate** This report is so strange, it seems unlikely; does this change anything about him, the report, I mean?

**He** It changes nothing about him, nor in him,  
you may write it freely.

**Pilate** I cannot write it myself, I will have to ask you  
about what I am unsure of.

**He** It does not matter if you ask me or yourself, in my name.  
If you are not yet used to this, you may have your way, ask me,  
do not hesitate, have no scruples.

**Pilate** I must report on how many are devoted to you, faithful to you, and  
who follow your path. But the most important is the number of your  
disciples.

There were twelve, then one left, or rather you sent him away,  
and you were left with eleven; is that not so?

**He** It is not so. This counting is difficult. How will you count them if they  
are never all there; their number is constantly changing, it is not constant.  
But let us try to reach an approximate number. It should be something like  
this:

They are not eleven but twelve; because the twelfth one did not leave in his  
entirety and he has not gone forever; although it is true that I sent him. In  
this case they are not twelve but thirteen, but the thirteenth does not yet  
know he is the thirteenth; and it is even more precise to say that he does not  
yet know in his entirety that he is my thirteenth disciple. But such counting  
is really very approximate. In reality there are many more of them. So each  
one of them is in three, they are three; and even this triplicity has a bright  
side and a dark side, that is why I suggest that you at least double them.

After counting then, they number seventy eight. But maybe it is even more  
correct to count thirteen in each of them: twelve more. They then number  
one hundred and fifty; and they are rarely all in all. Some of them are always  
absent. I tell you this only so that you may see that counting them has no  
meaning; it makes no sense to count what in its essence is uncountable.

**Pilat** Ali lahko potem zapishem tako:

On imel je uchencev veliko, a preshteti njih ni mogoche. Vsak njih je bil njemu vdan in svoboden po sebi; in v sebi je bil svoboden in nesvoboden, resnichen in neresnichen, lep in nelep;

in bil je svetlo teman in temno svetal po duhu svojem; in bil je iskra bolj ali manj svetlecha, ki se utrne in ugasne hkrati.

Lahko bi rekli, da bilo je shest njih v enem. A bilo jih ni shest, ker njihov ton se preliva zdaj v eno, zdaj v drugo barvo, odtenek. Potem bi lahko rekli, da njih bilo je troje le, v enem; a tudi tako ni mogoche rechi, ker njih trojstvo je v njih sebstvu; eno.

Njihov Mi pa je she veliko bolj prepletten in spleten, v njih Mistvu. V vsakem njih so zhe v duhu njih vsi, vsak njih je z njim Mistvom prezhet.

Che pa bi sedaj nadaljevali z njih mogochostjo bivanja v trajanju, ko sochasno bivajo, ko za nas she ne bivajo, in ko enako bivajo, ko za nas ne bivajo vech, bo gotovo zadoshchalo, da uvidite, da takega porochila ni mogoche niti razumeti, kaj shele sestaviti. Naj sklenem porochilo o njih shtevilu, da jih preshteti ni mogoche in da je njih preshtevanje nesmiselno. Bi bilo tako porochanje zadovoljivo?

**On** Za porochilo bi moralo zadoshchatи. Le nekaj bi bilo treba dodati resnici na ljubo.

Njih trojstvo je v njih sebstvu eno; a njihovo trojstvo v njih jazu ni eno.

**Pilat** Na to bi res pozabil.

**On** Pa ne bi smel, to je bistveno.

**Pilat** Sedaj pa moram porochati o svojstvu Tebe, njihov voditelj si, kot tak dalech najbolj pomemben.

**On** Dvomim, da bo tako, vendar dajva lepo po vrsti. O meni vendar vesh toliko tega, vech kot kdorkoli vas, vech kot uchenci drugi.

**Pilat** In ravno v tem je problem. Kaj naj porocham?

**On** Porochaj, kar je za uradno porochilo potrebno, tako neznaten del tebe, tvoja uradna vloga bo zhe vedela, kaj je to.

**Pilat** Problem je ravno v tem, mislim, da je moja kozha uradna za vselej izgubila lastnika, ne morem vech vanjo, che pa poskusham, sem ji odvech. Ne morem rechi, da sem jo prerasel, vendar jaz ne bom nikoli vech pravi uradnik.

**On** To vem, Pilat, vendar porochilo lahko z lahkoto sestavish.

**Pilate** So may I write it down as follows: He had many disciples, but they cannot be counted. Each one of them was devoted to him and free in himself;

and in himself he was free and unfree, real and unreal, appealing and unappealing;

and he was lightly dark and darkly light in his soul;

and he was a more or less glowing spark, which lights and extinguishes itself at the same time. We could say that there were six of them in one.

But they were not six because their tone first flows into one and then another colour.

Then we could say that they were only three, in one; but neither can this be said because their triplicity is in their self; one.

But their We is much more complex in their We-dom.

Each of them already contains every one of them in spirit, their We-dom pervades each one of them.

But if we now keep to the possibility that they live eternally, when they exist at the same time, when they do not yet exist for us, and when they continue to exist although for us they no longer exist, it will certainly suffice for you to realise that such a report cannot be understood, let alone written up.

May I conclude the report about their number by saying that they cannot be counted and that counting them has no meaning.

Would such a report be satisfactory?

**He** It should suffice for the report. Only one thing should be added in order to satisfy the truth. Their triplicity is one in their self; but their triplicity is not one in their I.

**Pilate** I would rather forget about this.

**He** But you should not, it is essential.

**Pilate** But now I must report on Your self, you are their leader and as such by far the most important.

**He** I doubt it will be so, but let us take things in the right order. After all, you know so much about me, more than any of you, more than the other disciples.

**Pilate** And this is precisely the problem. What should I report?

**He** Write what is necessary for the official report, such an insignificant part of you, your official role will know what this is.

**Pilate** The problem, I believe, lies in the fact that my official skin has forever lost its owner, I cannot get back inside it and if I try,

I am superfluous to it. I cannot say I have outgrown it but I will never again be a true official.

**He** I **know** this, Pilate, but you can easily write up the report.

**Pilat** Poskusil bom, vendar chisto na kratko.

On je: Jezus Nazarenski, kralj Judov,  
vojvoda tega sveta, samozvani,  
ki slishal je klic v sebi, o poslanstvu svojem.

Je: Vojvoda neba, sin Gospoda vojska  
nad vojskami, sin duha izrednega.

Za chasa zhivljenja je razshiril nauk svoj polovici cesarstva  
rimskega: na zahodu na Grshko, na vzhodu do Azije.

Njega usmrtitev, krizhanje oskrunjenega kralja Judov bo, po mojem  
skromnem mnenju, samo she razshirilo nauk njegov po vsem  
cesarstvu in dlje. Edina reshitev za nas je, da nauk njegov  
sprejmemo, ga vkljuchimo v organizacijo nasho, za moch nasho.

Zaskrbljujoche je dejstvo, da Judje tega niso zmogli, dasi ni  
mogoche rechi, da nekateri vplivni med njimi tega niso videli.

To se je torej ugodno odvilo za nas. Vendar me skrbi, che  
bomo mi to preizkushnjo bolje prestali. Naj ne bom Pilat  
rimski, che se motim v tem.

Je: Sin Boga, to ni mogoche ne videti,  
Sin edinega Boga. Njega Bog ni Bog,  
ki ga on priznava; je Bog, ki je v njem, v meni, v vas. To  
lahko ne vidite, a po mojem skromnem videnju odsvetujem  
to; tu ne gre za moch in oblast, tu gre za vero vase, za smisel  
vsega bivanja nashega. Vrednote, ki jih uchi, so: resnica,  
svoboda, ljubezen in z njimi vse druge. So tako zhive, zlasti  
slednja, da dalech presegajo moch preprichevanja nam znanega,  
one zhive po sebi. In vechne so. Tu se torej ne da storiti  
nichesar. In naj ne bom zhivo bitje, naj ne bom kamen, che se  
motim. On ni prvih na svetu tem. On pozna ga, takega kot  
je, kot bil je in kot bo she. Pozna ga po sebi, po bistvu  
svojem; a pozna ga tudi po drugih in po Bogu ga pozna.  
Bi to zadoshchalo za porochilo, ga je vprashal Pilat?

**On** Meni na ljubo bi lahko dodal, kaj jaz sem tudi brez  
poslanstva mojega.

**Pilat** Je pa on tudi chisto navaden chlovek, morda je zadnji chlovek on.  
Je sin chloveka, je sin, ki je moral prehoditi vso pot chloveka,  
da bi nashel duh njegov sebe in da bi nashel on Boga, sebstvo  
svoje.

**On** Pilat, ali si to ti? Si she uradnik? Che si ganil mene v srce moje  
ranjeno, kaj ni to znamenje, ki govoris, da je porochanje tvoje  
chloveshko; je tako dobro za porochilo?

**Pilate** I will try, but will make it very brief.

He is: Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews,  
duke of this world, self-proclaimed,  
who heard a voice within himself, about his mission.  
He is: the Duke of the skies, son of the Lord of hosts,  
son of the spirit of the exceptional.

During his life he spread his teaching to half the Roman Empire:  
to the west as far as Greece and to the east as far as Asia.

His execution, the crucifixion of the dishonoured king of the Jews will,  
in my humble opinion, only serve to spread his teaching throughout  
the empire and further afield. Our only salvation is to accept his  
teaching, to incorporate it into our organisation, for the benefit of our  
power.

It is a worrying fact that the Jews could not do this, although it cannot  
be said that some influential ones among them did not see this.

So this has worked in our favour. But I don't know if we will get  
through this trial any better. May I not be Pilate of Rome if I am  
mistaken in this.

He: the Son of God cannot even be seen, the Son of the only God.  
His God is not the God whom he acknowledges; he is the God who is  
in him, in me, in you. You may not see this, but in my humble  
understanding I would advise against it; this is not a question of power  
and authority, it is a question of belief in oneself, the meaning of all our  
existence. The values he preaches are: truth, freedom, love and with it  
all others. They are so alive, especially the latter, that they far surpass  
the power of conviction of what we are familiar with, they are alive on  
their own. And they are eternal. So nothing can be done about them.  
And may I not be a living being, may I not be a stone if I am wrong.  
He is not on this earth for the first time. He knows him as he is, as he  
was and as he will be. He knows him by himself, by his essence; but he  
also knows him through others and through God.

Is this enough for the report, Pilate asked him?

**He** To please me you could also add what I am even without  
my mission.

**Pilate** But even he is a very ordinary man, perhaps he is the last man. He is the  
son of man, he is the son who had to walk the whole path of man, to find his own  
spirit and to find God, his own self.

**He** Pilate, is that you? Are you still the official? If you have moved my wounded  
heart, is this not a sign which speaks to say that your report is human; is this good  
for the report?

**Pilat** Ni, vendar mi lahko zaupash, izkushnjam mojim, to bodo mirno spregledali.

Sedaj vem, kaj je bilo to, kar je naredilo meni poročanje to, o tebi, mogoče, kar dalo mu je smisel. Naj ostane tako, brez tega bi bilo za mene nesmiselno, jaz moram pretihotapiti nekaj malega zhivega v she tako absurdno porochilo uradno. A kako naj ga koncham. Sedaj vem, kaj si mislil, ko rekel si, da mi poročanje o tebi ne bo najtezhje. O Njem jaz ne morem porochati, kako naj uradno porocham o Bogu.

**On** To je sedaj samo she formalnost. Porochaj formalno, a v tem ti jaz ne smem pomagati, tu si ti vechji od mene.

**Pilat** Sedaj pa mislim, da je porochilo konchano. Potem, kar rekel si mi, ga jaz ne morem zmaskiti, za nobeno ceno vech.

**On** Morash, Pilat, ti to zmoreš, le nekaj si pozabil. To le sanje so.

Pilat zhe zdavnaj ni vedel, kaj so le sanje, sanj sanje, in kaj resnichnost njih. Vendar olajshanje je obchutil.

Kako chudni so ti prehodi, ko z njimi magichno zmorejo ljudje pocheti stvari in dejanja, ki bi jih sicer she v sanjah ne upali.

Uradno torej Boga ni. In che ga ni, chemu potem ljudje vsega sveta, chasov vseh, toliko chasa zapravijo na mislih o njem: dokazu njega bivanja, traktatih, razpravah. A vse to je malenkost, che shtejemo shtevilo proshenj in upanj, poslanih njemu. V tem se ne more meriti z njim noben urad za proshnje in pritozhbe v cesarstvu, niti na svetu vsi uradi skupaj, ne.

Nasha naloga je, da ljudi od tako shtevilnih, in tako velikih zmot odvrnemo s sredstvi vsemi, ki so.

Neuradno pa Bog je. Je najbolj gotova zaznava, ki jo sploh imamo; je od dejstev nashe zavesti najbolj gotovo dejstvo, edino gotovejshe od svobode.

Che ga torej hochemo zatajiti sebi; moramo vedeti, kdo On je. Pot do Njega vodi dalech tja chez, chez meje razuma, pot vodi k Njemu, a ne moremo rechi, da je On cilj, ker cilj je neskonchen, za nas pa cilj to ni, narobe bi ga razumeli; a tega ravno nochemo. To porochilo ni traktat o Bogu, zato bom v poročanju svoboden in prichel tam, kjer nam je On po mojem skromnem mnenju blizu. Che hochemo zatreti Boga, moramo zacheti pri zatiranju svobode. Ne mislim, da nismo tu zhe mnogo naredili, ker se to tako naravno ujema z nasho potrebo po mochi in oblasti; a dovolil bi si omembo, da smo premalo naredili za chloveka samega. Mi mu moramo pomagati, da on zatre svobodo sam v sebi; in zatrl bo z njo Boga.

**Pilate** It is not, but you can trust me, my experience, they will overlook this.

I now know what it was that made my report on you possible, which gave it meaning.

May it remain so, without it there would be no sense in it for me, I must sneak a little life into an official report that is so absurd.

But how should I conclude it. I now know what you had in mind when you said that reporting on you will not be my hardest task. I cannot report on Him, how can I write an official report on God.

**He** This is only a formality now. Write a formal report, but I cannot help you do this, you are greater than me in this.

**Pilate** I believe the report is finished now. After what you have said to me I cannot resume it, for any price.

**He** You must, Pilate, you can do this, you have only forgotten one thing. These are only dreams.

Pilate had long since forgotten what dreams were, the dreams of dreams, and what their reality is. But he felt relief. How strange these transitions, in which people are magically able to do things they would otherwise not dare do even in their dreams. So officially there is no God. And if he does not exist, why do people all over the world, and in all times, spend so much time thinking about him: proving his existence, writing treatises and dissertations. But all this is a trifle compared with all the prayers and hopes sent to him. In this respect, no office for demands or complaints in the empire, not even all the offices in the world together can compare with him. It is our task to turn people away from such numerous and such great errors with all means available. But unofficially God exists. He is the most certain perception we have; he is the surest of the facts known by our consciousness, the only one that is surer than freedom. If, therefore, we want to conceal it from our own selves, we must know who He is. The path to Him leads far over yonder, beyond the frontiers of reason, the path leads to Him but we cannot say that He is the goal because the goal is eternal, and this is not the goal for us, we would understand it wrongly; and this is what we want to avoid. This report is not a treatise about God, so I will be free in my reporting and begin at the point where, in my humble opinion, He is close to us. If we want to suppress God, we must begin by suppressing freedom. I do not think that we have not already accomplished much in this domain because this goes so naturally with our need for power and authority; but I will permit myself to mention that we have not done enough for the human being. We must help him to crush the freedom in himself; and he will thereby suppress God.

Potem je tu resnica; resnica chloveka, ki sam se dokoplje do nje; che to se bo razpaslo po cesarstvu kot navada, bo ta potegnila za sabo svobodo misli in izrazhanja nje; in zopet se bo to konchalo s svobodo in kako bo potem, sem zhe porochal. Resnico je treba torej strogo nadzirati, usmerjati in vsakemu chloveku nuditi vech nje, kot bi jo v sanjah lahko si zhelel, seveda mislim na nasho uradno resnico.

Potem je tu, in ni najmanj nevarna: ljubezen, ki jo je s takim uspehom in lahkoto, pred nosom nashe najboljshe tajne sluzhbe sveta, shiril zgoraj omenjeni Nazarenchan. Nevarna je ljubezen njegova, ni mogoche videti, kako dalech je kdo prezhet z njo in kako blizu izvoru nje je v sebi. Mi smo mnogo storili do danes, da bi jo zamolchali, sprevrgli, utesnili in definirali; da bi ona ne bila vech to, kar je po njem, in kar je.

Che ubijemo njo, bomo z lahkoto to opravili z drugimi nesistematisiranimi, chloveshkim vrednotami. Namesto njih moramo zgraditi vrednotne sisteme novega chloveka, ki bo pravi chlovek sistema ali vsaj sistemov. Mi moramo dati vech na nashe sle mochi: laz, strah, sovrashhtvo. Izkoristiti moramo sovrashhtva silo, lazhi slepoto in strah pred svobodo, da zligejo se v en sam oblak, ki zharel bo v njih, iz njih. Samo tako bomo usmerili vrednote v njih za dva tisoč let.

Che kdo misli, da ni tako resen polozhaj, kot se meni zdi, naj pove, kaj se lahko she zoperstavi, sicer neuradnemu Bogu, che ne sistem?

Nato je vprashal Pilat njega: Je bila taka uvodna zatemnitev porochila pravilna, je to sploh dopustno porachati, tako porochati?

**On** Kako naj bi videl svetlobo, che ne vidish teme v sebi? Che pa temo pravilno osvetlish, je to enako dobro, kot che svetlobo senchish. Menda ti je jasno, da popolnega porochila ni.

**Pilat** Tako sem slutil, vendar prehoda nazaj ne vidim, ne vidim ga: kako bi se naravno prenila osvetlitev teme v senchenje svetlobe k luchi; vsaj v porochilu ne vidim tega.

**On** V porochilu se to ne more naravno prelivati. Porochilo mora biti jasno, bolj kot traktat. Naj te ne moti, che ne bo zhivo; porochila so mrtva.

Then there is the truth; the truth of a man who uncovers it by himself; if this spreads throughout the empire as a habit, then it will bring in its wake freedom of thought and its expression; and again this will end with freedom and what will ensue I have already reported. The truth must, therefore, be strictly controlled, directed and every person must be offered more of it than they could possibly want in their dreams, of course, I have in mind our official truth.

Then we have here, and it is not the least dangerous: love, which the above mentioned Nazarene spread with such success and ease, under the noses of the world's best secret service. His love is dangerous, it cannot be seen to what extent it pervades anyone and how near its source one may be in oneself. We have done much to this day to keep it quiet, to overturn it, restrict it and definite it; to stop it being what it is through him and what it is.

If we kill it, we will easily do the same with other unsystemised human values. In their place we must build value systems for the new man who will be a true man of the system or at least of systems. We must rely more on our desire for power: lies, fear and hatred. We must make use of the force of hatred, the blindness of lies and fear of freedom, so that together they may form one cloud, which will glow in them and from them. Only this way will we direct the values in them for two thousand years.

If anyone thinks the situation is not as serious as I believe it is, then they should tell me what else can possibly resist the admittedly unofficial God if not the system?

Then Pilate asked him: Was such an introductory obscuration of the report correct, is it at all acceptable to report on this, to report in this way?

**He** How can you see the light if you do not see the darkness in yourself? But if you light up the darkness in the right way, this is as good as if you shaded the light. I expect you know that there is no such thing as a perfect report.

**Pilate** I thought this was the case but I see no way back, I do not see it: how could the illumination of darkness flow naturally into the shading of light to light; I do not see any of this in the report.

**He** This cannot flow naturally in the report. The report must be clear, more than the treatise. Do not worry if it will not be alive; reports are dead.

**Pilat** Jaz pishem porochilo nashemu bogu, on je zemeljski bog, en chlovek se mora odrechi chlovechnosti najbolj, da bi poosebljal sistem. Sistem je bozhanstvo, je brezosebno, zato pravichno edino; on pa je bog, ki je konkreten, vsi ga vidijo in obchutijo z navadnimi ochmi; to je edina prednost za negotovost, ki nam jo zemeljski bog povzrocha, ko se ne more razosebiti v sistem. Sistem sam tezhi k temu, da se znebi she te svoje zadnje pomanjkljivosti. A do tega je she dalech, za sedaj je cesar bog.

**On** Dokler je tako, bo zemeljski bog hotel vedeti najnujnejshe o neuradnem Bogu.

**Pilat** Torej se otepam zaman. Shematsko je tako:

A poprej she opomba:

Che mi kdo reche, da sramotim ga v porochili;  
che mi kdo reche, che sem ga videl, da to porocham;  
mu jaz moram dati prav.

Che on vidi moje videnje po svojem videnju;  
potem ima on v tistem hipu prav, in jaz nichesar  
ne vem vech, in ne morem mu nich sporochiti,  
v tem zapisniku zhe ne.

Jaz nisem videl Avatarjev na gori, pa vseeno vem, da problem ni bil majhen. Takih stvari si moji porochevalci preprosto ne morejo izmisiliti, tem manj, che so slabi. In taka porochila jaz preverim, ne enkrat.

Da bi si to Oni izmislili, da bi varali sebe, tega trdil ne bo nihche, ki je srechal enega njih. Ti ljudje so zadnji, ki bi jim lahko rekeli, da varajo sebe. O chudezhih sem porochal podrobno v dosedanjih porochilih, enako o *Avatarjih in Njega zapovedih*.

Naj potrdim samo najnujnejshe, to, kar se mi zdi posebej zanimivo in je za cesarstvo pomembno.

Chez dva tisoch let bodo hoteli chudezhe z dokazi, natanchno izmerjene, z dokazi potrjene, in kaj bo to spremenilo na njih neveri? Vseeno ne bodo verjeli ne sebi ne svojim ochem, trdovratno bodo bredli po neznanem.

Chez dava tisoch let bodo hoteli videti Gospoda vojska nad vojskami, Avatarjev vojvodo, vojvod Vojvodo. In kaj jim lahko reche On? Da Boga ni videl niti On. Tega On ne bo ne zanikal ne potrdil. On to je in vendor ni edini Bog. On ima Boga kakor mi, dasi tako rechi ni pravilno, kasneje bom pojasnil to. Vero, ki jo oznanja, oznanja toliko, kolikor je moremo dojeti, a ta vera je Njegova vera. Cheprav je zhalostno ne imeti vere Njegove, je she bolj zhalostno ne imeti vere vase;

**Pilate** I am writing a report to our god, he is a god of this earth, one man must give up humanity the most in order to personify the system. The system is a deity, it is impersonal and therefore justly one; but he is a god who is concrete, all can see him and perceive him with ordinary eyes; this is the only advantage of the uncertainty caused by our terrestrial god who cannot depersonalise himself into the system. The system itself strives to rid itself of this, its last imperfection. But that is still far away, for now the emperor is god.

**He** For as long as this is so, the terrestrial god will want to know what is most important about the unofficial God.

**Pilate** So it is to no avail that I am trying to get out of this.

Schematically it is as follows:

But first a comment:

If anyone says I am shaming him in the report;  
if anyone says I have seen him to be able to report on him;  
I must say they are right.

If he sees my seeing according to his own seeing;  
then in that moment he is right and I know nothing more, and cannot tell him anything, at least not in this report.

I have not seen the Avatars on the mountain, and yet I know that the problem was not a small one. Such things can simply not be made up by my reporters, especially not if they are bad. And I verify such reports, not just once.

That They could have invented it, to deceive themselves, no-one who has met one of them will ever claim that. These people are the last ones you could accuse of deceiving themselves. I have reported in detail on miracles in my reports thus far, also on Avatars and His commandments. May I confirm only what is most urgent, that which I find to be particularly interesting and important for the empire. In two thousand years time they will want miracles with proof, precisely measured, confirmed with evidence, and what will this change about their unbelief? They will still believe neither themselves nor their eyes; they will stubbornly wade in the unknown.

In two thousand years time, they will want to see the Lord of hosts, the duke of the Avatars, the Prince of princes. And what can He say to them? That not even He has seen God. He will neither deny this nor confirm it. For that is what he is and yet he is not the only God. He has God like we have him, although it is not correct to put it this way; I will explain this later. The faith he is proclaiming, he is proclaiming to such an extent that we can understand it, but this faith is His faith. Although it is sad not to have His faith, it is even sadder not to have faith in oneself;

potem so tu zapovedi, che hochete; in kolikor hochete. Mi tu ne bomo skoparili, niti malo ne. On pa je ravno tu zadrzhan. Ali ni to chudno, kako smo si v vsem nasprotni; vredno se je zamisliti; potem pa zasuti z zakoni ljudstvo. To nas bo, oblast nasho, reshilo, morda za dva tisoch let.

Kolikor razumem jaz, je bil to glavni razlog spora med Njim in Mojzesom, tako hud, da ju je Elija moral miriti. Mojzes je dal veliko, skoraj vse na zakon, On pa je velichal samo vrednote.

Potem je moral popustiti tudi On. O zapovedih je dejal, da so za tiste, ki ne vidijo. Izrazhal se je zelo skrivnostno. Nekako tako:

che jih je deset, potem veste, katere so,  
che jih je pet, potem veste, katere so,  
che sta dve, potem sta ti dve glavni zapovedi in veste, kateri sta;

in ko bo samo ena, boste vedeli, katera bo to, in vse druge bodo v njej;

in she ta bo prevech, ker je zapoved; a dalech je she do tega.

Vi potrebujete vsaj dve zapovedi, vendar zapovejte si jih sami.

Muslim, da je to porochilo, kljub nejasnosti, za nas zelo pomembno. Jasno je mogoche razbrati, da bomo mi tezhili k nasprotнемu in ljudstva zasipali z zapovedmi. Nekako dva tisoch let bi to normativno bogatjenje ljudi moralo vzdrzhati, potem si bo treba izmisli kaj drugega, morda neke vrste samozakonodajo, sicer bo vse izgubljeno, muslim seveda na oblast. To je tako, ko Boga uradno ni, ali pa, ko je On sam uraden, muslim, urejeno predstavljen.

Pilat ga proseche pogleda, vprasha:

Bog Oche ima tudi trojstvo edinosti v sebi, tega jaz ne morem videti.

**On** Samo zato, ker je ne vidish v sebi.

**Pilat** On je Bog Oche,

je Sveti Duh,

je Bozhanskost sama, On sam je Bog v Sebstvu Njegovem.

Mi pa bi radi videli njegovega Boga, in potem Boga njegovega Boga, in tako v nedogled.

then there are the commandments, if you like; and as much as you like. We will not be mean here, not even a little. But he is reserved in this domain. Is it not strange how different we are in all things; it is worth thinking about this; and then to bury the people under a heap of laws. This will save our authority, perhaps for two thousand years.

As far as I understand, this was the main reason for the dispute between Him and Moses which was so bad that Elijah had to pull them apart. Moses attached great importance, almost all importance, to the law while He only extolled values. Then He too had to ease off. He said the commandments are for those who do not see. He used very mysterious language. Something like this:

if there are ten, then you know what they are,

if there are five, then you know what they are,

if two, then they are the principal commandments and you know which ones they are;

and when there will be only one, you will know what it is, and all the others will be in it;

and even that one will be too much because it is a commandment; but this is still far away.

You need at least two commandments, but set them for yourselves.

I believe the report is very important for us despite its ambiguities. It is very evident that we will tend towards the opposite and shower the peoples with commandments. This normative enriching of the people should last around two thousand years, then something new will have to be invented, perhaps some kind of self-legislation, otherwise everything will be lost, I mean the government of course. That is what happens if God officially does not exist, or when He is official, I mean presented in an orderly fashion.

Pilate looks at him beseechingly and asks:

God the Father also has the trinity of unity in himself, I cannot see that.

**He** Only because you cannot see it in yourself.

**Pilate** He is God the Father,

the Holy Spirit,

Deity itself, He is God in His own Self.

But we would like to see his God, and then his God's God, and so and so forth.

**On** To samo zato, ker vsakich pozabite, da ste tudi vi Bogovi.  
Njegov Bog je edini Bog, in vash Bog je edini Bog. To pa, kar  
vi ishchete, je chista transcendanca; in che vam to nich ne pove,  
potem tako je: Bog je eden in Njega ni she nihche videl;  
in che bi ga videl, bi Bog sam videl Sebe; in vidi se,  
v Bogu Ochetu v Nas, v Vas; se vidi;  
in gleda Sebe, to je vse.

**Pilat** Sicer pa, komu sploh pishem to porochilo?

Sedanjemu cesarju cesarjev?

Cesarstvu rimskeemu?

Gotovo ne.

Cesarstvom, kraljestvom naslednjim?

Cesarstvu, kraljestvu brez cesarja?

Sistemu brez chloveka boga?

Sistemu brez chloveka?

Morda tako bo, to bo.

On ni vech odgovoril. Gotovo, da je bilo to vse, kar je hotel,  
da pride v zapisnik.

To je bilo njegovo slovo, si je rekел Pilat. Sedaj bi moral prvo  
inachico porochila zopet popraviti, ker trinajsti uchenec je zhe  
vedel za sebe,  
vsaj za del sebe,  
vsaj shematsko, je vedel.

Pilat je she enkrat preveril shifrirano porochilo *O Avatarjih  
in Njega zapovedih*, to je porochilo svojih porochevalcev in  
svoje opombe v njem. Ni ga dojel, dasi je nekako vedel, da  
je srzh tajne njegove zhe vsa v zapisu zaslishanja, a tezhko mu je  
razbrati – deshifrirati tisti pravi pomen njen.

Nekaj je v tem zapisu manjkalo, ni bilo do konca izrecheno.

Ravno prava vzpodbuda zanj, da je zachel s preiskavo v duhu.

Zapisal je:

**He** Only because you keep forgetting that you too are Gods. His God is the only God, and your God is the only God. What you are looking for is pure transcendence; and if this does not make it clear to you, then it is so: God is one and no-one has seen him; and if anyone were to see him, God himself would see Himself; and he sees himself, in God the Father in Us, in You; he sees himself; and observes Himself, that is all.

**Pilate** Otherwise, who am I even writing this report for?

The present emperor of emperors?

The Roman Empire?

Probably not.

Future empires and kingdoms?

An empire or kingdom without an emperor?

A system without a man god?

A system without a man?

Perhaps it will be this way, will be.

He did not reply any more. This was probably all he wanted to appear in the report.

This was his farewell, said Pilate to himself. Now he should correct the first version of the report because the thirteenth disciple already knew of himself, at least part of himself, at least schematically, he knew.

Pilate verified the encoded report *About the Avatars and His commandments* once more; that is the report of his reporters and his notes in it. He did not understand it although he somehow knew that the core of his secret is already all in the report of the hearing, but it is hard for him to make it out – to decipher its true meaning.

Something was missing from this report, not everything had been said. This was just the right incentive for him to begin examining through the spirit.

He wrote:

## Dve zapovedi

*1 Ljubi Boga svojega v sebi,  
sebstvo svoje ljubi.*

*2 Ljubi tistega, ki ti je blizu  
kot sebstvo svoje.*

Potem je pazljivo prebral zapis svoj,  
pa ni bil zadovoljen. Nich zhivega zanj ni bilo v njem.  
In zapisal je tako: Dve zapovedi, che jih zhe potrebujesh,  
(potem je »zhe« prechrtal) in nadaljeval tako:

*Ljubi Boga svojega v sebi,  
iz sebe ga ljubi,  
z vsem srcem svojim;  
iz dushe sebe,  
z umom chistim;  
iz sebstra svojega,  
v iskri Boga v sebi ga ljubish.*

*Ljubi bliznjega svojega, tistega, ki ti je blizu,  
kakor ljubish sebe samega:  
iz vsega srca svojega,  
iz dushe svoje,  
po sebstvu svojem.  
Po iskri Boga v sebi ga ljubish.*

Nejevoljen je bil Pilat nase, sam ni vedel zakaj.  
»O, Bog – da bi ga vprashal takrat, ko bil je she chas, ko  
chas se je ustavil.«

**On** ga ni mogel gledati takega. Vprasha Pilata: »Kdo ti  
ju zapoveduje, Pilat?«

Pilat se je zdrznil, bil presenechen je, veselo zachuden, pa malo  
prestrashen in za odtenek she jezen, a zbral se je hitro, kot le  
on je to mogel, odgovoril negotovo:

»Jaz sam.«

**On** Potem stori tako!

*Two commandments*

*1 Love your God in yourself,  
love your self.*

*2 Love the one who is close to you  
like you love your self.*

Then he carefully read his report,  
but was not satisfied. There was nothing alive in it for him.  
And he wrote as follows: Two commandments, if you really need them,  
(then he crossed out »really«) and continued as follows:

*Love your God in your self,  
love him from your self,  
with all your heart;  
from your soul,  
with a pure mind;  
from your self,  
in God's spark you love him in your self.*

*Love your neighbour, the one who is close to you,  
as you love your self:  
from all your heart,  
from your soul,  
by your self.  
By God's spark in yourself you love him.*

Pilate was annoyed with himself, he did not know why.  
»O, God – if I had asked him then, when there was still time, when  
time stopped.«

**He** could not watch him like that. He asked Pilate: »Who is giving you  
these commandments, Pilate?«

Pilate flinched, he was surprised, pleasantly surprised, a little afraid and  
even a little angry, but he quickly regained his composure as only he  
could do, and answered uncertainly:

»I myself.«

**He** Then do it!

**Pilat** Ljubim Boga svojega,  
iz sebe ga ljubim;  
z vsem srcem svojim,  
vso dusho svojo,  
umom chistim;  
iz sebstva svojega,  
z iskro Boga v sebi ga ljubim.

**On** Sam bosh Pilat, osamljen...

**Pilat** In tistega, ki mi je blizu,  
njega ljubim kot sebe samega;  
iz sebe ga ljubim;  
s srcem svojim,  
dusho svojo,  
umom svojim;  
iz sebstva svojega,  
z iskro Boga v sebi ga ljubim,  
po najsvetlejshem v njem.

**On** Zakaj potrebujesh dve zapovedi?

**Pilat** Največji sta, vse druge so v njiju.

**On** Zakaj potrebujesh dve zapovedi, Pilat?

**Pilat** Ko ljubim Boga v sebi,  
iz sebe,  
vsega bistva svojega,  
ljubim Vse;  
en Bog je,  
eno smo v njem.

**On** Che ljubish tako, ne potrebujesh nobene zapovedi  
vech, vendar ti sedaj lahko ljubish le tiste,  
ki so ti blizu, resnicno res blizu.

Pilat je zopet popravil zapis, sedaj je pisalo:  
Dve zapovedi, che jih she potrebujesh.

**On** Ne trudi se, Pilat. Tu chasa ni. Chas je za nas  
blizžina Bogu, prezhetost z Njim.  
A tako je, che potrebujesh dve zapovedi, zapovej  
si jih sam, naj ti jih ne zapove nihče, ki je v  
tebi gost tuj, ki te povleche tja, kamor ti nochesh.  
Najvishji sta to zapovedi, vse druge so v njiju.  
Vendar ti ne potrebujesh vech Elijevih zapovedi.

**Pilate** I love my God,  
I love him from my self;  
with all my heart,  
all my soul,  
my pure mind;  
from my self,  
with God's spark in my self I love him.

**He** You will be alone Pilate, alone...

**Pilate** And the one who is close to me,  
I love him like my self;  
from my self I love him;  
with my heart,  
my soul,  
my mind;  
from my self,  
with God's spark in my self I love him,  
through what is brightest in him.

**He** Why do you need two commandments?

**Pilate** They are the greatest, all the others are within them.

**He** Why do you need two commandments, Pilate?

**Pilate** When I love God in my self,  
from my self,  
all my self,  
I love Everything;  
he is one God,  
we are one in him.

**He** If you love this way, you do not need any more commandments,  
but you can now love only those who are close to you,  
truly close to you.

Pilate again corrected the report so it now read:

Two commandments if you still need them.

**He** Do not try so hard, Pilate. There is no time here.  
Time for us is God's vicinity, being imbued with Him.  
But so be it, if you need two commandments, set them over yourself,  
let no-one else — who is a foreign guest in you  
and who will take you where you do not want to go — set them over you.  
They are the highest commandments, all others are within them.  
But you no longer need Elijah's commandments.

*Ti potrebujesh le eno »zapovedk, in ona ni moja zapoved, ni »zapovedk« Njegova, ona je vednost, gotorost je, ki govorí sama zase; ko jo resnichno res sprejmesh, prerodi te, spremeni ti vse troje zhivljenje, zhivljenja smisel: Neumrljivost dushe je : Nje vechno zhivljenje.*

*Ko resnichno resnichno ljubish Boga svojega v sebi, iz sebe samega, bistva svojega, tri vrednote moje zamenjajo ti vse zapovedi. Kdor ima vrednote Njegove, in moje, ga one vodijo, one govore same za sebe, po sebi govore, same se razoderajo, sebe velichajo, med sabo se druzhijo, vodijo v vechnost, k Bogu, vechno zhivljenje so one.*

Pilat se je prebudil, zelo nerad, nikoli v zhivljenju se ni she tako nerad zbujal. Rekel je she:  
Tako dalech je torej zhe to. V sluzhbì cesarstvu, odtujeni sebe, sem tako dalech prishel, da sanjam zapisnike.

*Sedaj je bil Pilat resnichno sam.*

*Do pogovora z ljudmi ni mu bilo, on je bil sam sebi tujec. Govoril bi Pilat s psom, ki ga je, njega, ljubezni uchil, do ljudi, in drugih bitij, ki niso ljudje.*

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Ja 12/50, 13/34, 14/21  
Mt 22/37-40, Ma 12/29-31, Lk 10/27

*You only need one »commandment«,  
and it is not my commandment, not His »commandment«,  
it is knowledge, certainty, which speaks for itself;  
when you truly accept it, it revives you,  
it changes all of your life, the meaning of your life:*

*The immortality of the soul is: Its eternal life.*

*When you truly, truly love your God in your self,  
from your self, your essence,  
three of my values change all your commandments.  
Whoever has His values, and mine,  
is led by them,  
they speak for themselves,  
they speak by themselves,  
they reveal themselves on their own,  
they glorify themselves,  
congregate amongst themselves,  
lead to eternity, to God,  
they are eternal life.*

Pilate woke up, very reluctantly, never in his life had he woken up so reluctantly. He added:

So this has come this far. In service of the empire, alienated from my self, I have come so far that I now dream of my reports.

*Now Pilate was truly alone.*

*He did not want to talk with the people,  
he was a stranger unto himself.  
Pilate would talk to the dog,  
who taught him love,  
for people and other beings who are not people.*

Translated from Slovenian by Marko Petrovich

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Jn 12/50, 13/34, 14/21  
Mt 22/37-40, Ma 12/29-31, Lk 10/27

*Matej Krajnc*

## IGRA Z BATINO

Stará Grápa sht. 1. Hísha v precej klavrnem stanju in zraven nje nekakshno chudno gospodarsko poslopje, bolj podobno od plamenov nachetemu skednju.  
Ura: pet zjutraj.

Vrata klavrne hishe so se odprla in iz nje je stopil starejshi mozhak z nechim, chemur bi lahko rekli batina. Vendar je bila ta batina na koncu priostrena kot kol. Mozhak je stopil k skednju in trikrat udaril z batino po trhlih deskah.

Nato jo je odvrgel v travo in shel nazaj v hisho.

V istem trenutku so se odprla vrata hishe Stará Grápa sht. 2 in iz nje je stopil starejshi mozhak, vendar praznih rok. Stopil je nekaj korakov chez ozko asfaltirano cesto k skednju hishe sht. 1, pobral batino iz trave in shel nazaj v hisho.

»Torej, sposhtovani kolegi,« se je oglasil mili glas vodichke pred gruchico kakih petnajstih ljudi. »Bili ste pricha starega vashkega obichaja Staré Grape – izmenjave batine!«

»Ampak,« je zazhvrgolel nekdo iz gruchice, »zakaj smo morali vstati tako zgodaj? Zakaj tega ne pochnejo pri belem dnevu?«

Vodichka je svetlo pogledala.

»Pa potrkajmo na vrata hishe sht. 1 in povprashajmo!«

Potrkala je na vrata in odprl je prvi mozhak v tretjem zhivljenjskem obdobju, oblechen, kot malo poprej, v pizhamo, ki je krojacha videla prvih in zadnjih leta 1902.

»Kaj je?« je nejevoljno zagodrnjal.

»Gospod Ferjanc, turiste v gruchici, ki jo vidite tamle pred skednjem, zanima, zakaj izvajate izmenjavo batine ob petih zjutraj in ne podnevi?«

Ferjanc je ponovno zagodrnjal.

»Natasha, ne sprashuj neumnosti in pojdi spat!«

Zaloputnil je vrata.

Vodichka je malce zmedeno pogledala po gruchici.

Nato je she enkrat potrkala.

Ferjanc je prihrumel ven.

»Porka shtelazhal!«

Natasha mu je v tistem hipu shepnila:

»Gospod Ferjanc, Mimika!«

Natasha je shepnila:

»To je moja prva skupina, gospod Ferjanc!«

*Matej Krajnc*

## THE CUDGEL GAME

The Old Clough No. 1. A very inglorious and beaten old house with a funky stable, looking like some unpretentious fire caught it long ago.

5.00 a. m.

The door of the inglorious house opened. Out stepped an older man with something resembling a cudgel, except its end was sharpened.

The man stopped at the stable and ran his cudgel over the cranky planks.

He then threw the cudgel in the grass and went back into the house.

While this was performed, another door opened. From the house The Old Clough No. 2 stepped an older man wearing nothing. He crossed the asphalt road leading to the stable of the house number one, picked up the cudgel and went back into his house.

»Well, dear colleagues,« said the guide to the small group of tourists, which amounted to fifteen people, not more, »you've just witnessed an old village tradition – the changing of the cudgel!«

»But,« said someone from the group, »why did we have to wake up so early? Why don't they do this in the daytime?«

The guide smiled.

»Let's knock on the door of the house number one and ask!«

Her knock was answered by an older man in his pyjamas, which had never seen a tailor after 1902.

»Whuzzup?« he pettifoggingly grumbled.

»Mr. Ferjanc, do you see those tourists in a group by the barn? They would like to know why must the cudgel be exchanged by night, not by daylight?«

Ferjanc grumbled again.

»Natasha, stop asking foolish things and go to sleep!«

He slammed the door.

The guide looked a bit uncomfortable, nervously scanning the group.

Then she knocked again.

Ferjanc came out storming.

»Goddamnit!«

Natasha whispered into his ear:

»Mr. Ferjanc, Mimika!«

Ferjanc turned pale.

»I should've beaten the hell out of you! What am I supposed to say to those fools there by the stable?«

Ferjanc je prebledel.

»Moral bi te chez kolena! Kaj naj razlagam tem idiotom pri skednju?«

Ferjanc je zavzdihnil.

»Dobro, dobro!«

V pizhami je stopil do skednja in pogledal vsakega posebej v gruchici.

»Od kod prihajate?«

»Iz mesta, gospod!« se je oglasil mlajshi moshki v gruchici.

»Tebe nisem nich vprashal!« je zarenchal Ferjanc in nadaljeval: »Nimate pocheti nich pametnejshega, kot da ob petih zjutraj chakate, kdaj bom izmenjal batino s sosedom?«

»Ravno to nas zanima!« se je oglasila obsezhnejsha gospa, ki je zhe komajda stala.

»Vashka legenda govori o zmaju, ki je pred davnimi chasi ustrahoval nasho vas. Bal se je samo oshpichene batine. V vsej vasi je bila samo ena batina in zato so si jo vashchani izmenjevali. Zacheli so ob petih zjutraj, ko se sonce prebuja in zheli, da ga dregnemo. Zmaj se je vtem zhe oddaljl od prve hishe! Je to tako strashno zanimivo?«

»Ne razumem!« je dejal oni mlajshi moshki. »Hishe so tako blizu skupaj. Saj menda ni hisjni gospodar odmetaval batine v travo ravno, ko je bil zmaj na poti v naslednjo hisho. Zmaj bi opazil njega in gospodarja druge hishe, ki bi prishel ven po batino in ju pozhril, she preden ...!«

»Ja, ja,« se je oglasil she en mlajshi moshki, kot jajce podoben prvemu, »che se je zmaj bal batine, bi ja bilo bolj praktichno, che bi si jo ja vashchani podajali kot shtafeto, v travi jo ja niti videl ni!«

Ferjanc je zachel vpiti.

»Si shtudiral, kaj? Si hodil v visoke shole? Kdo pa si, da bosh dvomil v nashe staro izrochilo?«

Oglasila se je ona obsezhnica.

»Ampak gospoda Terzhnika imata prav, stvar je hudo nenavadna. Zakaj ...«

Vmeshala se je vodichka.

»Hvala gospodu Ferjancu za temeljito razlago vashkega izrochila. Zdaj se bomo vrnili v Domovo gostilno, kjer prenochujemo!«

Ferjanc je jezno shel v hisho in zaloputnil vrata.

Naslednje jutro je precej zgodaj vstal, potrkal na hisho Stara Grapa 2 in se zadrl:

»Batino nazaj!«

Natasha whispered:

»That's my first group ever, Mr. Ferjanc!«

Ferjanc sighed.

»All right, all right!«

He walked to the stable in his pyjamas and scanned each and every member of the group with his eyes.

»Where do you come from?«

»City, sir!« answered a younger man from the group.

»I didn't ask you to speak!« snarled Ferjanc and continued: »Don't you people have anything better to do with yourself than to wait for me to exchange the cudgel at 5 a.m.?«

»That's what we're really interested in!« said a very round woman, who was hardly standing by now.

»There's a village legend about a dragon who terrorized our village many years ago. He knew no fear, except of a sharpened cudgel. But the village was poor, there was only one cudgel. It had to be handed around. The sun wakes up at five in the morning and wants to be poked. That's when we started the exchange. The dragon moved away from the first house by then. Is that old story really *that* interesting?«

»I don't get it!« said the aforementioned younger man. »Houses are built so close together. If the landlord threw the cudgel in the grass at the moment when the dragon was moving away to the adjacent house, the dragon would have spotted him and the other landlord. He'd kill them mercilessly even before ...«

»Right, right, that one,« said another younger man, uncannily resembling the other one, »if the dragon was afraid of the cudgel, wouldn't it have been smarter for the village people to hand it around like a relay? He couldn't have spotted it in the grass!«

Ferjanc started to shout.

»You!!! Been studying, eh? Been to the university, eh? Who are you to doubt our tradition?«

The very round woman said:

»But the Trzhniks are right, all this is highly unorthodox. Why ...«

The guide quickly interfered.

»Thanks to Mr. Ferjanc for the elaborate explanation of the village tradition. We are going back to the Domen's pub to spend the night now!«

Ferjanc went into the house and angrily slammed the door.

He got up quite early next morning, knocked on the door of the house The Old Clough No. 2 and shouted:

»Gimme back my cudgel!«

Ivo Antich

## REKA DREKA (3x zen mondo)

### CHUSTVA

- Kaj vodi k resnici: chustva ali razum?
- Chustva.
- Torej se moram izogibati razuma?
- Izogibaj se chustev.

### MODREC

- Ali je moder tisti, ki priznava vse popolnoma takshno, kot je?
- Nemochen bedak je.
- Ali je moder tisti, ki vse zanikuje, se jezi in upira?
- Nemochen bedak je.
- Ali je moder tisti, ki se iz vsega norchuje?
- Nemochen bedak je.
- Kdo pa je potem moder in mochan?
- Tisti, ki mu reka dreka dere v usta in skoz anus ven.

### SVOBODA

- Kaj je ljubezen?
- Suzhenjstvo.
- Kaj je sovrashtvo?
- Suzhenjstvo.
- Kaj pa je potem svoboda?
- Ljubiti in sovrazhit.

(*mondo*: dialogi v zenu; jap. mon-do = vprashanja–odgovori; po kit. wèn-dá; op. avt.)

*Ivo Antich*

## SHIT RIVER

(3x Zen mondo)

### EMOTIONS

- What leads to the truth: emotions or intellect?
- Emotions.
- So should I avoid intellect?
- Avoid emotions.

### SAGE

- Is it a wise man who recognizes all such as it is?
- He is a powerless fool.
- Is it a wise man who denies all, makes anger and resists?
- He is a powerless fool.
- Is it a wise man who makes fun of everything?
- He is a powerless fool.
- So who is really wise and strong?
- That who lets the river of shit to rush into his mouth and through the anus out.

### FREEDOM

- What is love?
- Slavery.
- What is hate?
- Slavery.
- So what is freedom?
- To love and to hate.

(mondo: dialogues in Zen; Jap. mon-do = questions–answers; from Chinese wèn-dá; note by author)

Translated from Slovenian by author

*Lev Detela*

## OGNJESLAVA V PLAMENIH

### **Krogin shok**

Zaradi neverjetnega pritiska pride do zloma. Vsega tega ni mogoče razumeti. Je izredno temno. Teorije različnih znanstvenikov, ki se ukvarjajo s tem vprashanjem, so napachne. Moramo jih obsoditi, ker so škodljive za telo in imovino. Množijo se hude sanje, ljudje se zvijajo pod težkimi obremenitvami. Te sanje so pravi bombni napadi na privatne osebe. Glave se premikajo v temi v neprimernih ekstazah. Zmaji, peklenshchki in hudobni angeli pojejo nespodobne pesmi in terorizirajo chloveshtvo. Mnogi odpovedo. Ne najdejo izhoda. V jutranjem mraku se shtevilni ustrelijo. Nekatere odkrijejo mrtve v kanalu. Vse to ima močne zveze s sanjskim svetom. Tega razvozlati pomeni samo smrt razvozlati.

### **Oche kot ovojni papir**

Dejstvo je, da nash oche sploh ni chlovek. Nekateri poročevalci pravijo, da spominja na steklenico piva, toda tudi tej trditvi lahko po vsej pravici ugovarjam. Nekateri ljudje menijo, da je oche zhiv oblak, strashilo ali nekaj podobnega. Meni se vse to zdi domishljijski izrodek vechnih nergachev, ki se jim she predobro godi. Natanchno vem, kaj je nash oche. Saj vendar potrebujemo tako strashilo, voditelja, ki nas pelje do vechnega miru.

Oche je po mojem mnenju kategorichni imperativ nashih moralnih nachel. Dokazano je, da stoji na krivih nogah. Vprashanje je le, zakaj lahko sploh stoji, saj je zlepljen iz ovojnega papirja.

Ja, saj se boste chudili, vendar je tako: Nash ljubi oche je narejen iz ovojnega papirja. Ker pa je tako nestabilen in mehak, ga moramo she posebno ljubiti. Saj nam hoče le dobro, rad nas ima, ves čas skrbi za nas in se trudi, da bi nam bilo lepo in prav.

*Lev Detela*

## BRANDISLAVA IS BURNING

### **Ball-Bearing Shock**

The application of great pressure causes things to collapse. This is not always comprehensible. Everything is pitch-black. The theories of of scientists who deal with this subject are erroneous. We have no choice but to condemn them because they are detrimental to both man and his property. Nightmares occur frequently and backs are bent under heavy loads. These dreams bombard those who dream them. Heads move in the darkness in unbecoming ecstasy. Dragons, devils and evil angels sing obscene songs and terrorize mankind. Many break down and see no way out. Others shoot themselves at dawn. Some are found dead in the canal. Everything is part of the dream world. Deciphering this is tantamount to deciphering death.

### **Father as Wrapping Paper**

The fact that father was not a human being is indisputable. Some observers say he resembles a common beer bottle, but that assertion is easy to negate. Others think he is a living cloud, a spook or something of that nature. All this seems to be the fabrication of the eternal bellyachers who need to feed their fantasy.

I admit that I am a loss to define father. We need a bugbear, a chauffeur who will dispatch us to eternal rest.

As far as I'm concerned, father is the categorical imperative of all ethics. He stands on crooked legs, but how he can stand at all is a mystery since he's made out of wrapping paper.

You may be taken aback, but that's the way it is. Darling father is made of wrapping paper. He's so vacillating and so pliable that we can't help but be fond of him. He loves us, cares for us and always has our best interests at heart.

Toda je zares zelo krhek. Dezh mu lahko temeljito nashkodi. Ker je narejen iz ovojnega papirja, ne prenese grozne vlaghnosti, voda lahko pomeni njegovo smrt. Pa tudi ogenj je njegov sovrazhnik. Ni sveti mocherad, ki se lahko okopa v ognju in potem vstane iz pepela v novo zhivljenje.

### Ko gori Ognjeslava

Priche porochajo o velikih pozharih v lepem mestu Ognjeslava. Ljudje so begali po ulicah, iz strahu so jih zagrabili tezhki notranji krchi. Porochila o pozharih so bila grozovita. Vendar se lahko vprashamo, ali mesto Ognjeslava sploh obstaja. Nekateri zemljeslovci, ki so se o tem skushali pozanimati v starih knjigah, so sporochili, da kraja Ognjeslava niso mogli nikjer najti. Tako lahko postane potovanje v Ognjeslavo fantastichno potovanje, nevarna in neumna pustolovshchina. In nashe poti bo osvetljevalo nasprotnikovo topovsko bliskanje in rakete. Ognjeslava naj kar gori. Nimamo mochi, da bi pogasili te pozhare.

However, he is erratic. He is vulnerable to rain and he cannot bear extreme humidity since he is made out of wrapping paper. Thus water can be his undoing, but fire is also his foe. Father is not a sacred salamander that can bathe in fire and then rise from the dead like a phoenix from the ashes.

### **Brandislava is Burning**

There are eyewitnesses who reported on great fires in the beautiful city of Brandislava. People ran through the streets, having convulsions due to their fear. The news about the fires was frightening. However, we are not sure that city of Brandislava exists at all. Geographers, who had consulted old books, declared that they could find no traces whatsoever of a place called Brandislava. Thus a journey to Brandislava would be a fantastic journey and a dangerous and foolish one. Our trip would be illuminated with the thunder and lightening of cannons and rockets of the enemy. Let Brandislava burn! We do not have the capacity to put the fires out.

Translated from Slovenian by Herbert Kuhner

Iztok Vrhovec

## KACHA

Ob jezeru je stala zhenska in mimo je prishel moshki.

»Kaj zhelish?« je vprashala zhenska.

»Zhelim...« je dejal moshki in se ozrl proti nebu, »zhelim si, da bi se me dotaknila Resnica, zhenska.«

Zhenska se mu je priblzhala in se ga dotaknila.

»Tvoja dlan je mokra in mrzla, zhenska,« je dejal moshki. »Resnica pa je... val... val, ki se te dotakne kot slutnja vechnosti. Ti pa si... samo zhenska. Ko si lachna, se nasmihash in dobrikash, ko se nasitish, ti ni mar za nich drugega kot za lastno prebavljanje. V tebi vre kri razbesnelih eonov, in ti si kobila, ki poplesuje v ritmu njihovih bichev.«

»Na tisoche, milijone jih je, moshki, ki v shepetu mojih ustnic prepoznajo ljubezen in srecho in vechnost in poslednjo resnico.«

»In potem, ko jih obsije zharek te *tvoje* ljubezni in sreche, zhenska... potem bezhijo kot prestrasheni pajki. A takrat je prepozno... Tvoja resnica jim je potrgala ude, tvoja vechnost jim je izsesala kri in od njih je ostal le she kup trohnečih kosti. Iz tvoje jeche odpushchajo le obzhrte mrliche, zhenska.«

»Sama Usoda si je izbrala kotiček svojega domovanja v mojih očeh, moshki. Zakaj tega ne priznash tudi ti?«

»V hropecem hlepenju po ploditvi svoje krvi si Utvara nadene vsakrshno masko, da bi le ugajala zhrtvi – to je njen edini cilj. In ti, zhenska, tudi ti si le lutka v njenih rokah; bleshchobna prodajalka njenega hromechega strupa. Kar reklamirash pod krinko Vechnosti in Usode, je le vechna in usodna prevara.«

»Chloveshka dуша je odeta v tanchico najfinejshih lazhi, moshki. Brez njih bi bil tudi ti le kup dolgochasne biokemije.«

»Tvoje besede rojeva pohlep Interesa, zhenska, in vse, kar izbljune njegova sikajocha tovarna, je Lazh, ki jo razglašash za edino in najsvetjejšo resnico, ker si ne upash sneti njenih plashnic in se ozreti okoli sebe.«

»Omejenost je temeljni zakon narave, moshki.«

»Blodnja rodi le nove utvare, zhenska, in she preden se zavesh, se razplodijo kot zalega steklih podgan.«

»Jaz sem Maternica zhivljenja, moshki; njegova Skrbnica in Zibka; jaz – edino jaz! – ohranjam Zhivljenje pri zhivljenju.«

Iztok Vrhovec

## THE SERPENT

A woman stood by the lake. A man came by.

»What do you want?« the woman asked.

»I want...« the man replied and looked towards the sky, »I want to be touched by Truth, woman.«

The woman stepped closer and touched him.

»Your palm is wet and cold, woman,« the man said. »But the truth is... a wave..., a wave that touches you like a whiff of eternity. And you are... just a woman. When you're hungry, you smile and wheedle, when you've appeased your hunger, you care for nothing but your own digestion. The blood of enraged aeons boils within you, and you're a mare dancing to the rhythm of their whips.«

»There are thousands, millions of those, man, who recognise love and happiness and eternity and the ultimate truth in the whisper of my lips.

»And then, when they're lighted up by a beam of this love and happiness *of yours*, woman..., they flee like frightened spiders. But it's too late... Your truth has severed their limbs, your eternity has sucked out their blood and they're nothing but a heap of rotting bones. Only half-eaten corpses are released from your prison, woman.

»Fate herself has chosen to dwell in my eyes, man. Why won't you admit it?«

»In her gasping yearning for procreation Illusion will don any mask to charm her witness – this is her only goal. And you, woman, are nothing but a puppet in her hands; a gleaming vendor of her paralysing poison. What you advertise in the guise of Eternity and Fate is but an eternal and fatal illusion.

»The human soul is clothed in the veil of finest lies, man. Without them you, too, would be nothing but a pile of tedious bio-chemistry.«

»Your words are born out of the greed of Interest, woman, and everything this hissing factory turns out is the Lie you proclaim to be the only and the holiest truth, because you're afraid to remove its blinkers and look around.«

»Limitation is the fundamental law of Nature, man.«

»Delusion gives birth to more illusions, woman, and before you know it they breed like a plague of mad rats.«

»I am the Womb of life, man; its Keeper and Cradle; I – and only I – keep Life alive.«

»Ti si svechenica svoje brezbozhne vere, zhenska, in v svojem srcu tovorish bataljone giljotin, ki v imenu tvojega malikovanja drobe glave hipnotiziranim vernikom. Tvoja dlan je hladna in spolzka sekira in kdor sezhe vanjo, ga pohabi. Vchasih te za hip obsije zablodeli sonchni zharek in takrat razglašash, da si sonce ti. Edina Luch, Razlog in Namen in Smisel in Vera. Sama Utvara se ustrezhljivo prikloni tvoji mojstrski igri in ti v zahvalo pokloni trenutek lepote; a tudi to je del njene pohljene igre, zhenska. Tudi ti si zhrtev njenih spletk in tvoje votlo srce je le oder za uprizarjanje njenih izprijenih orgij. Kdor ishche smisel in resnico v njenih sprevrzhenih verzih... tega ne odreshi niti smrt.«

»Plodovi razmisljanja so grenki in pishkavi, moshki: Razocharanje, Jeza, Bes, Brezup. Teh siromashtev jaz ne prebavljam. Jaz *sem* Lepota in Prvlachnost, in ti, moshki, si njuno plodilo. To je zakon, ki ga je spisala Usoda in se mu od vekomaj uklanja sama Stvaritev.«

»Vchasih se mi je zdelo, da iz tvojih ust kapljajo melodije nebeshkih tragedij, zhenska; smejal sem se in zhalostil... Zdaj pa... zdaj vem, da si le kichasti stud na razpelu vechnih zablod.«

»Verige uklenjenih resnic ne zlomi nekaj bednih besed, moshki. Da, res je – z največjim veseljem in uzhitkom igram svojo vlogo. Pa kaj! Kreacija si zadovoljno mane trebuh, ki ji ga polnijo moje strasti in pozhlenja, vsem drugim kreaturam me daje za zgled! Jaz sem njen najlepsha in najljubsha hchi!«

»Lutka, zhenska, s katero si krajsha dolgochasne eone. Nich drugega kot to. – Zapushcham te.«

»Odvrgra bom svojo prozorno tanchico, moshki, in ti bosh medlel ob trepetu mojih prsi. Ko bom bredla po ledeni vodi in ti razkazovala svojo belo goloto, bo Pozheljivost prgnala trepet na tvoja usta, in vdal se bosh drgetu mojega drhtenja.«

»Ti si kacha, zhenska; hladna in strupena. In jaz te zapushcham.«

»Ni slajshega strupa, kot je moj, moshki. Nikoli mi ne utecheshk!«

Zhenska odvrzhe svojo prozorno tanchico, njene bele prsi zadrhtijo v hladnem nochnem vetrju; potopi se v mrzlo jezero in razkazuje svojo medeno goloto. Njena bela stegna se bleshchijo v soju luninih zrkel, slepecha svetloba moshkemu jemlje vid. Potem se mu zhenska priblizha, njena roka poishche njegovo *moshkost*, njena lica prevzame drget zmagoslavlja, kajti moshki je *trd*.

»Nikoli mi ne ubezhish, nikoli, moshki!« zagrmi iz njenih ust kot glushechi blisk, ki najavlja pogubo strashne nevihte. Na blizhnjem hrastu zadrhti prezebla veja, iz dremajocheaga jezera se pozhene trop vznemirjenih rib, a se zhe hip zatem potopi nazaj v njegovo ledeno drobovje, in vse je tiho in mrtvo kot prej.

»You're a priestess of your godless faith, woman, and in your heart you carry battalions of guillotines severing the heads of hypnotised believers in the name of your idolatry. Your palm is a cold and slippery axe, and whoever reaches for it is mutilated. Sometimes a stray ray lights you up for an instant, and then you declare you are the Sun. The only Light, Reason and Intent and Purpose and Faith. Illusion herself obligingly bows to your masterly act and offers you a moment of beauty in gratitude; but this, too, is part of her deceitful play, woman. You too are a victim of her intrigues, and your hollow heart is just a stage for performing her perverted orgies. Whoever is seeking meaning and truth in her distorted verse..., cannot be redeemed, not even by death.«

»The fruits of reflection are bitter and rotten, man: Disappointment, Anger, Wrath, Despair. These miseries I can't digest. I *am* Beauty and Attraction, and you, man, are their inseminator. This is the law written by Fate, and Creation itself has forever abided by It.«

»Sometimes it seemed that melodies of heavenly tragedies were dripping from your mouth, woman; I laughed and was sad... But now..., now I know you're merely a fancy blotch on the crucifix of eternal illusions.«

»The chain of fettered truths can't be broken by a few miserable words, man. Yes, it's true – I act out my part with greatest pleasure and delight. So what! Creation is happily stroking its stomach filled by my passions and desires, setting me as an example to all other creatures. I am its prettiest and most loved daughter!«

»A puppet, woman, to lighten its boring aeons. Nothing but this. – I'm leaving you.«

»I will drop my translucent veil, man, and you will languish at the trembling of my breasts. When I wade through the ice-cold water and show you my white nudity, Lust will put a tremble on your lips, and you will give in to the quiver of my shudder.«

»You're a serpent, woman; cold and venomous. And I'm leaving you.«

»There is no sweeter venom than mine, man. You'll never get away from me!«

The woman throws off her transparent veil, her white breasts tremble in the cold night wind; she dives into the cold lake and shows off her honeyed nudity. Her white thighs glitter in the light of the Moon's pupils, the blinding light is obscuring the man's vision. Then the woman approaches him, her hand reaches for his *manhood*, her cheeks tremble with victorious excitement, for the man is *hard*.

»You'll never get away from me, never, man!« comes thundering from her mouth like deafening lightning heralding a terrible storm. A frozen branch trembles on a nearby oak, a shoal of agitated fish jumps out of the dozing lake, and an instant later dives back into its icy insides; then everything is as quiet and dead as before.

»Zhenska, ti si sluzasta kacha!« zavpije moshki in jo zgrabi za roko. »Pljunek Utvare, pomeshan z nekaj smrdeche zemlje, ki so ju v trenutku histerichne ihte pobesneli Izidini prsti zgnetli v strupen, zverizhen stvor. In resnica ochem ni tako zelo skrita.«

Ob teh besedah se stvor, v katerem je she ravnokar tako vznemirjeno buhtela razdrazhena zhenska kri, spremeni v zgrbljen klobchich; zakotali se k ostareli in razklani skali, ki nemochno zhdi ob bregu spechega jezera, in iz njega vznikne ogabna krastacha; njeni krotovichasti kraki se zrastejo s skalo, zhe hip zatem pa okamni tudi dvozhiva ostuda.

In od takrat naprej se moshkemu na pot ne priplazi nobena kacha vech, kajti v njihovem sikajochem spominu je le she brezoblichna smet – presahli iztrebek, ki ga je iz njihove kachje kletke odpihnil pucfleshki pish nekega brezumnega vetra.

»Woman, you're a slimy serpent!« the man shouts and grabs her hand. »The spit of Illusion mixed with some stinky soil, which, at the moment of hysterical wrath, Isis's mad fingers, moulded into a venomous, crooked creature. And the truth is not so very hidden from the eyes.«

At his words the creature, in which seconds ago feminine blood was so excitedly boiling, turns into a stooping ball; it rolls to the old cleft rock perching helplessly on the bank of the sleeping lake, and a disgusting toad emerges from it. Its crooked legs join with the rock, and a moment later the sickening amphibian also turns into stone.

And since then no snake ever crosses the man's path, for in their hissing memory he is but a faceless piece of rubbish – dried out excrement blown out of their snake's cage by a sweeping blast of some irrational wind.

Translated from Slovenian by Lili Potpara

Marko Petrovich

## HENRY (ARI)

### Henry (Ari)

Ari je zanimiv dechko, ki si zasluzhi svoje poglavje! Ima imenitno ime (celo kraljevsko, mi je enkrat razlagal vangaindranski Francoz Bertrand), ki pa ga domachini zelo preprosto izgovorijo »Ari« brez francoskega nazalnega afnanja. On se je tudi vechkrat pojavil na misijonskem dvorishchu skupaj z drugimi otroki – bil je vrstnik Zaflaja, Flaja in Dolfeta, torej star kakshnih dvanajst let. Ampak on ni hodil v sholo. Otroci so mu dali laskavi naziv »direktor trzhnice«, ker je ravno tam prezhevvel največ chasa in s svojim samozavestnim nastopom in poznavanjem slehernega chloveka dajal vtis, da suvereno obvlada sceno. Za nas je bil Ari vesel »bozhji chlovek«, ki nas je pogosto spravil v smeh s svojim videzom, ognashanjem in veselim odnosom do zhivljenja. Bil je kar velik za svoja leta in chednega obrazu. Na prvi pogled se ni dalo slutiti, da se mu v glavi ne vrtijo vsi koleshchki v pravo smer. Bil je vedno bos, z malo navzven obrnjenimi stopali kot pri rachki. Shiroki in izrazito razchlenjeni prsti na stopalih so prichali o tem, da vedno hodi bos. Drugi otroci so tezhko sprejeli njegovo drugachnost in so vechkrat kazali nanj in na njegova stopala, chesh, ta ima pa veliko »parashijev« (zajedavci, ki se ti zarijejo pod kozho na stopalih in so znak zanemarjenosti, ker jih najvechkrat staknejo tisti, ki si bolj poredko umivajo noge). Je pa tudi res, da je Ari nagajiv po naravi in je rad deklice shchipal in zafrkaval, in tudi s fanti se je vechkrat kaj sprichkal. Ko jih je »fasal«, se je pa znal prav milo jokati.

Ari sicer ni zelo mochno prizadet in je marsikdo podvomil, ali ni vse skupaj le njegova igra, da bi se na ta nachin osvobodil sholoobveznosti in imel bolshe pogoje za prosjachenje na trzhnici. Pogovor z njim pa je ponavadi razblnil take dvome. Vchasih se je dalo z njim izmenjati nekaj povsem razumnih stavkov, potem pa je kar zajadral v svoj svet in ni vech odgovarjal na vprashanja, ampak se je preprosto muzal, hihital in dajal izjave, ki so bile chisto izven konteksta.

Sestre usmiljenke v Vangaindranu pa so se vseeno odlochile, da bi ga vzele v sholo. In kako imeniten je bil videti Ari v svetlo modri srajci, kakrshna je uniforma te shole. Ostal je nagajiv in razposajen ter je veselo nagajal sosholkam in sosholcem, ki so bili stari priblizhno pol toliko kot on, kajti dali so ga v prvi razred.

Da bi videl, kakshno je pravzaprav videti njegovo sholanje, sem ga shel nekoch pogledat v sholo. Zelo jasno je bilo, da zaradi Arijevih vragolij trpi uchenje ostalih ukazheljnih otrok.

*Marko Petrovich*

## HENRY (ARI)

### **Henry (Ari)**

Ari is an interesting lad who deserves a chapter all to himself. He has a name, which Bertrand, a Frenchman from Vangaindrano, described to me as regal, but which the locals simply pronounce »Ari« without any French nasalisation. He often appeared on the mission courtyard together with other children – he was the contemporary of Zafla, Fla and Dolfa and was therefore about twelve years old. But he did not go to school. The children gave him the flattering title of »director of the marketplace« because that was where he spent most of his time. His self-confident behaviour and the fact that he knew everybody gave the impression that he really was in charge. For us, Ari was a happy-go-lucky character who often made us laugh with his appearance, behaviour and joyful attitude to life. He was quite big for his age and had a pleasant face. One would not think at first that there might be anything wrong with him. He always went barefoot and walked with his feet turned outwards, a bit like a duck. His broad, widely spaced-out toes were further proof that he never wore anything on his feet. The other children found it hard to accept that Ari was different and often pointed at him and his feet, and accused him of having many »parashees« (chigoe fleas or jiggers – parasites which burrow under the skin on your feet and are considered a sign of neglect because they are most often caught by people who rarely wash their feet). Ari was mischievous by nature and liked pinching and teasing the girls, and also fell out with the boys on a regular basis. But when he got his comeuppance, he would cry pitifully like a small child.

Ari's mental disorder is not very serious and many people have wondered if it is not all a facade he puts on so as not to have to go to school and to have better chances of earning something by begging in the marketplace. However, simply talking to him was usually enough to clear up any such doubts. Sometimes it would be possible to exchange a few perfectly reasonable sentences with him, but soon he would sail off into his own world and stopped answering questions but simply smirked, giggled and said things that were completely out of context.

The sisters (Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent the Paul) in Vangaindrano nevertheless tried to give him an education by inviting him to attend their school. How elegant Ari looked in his light blue shirt – the school uniform. He remained mischievous and full of beans, and kept teasing his fellow pupils – who were roughly half his age because he was put in the first year.

I once went to see him in school and it was clear that Ari's pranks were detrimental to the education of all the other eager pupils.

Na tej zahetni stopnji so se uchili oblikovati chrke, ki so jih s kredo pisali na plastichne tablice. Želo lepa chrka A na glavni tabli je na Arijevi tablici postala majhna banana. Ko sem ga prosil, naj mi narisce banano, je pa z veseljem in nasmeshkom proizvedel serijo trikotnikov!

Nekoch nam je Ari na zelo nazoren nachin dokazal, da ni neumen in da nas z lakkoto dene v kosh. Che je zhe prishel k nedeljski mashi, je prishel in odshel, kadar je sam zhelel. Tokrat se je prikradel v cerkev ne dolgo pred nabirkom in se mi priblizhal s svojim znachilnim nasmeshkom. Shepetaje me je prosil, ali mu lahko kaj dam, da bo dal v kosharo za nabirko, ki je postavljena pred oltarjem. Po proshnjah se ljudje tam zvrstijo (kot pri obhajilu) in oddajo svoj dar. Potem ko sem mu dal drobizh, je Ari izginil tako hitro, kot se je bil pojavil. Po mashi sva z Jakom ugotovila, da sva oba dala Ariju nekaj denarja, ki pa skoraj gotovo ni konchal v pushici, ampak ga je Ari na trzhnici verjetno zamenjal za kak priboljshek!

Naslednjo nedeljo sva z Jakom sluchajno sedela skupaj pri mashi, ko se je ponovno prikradel Ari s svojim porednim nasmeshkom. Ker me je bolelo koleno, sem rade volje odstopil svoj prispevek Ariju, da bi ga on odnesel v pushico. Poskrbela sva, da je ostal z nama v klopi in ni odpeketal na trzhnico. Ko se je naredila vrsta za pushico, ga je Jaka prijel za ramo in ga tishchal pred sabo v vrsto. In tedaj naju je Ari mojstrsko prelimischil: tik pred pushico je tisochak, ki sem mu ga bil dal, porinil v zhep in namesto njega izvlekel kovanec za 50 ariary, ki je nato pristal v koshari! Potem se nam ni vech pridruzhil v klopi, pach pa smo ga nashli po mashi pred zhupnischem, kjer je zadovoljno sedel na deskah, iz lonchka jedel jogurt in nas slovesno pozdravljal »bonjour«!

## Morski ribolov

Konchno se mi je izpolnila zhelja, ki se mi je bila porodila zhe ob prvem obisku Rdechega otoka. Zhe dolgo sem si namrech zhelel, da bi shel skupaj z ribichi domachini na morje v njihovih majhnih lesenih drevakih lovit rive.

Alarm me je zbudil ob 3.45. Hitro sem se oblekel in se odpravil s kolesom v Kurji otok. Bila je she tema, le pol lune mi je razsvetljevalo pot. V ribishkem naselju je bilo chisto mirno. Kmalu se je prikazal ribich, s katerim sem bil zmenjen. Kolo je z neverjetno potrezhljivostjo pospravil v premajhno kocco, kjer so ostali druzhinski chlani spali pod mrežhami (proti komarjem), medtem pa se je zachel oglashati petelin. Z vesлом v roki sva shla do obrezhja reke, kjer na pesku chakajo »lakane« – drevaki. S she enim mladim ribicem smo odveslali po neverjetno topli vodi proti velikemu peshchenemu nasipu, ki lochi reko od morja. Tam sta se nam pridruzhila she dva fanta, tako nas je bilo skupaj pet v malo vechjem, shirshem drevaku. Mislit sem, da bo bolj zoprno iti prek divjih valov, ki se lomijo na plazho, vendar imajo ribichi valove dobro »nashtudirane« in smo bili zelo hitro onstran lomechih se valov.

At this early stage they were not learning anything more difficult than how to form letters, which they wrote on plastic boards with chalk. A perfectly formed letter A on the teacher's board became a small banana on Ari's small board. When I asked him to draw me a banana, he produced a series of triangles with great pleasure and a smile on his face!

But on one occasion Ari showed us very clearly that he could nevertheless outsmart us all. If he came to Sunday mass, he came and went whenever he pleased. This time he sneaked into church shortly before the offertory and approached me with his usual smile. He asked me in a whisper if I could give him some money to place in the offertory basket, which is placed in front of the altar. Following the intercessions, people line up in front of the basket (like at communion) and leave their offering. I gave him some change and Ari disappeared as quickly as he had appeared. After mass, Jaka and I discovered that we had both given Ari some money, which had however almost certainly not ended up in the offertory basket but had most likely been exchanged by Ari into some small treat at the marketplace!

The following Sunday, Jaka and I were sitting together at mass and Ari again appeared bearing his mischievous smile. I had some pain in my knee so I willingly gave my offertory gift to Ari for him to take to the basket. Meanwhile, we made sure that he stayed with us in the pew and did not scamper off to the marketplace. When the offertory queue formed, Jaka held Ari by the shoulder and made him stand before him in the line. And that is when Ari pulled off his trick: just before reaching the basket he pocketed the 1,000 ariary note I had given him and exchanged it for a 50 ariary coin, which then landed in the basket. He did not join us again in the pew and we found him after mass sitting contentedly on some planks near the parish house, eating yoghurt and greeting us with a grand »bonjour«!

## Ocean Fishing

At last the wish I have had ever since my first visit to Madagascar has been fulfilled – I had always wanted to go to sea with the local fishermen in their small wooden dug-out canoes.

The alarm woke me at 3.45 am. I dressed quickly and cycled off to the part of Farafangana known as Chicken Island. It was still dark and only a half moon lit my way. Everything was quiet in the fishermen's village. Soon the fisherman, with whom I had arranged to meet, appeared. He took my bicycle and hid it away in his small house with incredible patience. The other family members were still sleeping under mosquito nets while the cock began to crow. With a paddle each in hand we set off to the riverbank where the »lakanas« or dugout canoes were waiting for us on the sand. Together with another young fisherman we paddled off across the incredibly warm water of the river towards the great sandbar, which separates the river from the ocean. We were joined there by two more young men so that we made a team of five in a longer and broader dugout. I thought we would have more trouble crossing the wild waves, which break violently onto the beach but the fishermen know precisely how to time it and we quickly passed them.

Stran od obale so valovi bolj razpotegnjeni in ni toliko nevarnosti, da bi se drevak prevrnil. V blizhini obale so nekateri ribichi sami v manjshih drevakih ribarili z mrezhami. Vsake toliko smo videli, kako kakshna riba priplava na povrshje. Ribichi pa niso vzklknili »riba«, marvech so uporabili malgashko besedo, ki pomeni »hrana ob rizhu« (laoka). Dobrega pol kilometra od obale se je pokazal prvi plovec mrezhe, ki je pripadala mojim ribicem. Plovec so potegnili na choln in dva ribicha sta skupaj zylekla mrezho vanj. Na koncu je she tezhek kamen, ki mrezho vleche navzdol. Ribichi so rekli, da gredo enkrat na dva dni na morje preverjat mrezhe – che vreme dovoli, seveda. Pregledali smo kakih pet, shest mrežh, in v eni je bil velik skat. Plavuti so mu odrezali in jih privezali na mrezho kot vabo, preden so mrezho vrgli v morje. V eni od mrežh so bili trije manjši morski psi, rjave in bele barve. Mislim, da so bili brez zob.

Sprva mi ni bilo chisto nich slabo, valovom navkljub. Celo ribichi so se chudili, da ne bruham. Kasneje sem pa le bruhal! Gotovo je k temu prispeval vonj po ribah. Ribichi pa so trdili, da oni prvih, ko so shli na morje, niso bruhalni. Gotovo imajo morje v krvi, ker so njihovi ochetje tudi ribichi. Smeshno se mi je zdelo, da nimajo pojma, v kateri smeri je Evropa, v kateri Amerika, Kitajska, Japonska itd. Z zanimanjem so gledali, ko sem pokazal priblizhno smer teh krajev.

Srechevali smo celo vrsto drevakov s po shestimi ribichi, ki so prav zagnano veslali proti severu. Tovarishi so mi povedali, da ti prihajajo iz kraja kakih 12 km juzhno od Farafangane in da ribe lovijo na trnek. Med povratkom se je na nebu videlo, da od vzhoda prihaja nevihta, veter je kar mochno pihal in toliko hladil, da me je nekajkrat za trenutek zazeble (sonce je bilo za oblaki). Povratek na obalo je bil podoben odhodu – kljub valovom perfektno izpeljan. Prav veselo smo poskakali iz ozkega cholna, v katerem smo chepeli skoraj shtiri ure. Drugi ribichi na obali pa so se chudili, da je bil zraven she beli ribich!

Med preckanjem reke z drugim drevakom se je na nas zlila nevihta. Ampak je bil neverjetno prijeten obchutek, ko ti je popolnoma vseeno, da si moker, saj je toplo in se počutish eno z naravo in z domachini!

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Iz knjige (v pripravi) *Zgodbe z Madagaskarja*. (Op. ur.)

Away from the beach, the peaks of the waves are more rounded and much further spread out and there is not so much danger of the dugout capsizing. Near the beach some solitary fishermen in small dugouts were fishing with nets. Every so often we saw a fish swim up near the water surface. To my surprise, the fisherman didn't exclaim »fish«, but instead used a Malagasy word, which means »food that is eaten with rice« (laoka). About half a kilometre from the coast we came across our first buoy indicating a net belonging to our fishermen. We pulled the buoy up onto our vessel and two of the fishermen together pulled the net in. At the very end there was a heavy rock, which holds the net down onto the seabed.

The fishermen said they go out to sea to check their nets once every two days – weather-permitting of course. We checked about five or six of them and one contained a large ray. They cut off its wings and tied them onto the net as bait before returning the net to the sea. One of the nets contained three small sharks that were brownish white in colour and I think they were without teeth.

I felt no sickness to begin with, despite the waves. Even the fishermen were surprised that I was not vomiting. But later I was sick! The smell of fish was undoubtedly at least partly to blame. Meanwhile, the fishermen assured me that they had not vomited even when they went out to sea for the very first time. They probably have the sea in their blood because their fathers are also fishermen. However, I found it funny that they had no idea in which direction Europe, America, China or Japan were. They seemed genuinely interested when I pointed out the approximate direction of these continents and countries.

We met a whole convoy of dugouts with up to six fishermen in each one, who were all paddling energetically northwards. My fishermen told me these others came from a place approximately 12 km south of Farafangana and that they fish using hooks and lines instead of nets. During our return to land, the sky clearly showed that a storm was coming in from the east, the wind was blowing quite strongly and cooling us down to such an extent that I actually felt cold on several occasions (the sun had hidden itself behind the clouds).

Our return to land was similar to our departure – perfectly executed despite the violent waves. We leaped joyfully up out of the narrow vessel in which we had been crouching or sitting awkwardly for almost four hours. Other fishermen on the beach were surprised to see that a white fisherman had also been to sea!

While crossing the river with the other dugout, the storm reached us at last. But it was a surprisingly pleasant feeling not to care one bit about being wet because the rain was warm and I felt one with nature and the locals!

Translated from Slovenian by author

Damir Globocnik

## SKRIVNOSTNA ZHENSKA FIGURA

Rudi Skochir je vsebinsko in likovno-raziskovalno napetost slikarskega nagovora uspešno negoval s korenitimi spremembami ikonografskega programa in s pretehtanim razmerjem pri uporabi različnih likovnih pristopov. Zhenska figura, ki postane sredishchni lik njegovih kompozicij, je sprva imela vlogo prispolobe bistvenih eksistencialnih vprashanj, postopoma pa se je zachelo spremenjati v odraz slikarjeve osebne mitologije.

Minljivost tuzemskega sveta in strashljiva resnichnost nashega obstoja v njem sta osrednja tematika zgodnjih Skochirjevih slik. Slikar je posegel po univerzalni simboliki (jajce kot zacetek zhivljenja, jabolko) in po nekaterih prvinah likovne simbolike, na primer po malone monokromni ali zamolkli barvni lestvici, ki krepi obchutek nelagodja in tesnobe. Podobno vlogo so imela izpraznjena prizorishcha, v katera so razporejeni zhenski liki, pa tudi ostra osvetljava s preprostimi zharnicami. V tem, na prvi pogled le prehajanju, odhajanju in minljivosti chlovekove eksistence posvechenem ciklusu pa je slikar iskal tudi odgovore na nekatera temeljna vprashanja chlovekovega bivanja. Kako kljub usojenosti na neizbezhni konec premagati chas in za vечно ohraniti spomin na posameznikov obstoj? Enega od odgovorov ponuja tudi na platno pritrjena stara chrno-bela fotografija, ki je postala izhodishche za nekatere Skochirjeve »portretne« podobe. Radost nad zhivljenjem, upanje in hrepenenje so vsaj posredno prisotni v upodobitvah deklic in nevest.

Rudi Skochir velja za enega najboljshih domachih risarjev. Risba oziroma grafika in ilustracija ima samostojno mesto v njegovem opusu. Opozoriti velja na preplet risbe kot nosilca ustvarjalnega postopka in slikarstva, prav tako pa tudi na dopolnjevanje slikarske povrshine z drugimi materiali. V zacetku je bil tak »kolazhni« dodatek nagubana draperija, kasneje tudi chipke (ciklus o idrijskih rudarjih). Haptično vabljivo povrshino je slikar zachel pokrivati tudi z naslikanimi »kolazhnimi« detajli.

Tezhnja po likovni sintezi, ki jo prav tako lahko oznachimo kot stalnico Skochirjevega slikarstva, je she bolj ochitna pri novejshih kompozicijah. Maloshtevilne, preudarno razporejene likovne elemente je postopoma nadomestilo razgibano slikarsko tkivo, ki v vsakem delchku nosi sled slikarjevega posega.

## A MYSTERIOUS FEMALE FIGURE

Rudi Skochir has successfully cultivated the tension in the narrative of the painting between the content and the visual exploration with radical changes to the iconographic program and a balanced use of different visual approaches. The female figure, which becomes the central character of his compositions, originally had the role of a metaphor for fundamental existential questions but it gradually changed into a reflection of the painter's personal mythology.

The transience of life on this earth and the frightening reality of our existence on it is the central theme of Skocir's early paintings. The painter makes use of universal symbols (the egg as the beginning of life, and the apple) and some of the basic elements of artistic symbolism, e.g. an almost monochrome or dull colour scale, which heightens the feeling of unease and anxiety. A similar role was played by empty scenes in which female figures are arranged, and sharp illumination with simple light-bulbs. In this series, which at first seems to be dedicated only to the passing, departing and transience of human existence, the painter has also looked for answers to some fundamental questions concerning man's existence. How to conquer time and eternally preserve the memory of an individual's existence despite being condemned to an inevitable end? One answer is offered by an old black and white photograph fixed to a canvas, which has become a starting-point for some of Skochir's "portraits". Joie de vivre, hope and yearning are at least indirectly present in the depictions of girls and brides.

Rudi Skochir is considered to be one of the best Slovenian drawers. Drawings, prints and illustrations have an independent place in his opus. It is worth drawing attention to how the drawing is the carrier of both the creative process and the painting, as well as to the supplementing of the surface of the painting with other materials. In the beginning, such "collage" additions were pieces of puckered-up drapery, later also lace (a series on miners in Idrija). The painter also began covering the haptically inviting surface with painted "collage" features.

The aspiration for visual synthesis which we can say is a constant feature of Skochir's painting, is even more evident in the newer compositions. The few, carefully arranged visual elements have gradually been replaced by an animated painter's fabric, which bears the mark of the painter's intervention in every small part.

Deli slikarske povrshine, ki bi kot izvrsten primer modernistichnega ploskovitega prostora lahko samostojno zazhivela tudi brez povezanosti s figuro, so postali chrke, shtevilke, poteze chopicha, abstraktni liki, barvne lise in polja, grafizmi, igralne karte kot eden osrednjih atributov figuralnih junakov, ter z velikimi chrkami izpisani naslovi kot opozorilo na možnost branja posameznih kompozicij.

V postavitevi zhenskih figur pred likovno obvladano ozadje, ki kljub razgibanosti ohranja enakomerni ritem, ornamentalno zasnovano in vodilni barvni ton, lahko vidimo daljni odmev bizantinskega slikarstva, v kompozicijski razporeditvi in stilizaciji razpotegnjenih vitkih figur s posebej skrbno umeshchenimi rokami pa vpliv secesijske umetnosti. V vertikalni, sredishchni, kristopomorfni kompozicijski shemi podana figura je navidezno ujeta v sinhroni preplet raznolikih likovnih elementov ali je dobesedno obkrozhena z njim, vendar se obe komponenti medsebojno podpirata.

Skrivnostna zhenska figura se je na Skochirjevih platenih postopoma spreminjala, kompozicijsko in vsebinsko preoblikovala. Prve slikarske kompozicije povezuje z deli iz zadnjih let le še univerzalni atribut – jabolko. V zacetku morda konkretno upodobitev otroka, dekleta, zhenske in starke so nadomestile elegantne, tipizirane zhenske figure, ki pa jih slikar nikoli ne upodablja brezbrizhno. Njegov pristop je sposhtljiv in emocionalno vzpodbujen. Junakinje Skochirjevih platen so postali mati z otrokom, erotično vabljivi zhenski liki in mitoloshka bitja, ki določajo nasho zhivljenjsko pot. Iz ljudskega izročila izvirajo rojenice in sojenice, ki otroku ob rojstvu v zibko položijo igralne karte. V Skochirjevih platenih lahko vidimo projekcijo avtorjevih lastnih notranjih dozhivetij; vsaj delno so zasnovana kot avtobiografska priповed. Slikovni prostor je postal meditativen prostor, zato ima simbolika, po kateri tokrat posega slikar, zastrt znachaj. O komunikativni naravnosti slikarskih kompozicij prichajo velike, v gledalca uprte temne oči naslikanih junakinj in preudarna uporaba toplih ali intenzivnih barv, na primer modre, rdeče rjave, okrasto zlate, ki namesto da bi upodobljeni domishljiiški svet pripenjale na konkretno realnost, poudarjajo odmik od nje.

Parts of the painting's surface, which could live independently without any connection to the figure as perfect examples of modernistic level fields, have become letters, numbers, brushstrokes, abstract forms, blotches and fields of colour, lines, playing cards as one of the central attributes of figural heroes and titles written with large letters, which highlight the fact that individual compositions may be considered on their own.

In the arrangement of female figures on a background, which despite its animated appearance retains a steady rhythm, ornamental scheme and leading colour tone, we may see a distant echo of Byzantine painting in the composition and style of the slender, elongated figures while the carefully placed hands are a reminder of secession art. The figure portrayed in the vertical, central, Christ-like compositional scheme seems caught in a synchronous entanglement of diverse visual elements and is literally encircled by them. Nevertheless, both components mutually support each other.

In Skochir's canvases, the mysterious female figure has gradually been changing in terms of composition and content. The only thing that his early painting compositions have in common with the works of recent years is the universal attribute – the apple. The early, concrete depictions of, for example, a child, girl, woman and old woman have been replaced by elegant, typified female figures, which the painter never depicts indifferently. His approach is respectful and spurred on by his emotions. The heroes of Skochir's canvases have become mothers with children, erotically tempting female forms and mythological beings, which determine our life's path. The Fates, which determine the fate of a child by placing playing cards in his cradle, come from folk tradition. In Skochir's canvases we can see the projection of his own internal experiences; they are at least partially set out as an autobiographical story. The visual space has become a place of meditation and that is why the symbolism used by the painter in this case is veiled. The communicative nature of the compositions is shown by the large, dark eyes of the depicted heroes which focus on the viewer, and the careful use of warm or intense colours, e.g. blue, reddish brown, ochre gold, which rather than attaching the depicted imaginative world to concrete reality, emphasise the retreat from it.

Translated from Slovenian by Marko Petrovich

Rudi Skochir

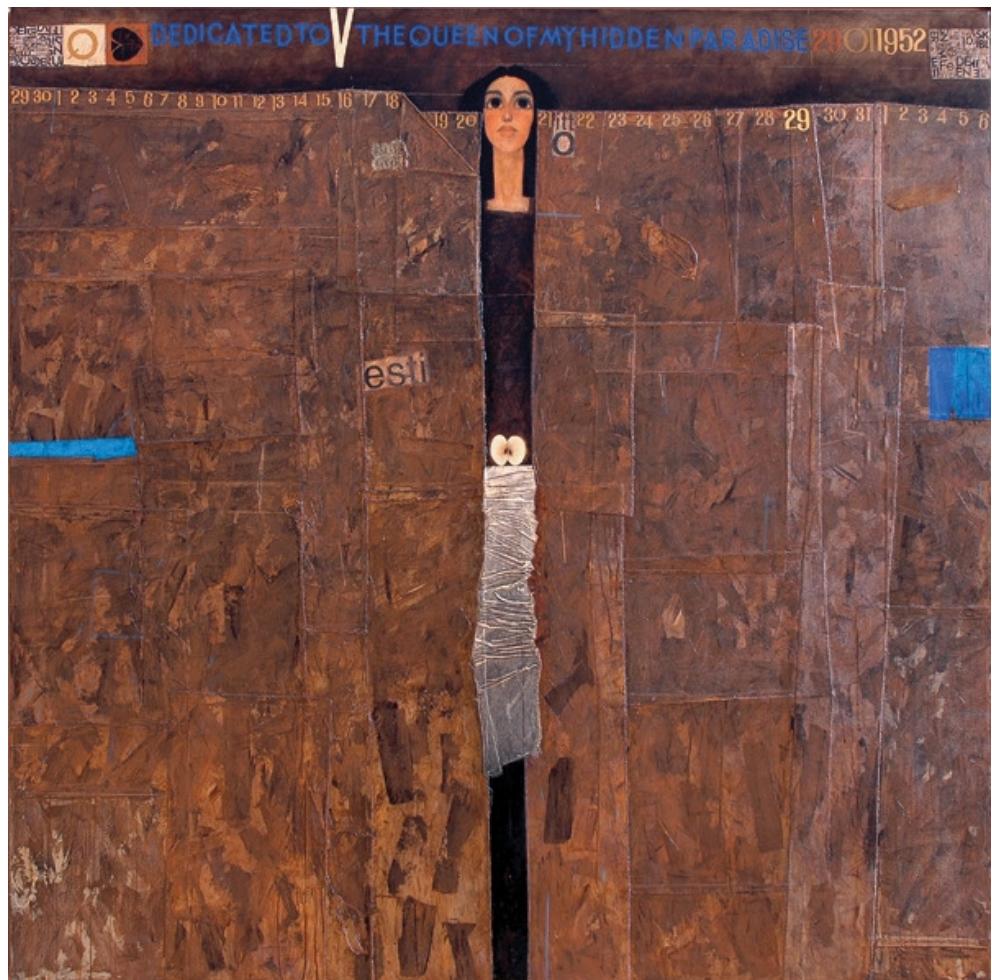
## LIKOVNA DELA

- 1 Kraljica skritega paradizha, 2010, akril, platno, 195 x 195 cm
- 2 Kraljica mojega slikarstva, 2009, akril, kolazh, platno, 125 x 125 cm
- 3 Kraljici mojega slikanja, 2009, akril, platno, 125 x 125 cm
- 4 Izgubljeni paradizh, 2010, akril, platno, 90 x 75 cm
- 5 Moja srchna kraljica, 2008, akril, platno, 150 x 140 cm
- 6 Kraljici mojega zhivljenja, 2009, akril, platno, 185 x 125 cm
- 7 Kraljici mojega zhivljenja, 2009, akril, platno, 160 x 150 cm
- 8 Kraljici najinega izgubljenega paradizha, 2010, akril, platno, 195 x 195 cm
- Naslovnica
- 9 Za zavesami mojega skritega paradizha, 2010, akril, platno, 195 x 195 cm

Fotografije:

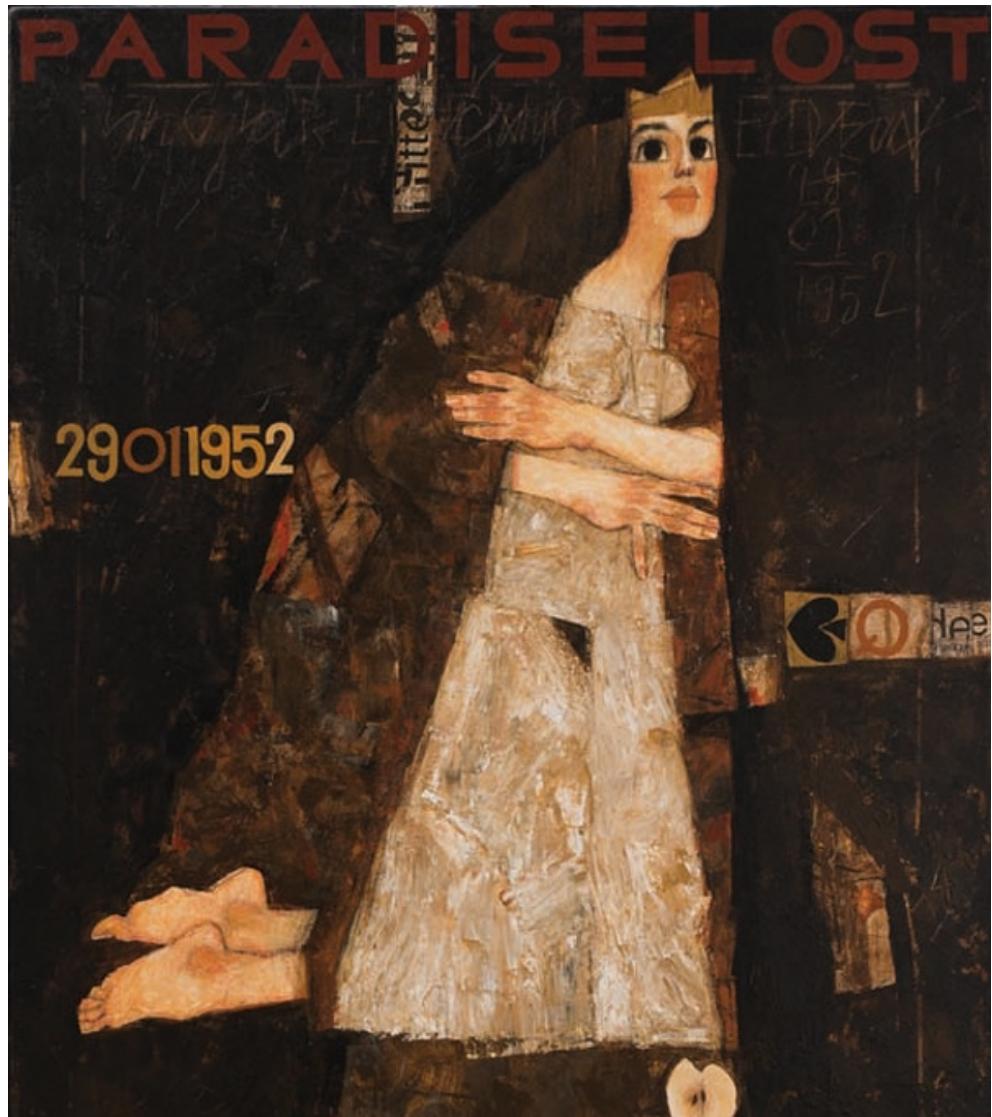
Jaka Bregar, Mirko Bijuklich, Maurizio Fruhani, Marko Grego, Igor Zaplatil

RUDI SKOCHIR je bil rojen 6. aprila 1951 na Kamnem pri Kobaridu. Leta 1977 je diplomiral na Akademiji za likovno umetnost v Ljubljani, nato pa prav tam obiskoval še slikarsko specijalko pri profesorjih Janezu Berniku, Shtefanu Planincu in Kiarju Meshku. Prvo samostojno razstavo je imel leta 1980. Strokovno se je izpopolnjeval na shtudijskem bivanju v Cité International des Arts v Parizu leta 1995. Uveljavil se je kot slikar, grafik in ilustrator knjig za mladino in odrasle. Prejel je včah nagrad in priznanj, mdr. študentsko Preshernovo nagrado za slikarstvo leta 1975, nagrado Hinka Smrekarja leta 1999. Je član Drushtva likovnih umetnikov Severne Primorske in Zveze drushtev slovenskih likovnih umetnikov ter član ilustratorske sekcije ZDSL. Dela kot svobodni umetnik v Zhibrshah nad Logatcem.

















*Rudi Skochir*

## ARTWORKS

- 1 Dedicated to the Queen of my Hidden Paradise, 2010, acrylic on canvas, 195 x 195 cm
- 2 Dedicated to the Queen of my Art, 2009, acrylic on canvas, collage, 125 x 125 cm
- 3 Dedicated to the Queen of my Painting, 2009, acrylic on canvas, 125 x 125 cm
- 4 Paradise Lost, 2010, acrylic on canvas, 90 x 75 cm
- 5 Dedicated to the Queen of my Heart, 2008, acrylic on canvas, 150 x 140 cm
- 6 Dedicated to the Queen of my Life, 2009, acrylic on canvas, 185 x 125 cm
- 7 Dedicated to the Queen of my Life, 2009, acrylic on canvas, 160 x 150 cm
- 8 Dedicated to the Queen of our Paradise Lost, 2010, acrylic on canvas, 195 x 195 cm
- Naslovnica
- 9 Behind the Curtains of my Hidden Paradise, 2010, acrylic on canvas, 195 x 195 cm

Photography by:

Jaka Bregar, Mirko Bijuklich, Maurizio Frulani, Marko Grego, Igor Zaplatil

RUDI SKOCHIR was born on April 6th 1951 at Kamno near Kobarid. In the year 1977, he graduated at Academy of Fine Arts in Ljubljana, and afterwards specialized in painting at professors Janez Bernik, Shtefan Planinc and Kiar Meshko. In 1995 he continued his training at the Cité International des Arts in Paris. He has established himself as a painter, engraver and illustrator of books for young people and adults. He has been awarded with 17 prizes for his work. He has been working as free-lance artist; he is a member of the Association of Artists of the North Primorska (Littoral) region, a member of the Association of Artists of Slovenia and a member of its section of illustrators. He lives and works at Zhibrshe (a village near Logatec).

Damir Globocnik

## ZRCALO SVETA

Satirichni ciklus Hinka Smrekarja iz leta 1933

Karikaturist, likovni satirik, ilustrator, slikar in grafik Hinko Smrekar (1883–1942) je leta 1933 (tedaj je bil umetnik na pragu petdesetletnice) ustvaril ciklus laviranih risb *Zrcalo sveta*, ki velja za vrhunec njegove likovne satire. Smrekar je *Zrcalo sveta* nameraval izdati v obliki mape oziroma albuma.

Ciklus okrog 40 laviranih risb (43 x 33 cm, tush, delno senchenje z indigom ali sepijo, vechina signirana *HS – 1933*), ki jih je izdelal v sorazmerno kratkem chasu, po Smrekarjevem mnenju ni bil zakljuchen. Od velikopoteznega nadaljevanja ga je odvrnil medel odziv, na katerega je naletel pri domachi javnosti in zaloznikih, ki so mu za odkup vseh listov ponujali polovichno ceno.

Smrekar je prekrshil lastno pravilo, da se le poredko pojavlja na razstavah. *Zrcalo sveta* je s pomochjo ljubljanskega prodajnega Salona Kos predstavil vekkrat: prvih v Jakopichevem paviljonu septembra 1933, nato na velesejmu v Ljubljani leta 1936, leta 1938 v Mariboru in Celju.

Smrekar je nekaj listov iz ciklusa *Zrcalo sveta* dal natisniti na razglednicah. Prizadeval si je, da bi *Zrcalo sveta* lahko predstavil v tujini. Dopisoval se je z zalozhbami v Londonu, Pragi in Münchnu, na Dunaju. Leta 1936 je prosil prijatelja publicista in urednika Bozhidarja Borka (1896–1980), naj mu v Pragi poishche zaloznika; upal je na razstavo v umetniški trgovini F. Topich pri Narodnem divadlu v Pragi. Pri zalozbni Bavaria v Gautingu pri Münchnu je zanj posredoval sosholec Walther Klemm (1883–1957), znani nemški grafik in profesor na umetniški sholi v Weimarju; toda povsod se je zdelo preveč tvegano izdati delo neznanega slovenskega umetnika (po: Karel Dobida, *Hinko Smrekar*, Ljubljana 1957, str. 20). Za ciklus se je naposled zachela zanimati neka dunajska zalozhba, vendar se je blizhala druga svetovna vojna. Ker z *Zrcalom sveta* ni dosegel prichakovanih uspehov (prodal je samo en list iz serije, risbo »*Pravica*« je odkupilo Ljubljansko sodishche), se je Smrekar posvetil drugim likovnim nalogam. Kasneje je polovico ciklusa odkupila Dravska banovina, »polovica pa je še v rezervi, kajti kranjska morala ne more tako zlepia pozabreti aktor, ki predstavlja debele babnice iz leta 1936,« je menil Miljutin Zarnik (po: Artem /M. Zarnik/, »Hinko Smrekar v podobah in karikaturah«, *Domachi prijatelj*, 1940, str. 98).

Smrekar je ciklus zasnoval kot nekakshen globalni prerez druzhbenih razmer, v katerih »vse chloveshtvo živi, se veseli in trpi v neki chudni žmesi paranoje in cirkularne blažnosti – od žibeli do groba«, kot je zapisal leta 1930. S posameznimi listi se je odzval na razlichne svetovne pojave svojega chasa. Dotaknil se je gospodarstva, politike, umetnosti, znanosti ... Opozoril je na nasilje, pokvarjenost, krutost, dekadentnost, izkorishchanje posameznika, zlagano dobrodelnost, hinavsko chlovekoljubje ... Posebno pozornost je namenil propadanju dushevnih in moralnih vrednot.

*Damir Globocnik*

## WORLD'S REFLECTION

*Hinko Smrekar's satirical series from 1933*

In 1933 (he was an artist approaching his 50<sup>th</sup> birthday at the time), the caricaturist, visual satirist, illustrator, painter and printmaker Hinko Smrekar (1883–1942) created a series of ink wash drawings, *World's Reflection*, which is considered to be the pinnacle of his visual satire. Smrekar intended to publish his *World's Reflection* in the form of a folder or album.

The series of around 40 ink wash drawings (43 x 33 cm, ink, partial shading with indigo or sepia, mostly signed *HS – 1933*), which he created in a relatively short period of time was in Smrekar's opinion not complete. He was discouraged from continuing on a grand scale by the feeble response from the public and from publishers who only offered him half the price he asked for all the drawings.

Smrekar broke his own rule of only appearing at exhibitions on rare occasions. With the help of the Ljubljana Salon Kos, he exhibited *World's Reflection* on several occasions: for the first time in the Jakopich Pavilion in September 1933, then at the trade fair in Ljubljana in 1936, and in Maribor and Celje in 1938.

Smrekar had several drawings from the *World's Reflection* series printed on postcards. He also made efforts to exhibit the series abroad. He corresponded with publishing houses in London, Prague, Munich and Vienna. In 1936 he asked his friend, the publicist and editor Bozhidar Bork (1896–1980), to help him find a publisher in Prague; he hoped for an exhibition in the art shop F. Topich near the National Theatre in Prague. His old schoolmate Walther Klemm (1883–1957), a famous German printmaker and professor at the school of art in Weimar acted as an agent for him at the Bavaria publishing house in Gauting near Munich; but everywhere it seemed too risky to publish the work of an unknown Slovenian artist (from: Karel Dobida, *Hinko Smrekar*, Ljubljana 1957, pg. 20). Finally, a Viennese publishing house began to show interest in the series but the Second World War was approaching. As he did not achieve the success he anticipated with *World's Reflection* (he only sold one drawing from the series, the drawing "*Pravica*" ["Justice"] was bought by the Ljubljana court house), Smrekar turned his attention to other artwork. Later, half of the series was purchased by the Drava Banovina, "*half of it being kept in reserve because the morals of Carniola cannot so easily stomach nudes of fat women from 1936*," commented Miljutin Zarnik (from: Artem /M. Zarnik/, "Hinko Smrekar in pictures and caricatures", *Domachi prijateli*, 1940, pg. 98).

Smrekar devised the series as a kind of general cross-section of social conditions in which "*all of humanity is alive, rejoicing and suffering in a strange mixture of paranoia and cyclical madness – from the cradle to the grave*", as he wrote in 1930. With the individual drawings he reacted to various global phenomena of his time. He touched upon the economy, politics, art and science. He warned about violence, depravity, cruelty, decadence, exploitation of the individual, false charity and hypocritical philanthropy. He paid special attention to the disintegration of spiritual and moral values.

Leta 1927 je chloveske pregrehe personificiral v ciklusu ročno koloriranih lesorezov *Nagлавni grebi*. Shest let pozneje se je odločil zgostiti svoje mrachne likovne vizije posameznih druzbenih pojavov v zapletene mnogofiguralne prizore. Smrekarjev priatelj, ilustrator Elko Justin (1903–1966) je zapisal: »*Bili so to res veličastni listi, pretresljive podobe prizorov bodoche vojne, smrti in žhalosti, listi prepolni grozotnih umetnikovih sanj pa so se naposled porazgubili iz celotnega sklopa*« (Elko Justin, »Hinko Smrekar in njegove podobe«, *Tovarish*, 1948, sht. 41).

Smrekarjevi likovni komentarji druzhbene stvarnosti temeljijo na povezavi estetskih prvin (znachilna interpretacija figuralike, suvereno prostorsko definiranje motivike z linijo, preobloženost risbe in nasichenost prizorov) in avtobiografskih elementov (samosvoj satirichno-kritičen odnos do stvarnosti, bogata likovna domishljija, naklonjenost do oblikovanja fantazijskih motivov) v kompleksno celoto. Posamezne risbe iz ciklusa *Zrcalo sveta* temeljijo na vizualizaciji njihovih naslovov, ki jih je Smrekar prelil v likovne motive. Pogoste so simbolichne in alegorichne formulacije (izrazhanje z likovnimi alegorijami je bilo na zacetku 20. stoletja dokaj razširjeno) ter likovne prispodobe oziroma metafore.

»*Angel miru*« (risba je znana tudi pod imenom »Mirovni angel«, »Bog vojnega ali »Vojna«) je komajda opazna postavica s palmovo vejico v roki ob nogah boga vojne Marsa. Mars je strahoten stvor z dvojnimi letalskimi krili in plinsko masko na glavi (med prvo svetovno vojno so se strupenih plinov bali tako kot po drugi vojni atomskih bomb, leta 1927 je Kristusa s plinsko masko narisal Georg Grosz). Bog vojne sedi na jeklenih utrdbah in tankih, njegovi nogi pochivata na bojnih ladjah in podmornicah, med nogami shtrišli mogochen »falichen« top. V rokah držhi Pandorino skrinjico oziroma tempirano bombo, na kateri se nahaja gruchica nebogljениh diplomatov, ki se pogajajo o miru.

Risba je bila mishljena kot opomin na strahote prve svetovne vojne in opozorilo na priprave na nov svetovni spopad. Smrekar v svojem likovnem antimilitarizmu ni bil osamljen. »*Angel miru*«, prav tako kot npr. motivno sorodni deli – risba L. J. Jordana »*Robot*« iz 1917 in ena najbolj znanih risb avstrijskega grafika in ilustratorja Alfreda Kubina (1877–1959) »*Vojna*«, ki jo je Kubin narisal v vseh variantah (prvih 1901/1902), – sodi v vrsto protivojnih likovnih umetnin (grafik, risb, slik itd.), ki se zachenja porajati v visokem srednjem veku in sega prek Callotta, Daumierja in drugih avtorjev do novejshe dobe.

Bojazen, da se grozote prve svetovne vojne z vseh milijonov mrtvih in dvakrat toliko ranjenih ne bi ponovile, je botrovala tudi nastanku Smrekarjeve perorisbe »*Hvalnica svetovni vojni*« (»*Zahvalna himna vojni*« ali »*Mrtvashka harfa*«), ki jo lahko povezhemmo z znamenito Daumierjevo litografijo »*Pesem miru*« iz leta 1871. Smrekar je sredi cirkushkega shotora, prekritega z zaplatami, narisal boga vojne Marsa ali pa morda »denarnega moloha« (tudi pri drugih listih iz cikla se pojavljajo razlichne interpretacije). Na glavi ima krono iz nozhev, sedi na vrechi z denarjem, poje in igra pohabljenim chloveskim postavam. Na prechko harfe (krsto) se je povzpel okostnjak (vojni heroj), ovenchan z lovrorovim vencem:

In 1927, he personified the human vices in a series of hand-coloured wood engravings *The Deadly Sins*. Six years later he decided to condense his sombre artistic visions of individual social phenomena in complex multi-figural scenes. Smrekar's friend, the illustrator Elko Justin (1903–1966) wrote: "Those were really grand drawings, shocking images of future war, death and sadness; but the drawings filled with the artist's terrible dreams finally disappeared from the whole series" (Elko Justin, »Hinko Smrekar and his pictures», *Tovarish*, 1948, no. 41).

Smrekar's artistic commentaries on social realities are based on bringing aesthetic elements (the characteristic interpretation of figures, mastery of the spatial definition of the motif with lines, the overloading of the drawing and the saturation of scenes) and autobiographical elements (an original satirical-critical relationship with reality, a rich artistic imagination, a fondness for creating fantasy motifs) together into a complex whole.

Individual drawings from *World's Reflection* series are based on the visualisation of their titles, which Smrekar poured off into artistic motifs. Symbolic and allegoric formulations are common (expression through artistic allegories was fairly widespread at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) as well as artistic metaphors.

The "Angel of Peace" (the drawing is known also as the "Peace Angel", "God of War" or "War") is a hardly noticeable figure with a palm branch in one hand, standing by the feet of the god of war Mars. Mars is a terrifying creature with two sets of airplane wings and a gasmask on its head (during the First World War poison gases were feared as much as the atom bomb was after the Second World War; in 1927 Georg Grosz depicted Christ with a gas mask). The god of war is sitting on iron fortresses and tanks; his legs are resting on warships and submarines and from between his legs protrudes a mighty "phallic" cannon. In his hands he holds Pandora's Box, or rather a time bomb on which stands a small group of helpless diplomats who are negotiating about peace.

The drawing was meant to serve as a reminder of the horrors of the First World War and as a warning regarding preparations for a new world conflict. Smrekar was not alone in his artistic antimilitarism. The "Angel of Peace", and works with similar motifs – e.g. the drawing by L. J. Jordan "Robot" from 1917 and one of the most famous drawings by the Austrian printmaker and illustrator Alfred Kubin (1877–1959) "War", which Kubin drew in several versions (for the first time in 1901/1902), – belong to a series of antiwar artworks (prints, drawings, pictures etc), which began to appear in the High Middle Ages and stretch past Callot, Daumier and other artists to the modern age.

The fear that the horrors of the First World War with millions killed and twice as many injured should not be repeated was also the key to Smrekar's ink drawings "Ode to the World War" ("Hymn of Thanksgiving for the War" or "The Harp of Death"), which can be linked to Daumier's famous lithograph "Song of Peace" from 1871. Smrekar drew the god of war, Mars, or perhaps the "money Moloch" (different interpretations also appear in other drawings from the series) in the middle of a patched circus tent. On his head he has a crown of knives; he is sitting on a bag of money and is singing and playing to crippled human figures. A skeleton (war hero), bearing a laurel wreath, has climbed onto the crosspiece of the harp (coffin):

»Kazhe ga, kako golchi in igra – na glasbilo chloreshke strasti = zlakoteno okostje, ovito v slavohlepje, ki dobiva svoj odmer iz krste. Okostje je okrasheno z obeski razlichnih odlikovanj svetih in posvetnih oblasti. V krogu posbastnega glasbila zbrana ogromna mnozhica – dobesedno natrpana kot vzburghlice, chloreshkib malikovalcev denarja, ki strme, se vdano klanjajo, sestradiano vzdihujejo, vsi prevezeti in zasledujejo sleherni gib denarne posbasti. Buljijo v njo z mrzlichnim pohlepom v zbirchneh utripu, strme in strme v zlokobni kotel glasov iz rakve in njenih mrtrashko votlib odmerov.« (Elko Justin, »Hinko Smrekar in njegove podobe«, Tovarish, 1948, sht. 41)

Perorisba »Bog nashe dobe«, ki jo je Smrekar prvotno hotel poimenovati »Moderni faraon«, prikazuje jeklenega robota v drzhi faraona z egyptovskim krizhem v eni in z zhezlom, ki se spreminja v bich, v drugi roki. V robotovi glavi, pokriti s krono, se nahaja »rahitichni financhnik«, ki upravlja z robotom s pomochjo mehanizma z zhicami. V ozadju so futuristichni nebotchniki in tovarnishki dimniki, na nebu se spreletavajo jate letal. Robotu, ki poseblja mednarodne karte, se klanjajo nepregledne mnozhice ljudi.

»Smrekar smeshi lažh, licemerstvo, surovo moch, nravno propast, sharlatanstvo, materializem. Smrekarjeve karikature so razumske in ne chustrene, Smrekar bolj secira kot ustvarja. Bicha gnušobo, da bi pokazal kot nasproteje svetlobo. Garje pokazhe take kot so. Tiste ljudi, ki dandanes hochejo voditi chloveshtvo, cinichno opisuje. Satira ima najvishjo nravno vrednost in izhaja iz moralnih globin ... Smrekarjev ciklus 'Zrcalo sveta' je doslej najobsežnejše slovensko delo v karikaturi. Cheprav ni risarsko popolno, je v kompoziciji prenatrpano in je v nekaterih risbah preveč nepotrebne shtafazhe, da je glavna misel premalo v ospredju. Tudi so včasih misli podane premalo razumljivo in neposredno. Smrekar pa je ustvaril nekak osebni slog v risbi s peresom in je edini resen slovenski karikaturist vsehjega formata. Ciklus 'Ogledalo sveta' ali vsaj nekaj glavnih listov bi moralo priti v javne zbirke.« (-i / najbrzh Josip Regali; op. avt./, »Hinko Smrekarja 'Zrcalo sveta', Slovenija, 1933, sht. 40a)

Podobnega mnenja je bil umetnostni kritik, pravnik Karel Dobida (1896–1964): »Zbirka je zaradi prenatrpanosti z motivi, pa tudi zaradi estetsko neutemeljene in motivno nepotrebne grobosti, ponekod celo banalnosti, prav na meji umetnosti. Vendar bi delo zasluzhilo, da pride v javno last, che ne že zaradi umetnostne pomembnosti, pa vsaj kot svojstven dokument chasa« (K. Dobida, »Jesenska umetnostna razstava«, Ljubljanski žvon, 1933, str. 764).

Umetnikove apokaliptichne likovne vizije so bile marsikdaj tuje in nerazumljive tudi Smrekarjevim sodobnikom. Zato je Smrekar »skushal razbremeniti kritiko s pisanjem o svojih lastnih delih«. Vseeno je umetnostni zgodovinar France Mesesnel menil, da je zasnova vechine risb »svojevrstno zamotana in težko užhitna, kakor je konceptija upodobljenega 'sveta' enostranska, brez poglabljanj v notranji mehanizem stvari in dogodkov in zato le redkokdaj duhovita« (F. Mesesnel, »Razstava v Jakopichevem paviljonu«, Sodobnost, I, 1933, str. 518).

*"He is depicted, playing – on the instrument of human passion = a starved skeleton, wrapped in the desire for glory, which is getting an echo from the coffin. The skeleton is decorated with pendants of various awards from holy and secular authorities. A great mass of people are gathered around the monstrous instrument – they are literally crammed in like matchsticks, human money worshippers who are staring, devotedly bowing, sighing from starvation, all engrossed and following the money monster's every move. They are staring at it with feverish greed in a nervous throb, staring and staring into the sinister cauldron of voices from the coffin and its cadaverously hollow echoes."* (Elko Justin, "Hinko Smrekar in his pictures", Tovarish, 1948, no. 41)

The pen drawing "*The god of our age*", which Smrekar originally wanted to entitle "*Modern-day Pharaoh*", shows a steel robot in a pharaoh-like poise with an Egyptian cross in one hand and a sceptre, which is being transformed into a whip, in the other. In the robot's head, which is covered with a crown, there is a "*rachitic financier*", who is controlling the robot with the help of a wire mechanism. In the background there are futuristic skyscrapers and factory chimneys and flocks of aeroplanes are flying in the sky. The robot, who is a personification of the international cartels, is being venerated by great masses of people.

*"Smrekar ridicules lies, hypocrisy, brute force, moral decay, charlatanism, materialism. Smrekar's caricatures are intellectual and not emotional; Smrekar is dissecting rather than creating. He is lashing out at what is disgusting in order to show the light as the opposite. He shows scabies as they really are. He describes with cynicism those people who want to lead humanity in this day and age. Satire has the greatest moral value and stems from moral depths. Smrekar's 'World's Reflection' series is as yet the most comprehensive Slovenian work of caricature, even if the drawings are not without flaws, the compositions are crammed too full and some drawings contain too much superfluous background detail so that the main idea is not sufficiently in the forefront. Sometimes thoughts are also not communicated understandably and directly enough. But Smrekar has developed his own personal style in pen drawings and is the only serious Slovenian caricaturist of higher quality. The 'World's Reflection' series or at least some of the main drawings should become part of public collections."* (-i /probably Josip Regali; ed./, "Hinko Smrekar's '*The World's Reflection*'", Slovenija, 1933, no. 40a)

The art critic and lawyer Karel Dobida (1896–1964) was of a similar opinion: *"As a result of being overfilled with motifs and displaying a coarseness – at times even banality – that is both aesthetically unfounded and unnecessary in the motifs, it verges on not being art at all. But the work deserves to come into public ownership, if not for its artistic significance, at least as a unique document of a period in history"* (K. Dobida, "The autumn art exhibition", Ljubljanski zvon, 1933, pg. 764).

The artist's apocalyptic artistic visions were often strange and incomprehensible even for Smrekar's contemporaries. That is why Smrekar "*tried to make it easier for the critics by writing about his own works*". Art historian France Mesesnel was nevertheless of the opinion that the concept of most of his drawings is "*uniquely complicated and difficult to digest, just as the concept of the depicted 'world' is one-sided if you do not delve into the inner mechanism of things and events, and therefore rarely humorous*" (F. Mesesnel, "The exhibition in the Jakopich Pavilion", Sodobnost, I, 1933, pg. 518).

Prvi recenzenti so pri nekaterih listih opozorili na groteskno noto, na zapletenost in prenapolnjenost z raznovrstnimi namigi in nenavadnimi miselnimi povezavami, »*Dasi so prav za prav vsi listi bridko aktualni, uchinkuje celota vendarle kot daljna, težko umljiva prispolobka*« (Karel Dobida, »Jesenska umetnostna razstava«, *Ljubljanski žvon*, 1933, str. 764). Toda babilonska zmeshnjava *Zrcala sveta* je zgolj odrazhala Smrekarjevo videnje dekadentne, bizarre in anarchichne civilizacije, ki je iz krvave prve svetovne vojne prestopila v gospodarsko krizo; ta je Jugoslavijo zajela leta 1931 in je svetovni vrhunec dozhivela dve leti pozneje – v letu nastanka Smrekarjevih risb. »*Ta satira se ni oglasila prav iz nashe slovenske risbe, ampak iz splošnega nekako mednarodnega ozračja*« (-i / najbrzh J. Regali/, »Hinko Smrekarja 'Zrcalo sveta'«, *Slovenija*, 1933, sht. 40a). Podoba sveta, ki so jo leta 1933 zrcalile Smrekarjeve risbe, je bila grozljiva in pesimistichna, zato se Smrekarju vsak motiv »*izpreminja iz smeshnega v groteskno in iz grotesknega v tragicchno*« (Bozhidar Borko, »Honoré Daumier in Hinko Smrekar«, *Slovenski poročevalci*, 1951, sht. 88). A zloveshchi prizori se niso mogli neposredno dotikati tudi slovenske in jugoslovanske družhbene stvarnosti tridesetih let. Leta 1933 ni bilo kritika, ki bi zapisal, da so nekateri izmed listov pravzaprav vizionarski, a to postane obvezna oznaka vseh povojsnih komentarjev.

Ciklus *Zrcalo sveta* je v marsicem soroden Goyevemu ciklusu *Los caprichos* (1796 do 1798). Med sodobniki se je Smrekar morda ozrl tudi po alegorichno zasnovanih delih cheshkega karikaturista Emila Holáreka (1867–1919), npr. po antimilitarističnem ciklusu risb »*Válka*« ali antiklerikalnih ilustracijah za knjigo *Razmisljanja o katekizmu*, ter po delih Alfreda Kubina in drugih. Branko Rudolf je kot konkretni Smrekarjev vzor oznachil avstrijskega slikarja in grafika Karla Friedricha Bella (1877–1958) in njegov ciklus »*Heiland und Welt*« iz okrog leta 1917 (po: B. Rudolf, »Opazke o stilu Hinka Smrekarja in 'Vesne'«, *Nasha sodobnost*, 1959, str. 191).



The first critics brought attention to the grotesqueness in certain drawings, the complicatedness and over-saturation with various allusions and unusual thought connections, “*Although all the drawings are bitterly pertinent to the day and age, the whole nevertheless gives the impression of a distant metaphor that is difficult to understand*” (Karel Dobida, “The autumn art exhibition”, *Ljubljanski zvon*, 1933, pg. 764).

However, the Babylonian confusion of *World's Reflection* only reflected the way Smrekar saw the decadent, bizarre and anarchic civilisation, which stepped from the bloody First World War into an economic crisis, which engulfed Yugoslavia in 1931 and reached its global climax two years later – the year Smrekar’s drawings were created.

“*This satire did not arise just out of our Slovenian drawing but from the general, somehow international atmosphere*” (-i /probably J. Regali/, “Hinko Smrekar’s ‘*World's Reflection*’”, *Slovenija*, 1933, no. 40a). The image of the world, which was reflected in 1933 by Smrekar’s drawings, was terrible and pessimistic, and that is why each one of Smrekar’s motifs “*changes from funny to grotesque and from grotesque to tragic*” (Božidar Borko, “Honoré Daumier and Hinko Smrekar”, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 1951, no. 88). However, the sinister scenes could not directly be applied to the Slovenian and Yugoslav social reality of the 1930s. In 1933, there was not a single critic who wrote that some of the drawings were visionary, but this became a compulsory label of all post-war commentaries.

In a number of ways the *World's Reflection* series resembles Goya’s *Los caprichos* series (1796 - 1798). Smrekar perhaps looked also to the allegorical works of his contemporary, the Czech caricaturist Emil Holárek (1867–1919), e.g. his antimilitaristic series of drawings “*Válka*” or the anticlerical illustrations for the book *Thoughts on the Catechism*, and the works of Alfred Kubin and others. Branko Rudolf said the Austrian painter and printmaker Karl Friedrich Bell (1877–1958) and his series “*Heiland und Welt*” from around 1917 was a concrete role model for Smrekar (from: B. Rudolf, “Notes on the style of Hinko Smrekar and ‘Vesna’”, *Nasha sodobnost*, 1959, pg. 191).

Translated from Slovenian by Marko Petrovich.

Rajko Shushtarshich

## DRZHAVO DAM ZA KONJA

(Ali prepoznavnost države – moch sistema;  
ali narodova zavest – identiteta mi-stva)

»Kdor identiteto le brani, ta je vojno žanjo zhe izgubil.  
Kajti identiteta se ne le brani, ampak ustvarja.«

R. Sh.

VSAKICH, KO PODVOMIM:

Kaj je primarno, kaj je pomembnejše: ali prepoznavnost države – moch sistema ali narodova zavest – identiteta mi-stva (nas-stva)? To vprashanje mi ne da miru, se pravi, znova in znova me muchi. Chemu? Je mar res tako zagonetno? Mislim, da ni, le v vsakokratni aktualizaciji variira, se pravi, pojavlja se v novih in novih modalnostih. Pa ne toliko zaradi sprememb v samozavedanju naroda, to je nas – nashega mistva, ampak zaradi premen sistema oz. držav, ki nas »osrečujejo«. Te se namreč neprestano spreminja, reformirajo, transformirajo ali »tranzitirajo«.

Narod kot subjekt, pa je v tem svojem bistvu isti, je svoboden ali pa ga ni oziroma ga ne bo vech, ko bo izgubil to svoje hrepenerje po svobodi (po samobitnosti). Chlovek zhivi desetletja, narodi stoletja, rodovi (gens), ljudstva (etn.) tisočletja, in ta imajo vse bistvene entitete kolektivne zavesti – identitete subjekta.

Lahko rechem, da odkar sem se zavedel sebe kot individuma – res je, da je bilo to relativno pozno –, sem se sochasno zavedel (ali ovedel) tudi svojega – nashega mi-stva: da sem po narodnosti Slovenec, da je to moja kolektivna zavest. Ta je prav tako neposredno dejstvo moje – nashe zavesti, kot je sebstvo neposredno dejstvo moje zavesti. Nerazdruzhni sta. Drugache recheno, neposredno poznam – lahko prepoznam – le dva subjekta, eden je individuum, drugi je narod. Toda tako, kot *to nashe mi-stvo* je, me sili v dvom. Ne gre mi za akademsko razpravljanje o mogochosti definiranja naroda, ampak za neposredno vednost iz kolektivne zavesti. Te se zavesh, ali pa ostane nezavedna, a *vseeno je* – je intuitivno dojemljiva.

Zakaj neki je ta skupinska zavest tako enigmatična (skrita, prikrita, prikrivana)? Zaradi velike pre-mochi sistema, predominantne (preveč prevladujoče) propagande sistema, po kateri je propagirana prepoznavnost države – moch sistema skoraj v celoti zabrisala narodovo zavest – samozavest – identiteto. Nedavno z idejo proletarskega internacionalizma, dandanes z idejo globalizma.

Rajko Shushtarshich

## I'LL GIVE MY STATE FOR A HORSE

(*Or the state's recognisability – the power of the system;  
or the nation's consciousness – the collective identity*)

»Whoever only defends identity has already lost the battle for it.  
For identity must not only be defended but must also be created.«

R. Sh.

### EVERY TIME I DOUBT:

What comes first, what is more important: a state's recognisability – the power of the system or the nation's consciousness – the collective identity? I cannot get this question out of my head, it keeps bothering me. Why? Is it really so enigmatic? I don't believe it is; it just varies in every new context, i.e. it keeps appearing in different forms. Not so much because of the changes in the nation's self-awareness, that is us – our collective identity, but because of the changes in our system or state which »make us happy«. For these keep changing, keep being reformed, transformed or undergo »transitions«.

The nation as a subject remains the same in its essence, it is either free or it does not exist, or will no longer exist, when it loses its desire for freedom (for independence). Man lives for decades, nations live for centuries, clans (*gens*), peoples (*ethn.*) for millennia and these possess all the fundamental traits of collective consciousness – the identity of the subject.

I can say that ever since I have been aware of myself as an individual – it is true that this happened relatively late – I became aware at the same time of my or our collective identity: that I am of Slovenian nationality, that that is my collective consciousness. And that in turn is directly a consequence of my – our consciousness, for self-ness is a direct consequence of my own consciousness. They are inseparable. In other words, I directly know – can recognise – only two subjects, one is the individual, the other is the nation. But I have doubts about the state of *our collective identity*. I am not aiming for an academic discussion about the possibility of defining the nation, but for direct knowledge from the collective consciousness. You either become aware of it or it remains unconscious, but *still it is intuitively comprehensible*.

Why exactly is this group consciousness so enigmatic (concealed or hidden away)? Because of the overwhelming power of the system, the predominant (overly dominant) propaganda system, according to which the recognisability of a state is propagated – the power of the system has almost entirely erased the nation's consciousness – self-consciousness – identity. Not long ago with the idea of proletarian internationalism, nowadays with the idea of globalism.

V svojem relativno kratkem zhivljenju sem doslej prezhivel zhe shtiri drzhave oziroma shtiri mochno razlikujocene se sisteme. Vsaj dve bi lahko na vishku njune mochi oznachili kot diktaturi (drzhavi v totalitarnih sistemih), sedanjo pa kot drzhavo, ki nikakor ne more presechi svoje dedishchine – lastnosti post-totalitarnega sistema. Presezhek se lahko zgodi shele po menjavi nekaj generacij, morda bo to stanje trajalo petdeset let, nekaj let vech ali manj.

Rojen sem bil v kraljevini Jugoslaviji (SHS), nato sem prezhivel NDH (kot otrok v Sunji in Banja Luki), osvobojen sem bil v FLRJ – kasneje preimenovani v SFRJ, naposled sem bil drugich osamosvojen v RS (Republiki Sloveniji), ki od svojega vstopa v EU vidno izgublja svojo sicer kratkotrajno suverenost. V formalnem priznavanju naroda so bile med njimi velike razlike, nobena od teh drzhav pa ni bila prijazna do slovenskega naroda, tudi RS in EU nista. Morda obstaja v zametku tudi neka kolektivna evropska zavest in morda tudi planetarna zemeljska zavest, a tega ne vem, nisem se ovedel ne ene ne druge.

Sistemski vlogoslovci pravijo drugache: Kaj vas skrbi narod, ta bo zhe nekako prezhivel, kot je prezhivel she vse dosedanje osvajalce, zavojevalce. Skrb naj velja drzhavi, le ta je pomembna, le ta se venomer razvija (hierarhizira). Sedanja je moderna, povsem nova institucionalna (korporativna) tvorba.

Zdaj moram za razumevanje tega uvoda povzeti kratko uvodno vrednotno utemeljitev sistema iz leta 1999:<sup>1</sup>

»Kot lahko zhe z naslova razberete, bomo to pot skushali razgrniti ali razvozlati vrednotno utemeljitev sistema. Natanchneje recheno, zanima nas vrednotni sistem institucionalne strukture ali (krajshe recheno) legitimeta sistema, (she krajshe) sistem, ker sistem je najprej vrednotni sistem – vrednotna utemeljitev institucionalne strukture. Ta nas najprej zanima sploshno, t.j. kot vrednotna utemeljitev kateregakoli sistema, potem pa, in občasno tudi vmes, se bomo vprashali she o izstopajochih konkretnih posebnosti vrednotne utemeljitev »nashega sistema«. Ko danes uporabimo besedi »nash sistem«, mislimo na Slovenijo kot samo zahasn ali prehodni sistem ali sistem v tranziciji v nad-sistem Evropo. Slednja je nash novi zheleni sistem oz. sprva she nad-sistem. Navadno sistem enachimo kar z drzhavo. Vendar to ni chisto pravilno, ker je drzhava lahko utemeljena kot sistem (npr. totalitarni sistem), lahko pa jo skoraj v celoti predstavlja najmochnejshi subsistem (v nashem primeru politični podsistemi ali kratko politika), npr. politokratski sistem ali sistem, v katerem dominira strankokracija. In konchno, drzhava bi lahko bila le najmochnejša institucija v sistemu. Takega primera v nashi civilizaciji seveda she ni bilo, ali pa vsaj meni ni znan niti priblizhek chesa takega. Vsaj upamo lahko, da se bo to nekoch vendarle zgodilo. Cheprav nich ne kazhe, da bi se to lahko zgodilo EU.

In my relatively short life, I have lived in four states, or four very different systems. At least two of them could be described in their heyday as dictatorships (states in totalitarian systems), and the present-day one as a state which is struggling to escape its heritage – the characteristics of a post-totalitarian system. Breakthrough can occur only after several generations have passed; maybe this state of affairs will last for fifty years, give or take a few years.

I was born in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, then survived the NDH (Independent State of Croatia, as a child in Sunja, Banja Luka), I was liberated in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia – later renamed Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), then became independent for the second time within the Republic of Slovenia, which since its entry into the EU is visibly losing its brief sovereignty. There are large differences between them in terms of the formal recognition of the nation, but none of these states have been kind to the Slovenian nation, not even the Republic of Slovenia and the EU. Perhaps there is even the beginning of a collective European consciousness and perhaps even a planetary consciousness, but I do not know because I have not become aware of either one or the other.

The system's role specialists are of a different opinion: why are you worrying about the nation, it will survive somehow as it has survived all conquerors and invaders to this day. We should care instead for our state, only that is important, only that is in a constant process of development (hierarchisation). The present one is a modern and completely new institutional (corporate) formation.

For a better understanding of this introduction I must summarise the short introductory value foundation of the system from 1999<sup>1</sup>:

»As you can tell from the title, we will try this time to unfold or unravel the value foundation of the system. More precisely, we are interested in the value system of the institutional structure or (put more briefly) the legitimacy of the system, (or even more briefly) the system, because the system is in first place a value system – a value-based foundation for an institutional structure. First of all we are interested in it in a general sense, i.e. as a value foundation of any system, then, and sometimes in between, we will also ask ourselves about the protruding concrete particularities of the value-based foundation of »our system«. When nowadays we use the words »our system«, we think of Slovenia as only a temporary or transient system or a transitional system on the way to the super-system that is Europe. The latter is our new desired system, or to begin with still a super-system. Usually, we equate the system with the state. But this is not entirely correct because the state can be set up as a system (e.g. a totalitarian system), or it can almost in its entirety consist of the most powerful sub-system (in our case, a political sub-system or politics in short), e.g. a politocratic system or system dominated by the rule of political parties. And finally, the state could be only the most powerful institution in the system. Of course, we have not yet had such an example in our civilisation, or at least I have not heard of anything even remotely resembling something like this. We can at least hope that this will one day come about. Although there are no signs that this could happen to the EU.

Unija ima zhe zdaj velike unitarne tendence, vsaj take, kot so jih imele nashe predhodne unitarne oz. federativne drzhave (nad-sistemi): Kraljevina SHS, FLRJ – SFRJ.

Dvakrat smo z velikim (za)upanjem vstopili v sistem »skupnost bratskih narodov« in dvakrat se je konchalo enako, z veliko morijo. In drama nashega zadnjega, t.j. nekdanjega ponesrechenega nad-sistema, na jugu dezhele, she ni konchana. Nekateri stavijo svoje upanje na UN, ki pa ni institucija zdruzhenih narodov, ampak je institucija zdruzhenih drzhav. In UN je institucija bolj simbolne kot dejanske mochi na nashem planetu Zemlji (t.j. v suprasistemu chloveshtva).«

Pri obujanju zgodovinskega spomina skushamo obuditi zavest posebej zavednih Slovencev, drugega za drugim (od Bohoricha, Trubarja, prek Presherna, Levstika, Cankarja do Kosovela.) Ne bom nashtel vseh, ki smo jih predstavili kot pomembne za narod Slovencev, tiste, ki se jim imamo zahvaliti za svoj obstoj. Cankar pa je bil tisti med njimi, ki je odkrito bichal slovensko hlapchevstvo kot sramotno lastnost narodovega znachaja. (Glej tudi njegovo predavanje: *Slovensko ljudstvo in slovenska kultura*, v Trstu, leta 1907.)<sup>2</sup>

Prav vsakich, ko podvomim o svojem narodu, pomislim prav na Ivana Cankarja. Je imel Ivan vendarle she najbolj prav? Za tale spis je nepogreshljiv. Nasprotno od njega pa je bil nenadkriljivo spodbuden za narod in zato neizogiben pri tem vprashanju – Srechko Kosovel. Zato moram na tem mestu citirati njegovo pismo malovernim, obupanim in pogumnim:

### »PISMO«

»Malovernim to pismo! In obupanim in onim, ki niso ne maloverni ne obupani, ampak stoje s povesheno glavó in ne vedo, kaj bi in kako. In onim to pismo, ki so pogumni in mochni, v pozdrav njihovemu pogumu in mochi. In njim she najbolj, kajti *pogum*, to je *zdravje!*!

V imenu Trubarja vam poshiljam to pismo in v imenu tistih, ki so v molitvenike pisali nasha imena in v imenu tistih, ki so davno davno govorili nash jezik. In v imenu poslednjih najbolj. Kajti oni so bili prvi in odlochujochi. Prst so bili, ki na nej vzklije drevo in zraste narod. In v imenu teh vas pozdravljam najbolj.

Kajti ne Trubarja ne Bohoricha ne Krelja ne bi bilo, che ne bi bilo teh; ne Dalmatina ne Japlja ne Pohlina ne Vodnika ne Kopitarja, ne Kastelica in ne najvechjega *Presherna*. In ne Levstika ne Jurchicha, ne Stritarja ne Trdine, ne Mencingerja ne Kersnika, ne Jenka ne Tavcharja ne Ashkerca in ne nashega Gregorchicha. Vsí ti so vzkliki kot drevje iz rodne prsti. In zato pozdravljam te, ki so ta prst in *zbirljjenje*.

The Union already has strong unitary tendencies, at least as strong as those of our previous unitary or federative states (super-systems): the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the SFRY. On two occasions we joined with great trust and hope a system known as a »community of fraternal nations« and twice it ended the same way – with a great slaughter. The drama of our last failed super-system is not yet over in the southern part of the country. Some people place their hopes in the UN, which is, however, not an institution of united nations but an institution of united states. Furthermore, the UN is an institution of symbolic rather than real power on our planet (i.e. in the supra-system of humanity).«

In reawakening historical memory, we try to stir awareness of particularly patriotic Slovenians such as Bohorich, Trubar, Presheren, Levstik, Cankar and Kosovel. I will not list all those we have presented as important for the Slovenian nation, those we must thank for our survival and existence. Cankar was the one who lashed out openly over Slovenian servility as a shameful characteristic of the nation's character. (See his lecture: *The Slovenian People and Slovenian Culture*, in Trieste, 1907.)<sup>2</sup>

Every time I have doubts about my nation I remember Ivan Cankar. Did not Ivan understand things best? He is indispensable for this essay. But in contrast to him, no-one gave the nation more encouragement, and is therefore indispensable for this question, than Srechko Kosovel. That is why in this place I must quote his letter to those weak in faith, those in despair and the brave:

#### »LETTER«

»This letter is for those of little faith! And those who despair and those who are neither lacking in faith or despairing but stand with their heads bowed and do not know what to do and how. This letter is also for those who are brave and strong, as a salute to their courage and strength. And for them most of all; for *courage*, that is *health!*!

In the name of Trubar, I send you this letter, and in the name of those who wrote our names in prayer books, and in the name of those who spoke our language long, long ago. And in the name of the latter in particular. For they were the first and most decisive. They were the soil on which sprouts the tree and grows the nation. And it is in the name of these that I greet you most heartily.

For there would have been no Trubar, no Bohorich and no Krelj, had it not been for these; no Dalmatin, no Japelj, no Pohlin, no Vodnik, no Kopitar, no Kastelic and no greatest *Presheren*. And no Levstik, no Jurchich, no Stritar, no Trdina, no Mencinger, no Kersnik, no Jenko, no Tavchar, no Ashkerc and no Gregorchich of ours. All these sprouted up like trees from the native soil. And that is why I salute these who are this soil and *life*.

Kajti brez njih ne bi bilo ne Ketteja ne Cankarja, ne Meshka ne Aleksandrova ne Zhupanchicha in nashih največjih modernih.

Kajti drevo ne more rasti, kjer ni tal, kjer ni zdravih, mochnih tal. In umetnik ne more vzkliči, kjer ni naroda.

In she so gozdovi in she so pokrajine nashe in she zhivi narod in diha, o, naroda ni mogoče ubiti.« (*Zbrano delo; Tretja knjiga, I-II; DZS, Ljubljana 1977*)<sup>3</sup>

Po drugi strani pa imamo veliko vech silno pomembnih drzhavnikov, politikov, med njimi prevladujejo taki, ki so nas bili in so nas pripravljeni prodati, zatajiti, vsaj zamenjati za poslushne drzhavljane. Ne bom izpostavil nikogar, pa ne zato, ker bi si ne upal, ampak zato, ker jih je preveč.

Z Andrejem Lenarchichem imava, kot je razvidno iz najinih prispevkov v *Reviji SRP* in v *Lives Journalu*, diametalno razlichne poglede glede pomena drzhave in naroda. Vseeno pa mislim, da je lepo predstavil zgodovino slovenske drzhavnosti. To je zamolchana zgodovina, o kateri nashi drzhavniki in njihovi uradni zgodovinarji nočejo vedeti nichesar. Tragichno se mi zdi, da dejstva, ki jih Lenarchich. – kot vneti zagovornik sporazuma o arbitrazhi – navaja, sama po sebi govore ravno proti njej.

Za utemeljitev pogumne zgodovinske odločitve Slovencev – »kajti *pogum*, to je *zdravje!*« – bi bila dovolj zhe suverena drzhavnishka drzha – izjava:

Da se suverena drzhava Republika Slovenija *prostovoljno* ne odreka okupiranih ozemelj s strani nationalistichne sosedje, da *ne pristaja* na sporazum o arbitrazhi! Che se zhe drzhava ne more upreti premochni sili – v igri geostrateskih interesov naj-sistemov (vloga Hrvashke je v njej je ravno tako postranska, kot je to vloga Slovenije), bi vsaj od naroda, ki naj ga dichi njegovo dostenjanstvo, ponos in pogum, prichakovali, da *prostovoljno ne klone*.

»Narodu vzamesh ponos – dostenjanstvo, in ranil si mu dusho. Nachel si mu samozavest – samozavedanje, z njim samobitnost – identiteto. Tega vam Slovenci – nashi zanamci ne bodo spregledali.«<sup>4,5</sup>

V suzhenjstvo, hlapchevstvo, podanishtvo – naj nas ne prisilijo s temi tremi shibami bozhjimi slovenskega narodnega znachaja. In ako je tudi to neizogibno, naj se narodna izdaja ne prodaja narodu kot velikansi dosezhek slovenskega drzhavnishtva. A ta vlak je zhe odpeljal, akt izkazane suverenosti je ad acta. Sledi samo she izvrshba.

Zato pa si vsakich, ko podvomim o svojem narodu, in se naposled streznim (zavem sebe in nashega mi-stva) rechem:

»DRZHAVO DAM ZA KONJA!«.

For without them there would have been no Kette, no Cankar, no Meshek, no Aleksandrov, no Zhupanchich and our greatest men of the modern age.

For the tree cannot grow where there is no soil, where there is no strong healthy earth. And an artist cannot appear where there is no nation.

And still the forests and the landscapes are ours and the nation is still living and breathing, O, the nation cannot be killed.« (*Collected works*; Third book, I-II; DZS, Ljubljana 1977)<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, we have many more very important statesmen and politicians who are dominated by the sort who were prepared and are still prepared to sell us, disown us, or at least exchange us for obedient citizens. I will not mention anyone, not because I do not dare but because there are too many of them.

Our articles in *Revija SRP* and *Lives Journal* show that Andrej Lenarchich and I have diametrically opposed views on the importance of the state and the nation. I nevertheless believe he has done a good job of presenting the history of Slovenian statehood. This is history which has been concealed and about which our statesmen and their official historians do not wish to know anything. I find it tragic that the facts listed by Lenarchich – as a keen supporter of the arbitration agreement – actually speak against it.

To satisfy the courageous historical stance of the Slovenians – »for courage, that is health!« – a sovereign state attitude would suffice. This could be expressed in a statement as follows:

The sovereign state of the Republic of Slovenia does not *voluntarily* relinquish territories occupied by nationalist neighbours and *will not agree* to the arbitration agreement! If the state cannot resist too strong a force – in the play of geostrategic interests of super-systems (Croatia's role in it is just as marginal as that of Slovenia) one would at least expect a nation adorned by dignity, pride and courage *not to yield voluntarily*.

»If you take away a nation's pride – dignity, you injure its soul. You gnaw at its self-confidence – self-awareness, and with that its originality – its identity. The Slovenians – our successors, will not forgive this.«<sup>4,5</sup>

Let them not force us into slavery and servility with these three scourges of the Slovenian national character. And if this cannot be avoided, may our nation's betrayal not be portrayed to the people as a great achievement of Slovenian statesmanship. But this train has already left the station, the expression of sovereignty is ad acta. Only the execution remains.

That is why, every time I have doubts about my nation and then come to my senses (become aware of myself and our collective identity) I exclaim:

»I'LL GIVE MY STATE FOR A HORSE«

## Propagandni dodatek ali opravichilo morebitnemu bralcu

Bralcu, ki bi pomotama zashel v prebiranje teh vrstic, sem dolzhan opravichilo ali vsaj pojasnilo: Trditve, izrechene v tem spisu, kakor tudi druge tovrstne trditve (npr. te, ki so navedene v spisih pod chrto) se na videz v nichemer ne ločijo od siceršnjih posredovanih propagandnih sporochil. She najbolj se ločijo po tem, da so sestavine avtonomne propagande. Treba jih je preveriti! To pa je mogoče bodisi z običajno logično analizo in preverjanjem navedenih dejstev bodisi s preverjanjem teh dejstev kot neposrednih dejstev v svoji lastni zavesti. Slednje je nekoliko tezhje, sprva, dokler se tega ne navadimo. Pogovorite se v duhu z zavednimi Slovenci, vsaj z nekaterimi, ki vam jih v Pismu navaja Srečko Kosovel, in dojeli boste svoj narod.

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<sup>1</sup> Rajko Shushtarshich, *Vrednote sistema I, II*, Revija SRP 31/32, 1999, str. 116

<sup>1a</sup> Rajko Shushtarshich, *Traktat o svobodi ali Vrednote sistema* [Elektronski vir], Ljubljana, Revija SRP, 2001

<sup>2</sup> Ivan Cankar, *Slovensko ljudstvo in slovenska kultura*, LiVeS Journal, Januar 2012, sht. 5, str. 110

<sup>3</sup> Srečko Kosovel, *Refleksije o narodu; Pismo*, LiVeS Journal, Januar 2011, sht. 3, str. 90

<sup>4</sup> Rajko Shushtarshich, *Referendum za Slovenijo – drugi; Zavednim Slovencem IV*, Revija SRP 97/98, 2010, str. 121

<sup>5</sup> Rajko Shushtarshich, *Kot móra – She o drugem referendumu za Slovenijo; Zavednim Slovencem V*, Revija SRP 99/100, 2010, str. 141

## A propaganda supplement or apology to the reader

To the reader who may accidentally have strayed into reading these lines, I owe an apology or at least an explanation: The assertions made in this essay, as well as other similar assertions (e.g. the ones made in the essays below the line) do not appear to be any different from other propaganda messages. They stand out most in that they are the ingredients of autonomous propaganda. They must be checked! This can be done either with a simple logical analysis and the verification of the facts listed or by checking these facts as direct facts in one's own consciousness. The latter is a little more difficult at first, until you get used to it. Converse in the spirit with patriotic Slovenians, at least with some of the ones mentioned by Srechko Kosovel in his Letter, and you will come to understand your nation.

Translated from Slovenian by Marko Petrovich

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<sup>1</sup> Rajko Shushtarshich, *Vrednote sistema I, II [Values of the system I, II]*, Revija SRP 31/32, 1999, str. 116

<sup>1a</sup> Rajko Shushtarshich, *Traktat o svobodi ali vrednote sistema [Traktat of the freedom or the values of the system]*, Revija SRP, Ljubljana (1992, 2001, 2006).

<sup>2</sup> Ivan Cankar, *The slovenian people and slovenian culture*, LiVeS Journal, Januar 2012, sht. 5, str. 110

<sup>3</sup> Srechko Kosovel, *Thoughts on the nation; A letter*, LiVeS Journal, Januar 2011, sht. 3, str. 90

<sup>4</sup> Rajko Shushtarshich, *Referendum za Slovenijo – drugi / Zavednim Slovencem IV/ [Referendum for Slovenia – second / To patriotic Slovenes IV/*, Revija SRP 97/98, June 2010, p. 121

<sup>5</sup> Rajko Shushtarshich, *Kot móra – She o drugem referendumu za Slovenijo; Zavednim Slovencem V [As a Nightmare – In Slovenia's second referendum / To patriotic Slovenes V/]*, Revija SRP 99/100, 2010, p. 141

*Drago Pahor*

## PORABSKI SLOVENCI

### POGLED V ZGODOVINO SLOVENSKE KRAJINE

Govoriti posebej o stari zgodovini Porabcev ne bi bilo umestno. Celo naziv Porabski Slovenci se pojavlja shele po prvi svetovni vojni, ko je sklep mirovne pogodbe odcepil Porabje od ostalega Prekmurja ali Slovenske krajine, s katero je bilo dotelej celota. Ko govorimo o zgodovini Slovencev na levem bregu Mure, zajemamo celotno slovensko narodno ozemlje.

Med Muro in Rabo so se naselili predniki danashnjih Slovencev v drugi polovici šestega stoletja. Po propadu obranske drzhave na koncu osmega stoletja se ozemlje Slovenske krajine vkljuchi v frankovsko drzhavo, kar povzrochi tudi mochno naseljevanje nemškega zhivlja. Vendar vlada tej pokrajini, ki je bila pretežno slovenska in se je raztezala daleč na vzhod, slovenski knez Pribina. Svojo prestolnico si je Pribina zgradil v Blatogradu ob Blatnem jezeru. Ko sta sv. Cyril in Metod prishla v Velikomoravsko drzhavo, sta pridobila tudi panonskega kneza Koclja, ki je sledil svojemu ochetu Pribinu. Takrat se je slovenska knezhevina v Panoniji otresla cerkvene in politichne odvisnosti od Nemcev ter se povezala z Velikomoravsko. Kocelj je od leta 869 do 874 vladal v Panoniji kot samostojen knez. Nesloga med Slovani in ponovni nemški pritisk sta prekrizhala nachrt o slovanski podonavski sili. V zadnjih letih devetega stoletja pridrvijo od vzhoda nomadski Ogri, ki se razlijejo preko Panonije na zahod celo v Nemčijo in Italijo. Njihova napadalna sila se skrha shele po letu 955. Takrat se ustalijo meje nove madzharske drzhave, ki vkljuchijo tudi Slovence na levem bregu Mure in jih za dolga stoletja odcepijo od osrčja slovenskega ozemlja, ki je ostalo pod nemško nadoblastjo. V tej dolgi dobi je uspelo Madzharom potujchiti devet desetin slovenskega ozemlja, ki je segalo tja do Blatnega jezera. Kralj Shtefan I. je drzhavo upravno razdelil po slovanskem vzoru v zhupanije. Vso oblast je izročil bogatim grofovskim družinam in s tem uvedel fevdalni sistem, ki je bil takrat sploshno razširjen.

Porabje, ki nas v tej razpravi predvsem zanima, je dobil v fevd cistercijanski samostan v Monoshtru, ki je prav tako sluzhil potujchevanju kot posvetni fevdalci. Slovenski kmetje-tlachani pa niso obchutili le krute grofovskie in cerkvene gospode, temveč je prishla nadnje tudi turshka nadloga. Leta 1641 je zahteval Hasan pasha, da se vasi ob Rabi in okoli Radgone podvrzhejo sultanu in mu plachujojo davke. Prav na rabskih tleh, v blizhini Monoshtre, je bila leta 1664 redna turshka vojska premagana.

*Drago Pahor*

## THE RABA SLOVENIANS

### A LOOK INTO THE HISTORY OF THE SLOVENIAN MARCH

It would not be appropriate to talk about the ancient history of the Raba Slovenians. Even the name Porabski Slovenci (Raba Slovenians) does not appear until after the First World War when the peace treaty ruled that Porabje be separated from the rest of Prekmurje and the Slovenian March it had once been a part of. When we talk about the history of the Slovenians on the left bank of the River Mura, we include the entire Slovenian national territory.

The ancestors of the present-day Slovenians settled between the rivers Mura and Raba in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. After the Avar state disintegrated at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the territory of the Slovenian lands was incorporated into the Frankish state and this brought about intense settling of Germanic peoples. But this region, which was predominantly Slovenian and reached far to the east, was ruled by the Slovenian Prince Pribina. Pribina built a capital for himself in Blatograd near Lake Balaton. When Ss. Cyril and Methodius came to Great Moravia, they also befriended the Pannonian prince Kocel who followed in the footsteps of his father Pribina. It was then that the Slovenian principality in Pannonia rid itself of ecclesial and political dependence from the Germans and connected with Great Moravia. Between the years 869 and 874, Kocel ruled Pannonia as an independent prince. Discord between the Slavs, and renewed German pressure thwarted plans for a Slavic force on the Danube. In the last years of the ninth century, the nomadic Hungarians came rushing in from the east and spread across Pannonia and even into Germany and Italy. Their attacking force did not diminish until after the year 955. That is when the borders of the new Hungarian state stabilised. They took in the Slovenians on the left bank of the River Mura and cut them off for many centuries from the heart of Slovenian territory, which remained under German rule. During this long period, the Hungarians succeeded in colonising nine tenths of Slovenian territory, which reached as far as Lake Balaton. King Stephen I divided the country up administratively according to the Slav system of counties (*zhupanije*). He handed over all power to rich noble families and thereby introduced a feudal system, which was widespread at the time.

The region of Porabje, which we are above all interested in here, became a fief of the Cistercian monastery in Monoshter (Szentgotthárd), which was just as much an instrument of colonisation as the feudal lords. However, the Slovenian peasants/serfs did not suffer only at the hands of the cruel nobility and the church, but were also tormented by the Turks. In 1641, Hasan Pasha demanded that the villages by the River Raba and around Radgona become subject to the sultan and pay him taxes. It was on the very territory of Porabje, near Monoshter, that the regular Turkish army was defeated in 1664.

Zhe ob koncu 18. stoletja se zachenja prebujati madzharski nacionalizem, ki poizkusha zavestno pomadzhariti podrejene narode. Vendar so takrat prekmurski Slovenci zhe imeli obrambno sredstvo, to je slovensko knjigo. Sredi shestnajstega stoletja se je razshirilo luteranstvo tudi na Madzharsko. Oprijeli so se ga v veliki meri tudi nashi rojaki. Zhupnija v Gornjem Seniku na primer je bila luteranska. Zhe takrat so prodle v Prekmurju Trubarjeve in Dalmatinove knjige. V zgodovini Prekmurcev beremo: »Krajinski kramarje szo po hi'saj ponujali za malo cejno Trubera i Dalmatina szlov. knjige. Ali nasim papinszkim Szlovenom jih je nej trebalo, da szo nej steti (brati) znali.«

Kasneje so sami prekmurski luteranci poskrbeli za svojo cerkveno knjizhevnost. Franc Temlin je leta 1715 izdal v prekmurskem narechju napisan *Mali katechismus*. Obshirnejše je bilo delo Stefana Küzmicha. Leta 1771 je izshel njegov prevod *Novega testamenta*. Tudi katolishki duhovniki so sledili vzgledu narechne luteranske knjizhevnosti. Mikloš Küzmich je priredil abecednik *Slovenski silvikár*, ki je izshel leta 1780 in kazhe takratno skrb za razvoj slovenskega sholstva. Küzmichev molitvenik – *Kniga molitna* – pa je dozhivel kar dvajset izdaj.

Zgodovinski razvoj je pripeljal Madzharsko preko revolucionjskega leta 1848 do sporazuma z Avstrijo, ko si avstrijski in madzharski fevdalci in velekapitalisti razdelijo leta 1876 oblast v dvojno avstro-ogrsko monarhijo (dualizem). Ogrska kraljevina je bila skupek narodov, v kateri so bili Madzhari dejansko v manjshini. Saj je she uradno ljudsko shtetje v letu 1910 izkazovalo na Ogrskem le 48,1% Madzharov in 51,9% pripadnikov drugih narodnosti. Razmerje je bilo v Prekmurju za Madzhare po njihovem lastnem shtetju she bolj neugodno. Tu so predstavljali le 22,8% prebivalstva. Vsi ostali so, razen 2000 Nemcev, bili Slovenci. V Porabju je narodnostno razmerje v letu 1910 izkazovalo priblizhno isti odstotek Madzharov (22,6%) nasproti 13,4% Nemcev in 63,9% Slovencev.

Tako narodnostno razmerje v Ogrskem kraljestvu je sililo madzharski nacionalizem, ki se je okreplil zlasti po uvedbi dualizma, v skrajno shovinistichno akcijo madzharizacije. Med leti 1870 in 1890 so pomadzharili vse sholstvo. Shlo je postopoma. Ko je slovenski kulturni delavec in knjizhevnik Anton Trstenjak leta 1883 hodil po Porabju, je nashel na Gornjem Seniku madzharskega (dejansko pomadzhарjenega) učitelja. Tudi v Shtevanovcih je bila takrat zhe madzharska shola, medtem ko sta bili v Slovenski vesi in Sakalovcih sholi she slovenski. Gimnazija v Monoshtru je bila ustanovljena leta 1893 prav z namenom, da služhi madzharizaciji, sличno kot je bilo v sluzhbni poitalijanchevanja Beneshke Slovenije ustanovljeno leta 1878 učiteljishche v Shpetru Slovenov.

At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Hungarian nationalism began rousing itself and making conscious efforts to make the subordinate peoples into Hungarians. However, the Slovenians of Prekmurje already had a defence mechanism – the Slovenian book. In the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Lutheranism spread to Hungary. The Slovenians welcomed it to a large extent. The parish in Gornji Senik, for example, was Lutheran. At that time, Trubar's and Dalmatin's books were already making it through to Prekmurje. In the history of the people of Prekmurje we read: »Local peddlers went from house to house selling cheap Slovenian books by Trubar and Dalmatin. But they were of no use to our Catholic Slovenians for they could not read.«

Later, the Lutherans of Prekmurje made sure they had Church literature in their own language. In 1715, Franc Temlin published a '*Mali katechismus*', which was written in the dialect of Prekmurje. The work of Stefan Küzmich was lengthier. In 1771, his translation of the *New Testament* was published. Catholic priests also followed the example of Lutheran literature in the language of the dialect. Mikloš Küzmich adapted the grammar book *Slovenski silihikár*, which was published in 1780 and is proof of efforts at that time to develop Slovenian education. Küzmich's prayer book – *Kniga molitna* – was so successful that it was published twenty times in total.

The course of history took Hungary past the revolutionary year of 1848 to an agreement with Austria in 1876 in which the Austrian and Hungarian feudal lords and mega capitalists shared power in the dual Austro-Hungarian monarchy (dualism). The Hungarian kingdom was an accumulation of nations in which the Hungarians were actually a minority. The official census in 1910 showed that Hungary was populated by only 48.1% Hungarians and 51.9% were members of other nations. In Prekmurje, the ratio was even less favourable for the Hungarians according to the findings of their own census. Here they made up only 22.8% of the population. All the others, with the exception of 2,000 Germans, were Slovenians. In Porabje, the nationality ratio in 1910 showed a very similar percentage of Hungarians (22.6%) living with 13.4% Germans and 63.9% Slovenians.

This national makeup in the Kingdom of Hungary forced Hungarian nationalism, which strengthened particularly after the introduction of dualism, into an extremely chauvinistic campaign of Magyarisation. Between the years 1870 and 1890, all education was made Hungarian. This took place gradually. When in 1883, the Slovenian cultural worker and author Anton Trstenjak visited Porabje, he discovered that the teacher in Gornji Senik was Hungarian (he had in fact been Magyarised). Also in Shtevanovci there was already a Hungarian school while in Slovenska Ves and Sakalovci the schools were still Slovenian. The grammar school in Monoshter was founded in 1893 for the purpose of Magyarisation, just as the foundation of an institute for the formation of teachers in Shpeter Slovenov in 1878 was to serve the Italianisation of Venetian Slovenia.

Poleg shole pa so zatrali tudi vsako drugo manifestacijo slovenske kulturne samobitnosti. Slovenska duhovshchina v Prekmurju je prichela shiriti knjige Druzhbe sv. Mohorja. Pobudnika te akcije dr. Ivanocya so proglašili kar za »panslavista«. V izchrpnem porochilu o knjigah Mohorjeve druzhbe in njih razshirjenosti po Prekmurju, ki ga je poslal 14. marca 1902 okrajni glavar iz Murske Sobote Zhupanijskim oblastem v Sombathely, beremo »da te knjizhne izdaje slovanske smeri tudi na sploshno zelo nevarno vplivajo na madzharski chut slovenskega prebivalstva in zelo zavirajo shirjenje madzharskega jezika«. Veliki zhupan je ministrstvu v Budimpeshtu, ki se je zhivo zanimalo za zadevo Mohorjevih knjig, sporochil 11. julija 1903, da te knjige »vzbujajo slovansko zavest med prebivalci, ki se sicer she sedaj chutijo madzharski drzhavljanji. Te knjige vzbujajo chut solidarnosti med nashim slovenskim in med juzhnoslovanskim prebivalstvom v sosednji Avstriji in nashe domoljubne Slovence pripravljajo na idejo, da bi ustanovili veliko jugoslovansko drzhavo.« Skratka: Mohorjeve knjige so bile – protidrzhavne.

V letih ofenzive proti Mohorjevim knjigam (1899-1903) je Prekmurje izkazovalo blizu 350 narochnikov. Sicer jih je v Porabje prodrolo le malo, saj je monoshterska dekanija imela leta 1901 največ 11 narochnikov. Kar ponuja se nam primerjava z Mohorjani v Beneshki Sloveniji. Tudi tu je chlanstvo doseglo približno isto shtevilo. Največ narochnikov, 337, je bilo leta 1910. Tudi v Benečiji se je razvila ostra kampanja proti Mohorjevim knjigam, ki je odmevala celo v rimskem parlamentu.

Mohorjeve knjige v Prekmurju so vzbudile zanimanje ministrskega predsednika v Budimpeshti in ustvarila se je enotna fronta vse oblastvene in cerkvene hierarhije. Nadškof v Sombathelyju je premeshchal slovenske duhovnike-Mohorjane v madzharske zhupnije in kot protiutezh Mohorjevim koledarjem je zachela sombathelyjska shkofija leta 1903 izdajati *Kalendar srca Jezushovega*, ki je bil pisan v prekmurskem narečju z madzharskim pravopisom. V Prekmurcih so hoteli vzgojiti zavest, da so »vendsko govorechi Madzhari«. Ta teorija ni za nashe obmejne pokrajine nich novega. Kakor so na italijanski strani zatrjevali, da Beneshki Slovenci ne govore slovenskega narečja in so Nemci razvili celo »znanost« o Vindisherjih, so se tudi Madzhari oklenili teorije o Vendih. V starejši dobi so nazivali vse Slovane Tote. Vzdevek Tot zasledimo celo v madzharskem imenu Slovenske vesi (Rabatofalu – Rabska slovenska vas).

Alongside the schools, all other manifestations of Slovenian cultural uniqueness were suppressed. Slovenian priests in Prekmurje began spreading the books of the Druzhba Sv. Mohorja. The instigator of this action, Dr. Ivanocy, was declared a »panslavist«. In a comprehensive report on the books of Mohorjeva Druzhba and their presence all over Prekmurje which was sent by the district governor in Murska Sobota on 14 March 1902 to the county authorities in Sombathely, we can read that »these literary publications of a Slav orientation generally exert a very dangerous influence on the Hungarian sentiment of the Slovenian population and powerfully hinder the spreading of the Hungarian language«. The great prefect wrote on 11 July 1903 to the ministry in Budapest which was very interested in the Mohorjeva books, that these books »arouse Slav awareness amongst the population, which otherwise still feels that they are Hungarian citizens. These books are awakening a sense of solidarity between our Slovenian population and the south Slav population in neighbouring Austria and warming our patriotic Slovenians for the idea of founding a great state of the southern Slavs.« In short: the Mohorjeva books were against the state.

In the years of the offensive against the Mohorjeva books (1899-1903), Prekmurje had around 350 subscribers. There were not so many in Porabje, though; the deanery of Monoshter had no more than 11 subscribers in 1901. It is interesting to compare the number of subscribers in Venetian Slovenia. Their number was roughly the same as in Prekmurje. The largest figure achieved was 337 in 1910. In Venetian Slovenia, a sharp campaign against the Mohorjeva books also developed and it was even heard of in parliament in Rome.

The Mohorjeva books in Prekmurje excited the curiosity of the prime minister in Budapest and a front uniting the government and the church hierarchy was formed. The archbishop in Sombathely transferred Slovenian priests – those who spread the Mohorjeva books – to Hungarian parishes and in opposition to the Mohorjeva yearbooks, in 1903 the Diocese of Sombathely began publishing a yearbook of the *Sacred Heart of Jesus*, which was written in the dialect of Prekmurje with Hungarian spelling. They wanted to awaken in the people of Prekmurje the idea that they are »Wendish speaking Hungarians«. This theory was nothing new for our border regions. Just as the Italians claimed that the Venetian Slovenians did not speak a Slovenian dialect and the Germans developed a theory about the Windisch, so too the Hungarians stuck to a theory about the Wends. Earlier they had referred to all Slavs as »Tot«. The nickname Tot can even be found in the Hungarian name for Slovenska Ves (Rabatotfal – the Slovenian village of the Raba).

Teorija o Vendih, ki so jo naslanjali celo na trditev, da izhajajo Vendi od nekdanjih Vandalov, je iz političnih razlogov prijala vladajočemu madzharskemu fevdalnemu razredu, da se je popolnoma udomachila ne le v uradnem jeziku, temveč tudi med madzharskim ljudstvom, ki je svoje slovenske sosede imenovalo le Vende. Slovenci niso nikoli sprejeli za sebe tega imena, temveč so se zhe v tistih časih, ko smo se ostali Slovenci označevali le za Kranjce, Primorce itd., nazivali enostavno Sloveni in svojo deželico Slovensko krajino. (Danes si na Madzharskem prizadevajo, da bi svoje slovenske sodržavljane imenovali z njihovim pravim imenom. Ker je »stara navada zhelezna srajca«, bo ta reparacijski proces prilichno pochasen.)

V Murski Soboti so v zacetku stoletja ustanovili splošno izobrazhevalno drushtvo za pomadzharjenje Slovenske krajine (Slovenske krajine vogrščino shireche drushtvo), ki je imelo, kakor ime samo pove, enake cilje kot pri nas Lega nazionale in na Koroskem Schulverein.

Veliko socialno nasprotje med preprostim ljudstvom in vladajočo gospodo je bilo prav gotovo zaviralni element, ki je onemogochal vsehje uspehe madzharizacije. Dvojno, socialno in narodnostno zatiranje je pripomoglo, da se je ob koncu prve svetovne vojne ljudstvo Slovenske krajine izreklo za prikljuchitev dezhele k Jugoslaviji, kar ni pomenilo le nacionalno osvoboditev, temveč tudi reshitve iz njihovega bednega socialnega položaja. V razgibanah povojnih mesecih so se na madzharskem dogodki prehitevali. 21. marca 1919 je bila proglašena Madzharska sovjetska republika. Trajala je le 133 dni, saj je dejansko bila uspeshna le v Budimpešti in nekaterih vsehjih industrijskih mestih. Vendar je vredno omeniti dogodke, ki so se takrat razvijali v Slovenski krajini. Delavski svet (Tanacz Szlovenszke krajine – Sovjet Slovenske krajine) v Murski Soboti je 29. marca 1919 progglasil slovensko avtonomijo in na podlagi tega sklepa pozval 14 naselij iz monoshterskega okraja in slovenske vasi iz lendavskega okraja, da se teritorialno združijo s soboshkim okrajem. Monoshterski okrajni sovjet pa ni imel posluha za poziv o avtonomni Slovenski pokrajini in se je izogibal, da bi sklep sovjeta v Murski Soboti potrdil in izvrshil.

Okrajni delavski svet v Murski Soboti je sestavljalo 48 članov. Po imenih sodech je bilo 34 članov slovenske narodnosti. Krajevni sveti za ljudsko prosveto so zaheli uvajati v shole pouk slovenskega jezika. Novo uredništvo *Novin* je s številko od 4. maja uvedlo gajico namesto prejšnjega madzharskega črkopisa. O usodi premaganjih centralnih držav je odločala zmagovita antanta. Mirovna konferenca, ki je zasedala v Parizu, je 9. julija 1919 dodelila Slovensko krajino Jugoslaviji, vendar je dolochila mejo na razvodju med Rabo in Muro. Jugoslovanska delegacija na mirovni konferenci se je sicer vneto zavzemala, da bi se tudi slovensko Porabje prikljuchilo k Jugoslaviji, toda dokončno je obveljal predlog ameriškega delegata Johnsona. S tem so enotnost Slovenske krajine razbili in zachenja se lochena zgodovinska pot Porabja. V Slovensko krajino so prispele jugoslovanske chete 12. avgusta istega leta.

The theory of the Wends, which was sometimes based on the idea that the Wends were descendants of the Vandals, was for political reasons very popular with the ruling Hungarian feudal class, so the name Wend became commonplace not only in official language but also in the language of the Hungarian people who referred to their Slovenian neighbours as Wends. The Slovenians never accepted this name for themselves but simply called themselves Slovenians and their land as the Slovenian March at a time when other Slovenians still referred to themselves as Carniolans, Primorci etc. (Nowadays in Hungary, efforts are being made to refer to their Slovenian co-citizens with the proper name. But as old habits die hard, this reparation process will take some time.)

In Murska Sobota at the beginning of the century, a general educational society was founded with the purpose of Magyarising the Slovenian March (Slovenske krajine vogrshchino shireche drushtvo). As its name suggests, the society had the same goals as the Lega nazionale in Italy and the Schulverein in Carinthia.

The large social difference between the ordinary people and the ruling elite was undoubtedly an element, which prevented Magyarisation from enjoying greater success. This dual oppression – both social and national – contributed to the fact that at the end of the First World War, the population of the Slovenian March voted to join Yugoslavia. This did not mean only national liberation but also liberation from their poor social circumstances. The months immediately after the end of the war were very eventful in Hungary. On 21 March 1919, the Soviet Republic of Hungary was declared. It lasted only 133 days because it was only really successful in Budapest and some larger industrial towns. However, it is worth mentioning the events, which unfolded in the Slovenian March at the time. On 29 March 1919, the Worker's Council (Tanacz Szlovenszke krajine – Sovjet Slovenske krajine) in Murska Sobota declared Slovenian autonomy and on the basis of this decision, called on 14 villages from the district of Monoshter and the Slovenian villages in the district of Lendava to unite territorially with the district of Murska Sobota. But the district council in Monoshter did not pay much attention to the call for an autonomous Slovenian region and avoided confirming and executing the decision of the council in Murska Sobota.

The district workers' council in Murska Sobota had 48 members. Judging by their names, 34 members were of Slovenian nationality. The local education council began introducing Slovenian lessons in school. The new editorship of *Novine* replaced Hungarian orthography with gajica as from the issue of 4 May. It was the victorious entente, which was to decide on the fate of the defeated central countries. The peace conference that took place in Paris gave the Slovenian March to Yugoslavia on 9 July 1919 but decided that the frontier would run along the watershed between the Raba and the Mura. The Yugoslav delegation at the peace conference made keen efforts to join Slovenian Porabje to Yugoslavia but in the end it was US delegate Johnson's proposal, which prevailed. In this way the Slovenian March was cut up and Porabje began its history as a separate entity. Yugoslav troops arrived in the Slovenian March on 12 August of the same year.

## ZGODOVINA PORABJA

Slovenci smo zhe ponovno obchutili, kako diplomati velikih drzhav rishejo za zeleno mizo na zemljevidih »naravne« meje in rezhejo v zhivo telo nashega narodnega ozemlja. Tako so tudi leta 1919 v Parizu iznashli »naravno« mejo med prebivalci Slovenske krajine in poiskali neko razvodnico z »utemeljitvijo«, da je madzharsko mesto Monashter gospodarsko sredishche slovenskih porabskih vasi, ki morajo biti zato vkljuchene v meje povojne Madzharske. Dejstvo, da je po madzharskem uradnem ljudskem shtetju leta 1910 bilo v Porabju z Monoshtrom vred le 22,6% Madzharov nasproti 63,9% Slovencev (13,4 odst. je bilo Nemcev), ni bil uvazhevanja vreden argument. »Naravna« meja poteka po grickevnatem svetu, na katerem je najvishja vzpetina 404 m (absolutne vishine!) visoki Srebrni breg. Ker se dalech proti Monoshtru svet spusti shele pri Dolnjem Seniku na 250 m vishine, je ochitno, da o kaki posebni »naravn« meji na zlozhnem grickevju ni govora. To dokazuje tudi nekdanja povezanost vasi z obe strani sedanje meje. Tudi cerkvena pripadnost vasi v zhupnije zanika obstoj kake uposhtevanja vredne meje. Tako so Ritkarovci do leta 1919 spadali v faro Veliki Dolenci na jugoslovanski strani, jugoslovanske vasi Chepinci, Martinje in Trdkova pa v porabsko faro Gorenji Senik. Monoshter je sicer bil kot sedež okraja upravno sredishche slovenskih vasi, v ostalem pa ni predstavljal gospodarskega sredishcha. Z madzharskim zaledjem niso imeli slovenski rojaki posebnih gospodarskih zvez, saj so zheleznico preko Monoshtra zgradili shele po vojni. Po gospodarski strukturi je bilo Porabje z ostalim, takratnim izrazito kmechkim znachajem Slovenske krajine, celota zase. Ekonomski stiki Porabja so se razvijali na jug in zahod, nikakor pa ne na sever in vzhod med Madzhare. Porabci so svojo zhivino gnali na sejme v Soboto. Beltince in druge prekmurske kraje. Od tod so jo izvazhali v Radgono in Ljutomer. Tudi porabski loncharji so se posluzhevali za prodajo svojih izdelkov trgovskih poti v tej smeri. Loncharji iz juzhnejshih vasi pa so prihajali v Porabje po izvrstno belo ilovico.

Pripadnost Porabja je bila dokonchno zapechatena s podpisom trianonske mirovne pogodbe med antantnimi zaveznikami in Madzharsko 4. junija 1920. Mednarodna razmejitvena komisija, ki je imela nalogo, da na terenu zachrta v Trianonu dolochenou mejo, je bila septembra 1920 na Gorenjem Seniku, kjer so krajevni zastopniki zahtevali, da se dolochi, da se bo v njihovi cerkvi uporabljal slovenski jezik.

Med obema vojnoma ni bilo v Madzharski govora o kaki zashchiti narodnih manjshin. Nadaljevali so z madzharizacijo in med letom 1920 in 1922 je izhajal celo vendski chasnik *Domovina* z ochitnim raznarodovalnim namenom. Da niso imeli napori za madzharizacijo veliko uspeha, je razvidno iz prichevanja Antona Vratushe, ki je leta 1939, torej neposredno pred izbruhom druge svetovne vojne, kot shtudent slavistike preucheval jezikovne razmere v Porabju. On pishe:

## THE HISTORY OF PORABJE

Slovenians yet again felt what it is like when the diplomats of powerful countries sitting at the green table draw »natural« borders on maps and cut into the living body of our national territory. In this way, in 1919 in Paris, a »natural« border was found between the people of the Slovenian March and a watershed was found with the »explanation« that the Hungarian town of Monoshter is the economic centre of Slovenian villages of Porabje which must therefore be included within the frontiers of post-war Hungary. The result of the Hungarian official census in 1910 which showed that Porabje (including Monoshter) had only 22.6% Hungarians compared with 63.9% Slovenians (13.4 % were Germans), was not a valid argument. The »natural« border runs across hilly ground, the highest point of which is the 404 m high (absolute height!) Srebrni Breg. As one has to go a long way in the direction of Monoshter before the altitude drops to 250 m near Dolnji Senik, it is clear that there is no particular »natural« frontier on these gentle hills. This is also proven by the former connections between villages on either side of the present border. The church parish to which the village belonged also denies the existence of any border worthy of consideration. Until the year 1919, the village of Ritkarovci belonged to the parish of Veliki Dolenci on the Yugoslav side, while the Yugoslav villages of Chepinci, Martinje and Trdkova belonged to the Porabje parish of Gorenji Senik. Admittedly, as Monoshter was the main town in the district, it was the administrative centre for the Slovenian villages, but otherwise it was not an economic hub. The Slovenians did not have particularly strong economic ties with the Hungarian surroundings because the railway through Monoshter was not built until after the war. In terms of its economic structure, Porabje formed a whole within the Slovenian March, which was at that time very rural and agricultural. The economic ties of Porabje developed southwards and westwards, and by no means northwards or eastwards towards the Hungarians. The people of Porabje drove their livestock to fairs in Sobota, Beltinci and other places in Prekmurje. From there the animals were exported to Radgona and Ljutomer. The potters of Porabje also made use of merchant routes going in this direction for the sale of their products. Meanwhile, potters from villages further south came to Porabje for the fine white clay.

The fate of Porabje was finally sealed with the signing of the Treaty of Trianon between the Allies and Hungary on 4 June 1920. The international border commission, which had the task of determining on the ground the frontier decided in Trianon, visited Gornji Senik in September 1920. Local representatives demanded that it be specified that in their church the Slovenian language must be used.

Between the two world wars there was in Hungary no chance of any protection for national minorities. They carried on with Magyarisation and between the years 1920 and 1922 a Wendish journal called *Domovina* was published whose clear purpose was to destroy Slovenian identity. The testimony of Anton Vratush who in 1939 (i.e. immediately before the outbreak of World War Two), studied the linguistic situation in Porabje as a student of Slavic languages, clearly shows that the efforts for Magyarisation were not particularly successful. He wrote:

»Drzhavna meja she ni pokazala kakshnega vechjega vpliva: severni gorichki govor se nadaljuje she preko meje: le tujca ogovarjajo in pozdravljo madzharski, kar pa je treba razumeti kot odraz razmer. Edino v Slovenski vesi in blizhnjih Sakalovcih naletimo na pojave, ki jih sicer ne srechamo ob Rabi. To je pa povsem razumljivo: ti dve vasi sta geografsko locheni od ostalih in najbolj odprti vplivom iz Rabske doline«.

## JEZIK PORABSKIH SLOVENCEV

Da spoznamo porabske rojake nekoliko tudi z jezikovne plati, nekaj bezhnih belezhk, ki pa ne segajo v strokovno razpravo. Anton Vratusha karakterizira njihov govor kot narechje, ki je preko meje razshirjeno na Gorickem, tj. v severnem predelu jugoslovanskega Prekmurja. Porabci torej uporabljajo v govoru eno izmed razlichic prekmurskega narechja.

Navajam nekaj posebnih znachilnosti. Izreden je primer, ki je znan tudi ponekod na Gorenjskem, da govorijo zhenske o sebi v moshkem spolu. Tako pravijo na primer: san iso ali ūso, san jemo, namesto sem shla, sem imela. Druga taka posebnost, ki pa je razshirjena po vsem Prekmurju, je zanikanje, ki sledi shele pritrdilnici, na pr. Jes sem nej prisho (jaz nisem prishel). Znachilno je tudi zamenjavanje samoglasnikov. Navajam nekaj primerov: nozhich – nauzhich, roka – rauka, sem – sam ali san, eden – adan, dober – dobar, ledina – ladina, nesem nasem, zajec – zavac.

Porabci imajo v svojem narechju mnogo lepih slovenskih besed, ki ne bi delale sramote knjizhnemu jeziku. Zgodaj zjutraj, zarana pravijo zarankoma in zato ti voshchijo dobro jutro z Dobar zranak! Za pokopalishche uporabljajo besedo groudishche, dezhnik jim je dezhevnik in rastlinska kal je ras. Pasji hishici pravijo pasjica, in ko jih zebe, si nadenejo rokajce (rokavice). Chetudi je v narechje zashlo tudi nekaj madzharskih in nemshkih besed, zlasti za predmete, ki jih je prinesla civilizacija, se kazhe trdozhivost porabskih Slovencev tudi v tem, da so si za take predmete sami izmisli ustrezne besede. Tako so »zbrodili« (pomisli na rek »nekaj mi brodi po glavi«) besedo vuzhgica (vzhgati luch!) za elektrichno stikalo in spleteno elektrichno zhico imenujejo kitica. Kadar je sila, da morajo komu kaj nujnega sporochiti, poshljejo silnico (brzjavko).

Predolgo bi bilo, che bi se spustili she na opisovanje njihovih obichajev. Zakljuchim naj to poglavje z verzi iz njihove ljudske pesmi, ki she vedno zhivi med njimi.

*Moja luba je žhe mrlá,  
utro'ji vō žgonio,  
Tok sem misló, kaj dežb ide,  
pak mi skuže (solže) techejo.*

*Moja ljuba je žhe umrla,  
žjutraj jo ren nesejo.  
Tako sem mislil, da gre dežb,  
pa mi solže techejo.*

(prevod v knjizhno slov. I. A.)

»The state border has not yet shown any marked effect: the dialect of northern Gorichko can be heard also across the border: only a foreigner is addressed and greeted in Hungarian, and this must be understood as a reflection of the circumstances. Only in Slovenska Ves and nearby Sakalovci do we come across phenomena that do not exist by the Raba. This is entirely understandable: these two villages are geographically separated from the others and are most open to influence from the valley of the Raba«.

## THE LANGUAGE OF THE RABA SLOVENIANS

Here are a few details to make you acquainted with our people from Porabje from a linguistic point of view. Anton Vratusha describes their speech as a dialect, which is also spoken across the border in Gorichko, i.e. in the northern part of Yugoslav Prekmurje. Therefore the people of Porabje speak using one of the Prekmurje dialects.

I will list some special features. There is an interesting example, which one may come across in some parts of Gorenjska, whereby women refer to themselves using the masculine form. For example they say: san iso or üso, san jemo, instead of sem shla, sem imela (I went, I had). Another particularity which is, however, widespread throughout Prekmurje, is negation which follows an affirmative, e.g. Jes sem nej prishlo instead of jaz nisem prishel (I did not come). Also characteristic is the interchanging of vowels. Here are some examples: nozhich – nauzhich, roka – rauka, sem – sam or san, eden – adan, dober – dobar, ledina – ladina, nesem – nasem, zajec – zavac.

In their dialect, the people of Porabje have many nice Slovenian words, which would not be at all out of place in literary language. Early in the morning, ‘zarana’ they say ‘zarankoma’ so their version of good morning is Dobar zranak! For cemetery they use the word groubishche, umbrella is dezhevnik and a plant sprout is ras. A dog kennel they call a pasjica, and when they are cold they don rokajce (gloves). Even if some Hungarian and German words have strayed into the dialect – especially those denoting objects that have been brought by civilisation, the tenacity of the Raba Slovenians is shown also by the fact that they have invented their own words for such objects. In this way they »zbrodili« [thought up] (think of the phrase »nekaj mi brodi po glavi« – »something is going through my head«) the word vuzhgica (vzhgati luch! – to put the light on) for an electric switch, and they call a braided electric wire a kitica (small plait). When they must urgently send someone a message they send them a silnica (telegram).

It would take us too long if we were to begin describing their customs. I will end this chapter with a verse from one of their folk songs, which are still alive among them.

*Moja luba je že mrlá,  
utro'ji vö zgonio,  
Tok sem mislô, kaj desh ide,  
pak mi skuze (solze) techejo.*

*My beloved girl has died,  
in the morning she's carried out.  
So I thought it was rain,  
but my tears flow.*  
(English transl. by I. A.)

## NOVA DOBA PORABJA

Ob zmagovitem zakljuchku druge svetovne vojne so prishle v Porabje poleg Rdeche armade tudi edinice Jugoslovanske armade. Porabski Slovenci so upali, da bo zlom fashizma tudi njim prinesel zedinjenje z matichne domovino. Zhe 29. aprila 1945 je zastopnik porabskih Slovencev na velikem zborovanju v Bogojini izrekel zahtevo po prikljuchitvi. Z zborovanja so poslali AVNOJ, SNOS in Izvrshnemu odboru OF brzovjavke, v katerih se sklicujejo na nachela zaveznikov o samoodlochbi narodov.

Drugi miting so porabski Slovenci sklicali sami v Martiniju 3. junija 1945. S tega zborovanja so poslali narodni vladi Slovenije resolucijo, v kateri »slovesno izjavljajo, da hochejo na temelju pravice narodov do samoodlochbe in odcepitve zhiveti v demokratichni federativni Jugoslaviji«. Na istem zborovanju so nastopili tudi zastopniki demokratichnih Madzharov in Monoshtra in poudarjali pravico porabskih Slovencev, da se prikljuchijo k Jugoslaviji s tem, da se k Jugoslaviji prikljuchi tudi Monoshter.

Vendar je prishlo drugache. Na zahtevo oborozhenih sil Sovjetske zveze so se morale jugoslovanske edinice umakniti na nekdanjo drzhavno mejo. Predstavnik Rdeche armade pa je pojasnil, da je na podlagi dogovora med zavezniki in zachasno madzharsko vlado zagotovljena Madzharski stara trianonska meja. Kakor koroshki Slovenci, tako so tudi porabski rojaki plachali rachun barantanja med velikimi.

V chasu po zlomu fashizma so si Slovenci prvih v zgodovini Porabja ustanovili politichno organizacijo v okviru Antifashistichne fronte juzhnih Slovanov na Madzharskem. Ta organizacija se je 17. decembra 1947 preimenovala v Demokratichno zvezo juzhnih Slovanov. Porabski Slovenci so le prichakovali, da se bo v demokratichni Madzharski njihov polozhaj v narodnostnem oziru izboljshal. Saj so pristojne oblasti izdale 24. oktobra 1945 kljub nasprotovanju madzharskega uchiteljstva odlok, da se uvede za slovenske uchence tudi pouk v materinshchini. Shest porabskih Slovencev je opravilo ustrezni pedagogiski uchiteljski techaj v Pechuju in pouk slovenshchine kot predmet so uvedli na sholah na Gorenjem Seniku, v Shtevanovcih, Slovenski vesi in Verici ter na Dolnjem Seniku.

Zloglasna resolucija Informbiroja pa je pri prichi unichila obetajoche zacetke narodnega zhivljenja porabskih Slovencev. Pouk slovenshchine je bil mahoma ukinjen, uchitelji pa odpushcheni in preganjani. Porabski Slovenci so zopet zapadli v brezpravje. Le pochasi, vzporedno s popushchanjem napetosti v mednarodnem zhivljenju in zlasti z razvijanjem odnosov med Madzharsko in Jugoslavijo se je polozhaj spremenjal na bolje.

## A NEW AGE FOR PORABJE

After the victorious end of the Second World War, units of the Yugoslav Armada entered Porabje alongside the Red Army. The Raba Slovenians hoped that with the fall of fascism they would at last be united with the rest of their homeland. On 29 April 1945, at a large meeting in Bogojina, the representative of the Raba Slovenians demanded annexation. Telegrams were sent from the meeting to AVNOJ, SNOS and the Executive Committee of the Liberation Front in which they referred to the principle of the self-determination of nations.

A second meeting was called by the Raba Slovenians themselves in Martini on 3 June 1945. From this meeting they sent the Slovenian national government a resolution in which they »solemnly declared that on the basis of the right to self-determination and secession they wish to live in a democratic and federative Yugoslavia«. The same meeting was attended also by representatives of democratic Hungarians from Monoshter who emphasised the right of the Raba Slovenians to be joined to Yugoslavia even though this would mean that Monoshter too is joined to Yugoslavia.

However, things turned out differently. Upon the demand of the Soviet armed forces the Yugoslav units had to retreat to the former state border. The representative of the Red Army explained that on the basis of the agreement between the Allies and the temporary Hungarian government, Hungary was promised it would keep the old Trianon frontiers. Just like the Slovenians of Carinthia, the Raba Slovenians also paid the price of haggling between the great powers.

In the period following the fall of fascism, for the first time in the history of Porabje, the Slovenians founded their own political organisation as part of the Anti-fascist front of the southern Slavs in Hungary. On 17 December 1947, this organisation was renamed the Democratic Union of Southern Slavs. The Raba Slovenians hoped their situation in democratic Hungary would change for the better. On 24 October 1945, despite opposition from Hungarian teachers, the competent authorities issued an order that Slovenian pupils should be taught in their mother tongue. Six Raba Slovenians passed the relevant teaching course in Pecs and Slovenian lessons were introduced in schools in Gorenji Senik, Shtevanovci, Slovenska Ves, Verica and Dolnji Senik.

However, the notorious resolution of the Cominform immediately destroyed the promising beginnings of a national life for the Raba Slovenians. Slovenian lessons were immediately abolished and the teachers were fired and later hounded. The Raba Slovenians again lost their rights. Only slowly, as international tensions eased off and especially as relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia developed, did the circumstances change for the better.

Obchutne spremembe v manjshinski politiki so bile opazne shele po letu 1968. Deseti kongres Madzharske socialistichne delavske partije je ugotovil, da »tudi nemshki, južnoslovanski, slovashki in romunski delavci nashe domovine gradijo skupaj z madzharskim narodom, kot *enakopravni* chlani nashe druzhbe, socialistichno domovino«.

Leta 1972 je Madzharska izpremenila svojo ustavo in vnesla vanjo tudi jasno dolochbo o narodnostnih pravicah. Prejšnja ustava je *dopolnila* drzhavljanom nemadzharske narodnosti *možnost* uchenja materinega jezika in negovanja ljudske kulture. Nasprotno temu so spremembe nove ustave izrazitejshe in tochnje navajajo pravice narodnostih skupin, ki so konkretizirane v naslednji dolochbi:

»Ljudska republika Madzharska zagotavlja enakopravnost vsem narodnostim, ki zhive na njenem ozemlju: rabo materinskega jezika, shole v materinskem jeziku in ohranitev in negovanje lastne kulture«. Izvrševanje ustavnih dolochb sluzhijo nekateri oblastveni organi od drzhavne svetovalske komisije za narodnosti, oddelka za narodnosti pri ministrstvu za prosveto in she druge ustanove na drzhavni, zhupanijski, okrajni in obchinski ravni. Prvi zhupanijski odbor za narodnosti so ustanovili prav pri Izvrshnem svetu Zhelezne zhupanije, kateri pripada tudi Porabje. Ta odbor obravnava gospodarska, sholska, kulturna in politichna vprashanja treh narodnosti, ki zhive v tej zhupaniji: slovenske, hrvatske in nemshke.

Novo zhivljenje, ki se zaradi opisanih sprememb razvija med porabskimi Slovenci, ima seveda she vse polno pomanjkljivosti, kar ni chudno spricho prejšnje zatrtosti. Vendar so ti prvi koraki v slovensko kulturno zhivljenje spodbudni in kazhejo, da bo nadaljnji razvoj uspeshen. Komaj leta 1972 je bil v upravnem aparatu Demokratichne zveze južnih Slovanov, ki tesno sodeluje z oblastvenimi organi, ustanovljen poseben referat za reshevanje slovenskih kulturnih vprashanj. Na to mesto je bila postavljena porabska Slovenka. Kazhe se potreba, da bi porabski Slovenci poiskali možnosti samostojnejshega dela. Sicer je neizogibno rachunati z njihovo maloshtevilnostjo, medtem ko se more sedanje obchutno pomanjkanje sposobnih kadrov v perspektivi odpraviti.

Z ostalimi južnoslovanskimi skupinami imajo Porabci skupen vsakoletni *Ljudski koledar* (Narodni kalendar), v katerem pa odpade od preko 220 strani obsega na slovenski del le 32 strani. Zato zhelijo Porabci imeti svoj lastni koledar, ki bi se gotovo bolj razshiril med ljudstvom. Tezhje je vprashanje periodichnega tiska. Demokratichna zveza južnih Slovanov izdaja tedensko glasilo *Narodne novine*. List ima od leta 1970 stalno rubriko *Za nashe Slovence*. Rubrika, chetudi zavzema le majhen del v chasniku, pricha, da nimajo porabski rojaki she dovolj pishochih ljudi, ki bi priblizhali chasopis ljudem. V Porabju so *Narodne novine* le slabo razshirjene. Slovenski del *Novin* objavlja tudi sporedne ljubljanskega radia.

Bodoči razvoj moremo predvideti le na osnovi sedanjosti, zato nas zanima.

Tangible changes in minority policies were not seen until after 1968. The tenth congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party found that »also the German, Yugoslav, Slovak and Romanian workers are building our socialist homeland together with the Hungarian nation as *equal* members of our society.«

In 1972, Hungary changed its constitution and introduced a clear provision governing national rights. The previous constitution *gave* citizens of non-Hungarian nationality *the possibility* of learning their mother tongue and nurturing their folk culture. The changes to the new constitution more expressly and more precisely determined the rights of national groups and they are concretised in the following provision:

»The People's Republic of Hungary *ensures* equality of all nationalities living on its territory: the use of the mother tongue, schools in the mother tongue and the preservation and nurturing of one's own culture.« The implementation of the constitutional provisions is carried out by government organs including the national advisory committee for nationalities, the department for nationalities at the Ministry for Education and other institutions on a national, county, district and municipal level. In fact, the first county committee for nationalities was founded within the Executive Council of Vas County to which Porabje belongs. This committee deals with economic, educational, cultural and political questions concerning three nationalities present in this county: Slovenian, Croatian and German.

The new life, which is developing amongst the Raba Slovenians as a result of the changes that have already been described, is of course still far from perfect which is not surprising if you consider the past oppression. However, these first steps for Slovenian cultural activity are encouraging and show that future developments will be successful. As recently as 1972, a special department was founded to deal with Slovenian cultural matters within the administrative apparatus of the Democratic Union of Southern Slavs which cooperates closely with government organs. A Slovenian lady from Porabje was appointed to this position. The need is becoming apparent for the Raba Slovenians to look for opportunities for more independent work. Their small number must be taken into account while the current palpable lack of competent personnel can be done away with in future.

The Raba Slovenians share an annual Yearbook (*National Yearbook*) with other South Slav groups, but of the total of over 220 pages, the Slovenian section covers only 32 pages. That is why the Raba Slovenians wish to have their own yearbook, which would undoubtedly become more widespread amongst the people. The question of the periodical press is more difficult. The Democratic Union of Southern Slavs issues a weekly newsletter called *Narodne Novine*. Since 1970 it has had a permanent column called »*For Our Slovenians*«. This column only takes up a small part of the newsletter and shows that the Raba Slovenians do not yet have enough writers who would bring the journal closer to the people. In Porabje, the *Narodne Novine* are not very broadly read. The Slovenian section of the *Novine* publishes the programme of Radio Ljubljana, among other things.

Future developments can only be foreseen in the light of the present day; that is why it interests us.

Jadranski koledar 1976 (Trieste)

DRAGO PAHOR (1905, Shkedenj / Servola pri Trstu – 1980, Trst), učitelj, politični in kulturni delavec, publicist. Matura na učiteljskem v Tolminu (1924), učitelj v Barkovljah in pri Sv. Jakobu v Trstu, leta 1928 ilegalno odide v Ljubljano, učitelj v Trbovljah 1931-1941. Med NOB organizira partizanske shole in učiteljske tečaje, tudi na Primorskem. Po vojni referent za slov. šolstvo v Trstu, tajnik Slovensko-hrvatske prosvetne zveze (1948), nachešnik oddelka za zgodovino in etnologijo v Narodni in shtudijski knjiznici v Trstu, upravnik slov. Dijashkega doma v Trstu (1953-1965). 1953 ustanovil org. slov. šolstva na Primorskem; o tem objavil shtevilne članke in vseh knjig. Urejal tržhashki *Jadranski koledar* (v njem med drugim objavil zanimivo tematsko-poetološko razpravo *Simon Gregorčič in morje*, 1967).

Gornji odlomek iz daljšega spisa o Porabskih Slovencih, ki so Draga Pahorja kot Primorca še posebej zanimali kot primer etnichne ogroženosti z nasprotnega roba (vzporednice med Beneshkimi in Porabskimi Slovenci), se v *Reviji SRP* vključuje v njeno dosedanje kritično refleksijo o usodi slovenskih obrobij (Koroška, Primorska, Istra), v prichujochi shtevilki razširjeno tudi na Prekmurje. (Op. ur. I. A.)

DRAGO PAHOR (1905, Shkedenj / Servola near Trieste – 1980, Trieste), teacher, political and cultural worker, publicist. He completed the teaching college in Tolmin (1924), was a teacher in Barkovlje (Barcola) and in Sv. Jakob (San Giovanni) in Trieste; in 1928 he illegally left for Ljubljana and was a teacher in Trbovlje 1931-1941. During the National Liberation War, he organised Partisan schools and courses for teachers, also in Primorska. After the war he was a rapporteur for Slovenian schools in Trieste, secretary of the Slovenian-Croatian Educational Union (1948), head of the department for history and ethnology in the National and Study Library in Trieste, director of the Slovenian halls of residence (for pupils) in Trieste (1953-1965). In 1953, he founded the organisation of Slovenian scouts [taborniki] in Italy. He studied the history of Primorska, especially the history of Slovenian schools, and wrote many articles on the subject and some books. He was also editor of the Trieste *Adriatic Yearbook* (one interesting article he published in it was a thematic-poetological discussion entitled *Simon Gregorčič and the sea*, 1967).

Drago Pahor was particularly interested in the Raba Slovenians because coming from Primorska they interested him as an example of an ethnic group in danger at the opposite end of Slovenia (parallels between the Venetian and the Raba Slovenians). The above excerpt from a longer essay by Pahor on the Raba Slovenians is included in the *Lives Journal* as part of its critical reflection on the fate of the Slovenian peripheral regions (Carinthia, Primorska, Istria), which in this issue is extended also to the region of Prekmurje. (Ed. I. A.)

Translated from Slovenian by Marko Petrovich

*Branko J. Hribovsek*

## O IMENU *SLOVANI* (I)

»Največ sveta otrokom slishi Slave ...«  
Presheren

Kateri Slovenec ne pozna te vrstice iz *Uvoda h Krstu pri Savici!* France Presheren je s podobnim izrazom tudi v *Zdravljici* prispeval, da je to najbolj znana razlaga imena *Slovani*. Oglejmo si she ostale ...

Veda o zgodovini besed, posebno njihovega izvora in pomena, tj. etimologija<sup>1</sup>, bi morala biti samo akademska, znanstvena zadeva. Vendar pa ni tako. Nastanek in razvoj plemena, ljudstva, naroda in skupine narodov, tj. etnogeneza<sup>1</sup> je nelochljivo povezana z etimologijo njihovih imen. Etnogeneza je zgodovinski proces, ki je najtesneje povezan tudi s politiko, v preteklosti, sedanjosti in v prihodnosti. To odseva tudi navedeni Preshernov verz.

Ta politichna stran je posebej znachilna za etimoloshke raziskave o imenu Slovanov. Pri tem niso toliko spolitizirane slovanske razlage imena, kolikor so spolitizirane tuje. Lahko celo trdimo, da je slovanska stran te zadeve bolj obramba in odgovor na tuje razlage. Te segajo od mogoche resnichno le znanstvenih poizkusov prek razlag, ki so popolnoma nesmiselne, pa do takih, ki jih lahko oznachimo le kot povsem politichno propagandne ali celo namenoma zhaljive. Ostali, tudi nekateri nashi avtorji, jih posnemajo – nekoch morda iz samoobrambe in politichnega pritiska – danes pa iz »politichne uvidevnosti«. Zaradi tega je tudi vech zadevnih tujih del, kakor pa tistih s slovanske strani. Ne pozabimo, da so bile te tuje razlage in z njimi povezana psevdoetnogeneza Slovanov glavna vsebina fashistichnega in nacistichnega propagandnega stroja v drugi svetovni vojni.

V chasu hladne vojne so bile te razlage dobrodoshla politichna protislovanska (tj. protikomunistichna) propaganda, ki jo danes nekateri krogi nadaljujejo malo bolj prikrito. To je razvidno iz dnevnega tiska. V uglednih knjizhnicah zahodnoevropskih visokosholjskih zavodov najdemo tudi najbolj nesmiselna dela v tej smeri, che so le izpod zahodnega peresa ali tipke. Slovanska dela, tista politichno konformna, najdemo samo v slavistiki posvechenih oddelkih ali pa sploh ni najti nichesar. Viri, ki jih navaja vechina zahodnih del, se v glavnem zachnejo in konchajo pri Šafařiku<sup>2</sup>.

To stanje lahko spodbudi vsakogar, ki se hoche seznaniti z dejstvi, da se poglobi v dotichne vire. Ti so sposhtovanje vzbujoche debele knjige, polne podrobnosti, in dajejo vtis, da zaradi dreves ni videti gozda. Kot povsod v znanosti pa velja – che so o nekem problemu napisane debele knjige, potem je ta problem she zelo dalech od reshitve.

Branko J. Hribovsek

## ABOUT THE NAME *SLOVANI* (I)

»Most of the world belongs to the children of Slava ...«  
Presheren

Is there a Slovenian who does not know these words from the *Introduction* to the Presheren's epos *Baptism at the Savica*?! Using a similar phrase in the song *Zdravljica* (Toast), France Presheren helped make this the best known explanation for the name ***Slovani*** (*Slavs*). Let us take a look at some others.

The science of the history of words, especially their origin and meaning, i.e. etymology<sup>1</sup>, should be an academic matter alone. But it is not so. The origin and growth of tribes, peoples, the nation and groups of nations, i.e. ethnogenesis<sup>1</sup>, is inseparably connected with the etymology of their names. Ethnogenesis is a historical process, which is most closely connected also with politics, the past, the present and the future. This is reflected also by the above verse from Presheren.

The political aspect is particularly characteristic of etymological research into the name Slovani. However, the Slavic explanations for the name are not as politicised as the foreign ones. We may even say that the Slavic side of the affair is more a defence and an answer to the foreign explanations. The latter range from what are possibly only academic attempts, via explanations that are completely nonsensical to explanations, which we can say are simply political propaganda or even intentionally offensive. The others, including some of our authors, imitate them – in the past perhaps out of self-defence and political pressure – but nowadays through »political consideration«. This is why there are also more foreign works on the subject than Slav ones. Let us not forget that these foreign explanations and the pseudo-ethnogenesis of the Slavs connected with them were the main content of the fascist and Nazi propaganda machines in the Second World War.

In the time of the Cold War these explanations were welcome political anti-Slav (i.e. anti-communist) propaganda, which is nowadays still propagated by certain circles a little more covertly. This is obvious from the daily press. In the respectable libraries of Western European institutions of higher education we can find the most nonsensical works on the subject, all that matters is that they were written by a western pen or keyboard. The Slavic works, the politically conformist ones, can be found only in the departments devoted to Slavonic studies and nowhere else. The sources quoted by most western works mainly begin and end with Šafařík<sup>2</sup>.

This state of affairs may encourage anyone who wants to become acquainted with the facts to delve into the appropriate sources. These are big books worthy of respect, full of details, and they give the impression that you cannot see the wood for the trees. However, as in all sciences it holds true that if big books are being written about a particular problem then this problem is still very far from being solved.

Drugo, kar nepoklicnega – pustimo izraz amater ob strani, saj vsebuje preveč chustven zven – (ne)zgodovinarja ali pa (ne)jezikoslovca naravnost izziva, so navajanja istih zgodovinskih virov, letopisov, potopisov ipd., ki jih ihtavi strokovnjaki uporabljajo vsak po svoje, da bi svojim kolegom dokazali ravno nasprotno, kot so bili ti zhe prej »dokazali«.

Pri tem pade v ochi prav neverjetno shtevilo sklepov pri kljuchnih zgodovinskih »ugotovitvah«, oblikovanih z besedami – *drugache to ni sprejemljivo, je lahko samo tako, je bolj ali manj verjetno* in podobno, pa cheprav za svoje trditve ne morejo navesti nikakrshnih dejanskih dokazov. Naravoslovno izobrazhen chlovek, tuda tak z najbolj povrshno izobrazbo, tega ne more sprejeti. Bolje bi bilo rechi – tako je bilo, ker nam je tako bolj vshech ali pa tako ustreza nashim gospodarjem. To je posebno znachilno za nemshko zgodovinopisje in jezikoslovje. Le redki so iz tega kroga, ki to priznavajo<sup>3</sup>. Seveda to ne pomeni, da na nashi strani ni tudi takih del. So pa veliko bolj nedolzhna.

V naslednjem bomo pregledali dosedanje razlage o imenu **Slovari**. Pregled nikakor ni popoln, vendar pa vsebuje razlage, ki jih vechina najpogosteje navaja ali pa so pomembne za oceno sodobnega politichnega stanja. Mogoche bo bralcu tudi kaj preveč dolgochasno, saj moramo zaradi nepristranosti in popolnosti vchasil ponoviti zhe znano. S spremno kritichno besedo pa bomo verjetno povedali tudi kaj novega. Na sploshno bolj ali manj velja mnenje, da se pri vsaki razlagi imena Slovanov pojavljajo etimoloshka, semantichna kakor tudi zgodovinska protislovja. Ta bomo poskusili na kratko obrazlozhiti.

Smisel tega celotnega spisa je tudi podati novo razlago imena **Slovari**. Tu in tam si bomo prav tako ogledali razlago kakshne druge besede, da bi zaokrozhili nashe trditve ali pa odstranili stare »klisheje«.

Jezikoslovna orodja – predvsem uporaba pravil o glasovnih spremembah – so privedla do ugotovitev, ki so bolj ali manj sploshno sprejete, vendar pa prevladuje mnenje, da razlage she vedno niso povsem zadovoljive. Zaradi tega bomo uporabili iste metode, kot sem jih uporabil v<sup>4</sup>. Naj ponovim – glasovni premik je bil zelo uspesan pri raziskavi razvoja indoевropskih korenov, vendar pa je lahko tudi zmoten zaradi neprilagodljivih shem. Besedne korene na ta nachin le sami zgradimo in so zaradi tega umetni. Temu se bomo pri novih razlagah izogibali. Za nas ne bo imel posebne veljave pojem razlike med besedno in besednim korenom.

Sanskrt in slovenshchina sta naravno nastala, obstajajocha jezika. Sanskrat je star nekaj tisočletij in je zaradi tega najbolj podoben domnevнемu indoevropskemu jeziku ali prajezikom. Slovenshchina je dokazano zelo stara<sup>5,6</sup> in vsebuje pogosto v skoraj isti ali rahlo spremenjeni obliki veliko besed (odvisno od vira do 30%<sup>7</sup>) s skoraj istim ali podobnim pomenom kot v sanskrtu.

Iskali bomo besedne korene in ustrezne pomene kakor tudi pomen njihovih zložhenk v sanskrtu ter slovenskih sorodnic v pomenskih zvezah. Tako nam bosta oba jezika orodje za oceno razvoja, ki ga lahko jemljemo, da je najbližhji dejanskemu. Med besedami katerega koli jezika se najdlje ohranijo lastna imena v prvotni ali tej podobni obliki<sup>4</sup> – to dejstvo bomo uposhtevali tudi tukaj.

The other thing which provokes the non-professional – let us leave the term amateur aside for it sounds too emotional – (non)historians or (non)linguists, is the listing of the same historical sources, annuals, travelogues etc, which the hysterical experts use everyone in their own way, in order to prove to their colleagues the very opposite of what they had »proven«.

What then strikes the eye is the unbelievable number of conclusions in key historical »findings« moulded with words – *otherwise this is not acceptable, it can only be this way, it is more or less probable* and similar although they cannot provide any actual evidence to corroborate their claims. A person educated in the natural sciences, even if they have only the most superficial education, cannot accept this. It would be better to say: that is how it was because we prefer it that way or that suits our masters. This is particularly characteristic of German historiography and linguistics. Those who are part of this circle and who admit this are rare<sup>3</sup>. Evidently, this does not mean that our side does not also produce any such works. However, they are much more innocent. In what follows we will look through the explanations for the name Slovani. The review is by no means complete but it contains explanations that are most often quoted by the majority or are important for an evaluation of the contemporary political situation. Perhaps the reader will find some things boring because in order to remain impartial and show the whole picture, we must repeat some facts that are already known. And the critical foreword will probably also tell something new.

The opinion is more or less widely accepted that every explanation for the name Slovani leads to etymological, semantic and also historical contradictions. We will attempt to explain these in brief.

The purpose of this whole essay is also to propose a new explanation for the name *Slovani*. Here and there we will take a look at the explanation for some other words in order to round off our claims or to eliminate old »clichés«.

Linguistic tools – above all the use of rules governing sound changes – have led to findings that are more or less generally accepted but the opinion prevails that the explanations are still not completely satisfactory. That is why we will use the same methods as I used in<sup>4</sup>. The sound change proved very successful for studying the development of Indo-European roots but it can also lead to error as a result of nonconforming schemes. We then create the roots of the words ourselves and they are therefore artificial. We will avoid doing this in the new explanations. For us the concept of difference between a word and the root of a word will have no special value. Sanskrit and Slovenian are two languages that have developed and exist naturally. Sanskrit is several millennia old and is therefore most similar to the supposed Indo-European language or protolanguages. Slovenian has been proven to be very old<sup>5,6</sup> and contains many words that are often in almost the same form and just slightly different (depending on the source, up to 30%)<sup>7</sup> with almost the same or similar meaning to that in Sanskrit.

We will look for the roots of words and suitable meanings as well as the meaning of their compound words in Sanskrit, and related Slovenian words in semantic links. This way both languages will be tools for arriving at an evaluation of the development, which we can assume to be closest to the actual one.

In the words of any given language it is people's names that are preserved the longest in either the original or a similar form<sup>4</sup> – we will bear this fact in mind here.

## Ime *Slovani*

Pregled oblike imena in njegovih sorodnic v najbolj znanih slovanskih jezikih<sup>8</sup> kakor tudi razvojno pomembnih vzporednic v nekaj drugih jezikih je podan v razpredelnici. Prazna polja ne pomenijo povsod, da ustrezica ne obstaja, marveč le, da ni pomembna za nashe nadaljnje razpravljanje.

Troje glavnih postavk izvaja ime *Slovani* iz besede *slovo*, iz besede *slava* in iz latinske besede *sclavus* (suzhenj). Zato sta v razpredelnici besedi *slovo* in *slava* kakor tudi nekaj njunih sorodnic. K njima in k besedi *sclavus* pa se bomo vrnili kasneje.

Najstarejši ohranjeni starocerkvenoslovanski zapisi so iz 10. in 11. stoletja. Zapustili so nam jih slovanska apostola Ciril in Metod<sup>9</sup> ter njuni uchenci. Njuno misijonarsko poslanstvo je bilo v letih 862/863 na Moravskem pri knezu Rastislavu. Jezik in pisavo glagolico sta uchila na velikomoravski akademiji (Veľkomoravské uchilishte). Oboje so uporabljali za vladne in verske zadeve med letoma 863 in 865, nakar so akademijo unichili Germani. Svoje delo sta apostola nadaljevala pri knezu Spodnje Panonije Koclju; njuni uchenci pa kasneje she v Preslavu in Ohridu, kjer so uvedli cirilico. Tako so najstarejši ohranjeni zapisi imena Slovani v danashnji obliki v starocerkvenoslovanskih in iz te dobe.

Splošno mnenje je, da so takrat govorili precej enoten slovanski jezik in da so posamezni slovanski jeziki nastali shele po 9. stoletju. Cirilica je zelo natanchna pisava, zato sta zven in izgovor strocerkvenoslovanskine jasna<sup>10</sup>. Bor meni, da apostola tega slovanskega jezika nista priredila, marveč da je jezik včinoma vech stoletij starejši<sup>11</sup>. Potemtakem bi to she posebej veljalo za ime etnije.

Brez dvoma pa sta »potujcheno«, sedanjemu imenu najbližjo obliko zabeležila zhe Armenec Mojses iz Choren (l. 407-433) in Jordanes (l. 552), pa tudi Ptolomej (2. stol.), seveda precej spremenjeno. Sporno je, ali je pomen besede *cluveni* v etruschanskem napisu na pyrgijskih zlatih ploščicah (6. ali 5. st. pr. n. sht.) ime, ki naj bi bilo povezano s Slovani. Vprashljivo je tudi, ali ime vasi v Noriku *Solvense*, ki jo omenja Plinijs (1. st. p. n. sht.), izvira iz imena *Slovenci*, tj. *Slovani*<sup>12</sup>.

Ime samo pa je veliko starejshe; to bomo tudi dokazali. Njegova starost in navzochnost v vseh slovanskih jezikih prichata, da je samooznaka.

Protoslovanska kakor tudi indoevropska rekostruktacija<sup>13,14</sup> sta umetni in sta prav klasichen primer jezikoslovne zagate. Beseda *beseda* pa samo she dodatno kazhe razliko v razvoju slovanskih jezikov, saj v vsakem pomeni nekaj drugega, vendar sorodnega. Tudi *chrka* in *slovo* sta pomensko precej razlichni besedi v posameznih slovanskih jezikih. Izraz za *slavo* pa nas ne more presenetiti – je zelo star in prav neverjetno dobro ohranjen v skoraj isti obliki v vseh slovanskih jezikih.

## The name *Slovani*

A look through the form of the name and related words in the best known Slovani languages<sup>8</sup> as well as significant parallels in the development of some other languages is given in the table. Empty spaces do not always mean that an equivalent word does not exist but only that it is not important for our discussion.

Three of the main theories show how the name *Slovani* comes from the word *slovo* (meaning ‘word’), from the word *slava* (glory) and from the Latin word *sclavus* (slave). That is why the table contains the words slovo and slava as well as some related words. We will return to them and the word sclavus later.

The oldest preserved Old Church Slavonic manuscripts are from the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. They were given us by Saints Cyril and Methodius<sup>9</sup> and their followers. They were active as missionaries in the years 862/863 in Moravia at the request of Prince Rastislav. They taught the Glagolitic language and alphabet at the Great Moravian Academy (Vel'komoravské uchilishte). They used both for government and religious affairs between the years 863 and 865, after which the academy was destroyed by the Germans. The two apostles continued their work as the guests of Prince Kocel of Lower Pannonia. Their followers later worked also in Preslav and Ohrid where they introduced the Cyrillic alphabet. That is why the oldest preserved records of the name Slovani in its present-day form are in Old Church Slavonic and from this period.

It is generally believed that a fairly uniform Slav language was spoken at the time and that individual Slav languages did not emerge until after the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Cyrillic is a very precise alphabet; that is why the sound and pronunciation of Old Church Slavonic are clear<sup>10</sup>. Bor believes that the two apostles did not change this Slavonic language but that the language is for the most part several centuries older<sup>11</sup>. In this case this would hold particularly true for the name of the ethnic group.

However, undoubtedly the closest »foreign« form (evidently quite changed) of the present name, was written by the Armenian Moses of Chorene (407-433 AD) and Jordanes (552 AD), as well as Ptolemy (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD). It is debatable if the meaning of the word cluveni featured in the Etruscan inscription on Phrygian gold tiles (6<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century BC) is a name which is linked to the Slavs. It is also debatable if the name of the village in Noricum, *Solvense*, which is mentioned by Pliny (1<sup>st</sup> century BC), comes from the name *Slovenci*, i.e. *Slovani*<sup>12</sup>.

However, the name itself is much older; we will prove this later. Its age and its presence in all Slav languages are proof that it is a self-designation.

The Proto-Slavic as well as the Indo-European reconstructions<sup>13,14</sup> are artificial and are classic examples of a linguistic mess. And the word »beseda« which means »word« in Slovenian] only serves to further show the difference in the development of Slavonic languages, for it means something different yet similar in each individual language. *Chrka* and *slovó* are also two semantically quite different words in individual Slavonic languages. However, the word for glory (slava) must not surprise us – it is very old and unbelievably well preserved in almost the same form in all Slav languages.

slovensko: Slovenian (lang.)	slovan Slav	slovenec Slovenian	slovak Slovak	beseda word	chrka/pismenka – letter	slovó farewell	slava glory
hrvashko: Croatian:	slaven	slovenac [slavonac]	slovak	riječ	slово	oproštaj	slava
srbsko /Serbian:	sloven	slovenac	slovak	reč	слово	опроштаж	слава
makedonsko: Macedonian:	словен	словенец	словак	збор	буква	разделба	слава
bolgarsko: Bulgarian:	словен словенин	словенец	словак	слово (беседа)	буква	раздяла	слава
poljsko /Polish:	slowianin	slowen	slowak	slowo (biesiada)	czcionka	pożegnanie	sława
luzhishko: Lusatian:				slowo	pismik	boženje	sława
polabsko: Polabian:	slüövenske			slüvü			
cheshko /Czech:	slovan	slovinec	slovák	slово	litera	rozchod	slava
slovaško: Slovakian:	slovan	slovinec	slovák	slovo	litera	rozlučenie	slava
st. rusko: Old Russian:		словене словяне		слово			слава
rusko /Russian:	славянин	словенец	словак	слово речь	буква	прощание	слава
ukrajinsko: Ukrainian:	слов'янин	словенець	словак	слово (бесіда)	буква	прощання	слава
belorusko: Belorussian:				слово	боукваед літара	бывай злароў	слава

Vidimo, da sta v vseh razlichicah imena **Slovenec** nespremenljivo navzocha soglasnika **sl** in soglasnik **v**, nato pa soglasnik **n**. Slednjega ni le v imenu **Slovak**. Samoglasniki pa so precej spremenljivi. Spremembe **o** v **a** ali pa obratno, kakor tudi med drugimi samoglasniki, so znachilne za razlike med slovanskimi jeziki in njihovimi dialekti. Tako je tudi z imenom **Slavonac**, seveda ime za slavonske Hrvate, ki ga zaradi zelo ozke sorodnosti ne omenjamo posebej. Konchnice pa so si seveda podobne ter so znachilne za vsak jezik posebej. Ime **Slovenec** je pravzaprav jezikovno »tezhje« kot **Slovan**. Vsebuje vech chrk in je zato tudi boljshe merilo. Kolikor je beseda krajsha, toliko je manj veljavna za oceno nekega razvoja, saj je kratka chrkovna vrsta statistichno bolj verjetna kot pa dolga.

Ime **Slovenec** najdemo izkljuchno na meji slovanskega z neslovanskim svetom. Tako je to tudi veliko bolj verjetno ime, ki je vplivalo na tuje poimenovanje Slovanov. Pripona **-ec** je običajna pri izpeljavi samostalnikov iz glagolov; npr. gledalec, poslushalec, pevec itd. V tem primeru je **sloviti** – **Slovenec** ravno tako kot peti – pevec. To ni posebnost slovenskega jezika, saj je na primer slovenski Jugoslovan v rushchini – Jugoslavec (Югославъц).

Torej lahko napisemo medjezikovno nespremenljivko iz imena **Slovenec** kot **sl-v-n-(c,k)**, kjer pomisljajo pomenijo spremenljive samoglasnike ali pa dvoglasnike. Tako nam bo ime **Slovenec** merilo za oceno med razlichicami imena **Slovani**.

slovensko: Slovenian (lang.)	slovan Slav	slovenec Slovenian	slovak Slovak	beseda word	chrka/pism- enka - letter	slovó farewell	slava glory
st. cerkveno slov.: Old Church Slavonic:	словъне			глаголъ слово (бесъда)	боукъве		слава
protoslovansko: Proto Slavonic:	*sloveninъ			slovo			
litvansko: Lithuanian:				žodis	raide		šlavé
latvijsko: Latvian:				vards	burts		slava
proto-balto-slov.: Proto-Balto-Slav.: (rekonstr.)				slouo			
st. gr. /Old Greek:	Σθλαβηνοι			λυγος			κλασος
st. ind. /Old Indian:							zravas
avesta / Avesta:				sravah-			
st. irsko /Old Irish:							clu
indoevr. koren Indo-Europ. root (reconstr.):	*slauos			kleu(H)-os (kleu-Hs-??)			

We can see that in all forms of the name **Slovenec** (Slovenian), the consonants **sl**, **v**, and then **n** are unvaryingly present. The latter is absent only from the name **Slavak**. Meanwhile, the vowels tend to vary quite a lot. Changes from **o** to **a**, and vice-versa, as well as between other vowels are typical of the differences between the Slavonic languages and their dialects. The same is the case with the name **Slavonac**, the name for Croats from Slavonia, which we do not mention specifically because it is so closely related. However, endings resemble each other and are characteristic of each individual language. The name **Slovenec** in fact has more linguistic »weights« than **Slavan** [Slav]. It contains more letters and is therefore also a better measure. The shorter the word, the less it is valid for evaluating a certain development, for a short series of letters is statistically more probable than a long one.

The name **Slovenec** is found exclusively on the border between the Slav and the non-Slav worlds. That is why it is all the more likely that this was the name which influenced the foreign appellation of the Slavs. The prefix **-ec** is commonplace when making nouns out of verbs; e.g. gledalec [spectator], poslushalec [listener], pevec [singer] etc. In this case **sloviti** becomes **Slovenec** just as peti becomes pevec. This is not a particularity of the Slovenian language as for example the Slovenian »Jugoslovan« ('Yugoslav') is in Russian – Jugoslavec (Югославец).

An interlingual invariable form of the name **Slovenec** can be **sl-v-n-(c,k)**, where the dashes denote variable vowels or diphthongs. In this way the name Slovenec will be the standard measure for evaluating between different forms of the name **Slovani** (Slavs).

## Zgodovinske razlichice poimenovanj Slovanov

Samo nashteli jih bomo. Podrobnosti – seznam dokumentov, kronik in njihovih avtorjev – bralec lahko najde v<sup>7,15,16,17,18</sup>.

Razlichice imen za Slovane v grshkih virih do leta 1025 (razen tistih o Venetih) po »abecednem« redu in s priblizhnim shtevilom letopisov, v katerih so ta imena zabelezhena, so<sup>17</sup>:

Αθλάβοι 1, ἀσκλαβηνοί 1, εἰσλαβίνετζα 1, ἐσθλαβώθην 1, ἐσθλαβώθην 1, ἐσθλαβωμένος 1, θλαβικός 1, θλαβινός 1, κλαύνοι 1, Λαβίνετζα 1, Σαβήνοι 1, Σθλαβηνοί 1, σθλαβηνοί 2, Σθλαβησιάνοι 5, Σθλαβιανοί 1, σθλαβικός 3, Σθλαβινίαι 1, σθλαβινικός 1, σθλαβινίκος 1, σθλαβινικός 2, Σθλαβίνοι 15, σθλαβινός 1, Σθλάβοι 7, Σθλάβος 2, σθλαβενικός 3, Σθλοβενοί 1, σκαβικός 1, Σκλαβάρχοντες 1, Σκλαβηνία 4, Σκλαβηνίαι 7, σκλαβενικός 1, Σκλαβηνιστ 1, Σκλαβήνοι 7, Σκλαβηνοί 51, σκλαβηνός 10, Σκλαβησιάνοι 1, Σκλαβησιανοί 1, σκλαβικός 5, σκλαβιναριος 1, Σκλαβηνία 2, Σκλαβίνοι 1, Σκλαβινίαι 9,

Prav tako v latinskih virih do leta 900 po abecednem redu s pribliznim shtevilom letopisov<sup>18</sup>:

clavi 1, esclavi 1, esclavi 1, exclaveni1, flavi 1, isclavi1, scaui 2, scavani 1, scavi 2, scavii 1, schlavi 1, sclabi 2, sclabus (?)1, sclafi 1, sclauani 2, sclauanii 1, sclaucrus 1, sclaueni 1, sclavi 32, sclauiani 1, sclauin...1, sclauini 2, sclauinienses 1, sclauinus\*1, sclauis 1, sclauus 2, sclavani 2, sclavanii 1, sclaveni 6, sclaves 1, sclavi 239, sclavini 6, sclavitini 1, sclavonenses 1, sclavones 1, sclavoni 1, sclavunus 1, sclavus 4, sclawi 1, scovi 1, slavi 12, slavani 1, slavi 26, slawi 2, slaws 1, slcavi 1, solani 1, zlaveni 1, slaus 1, slawus 1, alani 1, avari 1, gothi 2, guandali 1, guinedi 1, guinedes 2, — . —

Shtevilo letopisov je priblizno, ker ne vemo:

- koliko letopisov je bilo dejansko, vemo samo za ohranjene;
- koliko letopisov je resnichno originalnih (pomislimo samo na dvajset tisoč lazhnih nemshkih<sup>19</sup>);
- koliko letopisov je bilo preprosto prepisanih, vir pa je pravzaprav en sam;
- koliko je razlichic samo zato, ker je vsak kronist pisal po svoje;
- vsi viri so pravzaprav najmanj iz druge, che ne iz tretje roke;
- vech razlichic je lahko tudi v istem viru, ki je tako shtet vekkrat.

Tako nam vse te razlichice in njihova pogostnost rabijo samo za pregledno oceno oblike razlichice in za njenou uporabo. Najbolj vazhne razlichice, chetudi z najnizhjo shtevilko v zgornjem seznamu, so tiste najstarejshe, nato tiste, ki so najbližje resnichnemu imenu, sledijo mu pa najbolj pogoste.

## Historical variants of the name *Slovani*

We will only list them. The reader can find the details – a list of documents, chronicles and their authors in <sup>7,15,16,17,18</sup>.

Variants of the name for Slavs in Greek sources up until the year 1025 (except for those about the Veneti) in »alphabetic« order and with an approximate number of chronicles in which these names appear are <sup>17</sup>:

— . —

σκλαβινικαριος 1, σκλαβινικος 1, σκλαβινικός 1, Σκλαβίνιοι 3, σκλαβινισιος 1, σκλαβινισιος 1, σκλαβινιστη 1, σκλαβινιστι 1, Σκλαβίνοι 32, Σκλαβίνοι 13, σκλαβίνοι 1, σκλαβίνος 2, σκλαβίνος 2, Σκλαβινός Σκλαβίνοι 7, Σκλαβισια 1, Σκλαβισάνοι 1, Σκλαβισιανοι 1, Σκλαβογενής 1, Σκλάβοι 64, Σκλαβοι 4, Σκλαβόι 1, Σκλάβος 8, Σκλαβουνοι 1, Σκλαβούνος 1, σκλαβώνοι 1, σκλαηνοι 1, , Σκλαυηνια 2, Σκλάυηνοι 1, Σκλαυηνοι 20, Σκλαυηνός 1, Σκλαυνια 1, Σκλαυνιαι 4, Σκλαυνοι 1, Σκλαυνοι 14, Σκλαυνός 3, Σκλέθαι Σκλάβοι 1, Σκλαβήνοι 1, Σκλαβίνετζα 1.

Also in Latin sources to the year 900 AD in alphabetical order with an approximate number of chronicles <sup>18</sup>.

— . —

guinedi 1, guinidi 2, gunidini 1, hunni 1, huninidi 1, hwinidi 1, inmidi (?)1, umid 1, uuandali 1, uuinades 1, uuinedi 1, uuinida 2, uvinedi 1, vandali 4, vandalici 1, venedi 2, venethae 1, venethi 2, veneti 1, venetiae 2, venetiani 1, venetii 1, vinedi 1, vinidi 2, vionudi 1, vuinedi 1, vuinidi 1, vvinidi 1, vvinit 1, wandali 5, wandalitae 1, wandalus 1, wandelici 1, wenedi 3, wenedus 2, wimodii 5, windi 1, winedi 3, winedus 1, winethi 1, winida 1, winidi 26, winidores 1, winithi 2, winiti 1, winnetes 1, winodi 2, wynidi 1, winuli 2.

The number of chronicles is approximate because we do not know:

- how many chronicles there in fact were, we know only of those that were preserved;
- how many chronicles are truly original (remember only the twenty thousand false German ones <sup>19</sup>);
- how many chronicles were simply copied while the source is in fact only one;
- how many variants there are simply because each chronicler wrote on his own;
- all the sources are at least from second if not from third hand;
- there may be more than one variant in the same source which is then counted more than once.

Therefore, all these variants and the frequency of their use only serve to give us an overview of the form of the variant and its use. The most important variants, although they appear the smallest number of times in the above list, are the oldest ones, followed by those that are closest to the real name and then by the ones that are the most common.

Pri grshkih virih moramo uposhtevati, da se kljub grshkim sredozemskim in hrnomorskim kolonijam ime Slovanov z glasom **s** v zacetku pojavi pozneje kot razlichice za ime **(H)Enetoī**, to pa kazhe na dolocheno dushevno razdaljo piscev do Slovanov, ki je sploh znachilna za odnos starih Grkov do barbarov. Razlichice s **sth-** so starejshe kot tiste z **skl-** in jih lahko prishtevamo prej k bizantinskim kot pa h grshkim. Te kazhejo na dejstvo, da so bili Slovani prebivalci na področju Bizanca, saj je bila daljsha oblika, to je ime **Slovani** in ne **slav-**, izvor pretežno vseh grshkih razlichic. Izvor kratkih oblik si bomo ogledali kasneje. Razlichice kazhejo tudi to, da je ime res slovanska samooznaka – v grshchini ni bilo nobene podobne besede. Kasneje bomo tudi poizkushali najti odgovor na vprashanje, zakaj se je uveljavila zacetnica **skl-** – ne pa kaj drugega, kot je npr. **sth-**.

Pregled nashtetih imen po zgornjih merilih nam daje naslednje:

Σθλαβηνοὶ 1 Σθλαβηνοὶ 15 Σκλαβήνοι 7, Σκλαβηνοὶ 51, σκλαβηνός 10 Σκλαβῖνοι 32, Σκλαβῖνοι 13 Σκλάβοι 64, Σκλαβοὶ 4, Σκλάβος 8, Σκλαυηνοὶ 20, Σκλαυινοὶ 14  
(pribl. Sthlabenoi, Sthlabinoi, Sklabensi, Sklabensi, sklabenos, Sklabinoi, Sklabinoi, Sklaboi, Sklaboi, Sklabos, Sklauenoi, Sklauinoi)

V teh besedah sta jezikovni stalnici **sthl-b-n-** in **skl-b(u)-n-**. Navzoche so tudi npr. kratke oblike Σθλάβοι 7, Σθλάβος 2, Σκλάβοι 64, Σκλαβοὶ 4, ki dajo stalnici **sthl-b-** in **skl-b-**. Konchnic ne uposhtevamo, te so popolnoma lastne grshchini.

Oglejmo si bolj natachno latinske vire. Ti vsebujejo tudi podatke iz grshkih virov, posebej pa je zanimiva povezava z Veneti, Vandali ipd. Iz zgornjega seznama razlichic dobimo naslednje:

<b>cl</b>	<b>u</b>				<b>1</b>	
<b>escl</b>	<b>u</b>				<b>1</b>	
<b>escl</b>	<b>v</b>				<b>1</b>	
<b>excl</b>	<b>v</b>	<b>n</b>			<b>1</b>	
<b>fl</b>	<b>v</b>				<b>1</b>	
<b>iscl</b>	<b>u</b>				<b>1</b>	
<b>sc</b>	<b>u</b>				<b>2</b>	
<b>sc</b>	<b>v</b>	<b>n</b>			<b>1</b>	
<b>sc</b>	<b>v</b>				<b>2</b>	
<b>sc</b>	<b>v</b>				<b>1</b>	
<b>schl</b>	<b>v</b>				<b>1</b>	
<b>scl</b>	<b>b</b>				<b>2</b>	
<b>scl</b>	<b>b</b>			<b>us(?)</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>scl</b>	<b>f</b>				<b>1</b>	
<b>scl</b>	<b>u</b>	<b>n</b>			<b>2</b>	
<b>scl</b>	<b>u</b>	<b>n</b>			<b>1</b>	
<b>scl</b>	<b>u</b>			<b>crus</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>scl</b>	<b>u</b>	<b>n</b>			<b>1</b>	

In Greek sources we must bear in mind that despite the Greek Mediterranean and Black Sea colonies, the name Slovani with the »s« sound in the beginning, appears later than variants for the name **(H)Enetoī**. This points to a certain emotional distance of the writers from the Slavs which is particularly characteristic of the relationship of the ancient Greeks to Barbarians. The variants with **sth-** are older than those with **skl-** and we can sooner ascribe them to the Byzantines than the Greeks. These point to the fact that the Slavs inhabited areas of Byzantium, as the longer form i.e. the name **Slovani** and not **slav-**, is the origin of almost all Greek variants. We will have a look at the origin of shorter forms later. The variants also show that the name really is a Slav self-designation – there was no similar word in Greek. Later we will also try to find the answer to the question of why the prefix **skl-** became commonplace and not some other prefix such as **sth-**.

Overview of the names listed under the above criteria gives us the following:

Σθλαβηνοί 1 Σθλαβήνοι 15 Σκλαβήνοι 7, Σκλαβηνοί 51, σκλαβηνός 10 Σκλαβῖνοι 32, Σκλαβῖνοι 13 Σκλάβοι 64, Σκλαβοί 4, Σκλάβος 8, Σκλαυηνοί 20, Σκλαυνοί 14  
(approx. Sthlabenoi, Sthlabinoi, Sklabensi, Sklabensi, sklabenos, Sklabinoi, Sklabinoi, Sklaboi, Sklaboi, Sklabos, Sklauenoi, Sklauinoi)

In these words, the linguistic invariants are **sth**-b-n-**** and **skl**-b(u)-n-****. Also present are the short forms Σθλάβοι 7, Σθλάβος 2, Σκλάβοι 64, Σκλαβοί 4, which give the invariants **sth**-b-**** and **skl**-b-****. We do not take into consideration the suffixes as they are entirely Greek.

Let us look more closely at the Latin sources. These also contain details from Greek sources; the connection with the Veneti, Vandals etc. is particularly interesting. From the above list of variants we get the following:

<i>scl</i>	<i>u</i>				<b>32</b>	<i>sclauī</i>
<i>scl</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>n</i>			<b>1</b>	
<i>scl</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>n...</i>			<b>1</b>	
<i>scl</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>n</i>			<b>2</b>	
<i>scl</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ns - s</i>	<b>1</b>	
<i>scl</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>us*</i>	<b>1</b>	
<i>scl</i>	<i>u</i>			<i>s</i>	<b>1</b>	
<i>scl</i>	<i>u</i>			<i>us</i>	<b>2</b>	
<i>scl</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>			<b>2</b>	
<i>scl</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>			<b>1</b>	
<i>scl</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>			<b>6</b>	<i>sclaveni</i>
<i>scl</i>	<i>v</i>			<i>s</i>	<b>1</b>	
<i>scl</i>	<i>v</i>				<b>239</b>	<i>sclavi</i>
<i>scl</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>			<b>6</b>	<i>sclavini</i>

<i>scl</i>	<i>v</i>		<i>t</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	
<i>scl</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ns-s</i>	<i>l</i>	
<i>scl</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>s</i>	<i>l</i>	
<i>scl</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>l</i>	
<i>scl</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>us</i>	<i>l</i>	
<i>scl</i>	<i>v</i>			<i>us</i>	<i>4</i>	
<i>scl</i>	<i>w</i>				<i>l</i>	
<i>sc</i>	<i>v</i>				<i>l</i>	
<i>sl</i>	<i>u</i>				<i>12</i>	<i>slauí</i>
<i>sl</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>1</i>	<i>slavani</i>
<i>sl</i>	<i>v</i>				<i>26</i>	<i>slavi</i>
<i>sl</i>	<i>w</i>				<i>2</i>	
<i>sl</i>	<i>w</i>			<i>s</i>	<i>1</i>	
<i>scl</i>	<i>v</i>				<i>1</i>	
<i>s-l</i>		<i>n</i>			<i>1</i>	
<i>zl</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>1</i>	<i>zlaveni</i>
<i>sl</i>	<i>u</i>			<i>s</i>	<i>1</i>	
<i>sl</i>	<i>w</i>			<i>us</i>	<i>1</i>	

<i>al</i>		<i>n</i>			<i>l</i>	
	<i>av</i>			<i>r</i>	<i>1</i>	
<i>g</i>			<i>th</i>		<i>2</i>	<i>gothi</i>
<i>gu</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>l</i>	<i>1</i>	
<i>gu</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>1</i>	
<i>gu</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>s</i>	<i>2</i>	
<i>gu</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>1</i>	
<i>gu</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>2</i>	
<i>gu</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>1</i>	
<i>hunn</i>					<i>1</i>	
<i>hun</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>1</i>	
<i>hw</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>1</i>	
<i>inm</i>			<i>d(?)</i>		<i>1</i>	
<i>um</i>			<i>d</i>		<i>1</i>	
<i>uu</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>l</i>	<i>1</i>	
<i>uu</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>s</i>	<i>1</i>	
<i>uu</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>1</i>	
<i>uu</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>2</i>	
<i>uv</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>1</i>	
<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>l</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>vandali</i>

Iz te razpredelnice dobimo naslednje jezikovne stalnice:

*cl, sc, scl, sl* – *u, v, b, w-*

*cl, sc, scl, sl* – *u, v, b, w*

*u, v, b, w, gu, hu, hw*

– *n, (t)-*

– *n, m – t, th, d –*

ki dajo skupaj:

*cl, sc, scl, sl* – *u, v, b, w, gu, hu, hw*

– *n, m – t, th, d –*

<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>I-c</i>	<i>l</i>		
<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>2</i>		<i>venedi</i>
<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>th</i>		<i>1</i>		
<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>th</i>		<i>2</i>		<i>venethi</i>
<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>1</i>		
<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>2</i>		<i>venetiae</i>
<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>1</i>		
<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>1</i>		
<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>1</i>		
<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>2</i>		<i>vinidi</i>
<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>1</i>		
<i>vu</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>1</i>		
<i>vu</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>1</i>		
<i>vv</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>1</i>		
<i>vv</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>1</i>		
<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>5</i>		<i>wandali</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>I-t</i>	<i>1</i>		
<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>lus</i>	<i>1</i>		
<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>I-c</i>	<i>1</i>		
<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>3</i>		<i>wenedi</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>us</i>	<i>2</i>		<i>wenedus</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>5</i>		<i>wimodii</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>1</i>		
<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>3</i>		<i>winedi</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>us</i>	<i>1</i>		
<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>th</i>		<i>1</i>		
<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>1</i>		
<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>26</i>		<i>winidi</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>1</i>		
<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>th</i>		<i>2</i>		<i>winithi</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>1</i>		
<i>w</i>	<i>nn</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>1</i>		
<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>2</i>		<i>winodi</i>
<i>wy</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>1</i>		
<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ul</i>	<i>2</i>		<i>winuli</i>

Overview of the names listed under the above criteria gives us the following:

*cl,sc,scl,sl* – *u,v,b,w-*

*cl,sc,scl,sl* – *u,v,b,w*

*u,v,b,w,gu,hu,hw*

– *n,(t)-*

– *n,m – t,th,d –*

that they give together:

*cl,sc,scl,sl* – *u,v,b,w,gu,hu,hw*

– *n,m – t,th,d –*

Zanimiva je tudi delitev na ***cl*, *sl* in *sc*, *scl***, med njimi pa na tiste z in brez ***n***.

Verjetno je razlichic manj, kot pa je videti na prvi pogled. Nekaj jih je zelo verjetno nastalo samo z razlichnim nachinom zapisa istega imena. Seveda tega za posamezno razlichico ne moremo tochno ugotoviti. Tudi to, kako je kronist »slishal« ime, je prineslo marsikatero razlichico. Za naslednje razlage to ni toliko pomembno, saj so osnovne glasovne lastnosti v zapisih povsod ohranjene. Pa si oglejmo kronoloshko najvazhnejshe primere<sup>15</sup> ter dodajmo she arabske oznake in imena sosedov za Slovane ali pa za katerega od slovanskih narodov.

**(H)Enetoi, Henetoi, (Uenedai), Ouenetai** Homer (9. st. pr. n. sht.) Herodot, (5. st. pr. n. sht.), Polibij (2. st. pr. n. sht.)

**cluveni** – v etrushchanskem napisu na pyrgijskih zlatih ploshchicah (6. ali 5. st. pr. n. sht.), po razlagi M. Bora<sup>12</sup>; muzej Villa Giulia v Rimu. Ta razlaga delno nasprotuje dejstvu, da so Etrushchani sami sebe imenovali Raseni. Che pa pomeni shirshi pojem – namreč oznako ljudi, h katerim so se shteli Etrushchani – potem bi ta razlaga imela svoje zelo tehtno opravichilo.

**(Eneje)**

**(V)Enete Veneti**

**Veneti**

**Veneti**

**Venedi Veneade enetulane (Eningija),**

**Solvense**

**Stavanoi, Soubenoi Uenedai**

**Sklavajin**

**Venethi, Sclaueni, Antes, Vinidae**

**Veneti**

**Vinedi, Sclavi**

**Winuli, Vandali**

**Vandale, Wende, Winule**

**Vandali**

**(Eneja)**

**Vandali**

**Wandali, Wendi**

**Slaui, Wandali**

**Wendi, Veneti, Sklaveni**

Dimitrij Skepsijski (2. st. pr. n. sht.)

Strabon (1. st. pr. n. sht.)

Julij Cesar (1. st. pr. n. sht.)

Tit Livij (1. st. pr. n. sht.)

Plinij starejšji (1. st. pr. n. sht.)

Klaudios Ptolemaios (100-178)

Armenec Mojzes iz Choren (407-433)

Jordanes (l. 552)

J. Bobbiensis(l. 615)

Fredegar (7. st.), Isidor Sevillski

Adam Bremenski (11. st.)

Helmold (12. st.)

Wincenty Kadlubek (12. st.)

Heimskringla, Kronika norveskih kraljev (12. st.)

Miersuae Chronicon (13. st.)

Albert Crantz (15. st.)

Thomas Kantzow(1505-1542)

Christophorum Entzelt von Saluelt (16. st.)

Vse to lahko primerjamo s stalnico ***sl-v-n-(c,k)*** in z zgornjimi soglasniskimi skupinami. Seveda ne pozabimo, da se nahaja vechina teh kronoloshko nashtetih imen tudi v prejshnji razpredelnici. Naslednja razpredelnica pa nam omogocha videti bolj zgodshcheno primerjavo imen iz najvazhnejshih virov. (V zadnjem stolpcu so pripombe za primerjavo; da pa ne bi izgubili pregleda, so vnesene skupine stalnic iz prej nashtetih grshkih in latinskih razlichic.)

It is also interesting to separate them into cl, sl, sc and scl, and then further into those with and without n.

There are probably fewer variants than it seems at first. Some of them very probably came about because the same name was written down differently. Of course, this cannot be precisely determined for an individual variant. Also, the way a chronicler »heard« a name produced many different variants. This is not so important for the following explanations as the primary sounds have been preserved in all the records. Let us take a look at what are chronologically the most important examples<sup>15</sup> and add some Arabic designations and names of neighbours for the Slavs or any of the Slovani nations.

**(H)Enetoi, Henetoī, (Uenedai), Ouenetaī** Homer (9<sup>th</sup> century BC) Herodotus, (5<sup>th</sup> century BC), Polybius (2<sup>nd</sup> century BC)

cluveni – in an Etruscan inscription on Phrygian gold tiles (6<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century BC), according to an explanation by M. Bora<sup>12</sup>; the Villa Giulia museum in Rome. This explanation partly contradicts the fact that the Etruscans called themselves Raseni. If, however, it denotes a broader concept – namely a denotation for the people to whom the Etruscans reckoned they belonged – then this explanation would have its own very convincing reason.

— . —

**Wandalī, Sclaven, Wenden**

Sebastian Münster (16. st.)

**Heneti, Sloveni**

Antol Vramec (16. st.)

**Henete, Vene(d)tē, Vinde, Vandale, Slovani**

Adam Bohorich(16. st.)

**Venete, Vende, Vandale**

Mavro Orbin (16. st.)

**Wenden, Sclaven, Wandalen**

Janez Vajkard Valvasor /Jochann

**Seljabe**

Weikhard Valvasor (1689)

**Sglau or Sglou**

anonymus: Hodud al-'ālam (pribl. 982)

**Saklab, Sakalib, Saqaliba, as-Saqaliba,**

perzijski zemljepis /Persian geography

**Saqlab, Siqlab, Saqlabi**

patriarch Michael the Syrian (1166-1199)

**Slavije, Slavijun**

arabsko /arab.: al-Ya'qubi, Ibn Hurdadbeha

**Vendek**

Arabian: later

**Vene**

Hungarian

**Venäläinen**

(Ruses) Estonian

**Vindr**

(Ruses) Finnish

**vena**

Old Icelandic

**Vinedas, Veonedas**

(Russian) Old Prussian

**Vinida**

Old English

High German

We can compare all this with the invariant **sl-v-n-(c,k)** and with the above consonant groups. Of course, we must not forget that most of these chronologically listed names can be found also in the previous table. The next table allows us to see a more condensed comparison of names from the most important sources. (In the last column there are comments for comparison; so as not to lose an overview, groups of invariants have been entered from the previously listed Greek and Latin variants.)

<i>sl</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>c,k</i>	<i>ime Slovenec</i>
<i>srtl,skl</i>	<i>b,u</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>grshki viri</i>
<i>srtl,skl</i>	<i>b</i>			<i>grshki viri</i>
<i>cl,sc,scl,sl</i>	<i>u,v,b,w</i>			<i>latinski viri</i>
<i>cl,sc,scl,sl</i>	<i>u,v,b,w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>(t)</i>	<i>latinski viri</i>
	<i>u,v,b,w,gu,hu,hw</i>	<i>n,m</i>	<i>t,th,d</i>	<i>latinski viri</i>
	<i>(u)</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>t(d)</i>	<i>Homer,Herodot</i>
<i>cl</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>pyrgijske plo.</i>
		<i>n</i>	<i>j</i>	
		<i>n</i>	<i>t</i>	
	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>t</i>	
	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>	
	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>I-n</i>
<i>s-I</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>Plinij</i>
<i>st</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>		
<i>skl</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>j-n</i>		
	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>I-c</i>
<i>scl</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>Jordanes</i>
		<i>n</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Jordanes</i>
	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>Jordanes</i>

Iz tabele je razvidno zhe znano dejstvo, da imajo vsa ta imena isti izvor<sup>20</sup>. V zadnjem stolpcu so vechinoma konchnice, ki so odvisne od jezika, v katerem je bilo ime zabeleženo. V soglasnikih *c(k),th,t* in *d* lahko nedvomno slishimo glasovni premik enega samega soglasnika, v nekaj primerih pa je zagotovo vzrok samo razlichna pisava. V skupini s samoglasnikom in *v,w,u* in *b* spoznamo betatizem. Skupin soglasnikov *sl, cl,st, scl, skl, srtl, sgl, skl, s-q-I* in *s-lj* pa ne moremo pojasniti samo z glasovnim premikom. Ta je navzoch pri *sl* in *cl* – mogoče je razlika samo v pisavi. Zanimivo je, da razлага imena *cluveni* pravzaprav ne izkljuchuje samopoimenovanja. Tezhko pa nadaljujemo pri *st* ali *srtl*. Skupine *scl, skl, sgl* in *s-q-I* so med seboj nedvomno sorodne, a glasovno so precej dalech od *sl*. Najs starejsha imena so vechinoma tvorjena iz zadnjega dela imena *Slovani*, mlajsha pa iz prednjega dela. Razliko med njimi premosti Jordanes<sup>21</sup>, kar vodi k najverjetnejšhi razlagi<sup>22</sup>: *Slovani, Slo-Veneti* in *Slov-Anti*.

	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>t</i>		
	<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		
	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>		
	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>			
	<i>w</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>		
<i>-skl</i>	<i>b(u)</i>	<i>n</i>			
<i>sthl</i>	<i>b(u)</i>	<i>n</i>			
<i>scl</i>	<i>(u)</i>	<i>n</i>			
<i>skl</i>	<i>b</i>				
<i>scl</i>	<i>v</i>				
<i>scl</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>			
<i>sl</i>	<i>v</i>				<i>Saxo, Helmold</i>
<i>s-lj</i>	<i>b</i>				
<i>sgl</i>	<i>(u)</i>				
<i>s-kl</i>	<i>b</i>				
<i>s-q-l</i>	<i>b</i>				
	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>k</i>	
	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>			
	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>n-n</i>	
	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>r</i>	
	<i>v</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	

It is clear from the table that all these names have the same origin <sup>20</sup>. The last column contains mainly suffixes, which depend on the language in which the name was recorded. In the consonants *c(k), th, t* and *d* we can undoubtedly hear the sound change of one sole consonant, but in some cases the cause is simply a different orthography. In the group with a vowel and v,w,u and b we recognise betacism. The groups of consonants *sl, cl,st, scl, skl, sthl, sgl, skl, s-q-l and s-lj* cannot be explained only through sound change. This is the case with sl and cl – perhaps the difference is only in the orthography. It is interesting that the explanation of the name *cluveni* actually does not exclude self-designation. But it is hard for us to continue with *st* or *sthl*. The groups *scl, skl, sgl* and *s-q-l* are undoubtedly related to each other, but phonetically they are quite far from sl. The oldest names are mainly made up of the last part of the name *Slovani*, while the younger ones are from the first part. The difference between them is bridged by Jordanes <sup>21</sup>, which leads to the most likely explanation <sup>22</sup>: *Slovani, Slo-Veneti and Slov-Anti*.

Seveda moramo odgovoriti she na naslednje ugovore ali vprashanja:

- Nekatera teh imen so res sorodna, vsa pa ne.
- Imena ***Veneti, Enetoi, Henetoi, Uenedai, Ouenetai*** so pravzaprav isto ime, ki pa je »vechkrat« neodvisno uporabljen (merfach belegt<sup>23)</sup>.
- Ime ***Veneti*** je preshlo na Slovane od istoimenih Keltov, ker so Slovani prishli iz iste smeri in so jih asimilirali<sup>24)</sup>.
- Ime ***Wenden*** in podobno nima nichesar opraviti z Veneti, nomadski Slovani so ga dobili od Germanov kot ***Weidende*** (pasochi, *weiden* – pasti, *Weide* – pasha)<sup>25)</sup>.
- Ime ***Veneti*** so kronisti pomotoma pripisali Slovanom<sup>26)</sup>.
- Ime ***Slovani*** je nastalo iz grshkega ***sklabenoi*** kot zemljepisna oznaka<sup>27)</sup>.

Vidimo, da je vechina teh imen tvorjena iz treh soglasnikov, lochenih s samoglasniki, lahko pa je prvi soglasnik tudi skupina soglasnikov, ki jih shtejemo za enega. Rachun variacije<sup>28)</sup> nam omogocha izrachunati verjetnost za nakljudchno podobnost imen. Vzemimo, da je najmanjshe mozhno shtevilo soglasnikov v jeziku 20, pa dobimo za skupino treh soglasnikov verjetnost 1:6840; pri n-imenih je verjetnost 1: 6840 exp (n-1). Tako je pri treh imenih verjetnost zhe manjsha od 10 exp (-6).

Enak rachunski postopek uporabimo tudi pri imenu, ki je »vechkrat uporabljen«. V danashnjih strokovnih slovarjih katerega koli jezika najdemo najmanj 20 000 besed. Z velikim podcenjevanjem prednikov katerega koli naroda vzemimo, da je bilo v vsakdanji uporabi priblizhno 5000 besed. Od teh naj bi bilo – verjetno pod spodnjo mejo dejanskega shtevila – 100 besed primernih za samopoimenovanje. Tako lahko trdimo, da je najvechja verjetnost, da bi dva naroda neodvisnih in razlichnih jezikov imela pomensko isto poimenovanje 1:100 (in tja do 1:5000).

Za isto glasovno vrednost imena s tremi soglasniki pa imamo zgoraj verjetnost 1:6840. Ti dve verjetnosti se seveda mnozhita, torej imamo zopet red velikosti verjetnosti nekaj okrog 10 exp (-6), pri treh pa 10 exp (-12) in tako dalje ...

Vidimo, da sta prva ugovora popolnoma nesmiselna. Bralcu prepushcham zakljuchek o strokovnosti profesorjev zgodovine in jezikoslovja na nemshkih kakor tudi avstrijskih visokih sholah.

Podobno je tudi z znanstvenostjo trditve, da so prishleki dobili ime nekega keltskega naroda, ki so ga preplavili in asimilirali – kar je zopet trditev nemshkih zgodovinarjev. Seveda pa ne pojasnijo, zakaj imajo ugrofinski narodi isto (ob razlikah, lastnih vsakemu od njihovih jezikov) ime za Slovane. Pri tem so neposredni sosedje Slovanov, vsi pa ne Germanov – a kljub temu naj bi od slednjih prevzeli ime za Slovane. Seveda je to she posebej nenavadno, ker Slovani zanje ne »bivajo« v isti smeri.

Enako tudi glede imena ***Wenden – Weidende***. So to ime ugrofinski narodi prevzeli od Nemcev, s katerimi so prishli v dotik veliko pozneje kot pa s Slovani?

Of course, we must also answer the following objections or questions:

- Some of these names really are related but not all of them.
- The names ***Veneti, Enetoi, Henetoi, Uenedai, Ouenetai*** are really the same name, which is, however, »often« used independently (merfach belegt<sup>23)</sup>.
- The name ***Veneti*** was given to the Slavs from the Celts who bore the same name because the Slavs came from the same direction and assimilated them<sup>24</sup>.
- The name ***Wenden*** and similar names have nothing to do with the Veneti, the nomadic Slavs got it from the Germans as ***Weidende*** (the grazing, weiden – to graze, Weide – pasture land)<sup>25</sup>.
- The name ***Veneti*** was erroneously ascribed to the Slavs by chroniclers<sup>26</sup>.
- The name ***Slovani*** came from the Greek ***sklabenoi*** as a geographical denotation<sup>27</sup>.

We can see that most of these names are made up of three consonants, separated with vowels, but the first consonant may also be a group of consonants, which we count as one. The calculation of variation<sup>28</sup> allows us to calculate the probability of the coincidental similarity of names. Let us suppose that the smallest possible number of consonants in a language is 20 and for a group of three consonants we get the probability of 1:6840; for n-names the probability is 1: 6840 exp (n-1). Therefore, for three names the probability is smaller than 10 exp (-6).

We use the same method also for a name, which is »used frequently«. In present-day specialist dictionaries of any language we find at least 20,000 words. With great underestimation of the ancestors of any nation let us assume that approximately 5,000 words were in everyday use. Of these – probably less than the actual number – 100 words are supposed to be suitable for self-designation. So we may say that the greatest probability that two nations of independent and different languages would use the same name for something is 1:100 (and up to 1:5000).

For the same sound value of the name with three consonants, the above probability is 1:6840. These two probabilities are of course multiplied so again we have a probability of around 10 exp (-6), and for three 10 exp (-12) and so on...

We can see that the first two objections are completely nonsensical. I will leave it to the reader to reach a conclusion about the proficiency of the professors of history and linguistics at German and Austrian universities.

Similarly doubtful is the claim that the new arrivals got the name of some Celtic people whom they overran and assimilated – again a claim made by German historians. However, they do not explain why Finno-Ugric nations have the same (bearing in mind the differences inherent in each of their languages) name for Slavs. They are direct neighbours of the Slavs but not all of them are neighbours of Germanic peoples – all the same they are thought to have taken the name for the Slavs from the latter. Of course, this is particularly unusual because for them the Slavs do not »live« in the same direction.

The same is the case with the name ***Wenden – Weidende***. Did the Finno-Ugric nations get this name from the Teutonic populations with whom they came into contact much later than with the Slovani (Slavs)?

Tudi razлага, da je enachenje Venetov in Slovanov napaka kronistov, ne drzhi. Enachenje je pogosto, napaka pa bi pomenila, da so lahko tudi ostali podatki vira napachni. Kar pach komu ustreza, je pravilno, kar pa ne, je napaka! Semkaj sodi zlasti kritika Jordanesa, ki naj bi bil zelo slab kronist. Dober pa naj bi bil za dokazovanje slovanske selitve – prav pomilovanja vredna je risba Balkanskega polotoka z Jordanesovim ochesom tam nekje pod Rodopi<sup>27</sup>. Tako naj bi videl le, da Slovani prihajajo s severa, izza treh gorskih grebenov – Rodopov, Balkana in Karpatov – ni pa videl, da ostala Evropa prav mrgoli od Germanov. Te seveda komajda omenja in jih ima za zelo nejunashke v primeri z drugimi<sup>29</sup>.

Znachilno za vechino mlajshih zgodovinskih virov je, da je ime vedno dano z glasovnim parom *sk-*, pri starejshih tudi *st-* ali pa samo *s-*, najmlajši pa uporabljajo tudi slovanski *sl-* in izpushchajo zadnji del imena. Slovanski *sl-* naj bi bil v grshchini iz jezikovnih razlogov – grshchina nima glasovne zveze *sl* – spremenjen v *stl*, *sthł* ali pa *skł*<sup>2</sup> in drugi.

Edina skupina narodov, ki je prevzela za svoje skupinsko poimenovanje tuje ime, so Germani, in to po rimski zemljepisni oznaki, nastali iz posmehljivega latinskega prevoda pomena imena Raetov<sup>4</sup>. Romani so ga »zgodovinsko naravno« podedovali in Kelti obdrzhali, obe poimenovanji pa sta za vechino zadevnih narodov le nadnarodna tuja oznaka. Germani sami se tako niso nikdar imenovali. Cheprav je izvor imen jezikoslovno she vedno sporen – bolj iz političnih kot iz jezikoslovnih razlogov – je potek poimenovanja zgodovinsko popolnoma jasen in ima tudi svoj politični vzrok. Nekateri poizkušajo prenesti<sup>27</sup> na Slovane omenjeno germansko »posebnost«, a to zaradi slovanskega samopoimenovanja ni dopustno. Tako je tudi trditev, da so Slovani prevzeli ime po grshkem *sklabenoi* kot bizantinsko zemljepisno oznako, nesprejemljiva.

### Ime *Slovani* po Lozinskem

V naslednjem bolj ali manj na kratko povzemam odlichno razpravo Lozinskega<sup>30</sup> o razlichnih razlagah izvora imena *Slovani* kakor tudi njegovo razlichico razlage. Njegova razprava je posebno vazhna ne toliko zaradi sklepa, ki je, kakor bomo dokazali, zelo verjetno napachen, marveč zaradi nachina. Je eden redkih, ki imena ne izvaja le z jezikoslovne ali pa le z zgodovinske strani, ampak uposhteva vse njemu znane mozhne vplive brez kakrshnih koli pristranskih nagibov. Bralec lahko vire najde v izvirni razpravi.

Lozinski meni, da izvor imena *Slovani* doslej ni bil nikdar popolnoma zadovoljivo pojasnjen. Sam v svoji razlagi izhaja iz protoslovenske oblike *slovenin\**. Iz razpredelnice vidimo, da to obliko imena uporabljajo pretezhno Rusi, Poljaki in Bolgari. Dodal bi, da je ta oblika kot protooblika imena Slovani nesprejemljiva, saj ostaja pomen prvobitne besede nejasen.

The explanation that equating the Veneti and the Slavs is a mistake made by the chroniclers is not true. These two are often equated; however, a mistake would mean that the other details in the source could also be erroneous. What suits someone is correct, what does not is a mistake! This relates to Jordanes in particular who is supposed to have been a very bad chronicler. However, he is supposed to have been good at proving the Slav migrations – the drawing of the Balkan peninsula with Jordanes' eye somewhere below the Rhodope Mountains is really pitiable<sup>27</sup>. He is supposed only to have known that the Slavs are coming from the north, from behind three mountain ranges – the Rhodopes, the Balkans and the Carpathians – but he did not see that the rest of Europe was teeming with a Teutonic population. Of course, he hardly mentions these and considers them to be very unheroic in comparison with the others<sup>29</sup>.

It is characteristic of most of the more recent historical sources that the name is always written with the consonant combination **sk-**, older ones also write it st- or only s-, while the most recent ones also use the Slav sl- and omit the latter part of the name. In Greek, the Slav **sl-** is supposedly change to **stl**, **sthł** or **skł**<sup>2</sup> and others for linguistic reasons – Greek does not have the consonant combination sl.

The only group of nations, which took a foreign name for its group designation are the Germans. They took it from a Roman geographical designation, which came from a scornful Latin translation of the meaning of the name Raeti<sup>4</sup>. The Romance peoples »history consciously« inherited it and the Celts kept it. However, both designations are only a supranational foreign designation for most of the nations concerned. The Germans themselves never referred to themselves using this name. Although the origin of the name is linguistically still controversial – more out of political rather than linguistic reasons – the course of the naming is historically entirely clear and also has its political cause. Some try to lend<sup>27</sup> the Slavs the above Germanic »speciality« but this is not acceptable because of the Slav self-designation. Therefore, the suggestion that the Slavs got their name from the Greek **sklabenoi** as a Byzantine geographical designation is also unacceptable.

### **The name *Slovani* according to Lozinski**

In what follows, I more or less briefly summarise Lozinski's<sup>30</sup> excellent essay on different explanations for the origin of the name Slovani as well as his version of the explanation. His essay is particularly important not so much because of the conclusion, which is, as we will show, very probably wrong, but because of his method. He is one of the few people who does not derive names only from the linguistic or only the historical aspect, but takes into account all possible influences known to him without any biased motives. The reader may find his sources in the original essay.

Lozinski believes that the origin of the name **Slovani** has never been entirely satisfactorily explained. In his essay his starting point is the Proto-Slavic form **slovenin\***. From the table we may see that this form of the name is used mostly by Russians, Poles and Bulgarians. I would also add that this form as a proto-form of the name Slovani is not acceptable because the meaning of the original word remains unclear.

»Troje glavnih postavk izvaja ime **Slovani** iz besede **slovo**, iz besede **slava** in iz latinske besede **sclavus** (suzheni). Vse te razlage pa vsebujejo etimoloshka, semantichna in zgodovinska protislovja«.

Izpeljava imena Slovani iz besede **slovo** v pomenu **besede** je po Lozinskem nelogichna.

»Skupino jezikov moremo komajda oznachiti s samostalnikom **beseda**. Za tako poimenovanje bi prej prichakovali besedo jezik, govor ali kaj podobnega. Edina uporaba besede je beseda kot **logos** ali **Biblja**. V tem primeru bi ime Slovani imelo verski pomen. Poimenovanje kot **logos** bi bilo pretirano ime za ljudi, ki, kolikor nam je znano, nikoli niso imeli krizharskih verskih nagnjenj niti niso pustili nikakrshnih verskih sledov v svoji tradiciji, pa cheprav bi morda bila njihova vera monoteistichna. Vsekakor pa je mozhno, da so verski pojmi (sooznake) povezani z imenom.«

Uporaba pojma, kot je **slava**, za poimenovanje prebivalstva je po Lozinskem brez mozhne primerljivosti. Tako poimenovanje bi lahko bilo del naziva vladajoche druzhine, komajda pa skupine narodov, katerih pisana zgodovina ne pozna nikakrshnega dokaza za kaj podobnega.

Tudi tukaj lahko Lozinskemu ugovarjamo. Na primer ime *Arijci – Plemeniti* izvira iz sanskrta:

**arya** – prijazen, priljubljen, vdan, drag, odlichen, gospodar, vladar (od tod nem. *Ebre*, irsko *erin*), ki po vrednosti ni dalech od **slave**. Sorodno je tudi ime Iran.

Lozinski opozarja, da enachenje z latinskim izrazom **sclavus**, ki je bil v pozнем srednjem veku povezan z imenom Slovani, privede do tezhav zgodovinske narave. Ne oporeka namrech slovanski selitvi.

»Ni nikakrshnega rimskega vira, ki bi vseboval ime Slovani v kateri koli obliki. Najprej ga najdemo v bizantinskih virih iz shestega stoletja, napisanih v grshchini, v obliku **Sklavini**. Bizantinci, ki naj bi bili prvi, ki so prishli v stik s selechimi se Slovani, so zabelezhili njihov obstoj in njihovo ime. Imena pa niso dobili od Grkov. Bizantinski zgodovinarji so obichajno zabelezhili lastno ime tujih prebivalcev tako, kakor so ga tujci sami uporabljali ali pa tako, kot so ga dobili od posrednika. Pri tem ne smemo pozabiti, da so določene slovanske skupine obdrzhale ime Slovani kot svoje lastno ime. To so Slovaki, Slovenci in novgorodski Slovieni. Prav to imamo lahko za zadosten dokaz, da ime ni bilo izposojeno iz latinshchine z grshko pomochjo, temvech da gre za samopoimenovanje.«

»The three main suggestions derive the name of the **Slavs** from the word **slovo**, from the word **slava**, and from the Latin word **sclavus** (slave). However, etymological, semantic and historical inconsistencies exist for each of these explanations.«

According to Lozinski, deriving the name Slovani from the word **slovo**, meaning ‘**word**’ is illogical.

»A community of language could hardly be indicated by the noun »**word**.« For such a designation one would rather expect a word for »language,« or »speech« or any equivalent thereof. The only known use of »word« as a symbolic designation refers to the »word« as **Logos**, or to the **Bible**. In such a case the name Slovani would have religious connotations. The term »word,« as **Logos**, would be rather an exalted name for a people who, to our knowledge, never had any crusading religious drives, nor left any trace of a revealed religion in their traditions, even if their religion was monotheistic. We may, however, retain the idea that religious connotations were, perhaps, implicit in the name.«

According to Lozinski, the use of a term such as **slava**, »glory,« for the proper name of a population is entirely without parallel. It might conceivably have been part of a dynastic title, but scarcely that of a group of nations, whose written history does not contain sufficient evidence for such a claim.

Here too we can disagree with Lozinski. Take the example of the name Aryan – Noble originates from Sanskrit:

**arya** – friendly, popular, devoted, dear, excellent, lord, ruler (this is the origin of the German word *Ebre*, Irish *erinn*), which in terms of meaning is not far from **glory**. The name Iran is also related.

Lozinski warns that identification with the Latin **sclavus**, which in later medieval times seems to have been connected with the name of the Slavs, leads to difficulties of a historical nature. He does not refute the Slav migrations.

»There is no Roman sources, which would contain the name Slovani in any form. We find it first of all in Byzantine sources from the sixth century which are written in Greek in the form **Sklavini**. The Byzantines, who are thought to have been the first to come into contact with the migrating Slavs, recorded their existence and their name. But they did not get the name from the Greeks. Byzantine historians usually wrote down the name of foreign inhabitants the same way that the foreigners themselves used it or the way it was told them by an intermediary. Here we must not forget that certain Slav groups kept the name Slovani as their own name. They are the Slovaks, the Slovenians and the Sloviens of Novgorod. We can take this as sufficient proof that the name was not borrowed from Latin with Greek help but that it is a case of self-designation.«

O arabski oblici imena za Slovane (po Lozinskem):

»Ni pomembno, da je ime Slovanov v arabshchini **Saqlaba** videti, kakor da bi bilo izpeljano iz latinskega **sclavus**. Tudi ni zgodovinskih dokazov, da bi si Arabci sposodili ime od latinsko govorečih narodov ali pa od Bizantincev. Arabski zapisi o Slovanih so bili, che ne starejši, pa gotovo veliko bolj obshirni in točni kot tisti bizantinskih zgodovinarjev. Arabci, ki so bili v neposrednem stiku s Slovani, bi si komajda verjetno sposodili ime od Bizantincev. She manj verjetno je, da so ga prevzeli od latinsko govorečih, s katerimi niso imeli neposrednega stika. Oblike imena, kot ga uporabljajo Arabci in Bizantinci, ostaja nepojasnjena. Le bodoče raziskave bodo morda pokazale, zakaj je ime Slovanov Grkom zvenelo kot **Sklavini** in Arabcem kot **Saqlaba**.«

Lozinski tudi she domneva, da sta obe oblici istega izvora.

Mozhno je, da imamo dvoje imen razlichnega izvora, ki sta uporabljeni za iste ljudi. Eno je samopoimenovanje. **Saqlaba** ni arabska beseda in je ne moremo izpeljati iz imena Slovani v nikakrshni oblici. Verjetno je ime povezano s kakšnim področjem, podobno kot na primer ime Germani. Kasneje se bomo vrnili k tej domnevi.

Lozinski je predlagal tudi svojo razlago imena **Slovani**. V tej razlagi je uposhteval poleg jezikoslovnih tudi druga dejstva.

»Osnove za razlago vsakega imena moramo iskati v njegovem druzhbenem pomenu za ljudi, ki ga uporabljajo, v mozhni tradiciji uporabe ter predvsem v semantiki in kulturnem pojmovanju v kontekstu nekdanje dobe in ne danashnjih dni.

Slovansko lastno poimenovanje mora biti izpeljano iz slovanske besede, ki naj bi opisovala najbolj vazhno lastno znachilnost te etnije in ki bi jo razlikovala od ostalih skupin ljudstev. Ne more biti le ime jezika, ki je običajno izpeljano iz samopoimenovanja ljudstva. Zemljepisna razлага se zdi neprimerna, ker so tako imena krajev, cheprav veljavna, nepomembna. Imena krajev, che niso topografski opisi, izvirajo vedno iz imen ljudi in ne obratno ...

Ime **Slovani** bi bilo lahko ime druzhine ali pa plemena, toda nimamo nikakrshnega zgodovinskega dokaza, da bi kakshno pleme kadar koli vladalo celotni slovanski skupini narodov. V vsakem primeru pa je ime moralno imeti dolochen pomen, preden je postalо ime druzhine, plemena ali plemenske skupnosti.«

Tako Lozinski zaključi, da je potrebno iskati pomen imena v slovanskih jezikih.

»Ime Slovanov naj bi bilo po najnovejših jezikovnih raziskavah izpeljano iz indoevropskega korena **slov-**, s kratkim samoglasnikom **o**. Protoslovanska oblika naj bi bila **Slovenin\***.

About the Arab form of the name for Slavs (according to Lozinski):

»It is insignificant that the name of the Slavs in Arabic – *Saqlaba* – looks as though it were derived from the Latin *sclavus*. There is also no historical evidence for the possibility that the Arabs borrowed the name from the Latin-speaking populations, or from the Byzantines. Arabic records concerning the Slavs were, if not earlier, much more ample and more accurate than those of the Byzantine historians. The Arabs, who were in direct contact with the Slavs, could hardly have borrowed the name from the Byzantines. It is even less likely that they took it from the Latin-speaking populations with whom they had no direct contact. The form of the name used by the Arabs, and by the Byzantines, remains inexplicable. Only further studies may establish why the name of the Slavs sounded like *Sklavini* to the Greeks, and *Saqlaba* to the Arabs.«

Lozinski also suggests that both forms are derived from the same source.

It is possible that we have two names of different origin which are used for the same people. One is self-designation. *Saqlaba* is not an Arabic word and cannot be derived from the name Slovani in any form. The name is probably connected with a region, just like the name Germani. We will return to this presumption later.

Lozinski also proposed his own explanation for the name *Slovani*. In this explanation he took into account other facts besides linguistic ones.

»The basis for deciphering the meaning of any proper name should be looked for in its social importance in the group using it, in the possible traditions and uses of the name, and above all in the semantics and the cultural concepts of the time rather than of our own period.

The proper name of the Slavs must have been derived from a Slavic word, designating their most important characteristic and distinguishing them from any other population group. It could not have been the name of the language, usually derived from the proper name of a population. The geographical derivation seems tenuous, as such place names, although extant, are of little importance. Moreover place names, when not topographical descriptions, derive almost invariably from names of peoples, not vice-versa ...

The name of the *Slavs* might have been taken from the name of a clan or a tribe, but here again we have no historical evidence that such a clan or tribe ruled the whole Slavic branch of nations at any time. In any case their name must have had some specific meaning before it became that of a family, clan or tribe.«

Lozinski concludes that we should look for the meaning of the name »Slav« in the Slav languages.

»The name of the Slavs, according to recent linguistic studies, derives from the Indo-European root *slov-*, with a short vowel o. The Proto-slavic form would, accordingly, have been *Slovenin\**.

Vzhodnoslovanske oblike brez ***o***-ja naj bi bile posledica kasnejšega razvoja, mogoče povezanega z ruskim izgovorom nenaglashedenega ***o*** kot ***a***, tj. akanja. To naj bi se zgodilo od 12. do 13. stoletja. Vaillant trdi, da je bil to pojav zhe v običajni (?) slovanshchini. To le dokazuje, da vsa jezikoslovna dolochila nimajo vsesplošne podpore in da so vse rekonstrukcije hipotetichne ter se lahko menjajo. Daleč so od dokončnih reshitov, ker nashe znanje o prvotni obliki slovanskega jezika ni zanesljivo. Vzhodnoslovanska oblika je lahko bila običajna v predpismenem chasu, takrat pa je bilo tudi vse vzhodnoslovansko zelo blizu zahodnoslovanskemu.

***Slovan – Slovenin*** je zagotovo slovansko ime in je preslo v druge jezike iz slovanshchine. Zahodni Evropejci so najprej srečali zahodne Slovane, ki so verjetno uporabljali obliko z ***o***. Toda kljub temu vsi zahodni Evropejci od desetega stoletja uporabljajo obliko z ***a***. Kakor vemo, bi ta ***a*** lahko izhajal iz slovanskega dolgega ***a*** in ne iz kratkega ***o***. Prva razlichica se zdi bolj verjetna, ker jo podpirajo zlozhena lastna imena, kot so Boguslav ali Svjatoslav, Jaroslav itd., kjer del ***-slav*** vsebuje ***a*** in ne ***o***, enako v vzhodnoslovanski kakor tudi v zahodnoslovanski obliki. Lozinski domneva, da je bil koren originalnega poimenovanja Slovanov prej ***slav-*** kot ***slav-***, in predлага drugo razlagu pomena imena v njegovem semantichnem in zgodovinskem okviru.

Katere so bile najvazhnejše lastnosti neke zgodnje družbe? To ni bila narodnost, ker tega sodobnega pojma ni bilo v zgodnjih družbah; tude ne jezik, ker je njegovo ime izpeljano iz imena skupine in ne obratno. Najmochnejše vezi, ki so razlikovale skupino od drugih, so bile **verske** in so dajale osnovo za celotno kulturno enoto.

V prvem tisočletju n. sht. so bili evropski kristjani sodobniki mohamedancev in budistov v Aziji; Judje so tvorili posebno skupino glede na svojo vero in ne glede na jezik, družbeni ali »narodne« lastnosti. Druge oznake za ljudi ali za drzhave so bila pretežno imena dinastij ali pa posameznih vladarjev. Pogani so imeli svojo lastno oznako za pripadnike drugih verstev in seveda tudi ime za svoje sovernike. Vera je bila v tej dobi najpomembnejša.

Ime ***Slovani*** se je prvih pojavilo v drugi polovici prvega tisočletja. Lahko je imelo verski prizvok, pomen ali pa veljavo. Ta navada verske oznake je med Slovani prezhivela do danashnjega dne. V vzhodni Poljski in v zahodni Rusiji se označujejo samo izobrazhenci v skladu z njihovo narodnostjo ali pa z jezikom.

V ljudski uporabi niso imena Poljak, Belorus ali Ukrajinec. »Narodnostne« razlike so bile in so she vedno izrazhene v verski pripadnosti: katolikan je Poljak, ortodoksen ali *pravoslavny* pa pomeni Rus, Ukrajinec, Malorus ali Belorus.

The East Slavic variation with a instead of o would, then, be a later development, possibly connected with the Russian pronunciation of unstressed o as a, the so-called akanie. This is considered to have occurred in the 12<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, although Vaillant claimed that it was extant already in the Common (?) Slavic. Such variety of opinions proves that not all the linguistic definitions may claim general support, and that all the reconstructions are hypothetical and subject to change. They are far from being definite solutions, as our knowledge of the early stages of the Slavic language is not satisfactory. The East Slavic form may well have been current in the preliterary period as at that time the East Slavic stood very close to the West Slavic.

**Slav – Slovenin** is certainly a Slavic name and it came to other languages from Slavic. The Western Europeans first encountered the Western Slavs, supposedly using the form with o. And yet all the Western Europeans since the tenth century used the form with a. As we know this a may have come from a Slavic long a, and not from the short o. The first variation seems more probable, as it is supported by compound proper names, such as Polish Boguslaw, Sviatoslav, Iaroslav, etc where the element – slav presents us with a vowel a not o, both in Eastern and Western Slavic.

Lozinski assumes that the root of the original designation of the Slavs was slav- rather than slov-, and proposes a different interpretation of the meaning of the name in terms of its semantic and historic *raison d'être*.

What were the strongest characteristics of an early society? Not nationality, as this modern concept did not exist in early societies; not language, as the name of the language would have been derived from the name of the group, not vice-versa. The strongest were those of religion which distinguished the group from all others, providing the foundation of the whole cultural entity.

In the first millennium AD, the Christians of Europe were the counterpart of the Mohammedans and the Buddhists of Asia; Jews formed a group in terms of their religion not their speech, or their social or »national« affinities. Other designations of peoples or states were primarily those of the names of dynasties or of particular rulers. The pagans, in turn, had their own definition of populations of other religions, and, naturally, a name for their co-believers. Religious interests were indeed of primary concern throughout the period.

The name of the **Slavs** first emerged during the second part of the first millennium A.D. The name may have had religious connotations, meaning, or value. The tradition of a religious designation of people has survived among the Slavs until the present day. In Eastern Poland and Western Russia only the educated distinguished themselves or others according to their national or linguistic affiliations. In popular usage the national names of Poles, White Russian, or Ukrainians are nonexistent. »National« differences were, and still are, expressed in terms of religion: Catholic meaning Polish, and orthodox, *pravoslavy*, used as the equivalent of Russian, Ukrainian, Small Russian, or White Russian.

Izraz *prawoslawny*, *pravoslavny* – pravoslavni je videti kljuchen za ime Slovani. Sestavlјata ga dve besedi: *pravo*, kar pomeni zakon, pravica, desnica ali desna stran, in *slavni* iz korena *slav-*, tj. slaviti v smislu chasititi. Che pravoslavni pomeni desni, pravi ali chastelec zakona, je vseeno. Nas zanima le v zvezi z imenom *Slovani*, glede katerega predlagam, da je izvedeno iz prvobitne samooznake Slovanov kot *pravovernih* ali *chastilcev*.

Izraz *pravo-slavni* je sestavljenka in je kot vse sestavljenke v slovanskih jezikih neposreden prevod iz tujega jezika, v tem primeru grshkega. V grshki besedi *orthodoxos* je *doxa* obdrzhala oznako *chashchenja*, *slavljenja* ali *vere*, zlasti v srednjeveshki grshchini. Tako je pomen slovanskega dela v chasu prevoda moral biti tudi *chashchenje*. Seveda ima tak pomen koren *slav-*. Slovan je »ta, ki chasti – chastelec«, »ta, ki slavii«, s pridevnishko pripono; ima trpni in tvorni pomen, cheprav je samo prvi v rabi. Pomen imena *Slovan* bi potemtaken bil *verniki*, »ta, ki slavi Bogaa«. V zložhenki, prevedeni iz grshchine, je *vernik* postal *pravovernik* ali »ta, ki pravilno vernje«. Zložhenko so morda uporabljali, da bi razlochevali kristjane ali prave krshchshanske vernike od ljudi, imenovanih *Slovani – chastilci*, ki so bili pogani, ali, kot je tudi v soglasju z mnogimi arabskimi zgodovinarji, od krshchanskih sekt pred uredno konverzijo, zlasti od jakobitov, to je od heretichnh, nepravih chasteilcev.«

Lozinski nato podpira svojo razlago z zgodovinskimi dejstvi, ki zadevajo pokristjanjevanje ter odnose med razlichnimi sektami in veroizpovedmi kakor tudi njihov politichni vpliv v tedanji druzhbi.

Lozinski ne izkljuchuje, da bi ime Slovani po njegovi razlagi lahko nastalo zhe v predkrshchanski, tj. v poganski dobi. Zato njegovi razlagi ne morem ugovarjati z dejstvom, da je ime *Slovani* veliko starejshe od dobe pokristjanjevanja in je bilo zapisano veliko prej, kar smo omenili zhe zgoraj. Pri tem tudi ni pomembno, ali »verjamemo« v slovansko selitev ali pa ne. Za pretezhno poljedelske Slovane je bilo znachilno, da so v svojem poganskem verovanju ohranili kult Velike Matere in so se tako versko precej razlikovali od svojih sosedov. Primer so Reti<sup>4</sup>. To bi lahko samo potrdilo razlago Lozinskega. Tako ostane med ugovori proti njegovi razlagi le vprashanje, ali sta razlichici *slov-* in *slav-* res le razlichici ali pa izvirata iz pomensko razlichnih besed. Je zahodnoevropski *Slav*, *Slawe* samo polepshana oblika iz besede *sklave*?

The term *prawoslawny*, *pravoslavny*, seems to offer a key to the name »Slav.« It is composed of two words:  ***prawo***, meaning »law,« »right,« and »right side,« and ***slawny*** from the root ***slav-***, »glorify« in the sense of »worshipping.« Whether prawoslawny, pravoslavny means right, proper, or law-worshipping, is not the question. We are concerned only with the name ***Slovani*** which I propose was derived from the early self-designation of the ***Slavs*** as »**worshippers**.«

The term ***pravo-slavny*** is a compound, and as all compounds in Slavic a direct translation from a foreign language, in this case from Greek. In Greek orthodoxos the doxa retained the connotations of »**worship**,« or »**belief**,« »**faith**,« especially in Medieval Greek. Thus the meaning of the Slavic component at the time of the translation must have been similarly »**worship**,« »**worshipping**.« And indeed ***slav-*** had this particular meaning. Slav'n is »*pertaining to worship*« with an adjective-forming suffix; it has both a passive and an active meaning, although at present only the former is used. The meaning of »**Slav**« would be, then, a »**worshipper**,« »*one who glorifies God*.« In the compound, translated from the Greek, the »**worshipper**« became the »**right worshipper**,« or *the rightfully worshipping*. The compound translation from the Greek might have been used to distinguish the Christians, or the proper Christian worshippers, from the people called ***Slavs – worshippers***,« who were pagans, or, according to many Arabic historians, sectarian Christians even before the official conversion, in particular Jacobites, that is heretical, not rightful worshippers.«

Lozinski then provides historical facts to support his explanation concerning Christianisation and relations between the different sects and religions as well as their political influence in society at the time.

Lozinski's explanation does not rule out the possibility that the name Slovani could have come about in pre-Christian times. That is why I cannot object to his explanation on the grounds that the name ***Slovani*** is much older than the period of Christianisation and was written down much earlier as was already mentioned above. It does not matter if we »believe« in the theory of the Slav migrations or not. It was characteristic of the predominantly agricultural Slavs that in their pagan beliefs they preserved the cult of the Great Mother and were therefore quite different from their neighbours in terms of religion. Such an example were the Raeti <sup>4</sup>. This could only serve to confirm Lozinski's theory. The only objection that remains against his explanation is the question whether ***slov-*** and ***slav-*** are really only two variants or do they originate from words that have different meanings. Is the West European ***Slav***, ***Slawe*** only an embellished version coming from the word ***sklave***?

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april 2007

Translated from Slovenian by Marko Petrovich

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<sup>2</sup> P. J. Šafařík: Slovanske starozhitnosti, Praga 1837

<sup>3</sup> O. Kronsteiner: Notizen aus der Steinzeit, European Editions, Saint Petersburg 2002, str. 90

<sup>4</sup> B. J. Hribovshek: Imeni Raetia in Schwyz, Revija SRP, sht. 75/76, 77/78, Ljubljana 2006, 2007; Edicija Pogum: Branko J. Hribovshek IMENI RAETIA IN SCHWYZ

<sup>5</sup> To je vsakdanja uporaba dvojine, 42 narečij v 7 skupinah [This is the every-day use of dual, 42 dialects in 7 groups]

<sup>6</sup> Brizhinski spomeniki, Monumenta Frisingensia (9./10. stol.); najstarejši ohranjeni spis v slovenshčini (kopija she starejshega) dobro razumejo celo dandanes slovensko govorechi. Hranijo ga v Bavarski drzhavni knjiznici, München. [Monuments from Freising, Monumenta Frisingensia (9./10. Century); it is the oldest preserved written document in Slovenian language (it is the copy of elderly one), and is well understandable at Slovenian-speaking people even today. It is stored in the Bavarian State Library, Munich.]

<sup>7</sup> Shavli J., Bor M., Tomazhich I.: Veneti, Editiones Veneti, Wien, Boswell 1996

<sup>8</sup> Tudi shtevilo slovanskih jezikov je bolj določeno s politiko kakor pa z jezikoslovnim in literarnim vrednotenjem. [Also the number of Slavic languages is in a higher degree determined by policy than by linguistic and literary evaluation.]

<sup>9</sup> Enciklopedija Slovenije, 2. del, Cyril in Metod, Mladinska knjiga, Ljubljana 1987-2002

<sup>10</sup> gl. 7 str. 212

<sup>11</sup> gl. 7 str. 334

<sup>12</sup> gl. 7 str. 321

<sup>13</sup> M. Snoj: Slovenski etimoloshki slovar, Mladinska knjiga, Ljubljana 1977

<sup>14</sup> J. Pokorny : Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Bern 1959

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<sup>15</sup> Veneti.info zgodovina/history/Geschichte

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<sup>17</sup> G. Weiss, A. Katsanakis: Das ethnikon sklabenoi, sklaboi in den griechischen Quellen bis 1025; Beiheft nr. 5, Glossar zur frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte im östlichen Europa; Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, Stuttgart 1988

<sup>18</sup> J. Reisinger, G. Sowa: Das Ethnikon Sclavi in den lateinischen Quellen bis zum Jahr 900; Beiheft Nr. 6, Glossar zur frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte im östlichen Europa; Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1990

<sup>19</sup> Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16.-19. september 1986, v 5 delih, Hannover

<sup>20</sup> gl. 7 str. 319

<sup>21</sup> Jordanes: De origine actibusque Getarum, v. knjiga

<sup>22</sup> gl. 7 str. 320

<sup>23</sup> S. Zimmer: Germani und Benennungsmotive für Völkernamen in der Antike, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, Band 34: Zur Geschichte der Gleichung „germanisch – deutsch“, Herausgb. H. Beck et al., Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, Berlin 2004, str. 9

<sup>24</sup> gl. 18 str. 11: »...Veneter sind im Slaventum aufgegangen. Der name Wenidi wurde von den Germanen somit auf die Slaven uebertragen.«

<sup>25</sup> napr. F. Dahn: Die Germanen, Emil Vollmer Verl. Phaidon, Essen, str. 22

<sup>26</sup> Slawen - Wikipedia

<sup>27</sup> S. Brather: Ethnische Interpretationen in der fruehgeschichtlichen Archaeologie; Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, band42, str. 135,136

<sup>28</sup> J. N. Bronshtein, K. A. Semendjajev: Matematichni prirochnik, ZHT, Ljubljana 1963, str. 185

<sup>29</sup> gl. 21 III. knjiga

<sup>30</sup> B. P. Lozinski: The Name SLAV\* in »Essays in Russian History«; edited by Alan D. Ferguson and Alfred Levin, Archon Books, Hamden, Connecticut 1964, © 1964, The Shoe String Press, Inc.

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*Srečko Vilhar*

## NEKAJ MISLI O PLEBISCITU V BENESHKI SLOVENIJI (LETA 1866)

Carlo Podrecca iz Shempetra Slovenov je svojčas takole opisal odnose med beneshkimi Slovenci in italijansko oblastjo v Chedadu: »Alla Pretura di Cividale, cui più affluisce lo Slavo, egli non trova un interprete fisso e se lo vuole, bisogna che lo paghi del suo, ed in passato, non temo di essere smentito, veniva minacciato di prigione per non sapersi spiegare in italiano!« (Slavia italiana, Cividale, 1884, str. 126).

V vprashanjih, ki jih bomo obravnavali, se radi sklicujemo na C. Podrecco, kajti njemu ne more nihče ochitati protiitalijanskih chustev. Pojdimo z njim naprej. Glede beneshkih Slovencev je ugotovil tudi naslednje: »Solo fra 36.646 abitanti dei 15 comuni sparsi fra i monti delle Giulie è ancora dominante la lingua slava, che, come ognuno sa, nulla ha che fare colla lingua italiana, ma che, e per effetto delle scuole e del movimento commerciale, ACCENNA A SCOMPARIRE LENTAMENTE ...« (istotam, str. 133).

Kar je zapisal C. Podrecca, velja tudi za novejši čas. Narodnostnih pravic ni zajamčil beneshkim Slovencem noben rezhim. Kako to, ali so bile vmes posebne konceptije o vprashanju drzhavnega jezika? Morda vojashki razlogi? Verjetno eno in drugo. Vodilni razred je zhe pri Rimljanih smatral svoj jezik za element drzhave. Vsako tujo govorico na njegovem ozemlju je v bistvu ocenjeval za shkodljivo. Kako naj si sicer razlagamo zanimiv pojав, da se shtevilnim rimskim pisateljem ni zdelo vredno, da bi potomce seznanili z eno samo besedo iz keltske ali ilirske jezikovne zakladnice? Omenjali so kvechjemu le voditelje sosednjih ljudstev, ki jih je rimska vojska premagala. Podobne konceptije je vse do novejshega chasa izprichevala tudi italijanska burzhoazija. Na polozhaj v Beneshki Sloveniji pa je po vsej verjetnosti vplival tudi vojashki element. Varnost meja naj bi bila zajamčena she z asimilacijo Slovencev. Pouchno pa je sploh, da so bili italijanski kulturniki na narodnostno meshanem ozemlju (Italijani in Slovani) vse tja do druge polovice minulega stoletja preprichani – in shtevilne primere bi lahko navedli zlasti za Istro –, da se bodo Slovani poitalijanchili. Vsaka kolikor toliko podrobna analiza pa bi pokazala, da je bilo tako preprichanje zasidrano tam, kjer je bil gospodar (zemljishki veleposestnik) Italijan, njegov zemljishki podlozhnik pa Slovan.

Te stvari so danes kot na dlani.

*Srečko Vilhar*

## THOUGHTS ON THE PLEBISCITE IN VENETIAN SLOVENIA (IN 1866)

Carlo Podrecca from Shempeter Slovenov (San Pietro al Natisone) once described relations between the Venetian Slovenians and the Italian authorities in Cividale as follows: »Alla Pretura di Cividale, cui più affluisce lo Slavo, egli non trova un interprete fisso e se lo vuole, bisogna che lo paghi del suo, ed in passato, non temo di essere smentito, veniva minacciato di prigione per non sapersi spiegare in italiano!« (Slavia italiana, Cividale, 1884, pg. 126).<sup>1</sup>

In connection with the questions we are dealing with here we like to refer to C. Podrecca for he cannot be accused of anti-Italian sentiment. So let us stick to him. Regarding the Venetian Slovenians he also said the following: »Solo fra 36.646 abitanti dei 15 comuni sparsi fra i monti delle Giulie è ancora dominante la lingua slava, che, come ognuno sa, nulla ha che fare colla lingua italiana, ma che, e per effetto delle scuole e del movimento commerciale, ACCENNA A SCOMPARIRE LENTAMENTE ...« (ibid, pg. 133).<sup>2</sup>

What C. Podrecca write holds true also in more recent times. No regime ever secured the national rights of Venetian Slovenians. But why? Were there some special ideas regarding the question of a state language? Perhaps there were military reasons? Probably both were the case. The leading classes considered their language to be a state element already in Roman times. Any foreign languages present on their territory were deemed harmful. How else can we explain the interesting phenomenon that many Roman writers did not find it worth their while teaching their offspring even a single word from the treasure trove of Celtic or Illyrian languages? They only ever mentioned the leaders of neighbouring peoples who had been conquered by the Roman army. Until recently, the Italian bourgeoisie also harboured similar ideas. However, the situation in Venetian Slovenia was most likely influenced also by the military element. The safety of the borders was supposed to be guaranteed also by the assimilation of the Slovenians. It is particularly revealing that Italian artists and intellectuals living in nationally mixed areas (Italians and Slavs) were convinced up until the second half of the last century – and many examples could be given especially for Istria – that the Slavs would become Italians. However, any more or less detailed analysis would show that such a conviction was prevalent in those parts where the landowners were Italian and their subjects were Slavs.

These things are now very clear.

## Kako je Italija leta 1866 dobila Furlanijo in Beneshko Slovenijo?

Dobila ju je z diplomacijo in ne z vojsko. Che bi navedeno ozemlje dobila z revolucijo, bi po vsej verjetnosti tudi razvoj v Beneshki Sloveniji poslej tekel vse drugache. Cavourjev chas je bil naklonjen pridobivanju ozemlja z diplomatsko igro in spletkami in le chemu naj bi spricho te mozhnosti bogatash pozival ljudstvo k oborozhenemu boju, ki bi lahko pomenil unichenje njegove lastne oblasti?

Cavour, glavna osebnost na dvoru sardinskega kralja, je bil za zdruzhitev Italije z akcijo od zgoraj navzdol. Teren si je pripravil najprej s posegom v krimsko vojno (1855). Odnosi med sardinskim kraljestvom in Francijo so se zatem preoblikovali tako, da je Cavour v zdravilishchu Plombières Napoleonu III. (1858) lahko postavil predlog, naj mu v skupni vojni proti Avstriji pomaga izvojevati Lombardijo in Benechijo. Za protiuslugo mu je ponudil Nizzo in Savojo. Francoski cesar je ta predlog sprejel. Tako so se zachele priprave na vojno. Treba pa je bilo dosechi, da bi Avstrija prva napovedala vojno. Che bi bila napadena, bi ji Nemshka zveza po ustavnih predpisih morala nuditi vojashko pomoch. Zanimivo je, kako je to stvar izpeljal Cavour. »Cavour je zachel zelo spretno shiriti in napihovati govorice o popolni dezorganizaciji in slabosti sardinske vojske, o zbegnosti na dvoru Viktorja Emanuela II., o tem, da bo v blizhnjih dneh vojni minister Cavour prishel pred sodishche zaradi veleizdaje, ker je v Plombièresu prodal Napoleonu III. Savojo in Nizzo« (Zgodovina diplomacije, I., Ljubljana 1947, str. 480).

Cavour se je bal Avstrije in nemara ni bil niti preprichan, da mu bo Napoleon III., ki je bil dejansko proti zdruzhitvi celotne Italije, tudi uspeshno pomagal. Avstrija je nasedla, napadla prva in bila premagana v spopadu z zdruzheno francosko in sardinsko-italijansko vojsko. V tem trenutku pa je Napoleon III. kar sam sklenil v kraju Villafranca premirje z Avstrijo in sploh pozabil povabiti na razgovore svojega zaveznika Viktorja Emanuela II. (Zgod. dipl., str. 481). Posebno ogorcheni so bili zaradi tega pristashi Garibaldija in Mazzinija, ki so si hoteli z ljudsko revolucijo izvojevati zedinjenje Italije. No, v navedeni vojni je sardinski kralj dobil Lombardijo. Ochitno je bilo, da je Napoleon III. ustavil vojno, da bi chimbolj zavrl proces zdruzhevanja Italije.

Tako smo se zdaj priblzhali she novi vojni. Pred tem je Garibaldi osvobodil vso juzhno Italijo (1860) in oblast izrochil kralju Viktorju Emanuelu III. Do nove vojne je prishlo leta 1866, ko sta bili izven zdruzhene Italije le she Rim in Benechija. Tokrat je v italijanske zadeve posegel Bismarck, ki je hotel utrditi in razshiriti oblast Prusije zlasti s tem, da bi spravil na kolena Avstrijo. Zapletenost te drzhave v vojni na dveh frontah bi mu olajshala delo. Kralj Viktor Emanuel II. pa ni hotel te vojne. Bal se je revolucionarnega vrenja. Shele, ko mu je Bismarck zagrozil, da se bo v nasprotnem primeru obrnil na garibaldince (Zgod. dipl., str. 506), je kralj privolil na sodelovanje v vojni proti Avstriji. Na bojnem polju pa se je ta vojna konchala za Italijo s pravo katastrofo in o tem govorita zgovorno dve imeni: Custozza in Vis.

## How did Italy gain the region of Friuli and Venetian Slovenia in 1866?

It obtained them through diplomacy and not by military means. If it had acquired the above territory by means of a revolution, Venetian Slovenia would most likely have developed very differently. Cavour's time was inclined to the acquisition of territories by means of diplomatic games and machinations, so having these means at his disposal why should a rich man call upon his people to take up arms and thereby risk destroying his own authority?

Cavour, the main figure in the court of the Sardinian king, was in favour of unifying Italy by action from top to bottom. He prepared his terrain first of all with an intervention in the Crimean War (1855). Relations between the Kingdom of Sardinia and France then changed in such a way that in the spa town of Plombières (1858) Cavour was able to propose to Napoleon III that in their common war against Austria, the French would help conquer Lombardy and Venetian Slovenia. In return, he offered him the territories of Nice and Savoy. The French emperor accepted this offer. This is how preparations for war began. But it was necessary to get Austria to declare war first. If Austria was attacked, the German Federation would be constitutionally obliged to provide military help. It is interesting how Cavour then went about achieving this. »Cavour began very artfully spreading and blowing up stories about the complete lack of organisation and weaknesses in the Sardinian army, about confusion in the court of Victor Emanuel II, about how in the coming days War Minister Cavour would come before court charged with high treason because in Plombières he had sold the Savoy and Nice to Napoleon III.« (Zgodovina diplomacije, I, Ljubljana 1947, pg. 480).

Cavour was afraid of Austria and was perhaps not even convinced that Napoleon III, who in fact opposed the unification of all of Italy, would really help him. Austria fell for it, attacked first and was conquered in battle by the united French and Sardinian-Italian army. Then Napoleon III decided on his own to sign a truce with Austria in Villafranca and forgot even to invite his ally Victor Emanuel II (Zgod. dipl., pg. 481) to the negotiations. The followers of Garibaldi and Mazzini were particularly incensed by this because they wanted to achieve Italian unification through a popular revolution. In the end, the Sardinian king was given Lombardy. It was clear that Napoleon III had stopped the war in order to slow down the process of Italian unification as much as possible.

And this leads us to a new war. Garibaldi had previously liberated all of southern Italy (1860) and had handed over power to King Victor Emanuel III. The new war broke out in 1866 when only Rome and Venetian Slovenia were not yet part of unified Italy. This time Bismarck interfered in Italian affairs because he wanted to consolidate and expand Prussian rule above all by bringing Austria to its knees. Getting it embroiled in wars on two fronts would make work easier for him. But King Victor Emanuel II did not want this war. He was afraid of revolutionary turmoil. Only when Bismarck threatened to turn to the Garibaldians for support (Zgod. dipl., pg. 506) did the king agree to cooperate in the war against Austria. However, on the battlefield the result of this war was a catastrophe for Italy and two names speak very eloquently on this subject: Custoza and Vis.

Ker pa je po drugi strani Prusija premagala Avstrijo, ji je lahko tudi diktirala mirovne pogoje. Tako je Italija dobila Benechijo skupaj s Furlanijo. Na obmejnem področju je Italija rada pristala na plebiscit.

### **Plebiscit, ki ni mogel dati drugachnih rezultatov, kakrshne je dal**

Dunaju je bilo brez dvoma veliko na tem, da bi mu drzhavna meja nasproti Italiji nudila chim vechje vojno-strateske ugodnosti. Le v tej zvezi se je tudi spomnil beneshkih Slovencev. V Vidmu je Dunaj celo naročhal, naj se za beneshke Slovence ustanovi posebno upravno telo. C. Podrecca pishe o takratnih prizadevanjih Avstrije tudi naslednje: »V ostalem je razumljivo, da se je nadvojvoda Albert zhivo prizadeval, da se nashi bratje beneshki Slovenci ne bi lochili od Avstrije. Vendar zaman, kajti Italija, ki sta jo v tej stvari podprli Francija in Nemchija, je zahtevala stare beneshke meje« (Slavia italiana, Le Vicinie, Cividale 1887, str. 150-151). Dunaj je predlagal italijanski vladi v zamenjavo za Beneshko Slovenijo celo neko svoje ozemlje na Tirolskem, vendar ga je odklonila.

Zdi se, da je zatem Italija izvedla plebiscit bolj iz nekih demonstrativnih vzrokov. Posamezni njegovi elementi naj bi bili predmet bodočega shtudija. V plebiscitu 21. in 22. oktobra 1866 je Furlanija vkljuchno z Beneshko Slovenijo oddala 144.988 glasov za Italijo in 36 glasov za Avstrijo. Tak je bil torej rezultat plebiscita! (glej: Marinelli Olinto, Guida delle Prealpi Giulie, Udine, 1912, str. 308). V Beneshki Sloveniji je oddal svoj glas za prikljuchitev k maticnemu dezheli edinole znani narodni buditelj Peter Podreka (1822-1889). Usoda beneshkih Slovencev je bila zapechatena.

Zakaj so beneshki Slovenci glasovali za Italijo? Vzrokov bo po nashem mnenuju vech. Ti Slovenci so zhivali skozi stoletja brez tesnejše povezave z ostalimi sonarodnjaki. Usodno pa je bilo zanje zlasti to, da so ostali brez take povezave prav takrat, ko se je zachela pri ostalih Slovencih prebujati narodna zavest. Zemljepisna lega je nadalje beneshke Slovence prisilila, da so se gospodarsko povezali z mesti (Videm, Chedad), ki so bila dejansko italijanska. Drugega izhoda tudi niso imeli. Gorica je bila vse preveč od rok.

Ko so se Benetke leta 1440 polastile ozemlja beneshkih Slovencev, so le-ti pach chakali, kaj bo. Upor nasproti beneshkemu levu bi bil nesmisel. Toliko izkushenj so ti Slovenci zhe imeli. Lahko so si tudi mislili, da jim bo nov gospodar nudil ugodnejše pogoje za njihov gospodarski razvoj. In Benechani so jih znali potlej tudi navezati nase. Z raznimi privilegiji so jih pridobili, da so jim branili gorske prehode pred napadi sovrazhnika. Beneshki Slovenci so bili zadovoljni. In tako je bilo zatem vsaj dvesto let. Zgodovina Benetk pa nam odkriva, da se je v tej drzhavi zhe v XVII. stoletju polozhaj mochno poslabshal. Pritisk na kmeta-podlozhnika se je povsod mochno povechal. Eden od istrskih zgodovinarjev, Tommasini, je takrat zapisal, da bi se bili slovenski podlozhniki v okolici Kopra prav gotovo uprli, che ne bi zaradi izkorishchanja popolnoma iznemogli.

But because Prussia defeated Austria, it could dictate the peace terms. So Italy got Venetian Slovenia and Friuli. In this region, Italy was happy to agree to a plebiscite.

### **The plebiscite, which could not produce a result different from the one it produced**

Vienna undoubtedly very much wanted its state border with Italy to offer it as many military and strategic advantages as possible. Only this made them think of the Venetian Slovenians. In Udine, Vienna even ordered a special administrative body to be founded for the Venetian Slovenians. C. Podrecca writes about Austria's efforts at that time: »It is otherwise understandable that Archduke Albert made active efforts so that our brothers the Venetian Slovenians would not be separated from Austria. But it was in vain because Italy, which was supported in this matter by France and Germany, demanded the old Venetian borders« (*Slavia italiana, Le Vicinie, Cividale* 1887, pp. 150-151). Vienna proposed to the Italian government that in exchange for Venetian Slovenia it would even give up some of its territory in Tirol but Italy turned down the offer.

It seems that Italy then carried out the plebiscite mainly out of some demonstrative reasons. Elements of the plebiscite were supposed to be the object of a future study. In the plebiscite of 21 and 22 October 1866, the region of Friuli including Venetian Slovenia gave 144,988 votes for Italy and 36 votes for Austria. This was therefore the result of the plebiscite! (see Marinelli Olinto, *Guida delle Prealpi Giulie*, Udine, 1912, pg. 308). In Venetian Slovenia, the only person to vote for union with the mother country was the well-known national awakener Peter Podreka (1822-1889). The fate of the Venetian Slovenians was sealed.

Why did the Venetian Slovenians vote for Italy? We believe there must have been a number of reasons. These Slovenians had lived for centuries without close connections with their remaining compatriots. What was, however, fateful for them was that they were left without connections at a time when most Slovenians were beginning the process of national awakening. Their geographical location further forced the Venetian Slovenians to have economic ties with towns (Udine, Cividale), which were predominantly Italian. They had no other choice. Gorizia was simply too far away.

When in 1440, Venice took possession of the territory of the Venetian Slovenians, the latter simply waited to see what would happen. Resistance against the Venetian lion would have been futile. The Slovenians knew this from experience. They may also have thought their new master would give them better conditions for economic development. Later on, the Venetians knew very well how to keep the Slovenians faithful to them. They won them over with various privileges so that they guarded the mountain passes against enemy attacks. The Venetian Slovenians were satisfied. And this is how it was for at least two hundred years. However, the history of Venice shows us that the situation in this state had deteriorated badly already in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Pressure on the peasants/serfs increased greatly everywhere. The Istrian historian, Tommasini, wrote at the time that the Slovenian serfs around Koper would undoubtedly have revolted had they not been completely exhausted by exploitation.

Lahko si torej mislimo, da polozhaj v Beneshki Sloveniji ob zatonu Beneshke republike prav gotovo ni bil rozhnat in beneshki Slovenci so zacheli verjetno iskati svoje vzore drugod. Nekateri so jih nashli pri Mazziniju in Garibaldiju. Kje naj bi jih drugi iskali?

Avstrija je bila tedaj eden od zhandarjev Evrope. Avstrijska okupatorska vojska je v Italiji le dushila revolucionarno gibanje, sploh ni dala dihati dezheli, ki bi se rada zdruzhila v enotno demokratichno drzhavo. Ni izkljucheno, da so se ochi beneshkih Slovencev she odlochneje uprle v Italijo po eni strani zaradi razocharanja nad Beneshko republiko in pa nad Avstrijo, ki jim s svojo okupacijo (nad 50 let) ni nudila prav nichesar.

C. Podrecca trdi, da je Beneshko Slovenijo leta 1848 zajel pravi revolucionarni val in da je tamkaj po dolinah in gorah odmevala pesem »Preljuba Italija«. Beneshki Slovenci naj bi se tega leta za hrbtom Avstrije postavili s svojo vojsko tako rekoch na lastne noge in se celo pripravliali, da gredo na pomoch Vidmu, kjer je avstrijska vojska zachelala dushiti revolucijo (Slavia italiana, 1884, str. 2325). C. Podrecca ve povedati celo, da se je vech beneshkih Slovencev udelezhilo na strani sardinskega kralja bojev proti Avstriji (istotam na str. 25). Vsi taki argumenti v prilog izida plebiscita se nam vendar ne zdijo dovolj preprichljivi. Zdi se nam, da je bilo vmes she nekaj mochnejshega, namrech strah pred gospodarji, pred tistimi, ki so iz mesta vladali hribom in dolinam. To bi se dalo najlepshe sklepati iz grenkih besed, ki jih je izrekel C. Podrecca in smo jih navedli v uvodu v ta chlanek.

Jadranski koledar 1966 (Trst)

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SRECHKO VILHAR (1907, Kromberk pri N. Gorici – 1976, Ljubljana), publicist, politični in prosvetni delavec. Leta 1928 iz Italije pobegnil v Ljubljano, kjer je maturiral na učiteljishchu (1931); od 1927 je bil član KPI, pozneje pa KPJ, zaradi političnega delovanja leta 1933 v Beogradu obsojen na 6 let jeche v Sremski Mitrovici; 1938 izrochen italijanski policiji, v Trstu obsojen na dve leti konfinacije. Jeseni 1943 vstopi v partizane-prekomorce, prek Dalmacije in Bosne pride v Slovenijo in postane upravnik partijske shole v Koch. Rogu. Po vojni uchitelj na ital. gimnaziji v Kopru, med 1958-1974 ravnatelj koprsko Shtudijske knjizhnice (danes poimenovana po njem). Njegov publicistični opus je znachilno dvotematski: po eni strani obsega raziskave iz zgodovine Slovencev na Jadranu (zbornik *Slovenci ob Jadranu*, 1952; *Istrski zgod. zbornik*, 1960-1969; *Slovenski pomorski zbornik*, 1962) ter o Primorcih med 2. sv. vojno; po drugi strani pa gre za vrsto del s področja knjizhnicharstva (zlasti zgod. knjizhnic na Primorskem). Za knjizhnicharsko delo prejel Chopovo diplomo (1967). (Op. ur.)

(1) »V sodnem okrozhju Chedadu, ki zajema predvsem Slovana, ta ne najde stalnega tolmacha, in che ga potrebuje, ga mora plachati iz svojega, in v preteklosti, che se ni bal zavrnitve, mu je grozil zapor, ker se ne zna izraziti v italijanshchini!«

(2) »Samo med 36,646 prebivalci 15 skupnosti, razpršenih med gorami Julisce krajine, she vedno prevladuje slovanski jezik, ki pa nima, kot vsi vemo, nobene zveze z italijanshchino, toda pod vplivom shole in trgovskega prometa NAKAZUJE POCHASNO IZGINJANJE ...«

(Prev. ur.)

We may therefore imagine that the situation in Venetian Slovenia at the time of the demise of the Venetian Republic was not rosy and the Venetian Slovenians probably began searching for role models elsewhere. Some found them in the form of Mazzini and Garibaldi. Where else could they look for them?

At that time, Austria was one of Europe's policemen. In Italy, the Austrian occupying force only served to suppress the revolutionary movement and did not allow a country, which wanted to be united as one democratic state, to breathe. It is quite possible that the eyes of the Venetian Slovenians turned even more decisively towards Italy because of disappointment over the Venetian Republic and also over Austria, which offered them nothing at all with its occupation (over 50 years).

C. Podrecca claims that in 1848, Venetian Slovenia was engulfed by a revolutionary wave and that one could hear the words »Dearest Italy« being sung in the hills and valleys there. In the same year, Venetian Slovenians are said to have been ready to free themselves by setting up their own army behind Austria's back and were even preparing to go and help in Udine where the Austrian army was beginning to stifle the revolution (*Slavia italiana*, 1884, pg. 2325). C. Podrecca even says that a number of Venetian Slovenians fought on the side of the Sardinian king against Austria (*ibid* pg. 25). All such arguments explaining the result of the plebiscite still do not seem convincing enough. It seems there must also have been something stronger - fear of the masters, those who ruled the hills and valleys from the towns. This could easily be deduced from the bitter words uttered by C. Podrecca which are quoted in the introduction to this article.

Jadranski koledar 1966 (Trieste)

Translated from Slovenian by Marko Petrovich

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SRECHKOV VILHAR (1907, Kromberk pri N. Gorici – 1976, Ljubljana), publicist, political activist and teacher. In 1928 he fled from Italy to Ljubljana where he completed the high-school for teachers (1931); he was a member of KPI from 1927 onwards, later a member of KPJ, and was sentenced in 1933 in Belgrade to six years in prison in Sremska Mitrovica for political activism; in 1938 he was handed over to the Italian police and sentenced in Trieste to two years confinement. In autumn 1943 he joined the partisans-overseas brigades, and came to Slovenia via Dalmatia and Bosnia and became director of the communist party school in Kochevski Rog. After the war he was a teacher at the Italian grammar school in Koper and in the years 1958-1974 he was director of Koper Central Library (now named after him). His many published works can be divided into two themes: on the one hand historical research on the history of the Slovenians living by the Adriatic (*zbornik Slovenci ob Jadranu*, 1952; *Istrski zgod. zbornik*, 1960-1969; *Slovenski pomorski zbornik*, 1962) and about the people of Primorska during the Second World War; on the other hand there are a number of works from the field of librarianship (especially the first libraries in Primorska). For his work as librarian he was awarded the Chop Diploma (1967). (editor's note)

(1) »In the legal district of Cividale, which is above all home to Slavs, the latter have no permanent interpreter, and if they need one they must pay for one out of their own pocket, and in the past, if they were not afraid of being rejected, they could also be imprisoned for not knowing Italian!«

(2) »The Slav language is still prevalent amongst 36,646 inhabitants of 15 communities, dispersed amongst the mountains of the Julian region, and as we all know it has no connection with the Italian language, but under the influence of schools and trade IT IS SLOWLY DISAPPEARING...«

*Srečko Vilhar*

## KAJ SO REZIJANI?

Zgodovina Slovencev, ki so zhiveli she v 12. stoletju kompaktno na ozemlju tja do Tagliamenta, je zavita v temo. Stari viri nam povedo zelo malo o njih, so netochni in pomanjkljivi. Izmed starih zgodovinarjev in piscev nam nihče ne poroča, do kje je segal nash rod. Novejši zgodovinarji pa se zaman trudijo, da bi razvozlali razne bajke in v tem pravcu reshili problem. Raziskovanje iz tega stalishcha se je izkazalo kot neplodno! Taki zgodovinarji samo zavajajo in oddaljujejo znanstvenika od prave smeri.

Iskati moramo torej novih poti in novih vidikov. Jezikoslovec naj izpopolni to, kar ne more zgodovinar!

Shtudij krajevnega imenoslovja v severni Italiji (Alpah) in Furlaniji nas privede npr. do zanimivih in predvsem konkretnih izsledkov.

Mnogoshtevilna krajevna imena v severni Italiji nam jasno kazhejo, da je bil tamkaj naseljen slovenski zhivelj zhe v davnji preteklosti. V alpskih predelih so vsepovsod razshirjene zlasti tiste strokovne besede, ki jih rabijo nashi pastirji v svojem gospodarstvu. Take besede so npr. tanar, polica, planja, planica, krnica, kuk (hmelj), kocelj, kukla, chukla (kolk), laz, peski, draga, kalishche, poljana, dol itd.

Slovenska beseda »kuk«, ki znachi nekaj shrtlechega, je razshirjena po vsej severni Italiji. Razume se, da je v nashih Alpah mnogo gorá s tem imenom; to velja zlasti za pastirske predele. Italijanski geolog Marinelli je nashtel v Karnskih Alpah 18 kukov (gore); ali v okolici Ravenne jih je nashel 5. Ta beseda je razshirjena v Alpah daleč proti Zapadu. Tako je npr. v provinci Como gora Monte Cuco (2652 m) in povsod v blizhini she mnogo drugih kukov.

Slovenska beseda »tamar«, ki znachi utrjen kraj na vishini (za ovce), je tudi zelo razshirjena v Alpah. Slovenski pastirji rabijo ponekod she glagol »tamariti« = goniti chrede iz enega kraja v drugega.

Pri jezeru Lago Maggiore je Monte Tamaro, poleg pa she Gradišca (1028 m) in Cucco. Gora Tamar (2241 m) je tudi v skupini Cimone della Pala.

Imamo seveda she neshteto drugih slovenskih besedi. Pri Trentu je kraj Predol ter gora Calis (lad = calisciù), kar je isto kot slov. Kalishche (pri Begunjah). Pri Lago di Garda je kraj Dolo, sploh pa je tudi v okolici Padove mnogo krajevnih imen »dolo« (dol, dolina). Pri Comu je kraj »Poglano«. Vechina krajevnih imen v Alpah (sev. Italiji) in Furlaniji so le slovenske spachenke! Kaj naj pomeni v italijanshchini Piave (reka)? Kaj Livenza?

*Srečko Vilhar*

## WHO ARE THE RESIANS?

The history of the Slovenians, who in the 12th century were still very much present as far west as the River Tagliamento, is shrouded in obscurity. Old sources tell us very little about them and are inaccurate and deficient. None of the old historians and writers tells us how far west our people were settled. Some modern historians strive in vain to unravel various myths and legends and solve the problem in this way but this kind of research has proved unproductive. These historians do nothing but mislead.

We must therefore look for new ways and new perspectives. The linguist must do what the historian cannot.

The study of place names in northern Italy (the Alps) and Friuli brings us to interesting and above all concrete results.

Many place names in northern Italy clearly show that Slovenians lived there long ago. In Alpine regions, the terminology used by our shepherds in connection with their work is particularly widespread. Examples of such words are: tanar, polica, planja, planica, krnica, kuk (hmelj), kocelj, kukla, chukla (kolk), laz, peski, draga, kalishche, poljana, dol etc.

The Slovenian word »kuk«, which denotes something that sticks out, is widespread all over northern Italy. Needless to say, there are many mountains in our Alps that bear this name. This is particularly the case in areas in which shepherds were present. The Italian geologist Marinelli counted 18 »kuks« (peaks) in the Carnic Alps, and around Ravenna he counted 5 of them. This word is widespread in the Alps far towards the West. So, for example, in the province of Como, there is a mountain called Monte Cuco (2652 m) and in its vicinity are many other »kuks«.

The Slovenian word »tamar«, which denotes a fenced off area at an elevated altitude (for sheep) is also very widespread in the Alps. In some places, Slovenian shepherds still use the verb »tamariti« = to herd flocks from one place to another.

Near Lake Maggiore is Monte Tamaro, and next to it also Gradišca (1028 m) and Cucco. Mount Tamar (2241 m) is also part of the Cimone della Pala group.

There are of course innumerable other Slovenian words. Near Trento there is a place called Predol and Mt. Calis (in Ladin = calisciu), which is the same as the Slovenian Kalishche (near Begunje). Near Lago di Garda there is a place called Dolo, and around Padua there are many places called »dolo« (dol, dolina - valley). Near Como there is a place called »Pogliano«. Most place names in the Alps (n. Italy) and Friuli are Slovenian names that have been distorted. What is Piave (name of a river) supposed to mean in Italian? And Livenza?

Ladinci na Tirolskem imajo mnogo slovenskih besed. Dr. Belli, ki je prouchil imenoslovje na Tirolskem (termini dialettali nel Trentino) omenja ladinske besede: suer (sovar) = vento del nord sul lago di Como = slov. sever; planizie = basso di valle = slov. planica; sgreiben = terreno alpestre sassoso = slov. greben (groblja).

V Furlaniji je bila slovenshchina v 12. st. in tudi she poznejshi dobi splošen občevalni jezik. Slovensko plemstvo je bilo tu she mochno, ko je med drugimi Slovani zhe davno izginilo. Znani sta iz te dobe npr. plemishki rodbini Chukov in Bojanov.

V 15. in 16. st. so razni izobrazhenici in zlasti pa duhovniki vneto prevajali razna cerkvena dela in posvetne spise v slovenshino (Johannes civis Vegle, Sommaripa). Ohranjenih je seveda she mnogo drugih rokopisov.

Ker so bili Slovenci vechinoma pastirji, so tvorili v neprikladni in z gosto shumo zarasli Furlaniji nekake otoke; spricho nizhje kulturne stopnje so se v tem sluchaju toliko lazhje poromanili. Asimilacija je bila v tem sluchaju neizogibna. Imena vodá, gorá in naselbin pa nam vsepovsod jasno kazhejo sled o slovenskem zhivlju. Ob Tagliamentu so vasi z imeni Beograd, Gorichica itd.

Na tem prostranem ozemljу so se mogli Sloveni vzdržhati le, kjer so bili prirodno zavarovani napram sosedom in njihovi kulturi. To je znachilno zlasti za Rezijane, ki zhive kompaktno v gorski dolini Bele (Rezije) ob vznozhju Kaninove skupine. Ta rod je neverjetno odporen tudi v fizichnem oziru. Rezijan je visoke postave, zhilav, koshchen in zagorel. Beneshki upravitelj Aloise Marcello je porochal leta 1599 o njih in sosedih: »sono quasi tutti bellissimi uomini e degli più alti«. To pa je ugotovila tudi sedanja italijanska narodna statistika. Nash pesnik Stanko Vraz je pisal o njih:

Dalje pram zapadu  
u mirnom zavjeću  
stoji narod veseo  
kô diete u cvieću.

Slabo ih kraj hrani,  
a kô ptice nebom  
veselo razhode  
svietom za hliebom.

(Djur.)

Ko so prishli Rezijani pod beneshko nadoblast in ko se je njih gospodarsko tezhishche utrdilo v smeri proti jugu, so se zacheli pogostoma uveljavljati italijanski vplivi. Ker je bilo premalo stikov z drugimi Slovenci, se je tudi jezik znatno oddaljil od nashega in shel v razvoju povsem svojo pot. K temu je pripomogla zlasti neugodna gospodarska lega, ki je onemogochila zhivahnejši stik s Slovenci, zhivechimi onkraj Kanina in Kolovrata.

The Ladins in Tirol have many Slovenian words. Dr. Belli, who studied names in Tirol (*termini dialettali nel Trentino*) mentions the Ladin words: suer (sovar) = vento del nord sul lago di Como = Slov. Sever (north); planizie = basso di valle = Slov. planica; sgreben = terreno alpestre sassoso = Slov. greben (groblja).

In 12th century Friuli and later, Slovenian was the common language of conversation. The Slovenian nobility was still strong here when they had long since disappeared amongst other Slavs. For example, the Chuk and Bojan clans are known from this period.

In the 15th and 16th centuries, various intellectuals and especially priests eagerly translated various church works and secular documents into Slovenian (Johannes civis Vegle, Sommaripa). Many other manuscripts have also been preserved.

As the Slovenians were mainly shepherds, they were like islands in the inhospitable and thickly forested region of Friuli. Despite their relatively low level of culture it was so much easier for them to be romanised. Assimilation was therefore inevitable. However, the names of lakes, rivers, mountains and settlements everywhere clearly show us the traces of a Slovenian population. Near the River Tagliamento there are villages called Beograd, Gorichica etc.

The Slovenians could survive on this wide territory only in those parts where they had natural protection from neighbours and their culture. This is especially typical of the Resians who live in the mountain valley of the river Bela (Resia) at the foot of the Mt Kanin massif. These people are incredibly tough also in the physical sense. A Resian is tall in stature, muscular, lean and tanned. The Venetian governor Aloise Marcello reported in 1599 on the Resians and their neighbours: »sono quasi tutti bellissimi uomini e degli più alti«. The present-day Italian national statistics also came to this conclusion. The Slovenian poet Stanko Vraz wrote about them:

Further towards the west  
in peaceful shelter  
live a people as happy  
as a baby in bloom

Their home feeds them poorly,  
but like the birds to the sky  
they happily fly  
through the world for their bread.

(Djul.)

When the Resians came under Venetian rule and when their economic ties were consolidated southwards, Italian influences grew stronger. As there was not enough contact with other Slovenians, their language also became considerably removed from standard Slovenian and developed in its own way. This was aided especially by an unfavourable economic location, which prevented lively contact with Slovenians living on the other side of Kanin and Kolovrat.

Poljski jezikoslovec B. de Courtenay trdi, da so Rezijani posebna slovanska veja, ki ima s Slovenci le malo skupnosti. Nekateri pa trdijo, da so Rezijani doseljeni Rusi; dokazujejo, da je njihov jezik zelo soroden ruskemu. To podpirajo tudi s trditvijo, da so ruskemu generalu Suvorovu (ki je prishel za Napoleonovih vojn v Italijo) sluhili Rezijani za tolmache. Omenjajo tudi, da so se kozaki zelo chudili, ko slishali v Italiji jezik, ki je njihovemu tako soroden.

*Edino pravilna trditev pa je, da so Rezijani pristni Slovenci* (Italijani trdijo, da so Rezijani ital. zhivelj!).

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Listina iz leta 1242 omenja rezijanske kmete: Gorjanin-a, Golob-a, Bilino, Chrnigoj-a, Kos-a, Vekoslav-a, Janjigoj-a, Popligoj-a itd.

V neki drugi listini iz 13. stol. so imena rezijanskih kmetov: Stanigoj, Siliboj, Radosh, Mali, Ljubigoj, Vogrich, Cherni, Chadezh itd.

V tem chasu pa najdemo okrog Gorice prav tako lepa in pristna slovenska osebna imena. Listina iz leta 1300 omenja trnovska kmeta Dragonjo in Ljubigoja. Listina iz leta 1181 omenja shteverjanske kmete: Budina, Stojana, Zdebora, Dobrushko, Velikonjo, Tihonjo itd. Listina iz leta 1360, tichocha se Vishnjevika v Brdih, omenja nekega Bojana, druga pa nekega Chrneta.

Listina iz leta 1290 omenja fojanska kmeta iz Chaslava in Koroshca ter nekega trnovskega kmeta Sebislava.

Ob robu Rezije je she danes razshirjeno ime Budigoj; ob robu judrijske doline je kraj Budigoj. V 15. stol. pa je bilo to ime she razshirjeno v Gorici (Kos).

Mislim, da je to dovolj krepak dokaz, da niso Rezijani Rusi, niti ne Italijani ali kakšna neznana slovanska veja. Iz tega sledi, da je zhivel v Reziji isti slovenski rod, kot npr. v Soshki dolini.

Znachilno pa je, da je jezik Koroshkih Slovencev (Ziljska dolina) zelo podoben rezijanshchini. Nekatere oblike so v rabi specialno na Koroshkem in v Reziji; tako npr. brater (brat), pozde (pozno), nebozec (sveder) itd. Rezijani tudi shtejejo na isti nachin kot Koroshci.

Raziskovanja v tem pravcu (jezik, krajevno imenoslovje itd.) bo odprlo zgodovinarjem pot v dobo, ki se vleche kot ogromna praznina od propasti rimskega imperija pa tja do poznega srednjega veka.

Znachilno je, da zhe dopushchajo nekateri vestni italijanski geologi (Marinelli, Sergi, Belli, itd.) to stalishche. Raziskovanje v tej smeri nas privede tudi do drugih izsledkov.

O Keltih ni nikjer sledu? Nekatera latinska krajevna imena se dajo tolmachiti kot slovenska? Nastaja tudi trditev, da so bili Slovenci (pastirji) praprebirvalci v alpskih predelih severne Italije.

The Polish linguist B. de Courtenay maintained that the Resians are a special branch of Slavs who have little in common with the Slovenians. Meanwhile, some people say that the Resians came from Russia; they try to prove that their language is very similar to Russian and attempt to back this up by claiming that Resians acted as interpreters for the Russian General Suvorov (who came to Italy in the time of Napoleon's wars). They also mention that the Cossacks were very surprised when they heard in Italy a language that so strongly resembled their own. *However, the only correct claim is that the Resians are genuine Slovenians* (the Italians claim that the Resians are Italian people!).

\*

A document from 1242 mentions the Resian famers: Gorjanin, Golob, Bilino, Chrnigoj, Kos, Vekoslav, Janjigoj, Popligoj etc.

Another document from the 13<sup>th</sup> century lists the names of Resian farmers: Stanigoj, Siliboj, Radosh, Mali, Ljubigoj, Vogrich, Cherni, Chadezh etc.

In the same period we find around the city of Gorizia equally beautiful and authentic Slovenian names. A document from 1300 mentions two farmers from Trnovo called Dragonja and Ljubigoj. A document from 1181 mentions the farmers from Shteverjan: Budin, Stojan, Zdebor, Dobrushka, Velikonja, Tihonja etc. A document from 1360, concerning the village of Vishnjevik in the Gorishka Brda region mentions someone called Bojan and someone called Chrne.

A document from 1290 mentions the farmers Chaslav and Koroshec from Fojana, as well as a famer called Sebislav from Trnovo.

The name Budigoj is still widespread around Resia nowadays; by the valley of the river Idrija there is a place called Budigoj. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century this name was widespread also in Gorizia (Kos).

I believe this is strong enough proof that the Resians are neither Russians, nor Italians, nor some unknown branch of Slavs. This all goes to show that the people living in Resia are of the same Slovenian descent as those living in the Socha valley, for example.

It is, however, interesting that the language of the Carinthian Slovenians (Zilja valley) is very similar to Resian. Some forms of words are used only in Carinthia and Resia; e.g. brater (brat - brother), pozde (pozno - late), nebozec (sveder - drill) etc. The Resians also count in the same way as the Carinthians.

Research in this domain (language, place names, etc.) will open the way for historians into a period, which has been like a great void between the ruin of the Roman Empire and the late Middle Ages.

Some conscientious Italian geologists (Marinelli, Sergi, Belli, etc.) now allow this possibility. Research in this domain also brings us to other findings.

There is no trace of the Celts? Some Latin place names can be interpreted as being Slovenian? It is also being asserted that *Slovenians (shepherds) were the indigenous population in Alpine regions of northern Italy*.

ISTRA (Zagreb), 29. 4. 1932

Translated from Slovenian by Marko Petrovich

### Svojskost *LiVeS Journalala – Revije SRP*

Vodilo *LiVeS Journalala – 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 individuum,  
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 sploshno nista vprashljivi,  
nihche, skoraj nihche 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,  
nihche 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 obchuti svojo eksistenco,  
obchuti zlochin pokorjenosti in tezhi k svobodi;  
che se she zhivali, 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 nenanaravnega 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 obchutijo tezho 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 ozbirili v svoji predstavi,  
obchutili bi jo v **svojem duhu** in jo she vedno uzbivali.*

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

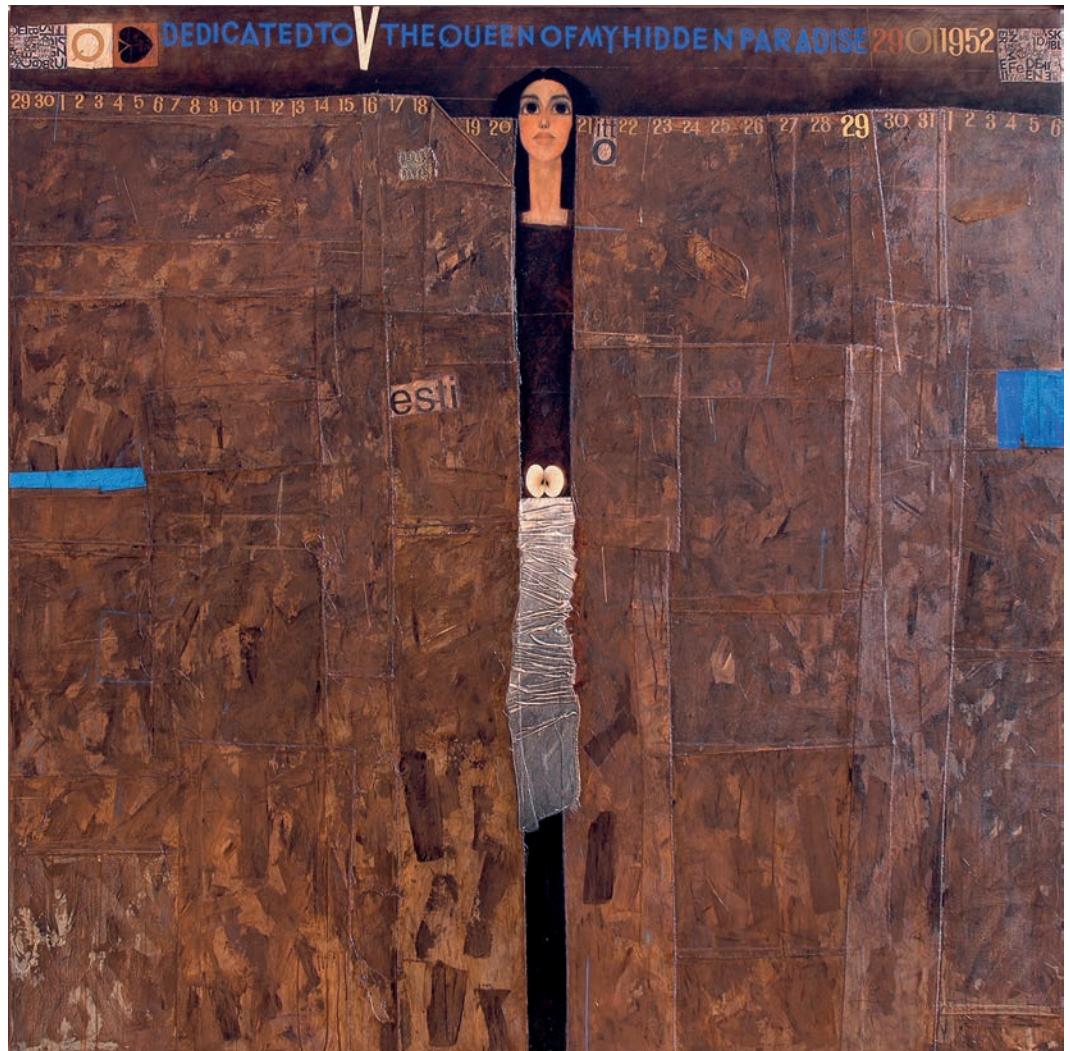
*LiVeS Journal* (in Revija SRP): <http://www.livesjournal.eu> (<http://www.revijasrp.si>)

Internetna uporaba *Revije SRP* je brez omejitev; enako velja za *LiVeS Journal*, ki mu je z vzporedno dvojezichnostjo namenjena shirsha 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 vseh, zato bo v internetni izdaji *LJ* kak prevod lahko tudi dodan k predhodnemu ali pa ga bo nadomestil.

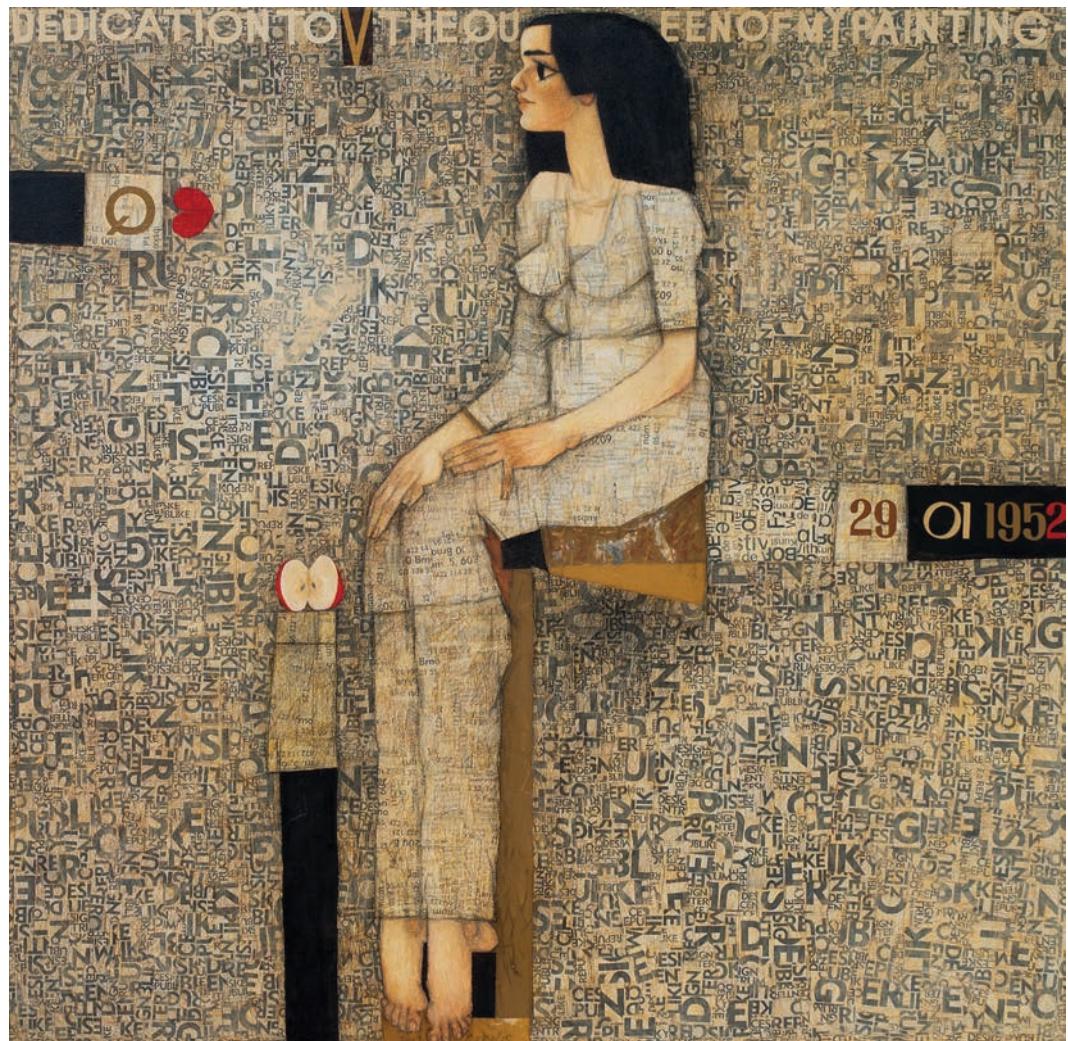
## EDITORIAL NOTE

*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.







# PARADISE LOST

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