

UDC 274(497.4):27-28: 32: 929Trubar P.

Jonatan Vinkler

Primož Trubar's *Cerkovna ordninga* as political act

Humanist literature of the Protestant type, as found in 16th-century Slovene literature, was a decidedly religious phenomenon, and in individual text types, which due to the framework of state and/or provincial law had exclusive publishers on the side of "secular power", was also a political phenomenon. The text type "church order" (*Kirchenordnung*), of which Trubar's *Cerkovna ordninga* is an example, was certainly such a literary "genre". It owes its origin to the gradual formalization of relations between the Reformed Church and the provincial ruler. For especially in the second period of the Reformation, when its leadership passed into the hands of the secular princes, individual provinces first of all formed their own orders for church services in accordance with their conscience and deliberation, and also enshrined such deliberation in handbooks which not only codified ritual differences according to individual provinces but also settled many other matters of ecclesiastical and provincial law – creating church orders belonging to the individual provinces where the Reformed Church was dominant. The publishers of these were generally provincial rulers. The first significant turning point in this process, i.e. the demarcation of rights and obligations between the (provincial) ruler and the Reformed Church, was certainly the Diet of Augsburg (1530), where the Reformed side was allowed to read their *Confessio Augustana* before the German Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Charles V. Throughout the 1540s, years marked by disputes (the Augsburg Interim) and conflicts (the Schmalkaldic War) between the Reformed and Catholic sides, it became obvious that provincial peace and public regulation of religion would not be possible either without the complete destruction of one of the sides in the dispute or without an agreement being reached between states. This was achieved on 25 September 1555, when the Peace of Augsburg was signed. Based on the principle *cuius regio, eius religio*, the following points were ensured as principles: 1) *religious freedom* for Catholics and those embracing the Augsburg Con-

fession, 2) *the internal religious uniformity* of individual provincial-law entities, and 3) *provincial peace*. The above-mentioned main maxim of the Augsburg Confession meant: everyone under his provincial prince remaining in that one's faith and from then on no-one should extend his power, territory, dominions or rights at the expense of another religious creed. The latter was also a binding political framework within which the origin and initial reception (the provincial prince's prohibition) of Trubar's *Cerkovna ordninga* in Inner Austria is placed, although Trubar's work, due to its Slovene language, applied primarily to Carniola and parts of Styria, Carinthia, the coastal region and the Pazin margraviate with its Slovene speaking inhabitants.

Before writing the *Cerkovna ordninga*, Trubar already had experience in structuring church organization (Kempten, 1553), nor was he without a feeling for the current political use of "the Turkish fear" and arguments connected with it (e.g. in letters to King Maximilian, 1560, where Trubar convinces the monarch to assist printing in Slovene and Croatian). But the project of publishing and thus legally establishing Trubar's church order in Inner Austria encountered: 1) the Catholic provincial prince Charles, who was very much aware of his prerogatives as provincial prince regarding the religious rights of Protestants and as a convinced Catholic had no intention of giving such official legal concessions, 2) the provincial nobility, who in their endeavours to increase their political power against the provincial prince did not dare/wish to adopt such a decisive stance as had their aristocratic counterparts in the Reich in paving the way for provincial Reformed churches, and 3) the "time trap", when with regard to confirming the old and granting the new provincial privileges, the most favourable opportunity was missed – the homage to the provincial prince – in April 1564 (the *Cerkovna ordninga* was completed at the end of summer that year). The *Cerkovna ordninga* was thus banned, and its author exiled to Germany, to what Trubar called his *nigdirdom*. So his short career in the position of superintendent, the first provincial preacher, came to an end. Yet the *Cerkovna ordninga* after this inauspicious initial setback later had a positive reception, since all the copies of this work were not destroyed (the two known copies today testify to this – the *Vatican* copy, which belonged to Trubar's successor in the position of superintendent of "the church of the Slovene language", the German M. Kristof Spindler, and the *Memmingen* copy, which belonged to Bernard Steiner), and in addition, part of Trubar's text from the *Ordninga* apparently passed in the mid 1580s into Dalmatin's *Agenda* (1585), against which the provincial prince Charles took no steps. For this latter work, due to its exclusively ceremonial religious content did not encroach on his regalia, which within the articles of the Peace of Augsburg the *Cerkovna ordninga* most certainly did, with its admittedly unidentified publisher (none of the extant copies of the *Cerkovna ordninga* has a title page or prefaces, from which the publisher's "adherence" and consequent responsibility could be established), but - as it seems from Trubar's letter to the provincial

administrator and Carniolan Committee members (Ljubljana, 29 October 1564) - with the Provincial Estates behind him, and thus with the political commitment of the provincial nobility, not of the prince. Thus with the reception and operation of the *Cerkovna ordninga*, it seems that Trubar succeeded in organizing a *de facto* functioning provincial church. But because of the political referential framework of the Peace of Augsburg, this remained from then on unacknowledged *de iure* and thus was also legally beyond the law - relying, in addition to God's help, primarily on the still fortunate political relation of forces between the strong Estates and the not (too) strong provincial prince on account of the Turkish danger present at that time.

Keywords: Trubar, Protestant literature, 16th century, *Cerkovna ordninga* (1564) - its state-law and political context

UDC 284.1(497.4)"1564":929Trubar P.

Ulrich-Dieter Oppitz, Christoph Weismann

The Slovene Church Order 1564 – another copy discovered

This article reports first-hand on the discovery of the Memmingen copy of Trubar's *Cerkovna Ordninga*, also providing a detailed description of it. When Ulrich-Dieter Oppitz found this new copy of the *Ordninga* in Memmingen in October 2013, he turned to Christoph Weismann, who has died this year, who after Markuž's discovery (1971) of the only known extant copy in the Vatican library was the first to describe it in great detail (1972). Oppitz also had Weismann as co-author of this presentation of the new find. The two authors provide an exhaustive description, comparing it with the Vatican copy and the known characteristics of the Dresden copy of the work, which was lost in 1945, concluding that *Cerkovna Ordninga* is now truly available in its entirety in an intact copy, which is in public possession and available for research. As a special advantage they also stress the fact that that this new find was a copy in personal use. Many of the South Slavonic books from Urach avoided the Counter-Reformation destruction precisely because they were sent as gifts and dedicatory copies to the princes, town magistrates and other supporters of the Urach institute and were placed in the recipients' libraries. The Memmingen copy is a precious source of personal ascriptions of the book's owner, whose identity as an author is also clarified: he was Bernard Steiner of Kamnik (Stein), who in 1568 with Trubar's support received a scholarship from the Tiffen foundation, and the following year was registered at the University of Tübingen, where he achieved his baccalaureate and master's degree. From July 1569 he no longer lived in the students' residence, as on Primož Trubar's initiative he became a tutor (praeceptor) to the

young nobleman Andreas von Auersperg (of Turjak), who came from Carniola to study in Tübingen. From 1571 Steiner was at the same time the priest in the then Lutheran parish of Bühl near Tübingen. In 1572 he defended his Latin thesis *Disputatio de consiliis* before a board presided over by his teacher Jakob Andreae. Steiner remained Auersperg's home tutor until 1573, when he became priest at Sv. Rupret in Carinthia. In 1576 he was called to the position of provincial preacher and superintendent in Klagenfurt. He was also one of seven theologians and philologists who checked Dalmatin's Slovene translation of the Bible in Ljubljana in 1581. It is not yet possible to explain the ways by which his book came to Memmingen.

UDC 811.163.6"15":929Megiser H.

Majda Meršič

Megiser's dictionaries of 1592 and 1603 in Slovene linguistic awareness and the overlap of Slovene vocabulary in them

Megiser's four-language dictionary with German as the starting-point *DIC-TIONARIUM QVATVOR LINGVARVM* of 1592 and his polyglot dictionary *The aurus Polyglottus* of 1603 are the first two polyglot dictionaries where the Slovene language is included to provide equivalents. The different number of languages placed side by side in dictionary form, the different linguistic starting-point (in MD 1592 German, in MTh 1603 Latin) and the decade which passed between the two editions, enabling Megiser to gain a better knowledge of the Slovene language and its dialects, also let us sense the differences as regards how much Slovene vocabulary is encompassed.

A comparison of the vocabulary included in both dictionaries and quoted in the section *Windi ch* in MD 1592 and in the sections for Slovene, Carniolan, Carinthian, Eastern Slovene (marked as Bezjakian and (partly) Croatian vocabulary in MTh 1603) has shown that (a) part of the vocabulary occurs only in MD 1592, and part only in MTh 1603, though the latter is more extensive; (b) the larger number of headwords also involves more Slovene equivalents; and (c) within the non-overlapping part of the vocabulary a typology can be ascertained which contributes to an understanding of the differences with regard to the vocabulary that is included.

In MD 1592, the German starting-point clearly influenced the search for Slovene equivalents, while in MTh 1603 the Latin headwords generally determined the choice of equivalents, but the final choice was sometimes influenced - apart from broader usage (whether in the Slovene provinces or only in Carinthia) - by equivalents quoted in the German section. Megiser's two dictionaries also differ in the completeness of word families. Among unilaterally added or elimi-

nated entries, different kinds of derivatives often occur: with a noun headword, for example, the naming of doers of an action or bearers of a state or property, female counterparts for male denotations, diminutives, derived adjectives; with an adjective headword, noun forms and adverbs formed by conversion; with verb headwords gerunds and participles, prefixed verbs, infinitives, etc. (in MD 1592 such words as *bojovanje, goreč, dokončati, razfilati, posmehavati, cagost, selstvo, boter + botra, ajdovski, dvesto* are not covered in MTh 1603, while in MTh 1603 such words as *počakanje, požrešenje, cagan, premojstriti, devati, grozdovje, prikupavec + prikupavica* are not covered in MD 1592). In MTh 1603 certain word-formational types also stand out for their frequency or instability: there are more diminutives of the type *kravica, gradič*, while rarer verbal derivatives of the type *popostaviti*, the infinitive *hočiti*, the participle *vzen*, numerals of the type *petred*, the adverb *osembart*, etc. are found.

In both dictionaries words and their phonetic variants are quoted with markers showing their Carinthian provenance, nevertheless there are considerably more words, phonetic variants and forms known from Carinthia recorded in MTh 1603. The unilateral quoting of words marked as Carniolan, Bezjakian or Eastern Slovenian and Croatian also points to a similar ratio. In MTh 1603 with its greater compass there is also an increased number of non-overlapping phonetic and word-formational variants (e.g. beside the overlapping forms *jajca, jenjati, britbar* there are *ajca, benjati, britvar*, etc.), although there also exist more examples of unilaterally evidenced greater variation in the four-language dictionary. Among the more noticeable differentiating features of the polyglot dictionary one observes the replacement of the full prefix *iz-* with the more easily pronounced *s-* (e.g. *sprazniti, stegniti*). A content analysis of the vocabulary included reveals a similar proportion in the use of non-overlapping names. The comprehensiveness of geographical names is one of the differentiating features: the four-language dictionary shows more geographically bound, non-overlappingly used names (*angelska deshela* for *Engelland*), but on the other hand the naming of letters (e.g. *boga, dobro*) occurs only in MTh 1603.

UDC 27-282.4(497.4-8)

Franc Kuzmič

The literary creativity of Prekmurje Lutherans

On the basis of his own and others' bibliographical and historical research the author gives a survey of publications either in the original Prekmurje standard language, beginning with the small catechism (Franc Temlin, 1715) and strengthened with the translation of the New Testament (Števan Kuzmič, 1771), or in the common Slovene standard language, introduced later and used up to

the present time. When approximately half of Prekmurje was returned under the Roman Catholic Church and when in 1732 Reformation church organization was finally abolished in Prekmurje, only the so-called “designated” places in Hungary allowed the people of Prekmurje to have Lutheran church services and school education until the Patent of Toleration, and consequently the role of books in the local language was even more important in preserving and deepening their faith. The article particularly emphasizes the fact that Küzmič’s translation of the New Testament was a powerful and valuable linguistic achievement and a cultural action of the first order.

UDC 811.163.6(497.4Prekmurje)

Darja Markoja

**The language situation in Prekmurje in the period
from the Reformation to the beginning of the 20th century**

The Prekmurje standard language (PSL) began its formation with the first book of local Slovene Protestants in their native language (1715) and had not only a nationally representative role but also a (religious) distinguishing one, since the Croatian dialect of standard Kajkavian was then used among Prekmurje Catholics. The article gives a survey of the use of PSL in Protestant and then also Catholic religious literature in churches and schools and from the beginning of the 20th century also in journalism. The Hungarian state, to which Slovenes in Prekmurje and Porabje belonged administratively, gave PSL - until the beginning of the Hungarian national awakening movement (1790-1848) - only an informal status as the confessional and teaching language within the Protestant and Catholic Churches, while its use in all other situations involving public speaking was impossible, and later on was even forbidden by law. In the good 200 years of its existence PSL was never codified, but the basic regularities of the standard language of the Protestant Štefan Küzmič and the Catholic Mikloš Küzmič were preserved by the so-called hidden codification, i.e. codification with the help of texts. After the political annexation of Prekmurje (but not Porabje) to Yugoslavia (1919), the Slovene standard language (SSL) was introduced as the common official language of the Slovene part of the state, thus PSL could no longer fulfil its function of the official and standard language, but it was preserved in some journalism and in churches. The specific character of this transfer also defines the historical status which PSL has in relation to SSL - namely, the relative lack of conflict over replacing PSL with SSL means that PSL in the consciousness of Prekmurje people as well as of researchers is considered a positive, nation-forming linguistic fact and not as a phenomenon of linguistic localism or separatism.

UDC 821.163.6:27

*Luka Kelc***Some explanations of the attitude towards erotic love among Slovene Lutherans and Roman Catholics in the 16th and 17th centuries**

This paper attempts to explain repudiative views on erotic love in selected works of Primož Trubar, Jurij Dalmatin, Adam Skalar and Matija Kastelec through their views on the material world, on the human body, and on lust as a consequence of original sin. It is seen that Trubar and Dalmatin accepted the material world, as long as it serves its purpose: spreading God's glory. But Skalar and Kastelec rejected the material world – this finding is attributed to their leaning towards mysticism. Trubar and Dalmatin also accepted the human body, if it functions in accordance with its purpose, but Skalar and Kastelec rejected it. However, views on the body cannot explain views on erotic love because erotic love is a matter of the human soul and its deficiencies. All four writers rejected the consequences of original sin, which include lust – if the individual fails to limit lust within himself and in his environment, he (unforgivably) sins. Consequently, erotic love, if it results from unlimited lust, is sinful and therefore undesirable.

Keywords: erotic love, lust, sin, the human body, the material world, Lutheranism, Catholicism, Slovene literature.

UDC 284.1(497.4):929Grmič V.

*Cvetka Hedžet Tóth***Vekoslav Grmič on Protestantism**

The article analyses the views of the Slovenian “red” bishop Vekoslav Grmič on Slovenian Protestantism, with special emphasis on Trubar's thought. Without a shadow of doubt, one of the key merits of the Reformation in Slovenian lands is its sharpened sense for freedom and human rights, for the equality before God of all nations and individuals, and as such it is nation-forming in the best sense of the word. The article places special emphasis on Grmič's claim that Trubar recognizes the greatest insight of contemporary theology in that dogmatic theology is actually theological anthropology. The Slovenian character has also seen itself transformed, and our first Protestant writers cannot be understood as solely important literary-historical writers. Within the Slovenian context, the conception of human personality, of man's position in society, and the faith in progress, historical optimism included, actually owe a great deal to Protestantism. Undoubtedly, the Counter-Reformation managed to suppress the Protestant

church organisation, drove the most devout believers into exile or brought them back into the Catholic Church. However, it most assuredly failed to destroy its linguistic and literary tradition, including the translation of the Bible. It also failed to suppress its rebellious spirit, the self-confidence of Slovenian believers, which has survived to this very day as a role model of rebellion.

The second part of the article analyses Grmič's calm theology, his "contextual theology", a constituent part of which is certainly its unique concreteness – enriched by its constant dialogue, "refined by its humanism" –, with which he was able to lend his ear to the most topical happenings and situations. In other words, for Grmič, faith is freedom. And this is where the mutual exclusiveness of faith and non-faith loses its ground, because, according to Grmič, it is life itself in each and every one of us which enables the "touch point between time and timelessness, transience and absoluteness, and the point where the stream of life flows into the sea of hope." And within this context, even the most principled atheist is obliged to say with ease that the coexistence of different world-views first and foremost calls for humanism. And it is precisely humanism which receives a special place in Grmič's peaceful anthropology of theology, which is a responsible nurturing of the sense for historicity, and at the same time it stems from the autonomy of the earthly reality, always finding its bearing in ethical reflection.

Key words: Reformation, Slovenian Protestantism, anthropology of theology, contextual theology, Vekoslav Grmič.

UDC 17:323(497.4)

Peter Kovačič Peršin

Ethical transformation as the condition for reconciliation

We as a nation are today again fatally split. We are incapable of even that basic cooperation between adherents of different political and philosophical viewpoints which is necessary for the state to function smoothly. But if as a national community we want to fit successfully into international life, we must establish a firm and creative personal coexistence, i.e. something more than just a bearable life alongside each other. Co-existence demands unconditional acceptance of the other person in his otherness. But co-existence cannot be established in a nation divided by historical conflicts and resentments until reconciliation is achieved between people. The first to issue a call to reconciliation was Edvard Kocbek in his interview for the Trieste periodical *Zaliv* (Bay) in 1975, when he broke the decades-long public conspiracy of silence about the post-war massacres. This call to reconciliation was born out of a wounded consciousness of our na-

tional tragedy, but it was wrongly understood – especially among the majority of Christians – namely, as a demand to rectify the wrongs done and for a kind of settlement that would give satisfaction for the crimes committed. But reconciliation is a moral action and demands unconditional forgiveness, and not the putting right of wrongs and satisfaction by punishing enemies. Moreover: the New Testament concept of reconciliation is marked by a definitely interpersonal ethical relationship. The emphasis is on my responsibility: not only that I forgive the wrong done to me, and remain self-contained, but that I must be reconciled with my neighbour, whom I have affected or who has affected me. This means that I must begin to live with him in co-existence.

Even Judaism in the time of its religious flowering made an about-turn from physical sacrifice to a personal ethical transformation of the person as the condition of renewing the covenant with God. The prophet Isaiah demanded moral transformation as a condition for reconciliation with God. Jesus makes a link with the rabbinic tradition when he instructs: “If then you bring your gift to the altar and there remember that your brother has something against you, leave your gift there before the altar and go and be first reconciled with your brother, and then come and offer your gift.” And Paul continues Jesus’ teaching when he stresses that a Christian has the duty of reconciliatory action towards his neighbour, towards his fellow man, because his action of forgiving and accepting another opens up for him the way to reconciliation with God and makes it possible for God’s righteousness to shine among people. If Paul emphasizes that only God’s Son gave satisfaction to cover people’s sins, then he stresses that God forgives a person unconditionally through Christ and that the believer must take up the same attitude towards his fellow-man. In this light the endeavours of Slovene political Catholicism are seen as an attempt to validate the Old Testament talion law/lex talionis, which is the opposite of evangelical teaching and the command of Paul’s theology that our faith is shown through our interpersonal reconciliation and God’s righteousness comes into the world.

UDC 172.3:271/279:929Luther M.

Walter Sparn

Luther’s intolerance and the evangelical command regarding tolerance

Luther was far from the religious tolerance such as nowadays makes it possible in our society for believers of different religions to live together. Actually he demanded tolerance for his own conscience, but he ensured tolerance for others only within the boundaries of what he and his followers counted as evangelical. Luther’s intolerance had deeper causes than the aggressive anti-Islamism and anti-Judaism of his late years. He saw the Turkish threat as part of the apocalyp-

tic drama of the end times, as the herald of Christ's second coming. In the scenario of the history of redemption, summarized according to biblical apocalyptic writings, the deeper foundation of Luther's anti-Judaism is to be found. Jews ought to be converted to Christ.

The exclusion of Jews was also connected with the demand for religious homogeneity, which in the conditions of the state church in modern European history was a diseased focus of intolerance. The religious political principle of *homogeneity* we must consciously and indisputably exclude from the canon of our Christian principles - and on this point we can appeal to Luther, since he raised the distinction between *religious authority* and *political power* into a fundamental principle of leadership of the church and of politics. This distinction abolished what was until then the practically self-explanatory synthesis of *religion* and *political power* which had developed in the Christian state churches.

We can extend our distancing ourselves from Luther's intolerance - with Luther - to our attitude towards non-Christian religions as well. Luther often stressed that the truth which is Christ personally is much richer and more universal than the truth of *our* believing in Christ. Our Christian belief does not include knowledge about *how* Christ is present in religions and *why* he acts there in the way he does. Religious plurality exists because of God's patience, that *tolerantia Dei* which he bestowed on us in Jesus Christ.

Religious tolerance does not mean indifference towards our own faith and its pretensions to truth. Tolerance arising from faith does not mean either overall rejection or overall acknowledgement of some other religion, but its differential theoretical and practical evaluation and behaviour appropriate to the circumstances.

Religious tolerance arising from faith is an essential aspect of *libertas Christiana*.

UDC 271/279:27-72

Miroslav Volf

“Honor everyone!”

Christian faith and the culture of universal respect

In a globalized world with resurgent religions, world peace greatly depends on religious tolerance. Religions are not disappearing. If intolerance is their defining characteristic, religiously inspired and legitimized conflicts are inevitable. In today's intermingled and interdependent world with vibrant and assertive religions, apart from genuinely religious motivation for tolerance, we can expect cold disrespect, zealous intolerance and fierce violence to be the order of the day. So the question is: Are there genuinely religious reasons for tolerance? The ques-

tion could be reformulated as: is intolerance a defining characteristic of religions in general and the Abrahamic faiths (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) in particular or a profound distortion of them? Applied concretely to the Christian faith: Is the Christian faith itself intolerant, or are intolerant Christians bastardizing their own religion? In this essay the author argues that authentic Christian convictions foster not just tolerance but genuine respect for all human beings. For this purpose he zeros in on the biblical grounds for respect. In fact, he concentrates on a single terse, yet direct command: "Honor everyone" (1 Pet. 2:17). For Christians who consider the Holy Scriptures to be the Word of God, to honor everyone is not a mere suggestion or a counsel of prudence, but a strictly religious duty. Hence the author argues that the practice of intolerance and disrespect strains against fundamental Christian convictions and violates an explicit Christian command. At the same time the author also argues that the Christian faith offers significant resources to foster a culture of universal respect, as it provides a foundation for such respect, which cannot be based on merely rational grounds.

UDC 2-11:141.72:396

Nadja Furlan Štante

Women in inter-faith dialogue

Globalization and religious feminism as an intercultural and inter-faith phenomenon

Firstly the article raises the question of the importance of women's inter-faith dialogue, which is of global significance and extent. The basic question is: Why do we need women's inter-faith dialogue and what can it bring us?

The article thus briefly presents various forms of religious feminism with an emphasis on Christian feminist theology. This and different types of religious feminism are placed within a framework of global, intercultural and inter-faith contacts. Due to the extensiveness of different religious feminist movements and their endeavours, discussions have recently started on feminist theology as a special philosophy and theology of religions. In this context, individual religious experiences of women are faced/confronted with the basic experience of exposure and otherness within individual social-religious realities.

The article concludes with a survey of the main characteristics of women's inter-faith dialogue and some important points of the awareness, obstacles and possible methodologies of women's inter-faith dialogue.

UDC 17:27-72

*Matjaž Črnivec***Jesus' social critique**

The article presents Jesus' social critique, as evident from the Gospels and from other New Testament writings. It analyzes it in three concentric circles: the critique of greed, from which follows the critique of money, from which follows the critique of authority as such.

The critique of greed sees greed or "lust" as the essential "centrifugal force" which causes human beings to be selfish. This corresponds to the type of pathologic narcissus, which is characteristic of contemporary consumerist society. Against this power, Jesus sets his *agápe*, love, which moves in the opposite direction and liberates man from the project of "the self".

The critique of money is seen in Jesus' concept of "Mammon", where money is understood as an idol. Money therefore represents an outward manifestation and social concretization of man's internal problem with greed. Escape from the authority of Money is possible by stepping over into radical generosity, by dwelling in the community of Jesus' disciples. This community is a "liberated area", where the enslaving laws of the rest of human society are no longer in force.

The critique of authority reveals social power as a "greedy" exaltation of an individual above the others, mostly with the help of Money. In the New Testament, authority over the world is often associated with Satan. Its evil nature is most clearly visible in the circumstances of Jesus' death, where the leading figures of both the secular and religious authorities joined in collaboration. Here authority over the world is revealed as deicidal. Against this authority God sets his own alternative authority, by raising Jesus to life and confirming him as the Messiah, the ruler of the world and the initiator of a new society.

Finally, the article deals with some typical objections to the viewpoints presented and answers them in the form of eight points or theses that are based on New Testament texts and other early Christian writings.

UDC 167.5:141.81

*Andrej Leskovic***The notion of utopia and the question of utopian consciousness in the philosophy of Ernst Bloch**

With his understanding of the utopian consciousness as an anticipating consciousness that penetrates the world of the possible with the aid of hope and utopian courage, Ernst Bloch opposes any attempts to present utopian thought as old-fashioned. Consequently, his philosophy provides utopian encouragement

for the present time, “a time of apathy and resignation”. In the introductory section, the paper attempts to sketch the significance of Bloch’s contribution to the development of utopian studies, while the second section provides an exposition of the author’s distinction between abstract (closed, static) utopias, which, due to an excessively concrete rendering of *utopicum*, appear to be unfeasible, and concrete (open, dynamic) utopias, which “learned hope” (*docta spes*) prevents from being merely “a breeding ground of illusion”. The third section of the paper is devoted to Bloch’s investigation of the utopian or anticipating consciousness, while also demonstrating his method of searching for ever new utopian perspectives in the major cultural creations of the past.

Key words: Ernst Bloch, utopia, ideology, anticipating consciousness, hope

UDC 27-4:272:929Francišek,papež/089.3

Peter Kovačič Peršin

Pope Francis faced with the dilemmas of the Roman Catholic Church

The election of Pope Francis was planned. He was a personality capable of returning a moral reputation to the Catholic Church, of accelerating moral renewal and carrying through urgent reforms. Shortly after the abdication of Pope Ratzinger, the Italian periodical for geopolitics *Limes* published on its website the statement that the Buenos Aires Cardinal Bergoglio would be the new pope.

The facts themselves at the election show that even in the Vatican, conciliar principles of more democratic behaviour are starting to gain recognition. The first measures undertaken by the new pope dealt with the two most outstanding scandals of the Catholic Church, which Pope Ratzinger had been unequal to. He removed the leadership of the Vatican Bank and demanded transparency in financial dealings also within dioceses. He gave the green light for the arrest of a group of clerics who had recruited boys for paedophile favours for Vatican prelates. Still more telling are his personnel changes. The retirement of the key conservative Cardinal Bertone and his team shows a thorough reform of the Curia. The nomination of Archbishop Pietro Parolin, a man of dialogue, as state secretary means that Pope Francis wants to smooth over the conflicts between the leadership of the Catholic Church and its base, and also conflicts with opponents, especially regarding liberation theology, which the two previous popes ruthlessly suppressed, thus causing a quarter of Latin American Catholics to step over into fundamentalist Christian sects. The pope entered into dialogue with the theologian Hans Küng, author of the Global Ethic project and of dialogue among world religions. He also accepted open dialogue with the public, triggered by the Italian newspaper *La Repubblica* with its editor Eugenio Scalfari, who de-

clares himself an atheist. Dialogue with world religions and with secularized Western society should no longer be authoritative, but democratically open for the truth of the other side. Above all the Vatican must accept dialogue with Catholics in the USA. The nomination of the American Peter Wells to the position of Assessor for General Affairs in the Vatican points to the increased influence of the American Church on the Vatican's politics; the care for the pope's personal security is the responsibility of an American security network.

His key task on the world scale is resolving global social distress and transforming the organization of the world economy. Vatican politics should be re-directed from the area of political interests primarily to social care for the poor majority of the world's inhabitants, to endeavours for the moral transformation of contemporary people, to building dialogue between the peoples and societies of the world; and in the church arena to pastoral care. For this purpose he called a bishops' synod, which should also discuss the family and sexual morals. He sent a questionnaire to the bishops and through them to believers about their views on these matters. This introduction of a democratic testing of opinions in itself represents a new form of dialogue with the believers' "base" and thus abolishes the absolutist authoritarianism of the Church's teaching body.

Pope Bergoglio is changing relations in the Church with his stance as well as with his measures. In this way he also provokes opposition. The success of his reforms will depend primarily on the support of the higher clergy. Personnel "purges" have so far marked his pontificate and remain a precondition for the success of his reforms.

UDC 327(456.31:430)"1933/1944"
341.322.5:282:329.18(430)

France Martin Dolinar

The Roman Catholic Church and the Third Reich

Firstly the author briefly describes the international position of the Holy See after concluding the Lateran Treaty with Italy on 11 February, 1929. This resolved the so-called "Roman Question" and ensured for the Holy See the status of a legal person in international law, although with the important restriction forbidding the Holy See to intervene in international conflicts.

Following the unsuccessful attempt to establish diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia, the Holy See endeavoured to provide legal protection for the Catholic Church in that country after Hitler had assumed power in Germany. This should have been ensured by the Concordat of 1933, but the Nazi regime double-crossed them right at the beginning. The German bishops were not of the same mind as to how to respond to breaches of the legal norms. A minority

(the most obvious representatives were the Berlin bishop Konrad von Preysing and the Münster bishop Clemens August von Galen) espoused taking a firm stand against the government, but the majority let themselves be convinced by the president of the German Episcopal Conference in Fulda, Archbishop Adolf Bertram, that it was wiser to protest against infringements by taking a diplomatic route, since all public condemnations of the Nazi regime always caused even worse violence against its victims. This standpoint was also supported by Pope Pius XII, who always wrapped his protests in diplomatic language, but he encouraged church representatives to give concrete help to those persecuted regardless of their religion or race. Despite the public gratitude expressed by the leading Jewish religious and political representatives directly after the Second World War for the Holy See's contribution in rescuing Jews during the war, shortly after the death of Pope Pius XII the German writer Rolf Hochhuth with his play *Der Stellvertreter* (*The Deputy*) triggered extensive polemics about the pope's presumed wartime silence, which divided both the German and the international public.

UDC 28:27-31

Božidar Debenjak

Die Lehre über Jesus im Koran

Nach einer Einleitung über das Entstehen des Korans folgt die Darstellung der im damaligen Arabien zu vermutenden Form des Christentums: dort fanden insbesondere die Gemeinden Zuflucht, denen byzantinische Glaubenskonflikte fremd waren; sehr stark vertreten waren die Judeochristen; sie folgten strikt dem Gesetz (mitsamt Beschneidung und Nahrungsvorschriften); sie hatten ihre eigenen, mit den kanonischen nicht identische Evangelien. Die griechische Theologie mit ihren Streitfragen über die Natur Christi und über die Dreieinigkeit war ihnen fremd; Jesus war für sie Gottes Knecht, zum Gottessohn geworden (bei der Taufe im Jordan) und nicht schon von seiner Geburt her. Nach der Lehre im Koran liegen drei Stufen des Glaubens an denselben Gott vor: die erste nach dem Gesetz, die zweite nach dem Evangelium, die höchste nach dem Koran. Folgende christliche Doktrinen werden verworfen: die Dreieinigkeit und die Lehre von Jesus als dem geborenen Sohn Gottes. Zwei längere Abschnitte beinhalten Auszüge aus nichtkanonischen Evangelien – über Zacharias und die Geburt Johannes, über Marias Geburt, Mariä Verkündigung, über die Kindheit Jesu und die Wunder, die der kleine Jesus tat. Jesus und das Christentum werden mit Sympathie betrachtet als eine dem Islam verwandte Religion. Aufgrund dessen erhebt sich die Frage: Wie können beide Religionen diese Nähe aufrechterhalten? Diese Frage ist auch darum wichtig, weil ohne die Mitarbeit der großen Weltreligionen keine andere Welt entstehen kann.

UDC 274(497.4):27-28

*Kozma Abačič***Cerkovna ordninga, Articuli, abecedarium, catechisms – and Dalmatin’s master’s thesis**

The article draws attention to five new finds of books by 16th-century Protestant writers: the *Catechismus* (Catechism) of 1561 in both Glagolitic and Cyrillic script, *Ta pervi deil Noviga testamenta* (The First Part of the New Testament) and *Articuli* (The Articles) by Primož Trubar from 1557–1558 and 1562, Jurij Dalmatin’s master’s thesis, *De catholica et catholicis* (1572), and *Cerkovna ordninga* (Church Order) of 1564. The last mentioned involves the new find of what is now the second extant copy of this work, discovered in October 2013 by Ulrich D. Oppitz, and stresses its significance and the differences compared with the previously only known copy. The author particularly points out the interesting handwritten additions in the book, which represent the first extant written source intended exclusively for a woman reader.

Primož Trubar was officially prevented from printing his *Catechismus* and *Abecedarium* (both 1550) by the prohibition of the inspectors in Nürnberg as well as in Schwäbisch Hall. It was therefore decided that the two books should be printed in Tübingen at the printer’s Ulrich Morhart. On the basis of new findings about letters and the initial letter L in the first two Slovene books, the author offers a new interpretation regarding the place of printing and the printer who produced the two books. Trubar made an agreement with Peter Frentz (also *Frentius* or *Frentzius*), a printer in Schwäbisch Hall, and very probably also with Mihael Grätter (also *Gretter*), a “Christian preacher” in the same place, that the two books would be printed secretly in Frentz’s workshop while Trubar was absent. Probably this was not particularly difficult as printing works were generally not inspected, while Trubar’s absence further reduced the danger that anyone would notice what was happening. Moreover, if anyone in Schwäbisch Hall knew of such a project (perhaps even the town authorities), it would not cost them anything to permit such a secret project, since they were primarily concerned with not offending higher authorities. And if the secret printing in Schwäbisch Hall succeeded, Trubar would not reveal it anywhere, especially as it would be extremely imprudent to inform the authorities of his (and the printer’s) infringement of the Augsburg Interim and the express prohibition.

This interpretation is based on a recent comparison of this printed material with those of other printing houses and on a repeated analysis and interpretation of the sources which throw light on the origin of these two works by Trubar. The new findings also explain the problems encountered so far in deciding the year of publication of the *Catechismus*.

UDC 322(430)"1933/1945":27

*Marko Kerševan***Hitler's God: Nazism and/as religion and its relation towards Catholicism and Protestantism**

The lecture, or rather the article, is concerned with the relation of Nazism towards religion and the Church (as an extension of the lectures, which primarily treated the relation of the Christian churches towards Nazism); Hitler's views are given special attention. The Nazis always presented themselves as believers in God (as Gottgläubig) and as such placed themselves in opposition to "godless Bolshevism and Communism". They looked for a faith which would "suit the (German) nation and race". In this area some of them (as Deutsche Christen) tried to "cleanse" and complement Christianity, while others (such as Rosenberg, Himmler and his followers) "renewed" and developed some variants of German or national (völkische) religion, and still others differentiated between a (Nazi) "worldview" (Weltanschauung) and religion/religions: racist anti-Semitism as part of the obligatory worldview for all Germans was here conceived of as a national-political and scientific matter, and not as a religious matter and taking of sides. We can observe in Hitler an aversion to Christianity as well as to the offered new or old religions. It seems he tried to combine "abstract" faith in God and God's foresight with exalting the importance of science. He was led by political pragmatism, which led him to postpone his reckoning with the churches until the period after the "final victory": until then they should avoid (anti)religious attacks and conflicts and decisively suppress only the churches' opposition to Nazi policies (in national and "racist" questions).

Due to its historical effectiveness, Hitler both admired and hated the Roman Catholic Church (as a serious rival). But he scorned Protestantism as an opponent, because it was weaker and not united. Luther's sharp verbal attacks on the Jews and the Judaism of his time served the Nazis well; they also exploited Lutheran teaching about the "two kingdoms" ("two regiments") as an argument for excluding the Church from political and secular matters. But actually and potentially it was precisely Protestantism and Luther's Reformation that in their essence were in the deepest conflict with Nazism. Lutheran/Protestant Christianity is "Pauline Christianity": the apostle Paul was for Nazi ideologists the main source and symbol of everything they rejected in Christianity. It was not by chance that one of the sharpest theological opponents of Nazism was Karl Barth, who gained his reputation and influence in contemporary theology precisely with his treatment of Paul's Letter to the Romans. Barth was also the leading author of the Barmen Declaration of 1934, with which German Protestants made a stand theologically against the Nazi orientation both within and outside the Church. For churches and Christians even today this Declaration is a signpost between

the Scylla of “Christian” sacralizations of the nation, state, leader and other secular values and the Charybdis of “spiritual”/dualistic scorning or even rejection of “earthly realities”.

UDC 274(497.5+497.4)"15":271/279

Vincenc Rajšp

The connections between the Slovene and the Croatian Reformation

The cooperation between the Slovene Reformers and the Reformation in Croatia was important. In publishing Protestant books in the Slovene language, Primož Trubar also thought of the Croats right from the beginning. Preachers from Slovenia also preached in Croatia in the spirit of the Reformation. In general the most important contacts took place during the time of the Urach printing works, led by Primož Trubar, while its operation was made possible by Baron Ivan Ungnad. The province of Carniola had the closest links with the Reformation movement in Croatia. At Metlika in Carniola the preacher Vlahović was active in the Croatian language, he also had the important role of evaluating the Croatian books that were printed in Urach. Carniola had close links with Protestant preachers on the military frontier. The province played a significant part in disseminating Croatian Protestant books.

UDC 271/279:94(497.4Maribor+497.4Ptuj)

Žiga Oman

Die Reformation auf dem Dravsko polje: die frühneuzeitlichen Gemeinden der Augsburger Konfession um Maribor und Ptuj

Das Jahrhundert der Reformation auf dem Dravsko polje (Draufeld), von den ersten Erwähnungen der neuen Religion 1528 bis zum Tode der letztbekanntesten Evangelischen 1637, folgte den Ereignissen im Land. In Maribor (Marburg an der Drau) verankerte sich die Augsburger Konfession in der bürgerlichen Führungsschicht schon vor Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts, erlangte die Oberhand noch vor dem Grazer Landtag 1572, und hielt sich noch ein Vierteljahrhundert an der Spitze. In Ptuj (Pettau) hatten die Evangelischen eine solche Übermacht, wie es scheint, nie erlangt. Trotzdem waren sie zumindest seit obengenannter Jahreszahl kein unbedeutender Faktor in der Stadt. Dabei sind die dortigen Ereignisse aufgrund mangelnder Quellen wesentlich schlechter belegt als die in Maribor. Das standhafte Auftreten des gegenreformatorischen Klerus um 1587 drang die evangelischen Gemeinden auf dem Dravsko polje, die stets vom Adel geleitet wurden, zur Errichtung einer eigenen kirchlichen Organisation. Bis dahin hatten

sie das nicht wirklich nötig, da sie sich auf die Strukturen der katholischen Pfarren stützen konnten, vor allem in Maribor. So organisierten sich die hiesigen Gemeinden im Draufelder Bezirk der Augsburgischen Konfession, der durch die entscheidende Hilfe der Landstände beim Schloss Betnava (Windenua) ein eigenes Kirchen- und Schulzentrum errichtete. Das Zentrum war in den Jahren 1589–1600 aktiv und ermöglichte die letzte Blütezeit der hiesigen evangelischen Gemeinden, vor allen der Marburgerischen. Dabei gehörte zu ihnen, trotz des überwiegend deutschen Charakters, stets auch die slowenische Bevölkerung. Den entscheidenden Schlag bekamen sie alle Anfang des Jahres 1600 durch die Gegenreformation. Trotzdem bedeutete die Vernichtung des Windenauer Zentrums und die (Re-)Katholisierung nicht das sofortige Verschwinden der hiesigen Evangelischen. Besonders widerstandsfähig war die Pettauer Gemeinschaft die zum größten Teil aus Frauen bestand, obwohl die kleinere Marburgerische (Krypto-)Protestantische Gemeinde länger fortbestehen blieb. Manche Gläubige blieben auch nach der endgültigen Ausweisung des evangelischen Adels 1629.

UDC 321.64:27(430) "1933/1945"

France Martin Dolinar

The Roman Catholic Church in Germany during the Third Reich

In their joint pastoral letter of 23 August 1945 the German Catholic bishops acknowledged with sadness that during the Second World War part of the Roman Catholic population had collaborated in the crimes of the Nazi regime "against human freedom and human dignity". The older generation of German bishops had experienced Hitler's rise to power under the impression of the cultural war, which in its consequences exercised an important influence on the German Catholic Church far into the 20th century. When Hitler came to power, the population of somewhat over 69 million Germans was almost two thirds Protestant and one third Catholic, while the biggest religious minority was Jewish. A significant role in Hitler's assumption of power was played by one of the most influential German Catholic politicians of that time, Franz von Papen, and alongside him the Catholic Centre Party, as both underestimated Hitler's aggressive nature and cunning tactics in the struggle for unrestricted power within the state. In 1930 the president of the Episcopal Conference in Fulda, Cardinal Adolf Bertram, warned of the danger of exaggerated nationalism and the growth of racial intolerance. Then the following year the Catholic bishops drew attention in a special declaration to the incompatibility of Christianity and Nazi ideology. The fateful turnabout came after the Concordat of 1933 was concluded and after Hitler's reassuring yet misleading declarations in favour of the Catholic Church, which led the bishops to conditionally revoke their prohibition on

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Catholics joining Hitler's party. The ban on the party's ideological orientation naturally remained in force. The systematic infringement of the Concordat's decrees, the infringement of basic human rights, the euthanasia programme and the holocaust against the Jews united the bishops in a decisive condemnation of the Nazi regime's ideology. The bishops also made an important contribution to the contents of the encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* (1937) of Pope Pius XI. But they differed in their way of expressing their protest against the criminal activities of the Nazi party. The government simply ignored the numerous diplomatically polished protest notes of Cardinal Bertram, while the public were not informed about them at all. In their sermons and pastoral letters the Berlin bishop Konrad von Preysing and the Münster bishop Clemens August von Galen publicly condemned the crimes of Hitler's regime. The strictness of loyalty to the ruling authorities, based on Paul's Letter to the Romans, saying that every authority is from God (13:1), Bishop Galen followed up with Peter's words in The Acts of the Apostles that regarding breaches of basic human rights "We must obey God rather than any human authority" (5:29). Many Catholic priests paid with their lives for giving active support and rescuing Jews. The same was true of Catholic priests and lay people who were actively involved in subversive anti-Nazi resistance. Unfortunately, during the Second World War the German Episcopal Conference failed to be united in making a decisive public protest against the crimes of Nazism, as it succeeded in doing after the war.

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