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SLOVENE PRE-MODERN LITERATURE IN LITERARY STUDIES AFTER 1990

This survey is structured according to periods and writers. In view of recent discoveries, it begins with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Roman Catholic writings and new revelations on pre-Enlightenment literature, which was thought to be all but non-existent. It encompasses a broad spectrum of religious genres—for example, the Osp passion, books of theological meditations (the Skalar MS, *Bukve svete Gertrudis* [The writings of St. Gertrude]), the life of Christ, lives of the saints, homilies, ways of the cross, hymnals, prophecies, and many minor forms. Next I consider Protestant writings and secular literature before France Prešeren. There have been numerous sociological, historical, and theological publications. I deal in detail only with individual publications, leaving aside survey publications and baccalaureate, M.A. theses, and dissertations.

Key words: religious literature, seventeenth century, eighteenth century, sixteenth century, manuscripts

1 The Catholic seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

1.1 Recently discovered manuscripts of Slovene literature

The greatest accomplishment in research into pre-modern literature during recent decades has been **Neznani rokopisi slovenskega slovstva** (Unknown manuscripts of Slovene literature), part of Matija Ogrin's project at ZRC SAZU (Academic Research Center of the Slovene Academy of Arts and Sciences). It includes a listing of 176 manuscripts and descriptions of 107 manuscripts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. 7,011 pages have already been scanned, some of which have been until now unknown; for instance, the 700-page *Poljanski rokopis*; the passion from Osp; and the meditation on The Four Final Things, *Smrt, sodpa, peku, nebesku kraljestvu* (Death, judgment, hell, the heavenly kingdom). These and individual publications deriving from the project are not only new discoveries but a new chapter in Slovene literary history. In the popular consciousness, the time between the Reformation and *Pisanice* almanac is a dormant period with such exceptions as Janez Svetokriški, Rogerij, and the *Škofjeloški pasijon* (Škofja Loka passion). If, for example, we take *Zgodovina slovenskega slovstva 1*, 1956 (History of Slovene literature 1; Slovenska matica, 1956), 185 pages are on Slovene literature before *Pisanice*, with twenty-eight on the Catholic Counter-Reformation. The project demonstrates that it is erroneous to judge literature of these centuries only on the basis of print publications and to draw a conclusion about "stasis." Ogrin (2011b: 385) finds Rupel's opinion in *Zgodovina slovenskega slovstva* telling: "Given the numerous print publications in the eighteenth

century, manuscripts in general are not of as much importance as in older times when there was a paucity of literature.” For whom are they not important? For us? Today? They indeed were important to the public of the day, and this is key, because the time before mandatory schooling was a time of oral culture (songs were sung, homilies were delivered, passions were played) and manuscript culture, which had a different

idea of what it meant to publish a work. Even during the Slovene Baroque, manuscripts were lean, and readers understood and received the texts in these manuscripts as finished works... And manuscripts reveal the period, we might say, in its rightful image: they show its diversity, as well as the breadth and number of texts that appeared; however, later, when our idea of what a finished literary work is and ought to be, manuscripts were no longer preserved in cultural memory. (OGRIN, JAVORŠEK, ERJAVEC 2011: 338)

It was first necessary to locate the manuscripts in public and private archives and to decide what in general to search for. Next came the determination of “what kind of text confronted us, what were its contents and genre? Who was its author? Was the text ‘original,’ translated, or adapted? When and where did it originate?” Here the disciplines of archival studies, historical bibliography, codicology (paper and watermarks must sometimes be analyzed for dating), paleography, and the classic (comparative) methods of literary studies come into play. The goals, methods, and conclusions are on the project website. Among the general conclusions is that the

preponderance of texts from this period come out of the Catholic religious heritage, relying on Scriptures and the lives of the saints; however, very many also come from non-institutional, pseudo-canonical, apocryphal, and popular literary sources. Further, this literature in various ways diverges from pure canonical texts in the direction of literariness, narrative, symbol, and the aesthetic, without diminishing its religious import, but lending it greater convincingness and genuineness. (Neznani rokopisi slovenskega slovstva, web.)

Matija Ogrin is the main interpreter of this corpus of Slovene literature. (He has also written a good deal on the principles of digital scholarly publishing.)¹ He has pointed out general shortcomings in literary history: Svetokriški and Rogerij’s Capuchin homilies were called Franciscan, while not one Franciscan homily was attested (*Ogrin* 2011c: 232). This would seem innocuous, had it not resulted in a mistaken typology with two kinds of homilies, Franciscan and Jesuit (Basar). Since the Franciscans had developed a full network of seminaries (they had three-year schools of theology on the provincial level, and a seven-year school on the level of the order, with one of them having opened in Ljubljana in 1593), and since both the Franciscans and Capuchins have a pastoral mission, it would seem improbable that not one Slovene homily was preserved. It is true that no print versions are known, but manuscripts keep turning up.

First Ogrin researched the Franciscan Anton **Brešan** (1638–1708), Evgen **Lauer** (1722–71), and Advkt **Nikiš** (1740–88) homilies (Ogrin 2009, 2011c). Old sources

¹ Ogrin avoids fruitless speculations about whether something belongs to the Baroque or elsewhere, because the definitions of literary periods are unclear and conflicting; therefore, most assertions that “X belongs to the Baroque” are incomprehensible and unverifiable.

from 1808 cite six printed books (!) of Brešan's Slovene homilies and fifteen manuscripts, including *Biblia Pauperum* and a handbook of homilies: "If this opus had been preserved, it would be impressive." (OGRIN 211c: 232) Unfortunately, until now only three Slovene homilies and a long work in Latin, *Vita Christi*, have been found. Ogrin precisely analyzes the homilies—for instance, there is the analysis of a homily for the Epiphany: the homily has the three classic parts, the introduction is also tripartite, containing a citation from the Gospel (the three kings "will return to their country by another way"). Brešan first states the theme, which he then explains three times in the introduction—first philosophically, then with careful illustrations, and concluding with an exegesis of the allegorical (symbolic) meaning of the excerpt. In the philosophical part Brešan explains God's goodness as a necessary quality of the deity and thus introduces the key philosophical problem of the concept of God: if God is not good, then there is no God, which is to say if the being lacks one of the qualities traditionally assigned to him, then we are dealing with another being. Brešan's interpretation of the allegory follows: the arrival of the kings at Herod's is a symbol of the human fall from grace, and their decision not to inform Herod of Jesus's birth but return to their country by another way is a symbol of the human way out of sin. Ogrin stylistically analyzes the second, central part of the homily with three examples and demonstrates Brešan's rhetorical substance (and the stability of literary norms). The third part of the homily is not preserved.

To note briefly Ogrin's other publications, in 2009, the Capuchin **Ferdinand Ljubljanski's** (about 1684–1740) opus was uncovered, now numbering fifty-eight homilies in manuscript on 500 pages bound into a book. They were delivered in Škofja Loka, Kranj, Ljubljana, and Trieste. Ferdinand's hand can also be seen in the *Škofjeloški pasijon* (Škofja Loka passion). A homily discovered in Novo mesto, where he did not preach, indicates that he wrote even more and that his works were circulated and borrowed. *Bukve Svete Gertrudis* (Writings of St. Gertrude; Ogrin 2011b) from 1745 is a 450-page manuscript of the saint's spiritual revelations, songs, prayers, litanies, and other forms. It is an adaptation of a German text (Gertrudenbücher) that arose on the basis of the thirteenth-century German mystic's visions. One of Ogrin's largest finds was the 700-page *Poljanski rokopis* (Poljane manuscript) of 1799, which is so-called ascetic literature about Jesus's life, *vita Christi*. Besides a description of the life, it contains theological commentaries and reports of several saints' mystical visions in a combination of theology and legend. It is "the first and only known example of this particular genre in Slovene." One of the translation sources could have been the well-known *Das Grosse Leben Jesu* by Martin von Cochem, who lived in the seventeenth century. Even more importantly, the manuscript is probably a copy of a 900-page, unfortunately unpreserved manuscript from fifty years prior (OGRIN 2011b: 395). *Dober legent teh svetnikov* (Good legends of the saints; Ogrin 2011c) is an eighteenth-century Carinthian manuscript. With 1,032 pages that constitute a translation of one-half of Martin Cochemski's 1705 *Legenden der Heiligen*, it is the largest work of the century. This is hagiography, easily the favorite reading of the "people"—that is, for the people. It came from the Urban Jarnik archive. Jakob Sket described it already in 1886. Ogrin takes up genre questions, distinguishing between homilies, stories, legends according to the degree of fictiveness in the narratives about historically attested saints.

The Skalar Manuscript, which has been known since Jernej Kopitar's time, is a codex of four religious texts from the mid-seventeenth century. Monika Deželak Trojar (e.g., 2010) and Ogrin (e.g., 2010) have researched it a number of times from literary, codicological, and paleographic perspectives and determined the authorship, sources, genre, and composition. The manuscript was published in 2011. It comprises three books and one fragment: the meditation *Shulla tiga premislhluuana* (School of meditation) and the philosophical speculation *Exemplar od suetiga Bonaventura* (The exemplar of St. Bonaventure) are translations; *Vsakdanie spomishlane vernih karshanskich dushiz* (Daily meditations for faithful Christina souls) is incomplete and the author unknown; *Vselaj inu nikoli, to ie vezhnost* (Forever and never, this is eternity) is probably by Skalar. The three texts were most probably prepared for printing in three books. *Schulla* is a translation of the Franciscan Joannes Wolf's German work, which Deželak Trojar found in a Vienna library; she did the comparison in Göttingen. In the case of *Exemplar*, she concluded that it is not a translation of Bonaventure's *Breviloquium* but probably of a 1608 German book, *Breuilquium St. Bonaventurae. Das ist ein Exemplarun Vorbild des Menschlichen Lebens*, which she found in Berlin. Despite the title, it is not the *Breviloquium*: it remains an open question as to what Wolf was translating. It most resembles Bonaventure's *Soliloquium*. The latter two texts introduced the new genre of meditative prose ("that treats especially moral questions and is marked by a meditative approach to spiritual and mystical topics" (OGRIN 2010: 130) into Slovene letters. The excerpt *Vsakdanie spomishlane* introduces a new theme, of pondering the dignity of human nature, which is "founded on the conjoining of divine and human nature in Christ" (OGRIN 2010: 145). The Medieval denigration of the world and humans, *contemptus mundi*, is now gone. *Vselaj inu nikoli* is the first Slovene text on the quandary of hell and damnation. It portrays hell in numerous lively, graphic illustrations, and is the first Slovene example of ascetic literature (visions of the next world, communications from the dead). Ogrin describes the books composition and surveys the authors cited, thus demonstrating Skalar's broad theological erudition.

Despite the fact that they are manuscripts, the texts we encounter in the project *Neznani rokopisi* are not private texts "apart from public life and social import" (Ogrin 2011b): preachers traveled the entire Slovene territory, including Trieste, speaking in overflowing churches (illiterate people had no other spiritual and intellectual nourishment); members of fraternities (lay religious groups) borrowed meditative texts (now thoroughly blackened from use) from each other. The project is ongoing. It is only a shame that when Emperor Joseph disbanded the Jesuits, almost all of their Slovene literature was lost.

1.2 The Škofja Loka passion

A great accomplishment has been the digitalization of the *Passion* and the discovery of its date of origin (Ogrin was the main collaborator on the project). The passion is on the website Elektronske in znanstvenokritične izdaje slovenskega slovstva (Digital and scholarly critical editions of Slovene literature) in a format that corresponds

to standards of scholarly electronic publications: a scan, a diplomatic and critical transcriptions of contents with translations of non-Slovene texts, and simultaneous display of all three items. The commentaries provide codicological and paleographic descriptions and the detective work on dating, the time staging began, and further performances (it was written in 1725 and played from 1713 on), though intermittent (1721, 1727, 1728, and 1734), unlike German versions. There are arguments against the 1721 date: if the text appeared and the first performance was in 1721, then the following statements would be meaningless: “*the permanent guardian* of the procession... is the fraternity,” “*this time* the treasurer was,” “the right noble Kosem had *until now always* given a horse,” and “the casket is born by fourteen men, who *have always been* burghers.” Further, folio 2r, dated 1721, is on different paper, in a different handwriting,² and is not cotemporaneous with the main text; it is recorded in it that the presbytery had given permission for 23 May 1721, while Good Friday had been on 11 March 1721 (May 1721 probably refers to a new legal for the performance). Krištof of Gradec (1713–22) is recorded as the provincial who gives permission for the procession, but in the main text Gotthard (1725–27) is recorded as the provincial. This means that the main text was written *after* 1725 and bound into the codex of 1730. When did performances begin? Based on letters appended to the codex, we can conclude it was 1713. One of the arguments is that the leader of the procession says in one letter that popular uprisings were in the making and there is talk of war. This probably refers to the Tolmin peasant uprising of 1713, which threatened to spread to the Loka realm. From the fact that different fraternities are named as sponsors, and the codex contains lists of different scenes, etc., we can conclude that this was a long tradition and that the 1725 recording simply fixed the tradition. Letters of invitation indicate annual and not occasional performances. Ogrin refutes the thesis that the Loka passion was the only one in Slovene, and that all other known passions were in German in the following way: Folio 14, in which there is the German-Slovene song “Slavo Kristusu skažimo” (We praise Christ), is older than the central text; it could well have been a fragment of another Slovene passion. Three years later, Ogrin (2011b) found a page inserted among Ferdinand Ljubljanski’s homilies, on the margin of which is the note, “Christus gehet dem Garten zu, Vide 4te Vorstellung.” Here Ferdinand is speaking of the passion scene where Jesus goes to the Mount of Olives. Since other recorded versions of the passion³ do not mention this scene, it appears that Ferdinand had a passion that we are not familiar with. The passion tradition, then, goes back at least to 1713⁴. Romuald received the passion in 1715 and wrote it down in 1725. Ferdinand Ljubljanski received it next, and it was staged every year, although it was not the only passion in Slovene.

² Three years later he concluded that the author of folio 2r was Ferdinand Ljubljanski (OGRIN 2011b). Together with Deželak Trojar he hypothesized that Ferdinand received the Loka procession after Romuald.

³ Commentaries on e-passions have a key to scenes, which are described in lists of performances of Capuchin passions in Slovenia at the time.

⁴ Later the Slovene passion from Osp, from between 1625 and 1675, was found and included in the collection *Neznani rokopisi* in 2011.

1.3 Svetokriški and other authors of homilies

The *Zbornik o Janezu Svetokriškem* (Studies on Janez Svetokriški) was published with a facsimile of his *Sacrum promptuarium*. Lojzka Bratuž writes about three unknown eighteenth-century collections of homilies from Goriško, Josip Bratulič about the connection between the Croation Štefan Zagrebec and Svetokriški, and Štefan Kožuh and Angel Kralj fill out Lionelij's biography based on archival materials (he was certainly born in 1647 near Sv. Križ, studied in Zagreb and Celje, was anointed a sub deacon in Zagreb, but it is not known when he was anointed a priest). Boštjan Turk argues that we should take Pohlin's note in *Biblioteca Carnioliae* on Lioneli's membership in the Akademija operozov seriously. Marko Juvan (2000) surveys some of the main types of intertextual references in Svetokriški, Rogerij, and Basar's texts. They are primarily moral examples, allusions to topoi, and quotations of aphorisms, which are among the main means of argumentation in homilies. A small book of studies—one literary (Pogačnik), one linguistic (Orel), and a third theological (Mlinar)—was published with a facsimile of **Rogerij's** *Palmarium* (2001). No one has treated work of Jernej **Basar**. Viktorijan Demšar published Peter Pavel **Glavar's** homilies with the Mohorjeva house in 1991, and Lojzka **Bratuž** published *Attems' Slovenske pridige* (Slovene homilies) in Trieste in 1993.

1.4 Church hymnals

Scholars have identified about 250 manuscript hymnals (*Tinjska rokopisna pesmarica*, 7). Three have been published recently: the *Martjanci*, *Tinje*, and *Loka*. All three are from near or across the border. The *Martjanci* has been known to scholars for quite some time; the other two were recently discovered and described for the first time. None of them contain melodies; all three were used in the liturgy; the *Martjanci* also contains secular songs.

1.4.1 The book version of the *Martjanci Hymnal* (the manuscript is in Maribor) has an eighty-page commentary by Vilko Novak that precisely explains the structure, religious character, age, sources, recorders, language, and similarities to other, in particular Croatian hymnals. It originated in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. The contents of the 211 songs: The first three parts are liturgical songs; the fourth is religious songs for school instruction; the fifth part is somewhat alien—it contains love songs and one historical song (about Nikola Zrinski and the Battle of Siget). Religious character: most of the hymnal was written between 1592 and 1672, when the *Martjanci* people were Lutheran. Both Protestants and Catholics wrote or translate the songs, and both sang them. This was complicated: one large group of liturgical songs is pre-Reformation; a smaller group are newer, Protestant songs. Novak's apparently contradictory assertions can confuse us to a degree—for example, “by origin and use, the MP is Lutheran” (14), as against statements that the majority of liturgical songs are Catholic (22, 24, 26). This means that the sources of most are Catholic, but their content was also acceptable to Protestants, who wrote down most of the songs

and used them for eighty years. After 1672, the hymnal passed into Catholic hands. Nationality: older Croatian historians in particular consider it the oldest document in Croatian Kajkavian poetry; songs from it are constants in Croatian anthologies. There were preparations in Zagreb to publish it already in 1942. The language of the hymnal is Kajkavian along with Prekmurje dialect: the Catholic parishes around Martjanci were until 1777 under bishop of Zagreb (Martjanci pod Győr), and the “secondary liturgical” language for prayers, songs, and homilies was Croatian.

1.4.2 The Tinje Hymnal in manuscript from Rakole, near Tinje in Austrian Carinthia was published in book form in 2005. Pavle Zdovc was the first to publish it in transliteration, in 2000, together with a precise linguistic commentary. The new edition comes with eleven studies. The non-linguistic ones are on versification and stanzas (by Bjelčević), the songs’ sources (by Štefan Ferenčak), the melodies (Engelbert Logar), and the contents (Marijan Smolik). The hymnal was written or copied in 1839, but the texts are, of course, older. It contains eighty-nine songs that follow the calendar year from Advent to the Feast of Corpus Christi. Most of the songs are “(para)liturgical”⁵—that is, intended for singing at Mass, though not all of them. The sources of the Tinje Hymnal are Latin and German. Some of the translations are very old; for example, the Carinthian variant of “Kristus je od smrti vstov” (Christ is risen from the dead). Ferenčak cites specific sources and comparisons. There are no musical notes: lay writers did not record notes because they knew the melodies by heart. Logar conjectured the melodies on the bases of comparisons with other hymnals that have them. I described the verse and stanza repertoire of all the songs. There are sixty-two kinds of stanzas, which is above average for a popular hymnal, and some are also unusually complex, showing the sophistication of popular literature.

1.4.3 The Loška cerkvena pesmarica (Loka church hymnal), found several years ago, has recently been published. It contains forty songs without melodies, is entitled *Bukle sa zirkovne in boshie pesmi* (The book of church and divine songs), and comes from Loče near Lake Baško (Faaker See) in Austrian Carinthia. It is probably from 1829, as it is dated, but came into being over time. There is an accompanying critical description and transcription, with nine studies appended. Many people wrote the hymnal over a long period. It is signed by “Wohinz, church singer,” a layman. It is the kind of hymnal in which singers recorded songs themselves when they sang them in church. Unlike the Martjanci and Tinje Hymnals, the songs are not ordered according to church holidays (although there are holiday, such as Christmas and Easter, songs),

⁵ Not all religious songs are intended to be sung in church; for example, Ahacij Stržinar’s hymnal was intended for religious education. Before 1970, when the Mass was in Latin, only Latin songs, precisely prescribed, were liturgical in the strict sense. Slovene songs were sung along with Latin songs, so in fact they were paraliturgical, being sung by choice of the faithful or the organist, and not by prescription. P. Folk’s Mass songs came with the Josephine liturgical reforms of 1783. These songs were prescribed, but they were sung along with Latin liturgical songs and not in place of them, as seen in the titles “h Glorii, h Credu, k Sanctusu” (With the Gloria, With the Creed, With the Sanctus; PODSTENŠEK 2012: 160). Slovene Mass songs were translations of German ones (two Mass songs were in use in Austria, *Wir werfen uns darnieder* and *Hier liegt vor deiner Majestät*), which were translated by Japelj in Carinthia and Gutsman in Carinthia already in 1784.

and the singers probably did not intend to create an organized hymnal. PODSTENŠEK (2012: 164) presumes that these songs differ from those in comparable late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century hymnals. The Loka Hymnal's effects are easier to discern than its sources: its songs are found in the later Tinja and Šmiklavška manuscript hymnals, and in the Majarjeva and Bichlerjeva hymnals, which were printed. Engelbert Logar deduced the melodies for these songs as well.

1.4.4 The metrics of church and secular songs before Prešeren. There have not been many other studies of church songs. I have written on the metrics and stanzas of church songs in a number of places, most extensively in 2004, and more narrowly, but precisely in 2002. I devised a verse and stanza repertoire (Janez Höfler had previously done this in part in his 1975 dissertation) of the main Protestant hymnal *Ta celi katekizmus, Kalobši rokopis* (A full catechism, the Kalobje Manuscript); of the Stržinar, Paglovec, and Lavrenčič Hymnals; Sommaripa and Bled songs; and the songs from *Evangelijev inu listov* (The Gospels and writings). In 1988, I published in "Slava" the verse and stanza repertoire of all known **secular songs before Pisanice**, and later the repertoires of Pavel Knobl, Leopold Volkmer, Štefan Modrinjak, Valentin Stanič, and part of Valentin Vodnik's poetry. Peter Svetina (2007) later used these two repertoires to ascertain the source of Vodnik's stanzas, while I used them for Urban Jarnik and Prešeren's stanzas. Thousands of kinds of stanzas exist, some of the two thousand years old, and many secular poems from Prešeren's on stem from the church (including the Latin) repertoire. Of course, there are very many hymnals that are not described, the most interesting of which is the Martjanci, because it comes from the Hungarian repertoire. Škulj (2001) collected the melodies of five eighteenth-century Catholic hymnals, from Kastelec (1678) through Stržinar, Lavrenčič, and Redeskini, and to Majar (1846).

1.4.5 Andrej Šuster Drabosnjak was published at the beginning of the 1990s by the Mohorjeva house in Celovec. Herta Lausegger (Drabosnjak 1992) sent an autograph, possibly by Drabosnjak, to the graphologist Anton Trstenjak at the Center for Criminal Investigations in Ljubljana. Criminologists confirmed that the *Pastirska igrá 1* and *2* (A nativity play 1 and 2), *Igra o izgubljenem sinu* (A play about the prodigal son), *Bukvice od Drabosnjaka* (Writings by Drabosnjak), *Molitvene bukvice* (Prayers), and *Bukvice od svetega križa* (Writings about the Holy Cross) were indeed by Drabosnjak. Trstenjak did not think that *Pastirska igrá 1* was Drabosnjak's work. The remaining works by Drabosnjak (e.g., *Marijin pasijon*) are later copies.

2 The Reformation and Protestantism

2.1 Primož Trubar

There have been hundreds of articles, theses, and dissertations (including in linguistics, theology, etc.) on Trubar, especially around the 500-year anniversary of his birth. On the other hand, according to the Cobiss library system, from 1990 to the

present we have only seven substantial publications and theses on Sebastian Krelj, three on Jurij Juričič, just over fifty on Jurij Dalmatin, and about twenty on Peter Pavel Vergerij, half of which are conference papers. Since 1990, there have been two Ph.D. dissertations on Trubar, both in linguistics, and one on Dalmatin, in literature. Jonatan Vinkler (2011) wrote a monograph on Trubar on the basis of previous publications. Probably the most important publication is the *Zbrana dela Primoža Trubarja* (Collected works of Primož Trubar). There have been five print and one digital volume. Igor Grdina is the editor-in-chief. Vinkler wrote extensive commentaries for volumes 3 and 4. In 2005, a “journal of problems of Protestantism” (not only Slovene, and not only Lutheran) entitled *Stati inu obstati* began annual publication. Igor Grdina has written about Trubar and the Reformation from a broad perspective, synthetically, and comparatively. Kozma Ahačič (2007) treated a number of things that have a bearing on literary studies in general in his monumental book on Protestantism, including the role of reading and listening, finances, book buying and selling, translating, and rhetoric.

Many researchers (e.g., Kerševan, Jezernik, Grdina, and Vitorovič) have thematized so-called cultural protagonists who were important to national identity formation. These were people in times critical to the nation. The Reformation gave Slovenes Trubar, and Romanticism gave them Prešeren, who occupies the vacant place of a writer of the “national awakening.” If we measure importance by the number of symposia at one-hundred-year anniversaries, then Trubar is the Slovene icon with about fifteen, as compared to two or three on Prešeren’s two-hundred-year anniversary in 2000. Trubar’s importance gained from Kopitar on, and decisively since the beginning of the twentieth century, including during the famous disputes at the four-hundredth anniversary. Further, it is significant that the number of people who have actually read the first book in Slovene numbers, I believe, in the dozens.⁶

In the 1980s, Marko Kerševan often recalled that it was primarily linguists and literary historians who studied Trubar. To what extent does the Reformation interest literary historians today? I counted the articles in the eight⁷ jubilee collections (I included all three that philologists had edited, the first three in the list in note 7), and the portion that had to do with literary topics. Of the 196 articles, about twenty-two were in literary studies, or eleven percent. When I set aside the three philological collections, the percentage dropped to five percent. The portion of linguistic articles is much greater at about seventy, or thirty-six percent. It was somewhat different in the 1980s, around the four-hundred-year anniversary of Trubar’s death. Thirteen of a total of seventy-four articles in four collections⁸ were on literature, or seventeen

⁶ When journalists asked passersby in Isaac Newton’s hometown why he was important, the result was equally insignificant.

⁷ *Prodorne in preroške misli* (Piercing and prophetic thoughts), *Trubarjeva številka SR* 2008. [A Trubar issue of *Slavistična revija*], *Reformacija na Slovenskem* (Reformation in Slovenia), *Jeziki in identitete* (Languages and identities), *Primož Trubar* (Primož Trubar; Rome, 2009), *Die Reformation in Mitteleuropa* (pregledni članki o reformaciji na Slovenskem, Hrvaškem, Slovaškem, Poljskem idr. [survey articles on the Reformation in Slovenia, Croatia, Poland, and elsewhere]), *Vera in hotenja* (Faith and desires), *450-letnica slovenske knjige* (the 450-year anniversary of the Slovene book).

⁸ *Družbena in kulturna podoba slovenske reformacije* (The social and cultural shape of the Slovene Reformation), *Slovinci v evropski reformaciji* (Slovenes in the European Reformation), *III. Trubarjev*

percent. If we consider the articles' contents, the ZRC's (Academic Research Center) symposium featured no typical literary topics, despite the fact that the literary historians France Bernik, Grdina, Janko Kos, Ahačič, and Vinkler took part. We find literature only in the *Prodorne in preroške misli* and *Obdobja 27* symposia, organized by the Maribor and Ljubljana University Slovene programs, respectively. At the *Prodorne in preroške misli* symposium, only four of seven literary historians deal with literary questions—those being Blanka Bošnjak with a discourse typology in Trubar, Milena M. Blažič with female characters in Trubar, Ivana Latković on Drago Jančar's novel *Galjot*, Dejan Kos on intercultural matters, Barbara Pregelj on biography, and Alenka Jensterle Doležal and I (even) on theology. From the *Obdobja 27* symposium there were sixteen of fifty-one articles in literature, five of which were on didactics and five on fictional depictions of Trubar. Of the remaining, mine was theoretical, one was on folklore, two on the Skalar MS, one on periodization, and one was a gematric comparison of Trubar and Prešeren. What interested researchers?

2.1.1 Trubar's life and times was a topic at every symposium. The following was novel, in my opinion: Boris Golec (2009) surveyed the Auerperg urbaria, held in Vienna, and corrected—that is, filled in—Trubar's "birth certificate": it will remain unclear whether he was actually born in 1508 (or 1507 or 1509), because baptismal records did not exist at the time. He was baptized Primus but did not have his father's surname, Mullner or Malnar (that is, Miller), but at least from 1526 he had his mother's surname, Trobar or Trubar (he always signed his name Truber). He was not born in Raščica in the Temk Mill (recognized as his home today), but in the Šklop Mill by Kukmaka, near Raščica. Silvano Cavazza (2007 in 2010) has researched Italian archival sources (in Trieste, Gorica, Rome, and elsewhere), and he shows reactions abroad to Trubar's time in Goriško, the path of Protestant books via Goriško into Primorje; he has uncovered the ties of Bonomo, Vergerij, and Trubar with unorthodox Italian theologians. Francka Premk (1999) solved the beginning letter N in the signature N. V.T. at the end of the commentary to *Katekizem 1555*, attributing it to Francesco Negri Bassanese, one of Vergerij's collaborators. Neža Zajc (2011) interestingly compares Trubar with the persecuted Orthodox priest Maksim Grek, living in Moscow.

2.1.2 Slovene identity and the role of language. Slovene identity was the theme of the three symposia *Protestantizem, slovenska identiteta in združujoča se Evropa*, *Jeziški, identitete, pripadnosti* and *Vera in hotenja* (Protestantism, Slovene identity, and European unification; Languages, identities, affinities; Faith and desires). Questions involved what it means to be Slovene, what we (and our fundamentally different societies) have in common with the author of the Brižinski spomeniki (Freising Manuscript), what all Slovenes but no Croats share, whether the Brižinski spomeniki is even a Slovene text, and whether Slovenes even existed at that time and Slovene was their language. Whether it was or is Slovene because Slovenes wrote it (when there was no national, but only provincial consciousness) was questioned, along with the similarity of the language(s) the group that called itself Slovene later (how much later?) spoke. Participants challenged who decides similarities—linguists

or speakers—and when the nation was born: at the time of the Brižinski spomeniki, with Trubar's generation and (only) with the educated people of his time,⁹ or only in the eighteenth century, at the time of the national awakening?

Grdina, Kerševan, Sašo Jerše, Kos, Sabina Mihelj, Jakob Müller,¹⁰ and others addressed these questions at the symposia and elsewhere. There are basically two answers: A group in the sixteenth century was understood as a linguistic group, not as a group with the same past and tradition, and the reverse view. I cite the sociological viewpoint: "A common historical destiny was for them (before the sixteenth century – A.B.) the common destiny of the lands of the German empire in that area (and/or under the Hungarian crown), and the common linguistic and ethnic destiny of the various inhabitants of Carniola, Styria, Carinthia, and Gorizia... Only with the development of linguistic (self)consciousness or identity and ideology did a distinct 'common destiny' of 'Slovenes' [...] apart from the destiny of German [...] speaking inhabitants appear" (Kerševan in *Jeziiki, identitete, pripadnosti*, 86–88). "Only with the use of a standard language (as the literary language) in institutions do the linguistic similarities and differences that exist become public and are legitimized as a centripetal frame of connection and at the same time centrifugal demarcating" (Kerševan 2006: 19)—that is, only with the appearance of a literary language in the sixteenth century. Grdina agrees in the entry "Slovenci" (Slovenes) in the *Enciklopedija Slovenije*. Further, "the Protestants' language and publishing work in the sixteenth century certainly *did not have national goals*, or the goals of identifying and connecting people with the same language by means of a literary language. *The main intention was religious* (Kerševan in *v Jeziiki, identitete, pripadnosti*: 83). As regards language, I would also like to mention Kerševan's rejection of reductionism, meaning that for the Protestants, Slovene was but a tool for spreading the true faith. They were instead interested in spreading God's word (the Bible) and "at the same time, God's word in yet another language meant multiplying praise for God and hallowing that language," which is why Germans, too, supported Slovene books.

2.1.3 Theology has the most appropriate approach to Protestantism because Protestantism was at the outset a theological movement. Since the 1980s (earlier there were Oražem and Rajhman) Slovene theologians have systematically, in the fundamental areas of theology, published on the following subjects in *Bogoslovni vestnik* and the proceedings of a 2008 symposium in Rome (*Primož Trubar* 2009): Trubar's understanding of God as creator, his ecclesiology, Christology, Marian studies, eschatology, teaching about justification, the sacraments, priesthood, attitude towards the Pope, popular piety, Orthodoxy and Islam, and principles of Scriptural translation (Maksimiljan Matjaž, France Rozman, and Marijan Peklaj). The musicologist

⁹ As regards an educated class and Kerševan's view (KERŠEVAN 2006: 15) that Trubar did not invent the name Slovene, but people were using it even before, consider that in the Martjanci Hymnal people are called Slovenes (as opposed to Croats) in the song about the Battle of Siget (1566). The song is supposed to have originated at the end of the sixteenth century: "Zrinski Nicolaus ... mi poide vu terden Sziget Grad sz Horvacskom Goszpodom, i z leipim seregom nyega szprevodisse Horvacska, Vogerszka Szlovenszka Goszpoda" (329).

¹⁰ Jakob Müller, Raba imena Slovenci v 16. stoletju (The use of the name "Slovenes" in the sixteenth century 2003).

Jurij Snoj (2010) reconstituted the structure of the Protestant service according to Luther's *Deutsche Messe* and Trubar's *Cerkovna ordinga*, attempting to determine where and when songs from Dalmatin's 1584 hymnal were sung. Literary historians, such as Grdina, Vinkler, and I, have often consulted with theologians on, for example, Trubar's reliance on Calvinism or his rejection of Caspar Schwenckfeld's support of rebaptism.

There are almost no individual studies of Trubar's main theological works, *Cerkovna ordinga* and *Artukuli*. The historian Lilijana Golec (in the collection *Vera in hotenja*) and the musicologist Snoj wrote about *Ordinga*; there is nothing on *Artukuli*, and to judge by Cobiss, *Ena dolga predgovor* (A long preface) and *Katekizem z dve-ma izlagama* (A catechism with two exegeses) have not been objects of study either.

2.1.4 Metrics have been treated by Svetina (1997) and Bjelčevič (1999). Syllabic versification (stress is not rhythmic) prevailed, though some (e.g., Pogačnik and Grdina) have disagreed with this. Svetina was the first to research it comparatively—that is, the frequency that word and melodic stress matched. A scant sixty percent correspondence dispelled doubts about syllabo-tonic versification (although the percentage is higher in songs the Protestants took from the folk tradition).

2.1.5 Literary communications (printers, libraries, etc.) Mahael Glavan (2005) described a copy of the Dalmatin Bible that Dalmatin himself gave to the gymnasium in Pforta in Saxony, which Bohorič the younger and Janš Znojilšek attended. In the collection *Primož Trubar 2009*, Smolik reviewed Trubar's first editions in Slovene and foreign libraries. Mihael Kuzmič (2001) wrote on editions and uses of Trubar's *Katekizem* of 1550 from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries among Hungarian Slovenes and Evangelical émigrés.

2.1.6 Reception. The disputes surrounding Trubar's four-hundredth anniversary involved Grdina, Granda, Jezernik, and Nenad Vitorovič (2006): the central question was Trubar's importance for Slovenes. At this time his image as a priest and theologian waned before his image as the creator of literary Slovene and the "father of the people." There are materials on his depiction in literature (e.g., by Anton Aškerc, Ivan Cankar, Drago Jančar, Jože Javoršek, Josip Jurčič, Anton Koder, Ivan Tavčar, Ivan Pregelj, and Marjan Rožanc) in the proceedings of the symposium *Obdobja 27* and in Miran Hladnik's *Slovenski zgodovinski roman* (The Slovene historical novel). In the collection *Protestantizem, slovenska identiteta* there is a survey of streets, parks, schools, organizations, memorials, etc. dedicated to Slovene Protestants by Sonja Žagar.

2.1.7 Didactics has received much attention. The focus has been intercultural questions—the domestication (or lack of), assimilation, and implementation of culturally distant reforms. There have been varying opinions (Ahačič 2008), Krakar Vogel (2008), Alenka Žbogar, and Milena Blažič (in the proceedings of *Obdobja 28*). Blažič has examined the image of women, the family, and child in Trubar's writings in a number of publications.

2.2 Other Protestants. Although Sebastijan Krelj's *Postila* calls for exploration of interpretive approaches to the Gospels, as found in older theological works, only linguists have considered it. Lucijan Adam completed a dissertation on **Dalmatin** in 2012 in the Slovene program at Koper. (He considered circumstances, influences, sources, and content.) Jože Rajhman published *Pisma slovenskih protestantov* (The letters of Slovene Protestants) in the original and translation. **Vergerij the Younger** as a Roman Catholic negotiator and theologian writing in Latin is not really the domain of literary research; however, the proceedings of a 1998 conference (*Peter Pavel Vergerij ml., polemični mislec v Evropi 16. Stoletja* [Peter Pavel Vergerij the Younger, a polemical thinker in sixteenth-century Europe) contain materials on his influence on Trubar (by Francka Premk), on Vergerij in Slovene scholarship (Jože Pogačnik), and on the corpus of his works in libraries (Mihael Glavan).

2.3 Ivan Florjanc and Edo Škulj (2008) collected all Protestant tunes: Protestants sang their songs as each community of the faithful deemed. Florjanc also prepared four-part harmonies for choirs. Protestant music is available in an anthology of sixteen CDs entitled *Musica noster amor: Glasbena umetnost Slovenije od začetkov do danes* (*Musica noster amor: Slovene musical art from the beginnings until today*).

3 Pre-modern literature on dLib and Wikipedia. There are a number of publications here; for example, Matija Klombner's *Ene duhoune peisni* (Spiritual songs) of 1579, many of Janez Schönleben's German homilies and studies in Latin (e.g., *Horae subsecivae dominicales*),¹¹ Jernej Basar, Mihael Sever's *Réd zvelicsánsziva*, Števan Küzmič's 1771 *Nouvi zákon* (New covenant) and *Kolomonov žegen* (Colomone blessing). Students in the Slovene program at Ljubljana University write entries for writers and works at Wikipedia. To date these include the Brižinski spomeniki, Stiški rokopis (The Stična MS), Dalmatin's *Ta celi catehismus* (A complete catechism), Krelj's *Otročja Biblija* (Children's Bible), Sommaripa, Svetokriški, Rogerij, Kalobški rokopis (The Kalobje MS), Miha Frančiček Paglovec, Stržinar, Drabosnjak, Leopold Volkmer, Urban Jarnik. Marijan Smolik's legendary 1963 dissertation was published electronically (2010).

4 Secular literature

Jurij Japelj. Janez Močnik corrected the dating of the liturgical song "Hier liegt vor deiner Majestät," which Michael Haydn set to music, in an article in the *Japljev zbornik* (Japelj collection). Japelj published the song translation in the book *Visha sveto masho slishati* in 1791. Haydn's score was included. As Močnik points out that Haydn was thought to have set the song to music in 1795. Japelj's translation appeared in 1791, so Haydn's work can be dated earlier. Ignac Navernik compares Japelj's secular erotic poems with homilies with similar themes. In his poems, he treats extramarital eroticism and profligacy spiritedly and urges tolerance, but in his

¹¹ The book is for sale in the antiquarian section of ZVAB.com for 380 euros. Vlačič's *De mystica sacramentalique seu externa praesentia* of 1574 is also available there.

homilies he condemns profligacy. Of even more interest are his warnings that because of money or overwrought passions marriage may become a hell, which Japelj describes in detail, extensively and copiously, in particular chastising weak husbands. Svetina (2002) published manuscript translations of four poems by Hagedorn and one by Pope, and Smole (1999) published a manuscript translation of Racine's religious poem "Cantique sur le bonheur des justes..." ("Pejsen od srezhe tih isvolenih"). It is interesting Japelj softened the Jansenist "heretical" thesis (Calvinist) that only the chosen will be saved, translating the phrase "your chosen ones" as *tvoji ljubi* 'your beloved ones'.

Anton T. Linhart. In recent years there has been special fascination with his first, only original drama, written in German, *Miss Jenny Love* (1780); for example, Luka Vidmar and Ivo Svetina wrote about it in *A. T. Linhart: Jubilejna monografija* (A.T. Linhart: A jubilee monograph); Denis Poniž (2007), Mirko Jurak (2009) and Katja Mihurko Poniž (2012) explored its sources, genre, and reception. Katja Mihurko Poniž's discoveries in Vienna, Munich, and Berlin have been the most original. She found three as yet unknown copies of *Miss Jenny Love*. These three, together with the known Viennese and Augsburg copies, are bound with other German-language and translated dramas. Juxtaposing them, Mihurko Poniž reconstructs a slice of Linhart's reception. In brief, the first Viennese copy is bound with four comedies, the Augsburg with only tragedies, while the others are mixed, being mostly tragedies but with one children's play. The query as to whether *Miss Jenny Love* was staged in Munich is answered negatively. Vidmar amplified on the known influences of two Lessing and two Klinger dramas by precisely comparing the storylines, motifs, settings, character naming, and spirit. Svetina and Poniž thematize the difference between classical tragedy and Trauerspiel; Jurak explains the similarities with Shakespeare, especially in the use of figurative language. Dragan Božič (2010) found a previously unknown portrait of Linhart in a Viennese library.

Janez Damascen Dev. In 2008, Milko Bizjak discovered a score for Dev's *Opereta/Belin* by the priest Frančišek Jakob Zupan. It was thought to have been lost, but he found it with Zupan's descendants out of wedlock.¹² Bizjak published the find only on his website; I have not located any reactions from scholars of music. In 1993, Jože Koruza's dissertation on *Pisanice* was published after his death. It is a complete philological, bibliographical, and historical description of the almanac (a description of a whole literary system); its genre (annual, almanac); manuscript dating for volume 4; publishing; sponsorship; book trade; and analysis and interpretation (not in the sense of naïve, immanent interpretation) of each individual poem. It is an empirical work of literary scholarship par excellence. For instance, the seemingly abstract Belin in a triad of texts ("Žalost Krajskih Modric" [Sorrow of the Carniolan muses], "Veselje Krajskih Modric" [Joy of the Carniolan muses], and "Opereta") is an actual historical personage, the new provincial administrator Lamberg, who came from Gorica (thus the request of the Carniolan Muses to the Italian Muses to return Belin to Carniola). The "Opereta" is not an allegory on the birth of poetry, but an expression of gratitude to Lamberg as chairman of the agricultural society, because nymphs (nymphs, not muses, appear in the "Opereta") represent agriculture, viti-

¹² My student Miša Hernčič brought Bizjak to my attention.

culture, and pomology. Using similar methodology and continuing in the so-called positivist paradigm (e.g., of Kidrič, Gspan, and Koruza), Dovič (2007) investigates Linhart (i.e., historical context, function of his poetry, matters of the book trade, etc.). His book is explicitly situated in a systemic and empirical paradigm.

Žiga Zois. Vidmar's *Zoisova literarna republika* (Zois's literary republic) is one of the rare monographs on pre-modern literature. It breaks new ground in the stylistic research of correspondence. The author analyzed about 200 letters that Zois wrote and received (in particular from Kopitar), which are held in the Archive of the Republic of Slovenia, the National Museum, and NUK (National and University Library),¹³ as to their historical styles (from Antiquity, Medieval Latin, noble Baroque, Enlightenment) with respect to forms of address, metaphor, expressions of concern and respect, hierarchy of the correspondents' relations, and other features. He also treats the Zois-Kopitar correspondence as a source for describing the efforts of Zois's Slovene circle towards national awakening. Of special value is Kopitar's scheme to unite Slavic (Czech, Polish, Dalmatian, Zagreb, and Serb) agitators. Marija Kacin (2001) authored a monograph on Zois and Italian culture.

The book *Trubar, Hren, Valvazor, Dolničar* (2009) contains these writers' works, in the original and in translation, on literature in Carniola, and as such are the beginnings of **literary history**. Some of the texts had already been (partially) translated; others were retranslated. A large group of scholars undertook the project.

Janko Kos (1990) wrote a survey monograph on **Valentin Vodnik**. Peter Svetina (2007) established Vodnik's entire metrical and stanza repertoire: Vodnik used 100 different kinds of stanzas, half of which are variations on the Ländler stanza. Svetina summarized findings on secular metrics before Vodnik, thus showing the historical background of Vodnik's poetics. Blanka Bošnjak (2010) analyzed Vodnik's one homily and the stories in *Velika pratika* from a narratological standpoint. Božidar Jezernik (2007) showed how "Ilirija oživiljena" (Illyria awakened) was used in the national awakening.

Leopold Volkmer's secular poems are the subject of Majda Potrata's monograph (1994). A translator of church songs, Volkmer wrote thirty-nine secular songs, published two, and was preparing a collection entitled *Zmes za pevca*, intended for "professional" singers among the folk. On the model of Koruza's monograph on *Pisanice*, Potrata interprets each song according to its influences, content, and style. Grdina (1999) and Bjelčevič (1998) write about **Štefan Modrinjak**, the latter researched **Valentina Stanič's** verses, and students of the Slovene program at Ljubljana University republished Pavel **Knobl** in the journal *Slava*.

Urban Jarnik. The main contribution on Jarnik's poetry is Prunč's 1988 study edition in three volumes: In the first book (2002), entitled *Urban Jarnik: Pesmi in prevodi* (Urban Jarnik: Poems and translations) contained the texts and was followed by two books of concordances and textual analyses. In the collection *Simpozija o Jarniku*, Prunč described Jarnik's opus: approximately 150 poems, of which only fifty are preserved, and ten of which were published during his lifetime. It is worth

¹³ Faganel (1999) made a listing of Zois's MSS in the National Museum. Hubert Clemenz has already transliterated 200 of them from Gothic script. Not all of Zois's correspondence has yet been described; for example, Bonazza (1997) located some in Zagreb.

repeating that Franz Schubert set the German translation of “Zvezdje” (Stars) to music. I described the meters and stanzas (thirty types of stanzas in fifty-six poems) and historical background (from the early Middle Ages) of some fifteen types of stanzas; for example, pilgrimage stanza, Hildebrand stanza, and vagant stanza. Matjaž Zaplotnik (2005) compared Jarnik’s “Ostrevica nepremagana” (Unconquered Ostrevica) with Prešeren’s “Krst pri Savici” (Baptism at the Sava) and Levičnik’s “Katoliška cerkev” (The Catholic Church, in MS), the longest epic in Slovene. (It is interesting that in “Ostrevica nepremagana,” which we usually term a romance, Jarnik compares the castle of Ostrevica with an unapproachable maiden, which is reversed from Spanish romances, where the maiden is an impregnable castle.) Finally, there is Grdina’s (1999b) study on the lineage Dev – Jarnik – Modrinjak – Primic – Prešeren lineage.

5 Conclusion

In summary, most has been published about Trubar. Relatively little has been written on secular classics. Apart from anniversary collections, the number of articles is few; the majority of studies do not offer new findings but revisit old information. Religious literature is treated mostly from a technical standpoint (codicology, paleography, versification), while interpretation is applied to secular literature. There has been some classic archival work (especially by Ogrin, Deželak, and Vidmar at the ZRC SAZU). The empirical turn and positivist tradition are not widespread, but probably stronger than in research on modern literature.

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