

THE CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE
PROTESTANT REFORMATION IN THE GENESIS OF THE
SOUTH SLAVIC NATIONS

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The German military poem "Ain neues lied von den kraynnerischen bauren" was created during the Slovene peasant rebellion of 1515. The poem tendentiously distorts the view of the peasant, but in any event its two lines are very precious for us. These lines run: "Gather, gather, poor people" and "for old rights". The German text communicates a central motto of these rural rebels; both lines are a symbolic expression of a tendency which represented an epochal initiative in the history of modern times. The cited syntagmas, representing, inter alia, the first Slovene printed words, spread a consciousness about the necessity of class, and practically speaking, of ethnic integration, and also they point to the experience of a past that was to influence the choice of possibilities in a future life. Both class (ethnic) integration and a historical source are a support on which concrete existential possibilities for present and future events depend.¹

This leaflet, which reveals a central direction and a crucial content in the cultural and political events of the sixteenth century, is directly involved by its premises in a great social process by means of which these events turned to the Reformation.

The genesis of Reformational South Slavic thought reveals a simultaneous effect of many spiritual trends in Europe, which were developing, in a normal cultural development, gradually. Its sources are based on nominalism, a philosophy of the Middle Ages, reaching the final forms of the Protestant endeavors. The most significant result of these attempts was a completely changed feeling of life. *L'uomo universale* found himself in a new relation to religion, science, state and history. Therefore he began criticizing scholasticism and he fell in doubt about *docta religio*; he revived the educational ideal of classical antiquity besides, and supported by the authors of antiquity he started a battle for the metamorphosis of Christianity. As a rule the movement was bound up with the church which could not stop the further penetration of the human spirit. It rejected the medieval understanding of life (*Pulvis es et ad pulverem reverteris*), replacing it with an existential category of modern times (*Homo sum et nihil humanum a me alienum esse puto*).

The Reformation, which had encompassed the northwestern part of

the South Slavic region (the whole Slovene area and a part of the Croatian ethnic area), had, in the scope of the Western European Reformation, a remarkable and exceptional position. The communications with German towns were relatively firm enough in the sixteenth century (trade, students) and that was why the influence was exercised by means of intermediaries. The trend of the German Reformation was, however, just an impetus; there was an Italian trend deriving from Venice and via Trieste also. Between 1520 and 1525, many Reformational books were printed in Venice by means of which new thought was spread in Istria. Just in that time in the towns of the Trieste Gulf trade with Croatia, via Lower Carniola, was blooming. commercial reads and ties made for an influx of international ideas and experience. Both trends penetrated Ljubljana somewhere about 1525 (only two years later a formal circle around M. Klombner was formed). The church inspections in 1528 stated the germs of a new movement for Styria, too, which confirmed the fact that a larger part of the Slovene ethnic territory even in that time experienced the influence of modern trends.

From the beginning of his work Primož Trubar had been spreading the ideas of the Reformation across ethnic borders, especially to Croatia. Croatia was reduced to *reliquiae reliquiarum*; the border dividing it from Turkey or Venice starts from the Drava and Djurdjevac and goes from there towards Sisak and the Sava, and further towards Senj, along the Adriatic coast northward to Istria, which in its larger part belongs to the Venetian Republic. The Croatian Reformation was able to develop only in the narrow strip bordering Slovene provinces, Carniola and styria, or more precisely: on the Croatian coast, in Istria, Karlovac, in the Uskok Metlika, Varaždin and Pomurje.² Both cores, the Croatian and Slovene, were framed in Western European (Austro-German) culture, and they existed, most importantly in a similar political and social conditions. Trubar wrote about this in 1557: "Both nations, in the Slovene and Croatian provinces, grieved me to the heart; they should raise sympathy in anybody not only because of the fact that they must live on the border with Turkey . . . but also I feel sympathy for them because they know a little or almost nothing . . . about the most necessary and comforting fundamentals of our real Christian faith which should be known by every sensible man for the benefit of his soul and for the highest consolation." German feudal lords and the Austrian upper classes, frightened by the Turkish danger, paid exceptional attention and showed great sympathy towards the South Slavic Reformation. Turkish attacks were a terrible nightmare for Western Europe. It was necessary to carry through constant and special political, administrative and military forms of organization in the Slovene and Croatian areas. The organization which eliminated the concrete dangers was joined with a popular belief that Islam and the Turkish empire would soon come to an end.

At that time this belief was inspired by a strong millenary thought upon which, for psychological reasons, cultural and political aspirations relied. The Reformation, namely, wanted to realize a religious and ethnic rebirth, a social reconciliation of the conflicts reigning among social classes, their dissolution on biblical and patriarch principles, and it strived for the formation of fraternal autonomous Protestant churches; this was to establish an order in the moral and political position of all the regions in Southeastern Europe.

This hypothesis had various practical consequences. The Slavic population of Southeastern Europe, first of all, had to be prepared for planned commitments. Dalmatin and Konzul, for instance, in the introduction to the Croatian catechism, meant by the Slavic language ethnic groups of Croats, Dalmatians, Bosnians, Bezjaks (the population southwest of Čićarija), Istrians, Serbs and Bulgarians; the Croatian Reformational book was to approach all of them by the language. The awareness of the ethnic and linguistic kinship of the South Slavs and the Slavs in general (Bohorič's introduction to the first grammar of Slovene, *Arcticae horulae*, 1584, is the manifesto of this awareness) increased the significance of the Reformational texts in Croatian and dictated the choice of concrete solutions. The model built up by Trubar in his literary corpus written in Slovene was the most suitable for achieving his cultural and political aims. The above mentioned Croatian writers cite literally how they had accepted as a chief initiative the initiative of the Slovene Protestants ('to our hands came books in Carniolan printed in Latin letters, which language, as you know, is in accordance with the Croatian . . .')³ The essential component of the Slovene cultural model was a premise about the codification of the literary language.

The contentual horizons of the original popular language were very narrow. When Trubar started to work, Slovene had not yet become a neutral medium for passing information but only a modest intermediary of a special vital and practical world which, because of the prevalence of Latin and German, could not penetrate into the spiritual area. When the language was used in a book, it began conquering new areas and so became an expression of a class consciousness and a cause for national particularity. Contemporary research done by J. Rigler show that Trubar's share was invaluable.⁴ His decision about the language of literature being of the kind he inaugurated in 1550 is based on a linguistic choice and mature consideration. The genesis of the Slovene literary language is connected with very important factors. The references to the words of the apostle Paul (*Et omnis lingua confitebitur Deo*) or to Augustine, who stressed that all church ceremonies were to be in a language which was understandable to the people, resulted from essentially Reformational premises. The systematic determination of the basis of the Slovene literary language was, however, a result of individual

endeavors and an aware will. Trubar relied upon the spoken language of Ljubljana which in his time, have about 4,000 inhabitants, had already become the center of the region. The administration of Carniola was there, and it was quite Slovene ethnically, the middle class was fairly numerous, and had an influence on it to become a nucleus of a new Slovene church and culture. The colloquial language of Ljubljana was a part of the dialect of Lower Carniola, and at the same time it was subject to the influence of the dialect of Upper Carniola. Such infiltrations are present in the monophthongization of $\hat{e}i, \hat{o}u > e, o$, which is a significant feature of Trubar's language and its basic distinction from the languages of Lower Carniola. The basis for the Slovene literary language became the colloquial language of Ljubljana which was slightly modified according to Trubar's mother tongue, Lower Carniolan.

Linguistically speaking the solution was rather fortunate. In the second half of the sixteenth century the Slovene language was definitely divided into many dialects and that is why the problem of the literary language was not simple. The spoken language of Ljubljana, because of its geographical position in which the traits of Lower and Upper Carniola came into contact, was able to acquire affirmation very soon. It was a central spoken language which included phonetic and morphological constituents already existing in most of the other Slovene dialects. Therefore this language had a feature which could characterize any standard spoken language — elastic stability. Since it was codified in Bohorič's grammar and used in Dalmatin's translation of the Bible, it formed a tradition which was decisive for the Slovene people and for the type of Slovene culture.

Bohorič's grammatical codification of the Slovene language traced Trubar's thought. Trubar had already posited a dialectal distribution ('. . . the Slovene language is not spoken equally and in the same way everywhere'), he was thinking about grammatical and orthographic problems and he decided for a type of the language "easily understood by any Slovene". The type of the language he decided for the called the rural/popular Slovene language. Such citations are positive evidence that Trubar had discovered the essence of a literary language based on dialect differences; this unity is inherent to the unity of a people. Bohorič raised such hypotheses to the rank of law. All Slovene spoken languages have common basic characteristics and that is why the dialect differences should be judged from the point of view of this unity. A search for the simplest (*unum simplicissimum*) became quite modern in practice: a definite linguistic situation is defined by means of a section of constant phonetic, morphological, syntactical and lexical features. The linguistic situation, affirmed in Bohorič's model of the literary language, halted the Slovene language at a certain point of development. This point is a common norm which lived together with the community; it was the

Slovene community, so we can say that the Slovene language, in this way, became a so-called grammatical language. As agreed (according to the convention) a fixed and regular form, called the literary language, was brought up over the living language. Creation of the Slovene literary language followed a process that resulted in a language diasystem.

Since grammar represents a unity of language which cannot change either in time or in space, a concordance of all participants is achieved in it; which in an equal measure excludes both the individual's will and a spontaneous changeability. Language codification stops the change of language, which, otherwise, can be subject to an individual's will. If the codification does not take place, we would find ourselves - in Dante's words - "unable, in any way, even partly and imperfectly, to approach the thoughts of prominent writers and the histories of predecessors belonging to a distant past; we would be unable to approach all those who are different from us because they lived in different places from ours" (*About the art of speaking in popular language*).⁵ The reasons for such a treatment the same author finds in the fact that "among the things of the same kind can exist only one with which all the things of this kind can be compared and measured and which can serve as a measure for other things. . . . And what is said about things which possess quantity and quality I think can also be said for any category, for any substance. And that means that any thing, according to its belonging to any kind, is measurable in the relation to what is the simplest in this kind". The Reformation followed this kind of consideration (Protestants considered Dante their predecessor), and that is why Bohorič's grammar, for instance, became a cornerstone for the individual physiognomy of the Slovene people and their language.

Linguistic research has stated also for the Croatian Protestants that they mainly observed the Slovene model in the codification of their literary language. The Croats, as well as the Slovenes, refused the idea of P. P. Vergerius, who wanted to organize a translation of the Bible in a universal Slavic language understood by all the Slavic peoples. At that time ethnical particularity obviously had been so developed that it must have been discovered in the endeavors for integration and individualization. This can be nicely seen in the process of forming the kajkavian literary language. Even before the beginning of the Reformation the kajkavian dialect had been a separate linguistic totality which had distinctive features both in the relation to their southeast neighbors (the čakavian dialect, the western štokavian dialect) and in the relation to the western Slovene unit. Newer research has showed even for the first decades of the fifteenth century the existence of a čakavian-kajkavian *Koiné* which relied upon the Church Slavic tradition and used Glagolitic writing. From its beginning the Glagolitic movement is a functional component of distinction; by it the Croatian church in a special way opposed

the universalism of the western church. When the Reformation with its idea about the individualization of language appeared, this traditional (Glagolitic) identity had to remain alive, of course, and then its premises started the process which represented a special analogy to the Slovene codification of the literary language. The analysis of the language in which J. Pergošić or A. Vramec wrote, for instance, reveals that there was not a word about a direct transfer of kajkavian to any of the existing forms of spoken language, but about a choice containing conscious solutions which could satisfy the representatives of other dialects. This process aimed at a universal understanding and that is why the basic kajkavian system incorporated also a series of linguistic phenomena from the older Croatian čakavian and kajkavian literature. So the Reformation formed a literary language for the kajkavian Croats and it was used up to the thirties of the nineteenth century. Many things also point out the fact that the Protestant model of the vernacular language and the literary language was accepted by the Croats in Burgenland. At the end of the fifteenth and in the beginning of the sixteenth centuries these Croats, because of the Turkish attacks, had emigrated from the Croatian regions of Slavonia, Posavina, from northeastern Bosnia, Lika and the Croatian Coast, to the territory in today's Austria. The Reformational impetus among them is evidenced by the so-called postilla of Regensburg and by Mekinić's collection of songs, which permits the thesis that even the Croats from Burgenland were developing their language and building their culture with Reformational motives.

The historical motives which caused the appearance of the first Slovene and Croatian books were essentially the same. First to act was that force, affirmed by the dispute between the realists and the nominalists in the Middle Ages. It was a resistance against the spiritual dictatorship of a center and an expression of the claim that an individual can think freely. The tendencies which wanted to underline a man's individuality meant an alteration of the universalism of the Middle Ages. The Latin language and literature of the sixteenth century were not understood as something commonly European; germs of the national had already been too strong and sufficiently remarkable. Religious fervor at that time had an ideological emphasis and at the same time reinforced social and political action. Social contradictions achieved a religious form and the more keen they were the greater the religious ardor was. A normal solution was to be found in the literary production which, observed with the eyes of the sixteenth century, was a real cultural work. Writers felt a real spiritual problem, but they also knew how to solve it. Objective circumstances and historical trends had already indicated by themselves such a decision; only the subjective consciousness, which realized latent aspirations and objective possibilities, had to grow stronger. Such a decision was made by Primož Trubar, and his first

manifestation was the appearance of an alphabet-book and a catechism. The selection of the first book is as characteristic for the idea orientation of the Reformation as it was symbolic for the thematic division of former literary production. The need for education was linked with religious tasks of catechism instruction. It means that from the early beginning the secular and the religious, although firmly tied, were separated. And except prevailing religious and propagandistic themes and moral and didactic aims, the cultural effects of the Reformational literary production by its connotations by far excelled their points of origin. This fact is clearly confirmed by the educational and training system with its principles.

The Reformation brought significant innovations in schooling, of which the establishment of primary schools and gymnasiums are the most remarkable.⁷ Till then primary schools, which had to be elementary, attainable for everybody, and in the mother tongue, did not exist. Trubar made a distinction between a professional (Latin) and primary school, and that means that he brought into accord school teaching with the basic tendencies of the Reformational movement. Education, based on a vernacular (popular) language and spirit, influenced again the outer form of the Protestant texts. Again the problem of composition, versification and style was stated, and since for the most part all former principles were abandoned, many remarkable innovations took place and were echoed in future literary work. Slovene and Croatian Protestant literature did not bring about original creative work, but their tendencies and forms surpassed the boundaries of exclusively religious production. If, at the end of the century, the Reformation had not been halted, both literatures, according to the internal logic of events, would have been separated esthetically more quickly and would have achieved their first artistic results. The negligence of the Counterreformation that could not appraise the role of the book postponed this step for a longer period of time, and Slovene and Croatian literatures were brought back to the zero degree.

The Bible was the center of all Reformational activities. Dalmatin translated it into Slovene and so Slovene literature got as a model a gift with a lasting literary value; in later centuries this model was the support of the literary and cultural tradition.

In the Western European spiritual consciousness the echo of the Bible was one of the most striking, because it linked together literary-theoretical, anthropological, psychological, historical, sociological, and mythological questions which reach to the present day. Dalmatin's cultural and historical work (the translation of the Bible) is "a great code" (N. Frye) from which, during four centuries, metaphors, language and style were drawn.

Until the period of modern literature, when the Bible ceases to be

an ethical and aesthetic phenomenon and becomes only aesthetic, in Slovene prosaic work its normative model is very significant. The word is about a special reflective discourse which is very significant for all of Western Europe and also for most of the South Slavs. In the words of the founder of reception history (H. R. Jauss), the Bible has determined the norm and made a form which is a very relevant factor in the circle of the Western European culture.

The second level given by the Bible to a definite cultural area is a certain reflective or intellectual coherence. When the Reformation decided to had down Holy Scripture to the individual without any mediator, it confirmed man as an individual whole and particularity (subject) which not only has the right but also the duty of making selections and judgments. By this a line between *civitas Dei* and *civitas terrena* was definitely established, whereas in the cognitive-philosophical sense it affirmed Augustine's premise: *Noli foras ire, in interiori homini habitat veritas*. From this resulted a far-reaching epochal initiative which meant the formation of a European metaphysics of subject in the history of modern times.

This kind of ideological turning point had its roots in the ideological dynamics of the South Slavic Reformation. The fundamental Protestant premise concerning the directness and subjectivity of a religious element was destroying bridges with the Middle Ages. Central notions of the Reformation, however, were taken over from Christianity, not out of their scholastic contents but out of a prechristian phase (patrimonial phase). The Slovene and the Croatian Reformations ideologically were refined also in a humanistic tradition (Trubar studied Erasmus very thoroughly, whereas in Varaždin I. Pergešić reprinted one of his books in the original)⁸. For these reasons it is logical that the Reformation considers faith as a distinctly personal relation to God. In this system of the Protestant values the principal difference dividing them from the Christianity of the Middle Ages is present: it is a question underlying the internal and personal. Protestantism, namely, approached things with an internal and personal conviction. Since they were not based on the ruling authority as it has been so far, a possibility for enlarging individualism was created. Instead of a divine inerrancy and religious intolerance man's relativity and tolerance were stressed.⁹

The Medieval church, and authoritative and transcendental culture were replaced by a secular, individual and immanent culture. The Reformation has in this process the role of the transitional period. Underlying the religious element is its connection with the Middle Ages, and a restless revision of almost all levels of man's existence connects it with a new historical period. World views were free from rigid principles of philosophy and theology, these principles formally met the endeavor for an intellectual stability and coherence. The new period was marked by a

dynamics in which contradictions were born. The problem of cognition and world view appeared, and the questions of the social coexistence had to be solved. Some unique premises, however, accept a lot of divergent aspirations. The fundamental component of a new life style is a large laicizing of the existential values which were accompanied by a common realization of the state idea in the European West. The autonomy of a state meant acceptance of a secular direction and of a pragmatic standardization. The principles of individualization, which became a basis for a personal freedom, penetrated all areas.

The medieval church was unique. The Reformation inaugurated heterogeneity, which resulted in the breaking of the institutional authority of church. Faith lost the significance which was a link and an enslavement. Medieval universalism failed and together with it the unity of the European civilizing process was damaged. European integration, which can be discussed up to that time, was shifted to the background by disintegrational processes and left its place to the first national integrations. According to their conceptions Slovene and Croatian Protestantism were firmly convinced of the significance of events on their area. It is understandable that, except for other aspects of integration, as one of the very competent factors, there appeared also a patriotic consciousness which, however, should not be overrated. The relation of the South Slavic reformers to their homeland is similar to the feeling "aroused by a native country and the sound of a home bell" (P. Hazard). This feeling was not yet accompanied by a working mind which could explain and confirm it. In the situations when somebody touched deeper layers of the ethnical particularity or the external glory of homeland, there appeared sensitive protests. All passages having as a theme Slavic wholeness, kinship among peoples, and even the etymological linking of the ethnicon Slav with the word *slava* (glory). True national consciousness was, however, still very far away. That is why at that time we can talk just about elements of peoples and germs of national consciousness, that is, about a certain higher degree of the so-called literary nation. It would be quite a mistake to transfer a phase of the Slavic renaissance to the sixteenth century. Even in this sphere Trubar went furthest, when he, by his claim and his realization of the idea about "the church of the Slovene language", started the question of how to establish, legally and politically, a new cultural and ethnic unit (*Slovenski Cerkveni red*, 1564).

In a letter to Bohorič Trubar presented concisely the moving force which was overcoming and directing Reformational activity. Trubar says in the letter: "We do not doubt that you know very well and that you grieve very often because of the unfortunate cultural backwardness of our narrower homeland, it is a real shame indeed how the underestimation of fine arts and the neglect of spiritual education were showing everywhere; if only those who truly feel this poor narrow-mindedness

would like to unite with us their desires and zeal, their thoughts and work in order to stop it as soon as it is possible with united strength! ” The formulation was made on August 1, 1565. Trubar mentions in it the underestimation which drove him away too, because he was undesired (*persona non grata*) in Slovenia; “the father of the Slovene book” heads those whose spiritual format was too large for the trivial circumstances in the homeland. It is more significant in the passage, however, that its author tries to establish the Slovene identity, to form an independent Slovene community and to strengthen its historical consciousness. This aim can be achieved, according to his mind, only by culture (the book). The role of the text had been essentially changed by the appearance of a written tradition. The text had to be present as a whole (each reproduction was a test of memory), whereas by printing the book, it became permanently fixed. So its reproduction is not a privilege of the few any more but becomes a property of the entire public. The text was published and presented to the public what enables interpretation and various approaches. The relation to it, in principle, is free and allows, as a result, a criticism. Although an individuality in the system of the Reformation is, first of all, a moral and psychological, and not yet an aesthetic or stylistic category, for the area of cultural interferences in the sixteenth century we also can apply Karl Marx’s thought from “A Contribution to the Criticism of Political Economy”: “A work of art - like any other work - forms its own public, a public that appreciates art and is capable of enjoying its beauty. Therefore a production does not form only a work for a subject, but also a subject for the work”.

The model of the science of culture for the Croats and Slovenes inaugurated by Trubar, is based on a principle of individuation. According to him the individual (ethnic) means everything for itself, and as such it is not partial but universal. When considering culture he does not foresee creation of a new autochthonous culture; namely, he is conscious that a culture, *per definitionem*, is something general and properly common. A poetic translinguism, so characteristic in the Reformation, is an example for his premise of this kind. Trubar’s acceptance of foreign melodies, for which he himself wrote versified texts, reveals that a prosodic form is taken as a recipient of the universal in life. Melodic and metric patterns surpass the limits of language, which means that it is not able to talk about an exclusively nationally based versification.¹⁰ The cultural universalism of that kind, however, observes two principles, and these are the principle of unity and the principle of continuity. The principle of unity considers a certain (ethnic) space in which a clear will acts, harmonizing and modelling cultural processes in order to be congruous and complete. The principle of continuity relies upon a state of consciousness or memory which lays a foundation for individual features. Spiritual life is also for Trubar an endeavor which tries to hold a memory

and keep the balance in universal impulses of culture. Since he wants to keep for his time the past exemplary to him and to build up a future on it, he tries to assimilate everything that belongs to others, but he never wants to become the other, to be the other for him is an unintelligible and impossible act. When he adopts the accepted, primarily from the Western European civilisational and cultural sphere - he really spreads himself into boundless expanse and extends to the endlessness of time. From this point of view both Reformations, the Slovene and Croatian, are a tragic struggle of a man who wants to save and realize himself. Conquering space and time is only a desire for historical endurance which should be, and certainly it always is - a struggle for conscious existence. By this the Reformation started the process of that elastic stability which should be possessed by any national unit in modern times, if it wants to be alive as an independent and original subject.

The Reformation in South Slavic space did not realize everything it planned. Its original aspirations were, namely, directed to the whole geographical area which, for some reasons, are: Protestantism was a movement in the frame of the Catholic church and that is why it could act where conditions for its appearance (in Orthodoxy, for instance) did not exist. Turkish rule did not collapse, nor slacken its power, which saved the disposition of political power in Southeast Europe. The most important fact is, besides the two already mentioned, however, the dusk of the Reformation also in those regions where it had already rooted itself. Disregarding the violent break of this movement it should be said that it was the Reformation which offered some conditions for the genesis of the Slovene people and for the integration of their culture.

For the Croats it constituted kajkavian regional literature and laid the foundation for its literary language. Thereby a potential opportunity to form the Croatian culture, on premises changed by the Illyrian Movement in the first half of the nineteenth century, was created. Besides, the Reformation in both nations remains above all a significant cultural and nation-forming initiative which essentially directed and defined the genesis of the coming history.

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REFERENCES

1. Principal views on the Reformation I take from the history of this movement in my book: *Zgodovina slovenskga slovstva I* (Maribor, 1968), 97-164.
2. Croatian literary history, at least that of the present day, deals with the Reformation very little. Among relevant sources we should

- mention K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost od 16. do 18. stoljeća u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj i Bosni*, (Zagreb, 1969) and Z. Bartolić, *Književni rad Stipana Konzula i krug hrvatskih protestantskih pisaca* (Zagreb, 1977). Linguistic questions can be found in Z. Vince's book: *Putovima hrvatskoga književnog jezika* (Zagreb, 1978).
3. Compare Z. Bartolić: *Hvatske-slovenske veze u doba protestantizma,*" in: *Zbornik Štefana Küzmiča* (Murska Sobota, 1974).
 4. His monograph *Začetki slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (1968) should be taken into account.
 5. I have offered a hypotheses on the influence of Dante's work in my study "Recepcija Danteja v slovenski književnosti," *Jezik in slovstvo* XXVII (1981/82).
 6. The basic information about this can be found in any encyclopedia.
 7. These questions are treated in the scholarly monographs of V. Schmidt, the historian of education and pedagogy (for instance his work *Pedagoško delo protestantov na Slovenskem* [1952]).
 8. In newer research Erasmus appears as an exceptionally remarkable predecessor of Slovene and Croatian Reformational thought.
 9. On these dimensions A. Kos writes, "Družbeni nazor slovenskih protestantov," *Slavistična revija* 1 (1948).
 10. This thesis was brilliantly developed by I. Slamnig in the book *Hrvatska versifikacija* (Zagreb, 1981).