

JURIJ DALMATIN AND HIS BIBLE IN THE  
LIGHT OF LITERARY HISTORY AND THEOLOGY

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Jurij Dalmatin's Bible is a highpoint of Slovene Protestant literature and of the Slovene reformation in general. From its very beginning (1550), Slovene Protestantism aimed for a complete translation of the Bible, but achieved this goal only in its second generation. Dalmatin was a full three decades younger than his idol and "second father," Primož Trubar, the inspiration and constant recipient of Dalmatin's ideas. Born in either 1546 or 1547, Dalmatin entered Trubar's circle at a relatively young age (after 1565), and even abroad he continued to improve his Slovene, which he had spoken at home (in Krško): thus can we understand his statement that "each day I spent in my maternal Slovene language."<sup>1</sup> He must have been a Dalmatian by background, but he was at home in the Slovene milieu, with a good ear for all South Slavic languages and dialects. His registers of 1578 and 1584 attest to this at least in part by the care he evinced that his translation reach as many readers as possible, as if he suspected that other South Slavic nations would not be fated to translate the entire Bible, and as if to "outdo" his own teacher, Trubar, who had had his Slovene translations put into Croatian at the Bible Society in Urach and had them printed in glagolitic and cyrillic. This Dalmatin wished to avoid, as did Bohorič, whose grammar appeared in the same year, with its list of latin characters on the first page. For those who could not read latin script, this was supposed to be a help.

It is possible to understand Dalmatin's Bible only in reference to his life. It is quite impossible to accept it as a "gift of God," though this is how he himself expressed it in his German introduction, if we ignore those circumstances which contributed to the appearance of a work of such capital importance for Slovene cultural and literary history. Dalmatin's life is closely associated with Trubar's. Trubar had his own literary tradition behind him, for from the very beginning he had fashioned a rather large circle of collaborators at the Bible Society as well as outside it (Ungnad, Dalmata, Konzul, Juričič, Krelj and others). He stayed at the head of the movement nor did he cede his place later to another; he remained the central figure of the Slovene reformation. In this connection we must not forget that in addition to translating and compiling reformation texts (simple catechisms and catechisms of a more complex



nature, e.g., his *Ena dolga predgovor*, *Artikuli*, and in part also *Cerkovna ordninga*; his hymnals as well, from the first catechism to the one which appeared against his will in 1563), Trubar was also active pastorally, and that in a very broad spectrum (as preacher, superintendent and founder of public schools). Moreover he encouraged the Slovene students studying at German universities. Dalmatin was not the last to finish at Trubar's recommendation and with his assistance the school at Bebenhausen and to register at the University of Tübingen. Others would follow whose names are known to us from Trubar's correspondence. Dalmatin was also close to Trubar as a person. He had to thank him not only for financial support but for his fatherly care as well. He took over Trubar's inheritance in the sense that he continued his tradition of reformation literature, though it was Trubar's son Felicijan who published after his father's death Trubar's last work, Luther's *Haus Postilla*. Let us mention at the same time the rather remarkable fact that Felicijan in exile did not know Slovene very well, learning it well only later when he was the last superintendent in Slovenia; concerning the other son, Primož junior, it is not known whether he knew Slovene at all, since he served only in German lands. Thus Trubar's literary heritage passed with all its unsolved tasks to Dalmatin; it is therefore understandable why the term "fatherly" is appropriate for Trubar's relationship with Dalmatin.

It was Adam Bohorič, the school director who had opened his school in Krško, who brought Dalmatin to Trubar. He had discovered Dalmatin's talent at his school. Nor should we ignore Bohorič's influence on Dalmatin's cultural and historical views. I was certainly Bohorič who had infected him with a love for both the homeland and all of Slavdom in general. What we can read in his introductions and dedications, though they are chronologically earlier than the introduction to Bohorič's grammar, points to Bohorič's powerful influence. If it was Trubar who gave him the bases of the Slovene reformational program and encouraged him to work among the Slovenes, it was doubtless Bohorič with his humanist education who opened for Dalmatin his perspective to all the Slavs. It is here that we must seek the source for the later placement of Slovene as a European Biblical language and as a representative of the Slavic languages in E. Hutter's polyglott Bible. How much Bohorič's humanistic point of view might have also influenced Dalmatin's perception of the relation between masters and subjects (in that Bohorič clearly promoted a humane treatment of the "simple folk," cf. the event at Škocjan near Turjak and Dalmatin's letter about it), it is more difficult to say, for Trubar also defended the rights of the underdog and in this regard had completely different view from those of the German Lutheran Reformation (see A. Kos' book, *Družbeni nazor slovenskih protestantov*, for more on this). Such a tiny episode can how-



ever have much significance, for it points to a certain continuity between Slovene Protestantism and the peasant question in the sixteenth century.

Among Dalmatin's friends and in part also his models are two Germans of similar inclinations, Christoph Spindler and Nicodemus Frischlin. Spindler was Dalmatin's schoolmate at Tübingen; he defended Dalmatin before the Carniolan Diet with Trubar and the regional head Herbart Auersperg, that Dalmatin might get the position as German and Slovene preacher in Ljubljana. At that time they were experiencing some difficulties regarding the wearing of the surplice (the priest's outer garment during the service) with the preachers Tulščak and Kumperger, the latter of whom relented and wore a surplice, while the former refused and was dismissed for two years and only later reinstated. Thus Dalmatin was in some sense twice welcome to Spindler, for he was a tolerant Lutheran and unconcerned about details, on the other hand he spoke German and Slovene and was useful here and there. At the same time his wish to continue his translation of the Bible and consult about it with preachers knowledgeable in Slovene was fulfilled. Among these was also Bohorič.<sup>2</sup> Spindler was *inter alia* a member of the review board for the Bible in 1581. As a result of his preaching responsibilities he was however often unable to attend. It is also significant that Spindler was the superintendent of Ljubljana and in that position could on occasion help along the work of the commission.<sup>3</sup> Frischlin was a scholar and Dalmatin's teacher. The relations between teacher and student were cordial and Dalmatin retained a respectful feeling toward him all his life. Frischlin had come to Ljubljana in 1582 at the recommendation of his classmate Spindler, and stayed there till 1584. Dalmatin was also present at his official installation. Frischlin was helpful to Dalmatin in overcoming some of the difficulties in printing his Bible in 1583. And Dalmatin helped Frischlin in another way; he was a support for him in the literary and moral scandals he provoked. In any event Frischlin maintained a favorable place in the evaluation of later Catholic writers who were less inclined to Protestantism (Stepišnik, Benkovič). He did not however leave much of an impression after his departure. His stay in Ljubljana had been so short and his work conceived only in outline, one which had awakened great hopes that with the help of Frischlin working together with Spindler and Dalmatin Slovene culture would come to life in a more European context.<sup>4</sup> Dalmatin was able to prepare for his great labor thanks to these two men whom he knew from his time in Tübingen and who, each in his own way—Spindler with spiritual authority, Frischlin more in the humanistic field—influenced Dalmatin's enthusiasm for Reformational ideals and popular culture in the broadest sense. Nor should we fail to mention that it was Spindler's criticism of feudal society which contributed to Dalmatin's point of view concerning the relationship between the nobility and the lower classes, especially since Frischlin was



made to feel himself the displeasure of those for whom he had such harsh words.<sup>5</sup>

Dalmatin thus moved in a circle of people who inspired and helped him to realize his program: the Bible came into being as the Slovene Bible of Dalmatin in continuity with the Slovene Protestant program. It was a continuation of Trubar's translations, but more in line than Trubar's with the Lutheran tradition. For the commission reviewing his Bible it was important that it be compared strictly with Luther's and that it take into account Luther's annotations. In certain exceptional cases of doubt, however, it did utilize (explicitly—also thus indicated in the margins) the *Biblia Vatabli* "with linguistic remarks of the Catholic Watebled."<sup>6</sup> That the review commission decided upon the *Biblia Vatabli*, which was highly regarded in contemporary Biblical scholarship, though its origin and author made necessary the carefulest handling and evaluation, was significant: since it was obvious that a different political and administrative attitude existed toward Protestants in the Inner Austrian lands than did in the German lands, it was necessary to put into effect in a consistent way the principles of the Peace of Augsburg (1555) and the Augsburg Confession. It could do no harm, and in fact was useful, if the review commission took into account a Catholic translation of the Bible and Catholic views. Thus can we understand the care of Dalmatin and the review commission, as well as Trubar's, for everything including the *Formula Concordiae*, which was based on the Confession of Augsburg. The members of the committee had signed the Formula and thus professed their adherence to the Augsburg Confession. The ruler of the Inner Austrian lands should not then have had a reason to act against them. Nevertheless he did when he forbade printing in Ljubljana, and therefore forbade the distribution of the already printed Bible in his lands. Thus the Bible came to the Slovene lands in secret. The course of its printing and distribution are known in detail from investigations done during the first decade of the present century.<sup>7</sup>

Though Dalmatin's most significant work is his Bible and literary history remembers him precisely for this monumental undertaking, in that recent Slovene philology expects much from this work of Protestant scholarship in evaluating the bases of the Slovene literary language, we should not ignore Bohorič's grammar, which arose as a result of the Bible and has accompanied it through the centuries to our own day. Nor should we ignore Dalmatin's pastoral (practical) work, as a result of which he penned his first literary work, "Ena serčna molitev zuper Turke" (1574), and other hymns in later collections, and especially his Passion, based on a harmony of the gospels (1576) in thirty stanzas, his Agenda (1585), and also the relatively thin volume based on Trubar's *Cerkovna ordninga*, though lacking the necessary handbook for practical pastoral care.



If thus we wish to underline the meaning of Dalmatin's Bible from two points of view, the literary-historical and the theological-pastoral, we must take into account the entire range of Dalmatin's activity. We must understand Dalmatin within the circle of his colleagues, coworkers and companions, among whom we have listed only those who have had an impact on his spiritual physiognomy, and at the same time we must look into what he read, both during and after his work on the Bible, and how this uplifted and encouraged him.

*The Literary-Historical Profile of Dalmatin's Bible*

The Dalmatin Bible is the culmination of the period which begins with the Freising Fragments and continues through centuries of medieval writings, many of which are still unknown, up to the last quarter of the sixteenth century. In it is assembled the literary and linguistic heritage of the Slovenes, who with their centuries-long oral tradition were capable of developing their cultural potential to such a degree that at the end of this period they were able to reach the very summit that many other European nationalities, including the South Slavic ones, were unable to achieve. Of course this work was nurtured by other capable people before and in the time of Dalmatin. Without them the Bible would not have come into existence, despite all of Dalmatin's sacrifices and the youthful ardor with which he started and finished it. Trubar, with all the uncertainty of a man who was aware of his inability, in that he lacked the basic knowledge concerning the nature of the language or the mode of its writing, in that of the Slavic letters he modeled himself after the Czech system, but issued his first book in gothic script and at least in part with a German sentence structure and lexicon, which Dalmatin too was not able to avoid,—Trubar initiated writing in Slovene. The first Slovene book also pointed out the authentic possibility of a Bible, toward which all of Trubar's enthusiasm as a writer and translator was directed. Trubar himself knew what the entire Bible translated into Slovene meant. It is a fact that with the help of the Bible Trubar intended to Christianize the entire South Slavic realm and turn the Turkish danger away from Europe. For that reason he had sought so tirelessly for the translation of the Bible done by the monk from the island of Cres: all his inquiries about him or his manuscript were unsuccessful, however, and all trace of his Bible has perished.

However much regard the Bible might have had in itself, it meant for the whole Slovene linguistic area and Slovene areas beyond those borders (Istria, Metlika, the Carst, the kajkavian area), an increase in the awareness of ethnic affiliation, of which Dalmatin and Bohorič were both quite conscious. Of course the Bible could not, immediately upon publication, fulfill every task its initiators had assigned to it. Concrete hinder-



ances (import restriction, indifference in the outlying areas for which it was intended) prevented its becoming a link between the South Slavic nationalities. As much as we might assume that Štefan Küzmič used Dalmatin's Bible for his translation of the New Testament, we assume on the basis of some linguistic features, for there are no literary-historical proofs of contact.<sup>8</sup> Thus even in a predominantly Protestant region the Dalmatin Bible remained unknown, though of course we cannot say it was completely unknown. It is a fact that a relatively large number of copies of the Dalmatin Bible were preserved in the Carinthian Protestant area, indicating an unusual durability. A few scholars (O. Sakrausky) ascribe this durability to the Flacianism (Protestant radicalism) of Carinthian Protestant thought (Flacius' desires to establish an independent university in Klagenfurt), but it might also be affirmed that the Northern Slovene and urban part of modern Austria from Carinthia to Salzburg was aware of Protestant ideas even after the Catholic Counter-Reformation and took them into exile with them (see, for example, the comparative studies recently done on Slovene Protestants in North America and the German Protestants in Siebenbürgen in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). Because it has been possible to find till very recently in the Carinthian area of Slovene Protestantism bits of Slovene Protestant literature (Sakrausky, W. Neumann), together with the writings of Slovene Carinthia, it is fitting to look for the reasons for the preservation of Slovene Protestantism in the narrow southwestern strip of contemporary Austrian Carinthia in the assumption that the Slovene Carinthian has been since the sixteenth century in constant contact with Slovene Protestant literature, and above all with the Slovene Bible. Thus here the Bible truly justified its own existence.

We must however have the future of the Dalmatin Bible in mind, too, which stretches from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century, when Japelj prepared a new translation. From Japelj's translation to the present day the Bible has continued to be present in Slovene Catholic circles, also in a new translations (e.g., Wolf's) and church lectionaries (see the classical study by A. Breznik from 1917).<sup>9</sup> The Bible has thus been present in Slovene cultural reality one way or another from its first days. That fact plus its literary historical role make it a factor in Slovene cultural history. If in other nations awareness of national affiliation had other sources, for the Slovenes the Bible signifies that historical shift toward the formation of a conscious nationality. Without it we could not begin to imagine a Slovene nationality. Also the fact that the Bible was accepted as a result of the not totally accidental activity of Bishop Hren as a "debut in strength" for the Slovene Catholic church and remained thus for a good two hundred years, means that the Bible was a unifying force for Slovenes and had even at that time an ecumenical significance. Although M. Robič, the Catholic historian of



the nineteenth century, found the Dalmatin Bible to be "scandalous" because of some undignified woodcarvings, also because of "incorrect" translations of some scriptural texts, and he thought the introduction to be heretical in the way it adduced scriptural references to prove the excellence of the translation,<sup>10</sup> nevertheless the Bible was quite welcome for those first two hundred years, as long as there was no Catholic translation. Slovene priests were able to proclaim to the simple Slovene believer the Gospel differently than before it. For it was a fact that the Slovene priest was not always competent in Latin and translated it in his own way, often to the detriment of the text, and particularly to the detriment of Biblical scholarship; though Trubar's anecdote about the priest who mistranslated "pullum" as chicken may only be waggish, nevertheless behind it lies the tragedy of the uneducated Slovene priest. Thus too the Protestant Bible helped Catholicism toward a renewal of spiritual life in the post-reformational period.

Dalmatin was thus able in his time to do more than Trubar at the beginning of his efforts to produce national awareness. This was still present thanks to Trubar's initiatory literary work, therefore Dalmatin and Bohorič were able to nurture consciously the cult of "Sloveneness". F. Kidrič said it this way: "The seeds for the development of a national Slovene and Slavic consciousness were borne among the Slovenes more by his books than by Trubar's or Krelj's." Kidrič counts a number of places in Dalmatin that affirm that: his insistence upon Slovene unity (in some dedications); his terminology in referring to his readers and their language ("Slovenci," "Sloveni," "Windisch," "slovenščina," "kranjska slovenščina," "slovenski jezik," "kranjski jezik," "Windische Sprache," "windische Kirche," "verwindischen"); the author's identification with Slovene readers ("our maternal language," "my maternal Slovene language," "our Slovene language," "our Carniolan language," "our poor and simple Slovene man," "our wretched little Slovene nation," "our Slovene church," "our dear homeland," "we Slovenes," "we poor Slovenes," etc., in his German introductions and Slovene texts). Also worthy of note is his insistence on "the numerous literary sibilings of the Slovenes and their value for the Slovene language," also Dalmatin's "suggestion that the Bible in particular was intended for many "Slovenes" [i.e., Slavs] (see the register to his Bible).<sup>11</sup> Kidrič saw just this extensiveness of the Bible and stressed it. At the same time in the literary sense the Bible seemed to him that work which was "necessary in the sense of a Protestant ideology in the Slovene language."<sup>12</sup> Kidrič could not have said more about the Bible. It still belonged to that genre of literary production that did not have a direct contact with artistic inspiration. It was a felicitous translation, and in that sense it belonged to Slovene "writing." I. Grafenauer also saw in it nothing more than a unifying element of Slovene culture, one that



realized the continuity between medieval literacy and modern literary production.<sup>13</sup> J. Pogačnik has ascribed to the Bible a bit more, in that he sees in it "the bearer of the literary tradition," and claims for it indirectly through its author "linguistic genius and stylistic sensitivity."<sup>14</sup> Pogačnik despite that awards primacy of literary creativity to Trubar, though he finds in Dalmatin some inclination to personal lyric expression: "Dalmatin's part in this is extraordinarily significant."<sup>15</sup> In his study of Dalmatin's style in the Bible he concluded that with Dalmatin it is a matter of the beginning of Slovene artistic linguistic expression, not only in the religious but also in the secular literary creativity. On the basis of his comparisons of the Luther and Dalmatin translations with the Vulgate and the Septuagint, he concluded that it truly was a matter of Dalmatin's "poetry," which through its fund of Biblical religious and literary imagery influenced secular literature, and thus it is fitting to ascribe to it the merit that it formed the bridge "between the pious beginnings of our literacy in the sixteenth century to the belle-lettristic and artistic texts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries." Thus Pogačnik following A. Slodnjak, placed the Bible among the authentic literary creations, of course always within the framework allowed it by its genre, with however a perceptible poetic expressiveness, whenever an individualization appeared in the first person singular and thus exceeded in individual sections the traditional boundaries of the genre.<sup>16</sup> Thus the Bible from the literary-historical point of view has undergone a development as a purely philological and literary-normative factor to an artistic creation of the sixteenth century with an extended influence on later Slovene prose and poetic productions of secular literature.

### *The Theological Profile of the Dalmatin Bible*

Sakrausky has studied the Bible recently in a most fundamental way from the theological point of view. He was also the first to acquaint himself more closely with the theological content of Dalmatin's most extensive, independent Slovene text, "Gmajn predgovor čez vso sveto biblijo." He was able to do this (in that he was not completely competent in Slovene) thanks to the first German translation of the preface, which appeared together with his study in a monograph on the Dalmatin Bible.<sup>17</sup> About the preface, which in the opinion of some investigators was supposed to be most like a form of "Biblical dogmatics," in which Dalmatin touched upon all the questions of dogma and compared them with Catholic teaching (let me mention particularly that burning theme of Slovene Protestantism from Trubar on, the cult of the saints), the Slovene Biblical scholar Marijan Peklaj has reported recently; however he juxtaposed Dalmatin's Protestant teaching to the Catholic version.<sup>18</sup> The entire problem of Dalmatin's translation turns upon the question of



whether Dalmatin consciously followed Luther and his translation throughout, or whether he used in his translation other translations, or translated from the Hebrew or Greek originals. Literary historians, in so far as they have entered into a study of Dalmatin's sources, have until recently (with the single exception of Slodnjak, who first doubted that Dalmatin used Luther exclusively) been united in the opinion that Dalmatin's translation is in fact a translation of Martin Luther.<sup>19</sup> For Sakrausky a significant concrete question opened within that larger question concerning which of Luther's Bibles Dalmatin used. It is also not without significance to know which Bible the review commission used. Sakrausky suspects that Dalmatin used Luther's Wittenberg translation, for he was an Orthodox Lutheran, so that only the Wittenberg editions have come into consideration, in which Luther's translations and glosses of 1545-46 are preserved, and these Dalmatin translated exactly. The review commission must also have had as a guide the Wittenberg edition of 1578, for the the printing of the Bible probably also the Wittenberg Bible of 1584, which was printed by the publisher of the Slovene Bible, Samuel Selfisch.<sup>20</sup> Concerning the Wittenberg tradition it is possible to adduce several interesting facts, among which that Dalmatin depended upon Luther's translation as he worked, for he omitted the glosses that were in other Bibles but not in Luther's of 1545; also that the method of translation and features which are to be found in Luther's editions are also to be found in Dalmatin. That of course is not to say that Dalmatin operated on the basis of only one edition, but rather that he used many editions, however all of them from Wittenberg. We ought also not neglect the existence of Dalmatin's friend, the Superintendent of Wittenberg, at whose home the Slovenes involved in the printing of the Bible lived. Polikarp Leyser was a conscientious Lutheran and with J. Andreae he too entered into the matter of Protestant scruples about the Formula Concordiae in the Austrian and Inner Austrian lands; he also, after the printing of the Slovene Bible in Wittenberg, pleaded for strict ethics concerning the use of the Luther Bible and of course its recent imprints. Thus may we conclude despite the lack of explicit proofs concerning Dalmatin's translation that he used Luther's text, therefore the Slovene Bible is truly a translation of Luther's original text as Luther himself supervised it in 1545-46. It seems that further detailed analyses will be unable to shake the recent scholarly conclusions of Sakrausky and Pogačnik.

"Gmajn predgovor" is a constituent part of the Slovene Bible. With it Dalmatin wanted to introduce the reader of Holy Scripture into the world of the Bible, so that he set out his teaching broad terms. On Trubar's model he distinguished between the old and new faith, and what differences would tell where the two faiths came together and where they were far apart. Didactically it was easier to show the "pure



teaching" itself. The principle "sola scriptura" he understood himself after Trubar that it was necessary to provide biblical teaching in short sketches (*articuli*) and catechisms. Without such teaching the reading of Holy Writ would not be efficacious. Dalmatin preserved in his program Trubar's tradition of publishing catechisms, so that catechisms and hymns (in which the most important elements of information were explained in verse forms) appeared in intervals of five years. Dalmatin also preserved Trubar's introductions in his catechisms. The significance of linking the reading of Holy Scripture with catechisms was preserved and served unchangingly from the first catechism (1550) as the most successful means for education in the faith.

In his introduction Dalmatin is remarkable for his tolerance for his opponents, which would also appear to be characteristic of him though it seems from a few indications that Dalmatin had to work for his tolerance toward his opponents, for it was not completely natural to him. To preserve one's convictions and at the same time respect the opinions of others was a virtue in more peaceful times, and so much more so in stormy ones like the sixteenth century. It was also a matter in fact of a split between two spiritual worlds within Catholicism. This was particularly perceptible at the end of the Council of Trent, when Europe took definitive leave of the idea of a unitary Catholicism and began to organize relations between Catholicism and Protestantism in the new circumstances. W. Šmid's opinion, taken over by Sakrausky concerning the ecumenical significance of Dalmatin's preface and Bible, should be understood thus: Dalmatin looked upon the Slovenes in 1584 with the eyes of a Slovene for whom conviction was the most precious thing, but who knew that the Bible stood so far above various kinds of learning which in the final analysis derive from it that it is possible to have the Bible as a unifying element, and therefore he gave it into the hands of all the Slovenes and did not limit it merely to those belonging to this denomination. What Šmid did not stress when he spoke above Dalmatin's tolerance in the preface (which Catholic investigators also ascribe to him), Sakrausky described in the title itself and was the first perhaps to address the matter of Dalmatin's ecumenical disposition. Trubar could be for him a model only to a certain extent, if it was a matter of ecumenism in the broadest sense: cooperation with the Orthodox and Christian expansion to the east with peace plans to stop the Turkish threat. Dalmatin tried to accept Trubar's enthusiasm more modestly, but to realize it that much more authentically. Trubar's plans were not fulfilled, but Dalmatin's Bible "found grace" in the post-Reformation period. Of all the Protestant writings it alone escaped the "pyre". Sakrausky affirms that it did so precisely because of its ecumenism. Though the preface was proscribed, the text of the Bible, as Dalmatin had translated it from Luther, pleased the Catholic clergy. This ecumenical dimension of the



Bible in the Slovene realm must be specially mentioned and evaluated. As a result of it Slovene theology in its earliest meaning was a unifying force in the service of the people. And it continues to seem that this role has not ceased even after the sixteenth century.

### *The Dual Image of the Bible*

A duality is significant for the Slovene reformers: they belonged to the European Reformation, but also to the Slovene, later the South Slavic and, with Dalmatin, the general Slavic ethnic community. Of course we must stress that the Slovene reformers nurtured national consciousness first and above all in the narrow sphere of their own ethnic community; however under the influence of at least in part reformational ideas they broadened it also to include other Slavic groups. With its ideas the Reformation influenced the Slovene Protestants both intellectually and politically, in that it got in, so to speak, to all the pores of national life: it changed the former hierarchical pattern within the Church, removed celibacy and with it the peculiar nature of priestly life, proclaimed the importance of lay people in the Church, the inclusion of the secular nobility in staffing matters, where they had always had a decisive influence, the question of the material support of Churchmen. Thus this "pure teaching" meant also for society, which still existed in such a tight bond between Church and state, a revolution into some new social reality in which the nobility were not only of noble birth and privileged in society, but also felt themselves bound to the people. Trubar's mention speaks of this readiness of the nobles to participate with the simple folk in the liturgy; Dalmatin's role in the matter of the simple man does too.

Thus the Slovene Reformation in the Slovene lands had an influence on the changing of the social order. Although that change would not achieve a full revolutionary switch-over to full equality, still the democratic elements which derived from the teaching about the priesthood of all believers would with time manage to leaven Slovene society and enable it as early as the sixteenth century to make at least in part a quicker transition to bourgeois society as we know it from European cultural and political history.

This duality also dictated a translation and publication of the Bible. The idea for translation was doubtlessly first born of completely religious impulses: the Bible in hand to teach believers about its contents with the help of credos and catechisms. In that way would the Bible provide the believer a direct relationship with God.

On the other hand the Slovene reformers were aware that with the translations of Holy Scripture they were creating at the same time a national culture: not only the printing of the most necessary manuals for



teaching the faith, but also the foundation of schools of various sorts, which would also permit the blossoming of general cultural education without regard for the specific needs of the Slovene Protestant Church.

Thus it is understandable that we consider the Slovene Bible and its creator from two sides: the Bible is above all a book of faith, however as a result of it the Slovene nation was formed and with its help joined the ranks of cultured European nations, as demonstrated in Hutter's polyglott Bible of 1599, where the representative of the Slavic languages is Slovene. Therefore the Bible is at the same time a significant achievement of the Slovene Reformation as a reformation, and is also a significant achievement of the cultural and political development of the Slovenes.

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16. J. Pogačnik, "Jurij Dalmatin im Lichte stilistischer Untersuchungen," in: *Jurij Dalmatin, Biblia 1584*, op. cit., 63ff, 84ff.
17. O. Sakrausky, "Die theologische Bedeutung der Bibelübersetzung Jurij Dalmatins," in: *Jurij Dalmatin, Biblia 1584*, op. cit., 31; Jurij Dalmatin, "Allgemeines Vorwort über die ganze heilige Bibel" (translated by Wilhelm Wretschitsch), *ibid.*, 183.
18. M. Peklaj, "Sveto pismo, izročilo in Cerkev v predgovorih Jurija Dalmatina v Biblijo 1584," Inavg. disertacija, University of Ljubljana, 1982.
19. J. Pogačnik, "Jurij Dalmatin im Lichte," op. cit., 72ff.
20. Sakrausky, op. cit., 43.