

“EVANGELINI”:
THE PROTESTANT INTERMEZZO IN ŽUŽEMBERK

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Žužemberk is a small town, such as used to be called *trg*, in the Dolenjsko region. It has around 1,000 inhabitants. It can be reached by the autoroute Ljubljana-Zagreb, exiting at Stična and then following a meandering, narrow road along the Krka valley. The villages, vineyards and small fields on the hills above the river and the ancient flour-mills deep down in its canyon seem to have stood unchanged, petrified in time, forever.

The first glimpse of Žužemberk is from a distance of some five, six kilometers: there are two churches, one on each side of the river. The one on the left seems to be an imposing two-tower structure, but closer up it is nothing but a grey skeleton, a decaying ruin, from which wild aspens and elders grow in profusion. Perched on the steep banks of the river, clustered around a ruined castle, centuries-old houses huddle together. They seem safe from the forces of nature and human interaction. Yet, this arcadian setting has been anything but a haven of peace and security. A close study of the history of this part of Slovenia shows that it has never escaped any punishment, any rage of God or man, ever since Celtic farmers tilled its sunny hills.

The sixteenth century did not spare the inhabitants of the Krka valley either. Not only were they repeatedly hit by the Turks¹ while at the same time shouldering the consequences of their involvement in the peasant rebellions: the religious upheaval of the Protestant Reformation, with all its confusion and painful consequences, reached them as well. In Žužemberk, these events fall into the period between 1580 and 1600.

Most of my information about the Protestant period in Žužemberk comes from a manuscript chronicle entitled *Zgodbe župnije Žužemberk*.² The volume consists of 399 pages of longhand script and was compiled in 1958 by Alojz Zupanc, the vicar of Šmihel, a small parish a few kilometers west of Žužemberk. Before his appointment to Šmihel, vicar Zupanc had been assistant priest in Žužemberk for many years. He was a well-known amateur historian and a living local chronicle. Often he was a sought-after source of information for the scholarly research of historians interested in the region of the upper Krka valley.³

Zupanc, whose soutane was old and discolored, and whose speech was the melodious dialect of his parishioners, was an easy-going,

broad-minded, gentle priest. People remember him as the one who would never ask probing questions in the confessional, but simply gave absolution and left the rest to be settled between God and the penitent. Yet, in his report about the Protestants he does not come across as a tolerant, understanding, well-educated intellectual. He absolutely condemns Luther and maintains that his followers were either after personal gain, coveting power and church lands, or spineless weaklings. According to Zupanc, the priests who became Lutherans did so only because they could not abide by the Catholic law of priestly celibacy.

The chapter dealing with the Protestant period in Žužemberk is entitled *Verska zmeda v letih 1580-1600*. It begins with an introduction in the style of a sermon in which vicar Zupanc is trying to explain to his flock why Luther rebelled against the Catholic church, what kind of people followed him and why. After this introduction, the chronicle proceeds with the events in Žužemberk. Certain parts are repeated with slight deviations many times, and the narrative is interlaced with preaching and personal comments. In spite of this, it is a valuable document. It provides an informative insight into a typical grassroots reaction to the ideas and spiritual rebellion of the Reformation.

The first Protestant in Žužemberk was Herbart VIII, Count Auersperg of Turjak, who was the lord of Žužemberk from 1559 until his death in 1575. Herbart was the first among the numerous Auerspergs to embrace Lutheranism. He was born in 1528, the son of Wolf Englebert Auersperg, and the nephew of Jurij, the master of Žužemberk.⁴ Jurij was childless, except for an illegitimate son, who in 1559 tried to seize the castle. He was killed in the attack, and Herbart took possession of Žužemberk.⁵ In 1560 Herbart brought from Istria a Protestant, Ivan Laurella, who was an expert in the glagolitic script. He installed him as the vicar of the tiny Protestant parish of Dolenjske Toplice, which comprised only Toplice proper and the neighboring village of Gradišče and was directly under the jurisdiction of the Auerspergs in Žužemberk. In Toplice, Laurella could work undisturbed, reading the glagolitic and cyrillic texts coming out of Ungnad's printshop in Germany. Herbart did not introduce the new religion to the town of Žužemberk, however. Perhaps he was too involved with his other pursuits; he managed different Auersperg properties, among others the castle of Bled, and in the years 1566-1572 he was the governor of Carniola. Besides, he was continually involved in the defence against the Turks. He died on the battlefield at Budačka, in 1575, the same year as his unfortunate sister-in-law, Countess Anna, was killed by a pet bear at the Žužemberk castle. But while Anna was buried as a Catholic in the Franciscan monastery, her brother-in-law had a Protestant funeral in the Ljubljana Protestant cemetery.

The man who introduced Protestantism to Žužemberk was Her-

bart's son Andrej, who distinguished himself in the victorious battle against the Turks at Sisak. When, in 1580, he returned to Žužemberk, he brought with him a Lutheran predicant, Krištof Slivec, and installed him as the town's Protestant parish priest. At that time, there were three churches in Žužemberk. The first one, high on top of the hill above the Krka canyon, above the castle and the town, was the parish church, since 1295 dedicated to the Aquileian missionaries SS. Mohor and Fortunat. Before that time it had been dedicated to St. Nicholas. Not to offend this important saint, the counts of Gorica, who at that time owned the parish church, had decided to dedicate to St. Nicholas the second Žužemberk church, a tiny structure at the bottom of the Krka canyon, on a few flat yards of land on the right bank of the river. Zupanc speculates that this miniature church was the oldest in Žužemberk and that it had probably stood long before the town of Žužemberk was large enough to even merit a name. Like all churches built under the Aquileian influence, it had no belfry; instead, there was a kind of pointed tower perched atop the front wall. But in spite of its small size, St. Nicholas' seems to have been quite a wealthy church. In 1526 it had contributed a gold-plated silver chalice, 6 Hungarian gold coins and 3 florin 58 groschen towards the so-called “turški davek”. The third church that stood in Žužemberk in 1580 (when predicant Slivec came to establish a Lutheran congregation), was the Church of St. James, which was situated by the northern wall of the castle. It had been built between 1317 and 1329 by James (or: Jecel) Seisenberger, the lord of the castle, in fulfilment of a vow, after his safe return from a war; he dedicated it to his patron saint. The church was built in the Romanesque style and it remained the property of the castle.

Andrej Auersperg gave the Protestant preacher two churches: the Church of St. Nicholas and the Church of St. James. The Church of SS. Mohor and Fortunat belonged to the monastery of Stična, and the Auerspergs could not touch it. The castle chapel, dedicated to St. Urh, was Protestant also.

The Church of St. James was enlarged: a square Gothic presbytery and a steeple were added to it. However, it was the little St. Nicholas' that became the Protestant parish church. Its Romanesque apse was removed, and it too was enlarged with a Gothic presbytery. Around the church, the Lutheran congregation constructed its own cemetery by piling cartloads of soil on the scanty ground. The result of this was that the little church seemed to have sunk into the ground, and its floor had to be elevated. The windows of the presbytery now came only a few feet above the ground.

Andrej Auersperg provided for Krištof Slivec very well. He had two wooden buildings erected beside the church a large house for the predicant and his family, and a smaller one for the sexton.⁶ He also allocated

to the preacher the proceeds from a farm in the village of Prapreče, as well as 26 bushels of wheat and 30 bushels each of a white and dark mixture of grain from a flour-mill below Prapreče.

Twenty-four families converted to Lutheranism. They were mostly tradesmen, the inhabitants of the town proper, who served the needs and depended for their living on the castle.⁷ The inhabitants of the surrounding villages remained Catholic. In Zupanc's words: "Večina so bili tržani, ki so svojo vero zatajili, samo da so se greli v grofovi milosti—Kmečko ljudstvo je držalo s katoliško cerkvijo, ker se je borilo za 'staro pravdo'. Luteranov niso imeli radi zato, ker jih je ščutil njihov najhujši sovražnik Andrej Turjaški, žužemberški graščak."⁸ The Catholics called the Lutherans "evangelini". The house-name Evangelinovi remained in Žužemberk until 1930. Later, people shortened it into "Vangelin". The peasants clustered around the Catholic parish priest Jurij Josin (or: Zusim), who retained the church on the hill, led processions, and warned his crowd to stay away from the heretics.

In spite of this division between the town's Lutherans and the Catholic villagers, however, it seems that all animosity had been put aside when a fire broke out on Easter Monday 1591. The fire destroyed the shingled castle roof and damaged some of its parts; it also demolished the roof of St. James' Church and burned down nearly all the buildings on the right bank of the Krka, including Krištof Sivec's house and flammable parts of St. Nicholas' Church. The predicant took his family to the castle of Kozjek in the parish of Dobernič, 7 km. north of Žužemberk. There he found shelter with a fellow Protestant preacher, Tomaž Fašang. When the villagers witnessed the townspeople's bad luck, they forgot their quarrel and donated lumber, sand and labor for the reconstruction of Žužemberk. Soon the castle, the two churches, and even Krištof Sivec's dwelling were rebuilt. Zupanc credits this arousal of Christian compassion to a sermon delivered by Jurij Josin at the village of Ajdovec, where he had led a procession on Tuesday after the fire. According to Zupanc, Josin said:

Naša vera nas uči, tam pomagat, kjer boli. Poglejte Žužemberk! Ves je v razvalinah. Morda si kdo misli, prav je evangelinom, ki so radi graščaka vero zatajili. Pa to ni prav; naša vera nas uči tam pomagat, kjer boli. Sodbo prepustimo Bogu, zakaj njegovo je maščevanje; on bo sodil tudi nas.⁸

To thank their Catholic neighbors—or perhaps they were not quite sure where they stood in religious matters—some Lutherans joined the Catholics in a procession to Goli vrh, where they vowed to build a chapel to St. Florian, the protector against fire.

Whether or not Josin delivered that sermon is a question. It is true,

however, that he did not have an enviable position in Žužemberk in those years of “*verska zmeda*”. Although the diocese of Ljubljana never officially recognized the existence of the predicant and the two Lutheran churches in Žužemberk, Jurij Josin had to face reality and do whatever he could to retain his dignity and to save his flock from the spreading heresies, coping with problems as they arose. In 1589 the auxiliary bishop of Ljubljana, Pavel Bizancij, came to Žužemberk for the confirmation ceremony and visitation. He took the Church of St. James away from the Protestants and returned it to Josin. However, as soon as the bishop had left, the Lutherans repossessed the church. Four years later, in 1593, the patriarch Franc Barbaro came for another visitation. He was accompanied by a representative of the secular authorities, an archdeacon, and two Jesuits. This time, Andrej Auersperg had posted a strong guard around S. James’ and the patriarch did not dare to approach it. In his official report he described the incident as follows

From Ribnica I arrived at Žužemberk, where the castle is in the possession of the heretics, and *nearly all* the inhabitants are Lutherans. A second church has been seized by the heretics, and there they now preach their heresies. I had intended to demand it back, but it was guarded by many soldiers, and the archduke’s commissioner considered it unwise to expose himself to the danger of attack. We decided to file a complaint to the archduke and await his help.⁹

In the same report Barbaro praised Jurij Josin, saying that his parish church was one of the best looked-after churches in the region.

But if the Catholic priest faced problems, his Lutheran counterpart fared no better. One can imagine to what ridicule Krištof Slivec was exposed daily, when 400 years after the reformation he is described in Zupanc’s chronicle in the following fashion:

Kristof Slivc [sic] — je bil poročen, čeprav duhovnik in ni nič maševal, samo hleb kruha je razrezal in je dal vsakemu en košček in še malo vina. Odvezo grehov je dal brez spovedi. On je trdil, da svetniki Kozma in Damijan in celo Marija nič ne zamorejo. Procesija, da je neumnost — Krištofu Slivcu je hodila v glavo čudna misel: Judež je odpadel za 30 srebrn., ti pa za eno ž—. On ni nikogar zapeljal, ti pa zapeljuješ druge, da bi svojo vest olajšal!¹⁰

That “ž —”, obviously standing for that despicable temptation, “ženska”, demonstrates Zupanc’s, and probably the majority of the sixteenth century Catholic priests’ idea, that the only possible reason for a priest to accept Lutheranism was to shake off the shackles of celibacy.

Slivec stayed in Žužembark for twenty years, from 1580 to 1600. During those years he most likely found solace visiting his fellow Protes-

tant preachers in the neighboring castles and parishes. As already mentioned, there was a small Protestant community at Dolenjske Toplice, where the glagolitic expert Ivan Laurella was followed by the predicant Gašper Krumperger. Apparently, Krumperger was a sloppy pastor and a drunk. After a fight with the unruly preacher, the Turjak overseer, Mihael Lyst, had him whipped and thrown into prison. After Krumperger, the Auerspergs installed Mihael Vrbec, who remained in Toplice until 1609, when he escaped to Croatia to find protection with the Counts Zrinjski; he kept returning to Toplice for many years, hoping — like other Protestants — that their time was not over forever. In Dobernič the Lutherans had a congregation larger than the one in Žužemberk. They were the subjects of the Counts Sauer, who lived at the castle of Kozjek. The Sauers installed their Protestant preacher in the tiny church of St. Anthony, which stood in the hamlet of Selce, situated in the forests below Kozjek. Their predicant, Tomaž Fašang, was paid 55 florin a year. Fašang was the one who offered hospitality to Slivec and his family when they remained homeless in the fire of 1591. Tomaž Fašang was succeeded by his son Abel, who remained at Selce until he was swept away by the storm of the Counter-Reformation. Another strong Lutheran congregation not far from Žužemberk was established in the village of Krka, where 30 families converted to Protestantism. They were the subjects of the Barons Ravbar, who ruled from the castle of Benek.

How strong Protestantism in these parts of Dolenjsko really was, can be deduced from the number of Catholic children who were confirmed by the bishop in 1593. While there were 400 children in Cerknica, 457 in Višnja gora, 124 in Ribnica, and 111 in Novo mesto, there were only 42 in Trebnje, 40 in Krka, 40 in Dobropolje, and in Žužemberk — 25!

However, the Catholics that remained were zealous and pious. At the height of Lutheranism in Žužemberk, in 1598, a native son, Matija Tomaževič, was ordained a priest. Later, in 1613, he became the parish priest of Žužemberk.

In addition to clear-cut Protestants and Catholics, there were individuals caught in the vise between the two groups. One such man was Anton Porenta, the Catholic vicar of Žužemberk who succeeded Jurij Josin. Although there is no evidence that Porenta ever considered conversion to Protestantism, he was accused of leaning towards the “evangelini” because of his lifestyle. Vicar Zupanc bashfully resorts to Latin, when he reports that Porenta “habuit filiam cum coqua sua—”¹¹ Porenta was a scholar who owned a library of theological texts, which in his testament he willed to the monastery of Stinčna; he was also an artist who designed interior ornaments for the parish church, and an economist and businessman who renovated the presbytery for the parish priests as well as some village churches in his parish. In 1597 he also

bought a private house in town, and in his testament he left “*coqui pro filia sua Katarina*” 2,000 florin.¹²

Porenta not only never became a Lutheran, but was once even attacked by a group of “*evangelini*”. That happened in 1602, i.e. after the Counter-Reformation commission had officially destroyed Protestantism in Žužemberk. The confrontation took place during a burial by the Church of St. Nicholas, which had become Catholic again. It seems that the clandestine Lutherans remained as determined as they had been under Krištof Slivec. Porenta filed a report to the royal commissioner Polidor Montagnana, who came to Žužemberk personally to reprimand the unrepenting heretics. Porenta’s devotion and good deeds did not outweigh his sins in the eyes of his superiors, however. Jesuits particularly hated him. He was also accused of owing the Church 150 florin. When he died, his testament was invalidated. The director of the seminary in Ljubljana filed a complaint, and demanded that the sum left to Porenta’s daughter should go “*ad pios usus*”. Bishop Hren seized Porenta’s complete estate, including his library. The abbot of Stična sued, and finally everything, including Porenta’s house, became the property of the Stična monastery.

Another victim of his time was Valentin Relovec, who was Porenta’s successor as the Žužemberk parish priest in 1607 and 1608. He was influenced, or was accused of being influenced, by the ideas of Lutheranism. He was deposed because of his “*immoral life*”. What his sin was, could be guessed by Zupanc’s comment: “*Bil je pač eden izmed mnogih, ki jih je duh časa (luteranstvo) potegnil za seboj. Ko pa je prišla protireformatia, ni mogel ubogati glede celibata in je bil obsojen. Takih revežev je bilo zelo veliko.*”¹³

The Protestant intermezzo in Žužemberk was short-lived. It fell into the last two decades of the sixteenth century, and the new ideas had been gaining ground just before the onslaught of the Counter-Reformation. It seems that the “*evangelini*” could not accept the fact that the end had come. They continued harrassing the Catholics during their worship and ceremonies in spite of and after the passing of Bishop Hren’s commission, which reached Dolenjsko, including Žužemberk, in March 1601. Officially, however, the Lutherans were eradicated. The 70-year-old predicant Krištof Slivec was deported and imprisoned in Ljubljana castle. His income, the grain which he had been receiving every year from the mill below Prapreče, was to be paid now directly to the Church of St. Nicholas, while the farm in Prapreče became the property of the Church of SS. Mohor and Fortunat.

It seems, however, that the ex-Lutherans sabotaged this arrangement. The amounts of grain seemed to shrink from year to year, so that by 1694 they were reduced to 16 bushels of wheat and 18 bushels each of a white and dark mixture of grain. Finally, the Auerspergs decided to

sell the mill — known as “Tavčarjev malin”—and the grain tax was from then on paid sometimes by the mill and sometimes by the castle. At the end it was decided that the Church of St. Nicholas simply owned one of the mill-stones. The proceeds from the Prapreče farm fared no better. Immediately after the changes of the Counter-Reformation, the tenant farmer, Marko Moder, was supposed to pay the parish church “letno 1 renski goldinar, pa ni 17 let dal cerkvi ničesar.”¹⁴

The Churches of St. James and St. Nicholas were re-dedicated, as was the cemetery beside St. Nicholas'. Word-of-mouth has it that a Protestant bishop was buried there. Zupanc speculates that it might have been “kak luteranski superintendent, (ki se je) skrival v gradu — in tu umrl.”¹⁵ Since the time of the Counter-Reformation, the graveyard beside the “protestantovska cirkuca” has not accommodated church dignitaries any longer. It served for nearly two centuries as the cemetery for the right bank of Žužemberk and for the villages of Sranska and Budganja vas. The last person buried there, in 1789, was a beggar. For about two hundred years the Church of St. Nicholas was well-looked after. A baroque altar was later put into the church. It was the work of an unknown master carver, who worked on the order of the abbot of Stična, Maximilian Motoh, some time between 1660 and 1680. The church was painted and repainted by known master-painters of the day, Johannes Labacensis one among them. The oldest of these paintings, and still preserved, is a fresco on the outside wall, just above the entrance door. It represents St. Nicholas in his episcopal finery, pacifying a storm from a boat in a heaving sea.¹⁶ Inside the church, three layers of frescoes were brought to the attention of the Vienna Commission for the Preservation of Antiques by Dr. Fran Stelè, who chose them for the topic of his doctoral dissertation. Somehow, the renovation efforts of the said commission destroyed all but a segment of these paintings. This segment is part of a larger fresco portraying the Last Judgment. It shows Adam and Eve taken away by the devil. The devil has just sunk a pitchfork into Eve's thigh, and the blood pouring down the poor woman's leg is frightfully realistic.¹⁷ After 1769, however, the little church fell into disrepair and neglect. This was largely due to the fact that in that year the simple parish Church of SS. Mohor and Fortunat on the hill above the town was replaced by a mighty two-tower structure, and from then on neither the priests nor the congregation bothered about the insignificant “Sv. Miklavž v Bregu” any longer. By the middle of the nineteenth century St. Nicholas' stopped being used for church services. Some fifty years ago, however, a dedicated priest, vicar Matija Kadunc, bought the church new vestments, missals and altar coverings, and Mass was occasionally said in St. Nicholas' again. It took, however, the fury of the last war and socialist revolution to resurrect the little church down by the Krka. In 1944 the parish church was destroyed by the

guerrilla partisans, and in 1956 the historic St. James' in the town square by the castle was levelled to the ground by exuberant working brigades. The parish activities were then moved to the church of St. Roch, an old shrine amid the fields beyond Stranska vas, and St. Nicholas' became the church for weekday services. It is situated in the heart of Žužemberk and it seems to provide enough space for the remaining faithful who attend daily Mass. In recent years it has been given cheerful facelifts by—in my opinion—overly enthusiastic young priests, who have transformed the old St. Nicholas' into some sort of a gingerbread toy. The fresco of St. Nicholas, however, still survives undisturbed, faded and cracked.

Thus ended the Protestant intermezzo in Žužemberk. Except for the housename “Evangelin” and the stubborn reference to St. Nicholas' as “protestantovska cirkuca”, no traces of Lutheranism remain in town today. There is one characteristic feature of Žužemberk, however, whose unfortunate legacy might be traced all the way back to the times of “verska zmeda”: the polarization of the inhabitants into two camps. The opponents have marched under different banners and called each other different names, but the division has always existed. “Catholics” vs. “evangelini” were followed by “purgarji” vs. “kmetje”. They held very little respect for each other; “purgarji” considered themselves a notch above “kmetje”, and the latter were disdainful of the uppity but usually quite poor “purgarji”. Later, the polarization took on political overtones. Žužemberk was then divided into the liberals and conservatives, or — in the local definition — into “plaški” and “farški”, “plaški” being the inhabitants of “plac”, i.e. tradesmen and clerks grouped around the town square beside the castle, and “farški” those whose activities and loyalties were connected with “fara”, the parish church on the hill. The most extreme and the saddest is the division of the Žužemberk people in our times. Both the Communists and the anticommunists suffered enormously in the fratricidal war, and forty years after the slaughter, the hatred of one group for the other is still bitter, rekindled every day when they look at the ruins of their churches and count their dead buried around them.

Is it symbolic that the quietly flowing Krka deep down in its canyon divides Žužemberk into two parts?

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REFERENCES

1. The raids by Turkish marauders as well as dramatic events connected with the gentry and the peasants of this region have provided

- ample historical material for Slovene writers, e.g. J. Jurčič, I. Zorec, F. Detela.
2. *Zgodbe župnije Žužemberk*, sestavil v letu Gospodovem 1958 Alojz Zupanc, župni upravitelj v Šmihelu.
 3. Among the pages of *Zgodbe* I found a respectful thank-you note sent to Zupanc by the prominent Slovene literary historian Dr. Anton Slodnjak.
 4. The Žužemberk branch of the Auerspergs lived in a magnificent, huge castle, the ruins of which still stand defiantly on the sheer rock above the rapids and waterfalls of the Krka. The exact age of the castle has not been determined, although the year 1046 has been found carved into one of the window recesses. Not much is known about the original owners of the castle, either. Some sources (cf. A. Bartelj & J. Splichal, "Gradovi in usode: Žužemberk," *Dolenjski list*) speak of a noble family simply called the Seisenbergers (Seisenberg=Žužemberk). Their last descendant was a Heintzel of Žužemberk, who was still living in 1386, when the castle was already the property of the Counts of Gorica. Zupanc, on the other hand, maintains that the first lords of Žužemberk were the patriarchs of Aquileia. They built the oldest part of the castle, its romanesque square tower, which provided the living quarters for the owners. From 1295 to 1374 the castle belonged to the Counts of Gorica, who added residential buildings in the gothic style. The square tower housed the chapel of S. Urh (Ulrich), and in its cellar there was a horrible jail, only one meter high. When the Counts of Gorica died out, Žužemberk became the property of the Habsburgs. They owned it from 1734-1536, and they added fortifications in protection against the Turks, as well as three round towers, which, divided into halves, housed the prison cells called "peglezen". Then followed the Auerspergs. During their reign, the castle acquired a ceremonial hall, a large wine cellar, and a granary built according to the model of the one at Stinčna monastery. The interior courtyard was completely enclosed when a wing for the administration offices was added on its east side. This part of the castle was later used by the District Court and taxation offices. When in 1898 a new court-house was built in the town, Karl Maria Alexander Auersperg refused to continue paying for the upkeep of the castle; he emptied it, transferring its furnishings to the castle of Soteska and its archives to Losensteinleizen in Upper Austria. Right at the beginning of World War II, the partisan guerrillas burned and demolished the castle. It is now slowly being renovated.
 5. This episode was recorded by Valvasor and was later used in a modified, fictional form by Josip Jurčič in his story "Domen."
 6. Of these two structures nothing remains, although the sexton's

house survived until the last war. It was a curious, twisted, whitewashed shack covered with rotten black straw. It was called “Knepova hiša”. The Kneps were sickly, pale people, the town beggars. They say that when the old Knep lay dying in his bed, he had an umbrella open over his head under the leaky roof.

7. The housename “Valpet” still exists in Žužemberk.
8. *Zgodbe*, 343
9. *Ibid.*, 335
10. *Ibid.*, 342
11. *Ibid.*, 127
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, 129
14. *Ibid.*, 155
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Zgodbe*, 153: “[Freska] predstavlja sv. Nikolaja z mitro na glavi, (čeprav je ni nikdaj imel, ker je svetnik vzhodnega obreda), — “
17. Until very recently bashful priests kept the naked sinners Adam and Eve hidden behind a little curtain.