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Miha Šimac

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IZ SLOVENSКИH DEŽEL
POD HABSBURŠKIM
ŽEZLOM**

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11. POVZETEK

Pričujoča razprava je poskus prikaza zgodovinskega razvoja organizirane duhovne oskrbe v vojski, ki je imela svoja naborna območja v slovenskih deželah. Razvoj oboroženih sil se je začel pod Habsburžani. Če so pri najemniških enotah vojaški kaplani delovali bolj kot prostovoljci, so bili po ustanovitvi prvih stalnih cesarskih polkov po koncu tridesetletne vojne in pozneje v času stalne cesarske armade duhovniki že bolj organizirani in podvrženi vojaškemu pravilom življenja. V začetku je bilo njihovo delovanje res omejeno le na vojni čas, a ker vojn v 16. in v 17. stoletju ni bilo malo, bi lahko rekli, da so bili to že kar stalni vojaški duhovniki.

Temelji organizirane duhovne oskrbe segajo v 16. stoletje, ko je bil imenovan prvi vikar cesarske vojske, ki je bil praviloma tudi cesarjev spovednik. Kljub temu da so bili blizu dvora, pa niso imeli dovolj veljave in moči, da bi mogli vplivati na učinkovito delovanje vojaške duhovščine in na njihovo strukturno ureditev. Zato je leta 1643 papež Urban VIII. vikarju cesarske vojske podelil škofovska pooblastila nad cesarsko vojsko, ki so veljala le v vojnem času. Leta 1689 je jurisdikcijo nad vojsko dobil takratni papeški nuncij na Dunaju in jo je opravljal tudi v miru. Ob tem je prejel še pooblastilo, da je lahko jurisdikcijo kadarkoli podelil cesarjevemu osebnemu spovedniku. Njegov vpliv se je v 17. in v 18. stoletju krepil le postopoma, glavno vlogo so imeli cesarjevi osebni spovedniki iz vrst jezuitov. Jezuitski red je tako postal pomemben pri uveljavljanju in zagotovitvi urejanja duhovne oskrbe v cesarski vojski. Med delujočimi jezuitskimi redovniki v vojaških vrstah so bili tudi takšni, ki so prihajali iz slovenskih dežel in so službovali na različnih položajih. Iz njihovih vrst je prišel tudi grof Sigismund Anton von Hohenwart, ki je leta 1794 postal škof St. Pöltna; s tem sta mu bili zaupani funkcija vojaškega vikarja in odgovornost za delovanje vojaške duhovščine. Bil je edini od duhovnikov iz slovenskih dežel, ki je dosegel to visoko funkcijo.

Vojaška duhovščina je doživela novo ureditev leta 1773, ko je bil ustanovljen Apostolski vojaški vikariat in so bili vzpostavljeni tudi vojaški superiorati. Najvišja funkcija apostolskega vojaškega vikarja je pripadla škofu, sprva škofu v Dunajskem Novem mestu, nato škofu škofije v St. Pöltnu, pozneje pa so sedež vojaškega vikariata prenesli na Dunaj. Papež Klemen XIV. je že decembra tega leta novemu vojaškemu vikarju dr. Heinrichu Johannu von Kerensu podelil jurisdikcijo nad cesarsko vojsko tako za čas miru kakor za vojne razmere. Energičnost novega vojaškega vikarja in njegovih naslednikov se je pokazala tudi pri odpravljanju težav in nepravilnosti, ki so jih opazili ob svojih inšpekcijskih potovanjih. Obenem so si ves čas prizadevali za ureditev odnosov med krajevno in vojaško duhovščino, zlasti glede vprašanja razmejitev jurisdikcije nad

vojaškimi osebami. Prve rešitve o razdelitvi vojske na tako imenovani *militia stabilis* in *milita vaga* – so bile na začetku 19. stoletja le deloma učinkovite in so ves čas zahtevale nove dopolnitve in spremembe. Kljub temu pa je vojaškim vikarjem postopoma le uspelo ustvariti času primeren in vse bolj učinkovit sistem duhovne oskrbe v oboroženih silah. Pri tem so nenehno poudarjali, kako je med vojaško duhovščino pomembno znanje jezikov monarhije. Dokaz so bili že sprejemni pogoji, saj je moral vsak katoliški duhovnik, ki je želel vstopiti med vojaško duhovščino, poleg nemškega znati vsaj še en jezik monarhije. To je deloma vplivalo tudi na sestavo vojaške duhovščine.

Sistem ureditve vojaške duhovščine se v principu ni spremenil niti po preoblikovanju države v dvojno monarhijo leta 1867, ko so prišle v ospredje ideje liberalizma in kot posledica tega tudi poskusi omejitev do tedaj zelo vplivne katoliške Cerkve. Vse to je vplivalo na reformiranje oboroženih sil in odsevalo tudi v ureditvi vojaške duhovščine in pri zagotavljanju duhovne oskrbe vojaštva. Z novimi reformami so prekinili do takrat uveljavljeni način pastorage, ko je bil vojaški duhovnik tako rekoč neločljivo povezan z vojaško enoto oziroma polkom. Posledica tega je bilo, da so vojaške kaplane v mirnem času sprejemali bolj kot uradnike in ne več kot »duhovne očete« posameznih vojaških enot. Razprava ob tem opozori in pokaže, da je hkrati potekal še en proces: uveljavljanje vojaške duhovščine za vernike drugih veroizpovedi. Prvi koraki v tej smeri so bili resda storjeni že v prvi polovici 19. stoletja, dokončno pa je bilo to urejeno šele po preureditvi države v dvojno monarhijo. Katoliškim vojaškim duhovnikom so ob bok stopili evangeličanski, pravoslavni in uniatski duhovniki, pozneje – z zasedbo Bosne in Hercegovine – pa so se jim pridružili še vojaški imami. Zanimivo je, da kljub številnim vernikom judovske vere ti v vojski niso imeli stalnih vojaških rabinov. Ne glede na to pa so se v oboroženih silah še dalje trudili, da bi bila pripadnikom vseh sedmih v državi priznanih veroizpovedi zagotovljena spoštovanje in pravica do opravljanja verskih dolžnosti.

Nacionalna trenja, ki so se pokazala v 19. in na začetku 20. stoletja, habsburških oboroženih sil niso zaobšla. Kljub temu da je vojska skušala imeti nadnacionalno, povezovalno vlogo in se je takšna drža pričakovala tako od vojakov kakor od častnikov, se temu ni bilo mogoče izogniti. Tudi vojaškim duhovnikom se ni godilo nič bolje. Večina tistih, ki so prišli iz slovenskih dežel, jih je bilo slovensko zavednih, kot posledica tega pa so bili nekateri deležni različnih, velikokrat neupravičenih očitkov in podtikanj. Kljub narodni zavednosti je nekaterim vojaškim duhovnikom iz slovenskih dežel uspelo doseči visoke položaje med vojaško duhovščino. Anton Jaklič je bil na predvečer vojne vojaški superior graškega superiorata, v Innsbrucku pa je enako službo opravljal Janez Klobovs.

Prav prezentacija kandidatov za duhovniško službo, pri kateri so še vedno imeli nekaj vpliva krajevni škofje, je včasih vplivala na to, da so se v vojski znašli duhovniki, ki niso bili najprimernejši za takšno službo. Nekatere so zelo pogosto premeščali iz ene garnizije v drugo, druge so odpustili ali jih predčasno upokojili. Na drugi strani pa najdemo tudi mnogo predanih in požrtvovalnih duhovnikov, ki so po svojih najboljših močeh opravljali svoje poslanstvo med vojaštvom; to se je pokazalo v priznanjih in odlikovanjih, s katerimi jih je nagradila država. Podoba vojaškega duhovnika tako že pred letom 1914 nikakor ni bila enoznačna.

Razprava se dotakne in oriše tudi ureditev duhovne oskrbe v nekaterih drugih evropskih državah. Na obliko in organiziranost le-te so v večji ali manjši meri vplivale različne ideje, pa tudi odnosi med verskimi skupnostmi in posamezno državo. Pri tem velja izpostaviti liberalistične težnje in strogo idejo o ločitvi Cerkev in države, kakor se je zgodilo v Franciji leta 1905. To je seveda močno vplivalo tudi na organiziranost vojaške duhovščine. Prav tako ne gre pozabiti na težave, ki so se pokazale v večjih državnih okvirih, zlasti še, če je imperij sestavljalo več držav in je vsaka imela samostojno ureditev duhovne oskrbe v vojski; tako je bilo v nemškem cesarstvu. Iz primerjave posameznih ureditev vojaške duhovščine z ureditvijo v habsburški dvojni monarhiji je mogoče izluščiti, da je organiziranost duhovne oskrbe v habsburškem imperiju sloanela na dolgoletnih izkušnjah; to novonastalim državam ni bilo dano. Od tod so izvirale tudi vse systemske rešitve, ki so bile določene pri reševanju vprašanja statusa vojaškega duhovnika, njegovih dolžnosti in pravic. Izpostaviti velja, da je katoliška Cerkev kljub liberalističnim idejam v državi še vedno obdržala svoj vpliv, vendar pa so v vojski zglede skušali zagotavljati duhovno oskrbo tudi vsem drugim vojaškim osebam, ki so pripadale drugim v državi priznanim verskim skupnostim.

Med prvo svetovno vojno so vojaški duhovniki vseh v državi priznanih veroizpovedi skušali kljub izrednim razmeram še dalje zagotavljati duhovno oskrbo svojih vojakov. Poleg temeljnih pastoralnih opravil so oblasti duhovnikom zaupale tudi druge, specifične naloge (npr. propagandna služba, služba cenzorjev). V različnih okoliščinah, v katerih so se vojaški duhovniki znašli, so se pokazale njihova samoiniciativnost in iznajdljivost, požrtvovalnost in predanost poklicu na eni strani ter ponekod tudi apatičnost, birokratska ozkost, celo razvrat in zanemarjanje duhovniške službe na drugi strani. Pristop oziroma delovanje vojaških duhovnikov je bilo – poleg navodil in omejitev predpostavljenih ali častnikov ter razmer in okoliščin, v katerih so se znašli – v največji meri odvisno predvsem od osebnosti vsakega vojaškega kurata posebej in od njegovih sposobnosti.

Posebna pozornost je v razpravi ves čas namenjena duhovnikom iz slovenskih dežel (v prvi vrsti iz lavantinske in ljubljanske škofije), ki so med prvo svetovno vojno delovali kot vojaški kurati pri različnih vojaških enotah ali vojaških sanitetnih ustanovah bodisi v neposrednem zaledju frontne črte bodisi v garnizijah in po drugih mestih v dvojni monarhiji. Prav slovenski duhovniki so bili že ob mobilizaciji leta 1914 deležni preganjanja oblasti. Na Štajerskem in na Koroškem so duhovnike zaradi narodne zavednosti nemški nacionalni krogi ovajali z obtožbami o srbofilstvu in zanje zahtevali kazen pred vojaškimi sodišči. V teh postopkih so se znašli tudi nekateri duhovniki, ki so že bili vpoklicani v vojaško službo. Nekateri od njih pa so to preganjanje v prvih tednih vojne doživljali posredno, ko so zaradi narodne pripadnosti občutili težave ob opravljanju svojega poslanstva med vojaštvom. Tudi če so se napadi na slovensko duhovščino pozneje umirili, pa so nezaupanja in nacionalna trenja še vedno ostala navzoča tudi v vojski. Do izraza so znova prišla ob koncu vojne leta 1918, ko so se spet pojavile obtožbe o nacionalnosti in zapostavljanju drugih, kar so občutili tudi nekateri vojaški duhovniki iz slovenskih dežel.

Na podlagi doslej zbranih podatkov je bilo mogoče ugotoviti, da je med prvo svetovno vojno v vojaških vrstah krajši ali daljši čas aktivno delovalo 152 duhovnikov iz slovenskih dežel, ki so prihajali tako iz škofijskih vrst kakor tudi iz različnih redovnih skupnosti. V povprečju je bil delež obravnavanih vojaških kuratov, ki so jih prispevale slovenske dežele – če posplošimo –, v zlati sredini vseh škofij, iz katerih so prišli duhovniki v vojaško službo. Večina jih je bila (v primerjavi s slovenskimi) iz večjezičnih škofij na Ogrskem in na Češkem. Pri tem je – tako kakor na Ogrskem in na Češkem – tudi v slovenskih deželah na število vpoklicanih duhovnikov v vojaško službo pomembno vplivalo prav znanje tujih jezikov, saj je mnogo duhovnikov znalo po več kakor le dva jezika monarhije.

Za odnos vojaštva do vojaških duhovnikov se zdi, da je pri tem odločilno vlogo igral vojaški kurat sam s svojim nastopom, osebnostjo, z angažiranjem in z življenjskim slogom. Pomembno je bilo, da je zgledno opravljal svojo službo in da je bil v pogovorih z vojaki čimbolj domač, priljuden; če se je držal bolj zase ali je bil preveč boječ, si je le stežka pridobil dovolj ugleda. Vojaki so bolj spoštovali in cenili tiste duhovnike, ki so mednje prihajali tudi v težkih razmerah na bojiščih, oziroma takšne, ki so svoje poslanstvo zavzeto opravljali v različnih sanitetnih ustanovah. Pri tem ne gre pozabiti na razmere in okoliščine, v katerih so delovali, saj so bile pri različnih enotah različne in so tudi imele vpliv na učinkovitost delovanja vojaških kuratov. Kakor kaže, je bilo veliko odvisno od njihovih praktičnih pastoralnih izkušenj. Če jih niso imeli dovolj, je to lahko pomenilo težave pri delu, reševanje le-teh pa je bilo spet povezano predvsem z duhovnikovo samoiniciativnostjo in sposobnostjo prilagajanja razmeram. Prav

tako ne gre spregledati, da so vojaški duhovniki marsikje pomenili vez z domačimi; bili so tudi tisti, ki so svoje obveščali o smrti njihovih najbližjih, naložena pa jim je bila tudi skrb za vojaške grobove.

Razprava se dotakne vprašanja častniškega, stotniškega čina vojaških duhovnikov. Nekateri od njih so ta čin izkoriščali predvsem zase, se kot častniki tudi vedli in bili zato do vojaštva zadržani, to pa se je seveda poznalo pri pastoralnem delu. Upoštevati je treba, da je velik del vojaške duhovščine prišel iz vrst rezervnih, krajevnih duhovnikov. Zato ne čudi ugotovitev, da med njimi ni bilo malo takšnih, ki so svoj častniški položaj uporabljali le tedaj, ko so poskušali ublažiti oziroma reševati konflikte, nastale med vojaki in poveljujočimi častniki. S tem so si med vojaštvom še okrepili ugled in posamezni vojaški duhovniki so zato ob razpadu monarhije ponekod postali celo formalni poveljniki polka. Vidno vlogo so nekateri imeli tudi pri vračanju vojaških enot z različnih bojišč ob koncu vojne.

Med prvo svetovno vojno je na frontah padlo 11 vojaških duhovnikov, tudi dva Slovence. Kot prvi je že ob koncu avgusta 1914 na bojišču obležal Valentin Rozman, polkovni kurat 7. koroškega pehotnega polka, drugi pa je bil leta 1917 ubit divizijski župnik dr. Janez Andolšek. Še več, kar 43, jih je umrlo za posledicami vojnih naporov, nesreč ali različnih bolezni, ki so takrat kosile med vojaštvom, pa tudi med prebivalstvom dvojne monarhije: pet od njih je bilo duhovnikov iz slovenskih dežel. Bili so tudi med okoli osemdesetimi vojaškimi kurati, ki so se znašli v vojnem ujetništvu. V srbsko vojno ujetništvo je padel dr. Anton Jehart, ki je s srbsko vojsko preživel marš do Valone, od koder je bil prepeljan v italijansko ujetništvo. Tam je potem kot vojaški duhovnik skrbel za vojne ujetnike na Asinari. Drugi vojaški duhovniki, denimo Vladimir Cepuder, so svoje poslanstvo opravljali v ruskem vojnem ujetništvu. Od tam se jih je nekaj vrnilo šele več let po končani vojni.

V novi Državi Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov so nove oblasti očitno menile, da je vprašanje duhovne oskrbe v vojski pomembno, zato je bil že 2. novembra 1918 pri narodni vladi sprejet sklep, da se duhovna oskrba vojaštva na slovenskem ozemlju zaupa vojaškemu superiorju Janezu Klobovsu. V državi so pohiteli tudi z reševanjem vprašanja o novem vojaškem vikarju in za to funkcijo je bil določen dr. Ferdo Rožič, kateremu so vsi ordinariji v novi državi podelili potrebne jurisdikcije. Z novo državo pa se je odprlo tudi novo, severno bojišče. V boj za severno mejo so posamezni vojaški duhovniki odšli celo s puško na rami, tako Ignac Marinčič, ki se je kot prostovoljec – v nasprotju s cerkvenimi predpisi – bojeval za novo državo. Velika večina nekdanjih avstro-ogrskih vojaških duhovnikov je svoje temeljno poslanstvo med vojaštvom opravljala tudi v novih razmerah.

Novе spremembe pri ureditvi duhovne oskrbe vojaških oseb so nastopile po združitvi in nastanku Kraljevine SHS. Tudi pod pravoslavnim srbskim vladarjem je bila v vojski in mornarici vojakom v državi priznanih veroizpovedi zagotovljena duhovna oskrba. Po začasnih rešitvah v letu 1919 je bil z odlokom ministrskega sveta z dne 30. januarja 1920 zagotovljen obstoj vojaških duhovnikov v oboroženih silah nove države in uredili so tudi njihov položaj. V novih razmerah so med vojaško duhovščino še vedno delovali tudi duhovniki iz slovenskih dežel, vendar doslej še nimamo temeljite predstavitve njihovega dela, ne poznamo pa niti njihovega natančnega števila; vse to bo izziv za nadaljnja raziskovanja.

Razmere v kraljevi vojski so se za vojaške duhovnike temeljito spremenile z novim zakonom o ureditvi vojske in mornarice leta 1929, ko so po novem vojaški duhovniki dobili čin civilnih uslužbencev. Tako so bili uvrščeni niže kakor nižji častniki; to naj bi imelo za posledico izgubo avtoritete med vojaštvom, prav tako pa je poslabšalo njihov gmotni položaj. Kljub temu so po garnizijah in pri mestnih poveljstvih še dalje opravljali svoje poslanstvo in skrbeli za duhovno oskrbo vojaštva. Zaradi teh sprememb so bili nezadovoljni praktično vsi vojaški duhovniki v državi priznanih veroizpovedi, a nove uredbe, ki bi popravila njihov položaj, ni bilo vse do razpada Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Skupaj z njo pa je bilo pravzaprav tudi konec organiziranega zagotavljanja duhovne oskrbe v oboroženih silah njene naslednice.

Razprava še zdaleč ni izčrpala vseh vprašanj, ki se ob tem postavljajo in bi jih bilo vredno podrobneje obdelati. To je le prvi poskus obravnavanja zgodovine vojaške duhovščine, povezane s slovenskimi deželami, in v tej luči razprava predstavlja solidno izhodišče za vsa nadaljnja raziskovanja teme, ki se je slovensko zgodovinopisje vse do danes še ni lotilo.

12. SUMMARY

This book discusses spiritual care in the Habsburg army, specifically focusing on priests and chaplains from the Slovenian Lands. The armed forces of the Habsburgs first developed out of attempts to organize and supply military units in the sixteenth century. If the military chaplains in patrimonial units acted more as volunteers, they increasingly became organized and subject to military rules after the first permanent imperial regiments were established after the Thirty Years War. Their operation was in the beginning linked solely to wartime, but since many wars were recorded in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, we could say that these were permanent military priests.

Foundations of organized spiritual care date back to the sixteenth century, when the Habsburgs first appointed the vicar of the imperial army. The vicar was usually also the emperor's confessor. Despite the fact that the vicar was positioned near the imperial court, they did not have enough influence and power to influence the effective functioning of the military clergy and their structural arrangements. However, in 1643 Pope Urban VIII endowed the vicar of the imperial army with episcopal powers over the imperial army. This authority applied only in times of war. In 1689, the Papal Nuncio in Vienna received jurisdiction over the military in peacetime. This authority allowed the nuncio to award the emperor's personal confessor with jurisdiction over armed forces at any time. The influence of the emperor's confessor gradually increased in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Jesuit order also played a large role in promoting and regulating the provision of spiritual care in the imperial army. The acting Jesuit monks in military ranks also included those who came from the Slovenian Lands and worked in various positions. The Count Sigismund Anton von Hohenwart was among them, who in 1794 became the Bishop of Sankt Pölten and thereby entrusted the function of the military vicar and responsibility for the operation of military clergy. He was the only one of the priests from the Slovenian Lands to reach this high office.

The new regime of military clergy occurred in 1773, when the Apostolic Military Vicariate was founded and when military superiors were established. The highest function of the apostolic military vicar was given to the bishop, at first the one in the Wiener Neustadt, then to the bishop of the Diocese of St. Pölten, and later was the seat of the Military Vicariate transferred to Vienna. Pope Clement XIV awarded the new military vicar Dr. Johann Heinrich von Kerens jurisdiction over the imperial army in times of war and peace. The new military vicar and his successors cut a powerful figure, forcefully intervening in correcting irregularities that they witnessed during inspection trips. In doing

so, they continuously worked to forge a relationship between the military and the local clergy, particularly on the issue of demarcation of jurisdiction over military personnel. The first solutions for the division of the army on so-called »*militia stabilis*« and »*milita vaga*« at the beginning of the nineteenth century were only partially effective. Thereafter the military vicars constantly called for new additions and changes. Nevertheless, the military vicars gradually succeeded in creating a more modern and an increasingly effective system of spiritual care in the armed forces. In doing so, they consistently emphasised the importance of language skills among the military clergy. This was reflected in criteria for admission to the chaplaincy, as every Catholic priest who wanted to enter the military clergy was required to know at least one language of the monarchy in addition to German. Consequently, language ability also influenced the composition of the military clergy.

The very regulatory system of the military clergy did not change, not even after the transformation of the country into a dual monarchy in 1867 when the ideas of liberalism led politicians to limit the far-reaching influence of Catholic Church. These larger political debates had repercussions on the armed forces and was reflected in the organization of the military clergy and provision of spiritual care of the soldiers. The new reforms thus discontinued by then well-established pastoral methods, in which the military priest was almost inextricably linked to the military unit or regiment. As a result, military chaplains, during peacetime, were accepted more as officials and not so much as »*spiritual fathers*« of individual military units. In doing so, the discussion alerts and shows that another process also expired, namely the enforcement of the military clergy for believers of other faiths. The first steps were, to a certain extent, indeed made in the first half of the nineteenth century, however, this was finally arranged only after reorganization of the state in the dual monarchy. Thus, Protestant, Orthodox, and Greek Catholic priests also stepped alongside Roman Catholic military priests, and later, with the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the military imams of Islam joined them. Interestingly, despite the great number of believers of the Jewish faith, they had no permanent military rabbis in the army. Regardless of that, the military forces continued to strive for providing the members of all seven recognized religions with respect, as well as the right to perform religious duties.

National tensions in the nineteenth and early twentieth century also touched the Habsburg armed forces. The army expected its soldiers and officers to maintain its multinational ethos, and avoid nationality politics. This applied equally to the army's chaplains. The vast majority of priests from the Slovenian Lands were nationally conscious Slovenes, and consequently some of them were subject to different, often unjustified allegations and insinuations. Despite

their national consciousness, some military priests from the Slovenian Lands managed to achieve high positions among the military clergy. Anton Jaklič was, for example, appointed a military superior of the Graz Superiorat on the eve of the war, and Janez Klobovs performed the same service in Innsbruck.

Not all priests who entered the army were particularly gifted or suitable for pastoral work. Military chaplains received their military commissions on the recommendation of their local bishop. In some cases, the bishop regretted his choice. Some of these priests were disciplined within the chaplaincy as well. They could be relocated from one garrison to another; others were fired or forced into early retirement. But for every "bad" priest there were also many dedicated and self-sacrificing priests who did their best in enforcing their mission among the military, which was also reflected in the awards and medals received from the state. Thus, the image of military priest was by no means unique even before 1914.

This work addresses and outlines the organization of spiritual care in some other European countries. The shape and structure of chaplaincies across Europe was influenced by a variety of ideas and relations between religious communities and the state. In many places, liberalism and its strict idea of separation of the church and the state provided a major force of change, debate, and reform, as it happened in France in 1905. This, of course, strongly influenced the organization of the military clergy. Also, let us not forget the difficulties encountered in larger state frameworks; especially if the empire consisted of several provinces that had a self-organization of spiritual care within the army, as was the case in the German empire. A comparison of these arrangements of military clergy with the arrangement of the military clergy in the Habsburg dual monarchy allows us to identify that the organization of spiritual care in the Habsburg Empire rested on years of experience; the newly established countries were not given such an opportunity. From this also originated all system solutions, which were determined in addressing the status of a military priest, his duties and rights. It is also worth highlighting that the Catholic Church, in spite of the influence of liberal ideas, retained its primacy. However, the army tried to provide spiritual care also to all military personnel who belonged to the other recognized religious communities recognized in the empire.

During the First World War, in the emergencies, the military clergy tried to continue to provide spiritual care for the military. In addition to the fundamental pastoral tasks, the authorities also entrusted the priests with other, specific tasks (e.g. propaganda department, censor services). Military priests demonstrated their initiative and resourcefulness, self-sacrifice, and dedication to the profession on the one hand and, sometimes, apathy, bureaucratic narrow-mindedness, even immorality and neglect of priestly service on the other

hand. Here a personal approach is necessary. Military priests reacted to their orders, their instructions, as well as the restrictions of their superiors, and front line conditions in a variety of ways, based on their own personality and abilities.

Special attention in our discussion is all the time dedicated to priests from the Slovenian Lands (primarily from the diocese of Ljubljana and Lavant), who at the time of the First World War acted as military chaplains from various military units or military hospitals either in the immediate hinterland of the front line or in the garrisons and other cities in dual monarchy. These Slovenian priests were persecuted by the authorities during the mobilization in 1914. In Styria and Carinthia, German national circles denounced priests because of their national consciousness with allegations of "Serbophilia" and brought them before military courts. These trials also included some priests who have already been called up for military service. Some priests indirectly experienced this wave of persecution during the first weeks of the war, when their status as Slovenes led to difficulties in fulfilling their normal pastoral work. Although the attacks on the Slovenian clergy subsequently eased, mistrust and national tensions remained present even in the army. National strife emerged again in 1918 when Slovene priests were accused of putting their nation above the others.

Using previously collected data, we were able to determine that during the First World War 152 priests from the Slovenian lands served in the military as chaplains. They worked in this role for shorter or longer periods; they came from both the diocesan ranks as well as from a variety of religious congregations. The Slovene story is of course a particular one; but in many ways Slovene priests exemplified the war experience. The Slovene dioceses contributed an average proportion of priests to the military chaplaincy.

In regards to the military and its relationship towards the military priests, it seems that the crucial role was played by a military chaplain himself with his performance, personality, engagement, and lifestyle. It was important that the priest carried out his mission in an exemplary fashion, as well that he was personable and polite in speaking with soldiers; if he kept more to himself or was more afraid, then it was quite difficult for him to maintain his reputation. Soldiers paid more respect and appreciated more those priests who visited them despite difficult conditions on the battlefields and such who carried out their mission enthusiastically in a variety of hospital settings. In doing so, let us not forget about the situation and the circumstances, in which they acted as these differed from one unit to another and had a different impact on the efficient operation of military chaplains. Their willingness, as it seems, largely depended on their practical pastoral experience. This could pose certain difficulties in carrying out pastoral activities, and the problem solving mainly depended on the priest's sense of self-initiative and ability to adapt to circumstances. Nor should

one overlook that the military priests were in many places deemed as a bond with the locals; there were also those who informed the relatives of the death of their loved ones, and in addition to that, took care of military graves was a task that was imposed on them.

The book also addresses the issue of the officer rank of the military priests. Some of them have exploited their rank which was of course reflected in their pastoral work. Nevertheless, we must note that a large part of the military clergy during the wartime came from the ranks of the reserves. In other words, they were local, diocesan priests. Therefore, it is not surprising to note that there was only a small number of such priests among them who have used their officer rank to mitigate or resolve conflicts that arose between soldiers and commanding officers. In this way, they were able to enhance their reputation among military and some individual military priests, alongside the collapse of the monarchy, in some cases even become formal regimental commanders. Individual military priests also had a prominent role in the return of some military units from various battlefields at the end of the war.

There were eleven military priests who died at the front during the First World War, among them two Slovenians. The first, was Valentin Rozman, regimental chaplain of the 7th Infantry Regiment of Carinthia, who fell at the end of August 1914. The second was Dr. Janez Andolšek, who died in 1917. Moreover, an additional forty-three priests died because of war efforts, accidents or various diseases. They also included five priests from Slovenian Lands. You could also find them among approximately eighty military chaplains who ended up in captivity during the war. Dr. Anton Jehart, for example, also ended up in as a prisoner of war on the Serbian front. He later survived a march by the Serbian Army to Valona, where he was then transported to the Italian captivity. He was then, as a military priest, in charge of war prisoners on Asinari. Some other military priests, such as Vladimir Cepuder, tried to carry out their mission also in the Russian war captivity. Some priests returned home only a few years after the war from the Russian war captivity.

In the new State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs the new authorities apparently believed that the question of spiritual care in the military was important, and consequently, on 2 November 1918 the National Government entrusted the spiritual care of soldiers on the Slovenian territory to the military superior Janez Klobovs. The country also hastened to address the issue of the new military vicar and Dr. Ferdo Rožič, to whom all the ordinaries in the new country granted the necessary jurisdiction, took this position. The new government also opened a new, north battlefield. Some individual military priests went in the battle for the northern border with a rifle on their shoulder. An example of this was Ignac Marinčič, who as a volunteer, in contrast to church regulations,

fought for his new country. The vast majority of the former Austro-Hungarian military clergy performed their pastoral mission among military also in a new environment.

Significant changes in the very organization of the spiritual care of military personnel took place in the period after the merger and the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Even under the Serbian Orthodox ruler, the soldiers from the army and navy were provided with spiritual care. Following the provisional solutions in 1919, a decree of the Council of Ministers of 30 January 1920 ensured the existence of military priests in the armed forces of the new countries, which also regulated their position. In this new context, priests from the Slovenian Lands also functioned among the military clergy; however, we are still not familiar with the thorough presentation of their work as well as their exact number, which represents a challenge for further research.

The situation in the royal army changed radically for the military priests with the adoption of a new law on the organization of the Army and Navy in 1929, when military priests were transferred into the rank of civil servants. So the military priests were ranked lower than lower officers, which resulted in a loss of authority vis-à-vis the military, as well as the deterioration of their economic situation. Nevertheless, they continued to carry out their missions across garrisons and city headquarters and took care for the provision of spiritual care of soldiers. Virtually all military priests of the officially recognized religions were dissatisfied because of these changes. No new regulations were forthcoming. The dissolution of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1945 ended the long tradition of organized spiritual care in the armed forces. The discussion itself has far from exhausted all the issues that are emerging here and would require a more in-depth analysis. It is only a first attempt to deal with the history of military clergy associated with the Slovenian Lands, and in light of this, our discussion represents a solid starting point for all future research of the topic, which the Slovenian historiography has not addressed at all to this date.