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»*NOSI LE ZAKRPANO OBUVALO*«:
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DUHOVŠČINE NA SLOVENSKEM (1918–1941)

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“HE WEARS ONLY WORN-OUT SANDALS”: AN ACCOUNT OF THE SOCIAL POSITION OF THE CLERGY IN SLOVENIA (1918–1941)

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14 POVZETEK

V zgodovinopisu položaj duhovščine v obdobju med obema vojnoma še ni bil prikazan, zato je utemeljeno vprašanje, kakšen je bil družbeno-politični položaj duhovščine v Kraljevini SHS/Jugoslaviji. Po splošni predstavitev razmer v družbi in Katoliški cerkvi v začrtanem obdobju sledi predstavitev položaja duhovščine na ekonomskem, socialnem, kulturnem in medijskem področju. Prvi del temelji na literaturi in delno na sekundarnih virih. Vsa ta področja so bila že obsežno in kvalitetno predstavljena v drugih študijah, tukaj pa so poudarjena z vidika duhovščine. Študija temelji na podlagi virov, ki so dopolnjeni s sekundarnimi viri. Predvsem so v teh primerih upoštevani osebni fondi, vizitacijska poročila in korespondence z državno oblastjo.

V prvem delu študije je predstavljen splošen družbeno zgodovinski kontekst v času med vojnami, predvsem za področje takratne Dravske banovine. To obdobje lahko razdelimo na prvo in drugo desetletje. Ločnica je bila uvedba diktature in gospodarska kriza. Prvo desetletje je bilo v znamenju vzpostavitve nove države, drugo pa v uveljavljanju in utrjevanju diktature jugoslovanskega unitarizma.

Na življenje so vplivale splošne družbene razmere. To je bil čas po prvi svetovni vojni. Slovenci smo se znašli v težkem položaju, saj meje še niso bile določene, velik del ozemlja pa je bil okupiran. Čas je zaznamovala povojska verska brezbrižnost, nemoralnost, nasilje in pomanjkanje. Slednje je izhajalo tudi iz dejstva prehoda v novo državo, kjer so zamenjali valuto, s tem pa so Slovenci tudi največ izgubili. Treba je upoštevati tudi hitro industrializacijo družbe. Poleg omenjenih problemov je imela nova država zelo raznolik pravni sistem na področju odnosov med državo in verskimi skupnostmi, poleg tega pa so za določene dele države veljali različni pravni sistemi. Veliko pravnih določb je ostalo še iz prejšnje Avstro-ogrške monarhije, tudi za področje verskih skupnosti za ozemlje Slovenije, Dalmacije in Istre. Celo kazenski zakonik ali pa šolski zakon sta ostala dolga leta, skoraj desetletje, v novi državi nespremenjena. Država je probleme na vseh področjih reševala počasi, nekatera odprta vprašanja pa sploh niso bila rešena vse do razpada države. Tak problem je ravno odnos med državo in Katoliško cerkvijo. Ves čas so škofje upali, da bo prišlo do sprejetja, potrditve in podpisa konkordata, ki bi uredil odnose, vendar se želje niso uresničile. Na to je vplivalo kar nekaj konkretnih dejavnikov. Glavno mesto je bilo predstavljeno v Beograd, središče srbskega pravoslavlja. Večina poslancev je pripadala srbski pravoslavni Cerkvi, ki je vršila določen pritisk proti sprejetju konkordata. Po drugi strani je bilo premalo pritiskov s strani Katoliške cerkve

in politikov Dravske in Savske banovine, torej slovenskega in hrvaškega dela države, kjer je bilo prebivalstvo večinoma katoliško. Nekateri zgodovinarji celo menijo, da je tako nerešeno stanje koristilo glavni stranki SLS v tem obdobju za nabiranje političnih točk in obstanek na političnem parketu.

Kljub vsemu pa lahko opazimo določene pozitivne spremembe v družbi z razvojem šolstva, kulture in jezika. Uradno poslovanje in šola so postali popolnoma slovenski. Počasi se je začelo urejati tudi zdravstveno in socialno zavarovanje delavcev.

Drugo desetletje tega obdobja je zaznamovala gospodarska kriza in širjenje ideologij jugoslovanskega unitarizma, ki je bil pravzaprav prikrit srbski nacionalizem, in marksizma, ki so pripeljale do notranjih razhajanj tudi v katoliškem taboru.

Katoliška cerkev je na družbene izzive časa odgovarjala s široko dejavnostjo na področju duhovnosti z verskimi organizacijami, na področju šolstva in kulture ter karitativeno-socialnih ustanov. Redovniki so mnogo pomoci v družbi prispevali s skrbjo za mlade, bolne, sirote in invalide. Profesorji Teološke fakultete so bili pionirji Akademije znanosti in umetnosti. Stalno so se borili proti ukinitvi Teološke fakultete in mnogo prispevali s svojim raziskovanjem na različnih področjih znanstvenega dela z objavo člankov, razprav, predavanji in vodstvom.

Kljub vsemu je status Katoliške cerkve ostal vse obdobje pravno nedorečen in nerešen. Še več, Katoliška cerkev se je morala boriti proti stalni nevarnosti, seveda odvisno od politične opcije na oblasti, proti agrarni reformi, za finančno gotovost visokošolskih zavodov, duhovnikov, katehetov in upokojencev.

V drugem delu je najprej predstavljen položaj Katoliške cerkve v novi državi. Temu sledi predstavitev pravne podlage za ureditev položaja duhovščine, nato pa sam položaj duhovščine z različnih vidikov. Ekonomski položaj duhovščine, ki ni imela urejenega statusa (župniki, kaplani, vikarji, beneficiati), so določali različni finančni instrumenti: kongrua, starostna in draginjska doklada, pokojnine, katehetske nagrade, fasiionirani dohodki in bera ter štolnina.

Za ekonomskim položajem je predstavljen socialni položaj duhovščine, pri čemer sta zajeta dva pereča problema. Pri starejših, a ne vedno, se je pojavljal predvsem problem bolezni in raznih obolelosti tudi zaradi življenjskih razmer (katarji, želodčne težave, revmatitis ...), pri mlajših pa je bil večji problem selitev. Duhovniki so namreč vse svoje stvari, ne le knjige in konfekcijo, ampak tudi opremo (pohištvo, postelja, omare ...) morali odpeljati na novo delovno mesto. Stroški prevoza z vozovi, konji in/ali železnico so zato silno narasli. Vse skupaj je pestila še povojna draginja, ki se je z gospodarsko krizo samo še podaljšala.

Po predstavitvi položaja duhovščine sledi predstavitev duhovščine v javnosti. Predstavljena sta bila predvsem dva dnevna časopisa, *Slovenec* in *Slovenski*

narod, skupaj s še nekaterimi mediji, ki sta v glavnem krojila javno mnenje v tem času in seveda tudi poročala o Katoliški cerkvi in duhovnikih. Njuno poročanje, glede na to, da sta izhajala vsak s svojega političnega polja, je bilo večkrat diametralno nasprotno. Tudi o deviacijah sta poročala zelo različno. Ob tem je zanimivo tudi vprašanje odnosa do politične ureditve, saj so bili duhovniki močno udeleženi v javnem življenju, velikokrat tudi v političnem življenju. Prav zato so predstavljeni tudi nekateri sodni primeri proti duhovnikom, predvsem v času diktature po uvedbi Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije, ko se je na terenu maršikje zaostril odnos med lokalno duhovščino in posameznimi člani celic Soka-la. Določeni duhovniki so bili zato preganjeni. Uvedli pa so tudi preverjanje politične korektnosti duhovnika preko policijskih postaj, ko je škof nekoga želel imenovati za župnika. Na koncu sledi še pregled odnosov znotraj duhovniških vrst, najprej odnos do škofov in nato še odnosi med samimi duhovniki. V teh odnosih se je včasih odražala tudi medgeneracijska napetost in seveda vpliv predvojnega razkola v SLS in prvirženosti enih starinom in drugih mladinom. Škof Jeglič je za razliko od mariborskih ordinarijev mnogo bolj spodbujal vsakdanje politično udejstvovanje svojih duhovnikov, s čimer pa se niso vsi strinjali. Prav tako niso vsi podpirali politike SLS. Obstajale pa so tudi razlike na finančnem področju, saj vprašanje bere in štolnine nikoli ni bilo enotno in zakonsko urejeno. Določeni zakonski predpisi so veljali še iz 19. stol. in se niso spremenili vse do razpada Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Sicer pa so v večini primerov duhovniki razumno sodelovali in sobivali ter si pomagali tudi preko podpornega društva, ki je bilo ustanovljeno v drugi polovici 19. stol. kot odgovor na že takrat vse večjo problematiko položaja duhovnikov na terenu, ki je monarhija in ne kraljevina nista uspeli rešiti.

Iz predstavitev položaja in pregleda virov se je pokazalo, da je bila duhovščina popolnoma neenotna družbena skupina, v kateri je prihajalo do velikih razlik in težav na socialnem in gmotnem področju. Položaj duhovščine je bil sistemsko neurejen in zato vir skrbi, težav in razlik med duhovniki. Prav zaradi tega je praktična enotna sistemski predstavitev položaja duhovščine nemogoča. Na tem področju tudi Katoliška cerkev sama s svojim vodstvom ni naredila dovolj, da bi se sistem izboljšal.

Ključne besede

Duhovščina, Kraljevina SHS/Jugoslavija, družbeno-politični, ekonomski in socialni položaj

15 ABSTRACT

The position of the clergy between the First and the Second World Wars has not yet been depicted in the historiography, therefore a question about the social and political role of the clergy in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia is more than justified. The general overview of the conditions in the society and the Catholic Church in the stated period is followed by the presentation of the role of the clergy in the economic, social, cultural, and media spheres. The first part is based on the literature and partly on the secondary sources. All the areas stated above have already been extensively and accurately illustrated and are now here emphasised from the clergy's point of view. The study is based on the sources supplemented with secondary literature. Primarily, this includes personal fonds, visitation records, and correspondence with state authorities.

The first part of the study introduces the general socio-historical context in the time between the wars, specifically for the territory of Dravska banovina. This period can be divided into the first and the second decade. The dividing line is the introduction of dictatorship and the economic crisis. The first decade was marked by the establishment of the new state, while the second was distinguished by the enforcement and strengthening of the dictatorship of the Yugoslav unitarism.

Life in the period mentioned was influenced by general social conditions. This was the time after the First World War. Slovenians found themselves in a difficult situation, since the borders had not yet been defined and a great part of the Slovenian territory was occupied. The period was marked by religious indifference, immorality, violence, and poverty. The latter was also a consequence of the transition into the new state in which the currency was changed and through this Slovenians were the ones who lost the most. The rapid industrialisation of the society also needs to be taken into account. In addition to the problems described, the new state had a very diverse legal system in the area of relations between the state and religious communities; furthermore, different legal systems were valid in different parts of the state. Many legal regulations remained from the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, including for the field of religious communities in Slovenia, Dalmatia, and Istria. Even the penal code and the school act remained unchanged for many years, almost a decade.

The pertaining problems in all spheres of life were slowly dealt with by the state. Some open questions were not tackled until the state dissolved. One such problem was the relationship between the state and the Catholic Church. All along the bishops hoped that the concordat, which would define these relationships, would be adopted, confirmed, and signed; their wishes were not realised. This was influenced by several factors. The capital was transferred to Belgrade, the centre of Serbian orthodoxy. The majority of members of the parliament belonged to the Serbian Orthodox Church,

which was exerting certain pressure against the adoption of the concordat. On the other hand, there was too little pressure from the Catholic Church and politicians from the Dravska and Savska banovinas, i.e. the Slovenian and Croatian parts of the state where the population was prevalently Catholic. Some historians even believe that this unresolved situation was beneficial for the main party in this period, the Slovenian People's Party (the SLS), to score political points and for its survival in the political arena.

Nevertheless, the development of education, culture, and language brought about several positive social changes. Administration and schools became completely Slovenian. Gradually, healthcare and social insurance of workers started being implemented.

The second decade of the period in question was marked by the economic crisis and the spread of the ideologies of Yugoslav unitarism and Marxism, which was in reality a covert Serbian nationalism and also led to internal disagreements within the Catholic camp.

The Catholic Church responded to the social challenges with extensive activity in the field of spirituality by founding religious organisations, and with active involvement in the fields of education, culture, and charity. Monks contributed significantly to society by caring for young people, the sick, orphans, and the disabled. Professors at the Faculty of Theology were the pioneers of the Academy of Sciences and Arts. They persistently fought against the closing of the Faculty of Theology and contributed significantly with their research in various fields of scientific work through the publication of articles, dissertations, lectures, and leadership.

Nevertheless, the status of the Catholic church remained legally undefined and unresolved throughout the whole period. Moreover, the Catholic Church had to continually fight the constant threat, naturally dependent on the political option in authority, the agrarian reform, for financial certainty of institutions of higher education, priests, catechists, and pensioners.

In the second part, the position of the Catholic Church in the new state is represented first. This is followed by a presentation of the legal basis for the regulation of the status of the clergy and then the description of the position of the clergy itself from various aspects. The economic situation of the clergy whose status was undefined (priests, chaplains, vicars, beneficiaries) was determined by different financial instruments: congrua, allowance for age and costliness, pensions, catechist awards, collection, and stole fees.

After the economic situation, the social position of the clergy is dealt with and includes two serious issues. With older priests, although not necessarily, the primary problem was illness and various problems related to the living conditions (catarrh, stomach problems, rheumatism, etc.), while for the younger ones, the biggest issue was moving. Namely, priests had to transport all their belongings, not only books and clothes but also furniture (bed, wardrobes, cupboards, etc.), to their new post. The

costs of transport with carts, horses and/or by rail were thus immense. Added to all that was the post-war costliness which was only prolonged by the economic crisis.

An introduction to the clergy in public life follows. Two daily newspapers are presented in detail, *Slovenec* and *Slovenski narod* along with a few other publications, which mostly formed public opinion at this time and reported on the Catholic Church and its priests. Considering the fact that each was published by its own political circle, their reports were frequently diametrically opposed. They reported on deviations very differently, too.

Another interesting question discusses the attitude towards the political arrangement since priests were deeply immersed in public and often also political life. That is why several court cases against priests are also presented, especially in the time of the dictatorship, after the foundation of Sokol Kraljevine Jugoslavije, when the relationship between local clergy and individual members of Sokol's cells became strained in the field. As a consequence, certain priests were persecuted. The investigation of a priest's political correctness was introduced at police stations, when a bishop wanted to appoint someone a priest. The final chapter deals with an overview of relationships within the clergy lines; first the relationship towards bishops and then relationships between priests themselves. The latter occasionally reflected inter-generational tensions and, naturally, the influence of pre-war division in the SLS, leading to one being devoted to starini (the seniors) and others to mladini (the juniors). Unlike ordinaries of Maribor, Bishop Jeglič strongly encouraged daily political activity of his priests, which was not supported by everyone. Likewise, not everyone supported the SLS politics. Furthermore, there were differences in financial situations, since the question of collections and stole fees had never been legally determined. Certain legal regulations had been in place since the 19th century and were not changed until the dissolution of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Generally, priests mostly reasonably cooperated and coexisted and also helped each other through the support society, which was established in the second half of the 19th century as a response to the increasing issue of the situation of priests in the field which was not dealt with either by the monarchy or the kingdom.

It is evident from the presentation of the situation and the examination of the sources that the clergy was a completely ununified social group, divided by substantial social and material differences. The position of the clergy was not formally organised and was therefore a source of concerns, difficulties, and differences between the priests. For this reason, a systematic and unified outline of the position of the clergy is not possible. Even the Catholic Church and its authorities have not done enough to improve the system in the mentioned field.

Key Words

Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia; relationships among the clergy; social, political, economic, and material status of the clergy

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