



31 ZBIRKA
RAZPOZNAVANJA
RECOGNITIONES

Bojan Cvefcar

**SRBSKA
PRAVOSLAVNA
CERKEV NA
SLOVENSKEM
MED SVETOVNIMA
VOJNAMA**



31 ZBIRKA
RAZPOZNAVANJA
RECOGNITIONES

Bojan Cvelfar

**SRBSKA
PRAVOSLAVNA
CERKEV NA
SLOVENSKEM
MED SVETOVNIMA
VOJNAMA**

ZALOŽBA INZ

Odgovorni urednik dr. Aleš Gabrič
Založnik Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino
ZBIRKA RAZPOZNAVANJA / RECOGNITIONES 31
ISSN 2350-5664

Bojan Cvelfar
SRBSKA PRAVOSLAVNA CERKEV
NA SLOVENSKEM MED
SVETOVNIMA VOJNAMA

Sozaložnik Arhiv Republike Slovenije
št. 31 zbirke
*Razpoznavanja/
Recognitiones*
Recenzenta dr. Jurij Perovšek
dr. Božo Repe

Jezikovni pregled Polona Kekec
Prevod povzetka Borut Praper
Oblikovanje Barbara Bogataj Kokalj

Tisk Medium d.o.o.
Naklada 400 izvodov
*Izid knjige sta
podprla* Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike
Slovenije
Srbska pravoslavna cerkev – cerkvena občina Ljubljana,
Kulturno – prosvetni center »Sveti Ciril in Metod«

CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji
Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana

930.85(497.4)"1918/1941":271.222(497.11)
271.222(497.11)(091)
271.2(497.4)"1918/1941"

CVELFAR, Bojan

Srbska pravoslavna cerkev na Slovenskem med svetovnimi vojnami
/ Bojan Cvelfar ; [prevod povzetka Borut Praper]. - Ljubljana : Inštitut za
novejšo zgodovino, 2017. - (Zbirka Razpoznavanja = Recognitiones ; 31)

ISBN 978-961-6386-81-4

292114176

VSEBINA

- 9 PREGOVOR
- 13 VZHODNA CERKEV DO OBRAVNAVANEGA OBDOBJA**
- 14 Pravoslavna cerkev in njena organizacija
- 20 Srbska pravoslavna cerkev
- 25 Razdrobljena srbska cerkev pred zedinjenjem

- 39 SRBSKA PRAVOSLAVNA CERKEV PO ZEDINJENJU DO LETA 1941**
- 40 Začetek združevanja
- 44 Razglasitev združene srbske pravoslavne cerkve Kraljevine SHS
- 47 Patriarh Dimitrije Pavlović (1921–1930)
- 56 Patriarh Varnava (Petar) Rosić (1930–1937)
- 62 Patriarh dr. Gavriilo Dožić (1938–1950)

- 67 VERSKO SOBIVANJE V NOVI DRŽAVI**
- 72 Ministrstvo, pristojno za vere
- 77 Zakon in ustava o srbski pravoslavni cerkvi
- 80 Vojaški duhovniki v obdobju kraljevine

- 85 EPARHIJSKA OBLAST ZA SLOVENIJO**
- 86 Pod jurisdikcijo gornjekarlovške eparhije
- 97 Ustanovitev zagrebške eparhije
- 102 Zbori duhovništva in obiski mitropolita v Sloveniji

- 113 PRESTOPI V PRAVOSLAVNO VEROIZPOVED V SLOVENIJI**
- 122 Statistični pregled z nekaj primeri
- 132 Sprememba veroizpovedi pri otrocih
- 135 Poročno pravo
- 149 CERKVENE OBČINE IN PAROHIIJE V TREH NAJVEČJIH SLOVENSkih MESTIH**
- 167 SRBSKA PRAVOSLAVNA CERKVENA OBČINA IN PAROHIIJA LJUBLJANA**
- 173 Organizacija in uprava cerkvene občine
- 182 Svetosavske proslave
- 189 Parohijski duhovniki
- 209 Cerkevno petje
- 216 Versko dobrodelno skrbništvo in bratstvo pravoslavnih Slovencev
- 223 Cerkevni obredi ob praznikih in drugih posebnih priložnostih
- 245 Slave vojaških enot, vojaške in druge prisege
- 254 Pravoslavni verski pouk
- 261 Verska oskrba v bolnišnicah, sanatorijih in kaznilnicah
- 266 Poskusi organiziranja pravoslavnega življenja v nekaterih drugih krajih
- 272 Utrinki iz verskega življenja ruskih emigrantov
- 281 SRBSKA PRAVOSLAVNA CERKVENA OBČINA IN PAROHIIJA MARIBOR**
- 284 Organizacija in uprava cerkvene občine
- 288 Svetosavske proslave
- 291 Parohijski duhovniki
- 297 Pravoslavno življenje
- 305 Vojaške slave in prisege
- 309 Pravoslavni verski pouk

312	Poskus organiziranja pravoslavnega življenja v Murski Soboti
315	SRBSKA PRAVOSLAVNA CERKVENA OBČINA IN PAROHIIJA CELJE
318	Organizacija in uprava cerkvene občine
320	Svetosavske proslave
325	Parohijski duhovniki
337	Pravoslavno življenje
357	Slave vojaških enot, vojaške in druge prisege
361	Pravoslavni verski pouk
363	Verska oskrba v bolnišnicah, sanatorijih in zdraviliščih
365	Pravoslavna kapela v zdravilišču Rogaška Slatina
387	GRADNJE VERSKIH OBJEKTOV
389	Hram sv. Save v Celju
427	Cerkev sv. Cirila in Metoda v Ljubljani
479	Lazarica v Mariboru
509	POVZETEK
519	SUMMARY
529	VIRI IN LITERATURA
535	IMENSKO KAZALO

POVZETEK

**SRBSKA
PRAVOSLAVNA
CERKEV NA
SLOVENSKEM
MED SVETOVNIMA
VOJNAMA**

Vzhodna krščanska cerkev se je s svojim sistemom navidezne neenotnosti in stvarne avtokefalnosti narodnih cerkva z ustanovitvijo Kraljevine SHS znašla pred novimi izzivi. Najpomembnejši med njimi je bil, kako iz šestih razdrobljenih „srbskih“ cerkva ustvariti eno, narodno.

Temu je takoj sledil naslednji, in sicer, kako v večnarodni in večkonfesionalni novi državi preboleti dejstvo, da pravoslavna cerkev ni več privilegirana državna cerkev (kot je bila v Kraljevini Srbiji ali Kraljevini Črni gori), ampak le ena od uradno priznanih veroizpovedi. Kljub temu da je imela še vedno tesno navezo z vladarjem (ki je vsaj v osebi kralja Aleksandra Karađorđevića zagotovo predstavljal močno osebnost), se je morala soočiti z novo realnostjo in resno konkurenco drugih cerkva, predvsem rimskokatoliške.

V novih okoliščinah se je srbska pravoslavna cerkev, potem ko je dobila od carigradske patriarhije privolitev za obnovev patriarhije, ukvarjala predvsem sama s sabo. In ko se je z intenzivno pomočjo države v prvem desetletju nekoliko konsolidirala, kar se je pokazalo s sprejetjem zakona in ustave o srbski pravoslavni cerkvi, je lahko začela tudi ostreje nastopati.

Najbolj očitno je to počela v t. i. konkordatski krizi. To je bilo obdobje »močnega« patriarha Varnave Rosića, ki je prav v noči po glasovanju o konkordatu v narodni skupščini zatisnil oči, za nekatere v skrajno sumljivih okoliščinah. Kako nepripravljena je bila srbska pravoslavna cerkev na kompromise, se je pokazalo tudi v trmoglavem vztrajanju pri julijanskem koledarju.

V državi so se vlade menjale kot po tekočem traku, s tem pa tudi ministri ver, ki so jih večkrat nadomeščali „pomembnejši“ kolegi. S šestojanuarsko diktaturo je prišlo do ukinitve tega ministrstva – s čimer se je pokazal realen odnos države (kralja) do tega sicer izjemno pomembnega vprašanja.

Vse to se je odražalo tudi na za srbsko pravoslavno cerkev (če odmislimo nekaj zaselkov v Beli krajini) novem območju, v Sloveniji. Sicer popolnoma neprisiljen misijon je srbska pravoslavna cerkev izvajala z izdatno pomočjo vojaške oblasti.

Duhovniki v vseh treh na novo ustanovljenih parohijah (Ljubljana, Maribor in Celje) so bili nameščeni kot vojaški duhovniki. Bili so državni uradniki z neomejenimi dodatki za opravljanje parohijskih funkcij (tako s strani cerkvene občine kot tudi šolskih, zdravstvenih, pravosodnih in drugih oblasti). Dejstvo, da se je pravoslavna hierarhija odločila stopiti izpod okrilja vojaške oblasti z imenovanjem stalnega pravoslavnega parohijskega duhovnika v Ljubljani šele leta 1938, ni toliko povezano z »mladostjo« pravoslavne organizacije kot z rastjo in zavedanjem svoje moči.

Kljub močnim željam po neposredni podreditvi patriarhu je ozemlje Slovenije v novi kraljevini padlo pod jurisdikcijo pravoslavne gornjekarlovške eparhije. Pod njenim okriljem in budnim očesom episkopa Ilariona Zeremskega se je začela vzpostavljati pravoslavna organizacija.

Z ustanovitvijo zagrebške eparhije leta 1932 so parohije na Slovenskem (razen Marindola) prešle pod njeno pristojnost. Vodenje eparhije je prevzel prodorni, prekaljeni in preizkušeni organizator, mitropolit Dositej Vasić, ki se je v preteklosti med drugim ukvarjal tudi z organizacijo češke pravoslavne cerkve. Takšne intenzivnosti pri prejšnjih pristojnih arhierijah gornjekarlovške eparhije, ujetih v primež vaškega sedeža v Plaškem, namreč ni bilo čutiti.

Tik po koncu druge svetovne vojne so se ponovno pojavile težnje po oblikovanju posebne eparhije za Slovenijo. Njihov protagonist je bil prvi pravoslavni duhovnik slovenskega rodu Gorazd (Tugomir) Dekleva.

Za prestopne Slovencev v pravoslavno vero so obstajali različni razlogi, najpogostejša sta bila možnost ponovne poroke in nacionalni, jugoslovanski moment. Vsekakor ni šlo za množično gibanje, kot bi bilo mogoče pričakovati. Ravno nasprotno – tako v absolutnih kot relativnih vrednostih gre za izjemno nizke številke.

Ob tem velja poudariti, da so veliko oviro pri prestopanju na ozemlju Slovenije in Dalmacije predstavljala še vedno veljavna določila avstrijskega občega državljskega zakonika iz leta 1811 glede nerazvezljivosti po katoliškem obredu sklenjene zakonske zveze.

Po teh določilih je razveza lahko nastopila le s smrtjo enega od zakoncev. Sicer je skorajda v celotnem obravnavanem obdobju širša skupnost druge poroke tiho tolerirala. Zapletlo se je le npr. ob smrti zakonca, ko se je postavilo vprašanje pravice do dedovanja prvega ali/in drugega zakonskega partnerja oziroma njegovih otrok.

V drugi polovici tridesetih let prejšnjega stoletja je ob tako neurejenih zakonskih določilih glede poročnega prava deželno sodišče v Ljubljani pričelo sistematično razveljavljati pravoslavne druge poroke, kar je naletelo na oster odpor srbske pravoslavne cerkve. Rešitev bi bila v sprejetju medverskega zakona, za katerega pa zaradi različnih interesov nikoli niso zbrali dovolj politične volje.

Dodatno težavo pri prestopanju iz ene v drugo veroizpoved je predstavljalo tudi zakonsko določilo iz leta 1868, ki je onemogočalo spremembo veroizpovedi otrokom med 7. in 14. letom starosti.

Če primerjamo uradne popise prebivalstva v letih 1921 in 1931, je število pravoslavnih vernikov v Sloveniji ostalo na isti ravni – 6.611/6.745, kar je predstavljalo le okoli 0,6 % vsega prebivalstva. Tretjina jih je živela v Ljubljani. Neuradni podatki, ki so jih vodile parohije same, kažejo, da se stanje tudi na predvečer druge svetovne vojne ni dosti spremenilo.

Med novodobnimi pravoslavniimi cerkvenimi občinami v Sloveniji prvenstvo pripada cerkveni občini v Ljubljani, ki je bila ustanovljena 27. februarja 1921. Takoj zatem sta ji sledili še cerkveni občini v Mariboru in Celju. Največ zaslug za uvajanje pravoslavne organizacije v Sloveniji je imel ljubljanski vojaški duhovnik Dimirije Janković, ki je leta 1924 postal tudi proto-prezbiter za celotno Slovenijo.

Poleg njega se je zelo veliko angažiral tudi beograjski okrožni protojerej Nikola Trifunović in ob tem vzpostavljal cerkveno organizacijo ter uredil pravoslavno kapelo v Rogaški Slatini, ki je delovala predvsem v času poletne zdraviliške sezone. Tu je sicer ustanovil tudi cerkveno občino, ki pa zaradi dejstva,

da tam skoraj ni bilo stalno naseljenih pravoslavnih vernikov, ni imela možnosti za preživetje. Cerkvena občina je sicer bila leta 1928 ustanovljena tudi v Kočevju, vendar tudi ta iz podobnih razlogov ni zaživela.

Na to organizacijo je pristojni arhierej ustanovil še parohije (Ljubljana, Maribor, Celje), za njihove upravitelje pa nastavil tamkajšnje vojaške garnizijske duhovnike.

Močan vpliv vojske je bilo čutiti tudi v cerkveno-občinski organizaciji. V Celju sta v dveh najbolj kočljivih mandatih občino vodili vojaški osebi – v nekem trenutku so upravni odbor sestavljale izključno vojaške osebe. V Ljubljani je odpor častnikov zaradi plačevanja cerkveno-občinske doklade odnesel priljubljenega in zaslužnega protojereja Dimitrija Jankovića. Tudi prvi predsednik mariborske cerkvene občine je bil (sicer upokojeni) častnik.

V vseh treh cerkvenih občinah so, kljub nestalnosti oziroma pogostemu premeščanju, častniki igrali vidno vlogo. Ne nazadnje so tako gmotno kot moralno srbsko pravoslavno cerkev brezpogojno in odkrito podpirali vsi poveljniki dravske divizije ter seveda tudi ministrstvo vojske in mornarice, kar se je najbolj konkretno kazalo z odločilno finančno in drugo podporo pri gradnji hramov.

V cerkveno-občinskih organizacijah je v drugi polovici tridesetih let opazen močan razkol med srbskimi in delom slovenskih članov, ki je sicer tlel že nekaj let. Del slovenskih pravoslavnih vernikov, katerih jedro je izhajalo iz Bratstva pravoslavnih Slovencev, je prihajal z zahtevami po večjem uveljavljanju slovenskega jezika, nastopil proti izključnemu dopisovanju v cirilici ter v Ljubljani zahteval celo slovenskega pravoslavnega duhovnika. Seveda stvari niso bile nacionalno enoznačne; veliko vidnih članov Slovencev je še vedno podpiralo aktualno vodstvo cerkvene občine. Nezadovoljnim Slovcem so se pridružili tudi nekateri nezadovoljni Srbi. Čeprav je ta razkol opazen v vseh treh cerkvenih občinah, je največje razsežnosti imel v Ljubljani. Tu so privrženci te struje, na čelu s Franjem Majcnom, na volitvah

leta 1939 skušali prevzeti tudi cerkveno-občinsko upravo, vendar jim ni uspelo.

Prihodki cerkvenih občin so bili vezani na dotacije državnih in lokalnih oblasti, razpisanih cerkveno-občinskih doklad, prostovoljnih prispevkov (predvsem za gradnjo), manj pa so bili rezultat lastnih aktivnosti, kot sta bili prodaja sveč v cerkvi in nabirka. Na strani odhodkov so prednjačili stroški za začasnega paroha, pisarniškega kanclista, cerkovnika, cerkveni pevski zbor ...

Najpomembnejša prireditve, ki so jo pripravljale pravoslavne cerkvene občine, je bila vsakoletna svetosavska proslava 27. januarja. Sestavljena je bila iz dopoldanske šolske proslave ter večernega koncerta in plesa. Poleg tega, da so se te prireditve v vseh treh okoljih uveljavile kot ene najbolj prestižnih, so ponavadi prinašale tudi visoke finančne izkupičke, ki so bili namenjeni predvsem gradnji cerkva, delno tudi v dobrodelne namene.

Glede šolskih proslav je z manjšimi protesti klerikalne strani do leta 1938 vse potekalo brez težav. Tedaj pa je banska uprava striktno prepovedala sodelovanje nepravoslavnih otrok na svetosavski šolski proslavi, ki jo je organizirala pravoslavna cerkvena občina, saj jo je pojmovala za versko, in ne državno manifestacijo, kar je tudi bila.

Predstavniki cerkvene občine in začasni parohijski duhovniki so se skušali čim bolj angažirati tudi v vsakdanjem družbenem življenju v svojih okoljih.

Pravoslavne parohije v Sloveniji so bile seveda specifične, saj so delovale v absolutno prevladujočem rimskokatoliškem okolju, vse tri so pokrivalo ogromno območje, ki ga je bilo težko obvladovati. Poleg tega je po osnovnih nalogah vojaški duhovnik (ki je moral najprej biti predvsem to) opravljal vse funkcije parohijskega duhovnika, torej vsa cerkvena opravila in obrede za civiliste, verouk za otroke, razpršene po številnih osnovnih in srednjih šolah, poleg tega je skrbel še za bolnike po bolnišnicah in sanatorijih ... Stalne težave so imeli z angažiranjem primernega cerkvenega pevca in cerkvenega pevskega zbora.

Pravoslavni verski obredi, tako tisti običajni, vsakodnevni, predvsem pa praznični, so pri Slovencih vzbujali veliko zanimanje in radovednost. Ob praznovanju državnih in drugih praznikov (dan zedinjenja, kraljev rojstni dan, Vidov dan) in pomembnih obletnicah (npr. preboja solunske fronte), kjer sta se poudarjali zlasti enotnost jugoslovanskega naroda in privrženost kralju, je pravoslavna cerkev odigrala vidno vlogo. Še bolj pa pri cerkvenih praznikih, kjer je za Slovence nenavadne običaje s pomočjo vojske uspešno manifestirala in propagirala zunaj cerkvenih zidov (badnjak, gospodovo razglašenje/bogojavljenje, vrbica, vojaške slave ...) ter pri tem v glavnem žela simpatije.

Redno je ljubljanski pravoslavni duhovnik opravljal cerkvena opravila tudi v od leta 1933 posebej za to urejeni bolnišnični kapelici v sanatoriju na Golniku. Poleg tega je redno ob večjih cerkvenih praznikih obiskoval tudi kaznjenke pravoslavne veroizpovedi v Begunjah. Pravoslavno versko življenje so sicer poskušali organizirati tudi na Bledu in v Murski Soboti, vendar brez vidnih uspehov.

Pomemben del ljubljanskih pravoslavnih vernikov so predstavljali ruski emigranti, ki so po boljševistični revoluciji zapustili domovino ter si nova ognjišča uredili v Sloveniji. Med njimi je bilo zelo veliko univerzitetnih profesorjev – nekateri so bili tudi zelo aktivni v cerkveni občini. Poleg tega so se leta 1928 prvič zbrali ob ruski kapelici na Vršiču, ki so jo ob pomoči kranjskogorskega notarja Ivana Grašiča lepo obnovili, leta 1934 pa je mitropolit Dositej izvedel še uradno posvetitev sv. Vladimirju.

Zelo težavno je bilo organizirati verski pouk. Otrok ni bilo veliko in so bili zelo razpršeni. Pravoslavni duhovniki so večkrat predlagali različne rešitve, tudi nastavitev posebnega učitelja, vendar neuspešno. S številnimi težavami so se morali ubadati kar sami. Na sedežih parohij je tako verski pouk za silo še funkcioniral, v drugih krajih pa ga je bilo, kljub veliki iznajdljivosti, praktično nemogoče redno izvajati.

Kot pomoč parohijskemu duhovniku za krepitev pobožnosti, moralnosti in humanosti so ustanavljali versko-dobrodelna

skrbništva, ki so bila sicer leta 1934/35 oblikovana, a se niso popolnoma uveljavila. Ponovni zagon je v Celju skrbništvo dobilo leta 1937, v Ljubljani pa šele leta 1939 s prihodom stalnega paroha Bogdana Matkovića.

Specifično vlogo so imela bratstva pravoslavnih Slovencev. Prvo in najbolj agilno je bilo v Celju, kjer so organizirali tudi zvezo bratstev. Bratstva naj bi imela tudi nacionalno-politično vlogo ter delovala predvsem v prid širjenja pravoslavja med Slovenci, vendar so v vseh okoljih prišla v večji ali manjši konflikt s cerkveno-občinskimi upravami in parohijskimi duhovniki. Poleg Ljubljane, Maribora in Celja so bratstva ustanovili tudi na Jesenicah in v Zagorju ob Savi.

Prve prostore za opravljanje verskih obredov (tudi za civiliste) so v vseh treh mestih uredili z veliko pomočjo vojske kar v vojašnicah in tako je ostalo do izgradnje in odprtja novih pravoslavnih hramov.

Zagotovo se je pravoslavje v Sloveniji najbolj manifestiralo prav z gradnjo hramov. Prizadevanja za to so se v vseh treh cerkvenih občinah začela praktično z njihovimi ustanovitvami. Takoj so pričeli zbirati prostovoljne prispevke. Poleg državnih in lokalnih oblasti so ogromno sredstev zbrali od posameznikov – v Ljubljani je prednjačil industrialec Franjo Medić, ki je, zanimivo, bil rimskokatoliške vere.

V vseh treh mestih so lokalne oblasti podarile najlepša zemljišča, pri tem je le v Mariboru nastal odkrit odpor dela prebivalstva, ki je, sicer neuspešno, sprožil tudi postopke, da bi dodelitev zemljišča preprečil. Tako so v središčih treh največjih slovenskih mest začeli rasti sakralni objekti z za to okolje nenavadno arhitekturo srbsko-bizantinskega stila, ki je pri lokalnem prebivalstvu zbujala mešane občutke. Vsekakor so poleg versko-cerkvenega sporočila te monumentalne zgradbe vsebovale tudi močno nacionalno, jugoslovansko simboliko.

Z gradnjo so prvi zaključili v Celju in poleti 1932 je potekala množična javna manifestacija, na kateri je patriarh Varnava slovesno posvetil celjski pravoslavni hram sv. Savi, naslednji dan

pa še temeljni kamen za cerkev v Ljubljani, ki so jo nameravali posvetiti sv. Cirilu in Metodu.

Slednjo so, predvsem v notranjosti še nedokončano, simbolično odprli na državni praznik 1. decembra 1936. Med bivanjem v Sloveniji jo je večkrat obiskala kraljevska hiša s kraljem Petrom II. in namestnikom knezom Pavlom. Uradno so jo posvetili šele leta 2005.

Te sreče ni imela Lazarica v Mariboru. Na zunaj je sicer bila dograjena, urejanje notranjosti pa so najprej preprečile težave z zbiranjem finančnih sredstev, dokončno pa prihod nemškega okupatorja, ki se je tega očitnega simbola jugoslovanstva, podobno kot v Celju, lotil na najokrutnejši način – z miniranjem in odstranitvijo z obličja zemlje.

SUMMARY

**THE SERBIAN
ORTHODOX
CHURCH IN
SLOVENIA
BETWEEN THE
WORLD WARS**

With the establishment of the Kingdom of SHS, the Eastern Christianity with its system of the apparent disunity and actual autocephaly of national churches had to face new challenges. The most important of these was how to create a single national church out of six separate “Serbian” churches.

This challenge was immediately followed by another one: namely, how to get over the fact that in the new multinational and multi-confessional state, the Orthodox Church was no longer a privileged national church (as it had been in the Kingdom of Serbia or the Kingdom of Montenegro), but only one of the several officially-acknowledged creeds. Although it still maintained close connections with the ruler (who represented a strong leadership, at least while embodied in King Alexander Karađorđević), the Orthodox Church had to come to terms with the new reality and a serious competition of other churches, especially the Roman Catholic Church.

In the new circumstances, the Serbian Orthodox Church mostly focused on its own problems, especially after it had received consent for the restoration of patriarchy from the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. After it had consolidated its ranks somewhat with the significant assistance of the state in the first decade, which also resulted in the adoption of the legislation and constitution on the Serbian Orthodox Church, it could also start asserting itself more resolutely.

This was most obvious during the so-called Concordat Crisis. This was a period of the “strong” Patriarch Varnava Rosić, who passed away precisely in the night after the voting on the Concordat in the National Assembly, for some people in extremely suspicious circumstances. The stubborn insistence on the Julian calendar was one of the indications of how unprepared the Serbian Orthodox Church was for any compromises.

The state governments and thus also Ministers of Religions, who would often be replaced by their “more important” colleagues, kept changing rapidly. With the January 6th Dictatorship, this ministry was abolished – which indicated the real at-

titude of the state (or the King) towards what was otherwise an extremely important issue.

All of this also affected Slovenia – a new territory for the Serbian Orthodox Church (with the exception of a few hamlets in the Bela krajina region). The Serbian Orthodox Church carried out its otherwise completely voluntary mission with an abundant assistance of the military authorities.

The priests in all three newly-established parishes (Ljubljana, Maribor, and Celje) were appointed as army chaplains. They were state officials, granted unlimited allowances (by the ecclesiastical municipalities as well as the school, health, justice, and other authorities) for the performance of their parochial functions. The fact that the Orthodox hierarchy decided to only exit the framework of the military authorities as late as in 1938, with the appointment of a permanent Orthodox parish priest in Ljubljana, was not as much a consequence of the Orthodox organisation's "youth" as of its expansion and the awareness of its own power.

Despite the strong wishes for the direct subordination to the Patriarch, the Slovenian territory in the new Kingdom fell under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Eparchy of Gornji Karlovac. Under its auspices and the watchful eye of Bishop Ilarion Zeremski, the Orthodox organisation started establishing itself.

With the establishment of the Eparchy of Zagreb in 1932, the parishes in Slovenia (with the exception of Marindol) came under its jurisdiction. The leadership of the new Eparchy was taken over by the insightful, experienced and proven organiser, Metropolitan Archbishop Dositej Vasić, who had previously dealt with the organisation of the Czech Orthodox Church, among other things. Such intensity had been unheard of in case of the previous competent archiereis of the Eparchy of Gornji Karlovac, caught in a vice of the seat in the village of Plaški.

Shortly after the end of World War II, aspirations for the formation of a special eparchy for Slovenia resurfaced. The protagonist of these tendencies was the first Orthodox priest of Slovenian descent, Gorazd (Tugomir) Dekleva.

Various reasons existed for the conversion of Slovenians to the Orthodox religion, but the possibility of remarriage and the national, Yugoslav moment, were the most frequent ones. This was by no means a mass movement, as one might have expected. Quite the opposite: the numbers involved were extremely modest, in the absolute as well as relative sense.

At this point we should also emphasise that the provisions of the Austrian general civil code of 1811 with regard to the indissolubility of canonical Catholic marriage, still in force at the time, represented a significant obstacle to religious conversion in the territory of Slovenia and Dalmatia.

According to these provisions, marriages could only be annulled with the death of a spouse. It is true that almost throughout the whole of the period under consideration, the wider community would usually silently tolerate remarriages. Things could only get complicated when, for example, a spouse died, and the question of the inheritance of the first or/and second married partner or their children arose.

In the second half of the 1930s, in light of such disorderly legal provisions with regard to marriage law, the provincial court in Ljubljana started systematically annulling Orthodox remarriages, to the resolute protests of the Serbian Orthodox Church. However, due to a variety of interests it was impossible to ensure enough political will to solve this issue by adopting appropriate inter-religious legislation.

An additional problem with converting between religions also stemmed from the legal provision of 1868, prohibiting the religious conversion of children between the ages of seven and fourteen.

If we compare the official population censuses of 1921 and 1931, the number of Orthodox believers in Slovenia remained at the same level – 6,611/6,745 – which only represented around 0.6 % of the total population. One third of these worshippers lived in Ljubljana. The unofficial information, gathered by the parishes themselves, indicates that even on the eve of World War II the situation did not change much.

Among the new Orthodox Church municipalities in Slovenia, the Ljubljana church municipality, established on 27 February 1921, was the most important. It was followed by the church municipalities of Maribor and Celje. Most merits for the introduction of the Orthodox organisation in Slovenia can be ascribed to the Ljubljana army chaplain Dimitrije Janković, who also became the protopresbyter for the whole of Slovenia in 1924.

Apart from him, the Belgrade district protoiereus Nikola Trifunović was highly engaged as well: he invested much effort into the development of the Church organisation and established the Orthodox chapel in Rogaška Slatina, which operated especially during the summer health resort season. He also founded a church municipality here, although this was unfeasible, as almost no Orthodox believers resided there permanently. Another church municipality was also established in Kočevje in 1928, but because of similar reasons it could not prosper either.

The competent archiereus kept developing this organisation with the establishment of parishes in Ljubljana, Maribor, and Celje; and the local army chaplains were appointed as their administrators.

The strong influence of the army could also be felt in the church municipal organisation. During two of the most important terms, the Celje church municipality was led by two members of the military – while in another moment the administrative committee consisted of military personnel exclusively. In Ljubljana the popular and meritorious protoiereus Dimitrije Janković had to step down due to the military officers' resistance against the payment of church municipal contributions. The first president of the Maribor church municipality was a military officer as well (although retired).

In all three church municipalities, military officers played a visible role, despite their impermanence or frequent redeployments. After all, the Serbian Orthodox Church was unconditionally and openly supported, financially as well as morally, by all the commanders of the Drava Division as well as, naturally, by

the Ministry of the Army and Navy. This was most evident from the decisive support, financial and otherwise, provided for the construction of chapels.

In the second half of the 1930s, a significant rift between the Serbian and some of the Slovenian Orthodox believers, which had otherwise smouldered for several years, became apparent in the church municipal organisations. Some of the Slovenian Orthodox believers, whose core came from the Brotherhood of Orthodox Slovenians, started voicing demands for a greater assertion of the Slovenian language, opposed the communication in the Cyrillic script exclusively, and even demanded that a Slovenian Orthodox priest be assigned to Ljubljana. Naturally, things were not one-sided nationally, and many visible Slovenian members kept supporting the current church municipality leadership. The dissatisfied Slovenians were also joined by a few disgruntled Serbs. Even though this conflict was apparent in all three church municipalities, in Ljubljana it attained the greatest proportions. Here the adherents of this movement, headed by Franjo Majcen, attempted to take over the church municipal administration at the 1939 elections, but failed.

The income of the church municipalities depended on the contributions from the state and local authorities, budgetary church municipal allowances, voluntary contributions (especially for construction), and to a lesser extent on the Church's own activities like the sales of candles as well as the collection of alms in the churches. The expenses mostly involved the costs for temporary parish priests, administrative officers, parish clerks, church choirs, etc.

The most important event, organised by the Orthodox Church municipalities, was the annual Saint Sava celebration on 27 January. It consisted of a school celebration in the forenoon as well as an evening concert and dance. Not only did these festivities assert themselves as some of the most prestigious events in all three environments, but they usually also brought consider-

able financial income, intended mostly for the construction of churches and partly also for charity purposes.

As far as the school celebrations were concerned, until 1938 everything went smoothly, with minor protests from the clericalist side. However, at that point the Ban's Administration strictly prohibited the participation of non-Orthodox children in the Saint Sava school celebration, organised by the Orthodox Church municipality, as it considered this a religious and not a state manifestation – which is what it in fact was.

The representatives of the church municipality and temporary parish priests also tried to be as involved as possible in the everyday social life in their environments.

Naturally, the Orthodox parishes in Slovenia were specific, as they operated in predominantly Roman Catholic environment, and all three parishes covered a large territory that was difficult to manage. Furthermore, apart from their primary tasks, army chaplains (who first and foremost had to be precisely that) were also responsible for all the functions of parish priests, namely for all the church functions and rites for civilians, religious instruction for children who attended numerous primary and secondary schools, care for patients in hospitals and sanatoriums, etc. The engagement of suitable church singers and church choirs was a constant problem.

Orthodox religious ceremonies – the ordinary everyday rites but especially the festive ones – attracted significant interest and curiosity in Slovenians. The Orthodox Church played a visible role in the celebration of state and other holidays (unification day, King's birthday, St. Vitus' Day) and important anniversaries (for example, the anniversary of the Salonika Front breakthrough), where the unity of the Yugoslav nation and its adherence to the King were especially emphasised. It was even more involved in the church holidays, when it successfully organised and promoted – with the assistance of the Army – the traditions, unfamiliar to Slovenians (Christmas Eve, Theophany,

Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday, the so-called “*slava*” – celebrations of patron saints in the military, etc.). These events were mostly well-received.

The Orthodox priest in Ljubljana also regularly performed church functions in the Golnik sanatorium hospital chapel, dedicated to this purpose since 1933, and regularly visited the female Orthodox prisoners in Begunje on the occasions of the more significant church holidays. Attempts were made to organise the Orthodox religious life in Bled and in Murska Sobota as well, but without any notable success.

Russian emigrants, who had left their homeland after the Bolshevik Revolution and settled in Slovenia, represented a significant percentage of Orthodox believers in Ljubljana. Among them were quite a few university professors, some of whom were also very active in their church municipalities. Furthermore, in 1928 these emigrants gathered by the Russian Chapel at the Vršič Pass for the first time. The Chapel had been beautifully restored with the aid of the notary Ivan Grašič from Kranjska Gora, and in 1934 the Metropolitan Archbishop Dositej Vasić officially dedicated it to Saint Vladimir.

It was very difficult to organise religious instruction. Orthodox children were few and far between. Orthodox priests would often suggest various solutions, including the appointment of a special instructor, but were unsuccessful. They had to deal with a variety of problems by themselves. Thus religious instruction took place at the seats of the parishes, though barely; while it was, in spite of all the resourcefulness, impossible to organise elsewhere.

In 1934/35, religious charities were established as a means of assisting the parish priests and strengthen the people’s piety, morality and humaneness, but they did not assert themselves entirely. The charity in Celje gained momentum in 1937, while in Ljubljana it only established itself in 1939, with the arrival of the permanent parish priest Bogdan Matković.

The brotherhoods of Orthodox Slovenians played a specific role. The first and most agile of these appeared in Celje, where the union of brotherhoods was organised as well. The brotherhoods were also supposed to have a national-political role and especially strived to promote the expansion of the Orthodox religion among Slovenians. However, in all the environments they came into minor or major conflicts with the church municipal administrations and parish priests. Apart from the cities of Ljubljana, Maribor, and Celje, brotherhoods were also established in Jesenice and Zagorje ob Savi.

In all three cities, the first facilities for the performance of religious rites (also for civilians) were simply arranged for in the local military barracks with ample assistance from the army. These kept operating until the construction and opening of new Orthodox chapels.

The Orthodox religion in Slovenia certainly manifested itself most evidently with the erection of chapels. Relevant efforts began in all three church municipalities, practically as soon as they were established. The collection of voluntary contributions started immediately. Besides the state and local authorities, individuals donated considerable resources as well – in Ljubljana the first and foremost of donors was the industrialist Franjo Medić, who, interestingly, was a Roman Catholic.

In all three cities the local authorities donated the best plots of land. Only in Maribor did a part of the population resist this openly, and initiated proceedings to prevent the allocation of the land, though unsuccessfully. Thus the construction of sacral buildings began in the centres of all three largest Slovenian cities. Their Serbian-Byzantine style of architecture, unusual for this environment, provoked mixed feelings in the local population. By all means, besides the religious and the ecclesiastical message, these monumental buildings also involved strong national, Yugoslav symbolism.

The construction was first concluded in Celje, and in the summer of 1932 a mass public manifestation took place, during

which Patriarch Varnava ceremoniously dedicated the Orthodox chapel to Saint Sava. On the next day, the foundations for the church in Ljubljana, which was intended to be dedicated to Saints Cyril and Methodius, were laid.

The latter church opened its door symbolically on the national holiday of 1 December 1936, even though it – especially its interior – was still unfinished at the time. During their stay in Slovenia, the Royal Family of Serbia, including King Peter II and Prince Regent Paul, visited it several times. It was not officially consecrated until 2005.

The so-called Lazarica in Maribor was not so fortunate. Its exterior may have been finished, but the construction of its interior was first rendered impossible due to the difficulties with the collection of financial resources, until its finalisation was ultimately prevented by the arrival of the German occupying forces. These tackled the obvious symbol of Yugoslavism in the cruellest way, similarly as in Celje: by setting explosives and eradicating it from the face of the earth.