



LiVeS Journal
July 2015 / 9

LiVeS Journal
/Liberty, Verity, and Spirit/

Leto VI julij 2015
shtevilka 9

Izdajatelj revije



REVIJA SRP

m.sh.1339427, d.sh.71461965
i.a: <http://www.livesjournal.eu>
e.m: urednishtvo@revijasrp.si
e.m: editors@livesjournal.eu

Naslov

Revija SRP, Prazhakova 13, 1000 Ljubljana,
Slovenija

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LIVES JOURNAL je slovenska revija, ki nadaljuje in na novem nivoju povzema projekt Revije SRP: gre za nadaljevanje posebne publikacijske prakse (v tisku in na spletu) kot radikalno naravnane preizkusa možnosti neodvisne umetnishke, esejistichne, znanstvene refleksije v geohistoricnem kontekstu in oblik identitete v njem, ter gre za inovacijo zlasti v smislu vzporednega slovensko-angleshkega zapisa, ki se odpira sledovom slovenstva kjer koli po svetu. Usmeritev publikacije s svojo obliko in s pomenskimi razsezhnostmi nakazuje tudi ime: zacetni chrki obeh besed sta kratica za Ljubljano (LJ), v angleshki besedi LiVeS pa so simetricni soglasniki zacetnice istih treh vodilnih pojmov kot v slovenski besedi SRP (Svoboda – Resnica – Pogum / Liberty – Verity – Spirit).

ISSN 1855–8267

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LIVES JOURNAL is a Slovenian review which continues on a new level and summarizes the project of Review SRP: a continuation of the special practice of publication (in print and online) as a radical examination of the possibilities of an independent-oriented art, essayistic, scientific reflection in geohistorical context and its forms of identity, and the innovation especially in the sense of parallel Slovenian-English writing, which is opened to the traces of Slovenian identity anywhere in the world. The orientation of publication is also suggested by the name with its form and dimensions of meaning: the initial letters of both words are an abbreviation for Ljubljana (LJ), and in English word LiVeS symmetrical consonants perform the initials of the same three leading concepts such as in Slovenian word SRP (Svoboda – Resnica – Pogum / Liberty – Verity – Spirit)

ISSN 1855–8267

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Andrej Kokot

MOST

MAJSKE TRAVE

Visoke in ponosne
so majske trave,
kajti one vedo,
da so podoba pomladi.

Vendar vdano
chakajo rosnega jutra,
da se odenejo v srebrni lesket,
ko se bodo sklonile
nad koso in tiho
padle pod sončno nebo.

Majske trave
slovesno gredo v smrt,
zakaj one vedo za svoj čas.

MOST

Prishel je chlovek
in zaukazal:
BODI MOST!
In bil sem most.
Po mojih zhelezobetonskih
rebrih so hodili
ljudje in bogovi
in teptali moj krivi hrbet.
Čas pa je pochasi
spodkopaval mojo trdnost
in jo nekega dne dokončno unichil.

Moji napeti loki
so se vzravnali
in bil sem spet chlovek.
Odtlej bezhim pred ljudmi,
ker se bojim, da mi bo spet
kdo zaukazal: bodi most.

Andrej Kokot

BRIDGE

GRASS IN MAY

The grass in May
is high and proud;
it knows
it is the image of spring.

It waits patiently
for the morning dew
and falls over the scythe
into the glittering brightness
under the sun.

The grass in May
goes to its death ceremoniously.
It knows when its time has come.

BRIDGE

Someone came
and ordered:
BE A BRIDGE!
And I became a bridge.
Men and gods
traversed my concrete ribs
and trod my bent back.
In time
my strength diminished,
step by step,
until it was no more.

Yet my crooked girders
straightened themselves
and I was a man again.
Now I avoid mankind.
I fear I'll be ordered
to be a bridge.

Translated from Slovenian by Herbert Kuhner and Peter Kersche

Lev Detela

VRCH STRUPA

DOMOVINA
(He patrís)

Vsi ti z izmuchenimi pogledi
v zapršenem pristanishču
ki v lesenih kovčkih prenashajo
na tuja tla svojo milo domovino
in spomin na vonj timijana in rozhmarina

Zaman zaman
vrata so zaprta
toda srce si zheli domov
cheprav se potovanje shele zachenja

SOKRATOV ZAGOVOR
(Apologia Sokrátus)

Ah tudi če me obsodite na vrch strupa
se vam najlespshe zahvalim
vasha pravica je tudi moja pravica
in kam naj pobegnem
nočem se klatiti po tujih krajih
kot v prepad drsechi kamen

Ne hvala
smrt mi je ljubsha
kdo od nas je izbral boljsho pot
pa ve le dobri bog

JUG OF POISON

HOMELAND (He patris)

All these people with their tired looks
in the dusty port
in wooden boxes transferring
to the foreign soil their sweet homeland
and the memory of the smell of thyme and rosemary

In vain in vain
doors are closed
but the heart wants homeward
although the journey is just beginning

DEFENSE OF SOCRATES (Apologia Sokrátus)

Ah even if you condemn me to a jug of poison
I thank you very much
your justice is my justice
and where could I escape
I do not want to wander at foreign places
as into the abyss gliding stone

No thanks
I prefer death
but who of us has chosen a better way
knows only good god

Translated from Slovenian by Ivo Antich

Ivo Antich

TEKKYO(N)

ZHELEZOBETON

*snov in vsa sila močnih traverz,
ogrodja, nosilci vseh velikih stavb.
Opore obokov, stolpov, kaminov,
prekopov in dolgih mostov.
(Tone Chufar, Zhelezobeton; pesnitev, 1932)*

I

Dolžnost obale
ne kot mimobezhen val,
med vali strt ton –

ampak neba in zemlje
istmos, zhelezobeton.

II

Mavrichni obok,
pantersko prednapet lok
od brega na breg:

onkraj dosega vseh mej
prhkost skal, pomladni sneg.

III

Prhkost, prhka kost,
vase zaviti bojni ples,
v privid vzpeti most:

v sončnem ognju leden bes,
skoz grodelj jeklena ost.

Ivo Antich

TEKKYO(N)

FERROCONCRETE

*matter and all the might of powerful traverses,
frames, holders of all large buildings.
Supports of arches, towers, fireplaces,
canals and long bridges.
(Tone Chufar, Ferroconcrete; a poem, 1932)*

I

Duty of the coast
not as a wave passing by
like between waves crushed tone –

but as the sky's and ground's
isthmos, ferroconcrete.

II

Rainbow arch,
like a panther prestressed bow
from one bank to the other:

beyond the reach of all borders
friability of the rocks, spring snow.

III

Friability, friable bone,
a war dance wrapped into herself,
to the illusion climbed bridge:

in the solar fire an icy rage,
through pig iron a steel point.

IV

Ost zlega cveta
(Acanthus balcanicus),
v lep gnus odeta:

tanka, akant, aktant ran,
sinter, v vakuumu zhgan.

V

T(m)eze sinteze,
sintranje sintomije,
anti(sin)teze:

destruktivni integral,
konstruktivni interval.

TRAVERZE

*Nobena ni vedela, kdaj se bo upor, ki ga je prerokoval Major, zgodil (...) Ena od krav je s svojim rogom vlomila vrata skladiščne lope (...) Vse živali so enake. (...) In tako so živali skupaj odsble na travnik, da bi začele kosnjo (...) Razredi za branje in pisanje so bili velik uspeh.
(G. Orwell, Zhivalska farma; 1945)*

I

Krog, zoofarma,
po zodiaku karma,
upora travma:

trava uma, razuma,
travna pisava suma.

II

Enakost kosti,
ena kost za živali,
meso za zveri –

pisana travna truma,
glota, guma brez uma.

IV

Point of the evil flower
(*Acanthus balcanicus*)
dressed in a beautiful disgust:

tanka, acanthus, actant of wounds,
clinker in vacuum burned.

V

Theses / tmeses of a synthesis,
sintering of syntomia,
anti(syn)theses:

destructive integral,
constructive interval.

TRAVERSES

They did not know when the Rebellion predicted by Major would take place (...) One of the cows broke in the door of the store – shed with her horn (...) All animals are equal. (...) So the animals trooped down to the hayfield to begin the harvest (...) The reading and writing classes, however, were a great success.
(G. Orwell, *Animal Farm*; 1945)

I

Circle, zoofarm,
the zodiac karma,
rebellion trauma:

grass of mind, of intellect,
grass-writing of suspicion.

II

Equality of bones,
one bone for the animals,
meat for the beasts –

colourful crowd of grass,
mob, rubber without the mind.

III

Most iz kosti trav,
ikebana, zhiv jezik
mrtvega cvetja –

bilk govor, lovor, tovor,
zheblji zverskega petja.

IV

Slovar kot rov las,
rog skozi brezobrazen glas
glavoreznic jas –

(per)verzna koshnja trave,
zoonoza pisave.

V

Waka, spev krave,
vacca, most za vakuum,
Hator postave –

troha, torah zverskih trum,
traverze kot rez trave.

tekkyo – jap. zhelezen most, viadukt; tudi (v drugih pismenkah): odstranitev, razdejanje, porushenje; tukaj v skupnem dialektichnem pomenu »de(kon)strukcije«;

tekkyon (tudi: tae-kkyon itd.) – starodavna korejska ljudska borilna veshchina, podobna karateju in judu;

traverza – cf. angl. traverse (traverza; tudi: cikcak jadranje);

travna pisava – stil kitajskih pismenk v kurzivu (kit. caoshu; jap. susho);

waka ali tanka – japonska petverzna pesem (zlogovna shema: 5-7-5 / 7-7; tukaj le v slov. izvirmiku); izvorno nerimana oblika iz 31 zlogov ali tonskih enot (haku – lat. mora, morae), navadno zapis v eni sami neprekinjeni vrstici brez interpunkcije, delitev v pet verzov le pri romanizaciji (translit. v latinici) ali pri prevodu.

Citat iz Orwella ni po slov. knjizhnem prevodu (v njem je npr. ključni stavek »All animals are equal« preveden: »Vse zhivali so enakopravne«; Orwell asociira iz gesla fr. rev. égalité, Napoleona in termidor ter preroshko obnovitev fevdalizma kot »Grashchinske farme«, izv. Manor Farm; pravzaprav »Gosposke farme«, cf. nem. prevod: Herren-Farm; cf. v angl. izv. Manor / Major, iniciator upora; cf. v angl. zgod. »the Great Rebellion« 1642-1660, tedaj Anglija kratkotrajna republika).

(op. avt.)

III

Bridge made of bones of grasses,
ikebana, living language
of the dead flowers –

speech of stalks, laurel, load,
nails of bestial singing.

IV

Dictionary as a tunnel of hair,
a horn through the faceless voice
of the headcutting glades –

(per)version of grass-mowing,
zoonosis of writing.

V

Waka, song of a cow,
vacca, bridge to the vacuum,
Hathor as a law –

a bit, the torah of bestial crowds,
the traverses as a cut of grass.

tekkyo – jap. iron bridge, viaduct; also (in other characters) removal, destruction, dismantling; here in common dialectical sense of »de(con)struction«;

tekkyon (also: tae-kkyon etc.) – an ancient Korean folk martial art like as karate and judo;

traverse – cross-beam (cf. also: traverse sailing, zigzag);

grass-writing – a style of Chinese characters in cursive (Chin. caoshu; Jap. sousho);

waka or tanka – Japanese poem in five lines (syllabic pattern: 5-7-5 / 7-7; here not in translation); originally, it is an unrhymed verse form of thirty-one syllables or sound units (haku – in Latin: mora, morae) most often written in one continuous unpunctuated line, separated into five lines when Romanized or translated. – Quotes from Orwell are not from his book in Slovenian translation (in that, the key phrase »All animals are equal« is translated: »All animals are equal in rights«; Orwell associates the notion *égalité* from the slogan of French revolution with Napoleon and thermidor, and prophetic the restoration of feudalism as »Manor Farm«; properly »Lords Farm«, cf. Germ. transl. Herren-Farm; cf. also: Manor / Major, the initiator of Rebellion; cf. in Engl. hist. »the Great Rebellion« 1642-1660, shortlived Republic).

Notes and translation from Slovenian by author

Marko Petrovich

TEDEN DNI V ZHIVLJENJU MISIJSKE TOYOTE

(pishe avto)

Ponedeljek

Iz Farafangane je bilo treba prepeljati popravljeno zadnjo os Janezovega JCBja na njegovo postojanko – Ampitafa. Ogromna kovinska gmota verjetno tehta kakih 600/700 kil, ker se je dvanajst moshkih poshteno namuchilo, da so jo spravili na keson. Zraven so šli she mehanik Mameta in njegov sin ter dva pomagacha, da bi zadevo montirali. Prvih 75 km poti je pravi uzhitek za utrujene amortizerje in sklepe, ker je chudovit gladek asfalt in lahko jadram iz enega ovinka v drugega kot plesalka na ledu. Edino sem ter tja me kakshen most s svojim strmim dovozom malo zatrese. Sledi pa kakih 60 km grobe, blatne in ponekod tudi kamnite ceste. Kamenje in skale najbolj sovrazhim, ker mi gredo tresljaji do kosti. She srecha, da so me Japonci tako dobro sestavili, che ne bi se zhe zdavnaj razsul. Ja, vsega skupaj sem garal kar dobre shtiri ure, preden sem prispel na cilj. Ni bilo lahko v strme bregove vlechi tako tezho. Mi je pa chudovito odleglo, ko so mi na cilju tezho sneli s hrbta. Zvecher, potem ko se je shofer Marko najedel pečenih kobilic, pa smo pot ponovili v nasprotno smer, ampak sem bil brez tako tezhkega tovora bolj lahkih koles in sem tudi hitreje pripeljal shoferja in potnike nazaj v Farafangano.

Torek

Danes pa ni mojega kesona obremenjevala hladna in trda kovina, marvech mehak, toda nich lazhji pesek. In ker so gospodarji hoteli prepeljati she vech peska, kolikor ga zmorem sam, so mi na rep pripeli she prikolico, ki lahko pelje tovore, tezhke do 1,6 tone. Jemali smo ga v nekem »peskovniku« nedalech od cerkvice, katere tla naj bi popravil pesek skupaj s kamni in cementom (mimogrede, tudi skale in cement sem jaz prepeljal). Bilo je potrebnih kar pet vozhenj, da smo imeli zadostno kolichino peska. V eno smer sem peljal fante z lopatami, ki so bili tako vneti za delo, da so v pichlih petnajstih minutah natovorili mene in prikolico. Cheprav imajo smeshno majhne lopatke, se vseeno pozna, che jih je veliko in hitro delajo. Zlesti iz peskovnika, ko sem bil tako natovorjen, ni bila shala. Moral sem vkljuchiti vsa shtiri kolesa in she z reduktorjem povechati moch, da sem sploh lahko prishel ven. Pa she kljub temu sem se ugrezal in so me morali fantje porivati.

Marko Petrovich

A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF A MISSIONARY'S TOYOTA LANDCRUISER IN SOUTHEAST MADAGASCAR

(written by the car)

Monday

The newly repaired rear axle of missionary Janez's JCB had to be brought from Farafangana to the place where he works – Ampitafa. The huge mass of metal must weigh around 600/700 kilos as twelve men had no easy time lifting it up onto my back. The mechanic Mameta also went along accompanied by his son and two other lads to help reassemble the machine. The first 75km of road are a true joy for tired shock absorbers and joints as the tarmac is wonderfully smooth and I can glide elegantly from one bend into another like an ice-skater. I only get shaken now and again by the short steep approaches to bridges. There follow 60km of rough, muddy and in places rocky road. I hate rocks and stones because the shocks go right to my bones! Luckily the Japanese put me together very well, otherwise I would have fallen to pieces a long time ago! Altogether I toiled away for over four hours before at last reaching our destination. It was not easy pulling such a heavy load up steep slopes. But it was a wonderful relief when at last they took the load off my back. In the evening, after Marko the driver had finished his meal of fried grasshoppers, we returned home but without the heavy load I was nimbler and was able to bring the driver and passengers back to Farafangana much quicker.

Tuesday

Today my back was not burdened by cold and hard metal but by soft yet just as heavy sand. And because the men in charge wanted to transport even more sand than I can carry on my own, they attached a trailer to my tail which can carry loads of up to 1.6 tonnes. We took the sand from a “sandpit” not far from the church whose floor was to be repaired using a combination of the sand together with stones and cement (by the way, I also transported the stones and cement.) Five trips were necessary before we had transported the required amount of sand. On the way to the “sandpit” I carried young men with spades who were so eager about their work that it took them no more than fifteen minutes to fully load myself and the trailer. Although their spades are really small, the fact that there were many of them and that they worked fast made all the difference. Climbing out of the sandpit while carrying such a heavy load was no joke. I had to engage all four wheels and the reduction gears to increase my strength if I wanted to climb out at all. And even so I sank into the sand and had to be pushed by the lads.

Sreda

Sem mislil, da bom imel danes malo počitka, pa ni bilo tako, ker se je misijonarju Izidorju pokvaril unimog in sem moral zopet peljati mehanika Mameto na podezhelje. Tokrat pa ga je spremljal delavec, ki mu je ime »Sambo«, kar pomeni barka. Kot v ponedeljek sem najprej uzhival lepih 75 km, katerim pa je sledilo 30 zoprnih kilometrov. Posebno nekaj prvih je bilo obupnih. Cesta je kot ozka pot dvignjena nad rizhevimi polji. Ena jama oziroma luzha sledi drugi, da sem se zibal naprej in nazaj ter levo in desno, tako da bi skoraj zbolel za morsko boleznijo! Po taki cesti je treba preprosto napredovati pochasi in s potrpežljivostjo. Nimash izbire. Mameta je uspešno popravil unimog, Marko je dobil dve novi plombi, ki mu ju je naredila zobozdravnica iz Slovenije; ta je sicer imela veliko dela s puljenjem gnilih zob domachinov. Ker prenosni zobarski »stol« z vrtnikom in s kompresorjem dela na 12 voltov, sem se zhrtoval za potrebe Markovih plomb in sem se pripeljal tako blizu stola, da so lahko uporabili moj akumulator. Neke zhenski pa je bilo treba izpuliti kar osem zob in ji nato zashiti dlesni. Čeprav so ji to naredili zhe dopoldne, je proti vecheru she vedno krvavela, zato sem jo nazaj grede peljal do vangaindranske bolnishnice, kjer bi ji lahko pomagali v primeru, da je izgubila prevech krvi.

Chetrtek

Konchno dan počitka! Ves dan pochivam v garazhi v družbi podgan in mishi!

Petek

Zjutraj mi zopet priklopijo prikolico in naju natovorijo z lesenimi »konjichki« in ostalo mehanizacijo, ki skupaj tvori vrtiljak za otroke. Sestre iz Vohipena so ga posodile sestram v Vondrozu za potrebe njihovega sejma in zdaj je treba to peljati nazaj. Vohipeno je 65 km proti severu. Prvih 20 km je zhalosten preluknjan ostanek asfalta, ostalo pa lepa nova podlaga. Sicer pa je tovor take vrste, da ne sedi prav stabilno, zato ne smem tako zelo hiteti. Na trzhnici v Vohipenu moram pa sploh naprej previdno pochasi, ker nekaj stvari shtrli chez stranice kesona. Po uspešnem olajshanju v Vohipenu pa se prazen odpravim 15 km proti zahodu v kraj Andemaka, kjer je dom za invalidne otroke, ki pa jih bom peljal domov, ker so se zanje zachele počitnice. Dobro, da imam s seboj prikolico, ker je otrok precej, pa keson ne bi bil dovolj velik za vse in za njihovo prtljago. Cesta je obupna in globoke jame so tako polne rdeche vode, pravzaprav blata, da kar pluzhim skozenj. Revezhe v prikolici, ki nima vzmetenja, kar dobro trese, ampak se vseeno zadovoljno smeji, ker je pach chudovito, da se peljejo in da so na poti domov.

Wednesday

I thought I would have a little rest today but it was not to be as the missionary Izidor's Unimog broke down and I again had to take Mameta the mechanic into the bush. This time he was accompanied by a worker called »Sambo« which means boat! Like on Monday, I first enjoyed 75km of beautiful road followed by 30 unpleasant kilometres. Some of the latter were particularly dreadful. The narrow road runs high up above the rice paddies. The road undulates so badly that I almost become seasick from rocking forwards and backwards and left and right! On such a road you simply have to go slowly and patiently. There is no other option. Mameta successfully repaired the Unimog, Marko had two new fillings made for him by a dentist from Slovenia who otherwise had much work extracting the decayed teeth of the local people. As the portable dentist's "chair" or rather the drill and compressor work off 12 volts, I sacrificed myself for the needs of Marko's fillings and drove up close to the chair so they could use my battery. One poor woman who had had eight teeth extracted then needed her gums sewing up. Although she had had this done in the morning, she was still bleeding in the evening and I then gave her a lift to the hospital in Vangaindrano on the way back where she could receive help if her bleeding continues.

Thursday

At last a day of rest! I spend the whole day resting in the garage in the company of rats and mice.

Friday

In the morning the trailer is again hitched to my rear and we are both loaded up with wooden "horses" and all the constituent part of a merry-go-round for children. The sisters from Vohipeno lent it to the sisters in Vondrozo for the needs of their fair and it must be driven back. Vohipeno lies 65km towards the north. The first 20km are a sad potholed leftover of what was once a tarmac road while the remainder has a nice new surface. However, the load is of such a nature that it does not sit very stably so I must not go too fast. At the marketplace in Vohipeno I must go particularly slowly as a few things are protruding over the edges of my back. After relieving myself of the load in Vohipeno I drive 15km towards the west to a place called Andemaka where there is a home for disabled children whom I will take home as their holidays have begun. It is a good job I have the trailer with me as there are quite a number of children and my back would not be big enough for all the children and their baggage. The road is terrible and I have to "plough" through deep potholes filled with red water and mud. The poor people in the trailer, which has no suspension, get a good shaking but they still smile contentedly as they love travelling and to be on the way home!

Sobota

Zhe zgodaj zjutraj me spravijo iz garazhe in gremo v mesto iskat ubogo zhenico, staro malo chez shestdeset let, ki bo po vsej verjetnosti kmalu umrla od raka. Zdravniki so zhe obupali nad zdravljenjem, zato jo peljemo dalech, dalech na podezhelje proti severozahodu, kjer je zhenska doma. Spremljajo jo tri zhenske in sin. Lezhi zadaj na sredi kesona, ostali pa sedijo na klopcah ob straneh. Spreadaj v kabini poleg shoferja Klemena sta starsha nekega malgashkega duhovnika. Oba sta zhe v letih in oche se je shel zdravit, ker ima tezhave z dihanjem, vendar se morata predchasno vrniti domov na podezhelje, ker jima je umrla starejsa hcherka. Pot je dolga in kar ves dan sem v pogonu. Lepega asfalta je le za vzorec na zacetku dneva. Ostalo je vse blato in kamenje. Chez par ur pridemo do splava chez shiroko reko Manapatrano. Splav je ravno tedaj na drugi strani reke in moramo pochakati, da najprej tam raztovorijo in pridejo nazaj na nasho stran. Skoraj zhal mi je, da nisem raje motor, ko vidim, kako hitro pridejo oni chez kar v dolgih drevakih. Ampak Bog ne daj, da bi se prevrnili! Ko se konchno skupaj s she nekim avtom vkrcamo na splav in hochemo odpluti (splav poganjajo kar ljudje tako, da vlechejo za vrv, ki je napeta chez reko), spoznamo, da smo nasedli na pesku, zato se morata oba avta pomakniti naprej do konca, da je vsa tezhna na drugi strani splava. Tako potem gre.

Pot postaja chedalje tezhja. Na osojnih koncih se blato pochasneje sushi, zato je treba obchasno vkljuchiti pogon na vsa shtiri moja kolesa. Problem je tudi, da popravljajo skoraj vse mostove na tej cesti in je zato pri vsakemu mostu »obvoznica«, kjer je treba deloma skozi potok in seveda skozi razmocheno blato. Nekajkrat celo z vsemi shtirimi vklopljenimi kolesi tezhko pridem skoz. Posebno tedaj, ko mi morajo potniki pod gume podtikati skale, da se imam sploh za kaj zagrabit. Pa vseeno je najveh vredno Klemenovo pravilo: zalet in plin do konca, pa pridem skoz! Je zhe pozno popoldne, ko pridemo do vasi Karianga, kjer sta doma starsha tistega duhovnika in pokojne hcherke. Zanimivo, da skoraj v istem trenutku, ko se ustavimo pred njihovo hisho, iz nasprotne smeri pesh pridejo drugi chlani družine, ki so hcherko pokopali v drugi vasi. Z glasnim jokom vstopijo v domacho hisho.

Nadaljujemo pot. Cesta naprej je zhe nekoliko opushchena in na nekaterih predelih je voda naredila grozno globoke kanale. Najhuje bi bilo, che bi se z enim ali vech kolesi vdrl v kanal in bi potem s trebuhom nasedel, a se mi k srechi to ne zgodi. O zapushchenosti ceste pricha neki most, ki sploh ni vech pokrit z lesenimi tramovi, ampak je ostalo le she kovinsko ogrodje. K srechi so vsaj na eni strani pochez polozhene pol metra dolge okrogle veje tako, da se je treba skoncentrirati samo glede druge (leve) strani. Tam morata obe moji levi kolesi previdno po tanki kovinski gredi. Z reduktorjem pridem pochasi in varno chez.

Saturday

I am taken out of the garage early in the morning and we drive into town to fetch a poor little woman who is a little over sixty years old but will probably soon die of cancer. The doctors have said they cannot do anything more for her so we take her far, far into the countryside towards the northwest to the lady's home village. She is accompanied by three women and her son. She lies on the back in the middle while the other people sit on the benches on either side of her. In the cabin, the driver Klemen is accompanied by the parents of a young Malagasy priest. They are both quite old and the father had been undergoing treatment for breathing problems but they must now return home because their eldest daughter has died. The road is long and I work hard all day. There is only a smattering of good tarmac at the beginning, all the rest is mud and stones. In a couple of hours we reach the ferry across the wide river Manapatrana. The ferry is on the other side of the river so we have to wait for them to unload it and come back to our side. I almost regret not being a motorbike when I see how quickly and easily they can cross the river in long dugout canoes. But God forbid they should capsize. When at last we board the ferry with another car and want to push off (the ferry is propelled by people pulling on a rope which is stretched across the river) we realise that we have run aground on the sand so we must move right to the edge of the ferry so all the weight is on the far end. Then we can set sail.

The road gets tougher and tougher. In the shaded parts, the mud takes longer to dry and I must sometimes engage all four wheels. Another problem is that almost all the bridges on this road are being repaired and there is therefore a "diversion" at almost every bridge where we have to go through the stream and of course through very soft mud. A few times it is hard to get through even with all four wheels engaged, especially once when my passengers are forced to lay rocks and stones under my tyres to give me traction. All the same, Klemen's advice works best: take a good run-up, press the accelerator as far as it will go and you will get through!

It is already late in the afternoon when we reach the village of Karianga where the parents whose daughter has deceased live. It is interesting that almost in the same moment as we stop in front of their house, some of their family and relatives approach from the other direction, arriving home after having buried their daughter in another village. They enter the house together, wailing loudly.

We continue our journey. The road ahead is rarely used by motor vehicles and has been neglected. In some places water has cut frighteningly deep channels. It would be very bad if one or more of my wheels were to fall into a channel as it would leave me stranded with my belly on the ground but luckily this does not happen. Proof of just how neglected the road is, is a bridge which is no longer even covered with wooden beams so all that is left is the metal frame. Luckily, at least on one side there are half-metre long branches laid across the metal girders so that you have to devote most of your attention to the other (left-hand) side. The two left-hand wheels must go carefully along the narrow metal beam. With the reduction gear engaged I get across the bridge slowly and safely.

Na mestu, kjer gre pot med dvema rizhevima poljema, so ljudje nesramno zmetali blato na cesto, zato se popolnoma zarijem vanj. K sreči nedaleč stran stoji chrvrsto drevo in tako se s pomočjo vitla kar hitro reshim. Malo naprej je treba s splavom prečkati še eno reko, ki pa je ozka in smo hitro chez. Končno prispemo do vasi, kjer je doma bolna zhenica. Ker se zhe naglo približuje noch, ni chasa za kaj vech kot za »nasvidenje«, in zhe smo na poti nazaj v Kariango. Tokrat vozimo nazaj proti vzhodu in zahajajoche sonce prav chudovito osvetljuje gole griche z izredno toplo rdechkasto barvo. Pri pomanjkljivem mostu je tokrat tezhje, ker je noch in shofer ni vech na isti strani, kot so zhelezni trami. Shofer je tu povsem odvisen od pomagacha, da mu ta daje navodila glede ravnanja levo in desno. Pomagacha pa slepijo lucht in si mora pomagati še s chelno svetilko. Skratka, vsi trije smo si oddahnili, ko smo srečno prishli chez.

Nedelja

Zjutraj misijonar Klemen mashuje v Kariangi. Polna cerkev in veliko otrok pri obhajilu prichajo o tem, da malgashki duhovnik Bary, ki pogosto hodi sem gor, uspešno opravlja svoje delo. Po mashi se podamo na pot nazaj proti Farafangani. Osem kilometrov stran v vasici Karimbary se še ustavimo in Klemen drugich mashuje. Pot nazaj nas nich vech ne preseneti, ker jo zhe poznamo in vemo, kako se lotiti tistih bolj zoprnih predelov. Okoli pol shestih zvecher se ves umazan od blata in utrujen končno zapeljem v svojo domacho garazho.

Ponedeljek

Neki Malgash, ki pomaga v misijonu, me je danes opral. Sicer imam na nekaterih bolj nerodnih mestih še vedno zataknjeno blato, ampak na splošno me je kar dobro ochedil. Zhal pa so mi danes tudi postavili diagnozo, da imam luknjo v rezervoarju za gorivo. To poshkodbo mi je vcheraj na poti prizadela neka skala ... Kljub poshkodbi pa sem vseeno danes pomagal Marku peljati drevak do reke.

In one place the road passes between two rice fields where the people have thoughtlessly thrown masses of mud onto the road and I become completely stuck. Luckily, not far away stands a strong tree and I come free quite quickly with the help of the winch whose cable is fixed to the tree. A little further on we must cross another river by ferry but this river is only small so we are quickly on the other side. At last we reach the sick lady's home village. As the night is swiftly approaching there is no time for more than a quick goodbye before we set off back towards Karianga. This time we are driving eastwards and the setting sun beautifully lights up the bare hills with an incredibly warm reddish colour. Crossing the defective bridge is much more difficult this time as night has fallen and the driver is not on the same side as the metal girder. He therefore depends entirely on his helper to direct him and tell him whether to turn left or right. The helper is however blinded by the car lights and must use a headlamp. We were all relieved when at last we made it safely across.

Sunday

In the morning, Klemen celebrates Mass in Karianga. A full church and a large number of children who go to Communion are proof that the Malagasy priest Bary, who often comes here, is doing his work well. After Mass we set off back towards Farafangana. Eight kilometres further away we stop in the village of Karimbary and Klemen celebrates Mass again. The rest of the road back home has no more surprises in store for us as we already know it and also know how to negotiate the trickier sections. Around half past five in the evening I at last reach my garage, all covered in mud and very tired.

Monday

A man who often helps at the mission station washed me today. There is still some stubborn mud clinging to parts of me that are hard to reach but on the whole he cleaned me pretty well. Unfortunately, a hole in my fuel tank was also discovered today. This injury was caused yesterday by a rock. Despite the injury I still helped Marko take his dugout canoe to the river today.

Translated from Slovenian by author

Ivo Antich

TIGROVO OKO

Cheprav je bil cirkus med zadnjimi stvarmi, ki bi utegnile zanimati Admirala, je med branjem dnevnika »Arbajt« (vodilni domorodni jezikoslovec Jovan Mencigar je uveljavil domachi zapis namesto »Arbeit«, kot pishejo Menci; v medvladju kolumbistov se je list imenoval »Rabota«) njegovo pozornost pritegnil oglas o gostovanju »svetovne senzacije« CIRCUS GOLDEN CAGE v Emoni, prestolnici Karantenije. Admiralovo znanje globalne ganglokamerikanshchine je bilo sicer bolj skromno, vendar je takoj dvignil koshate chrne obrvi in se ostro zazrl v te tri največje besede sredi kichasto barvaste reklame prek cele strani. Eno njegovih temeljnih gesel, ki pa ga je drzhal zase, je bilo »Ne bodi naiven, bodi skrivno aktiven«; v skladu s tem je dosledno skushal v stvareh videti vech, njihovo hrbtno stran, kajti menil je, da se v vsaki malenkosti skriva kakshno globlje znamenje ali opozorilo na nevarnost, budno oko ga mora le znati odkriti. V simbolichni prispodobi pa je budno oko zanj pomenilo – tigrovo oko.

Ne da bi svoje »tigrovo oko« odmaknil od oglasa, je stegnil desnico in pritisnil na enega od gumbov na robu mize. Takoj je skoz Admiralovo pisarno zaplaval glas njegovega generalnega tajnika:

»Izvolite, Ekscelenca!«

»Naj pride Mishko takoj k meni!« je revsnil Admiral.

»Razumem, Ekscelenca!« je strumno odvrnil tajnikov mladostni glas.

Mishko (za nekatere tudi Mihec) je bil vzdevek Admiralovega posebnega svetovalca za dejavnost, oznacheno s kratico ZINI (zunanja in notranja informiranost). Pravo ime tega chloveka naj bi sicer bilo Miguel Mikl de Arhangelsk; trdil je, da je iz Liberije (staro ime Shepanije), potomec mikeletov (shepansko: migueletes; frankovsko: miquelets), roparjev, gverilcev in tudi Kapoleonovih kontragverilcev na Liberijskem ali Irenejskem polotoku. Glede njegove resnichne identitete si Admiral ni bil povsem na jasnem, a v to se ni poglobljal; ko mu je predhodnik z vso ekipo sodelavcev prepushchal funkcijo Admirala, voditelja drzhave, prvega v odboru Ducatnikov, je za Mishka rekel, da je svetovljansko razgledan in absolutno zanesljiv »nadangel varuh«.

Med chakanjem na Mishka se je Admiral odmaknil od mize in se zavalil globlje v naslonjach, nenehno mrko strmech v oglas, ki je naznanjal zachetek predstav cirkusa iz tujine; glavna atrakcija naj bi bile dresirane zveri, kot je ponazarjala fotografija lepe akrobatke, v bikiniju jahajoche na tigru. Admiral se je zdrznil, ko je prebral njeno ime: Juanita Preplook de Prieste.

Ivo Antich

TIGER EYE

Although a circus was among the last things that could interest Admiral, his attention was attracted while reading the daily newspaper »Arbajt« (leading national linguist Jovan Mencigar has established the domestic manner of writing instead of »Arbeit« as the Mergans write it; during the interregnum of columbists, that newspaper has been named »Hardwork«) by the advertisement of the arrival of »world sensation« CIRCUS GOLDEN CAGE to Emona, the capital of Karantenia. Admiral's knowing of the global Ganglocamerican language was otherwise more modest, but he immediately raised his bushy black eyebrows and looked sharp to the three greatest words in the middle of kitschy colored advertisement across the whole site of newspaper. One of his fundamental passwords, but kept for himself, was »Do not be naive, be secretly active«; accordingly to that, he has consistently tried to see in the things more their back, because of his opinion that in each trivia hides itself a deeper sign or warning of the danger, and the vigilant eye must only be able to detect it. In a symbolic metaphor, the vigilant eye meant for him – a tiger's eye.

Without moving his »tiger eye« away from the ad, he stretched his right hand and pressed one of the buttons on the edge of the table. Immediately through the Admiral's office floated the voice of his secretary general:

»Here, Excellency!«

»Let Mishko come to me immediately!« yelled Admiral.

»I understand, Excellency!« emphatically replied secretarie's youthful voice.

Mishko (diminutive of Michael; for some also Mickey) was a nickname of Admiral's special adviser for the activity, indicated by the abbreviation EIIN (Exterior and Interior Informations). The real name of that man was supposed to be Miguel Mikl de Arkhangelsk; he claimed that he is from Liberia (old name of Shpain), a descendant of micalets (Shpanish: migueletes; Frankish: miquelets), the robbers, guerrillas and Kapoleon's counterguerrillas on Liberian or Yreanean peninsula. About his true identity Admiral was not entirely clear, but did not a deeper research; when his predecessor with the whole team of colleagues was leaving the function of Admiral, i. e. the Head of State and the first in committee of Dozenmen, he said about Mishko that he was a cosmopolitan in his erudition and absolutely reliable »archangel guardian«.

While waiting for Mishko, the Admiral moved away from the table and rolled deeper into the chair, constantly staring grimly in the advertisement that announced the beginning of performances by the circus from abroad; the main attraction should be trained beasts as it was illustrated by the photo of a beautiful acrobat woman in a bikini riding on a tiger. Admiral was startled when he read her name: Juanita Prepelook de Prieste.

V hipu mu je postalo vroče, oblil ga je pot, ni mogel vech sedeti, odvrigel je chasopis na mizo in planil na noge. Zachel je krozhati po pisarni, si zhivchno gladil brke in pogledoval na uro ter v sebi preklinjal Mishka, ki se zlepa ni pojavil. Konchno so se s tihim shumom odprla nevidna vrata v zadnji steni in vstopil je svetovalec.

Nenavaden chlovek: malo vishji od povprechja, ves v chrnem, hlache, suknjih, namesto srajce zmeraj le chrn puli, na nogah chrni chevli z neslishnimi podplati; tako je tudi zaradi mehkih in prozhnih gibov dajal vtis panterja. Nich manj zloveshch ni bil vtis glave: bleda lica, mochan vrat, zatemnjena ochala s chrnim, prilegajochim se okvirjem, kratko pristrizheni rdechvasti lasje. Celotna podoba pa ni bila trdna, temvech se je nekako izmikala, kot da se v svoji zastrtosti nenehno preliva, saj se je mozhak nedolochljive starosti na trenutke zdel bolj utrujen intelektualec kot pa natreniran varnostnik. Admirala so posebej motila zatemnjena ochala, ker v njih nikoli ni dobro videl ochi; stekla so se prelivala v rjavkastorumenkastih tonih, podobno kot pri poldragem kamnu, imenovanem tigrovo oko. A ker je Mishko imel zdravnishko potrdilo, da mora zaradi niktalopije nositi temna ochala, se je Admiral na to navadil. Kot ljubiteljski insektolog je marsikaj vedel o pajkih, zato se mu je Mishko vchasih zazdel kot nekakshen pajek rakovichar, ki se barvno spreminja glede na okolje, prezhech na plen kot magichno oko skrivnostnega aparata. Vchasih pa je ob pogledu na Mishka tudi pomislil, da prav nich ne ustreza bolj juzhnjashki podobi Shepancev, prej bi ga imel za Brusa ali Menca; ko je od nekoga prejel zaupno domnevo, da je Mishko morda Sefard ali Hazar iz Brusije, natanchneje iz pokrajine Liberije na vzhodu Gurzije, ga je naravnost vprashal o veri. Mishko je rekel, da je »avtonomni zenbudist«, to pa se je ujemalo s podatkom, da je na Chaponskem konchal neko sholo za ninje; to sholanje je bilo tudi najboljše priporochilo za sluzhbo inshtruktorja specialcev v vojski Karanteniye, preden je postal Admiralov svetovalec.

»No, si le prishel ... Lahko bi bolj pohitel, che sem te poklical pod nujno ... Kaj pa imash na obrazu? Ti je tekla kri iz nosa?« ga je ogovoril Admiral.

»Chetrta stopnja zaslishevanja ... Trdovraten tip ... Saj vesh, iz kroga tistih ilegalnih psihopatov, ki jih zasledujemo in preiskujemo, ker se imajo za nekakshne nove tigrovce, leopardovce ali sploh panterjevce. Ena njihovih svetih knjig je gurzinski ep *Vitez v panterjevi kozhi*, med sabo se prepirajo, ali gre za tigrovo, leopardovo ali chрно panterjevo kozho, saj si niti lingvisti niso edini glede tega, katero od machk pomeni gurzinska beseda *vephis*. Njihov tajni voditelj naj bi bil neki Tamar ali Damar, morda je zhenska, po brusko Tamara; v gurzinschchini je to ime Tamar ali Tamari ... Menda nachrtujejo atentate na nosilce oblasti, zlasti na Ducatnike in nate kot prvega med njimi. Iz njegovega gobca mi je brizgnilo v nos ... Nisem mogel priti prej, niti poshteno umiti se nisem utegnil,« je pojasnil Mishko in se z roko podrgnil pod nosom.

»Poglej tole ... Prav bi bilo, da si to zhe videl,« je rekel Admiral in z roko udaril po oglasu v chasopisu na mizi.

In an instant he became hot, he burst into the pot, he could no longer sit, he threw the newspaper on the table and leapt to his feet. He began to circulate around the office, nervously stroked his mustache glancing at the clock, and cursed in mind Mishko who for a long time did not make his appearance. Finally, with the silent noise an invisible door in the back wall opened, and entered the consultant.

Unusual man: a little higher than average, all in black, pants, jacket, instead of shirt always just a black turtleneck, black boots with silent soles on his feet; also because of his soft and flexible movements he gave the impression of a panther. No less ominous was the impression of his head: a pale cheeks, strong neck, tinted glasses with black, fitting frame, short trimmed reddish hair. The whole image was not solid, but has somehow eluded such as it was constantly fluid in its veiling, so the man of an unspecified age at times seemed more a tired intellectual than a trained security guard. Admiral was specifically interfered with tinted glasses, because he never good saw adviser's eyes; glasses spilled in the brownish-yellowish tones, similar to the semi-precious stone called tiger's eye. But since Mishko had a medical certificate that, because of nyctalopia, he had to wear dark sunglasses, Admiral got used to it. As an amateur entomologist, he knew a lot about spiders, so Mishko sometimes seemed to him like a crab spider whose color varies depending on the environment, lurking for prey as the magical eye of a mysterious machine. Sometimes at the view on Mishko, he also thought that he had nothing of more southerly image of Shpaniards, in greater measure his outlook reminded him of Brussian or Mengar; when he had received from someone a confidential surmise that Mishko could be a Sephard or Khazar from Brussia, more precisely from the province of Liberia on the east of Georgia, he simply asked him about his faith. Mishko said that he has been an »autonomous zenbuddhist«, and that was matched with the data that he had finished a school for ninjas in Chapan; this schooling was the best recommendation for a job of the special forces instructor in the army of Karantenia before becoming admiral's consultant.

»Well, you just ... You could more hasten if I called you urgently ... What have you got on your face? Has blood flowed from your nose?« said Admiral to him.

»The fourth level interrogation ... A persistent guy ... You know, a type from the circle of those illegal psychopaths which we pursue and investigate, because they take theirself for some kind of new tigermen, leopardmen or even panthermen. One of their holy books is Georgian epic *The knight in the panther's skin*; they quarrel among themselves whether the matter is a tiger, leopard or black panther skin, because not even the linguists agreed which of the cat means the georgian word vephis. Their secret leader should be a certain Tamar or Damar, maybe a woman, after Brussian woman name Tamara; in Georgian that name is Tamar or Tamari ... Supposedly they plan assassinations of state authorities, especially of Dozenmen and you personal as the first man among them. It squirted from his muzzle right into my nose ... I could not come before, nor could I perfectly wash myself,« said Mishko and rubbed himself with hand under his nose.

»Look at this ... It could be right if you have already seen this,« said Admiral and struck with his hand the advertisement in the newspaper on the table.

»Res sem zhe videl. So me zhe pred dnevi obvestili o prihodu tega cirkusa ...«

»Pa nisi opazil nich posebnega?«

»Zmeraj je mogoče najti kaj posebnega, tudi v zvezi s tem cirkusom. Lahko bi onemogochili njegov prihod, ker naj bi bil preveč nevaren za naše gledalce. Ampak to bi lahko imelo dolocene politične posledice, ki pa se jih je v našem sedanjem položaju bolje izogniti. Cirkus je pach iz Kamerike ...« je pomenljivo umolknil Mishko.

»Ali je ta cirkus res tako pomemben, da mu naša država ne bi mogla prepovedati vstopa?«

»Lastnik je brat shefa ICA ... Mislim, da je s tem vse povedano ...«

»Prekletu, she tega je treba ... Sedi no, da malo razmisliiva ...«

Sedela sta vsak v svojem naslonjachu in nekaj chasa molchala. Admiralu se je Mishko, pogreznjen v naslonjach, spet zazdel postaran in rahlo odsoten, kot bi se izgubljal nekam vase; na njegovih drobnih laseh je prvich opazil sled sivenja. Ni se mogel ubraniti hipnega občutka gnusa, pomeshanega z nenehno tlechim sovrashtvom, ki se je razvilo iz prvotnega občudovanja, cheprav mu je Mishko nekajkrat reshil zhivljenje v atentatih in zarotah. Admiral je vedel tudi iz izkushenj, ki jih je imel s svojimi propadlimi zakonskimi zvezami, da je chlovekov nagon po svobodi in neodvisnosti tolikshen, da prej ali slej postane nestrpen do vsakogar, tudi do najblizhjega, ki mu leze pod kozho in moti njegove rachune; kje in kdaj se to pokazhe, kolikor ne ostane prikrito, pa je seveda odvisno od okolishchin. Omemba slavnega gurzinskega epa, ki ga je dobro poznal, ga je spomnila na tisto mesto v njem, kjer je opisana sprva ljubezenska igra, nato pa smrtonosen spopad med levom in tigrico ... Pomislil je, da Mishko pravzaprav sploh ni panter in tudi ne sofisticiran pajek, ampak je obrabljen pes chuvaj, ki vse bolj postaja podgana ali hishni shchurek v admiralski palachi, zato je prishel chas, ko bi se kazalo znebiti tega tipa, prisesanega na njegove mozhgane; che ima podporo ICA, bi jo bilo potrebno spodrezati s kakshno intrigo na osnovi njegovih izmishljenih ali pa tudi pravih grehov iz preteklosti, pach v smislu gesla: »Ni biografije brez umazanije« ... A ko je Admiral prvi spregovoril, je Mishko z zanimanjem, kot bi ozhivel in se v trenutku pomladil, obrnil vanj stekla svojih naochnikov, v katerih so se mehko prelivale svetlejshe in temnejshe zlato-zelenkaste lise. Admiral je zachel razvijati svojo misel:

»Tebi to ni tako občutno, ampak zame je problem zhe ime tega cirkusa: Golden cage, torej po naše Zlata kletka ... Chudne asociacije se mi porajajo ... Saj vesh, sva v glavni palachi naše oblasti, ljudje tej zgradbi pravijo Zlata kletka, v zadnjem chasu pa je pri domachih zhurnalistichnih pisunih to tudi modna, samoponizhevalna, satirichna oznaka za našo državo: nekakshna majhna, fantomsko idilichna zlata kletka, klavzura, zapor, samozashchitna agorafobija invalidnosti, liliputanizem, hipoplazija, kriporhizem, obskurna ujetost brez shirshih perspektiv, pach ena od lukenj v balkonski verigi ... Dalje pojem cirkus ...

Che vse to smiselno povezhesh, dobish za naš obstanek nevarno tezo iz zarotnishke mreže notranjih in zunanjih sovrazhnikov, da smo neresna, zmehšana, cirkusantska menazherija v namishljeni zlati kletki ...

»Sure, I've seen. I have been some days ago informed of the arrival of that circus ...«

»And you did not notice anything special?«

»It is always possible to find something special, even in the case of that circus. We could disable his arrival because it was too dangerous for our viewers. But it could have certain political consequences, so it is better in our current situation to avoid them. Circus is just from Camerica ...« meaningfully paused Mishko.

»Is that circus really so important that our country would not be able to prohibit its entry?«

»The owner is a brother of ICA boss ... I think, that fact says all ...«

»Damn it, yet this we need ... Well, sit down, let us just take a time to think a little ...«

They sat each in his armchair and kept silence for a while. Mishko, so immersed in armchair, again seemed to Admiral aged and slightly absent, as if lost somewhere into himself; on his tiny hair he noticed for the first time the trail of graying. He could not prevent himself from instant feeling of disgust mixed with constant ignition of hatred developed from the initial admiration, although Mishko had saved him life several times in the attacks and conspiracies. Admiral knew also from his own experience with his failed marriages: human instinct for freedom and independence is so pervasive that a person sooner or later becomes impatient to everyone, even to the nearest, which crawls under his skin and disrupts his accounts; where and when this shows the extent, if it does not remain hidden, of course, depends on the circumstances. The mention of famous Georgian epic, which has been well-known to him, reminded him on that place in it where it described at first a love game and after that a deadly confrontation between a lion and tigress ... He thought that Mishko was not actually a panther neither a sophisticated spider, but was a worn out watch-dog increasingly becoming a rat or a cockroach in the Admiral palace, so the time has come for to get rid of this guy sucking on his brain; if he has the support of ICA, it should be lop off with some intrigue on the basis of his imaginary or even real sins of the past, of course in the sense of passwords: »There is not a biography without dirty imagery« ... But when Admiral spoke first, Mishko looked like would be revived and rejuvenated at the moment, turning towards him his glasses in which the lighter and darker golden-greenish spots floated softly. Admiral began to develop his thought:

»To you it is not perceptible in such a manner, but for me the problem is even the name of that circus: Golden cage ... Strange associations are raised to me ... You know, we were in the main palace of our government, people named that building *the Golden Cage*, and in the last time, the domestic journalistic scribblers also apply it as fashionable, self-degrading, satirical code for our country: a kind of small, phantasmaly idyllic golden cage, seclusion, jail, self-protected agoraphobia of invalidity, liliputanism, hypoplasia, cryptorchidism, obscure captivity without broader perspectives, of course one of the holes in the chain of the Balkons ... Next is the notion of circus ...

If you connect all this in logical sense, you get to our survival dangerous thesis of conspiratorial network of internal and external enemies that we are frivolous, freak, circuslike menagerie of imaginary golden cage ...

Cirkus imamo pach res, vse te korupcijske in tajkunske afere, propadanje podjetij, razprodaja tujcem, narashchanje revshchine; vendar to niso le problemi pri nas ... In tu je she ime, pravzaprav reklamarsko nabuhel psevdonim tele artistke ... Juanita Prepelook de Prieste ... Tudi to mi zveni kot perfiden izziv, kot napol prikrita shifra ... Gotovo vesh, na kaj mislim ...«

»Poznam to zgodbo iz tvoje preteklosti ... Ivanka Prepeluh iz Prsta je bila zhenana Simona Prepeluha, vodje tigrovcev, nekakshnih slovenetskih mikeletov v Primorju. Zgodba pravi, da je bila tvoja ljubica, preden se je porochila s Simonom, ti pa si bil ljubosumen in si ji zameril, da te je zavrgla. Takrat si bil tudi ti tigrovec, pozneje pa si se pridruzhil kolumbistom, ki so tigrovce zavrachali kot nacionaliste, kvaziasasinske romantike in ganglokamerishke plachance; zaradi mozhne tigrovske rumeno-chrne barvne simbolike so jim celo podtikali nostalgijo za propadlo chrno-zholto havstro-vogrsko monarhijo, znotraj katere je bilo celovito Primorje z Bistro. Gverilski boj tigrovcev zoper vlashke chrnosrajchnike je bil za kolumbiste neustrezen in motech; oni so bili rdechesarajchniki in so se naslanjali na Brusijo s socialutopichno idejo o oblikovanju skupne gigantske panslovenetske, evrazijske (od Prsta do Hladivostoka, tj. od rusega Primorja do bruskega Primorja, od Bistre do Mamchatke) Rdeche sobe, v prispodobu recheno po naslovu klasichnega kitovskega romana *Sanje rdeche sobe*, pravzaprav bolj ustreza prevod *zgradba, stolp, blok*. Temu bloku naj bi se namrech pridruzhila tudi Kitovska, panslovenetsko razcepljenost na katolishtvo in pravoslavje bi kot tertium datur preseгла protiverska vera kolumbizma, latinico in cirilico pa bi kompenzirala priredba kitovske pisave, deloma po zgledu Gorejcev ... Potem si ti kot eden vodilnih kolumbistov organiziral likvidacijo para, ki je vodil tigrovce ...« je razpredel Mishko.

»Se non è vero, è ben trovato – pravijo Vlaha,« ga je mahoma ustavil Admiral, ki je kot Primorec rad obchasno navrgel kakshno vlashko besedo ali frazo. »Zgodba je seveda prirejena diverzija nashih sovrazhnikov in rumenega tiska, a zveni zanimivo za nevedno publiko, pohlepno na trach, s katerim se spodjeda ugled javnih oseb. Sicer pa je s to likvidacijo takole: jaz nisem bil odlochilen; ni mi bilo vseeno, da me je Ivanka zapustila zaradi Simona, a to je postransko; od tigrovcev nisem odshel zaradi tega, marvech ker sem spregledal njihovo nezrelost in brezperspektivnost; kolumbisti so bili idejno in organizacijsko nad njimi kot gora nad krtino; likvidacijo je ukazalo najozhje vodstvo kolumbistov, v katerem jaz nisem bil, shlo pa je za objektivno nujno samozashchitno operacijo med vojno proti menshko-vlashkemu okupatorju; nasha zveza v Lomdomu nam je namrech sporočila, da Ganglokamerichani nachrtujejo, da bi v nash shtab vrinili vech pri njih sholanih tigrovcev, ki naj bi v hrano podtaknili strup in tako unichili celotno nashe vodstvo ...

Circus we have, yea, all these corruption and tycoon affairs, degeneration of companies, sales to foreigners, rising of poverty; but these are not problems in our country only ... And here is yet a name, actually advertisingly swollen pseudonym of that acrobat woman ... Juanita Prepelook de Prieste ... This to me sounds like perfidious challenge, like a half hidden code ... I'm sure you know what I mean ...«

»I know that story from your past ... Ivanka Prepeluh from Prieste was the wife of Simon Prepeluh, head of tigersmen, some kind of Slovenetic miquelets in the coastal region of Karantenia. The story tells that she was your mistress before she married Simon, and you were jealous of her, and you resented her that you had been discarded. At that time you also have been a tigersmen, but later you joined the columbists who rejected the tigersmen as nationalists, quasi-assassinian romantics and ganglocamerica mercenaries; due to the potential yellow-black color symbolism of tigersmen, the columbists imputed them even the nostalgia for a failed yellow-black Austro-Hungarian monarchy, within which the whole Littoral with Bistria had been integrated. The guerrilla struggle of tigersmen against the Vlach fascist Blackshirts was for columbists inappropriate and disturbing; they has been Redshirts and were leaning on the Brussia with the social-utopistic idea of creating a common gigantic Panslovenetic, Eurasian (from Prieste to Hladivostok, i.e. from their native »red« Littoral to Brussian Littoral, from Bistria to Mamchatka) *Red room*, metaphorically said after the title of the classic Shinese novel *Dream of the red room*, actually more appropriate translation is *building, tower, block*. To this block could be joined Shina, the panslovenetic division on Catholicism and Orthodoxy would be exceeded with anti-religious religion of columbism like a *tertium datur*, and Latin and Cyrillic alphabets would be compensated with the adaptation of Shinese writing, partly from Gorean as example ... Then you as one of the leading columbists organized liquidation of that married pair who has been led the tigersmen ...« spreaded Mishko his telling.

»Se non è vero, è ben trovato – say Vlachs,« suddenly Admiral stopped him; as a man from Littoral, he liked to mention occasionally a word or phrase in Vlach (or Vitalian) language. »The story is, of course, a modified diversion of our enemies and of the yellow press, but it sounds interesting for the ignorant audience greedy for gossip, undermining the reputation of public persons. Otherwise, about that liquidation as follows: I was not a decisive one; it was not all the same for me that Ivanka had abandoned me and went for Simon, but all that was marginal; I did not leave the tigersmen because of that, but because I recognized their immaturity without prospects; the columbists were ideologically and organizationally over them like a mountain over a molehill; liquidation was ordered by the highest leadership of columbists, and I was not a member of it; but it was an act as objectively necessary self-protection operation during the war against the Mergan-Vlachs occupiers; our association in Lomdom sent to us the message that Ganglocamericans plan to intrude into our staff some tigersmen trained at them, which should foist a poison in a food destroying so the entire leadership of us ...

Lahko je biti pameten in moralno kritičen ter za njih krvavo usodnega odgovoren kabinetni pisun, po možnosti zafrustriran penzionist, v mirnem času desetletja ali stoletja post factum, a ko gre neizogibno zares, najbolj pach med vojno, obstaja ena sama kvazidilema, sloneča na razmerju moči in različnosti zastave: ti ali jaz, tu in zdaj.«

»Razumem tvojo skrb,« je pokimal Mishko. »Cirkus s to zhenko je prishel ravno zdaj, ko si utrdil svoj položaj po petdnevni zahodno-juzhni vojni Karantenije tako s Padranijo, odcepljeno od Vitalije, kot tudi z Grbatsko, odcepljeno od Grbije, zaradi prekopa skozi Poper, po katerem je Karantenija vzpostavila stik z morjem. Podpora Menchije in Havstrije na strani Karantenije je bila odločilna za hiter konec vojne in za mirovni sporazum. Zdaj je Karantenija tudi uradno maritime country in ti si zato utemeljeno Admiral; doslej je bil to le formalni chastni naziv, drzhava je bila v ustavi definirana kot landlocket country ... In dosegel si she eno pomembno, globoko humanistichno inovacijo v ustavi: nich vech omejitev funkcije Admirala na trinajst let, dodal si nichlo, in tedaj odhod v pokoj, prej pa se je po izteku mandata Admiral moral sam usmrtili s skokom z Zlate kletke, kot je bilo z arhaichno surovostjo prirejeno po starem mornarskem obichaju: to walk the plank ...«

»Govori se, da je Menchija podprla nash prekop do morja le zato, ker sem ji dal dvestoletno koncesijo za prometno upravo v nashi luki Poper. To je sicer res, dobili so koncesijo, a jaz sem to takoj briljatno uravnotežil s pogodbo z Brusijo za napeljavo plinovoda skozi Poper. Tako bodo Mencem in njihovi upravi omejene možnosti vpliva na nasho politiko,« je pomenljivo in ne brez ponosa poudaril Admiral. In po premolku dodal: »Nekaterim to gotovo ni vshech ...«

»Ni chudno, da te ta cirkus vznemirja na takem ozadju. Zdi se ti nekakšno opozorilo, zloveshche znamenje iz sovrazhnih krogov za poravnavo aktualnih pa tudi starih, napol pozabljenih in interesno zmanipuliranih rachunov ... Ne rechem, da tak pogled ni brez dolochene logike, vseeno pa mislim, da si nekoliko pretirano občutljiv in sumnichav. Svetoval bi skrajno zadržhanost glede kakrshnih koli ukrepov,« je pomirjujoche menil Mishko.

Tedaj se je od nekod za zadnjo steno zaslisal chuden hrup in nato zamolkel udarec, kot da se je nekdo zaletel vanjo, nakar so se odprla nevidna vrata in v pisarno se je na rolki zapeljal dechek prvih najstniskih let.

»Spet se nisi prej najavil, Miha, saj sem ti rekel, da me motish, che delam v tej pisarni,« je blago ochital Admiral svojemu sinu, ki mu je bil dal ime po Mishku, se pravi Mihael, klical pa ga je le Miha, ne prevech ljubkovalno. Dechek, ki so ga prepoznala ista avtomatska vrata kakor prej Mishka, se je ustavil ob mizi in takoj opazil cirkushki oglas. Pokazal je nanj in rekel:

»Ochka, videl sem tale oglas na teletabli ... Rad bi si ogledal ta cirkus ... Prosim te, oglejva si ga skupaj!«

It is not difficult to be a clever, morally critical and for nothing fatal responsible cabinet scribbler, possibly a frustrated pensioner, in a peacetime of decades or centuries post factum, but at the inevitable confrontation with the reality, of course, the most fatal during the war, there is only one quasidilemma based on the relation of powers and diversity of flags: you or me, here and now.«

»I understand your care,« nodded Mishko. »Circus with that woman came just now, when you cemented your position after five days lasting west-south war of Karantenia against both Padrania, seceded from Vitaly, as well against Groatia, seceded from Gerbia, because of canal through Poper with which Karantenia reached the joint with the sea. Support of Mergany and Haustria on the side of Karantenia was crucial for a swift end of the war and for the peace agreement. Karantenia is now officially maritime country, and you are therefore a justified Admiral; previously it was only a formal title, the country has been defined in the Constitution as landlocked country ... And you reached another important, deeply humanistic innovation in the Constitution: no more restriction for the function of Admiral on thirteen years, you added zero, and then going off into retirement, but previously it has been in force that every Admiral after the expiry of the mandate had to kill himself by jumping from the Golden cage, as it was with the archaic brutality adapted from the old custom of sailors: to walk the plank ...«

»There is a rumor that Mergany supported our canal to the sea only because I gave to it the two-hundred-years-concession for the transport administration in our harbor Poper. This is true, they get that concession, but I at once brilliantly balanced it by the contract with Brussia for installing the gas pipeline through Poper. So the chances of Mergany and its administration to influence our policy will be limited,« significantly and not without pride emphasized Admiral. And after a pause he added: »Certainly, some do not like that ...«

»It is no wonder that this circus excites you in such a background. It seems to you a kind of warning, an ominous sign from hostile circles searching for settlement the current as well as the old, half-forgotten accounts manipulated in their own interest ... I do not say that such a view has not a certain logic, but I think you're over-sensitive and too much suspicious. I would advise extreme reservations about any action,« soothingly said Mishko.

In that moment, from somewhere behind the rear wall, a strange noise sounded, and then a dull blow as if someone crashed into it; invisible door opened, and into the office drove on the skateboard a boy of the first teen years.

»Again, you did not previously announce yourself, Mike; I told you several times that you disturb me when I work in this office,« gently reproached Admiral to his son, to which he had given the name after Mishko, that is Michael, calling him only Mike, not very affectionately. The boy, identified by the same automatic door as previously Mishko, stopped at the table and immediately noticed the advertisement of circus. He pointed to it and said:

»Dad, I saw this advertisement on a teleboard ... I would like to see this circus ... Please, let us see it together, you and me!«

Admiral sinu nikoli ni nichesar odrekel, cheprav je imel določen pridrzhek do njega; sumil je namrech, da ni njegov pravi sin, ker pa je iz prejšnjih zakonov imel le hchere, ga je potihem predvidel za svojega naslednika, ko bi dosegel spremembo ustave tudi glede nasledstva funkcije Admirala. Zadnja uradna zhen, shestdeset let mlajsha tajnica Anita Moshkon, Przhachanka, naj bi ga imela z kdove katerim svojim ljubimcem. Admiral je bil namrech zadnja leta kljub jemanju afrodiziakov popoln spolni mrlich; ko je zaznal, da se Anita ob vseh svojih ekscesih (razsipnost, alkohol, droge) skusha she vmeshavati v politiko, je Mishko po njegovem namigu poskrbel za njeno likvidacijo v prometni nesrechi. Admiral je celo pomislil, da bi likvidiral tudi »pankrt«, a si je premislil, she posebno, ko se je sin zachel vse bolj kazati kot nekak chudezhni otrok z darom za risanje, pesnjenje, jezike, glasbo, matematiko, shport ... Vendar pa so Admiralovi obchutki do sina ostajali negotovi; taka vsestranska nadarjenost se mu je zdela nezdrava, zloveshcha anomalija in nikakor se ni mogel znebiti neprijetne misli, da se nachrti, ki jih je gojil glede njega, ne bodo dobro izshli, da mu bo ta otrok prinesel nesrecho.

Tako sta s sinom, oba temeljito maskirana (Admiral si je nalepil brado, da je zakril znachilne brke), kot je bilo zhe obichajno za Admirale, kadar so se inkognito pomeshali med podanike, odshla na ogled predstave cirkusa Golden Cage na obrobju Emone; spremljali so ju telesni strazharji, vechinoma preoblecheni v zhenske. Sin je po predstavi, od katere je bil ves ocharan, zunaj v travi blizu shotora opazil ljubkega mucka, v katerega se je v hipu zatelebal. Krotilec, ki je bil zraven, je opozoril, da je to mladich tistega mogochnega tigra, s katerim nastopa zvezdnica Juanita Prepelook, in da ni naprodaj. Ko je sin to slisal, je zachel cepetati in krichati, da na vsak nachin hoche imeti »mucka«. Admiral ga je skushal pregovoriti, da to pach ne gre, a ko se je sin zachel metati ob tla in trgati s sebe deklshko preobleko, so bili vsi navzochi v zadregi in kazalo je, da bo nastal pravi shkandal. Tega se je najbolj ustrashil Admiral; vprashal je krotilca, koliko bi stal mladich. Krotilec se je odmaknil od navzochih in poklical nekoga po mobiju; chez chas je iz blizhnjega vagona prishla postavna lepotica. Admiral je takoj prepoznal zvezdnico Juanito, hkrati pa ga je ob pogledu na njeno blizhnjo zhivo podobo spreletelo, da je podobna pokojni zheni, Mihovi materi, ki mu je nekoch omenila, da njena mati zhivi nekje v tujini kot baletka; torej je bila Juanita prvotno Giovanna ali Ivana, njen pravi priimek pa verjetno Moshkon ali Moscone (po vlashko brencelj; deklshki priimek Ivanke Prepeluh je bil Brecelj) ... Admiral je zachel drgetati, ni mogel vech normalno govoriti; ko mu je Juanita povedala vrtoglavo ceno mladicha, je le pomignil enemu od spremljevalcev in ta je odprl svojo chрно torbo ter zhenski naglo izrochil shop bankovcev. Osupla Juanita in krotilec sta stala v travi she precej chasa po odhodu chudnih obiskovalcev, ki so v vrechih odnesli mladicha.

Admiral never refused to his son anything, even though he had certain reservations to him; namely, he suspected that the boy was not his real son, but since he had only daughters from previously marriages, he quietly viewed him as his successor, when the modification of the Constitution regarding the succession of Admiral function should be reached. The last official Admiral's wife, sixty years younger secretary Anita Moshkon, from Prieste, probably had him with one of her lovers. Admiral was for last years despite taking aphrodisiacs a complete sexual corpse; when he had detected that Anita at all her excesses (profligacy, alcohol, drugs) was even trying to meddle herself in politics, he hinted to Mishko for liquidation of her in a car accident. For a moment, Admiral even thought to liquidate the »bastard«, but he changed his mind, especially when the son began to show himself more and more as a kind of an infant prodigy with a gift for drawing, poetry, languages, music, mathematics, sport ... However, Admiral's feelings to his son remained uncertain; such versatile talents he found as unhealthy, sinister anomaly, and just could not get rid of unpleasant thoughts that his plans about his son should not have a good result, because that child would bring him a misfortune.

Thus, with his son, both thoroughly masked (Admiral glued a beard to hid his characteristic mustache), as has been habitually for all Admirals when they were incognito mixed among their citizens, they went to see the performances of the circus Golden Cage on the outskirts of Emona; they were accompanied by bodyguards, mostly disguised as women. After the circus show, of which he was totally fascinated, the son noticed outside in the grass near tent a charming kitten with which he became infatuated immediately. The tamer, who was in the vicinity, pointed out that this kitten was a cub of the mighty tiger with which the famous star Juanita Prepelook was appearing, and that it was not for sale. When the son heard this, he began to trip and shout that he in every way wanted to have a »kitty«. Admiral tried to convince him that things could not go in that way, but when the son began to toss himself at the ground and tearing off his girlish fancy dress, were all persons present embarrassed, and it was seemed that a real scandal should outburst. This was the most scared of Admiral; he asked the tamer how much it would cost a cub. Tamer has moved away from the persons present, and call someone by mobi; after a some time, from a nearby wagon came a well-shaped beauty. Admiral immediately recognized the circus star Juanita, and at the sight of her forthcoming live appearance the thought flashed through his mind that she was similar to his deceased wife, the mother of Mike, which had once mentioned to him that her mother was living somewhere abroad as a ballerina; so Juanita was originally Giovanna or Ivana, her real last name was probably Moshkon or Moscone (in Vitalian gadfly; maiden family name of Ivanka Prepeluh was Brecej, which in Slovenetic means a gadfly) ... Admiral began to tremble, he could no longer speak normally; when Juanita told him a dizzying price of the tiger's cub, he just beckoned to one of the escorts, and that man opened his black bag and hastily handed to the woman a tuft of banknotes. Juanita and tamer, both astonished, stood in the grass for a considerable time after the departure of strange visitors that had carried away the cub in a bag.

Miha je bil zasvojen z »muckom«, klical ga je Mishko, hranil ga je z mlekom na dudo, hotel ga je nenehno imeti pri sebi, tudi med spanjem in med poukom v posebni sholi za otroke Ducatnikov, ki je bila v podzemskih prostorih palache. Zlasti slednje je bilo skrajno moteče, saj je tigrček neprestano lezel naokrog in raziskoval po razredu, tako da je bil pouk povsem nemogoč; le z največjo težavo so učitelji skupaj z Admiralom prepričali dečka, da se je odrekel mladichevi navzočnosti vsaj v sholi. Sicer je bila zverinica prav prijazno bitje, ki se je takoj navezalo na dečka ter se z očitnim veseljem igralo z njim. Toda kmalu so se zachela kazati znamenja, da ta idila ne bo mogla prav dolgo trajati; tigrček, ki je bil zhe od zachetka malce bolj trshatega okostja kot navaden machek, je skoraj vsak dan postajal opazno krepkejši. Zhe Juanita je opozorila Admirala, da bo mladich hitro rasel in da bo vse manj muček pa vse bolj tiger, ki bo nepredvidljiva in neobvladljiva nevarnost za vse okoli njega, zato ga bo treba oddati v zhivalski vrt ali pa vrniti cirkusu, sicer preostane le usmrtitev. Admiral je njeno opozorilo skushal previdno posredovati sinu, a je ob njegovi reakciji, ki je bila podobna histerichno-epileptichnemu napadu, spoznal, da bo vsaka beseda zaman, zato je sklical skupino biologov, veterinarjev in biokemikov ter od njih zahteval izjemno intervencijo: ustaviti rast mladicha. Uchenjaki so rekli, da je to sicer možno, a je problematichno z vech vidikov, tako etichno-ekoloshkih kot praktichno zdravstvenih; vsekakor taki radikalni posegi v naravni razvoj niso priporochljivi, lahko privedejo do propada zhivega bitja. Admiral je nestrpno zamahnil in odlochno sklenil, da se v tem primeru ni treba ozirati ne na etiko, ne na ekologijo in tudi ne na zdravje, saj gre le za »navadnega machka«. Kmalu po injekciji, ki so jo pripravili biokemiki, tigrček res ni vech rasel, obenem pa je izgubil tek in zhivahnost, postajal je vse bolj oguljena kosmata vrecha, ohlapno napolnjena s kostmi; nazadnje je le she lezhal in hropel, popolnoma osivel in neznosno smrdech, da tega tudi Miha ni vech mogel prenashati. Vsi poskusi rehabilitacije so bili brez uchinka, edini izhod popolne histopatoloshke gangrene je bil krematorij za zhivali.

Deček se je povsem spremenil, kot da je ob »tigrrovem shoku« chez noch dozorel; postal je nenavadno resen, za shport se ni vech zanimal, v sholi je bil manj uspeshen kot prej, zachel pa se je kot obseden ukvarjati z risanjem in slikanjem, in to enega samega lika: na vseh risbah in oljnih slikah je bil v neshtetih variantah le – tiger. Na nekaterih podobah je zapisoval svoje rimane verze o tigru kot uteleshenju in simbolu bivanjske energije, ki jo chlovek lahko »zajaha«, che si ogrne »zlato runo« vrlin; ponekod je ob verzih to energijo nakazoval tudi z le njemu razumljivimi matematičnimi in fizikalnimi formulami. Njegovo ustvarjanje je pritegnilo shiroko pozornost ne le zato, ker je shlo za Admiralovega sina, temvech zaradi osupljive kakovosti: sijajna fantastika barv, mojstrska anatomija machjega telesa, ocharljiva statichna dinamika grozljive vizionarne zveri. Ob teh podobah je akademske slikarje obhajala zavistna zadrega; razstava v glavni drzhavni galeriji je bila senzacija, odmevna tudi v tujih medijih. Miha je izjavljal, da bo po konchani srednji sholi shtudiral na akademiji za likovno umetnost.

Miha was addicted to the »kitten«, he called it »Mishko«, he feed it with milk by baby's bottle, he wanted to have it with him constantly, even during sleep and during the lessons in a special school for children of Dozenmen, which was in the underground rooms of the palace. In particular, the latter was extremely disturbing, because the tiger's cub constantly was crawling around exploring the classroom, so the lessons were completely impossible; only with the greatest difficulty, teachers, together with Admiral, convinced the boy to give up the cub's presence at least in school. Otherwise, the little beast was a friendly creature which was immediately attached to the boy, and with obvious pleasure played with him. But soon there began to show signs that this idyll would not be able to last very long; the cub, the skeleton of which was from the beginning a little more stubby than at the ordinary cat, almost every day was becoming markedly more strong. Already Juanita warned Admiral that cub would grow rapidly, and would increasingly transform from kitten into the tiger which would be unpredictable and uncontrollable danger to all around it, so it would be necessary to submit it to the zoo or to return it to the circus, otherwise a killing would be the only alternative. Admiral tried to explain gently her warning to his son, but when his reaction was similar to the hysterical-epileptic attack, he realized that every word was in vain, so he called a group of biologists, veterinarians and biochemists, and required from them an exceptional intervention: to stop growth of the cub. Scholars have said that this might be possible, but was problematic in several respects, both ethical and ecological, and of practical health; however, such radical interventions in the natural development are not recommended as they may lead to the collapse of a living being. Admiral impatiently swung with hand, and resolutely concluded that in that case there was no need to look on ethic or on ecology nor on health, since the cub was a »usual cat«. Shortly after the injection, prepared by biochemists, the cub really no longer grew, at the same time lost appetite and liveliness, increasingly becoming a shabby hairy sack, loosely filled with bones; finally, it just laid there and panted, fully grown gray and unbearably smelly, so even Mike could no longer endure that. All attempts at rehabilitation have been without effect, the only way for complete histopathological gangrene was a crematorium for animals.

The boy was completely changed, as if the »tiger's shock« was the reason for his quick maturity; he became unusually serious, no longer interested in sport, in the school was less successful than before, but he began to obsessively deal with drawing and painting, depicting only one figure: in all drawings and oil paintings has been in countless variants only – a tiger. In some images he wrote his rhymed verses about tiger as the embodiment and symbol of the living energy, which man can »mount« if he wrap himself up by the »Golden Fleece« of virtues; sometimes at the verses he suggested that energy with only to him understandable mathematical and physical formulas. His creative work has attracted wide attention not only because he was the Admiral's son, but because of the amazing quality: splendid fantasy of colors, masterly skilled anatomy of the feline body, charming static dynamics of terrifying visionary beast. At these images, the celebrated painters feel envious embarrassment; exhibition in the main national gallery was a sensation, also acclaimed in the foreign media. Mike has declared that after finishing high school he would study at the Academy of Fine Arts.

Admiral se je začel privajati na to, da bo njegov sin pach umetnik, zato je idejo o političnem nasledstvu pomaknil vstran. Toda še preden je Miha konchal osnovno desetletko, ga je zajela nova temeljita preobrazba. Kot da ga je nekaj pichilo, je nenadoma ves risarsko-slikarski pribor zmetal v smetarski kontejner, njegove risbe in slike so oblezhale po kotih in omarah neke stranske sobe stanovanja v Zlati kletki, on pa se je z obsedenostjo, enako prejšnji likovni, začel ukvarjati zgolj s knjigami, predvsem zgodovinskimi; med slednjimi so bile vechinoma ozko specializirane raziskave različnih problematičnih dogodkov iz novejshe politične preteklosti. Admiralu je po eni strani odleglo, da je sin opustil »chechkanje in packanje«, sprememba interesa ga je sprva razveselila, saj je bila zanj umetnost nasploh nekakšna podchloveshka mozhganska deviacija, ostala pa je v njem skrb zaradi tematske izbire. Očitno je pach bilo, da sina niti malo ne zanima uradno in sholsko veljavna zgodovina, temveč da ga je obsedla njena tako imenovana alternativna ali paralelna, »nezakonska« polsestra hevristika, ki jo je Admiral imel za sumljivo kvaziznanstveno, pravzaprav psihopatsko brkljarijo in diverzantsko manipulacijo v kdove chigavem interesu. Sklenil je, da si bo v chasu, ko je sin v sholi, natanchneje ogledal njegovo sobo, knjige, zvezke in sploh vse, kar je v njej; imel je namrech izostren vohljashki občutek, da bo nashel nekaj pomembnega.

Tako je nekega dne dolgo brskal po sinovi sobi; postajal je vse slabshe volje, ko je prebiral knjizhne naslove, ki so vechinoma zveneli kot nekakšne provokativne politične kriminalke. Spomnil se je znanca, uglednega zgodovinarja in akademika, ki je nekoch, ko sta se pogovarjala glede tega, zamahnil z roko in rekel, da je vse to amaterski shundovski underground, ki ni vreden nikakršne omembe, niti v smislu nasprotnih argumentov. Ko je tako preiskal sobo, je Admiral moral ugotoviti, da pravzaprav ni nashel nichesar res oprijemljivega; sina so pach pritegnili pisani baloni pogroshne senzacije, minilo bo kot she ena pubertetnishka zaletavost. Nenadoma je zachutil utrujenost, pomeshano z nekakšno zhalostjo; sedel je v naslonjach v kotu sobe in se razgledal naokrog, da bi nashel she kaj, kar je morda izpustil. Vendar ga soba ni vech zanimala; zachutil je, da postaja zaspan, hkrati pa ga je obshel nedolochljiv strah, kot da ga nekdo opazuje, pravzaprav hipnotizira. Udi so mu postali tako tezhki, da se ni mogel premakniti; glava se mu je povasila na prsi in zgubil se je v snu, a pri tem se mu je zdelo, da sploh ni zaprl oči, temveč da she naprej strmi v nasprotno steno, na kateri je visela uokvirjena fotografija Anite Moshkon, njegove pokojne zhene in sinove matere (ko jo je sin obesil tja, mu to ni bilo vshech, a seveda bi bilo skrajno chudno, che bi jo zahteval odstraniti). Ni mogel odtrgati pogleda od njenega obraza: zazdelo se mu je, da se v licih nekaj premika, kot bi portret ozhivel. Ni mu bilo vech jasno, ali gleda Anito, Juanito ali Ivanko Prepeluh; ker je slednja kot ilegalka uporabljala ime Tamara, se mu je kazal celo portret gurzinske vladarice Tamare.

Admiral started to get used to the fact that his son would become an artist, so he moved aside his idea of political succession. But before Mike finished ten years lasting primary school, he had been captured by a new radical metamorphosis. As he had been stung by something, he suddenly threw all the drawing-painting accessories into the garbage container, his drawings and paintings remained lying in corners and wardrobes in one of the rooms of apartments in Golden cage, and he started with the obsession, equal to the previous occupation of art, to work only with books, mostly historical; among the latter were mostly narrowly specialized researches of various problematic events from the recent political past. Admiral on the one hand was relieved that his son had abandoned »scratching and smearing«; the son's change of interest was initially a pleasure to him, because for him all kinds of art in general were a certain underhuman cerebral deviation, but concern about the thematic choice remained in his thoughts. It was just obviously that the son was not in any way interested in official and school valid history, but that he was obsessed by a so-called alternative or parallel, »illegitimate« stepsister heuristics, which was by Admiral mind only a suspicious pseudo-science, properly a psychopathic trumpery and diversion manipulation in who knows whose interest. He concluded that in the time when his son would be at school, he would more precisely inspect his room, books, notebooks and everything in it; namely, he had a keen spy sense that he would find something important.

So one day he was long ransacking the room of son; he was becoming increasingly unwilling during the reading the book titles which mostly sounded like some kind of provocative political thrillers. He recalled an acquaintance, a renowned historian and academician, who once, when they had been talking about that, waved his hand and said that all that was only an amateur underground trash not worthy of any mention, not even in terms of counter-arguments. When he finished inspecting the room, Admiral had to state that he actually did not find anything really tangible; his son was just attracted by colorful balloons of trashy sensation, and that would be passed as an adolescent hastiness. Suddenly he felt tired, mixed with a kind of sadness; he sat in the armchair in the corner of the room, and watched around to find anything what he had perhaps overlooked. However, the room was no longer interesting for him; he felt that getting sleepy with an indefinable feeling of fear, as if someone was watching, properly hypnotizing him. His limbs became so heavy that he could not move; his head lowered to the chest, he lost his senses in the dream, and at the same time it seemed to him that he had not closed his eyes continually staring at the opposite wall, on which was hung a framed photo of Anita Moshkon, his deceased wife and mother of his son (when the son had hung up it there, he did not like that, but of course it could be extremely strange if he requested to remove it). He could not tear his looking from her face: it seemed to him that in his cheeks something was moving as if the portrait became revived. It was not more clearly to him whether he was watching Anita, Juanita or Ivanka Prepeluh; because the latter had been using in underground movement the illegal name Tamara, it seemed to him that he was looking even at a portrait of Georgian queen Tamara.

Obraz se je pochasi spremenil v krvavo kepo mesa, iz katerega je v zlato-zelenkastih prelivih sijalo eno samo oko, bolshcheche vanj med narashchanjem, kot da se mu približuje; hkrati se je v ozadju ochesa kot v hologramu zachela nakazovati ogromna glava tigra. Iz ochesa, ki je bilo zdaj tigrovo, je shinil bleshchech zharek in se za hip dotaknil ene od knjig na mizi. Admiral je mislil, da bo od groze zakrichal, a iz njegovega grla ni bilo glasu; sunkovito se je stresel, privid je izginil, on pa se je prebudil iz otrplosti.

Planil je na noge in zachel z rokami otepati po sebi, ker ga je zeblo, cheprav je bilo v sobi, zamracheni z zavesami, dovolj toplo. Pulil si je brke, ki jih ni maral, saj jih je moral imeti kot vsak na admiralskem mestu v spomin na prvega Admirala, ustanovitelja Karantenije. Zhe je mislil pobegniti iz sobe, ko se je spomnil zharka iz tigrovega ali zheninega ochesa, iz tistega ozhivelega zrkla na njenem obrazu, zmalichenem v prometni nesrechi. Pograbil je knjigo, na katero je bil pokazal zharek, in si jo zachel pazljivo ogledovati. Chuden naslov, she bolj chudno pa to, da ga prej sploh ni opazil: *Kako je tiger postal rdechi zmaj*, drobne chrke na temnih platnicah so bile komaj razlochne. Malo je polistal, potem pa je razprto knjigo prijel za platnice in mochno potresel; iz nje je padel kvadratni decimeter velik chasopisni izrezek. Ko si je listek natanchneje ogledal, je ugotovil, da gre za droben chlanek v ganglokamerikanshchini (ime chasopisa in datum nista bila razvidna) z naslovom: *Senca preteklosti zakotnega kvaziadmirala*. Kljub omejenemu znanju jezika je razbral, da chlanek govori o njem: o »admiralu« Karantenije, nekdanjem kolumbistichnem gverilcu, o sumljivih dogodkih iz njegove preteklosti, zlasti nedavna smrt kontroverzne zhene v prometni nesrechi, prej med vojno pa likvidacija Simona Prepeluha, voditelja kolumbistom konkurenchnih gverilcev, tako imenovanih »tiggermanov«, in njegove zhene Ivanke; njuno komaj rojeno hcherko, v Prstu registrirano kot Giovanna Perpelucchi, so prevzeli sorodniki.

Admirala je oblil znoj, grabila ga je panika: Miha ni mogel sam priti do tega chlanka v nekem očitno obskurnem tujem listu (pomembnejshi chasopisi niso smeli s takim trachem kvariti meddrzhavnih odnosov), nekdo mu ga je podtaknil, da bi ga opozoril na ochetove »krvave roke« ... Stiskal je pesti, renchal in krozhil po sobi kot tiger v kletki; kadar je obstal, se je z obema rokama prijemal za glavo in se z gornjim telesom zibal naprej in nazaj; zdelo se mu je, da mu bo odletel v zrak temenski del lobanje in se bodo mozhgani razleteli po sobi. Dushilo ga je, iz prsi mu je prihajal piskajoch zvok, ustrashil se je infarkta. Z velikim naporom volje se je nekoliko zbral, sedel v naslonjach in globoko dihal. Chez chas se je toliko pomiril, da je vtaknil listek nazaj v knjigo in jo postavil na prejsnje mesto na mizi, nato pa je naglo zapustil sinovo sobo in odshel v svoj del stanovanja. Tam je sluzhabniku naročil, naj ga nihche ne vznemirja do naslednjega jutra, ker da se slabo pochuti in se mora temeljito spochiti. Zaklenil se je v spalnico, iz skritega sefa vzel steklenico in brez prekinitve pogoltal posebno pijacho, od katere se mu je takoj zavrtelo v glavi in padel je chez posteljo.

The face has slowly turned into a bloody lump of flesh, from which with the golden-greenish iridescence the one single eye goggled into him, increasingly as if it was approaching; at one time, in the back of that eye as in the hologram began to indicate the enormous head of a tiger. From the eye, which was now of the tiger, flitted a glowing ray and for a moment touched one of the books on the table. Admiral thought that he would scream in horror, but from his throat there was no voice; he winced violently, an illusion has disappeared, and he woke up from the lethargy.

He jumped to his feet and started to swing his arms, because he felt cold, though it was warm enough in the room obscured by curtains. He was pulling out his mustache which he did not like, because it had to have every man in the Admiral position, for purpose in memory of the first Admiral, the founder of Karantenia. Already he had thought to escape out of the room, when he remembered the beam from the tiger's or wife's eye, from that revived eyeball on her face mutilated in a car accident. He grabbed the book, which had been shown by a ray, and began view it carefully. A strange title, and also it was more strange that he previously did not notice it: *How a tiger became the red dragon*; tiny letters on the dark cover were hardly readable. He leafed a little through, then he grabbed the covers of widely open book and strongly shook it; a newspaper cutting of a square decimeter dimension dropped out. When he accurately looked at that clipping, he found that it was a tiny article in Ganglocamerican (name of newspaper and date have not been shown) entitled: *Shadons of the past of an obscure quiasadmiral*. Despite his limited knowledge of the language he was able to determine that the article told about him: about the »admiral« of Karantenia, former columbist-guerrilla fighter, about suspicious events from his past, especially the recent death of his controversial wife in a car accident, and during the war a liquidation of Simon Prepeluh, leader of guerrillas rival to the columbists, i. e. of the so-called »tigermen«, and his wife Ivanka; their baby-daughter, registered in Prieste as Giovanna Perpelucchi, took over the relatives.

Admiral has burst into a sweat, obsessed by panic: Mike could not get himself that article from a clearly obscure foreign gazette (important newspapers were not allowed to spoil bilateral relations between countries with such gossips), someone had imputed it to him in order to draw his attention to his father with »blood on his hands« ... Clutching the fists, he snarled and circulated around the room as a tiger in a cage; when he stood he grasped with both hands his head rocking the upper body back and forth: it seemed to him that apex of his skull would fly into the air and the brain would scatter around the room. He was suffocated, a sizzling sound came out from his breasts, and he was scared of heartattack. With great effort of will he slightly concentrated, sitting in the armchair and deep breathing. Over time, he was so much reassured that he put the clipping back into the book and set it in the previous position on the table, and then he abruptly left his son's room and went to his part of the apartment. There he ordered to his servant to not allow anyone to disturbe him until the next morning, because he was feeling unwell and needed to be thoroughly rested. He locked himself in the bedroom, took the bottle from the hidden safe and without interruption gulped a special drink which immediately caused the vertigo in his head, and he fell across the bed.

Ko se je zbudil in pogledal na uro, je ugotovil, da se blizha polnoch. Vstal je in odprl omaro; z dna je potegnul velik zavoj in ga vrgel na posteljo. Iz zavoja je vzel dobro ohranjeno kozho simbirskega tigra, ki je bila zanj neizmerno dragocena ochetova zapushchina; njegov oče, Bistran iz Prsta, je bil med veliko vojno havstro-vogrski vojak in prebežnik v Brusijo, kjer je nekaj let zhivel v Simbiriji; ko je reshil iz reke deklico, mu je njen oče shaman podaril tigrovo kozho, ki je pozneje postala Admiralova tajna zaveza z Brusijo (h kolumbistom je prestopil, ko je ugotovil, da tigrovci niso probrusko zagreti). Ogrnil si je kozho in vzel iz zavoja she ochetovo knjigo, gurzinski ep *Vitez v tigrovi kozhi*; avtor, največji gurzinski pesnik Rusticalis, je spev posvetil Tamari, legendarni gurzinski cesarici in svetnici (1160 – 1213). V knjigi je bil ob bruskem prevodu vzporedno tudi izvornik v gurzinshchini; polistal je po knjigi, da si je osvezhil vsebino. Nato je med glasnim ritmičnim ponavljanjem sintagme »tamar-damar« in dveh zanj ključno pomenljivih verzov iz kitice 1160 (Tamarina rojstna letnica) v gurzinshchini »gvelni moshlit moeketsnes, bagi shegma she-re-shenda, / mze veshasa daebnela, zeda radmca gagvitenda« (kita kach se je razvezala in sikajoch so se razlezele po vrtu, / zmaj je besen zakril sonce, da ljudem ne sije vech) kakshne pol ure v krogu pochasi poplesaval po spalnici; vmes je nekajkrat vpletel tudi zachetni verz iz znane amerishke country pesmi »The devil went down to Georgia, he was looking for a soul to steal« (Georgia: kamerishka drzhava; tudi zahodno ime za Gurzijo, katere domache ime je Kartvelija, s korenem »kar« kot v Karanteniya) ... Potem je odshel na dolgi beli hodnik brez oken in se mimo mnogih vrat po vech ovinkih napotil do sinove sobe. Tiho je vstopil in prisluhnil; ko je ugotovil, da sin spi v svoji postelji, je prizhgal luch in se mu pochasi priblizhal. Dechek je odprl oči, kot da ni spal in kot da je prichakoval ocheta v tigrovem kozhuhu; segel je pod blazino in potegnul na dan izrezek. Pomolil ga je ochetu in mirno spregovoril:

»Tole sem narahlo prilepil v knjigo na tristotrinajsti strani. Seveda sem takoj ugotovil, da si brskal po mojih stvarih. Listka nisi vstavil nazaj na isti strani niti ga nisi prilepil ... Kdo mi je ta listek poslal po poshti, ne vem, vem pa, da bom kmalu vedel o tebi vse, kar je zame pomembno.«

»Hudich ... prekleti hudich ... Ti nisi moj sin ... Nichesar skupnega nimava ... Ti si zmene, satansko seme, podtaknjen pankrt kurbe in hudicha ...« je zarenchal Admiral in njegovo renchanje je preshlo v strahotno tigrovsko rjojenje. S svojo vech kot stokilogramsko težho nekdanjega rokoborca se je vrgel na sina, nemochno lezhechega pod odejo, in se zagrizel v njegov vrat ...

Chez nekaj dni je posebni svetovalec za varnost (shifra: Tigereye) v kamerishki ambasadi v Emoni poslal na sedezh ICA (Investigation of Central Assembly) v Zdruzenih drzhavah Kamerike naslednje kodirano porochilo:

When he woke up and looked at the watch, he realized that it was approaching midnight. He got up and opened the wardrobe; from its bottom he pulled a great package and threw it on the bed. From the package he took out a well-preserved skin of simberian tiger, which has been immensely valuable to him as his father's legacy; his father, a Bistriian from Prieste, was during the Great war a Haustro-Kungarian soldier and a deserter to Brussia where a few years lived in Simberia; when he had rescued a girl from the river, her father, a shaman, donated him a tiger skin which later became Admiral's secret commitment to Brussia (he transgressed to the columbists when he realized that the »tigersmen« were not eager pro Brussia). He wrapped himself up with tiger skin and took from package also his father's book, a Georgian epic *Knight in the tiger's skin*; the author, the greatest Georgian poet Rusticalis, had dedicated that poem to Tamara, Georgian legendary empress and saint (1160-1213). In the book was parallel with Brussian translation also the original in Georgian; he leafed through a book to refresh himself the content. Then during the loud rhythmic repetition of the phrase »tamar-damar« and two for him crucially meaningful verses from strophe number 1160 (also the year of Tamara's birth) in Georgian »gvelni moshlit moeketsnes, bagi shegma she-re-shenda, / mze veshasa daebnela, zeda radmca gagvitenda« (braid of snakes was divorced and have hissly crawled through the garden, / furious dragon covered the sun, so it shine to people not more) about half an hour slowly in a circle dancing around the bedroom; during that, he also involved the initial verse of the famous American country song »The devil went down to Georgia, he was looking for a soul to steal« (Georgia: Camerican state; also the western name for Georgia which has its own local name Kartvelia, with the same root »kar« as Karantenia) ... Then he went on a long white hallway with no windows, and passing many doors and several bends he directed himself to the room of his son. He entered softly and listened; when he realized that the son was sleeping in the bed, he turned on the light and slowly approached to him. The boy opened his eyes, as if he had not sleep and as he was expecting his father in the tiger's fur; he reached under the pillow and pulled out the newspaper clipping. He held it out to the father and peacefully broke silence:

»That I have slightly stuck in a book on the page 313. Of course, I immediately realized that you had fumbled through my things. You didn't insert this ticket back on the same page nor stuck it ... Who had sent me this article by mail, I don't know, but I know that I will soon know about you all what is important to me.«

»Devil ... you damned devil ... You're not my son ... We don't have anything in common ... You're bastard, satanic seed, supposititious litter of a whore and devil ...« growled Admiral and his snarling went over into the terrible tiger roar. With his more than one hundred kilograms weight of former wrestler, he jumped on the son helplessly lying under a blanket, and he bit into his neck ...

A few days later, the special adviser for security (code: Tigereye) in Camerican embassy in Emona sent to the headquarters of ICA (Investigation of Central Assembly) in the United States of Camerica the following coded report:

Top secret – special case report: MH-AL. Uspeshna sanacija polozhaja v Karanteniji (shifra: Mousehole), AL eliminiran v dramaticni akciji, ki jo je izzval z norim umorom mladoletnega sina: ogrnjen s tigrovo kozho, mu je pregriznil vrat, da je izkrvavel. Pri tem je AL rjovel kot pravi tiger, zato so prihiteli varnostniki z MM (Mickey Mouse – shifra nashega agenta »niktalopa«) na chelu. AL je ves krvav plesal po sobi nekak shamanski ples in skandiral v neznanem jeziku: domnevno indijanski dialekt, po naknadni analizi video-voco posnetka ugotovljeno, da je ponavljal dva verza iz gurzinskega epa *Vitez v tigrovi kozhi* v gurzinshchini. Ko so ga varnostniki skushali obvladati, se je silovito upiral; krichal je, da ga nimajo pravice aretirati, da ni storil nich napachnega, temvech da je kot odgovoren patriot le po posebnem obredu simbirskih shamanov unichil »satanovo seme«, in to na srecho she pravochasno, preden je dozorelo in razshirilo naokrog svoje kache, ki bi povzročile propad domovine. Znachilne psiho(pato)loshke zveze: AL se je med ozhjimi sodelavci rad prezirljivo izrazil o umetnosti, she posebno o pesnishtvu, ki ga je imel za sprevrzhen in zlonosen, družbeno shkodljiv chvek (v enem od predalov v njegovi spalnici smo nashli njegove mladostne pesmi; Karantenija svojo identiteto utemeljuje na pesniku Pressiernu), knjiga z omenjenim epom pa je bila zanj svetinja, ki mu jo je skupaj s kozho simbirskega tibra zapustil oche. Nekakshno »shamansko iniciacijo« naj bi prav tako imel po ochetu, ki je dlje chasa zhivel v Simbiriji, v istem kraju kot nekaj let prej v izgnanstvu tudi poznejshi »bog kolumbistov« Steely, doma iz Gurzije; ta je menda znal na pamet dele omenjenega epa, kot reven in zanichevan otrok (oche ga je strahovito pretepal, ker ga je imel za nezakonskega; podobnost z otroshtvom njegovega menshkega kolega Tihlerja) v majhnem, podrejenem kafkashkem etnosu pa je sanjal v duhu ljudskega izročila, da si bo nekoch ogrnil tigrovo kozho in zajahal tibra ter si tako pridobil moch za vladarja sveta; na fotografijah ima kot dvajsetletnik, tedaj znan gurzinski pesnik in ilegalni kolumbist, okrog vratu shal s tigrovim vzorcem (noben vladar ni dal likvidirati toliko literatov kot on; mnoge »pravilno usmerjene« pa je za njihovo pisanje tudi nagradil, ker literatura očitno ni le dekadentno parazitstvo, ampak je lahko tudi družbeno koristna, vzgojno inzhenirska) ... Cheprav zhe priletel, je bil AL kot nekdanji rokoborec tezhke kategorije she vedno pravi silak in se je med ruvanjem otresel varnostnikov (nekatero je tudi resno ranil) ter pobegnil na hodnik. MM se je pogнал za njim in izstrelil vanj naboj za omamljanje tigrov (pishtolo za ta namen je imel pri sebi, odkar je AL svojemu sinu kupil tigrovega mladicha), a doza je bila verjetno premochna za chloveka v stresnem deliriju: ko je bil v nezavesti, mu je odpovedalo srce ... AL je imel vso nasho podporo, dokler je razumno uposhteval realne razmere, sledech nashim instrukcijam; potem je postal »King Log«.

Top secret - special case report: MH-AL. Successful sanitation of the situation in Karantenia (code: Mousehole), AL was eliminated in dramatic action which had been provoked by his crazy murder of his own young son: dressed in a tiger skin, he bit through his neck and boy bled to death. AL has roared like a real tiger, so security guards rushed into the room with MM (Mickey Mouse – code for our agent »nyktalops«) at the head. Covered with blood, AL was dancing around the room in a kind of shamanic dance skanning in an unknown language: allegedly it was an Indian (North Camerican) dialect, the subsequent analysis of the video-voco snap found that he had been repeating two verses from Georgian epic *Knight in the tiger skin* in original Georgian language. When the guards tried to get the better of him, he violently resisted; he was screaming that they did not have the right to arrest him, that he had not do anything wrong, but as a responsible patriot he only in a special ceremony of Simberian shamans had destroyed the »seed of Satan« thankfully at the right time before it would be matured and spread around its snakes which would cause the collapse of the country. There are typical psycho(patho)logical relations: among close colleagues AL was fond of talking about art with contempt, especially about poetry which to his mind has been a preverse and malevolent, socially noxious blabbing (in one of the drawers in his bedroom, we found his own poems from his youthful time; Karantenia bases its identity on the poet Pressieren), and the book of mentioned epic was to him a sacred thing, which together with Simberian tiger skin his father had willed to him. A kind of »shamanic initiation« also appeared as a legacy of his father who for a long time lived in Simberia, in the same place as a few years earlier in exile the subsequent »God of columbists« Steely, a native of Georgia; he supposedly knew by heart some parts of mentioned epic; as poor and despised child (his father beat him terribly because he has been illegitimate for him; that was similarity with the childhood of his Mergan colleague Tihler) in a small, subordinate Kafkasian ethnicity he has dreamed in the spirit of folk traditions that he would put on the tiger skin and mount a tiger in order to gain the power to rule the world; on the photos from his twenties, when he has been a known Georgian poet and an illegal columbist, his neck was wrapped with a shawl of tigerish pattern design (no other ruler has sent to liquidation so many literary men as he has; but he well rewarded many »properly oriented« writers, because literature is obviously not only a decadent parasitism, but can also be socially useful as an educational engineering) ... Though already elderly, AL as a former heavyweight wrestler was still a tough guy, and during the conflict he shook off the security guards (some of them he also seriously wounded), and escaped into the corridor. MM has run behind him and shot into him a charge for stupefying the tigers (a gun for this purpose he had with himself since AL had bought a tiger cub to his son), but a dose was probably too strong for a man in a stressful delirium: when he has been unconscious his heart stopped ... AL had our full support as long as he was reasonably taking into account the real situation, following to our instructions; but afterwards he became »King Log«.

Kot je običajno pri tovrstnih tipih, ki jim v bistvu mi omogočimo vzpon na oblast: ko si navznoter utrdijo položaj, jih obsede ambicija po dopolnitvi lastnega zgodovinskega poslanstva v smislu »prave neodvisnosti« svojega kurnika, zato si taki mugwumps zazhelijo, da bi se znebili nashega tutorstva ali ga vsaj znatno omejili; to pa lahko dosežejo le s pomočjo tistih vechjih sil, ki so nekoliko resnejši nashi nasprotniki. Ko so njegovi sodelavci, zlasti chlani odbora Ducatnikov, opozarjali AL, da si na podlagi določenih zaslug in uspehov svoje politike skusha prisvojiti prevech osebne oblasti, je zachel ljudstvu oznanjati tezo, da je tako imenovana »zahodna demokracija« chisti humbug, she posebno neprimeren v perifernih, nezrelih okoljih, ter da je nasploh edina funkcionalna oblika oblasti »AHM ali Arhetipska Humanistichna Monodiktatura« (njegova terminologija; po nashe bi rekli: benign dictatorship); za zgled je navajal nekatere kafkashko-simbirske drzhav(ic)e, tiste rezervate znotraj rezervatov, ki so se osamosvojili po razpadu Brusovjetije (vsi hochejo biti chlani TONA pakta in Nevrounije), pa tudi vech monarhov-avtokratov iz zgodovine, med njimi zlasti gurzinsko cesarico Tamaro; pri slednji je poudarjal, da je bila Slovenetka-Karantenka, po izvoru iz doline Tamar, znane kot »kranjska Simbirija«, na tromeji med Karantenijo, Vitalijo in Havstrijo, ter da beseda tamar v stari slovenetshchini pomeni »planinsko ogrado za zhivino«. V zunanji politiki je zachel ovirati in omejevati investicije z Zahoda ter se vse bolj navezovati na Brusijo, deloma pa tudi na Kitovsko. Povrh je objavil, da Karantenija ne bo vech aktivno sodelovala v kontinuirano tempiranih ekspedicijskih vojnah TONA pakta, razmislila bo celo o izstopu iz njega, pa morda tudi o izstopu iz Nevrounije ... Skupaj je to seveda pomenilo mejni prestop, nesprejemljiv tako za nas kot tudi za določeno domorodsko strujo v Karanteniji. Aktivirali smo nashega agenta MM, ki je bil kot potomec balkonskih prednikov in specialist za zadeve Balkona zhe dolgo varnostni svetovalec pri vrhu karantenijske oblasti. Kot izvrsten, intimen poznavalec lokalnih razmer in psihe AL nam je svetoval intrigo: vznemiriti AL, da bo izgubil razsodnost, v njem izzvati delirij negotovosti, psihogeni shok na osnovi slabe vesti zaradi starih grehov; v ta namen nash cirkus Golden Age modificirati v bolj iritanten (za karantenijske razmere) Golden Cage in dodati zvezdnishko artistko Juanito Prepelook, sinu AL pa anonimno poslati falzificiran chasopisni chlanek o ochetovih grehah ... Vzeto v celoti in v konchnem povzetku je operacija lepo uspela, kolateralni problemi pa so bili tudi ustrezno sanirani. MM je bil kot agent balkonskega izvora dodatno nadzorovan z nashe strani; tako smo ugotovili, da se je brez odobritve centrale ICA zblizhal z zadnjo zheno AL (plod tega razmerja je bil Mihael, uradno sin AL) in celo organiziral prometno nesrecho, v kateri je umrla; slednje po dogovoru z AL.

As it is usual at such types who, in the essence, only with our support can rise to power: when they consolidate their inner position they become obsessed by ambition to supplement their own historic mission in the sense of »true independence« of their hen coop, so then such mugwumps desire to get rid of our tutoring or at least significantly limit it; but that can only be achieved with the help of those larger forces that are our somewhat more serious opponents. When his colleagues, especially the members of the committee of Dozenmen, attentioned AL that he on the basis of specific merits and successes of his policy was trying to grab too much personal power, he began to preach to the people the thesis that the so-called »Western democracy« was nothing but pure humbug, especially inappropriate in peripheral, immature environments, and that is generally the only functional form of government the »AHM or Archetypal Humanistic Monodictatorship« (in his terminology; in our way said: benign dictatorship); for example he was mentioning some Kafkasian-Simberian (minim)countries, namely those reservations within the reservations which became independent after the collapse of Brussovietia (they all want to be members of TONA Pact and Neurounion), as well as several monarchs-autocrats in history, especially the Georgian empress Tamara; for the latter he stressed that she was a Slovenetic-Karantenian, originating in the Tamar Valley, known as »Simberia Carniolana«, on the triple border of Karantenia, Vitaly and Haustria, and that the word *támar* in the old Slovenetic means »mountain enclosure for livestock«. In foreign policy he began to impede and restrict investment from the West and increasingly establish contacts with Brussia, and also partly with Shina. Top to that, he announced that Karantenia would no longer be actively involved in the continuously timed expeditionary wars of TONA Pact, it would even consider the exit from it, and perhaps also the exit from Neurounion ... Together, all that of course meant the border crossing, unacceptable for us as well as for certain indigenous political side in Karantenia. We have activated our agent MM, which has been, as a descendant of Balkon ancestors and a specialist in matters of Balkon, for a long time a security consultant at the top of Karantenian authorities. As an excellent, intimate connoisseur of local conditions and also of the psyche of AL personally, he advised us intrigue: to upset AL, so he will lost his stability, and to induce in him a delirium of uncertainty, a psychogenic shock on the basis of a guilty conscience because of old sins; for the same purpose, our circus Golden Age to modify into the more irritant (for conditions in Karantenia) Golden Cage adding the acrobatic star Juanita Prepelook, and to the son of AL anonymously send falsified newspaper article about his father's sins ... Taken as a whole and in the final summary, the operation was a fine success, and some collateral problems have also been properly solved. MM has been, as an agent of Balkon source, extra controlled by us; so we have found that, without the approval of ICA headquarters, he made a closer contact with the last wife of AL (fruit of this relationship was Michael, the official son of AL) and even organized a car accident in which she died; the latter in agreement with the AL.

Po nekih indicijah je v zaroti z njo nachrtoval prevzem oblasti v Karanteniji, a si je premislil zaradi nezanesljivosti te zhenške; najbrzh je zaslutil, da ga namerava izdati. Domnevamo tudi, da je bil MM dvojni agent: nekatere obveshchevalne podatke naj bi poshiljal v Brusijo (nekoč je omenil, da je njegovo poslanstvo »boj proti Satanu«; zmeraj je imel pri sebi minireprodukcijo slike Luca Giordana iz leta 1663, na kateri arhangel Mihael premaguje Satana) ... Takoj po končani zadevi MH-AL je bil MM za nas »archangel in the sense of dead nettle«; dobil je nagradni dopust na Kavajih. Tam mu je ob asistenci nashega posebnega agenta (shifra: Mouser) iz Oddelka za interno varnostno chishchenje (DISC – Department for Inner Security Cleaning) spodrsnilo pri ogledu turistichne atrakcije, vulkana Kilavka ...

(iz rokopisne zbirke kratke proze *Zlata kletka*; ibid. *Zlata kletka*, SRP 49-50/2002, *Slepa ptica*, SRP 69-70/2005; *Shchurki*, SRP 107-108/2012 in Lives Journal 5/2012; op. avt.)

According to some clues, he in conspiracy with her planned takeover of power in Karantenia, but he changed his mind because of the unreliability of that woman; probably he sensed that she was intending to betray him. We assume also that MM was a double agent: some intelligence he should send to Brussia (once he mentioned that his mission is »the fight against Satan«; he always had with him minim reproduction of picture of Luca Giordano from the year 1663, in which the Archangel Michael overcomes Satan) ... Immediately after the end of case MH-AL, MM became for us an »archangel in the sense of dead nettle«; he won for the prize a holiday on Kawaii. There, by assistance of our special agent (code: Mouser) from DISC (Department for Inner Security Cleaning) he slipped during the looking of the tourist attraction, a volcano Kilauca ...

(From the manuscript collections of short stories *The Golden Cage*, ibid. *Golden Cage*, SRP 49-50/2002; *Blind Bird*, SRP 69-70/2005; *Cockroaches*, SRP 107-108/2012 and in *Lives Journal* 5/2012; note by author.)

Translated from Slovenian by author

Rajko Shushtarshich

VREDNOTE SOCIALNE STRATIFIKACIJE V ZHIVALSKI FARMI?

*Zdaj bom ilustriral neizogibnost ali zgodovinsko določenost ali usojenost vrednotnega sistema socialnega razlikovanja (segregacije) na nashem planetu na najkerajsbi mogoči nachin. Je tako enostaven, da bi ga razumeli she pariji, che bi jim le povedali, da to ni pravljica, da je Zhivalska farma le primera ali prispodoba usode obchechloveshkega socialnega razlikovanja – stratifikacije, ali **vrednotnega sistema socialne stratifikacije**.*

Na Zhivalski farmi se je pravzaprav vse skupaj zachelo z Majorjevimi sanjami:

»Major, nagrajeni beli merjasec na Grashchinski farmi, je pred svojo smrtjo sanjal nekaj chudnega«, pravzaprav je sanjal utopijo. Lahko bi tudi rekli, da je sanjal tri osnovne institucionalne vrednote sistemov: »svobodo«, »bratstvo«, »enakost«. Nas pa bo v tem prispevku zanimala le slednja:

Res, da so o tem govorili zhe davno, spominjal se je ... vendar je bilo pozabljeno. In sanje se doslej niso nikoli uresnichile.

Ker je bilo zhe dolgo zhivljenje za njim in ko je toliko polezhaval v svojem svinjaku, je imel dovolj chasa za razmishljanje, da je spoznal bistvo zhivljenja na tej zemlji – bolje kot katerakoli zhivecha zhival:

Nobena zhival v Angliji ni svobodna.

Zhivljenje zhivali je beda in suzhnost.

Taka je chista resnica!

Toda – ali zhe po naravi mora biti tako?

Njegov odgovor je bil jasen, zgoshchen:

»Tukaj – tovarishice in tovarishi – je odgovor na vse vashe probleme. Izrazimo ga lahko z eno samo besedo – Chlovek! Chlovek je edini resnichni sovrazhnik, ki ga imamo! Odstranite chloveka in odstranili boste temeljni vzrok lakote in garanja za vse vechne chase!« (Deshifrirano to pomeni temeljni vzrok: bede in suzhnosti in socialne segregacije.)

»Tovarishi in tovarishice, moj poziv je upor!«

»Upor bi se lahko zgodil zhe chez teden ali pa chez sto let«, vendar bil je zgodovinska nujnost.

Po uspesno izvedeni revoluciji na Zhivalski farmi – ki je tu ne bom opisoval, ker jo pri nas she vedno znamo in poznamo vech ali manj na pamet iz lastnega izkustva – je Debelinko, »ki je bil pri pisanju najboljsi« – bil je pisar oz. ideolog, po hierarhiji takoj za Napoleonom, in v revoluciji se je najbolj izkazal – najprej prechrtal napis:

»GRASHCHINSKA FARMA«

Rajko Shushtarshich

THE VALUES OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN *ANIMAL FARM*?

*I will now illustrate why the value system of social differentiation (segregation) is unavoidable, historically determined or simply destined to be on our planet in the shortest way possible. It is so simple that even pariahs would understand it, if only we would explain to them that this is not a fairytale, that Animal Farm is only a metaphor for the fate of general human social differentiation – stratification, or the **value system of social stratification**.*

In *Animal Farm*, everything really began with Major's dream:

»Major, the prize Middle White boar of Manor Farm had a strange dream before his death.« Actually, he dreamt of utopia. We could also say that he dreamt of the three basic institutional values of systems: »freedom«, »brotherhood« and »equality«. In this article we shall focus only on the latter:

It is true that they had discussed this a long time ago, he could still remember ... and yet it was forgotten. And the dreams had never yet come true.

As he had had a long life and as he spent so much time lying in his pigsty, he had enough time to think and discover the essence of life on this earth – better than any other living animal:

No animal in England is free.

The life of an animal is misery and slavery.

That is the plain truth!

But is this simply part of the order of nature?

His answer was clear, concise:

»There, comrades, is the answer to all our problems. It is summed up in a single word—Man. Man is the only real enemy we have. Remove Man from the scene and the root cause of hunger and overwork is abolished forever.« (This is an encoded reference to the fundamental cause: misery and slavery and social segregation.)

»That is my message to you comrades: Rebellion!«

»Rebellion might come in a week or a hundred years«, but it was a historical necessity.

After the successful rebellion at *Animal Farm* – which I will not describe here as we still know it more or less by heart from our own experience – Snowball, »who was the best at writing« – he was the clerk or the ideologist, second only to Napoleon in hierarchy, and he had proved himself best in the revolution – first painted out:

»MANOR FARM«

in z velikimi chrkami napisal:

»ZHIVALSKA FARMA«

Naj omenim she za nasho temo poglavitno 7. zapoved (danes bi rekli tudi slogan PP – politichne propagande, she malo poprej pa apel AP – agitpropa):

»7. VSE ZHIVALI SO SOCIALNO ENAKE (ENAKOPRAVNE)«

Sledilo je dramatično obdobje obnove in napredka na farmi – oz. pozhrtvovalne izgradnje in razvoja, ki ju spet iz zhe omenjenega razloga ne bom opisoval. Bolj ko se je farma razvijala, manj so bile uporabne zapovedi, bolj so bili uporabni praktichni apeli kot npr. Boksachev: »She bolj bom delal!«

In za konec pravljice je preostala le she ena Zapoved. Glasila se je:

*»VSE ZHIVALI SO ENAKOPRAVNE,
TODA NEKATERE ZHIVALI SO ENAKOPRAVNEJSHE OD DRUGIH.«*

Natančnejši pomen istega apela bi bil:

*»VSE ZHIVALI SO SOCIALNO ENAKE,
TODA NEKATERE ZHIVALI SO BOLJ ENAKE OD DRUGIH.«*

Chisto na koncu pa je imel Napoleon eno samo pripombo na Pilkingtonov odlični in prijateljski sosedski govor. Gospod Pilkington je farmo namrech neprestano imenoval »Zhivalska farma«. Seveda – saj ni mogel vedeti, kajti On – Napoleon zdajle prvich naznanja – da odpravlja ime »Zhivalska farma«. Od zdaj naprej se bo farma imenovala »Grashchinska farma«, kar je, kakor mu je znano, edino pravilno in izvirno ime.

»Gospodje,« je zakljuchil Napoleon, »nazdravil bom prav tako kot prej, a v drugachni obliki. Napolnite si chashe do roba! Gospodje:

»NAJ ZHIVI GRASHCHINSKA FARMA!«

Spet je sledilo prisrchno nazdravljanje in trkanje s kozarci in vsi so do dna izpraznili chashe. Zhivalim pa, ki so od zunaj strmele v ta prizor, se je zdelo, da se dogaja nekaj chudnega. Nekaj je bilo, kar je spreminjalo prashichem obraze. Detelja (vprezhna kobila) je z meglenimi ochmi pogledovala zdaj ta, zdaj oni obraz. Nekateri med njimi so imeli pet podbradkov, nekateri shtiri, spet drugi tri. A kaj je bilo tisto, kar se je zdelo, da se razkraja in spreminja? Ko je bilo konec aplavza in je družhba spet vzela v roke karte in nadaljevala z igro, ki je bila prej prekinjena – so se zhivali tiho splazile proch.

A niso se she oddaljile niti za deset metrov, ko so nenadoma obstale. V hishi je nastal vik in krik. Stekle so nazaj in spet pogledale skozi okno. Res, tu je izbruhnul hud prepir. Krichali so, tolkli s pestmi po mizi, sumljivo pogledovali drug drugega, besno nekaj zanikovali. Pokazalo se je, da je zmeda nastala, ker sta oba – Napoleon in Pilkington – hkrati igrala na isto kraljico.

and in its place painted in large letters:

»ANIMAL FARM«

I should also mention commandment 7 that is crucial for our debate (nowadays we would call this a PP slogan – political propaganda, until recently known as AP – agitprop):

»7. ALL ANIMALS ARE EQUAL«

There followed a dramatic period of renovation and progress on the farm – or rather selfless construction and development that I will again not describe for the above mentioned reason. As the farm developed, the commandments became less and less useful while practical entreaties such as the one that follows by Boxer became increasingly practical: »I will work even harder!«

And at the end of the fairytale there remained only one Commandment that went as follows:

»ALL ANIMALS ARE EQUAL
BUT SOME ANIMALS ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS«

A more precise version of the same appeal would be:

»ALL ANIMALS ARE SOCIALLY EQUAL,
BUT SOME ANIMALS ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS.«

Right at the end Napoleon made just one comment on Pilkington's outstanding and friendly, neighbourly speech. Mr Pilkington namely insisted on referring to the farm as »Animal Farm«. Of course – he could not have known, for He – Napoleon now announces for the first time that he is abolishing the name »Animal Farm«. From now on, the farm will be called »Manor Farm«, which, as he knows, is the only correct and original name.

"Gentlemen," concluded Napoleon, "I will give you the same toast as before, but in a different form. Fill your glasses to the brim. Gentlemen, here is my toast:

»TO THE PROSPERITY OF THE MANOR FARM!«

There was the same hearty cheering as before, and the mugs were emptied to the dregs. But as the animals outside gazed at the scene, it seemed to them that some strange thing was happening. What was it that had altered in the faces of the pigs? Clover's old dim eyes flitted from one face to another. Some of them had five chins, some had four, some had three. But what was it that seemed to be melting and changing? Then, the applause having come to an end, the company took up their cards and continued the game that had been interrupted, and the animals crept silently away.

But they had not gone twenty yards when they stopped short. An uproar of voices was coming from the farmhouse. They rushed back and looked through the window again. Yes, a violent quarrel was in progress. There were shoutings, bangings on the table, sharp suspicious glances, furious denials. The source of the trouble appeared to be that Napoleon and Mr. Pilkington had each played an ace of spades simultaneously.

Dvanajst glasov je besno tulilo in vsi so bili enaki. Zdaj je bilo jasno, kaj se je zgodilo s prashichjimi obrazi. Zhivali zunaj so obrachale svoje poglede od prashicha do chloveka in chloveka do prashicha in spet od prashicha do chloveka; a zhe je bilo nemogoche povedati, who is who (kdo je kdo).

Tako je bilo to v Zhivalski farmi po revoluciji zhivali in tako v socializmu po revoluciji ljudi »revolucionarjev – avantgarde«, zdaj pa smo na tisti točki razvoja ali napredka, kakor hochete, ko po 50 letih od ekspropriacije ekspropriatorjev velja za sveto dolžnost vrachanje lastnine nekdanjim razlashchencem, skratka, poravnava socialnih krivic nekdanjim lastnikom, vendar le toliko in tako, da ne povzročamo novih (novim lastnikom)!

Lahko bi tudi rekli, da je zdaj prishel chas deekspropriacije ekspropriatorjev ali vrnitev lastnine razlashchevalcem in predvsem polashchanje (lastninjenje) »novih« – in starih – polashchevalcev.

En sam pomen od mnogoterih pomenov zakljuchka te silno pouchne pravljice za ljudi in chloveshtvo pa bom vseeno izpostavil, namrech ne bi rad, da bi ga kdo spregledal:

Orwellove zhivali gledajo skozi okno ljudi in prashiche in ne vidijo razlike: »*Saj so isti!*«

SOCIALNA ENAKOST (ENAKOPRAVNOST) TOREJ NI BILA MOGOCHA, ISTOST JE BILA MOCHNEJSHA OD NJIH.

Lahko bi rekli tudi drugache: socialna enakost, enakopravnost je bila mogocha samo med Njimi (elito, avantgardo, zgornjo strato), lahko bi rekli celo istost – ki jo generira determinizem socialnih vlog. Ker che zanemarimo shtevilo njihovih podbradkov (statusnih simbolov), jih je tezhko lochiti med seboj; za ostale ljudi »nizhjih strat« in »nizhje« zhivali pa tako velja socialno razlikovanje ali stratifikacija. V bistvu pomenita socialna enakost in socialno razlikovanje isto. Individui naj bi se razlikovali med seboj po stratah, znotraj njih pa naj bi se kar se da poistili (izenachevali). Redukcionizem individualnosti je tako izveden na she obvladljivo socialno mero. Tako naj bi bila zadovoljena potreba individuumov po razlikovanju in potreba sistemov po socialni tipizaciji.

Vrednote svoboda, bratstvo in enakost, ki jih je sanjal Major, so bile ali pa so shele postale socialne (institucionalne) vrednote in konec zgodbe je zgodovinsko določen, ker scenarij institucionalnih vrednot ne pozna izjem, dopushcha samo vechje ali manjshe zavlacevanje ter tu in tam določene omejitve, inachice istega, odvisne od nacionalnih in nekaterih drugih drzhavljskih posebnosti.

Twelve voices were shouting in anger, and they were all alike. No question, now, what had happened to the faces of the pigs. The creatures outside looked from pig to man, and from man to pig, and from pig to man again; but already it was impossible to say which was which.

That is how things turned out at Animal Farm after the animal revolution and in socialism after the people's revolution »the revolutionaries – the avant-garde«. And now we are at that point of development or progress, whichever you prefer, when, 50 years after the expropriation of the expropriators, returning property to the expropriated is considered a sacred obligation. In other words, social injustices suffered by former proprietors should be rectified, but only in a way and to an extent that does not produce new proprietors!

We could also say that the time has now come for the »de-expropriation« of the expropriators or the return of property to the expropriators and above all for appropriation by »new« – and old – appropriators.

For the benefit of people and humanity, I will, however, single out one particular meaning out of the many meanings inherent in the conclusion of this very instructive fairytale. I would not want anyone to overlook it:

Orwell's animals are looking through the window and cannot see any difference between the people and the pigs: »*They are all alike!*«

*SOCIAL EQUALITY WAS THEREFORE NOT POSSIBLE,
THEIR IDENTICALNESS WAS STRONGER THAN THEY WERE.*

We could also put it differently: social equality was possible only amongst Them (the elite, the avant-garde, the higher class). We could even call it identicalness – that is generated by the determinism of social roles. For if we disregard the number of their chins (status symbols), it is difficult to separate them from each other; for the other people of »lower classes« and »lower« animals, social differentiation and stratification is valid.

In essence, social equality and social differentiation are one and the same thing. Individuals are supposed to be distinguishable according to social class, while within a particular class they are supposed to be as equal as possible. Reductionism of individuality is thereby realised on a still manageable social measure. The need of individuals for differentiation and the need of systems for social typification is supposed to be satisfied in this way.

The values of freedom, brotherhood and equality that were dreamt of by Major, were, or only just became social (institutional) values. The end of the story is historically determined as the screenplay of institutional values knows no exceptions and allows only greater or lesser procrastination and here and there certain limitations that are variations of the same and dependent on national and some other civil particularities.

VREDNOT NI MOGOČHE DEFINIRATI!

Vrednote so kot pesem, so kot glasba, ali pa so groza zla ali pa prazne besede, izpraznjene pomena, da jim še laž ni vredno reči. Tudi če so na površini naše zavesti, je v njih neka moč, ki nas obvladuje in usmerja, ker smo šibka bitja, ki se redko soočajo sama s seboj, in smo vechinoma prepublisheni drugim, med njimi pa tistim, ki vedo, kaj hočejo – inženirjem chloveshkih dush.

Simboli, ki oznachujejo vrednote, so polipomenski, so tista vrsta simbolov, ki jim najtezhe fiksiramo pomen, če pa to delamo, jim delamo silo. Simboli, ki oznachujejo vrednote, so le približni simbolni oznachevalci neposrednih stanj in smeri zavesti. Če ne zhelimo ostati na površini, potem se moramo vanje poglobiti do tistih stanj, ko jih ne moremo vech enoznačno, banalno izraziti. Mislim, da ni bolj skrivnostnih simbolov, kot so ti, ki oznachujejo vrednote. Zato pa ni vechjih nesporazumov, kot so, ko se sporazumevamo o vrednotah, in ni vechjih manipulacij, kot so takrat, ko manipuliramo z njimi.

Vrednote chlovek potrebuje, da bi orientiral in utemeljil smisel svojega bivanja.

Vrednote potrebuje organizacija, sistem institucionalne hierarhije, da bi bila bolj uchinokovita, da opraviči svoj obstoj in ekspanzijo. Z vrednotami se vlada ljudem. In ker se mi zdi, da je tu neko veliko nesorazmerje, da je vendarle ogrožen chlovek in ne sistem, se mi zdi vredno razjasnjevati vrednote za chloveka, tega ne nepomembnega posameznika, in ne za mogočni sistem: ta ima svoje izvedence. Vrednot namrech ni mogoče preuchevati, ne da bi bil vrednotno opredeljen.

Soochanje individualne vrednotne orientacije in socialno veljavne vrednotne orientacije ni le internalizacija vrednot, ni le socializacija posameznika, njegova vkljuchitev v sistem, marvech veliko bolj pomembno dogajanje: za posameznika je, tako lahko rechemo, usodno. Mogočni socialno veljavni vrednotni sistemi dobesedno vsrkajo posameznika, prepričajo ga in venomer prepričujejo, da je njegovo bistvo družbeno bistvo, ki se realizira le z njegovo vkljuchitvijo v socialne sisteme. Tega ni mogoče zanikati, saj sicer socialni sistemi sploh ne bi mogli obstajati; vendar je tu neka malenkost, neka diferenca specifična. Individuum je svoboden in ima eno samo resno nalogo v svojem zhivljenju, in ta je: realizirati mora samega sebe, svojo vrednotno orientacijo, uresnichiti mora svojski vrednotni sistem. V trenutkih dvoma, ki izrazha to njegovo razdvojenost, se zhrtvuje za obče dobro – ali pa je prepričan o njem – zaradi tega velikega nesorazmerja v korist družbenega bistva, v korist močnega sistema. Zhrtvuje pa svojo svobodo: organizaciji, instituciji, sistemu. Tako dela vechina in tako delamo vechinoma zaradi tega velikega nesorazmerja in socialni vrednotni sistemi so neverjetno stabilni in togi in se le pochasi spreminjajo. S svojo zastrashujočo mogočnostjo nevtralizirajo variacije individualne spontanitete. Tu sem jaz in tu so drugi, ki jih je mnogo, stotine, tisoči, milijoni drugih; tu sem jaz in tam je institucija nashega delnega mi. Biti lojalen pomeni reshiti se dvoma, prenesti odgovornost na druge, to je na vas, zatechi se v varno zavetje institucionalizacije, njene ureditve vrednot.

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO DEFINE VALUES!

Values are like a song, they are like music or alternatively they are the horror of evil or empty words, devoid of meaning, that are not even worthy of being called lies. Even if they exist on the surface of our consciousness, they possess a certain power that commands us and directs us because we are weak beings who are rarely confronted with our own selves, and we are mostly abandoned to others, including those who know what they want – the engineers of human souls.

The symbols that denote values have multiple meanings, they are those kinds of symbols whose meaning is hardest to set and if we do that, we are violating their freedom. The symbols that denote values are only approximate symbolic markers of direct states and directions of consciousness. If we do not wish to remain on the surface, then we must delve into them to reach those states in which we can no longer express them unambiguously or banally. I think there are no more mysterious symbols than those that denote values. That is why there are no greater disagreements than when we discuss values and no greater manipulations than when we manipulate with them.

Man needs values in order to orientate and substantiate the meaning of his existence. Values are required by an organisation, a system of institutional hierarchy, in order to be more effective, to provide a reason for its existence and expansion. It is with values that people are governed. And because it seems to me that there is a large disproportion, that it is man that is under threat and not the system, I believe it is worth making sense of these values for man, this not unimportant individual, and not for the mighty system which has its own experts. It is not possible to study values without taking sides with a value or values.

Confronting individual value orientations and socially valid value orientations is not just the internalisation of values, not just the socialisation of the individual, his incorporation in the system, but something much more important: we can say that it is fateful for the individual. Mighty, socially valid value systems literally suck in the individual, convince him and constantly persuade him that his essence is a social essence that is realised only through his participation in social systems. This cannot be denied as social systems could not exist otherwise; however, there is a minor detail here, a certain *diferenca specifica*. The individual is free and has only one serious task in life which is: to realise himself, his value orientation and realise his own personal value system. In moments of doubt, which express his inner division, he makes a sacrifice in favour of the common good – or is convinced of it – because of this great disproportion in favour of social essence, in favour of the strong system. But he sacrifices his freedom: to an organisation, an institution, a system. That is how the majority act and we act this way mainly because of this large discrepancy and social value systems are incredibly stable and rigid and only change gradually. With their awe-inspiring might they neutralise variations in individual spontaneity. Here am I and here are the others, who are many, hundreds, thousands, millions of others; here am I and there is the institution of our partial we. To be loyal means to rid oneself of doubt, transfer responsibility on others, i.e. on you, to find a safe haven in institutionalisation and its order of values.

Vendar je na koncu chlovek vendarle sam, ko ne potrebuje vech drugih in ko drugi njega ne potrebujejo vech. So izjeme, ko potrebujemo njegova dela, njegovo zapushchino, nekdanjo slavo in moeh; to da, vendar to ni on, je le njegova podoba, njegov simbol.

Seveda ni to edina vrednotna opredelitev v raziskovanju vrednot, ki je osebna; v njihovem raziskovanju se namrech neprestano srechujemo z osebno vrednotno opredelitvijo. Ena pa je she taka, da bi jo bilo treba razjasniti takoj na zacetku. Vrsto let se zhe ukvarjam z analizo vrednot, ne da bi jih definiral. Che naj bi bilo to preucevanje vrednot znanstveno, se prichakuje jasna opredelitev do predmeta preucevanja. To bi moral storiti torej zhe na zacetku svojega prizadevanja na tem podrochju. Lahko se zahvalim samo nezanimanju nashe danashnje sociologije za preucevanje vrednot, da se tako neuposhtevanje akademskih navad toliko chasa tolerira. In ko sem v hoji po robu institucionalne znanosti napredoval tako dalech, da mi je vseeno, ali se moje prizadevanje shteje za znanstveno ali ne, sem prishel v stanje zavesti, ko lahko poizkusim izraziti nekatere misli o vrednotah tako, kot se mi kazhejo, in to v chasu in prostoru, ki preucevanju vrednot nista ravno naklonjena. Sedaj pa bom tiste, ki prichakujejo, da se bom vendarle zmotil in vrednote konchno definiral, moral razocharati. Vrednot namrech sploh ni mogoche definirati, prav nobene vrednote ne in ne samo ideje ali vrednote svobode, kot smo to videli v eseju Henrija Bergsona. Kdor pa to vseeno dela, jih s tem svojim pochetjem razvrednoti. Celo artiklov, povzdignjenih v vrednote, ko ti dejansko vrednotno orientirajo ljudi, njihove vrednotne vrednosti namrech, ni vech mogoche definirati. Vrednote po svojem bistvu znanosti sploh niso dostopne. S tem pa ne mislim, da jih mora znanost pustiti pri miru (kar je mimogrede s svojo tezo o nevtralni vrednotni opredelitvi v znanosti zhe tako storila, da o tezi o vrednotno nevtralni znanosti ne govorim). Vrednote znanost določajo, tako kot določajo religijo in religije, ideologijo in ideologije, ekonomijo in ekonomije; določajo njihove vrednotne sisteme. Vrednote znanost orientirajo. Vrednotne orientacije so v znanosti primarne (neposredne) dolochilnice. To, kar znanosti povsem manjka, je dosledna vrednotna refleksija smisla in smotra njene ekspanzije v socialnem sistemu in refleksija tega v vsaki posamezni, konkretni raziskavi, odkritju, izumu. Enostavneje bi rekel: znanost, ki ravna, kot da bi bila nad etiko ali izven nje, je kot da bi bila neeticna. Che pa znanost tega ne dela ali se vsaj zaprepashchujoche malo ukvarja s tem, potem to svojo nalogo prepusti drugim. Znanost, ki jo vrednotno orientirajo religija, ideologija ali kapital, je po sebi neorientirana in se razvija absurdno. O tem danes zhe ne more biti nobenega dvoma vech, to je razvidno ali ochividno vsakemu individuumu, ki se mora osvestiti – osmisliti v svetu, v kakrshnem zhivi; zachuda pa je to she najmanj razvidno zasanjano zaslepljenim znanstvenikom, specialistom, ekspertom, tistim torej, ki so za stanje stvari najbolj odgovorni. V mislih imam avtonomno orientacijo znanosti, ko se znanost utemeljuje sama.

However, man is always alone at the end when he no longer needs others and when others no longer need him. There are exceptions when we need his work, his legacy, former glory and power; this is all true, but this is not him, it is only his image, his symbol.

Of course, this is not the only value definition in the exploration of values that is personal; in exploring them we are constantly coming across a personal value determination. And one is such that it should be explained right at the outset. I have been analysing values for a number of years now without defining them. If this study of values is to be done scientifically then a clear definition of the object of study is expected. I should therefore have done this already at the beginning of my efforts in this field. I can only thank the disinterestedness of our contemporary sociology for the study of values for tolerating such a failure to respect academic habits for so long. And when, in my walk along the edge of institutional science I have come so far that I no longer care if my efforts can still be considered scientific or not, I have arrived in a state of consciousness in which I can try and express some thoughts about values in the way that they appear to me and in a time and space that is not particularly inclined to the study of values. And now I must disappoint those who expect that I will at last make the mistake and define values. Values simply cannot be defined, no value can be defined and not just the ideas or values of freedom as we saw in the essay by Henri Bergson. Whoever does this deprives them of value. Even articles that have been raised up into values when they actually provide a value orientation for people, can no longer be defined. Values in their essence are simply not accessible to science. By this I do not mean that science must leave them alone completely (which it has actually already done with its hypothesis of being neutral as regards values, without even mentioning the hypothesis of science that has neutral values). Values define science, just as they define religion and religions, ideology and ideologies, economics and economies; they determine their value systems. Values orientate science. Value orientations are primary (direct) indicatives in science. What science is lacking completely is a consistent value-based reflexion on the meaning and purpose of its expansion in the social system and a reflexion on this in each individual, concrete study, discovery and invention. To put it more simply: science that acts as if it were above ethics or outside it is as if it were unethical. However, if science does not do this or hardly deals with it at all, then it leaves this task it has to others. Science whose values are directed by religion, ideology or capital, is disorientated and develops absurdly. There can be no more doubt about this nowadays; it is obvious to every individual who must be conscious of the kind of world they are living in. Amazingly, this is the least obvious to scientists, specialists and experts who are lost in their dreams and blinded and are most responsible for things being the way they are. I have in mind the autonomous orientation of science in which science is setting its own foundations.

Zhal pa je uchinkovitost in ekspanzija avtonomne znanstvene propagande mogoča le z neznanstveno propagando. Čista znanstvena propaganda, ki je le racionalna, je suhoparna in neuchinkovita. Uchinkovita je le, če preseže analitični nivo, če je sintetična, celostna, intuitivna, instinktivna, spontana. Taka pa je le avtonomna (samosvoja) kulturna propaganda, ki je edina lahko še naprej kulturno svojska – slovensko nacionalna.

Trditev, da vrednot sploh ni mogoče definirati, ima daljnosežne posledice, z njo si je mogoče tudi razložiti neatraktivnost vrednot v sociologiji oziroma njihovo marginalnost. Vendar sem dolžan nekoliko globljo razlago. Poskus definiranja vrednot ali ene same vrednote nas pripelje v njihovo osiromashenje, v nesmiseln redukcijem pomena vrednot, v semantično nasilje simbola nad pomenom, in kot zhe rečeno, kar pa je bistveno: vrednote z definiranjem razvrednotimo, to je razveljavimo. Seveda boste ugovarjali, kako potem sploh lahko komuniciramo s tako neopredeljivimi simboli, kot so vrednote? Odgovor je preprost in se razdeli v dve smeri: s simboli, ki označujejo vrednote, komuniciramo zelo nenatančno, ne komuniciramo z vrednotami, ampak s približnimi vrednotnimi orientacijami in z nedeterminističnimi vrednotnimi sistemi, v katerih je vsaka vrednota – njen simbol le pomenski približek, njeno strukturiranje v vrednotni sistem pa je za nasho zavest neizbežno. In to velja za vsak vrednotni sistem.

Vsaka posamezna vrednota, vrednotna orientacija, je pomensko »dolochljiva« le v odnosu do vseh drugih vrednot sistema. Chim shirshi in globlji je vrednotni sistem, tem vechji je pomenski približek vsake posamezne vrednote njenemu pomenu in celo napake v označevanju z neustreznimi simboli je mogoče deshifrirati, z dobro voljo seveda. »Dolochljiva« pomeni dolochljivejša neprimerno bolj, kot che jo pojmuje izločeno, izolirano iz sistema; povsem dolochljiva pa ni in ne more biti, ker je zhiva in je, kot bi rekel Bergson, v stalni rasti.

Druga smer odgovora je pomembnejša, cheprav se vam utegne posebej upirati: nashemu zdravemu razumu se upira, ker dishi po parapsihologiji, tako namreč pravi razum. Zachne se s tem, da vrednotnih sistemov ne konstruiramo, vrednotnih orientacij ne vsiljujemo in vrednot si ne izmishljujemo, ampak jih intuitivno dojemamo. Ne komuniciramo samo prek simbolov, označevalcev vrednot, marveč vedno in sočasno tudi neposredno. Brez dojetanja trajanja chasa v strukturi zavesti, kot sem to skushal pojasniti s pomočjo Bergsonove predstavitve neposrednih dejstev zavesti, najbrzh ne bomo dosegli niti minimalnega soglasja v komunikaciji v tej drugi smeri odgovora. Naprej pa je zadeva zopet zelo preprosta. Dejstva in stanja zavesti si izmenjujemo neposredno in simbol je le korelat neposrednega soglasja, souglashevanja; sam po sebi je simbol prazen, tudi sestavljeni, kompleksni simboli so prazni. Che jih nismo napolnili z duhom, iz njih ne moremo izvlechi nechesa, chesar v njih ni.

Unfortunately, the effectiveness and expansion of autonomous scientific propaganda is possible only with non-scientific propaganda. Pure scientific propaganda, which is only rational, is dull and ineffective. It is only effective if it surpasses the analytical level, if it is synthetic, integral, intuitive, instinctive and spontaneous. Only autonomous (independent) cultural propaganda is such and is the only one that can continue to be culturally unique – Slovenian.

The assertion that it is not possible to define values has far-reaching consequences and it can be used to explain the unattractiveness of values in sociology, i.e. their marginality. However, I must explain this in greater depth. An attempt to define values or one value impoverishes them and causes the meaningless reductionism of the meaning of values into a semantic violence of symbol against meaning and as has already been said and what is essential: we deprive values of their value and validity by defining them. Of course, you will protest by asking how it is even possible to communicate with such indefinable symbols that are values? The answer is simple and can be split in two directions: we communicate very inaccurately with symbols that denote values, we do not communicate with values but with approximate value orientations and with nondeterministic value systems in which every value – its symbol – only approximately reflects its meaning and its structuring in the value system is inevitable for our consciousness. And this holds true for every value system.

The meaning of a value or value orientation can be determined only in relation to all other values in the system. The broader and deeper the value system is, the closer the value is to its meaning and even mistakes in denotation with unsuitable symbols can be deciphered. It cannot be determined completely, but much more than if we deal with it separately, isolated from the system. It cannot be determined in its entirety because it is alive and as Bergson would say »in constant growth«.

The other direction of the answer is more important although you might have trouble accepting it: our common sense rejects it because it smacks of parapsychology – that is what reason says. It begins with us not constructing value systems, we do not impose value orientations on other people and we do not invent values but perceive them intuitively. We do not communicate only through symbols, the markers of values, but always and at the same time directly too. Without perceiving the duration of time in the structure of consciousness, as I have attempted to explain with the help of Bergson's presentation of direct facts of consciousness, we will probably not achieve even minimal consensus in communication regarding this second direction of the answer. In what follows, the matter is again very simple. We exchange facts and states of consciousness directly and the symbol is only a correlate of direct consensus. The symbol on its own is empty; even composed, complex symbols are empty. If we have not filled them with spirit we cannot draw from them something that is not there.

Gotovo pa boste soglašali s tem, da je komunikacija, v kateri eden troši prazne simbole, drugi pa jih napolnjuje z le sebi lastnimi pomeni, vsaj nesmotrna, če ni nesmiselna. In če se to vseeno tako pogosto dogaja, in lahko bi rekel, da se nam pretežno vendarle dogaja, pa vseeno ne pomeni, da globlja in polnejša komunikacija med nami ni mogoča. Idealna in popolna pa bi bila, če sploh ne bi vseh rabili teh korelatov, simbolov in bi ti postali ne le balast in ovira, ker to so zhe, ampak bi bili povsem odveč.

Analitičnemu razumu se taka komunikacija do skrajnosti upira. Če je še pripravljen slišati o možnosti take neposrednejše komunikacije, ko sta sogovornika v istem prostoru in času, pa ne more soglašati, da bi bilo tako neposrednejše komuniciranje mogoče, ko sta v prostoru in času nedefinirana, niti ko je med njima pismo, zapisana magična beseda. Za razum magije besede ni ali pa je pri vseh identična, enako neskrivnostna in jasna. Razum teži le v eno smer komunikacije, v eksaktnost zapisa, shifriranja in deshifriranja in zato povsem izloči možnost vzhivetja v to, kar je za simboli le simbolichno naznachen. Pa je to vendar tako preprosto. Ideja trajanja, ideja sočasnih stanj zavesti je naši zavesti, potem ko prebije prvotni analitični odpor, neposredno dostopna. Vzhivetje v stanje zavesti drugega je vendar to, čemur rečemo razumevanje med seboj. Ozhivljanje simbolov pa je le simbolika njihovega ozhivljanja, v bistvu jih sploh ne ozhivljamo, ozhivljamo to, čemur so oni le korelat in iztočnica za neposrednejše soglasje. In vrednote so tista vrsta simbolov, s katerimi to kljub vsemu najlažje in najpogosteje delamo.

Rajko Shushtarshich, Vrednote socialne stratifikacije v *Zhivalski farmi?*

<http://www.revijasrp.si/knrevsrp/pogum1999-1/vredn1.htm>

Objavljeno v brošuri: Matjazh Hanzhek – Rajko Shushtarshich, Pogum Revije SRP, sht. 1, Ljubljana, februar 1999;

in v: *Revija SRP 13/14*, februar 1996, Ljubljana;

<http://www.revijasrp.si/knrevsrp/revsrp13/rajsh13/1vress13.htm>

Glej tudi: *Traktat o svobodi ali Vrednotni sistem*, Lumi, Ljubljana 1992;

el. knjiga: Pogum Revije SRP 2001/1, Ljubljana, februar 1999:

<http://www.revijasrp.si/knrevsrp/pogum2001-1/pogum7i.htm>

Vrednot ni mogoče definirati, p.25; *Sedaj pa se lahko vrnemo k vrednoti svobode*, p.28

But you will certainly agree that communication in which one person scatters empty symbols and the other fills them with meanings that mean something to him alone is pointless, if not meaningless. And if this nevertheless occurs quite often, and we could say that it does, this does not mean that a deeper and fuller communication between us is not possible. It would be ideal and complete if we no longer needed these correlates and symbols and they would become not only ballast and a hurdle, which they already are, but completely superfluous.

An analytic mind cannot bear such communication. If it might still be prepared to hear of the possibility of such more direct communication in which the persons involved are in the same space and time, it cannot accept that such more direct communication were possible when the two persons are undefined in space and time, nor when a letter stands between them, the recorded magic word. For reason there is no magic of words or it is identical for all, equally un-mysterious and clear. Reason tends only in one direction of communication, to the exactness of the record, encoding and decoding and therefore completely eliminates the possibility of connecting with what is only symbolically indicated behind the symbols. And this is nevertheless so simple. The idea of duration, the idea of simultaneous states of consciousness is directly accessible to our consciousness once it has broken through the initial analytical resistance. »Connecting« with the state of consciousness of another person is after all what we call communication. And reviving symbols is only the symbolism of their revival; actually, we do not even revive them, we revive that which they are only a correlate to and a starting point for more direct consensus. And values are the kind of symbol with which we do this most easily and most often.

Translated from Slovenian by Marko Petrovich

Damir Globočnik

POPOTNI FOTOGRAF CHRISTIAN PAIER V SVETI DEZHELI

Christian Paier (Kristijan Pajer), ki spada med pionirje popotniške fotografije, se je rodil 14. decembra 1839 v Kranju.¹ Njegova rojstna hiša (Mesto sht. 104) ima danes naslov Glavni trg 8. Zaradi očetove smrti se je moral zgodaj osamosvojiti. Po končanem sholanju na pripravljalnici v Celju je leta 1854 – v starosti petnajst let – nastopil službo učitelja v Zhalcu. Tri leta pozneje je bil učitelj na Dovjem pri Mojstrani. V njem je tlela zhelja po potovanjih, zato je zaprosil za mesto pomočnika v slovenskem misijonu v Kartumu. Urednik *Doma in sveta*, dr. Franchishek Lampe, ki je objavil podrobnosti o Paierjevih pustolovskih dogodivshchinah na Blizhnjem vzhodu, omenja, da se je Paier pred potovanjem »za silo izučil fotografije«.² Zgodnja *Danica* je zapisala, da se je Paier učil »svitloslikarstva« v Ljubljani in Trstu. Svojim bralcem je pojasnila, da je Paier »svitloslikar« oziroma fotograf, t. j. umetnik, »ki z močjo svitlobe po posebnih pripravah zamore na papir napraviti popolnoma enako podobo krajev, cerkev, mest in vsake rechi, ki jo ima pred seboj«.³

Christian Paier je poleti 1860 s tremi tovarishi odpotoval iz Trsta v Aleksandrijo in od tam do misijonske postaje Shelal. Po štirih mesecih je zbolel za grizho, zato se je moral vrniti v Aleksandrijo. Odločil se je obiskati Sveto dezhele, februarja 1861 pa se je vrnil domov. Znova si je zhelel potovati. Franchishek Lampe je zapisal: »Kdor je bil jedenkrat v Egiptu ali sveti dezhele, ne pozabi ju nikdar. Kdor je pil Nilovo vodo, zhelel jo piti tudi drugich. Nash Kristijan pa ni imel samo te zhelje, ampak hkrati nemirno kri, ki ga je gonila po svetu in mu ni dala obstanka doma. Vrhu tega se je bil nauchil fotografije, ki se je bila takrat zhe razvila do dobra. In – rajshi je hotel biti fotograf in hoditi po svetu, kakor biti v domovini učitelj. Kajpada: za kar imash veselje, to te stori srechnega.«⁴

Christiana Paierja je bolj kot učiteljski poklic privlachela fotografija. Fotografije, ki jih je posnel na Blizhnjem vzhodu, je po vrnitvi domov razmnozheval in jih prodajal.

Paier je prvi med popotnimi fotografi v Evropo prinesel fotografije Svete dezhele. Album s 26 fotografijami svetopisemskih krajev (»Pogledi iz obljubljene dezhele. Po naravi fotografiral Ch. Paier«), ki ga danes hrani dunajska Albertina, je leta 1864 podaril cesarju Francu Jozhefu I., ta pa mu je v zahvalo poslal zlat prstan s šestnajstimi briljanti. Podoben album fotografij je podaril tudi sashkemu kralju.⁵

Denar za drugo potovanje v Egipt je zbiral tudi s prodajo v Sveti dezhele posnetih fotografij. Zgodnja *Danica* je objavila obvestilo: »G. Pajer stanuje zraven zvezdnega sprehajalishcha. Pri njem se dobivalo velike, pa tudi prav majhkine podobe sv. krajev, n. pr. Jeruzalema, Betlehema, cerkve Bozhjega groba in veliko enacega.«⁶

Damir Globočnik

ITINERANT PHOTOGRAPHER CHRISTIAN PAIER IN THE HOLY LAND

Christian Paier (Kristijan Pajer), who is considered to be one of the pioneers of travel photography, was born on 14 December 1839 in Kranj.¹ Due to his father's early death he had to become independent while still very young. After completing his education at the preparatory school in Celje in 1854 – aged fifteen – he began working as a teacher in Zhalec. Three years later he became teacher in the village of Dovje near Mojstrana. He felt an urge to travel so he asked if he could become an assistant at the Slovenian mission in Khartoum. The editor of *Dom in svet*, Franchishek Lampe, who published details of Paier's adventures in the Middle East, mentions that before setting off Paier »learnt some basics about photography«.² In *Zgodnja Danica* they wrote that Paier learnt how to »paint with light« in Ljubljana and Trieste. They explained to readers that Paier was a »light painter« i.e. photographer or artist, »who with the power of light and the use of special apparatus is able to reproduce on paper the exact same image of places, churches, towns and everything that he has before him«.³

In the summer of 1860, Christian Paier travelled with three friends from Trieste to Alexandria and from there on to the mission station of Shelal. After four months he fell ill with dysentery and had to return to Alexandria. He decided to visit the Holy Land and returned home in February 1861. Then he felt the desire to travel again. Franchishek Lampe wrote: »Whoever has been once to Egypt or the Holy Land never forgets these places. Whoever has drunk water from the Nile, will want to drink it again. Our Kristijan did not have just this desire but also had a restless blood that drove him into the world and did not let him stay at home. Besides, he had learnt the art of photography, which was well developed by that time. And – he preferred to be a photographer and travel around the world than to be a teacher back home. And it is clear: whatever you like doing makes you happy.«⁴

More than being a teacher, Christian Paier was attracted to photography. After returning home, he made multiple copies and sold the photographs he took in the Middle East.

Paier was the first travel photographer to bring photos of the Holy Land to Europe. In 1864, he gave the album with 26 photographs of biblical places (*»Scenes from the promised land. Photographs taken by Ch. Paiers«*), which is now kept by the Albertina Museum in Vienna, to Emperor Franz Joseph I, who as a token of thanks sent him a gold ring with sixteen diamonds. He gave a similar album of photographs to the king of Saxony.⁵

He earned the money for his second journey to Egypt by selling photographs he had taken in the Holy Land. *Zgodnja Danica* published this notice: »Mr Pajer lives next to the star-shaped promenade. He sells large and also very small photographs of holy places, e.g. Jerusalem, Bethlehem, the church of the Holy Sepulchre and many similar places.«⁶

Spomladi 1864 je Paier obiskal Kranj. Naveden je namrech v seznamu odličnih gostov Narodne chitalnice.⁷ Ko je novembra 1864 zaprosil za potni list, mu ga oblasti kot vojashkemu obvezniku niso hotele izdati. Na ladjo se je uspel pretihotapiti v posebej izdelanem lesenem zaboju. »Slepi potnik« je ob prihodu v Aleksandrijo zbudil precejshnje zanimanje.

V Aleksandriji si je uredil fotografsko delavnico. Fotografske potrebschine je naročil z Dunaja. Pridružil se mu je družhabnik Friderik Meissner, ki je najprej delal kot pek in nato kot sluzhabnik pri pruskem konzulu v Aleksandriji. »*Fotografije sicer ni umel, a imel je zanjo veliko veselja in bil chlovek dobrega srca, chetudi protestantske vere,*« je zapisal Franchishek Lampe.⁸ Paier se je z Meissnerjem odpravil v Jeruzalem, kjer sta si temnico uredila v strazhnici. Fotografija je prinashala dober zaslužek, saj je bilo v Jeruzalemu vedno veliko tujcev, Paier pa je bil tedaj edini fotograf v mestu. Nauchil se je arabski in turshki jezik.

Fotografiral je z mokrimi kolodijskimi ploshchami, zato je nosil s seboj veliko zalogo kemikalij. Uporabljal je ploshche velikega formata. Steklene ploshche so bili negativni, ki jih je na soncu kopiral na papir. Fotografije na fotografskem (albuminskem) papirju imajo enake dimenzije kot ploshche, t. j. okrog 20 x 25 cm, v cesarjevem albumu okrog 30 x 45 cm.

Paier naj bi v Egiptu in Palestini bival dve leti.^{8*} Vsaj zachasno pa je bil Paier leta 1876 znova učitelj, tokrat na Brdu. Tako namrech sporoča obvestilo v *Učiteljskem tovarishu*, ki omenja, da je Pajer kot fotograf deloval v Afriki in Aziji.⁹ Potoval je tudi na Madzharsko.

Paier je leta 1888, ko je kot fotograf deloval v Kranju, ponovno podaril cesarju fotografije iz Svete dezhele. Cesar se je za fotografije oddolžil z 20 cekini.¹⁰ Isto leto je Paier mdr. fotografiral blagoslovljenje sholske zastave v Dobropolju. Tedaj se je najbrzh dalj chasa zadrževal v tem kraju ali okolici, saj je *Slovenec* dvoumno zapisal: »*Slednjich je bil tukaj bivajochi fotograf g. K. Pajer tolikanj prijažen, da je fotografoval novo zastavo, pod katero so bili zbrani nekateri uchenci in uchenke z učiteljskim osebjem.*«¹¹

Leta 1877 je dobil dovoljenje za opravljanje fotografske obrti v Ljubljani. Deloval je kot poklicni fotograf. Atelje, v katerem je izdeloval portretne fotografije in razmnozheval fotografije Svetih krajev, je imel najbrzh na danashnjem Kongresnem trgu. Ohranile so se tudi vedute Ljubljane in Ribnice. Umril je leta 1895 na Vodmatu.

When Paier asked to be issued with a passport in November 1864, the authorities did not want to issue it because he was a military serviceman. He succeeded in smuggling himself onboard ship in a specially made wooden box. The stowaway drew much attention when he arrived in Alexandria.⁷

In Alexandria he set up a photographer's workshop. He ordered all he needed for his photography from Vienna. He was joined by a business partner Friderik Meissner who started out working as a baker and then as a servant for the Prussian consul in Alexandria. »He did not know how to make photographs but he was nevertheless passionate about them and was a man with a good heart even though he was protestant,« wrote Franchishek Lampe.⁸ Paier set off with Meissner for Jerusalem where they set up a darkroom in a guardhouse. Photography proved to be good business as there were always many foreigners in Jerusalem and Paier was the only photographer in the city at the time. He learnt to speak Arabic and Turkish.

Paier used the collodion process and therefore always carried around with him a large supply of chemicals. He used large format plates. The glass plates were the negatives which he copied onto paper in the sunlight. Photographs on photographic (albumen) paper have the same dimensions as the plates, i.e. roughly 20 x 25 cm, in the emperor's album roughly 30 x 45 cm.

Paier is thought to have lived in Egypt and Palestine for two years.^{8*} We do not know much about Paier's work after he returned from his second trip. Perhaps he also worked as an itinerant photographer in Carniola for some time, i.e. as a photographer who travelled around and took orders. That is what we can gather from Paier's public reply to someone from Lashko who complained that many people had not received the photographs they had already paid for.

In 1876, Paier was again a teacher, at least temporarily, this time at Brdo. That is what is written in a notice in *Učiteljski tovarish* and mentions that Paier worked as a photographer in Africa and Asia.⁹ He also travelled to Hungary.

In 1888, when Paier was working as a photographer in Kranj, he again gave the emperor photographs from the Holy Land. The emperor repaid the photographs with 20 gold coins.¹⁰ In the same year, Paier photographed, among other things, the blessing of the school flag in Dobropolje. He had probably spent some time in that place as the newspaper *Slovenec* wrote rather ambiguously: »Finally, the photographer g. K. Pajer who stayed here was so kind as to photograph the new flag under which a group of pupils and teachers had gathered.«¹¹

In 1877 he was given permission to work as a photographer in Ljubljana. He worked as a professional photographer. The workshop in which he took portrait photographs and made copies of photographs from holy places was probably located where Kongresni trg is nowadays. Landscape photographs of Ljubljana and Ribnica have also been preserved. He died in 1895 in the Vodmat suburb of Ljubljana.



Christian Paier, *Mosheja Al-Aqsa*, Jeruzalem, okrog 1861–1864, 19 x 24 cm
Nadshkofijski arhiv Ljubljana [Archive of the Archdiocese of Ljubljana], NSHAL 107, sh. 35



Christian Paier, Jeruzalem, okrog 1861–1864, 18,2 x 23,2 cm
Nadshkofijski arhiv Ljubljana [Archive of the Archdiocese of Ljubljana], NSHAL 107, sh. 14

¹ Biografski podatki / Biographical details: Franchishek Lampe, »Potovanje krizhem jutrove dezhele«, *Dom in svet*, 1894, str./pg. 27.

² Po / From: Franchishek Lampe, »Potovanje krizhem jutrove dezhele«, *Dom in svet*, 1894, str./pg. 734.

³ Po / From: »Iz Ljubljane«, *Zgodnja Danica*, 1864, sht./no. 11.

⁴ Franchishek Lampe, »Potovanje krizhem jutrove dezhele«, *Dom in svet*, 1894, str./pg. 27.

⁵ Po / From: »Iz Ljubljane«, *Zgodnja Danica*, 1864, sht./no. 33.

⁶ Po / From: Iz Ljubljane«, *Zgodnja Danica*, 1864, sht./no. 33.

⁷ Po / From: Franchishek Lampe, »Potovanje krizhem jutrove dezhele«, *Dom in svet*, 1894, str./pg. 734.

⁸ Po / From: »Poslano / Svarjenje«, *Slovenski narod*, 1877, no. 268, and »Poslano«, *Slovenski narod*, 1877, sht./no. 269.

[»ter si napravil obrazov in podob naj imenitnih krajev, spominkov, poslopij itd. iz svete dezhele. Kako rad bi imel marsikateri kristjan natančno podobo od tega ali onega svetega mesta, kjer je n. pr. nash Zvelichar hodil in terpel! Z vsimi tacimi rechmi more postrechi gosp. Pajar: v ta namen naj imenujemo le samo nekatere rechi, ktere se pri njem dobivajo, namrech: Mesto Jeruzalem, kakor se od zunaj vidi; Jeruzalem od znotraj; Betlehem; Oljska gora z vertom Getzemanom; Salomonov tempelj; medzid in mosheja Aksa; dolina Josafat; Absolonov spomin, Zaharijev in Jakopov grob; hrib Môrija; gora Sijon; mesto pri sv. Janezu v pushchavi; Abrahamov hrast; Rahelin grob; pot proti Betlehemu; kópel Betzajda; vrata Sv. Shtefana (kjer je bil kamnjan); dol Ben-Hinom; Betanija; avstrijsanska romarska hisha; obtók 'Ecce Homo'; cerkev Bozhjega groba; Jeruzalem, kakor se vidi s hriba Kobus-a itd. itd. Podobe so na belem debelem papirji (kartonu) in razne velikosti, n. pr. po 18 palcev visoke in 24 palcev dolge, pa tudi po 5, 4, 3 chevlje dolge. Vzame se jih lahko vech skupaj ali posamem velike podobe (po 2 gld.); ima jih pa tudi v majhni obliki po 7 palcev dolge in 5 palcev visoke (po 50 kr.)«]

⁹ Po / From: »Premembe pri učiteljstvu / Na Kranjskem«, *Učiteljski tovarish*, 1876, sht./no. 4.

¹⁰ Po / From: »Najvishje priznanje«, *Slovenec*, 1888, sht./no. 148.

[O Paierjevem delovanju po vrnitvi z drugega potovanja ne vemo veliko. Morda je bil tudi na Kranjskem nekaj chasa popotni fotograf, t. j. fotograf, ki potuje po dezheli in zbira narochila. Tako lahko sklepamo iz Paierjevega javnega odgovora nekemu Lashchanu, ki ga je obtozhil, da mnogi niso prejeli zhe plachanih fotografij. »Da ne bi kdo she kje drugod tako naletel, svetujemo vsakateremu, naj bo previden in naj se ne da prevariti od chloveka, ki je po vsem svetu doma, pa she nemchur povrhu, saj imamo dovolj izvrstnih fotografov s stalnim sedezhem v domačej dezheli.«]

¹¹ Po / From: »Iz Dobropolja 31. julija«, *Slovenec*, 1888, sht./no. 178.

[Christian Paier je »Lashchanu« odgovoril: »Kar se tiche brezdomovja, katero meni Lashchan ochita, mu povem, da imam svojo domovino. Da pa nijsem noben slepar, kazhe najbolj to, da je Njih Velichanstvo presvitli cesar l. 1864 moje zasluge, za Njemu podarjeni album slik jutranjih dezhel, poslalil s tem, da mi je podaril brilianten prstan z njegovim presvitlim imenom. Jaz sem poshten chlovek in tako bodem tudi ostal, naj si lazhnjivi 'Lashchan' she toliko trudi moje ime ogrditi.«]

Damir Globochnik

ZHIVALSKA FARMA

George Orwell je v romanu *Zhivalska farma* (1943) predstavil zgodbo o zhivalih, ki so se uprle gospodarju, naposled pa so se nekatere izmed njih pod krinko prizadevanj za boljsho skupno prihodnost prelevile v izkorishchevalce in krvnike lastnih zhivalskih vrstnikov. Farma stoji na angleškem podezhelju, cheprav je Orwell svoj roman zasnoval kot kritiko stalinistichnega politichnega sistema v Sovjetski zvezi, pa tudi kot kritiko vsake izkorishchevalske, totalitarne politichne ureditve in naposled kot kritiko medchloveshkih, hierarhichnih, gospodarskih odnosov v vechjih ali manjshih družbenih skupnostih kjerkoli po svetu. Orwellova *Zhivalska farma* zato danes ni nich manj aktualna, kot je bila ob nastanku. V slovenshchini je prvich izshla leta 1970. Mladinska knjiga je letos pripravila ilustrirano izdajo Orwellove »pravljice« *Zhivalska farma*. Shtiriindvajset ilustracij, ki bodo Orwellov roman pomagale priblizhati razlichnim skupinam odraslih in tudi mlajshih bralcev, je delo Petra Shkerla.

Peter Shkerl se je kot ilustrator uveljavil pred slabim poldrugim desetletjem, sprva zlasti z ilustracijami za otroshke knjige in slikanice. Likovne reshitve, motivne interpretacije in izbiro formalnih likovnih postopkov je postopoma prilagajal posameznim ilustratorskim izzivom. Pravljichno-domishljijiski pol Shkerlovega ilustratorskega opusa je enega od vrhuncev dosegel z ilustracijami za knjigo *Mochvirniki* (2012) Barbare Simoniti. Za ilustracije, izdelane v prepletu slikarsko-risarske tehnike, ki temelji na postopnem oblikovanju motivov z risbo in z vech plastmi nanosov barv, je prejel obe osrednji domachi ilustratorski nagradi.

Pri ilustracijah za Orwellovo *Zhivalsko farmo* (10 dvostranskih ilustracij, 13 enostranskih ilustracij, naslovna risba) se je Peter Shkerl odlochil za chrno-belo risbo s tushem. Tako je sledil temachnosti pripovedi kratkega Orwellovega romana, v katerem so si tiranski prashichi s pomochjo parol prilastili oblast in sadove skupnega dela zhivalske skupnosti. Risbo s tushem je povezal s toniranjem s chopichem, s shkropljenjem drobnih pikic barve in s prekrivanjem nekaterih detajlov z rdecho barvo, ki simbolno podkrepi in opozarja na srhljivost dogajanja. Prashichi, krokar Mojzes, osel Benjamin, konj Boksach, ovce in druge zhivali so glavni junaki ilustracij in nosilci nekaterih chloveshkih lastnosti. Na ilustracijah obchasno srechamo tudi chloveshke like.

Damir Globočnik

ANIMAL FARM

In the novel *Animal Farm* (1943), George Orwell tells a story about animals that rebelled against their master. Later, some of them acting under the guise of efforts for a better common future, turned into exploiters and executioners of their fellow animals. The farm is located in the English countryside, although Orwell intended his novel to be a critique of the Stalinist political system in the Soviet Union, as well as a critique of every exploitative, totalitarian political system and actually also a critique of interpersonal, hierarchical, economic relations in larger or smaller social groupings anywhere in the world. That is why Orwell's *Animal Farm* is no less relevant nowadays than it was when it was written. It was first published in Slovene in 1970. In 2014, the publishing house Mladinska knjiga published an illustrated edition of Orwell's »fairytale« *Animal Farm*. The twenty-four illustrations that will liven up Orwell's novel for both adults and younger readers are the work of Peter Shkerl.

Peter Shkerl became known as an illustrator around fifteen years ago, initially with his illustrations for children's books and picture books. He gradually adapted his artistic solutions, interpretations of motifs and choice of forms to individual challenges. One of the best examples of Shkerl's work as illustrator that shows his fairytale-imaginative side are his illustrations for the book by Barbara Simoniti *Mochvirniki* (2012). He received both main Slovenian prizes for illustrators for his illustrations that are a combination of painting and drawing founded on the gradual formation of motifs with drawings and several layers of paint.

For his illustrations for Orwell's *Animal Farm* (10 two-sided illustrations, 13 one-sided illustrations, cover drawing) Peter Shkerl decided to make a black and white drawing using Indian ink. In this way he captured the sombre mood of Orwell's short novel in which the tyrannical pigs use the power of words to seize power and usurp the fruits of the joint efforts of the animal community. He connected the Indian ink drawing with tones applied through brushstrokes, sprinkling small spots of paint and covering some details with red paint, which symbolically emphasises and draws attention to the sinister nature of what is going on. The pigs, Moses the crow, Benjamin the donkey, Boxer the horse, the sheep and other animals are the main heroes of the illustrations and possess certain human characteristics. Some of the illustrations also feature human characters.

Osrednji likovni medij je risba s tushem, s katero ilustratorju uspe zajeti zhitost literarnega dogajanja. Protagonisti so prikazani v rahlo stilizirani realistični ali pa v karikirani oziroma groteskni interpretaciji. Črte se včasih povezujejo v skupke, s katerimi ilustrator oblikuje posamezne dele motiva in hkrati ustvarja prostorsko globino. Podobno vlogo ima tudi prekrivanje motivov z laviranim tushem. Zasediti je mogoče zanimive kompozicijske izreze, pri katerih je neporisana belina papirja postala del motivne celote, in nenavadne perspektivne poglede na motiv. Kadriranje krepi dinamiko dogajanja. Risba s tushem je groba, lahko samo povzemajoče nakazana in celo ekspresivno zaznamovana. Pri Shkerlovem ciklusu ilustracij za Orwellovo *Zhivalsko farmo*, ki jo smemo označiti kot ilustrirano knjigo za odrasle, so se v preprichljivo celoto povezali likovna veshchina, posluh za pisateljevo misel in ilustratorjev predstavn svet.

The main medium used is Indian ink with which the illustrator succeeds in capturing the liveliness of the story. The protagonists are shown in a slightly stylised, realistic or caricaturised/grotesque interpretation. The lines sometimes connect to form bundles with which the illustrator gives shape to parts of the motif while at the same time creating depth. Similar effects are also created by covering motifs with ink wash. There are some interesting compositions in which the virgin whiteness of the paper has become part of the motif, as well as some unusual perspectives of the motif. The framing of the scene strengthens the dynamic of what is going on. Ink drawing is a coarse medium that can only summarise the detail in an expressive fashion. Shkerl's illustrations for Orwell's *Animal Farm*, which we can call an illustrated book for adults, very effectively combine artistic skill and an ear for the writer's thought and the illustrator's own imaginative world.

Translated from Slovenian by Marko Petrovich

Peter Shkerl

LIKOVNA DELA

Ilustracije Orwellove Zhivalske farme, 2014, lavirana risba
(objavljeno Mladinska knjiga, 2014)

- 1 Zhivalska farma, ilustracija 1
- 2 Zhivalska farma, ilustracija 2
- 3 Zhivalska farma, ilustracija 3
- 4 Zhivalska farma, ilustracija 5
- 5 Zhivalska farma, ilustracija 11
- 6 Zhivalska farma, ilustracija 12
- 7 Zhivalska farma, ilustracija 14
- 8 Zhivalska farma, ilustracija 20

- 9 Zhivalska farma, naslovnica knjige

Peter Shkerl, slikar, ilustrator in grafični oblikovalec

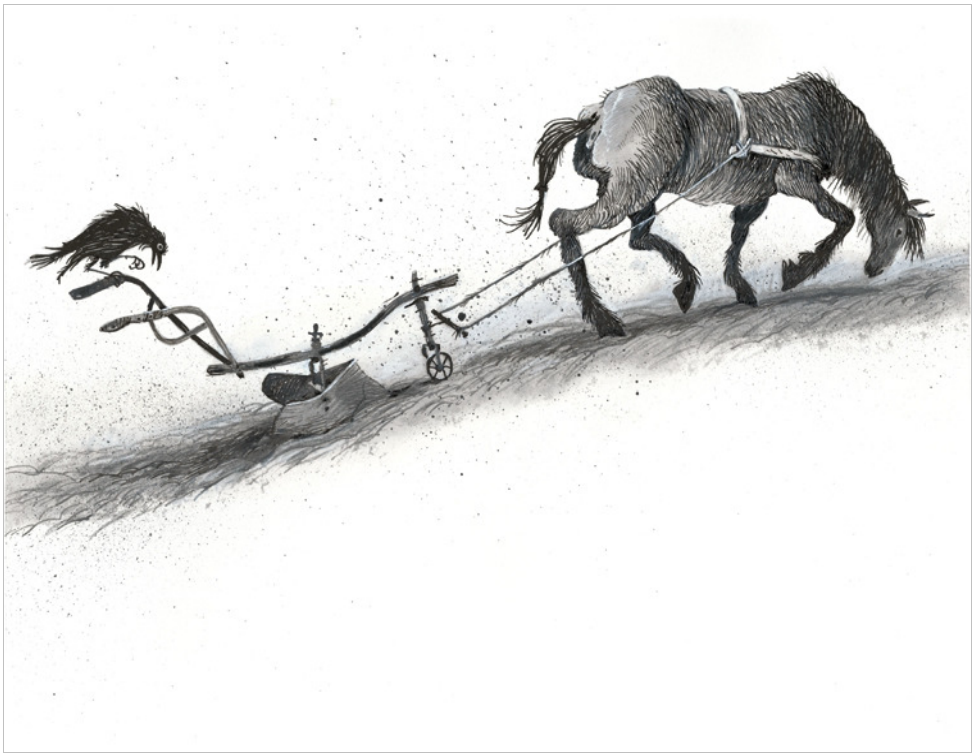
Rojen je bil leta 1973 v Ljubljani. Po končani Srednji sholi za oblikovanje se je vpisal na Akademijo za likovno umetnost in oblikovanje v Ljubljani, na kateri je dokončal študij ilustracije in oblikovanja vizualnih kombinacij.

Ilustracije objavlja v revijah (Ciciban, Cicido, Mavrica, Ognjishche), uchbenikih, slikanicah in knjigah. Ilustrirane knjige mdr. Zdeněk Svěrák: *Ochka, ta je bila pa res prima* (DZS, 2000), Shpela Kuclar: *Kako postati dezhebnikar* (DZS, 2001), Cvetka Sokolov: *Rdeča bisba* (Mladinska knjiga, 2004), *Shola ni žame!* (Mladinska knjiga, 2005), *Ponochi nikoli ne vesh* (Mladinska knjiga, 2006) in *Ab ti zdravnik!* (Mladinska knjiga, 2007), Peter Svetina: *Ko se žbelna izgubi ...* (Mladinska knjiga, 2009), *Klobuk gospoda Konstantina* (DZS, 2007), Zdravko Dusha: *Kje so doma dobri možlje* (Mladinska knjiga, 2008), Desa Muck: *Natasha Konc Lorenzutti: Nihče ne ve ... Prilike v stripu in verzijb* (Zalozhba Druzhina, 2007, Barbara Simoniti: *Mochvirniki* (Mladinska knjiga, 2012), George Orwell: *Zhivalska farma* (Mladinska knjiga, 2014). Razstavljal je na samostojnih in skupinskih razstavah. Prejel je vseh nagrad: priznanje Hinka Smrekarja (2002), nagrado za najlepšo izvirno slovensko slikanico (2008), veliko nagrado Hinka Smrekarja in Levstikovo nagrado za izvirne ilustracije (2012).

Od leta 2002 ima status svobodnega umetnika. Zhivi in ustvarja v Trebnjem na Dolenjskem.





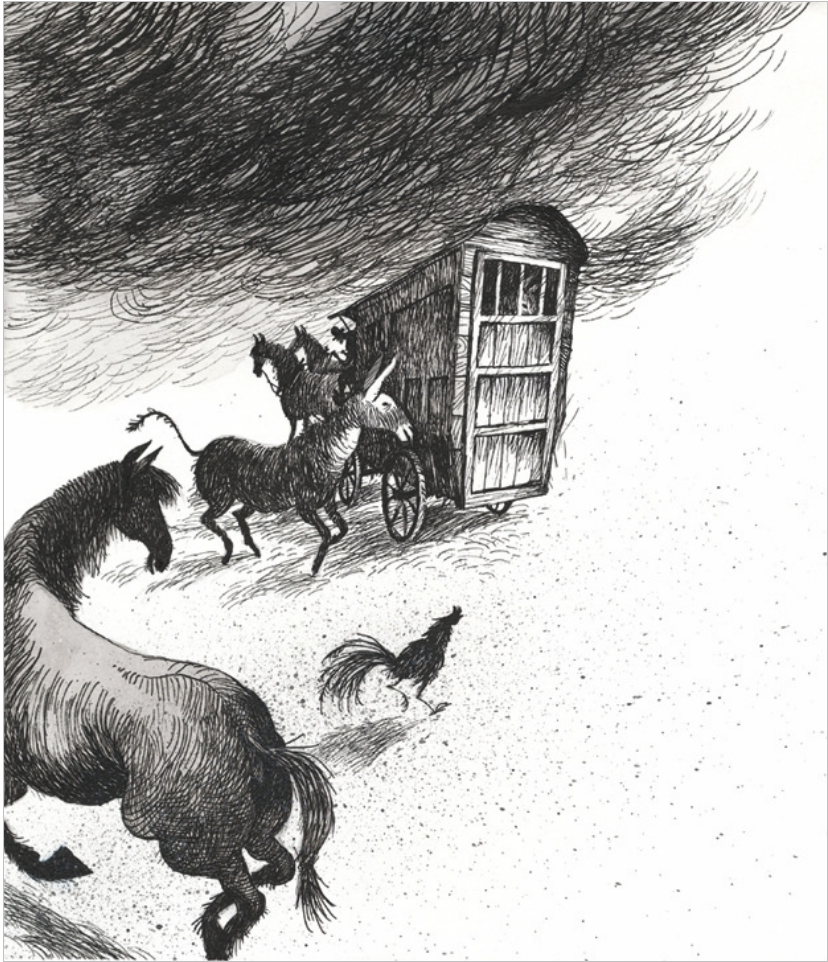












Peter Shkerl

ARTWORKS /ILLUSTRATIONS/

Illustrations' Orwells' Animal Farm, 2014, wash drawing
(published in Slovene 1970, Mladinska knjiga, 2014)

- 1 Animal Farm, illustration 1
- 2 Animal Farm, illustration 2
- 3 Animal Farm, illustration 3
- 4 Animal Farm, illustration 5
- 5 Animal Farm, illustration 11
- 6 Animal Farm, illustration 12
- 7 Animal Farm, illustration 14
- 8 Animal Farm, illustration 20

- 9 Animal Farm, cover illustration

Peter Shkerl, painter, illustrator and graphic designer

Peter Shkerl was born in 1973 in Ljubljana. After completing the High School for Design he enrolled in the Academy of Fine Arts and Design in Ljubljana from which he graduated in illustration and design of visual combinations.

His illustrations have been published in magazines (*Ciciban, Cicido, Mavrica, Ognjishče*), textbooks, picture books and other books. Illustrated books include: Zdenek Sverak: *Ocbka, ta je bila pa res prima* (DZS, 2000), Shpela Kuclar: *Kako postati dezhevnikar* (DZS, 2001), Cvetka Sokolov: *Rdeča bisba* (Mladinska knjiga, 2004), *Shola ni zame!* (Mladinska knjiga, 2005), *Ponoči nikoli ne vesh* (Mladinska knjiga, 2006) in *Ab ti zdravniki!* (Mladinska knjiga, 2007), Peter Svetina: *Klobuk gospoda Konstantina* (DZS, 2007), Zdravko Dusha: *Kje so doma dobri možhje* (Mladinska knjiga, 2008), Desa Muck: *Ko se zbelva izgubi ...* (Mladinska knjiga, 2009), Natasha Konc Lorenzutti: *Nibche ne ve ... Prilike v stripu in verzih* (Zalozhba Druzina, 2011), Barbara Simoniti: *Mochvirmiki* (Mladinska knjiga, 2012), George Orwell: *Zhivalska farma* (Mladinska knjiga, 2014). His work has been exhibited at independent and group exhibitions. He has received different awards: the Hinko Smrekar prize (2002), the prize for most attractive original Slovenian picturebook (2008), the grand Hinko Smrekar prize and Levstik's prize for original illustrations (2012).

Since 2002 he has had the status of independent artist. He lives and works in Trebnje in the region of Dolenjska.

Matjazb Jarc

POLITIČNA VLOGA SLOVENSКИH MEDIJEV

(leto 2014)

I. UVOD

Ko sem bil konec devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja še uradnik, ki je pod – recimo temu strokovnim – nadzorom zlasti nemških in bruseljskih uradnikov koordiniral dolgotrajni proces eliminacije Zakona o javnih glasilih, s katerim je socialistična zveza delovnega ljudstva pod okriljem komunistične partije zhe desetletja vzdrževala z revolucijo ustvarjeno medijsko enoumje v Sloveniji, sem se pochutil kot na minskem polju. Na vsakem koraku so me čakale politične mine, s katerimi so si slovenski politiki prizadevali preprechevati ali vsaj zaustavljati ta zakonodajni proces. S severozahoda so mi prali mozggane na pristojnem direktoratu EU, ki je zahteval uskladitev z evropskimi medijskimi predpisi, iz slovenskega političnega centra pa so prek medijev vsakodnevno zmerjali moje ministrstvo, kakšne zakonske zmazke skusha vrivati v slovenski pravni red. Ista politika, ki je podpisala pridružhitveni sporazum, v katerem je bila uskladitev pravnega reda nujna predpostavka za polnopravno chlanstvo v uniji, je v domasih političnih institucijah napenjala vse mochi, da bi na medijskem področju ostalo vse tako, kot je bilo prej, novi Zakon o medijih pa naj bi ostal le v evropsko preobleko ogrnjen Zakon o javnih glasilih. Ti rachuni, ki jih je za slovensko oblast izrachunavalo predvsem tedanje (formalno in neformalno) vodstvo RTV SLO in jih podchrtavalo z dirigiranimi mnenji institucij t.i. civilne družbe, tedaj še monopolnim novinarskim drushtvom ter sindikati, pa tudi z mednarodno pomocujo t.i. strokovnjakov iz vrst socialistične internacionale, se na formalno-pravni ravni seveda niso izshli; nova medijska zakonodaja je po nekaj letih in treh menjavah strank za krmilom pristojnega ministrstva vendarle ugledala luch sveta. Seveda je bila, zlasti pod političnim pritiskom stranke socialnih demokratov, pohabljena in neevropska v vseh tistih delih, glede katerih naj bi Slovenija ostala politično suverena, oziroma avtonomna, predvsem pa so nazadnje omenjeni politični duhovi skoraj v celoti preprechili njeno implementacijo. Nov zakon smo torej dobili, cheprav pohabljen, mene so tik pred zadnjo obravnavo zbricali v pisarno, v kateri nisem smel nichesar vech delati, z mano komunicirati pa je bilo kolegom prepovedano, da so lahko t.i. nashi politični strokovnjaki v zadnji fazi postopka neovirano vrnili vanj chim vech chlenov starega jugoslovanskega zakona, mediji pa so se po njegovi uveljavitvi obnashali, kot da se ni nich zgodilo.

Matjazb Jarc

THE POLITICAL ROLE OF THE SLOVENIAN MEDIA

(AD 2014)

I. INTRODUCTION

At the end of the 1990s I was a state official who under the – let's call it expert supervision – of officials from Germany and Brussels had to coordinate the drawn-out process of eliminating the Public Media Act with which the socialist union of working people under the patronage of the communist party in Slovenia had for decades maintained this one-sided media coverage that the revolution had created. I felt as if I was in a minefield. Political mines that I encountered at every step were deployed by Slovenian politicians to prevent or at least thwart this legislative process. My brains were being washed from the northwest by the competent EU directorate which demanded harmonisation with European media regulations, while the Slovenian political centre of power lambasted my ministry on a daily basis via the media, saying that it is trying to introduce legislative nonsense into the Slovenian legal order. The same politicians that had signed the treaty of accession which contained the necessary assumption that for full membership of the Union the legal order would be harmonised were investing great efforts through the domestic political institutions to make sure that in the field of media everything remained the way it was and the new Public Media Act would remain as it was but with a European exterior. These calculations, which were performed for the Slovenian government mainly by the former (formal and informal) leadership of RTV SLO and underlined with the orchestrated opinions of institutions of so-called civil society which were then still monopolistic associations of journalists and syndicates, and also with the international assistance of so-called experts from the ranks of the socialist international, of course did not work out on a formal-legal level; the new media legislation at last came to light after several years and three changes of party at the head of the competent ministry. Of course, due especially to the political pressure exerted by the party of social democrats, it was distorted and un-European in all those parts in which Slovenia was to retain its political autonomy. Above all, the above mentioned political 'spirits' almost completely prevented its implementation.

We therefore received the new law, even if it was distorted. Just before the final discussion I was confined to my office where I was not allowed to do anything and my colleagues were forbidden from communicating with me so that in the final phase of the process our so-called political experts were free to put back into the new law as many articles as possible of the old Yugoslav law and after it was passed the media acted as though nothing had happened.

To stanje traja še danes. Slovenski dnevniki in osrednji radijski in televizijski programi so ostali v službi nevidne organizacije, v katero sta se preobrazili zgoraj omenjeni politični instituciji, SZDL in KP. Res je, da je ne vidimo, jo pa zato dosti bolj občutimo: uredniško-novinarski zbor ji posveča svoje enoglasne pesmi tako ubrano, da je skoraj primerljiv s pevci gregorjanskih koralov.

Tisto, kar je še tezhje razumljivo, namrech potreba po dvoumju, se je izrodila iz sijajnih zamisli, ki sva jih gojila s pokojnim ministrom za kulturo Rudijem Sheligo. Ko je namrech za nekaj mescev sédel v ministrski fotelj, sem lahko iz predala potegnil svoj – s strani prejšnje oblasti odstranjen – predlog vzpostavitve medijskega sklada, s katerim naj bi neodvisna stroka spodbujala pluralizem v medijski krajini. Po domače povedano: drzhava bi s prorachunskimi sredstvi v osrednjih medijih odpirala prostor za vechumje, se pravi zapirala enoumju vsaj del tega prostora. Seveda so socialni demokrati pri zadnjem branju predloga zakona ta chlen spet chrtali, v naslednjem mandatu pa so ga slovenski demokrati v zakon vrnili spremenjenega: sklad za medije je bil preoblikovan v t.i. sklad za pluranost medijev, ki naj bi spodbujal dvoumje. Z njegovo pomochjo naj bi nachelo objektivne(jshe)ga porochanja v osrednjih medijih namrech nadomestili z nachelom uravnotezhevanja medijske krajine, v kateri bi se morali poleg osrednjih, enoumnih medijev, okreptiti njim nasprotni mediji, ki bi zganjali neko drugo enoumje. Ker je bila vladavina slovenskih demokratov kratka, imamo zdaj seveda medijsko krajino neuravnotezhenega dvoumja, v katerem smo namesto vsaj delne nadomestitve politichne propagande z informativnimi vsebinami skoraj podvojili politichno propagando.

II. Od kod politichno enoglasno delovanje slovenskih osrednjih medijev in zaradi chesa je še danes mogoche govoriti o njihovi nepluralnosti.

Fakulteta za druzhbene vede, ki zhe desetletja izobrazha vechino novinarjev (pa tudi opazno shtevilo politikov), ima v temelje vgrajen program vzgoje t.i. druzhbeno koristnih delavcev, ki naj znajo razmishljati v socialistichnem duhu, za kar je poskrbela zhe generacija Staneta Dolanca. Po eni strani jim je privzgojen občutek pomembnosti njihove vloge za druzhbeni razvoj, po drugi strani pa se jasno zavedajo vsebinskih omejitev svojega delovanja, ki uokvirja njihov intelektualni domet s sprejetimi programskimi zasnovami medijev. S svojim delom se lahko gibljejo le znotraj teh okvirov, ki so politichno neoporechni, ker izhajajo iz tradicije, oblikovane v chasu druzhbeno – politichnega nadzora na podrochju informiranja. Skozi politiko zaposlovanja, o kateri še vedno odlochajo preverjeni stari kadri, se ta nadzor sicer ne izvaja vech formalno oziroma institucionalizirano, temvech skozi notranji samonadzor novinarskih aktivov, ki so dandanes neformalni preostanki nekdanjih novinarskih partijskih celic.

This is the state of affairs to this day. Slovenian daily newspapers and the main radio and television programs are still in the service of an invisible organisation into which the above mentioned political institutions, the socialist union of working people and the communist party have mutated. It is true that we cannot see it, but we can certainly feel it: the chorus composed of editors and journalists dedicates its one-sided hymns to it in such harmony that it is almost comparable with a choir singing Gregorian chants.

What is even more difficult to understand, namely the need for two-sidedness, degenerated out of the outstanding ideas that the late minister for culture Rudi Sheligo and I nurtured. For when he sat in the minister's chair for a few months, I could pull from the drawer my proposal (that was removed by the previous authorities) for the establishment of a media fund with which independent experts were to promote plurality in the media world. In other words: the state would use budget funds to create space for plurality in the main media, i.e. it would close at least part of this space to one-sidedness. Of course, in the last reading of this proposed law the Social Democrats again erased this article and in the next mandate the Slovenian Democrats brought the changed article back: the media fund was transformed into the so-called fund for media plurality which was supposed to promote two-sidedness. With its help the principle of (more) objective reporting in the main media was to be replaced with the principle of balancing out the media in such a way that the main one-sided media would be joined by opposing media that would create a different one-sidedness. As the rule of the Slovenian Democrats was short we now have a media landscape of unbalanced two-sidedness in which we have not even partly replaced political propaganda with informative content but have instead almost doubled the amount of political propaganda.

II. The origin of the politically unequivocal functioning of the central Slovenian media which is why even nowadays it is possible to speak of their non-plurality.

The Faculty of Social Sciences, which has been educating most journalists for many decades now (as well as a notable number of politicians), has built into its foundations a program for forming so-called 'workers who will be useful for society', who should know how to think in the spirit of socialism, something that was provided for already by the generation of Stane Dolanc. On the one hand they are inculcated with a sense of the importance of their role in society's development while on the other hand being clearly aware of the limitations placed on their intellect by the fixed media programs. They can only operate within these frameworks that are politically irreproachable because they stem from a tradition that was formed in the time of socio-political control over the information domain. By means of an employment policy that is still overseen by the old guard, this control is admittedly no longer exerted formally or institutionally, but through an internal self-monitoring of groups of journalists which are the contemporary informal remainders of the former journalistic communist party cells.

Skozi njihova kadrovska in nadzorstvena sita imajo mladi novinarji možnost ustvariti poklicne kariere predvsem po tradicionalnih pravilih, ki predpostavljajo absolutno programsko prilagojenost, času in političnim okolishčinam ustrezno samocenzuro, za kaj vech pa tudi aktivno udeležbo v medijskih politično – propagandnih akcijah. Prilagoditev in karierni prodor skozi tovrstno programirane medijske kolektive praviloma ne implicira manifestiranja individualnih mnenj, she posebej ne, kadar bi le-ta odstopala od družbeno sprejemljivih programskih smernic. Vechini novinarjev pa vse to ne povzrocha kakih posebnih težhav, saj so dobro in ustrezno pripravljeni na točno tako delo, kot ga zahtevajo od njih v družbeni stvarnosti. Tudi che bi jih podrejenost vzvišenim programskim ciljem morda na osebnostni ravni motila, jim privzgojeni občutek njihove družbene pomembnosti vliva dovolj samozavesti, da se glede pisanja o posameznih vsebinah, ki jih določajo uredništva, zlahka odrekajo lastni osebnostni integriteti in si jo nadomestijo z zavestjo o ideološko neoporečni integriteti družbe, v katere korist naj bi bile naravnane programske zasnove njihovih delodajalcev. In kdo so ti delodajalci?

V dobi lastninjenja podjetij so se osrednji tiskani dnevnik v javnem (beri: političnem) interesu olastnili tako, da so prishli v prave roke, torej v roke lastnikov, ki so bili vredni zaupanja prevladujoche politike. Ta jim je do lastništva pomagala s sprejemom na njihovo kozho pisane zakonodaje o lastninjenju, z administracijo, prekaljeno zhe v prejšnjem sistemu, ki je z ustreznimi akti dovoljevala posamezne lastnishke prenose, in z banchnim sistemom, ki je bil v času lastninjenja she vedno v rokah starih političnih sil. Tedanja opozicija je bila v tistem času prevech zaposlena sama s sabo, da bi lahko v teh procesih odigrala kakršno koli pomembnejsho vlogo, poleg tega se tedaj she niti ni zavedala, da so za demokraticno drzhavo mediji vsaj v miru pomembnejshi od vojske in policije; bolj kot lastninjenju drzhavne lastnine se je posvechala denacionalizaciji med drugo svetovno vojno in po njej zaplenjenega premozhjenja in drugim temam. Cheprav se je desni politični pol – ne glede na njegovo profesionalno in institucionalno nerazvitost, zlasti v primerjavi s profesionalno usposobljenostjo drzhavne uprave in starih političnih struktur, izurjenih ter temeljito preizkushenih zhe v prejšnji drzhavi – namenil odigrati pomembno vlogo na vseh podrochjih politike, so mu osrednji mediji, vključno z osrednjo tiskovno agencijo, ushli skozi prste in se trdno zasidrali na levem delu političnega prostora tudi v lastnishkem smislu. In chetudi je politična desnica v kratkem času vladavine Demosa pridobila vsaj nekaj vpliva na kadrovanje v nacionalni radioteleviziji, zlasti pri njenem vrhu, je ostala kadrovska sestava in z njo programska orientiranost cele institucije na vseh izvedbenih ravneh skorajda ista, kot je bila zhe v prejšnjem sistemu. Zhe na tej zgodovinski točki se je pokazala ambicija politične desnice, da bi imela za svojo ideologijo in politične potrebe v rokah vsaj en tiskani dnevnik, kot neke vrste tolazhilno nagrado za ostale izgubljene dnevnike, ki so ostali v rokah dedichev oziroma naslednikov prejšnjega rezhima.

Young journalists have the possibility of making a career for themselves by passing through their selection processes that are based mainly on traditional rules which demand complete adjustment to the program and appropriate self-censure that conforms to the time and political circumstances. More points are gained by actively participating in political propaganda media campaigns. Adjustment to and making a career in such programmed media collectives implies that personal opinion cannot be voiced, especially when it differs from socially acceptable program guidelines. This poses no problem for most journalists as they are well and suitably prepared for precisely the kind of work that is demanded of them in the social reality. Even if they find it hard to reconcile this subordination to higher goals with their personality, the feeling they have been imparted of their importance for society gives them sufficient self-confidence to be able to write about the content determined by the editors and to easily relinquish their own integrity and replace it with the consciousness of the ideologically incontestable integrity of society in whose interest the programs of their employers are supposed to be working. And who are these employers?

In the period in which companies were privatised, the main daily newspapers that were of public (i.e. political) significance were privatised in such a way that they came into the right hands, i.e. the hands of owners who enjoyed the trust of the dominant political powers. The latter helped them gain ownership by conforming privatisation legislation to perfectly suit them. The administration, already tried and tested in the former system, allowed individual transfers of ownership with appropriate acts and there was also the help of the bank system which at the time of privatisation was still in the hands of the old political forces. The opposition at the time was overly preoccupied with itself to be able to play a more important role in these processes and besides it was not even yet aware that for a democratic state the media (at least in peacetime) are more important than the army and the police; more than the privatisation of state-owned property it was preoccupied with the denationalisation of property during and after World War Two and other topics. Although the right wing – regardless of its professional and institutional under-development compared with the supremely qualified state administration and old political structures that were thoroughly tried and tested in the previous state – intended to play an important role in all areas of politics, the main media, including the central press agency, got away from them and firmly anchored themselves on the left side of the political arena also as regards ownership. And although in the short rule of Demos the right-wing gained at least some influence in terms of appointing staff and leadership of the national radio and television, the remaining staff and with it the program orientation of the whole institution at all levels remains almost the same as it was in the previous system. At this same moment in history, it became clear that the right wing wanted to have in its hands, for the purpose of its ideology and its political needs, at least one printed daily newspaper as a kind of consolation prize for all the other lost dailies that remained in the hands of the heirs or successors of the previous regime.

S tem ciljem je takšen dnevnik tudi ustanovila, vendar je zhe po kratkem obdobju podlegel premochni, tudi nelojalni konkurenci utečenih chasopisnih hish in zlasti njihovemu monopolu na področju distribucije, pestile pa so ga tudi notranje kadrovske in programske tezhave. Iz teh in she drugih razlogov, ki niso toliko bistveni, predvsem pa zaradi shibkosti finančnega zaledja je kmalu propadel tudi ta dnevnik, tako da je v osrednjem medijskem prostoru ostala politichna desnica tako rekoch praznih rok.

She danes obstaja v medijski krajini izrazito neravnovesje v prid politichnim apetitom levih strank, ki niso pripravljene sestopiti s pozicij svoje medijske premochi, cheprav bi bilo to za nadaljni demokraticzni razvoj nujno potrebno. Nasprotno: prevladujoche politichne sile obstojeche neravnovesje le she povechujejo in s tem shibijo moch opozicije pod vsako mero, glede na katero bi she lahko govorili o demokraticnem ustroju družbe. Zlasti po zadnjih volitvah, ko so ves svoj medijski instrumentarij uporabile za podporo politichnemu sodnemu procesu proti voditelju opozicije, v zvezi s katerim je bilo uporabljenih vech nenachelnih sredstev vsake druge vrste kot pa pravnih nachel in civilizacijskih standardov, ima slovenska medijska krajina glede svoje politichne uravnotezhenosti in objektivnega porochanja kaj klavrno podobo.

III. Kako politika uresnichuje interese skozi delovanje medijev, kateri pogoji morajo biti izpolnjeni, da pri tem uspe, in nekaj aktualnih primerov medijsko-politichnih projektov.

Politichni vpliv na delovanje medijev ni nekaj samo po sebi umevnega. Po eni strani naj bi namrech mediji neodvisno od politike seznanjali ljudi z aktualnim dogajanjem, po drugi naj bi bili neke vrste nadzorniki nad dejanji oblasti, po tretji naj bi s tem pomembno sooblikovali javno mnenje, toda po chetrti naj bi bili sredstvo za uresnichevanje teh ali onih politichnih interesov. Te njihove osnovne dejavnosti so seveda ves chas podprte z zabavnimi dodatki, ki naj bi dodatno motivirali obchinstvo za nakup oziroma spremljanje medijskih edicij in vsebin, ponekod se jim pridružujejo tudi kulturne, izobrazhevalne in druge pomozhne vsebine, ki naj bi povechevale zanimivost posameznega medija; v ozadju vseh medijskih dejavnosti pa sta praviloma politichni in/ali trzhni interes izdajatelja oziroma njegovih mecenov. Zato se tudi v njihovem vsebinskem ozadju ves chas dogajata politichna in/ali trzhna propaganda, kot bolj ali manj razvidni osnovni, cheprav nezapisani komponenti programske zasnove, ki imata pomemben vpliv na druge dejavnosti medija. Che trzhno propagando na tem mestu zanemarim in se posvetim predvsem politichni, lahko ugotovim, da mochno vpliva zhe na oblikovanje novic o aktualnem dogajanju, uokvirja (omejuje) nadzorno funkcijo medijev nad dejanji oblasti in zamegljuje pregled nad medijskimi postopki oblikovanja javnega mnenja, kar je seveda vse v sluzhbi uresnichevanja določenih politichnih interesov.

It founded such a daily with this aim in mind but after a short period of time it succumbed to the greater power and also disloyal competition of the established newspaper publishers and especially their monopoly in the field of distribution. It was also hampered by internal problems with staff and the agenda. For these and other reasons that are not so important and especially due to the weakness of financial support, this daily soon went bankrupt leaving the right wing empty handed as regards the main media.

Even nowadays there is a distinct imbalance in the media landscape that goes in favour of the political appetites of the left wing parties which are not prepared to relinquish their dominance in the media although this would be very necessary for the furthering of democracy. On the contrary: the dominant political forces are only increasing the existing imbalance and thereby weakening the strength of the opposition to such an extent that it could be said that we are very far from the minimal standards of a democratic society. Especially in the wake of the last elections when they used their great media apparatus for the political trial of the leader of the opposition, using all manner of dishonest methods, not legal principles or civilised standards, the Slovenian media landscape is showing a very poor face when it comes to political balance and objective journalism.

III. How politics is realising its interests through the working of the media; which conditions must be fulfilled for them to succeed in this, and some current examples of media-political projects.

The political effect on the functioning of the media is not something that is self-evident. Firstly, the media are supposed to inform people about current events independently of political influence, secondly they are supposed to oversee what the government is doing and thirdly it is by this means that they can play an important role in forming public opinion. Lastly they are supposed to be the means by which one or other political interest is realised. These basic activities are of course constantly supported by entertaining supplements that are intended to additionally motivate people to buy or follow media editions and content. Sometimes they are also joined by cultural, educational and other assisting content that is supposed to make a particular media more interesting; in the background of all media activities there is usually the political and/or market interest of the publisher or the media financier. This is why there is constant political and/or market propaganda in the background of their content, as more or less evident basic although unwritten components of the program scheme that have an important influence on the media's activities. If I neglect the market propaganda for a while and address above all the political propaganda I can find that it has a strong influence on the formation of news about current events, it frames (puts limits on) the supervisory function of the media over the acts of government and obscures an overview of the media procedures for forming public opinion which obviously all serves the realisation of certain political interests.

Zaradi tega se prav slednje največkrat izkazhe kot temeljna lastnost medijskega delovanja. Ustavno nachelo, ki se mu v Sloveniji she vedno reche svoboda tiska, cheprav tiskani mediji seveda zhe zdavnaj niso vech najpomembnejshi, se skupaj z ustavno pravico do svobodnega izrazhanja podreja na ta nachin izoblicheni medijski stvarnosti.

V nedemokraticni družbi, kakršna je zaenkrat v pretezhni meri slovenska, igrajo mediji vlogo orodja v rokah politichnih sil. S pomocjo tega orodja si lahko ta ali ona politika oblikuje virtualno javno podobo, hkrati pa seveda (so)ustvarja tudi javno podobo svojih politichnih nasprotnikov. Metode, ki jih pri tem pochetju uporablja, so strokovno dognane in ves chas preizkushane v praksi. Tako lahko, na primer, s premishljenim izborom in ritmom objavljanja aktualnih informacij, tudi tistih o delovanju oblasti, v svojem avditoriju oblikuje naklonjeno javno mnenje za kateri koli politichni projekt, ali pa izzove strashno jezo svojega obchinstva nad katerim koli politichnim dejavnikom. Pogoji za uspeh tovrstnih medijskih manevrov so naslednji: avtorji morajo biti ali nenachelni ali pravoverni in/ali skrajno pragmatichni, vsebine so lahko tudi nepreverjene, vchasih celo izmishljene, obchinstvo mora biti lahkoverno in dovolj nepoucheno o sploshnih družbenih zakonitostih, izdajatelj mora razpolagati z zadostno kolichino financhnih sredstev, potrebnih za izvedbo projektov in za lastni zasluzhek. (Slednji pogoj je sicer znachilen za trzhno usmerjeno družbo, medtem ko lahko v politichno trdnem okolju v ta namen zadoshchajo t.i. osnovna družbena sredstva in politichna ubogljivost izdajatelja, urednishtev ter seveda novinarjev oziroma avtorjev. She vech: v okolju, kjer so novinarji skrbno in premishljeno vzgojeni družbeni delavci, kakshna posebna dodatna sredstva niti niso potrebna, ker njihovo ustrezno delovanje izhaja zhe iz privzgojenega nazorskega preprihanja. Che predpostavljam, da je Slovenija v neprekinjeni tranzicijski fazi, na prehodu iz prejsnjega sistema v novega, so pri nas za izvedbo takshnega projekta najbolj uporabne kombinirane metode motiviranja izvajalcev.)

Prvi projekt, ki ga bom uporabil kot primer tovrstnega delovanja, je medijska podpora t.i. vseslovenskim vstajam, ki so se dogajale kot pomoczna dejavnost politichnemu rushenju zadnje vlade slovenskih demokratov. Vstajnishkemu dogajanju je bila namenjena tolikshna medijska pozornost, da so iz zametkov zbiranja skupin politichnih aktivistov dejansko zrasle mnozhichne demonstracije, na katerih je sodeloval pomemben del obchinstva osrednjih medijev. Projekt je – s pomocjo nekaterih strokovnih in politichnih institucij (inshtituti, drzhavne komisije, "neodvisni" regulatorji, pravne osebe civilne družhbe idr.) – uchinkoval na padec vlade, hkrati pa je z gesli, naperjenimi proti politiki nasploh, demotiviral dobrshen del volilnega telesa za prihodnje aktivno sodelovanje pri politichnih zadevah. Demotivirani del medijskega obchinstva se v pomembnem shtevilu sploh ni udelezhil naslednjih volitev, le njegov manjšhi del je oddal svoje glasove za radikalno socialistichno stranko mladih, ki ob intenzivni medijski podpori odseva neposredno oblast vstajnishkega ljudstva, s sodobnim evropskim parlamentarizmom pa zhe po definiciji ne gre skupaj.

As a result of this, it is the latter which most often proves to be the fundamental characteristic of media activity. The constitutional principle which in Slovenia we still call the freedom of the press although the printed media have long ceased to be the most important, together with the constitutional right to free expression of speech, are in this way subordinated to the disfigured media reality.

In an undemocratic society, which Slovenian society more or less is, the media are a tool in the hands of political forces. With the help of this tool, one or other political side can shape a virtually public image and at the same time of course (co)create a public image of its political opponents. The methods it uses to do this are professional and constantly tried and tested in practice. This means, for example, that with a well-chosen selection and frequency of published current information including that which deals with the working of the government, it can create in its auditorium public opinion that is favourably inclined to any political project, or it can inspire in people great anger over any political factor. The conditions that ensure the success of any such media manoeuvre are as follows: authors must either lack any principles and/or be extremely pragmatic, content can even be unverified, sometimes even fictitious, the public must be gullible and sufficiently ignorant of general social rules, the publisher must have at his disposal sufficient financial means necessary for the implementation of the projects and for his own profit. (The latter condition is admittedly typical of a market-oriented society while in a politically difficult environment so-called basic social means can suffice combined with the political obedience of the publisher, the editorships and of course the journalists. What is more: in an environment in which the journalists are carefully and deliberately trained staff in the service of society, no particular additional means are even necessary because their successful functioning already stems from an imparted outlook. If I presume that Slovenia is in an on-going transitional phase, passing from the previous system to a new one, the most useful methods for implementing such a project are combined methods for motivating those involved.)

The first project I will use as an example of such activity is media support for the so-called Slovenian uprisings which took place as an auxiliary activity to aid the political toppling of the last government of the Slovenian Democrats. So much media attention was focused on these uprisings that the initially small groups of political activists actually turned into mass demonstrations with a significant number of people who follow the central media participating. With the help of some specialist and political institutions (institutes, state commissions, "independent" regulators, legal persons from civil society etc.) – this brought about the fall of the government and at the same time slogans aimed against politics in general put a good portion of the electorate off from any future active participation in political matters. A significant number of these disillusioned media followers did not attend the following elections, only a small number of them casting their vote in favour of a radical socialist party of young people which accompanied by intensive media support reflects the direct power of the people in the uprising and even by definition has little in common with contemporary European parliamentary democracy.

Po drugi strani pa prav v tem času osrednji mediji ne namenjujejo nikakršne pozornosti zbiranju političnih aktivistov t.i. civilne družbe, ki vsak dan v relativno velikem številu demonstrirajo pred ljubljanskim sodiščem in zahtevajo izpustitev voditelja politične opozicije iz zapora ter nujno reformo slovenskega pravosodja. V tem primeru gre seveda za popolno medijsko blokado, ki jo je mogoče v slovenskih razmerah izvesti zgolj z molkom osrednjih medijev.

Naj navedem še en primer iz naše najnovejshe zgodovine: pred kratkim, v času nedavnih parlamentarnih volitev, so slovenski osrednji mediji povzročili zmago novih obrazov, ki jih še nihče ni videl. Stari obrazi in politika nasploh so bili zhe predhodno medijsko in vstajniško skoraj povsem diskreditirani, zato so mediji zlahka ustvarili kult osebnosti nekega sicer znanega človeka, ki pa doslej še ni bil politik, ga povzdigovali na visoke virtualne ravni chloveshkih nadlastnosti in mu na ves glas napovedovali zmago. Ker je bil podoben medijski maneuver zhe nekajkrat preizkushen v preteklosti, so novi obrazi seveda na volitvah zmagali. Razkrivati se bodo zacheli shele po volitvah, ko bo sestavljena nova vlada, in ko bomo lahko predvidoma ugotovili, da obrazi nove izrshne oblasti vechinoma sploh niso novi.

V obeh zgoraj opisanih primerih gre za kratkotrajni politično-medijski akciji, namenjeni doseganju kratkoroknih ciljev z dolgoroknimi političnimi posledicami. Zato si je nujno ogledati tudi kak primer dolgotrajnejše akcije, namenjene dolgoroknejšim ciljem. Naslov tega projekta bi lahko bil – medijski lynch.

III. Koga je (bilo) v Sloveniji treba medijsko linchati v zadnjem času, kako se to lahko stori in do kakshnih posledic za držhavo lahko takshno pochetje privede.

V zadnjih nekaj letih smo bili v Sloveniji priche petim odmevnejšim projektom medijskega lincha politikov. Ti projekti se med sabo po eni strani precej razlikujejo, po drugi pa imajo kar nekaj skupnih imenovalcev. Za pogled na razlike med njimi in na skupne imenovalce se mi zdi najbolj smotno uvodoma na kratko opisati vsak primer posebej.

1.) Prvi primer je medijski lynch svetlolasega politika in gospodarstvenika, ki je bil registriran tudi kot kmet in je deloval kot predsednik male satelitske stranke političnih levicharjev, zlasti nekdanjih vidnejshih chlanov zveze socialistichne mladine – Gregor Golobich. Njegova posebna politična ljubezen je bilo kadrovanje pravih ljudi na pomembna, odlično plachana delovna mesta v drzhavnih firmah in bankah, z velikim veseljem je vplival na propulzivne gospodarske panoge, zlasti na področju telekomunikacij, s posebno spretnostjo je politično vplival na urednikovanje osrednjih medijev, vse to pa je v resorju, kjer je ministroval, pochel pod pezo skrbi za razvoj visokega sholstva, pri chemer se je she posebej trudil s preprechevanjem nastajanja novih, zlasti zasebnih in regionalnih univerz ter za ohranitev vpliva drzhave na centralno – da ne rechem drzhavno – univerzitetno ustanovo.

On the other hand, at this very time, the main media are paying no attention whatsoever to the gatherings of political activists of the so-called civil society who are demonstrating every day in relatively large numbers in front of the courthouse in Ljubljana to demand the release from prison of the leader of the political opposition and the urgent reform of the Slovenian judicial system. This is of course an example of a complete media blackout which can be carried out in Slovenia simply by keeping the main media quiet.

May I mention another example from our most recent history: recently, in the time of the recent parliamentary elections, the main Slovenian media brought about the victory of certain new faces that nobody had ever seen. Old faces and politics in general had already previously been almost completely discredited by the media and the uprising so it was easy for the media to create a cult of personality for a person who was well known but had never been a politician, lauded his human super-qualities and predicted his victory with all their might. As a similar media manoeuvre had already been implemented a number of times in the past, the new faces of course won in the elections. They will only begin to reveal themselves after the elections when the new government is assembled and we will probably discover that most of the faces of the new executive power are not even new.

Both examples described above are short-term political/media campaigns that are meant to achieve short-term goals with long-term political consequences. That is why it is necessary to look at some examples of more long-lasting campaigns that aim to achieve more long-term goals. The title of this project could be – media lynching.

III. Who had to/ should be lynched by the media in recent times, how can this be done and what consequences can this bring about for the state.

In recent years in Slovenia we have witnessed five high profile media lynching projects aimed at politicians. These projects are on the one hand quite different from each other while on the other hand sharing a number of common denominators. For an overview of the differences between them and the things they have in common I think it is best to briefly describe each case separately.

1.) The first case is the media lynching of the blonde-haired politician and economist who was a registered farmer as well as being president of a small satellite party of the political left-wing consisting especially of former visible members of the socialist youth union – Gregor Golobich. His favourite political role was placing the right people in important, extremely well-paid positions in state companies and banks and it was his great pleasure to have an influence on propulsive economic sectors especially in the field of telecommunications. He was particularly skilful in politically influencing the editor's policies of the main media and he managed to do all this while being minister for higher education where he did his utmost to prevent the creation of new, especially private and regional universities and to retain the influence of the state on the central – which we could call state – university.

Svoje pretirane politične zahteve pa je postavljajl tako samozavestno, da je bila skrajna mera, ki jo dolocha neformalno politično vodstvo držhave, kmalu prekorachena. Temu vodstvu se je strumno upiral z nenehnimi grozhnjami, da bo razdril koalicio, ki je medtem zaradi svoje nesposobnosti izgubila zhe skoraj vso podporo javnosti, na koncu pa je njegova stranka res naredila politični harakiri in izstopila iz koalicije ter s tem povzročila predchasne volitve. Toda zhe pred tem mu je prej omenjeno vodstvo obrnilo hrbet in osrednji mediji so kot eden planili po njem z izgovorom, da se je javnosti nekajkrat grdo zlagal o svojem premozhenskem stanju. Novinarji so v en rog trobili k njegovemu političnemu linchu tako glasno, da se ne on ne njegova satelitska stranka nista vech prebila chez parlamentarni prag.

2.) Drugi primer je medijski lynch ministrice za notranje zadeve, tudi predsednice stranke liberalnih demokratov, Katarine Kresal: gospodichna se je kljub rednemu obiskovanju partizanskih proslav s svojim zhivljenjskim stilom najprej mochno zamerila nekaterim veljakom iz prejšnjega rezhima, ki iz ozadja she vedno vplivajo na slovensko politično dogajanje, nato so se nanjo razjezili veljaki iz ozadja njene lastne stranke, ker ni uresnichila napovedi, da bo stranko reshila visokih dolgov, medtem ko je opozicijo najbolj motilo njeno zapravljanje prorachunskega denarja za prijateljeve nepremichninske posle. Mediji so pridno razpihovali prvo in zadnjo od teh treh zgodb, v njene notranjestrankarske razprtije pa se niso kaj dosti spushchali, kar je bilo za medijski lynch seveda premalo. Poleg tega jo je zhelela politika prek medijev najprej zgolj disciplinirati, ne pa she linchati. Toda vmes je posegla usoda, kot bi se lahko temu reklo: vse glasneje so v javnosti zachele krozhiti govornice o njeni vpletenosti v seksualno muchenje zhivali, natanchneje – psov, kar se je dogajalo v garazhi neke zasebne klinike, v kateri so se zdravili praktichno vsi najpomembnejshi slovenski oblastniki. Javnost se je vse glasneje sprashevala, kaj vse se she pochne na tisti kliniki in kdo vse je v ta moralno zavrzhna pochetja vpleten. Tedaj so nastopili mediji in brzih preusmerili pozorost javnosti na gospodichnine sicershnje napake, zlasti na tisto, ki ji jo je ochitala opozicija. Tokrat so ustrelili iz vseh topov in na ves glas zahtevali njen politični lynch. Medijski pogromi nad gospodichno so se schasoma tako okrepili, da je raje sama odstopila s polozhaja ministrice in se umaknila iz politike, klinika pa v miru deluje naprej.

3.) Tretji primer sicer ni medijski lynch v pravem pomenu besede, saj shele visi v zraku, toda ker se napoveduje zhe vech let, ga je vredno omeniti. Gre za medijsko gonjo proti nekdanjemu direktorju Mercatorja, ljubljanskemu zhupanu in predsedniku pozitivne stranke, ki ravnokar sestopa z oblasti, Zoranu Jankovichu. Gonja proti njemu se je razvila iz slavospevov, ki jih je bil delezhen, preden mu je bilo – po slavni zmagi na volitvah, h kateri so pripomogli mediji s pomocjo cveta starih in mladih borcev za lepsko socialistichno preteklost – zaupano mandatarstvo za sestavo nove vlade starega rezhima.

Golobich expressed his exaggerated political demands with such self-confidence that the final limit which is determined by the informal political leadership of the state was soon surpassed. He resisted this leadership valiantly with constant threats to demolish the coalition which had in the meantime lost almost all public support through its ineptness and in the end his party committed political *hara-kiri* and left the coalition, thereby bringing about preliminary elections. However, it was already prior to this that the above leadership turned its back on him and the main media rushed on him as one with the excuse that he had lied to the public regarding his assets. The journalists were unanimous in demanding his political lynching and demanded it so loudly that neither he nor his satellite party ever made it over the parliamentary threshold again.

2.) The second case is that of the media lynching of the minister of the interior and president of the Liberal Democrats, Katarina Kresal. Despite regularly attending partisan celebrations, it was her lifestyle that first incurred the wrath of certain important persons from the previous regime who still influence Slovenian politics from behind the scenes. Then she upset the men in power from behind the scenes of her own party for failing to fulfil the promise that she would rescue the party from high indebtedness. Meanwhile the opposition was most annoyed by her wasting of state budget money in her friend's property deals. The media did a good job of publicising the first and last of these three stories while more or less ignoring the disputes within the party as it would not have sufficed to bring about a media lynching. Besides, politics initially wanted to use the media solely to discipline her and not lynch her. But fate, as we could call it, intervened: rumours grew louder that she was involved in the sexual torturing of animals, more precisely dogs, which took place in the garage of a private clinic where practically all of Slovenia's most powerful individuals received treatment. The public began to wonder ever more loudly what other morally depraved activities are performed at the clinic and who else is involved in them. Then the media stepped in and rapidly deflected the public's attention onto the young lady's other faults, especially the one the opposition was reproaching her for. This time they attacked with all guns blazing and demanded her political lynching at full voice. The media pogrom aimed against the young lady gradually reached such a climax that she preferred to step down from her office as minister and leave politics altogether while the clinic works on in peace.

3.) The third case is admittedly not a media lynching in the true sense of the word as it is still hanging in the air but as it is being announced for a number of years now, it is worth mentioning. It is the case of the media campaign aimed against the former CEO of Mercator, the mayor of Ljubljana and president of the "positive" party, which is leaving government in this very time, Zoran Jankovich. The campaign against him grew out of the homage he was paid following his great election victory that was aided by the media with the help of the cream of young and old combatants for a better socialist past, and before he was entrusted with the mandate to assemble a new government of the old regime.

Njegova kariera v drzhavni politiki se je zachela konchevati, ko kljub podpori parlamentarne vechine ni uspel sestaviti vlade, s chimer je osmeshil sebe in svoje slavne podpornike, ki so ga bili prishli tako rekoeh prosit na Magistrat, naj reshi drzhavo pred kruto desnicharsko opozicijo. Sramota je bila tako velika, da so se v medijih nenadoma pojavile strashne novice o njegovi skorumpiranosti, o financhnih goljufijah, davchnih utajah in tako dalje, za podporo medijskim urednikom so bile angazhirane nekatere neodvisne paradrzhavne institucije in sama davkarija, javnost je bila sproti delezhna medijskih prizorov policijske akcije na njegovem domu, zachelo se je govoriti o uvedbi kazenskih postopkov proti njemu, sodniki so zhe brusili zvesta peresa, o vsem tem pa se je pisalo, snemalo, objavljalo in razpravljalo v vsakem mediju, ki je kaj dal nase. Kot recheno – projekt tega medijskega lincha she ni konchan, ker se je zhupan umaknil iz bitke za politichno oblast, kar poglavarjem medijskega dogajanja zaenkrat zadoshcha, saj o njem zhe nekaj chasa ni bila objavljena skoraj niti ena novica.

4.) Chetrty primer je medijski in politichni lynch mariborskega zhupana in vidnega chlana opozicijske ljudske stranke ter chlana drzhavnega sveta, gospoda Franca Kanglerja. Zhupan se je nenadoma znashel v mali mnozhici kazenskih postopkov, ki so jih sprozhili proti njemu politichni nasprotniki, zlasti pretendenti na zasedbo zhupanskega stolchka v drugem najvechjem slovenskem mestu. Ker je bilo zhe na zachetku teh postopkov jasno, da mu bo krivdo tezhko dokazati, so bile v Mariboru ravno tedaj, ko je imel status evropske prestolnice kulture, organizirane nasilne demonstracije, ki so jih mediji opravichevali kot neke vrste umetnishki akt, oziroma kot avantgardno sporochilo Evropi, da se v mestu dogaja postmodernistichno-demokraticno preropenje. Preroditelji so kurili ognje na osrednjem trgu in metali granitne kocke v stavbo mestne obchine, vzklikali primitivna gesla, obesili z mostu chez Dravo lutke celotne zhupanove ekipe in mestnim svetnikom v hudogledih skupinah prinashali na domove pozive, naj se takoj umaknejo z oblasti, ker da je takshna volja ljudstva. Osrednji mediji so dogajanje ves chas spremljali v zhivo ter hvalili ta umetnishko-politichni projekt, hkrati pa nizali vedno nove in vedno hujshie obtozhbe proti zhupanu. Dogajanje je zhe preraslo v pravi medijski spektakel, ko so Kanglerja drzhavni svetniki protizakonito razreshili s polozhaja chlana drzhavnega sveta, sam pa je pod vse hujshimi vstajnishkimi, medijskimi in pravosodnimi pritiski odstopil she kot zhupan. Shele ko so ga zaprli v jecho, si je razvneti narod oddahnil, navdushen nad tem enkratnim linchem. Ko so ga pred dnevi na vrhovni sodni instanci oprostili obtozhb, razveljavili sodbo in spustili iz zapore, pa je bilo o tem objavljenih le nekaj kratkih novic.

5.) In zadnji primer je politichni in medijski lynch voditelja opozicije, vechkratnega ministra za obrambo, bivshega predsednika slovenske vlade, ki je nekaj chasa predsedoval celo Evropski uniji, in aktualnega predsednika stranke slovenskih demokratov, Janeza Janshe.

His career in state politics approached its end when, despite enjoying the support of the parliamentary majority he did not succeed in assembling a government, thereby making a fool of himself and his famous supporters who had virtually come to the city hall begging him to save the country from the merciless right-wing opposition. The disgrace was so great that terrible stories began appearing in the media about his corruptness, about fraud, debt evasion and so on. Certain independent, parastatal institutions and even the tax office were called upon to help the media editors. The public was regularly provided with media coverage of the police actions at his home and there was talk of the initiation of criminal proceedings against him. The judges were already sharpening their trusty pens and every media that cared for its reputation wrote, filmed, published and discussed all of this. As I have said, the project of this particular media lynching is not over yet because the mayor withdrew from the battle for political power which for now suffices for the media rulers as hardly any item of news about him has been published for some time now.

4.) The fourth case is the media and political lynching of the mayor of Maribor, respected member of the opposition People's Party and member of the National Council, Franc Kangler. The mayor suddenly found himself caught up in a whole series of criminal proceedings that were sprung upon him by political opponents, especially mayoral pretenders in Slovenia's second-largest city. As it was already clear at the beginning of these proceedings that it would be difficult to prove his guilt, violent demonstrations were organised in Maribor at the very time that the city held the status of European Capital of Culture. The media excused these demonstrations as being a form of art and an avant-garde message to Europe that a postmodern-democratic rebirth was happening in the city. The demonstrators burned fires on the central square and threw granite setts at the City Hall, shouted primitive slogans, hung puppets of the mayor's entire team from the bridge over the Drava and called on the homes of city councillors in hostile-looking groups to tell them that they should immediately relinquish their positions as that is what the will of the people demands. The main media provided live coverage throughout and praised this artistic-political project while at the same time constantly bringing up new and ever worse accusations against the mayor. The events had already turned into a veritable media spectacle when Kangler was illegally relinquished of his membership of the National Council by fellow councillors and he stepped down as mayor of his own accord under increased pressure from the rioters, media and judiciary. Only after he was locked up in jail did the heated nation breathe a sigh of relief, thrilled at this unique lynching. When several days ago he was acquitted of all charges at a supreme court level, the verdict annulled and he was released from jail, only a few brief news items reported this.

5.) And the last case is the political and media lynching of the leader of the opposition, several times minister for defence, former Slovenian Prime Minister who even presided the European Union for a set period, and current president of the Slovenian Democratic Party, Janez Jansha.

Jansha je absolutni prvak glede sštevilca chlankov in oddaj, naperjenih proti njemu, pa tudi glede kvazi-politichnih, upravnih in kazenskih postopkov, v katerih se je posledichno znashel iz ochi v ochi z represivnim pravosodnim aparatom. Najbrzh je tudi rekorder glede na shtevelo prejetih anonimnih grozhenj s smrtjo, zagotovo pa ga nihche v Sloveniji ne presega glede sštevilca objavljenih psihoanaliz njegovega – v teh analizah skrajno negativnega – chloveshkega znachaja. Na t.i. vseslovenskih vstajah v Ljubljani je bil glavna tarcha besnih izpadov mnozhice in njenih agitatorjev, zhe pred tem so centralistichno vodeni sindikati sklicevali shtrajke, naperjene proti njemu, zmerjali in pljuvali so ga plachani in ljubiteljski komentatorji na spletnih forumih ... Intenzivne medijske akcije proti njemu so potekale tudi na mednarodni ravni, she posebej je izstopal tozadevni angazhma finske radiotelevizije v oroZHarski aferi Patria, ki so jo nachrtovalci njegovega medijskega lincha spretno stopnjevali s premishljenimi intervali v chasu vsakrshnih volitev. Slikali so ga kot skrajno pohlepnege, goljufivege, nasilnege, kradljivege, lazhnivege itd. chloveka, ki je odgovoren in kriv za vse slabosti slovenske drzhave in celo za nasilje v svoji lastni druzhini. To medijsko oblikovanje virtualne resnice oziroma lazhi je bilo tako vztrajno in redno, da mu je na koncu verjel zhe vsak nerazmishljujoch drzhavljan, ti pa so v vechini. In tako je ta vechina z velikim zadoshchenjem dozhivela obsodbo, na podlagi katere so ga konchno, po dveh desetletjih neprestanega medijskega pljuvanja, zaprli. Edina tezhava, s katero so se izvajalci Janshevege lincha srechevali ves chas in je niso uspeli reshiti, pa je ta, da priblizhno tretjina Slovencev vendarle razmishlja s svojo glavo. Zato se je ta medijski lynch sicer za njegove nachrtovalce v kratkem roku konchal uspešno, saj so Jansho uspeli strpati v jecho in bistveno zmanjšati shtevelo opozicijskih poslancev v parlamentu, sebi in svojim pa zagotoviti ustavno vechino, vendar zgodba na daljši rok she ni konchana, kajti njegovi pristashi prav iz tega lincha chrpajo novo energijo za kar nekaj nujnih sprememb v drzhavi; med njimi je prva na vrsti politichna lustracija starih politichnih sil, ki bo najverjetneje izhajala iz skoraj neiozigibne reforme slovenskega pravosodja.

Naj poskusim najprej poiskati skupne imenovalce medijskih linchev, opisanih v zgornjih primerih:

- a) pri vseh so mediji izvrševali oziroma izvršujejo voljo določenih politichnih sil, da se posamezno osebo odstrani iz določenega spektra politichnega zhivljenja;
- b) te sile so v vseh navedenih primerih iste, kar ne izhaja samo iz prepoznavnih metod njihovega delovanja, temvech predvsem iz enoznachnih posledic; iz slednjih je jasno razvidna osnovna motivacija teh politichnih sil, da ne bi zaradi določene osebe izgubile pridobljene politichne prednosti, ali pa da bi jo izgubile chim manj.

Jansha is the outright winner when it comes to the number of articles and programs aimed against him, and also in terms of the number of quasi-political, administrative and penal procedures in which he has found himself face to face with the repressive judicial apparatus. He is probably also the record-holder when it comes to the number of anonymous death threats he has received and there is certainly no-one in Slovenia who has had more (extremely negative) psychoanalyses published of his human character. At the so-called all-Slovenian uprisings in Ljubljana he was the main target of enraged outbursts by the crowd and its agitators, and already before then the centrally run syndicates called for strikes against him. He has been insulted and smeared by paid and amateur commentators on internet forums ... Intensive media campaigns against him were even organised on an international level, a particularly prominent example being the engagement of the Finnish radio and television in the Patria weapons affair which the planners of the media lynching skilfully heightened at well-planned intervals in the run-up to each election. Jansha was portrayed as an extremely mercenary, fraudulent, violent, thieving and deceitful person who is responsible and guilty for all that is wrong with the Slovenian state and even for violence in his own family. This creation of virtual truths or lies by the media was so persistent and regular that in the end every citizen who does not think with their own head (and they are in the majority) believed them. And so it was to the great satisfaction of this majority that Jansha was finally convicted and arrested after two decades of constantly being smeared by the media. The only problem encountered throughout by those carrying out the lynching of Jansha and which they could not solve was that about a third of Slovenia's citizens do think with their own head. That is why the media lynch turned out to be successful in the short-term as Jansha was jailed, the number of opposition MPs in parliament was considerably reduced and the perpetrators of the lynching were able to ensure a constitutional majority for themselves and their allies. However, the long-term story is not yet finished because his supporters are drawing new energy from this very lynching for quite a number of urgent changes in the state; these include firstly the political lustration of old political forces which will most probably stem from the almost unavoidable reform of the Slovenian judicial system.

I will first try and find the common denominators of the media lynchings described above:

- a) in all the cases the media carried out and continue to carry out the will of certain political forces to remove a certain individual from a certain spectrum of political life;
- b) these forces are the same in all the cases described above; this is obvious not just from the recognisable *modus operandi* but above all from the identical consequences; the latter clearly reveal the main motivation of these political forces which is to avoid losing any political advantage due to a certain individual, or to lose as little as possible.

V vseh opisanih primerih sta prisotna interes po ohranitvi nespremenjenega razmerja moči med politično levico in desnico, ki je v Sloveniji izrazito v prid levici, ter interes po ohranitvi vodilnega položaja njenega t.i. avantgardnega političnega vodstva, ki vztraja v ozadju slovenskega političnega dogajanja še iz časov prejšnjega rezhima; projekti linčanja se izvajajo tako usklajeno, kot je pri nas možno edinole s pomočjo izvedbeno in ideološko povezane, neformalne organizacijske infrastrukture, utečene v praksi prejšnjega rezhima, ki jo je sposobna obvladovati in uporabljati ena sama politična sila – tista, ki jo je obvladovala že tedaj, bodisi sama, bodisi preko svojih preverjenih naslednikov;

c) v vseh primerih so medijske vsebine za linč izbrane v povezavi z realnimi dogodki, vzeti iz širšega konteksta in maksimalno potenciranimi predvsem s stalnim, postopno stopnjevanjem ponavljanjem istih trditev z minimalnimi variacijami, tako da so primarno naravnane na podzavestno percepcijo občinstva;

d) po vsakem uspešno izvedenem medijskem linču so njegovi nosilni izvajalci tako ali drugače nagrajeni.

Enako pomembne, a na nek način še bolj pomenljive pa so razlike med pristopanjem glavnih akterjev k posameznemu linču:

a) pred zacetkom javnega linčanja v prvih treh primerih, ko gre za problematične ljudi iz leve politične opcije, mediji storijo vse, da bi sporna dejanja potencialne žrtve opravičili in ji dali drugo možnost, pozornost javnosti pa preusmerili drugam; s tem dobi potencialna žrtev priljubljenost, da se poboljša; šele če se še naprej upira vodilni politični volji, ali pa če to narekujejo nepredvidene okolishchine, se mediji začnejo postopoma obrachati proti njej;

b) v prvih treh primerih, ko gre za že sproženo odstranjevanje posameznikov iz prvih vrst lastne politične opcije, so prijemi mehkejši, žrtvi linča se pushča čim več osebnega dostojanstva za mirno zživljenje v kaki drugi sferi zživljenja; ne posega se v njeno osebno svobodo, po možnosti se je ne sramoti in se ji dopushča častni umik;

c) v prvih treh primerih se dejanska oblast izogiba skrajnim spremljevalnim ukrepom, angazhira čim manj institucij, primernih za sodelovanje pri politični represiji nad posameznikom, tiste pa, ki so vendarle angazhirane, morajo uporabljati čim mehkejshe ukrepe in jih stopnjevati pod skrbnim političnim nadzorom;

d) žrtve medijskega linča je običajno po končanem postopku delezna ustreznega nadomestila za pretrpljeno škodo, bodisi z zagotovitvijo ustreznega položaja v političnem ozadju ali kako drugače; nemalokrat se lahko – le da ne več v prvih vrstah – še naprej udeležuje političnega zživljenja;

All the cases reflect the desire to preserve an unchanged (and uneven) balance of power between the left and right political wings which in Slovenia is distinctly in the left wing's favour, and the desire to retain the leading position of its so-called avant-garde political leadership which has persisted behind the scenes of Slovenian politics from the time of the former regime; the lynching projects are so well coordinated that this can only be possible with the help of an informal organisational infrastructure that is synchronised in its execution and ideology, and whose functioning was well-oiled in the previous regime. It can only be commanded and used by one political force – the one that commanded it in the past, either on its own or through its trusty successors;

c) in all the above cases, content chosen for the media lynching is connected with real events taken from a broader context and blown out of proportion by means of a constant, gradually increased repetition of the same affirmations with minimal variations so that they are primarily aimed at the sub-conscious perception of the public;

d) after each successfully executed media lynching, its main perpetrators received some form of reward.

Equally important but in some way even more significant are the differences between the approaches of the main actors to an individual lynching:

a) before the beginning of the public lynching in the first three cases where we are dealing with problematic individuals from the political left wing, the media do everything they can to justify the controversial actions of the potential victim and give it a second chance while deflecting the attention of the public elsewhere; this gives the potential victim the opportunity to make amends; only then, if it continues to oppose the leading political will, or if this is demanded by unforeseen circumstances, do the media begin to gradually turn against it;

b) in the first three cases where we are dealing with the already triggered elimination of individuals from the front rows of their own political option, the approach is softer and the victim of the lynching retains as much personal dignity as possible to carry on living life in peace in some other sphere of life; the individual's personal liberty is not encroached upon and if possible they are not derided and are allowed to step down honourably;

c) in the first three cases the main source of power avoids any extreme accompanying measures, it engages as few institutions as possible to implement political repression against an individual and those that are engaged must use the softest available measures and intensify them only under attentive political supervision;

d) after the procedure is finished, the victim of the media lynching usually receives adequate compensation for the damage suffered, either by being offered a suitable position in the political background or something else; often the person can continue to play an active role in politics – just not in the front rows;

e) v zadnjih dveh primerih, ko gre za zhrteve iz politichne opozicije, mediji seveda ne poznajo milosti; tudi njihova podpora s strani druzhbenih organizacij je bistveno mochnejsha in dosti bolj bezobzirna; spremljevalno dogajanje, ki nudi osnovo za resnichnostni medijski spektakel, je organizirano v najradikalnejshih oblikah; zhrtev se lahko javno sramoti, v zvezi z njo se lahko objavljajo tudi neresnice. Po konchanem linchu se zhrtev lahko aretira in zapre, o tem pa se poroča kot o velichastni zmagi dobrega nad zlim. Kakrshne koli dvome, zlasti javno izrazhene, se sproti demantira, omalovazhuje ali pa preprosto zamolchi.

IV. ZAKLJUCHEK

Fenomen lincha v slovenskih medijih je samo krona njihove sicershnje politichno organizirane dejavnosti, ki potrjuje spoznanje, da Slovenija na tem podrochju she zdaleh ni demokraticzna drzhava. Kljub zapisanim ustavnim dolochbam in moderni zakonodaji, ki so skladne z evropskim pravnim redom, se v praksi izvaja chisto nekaj drugega, nekaj, kar je znachilno za totalitarne sisteme iz preteklosti, ki je sicer formalno konchana, dejansko pa neovirano poteka naprej. Gre za nizkotno manipulacijo ljudstva s strani politichnih sil, ki niso nikoli sestopile z oblasti.

Evropa pa vse to samo nemo opazuje; očitno bomo morali ta problem reshiti sami.

e) in the latter two cases where the victim comes from the political opposition, the media of course know no mercy; the support the media enjoy from public organisations is also so much stronger and much more ruthless; the accompanying events which provide a basis for the media reality show are organised in the most radical forms; the victim can be publically disgraced and all manner of lies can be published about them. After the lynching has been completed, the victim can be arrested and imprisoned and this is reported as a glorious victory of good over evil. Any doubts, especially those that are voiced publically, are immediately proved to be wrong or are scorned or simply quietened.

IV. CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of lynching in the Slovenian media is only the tip of the iceberg when it comes to the high level of organisation of the media's political activity and this only confirms the finding that in this field Slovenia is still far from being a democratic state. Despite the valid terms of the constitution and the modern legislation that conforms to the European legal order, in practice, something completely different is being enacted, something that is typical of the past totalitarian system which is supposed to have ended formally but in practice continues its unobstructed course. We are dealing with the contemptible manipulation of the people by political forces that never stepped down from power.

Meanwhile, Europe looks on in silence; evidently we will have to solve this problem by ourselves.

Translated from Slovenian by Marko Petrovich

Rajko Shushtarshich

BOZHJE OKO

»Oko, ki vse vidi – Ciganske karte in vedežbevanje«

*Posvečeno mojemu profesorju
dr. Jozhetu Goricharju*

Nekoliko pozno sem se lotil tega prispevka, shele zdaj, ko je moj spomin zhe dobro nachet. Moj model je po spominu, kot tak je nezanesljiv, za resno znanstveno shtudijo bi moral poiskati Goricharjev referat. Vendar pri meni ta model ni osrednjega pomena. Predvsem sem hotel ilustrirati sistemski ukrep (ukrep bozhjega ochesa). Ta chlanek je neke vrste uvod v moj naslednji prispevek *Linch prek medijev*.

Naj povem she to: preganja me zhe veliko let, pravzaprav zhe kar nekaj desetletij kot moj dolg sposhtovanemu profesorju. Vzemite ga torej z veliko rezervo glede točnosti navedb, a bistvo bi moralo biti tako, kot je tu opisano.

Bilo je to na nekem znanstvenem simpoziju o »krizi jugoslovanske samoupravne družbe« nekako sredi osemdesetih let. V svojem zhivljenju pa sem se udeležil le dveh. Profesor Jozhe Gorichar, ki je bil takrat she nestor slovenske sociologije, je imel odmeven referat. Seveda je bil sprejet z velikim odobravanjem, da ne rechem navdushenjem. Vsaj name, ki sicer nisem dal kaj dosti na takratne sistemske razlagalce sistema, je naredil izreden vtis. Tako velik, da se njegovega bistva spomnim she danes. Zdaj pa k zadevi, in na koncu she k bistvu referata.

Model je bil (abstraktna shema) predstavitev družbene ureditve in seveda hkrati osvetlitev njenih ključnih tezhav – problemov. Grafichno ga je Gorichar ponazoril z enakostraničnim trikotnikom:

- zgoraj: drzhava
- desno spodaj: trzhishche
- levo spodaj: samoupravljanje

Sledil je slikovit opis, tu ga bom podal le shematsko:

- najprej, kolizije interesov med drzhavo – institucijo mochi in trzhishchem (približno take, kot jih zaznamo she danes z drzhavnim upravljanjem družbene lastnine);
- nato, antagonizem med trzhishchem in samoupravljanjem – kot temeljno ideologijo sistema (poseben problem so predstavljali t.im. tehnoliberali¹);
- ter: tezhave med »družbenim dogovorom« (t.j. drzhavnim izvajanjem oblasti z neke vrse dekreti) in uveljavljanjem samo-upravnih socialistichnih odnosov²).

Rajko Shushtarshich

THE EYE OF GOD

»The eye that sees all – tarot cards and fortune tellings«

Dedicated to my professor
Dr. Jozhe Gorichar

I have set about writing this article rather late in life and my memory is no longer as fresh as it used to be. My model is from memory and is reliable as such, however for a more serious study I would have to find Gorichar's lecture. But for me this model is not of prime importance. Above all I wanted to illustrate the systematic measure (the measure of the Eye of God). This article is a sort of introduction to my next article *The Media Lynch*.

I should also mention this: I have intended to write this for many years, for a number of decades actually, as my debt to the respected professor. So please read it in the knowledge that many details may be wrong, but the main element should be as it is described here.

It all happened at a symposium in the mid-eighties about the »crisis in the Yugoslav self-administered society«. I only ever attended two such symposia. Professor Jozhe Gorichar, who was the Nestor of Slovenian sociology at the time, delivered a resounding lecture. It was received with great approval and enthusiasm. He made a great impression on me - I did not care much for the systematic explainers of the system of those times. I can remember the essence of what he said to this day. Now let us turn to the matter and finally to the essence of the lecture.

The model was (the abstract outline) to present the social order and of course at the same time to illuminate its key problems. Gorichar illustrated it graphically with an equilateral triangle:

- top: the state
- bottom right: the market
- bottom left: self-administration

There followed a picturesque description that I will reproduce here only schematically:

- first, the conflicts of interest between the state – the institution of power and the market (roughly the kind that we feel to this day with the state running of national property);
- then, the antagonism between the market and self-administration – as the fundamental ideology of the system (the so-called »techno-liberals« represented a particular problem ¹);
- and: problems between the »social contract« (i.e. the state implementation of authority by means of decrees) and the enforcement of self-administrative socialist relations ².

Do tu je bilo vse v redu, bi rekli: nich posebnega, dopustno kritichen in *svojski* pogled na nasho socialistichno samoupravno stvarnost in njene gospodarske probleme. A po svojskosti podajanja teme je vidno odstopal od vseh drugih referentov.

Nato je sledila she bistvena teza – previdno, sprva kot vprasanje: Kako lahko to funkcionira? Kako da zadeva (opisana in naslikana v modelu) ne razpade, da je ne razzhene. No, za to poskrbi (je poskrbela) Zveza komunistov – *partija!*

(Na kocu podajanja svojega referata, v prerachunanem dramaturshkem trenutku, je narisal sredi trikotnika she partijo kot: *bozhje oko*.)

DRZHAVA



SAMOUPRAVLJANJE

TRZHISHCHE

Potem se je zgodilo: pripovedoval nam je – kakim trem nadobudnezhem v K. sobi na Inshtitutu za sociologijo in filozofijo pri Univerzi Edvarda Kardelja v Ljubljani, takrat zhe na Cankarjevi 1 (danes je to dvorana Slovenskega svetovnega kongresa). ISFU (kasneje ISU) je bila takrat prislushkovana institucija. Vsaj tako je pisalo v *Delu* – glasilu Socialistichne zveze delovnega ljudstva, bila je namrech nashteta med kakimi shtirimi prislushkovanimi istitucijami (ostale tri so bile dosti bolj pomembne za sistem). Vendar to njega ni vech motilo, zanj prisluh ni bil vech pomemben.

Od nestorja slovenske sociologije je Jozhe Gorichar chez noch postal ne-oseba. Telefoni so prenehali zvoniti, nihche ga ni vech poklical, nekdanji kolegi, znanci, prijatelji so se ga izogibali. ... Da ne nadaljujem z opisom tega systemskega ukrepa osamitve, izolacije, izlochitve, raje povem nekaj o chloveshki plati zadeve. Bil je vidno prizadet. Sochustvoval sem z njim, moje sposhtovanje do njega je enormno naraslo. Danes se mi zdi, da tako mochno, zato, ker me to chustvo prezhame she vsakich, ko se spomnim te njegove pripovedi.

Gotovo ste zhe pomislili, kakshen pa bi bil videti danashnji model – model nashe *post-totalitarne družbe*^{3?}

To boste morali razmisliti sami, sam sem zhe kar lep chas zunaj systemskih analiz. Lahko prispevam samo nekaj hipotetichnih opomb:

- drzhava je zamenjala nadsistem: za hip suverena RS, je zdaj v okviru EU;
- trzhishche (pogosteje nastopa v shirshem sklopu – kot gospodarstvo (t.j. ekonomski ali kapitalski subsystem);

Everything was alright this far, we could say: nothing special, acceptably critical and an *individual* view of our socialist self-administrating reality and its economic problems. However, the original way he presented this topic was visibly different from all the other lecturers.

Then followed a fundamental argument – carefully, at first like a question: How can this function? Why does the object (described and illustrated in the model) not fall apart, not explode. Well, the *communist party* sees (saw) to that!

(At the end of his lecture, in a moment carefully chosen for heightened effect, he drew in the middle of the triangle the communist party as the: *all-seeing eye of God.*)

STATE



SELF-ADMINISTRATION

MARKET

Then it happened: he told us – about three young students in room K at the Institute for Sociology and Philosophy of the Edvard Kardel University in Ljubljana, at Cankarjeva 1 (now the hall of the Slovenian World Congress). The institute was bugged at the time. At least that is what *Delo* – the newsletter of the Socialist Union of the Working People – reported. It was listed together with around three other institutions that were bugged (the other three were much more important for the system). But this no longer bothered him.

From being the Nestor of Slovenian sociology, Jozhe Gorichar became a nobody overnight. Telephones stopped ringing, no-one rang him, former colleagues, acquaintances and friends avoided him. ... Rather than continuing by describing this systematic measure to isolate and exclude him, I will rather say something from a human perspective. He was visibly hurt. I sympathised with him and my respect for him increased enormously. Even nowadays, I am filled with emotion every time I remember the story he told us.

You have probably already asked yourself what the present-day model would look like – the model of our *post-totalitarian society*^β?

You will have to consider this yourselves, I have had nothing to do with system analyses for some time now. I can only contribute a few hypothetical comments:

– the state has replaced the super-system: Slovenia was sovereign for a short space of time, now it is part of the EU:

– the market (it appears more often in a broader system as the economy (i.e. the economic or capital subsystem);

– ideologija *samoupravljanja* je povsem izpuhtela, zamenjala jo je ideologija *neoliberalizma* oziroma neke njene izpeljanke – prehodna modalnost po slovenski predstavi. A zgolj zachasno, kajti post-post jo bo zamenjala ideologija sistema, ta pa je zdaj EU, RS pa je zgolj majhen podsistem(CHEK) ⁴ v njej.

Oko, ki vse vidish ⁵, reci, povej mi: Kdo nas zdaj nadzira? Kdo vodi igre sistema? Kdo je zamenjal *partijo*?

Odgovorite si sami, ali pa poglejte v Ciganske karte.

Moje skromno mnenje: naj igro vodi Edi ali Dedi, kakih bistvenih premen v tej igri (v igrah sistema) ni videti – Ciganska posla v vsakem primeru.

Moje opombe:

¹ Partija je budno pazila na razredne sovražnike, a to je bilo bolj za zastrashevanje širokih ljudskih množic, kot pa da bi ti sovražniki predstavljali kako resno nevarnost v igrah sistema. Vechji glavobol so partiji povzročali t.im. tehnoliberali, bili so jechmenček v bozhjem ochesu.

² Ko nikakor ni bilo mogoče sprejeti – kar je bilo pravilo, ne izjema – samoupravnega sporazuma v neki pomembni družbeni sferi – dejavnosti, je »država« sprejela družbeni dogovor, ki je bil v resnici državni diktat oziroma dekret.

³ Po totalitarnem rezhimu je namrech možhen samo en sistem, ta je: posttotalitarni sistem.

⁴ Slovenija je imela v Jugoslaviji ključno vlogo pri kreiranju samoupravne ideologije – samoupravne stvarnosti!

⁵ Oko, ki vse vidi – Ciganske karte in vedežhevanje, <http://ciganskekarte.net/2010/06/05/oko-ki-vse-vidi/>



^{5a} Za bodoče svoje analitike sistema, morda she dve različici ochesa:



– the ideology of *self-administration* has completely evaporated and been replaced by the ideology of *neoliberalism* or at least some of its derivatives – transitional modality the Slovenian way. But only temporarily because post-post it will be replaced by the ideology of the system which is currently the EU and Slovenia is only a small subsystem (CHEK)⁴ within it.

Oh All-seeing eye⁵, tell me: Who is overseeing us now? Who is leading the games of the system? Who has replaced the *communist party*?

Answer these questions for yourselves or consult the tarot cards.

My humble opinion: the game may be led by Edi or Dedi but no significant differences in the game (in the games of the system) will be seen.

Translated from Slovenian by Marko Petrovich

My comments:

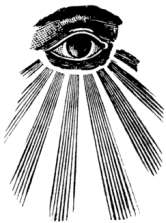
¹ The communist party kept a beady eye on enemies of the regime, but this was meant rather to intimidate the broader masses of the people than that these enemies actually posed a serious danger in the games of the system. A greater headache was caused for the communist party by the so-called techno-liberals who were like an infection in the all-seeing eye.

² When it was impossible to accept – this being the rule and not an exception – the self-administratory agreement in some important social sphere – activities, the »state« passed a social contract that was actually a state diktat or decree.

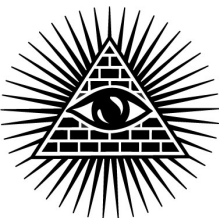
³ According to the totalitarian regime, only one system is possible: the post-totalitarian system.

⁴ Within Yugoslavia, Slovenia played the key role in creating the ideology of self-administration – the reality of self-administration!

⁵ The all-seeing eye, tarot cards and fortune-telling, <http://ciganskekarte.net/2010/06/05/oko-ki-vse-vidi/>



^{5a} For future analysts of the system perhaps two more versions of the eye:



Rajko Shushtarshich

NEZNOSNA LAHKOST LINCHA

(Linč Janeza Janshe preko slovenskih medijev)

Ko gledam nashi TV Slovenija in Pop TV ter poslušam Radio Slovenija, skrbno pazim, da jim ne nasedem, da me ne zacharajo. Še najbolj me zanimajo informativni programi – čeprav bi jih jaz raje poimenoval: »dezinformativni programi«. Bolj ko jih gledam in poslušam (posebej izbrane nastopajoče komentatorje in tv ter radijske voditelje oddaj) v predvolilnih kampanjah, bolj me ti silijo, da bi se vseeno uvrstil med desniharje, čeprav sem se vedno ogibal političnih opredelitev in udeležbe na volitvah in referendumih tudi.

Tiskani mediji kaj dosti ne zaostajajo, po svoji sistemski agitaciji in propagandi se posebej odlikujejo: tednik *Mladina*, *Dnevnik* in seveda *Delo*. Ne bi mogel reči, da so nepristranski, kaj shele, da so neodvisni mediji.

Aktualni vrh teh kampanj zdaj je montiran politični proces v post-totalitarnem sistemu, ta namreč po svoji perfidnosti in brezobzirnosti presega montirani proces zoper J.J., ki ga poznamo iz chasov totalitarnega jugoslovanskega sistema. Prisiljen sem bil torej pogledati, kaj sem pisal o linchu prek medijev.

Skoraj malo zachuden (kajti moj spomin je s chasom zbledel) sem ugotovil, da je moje takratno pisanje o linchu prek medijev in takrat aktualnem političnem sodnem procesu aktualno tudi danes. Zanimalo me je tudi, kdaj sem zaznal zachetek obnove tega pregona. Zachelo se je z afero Depala vas – minister Janez Jansha v likvidaciji s položaja obrambnega ministra. Prav lahko bi jo poimenovali: afera s Smolnikarjem (afera dvojnega agenta). Še bolj očitno pa se je ta igra sistema napovedala, ko so se pojavili prvi znanilci aktualnih dogodkov po elektronski poshti – s kratkim apelom: »Samo Jansha ne!« Ta je kmalu za tem postal ciljni slogan vodilnih slovenskih medijev v boju za ohranitev oblasti tistih, ki so jo dejansko posedovali, a se jim je zazdelo, da jim ta zdaj utegne spolzeti iz rok. Pa ni bilo nobene realne možnosti, da bi se kaj takega tudi v resnici zgodilo. Kontinuiteta oblasti v post-totalitarnem sistemu realno ni bila vprashljiva.

Zdaj pa so ključni, posebej zavzeti in posebej ugledni drzhavljeni RS z linchem Janeza Janshe presegli vsako mero dostojnosti. Posvetili so ji zhe tri, shtiri seje slovenskega parlamenta, mobilizirali vrsto slovenskih najuglednejših pravnikov, vsi se sklicujejo na pravnomočno ob-sodbo Janeza Janshe. Slovensko sodstvo, ki sicer ne uzhiva velikega zaupanja v slovenski javnosti, je s to nespodobno sodbo – v montiranim političnem procesu – chez noch postalo popularno in nezmotljivo ter sposhtovano. Slovenska javnost mu zdaj zaupa? Skratka, da ne nadaljujem z opisom agonije sistema, sistem je tako rekoch v obsednem stanju.

Rajko Shushtarshich

THE UNBEARABLE LIGHTNESS OF THE LYNCHING

(The lynch of Janez Jansha by the Slovenian media)

When I watch TV Slovenija and Pop TV and listen to Radio Slovenija, I take great care not to let myself be fooled by them, to be bewitched by them. I am most interested in the informative programs – although I would prefer to call them: »disinformative programs«. The more I watch and listen to them (especially certain commentators and television and radio presenters) in election campaigns, the more I feel the urge to join the right-wingers despite the fact that I have always avoided political affiliation and voting in elections and referenda.

The printed media do not lag far behind and positively excel in agitating for the system and producing propaganda: the weekly *Mladina*, *Dnevnik* and of course *Delo*. One could not say that they are impartial, let alone independent media.

The current pinnacle of these campaigns is a staged political trial in the post-totalitarian system which, in terms of its perfidiousness and inconsiderateness, surpasses the staged trial against Janez Jansha that we remember from the times of the totalitarian Yugoslav system. I have therefore been forced to look at what I wrote about the media lynching.

I was almost a little surprised (for my memory has faded with time) to discover that what I wrote then about the media lynching and the political judicial process is also valid today. I also asked myself when I first felt the beginning of this renewed persecution. It began with the Depala Vas affair – Minister Janez Jansha being removed from the position of Minister for Defence. We could just as well call it: the affair with Smolnikar (the affair of the double agent). This game played by the system became even more obvious when the first heralds of our current events appeared via email bearing the brief appeal: »Anyone but Jansha!« Soon afterwards this became the slogan of the main Slovenian media in the struggle to retain power by those who were in power but who felt they might be losing it. Although there was no real chance that something like that would actually happen. Their continued power in the post-totalitarian system was never really under threat.

Now the particularly eager and reputed citizens of Slovenia have with their lynching of Janez Jansha surpassed every measure of good taste and respectability. They have already dedicated three or four sessions of the Slovenian parliament to it and mobilised a series of Slovenia's most highly reputed lawyers who are all referring to the legally binding conviction of Janez Jansha. The Slovenian judiciary, which is not actually much trusted by Slovenian society in general, has with this indecent ruling – in a staged political trial – over night become popular and infallible and respected. Does Slovenian society now trust it? To avoid having to describe the agonies of the system, let me just say that the system is virtually in a state of siege.

»Vsi zhele sodelovati, vsi udarjajo ... Pomemben razlog hitri rasti množice je nenevarnost podviga. Ta je nenevaren, ker je premoch množice ogromna. Zhrtev ji ne more nichesar. Ona bezhi ali je zvezana ...« (V nashem primeru gre za politichni umor, zhrtev pa je v zaporu.)

Kaj she pravi o tem Elias Canetti? (glej v dodatku)

Ne morem, da ne bi omenil, kako me je presenetila vloga Matjazha Hanzhka v tem linchu. Davno nekoch – preden je prestopil na stan sistema – sprejel ugledno vlogo Varuha chlovekovih pravic in zdaj she vlogo slovenskega parlamentarca – je bil sodelavec neodvisne *Revije SRP*, njegova zalozhba *LUMI* d.o.o., Ljubljana je bila do oktobra 1998 izdajatelj revije, leta 1992 je izdal tudi mojo knjigo *Traktat o svobodi*, v kateri je napisano vse to, kar je tu v spodnjem dodatku in she dosti drugega o obchih vrednotah in vrednotah sistema.

Iz zgodovine lincha vemo, da je to prastari dosezhke chloveshke civilizacije – mehanizem obrachuna z zhrtvijo. Nikoli ni bil spontan, množica je bila vedno nahujskana. Dandanes se je zelo posodobil, predvsem po zaslugi tehnoloshkega razvoja medijev in razvoja mehanizmov za obvladovanje sistema. Njegovo bistvo pa je ostalo isto. Edini uchinkoviti protiukrep po pisnih virih je prav tako star zhe skoraj 2000 let.

Novo Slovenijo – Stranko krshchanskih demokratov, bi morda veljalo spomniti nanj:

»Tisti, ki je brez greha, naj prvi vrzhe kamen nanjo.«

(V nashem primeru: na *Janeza Jansho*).

Poglejmo zdaj v nekatere moje zapise, predvsem tiste, ki govore o linchu prek medijev. Mochno se mi zdi, da so danes she bolj aktualni, kot so bili junija leta 1985 in leta 1988.

(Tu bodo nekoliko povzeti oziroma skrajshani, v celoti pa si jih lahko ogledate na internetu na navedenih povezavah.)

»All want to participate, all are hitting out ... An important reason for the rapid growth of the masses is the complete lack of danger in the feat. It is so safe because the predominance of the masses is enormous. Its victim can do nothing. Either it flees or it is tied up ...« (In our case this is a political murder and the victim is in prison).

What else does Elias Canetti say about this case? (see the supplement).

I cannot avoid mentioning how surprised I was at the role played by Matjaz Hanzhek in this lynching. A long time ago – before he joined the system – he accepted the respected role of Human Rights Ombudsman and now also the role of Slovenian MP. He was a collaborator of the independent *Revija SRP* and until October 1998 his publishing house *LUMI d.o.o.*, Ljubljana published the journal. In 1992 he also published my book *A Treatise on Freedom*, which contains everything that is written below in the supplement and many other things besides about common values and the values of the system.

From the history of lynching we know that this is an ancient achievement of human civilisation – a mechanism for settling scores with the victim. It was never spontaneous, the masses were always incited. Nowadays, it has become very modern, mainly thanks to the technological development of the media and the development of mechanisms for controlling the system. However, its essence has remained the same. According to written sources, the only effective countermeasure is also almost 2000 years old.

Nova Slovenija – the party of Christian Democrats should perhaps be reminded of it:

»May the first person without sin cast the first stone.«

(In our case: at *Janez Jansha*).

Let us now look at what I have written in the past about media lynching. I have a strong feeling that it is even more relevant nowadays than it was in June 1985 and 1988.

(I have abbreviated my articles somewhat but they can be read in full in Slovenian by following the links.)

Dodatek:

IZ VREDNOTNIH ORIENTACIJ POLITICHNE PROPAGANDE

<http://www.revijasrp.si/knrevsrp/pogum2001-1/3-2dod.htm>

UVOD (povzetek)

Da sem napisal chlanek *Aktualni dogodki v luchi vrednot: Odboru za obrambo chlovekovih pravic – vrednot*, me je spodbudil Franci Zagorichnik, lahko bi rekel, da mi ga je naročil in ga takoj objavil, tako da sem imel v eni shtevilki revije dva prispevka (tega in *Zgodbo o Pilatu*). Najbrzh ni treba rechi, da ni z nichimer pogojeval vsebine chlanka. Zanimalo ga je samo to, kako jaz vidim aktualne dogodke v luchi vrednot. Aktualni dogodki pa so takrat bili »proces proti trojici«: I.B., J.J., D.T., kmalu se jim je pridruzhil she chetrti F.Z., za kratek chas pa she peti T.B..

No, potem sta ostala aktualna le she dva J.J. in I.B., ki je bil sprva neshteta siva eminenca »chetvorice«, formalno nikoli vobtozhen (inkriminiran), dejansko pa je bil vodja Odbora za obrambo »chetvorice«. Kot recheno, te numeracije oseb mi gredo res na zhivce.

Che danes ponovno premislim ta chlanek, me v njem marsikaj moti, dasi je treba rechi, da razvoja dogodkov, kot jih vidim danes, takrat nikakor nisem mogel predvidevati. Moti me predvsem naslednje: Solidarnost s pregnanimi sovrazhniki sistema je moja etichna nuja, ni pa vech, che je ta solidarnost institucionalizirana, che jo organizira neka podobna moch, kot je tista, ki ustvarja zhrtve. Moj problem je toliko vechji, ker v chlanku med drugim pishe tudi tole:

»V krizi vrednot sistema, ki jo povzrocha predominacija mochi, politizacija aparata drzhave, izstopata po mochi dva sklopa institucij, v katerih se politichna moch do skrajnosti aktualizira. Ni tezhko uginiti, da sta to dva »kristala mase«, kot bi ju imenoval Elias Canetti: policija in vojska.« ...

»Pa ko bi bilo samo to: militarizacija sistema kot nujno zlo za zashchito sistema – bi chlovek she nekako dihal. Vojashnice so vidne, uniforme so vidne, chini so jasno hierarhizirani, vojna in puch sta izjemni in kratki stanji sistema. A tu je she trajno prisotna nevidna moch, ki si je nadela obleko tajnosti in ovadbe. Nevidna, a najmochnejsha institucija sistema je predimenzionirana, premochna. Recite mi, katera institucija v drzhavi je najmochnejsha, in povem vam, kako se imenuje sistem. Che je to policija, potem je nash sistem policijska drzhava. ... Tajnost je zavratna vrednota, nevidna ima nesluteno moch, lahko je vladati s tajnostjo, s strahom pred ovadbo, a ker je zavratna, razkrajja vse druge vrednote; najprej javnost in z njo demokracijo, najbolj pogubna pa je vrednoti svobode.«

(Glej v dokumentu: *Aktualni dogodki v luchi vrednot*)

(Tako sem napisal v Ljubljani, 10. junija 1988. Danes bi rekel, da je bil to hiter odziv, celo prehiter.)

Supplement:

FROM THE VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF POLITICAL PROPAGANDA

<http://www.revijasrp.si/knrevsrp/pogum2001-1/3-2dod.htm>

INTRODUCTION (summary)

It was Franci Zagorichnik who encouraged me to write the article *Current events in the light of values*: To the Committee for the defence of human rights – values. I could say that he actually ordered it and immediately published it so that I had two articles published in one edition of the journal (this one and the Story of Pilate). There is probably no need to say that he in no way dictated the content of the article. He was only interested in how I saw current events in the light of values. Current events in those days meant the »trial against the trio« I.B., J.J., D.T., who were soon joined by the fourth F.Z., and even a fifth for a short period T.B..

In the end only two remained relevant, J.J. and I.B., who was at first the uncounted grey eminence of the »four« who was never formally charged (incriminated) but who was in fact the leader of the Committee for the defence of the »four«. As I said, these numerations really get on my nerves.

If I consider this article again today, there are a number of things that bother me in it, although it must be said that I could never have foreseen the turn of events that I see today. I am above all bothered by the following: solidarity with persecuted enemies of the system is my ethical exigency, but it ceases to be if this solidarity is institutionalised, if it is organised by some power that is similar to the one that creates victims. My problem is so much greater because the article also contains the following words:

»In this crisis of values of the system that is caused by the predomination of power, i.e. the politicisation of the state apparatus, two sets of institutions stand out as particularly powerful and in which political power is exerted to its maximum possible extent. It is not difficult to guess that these are two »crowd crystals« as Elias Canetti would call them: the police and the army.«

»And if it was only this: the militarisation of the system as a necessary evil for the protection of the system, one could still somehow manage to breathe. Army barracks are visible, uniforms are visible, ranks are in clear order of hierarchy, and war and putsch occur only in exceptional circumstances and are short-lived states of the system. But here is also still present this invisible power which has put on a cloak of secrecy and denouncement. The invisible but largest institution of the system is oversized, overly powerful. Tell me which institution in the country is the strongest and I will tell you the name of the system. If it is the police then our system is a police state. Secrecy is an insidious value, being invisible it has undreamed-of power, it is easy to rule in secrecy, inspiring fear of denouncement, but as it is insidious it makes all other values disintegrate; firstly the public sphere and with it democracy, and it is most damaging to the value of freedom.«

(See document: *Current events in the light of values*)

(This is what I wrote in Ljubljana on 10 June 1988. Now I would say that this was a very rapid reaction, even too rapid.)

Tezhko je povedati, kaj je v teh mislih danes moteche, ker tudi sama podoba nove mochi ni tista, ki je motecha po sebi, postala je to naknadno. Ali je bilo to mogoče predvidevati? Najbrž je bilo. Chlanek je bil naperjen zoper vrednoto moch, ne le neko konkretno, ampak zoper institucionalno militantno moch nasploh. Naslednja aktualizirana vrednota (nosilna in razkrinkujoča vrednota v chlanku), ki nam je takrat vladala, nas obvladovala, jemala svobodo, je bila vojna tajna. Problem etichnega premisleka se aktualizira takrat, ko konkretni preganjanec J.J. postane vojni minister v novem sistemu, njegov prijatelj in strateg obrambe »chetverice« I.B. pa postane policijski minister. In ta novi vojni minister predlaga šestkrat vech sredstev za vojsko (vodenje vojne, morijo), kot jo daje novi sistem za kulturo (ohranjanje narodove identitete (za ustvarjalnost, za zhivost zhivljenja). No, nich hudega boste rekli, tudi to mora nekdo biti. Zhe res, ni pa lepo, che so to nekdanji preganjanci, ker, mnozhice niso solidarne z mochnimi in mogochnimi, pach pa z zhrtvami, ker se le z zhrtvami identificirajo (poenotijo, postanejo eno v duhu). Kako naj se sedaj poenotijo z njimi? To je le malo prevech groteskno prichakovanje. Nekaj chasa lahko traja tudi ta nova institucionalna identifikacija, tudi z uniformiranimi institucionalnimi branilci svobode, a vrnila se bo kot bumerang.* (Ker je bilo to pisano pred vojno agresijo Jugoslavije na nasho novo drzhavo, je treba ta stavek popraviti: »Dolgo chasa bo trajala ta nova institucionalna identifikacija z uniformiranimi institucionalnimi branilci svobode, njihju slava bo kot slava slovenskega generala Maistra, in vechja, a se nam bo vrnila kot bumerang.« Nekaj chudnega, meni nerazumljivega se kasneje dogaja s temi mojimi konkretnimi zhrtvami sistema, za katere se posebej zavzamem in jim izrazim solidarnost. Skorajda se razporede v dva ekstrema. Za ene velja, da ko se povzpno na institucionalni hierarhiji, kar samo po sebi ni presenetljivo, ker tako deluje mehanizem socialnih preobratov, pa me vseeno preseneti radikalnost preobrazbe zhrtv v tiste, ki bodo poslej morda sami morali zhrtvovati. Tako me je zhe nekaj let po moji solidarnostni podpori Vojislavu Sheshlju (ob beograjskem procesu »shestorici« v prvem delu raziskave) presenetil njegov nenadni vzpon na mesto chetnishkega vojvode. Primerjava za nas ni vzdrzhna (*danes she posebej ne). Pa tudi Srbom ni, vendar je razlog pri obeh narodih nasproten. Za nas Slovence sta J.J. in I.B. vechna narodna junaka, mitoloshke osebnosti, za Srbe pa V. Sh.

Vendar je tu she ena bistvena razlika, ta ne izhaja iz znachaja individuuma, ampak iz narave sistema in narodovega znachaja. Tako Sheshlja neizogibno določa drzhavotvorni »kompleks« velikosrbske drzhave, ki se lahko realizira samo tako, da podredi ostale in preostale balkanske nedrzhave (republike nekdanje Srboslavije).

It is hard to say what is most disturbing in these thoughts nowadays because even the very image of new power – not disruptive by itself – has subsequently become disruptive. Was it possible to foresee this? Probably yes. The article was aimed against the value of power, not only some concrete value but institutional militant power in general. The next actualised value (the carrying and unmasking value in the article), which governed us at the time, controlling us and taking away our freedom, was a military secret. The problem of the ethical consideration is brought to the fore when the actual victim of persecution J.J. becomes defence minister in the new system and his friend and defence strategist for the »four« I.B. becomes minister for the police. And this new defence minister proposes six times as much funding for the army (war, butchery) than the new system spends on culture (preservation of the nation's identity (for creativity, for the liveliness of life). Well, it does not matter you might say, someone must have this role too. That is true, but it is not good if these are former persecuted persons because the masses are not supportive of the mighty and the powerful but of the victims because they only identify themselves with victims (unify, become one in spirit). How can they now become one with them? This is rather too grotesque an expectation. It can also last for some time, this new institutional identification with uniformed institutional defenders of freedom but it will come back like a boomerang.* (As this was written before Yugoslavia's military aggression on our new state, this sentence must be corrected. »This new institutional identification with uniformed institutional defenders of freedom will last a long time, their glory will be as that of the Slovenian General Maister, and greater, but it will come back to us like a boomerang.« Something strange, that I cannot comprehend, later happens with these concrete victims of the system whom I particularly strive to help and express my solidarity with. They almost arrange themselves in two extremes. For some it holds true that when they climb up in the institutional hierarchy, which is not surprising on its own because this is the way the mechanism of social turnabouts functions, I am nevertheless surprised by the radicalism of the transformation of the victim into those who will henceforth perhaps have to create victims themselves. Similarly, I was surprised a few years after expressing my solidarity for Vojislav Sheshelj (at the time of the Belgrade trial of the »six« in the first part of the investigation) by his sudden rise to the position of Chetnik leader. A comparison is not possible for us, (*especially not nowadays). And neither is it for the Serbs but the reasons for both nations are contrary to each other. For us Slovenians J.J. and I.B. are eternal national heroes and mythological personalities as V.Sh. is for the Serbs.

But there is another fundamental difference that does not stem from the nature of the individual but from the nature of the system and the nation's character. Sheshelj is inevitably marked by the »complex« of creating a greater Serbia which can only be done by subordinating other Balkan non-states (republics of the former Serboslavia). So that the Serb nation attempts to subjugate – enslave nations whose identity and freedom it does not acknowledge.

In tako, da skusha narod Srbov podjarmiti – zasuzhnjiti narode, ki jim ne prizna identitete, svobode. In tako Jansho in Bavcharja (nasprotno od Sheshlja) določa osamosvojitveni »instinkt« slovenske države in samoobrambni boj za narodovo svobodo. Prednost je tako velika, da je ne odtehta niti mitološko junashtvo srbskih domoljubov (lahko rechemo: tudi zloglasnih četnikov, komitov, kot jih opisuje njihov rojak Dimitrije Tucovich) niti shtevilčna moč Srbov, v »drugi Jugoslaviji«, niti njihova premoč v poveljniskem – oficirskem kadru v »JNA«. Izid boja je predvidljiv in z njim saldo mojih junakov. Vendar predvidljivost sega le do neke mere, do mere, ki jo uokvirja vrednotni sistem institucij. Res je ta prediktibilnost ravnanja, določena iz institucionalne vloge, velika, rekel bi presenetljivo velika. A tu je še preostanek, ki je nedolochljiv, nepredvidljiv. Vedno je prisoten, prichujoch, che ga ne uposhtevamo, smo slepi in topi zanj, a nas bo presenetil. Recimo tako temu preostanku, da je to individualnost chloveka in individualnost naroda, njuno bistvo po sebi, iz sebe zanj.

Za druge pa velja nasprotno, da rehabilitacija zanje nikakor ni mogocha, niti v novem sistemu ne, vsaj dokler so še zhivi, ne. Tudi novi sistem jih ne more prebaviti, uporabiti, in zato tudi ne rehabilitirati. Ostanajo disidenti, zamolchani in zavrzheni individui za vse chase. Niso popularni v narodu svojem, prej so neznani, anonimni. Tudi na nasprotni strani se lahko znajdejo, lahko bi bili celo narodovi izdajalci. A tu je še ena igra, recimo ji igra usode z ljudmi. Ne sprejme jih sistem, ne sprejme jih narod, do njega ne morejo.

Tudi razlog, zakaj so institucionalno neuporabni, je znan. Ostali so dosledni svoji osebni vrednotni orientaciji. Noben sistem tega ne more dopustiti in odpustiti, posebej konvertiti v njem ne.

Nekaj solidarnosti sem takim trdovratnim primerom izrazil zhe kar v naslednjem članku: *Igre sistema* (v reviji: *Likovne besede*, sht. 8-9, 1988, Ljubljana, p. 94).

Igre sistema;

O sistemu v luchi systemske teorije in malo drugache;

Spoved sistemu

(Dve vrsti iger: igre s chlovekom, z njegovo individualnostjo, igre z narodi, z njihovo svobodo – subjektiviteto – O sistemu v luchi systemske teorije in malo drugache – Spoved sistemu)

(Iz člankov bom tudi to pot povzel samo del vsebine, in sicer tisti, ki se po moje nanasha na bistvo procesov sistema).

»Chas bo pokazal svoje bistvo, da pa zgolj ne chakamo, si lahko pomagamo s spominom. Sistem nam pomaga, spomni nas na zhrtve v t. i. dachauskih procesih. Shtirideset let so mrtvi in zhivi chakali na rehabilitacijo. Doslej pa so bili znova in znova osumljeni, sumnicheni, zaznamovani, trpincheni.

In this way Jansha and Bavchar (contrary to Sheshelj) are defined by the independence-gaining »instinct« of the Slovenian state and the struggle in self-defence for the nation's freedom. The advantage is so great that it cannot even be outweighed by the mythological heroism of the Serbian patriots (we can mention the notorious Chetniks, Komits, as described by their compatriot Dimitrije Tucovich) nor the power of numbers of the Serbs, in the »second Yugoslavia«, not even their predominance in the commanding roles in the Yugoslav Army. The outcome of the conflict is foreseeable and with it the balance of my heroes. But the predictability reaches only to a certain extent, to the extent that is framed by the value system of the institutions. This predictability of action determined from an institutional role is great, I would say surprisingly great. But there is also the remainder that is indeterminable, unpredictable. It is ever present and if we fail to bear it in mind we are blind and numb to it, but it will surprise us. Let us call this remainder the individuality of man and the individuality of the nation, their essence from themselves, from themselves and for it.

For others it is the opposite that counts, that rehabilitation for them is in no way possible, not even in the new system, at least not as long as they are alive. Not even the new system can digest them or use them and therefore cannot rehabilitate them either. What remains are dissidents, hidden and rejected individuals for all times. They are not popular in their own nation; rather they are unknown and anonymous. They can also find themselves on the opposite side; they could even be traitors of the nation. But there is another game that is also being played here, let us call it fate playing games with people. They are not accepted by the system, they are not accepted by the nation, they have no access to it.

The reason why they are institutionally useless is also known. They have remained faithful to their personal value orientation. No system can allow this and forgive it, especially not converts from it.

I have expressed some solidarity with such difficult cases in the following article: (Games played by the system: Visual words, nos. 8-9, 1988, Ljubljana, p 94).

Games played by the system,
The system in the light of system theory and a little differently,
Confession for the system

(Two kinds of game: games played with the person, his individuality, games played with the nation, their freedom – subjectivity – About the system in the light of system theory and a little differently – Confession for the system)

This time also he will only borrow some of the content from the articles, namely the content that in my opinion refers to the essence of the processes of the system). »Time will show its essence, but instead of waiting, we can help ourselves with memory. The system helps us; it reminds us of the victims in the Dachau trials. The living and the dead waited forty years to be rehabilitated. Until then they were repeatedly the subject of suspicion, were stigmatised and tormented.

Vsak predhodni poskus rehabilitacije se je izjalovil. Bodimo pozorni na besedo rehabilitacija, ki naj pomeni: vrniti obsojencem ugled, dobro ime, njih chast. Mislim, da jim je bilo treba vrniti njihovo individualnost, treba je bilo nedvoumno izrechi njihovo resnico. Rehabilitirati pa je bilo treba sistem: rezhiserje krizhanja, neavtonomno sodstvo, tajno policijo, politichno avantgardo, skratka celotni sistem, ker je bil sistem integralen, totalitaren. Oprati je treba krivde nas, ki mirno zremo zmote sistema, ki niso zmote, ker so namerne resnice sistema. Naj ponovim: justifikacija je naklepni umor sistema. In che nimamo dovolj vednosti o tem procesu, jih imamo o kakem drugem, za sistem so sistematicni. Mi pa tega nochemo videti. Tolazhimo se, da gre za neko sluchajno zmoto, sodno zmoto, justifikacije so redke in konchno je tu rehabilitacija in tedaj si lahko oddahnemo. Kako naj se sistem rehabilitira z enim samim, resda v nebo shtrelechim procesom, ko pa je teh justifikacij toliko, da se chloveku stemni svetla prihodnost sistema? Chlovek naj se tolazhi; velike krivice so dejstva preteklosti, zadeva zgodovine, in najbolje je, da nanje pozabimo, tega ni vech. Samoprevara in lazh je tolazhba pozabe. Prosesi so in bodo, dokler bo sistem zoper chloveka, dokler bo razkol med sistemom in chlovekom, med njim in njegovo vlogo v sistemu tako hudichevo pomemben, odlochilen.«

»Sistem se prilagaja po formi represije, a bistva ne menja.«

»Ko bi ne bilo tega dvoma v zakonitost in ustavnost sistema! Vendar ta dvom je tu, prezhema nas! V zakonih se dushimo, ustavnih sprememb se sramujemo! Prevech zakonov zanesljivo kazhe na nezakonitost, prepogosto popravljanje ustave pa na neustavnost, drznejse recheno, na nelegitimnost sistema. Zastrashevalni »procesi so le vrh ledene gore«, ki se vidi, ostalo se ne vidi in ne ve, ker tako hochemo. Vchasih pa mi le ni jasno, kako naj shajam s svojo vednostjo, recimo, vsaj she o treh procesih sistema. Poznam proces Zorana Lenarta, Stojana Sotoshka, Ota Vilchnika in tudi njih poznam. In ni mi jasno, kako s to vednostjo shajamo njihovi prijatelji, znanci, nekdanji stanovski kolegi: novinarji, pravniki, profesorji? Morda pa jih sploh vech nimajo, tistih nekdanjih prijateljev, znancev, kolegov? Pochasi, a zanesljivo deluje sistemska izolacija s procesom zaznamovanih, rechem ji – civilna smrt. Vsak od njih ima svojo zgodbo, vsaka je po svoje zanimiva, srhljiva. Otova traja zhe sedemnajst let (sedaj zhe 20 let) in se she kar dogaja in ni ji videti konca, in tudi drugim zgodbam ne. Zakaj je ne povedo, vsak svoje zgodbe o svojem procesu? Saj jih, a mi jih nochemo slishati. In na vsako njihovo izpoved se bo zanesljivo usulo sumnichenje, nadaljnje obtozhevanje in zhalitve in zasramovanje.

Every previous attempt at rehabilitation fell through. Let us be attentive to the word rehabilitation which should mean: to give a condemned person back their good reputation, their honour. I believe it was necessary to give them back their individuality, their truth had to be unambiguously expressed. Meanwhile, the system had to be rehabilitated: directors of crucifixions, non-autonomous judiciary, the secret police, the political avant-garde, basically the whole system because the system was integral, totalitarian. We who calmly observe the errors of the system must be washed of our guilt for the errors are not true errors but intentional truths of the system. May I say again that execution is the premeditated murder of the system. And if we do not have sufficient knowledge about this process, we have enough about some other, for the system they are systematic. But we do not want to see this. We are consoling ourselves by saying that this is an accidental error, a judicial error, executions are rare and after all we now have rehabilitation and can rest. How can the system rehabilitate itself with just one, albeit a preposterous trial when there were so many of these executions that one can no longer envisage a bright future for the system. One can console himself; great injustices are facts of the past, matters of history and it is best to forget them, it is over. Self-delusion and lies are the consolation of oblivion. There have been trials and there will be more as long as the system will be aimed against the person, as long as the rift between the system and the person, between him and his role in the system will be so damn important, decisive.«

»The system adapts its form of repression but its essence remains the same.«

»If there was not this doubt over the legality and constitutionality of the system! But this doubt is present and is pervading us! We are suffocating in laws and are ashamed of constitutional changes! Too many laws are a clear indicator of illegality, too many changes to the constitution a clear indicator of non-constitutionality or in other words, the illegitimacy of the system. The intimidating »trials are only the tip of the iceberg«, which is visible, the rest cannot be seen and known because we want it that way. But sometimes I simply cannot understand how to manage with what I know about, shall we say, at least three more trials of the system? I am acquainted with the trials of Zoran Lenart, Stojan Sotoshek, Oto Vilchnik and I also know them personally. And I cannot understand how we can live and know what we know, we their friends, acquaintances, former work colleagues: journalists, lawyers, professors? Perhaps they no longer even have those former friends, acquaintances and colleagues? The system's process of isolation works slowly but surely on those that are marked by the trial; I call it a civil death. Each of them has his own story and every one of them is interesting and frightening on its own. Oto's story has lasted seventeen years (now already 20 years) and is still ongoing with no end in sight and the other stories are the same. Why do they not tell them, each person the story of his trial? They do tell them, but we do not want to hear them. And every declaration they make will be met with a barrage of suspicion, further accusations, insults and humiliations.

Tak je zhelezni scenarij procesa. V najboljšem primeru se kdaj obeta ali dogaja uradna obnova procesa, za katero pa tako vedo, da spada v igro sistema. Oni resnični proces, mislim neuradni, pa tako traja, ves čas je tu. Tak je scenarij sistema. Josef K. bi vas vprashal: ali zhe imate svoj proces?»

»Jaz pa bom raje vprashal: ali ima sistem dovolj analitikov, takih, ki jim zaupa, da bi raziskali to pod-povrshino ledene gore? Kateri odbor, katera komisija bi lahko pregledala kupe sumljivih sodnih spisov, za katere se na sodnji nekako neuradno ve, da so politični? Uradno to seveda niso. Katera komisija bi lahko pregledala grmadenje chudnih spisov na sodishchih združenega dela? Katera komisija bi lahko pregledala kupe nerazumljivih odloचितev disciplinskih komisij v organizacijah združenega dela? Ti kupi kopne hitreje kot vrh ledene gore, ne pridejo vsi na vrh gore.

Razdruzhevalci združenega dela pa pridno polnijo rezervno armado brezposelnih v sistemu. Chlovek dobi vtis, da sistem te rehabilitacijske zadeve reshjuje bolj eksemplarično, zaradi videza, da ohrani svoje nalichje.«

Chlankov: *O sistemu v luchi sistemske teorije in malo drugache*, in svoje: *Spovedi sistemu* pa ne bom povzegal. Glej dokumente: *Igre sistema*, *O sistemu v luchi sistemske teorije in malo drugache*, *Spoved sistemu* : <http://www.revijasrp.si/knrevsrp/pogum2001-1/3-2dod.htm#igre>

Iz zgodovine lincha:

Nahujskana mnozhica;

Zakon mnozhice ali o pravichni sodbi;

Sodba drhali ali izrek sodbe na Gabati

Zelo stara je tehnologija procesa, tako stara kot chloveshtvo samo in le malo se spreminja njeno bistvo, le izrazi so nekoliko drugachni. Razlichno je le nashe videnje. Enkrat jih zremo bolj socioloshko, z vidika sistema, drugih bolj prizadeto, chloveshko, z vidika individuuma. Vendar nobeno teh bistev nas ne zadovolji. Ker tu je she eno bistvo, globlje od osebnega in socioloshkega bstva vseh procesov, to sem hotel pokazati v teh treh chlankih. Njih bistvo je eno, težhko umljivo chlovekovemu dojevanju, je zunajčasno, je transcendentno! Chlovekov um ga na trenutke zasluti, potem pa ga zopet pozabi in se pomiri z onim drugim, bolj vsakdanjim videvanjem in razumevanjem drame chloveka in sistema ali chloveka in institucije. Znanosti pa je nedostopno, che ga hoche po vsej sili analizirati in pojasnjevati, nujno zapade v redukcionizem.

Nepomirljivost chlovekove bivanjske usode na eni in njegove institucionalne vloge na drugi strani ostane zagonetna, za vse chase ista. Tej vechni skrivnosti skusam v *Zgodbi o Pilatu* priti chim blizhe, deshifrirati njeno ezoterichno raven. To seveda po nichemer ni znanstveni tekst, eksplikacija je literarna.

Such is the iron-like scenario of the trial. At best, the trial is officially scheduled to be reopened or is actually reopened, but everyone knows that it is part of the game of the system. As for the real trial, I mean the unofficial one, it does not end, it is here all the time. Such is the scenario of the system. Joseph K. would ask you: do you already have your own trial?«

»I prefer to ask: does the system have enough analysts that it can trust and that could investigate what lies beneath the tip of the iceberg? Which committee, which commission could sift through the heaps of suspect judicial documents for which the judiciary unofficially knows that they are political? Officially, of course, they are not. Which commission could sift through the piles of strange documents at the courts of united work? Which commission could look through the mounds of unintelligible decisions made by disciplinary commissions in organisations of united work? These mounds are disappearing faster than the tip of the iceberg, not everyone makes it to the top of the mountain.

Those working to disunite united work are slowly but surely filling the reserve armada of unemployed people in the system. One gets the impression that the system is solving these rehabilitation matters in order to save its face.«

Articles: About *the system in the light of system theory and a little differently*: I will not summarise the confession to the system. See the documents: *Games played by the system*, *The system in the light of system theory and a little differently*, *a Confession of the system*. <http://www.revijasrp.si/knrevsrp/pogum2001-1/3-2dod.htm#igre>

From the history of lynching:

The incited crowd,

The law of the crowd or concerning the just judgment,

The verdict of the mob or the pronouncing of the judgement on Gabbatha

The technology of the trial is very old, as old as humanity itself and its essence changes very little, only the expressions are slightly different. Only our viewpoints differ. Sometimes we see them more from a sociological point of view, from the point of view of the system, and at other times more involved and human, from the point of view of the individual. However, none of these essences satisfies us. For there is another essence here, deeper than the personal and sociological essence of all trials, which I wanted to show in these three articles. Their essence is one, difficult for us humans to understand, it is timeless, transcendental!

The human reason senses it at times, then forgets it again and is pacified with that other more everyday way of seeing things and understanding the drama of being human and the system, or the person and institutions. But it is inaccessible to science and if it wants to analyse and explain it at all costs it falls into reductionism.

The implacability of the human existential fate on the one hand and the institutional role on the other remain enigmatic and unchanging through time. I attempt to get as close as possible to this eternal secret in the *Story of Pilate*, to unravel its esoteric dimension. Obviously, this is by no means a scientific text, the explanation is literary.

DOKUMENTI:

Aktualni dogodki v luchi vrednot**Igre sistema****Iz zgodovine lincha**

AKTUALNI DOGODKI V LUCHI VREDNOT

<http://www.revijasrp.si/knrevsrp/pogum2001-1/3-2dod.htm#aktualni>

Odboru za obrambo chlovekovih pravic (vrednot)

*Vrednota tajnost nam vlada,
vojna tajna nam jemlje svobodo,
zopet in zopet, ta zbrtveni obred krizhanja, linchanja, pljuvanja
chloveka, treh ljudi, treh individualnosti.
Ivana, Borshtnerja, Janeza Janshe, Davida Tasicha;
vse to zaradi Nas,
da bi nas zagrnil oblak strahu,
da bi obromil nasbo zavest,
da bi nam onesnazhil psibo,
vemo, da smo pravi krivci MI,
to je vse zaradi Nas,
Mistva nashega.*

Che so aretacije Ivana Borshtnerja, Janeza Janshe, Davida Tasicha zakonite, che so v skladu z veljavno zakonodajo, ustavo, mednarodnimi pakti, nasho pravno prakso(?), vse to je nedvomno pomembno.

Kaj pa to pomeni v nashi skupinski zavesti, ki tako zakonodajo in njeno uporabo utemeljuje in orientira, je vredno kratkega razmisleka, che so vrednote morda le najgloblje dolochilnice nashega ravnanja in utemeljevanja le tega.

S temi dogodki se sistem legitimira. Prishel je v svojo najnizhjo fazo vrednotnega utemeljevanja sebe (sistema). Nizhe ne more. Lahko se samo izzhivlja in izzhivi na tej stopnji degresije vrednotne strukture. Lahko smo prichakovali tak »razvoj« vrednotnega sistema, z vidika sistema je logichen, nujen, neizbezhen. Od tu naprej je shele možno prevrednotenje vrednot sistema, od tu naprej je mogocha katarza; prej bi bila nemogocha ali vsaj nepreprichljiva.

Che na kratko orisem znachilnost vrednotne strukture sistema, bo to strahotna poenostavitev, vendar jo bom tvegaj. Zgodovinsko, odkar pomni chlovek, so dominirali trije nachini vrednotnega utemeljevanja sistema: religijski, politichni, ekonomski. Tri propoagande so parale nasho zavest, dominirale v zavesti systemskega chloveka.

DOCUMENTS:

Current events in the light of values
Games played by the system
From the history of lynching

CURRENT EVENT SIN THE LIGHT OF VALUES

<http://www.revijasrp.si/knevsvrp/pogum2001-1/3-2dod.htm#aktualni>

For the Committee for the defence of human rights (values)

*The value of secrecy is governing us,
 the military secret is depriving us of freedom,
 again and again, this sacrificial rite of crucifixion, lynching, spitting on
 the person, three persons, three individualities.
 Ivan Borshtner, Janez Jansha, David Tasich;
 all this because of Us,
 so that we may be enshrouded by a cloud of fear,
 that would paralyse our consciousness,
 that would pollute our psyche,
 we know that WE are the true culprits,
 it is all because of Us,
 our being Us.*

If the arrests of Ivan Borshtner, Janez Jansha and David Tasich are legal, if they are in keeping with valid legislation, the constitution, international treaties and our legal practice (?), then all this is undoubtedly important.

But what does this mean in our common consciousness which substantiates and orientates such a legislation and its use. It is worth briefly reflecting if values really are the profoundest determiners of our behaviour and the reasons for it.

Through these events the system is trying to prove its own legitimacy. It has reached the lowest phase of substantiating itself (the system) through its values. It cannot fall any lower. It can only take pleasure at this level of the disintegration of the value structure. We could have expected such a »development« in the value system; from the point of view of the system it is logical, necessary and unavoidable. Only from here onwards is it possible to reappraise the values of the system, from here onwards catharsis is possible; before it was impossible or at least unconvincing.

If I briefly describe the main characteristic of the value structure of the system it will be a terrible over-simplification but I will risk it nevertheless. Historically, for as far back as man can remember, three ways of creating a value foundation for the system have been dominant: the religious, political and economical. Three propagandas tore at our consciousness and dominated in the consciousness of the systematic person.

Lahko bi tudi rekli nekoliko ilustrativneje, trije načini vrednotne utemeljitve sistema so onesnazhevali našo zavest in ji dajali osnovni družbeni smisel bivanja, to je ves tisti del nas, ki ga zajema in obvladuje institucionalizacija tako družbenega kot individualnega bitja, nas.

Danes je za naš sistem značilno preveliko prevladovanje (predominacija) ene same vrednote, ta vrednota je moč, je vrednota, ki utemeljuje sicer vsak političen podsystem; po njej, to je po moči strukturira institucije sistema, vse do individualnih vlog konkretnih posameznikov. Vendar ta vrednota je v našem sistemu tako dominantna, da je naša zavest skrajno spolitizirana, politika dominira z njo v vseh sferah družbenih dejavnosti. Nedvomno posveča največjo pozornost ekonomskemu podsystemu, s svojim vrednotnim utemeljevanjem ga dobesedno duši, onemogoča mu avtonomno vrednotno utemeljitev in z njo normalno delovanje, kaj šele razvoj ali ekspanzijo ekonomike v sistemu. Ko je politika premočna, je sistem totalen ali totalaren in to je tako, ker je vrednota moči (politične moči) dominantna v naši zavesti. Ta moč obvladuje vse, ne le ekonomske odnose, marveč enako naše šolstvo, znanost, kulturo, vse tja do zabave in intimne. Ker ta moč obvladuje vse, je integralna; znanstvena in kulturna ustvarjalnost sta v njeni senci, njena dekoracija, ker se ne moreta utemeljiti na svojih lastnih vrednotah, sta do skrajnosti spolitizirani, ohromljeni do te mere, da sta za sistem kot celoto nefunkcionalni, breme sistemu, kvečjemu njegova neproduktivna nuja, a predvsem maneverski prostor politike, njene nemohne moči. Kriza sistema je v luči vrednot razpad vrednotnega sistema, je razvrednotenje vrednot nepolitičnih dejavnosti (danes se zhe kar neverjetno slishi, da so kakšne dejavnosti sistema, kot na primer nashteti kultura in znanost, v svojem bistvu apolitične).

Sistem kot celoto je prezhela politizacija, sistem je prezhet z obsesijo moči, obsesijo obvladovanja systemskega chloveka. Ker pa chlovek ni zgolj systemski chlovek in ker systemski chlovek ni zgolj politični chlovek, se sistem na taki vrednotni utemeljitvi zruši sam vase, razpade. Legitimnost njegove vrednotne utemeljitve je vprashljiva, nepreprichljiva, politična propaganda zgublja svojo prepričevalno moč, nih več nas ne prepriča, tako nepreprichljiva propaganda je smeshna, a tako nemohna moč je nevarna. Arhaizira se, sezhe po svojih zadnjih sredstvih. Regulacija, obvladovanje in vrednotno utemeljevanje sistema je v agoniji, kratko rečeno, sistem je vrednotno nelegitimen, vrednotno neutemeljen.

Lahko bi rekli, da je to izvajanje presplohno in nima nobene neposredne zveze z aktualnimi dogodki, vendar zveza je toliko bolj razvidna, kolikor temeljiteje osvetlimo strukturo celotnega vrednotnega sistema, znotraj njega pa strukturo vrednot političnega podsystema, zato je le na kratko:

V krizi vrednot sistema, ki jo povzroča dominacija moči, politizacija aparata države, izstopata po moči dva sklopa institucij, v katerih se politična moč do skrajnosti aktualizira.

We could also put it a little more illustratively, three ways of creating a value foundation for the system polluted our consciousness and gave it a basic social reason for being. That is all the part of us that is enveloped and controlled by the institutionalisation of both the social as well as the individual being, us.

Nowadays, our system is characteristically marked by the predomination of one sole value which is power. This is a value that gives a basis to every political subsystem; through it, i.e., through power, structure is given to the institutions of the system, as far as the individual roles of concrete individuals. However, this value is so predominant in our system that our consciousness is extremely politicised; politics dominates with it in all spheres of social activities. Undoubtedly, it gives greatest attention to the economic sub-system, literally suffocating it with its value foundations and preventing it from achieving an autonomous value foundation and hence a normal functioning, let alone development or expansion of economics in the system. When politics is too powerful the system is total or totalitarian and that is so because the value of power (political power) predominates in our consciousness. This power dominates everything, not just economic relations but equally our education, science, and culture, even free time and our intimate life. As this power dominates everything it is integral; scientific and cultural creativity are in its shade, are its decoration because they cannot establish themselves on their own values; they become extremely politicised and paralysed to the extent that they become dysfunctional for the system as a whole, they are a burden for the system being at best its unproductive necessity but above all room for political manoeuvring, its powerless power. In the light of values, the crisis of the system is the disintegration of the value system, it is the devaluation of the values of non-political activities (nowadays, it almost sounds unbelievable that some activities of the system such as culture and science are in essence apolitical).

The system as a whole has been pervaded by politicisation; the system is pervaded with the obsession of power, the obsession of controlling the system person. However, as a person is not solely a system person and as a system person is not solely a political person, the system based on such values implodes and disintegrates. The legitimacy of its value foundation is questionable and unconvincing, political propaganda loses its power of persuasion, it can no longer convince us. Propaganda that is so unconvincing is ridiculous but power that is so powerless is dangerous. It becomes archaised and reaches out for its last means. Regulation, control and the value substantiation of the system is in agony, in short, in terms of values the system is non-legitimate and without foundation.

We could say that these arguments are too general and have no direct connection with current events, however, the connection is more evident if we shed more light on the structure of the whole value system and within it the structure of values of the political subsystem, so let us look at it briefly:

In the system's value crisis that is provoked by the predomination of power, the politicisation of the state's apparatus, two sets of institutions stand out in terms of power in which political power is maximally exerted.

Ni težko uganiti, da sta to dva »kristala mase«, kot bi ju imenoval Elias Canetti: policija in vojska. To institucionalno dogajanje pa je zopet samo posledica predhodnih sprememb v strukturi naše zavesti, v načinu vrednotne utemeljitve sistema, ali v regresiji vrednotnega utemeljevanja, ali arhaizaciji legitimitete sistema, poljubno recheno, v stanju zavesti, ko moč nadene svojo najbolj grobo obleko sile, nasilja. Vrednota armade je moč v posebni obleki, je militantna moč, je najbolj groba sila, ki zmaguje ali pa je porazhena v najtežjih trenutkih sistema: v boju, v vojni, v revoluciji, v ekstremni krizi sistema. Sistem je v tem zrenju ogrozil sebe zhe, ko je general pogoje za aktualizacijo vrednot armade za celotno družbo, jih vsilil s silo, grozljivo orožja, prezirom svobode in konec koncev zhivljenja chloveka-individuuma. Generali vedno sanjajo o vojni, o puchih, o vojashkih udarih, prevratih, samo v izjemnih, izrednih razmerah pa lahko izkazhejo svojo moč, njen smisel, smisel svoje organiziranosti – institucionalizacije.

»V nashi civilizaciji je pach tako, da moramo pobiti chim vech ljudi; mi vodimo vojne, da bi govorili o miru, vrednoto mir imamo za to, da jo deklariramo. Deklarirane vrednote pa ne veljajo chloveku, ki ga sposhtujemo, so samo za naivnezhe. Za močne in mogochne je vojna nepogreshljiva ekspresija njihove mochi. Moč in vojna sta hierarhom vech kot vse drugo. Star propagandni trik je govoriti in propagirati lepoto vojne, njeno romantiko, romantiko vojashstva, njegovo poslanstvo v obrambi svobode, neodvisnosti. Z grozotami vojne, omejenostjo vojashstva, neobvladljivim nasiljem se pach ne da mobilizirati. vojske.«

»Neupravicheno je strashenje mnozhic in mas z vladavino kaosa in medsebojnim iznichenje, che bi armadi, temu kristalu mas, ne dopustili, da zasije, che bi dopustili svobodo v vrednotni opredelitvi posamezniku. Tega noben sistem iskreno in resnichno ni dopustil. Lahko rachunamo samo nase, na nash jaz in nashe Mi, obrnemo se tja, kamor močni sistemi ne morejo.«

»Razvoja sistema nikakor ni mogoche zadovoljivo planirati, tudi ko ga planiramo kot nepretregano (cheprav pojemajocho rast), bo socialni sistem na neki točki razvoja stagniral in nekoch zatopil, tega pa sistemski chlovek ne more in ne sme vedeti, kako bi sicer razlagal, da noben sistem ne planira nerazvoja, neurejenosti vsaj za neko obdobje, ki je zhe vidno in neizogibno. Ker preden se je to dogodilo (kar danes imenujemo kriza), je razpadel vrednotni sistem, kajti svoboda je neulovljiva, ne da se je ne podariti ne objaviti, obelodaniti, sploh pa ne utesniti v sistem.«

Ko vojashki podsistem ali vojashki aparat ali vojashki stroj aktualizira svojo silo in moč na celotni sistem, od rojstva do groba, ali od vrtcev do upokojencev, se razteza ena sama vizija vojashnice, splošne vseljidske obrambe in samozashchite.

Pa ko bi bilo samo to: militarizacija sistema, kot nujno zlo za zashchito sistema, bi chlovek she nekako dihal. Vojashnice so vidne, uniforme so vidne, chini so jasno hierarhizirani, vojna in puch sta izjemni in kratki stanji sistema A tu je she trajno prisotna nevidna moč, ki si je nadela obleko tajnosti in ovadbe.

It is not difficult to guess that these are two »crowd crystals« as Elias Canetti would call them: the police and the army. However, this institutional action is again only the result of prior changes in the structure of our consciousness, in the way the system is founded on values, or in the disintegration of value substantiation, or the archaification of the legitimacy of the system, put randomly, in the state of consciousness in which power dons its roughest overcoat, violence. The value of the armada is power in special clothing, it is militant power, the roughest form of force which wins or is defeated in the system's most difficult moments: in combat, in war, in the revolution, in the extreme crisis of the system. The system endangers itself already when it generates the conditions for the actualisation of the values of the armada for all of society, imposing them with force, the threat of weapons, with contempt for freedom and even human life. Generals are always dreaming about war, putsches, coup d'états and overthrows. Only in exceptional circumstances can they show their power, its purpose, the purpose of its organisation – institutionalisation.

»In our civilisation it is simply so that we must kill as many people as possible; we go to war to talk about peace; we have the value of peace so we can declare it. Declared values are not valid for a person we respect; they are only for the naive. For the powerful and mighty, war is an indispensable expression of their power. Power and war are for the hierarchs more than anything else. An old propaganda trick is to extol and propagate the beauty of war, its romanticism, the romanticism of everything military, its mission to defend freedom and independence. For it is not possible to mobilise an army with the horrors of war, the limitations of army-life and uncontrollable violence.«

»It is inexcusable to frighten the masses with the rule of chaos and mutual elimination if the armada, this crowd crystal, were not allowed to shine if the individual was free to make their own value determination. No system has sincerely and truly ever allowed this. We can only rely on ourselves, on our self and our We, we can turn to where strong systems cannot reach.«

»The development of the system can in no way be satisfactorily planned, even when we plan it as uninterrupted (although waning growth), the social system will at a certain point of development stagnate and fade away. But the system person cannot and must not know this, how else could he explain that no system plans non-development and disarray at least for a certain period that is already visible and unavoidable. For before this happened (what we nowadays call the crisis), the value system disintegrated for freedom is elusive, it can neither be bestowed nor declared or disclosed and certainly not confined to the system.«

When the military subsystem or military apparatus or military machine actualises its force and power over the whole system, from birth to the grave or from nurseries to pensioners, there is only one vision of the barracks, general popular defence and self-protection.

And if it was only this: the militarisation of the system as a necessary evil for the protection of the system, one could still somehow breathe. Barracks are visible, uniforms are visible, rinks are in clear order of hierarchy; war and the putsch are only exceptions and short-term states of the system. But here is ever-present the invisible power that has put on the cloak of secrecy and denouncement.

Nevidna, a najmochnejsha institucija sistema je predimenzionirana, premochna. Recite mi, katera institucija v drzhavi je najmochnejsha, in povem vam, kako se imenuje sistem. Če je to policija, potem je nash sistem policijska drzhava. Če nasha drzhava ni policijska, potem se nam samo zdi, da je neka mochna institucija v dezheli, ki je prezehla celoten sistem, kadrovsko obvladuje vse ali vsaj najpomembnejše institucije drzhave. In potem se nam samo zdi, da venomer visi nad nami meč ovadbe in kar je še slabše, da občasno slutimo (če je senzibilnost le kolichkaj razvita), da se tudi nas boje soljudje, sodržavljanji, kajti vsakdo je možni obveshchevalec. Tajnost je zavratna vrednota, nevidna ima nesluteno moč, lahko je vladati s tajnostjo, s strahom pred ovadbo, a ker je zavratna, razkrajaja vse druge vrednote; najprej javnost in z njo demokracijo, najbolj pogubna pa je vrednoti svobode.

Danes bi rekel k aktualnim dogodkom tole:

*Res je, da nas je zjajel val zastrashevanja, strah pred silo,
nasiljem v svoji najtemnejši podobi;
res je, da to za sistem ni nič novega;
vendar nekaj je danes bistveno drugache.*

*Mi smo že vonjali vonj pomladi, mi smo že okusili slast
svobode govora in izražanja misli.
Boste še zmogli zadušiti ta krik?
Ali veste, kakšna bo krvava žbetev?*

*Mi vemo, da so žrtve posvečene Nam.
Žrtvovani so za nashe zastrashevanje, obvladovanje Nas.
Žrtvam in nam je izkazana čast;
Nekdo na oblasti se boji neizmerno, skrajno je zastrasheven sam.*

*Ta nekdo je lahko vsakdo, ker opravlja neko pomembno vlogo
(visoko po hierarhiji moči) za sistem.
To je torej brezosebno, sistem je brezoseben, je struktura
človekovih vlog, institucij, dejavnosti sistema.*

*Vrednote sistema niso osebne, ne prizadenejo človeka osebno,
le njegovo vlogo, njeno utemeljenost, njen smisel v sistemu.
Kaj pa je osebno – človeshko?*

*Osebno – človeshko pa je nekoliko drugache:
bolj rahločutno, bolj neoprijemljivo, neopredelljivo;
je živo občuteno, čustvujoch;e;
saj se do sedaj občečloveshkih vrednot sploh še nismo dotaknili.*

The invisible but most powerful institution of the system is oversized and too powerful. Tell me which institution in the country is the most powerful and I will tell you what the system is called. If it is the police, then our system is a police state. If our country is not a police state then we only have the impression that there is a strong institution in the country that has pervaded the entire system and has set its own people in the country's most important institutions. And then we just have the impression that we are constantly living under the threat of being charged and what is even worse, that we sometimes sense (if our sensibility is even a little developed), that our fellow citizens are also afraid of us for everyone is a possible informant. Secrecy is an insidious value, being invisible it has undreamed-of power, it is easy to rule in secrecy, inspiring fear of denouncement, but as it is insidious it makes all other values disintegrate; first the public sphere and with it democracy, and it is most damaging to the value of freedom.

Nowadays I would say this about current events:

*It is true that we have been hit by a wave of intimidation, fear of force,
violence in its darkest form;
it is true that this is nothing new for the system;
however, something is fundamentally different today.*

*We have already smelt the scent of spring; we have already tasted the sweetness
of freedom of speech and the expression of thoughts.
Will you be able to suffocate this cry?
Do you know what the bloody harvest will be like?*

*We know that the victims are meant for Us.
They are sacrificed to make us afraid, to control Us.
The victims and we are being honoured;
Someone in power is very afraid, is himself extremely frightened.*

*This someone can be anyone because he is carrying out some important role
(high up in the hierarchy of power) for the system.
This is therefore impersonal, the system is impersonal, it is the structure
of human roles, institutions, the activity of the system.*

*The values of the system are not personal; they do not hurt the person himself,
only his role, his foundation, his purpose in the system.
But what is personal – human?*

*Personal – human is somewhat different:
more sensitive, less tangible, indefinable;
it is vividly felt, emotional;
for we have so far not even touched upon universal human values.*

Silite nas, da razmisljamo o sistemskih vrednotah, tako, da nam je o onih drugih občečloveskih vedno težje govoriti, kot da se jih sramujemo, kot da jih ne občutimo več.

Vendar le občečloveske vrednote so neposredna dejstva človekove zavesti, zadržana in doživljaja jih neposredno, nobena propaganda mu jih ne more posredovati, vsiliti. Zhive so in spontano oživljajo in nobena represija jih ne more streti s silo in najbolj grobo močjo.

*Zato vas vprashujem, rablje:
Kaj ste storili z našim občutenjem svobode Nas?
Kaj ste storili z našim dojetjem resnice o Nas?
Kaj ste storili z našo ljubeznijo Nam?*

To je individualno, boste rekli; gotovo je, vendar naš MI je tudi zadržana duhovnost MIstva. Zato vam pravim, storili ste to: da visi v zraku oblak obnovljenega sovrashstva, obolost lazbi se shopiri med nami, strah za svobodo nam poosebljajo tri zhrtve.

To si odgovorite: reshevalci krize sistema sami. Če imate sbe zhive občečloveske vrednote v sebi, boste to neposredno zaznali, le malo ste se odvadili te neposredne chutnosti in neposredne zadržave vrednot.

Tega ne bo mogel opisati na shematski nachin, kot poprej vrednote sistema, zato vam raje povem nekaj o obcih vrednotah z Zgodbo o Pilatu (iz moje knjige o treh vrednotah: resnici, svobodi, ljubezni in njihovem transcendiranju ali Janezovo razodetje, prejšnji citati pa so iz Traktata o svobodi ali shtudije Vrednostni sistem institucionalne strukture).

Moja želja je le, da bi Zgodbo o Pilatu ne stlachili v razdelek: nostalgija po chasu, ko je bila predominantna religijska propaganda, ampak kot izraz solidarnosti, sochustvovanja z: Ivanom Borshnerjem, Janezom Jansho, Davidom Tasichem in jim ga, ko bo mogoče, posredujete.

*You are forcing us to think about system values in such a way,
that it is increasingly difficult to speak about those other universal human values,
as though we were ashamed of them, as though we no longer feel them.*

*However, only universal human values are direct facts
of human consciousness; we feel and experience them directly,
no propaganda can pass them on to us or force them upon us.
They are alive and spontaneously come alive and no repression
can crush them by force and the crudest exertion of power.*

*That is why I ask you, executioners:
What have you done with our feeling of Our freedom?
What have you done with our understanding of the truth about Us?
What have you done to Us with our love?*

*This is individual, you will say; of course it is,
but our WE is also the perceptual spirituality of WEedom.
That is why I tell you, it is your fault:
that there hangs in the air a cloud of renewed hatred,
the conceit of lies is swaggering amongst us,
fear for freedom is being personified by three victims.*

*Reply to yourselves like this: those solving the system's crisis themselves.
If you still have living universal human values within yourself,
you will perceive this directly, you have only grown a little unaccustomed to this direct
sensuousness and the direct perception of values.*

*He will not be able to describe this schematically, as he described
the values of the system, so I prefer to tell you something about universal values
from the Story of Pilate (from my book about three values:
truth, freedom, love and their transcendence or
John's revelation while the former quotes are from the Treatise on
freedom or studies of the Value system of institutional structure).*

*It is my sole wish that the Story of Pilate is not classified as:
nostalgia for a time when religious propaganda predominated,
but as an expression of solidarity with and sympathy for:
Ivan Borshiner, Janez Jansba, David Tasich and pass it on to them,
when it will be possible.*

Odlomek iz dokumenta:

Spoved sistemu

<http://www.revijasrp.si/knrevsrp/pogum2001-1/3-2dod.htm#igre>

...

Nash sistem je politični sistem: nekdo se je polastil sistema, polastil se je nas, neprestano se nas polashcha. V vsaki instituciji, v vsaki nashi vlogi je to očitno. Tudi normativno je to izraženo kot samoupravna razlastitev samoutemeljevanja sebe. Da smo to storili sami s seboj, shtejem za razchishcheno in neproblematično. Problematično pa je, kako naj sedaj vzamemo nazaj to, kar smo si sami odtujili. Vsaj dopustili smo politizacijo sebe po politiki. »Chlovek je nashe največje bogastvo«, je meni najljubša parola. A kako je z njo, če jo kdo izreče, ki je ne bi smel izreči? Naj navedem kot svarilo, kako jo je mogoče napachno razumeti, kot sem jo sam razumel.

Približno takole:

Sistem se je polastil chloveka, vloga osebe. Sistema se je polastila politika. Politiko si je prisvojila stranka, za njo pa so she bolj nevidne tajne sluzhbe in zdruzhbe. Vendar tako ni mogoče videti, kaj se dogaja s chlovekom, nashim največjim bogastvom. Zhe preblisk dnevnih problemov, s katerimi se ubadamo, ali pa prelet dnevnega zapisa chasa nam odgovori na to vprasanje. V chasopisju so jasno izraženi vsi aktualni problemi nashih institucionalnih sprememb. V ospredju je chlovek in ko to ni, ni le zato, ker je to samo po sebi umevno. Dovolj je dvoumnosti, sprenevedanja; chutim da she vedno mislim narobe. Naj bodo izražena stalisha o nashih problemih primer, kako si sporočil medijev ne bi smeli razlagati. Ni vprashljivo, kam nas lahko pripelje razvada, če si vsak razlaga po svoje, od ustave do mere za chloveka?

IZ ZGODOVINE LINCHA

http://www.revijasrp.si/knrevsrp/pogum2001-1/3-2dod.htm#iz_zgodovine

Prispevek o »nahujskani mnozhici« sem v zacetku leta 1985 poslal Odboru za obrambo svobode misli in izrazhanje, preds. Srpskog filozofskog drushtva Kosti Chavoshkemu. Takrat smo bili podobnih misli glede nahujskane mnozhice. Do danes, ko je preteklo le nekaj let, se je pri nas marsikaj spremenilo. Predvsem so postali linchi individuumov in narodov nacionalna jed prve vrste. Bojim se, da nismo vech tako podobnih misli, ko nam linch narodov para zavest. Zato danes ponovno posvecham (ponujam v premislek) tri zgodbe iz zgodovine lincha tako Kosti kot Odboru.

1. NAHUJSKANA MNOZHICA

Ko pridesh v polozhaj, ko ti lastna skushnja zbudi potrebo po solidarnosti, ta polozhaj pa je pri vseh zelo zelo podoben, neka sila te potiska vanj, neki lajezh, neko linchanje, neko krizhanje visi nad teboj, ko pridesh v ta polozhaj, te postane skoraj sram, da si bil zgolj formalno solidaren do tistih, ki so bolj lajani, bolj linchani, bolj krizhani, sedaj vesh, da solidarnost je.

Excerpt from the document:

Confession for the system

<http://www.revijasrp.si/knrevsrp/pogum2001-1/3-2dod.htm#igre>

...

Our system is a political system: someone has taken possession of the system; they have taken possession of us and keep on taking possession of us. This is evident in every institution and in our every role. This is also expressed normatively as the self-governing expropriation of self-foundation. I consider it clarified and unproblematic that we have done this with ourselves. However, what is problematic is how we are now to take back what we have dispossessed ourselves of. We have at least allowed the politicisation of the self through politics. »Man is our greatest treasure«, is my favourite slogan. But what happens with it if someone utters it that should not utter it? May I mention as a warning how it can wrongly be understood as I myself understood it.

Roughly as follows:

The system has taken possession of man, the role of the individual. The system has been taken possession of by politics. Politics has been taken possession of by the party and behind it are hiding secret services and organisations. But it is not possible to see in this way what is happening with man, our greatest treasure. Even a flash of the daily problems we face or a quick look at the newspapers of the day answers this question. The newspapers clearly express all the current problems of our institutional changes. Man is in the forefront and when he is not, it is not solely because it is self-evident. There has been enough ambiguity and feigning of ignorance; I feel as though I am still not thinking right. May the expressed opinions about our problems be an example of how media reports should not be understood. Is it not questionable where the bad habit can bring us if everyone finds their own explanations from the constitution to the measure for a human?

FROM THE HISTORY OF LYNCHING

http://www.revijasrp.si/knrevsrp/pogum2001-1/3-2dod.htm#iz_zgodovine

In the beginning of 1985 I sent an article about the »incited masses« to the Committee for the defence of freedom of thought and expression, the president of the Serbian philosophical society Kosta Chavoshek. In those times we had similar views regarding the incited masses. Until this day, only a few years having passed, all manner of things have changed for us. Above all, the lynching of individuals and nations has become a first-class dish. I am afraid that we no longer have similar views when the lynching of nations is tearing at our consciousness. That is why today I again dedicate (offer up for consideration) three stories from the history of lynching both to Kosta and the Committee.

1. THE INCITED MASSES

When you find yourself in a position in which your own ordeal awakens the need for solidarity, this position being very, very similar for all people, there is a kind of force that pushes you into it, some barking, some lynching, some crucifixion is hanging over you. When you come into this position you become almost ashamed for having only been formally sympathetic to those who have been even more barked at, even more lynched and more crucified. Now you know that solidarity exists.

A kdo bi uradnike prepričal, da solidarnost ni lojalnost, da je solidarnost sila, da je tvorna chloveshka vrednota, ki jo prav oni sami konsolidirajo?

(Uradniki so na položaju, niso v položaju in bistvo jim je nedostopno.)

Ko je množica nahujskana, imamo vedno opravka z nekim lajezhem, nato linčanje, krizhanje. Ji bo to prineslo sprostitev? Jo bo to povzdignilo v posvečeno, svečano množico?

Nahujskana množica, masa, drhal?

Kaj pravi o tem Elias Canetti:

»Nahujskana množica se tvori s fenomenom **hitro ostvarljivega cilja**. Ta cilj je znan in točno določen. Razen tega je blizu. Njen **cilj je ubijanje** in ona ve, koga hoče ubiti. Na ta cilj se vrzhe z neprekosljivo odločnostjo, nihče je ne more prevariti. **Zadoshcha objaviti cilj**, zadoshcha razshiriti sporochilo (vest), koga je treba ubiti in zhe se formira množica. Osredotočenje na ubijanje ima poseben znachaj, a po svoji intenziteti je nekaj najmočnejšega, kar obstaja. Vsi zhele sodelovati, vsi udarjajo...

Pomemben razlog hitri rasti množice je nenevarnost podviga. Ta je nenevaren, ker je premoch množice ogromna. Zhrtev ji ne more nichesar. Ona bezhi ali je zvezana...

Nikomur se ni treba bati sankcij zaradi njene smrti. Dovoljen uboj sedaj nadomeshcha vse uboje, ki bi si jih chlovek moral ukrasti, zaradi katerih bi se moral bati strogih kazni, ko bi jih storil ...

Govora je o tako lahkem podvigu, ki se odvija tako hitro, da mora chlovek pohiteti, da bo prishel she pravochasno. Naglica, vznemirjenje in gotovost take množice imajo v sebi nekaj grozljivega. To je vznemirjenje slepcev, ki so najbolj slepi takrat, ko se jim naenkrat zdi, da vidijo. Množica hiti v snidenje z zhrtvijo in k ugonobitvi, da se bo naenkrat reshila smrti vseh svojih pripadnikov. A takrat se ji v resnici zgodi nekaj, kar je povsem nasprotno. Zahvaljujoch ugonobitvi, a shele po njej, množica občuti vechjo grozljivo smrti, kot kdaj koli poprej. Tedaj razpade, se razide v neki vrsti bega. Bolj ko je bila zhrtev vzvishena, vechji je bil njen strah. Obdrzhi pa se lahko le, che **hitro sledi vrsta takih dogodkov**.

Nahujskana množica je zelo stara, njene korenine najdemo v prvinskem dinamizmu poenotenja (zlitja) ljudi – **v lovski hajki**.«

To je eden najlepshih opisov nahujskane množice. Lepshe bi nashli samo v leposlovju, vendar bi ti ne bili tako sistematchni. A preden komentiramo vechno aktualnost chlovekovega divjashtva, bomo vprashali istega avtorja, ki pravi **o moderni hajki**. Pomembno je, da povemo, da to pravi v istem poglavju.

»Nahujskana množica, ki dobi svojo zhrtev, razpade izredno hitro. To dejstvo je dobro **znano ogroženim oblastnikom**. Ti navrzhejo množici neko zhrtev, da bi prepRechili njeno rast. V ta namen so zapovedane mnoge politichne ugonobitve. Po drugi strani pa se vodje radikalnih partij sploh ne zavedajo, da z dosego svojega cilja, javne ugonobitve nekega nevarnega sovrazhnika bolj shkodijo sebi kot nasprotnikom. Lahko se zgodi, da se po taki eksekuciji (izvrshbi) množica razbezhi in da nikoli vech ne dosezhe svoje stare mochi. ...

But who could convince the officials that solidarity is not loyalty, that solidarity is a force, that it is a productive human value which they themselves help to consolidate? (Officials are in power, they are not in the position and the essence is inaccessible to them.) When the masses are incited, there is always some barking followed by the lynching and the crucifixion. Will this bring it release? Will this raise it up into a consecrated, solemn crowd?

Incited masses, mob?

What does Elias Canetti say about this:

»The incited masses are created through the phenomenon of the **rapidly achievable goal**. This goal is known and precisely determined. It is also close. Its **goal is killing** and it knows who it wants to kill. It sets out for this goal with an unsurpassable determination, no-one can deceive it. **It is enough to make the goal known**, to spread the message (the news) about who must be killed and the masses are immediately formed. The focus on killing has a special character but in terms of its intensity it is one of the strongest things that exist. Everyone wants to participate, everyone is lashing out...

An important reason for the rapid growth of the masses is the absence of danger in the undertaking. There is no danger because the predominance of the masses is overwhelming. The victim can do nothing to it. It either flees or is bound up...

No-one need fear any sanctions because of its death. The permitted murder now replaces all murders for which one would fear severe punishment if perpetrated...

The undertaking is so easy and takes place so quickly that you must hurry up to arrive in time. The rush, excitement and certainty of such a mass of people has something gruesome about it. This is the excitement of blind people who are most blind when they suddenly think they can see. The masses hurtle towards the victim and its ruin, to deliver themselves from the death of all their members in one go. But then in fact, something happens that is completely the opposite. Thanks to the ruin, but only after it, the masses feel an even greater threat of death than before. Then they fall apart and scatter into a kind of flight. The greater the victim, the greater their fear. But they can only survive if there is a **quick succession of similar events**.

The incited masses are a very old phenomenon and we can find its roots in the primeval dynamism of the unification (fusion) of people **in a hunt**.«

This is one of the most beautiful descriptions of the incited masses. We could only find a more beautiful one in the belles-lettres, but that would not be as systematic. But before we comment on the eternal relevance of human savagery we will ask the same author who this time speaks **about the modern hunt**. It is important for us to mention that he says this in the same chapter.

»The incited crowd which catches its victim falls apart incredibly rapidly. This fact is well known **to the endangered rulers** who throw a victim to the masses in order to prevent its growth. Many cases of political ruin are ordered for this purpose. On the other hand, the leaders of the radical parties are not aware that by reaching their goal, the public ruin of some dangerous enemy, they cause themselves more harm than their enemy. It is possible that following such an execution the masses disperse and never again achieve their former power. ...

Zgrazhanje nad skupinskim ubijanjem je novejšega datuma. **Tudi danes vsi sodelujemo v javnih ugonobitvah, preko chasopisov.** Samo, da je to sodelovanje, enako kot vsa druga sodelovanja, mnogo udobnejše. Chlovek mirno sedi doma in se, soochen s sto podrobnostmi, lahko posveti tistim, ki ga posebej vznemirjajo. **Chlovek se strinja** (odobrava pochetje) potem, ko je vse konchano, a uzhitek mu ni pokvarjen niti z najmanjšim občutkom krivde. Za nich ni odgovoren, ne za obsodbo, ne za priche, ne za njihovo prichevanje, niti za chasopis (mas medij), ki je objavil to sporočilo. No, danes ve chlovek o tem vech kot nekoch, ko je moral hoditi ure in stati, da ni na koncu videl zelo malo. V bralcih chasopisov se je ohranila nahujskana množhica, ki je tu, a v blazhji formi, zaradi svoje distance do dogodkov (ki se resnichno dogajajo) she bolj neodgovorna in celo, lahko bi rekli, nahujskana množhica v svoji najbolj pokvarjeni in istochasno najbolj obstojni formi bivanja. Niti zbirati se ji ni treba, pa zato ne razpade, a za njeno preobrazbo jamchi vsakodnevno izhajanje chasopisov.«

Vsak komentar, ki ne bi bil nadaljnja hvalnica avtorju za njegovo lucidnost, bi rahlo deplasiran, tvegati ga vseeno moram, a da tveganje ne bo preveliko, bom v duhu she vedno ostal pri avtorju.

Ker posebno pozornost posvecham množhichnim medijem in množhichni propagandi, ker je to tako rekoch moja domacha naloga, bi se ji moral temeljito posvetiti, vendar odlochil sem se drugache, bom kratek.

Zgrazhanje nad skupinskim lajezhem, nato linchanje, krizhanje, nam ne zadoshcha vech. Danes vemo, kaj je krvava zhetev. Danes vemo, da sodelujemo v javnih ugonobitvah preko množhichnih medijev. V nas se je naselil nemir. Medij je kot kacha in mi smo kot mish. Hipnotibilna moch je za nas ponizhujocha, ker vemo, da je vse to zaradi nas. V naslanjachu nam je prevech udobno. Prevech prostora je med primeri. Preprochasi si slede opisi chasa. Zato vemo, da smo krivi. Krivi smo za proces, za obsodbo chloveka, za priche, za kronske priche, celo za to, da so kronske priche, za vsako njihovo izjavo, za medij, ki mu dopushchamo, da nas hipnotizira.

Moje obchudovanje pa v tem primeru velja zhrtvam. Linchani chlovek je ta, ki vse to ve, ve, kdo je s prstom pokazal nanj, je ta, ki ne dopushcha nashega ochishchenja.

Mi nikoli ne bomo svechana posvechena drhal.

Odlomek iz dokumenta:

Zakon množhice ali o pravichni sodbi, Sodba drhali ali izrek sodbe na Gabati

...

*8.1 On pa, ki je danes izžival usodo, ko je odmaknil
shchit svoj, sebe,
gre zdaj, da bil bi sam z Bogom, na Oljsko goro.*

*2 Zjutraj se vrne v tempelj,
in ljudstvo se zbere, sede k njemu,
in se uchi.*

Frowning upon group murders is of a newer date. **Even nowadays, we all participate in publically causing ruin through newspapers.** However, this cooperation like all other forms of cooperation is much more comfortable. One sits peacefully at home and, faced with one hundred minute details can dedicate oneself to those that particularly trouble him. **One agrees with** (condones the action) after everything is over but his pleasure is not tainted by even the slightest feeling of guilt. He is not responsible for anything, neither for the conviction, nor for the witnesses and their testimonies, not even for the newspaper (the mass media), which has published this message. Well, it is true that one knows more about these things than in the past when one had to walk for hours and stand so as to only see a very little. The incited masses live on in the newspaper readers as a milder form and are even more irresponsible due to their distance from the events (that are truly happening). We could also say that the incited masses are therefore in their most depraved and at the same time most durable form. They do not even have to gather together and therefore cannot fall apart, and yet their transformation is ensured by the daily newspapers.«

Every comment that is not a further ode to the author for their lucidity would be slightly out of place but I must nevertheless risk it. However, to avoid the risk being too great, I will stay with the author in the spirit.

As I dedicate special attention to the mass media and the mass propaganda, this being so to speak my homework, I would have to apply myself to it thoroughly, however, I have decided otherwise, I will be brief.

Frowning upon the collective barking, followed by the lynching and crucifixion no longer suffices. We now know what a bloody harvest is. We now know that we participate in public exterminations through the mass media. We are filled with disquiet. The media are like a snake and we are like mice. Hypnotic power is humiliating for us because we know that all this is because of us. We are too comfortable in our armchairs. There is too much room between separate cases. Descriptions of time follow each other too slowly. That is why we know we are guilty. We are to blame for the trial, for the condemnation of the man, for the witnesses, for the crown witnesses, even for the fact that there are crown witnesses, for every statement they make, for the media that we allow to hypnotise us.

My admiration in this case is for the victims. The person who is being lynched knows all this, knows who has pointed their finger at him and is the one who does not allow us to be cleansed.

We will never be a solemn, consecrated mob.

Fragment from the document:

**The law of the crowd or concerning the just judgment,
The verdict of the mob or the pronouncing of the judgement on Gabbatha**

...

*8.1 The one who tempted fate today by pushing away
his shield, himself,
now goes forth to be alone with God on the Mount of Olives.*

*2 In the morning he returns to the temple,
and the people gather, sit at his feet,
and are taught.*

3 Tedaj pa; nekam zmagoslavno,
 skoraj svechano, a prikrito sovražhno
 farizeji in pismarji pripeljejo k njemu
 zheno, v presbushstvu zasacheno;
 v sredo množhice jo postavijo,
 in reko mu:

8.4 Uchenik, ta zhenja je ravnokar v presbushstvu zasachena,

5 vemo, kaj Mojzes pravi! Kaj pravish ti?

6 On pa se skloni in pishe s prstom po tleh.

7 Ko pa zopet vprashajo, zravna se in jim reche:

Kdor je med vami brez greha,

naj prvi vrzhe kamen nanjo.

...

Povzeto po moji interpretaciji Janezovega evangelija, iz knjige: *Janezovo razodetje ali O treh vrednotah*. Glejte tudi *Janezov evangelij*, prevod po grškem izvirniku, v Ljubljani 1931.

Podchrtavanja, opombe v oklepajih in napake v prevodu so po krivdi R.Sh.

P.S.

Ko sem prichujochi prispevek ponovno prebral – resda malo pozno, revija je bila zhe natisnjena – sem se odlochil, da ga moram vendarle popraviti: izpustiti odvechna ponavljanja in pa tista, ki so nastala v naglici pred tiskom. S temi popravki prispevek vsebinsko ni spremenjen!

Odlochilno pa je bilo nekaj drugega, ugotovil sem, da je ta moj prispevek brezdušen, da mu nekaj bistvenega manjka:

*Posvechen slovenskemu politiku, ki ga sposhtujem
 Janezu Janshi*

V Ljubljani, 20. septembra 2014

Objave v tisku: revijah in knjigi

Aktualni dogodki v luci vrednot, chlanek, revija: *Dialogi*, sht.10-11, 1988, Maribor, p.112-114, /avtor/

Igre sistema, chlanek, revija: *Likovne besede*, sht.8-9, 1988, Ljubljana, p.94-101, /avtor/

Iz zgodovine lincha, chlanek, revija: *Dialogi*, sht.5-6, 1989, Maribor, p.89-97 /avtor/

Rajko Shushtarshich, *Igre sistema, O sistemu v luci systemske teorije in malo drugache, Spoved sistemu, Revija SRP*, 9/10, 113

Rajko Shushtarshich, *Iz zgodovine lincha, Revija SRP*, 15/16, 11

Traktat o svobodi ali Vrednotni sistem, knjiga, zalozhba LUMI, 1992, Ljubljana

tudi el. knjiga: <http://www.revijasrp.si/knrevsrp/pogum2001-1/pogum7i.htm>

*3 Then; somewhat victoriously,
almost solemnly but in hidden hatred,
the Pharisees and scribes bring him
a woman caught in adultery;
they place her in the middle of the crowd,
and say to him:*

*8.4 Teacher, this woman has just been caught in adultery,
5 we know what Moses says! What do you say?
6 And he bends down and writes on the ground with his finger.
7 When they ask him again he straightens up and says to them:
Let any one of you who is without sin
be the first to throw a stone at her.*

...

Recapitulated from my interpretation of John's gospel, from the book: *John's Revelation or On Three Values*. See also *John's gospel*, translated from the Greek original, in Ljubljana 1931. Underlined words, comments in brackets and mistakes in the translation are the fault of R.Sh.

P.S.

When I reread this article – albeit a little late, the journal was already printed – I decided I had to correct it: omit superfluous repetitions and mistakes that came about in the rush before it went off to the printing press. These corrections do not alter the content of the article!

However, something else was decisive, I realised that this article of mine is without soul, it is missing something essential:

*Dedicated to a Slovenian politician I respect
Janez Jansha*

In Ljubljana, 20 September 2014

Translated from Slovenian by Marko Petrovich

Printed publications: journals and books

Aktualni dogodki v luci vrednot, article, revija: *Dialogi*, sht.10-11, 1988, Maribor, p.112-114, /autor/
Igre sistema, chlanek, revija: *Likovne besede*, sht.8-9, 1988, Ljubljana, p.94-101, /autor/
Iz zgodovine linča, chlanek, revija: *Dialogi*, sht.5-6, 1989, Maribor, p.89-97 /autor/
Rajko Shushtarshich, *Igre sistema, O sistemu v luci systemske teorije in malo drugace, Spoved sistemu, Revija SRP*, 9/10, 113
Rajko Shushtarshich, *Iz zgodovine linča, Revija SRP*, 15/16, 11
Traktat o svobodi ali Vrednotni sistem, book, LUMI, 1992, Ljubljana
Book: <http://www.revijasrp.si/knrevsrp/pogum2001-1/pogum7i.htm>

Branko J. Hribovšek

»NAJBOLJ NEVARNA KNJIGA«

(II)

ROSSOVE SPLOSHNE RAZLAGE

Zelo lahko je imeti »Tacitovo« *Germanijo* za izvirno – in ravno tako za ponaredek. Pravzaprav je veliko težje, praktično nemogoče, dokazati njeno izvirnost, kot pa dokazati, da je ponaredek. Morda je to še eden od dodatnih razlogov, da je bilo hote prezrto vsako glede tega kritično delo.

Germanijo naj bi »odkril« Poggio z rokopisoma *Dialogues* in *Agricola* v Fuldi, toda prinesel od tam in »reshil« naj bi jo Enoch iz Ascolija (Enoch d'Ascoli), kot to na splošno trdijo (tudi Krebs).

J.W. Ross¹⁶ je dejansko dokazal, da so Tacitusovi *Analii* ponaredek. Kot je bilo tukaj zhe recheno, je obtožil Poggia kot krivca ponaredbe.

Pravzaprav ne maram oznake »ponaredek«, vendar jo bom obdržal.

V skladu s Hochartom¹⁷ so poleg *Analov* ponarejene tudi *Historiae*, in che je tako, to velja še za ostala Tacitova dela, torej za *Germanijo*, *Dialoge* in *Agricolo*. Za slednjo pripoved zhe trdijo, da ni skladna z arheoloshkimi najdbami.

Naj navedem le del stavka iz predavanja Birgitte Hoffmann *Archaeology versus Tacitus' Agricola*³³:

... kaj je narobe z besedilom? Ali Tacit resnično laže?

In nekje pozneje:

In mogoče bi se morali spomniti, da je rimski pisatelj Tertullian napisal okoli sto let po zaključku Agricole:

»Cornelius Tacitus, seveda, ki je, po resnici, najbolj zgovoren v lažbi.«

Sam Tertullian, še posebno pa njegovi spisi so tudi zelo sumljivi, toda tu se soočimo z istimi problemi, ki nasploh zadevajo klasiko, ter z dodatkom močno chustvene verske pristranosti ... In zakaj Tertulliana ne navajajo kot dokaz za izvirnost Tacitovih del?

Morda je malce naporno prebirati Rossa ali Hocharta – zelo sta zgovorna, njuni stavki so zelo dolgi, obrazložitve nadvse široke, toda tak je bil nachin pisanja v njuni dobi. Poskušal bom skrajshati Rossovo besedilo, toda obdržati jedro pripovedi, ne da bi izgubil njegov nachin izražanja.

Zgoraj sem, kar zadeva Poggia, obširno navedel in uporabil Rossove posebne razlage in opombe, tukaj pa bom predstavil njegove najbolj sploshne razloge.

Branko J. Hribovšek

»A MOST DANGEROUS BOOK«

(II)

THE J. W. ROSS' GENERAL ARGUMENTATION

It is very easy to take »Tacitus's« *Germania* as genuine – or as a forgery. It is much harder, actually practically impossible, to prove its authenticity, than to prove it to be a forgery. This is probably an additional reason to ignore completely any critical work. *Germania* is listed to have been »discovered« with *Dialogues* and *Agricola* in Fulda by Poggio Bracciolini and allegedly recovered by Enoch of Ascoli, as generally reported (Krebs).

J. W. Ross¹⁶ actually proved that Tacitus's *Annales* are forgery. As already said, he accused Poggio Bracciolini as the most possible culprit.

I do not like the word »forgery«... but I will keep it.

If *Annales* and according to Hochart¹⁷, also *Histories* are forged, the same is due for all Tacitus's works, also *Germania*, *Dialogues* and *Agricola*. The later is already declared to be disapproved by the modern archeological findings.

Let me quote just a part of the sentence from Birgitta Hoffmann's lecture on »*Archaeology versus Tacitus' Agricola*«³³:

...what is wrong with the text? Is Tacitus actually lying?

And somewhere later:

And we should perhaps also recall that the Roman writer Tertullian wrote about 100 years after the completion of the Agricola:

»*Cornelius Tacitus, however, – who, to say the truth, is most loquacious in falsehood.*«

Tertullian and especially Tertullian's writings are also very questionable... but here we are confronted with the same problems, concerning the authenticity of classics, with an addition of the emotionally strong religious bias ... and why is Tertullian not quoted as a proof of the authenticity of the Tacitus's works?

It is a little bit intricate to read Ross or Hochart – they are very loquacious, their sentences very long, explaining broadly – but it is just the style of the written word in their time. I will try to abridge Ross' text, keeping the essence of the narrative, but not losing the style ...

Above, concerning Poggio, I already extensively used Ross' arguments and comments, here I cite mostly the general ones.

Navajam le dele, ki so razumljivi po zdravem razumu in za katere bralec ne potrebuje nikakršnega posebnega znanja, da bi jih razumel. Po mojem mnenju zadostujejo kot dokaz, da dela, ki naj bi bila Tacitova, niso izvirno starorimski spisi.

¹⁶ Ross, Book I, Chapter I, i:

... Tacita povzdiguje njegova genialnost do take višine, da ga zbe dviga iz dosega kritike. Sveti na lep opisnem nebu kakor sonce, pred zbarom katerega se vsi kot parsi priklanjajo v chashchenju.

*Prejšnji rodovi so ga prebirali s sposhtovanjem in občudovanjem: kot enega največjih učiteljev zgodovine; tako ga moramo prebirati she naprej. Toda kljub temu, da niti hvala niti graja ne moreta povečati ali zmanjšati njegovega slovesa, **resnica in pravica klicheta trezno raziskavo narave in značaja del, ki kazhejo tolikšno razliko v sestavi in taka nesoglasja glede raznih zadev kot Historiae in Annales ...***

¹⁶ Ross, Book I, Chapter II, i:

*V zacetku raziskave bom izhajal iz domneve, da gre za ponaredek iz petnajstega stoletja; pri tem mi je podlaga za to domnevo dejstvo, da je to **bila doba, ko so bili odkriti izvirni rokopisi, ki so vsebovali to delo, a obstoja teh rokopisov ne moremo slediti dlje kot do tega stoletja; to je bila doba prevarantov (in to je neizmerno vazhna posledica pri raziskavi tega spisa), doba tako velike lahkovernosti glede prevar, da so ljudje brez zadostnih dokazov ali zgolj z rahlimi dokazi ali pa brez vsakih dokazov** verjeli vse, kar jim je bilo podtaknjeno; takrat je bil poblep tako velik, da so se ljudje voljno odrekli ugledu, ki je spremljevalec največjih dosezkov duha. Vzemimo na primer plemenito tiskarsko umetnost: na njeno iznajdbo bi bil vsak pameten chlovek po pravici ponosen ... Toda kdo je resnični iznajditelj tiska? Iz katere dezhle izvira? Je to Holandija s Costerjem iz Haarlema? Je to Nemčija z Mentelom, plemenitasbem iz Strasbourga? Je to Guttenberg, zlatar iz Mainzga? ...*

¹⁶ Ross, Book I, Chapter II, ii:

... Velika je bila skushnjava ponarejati leposlovje, posebno dela glavnih pisateljev antike, na rachun papezhev, ki so se trudili pozhiviti pouk in so zato dajali denarne nagrade in odpustke tistim, ki bi nashli rokopisne kopije katerega koli avtorja od starih Grkov ali Rimljanov. Rokopisi so se pojavljali kot po charovnij, z vseh mogočih strani: iz knjizhnic samostanov, tako neznanih kot slavnih; iz najbolj zakotnih mest – z dna izchrpanih vodnjakov, od polzhev umazani, kot je to Historia Velleja Patercula; ali pa s podstreshij, kjer so bili prekrti s pajchevinami in prahom, kot npr. Catullove pesmi. Vsako delo, che je le bilo videti, kot da je zelo staro, so pri pregledu spoznali za staroklasichno; in ni bilo nobenega dvoma o njegovi izvirnosti, cheprav je bilo poleg starinskega videza tudi she v nepopolni obliki.

Ne poznamo preteklosti zadnjih shestih nepopolnih knjig Analov – najmanj do sedaj; cheprav jo bom podal ob koncu te raziskave; ...

Cited are just the parts, which are clear from the standpoint of the common sense and do not need any especial reader's knowledge to comprehend them, but on my opinion suffice to prove that allegedly Tacitus's works are not genuine Roman texts.

¹⁶ Ross, Book I, Chapter I, i:

*... Tacitus is raised by his genius to a height, which lifts him above the reach of the critic. He shines in the firmament of letters like a sun before whose lustre all, Parsee-like, bow down in worship. Preceding generations have read him with reverence and admiration: as one of the greatest masters of history, he must continue to be so read. But though neither praise nor censure can exalt or impair his fame, **truth and justice call for a passionless inquiry into the nature and character of works presenting such difference in structure, and such contradictions in a variety of matters as the History and the Annals...***

¹⁶ Ross, Book I, Chapter II, i:

*... In beginning the investigation, I shall proceed on the assumption that it is a modern forgery of the fifteenth century, having as grounds for this assumption that **it was the age when the original MSS. containing the work were discovered; that the existence of those MSS. cannot be traced farther than that century; that (which is of vast consequence in an inquiry of this description) it was an age of imposture; of credulity so immoderate that people were easily imposed upon, believing, as they did, without sufficient evidence, or on slight evidence, or no evidence at all, whatever was foisted upon them;** when, too, the love of lucre was such that for money men willingly forewent the reputation that is the accompaniment of the grandest achievements of the intellect. Take, for example, the noble art of printing: for inventing it any man of genius might reasonably be proud. ... But who, for a certainty, knows the inventor of printing? or the country of its origin? Was it Holland in the person of Coster of Haarlem? Or Germany in the person of Mentel, the nobleman, of Strasburg? Or Guttenberg, the goldsmith, of Mayence? ...*

¹⁶ Ross, Book I, Chapter II, ii:

*... **The temptation was great to palm off literary forgeries, especially of the chief writers of antiquity, on account of the Popes, in their efforts to revive learning, giving money rewards and indulgences to those who should procure MS. copies of any of the ancient Greek or Roman authors. Manuscripts turned up, as if by magic, in every direction; from libraries of monasteries, obscure as well as famous; from the most out-of-the-way places;^a the bottom of exhausted wells, besmeared by snails, as the History of Velleius Paterculus; or from garrets, where they had been contending with cobwebs and dust, as the Poems of Catullus. So long as the work had an appearance of high antiquity, it passed muster as an old classic; and no doubt could be entertained of its genuineness, if, in addition to its ancient look, it was brought in a fragmentary form.***

We have no history of the last six fragmentary books of the Annals;^a at least, up to this time; though I shall give it towards the end of this inquiry; ...

Pravzaprav ni vazhno, ali je Ross res nashel pravega ponarejevalca v Poggio Braccioliniju. Vazhen je njegov nachin analize, da bi dokazal ponaredek v ustreznem zgodovinskem okviru.

Rokopisi so se pojavljali kot po charovnji ... Nicolò Niccoli, Poggiov prijatelj vse zhivljenje in strasten zbiralec starih rokopisov, jih je sam imel priblizhno 800. Najbogatejshe knjizhnice samostanov so verjetno imele okrog 1000 rokopisov. Tolikshno kolichino je lahko izkushen lovec na rokopise pregledal v nekaj dneh. Tako je dejansko nemogoche, da ne bi bili nekateri rokopisi opazheni zhe pri prvem obisku ... Zato so ti lovci navajali najbolj zakotna mesta kot najdishcha pozabljenih rokopisov, kjer naj bi ti bili chakali na svoje ponovno odkritje.

Corpora lente augescent cito extinguuntur.

Telesa rastejo pochasi in umirajo hitro. (Tacit)

In ne le telesa – tudi rokopisi!

Ta mesta so bila dejansko najmanj verjetna kot najdishcha. Zhe sama izdelava pergamenta iz zhivalske kozhe je bila temu primerno draga, potem pa she chas, porabljen za pisanje ali prepis besedila – naposled pa vse to nekam zavrechi in pozabiti ... **Na kakshno mesto, kjer rokopis ne bi prezhivel niti nekaj let; vlaga, plesen, mishi, prah, toplota, zhuzhelke – in tako naj bi pozabljen pochival najmanj stoletje ali vech.** Pergament, che je bil she vedno za uporabo, so obichajno ochistili in popisali z novim besedilom. Od kod naj bi prishli izvirniki, da bi jih prepisali? V zakotnih samostanih, ki v dobi antichnih piscev sploh niso obstajali, naj bi kasneje nashli rokopise? Jih je kdo prinesel iz Konstantinopla? So bili skriti kje v Rimu? Mogoche so bili iz Toleda? Zakaj so bili skriti, che so jih prepisovali?

Ross nadaljuje o tem (podajam skrajshano):

¹⁶ Ross, Book II, Chapter IV, i:

Sum postaja vse mochnejshi, kajti dejstvo je, da je bilo leposlovje starih Rimljanov popolnoma unicheno v Evropi v prvih stoletjih krschanstva in da bi bil njihov jezik popolnoma izgubljen, che ga do Justinjanove dobe (527-565) ne bi vodilni pravniki obranili za zagovore in spise ...

... zelo je vprashljivo, ali so samostani sploh kdaj resnichno obranili v kakrsbnem koli, celo najmanjshem obsegu dosezhke chloveshkega znanja ...

... Toda cheprav so dela starih Rimljanov obranili menibi v svojih samostanskih knjizhnicah, je to bilo le do zachetka zadnje chetrine sbestega stoletja. Potem pa je prishla mrachna doba osvajanj ...

... v tem chasu je leposlovje popolnoma ugasnilo za dve polni stoletji (568-774), ko so porushili samostane in unichili knjige kakor tudi zravnali z zemljo trdnjave in opustoshili mesta ...

... do ponovnega ozhivljanja znanosti v Petrarconi dobi kot tudi v dobi ocheta sodobne italijanske proze, Boccaccia, sredi sbtirinajstega stoletja. Tako je osemsto let trajal moralni mrk vsega, kar je bilo odlicnega v chloveshkem znanju v Italiji in na celotnem zahodu Evrope ...

It is not important if Ross actually found the real culprit of forgery in Poggio Bracciolini. Essential is his analytical method to prove the forgery in the concept of its historical background.

Manuscripts turned up as if by magic ... Nicolò Niccoli, Poggio's lifelong friend and passionate collector of codices, possessed himself some 800 pieces. The richest libraries of the monasteries could have then an order of magnitude of 1000 codices. This amount of codices was able to check an experienced manuscript hunter in a couple of days. So it is practically impossible that even by the first visit, some manuscripts would not be noticed by the manuscript hunter. Therefore the hunters named the most *out-of-the-way places*, where the forgotten manuscripts awaited their rediscovery.

Corpora lente aucescent cito extinguuntur.

Bodies grow slowly and die quickly. (Tacitus)

And not only the bodies – the manuscripts also!

This places were actually very improbable as the discovery sites. Just to produce a parchment from the skin of an animal was a relatively expensive matter, then to invest the time to scribe or transcribe the text, – and then to dump it somewhere and forget ... **This somewhere was actually the place where a parchment wouldn't survive even a couple of years – humidity, mustiness, mice, dust, temperature, insects ... and it should there rest at least a century or more, forgotten.** The parchment, if still usable, was usually cleaned and overwritten with a new text.

Where from came the originals to be transcribed? In dark ages, in the monasteries in which the manuscripts should be later found, which at the time of authors did not even existed? Were they brought from Constantinople? Perhaps were they hidden somewhere in Rome? Perhaps from Toledo transcribers? If they were transcribed, why then hidden?

Ross, continued, but abridged by me, on this subject:

¹⁶ Ross, Book II, Chapter IV, i:

*The suspicion becomes all the stronger with the fact before us that **the literature of the ancient Romans was totally extinguished in Europe** in the very opening centuries of the Christian era; and that their language would have been also lost had it not been preserved till the age of Justinian (527-565) by the pleadings and writings of the leading lawyers; ...*

... it being excessively questionable whether monasteries ever really conserved, to any, even the least extent, the interests of human knowledge ...

... But even if the works of the ancient Romans were preserved by the monks in their convent libraries, that was only till the approach of the last quarter of the sixth century. Then came the dark period of the conquest ...

...during that period literature became entirely extinguished, for two whole centuries (568-774) in demolishing monasteries and destroying books as in leveling fortresses and ravaging cities...

... the revival of learning during the age of Petrarch and the Father of modern Italian prose, Boccaccio, in the middle of the fourteenth century. Thus for eight hundred years there was a moral eclipse of all that was excellent in human knowledge in Italy and the whole West of Europe ...

¹⁶ Ross, Book II, Chapter IV, iv:

... Lahko razumemo, da so bile vredne knjige Grkov in Rimljanov ... varno in najdlje obranjene v raznih deželah, in da bi jih tam prej nashli kot kjerkoli v Grchiji in Italiji; toda ker so te dežele skozi in skozi pregledali, **ni tako lahko razumeti, zakaj so bila njihova dela odkrita prav tako hitro in zlahka she v drugih, tudi v barbarskih deželah, včasih celo hitreje in lažje ...**

... **Ne bi minila stoletja, preden bi svet zvedel za njihov obstoj, che bi bila ta dela ostala v civiliziranih rokah, učenjaki jih ne bi mogli izgubiti izpred oči,** redki izbranci bi posredovali kopije iz roda v rod, toda v lasti nepismenih ljudi, zhivehlih v barbarskih deželah, bi bila popolnoma skrita pogledu; taki ljudje bi z njimi ravnali kot svinje z biseri; prezirali bi jih; ne bi jih branili v knjizhnicah, marveč bi jih zavrgli kot neuporabno ropotijo v kleti, jame, temne luknje, umazane prehode, suhe vodnjake, odvrgli bi jih kot izmeček na smetišče ali na kup gnoja. Skoraj isto pove Bracciolini s temahnimi izrazi »v temi«, »v temnici«, »v umazani jechi«, »v bednih jechab«, »v mnogih brlogih«, kot che bi rekel na primer »da so nashli knjige, ki so jih imeli v svojih samostanih zaprte v temi in v jechab brez oken« ...

... Reshil je ugledne avtorje iz bednih jech, v katerih so bili proti svoji volji ujeti, nedostopni za uporabo (ker so bili zaprti v mnogih brlogih in gnusnih jechab)« ...

Mora nam biti jasno, da so knjige, odvrzbene na taka mesta, nashli chisto naključno, ko so prishli do njih; zato je bilo takoj razumljivo, zakaj so stoletja ostale neznanne svetu. Le kdo bi se spomnil iskati knjige na takih mestih?

Toda to so bila točno tista mesta, kjer je Bracciolini s svojimi spremljevalci iskal knjige, ki jih je hotel imeti; **she bolj nenavadno je, da so na takih chudnih mestih odkrivali točno tiste knjige, ki so jih iskali.** Tako je bilo na primer, ko so nashli knjige v samostanu v St. Gallnu; knjig niso nashli tam, priznava Bracciolini, kjer bi morale biti zaradi svoje odličnosti, namreč na policah knjizhnice, marveč tam, kjer bolj pogosto isbchemo in najdemo polzbe in krastache kot pa knjige in rokopise, v neki izredno umazani temni jechi na dnu grajskega stolpa, in eno teh knjig, avtorja Quintiliana, cheprav so jo oznachili kot »zdravo in varno«, so opisali tudi kot »nasicheno z vlago in umazano z blatom«, kakor da bi jo bili posebej umazali pri odkritju ...

¹⁶ Ross, Book II, Chapter IV, v:

... **Tak nachin mishljenja, che ga sprejmemo, na shiroko odpira vrata prevari in ponarejanju;**

... Kako so te knjige prishle na taka mesta? Kdo jih je prenesel iz Italije, Grchije ali iz drugega omikanega predela sveta? Kaksben učen menih, ki je postal opat ali prior kakega samostana v Nemchiji ali na Madzbarskem? Ali kaksben enako učen duhovnik, ki so ga v davnini poslali kot sbkofa, da bi pokristjanil pogane v nekih she bolj barbarskih deželah na severu? Zakaj naj bi uspesni menihi, **ljubitelji – dovolite – bolj oranja in zhetja kot pa branja in pisanja, ravnali s knjigami kot s smetmi, s knjigami, ki jih ocenjujejo kot brezvredne, kar zadeva njihove lastne okuse in nagnjenja? Saj so vendar vedeli, da te knjige visoko cenijo shtudirani ljudje v bolj civilizarnih krajih, in da bi bili ti učenjaki, ki razumejo jezik, v katerem so napisane, in imajo njihovo vsebino za zelo dragoceno, pripravljeni dati v zameno zanje vsak chas ne le velike, marveč tudi velikanske vsote denarja.**

¹⁶ Ross, Book II ,Chapter IV, iv:

...*We can easily understand how the valuable works of the Greeks and Romans,... were safest and longest preserved in their respective countries, and that, therefore, they could have been found, sooner than elsewhere, in Greece and Italy; but after those countries had been thoroughly ransacked, it is not so clear to comprehend how it should follow that their works were to be just as rapidly and easily found in other, and those barbarous countries, nay, indeed, more rapidly and more easily. ...*

... *If those works had remained in civilized hands, centuries would not have elapsed without the world being cognizant of their existence; the learned could not have lost sight of them; the select few would have transmitted copies from generation to generation; but when they passed into the possession of unlettered men living in barbarous countries, they would then be altogether hidden from view; such people would treat them as swine treat pearls; spurn them; not keep them in libraries, but throw them away as useless lumber into cellars, pits, dark holes, dirty passages, dry wells; fling them away as refuse into dustbins or upon dung heaps.* Nearly as much says Bracciolini by these shadony phrases: »in darkness«; »in a blind dungeon«; »in a dirty dungeon«; »in dismal dungeons,« and »in many dens,« as for instance, »for the sake of finding books that were kept by them in their convents shut up in darkness and in a blind dungeon«

... »He had rescued renowned authors out of the dismal dungeons in which, against their will and without being used, they had been kept concealed (for they were shut up in many a den and foul dungeon«

Books thrown away in such places must be regarded, when recovered, as found by the purest accident; hence it was at once comprehensible how they had remained unknown to the world for hundreds of years; for who would think of looking for books in such places?

Yet it was precisely in such places that Bracciolini and his companions looked for the books that they wanted; **what is still stranger, they always found in such queer places the exact books they were in search of.** It was so, for example, when they recovered the books in the monastery of St. Gall; the books were not found where, Bracciolini admits, they ought to have been, on account of their excellence, on the shelves of the library, but where slugs and toads are more frequently looked for and found than books and manuscripts, in an exceedingly dirty and dark dungeon at the bottom of a tower and one of these books, Quintilian, though described as »sound and safe,« is also described as being »saturated with moisture and begrimed with mire,« as if it had been made dirty expressly for the occasion of the recovery ...

¹⁶ Ross, Book II, Chapter IV, v:

... **This kind of reasoning, when admitted, throws the door open to fraud and forgery;**

... *How came these books into such places? Who took them from Italy, Greece, or other enlightened parts of the globe? If some learned monk, made abbot or prior of a convent of Germany or Hungary? or some equally learned priest sent as bishop to Christianize the heathen in still more barbarous lands in the North in a far distant age, why should succeeding monks, fonder, be it granted, of ploughing and reaping than reading and writing, treat as refuse books which, though not deemed by them of any value, as far as their own tastes and inclinations were concerned, they, nevertheless, knew were held in the very highest esteem by the studious in more civilized parts; and that these studious people, understanding the language in which they were written, and considering their contents most precious, would willingly give in exchange for them at any time not large, but enormous sums of money?*

*To so vprašanja, na katera ne moremo zadovoljivo odgovoriti; kaže, da jih najbolj upraviči predlog za utemeljeno domnevo, **da so te knjige na debelo ponarejali**; skoraj nagibamo k temu, da priznamo očetu Hardoninu, da je imel prav, ko je izrazil svoje prepričanje, **da so stari Rimljani morda resnično napisali ne vech kot dva ali tri stare latinske klasike.***

Ti »klasichni« rokopisi so pravzaprav poglavitno znamenje preporoda in zanimivo je, zakaj je do tega preporoda zares tudi prishlo.

Cerkev je na svojih zacetkih nachrtno unichevala rimsko leposlovje kot poganske pisarije. Sveto pismo naj bi bilo dovolj, che kdo chuti potrebo po branju. Vech kot sheststo let pozneje je pochasi naraslo zanimanje za rimske klasike, to pa so mnogi razlagali kot odgovor na topost in dushevno praznino morechega cerkvenega ravnanja in učenja. Toda obstajali so tudi chlani visoke duhovshchine, ki so podpirali iskanje starega leposlovja. To so bili chasi, ko je Cerkev njej neprijetne ljudi ali pa tiste, ki jih je oznachila kot krivoverce, dajala muchiti in nato sezhgati na grmadah, da bi s tem »reshila« njihove dushe. Tako je bilo zanimanje za klasike uradno poimenovano kot zanimanje za klasichno lepoto, umetnost, morda modrost, ne pa za davna verstva.

Toda mislim, da je bilo vse to le posledica dejstva, da je Cerkev pochasi izgubljala svojo popolno oblast in moch; za tako mnenje ni potreben nikakrshen poseben dokaz. Za ljudi, ki so se imeli za naslednike velikega Rimskega imperija, je bila vrednost klasichne umetnosti in zgodovine potrditev za njihovo zahtevo po vodilni politichni vlogi v svojem chasu. Med na novo nastajajochimi silami v Evropi je papeshtvo poskušalo zadržhati ali pa podpreti svojo premoch nad vsako posvetno oblastjo. Polozhaj je bil podoben tistemu, kot je bil kasneje ob primeru *Germanije*. Shlo je za povzdigovanje »slavne« preteklosti, da bi vzbudili in ponovno utrdili oslajbljeno samosposhtovanje, da bi drugim spet pokazali lastno premoch. Tekma med domachimi voditelji in bogatimi meshchani, kdo bo imel vech boljshih in bolj znanih rokopisov, je bila prav »en vogue« in vsekakor vprašanje ugleda (... **pripravljeni dati v zameno zanje vsak chas ne le velike, marvech velikanske vsote denarja**) ter je ustrezala resnično iskrenim obchudovalcem in iskalcem klasichnih starin.

POGGIO IN AENEA

... Exit Poggio ... Enter Aenea Silvio Piccolomini ...

S temi besedami se je Krebs »razbremenil« bremena, da naj bi bil »dobil« *Germanijo* od hersfeldskega meniha Poggia, in je hkrati »obremenil« Piccolominija, poznejshega papezha Pija II., z nadaljnjo usodo *Germanije*.

Piccolomini je nekako dobil *Germanijo*, ki naj bi jo, recheno po Krebsu in drugih, v Fuldi nashel Enoch iz Ascolija. Toda zelo verjetno rokopis *Germanije* ni bil nikoli v Fuldi ...

*These are questions that cannot be answered with satisfaction: they seem to give the highest coloring of truth to what has been suggested, **that there was a wholesale forgery of these books**; and one is almost inclined to give Father Hardouin credit, for being quite right, when he expressed as his belief that, perhaps, **not more than two or three of the ancient Latin classics were really written by the old Romans.***

These »classic« manuscripts are actually the main mark of the renaissance and it is interesting, why actually emerged the renaissance?

The Church in its beginnings destroyed systematically the Roman literature as the heathen writings, The Bible should be enough if somebody felt the need for reading. More than officially six hundred years later – slowly rose the interest on Roman classics, many interpreting it as the answer on the dullness and intellectual emptiness of the oppressive Church's behavior and teachings. But there were also the members of the high clergy, which promoted the search for the old literature. These were the times in which to The Church inconvenient people or those declared as heretics, were conveniently tortured and then burnt on the stake »just« to save their souls. Therefore it was officially declared that the interest in classics was the interest for the classic aesthetics, art, perhaps wisdom, and not in the long past beliefs.

But I think that it was mostly due to the fact that The Church was slowly losing its absolute might and power – there is no need for any especial proofs of the situation. For the people, which considered themselves as the heirs of the great Roman Empire, was the promotion of the classic art and history the confirmation of their claims for the leading political role at that time. Among the new emerging powers in Europe, the papacy tried to keep or to promote its superiority over any worldly power. It was actually the situation similar to that later with *Germania*. It was the reflection on the »glorious« past to evoke and reaffirm the weakened self esteem, to show others again the own supremacy. The competition of the local chieftains and the rich citizens, who will possess more, better and more renowned manuscripts was just »en vogue« and a matter of prestige (*... would willingly give in exchange for them at any time not large, but enormous sums of money?*), well serving the genuinely interested admirers and discoverers of the classic artifacts.

POGGIO and AENEA

... Exit Poggio ... Enter Aenea Silvio Piccolomini ...

With these words Krebs »freed« Poggio of burden to have »obtained« *Germania* from the monk of Hersfeld and »burdened« Piccolomini with the further destiny of *Germania* (p 74,79).

Piccolomini did somehow obtain *Germania*, which was according to Krebs and others, allegedly recovered, as said, from Fulda by Enoch from Ascoli. But very probably was *Germania* MS never in Fulda ...

Krebs pravi, naj bi Poggiov sin Jacopo »podal dokaz«, da njegov oče dejansko ni nashel *Germanije*. Kakšen dokaz? Je Jacopovo pismo dovolj in kako? Če je sploh vedel za *Germanijo*, gotovo ni bil toliko neumen, da bi ogrožal svojo dedishchino ... Dejstvo je, da sta se Poggio in Aenea Silvio Bartholomeo, imenovan Piccolomini, osebno poznala.

Mozhno je, da je bil mladi Piccolomini tedaj, ko je bil učenec Filelfa, enega najbolj znanih firentinskih humanistov, zhe seznanjen s Poggiom. Piccolominijevo pismo Giovanniju Aurispi iz leta 1431 pricha o njegovih poznanstvih s humanisti (34 str. 23).

V nasprotnem primeru je bil mladi Piccolomini, ko je leta 1431 prevzel polozhaj tajnika shkofa Domenica Capranica in ga je spremljal na baselski koncil (1431-1439), komajda znan Poggio.

Piccolomini je bil do leta 1435 vechinoma v Baslu. Takrat je bil Poggio prav tako v Baslu, namrech kot tajnik papezha Evgenija IV., ki ga je nato tudi spremljal v Firenco. Toda za Poggia kot papezhevega tajnika je zagotovo vedel mladi Piccolomini. Oba sta se zanimala za podobne humanistichne ideje in Poggio napredujochega Piccolominija kasneje zagotovo ni prezrl, she zlasti ne zaradi Piccolominijevih zhalilnih pisem proti papezhu Evgeniju IV. Leta 1435 je kardinal Albergati, poslanec Evgenija IV. na koncilu, poslal Piccolominija s tajno nalogo na Shkotsko. Poggio je bival na Angleshkem med leti 1418-1423, pa so se verjetno tudi z njim posvetovali o Piccolominijevi nalogi.

Po vrnitvi iz Shkotske se je Piccolomini pridruzhil protipapezhu Feliksu V. in je tako postal nasprotnik papezha Evgenija IV. Ko je protipapezh Feliks V. odstopil, se je Piccolomini verjetno potuhnil in je odshel, da bi se izognil morebitnim »posledicam«, v Strasbourg, nato pa na Dunaj na dvor cesarja Friderika III. Habsburzhana, pri katerem je bil nato pisar.

Che Poggio ni zhe prej poznal Piccolominija, je zvedel zanj kot za nasprotnika, ki ga je moral resno uposhtevati.

Sodech po Poggiovem sramotilnem pismu zoper protipapezha Feliksa V., je Piccolomini kot pristash tega protipapezha (28 Shepherd, str. 407) pripadal ljudem, opisanim takole:

... Komu ni znan znachaj te buchne tolpe najbolj razuzdanih mozg? Kdo ne pozna te vrste ljudi, kako izprijeni, kako razpushcheni, kako pokvarjeni so bili zbrani v zlonamerni greznici? Odpadniki, preshustniki, skrunilci, ubezhniki, ljudje obtozbeni najbolj sramotnih zlochinov, bogokletniki, uporniki proti Bogu in proti svojim predstojnikom ...

Piccolomini je nedvomno prebral to zhaljivko; kot porochajo zgodovinarji, je v odgovor napisal tudi svojo protizhaljivko. Vprashanje pa je, ali je sploh kdaj zares pozabil vsebino zhaljivke.

Poggio in Piccolomini sta se gotovo spet sreчала leta 1445, ko se je slednji vrnil v Rim, zashchiten z »diplomatsko imuniteto«, in se je opravičil papezhu Evgeniju IV.; »priznal« je, da je bil zapeljan na krivo pot, k lazni resnici, mlad, neizkushen, ko je sledil slabim zgledom, in papezh mu je odpustil. Nato je Piccolomini odshel kot papezhev pogajalec v Nemchijo.

Poggio's son Jacopo »provided evidence« (p. 74), so Krebs, that his father in fact not obtained the *Germania* – which evidence, is his letter enough, and how? If he knew at all about *Germania*, he was surely not a fool to endanger his inheritance ... The fact is that Poggio and Aenea Silvio Bartholomeo named Piccolomini were personal acquaintances.

Perhaps was the young Piccolomini as the student of Filelfo – one of the at the time Florentine humanists – already introduced to Poggio. A letter of Piccolomini to Giovanni Aurispa in 1431 testifies on some introductions to the humanists (³⁴ p. 23

If not, was very probably the young Piccolomini by taking the post of secretary to the bishop Domenico Capranica in 1431, accompanying the bishop to the Council of Basel (1431-39), hardly known to Poggio.

Piccolomini stayed mostly in Basel till 1435. At that time was Poggio also in Basel as the secretary of the Pope Eugenius IV, later following the Pope to Florence. But Poggio as the Pope's secretary was surely well known to young Piccolomini. They both had the similar humanistic interests and prosperous Piccolomini surely didn't pass later unnoticed by Poggio, especially due to Piccolomini's invectives against the Pope Eugenius IV. In the year 1435 was Piccolomini sent by Cardinal Albergati, Eugenius IV's legate at the council, on a secret mission to Scotland. Poggio dwelt in England from 1418 – 1423 and was probably also consulted in the case of Piccolomini's mission.

Returning from the mission Piccolomini sided with the Antipope Felix V, and was so in the party opposite to Eugenius IV. He went, after the Antipope Felix V stepped down, but, very probably just moved out of sight to avoid the possible »consequences«, to Strassbourg and then to Vienna on the court of the Emperor Frederik III.

If not earlier, Poggio learned him then as an opponent to be kept under the scrutiny.

According to Poggio's invective against Antipope Felix V, belonged Piccolomini as a supporter of the Antipope to (Shepherd p. 407):

... For who is ignorant of the character of that tumultuary band of most debauched men? Who does not know what sort of people, how nefarious, how abandoned, how wicked, were assembled in that sink of iniquity? - apostates, fornicators, ravishers, deserters, men convicted of the most shameful crimes, blasphemers, rebels against God and their superiors. ...

Piccolomini surely read this invective, as said, wrote also his own, but did he ever forgot its contents? ...

They both surely met again in 1445, when Piccolomini returned to Rome, safe due to »diplomatic immunity« and apologized to Pope Eugene IV – »confessing« that he was misled on the wrong way, to false truth, young, inexperienced, following the bad examples – and was pardoned and went as Pope's mediator to Germany.

Papezha ustolichijo kot »Ocheta kraljev in princev, vladarja sveta«, zato se je Piccolominiu splachal »razvoj« iz Savla v Pavla, da je spoznal »Resnico in Pravo pot z Bozhjo pomocijo« ter se tudi ponizhno skesal za pretekle grehe.

Njegove naslednje stopnice v cerkveni hierarhiji so bile škof, kardinal in nazadnje papezh. Vechina njegovih zhivljenjepiscev, posebej nemshkih, je polna hvale zanj, zlasti glede njegove pobozhne spreobrnitve ...

... *Konchno je tishino prekinil Roderigo Borgia: »Glasujem za kardinala iz Siene,« je dejal ...*

... kardinali so mu sledili in Piccolomini je bil leta 1458 izvoljen za papezha kot Pij II. (35 str. 243).

Piccolomini v *Bulla retractationis* leta 1463 – Poggio je bil tedaj zhe mrtev – pravi takole (36 str. 4):

... *v neznanju ... v zmoti ... preklicujem ... zavržite Aenea, sprejmite Pija (Aeneam rejicite, Pium recipite) ...*

Tako je Piccolomini uradno priznal svoje nekdanje zmote, popolnoma skesan, toda z novim zharom, vse z namenom, da bi se izognil izgubi lastne veljave zaradi svojih prejsnjih dejanj.

Med drugim si je prislužil celó slavno pesnitev. ^{36a}

Piccolomini je bil zelo chastihlepen in tudi nevaren chlovek – oportunist in konformist. Dovolj razlogov torej, da je bil Poggio z njim zelo previden in spravljev. Piccolomini je Poggia je oznachil kot »auri cupidissimo« (37 Walser, str.199), tj. »zlato najbolj privrzheni«.

Sicer pa je bila Poggiova usoda nekoliko podobna Piccolominijevi. Poggio je bil v chasu koncila v Konstanci v sluzhbi papezha Janeza XXIII. (po nekaterih virih XXII.). Po papezhevem odstopu je ostal nekako zvest svojemu staremu »shefu«, toda vseeno je poskushal dobiti sluzhbo pri novem papezhu. Ni mu uspelo, pa je sprejel sluzhbo pri kardinalu Beaufortu v Angliji; pravzaprav se je tako tudi potuhnil, dalech od Rima, da bi se izognil morebitnim tezhavam. Tako Poggio kot Piccolomini sta si zelo prizadevala, da bi premagala revshchino in da bi si pridobila visoke polozhaje.

Sodech po pismih, ki sta si jih izmenjala, sta bila drug do drugega prijazna; che pa sta bila prijatelja, verjetno nista gojila tesnejshega prijateljstva (37 Walser, str. 297).

Poggio je Piccolominiu ob izvolitvi za papezha Pija II. napisal chestitko, izjemno glede na tedaj obichajno prijaznost: *Sanctissimo ac beatissimo domino nostro pape Pio.*

Poggio se je pach zhe zdavnaj nauchil, komu, kdaj in koliko se mora prikloniti. Gotovo mu je bilo tudi znano Piccolominijevo posebno zanimanje za Tevtonce. Zelo verjetno je Piccolominiu posredoval tekst *Germanije*; kdaj je to bilo, lahko le ugibamo, toda moralo je biti prej, preden je Piccolomini napisal tista pisma, pri Nemcih tako chashchena, škofu v Meinz, pravzaprav njegovemu tajniku Martinu Mayerju (1458) ³⁸.

Kaj naj bi bil Poggiov razlog za izrochitev *Germanije*? Je bil kot »auri cupidissimo« bogato poplachan? Mogoche je upal, da bo s tem ohranil svoj dober odnos z vatikansko kurijo: Piccolominijev vpliv je rasel, Poggio pa je bil dovolj izkushen, da je lahko predvideval njegov nadaljnji vzpon. Po smrti papezha Nikolaja V. je Poggio zapustil svoj urad v Vatikanu in prevzel sluzhbo firentinskega kanclerja (1453).

The pope is crowned as the »Father of kings and princes, ruler of the world«, so it was worth to »evolve« from Saulus to Paulus, to recognize »the Truth and the Right Way with God's help« as well to remorse humbly past sins.

His further steps in the Church hierarchy were bishop, cardinal and at last pope. The most of his biographers, especially German, are full of praise for him, his pious turn ...

... *At last the silence was broken by Roderigo Borgia, »I vote for the Cardinal of Siena«, he said ...*³⁵

... the Cardinals followed and Piccolomini was in the year 1458 elected to Pope.

Piccolomini in *Bulla retractationis* 1463 – Poggio was then already dead ³⁶:

... *in ignorance ... in error ... revoking ... Aeneam rejicite, Pium recipite ...*

... reject Aenea, receive Pius ... he confessed officially his past mistakes, full regret, but with the new vigor – to avoid any loss of authority due to his former deeds ...

Med drugim si je prislužil celó slavilno pesnitev. ^{36a}

Piccolomini was a very ambitious and actually a very dangerous man – an opportunist and a conformist. Enough for Poggio to be very cautious and conciliate concerning Piccolomini, who named him »auri cupidissimo« ³⁷ (Walser p. 199) – an avaricious man.

Poggios fate was actually something similar to Piccolominis. Poggio was at the time of Council of Constance in the service of the Pope John XXIII (according to some sources XXII). After the Pope's abdiction – Poggio remained somewhat loyal to his old »chief«, but tried to get the job by the new Pope. Not succeeding, he went to England employed by Cardinal Beaufort, as mentioned already – actually also moving out of the direct sight of Rome, perhaps avoiding also possible troubles. Both struggled hardly from the poverty to obtain and to attain their positions ...

According to their mutual correspondence, they were both cordial to each other, but if they were friendly, they were no close friends ³⁷ (Walser p. 297). Poggio has him written an exceptional letter of congratulation on the event of the election to Pope Pius II, outstanding from the till then usual cordiality, titled: *Sanctissimo ac beatissimo domino nostro pape Pio*.

Poggio learned already long ago, when, to whom and how much to bend his back. Poggio surely knew Piccolomini's preoccupation with Teutons. Very probably he passed *Germania* to Piccolomini – when and where can be only speculated, but it should have been before Piccolomini wrote his, by Germans so famous and cherished, letter(s) to bishop in Mainz, actually to his secretary Martin Mayer (1458).³⁸

What would be Poggio's reason to do this? Was he, »auri cupidissimo«, richly paid? Maybe he hoped to keep the good relations with Curia – Piccolomini's influence grew and Poggio was experienced enough to estimate his further rise. After the death of Pope Nicholas V left Poggio his office in Vatican and took the position of the Florentine chancellor (1453).

Kasneje (1456) se je zhelel vrniti v Vatikan; v tem času pa je bil v Vatikanu njegov najbolj gorechi nasprotnik Lorenzo Valla, ki je veljal za »strogega slovnicharja« in ki je grajal Poggio stil pisanja. Poggio je tudi vedel, da je bil Valla nekoch obtozhen krivoverstva, ker je razkrinkal Kristusovo pismo Abgariju kot ponaredek. Za Poggia je bil Valla nedvomno nevaren chlovek. Piccolomini bi bil za Poggia zelo dobrodoshel kot njegov zaveznik v Vatikanu.

Kot rokopis sumljivega izvora *Germanija* ni bila primerna, da bi jo Poggio na vse strani ponujal kupcem; za domache Italijane verjetno sploh ni bila zanimiva. Nasprotno pa velja za Piccolominija, ki je verjetno poznal njeno poreklo; morda je kaj »popravil« ali »dodal« rokopisu ali pa je celo prosil Poggia, da to naredi – vse v interesu lastnih politichnih namenov. Taka domneva je mozhna, ker naj bi Piccolomini »odkri« Jordanesov (Jordanes, Jordanis, Jorandis) spis *Getica*, v katerem je referenca k *Analom* nekega Cornelija (27 *Europa*, str. 180, knjiga 29, 96).

Ross o tem pishe (16 Book I, Chapter I, ii):

Na splosbno domnevajo, da Jorandes, chigar dela so tako vredna zaradi v njih podane zgodovine petega in shestega stoletja nashe dobe, pravzaprav govori o Tacitu, ko v drugem poglavju svoje zgodovine Gotov govori o nekem »Corneliju kot avtorju Analov« – ti so bili brez naslova vse do leta 1533, ko je Beat Rhenan prvi dal tem knjigam ime Anali. In dalje, le kako bi mogel Jorandes, ki je zhivel v shestem stoletju, kaj vedeti o kakršnih koli Tacitovih spisih z imenom Anali, ko pa jih s tem naslovom niso oznachevali vse do shestnajstega stoletja?

Silvio Aenea Piccolomini je bil tudi humanist z leposlovno izobrazbo. Na dvoru nemshkega cesarja Friderika III. so ga okronali s krono »vechno zelenih lovorjevih listov«, namenjeno pesnikom (34 *Ady*, str. 73); torej je bil brez dvoma sposoben »popraviti« Jordanesa s kakshnim vstavkom. Zagotovo je bil je oche dveh, domnevno (po govoricah) pa celo dvanajstih otrok; pisal je erotichna (vchasih oznachena kot pornografska) besedila, njegov roman *Pripoved o dveh ljubimcib* je bil do srede 20. stoletja prepovedano branje v katolishkih deklishkih ustanovah, mogoche to velja she danes.

Toda on bo vselej v spominu kot oche pravzaprav celotne nacije – je edinstven, kot porocha Krebs (str. 81):

... Piccolomini used Germania to identify Germanen and contemporaneous Germans as the same people at two different moments in history ...

(... Piccolomini uporablja Germanijo za istovetenje Germanov in sodobnih Nemcev kot istega ljudstva v dveh razlichnih trenutkih zgodovine ...)

V svojem delu, pozneje imenovanem *De Europa* 27, Piccolomini redkokdaj graja mogochnike, njihove vojne, umore, ropanja, plenitve in posilstva, marvech jih v glavnem oznachuje kot modre, plemenite, vzgojene in dobre kristjane. Posebno so mu pri srcu nemshki plemenichi, ni maral Francozov in tudi ne slovanskih narodov, ki jih je oznachil kot zelo divje, najbolj pa je obsojal »divje« Shvicarje, ki naj bi jih z njegovega vidika prekashali morda le Turki.

Njegova politichna zvijachnost kakor tudi dvosmiselnost med intimno in uradno privrzenostjo kazheta veliko razliko, pridobljeno na podlagi osebnih izkushenj, saj se je vechinoma moral prikljanjati, in to ne le veljakom, kot je najboljše oznachila Cecilia M. *Ady* (34 str. 109):

Later (1456) he wished to return to Vatican. In Vatican stayed his at the time worst adversary Lorenzo Valla, who was held as an »acute grammarian« and allegedly criticized Poggios literary style. Poggio also knew that Valla was earlier accused of heresy by debunking a letter of Christ to Abgarus as a forgery. For Poggio he was a dangerous man. Piccolomini would be very welcome as his ally in Vatican.

As a manuscript of a suspicious provenience, was *Germania* somewhat less safe to be generally put on the market and for the locals was also just not interesting at all. Not so for Piccolomini.

It is possible that Piccolomini knew *Germania's* source, maybe he »reformulated« or even »added« something to the manuscript or very probable even asked Poggio to do so – it had just to serve his political goals. This assertion can be made, as Piccolomini allegedly »discovered« Jordanes *Getica* and in *Getica* is the reference to *Annales of a certain Cornelius* ²⁷ (*Europa* p. 180, Book 29, 96).

Ross on the subject (¹⁶ Book I, Chapter I, ii):

It is generally supposed that Jornandez, whose works are so valuable for their history of the fifth and sixth centuries of our aera, -when speaking, in the second chapter of his History of the Goths, of one »Cornelius as the author of Annals,« is speaking of Tacitus, -it not being till 1533, that Beatus Rhenanus first gave those books the name »Annals« Then how could Jornandez, who lived in the sixth century, have known any writings of Tacitus by the name of »Annals«, when that title was not given to them until the sixteenth century?

Sylvius Aeneus Piccolomini was also humanist, linguistically educated. On the court of Frederik III was he crowned with the »ever verdant laurel leaves« crown of the poets (¹³⁴ Ady p. 73) and he was doubtless capable to »correct« Jordanes with an insertion. He fathered two (surely) to twelve (gossip) children – he wrote erotic, sometimes designated as pornographic, texts – his novel »*The tale of two lovers*« was till the middle of the 20th century a forbidden reading in the catholic female schools – and maybe still nowadays.

But he will be ever rememberd as the father of actually a whole nation – he is the one, as Krebs reports (p. 81):

... Piccolomini used Germania to identify Germanen and contemporaneous Germans as the same people at two different moments in history ...

In his work, later named *De Europa* [64], Piccolomini rarely criticizes the powerful, their wars, their murders, their robberies, their plunders, their rapes ... but they are mostly designed as wise, noble, educated and good Christians. Especially the German nobility was at his heart, he didn't like the French, the Slavonic nations – designed as the very wild ones, but he mostly condemned the wild Swiss, they were surpassed in his view perhaps only by Turks.

His political »wit«, his ambivalence between his personal and his official preferences shows a contrast to his personal experiences and feelings, mostly bending his back not only to powerful, at best illustrated with Cecilia M. Ady's (¹³⁴ p. 109) remark:

... bila je simpatija, s katero se je srečal pri ljudeh, ki niso bili Tevtonci ...

Tako je oznacheval svoje izobrazhene *znanke*, vechinoma Slovane in Madzhare (ne velja za Tevtonce), s katerimi je imel zelo slabe izkushnje na Bavarskem; o tem poroča v svojih pismih, kot kazhejo naslednji citati (³⁵ Boulting, str. 117):

... *nich ni hujshega od vrochichnega taborishcha, kot je to princhev dvor. Zavist, ljubosumje, obrekovanje, mrzkost, sovrashstvo, sramotenje, zhalitve in nenebno muchenje so tam doma ... Ne moresh prijeto pljuniti (pri kosilu), marvech morash umažati sosedova oblachila ...*

Dunaj je opisal takole:

... *Shtudentje se predajajo zabavam, so pogoltneshi in pijanci, ponochi postopajo po ulicah in napadajo meschane, njihovi mozhgani so polni labkih zhensk ...*

... *Neustadt je mesto menihov in Zhidov ... na Shtajerskem, Koroshkem in Kranjskem zhivijo barbari ...* (³⁵ Boulting, str. 119)

V omenjenih dezhelah je imel shkofovski polozhaj; to so slovenske dezhele, kjer celjskih grofov in knezov ni maral, bili so med redkimi mogochniki, ki jih je v spisih grajal.

O Leipzigu je zapisal:

... *Tam je navada, da družhba Saksoncev daje chastno mesto tistim, ki najvech zhlampajo, in to razvedrilo imenujejo – pijanska tekma.*

Te vrstice zvenijo kot obrekovanje, toda podobno pravi tudi Krebs v svoji knjigi *Negotatio Germanie* (³⁹ str. 20) z naslednjim zapletenim stavkom:

Enea Silvius und seiner oratio fördert signifikante Differenzen zutage; und wieder anders ist das Bild Deutschlands in Enea Silvius Briefen an seine zumeist italienischen Korrespondenten. Aus ihrem jeweiligen Kontext gelöst und zum Deutschlandbild des Autors hypostasiert, widersprechen die Bilder einander derart, daß der Versuch einer verbindlichen Aussage über das Deutschlandbild Enea Silvius schlechterdings scheitern muß; jedoch innerhalb ihres argumentativen Kontextes machen diese Bilder Sinn, weil sie als Argument das jeweilige Beweisziel zu erreichen helfen.

Krebs ugotavlja, da sama sebi nasprotujocha podoba Nemchije Piccolominiju pomeni sredstvo, da dosezhe svoj namen v danih okolishchinah; pravzaprav gre za svojevrsten makiavelizem pred Machiavellijem.

Piccolomini v *De Europa* omenja legendo, da so Franki potomci plemenitih Trojancev, na drugem mestu pravi, da so potomci Skitov (²⁷ str. 226), Saksonci pa potomci pogumnih Makedoncev. To omenjam, da bi opozoril na Piccolominijevo tezo o t. i. »selitvi narodov«, zlasti slovanskih (²⁷ knjige 16-21), ker je to ena od osnovnih zgodovinskih postavk, ki so jo iz te knjige prevzeli nemshki zgodovinarji.

Piccolomini sicer tudi navaja, da so »divji« Shvicarji iz trupel svojih sovrazhnikov delali klopi in mize za pojedine, ko so zhrli njihova srca (enako menda danes pochnejo sirski uporniki z Assadovimi vojaki).

Piccolomini ne omenja spisa *Translatio sancti Alexandri*⁹, porochila o pokristjanjevanju Saksoncev, kjer je opisan prenos relikvije (trupla sv. Aleksandra iz Rima v Spodnjo Saksonijo v 9. stol.), ki je bila darilo papezha Leona nemshkemu cesarju Lotharju. Poroča pa o krvavechih hostijah (o Saksoncih, ²⁷ knjiga 32, 113, str.197).

... *it was the sympathy which he met with among the non-Teutonic peoples ...*

naming his educated *acquaintances*, mostly Slavs and Hungarians, but not Teutons – with whom he made quite a bad experience in Bavaria (reported in letters, ⁽³⁵ Boulting, p. 117):

... *no more hard-heated camp than the court of a prince. There envy, jealousy, calumny, hatred, enmity, infamy, insult and ceaseless torment take up their abode ... One cannot spit [by lurch] comfortably, but one must needs soil the clothes of a neighbor ...*

He wrote on Vienna:

...*The students give themselves over to pleasure they are gluttons and wine-bibbers, they prowl the streets at night and attack citizens, their minds are wholly taken up with light women. ...*

... *Neustadt is a city of monks and Jews ... Styria, Carinthia and Carniola are inhabited by barbarians ...* (⁽³⁵ Boulting, p. 119).

In these lands he lived and held the bishop's seat ... but they are Slovenian lands, and the Counts and Dukes of Celje disliked he especially – the rare powerful he criticized.

On Leipzig:

For there is a custom at the gatherings of the Saxons to give the place of honor to those who can swill the most, and they call the pastime a drinking match.

The rows above read as a gossip, but Krebs in his *Negotatio Germanie* (⁽³⁹ p. 20) states the similar in this complicated sentence:

... *Enea Silvius und seiner oratio fördert signifikante Differenzen zutage; und wieder anders ist das Bild Deutschlands in Enea Silvius Briefen an seine zumeist italienischen Korrespondenten. Aus ihrem jeweiligen Kontext gelöst und zum Deutschlandbild des Autors hypostasiert, widersprechen die Bilder einander derart, daß der Versuch einer verbindlichen Aussage über das Deutschlandbild Enea Silvius schlechterdings scheitern muß; jedoch innerhalb ihres argumentativen Kontextes machen diese Bilder Sinn, weil sie als Argument das jeweilige Beweisziel zu erreichen helfen. ...*

and concludes that the Piccolomini's controversial depiction of Germany just suit to serve as argument of evidence to reach the goal of the given context ... actually an application of Machiavellism before Machiavelli.

In *De Europa* he mentioned the tale that the Franks were fathered by noble Trojans, somewhere else that they are the offspring of Scythes (⁽²⁷ p. 226), the Saxons were fathered by brave Macedonians – I refer this just to remember on allegedly his people's migration ideas, especially the Slavic (⁽²⁷ Books 16-21), as it is one of the basic notions from this book, endorsed by German historians. Further, the wild Swiss made from the corpses of the foes the banks and the tables, where they sat and devoured the hearts of their enemies – just the same as the Syrian insurgents with the Assad soldiers nowadays.

He did not mention the *Translatio sancti Alexandri*, the report on the conversion of Saxons to Christianity, describing the transport of the relic (the body of the St. Alexander ⁹, from Rome in Saxonia, in the 9th century), the gift of the Pope Leo to emperor Lothar. But he reports on bleeding hosties ... (on Saxonia, ⁽²⁷ Book 32, 113, p. 197)

V *De Europi* (27 str. 58, knjiga 1, 4) je ena redkih graj Nemcev, ko Piccolomini skoraj opravičuje Madzhare za pokol nemških trgovcev:

... Za panonske narode ni nich bolj neprijetno kot z trgovati z Nemci, ki izplehejo vse zlato iz dezhbele ...

V nobenem odlomku v tej knjigi ni bolje opisal svojega (uradnega) prijateljskega odnosa z Nemci kot tam, kjer občuduje grofa Albrechta, s katerim sta se osebno poznala. Citiram v nemshchini, ker ne zmorem slovenskega prevoda v stilu tako izvirnega prijateljskega navdushenja, kot ga kazhe nemški prevod, kaj shele latinski izvirnik (27 str. 232, knjiga 39, 138, ff):

... In dieser Provinz hatte Friedrich, Markgraf von Brandenburg ... vier Söhne: Johannes, Friedrich, Albrecht und den anderen Friedrich ...

... Albrecht zog fast alle Fürsten Deutschlands auf seine Seite, als er Nürnberger angriff; die Städte schickten den Nürnbergern Hilfe. Es war ein schwerer und grausamer Krieg, in dem so mächtige Gegner zwei Jahre lang mit erbittertem Hass stritten. Sie sollen neun Schlachten geschlagen haben, acht davon vollendete Albrecht als Sieger, nur in einer unterlag er als Besiegter und war erst mit dem Frieden einverstanden, nachdem er die Äcker beraubt, die Gebäfte zerriittet, das Vieh weggetrieben, die Landbewohner getötet hatte und Proviant und Geld den Streitenden fehlten. Dann wurde auch über den Frieden gesprochen, und zwar nach dem Willen Albrechts. Dieser Albrecht nahm, wie sie sagen, von Kindesbeinen an dazu erzogen, in Waffen an mehr Schlachten teil, als andere Herzogs seines alters von Schlachten gesehen oder gelesen hatten. Er führte Krieg in Polen, er kämpfte in Schlesien, er schlug in Preussen Lager auf, er warf seine Feinde in Böhmen nieder, er machte Feldzüge nach Österreich, er holte sich Beute aus Ungarn, kein Winkel auf dem Boden Deutschlands, den er nicht bewaffnet betreten hatte; er führte unzählige Kriege an, er vernichtete die wildesten Feinde, er eroberte die bestbefestigten Städte. Bei Zusammenstossen fing er als Erster den Kampf an, als Sieger kam er als Letzter aus der Schlacht; beim erobern von Städten erstieg er oft als Erster die Mauer; von zahlreichen Nachbarn zu Duellen aufgefordert, lebnte er niemals ab, und immer warf er den Feind nieder. Bei kriegerischen Spielen, bei denen man sich mit der Lanze misst, wurde er als der Einzige von allen ermittelt, der niemals von Pferd geworfen wurde und der alle, die gegen ihn los rannten, abwarf. Aus Turnieren ging er immer als Sieger hervor. Siebzehn Mal eilte er, allein bedeckt mit Schild und Helm, im Übrigen nackt (wie es bei den Deutschen eine besondere Art des Duells ist), gegen seine auf gleiche Weise bewaffneten Gegner zu, mit scharfer Lanze, wobei er keinen Schaden erlitt, wäbren er selbst die Gegner immer vom Pferd werfen konnte. Wegen dieser Taten wurde er nicht zu Unrecht der »deutsche Achill« genannt, an dem nicht nur die Kriegskünste und die Tugenden eines Feldherrn mit einziger Anmut strahlten, sondern auch der Adel seiner Herkunft. Der hohe Wuchs und die Schönheit seines Körpers, die Grösse seiner Kräfte und seine beredte Sprache machten ihn bewundernswert und fast göttlich.

...

Skratka, Albrecht je pristal na premirje sbele, ko je izropal polja, porushil kmetije, odpeljal zbirino, pobil vse kmete ...

... Vojeval je na Poljskem, boril se je v Shleziji, taboril v Prusiji, premagal svoje nasprotnike na Cheshkem, opravil pohode na Avstrijskem, plenil po Madzharskem, ni ga kota na nemških tleh, kjer ni nastopil z orožjem, vodil je neshete vojne, unichil je najbolj divje sovražnike, osvojil je najbolj utrjena mesta. Prvi je sbel v boj, zadnji se je vrachal iz bitk ...

In *De Europa* (27 p. 58, Book I , 4) even one of seldom serious reproaches to Germans, almost excusing the Hungarians for the slaughter of the German traders:
... For the Pannonic nations there is nothing more inconvenient that the trading with Germans, who drag all the gold out of the region.

... No passage of his book better illustrates his (official) friendly relation to Germans as his admiration (private?) of count Albrecht, his personal acquaintance. I cite it in German – I am just not capable to translate it in the original amicable pathetic style (27 p. 232, Book 39, 138, ff):

... In dieser Provinz hatte Friedrich, Markgraf von Brandenburg ... vier Söhne: Johannes, Friedrich, Albrecht und den anderen Friedrich ...

... Albrecht zog fast alle Fürsten Deutschlands auf seine Seite, als er Nürnberger angriff; die Städte schickten den Nürnbergern Hilfe. Es war ein schwerer und grausamer Krieg, in dem so mächtige Gegner zwei Jahre lang mit erbittertem Hass stritten. Sie sollen neun Schlachten geschlagen haben, acht davon vollendete Albrecht als Sieger, nur in einer unterlag er als Besiegter und war erst mit dem Frieden einverstanden, nachdem er die Äcker beraubt, die Geböfte zerriüet, das Vieh weggetrieben, die Landbewohner getöet hatte und Proviant und Geld den Streitenden fehlten. Dann wurde auch über den Frieden gesprochen, und zwar nach dem Willen Albrechts. Dieser Albrecht nahm, wie sie sagen, von Kindesbeinen an dazu erzogen, in Waffen an mehr Schlachten teil, als andere Herzogs seines alters von Schlachten gesehen oder gelesen hatten. Er führte Krieg in Polen, er kämpfte in Schlesien, er schlug in Preussen Lager auf, er warf seine Feinde in Böhmen nieder, er machte Feldzüge nach Österreich, er holte sich Beute aus Ungarn, kein Winkel auf dem Boden Deutschlands, den er nicht bewaffnet betreten hatte; er führte unzählige Kriege an, er vernichtete die wildesten Feinde, er eroberte die bestbefestigten Städte. Bei Zusammenstossen fing er als Erster den Kampf an, als Sieger kam er als Letzter aus der Schlacht; beim erobern von Städten erstieg er oft als Erster die Mauer; von zahlreichen Nachbarn zu Duellen aufgefordert, lebte er niemals ab, und immer warf er den Feind nieder. Bei kriegerischen Spielen, bei denen man sich mit der Lanze misst, wurde er als der Einzige von allen ermittelt, der niemals von Pferd geworfen wurde und der alle, die gegen ihn los rannten, abwarf. Aus Turnieren ging er immer als Sieger hervor. Siebzehn Mal eilte er, allein bedeckt mit Schild und Helm, im Übrigen nackt (wie es bei den Deutschen eine besondere Art des Duells ist), gegen seine auf gleiche Weise bewaffneten Gegner zu, mit scharfer Lanze, wobei er keinen Schaden erlitt, währen er selbst die Gegner immer vom Pferd werfen konnte. Wegen dieser Taten wurde er nicht zu Unrecht der »deutsche Achill« genannt, an dem nicht nur die Kriegskünste und die Tugenden eines Feldherrn mit einziger Anmut strahlten, sondern auch der Adel seiner Herkunft. Der hohe Wuchs und die Schönheit seines Körpers, die Grösse seiner Kräfte und seine beredte Sprache machten ihn bewundernswert und fast göttlich.

...

In short, ... Albrecht agreed to peace after he plundered the fields, destroyed the farms, took away the cattle, killed all the peasants ...

... He conducted war in Poland, he fought in Schlesia, he camped in Prussia, he defeated his enemies in Bohemia, he made campaigns in Austria, he looted in Hungary, there is no corner in the German land, where he did not armed stepped in, he conducted countless wars, he destroyed the wildest enemies, he captured the most reinforced towns. He started as the first in the fight, returned as the last from the battle ...

... Sedemnajstkrat se je vrnil iz dvoboja, v katerem se je bojeval gol na konju in le s chelado, sbrhitom in kopjem, kot zmagovalec, neranjen ... in so ga zato imenovali »nemshki Abik« ...

... niso z milino blestele zgolj njegova bojna umetnost in vrline voskovodje, temveč tudi plemenitost njegovega rodu. Njegova visoka rast in lepota njegovega telesa, njegova velika moč in njegova zgovorna beseda so bile obchudovanja vredne in so ga naredile skoraj bozhanskega ...

Ena nemshkih narodnih svetinj je Albrechtov meč, imenovan »Das Kurbrandenburgische Schwert«, ki mu ga je podaril Silvio Piccolomini alias papezh Pij II. z besedami:

Vzemi ta sveti meč kot darilo od Boga, z njegovo pomočjo bosh zmozel pokončiti svoje sovražbnike. Pius Pontifex.

Je Piccolomini zares obchudoval Albrehta? Kot papezh mu je dal oznako »skoraj bozhanski« in lahko bi rekli, da je s tem odkril globoko bolechino svoje dushe, kajti sam je bil »der Giftzwerg« (strupeni pritlikavec), kot v nemshko govorechih dezhelah zmerjajo chastihlepnezhe majhne postave, in cheprav je bil nekoch na dvoru okronan za kralja pesnikov, je bil na istem dvoru cenjen manj kot tisti, ki je kidal gnoj v stajah.

Mogoche pa se je le prilizoval Albrechtu. Kot sposoben in izkushen politik makiavelistichnega kova je poskushal Albrehta pregovoriti za boj proti Turkom. Da bi zdruzhil evropske sile v boju proti Turkom, je bila Piccolominijeva zadnja velika zhelja, s katero je umrl, ne da bi jo uresnichil.

Papezh Pij II. o Albrechtu tudi: » ... Veseli me, da se nashe stoletje ponasha s tako velikim mozhem ...«

O Ericu iz Stettina (ali kar je Piccolomini slishal o njem⁴⁰):

... Bil je lep mozh z zlatimi lasmi, precej velikimi ochmi, svetlega obraza in dolgega belega vratu. Oblachil se je nevsiljivo in je pokrival svoj dolg vrat z lanenim shalom, toda pritrjenim z zlato zaponko. Sam in brez vsake pomochi je lahko skochil na konja, ne da bi se dotaknil ostrog. Vsaka zhenska, ki ga je videla, she posebno pa cesarica (Barbara Celjska), je bila razvmeta od pozhhelenja.

Eric je bil kakor Albrecht izjemen zgled plemenitega germanskega bojevnika; morda kje obstaja tudi njegov opis kot svetlolasega, modrookega velikana ...

Toda navedeni stavki so le eden od Piccolominijevih germanofilskih opisov, ki sicer povsem ustrezajo podobi Germanov v spisu *Germanija*. In ta spis je javnosti prvi predstavil javnosti prav Piccolomini. Je tudi on »ochetoval« nekaj vsebine v besedilu *Germanije*?

Na nemshkem govornem podrochju je bil Piccolomini vedno v najvishjih chasteh. Tudi dandanes zavzema tam edinstven polozhaj kot oche »der Europäischen Gedanke«, se pravi t. i. evropske misli ali pojma Evrope, ki jo je hotel zdruzhiti v boju proti Otomanom ...⁴¹

*... Seventeen times he returned from the duel, which he fought riding naked on the horse, having just the helmet, shield and lance, victorious ... therefore he was named »the German Achilles« ...
... he was not only charmingly splendid in the arts of war, in the virtues of commander-in -chief, but also in the nobility of his descent. Admirable were his high stature and the beauty of his body, the might of his strengths and his eloquent speech had made him almost god-like ...*

The one of the German national icons is his sword »Das Kurbrandenburgische Schwert«, which he got from Aenea, the Pope Pius II, with the words:

Nimm das heilige Schwert als Geschenk von Gott, mit dessen Hilfe du deine Feinde niederschlagen mögest. Pius Pontifex.

or in English: *Take the holy sword as the gift of God, with his help thou may defeat the enemies. Pius Pontifex.*

Did Aenea Sylvius Piccolomini really admired Albrecht? As a Pope he named him »almost god-like«, revealing his soul's deepest pain. He himself was »der Giftzwerg« – »the poisonous dwarf« as in German speaking lands nickname the very ambitious guys of small stature as he was, crowned as the king of poets, at the time valued less than a cleaner of stables.

Perhaps he just flattered Albrecht – as a good and very skilled politician of naturally Machiavellian attitude, he wanted Albrecht to fight the Turks. To organize the forces to fight the Turks was his the very last great wish with which he died.

Pope Pius II : *»... Ich freue mich, dass unser Jahrhundert mit einem so grossen Mann geschmückt wird, ... « – ... I am delighted that our century will be decorated with such an eminent man, ...*

On Eric of Stettin [what Piccolomini heard of ⁴⁰]

... He was a handsome man with golden hair, fairly large eyes, a glowing complexion and a long white neck. He dressed unostentatiously and covered his white neck with a linen scarf, albeit fastened with a golden buckle. Alone and without any assistance he could jump onto his horse without touching the stirrups. Every woman who saw him, and especially the Empress (Barbara of Celje), was aroused by desire.

But as Eric was and is Albrecht just the master sample of a noble Germanic warrior – perhaps is also somewhere to be found his description as a blond, blue-eyed giant ...

But, this text is just one of his German-philic descriptions, which corresponds excellently to the notions of Germani in *Germania's* text. And, the very first introduction of *Germania* to the public was made just by Piccolomini. Did he father also some of *Germania's* contents?

Even nowadays has Piccolomini a unique position as the originator of the »Europäische Gedanke«, a notion of Europe, which he wanted to be united in a struggle to resist the Otomans ... ⁴¹.

PREZRTI, DIE TOTGESCHWIEGENEN, REVIZIONISTI ...

Navedel bom le najbolj vidne avtorje, ki so kritično raziskovali zgodovinske dokumente. Vsi imajo vsaj en posreden stik s problemom izvirnosti klasičnih rokopisov. Uradna znanost sicer ne upošteva prispevkov teh avtorjev k zadevni problematiki.

Isaac Newton (1642-1727) je bil eden prvih, če zhe ne sploh prvi, ki bi ga danes lahko oznachili kot revizionista, mogoče celo kot »teoretika zarot«, ker je poskusil kritično pregledati ali revidirati uradno kronologijo svetovne zgodovine, ki je slonela na Scaligerjevemu delu *Dissertatio de crucifixione Domini* iz leta 1583 (Joseph Justus Scaliger, niz. zgod., 16. st.). Newton se je zelo dobro izkazal: njegovo delo o kronologiji so namreč oznachili kot okultno shtudijo in jo bolj ali manj dobrohotno zavrgli. To njegovo delo je le posredno povezano s problemom klasičnih rokopisov. Tedaj je bil she prezgodnji chas za resne raziskave ...

Newtonov sodobnik je bil Jean Hardouin (1646 – 1729)⁴², francoski klasicist, omenjen z negativnim prizvokom tudi v Wikipediji kot »*tvorec različnih paradoksalnih teorij ... najbolj znachilna je ... da so z izjemo del Homerja, Herodota in Cícera vsi klasiki Grčije in Rima nepristni, ker so jih naredili menihi v 13. stoletju ...*«. Morda to drzhi, z izjemo navedbe stoletja.

Skoraj hkrati je omenjen Hardouinov »sodobni dedich« – ruski matematik Anatolij Timofejevich Fomenko⁴². Ta je izdelal skrajno spremenjeno zgodovinsko kronologijo »... *katere ugotovitve slonijo na njegovih lastnih metodah statistične analize besedil in računske astronomije ter so she bolj radikalne, toda imajo jih za psevdoznanstvene ...*« (tako Wikipedija).

Fomenko je matematik mednarodnega slovesa, strokovnjak za statistiko; njegove »metode statistične analize besedil« naj bi bile psevdoznanstvene (kdo je dal tako oceno, ni navedeno), toda niti metod niti problemov, s katerimi se je ukvarjal, ni nihče resno preveril, le njegova nova razlaga zgodovinskih dogodkov je oznachena kot napachna, seveda z vidika uradne zgodovine.

Pri Fomenku moramo she omeniti, da statistično analizo besedil redno uporabljajo, ko preverjajo znanstvene chlanke pri sumu plagiata, podobno tudi shtudentska dela (diplome, naloge in seminarji) na univerzah. To je posebna uporaba leksikalno-statističnih in »data mining« metod, ki pa v teh primerih moti le plagiatorje, vendar ne tudi uradne znanosti. Z druge strani pa »uradno« velja trditev, da Tacit ne more biti ponarejen, ker domnevemu ponarejevalcu v srednjem veku niso bile na voljo ustrezne računalniške metode, da bi tako dobro zadel nachin, stil in vsebino starih del (to mnenje je najti v nekaterih razpravah o izvirnosti porochil o zgodnjih kristjanih).

Naslednji znani sodobni »revizionist in toretik zarot« je nemshki zgodovinar in publicist Heribert Illig⁴³. Njegova »*hipoteza domneva, da so obdobja zgodovine, zlasti Evrope v zgodnjem srednjem veku (614-911), napachno datirana ali pa se dogodki sploh nikdar niso zgodili, ter so to dejstvo poskušali sistematično prikriti*« (tako Wikipedija). Skladno s tem je za Illiga npr. Karel Veliki zgolj mit. Seveda pri tem ni omenjeno, da je Illig uporabil uradno nesporno dejstvo (iz dokumentov *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*), da je vech kot dvajset tisoč letopisov, ki naj bi bili napisani v vprashljivi dobi, ponarejenih (napisani so stoletja kasneje), ter da arheologija ne kazhe vmesnih slojev med rimsko dobo in srednjim vekom.

THE IGNORED, *DIE TOTGESCHWIEGENEN*, THE REVISIONISTS ...

Let me list the most prominent. They all have at least indirect relation to the authenticity problem of the classic manuscripts. They are not referenced by the official scientific community.

Isaac Newton (1642-1727) was one of the first if not the first, who should be today called a revisionist, maybe even a conspiracy theorist – as he tried to revise the official chronology, based on Scaliger's work *Dissertatio de crucifixione Domini* iz leta 1583 (Joseph Justus Scaliger, Dutch hist. 16th century). But he passed astonishingly well; his work on chronology was classified as his occult studies and more or less benevolently put aside. His work is only indirectly related to the problem of the classic manuscripts.

His contemporary Jean Hardouin (1646 – 1729)⁴², French classical scholar, is already mentioned with the negative touch in Wikipedia as the » *the originator of a variety of paradoxical theories*«: *The most remarkable, contained in his Chronologiae ex nummis antiquis restitutae (1696) and Prolegomena ad censuram veterum scriptorum, was to the effect that, with the exception of the works of Homer, Herodotus and Cicero, the Natural History of Pliny, the Georgics of Virgil, and the Satires and Epistles of Horace, all the ancient classics of Greece and Rome were spurious, having been manufactured by monks of the 13th century ... and he was perhaps right, save the named century!*

Almost in the same breath is named also as Hardouin's »modern heir« the Russian mathematician Anatoly Timofeevich Fomenko⁴². He is a supporter of drastically revising historical chronology: ... *whose conclusions being based on proprietary methods of statistical textual analysis and computational astronomy are even more radical, but considered to be pseudo scientific ... (so Wikipedia)*

Fomenko, an international renown mathematician, specialist in statistics – his »methods of statistical textual analysis« are declared as »pseudo scientific« – by whom (?) – but the methods and the problems which he tackled are not seriously discussed, just his reinterpretation of historical events disapproved, naturally with the official interpretation.

To Fomenko, it has to be mentioned that the statistical analysis of texts is regularly used to test the scientific articles on the suspicion of plagiarism, as well as the students' works (diplomas, exercises and seminars) on high schools. This is the single use of the lexico-statistical and data mining methods, which in this case bothers only plagiarists and not the official science. The opposite is valid with the »official« statement that Tacitus can not be falsified, in the middle ages the assumed plagiarist did not have the corresponding computer methods on disposal to fit so perfectly the art, stile and content of the classic works (this opinion is to be found in some discussions on the authenticity of texts on the early Christians).

As the next modern »revisionist and conspiracy theorist« is declared the German historian and publisher Heribert Illig⁴³. His *hypothesis proposes that periods of history, specifically that of Europe during the Early Middle Ages (AD 614–911), are wrongly dated, or did not occur at all, and that there has been a systematic effort to cover up that fact (so Wikipedia)*.

Accordingly is for Illig i.e. *Charlemagne – Karl der Grosse* just a myth. Naturally it is not mentioned that Illig based his findings on the official fact (from *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*) that more than twenty thousand chronicles allegedly written in the questionable period are falsified – written hundreds of years later and that the archeology shows no strata between Roman period and the Middle Ages ... etc.

Seveda je Illigovo gledanje zavrženo, največkrat brez razlage prikazanih problemov. Nekoliko mileje je obsojen Mario Alinei⁴⁴, sodobni italijanski avtor teorije kontinuitete od paleolitika. Wikipedia v zvezi z njim pravi: ... *ta cblanek daje nezasluzbeno pomembnost določenim idejam ... je jasno pogled manjšine, ker uživa zelo malo akademske podpore, resna razprava je omejena na majhen krog znanstvenikov ...*

Seveda gre za majhen krog znanstvenikov, ker vechina Alineija ne uposhteva, saj njegova hipoteza nasprotuje zelo cenjeni – zlasti v nemshkih krogih – t. i. kurganski hipotezi o izvoru Indoevropcejev, katere avtorica je Maria Gimbutas in ki jo je razveljavil zhe Renfrew⁴⁵. Kurgansko hipotezo naj bi po svoje podpirala tudi knjiga *Germanija*. Alinei je razveljavil tudi v uradni znanosti »priljubljen« teorijo o selitvi Slovanov, to pa je popolnoma dovolj za biti »totgeschwiegen«.

Popolnoma neuposhtevana pa je – zlasti na Zahodu – knjiga *Veneti – nashi davni predniki* slovenskih avtorjev Tomazhicha, Shavlja in Bora⁴⁶, v kateri so podani arheoloski, toponomastichni in jezikovni dokazi za tezo, da so Slovenci kakor tudi nasploh Slovani prastari avtohtoni prebivalci Evrope. Ti dokazi podpirajo Alineijevo teorijo kontinuitete in razveljavljajo teorijo o slovanski priselitvi v 6. stoletju, s tem pa so seveda v ostrem nasprotju z »zgodbo« uradno veljavne zgodovine. Poleg tega pa gre, kot zhe recheno, za dejstva, ki ne ustrezajo niti nekdanji in sedanji evropski, pravzaprav zahodni politiki. Knjiga *Veneti* je v krogih vladajoche javnosti prav tako »totgeschwiegen«, kajti v njej ne morejo najti dejstev in razlogov, da bi jo lahko argumentirano razveljavili, zato so bili odzivi nanjo predvsem chustveni. V Wikipediji vsebino knjige oznachujejo kot napachno »venetsko teorijo« in pri tem povsem zgrsheno obveshchajo, da ta teorija nasprotuje slovanskemu poreklu Slovencev.

Wikipedia: ... *razlage so znanstveniki popolnoma zavrgli ... kejer so pokazali nevarnost amaterskega jezikoslovja ...* Pri tem so navedene zgolj reference iz krogov uradnih (institucionalnih) slovenskih zgodovinarjev.

Nashteti primeri »revizije« nasprotujejo razlagam uradne zgodovine, ki v veliki meri sloni na »klasichnih« rokopisih, med katerimi *Germanija* zavzema najvishje mesto in kot taka je tudi uporabna za interese nekdanje in danashnje politike. Ne zhelim posebej omenjati mochne chustvene pristranskosti v oceni raznih klasichnih del ...

Mimogrede naj she omenim znachilno stilsko-terminolosko razlikovanje v ocenah, ki jih dajejo Zahodnjaki glede zahodnoevropskih, srednjeevropskih in vzhodnoevropskih kritichnih avtorjev.

O zahodnoevropskih:

- prezgodnja doba znanstvenega razvoja,
- nobenega od avtorjev niso na splošno sprejeli,
- so bili utishani.

O srednjeevropskih:

- zelo sporno,
- manjšinski pogled uživa malo akademske podpore.

O vzhodnoevropskih:

- psevdno znanstveno,
- amaterski jezikoslovci.

Naturally all disapproved, but with no explanation of the problems shown.

A little bit softer is condemned Mario Alinei⁴⁴, the author of Paleolithic Continuity Theory.

Wikipedia: ... *this article lends undue weight to certain ideas ...*

... is distinctly a minority view as it enjoys very little academic support, serious discussion being limited to a small circle of scholars ...

Clear a small circle of scholars. It is ignored by majority because the hypothesis contradicts to so cherished Gimbutas's Kurgan hypothesis of the origin of the Indo-European people – refuted already by Renfrew⁴⁵. The Kurgan hypothesis is considered to be in a way »supported« by *Germania*. Alinei refutes also the officially »beloved« Slavic migration theory, and this is just enough to be »totgeschwiegen«.

Completely, especially in the west, is ignored the book »*Veneti First builders of European Community*« by I. Tomazhich, J. Shavli, M. Bor⁴⁶, actually is the title of the original »*Veneti – naši davni predniki*« (Veneti – our ancient Ancestors), in which are introduced the archaeological, toponomastic and lingual proofs that Slovenians and Slavs are the ancient autochthon dwellers of the Europe. These facts support Alinei's theory, refute Slavic migration theory in 6th century and are so in total opposition to the official history »narratives«. As mentioned above, these facts do not suit the past and the contemporary European, actually western politics. The book *Veneti* is in official circles »totgeschwiegen« as there are also no counterarguments to be found, all reactions were completely emotional. In Wikipedia are the book contents misnamed as »Venetic theory«, informing incorrectly that the theory contradicts to the Slavic origin of Slovenes.

Wikipedia ... *interpretations have also been completely rejected by scholars ... showing the danger of the amateur linguistics ...* given only the references of official (institutional) Slovenian history circles.

I mentioned these as the most prominent »revisionist« examples – they all contradict to the official interpretation of history, to a great extent based on »classic« manuscripts, among them is *Germania* on one of the most prominent positions, serving now as before the contemporaneous politics.

I do not want to mention especially the emotionally strong religious bias concerning the evaluation of the other classic works ...

And – did you notice an especial west-east cline in the general western validation of the authors:

In the West:

- to early stage of the scientific development,
- none of these writers have won general acceptance,
- were hushed,

In the Central (Western) Europe:

- highly controversial,
- minority view enjoys very little academic support,

In the East:

- pseudo-scientific,
- amateur linguists ...

Posvetimo se zdaj znova vpraskanju rokopisov. John Wilson Ross¹⁷ je bil obtožen, da je objavil svojo knjigo anonimno, čeprav je v posvetilu knjige omenjen njegov brat s polnim imenom in priimkom. Nasprotniki tudi niso navedli nobenih razlogov, ki bi ovrgli njegove trditve.

Polydora Hocharta¹⁸ pa je Walser prav na kratko odpravil z besedami: *Da bi ovrgli fantazije P. Hocharta: L'authenticite des annales usw. 1891 u. Nouvelles considerations au sujet des Annales usw., Paris, Thorin 1894, kot vse kaže, ni potrebno.*

Praktično nihče ne omenja Lea Wienerja¹⁹. Podobno kot zhe Ross in Hochart, je tudi Wiener, seveda še bolj natančno, s svojim jezikoslovnim znanjem primerjal in razčlenil nekatere pripovedi iz klasičnih zgodovinopisnih virov, kot so Jordanes, Pavel Diakon, Tacit itd. Tukaj lahko navedem le nekaj primerov njegovih sklepanj in vrednotenj, zato je ta izbor nekoliko nepovezan in ne povsem dorečen, a zadostuje za splošen vtis o celotni analizi.

O Jordanesu pravi:

(str. 67)

... *V Getici je referenca o Jordanesovem poreklu, toda če upoštevamo, da je zhe uvod k delu držen ponaredek ... V skladu z njegovo izjavo, da je bil kljub temu, da ni bil pismen (agrammatus), vseeno pisar Gunthiga ... je tudi dejal, da je napisal svojo knjigo v letu 511 ...*

... *Tako dobimo pozitiven in neovrgljiv dokaz, da je Jordanes napisal Getico po letu 711 ...*

(str. 141)

... *Zmешnjavo ponarejevalca, Jordanesa ali pa njegovega predhodnika, ko je sestavljal zgodovino Gotov, smo pravkar pojasnili ...*

Naj omenim Wienerjevo etimološko izpeljavo besed ali imen arabskega izvora. Med njimi je »Haliurunnae« – ime charovnice (str. 90):

... *OHGermansko (staro visokogermansko) »alruna« je obranilo le pomen »mandragora«. V obgermanskem imamo »belliruna«, tj. »necromantia«, kakor da bi bila sestavljena iz »hella«, tj. »pekel«, in »runa«, tj. »skrivnost«, in podobno v starosaksonsčini »helirun, bellrun«, tj. »charovnik« ...*

... *Kasneje bomo srečali te charovnice ali charovnishke zheenske v drugih ponaredkih, npr. v Tacitovi Germaniji.*

O imenu »Finnik« (str. 96)

... *je tudi pomenilo »mochvirje«, celotna sestava natanko ustreza opisu skrajnega severa. Tam se je pojavilo pleme neznane preteklosti. To so verjetno »Finnik«, in spet ni naključno, da je možno finsko ime za Finsko – »Suomi« izpeljati iz finske besede »suo«, tj. »mochvirje« ... Toda arabska beseda je izvor za gotško »fani«, OHG »fenna«, tj. »blato«, staronorveshko »fen«, tj. »mochvirje«. V svoji obliki »vanga, fanga« je beseda dala italjansko »fango«, francosko »fange« itd.*

O Tuisconu: (str. 208)

... *ponarejevalec, ki je bil Got in je prebival v Franciji ali celo bolj verjetno v Shvici, je poznal sodobno ime za »Nemshko«, ki je bilo obranjeno v najstarejših francoskih virih kot »tiesche, tiesque, thyos, ties« itd., in ki je prishlo v literarno latinsčino med drugim kot »tutiscus«, v stari italjansčini seveda »tudesco«, sedaj pa »tedesco«. Očitno ga je izgovarjal »Tuisco« in je tako ustvaril svojega slavnega junaka Tuiscona. Iz tega Tuiscona je izvedel slavne junake za plemena, ki jih je poznal iz zgodovine – Sueve, Vandale in Tevtonce. Iz Tacitovih Analov 1.56 in 11.25 je vedel za pleme Marsi, in iz istega izvora je vedel za Arminiusa – silni je kralj ...*

But back to the manuscripts. John Wilson Ross¹⁷ is only impeached that he published his book anonymously, but there is full name reference of the book's dedication to author's brother, no counter arguments to his considerations were given. Polydore Hochart¹⁸ was condemned by Walser: *Die Phantasien von P. Hochart: L'autenticite des annales usw. 1891 u. Nouvelles considerations au sujet des Annales usw., Paris, Thorin 1894, zu widerlegen erscheint überflüssig – The phantasies of P. Hochart ... to debunk is superfluous.*

Leo Wiener¹⁹ is completely hushed. Similarly to Ross and Hochart, Wiener compares and analyzes extensively various narratives from various classic sources as Jordanes, Paulus Diaconus, Tacitus etc. Here can I give just his valuations of some of these sources – therefore the selection seems here somehow the unrelated mix and half told, but gives the general impression on the detailed analysis.

On Jordanes (19, p. 67):

... In the Getica there is a reference to Jordanes' origin, but when we consider that the very introduction to the work is a bold forgery ... According to his statement, he, although »agrammatus«, that is, with out knowledge of letters, had been a notary of Gunthiges ... although, according to his own statement, he himself was a Goth. He also says that he wrote his book in the year 551 ...

... Thus we get the positive and incontrovertible proof that Jordanes wrote his Getica after 711 ... p67

... The hodge-podge method of the forger, Jordanes or his predecessor, in concocting a Gothic history, has already been made clear ...

p141

Let me mention also Wiener's deduction of the Arabic origin of certain words and names. Among them is »Haliurunnae« – name of the witches (p. 90):

... OHGerman alruna has preserved only the meaning »mandrake«, In OHGerman we have helliruna »necromantia,« as though it were composed of bella »hell« and runa »mystery,« and similarly, in ASaxon, helirun, hellrun »sorcerer.« ...

... We shall later meet these witches, or magic women, in other forgeries, such as Tacitus' Germania.

Wiener on the name *Finni* (p. 96):

... also meant »swamp,« the whole combination exactly fitting the description of the extreme north. Thus there arose a tribe of unknown before. It is, again, probably Finni, utterly no accident that the Finnish name of Finland, Suomi, should be derived from a Finnish word, suo »swamp«. ... But the Arabic word gave rise to Goth, »fani«, OHG. fenna »mud«, ONorse fen »quagmire.« In its form vanga, fanga it gave Ital. fango, Fr. fange, etc.

On *Tuiscon* (p. 208):

... The forger, who was a Goth resident in France, or, far more likely, in Switzerland, knew the current name for »German,« preserved in the oldest French sources as tiesche, tiesque, thyos, ties, etc., and which given in LLatin, among others, as tutiscus, hence, in Oltalian, tudesco, now tedesco. Obviously he pronounced it tuisco, and so created his eponymous hero, Tuiscon. From this Tuiscon he derived the eponymous heroes for the tribes that he knew from history, the Suevi, Vandals, and Teutons. From the Annales of Tacitus, 1.56, and 11.25, he knew of the Marsi, and from the same source he knew of Arminius, the fierce is king. Thus Herminon and Marsus became descendants of Tuiscon.

O Ammianu Marcellinu (str. 148):

... Kot je Phrygia lahko nastal samo iz sirijske »pushchice odreshenja«, je jasno, da imamo tu najmanj interpolacijo, če ne gre za čisti ponaredek. Nashli bomo še hujski ponaredek v Ammianu kasneje. Zagotovo je čudno, da ni bilo nikdar napisane niti besedice o Ammianu pred 16. stoletjem, razen kratke reference k stavku v štirinajsti knjigi v Priscianu XI.51, in da bi se Marcellinovo delo, o katerem je Poggio poročal, da ga je bil nashel v Hersfeldu ali Fuldi, moralo zacetati prav s tem stavkom, ker je trdil, da je nashel Marcellina sbele na zacetku XIV. knjige. Kazhe, da je Poggio uporabil ta stavek iz Prisciana kot osnovo za svoj izdelek ...

O Translatio (str. 151):

... Iz zmesnjave besed »pyramid« in »mogochnega vladarja« je nastal mit Irminsula pri Saksoncih. Priповed se nahaja v Translatio s. Alexandri, ki sta ga napisala Ruodolf in Meginhard leta 851 ...

O Velleju Paterculu (str. 163):

... Kolikor mi je znano, nihče ni dvomil o njegovi izvornosti, toda vsi vemo, da Vellej sloni na izgubljeni kopiji, ki jo je uporabljal Beatus Rhenanus v svoji Editio princeps, izdani na zacetku 16. stoletja. Nihče pred njim ni nikdar nič slisnal o njem ali pa ga omenil, razen enkrat Priscian ... ne dvomimo o njegovem obstoju pred desetim stoletjem ... toda nimamo nikakršnih sredstev, da bi ugotovili, če so bile napravljene kakršne koli interpolacije ...

O Germaniji (str. 159):

... kasneje bom pokazal, da je bil ponaredek, znan kot Tacitova Germanija, napisan v osmem stoletju in da sloni na delih Pseudo-Berosa, ki je tudi sam ponaredek, kot ga je bil ohranil in oznachil Annij iz Viterba. Tukaj bom le navedel toliko, kolikor je potrebno, da bi dokazali, da je Arminijeva zgodba pri Tacitu, Strabonu in drugih pisateljih drzen ponaredek, ki ni starejši od osmega stoletja ...

(str. 212): ... zamenjava Aretije z Veliko Materjo, Cybelo, je zmesnjava, ki, kakor bomo to videli kasneje, zavede ponarejevalca Germanije, da je ustvaril posebno bozhanstvo za Germane ...

... Ta poglavja (Germanije) kot tudi nekaj naslednjih slonijo predvsem na Cezarjevem opisu Galije. Opis vojvod sloni na enakosti med Galci, ki so se v glavnem ukvarjali z vojno in so zbirali okrog sebe svoje stranke in pristashe v razmerju, kolikor je segala njihova vojashka moč ...

... Zgodba o Veledi, Albruni in Ganni iz gozdov, ki so imenovane kot germanske vedezhvalke, pripada arabski dobi, to pomeni, da je nastala le v osmem stoletju ...

Veleda je ime arabskega izvora, ki pomeni »mlado zhenско«. Tako ne more biti dvoma, da imamo tu neko pripoved iz arabskih ali shpanskih virov, kjer je Veleda oznachena kot keltska, namesto kot zhidovska. Veledo najdemo tudi v Siluai Statiusa ...

1

... toda vse izdaje sledijo iz enega vira, ki naj bi ga bil nashel Poggio v St. Gallnu, in so vse interpolirane ...

2

... popolnoma nesmiselno je navajati ta primer imena Veleda, da bi potrdili njegovo izvornost. To nas pushcha popolnoma same s Tacitom ...

On Ammianus Marcellinus (p148):

... *As Phrygia could have arisen only from the Syriac »arrow of salvation,« it is clear that we have here at least an interpolation, if not a downright forgery. We shall find a still worse forgery in Ammianus later on. It is certainly curious that not a word was ever written about Ammianus before the sixteenth century, except a short reference to a sentence from the fourteenth book in Priscianus, XI. 51, and that the work of Marcellinus, which Poggio claimed to have found at Hersfeld or Fulda, should almost begin with that sentence, for he claimed to have found Marcellinus only beginning with book XIV. It looks as though Poggio used the sentence in Priscianus as a basis for his fabrication ...*

On Translatio (p151):

... *From the confusion of »pyramid« and »mighty ruler« has arisen the myth of the Irminsul of the Saxons. The account is contained in the Translatio S. Alexandri, written by Ruodolf and Meginhard in 851 ...*

On Velleius Paterculus (p163):

... *No one, so far as, I know, has doubted his authenticity, but all we know of Velleius is based on a lost copy, which was used by Beatus Rhenanus in his editio princeps, published in the beginning of the sixteenth century. No one before him ever heard of Velleius or mentioned him, except once more Priscianus, VI. 11, and the scholiast of Lucan, IX. 178. There can be no doubt of the existence of the works of Velleius Paterculus before the tenth century, but we have no means of ascertaining whether there were not any interpolations made after the story of Arminius had found vogue ...*

On Germania (p159):

... *Later on I shall show how the forgery known as Tacitus' Germania was written in the eighth century and was based on a work of Pseudo-Berosus, itself a forgery, as preserved and annotated by Annius of Viterbo. Here I shall only adduce as much as is necessary to prove that the Arminius story in Tacitus, Strabo, and other writers is a bold forgery of not earlier than the eighth century ...*

(p212): ... *the confusion of Aretia with the Magna Mater, Cybele a confusion which, as we shall see later, led the forger of the Germania to create a special deity for the Germans ...*

... *These chapters (of Germania), as well as the next few, are based chiefly on Caesar's description of Gaul. The description of the duces is based on that of the equites among the Gauls, whose main occupation is war and who gather around them their clients and followers, in proportion as they exert military power ...*

... *The story about Veleda, Albruna, and Ganna, of the woods, who are given as German women who told fortunes, belongs to the Arabic period, that is, it arose only in the eighth century. ...*

... *for Veleda is the Arab. o-Uj valldah xap&evoc, »young woman.« There can be no doubt, therefore, that we have here an account from an Arabic or Spanish source, where Veleda is made to be Celtic, instead of Jewish. We also find Veleda in the Siluae of Statius, ...*

1

... *but as all the editions go back to one copy, supposedly found by Poggio at St. Gall, and are all interpolated, ...*

2

... *it is quite useless to quote this occurrence of Veleda in support of its genuineness. This leaves us all alone with Tacitus ...*

... *Ako se sedaj obrnemo h Germaniji, vidimo, da je bil samorog iz Cezarjeve pripovedi spremenjen v narod – v Nabarvale. Takoj je razvidno, da ni Narbarvalus nič drugega kot »Narvahl«, morski samorog v germanskih jezikih. Beseda mabl-arez ali mabr-arig, ki je v Fredegarju uporabljena za razlago etimologije Meroeus, se tu pojavi v obliki nabarvalus.*

Da je ta zgodba iz Germanije izposojena od Cezarja, je tako razvidno, da ni potreben niti ponarejevalcev spodrseljaj z Nabarvali ali »samorogi«, da bi to dokazali. Toda ponarejevalec je bil tak bedak ali pa podlez, da se je izdal she na drug nachin. Vzel je Cezarjev rek »sunt item, quae appellantur alces« za nadaljevanje zgodbe o narvablu ali samorogu, in je rekel, da je ime božhanstva aids »ea vis numini, nomen aids.« Neumnost, kot kaže, ne more iti she naprej, toda ponarejevalec je zagreshil she drugo neizrekljivo neokusnost.

Losa kot tudi samoroga je spremenil v germansko pleme. »Semnoni zhelijo, da jih imajo za najstarejshe in najbolj sposhtovanja vredno pleme snevskega naroda. Oznanjajo, da to potrjujejo skrivnosti vere ...

(str. 273ff)

... *To je bilo lahko v Germaniji dodano ponarejevalčevemu nadaljevanju o Germanih, ki pojejo svoje pesmi, imenovane barritus ...*

... *Ta celotni opis je prepisan iz Vegetija, De Re Militari, kjer pove, da je bojni krik, ki se imenuje barritus ...*

... *tudi Ammian je vzljudil to besedo. Pripoveduje zgodbo o Cornutih in Braccatih v rimski vojski, ki so povzdignili barritus, da bi prestrahbili Alamane. Ta barritus se zachenja s shepetom*

...

... *Ta Ammianusova pripoved je ponaredek, skupaj s pripovedjo v Tacitu, kar kaže, da sta oba zamenjala barritus z barditus ...*

... *Ta ponarejevalčeva zmeshnjava pri izposojanju se kaže skozi vso Germanijo. Nekaj primerov bo dovolj. V poglavjih VII in VIII ponarejevalec pripoveduje, da so kralje izbirali zaradi njihove plemenitosti in vodje zaradi njihovega poguma, toda nihče jih ni mogel kaznovati, razen duhovnikov.*

Wiener sklene takole:

Skrajna brezvrednost Germanije je očitna, brez vsake možnosti zagovora. Le dushevno slep jo bo zagovarjal, tako kot ponaredke iz devetnajstega stoletja, kakrshen je razvpiti Koeninghofski rokopis, ki she vedno najde zagovornike. Zhalostno je videti, da germanska zgodovina in z njo povezane zadeve slonijo na Germaniji in Getici, dveh spomenikih zavestne prevare in nezavedne neumnosti, ter na posledicah prvega razcveta arabske romantike, ki je vodila k Tisoeh in eni nochi.

Kdor bi zhelel slediti Rossovim, Hochartovim in predvsem Wienerjevim ugotovitvam, bi moral biti resnični poznavalec klasikov kakor tudi klasičnih jezikov, zato sem zgoraj navedel na kratko le nekaj primerov, ki jih lahko razume vsak povprečen izobrazhenec, vključno z menoj.

Profesor Leo Wiener je bil »utishan«. Toda prav njegovo delo – kot v posmeh »uradnemu« mnenju – daje malo vech zaupanja v določeno izvirnost.

Walser, ki je verjel, da so Poggiove najdbe izvirne, poroča o Poggiovem obisku v Clunyju (29 Walser, str. 50):

... *zanichevanje, ki so jim ga vlili sedanji lastniki sposhtovanja vrednih rokopisov. Ti so bili pustili propadati to chudovito dedishchino kot tudi lastni menishki red ...*

... If we now turn to the *Germania*, we find the unicorn of Caesar's account turned into a nation, the *Nabarvali*. We see at a glance that *Narharvalus* is nothing but the *Narwhale*, the sea-unicorn of the Germanic languages. The *mahl-arex* or *mahl-arig*, which in *Fredegar* was used to explain the etymology of *Meroetus*, here turns up in the form of *nabarvalus*.

The borrowing of the story in the *Germania* from Caesar is so obvious, as not to need even the forger's slip, *Nabarvali* »the unicorns«, in order to prove it. But the forger was such a fool or such a scoundrel that he gave himself away in still another way. He took Caesar's »*sunt item, quae appellatur alces*« to be a continuation of the story about the narwhale or unicorn, and went on to say that the name of the divinity was *aids*, »*ea vis numini, nomen aids.*« Stupidity, it would seem, could go no further, but the forger man aged to perpetrate still another unspeakable insipidity.

The jointless elk, like the unicorn, is transformed into a Germanic tribe. »The *Semnones* are ambitious to be thought the most ancient and respectable of the *Suevian* nation. Their claim they think confirmed by the mysteries of religion.« ...

p. 273ff

... This may have added to the forger's continuation in the *Germania* about the Germans, who sing their songs, called *barritus*, ...

... This whole description is cribbed out of *Vegetius*, *De re militari*, where it says that the battlecry, which is called *barritus*, ...

... *Ammianus*, too, took a liking to the word. He tells the story of the *Cornuti* and *Braccati* of the Roman army, who raised the *barritus*, in order to frighten the *Alamanni*. This *barritus* begins with a whisper ...

..That this account of *Ammianus* is a forgery, together with the account in *Tacitus*, is shown by the fact that both confuse *barritus* with *barditus*, ...

..The hodge-podge borrowing by the forger is illustrated throughout the *Germania*. A few examples

will suffice. In chapters VII and VIII the forger says that the kings were chosen on account of their nobility and the leaders on account of their bravery, but that no one could punish, except the priests, ...

Wiener concludes:

The utter worthlessness of the Germania is patent, beyond any possibility of defence. Only the mentally blind will defend it, even as the nineteenth century forgeries, such as the notorious Koeniginhof Manuscript, still find advocates. It is sad to contemplate that Germanic history and allied subjects are based on the Germania and the Getica, two monuments of conscious fraud and unconscious stupidity, the result of the first flower of Arabic romance, which led to The Thousand and One Nights.

To follow Ross', Hochart's and especially Wiener's deductions, one has to be a real authority on classics as well of the classic languages, so here just short citing of the understandable examples for the average citizen, myself included.

The professor Leo Wiener was hushed. But just his work – as an irony on the »official« meaning – gives a little more credibility of a certain authenticity – yes!

Walser, who believed that Poggio's findings are genuine, on Poggio's visit to Cluny (29 Walser, p.50):

... back for contempt, with which treated them the contemporary owner of the venerable codices. Because they let the marvelous inheritance go to waste as well as their own monastic rule ...

... Kot je Boccaccio iz razpadle knjižhnice Montecasina ugrabil Tacita, tako so Poggio in njegovi tovarishi iz samostanskega stolpa v St. Gallnu ali pa iz ostankov francoskih opatij izvlekli marsikaterega plemenitega ujetnika ...

... **Neposredna porochila o najdbah so na zhalost zelo skopo ohranjena:** zgolj po eno pismo Poggia, Cincia in Bartolomeja iz Montepulciana. Ostala pojasnila dajejo naključne pripombe v epistolarjih Bracciolinija in njegovih prijateljev ...

... **Doslej so se omejili na to, da so to iz Poggiovega porochila edino bolj znano odpravo v St. Gallen bolj na široko obravnavali in da so ostala potovanja omenjali le na kratko, dokler tega porochila zelo ostroumno ni pregledal Remigio Sabbadini in z gotovostjo zavrzel štiri Bracciolinijeve odprave ...**

... Prvo Poggiovo odkritje sta bila dva neznanata Ciceronova govora, ki ju je našel v **burgundski opatiji Cluny**.

Knjižhnica samostana je skrivala vseh dragocenih Ciceronovih rokopisov, med njimi sposhtovanja vredni zvezek s petimi govori, izvirajoč vsaj iz 8. stoleja ...

... **Zakaj je Poggio shel v daljno Burgundijo, ko je bilo toliko drugih samostanov v bližini? Najbolj verjetno lahko povezhemo to potovanje s tesnimi vezmi, ki jih je gojil Janez XXIII. z burgundskim, bolonjskim in konstanshkim vojvodom ...**

Mogoče to drzhi, toda samostan v Clunyu je tesno sodeloval s sholo prevajalcev v Toledu; kot kazhe, so v vseh referencah o Poggio to sholo popolnoma prezrli kot možni vir srednjeveshkih rokopisov, kopij klasikov. Toda Poggio je za to sholo gotovo vedel.

V Toledu so bili prevajalci Arabci, Zhidje in kristjani; tako je profesor Wiener s svojo raziskavo dejansko točno prikazal to obdobje zgodovine, v katerem je vsaj nekaj referenc, seveda po vsebini nezanesljivih in prepisanih, k vprashljivim delom obstajalo zhe prej in zato morda ta dela niso bila napisana shele v 15. stoletju.

»Faustovskim dusham« pa rad ponudim reshilno bilko; ta se imenuje »nostratika« – teorija o skupnem poreklu indoevropskih, ugrofinskih in semitskih jezikov. Z njo bi se nekako izognili arabskemu izvoru imen, saj v Wienerjevem chasu nostraticzna teorija she ni bila znana.

In she nekaj ... Tudi Fomenko in Illig pravzaprav bolj potrjujeta, kot pa zavrachata izvirnost starih rokopisov.

Fomenko je pokazal, da so letopisi v bistvu ponavljajoči se prepisi malega shtevila izvirnih spisov, vprashanje je le, katerih; zato mogoče vsak letopis vsebuje nekaj skrite resnice – potrebno je le najti primernege ...

In Illig je s tem, da je »odpravil« del mrachnega srednjega veka, priblizhal starorimski svet dokumentiranemu srednjemu veku in tako podal razloge za vechjo verjetnost izvirnosti starih rokopisov, saj je gradnja srednjeveshkih samostanov sledila takoj za rimsko dobo. Potemtakem so rokopisi in njihovi prepisi lahko prezhiveli veliko krajshi chas, brez neznanne mrachne srednjeveshke dobe, zashchiteni v zhe zgrajenih samostani.

... As already Boccaccio from the decayed Books of Montecassino abducted Tacitus, so Poggio and his companions pulled from the tower of the St.Gall monastery or under the trash of the French abbeys many noble prisoners out ...

*... **The immediate discovery reports are unfortunately sparse:** they consist from just one letter from Poggio, Cincio and Bartolomeo da Montepulciano. Further information provide the occasional remarks in the Bracciolini's and his friend's epistolary ...*

*... **Till now was all broad discussion limited to Poggio's discovery report of the solely known expedition to St. Gall and all other travels were just shortly mentioned, until Remigio Sabbadini sharp-witted the messages examined and with the certainty four Bracciolini's expeditions ruled out.***

*The first Poggio's discovery were two unknown Cicero's speeches, which he found in the **Burgundy Abbey Cluny**. The library of monastery owned several precious Cicero's manuscripts, under them one venerable volume from at least 8th century containing five speeches. They were *Orationen pro Milone*, ...*

*... **Why came Poggio in the distant Burgundy, as there were many other monasteries in the vicinity? Very probably this travel ca be connected with the close ties, which John XXIII maintained to the Duke of Burgundy, of Bologna and of Constance ...***

May be, but the monastery of Cluny collaborated closely with the Toledo school of translators; the later seemed to be completely ignored as the possible source of the medieval manuscripts, copies of the classics, in all references to Poggio. But Poggio surely knew for it.

As the translators were Arabs, Jews and Christians, professor Wiener actually pinpointed with his analysis the moments in history in which at least some, albeit by contents unreliable and plagiarized, references to the questionable works possibly existed earlier and were so not just written in 15th century.

With pleasure I offer to »Faustian souls« a lifeline – named »nostratics« – the theory of the common origin of Indoeuropean, Ugro-finnic and Semitic languages. This theory enables to avoid the Arabic source of the names, pretty meaningless in Wiener times.

And something more – Fomenko and Illig actually more confirm then oppose the authenticity of the old manuscripts.

Fomenko showed that the manuscripts are in fact the repetition of the small number of the authentic scripts, problem is to pinpoint the originals and what in them corresponds to the real history ...

And Illig had, with the »elimination« of the Dark Middle Ages, brought the old Roman world closer to documented middle ages and so provided the arguments for stronger beliefs in the authenticity of the old scripts. The manuscripts and their copies were possibly able to survive much shorter time, without the unknowns of the Dark Ages, already preserved in the just constructed monasteries following directly on the Roman period.

O SLAVI, POGGIU IN EINSTEINU

... *quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima excutitur.*

... *celo najbolj modri, zbelež slavo, zavržejo vse ostalo.* (Tacit)

Kot je bilo tukaj zhe omenjeno, je Leonardo Aretino hvalil Poggio:

... *Spomin na tvoje zasluge ne bo nikdar izbrisan. Zabeleženo bo do poznih dob, da si ta dela, izgubo katerih so bili tako dolgo obžalovali prijatelji leposlovja, reshil s svojo marljivostjo.*

J. W. Ross pa o Tacitu:

... *Tacita povzdiguje njegova genialnost do take višine, da ga zhe dviga iz dosega kritike. Sveti na lep opisnem nebu kakor sonce, pred zharom katerega se vsi kot Parsi (Perzijci) priklanajo v chaschenju.*

To ne drzhi popolnoma. Poggio namrech nikoli ni dobil ustreznega priznanja – ne pozitivnega ne negativnega, o tem lahko vsakdo presoja po svojem občutku ...

V bistvu sploh ni pomembno, kakshen je bil Poggio po svojem značaju: dober, slab, bolesten, pogolten, pobozen ali she kaj drugega – pomembna so le njegova dejanja. Danes je precej vseeno, ali je res nashel izvirne starorimske spise ali pa jih je sam napisal ali ponaredil, se pravi prepisal iz drugih vprashljivih virov.

Napravil je nedvomno izredno delo, ki je postalo izjemno pomembno za vso zahodno omiko, za njeno zgodovino in znanost, posebej za jezikoslovje in raziskave o Indoevropejcih (zhal v napachni smeri), ter tudi za zahodno politiko pri opravicovanju njenih usmeritev v vseh stoletjih novega veka.

Pravzaprav je Poggio dal Zahodu natanko tako sharo, po kakrshni je ta hrepenel in jo je potreboval. Kot v posmeh pa za svoje delo ni dobil nikakrshnega pravega priznanja; slavljani so morda zgolj izmishljeni Rimljani, njega pa najvech opisujejo v slabi luchi. Zaradi vpliva, ki so ga imela njegova dela, bi moral biti znan vsakemu bolj izobrazhenemu Evropejcu, toda komajda ga poznajo celo strokovnjaki humanistichnih ved.

Le njegovi kritiki mu dajejo polno priznanje, na primer Ross (»kdo je ta chudoviti mozh?«) ali pa Hochart, ki je preporod oznachil kot Poggiovo dobo, pa tudi njegova zhivljenjepisca, posebno Shepherd.

Poggio je namrech pokazal svoj izjemni civilni pogum, nenavaden zlasti za dobo, v kateri je zhivel, saj je pravzaprav tvegat, da bi bil sezghan na grmadi.

Mogoche je bilo njegovo edino zadovoljstvo denar, ki ga je dobil za svoja »odkritja«, ker je vsa »slava« v glavnem preostala osebam, ki si jih je morda bolj ali manj sam izmislil na podlagi kakshnih stvarnih omemb v rokopisih. To je bila za mojstra njegove velichine zelo bolecha izkushnja, cheprav so ga sicer humanisti, njegovi sodobniki, resnichno sposhtovali.

Za svojo družhino, za svoje zakonske in tudi nezakonske otroke, ki jih je menda vse priznal, naj bi prav tako popolnoma poskrbel.

Ob pomenu in vplivu njegovega dela, njegove skoraj popolne anonimnosti in negativno oznachene osebnosti, lahko Poggia primerjamo s tako rekoč »tochno« nasprotnim primerom – s slavnim fizikom Albertom Einsteinom, chigar dela naj bi imela in gotovo tudi imajo epohalen vpliv na sedanjo globalno civilizacijo.

ON POGGIO AND THE FAME

... quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exiuitur.

... when even the wisest desiring the fame, cast off all. Tacitus

As quoted already above, Leonardo Aretino praised Poggio:

... The memory of your services will never be obliterated. It will be recorded to distant ages, that these works, the loss of which had been for so long a period a subject of lamentation to the friends of literature, have been recovered by your industry ...

and J. W. Ross on Tacitus

... Tacitus is raised by his genius to a height, which lifts him above the reach of the critic. He shines in the firmament of letters like a sun before whose lustre all, Parsee-like, bow down in worship ...

Not at all so ... Poggio got never a proper credit ... positive or negative, let it be on your taste ...

The fact is that it is not at all important what a character was Poggio – a good, a bad, a crank, ... an avaricious, a pious or something else – important are just his deeds. It is actually nowadays pretty irrelevant if he found genuine Roman texts, if he wrote them himself or if he forged them from other questionable sources.

He has done an extraordinary work, becoming exceptionally important as well for the western culture, history, even the science – considering the Indo-European research and linguistics, albeit in a wrong way – and also for the legitimization of the western oriented politics through all the last centuries.

Actually he gave the West precisely the stuff the West longed for and needed it. As the deepest irony, he has not get the proper credit for his work – the praised are probably fictitious Romans, he himself was and is described in a mostly negative manner.

Due to impact of his works, he should be known to every moderately educated European, but he is barely known even to the humanistic educated people.

There were only his critics, which gave him full credit – like Ross – who is that wonderful man – or Hochart, who named the Renaissance the Age of Poggio, and his biographers, especially Shepherd.

Poggio showed an exceptional civil courage, unusual specially for the age in which he lived, actually risking to be burnt on the stake.

Perhaps was his sole satisfaction the money he got for his »discoveries«, as the whole »divination« went to the more or less from him probably invented characters ...

For a master of his caliber actually a very frustrating experience, in spite of the real respect which showed him his fellow contemporary humanists.

For his family, as well for his legitimate and illegitimate children, which he allegedly all accepted, allegedly he fully took care of.

Considering the importance and impact of his work, his near to be anonymity, his negatively depicted personality, he can be compared to his almost »exact« opposite case, the famous physicist Albert Einstein, as allegedly his work had and still have the epochal influence and impact on the contemporary global civilization.

Njunih resničnih osebnosti verjetno ni mogoče zanesljivo primerjati, saj značaji niso merljivi, možna pa je primerjava njunega javnega položaja, njune javne podobe ter vpliva njunih del in dejanj. V naslednjem opisu so razvidne stichne točke med delovanjem obeh, hkrati pa tudi neverjetni antiparalelizem glede njunega ugleda v javnosti.

Pravzaprav ta primerjava omogoča skoraj sarkastichen uzhtek spricho »absurdistan« chloveshke civilizacije in kulture na tako imenovanem najvishjem intelektualnem nivoju.

Einsteina pozna skoraj vsakdo, vsaj na Zahodu. Ima ugled nedvomnega genija, velikega humanista, najplemenitejshega znachaja, skromne osebnosti. Spodbijati tehtnost njegovih del je skorajda nevarno, saj kritik tvega, da ga oznachijo za neznanstvenega, kajti vse, kar je Einstein naredil, je nedotakljivo. Njegovi univerzalni genialnosti so namenjeni le slavospevi.

Toda »njegova« najslavnejsha dela niso tako zelo njegova, kot to velja na splošno, in celo vechina fizikov ne ve chisto natanko, kaj je pravzaprav sploh naredil. Obrazlozil je fotoefekt in za ta dosezhak je dobil polno priznanje z Nobelovo nagrado. Kar zadeva t. i. relativnostno teorijo, je njegov prispevek v glavnem zbirka tez ostalih matematikov in fizikov, katerih imen pa v svojih objavah ni omenjal. Na glavi, ki nosi najvech »odgovornosti« za splošno relativnostno teorijo, je zlomil kuhinjski stol – njegova zhena, Srbkinja Mileva Marich, je bila sposobna matematicharka in je pomagala Albertu, dobremu fiziku, toda slabemu matematiku.

Njegovi zagovorniki poudarjajo, da je dobil iste rezultate kot drugi fiziki, toda po drugi poti in na drugachen nachin, nekateri kritichni poznavalci pa ga imajo za najvechjega plagiatorja vseh chasov ...

Lochil se je od zhene, verjetno iz rasistichnih razlogov; njegova judovska družhina menda ni marala pravoslavne kristjanke Mileve, nagovarjali so ga, naj se porochi s svojo sestrichno. Ob lochitvi je dal Milevi denar od Nobelove nagrade, pozneje pa se ni vech zanimal ne za njuno nezakonsko hchi, ki jo je dal anonimno posvojiti, ne za sinova, ki ju je prav tako imel iz zakona z Milevo.

Z lochitvijo tega zakona je praktichno prenehalo Einsteinovo znanstveno delovanje; poslej je pretezhno deloval v javnosti, se pustil slaviti ter je tudi sam slavil bolj ali manj le sebe kot osebo danashnjega slovesa.

Pokazal je pomanjkanje civilnega poguma, ko se je izgovarjal, da ni prav vedel, kaj podpisuje, ko je podpisal tisto slavno pismo, ki je privedlo do izdelave atomske bombe. Vechinoma je le she »produciral znanstveni odpad« (moja oznaka), kot porochi fizik John Dyson, ki je odpovedal srehanje z njim v Princetону, da bi se izognil nesmiselni razpravi o njegovem najnovejšem delu.

Prav zabavno je, kako Poggiu kot tudi Einsteinu »uradno« nikjer ne priznavajo njunega ponarejanja in plagiatorstva; prvi je svoja dela predstavljaj kot tuja, drugi se je tako rekoch kitil s tujim perjem; prvi je skoraj neznan, drugi je neznanstvo slaven, prvemu je prisojen najslabshi znachaj, drugemu najplemenitejsji itd. (vse to je pravzaprav zelo chloveshko). Slavna Einsteinova dela so manj resnichno Einsteinova, kakor pa bi bila Poggiova dela Poggiova, che bi bilo po nakljuchju dokazano, da so ti spisi resnichno starorimskega porekla.

Toda vsaj eno Poggiovo delo, namrech slavna *Germanija*, in Einstein – oba imata nekaj neverjetno skupnega – oboje je povzdignjeno v mit; njuni chastilci ju mochno in vrochichno, ljubosumno in s predanostjo branijo, ne dovoljujejo nikakršnega kompromisa in nimajo nobenega usmiljenja za svoje nasprotnike.

Yes, they real selves, the personalities, very probably can not be compared as the characters are immeasurable, but their public status and the impact of their work and deeds can be compared.

It is a malevolent pleasure to show in this comparison the »Absurdistan« of the human civilization and culture on the so called highest intellectual level.

Einstein is known almost to everybody, at least in the West. He enjoys the reputation of an unmistakable genius, great humanist, noblest character, the modest personality. To refute some of his work is almost dangerous, the risk is to be declared unscientific, all that he has allegedly done was till now almost untouchable. His universal geniality is praised repeatedly ...

But »his« famous works are not so his as it is generally reported ... and even most of the physicists do not know what exactly he has actually done. He explained the foto-effect and he got therefore the full credit with the Nobel prize. As far as are concerned the relativity theories is his work mostly a recollection of the works of other mathematicians and physicists, whom he did not even referenced. Over the head, which is mostly »responsible« for the general relativity theory, he broke a kitchen chair – his wife, Mileva Marich from Serbia, was a competent mathematician helping Albert, a good physicist, but an incompetent mathematician. His defenders say, he got the same result as the others, but on a different way, some critic pundits do keep him as the greatest plagiarist of all times ...

He divorced his wife very probably due to the racist causes – allegedly his Jewish family disliked the Christian-ortodox Mileva and pushed him to marry his cousin. But he gave Mileva the Nobel price money for the divorce, never asking more for his illicit daughter, given anonymously to adoption, and his sons from marriage, all by Mileva.

His scientific engagement practically expired with the divorce – he was active actually in public relations, letting to be promoted and promoting more or less himself as the person of the current fame.

He showed a deficit in the civil courage distancing himself from the famous letter of atomic bomb promotion and spent his time producing the »scientific garbage« – this designation is by me – as reported physicist John Dyson, who canceled a meeting with him in Princeton to avoid the silliness of discussion on his newest work.

It is amusing, how to Poggio as well to Einstein »officially« was nowhere assigned the designation to be forger or plagiarist; the first one presented his works as someone else's, the second one has decorated himself with the someone else's deeds, the first one is actually almost unknown, the second one immensely glorified, to the first one was assigned the worst, to the second one the noblest character.

The famous Einstein's works are less real Einstein's works as the Poggio's works would be Poggio's, even if proved as the real genuine works of the Roman origin.

But at least one work of Poggio, the famous *Germania*, and Einstein himself, they both have a something strikingly common – they are handled and cherished almost religiously, they are rised to myths – their promoters defend them jealously, they allow no compromise and they are merciless to the adversaries.

ZAKLJUCHEK

La vérité historique est souvent une fable convenue. (Napoleon Bonaparte)

Ta izrek je očitno resnichen v Tacitovem primeru, še posebno glede spisa *Germanija*. Zhe povrshen, toda nepristranski pregled dejstev pokazhe, da je vechina klasichnih spisov, ki naj bi nashli v prashnih, vlazhnih, pozabljenih kotih srednjeveshkih samostanov, ponarejenih; za tako spoznanje ni potrebno nikakršno posebno znanje, dovolj je zdrav razum. To je tudi glavni razlog, da shirsha »znanstvena skupnost« ni napravila nikakršne resne analize zadevnih spisov, kot so jo napravili Ross, Hochart ali Wiener, njih pa niso niti poskusili ovrechi z nasprotnimi razlagami.

Tako Leo Wiener z obzhalovajem ugotavlja: ... *Zhalostno je videti, da germanska zgodovina in z njo povezane zadeve slonijo na Germaniji in Getici, na dveh spomenikih zavestne prevare in nezavedne neumnosti ...*

To lahko dopolnimo: che Nemci nimajo chisto vsega od A do Zh, da bi bili na to ponosni, pa imajo vech kot dovolj vsaj od B kot Bach, Beethoven ... pa Gauss in Goethe ... Hahn, Hilbert, Heine, Herder ... Schiller ... Wegener ... do Z kot Zweig. Tisti »vcherajshnji«, faustovske dushe, seveda tega ne vedo, ker vseh teh velikanov sploh ne poznajo, je pa veliko in vedno vech »danashnjih«, ki so jim predhodniki vzor.

Imamo tudi naslednjo zabavno in bedasto politichno grotesko: cesar Karl Veliki velja za prvega Evropejca, saj naj bi z ognjem in mechem zgradil Evropo kot »Das Heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation«. Zato bi morali *Karlspreis* dopolniti s *Prix Napoleon* ali s *Hitler's Award* (angleški naziv naj bi kazal evropsko miselnost, ker prva dva nista angleška); omenjeni so gradili Evropo na podoben nachin, s podobnimi posledicami. Mogoche bi kazalo ustanoviti tudi Piccolominijevo nagrado v spomin na njegovo (italijansko) evropejstvo, npr. *Benedictione Pii* ...

Ironija zgodovine je, da so najbolj chashchena »dejstva« germanske zgodovine, t. i. *faustovske dushe* – Tacitovi Germani, cesar Karl Veliki in slovanska priselitev – zgolj miti, pravljice, ki si jih je izmislila zanichevana *felabovska dusha*; ime Germani, ki je zanicljivo rimljansko ime za sovrazhne Retijce, protoslovansko pleme – vse to je *faustovska dusha* prav ljubeche sprejela za svoje.

Tacita in posebej njegovo *Germanijo*, cesarja Karla Velikega in slovansko selitev bodo *Germani* zagovarjali do poslednjega *Germanusa*, faustovske dushe.

Toda skrb je odvech. Tako dolgo, dokler bodo pripovedke uradne zgodovine v sluzhbi interesov zahodne politike, bo vse to le »Velika lazh«, ki jo bodo še naprej shirili kot resnico kljub vsem najbolj jasnim nasprotnim dejstvom.

CONCLUSION

La vérité historique est souvent une fable convenue. – Napoleon Bonaparte.

This is especially true in the case of Tacitus, especially in the case of the manuscript *Germania*.

Even the most superficial but unbiased check of the facts shows that the majority of the classic texts, which are claimed to be found in some dust, humid, forgotten corners of the medieval monasteries, are actually forgeries – there is no need of any especial knowledge, just the common sense. This is also the main reason for the »scientific community« that any serious analysis as that of Ross, Hochart or Wiener is just ignored and not met with the counterarguments.

As Wiener sadly states: ... *It is sad to contemplate that Germanic history and allied subjects are based on the Germania and the Getica, two monuments of conscious fraud and unconscious stupidity, ...*

and can be actually completed: If Germans do not have all from A to Z to be proud upon, they have at least from B as Bach, Beethoven, Bethe ... and Gauss, and Goethe ... over Hahn, Hilbert, Heine, Herder, ... and Schieller, ... to Wagner, Wegener ... to Z as Zweig more than enough ...

Those from »yesterday«, the Faustian souls, they naturally this do not know, but there is even more and more of these from »today«, to which are this predecessors an example to cherish.

There is also an amusing and silly grotesque political problem – the emperor Charlemagne – *Karl der Grosse* – is declared to be the first European, building Europe with the fire and sword as the »*Heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation*«. Therefore the *Karlspreis* should be also supplemented by the *Preis Napoleon* and the *Hitler's Award* – English title should be used to be European as both previous are not English – they tried to build Europe in the same way, with the similar consequences! Maybe, also Piccolomini's Award is to be instituted for his European orientation, in Italian as *Benedictione Pii* ...

It is an irony of the history – the *Faustian souls'* most cherished »facts« of the German history – Tacitus's *Germani*, the emperor *Karl der Grosse* and the *Slavic migration* are just myths, fairy tales, invented by the despised *Felachian soul* itself. The nickname of the another despised *Felachian soul* – *Germani*, a derogatory Roman name for hostile Rhetians, the Proto-Slavic tribes, all this was lovingly endorsed by *Faustian souls* as their own.

Tacitus and especially his *Germania*, the emperor *Karl der Grosse* and the *Slavic migration* will be defended by *Germani* till the last *Germanus*, the *Faustian soul*.

But they needn't to bother. As long as the official history narratives will serve western politics they will be promoted as a Big Lie against the most sound counterarguments ...

June 2013

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Translated from Slovenian by author

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Vodilo *LiVeS Journala – Revije SRP* so tri vrednotne orientacije individua, tega ne nepomembnega drobca v sistemu institucij.

Te vrednote so: Svoboda, Resnica, Pogum. Pomembne so, vsaka od njih posebej, pomembno je prezhemanje teh vrednot.

Tak namen ima tudi uredništvo Revije SRP, ki izhaja v posodobljenem prvotnem slovenskem chrkopisu bohorichici, katere utemeljitev predstavlja *Zbornik 2001 Boborichica*.

Individuality of the *LiVeS Journal*

Guidelines of the *LiVeS Journal* are the three values of the orientation of the individual, that irrelevant shred in the system of institutions.

These values are: Liberty (freedom), Verity (truth), and Spirit (courage) Each of them is important in its separate way, the infusion of these values is important.

This is also the intention of the LiVeS Journal editorial board, which is published in an updated version of Bohorichica – the primary Slovenian alphabet, the argumentation behind which is presented in *Zbornik 2001 Bohorichica*.

Sama ustvarjalnost in avtonomija,
njuna utemeljenost v raziskovanju,
nachelno in splošno nista vprashljivi,
nihche, skoraj nihche ne bo nasprotoval
takim usmeritvam. Problem se pojavlja
shele na konkretnem nivoju, kot tak je
nerazviden in skrit ali zhe prikrit
in s tem tezhko reshljiv.

Problem ukinjanja ustvarjalnosti
(in avtonomije) se kazhe v shtevilnih,
a na videz nepomembnih malenkostih.
Lahko jih ne vidimo ali pa se moramo
spustiti na nivo konkretnosti, to je
na nivo ukvarjanja z malenkostmi
in postati malenkostni.

Institucija brez spomina je
kakor podjetje brez knjigovodstva,
mochni in mogochni v njej
pochno, kar jih je volja,
ker vse, kar pochno, utone
v pozabljivi zavesti chasa.

...

a ne gre za chas, ampak za dejstva zavesti,
kjer chasa ni, je samo trajanje,
obche vrednote so neposredna dejstva zavesti,
vsakomur dojemljive, preverljive,
nihche jih chloveku ne more ne dati ne vzeti,
ne sistem ne institucija ne propaganda, tudi kulturna ne,
samo che to sam hoche, jih bo nashel
le v sebi, sebstvu svojem.

Creativity and autonomy themselves,
their justification in research,
are in principle and generally not questionable,
no one, or next to no one will oppose
such an orientation. It is not until concrete action is undertaken
that the problem will occur, and it is therefore
unevident and hidden or even already concealed
and thus difficult to solve.

The problem of abolishing creativity
(and autonomy) presents itself in numerous,
but seemingly irrelevant details.

We can either leave them undetected or
drop down to the tangible level, in other words –
become preoccupied with trifles –
and grow petty.

An institution with no memory
is like a company without accounting,
its strong and its mighty
do what they please,
because all they do is doomed to drown
in the forgetful awareness of time.

...

but it is not a matter of time, but a matter of the facts of awareness,
where time does not exist, there is only length,
general values are direct facts of awareness,
understandable to all, verifiable,
no one can bestow them or take them away,
neither system, nor institutions nor propaganda – not even a cultural one,
only if one so desires, will one find them
only within oneself, in one's own self.

»Torej vsako bitje, ki občuti svojo eksistenco,
občuti zločin pokorjenosti in težki k svobodi;
če se še zhiivali, ki so udomachene za sluzhenje chloveku,
lahko podrede shele potem, ko jim zatro nasprotno zheljo,
kakshna nesrecha je to lahko za chloveka,
ki je edini resnichno rojen zato,
da zhivi svobodno.

Napravila ga je nenaravnega do te mere,
da je izgubil praspomin na svoje prvobitno stanje,
in na zheljo, da ga ponovno ozhivi ...
Vedno pa se najdejo eni, srechnejshi od drugih,
ti, ki so rojeni pod srechno zvezdo,
ki občutijo težho jarma in ne morejo vzdrzhati,
da bi ga ne stresli, ti, ki se nikoli ne navadijo na jarem ...

*Ko bi bila svoboda povsem izgubljena,
zunaj tega sveta,
bi jo ti ljudje ozhivili v svoji predstavi,
občutili bi jo v **svojem duhu** in jo she vedno uzhiivali.*

Suzhenjstvo nikakor ni po njihovem okusu,
celo ko je to okrasheno, ne! ...«

Étienne de La Boétie

»So every being that feels its existence,
feels the crime of submission and strives for freedom;
if even animals that are tamed to serve man,
do not submit until their opposing desires are crushed,
what misfortune can this be for man,
who alone is truly born,
to live freely.

It made him so unnatural,
that he forgot the memory of his primeval state,
and the desire to again revive it ...
But you always find some who are happier than others,
the ones who are born under a lucky star,
who feel the weight of the yoke and cannot stop themselves,
from shaking it off, the ones who never grow accustomed to the yoke ...

*If liberty were to be completely lost,
out of this world,
then these people would revive it in their imaginations,
they would feel it in **their spirit** and continue to enjoy it.*

Servitude is by no means to their taste,
not even if it is adorned! ...«

Étienne de La Boétie

OPOMBA UREDNISHTVA

LiVeS Journal (in *Revija SRP*): <http://www.livesjournal.eu> (<http://www.revijasrp.si>)

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EDITORIAL NOTE

LiVeS Journal (and *Revija SRP*): <http://www.livesjournal.eu> (<http://www.revijasrp.si>)

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