

VOJAŠKA ZGODOVINA

MILITARY HISTORY

Številka/Number 1 (17), Letnik/Volume 11/2010



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afgelyverd. Ant. 20/11/1890

Best vereerbte, zoo
rootaaram tegra zefuarste,
jou.

Wilt u die misfelyke fienheit
grygrom vandinghe fneefjandell
wylst. De hoo minne van de
vraag. De vante de vante
I bereide in de Maase
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Maaf huy vint uick
vante, in de huy de

Vojaška prisega slovenskih upornikov, prostovoljcev in vojakov

Military Oath of Slovenian Insurgents, Volunteers and Soldiers

MARIJAN F. KRANJC

generalmajor v pokoju

Kratek vojaškozgodovinski opis

Prisega, predvsem vojaška, je obvezno slovesno dejanje vsakega vojaka in častnika ob sprejetju (vstopu) v vojsko, ki izraža zlasti zvestobo (domovini, vladarju, poveljniku). Zato imajo prisega poleg simbolične (zunanje, javne) tudi t. i. notranjo podobo, ki se izraža kot moralna (politično-ideološka), pravna (kazensko-disciplinska) in še kakšna zaveza (pisna ali ustna) in pomen (tajna, krvna, navidezna in podobno). Seveda so tudi izjeme.

Ko sem zbiral podatke za knjigo *Slovenska vojaška inteligenca* (Grosuplje, 2005), sem našel na zanimive primerke vojaške prisega slovenskih (kmečkih) upornikov, prostovoljcev, predvsem pa vojakov, ki so zvesto služili vojsko različnim cesarjem, kraljem, furerjem in maršalom. Prisegli so pred križem in Bogom, pred mečem in tujo (nacistično) zastavo, pred slovensko in internacionalno (sovjetsko, špansko) zastavo, nazadnje pa prisegli tudi DOMOVINI kot pripadniki Slovenske vojske.

Od osamosvojitvene vojne junija 1991 smo brali številna novinarska poročila o tem slovesnem dejanju, ki je, tako pravijo, enkratno v življenju vsakega državljanja (vojaka). Takole je novinarka Marjeta Borštnik aprila 2002 poročala z Vrhnike:

Slovesna zaprisega vojakov

V torek, 30. aprila, je na Vrhniki, na nogometnem igrišču pri OŠ Ivana Cankarja, potekala slovesna zaprisega vojakov. Zvestobo domovini je zapriseglo 400 vojakov vrhniške vojašnice, 352. UBP... Slovesnosti se je med

A brief military and historical description

An oath, particularly a military oath, is an obligatory solemn (formal) act taken by every soldier and officer at enlistment and expresses loyalty (to the homeland, the ruler, the commander). For this reason, oaths, in addition to their symbolic meaning (external, public), also have an inner meaning expressed as a moral (political and ideological), legal (criminal and disciplinary) and some other commitment (written or oral) and meaning (secret, blood, virtual and similar). Of course, there are also exceptions.

*As I was collecting data for the book *Slovenska vojaška inteligenca* ('Slovenian Military Intelligence', Grosuplje, 2005), I came upon interesting examples of military oaths taken by Slovenian (peasant) insurgents, volunteers and particularly soldiers who had loyally served under various emperors, kings, fuehrers and marshals. They swore before the cross and God, before the sword and a foreign (Nazi) flag, before Slovenian and international (Soviet, Spanish) flags in order to finally be able to swear to their HOMELAND as members of the Slovenian Armed Forces.*

From the Slovenian Independence War in June 1991 onwards we have been reading numerous journalistic reports on this solemn act which is, as is said, a unique act in the life of every citizen (soldier). Marjeta Borštnik reported from Vrhnika in April 2002:

"Soldiers' Solemn Oath

The soldiers' solemn oath took place on Tuesday, 30 April, in Vrhnika, on the soccer field of the Ivan Cankar Primary School. Four hundred soldiers



Diploma o prisegi v teritorialni obrambi Slovenije.
Slovenian Territorial Defence oath certificate.

drugimi gosti udeležil tudi ..., slavnostni gost pa je bil kapitan fregate Ljubo Poles, poveljnik 52. brigade, katere del je 352. UBP. Vodja slovesnosti je bil major Ljubo Pajič, poveljnik slovesnosti pa poveljnik 352. UBP, podpolkovnik Marko Preložnik. Kot določa protokol, se je slovesnosti udeležila tudi častna četa slovenske vojske, zaigral je tudi vojaški pihalni orkester. Slovesnosti se je udeležilo zelo veliko ljudi – staršev, sorodnikov, prijateljev in znancev ...«

Zakon o obrambi RS namreč v 49. členu (prisega) določa: kdor prvič nastopi vojaško službo, mora dati prisego, ki se glasi:

»Slovesno prisegam, da bom branil samostojnost, neodvisnost, svobodo in ozemeljsko celovitost svoje domovine Republike Slovenije ter vestno in odgovorno izvrševal dolžnosti pri njeni obrambi.«

Zakaj novinarska »slovesna zaprisega vojakov« oz. uradno samo (slovesna) »prisega«? Slovar SSKJ (Ljubljana, 2003) te besedne zveze ne pozna, ker gre predvsem za »zaprisego prič« pred sodiščem, razen v pomenu »vojaki

from the Vrhnika Military Post, the 352nd Infantry Training Battalion and others swore loyalty to their homeland. Among other guests, the ceremony was attended by ..., while the guest of honour was Frigate Captain Ljubo Poles, Commander of the 52nd Brigade, part of which is also the 352nd Infantry Training Battalion. The head of the ceremony was Major Ljubo Pajič while the commander of the ceremony was the Commander of the 352nd Infantry Training Battalion, Lieutenant Colonel Marko Preložnik. In line with protocol, the ceremony was also attended by the Company of Honour of the Slovenian Armed Forces. Visitors saw and heard a performance given by the Military Wind Orchestra. The ceremony was attended by a large number of people – parents, relatives, friends, acquaintances and others.”

Article 49 of the Defence Act of the Republic of Slovenia (the oath) states that whoever first begins military service must take the following oath:

“I solemnly swear that I will defend the independence, sovereignty, freedom and territorial integrity of my homeland, the Republic of Slovenia, and to conscientiously and responsibly perform my duties for its defence.”

Why the journalistic “soldiers’ solemn oath” or just a (solemn) “oath” officially? The Dictionary of Slovene Literary Language (SSKJ, Ljubljana, 2003) does not list this phrase, as the word oath/swearing-in is generally used in the “swearing-in of witnesses” in court, except in the meaning of “the soldiers have already been sworn”. The same dictionary only lists the “oath to the homeland”, while the internet dictionary offers “military oath”, the old-fashioned form “military pledge” and even “military vow” which is better suited for a priestly (monastic) vow. The Military Dictionary (Ljubljana, 2002) also does not list the word “oath”, but it does list a “solemn oath”, a “military oath” and a “military pledge”. The Encyclopaedia of War (Belgrade, 1967), pages 325-326, lists only “solemn oath” or “military oath” (Slo. vojaška prisega, Fr. *terment militaire*, Ital. *giuramento militare*, Ger. *Fahneneid*, Rus. *voenijaja prisjaga*).

SSKJ therefore does not include the phrase “solemn oath” but only a “solemn pledge” or in simpler terms a “military oath”. Similarly, this is recommended by the Military Dictionary. Military “officials” in the MoD have done things their own way. I suggest we stay with the term “military oath”.

If we agree with the (official) opinion that Slovenian military tradition reaches all the way back

so že zapriseženi«. Isti slovar vsebuje le »prise-go domovini«, internetni pa »vojaško prisego«, zastarelo obliko »vojaška zakletev«, pa celo »vojaško zaobljubo«, ki bolj ustreza duhovniški (redovniški) zaobljubi. Tudi Vojaški slovar (Ljubljana, 2002) ne pozna »zaprisege«, navaja pa »slovesno prisego«, prav tako pa še »vojaško« prisego in »vojaško zakletev«. V Vojni enciklopediji (Beograd, 1967) je na str. 325–326 samo: »slovesna zaobljuba ali vojaška prisega« (ang. *military oath*, fr. *terment militaire*, ital. *giuramento militare*, nem. *Fahneneid*, rus. *vo-eniaja prisjaga*).

V SSKJ torej ni »slovesne prisege«, temveč je le »slovesna zaobljuba« ali pa bolj preprosto »vojaška prisega«. Podobno priporoča Vojaški slovar. Vojaški »uradniki« na Mors so pač naredili po svoje! Predlagam, da ostanemo pri »vojaški prisegi« ...

Če pritrdimo mnenju, tudi uradnemu, da slovenska vojaška tradicija sega vse do Karantanije, je vsekakor simboličnega pomena tudi prisega karantanskih knezov (hkrati tudi vojskovodij), ki se prvič omenja leta 630 ob prisegi kneza Valuka pri knežjem kamnu. Po opisih sodeč gre bolj za nekakšno sodno zaobljubo (»Juramentum Scloouonicum«), čeprav ne dvomim o tem, da so vojščaki karantanskemu knezu prisegli tudi vojaško. Zapisov in virov o tem nisem našel, niti na straneh različnih domoljubnih društev in združenj, kot so Hervardi, Črni panterji in podobni.

Ker so slovenski vojščaki služili v tujih vojskah ali pa so se kot uporniki in prostovoljci bojevali proti njim, je vsekakor zanimivo narediti nekakšen vojaškozgodovinski opis, kdaj in komu so prisekali, v kolikšnem številu in ob katerih priložnostih, pa tudi kakšne bi bile posledice, če dane vojaške prisege ne bi izpolnili.

Vsi, ki smo opravili vojaško prisego, smo se morali namreč tudi obvezati, da bomo žrtvovali življenje za dobro svoje domovine. Vedeli smo tudi, da nas v vojnem obdobju čaka smrtna kazen, če bi prelomili vojaško prisego. Nismo pa poznali primerov skupinskih kazni, ki so jih izvrševali poveljniki. Tako je poveljnik rimske legije, če je legija odstopila z bojne črte, po boju obglavil vsakega desetega vojščaka. Po takšni svarilni kazni menda legija ni nikoli več odstopila z bojišča, temveč se je bojevala do zadnjega moža! Najbolj pa me je presunila odločitev srbskega poveljnika v prvi balkanski vojni leta 1912. Po bitki je ukazal postreliti

to Carinthia, then the oath taken by the Dukes of Carinthia (also military leaders) acquires a symbolic meaning as well. This oath is first mentioned in 630 AD, when Duke Valuk took an oath at the Prince's Stone. Based on accounts, this is more of a judicial oath ("Juramentum Scloouonicum"), although I do not doubt that soldiers also gave military oaths to the Duke of Carinthia. I did not find any written records and sources on this topic, not even in the pages of various patriotic societies and associations, such as Hervardi, Črni panterji (Black Panthers) and others.

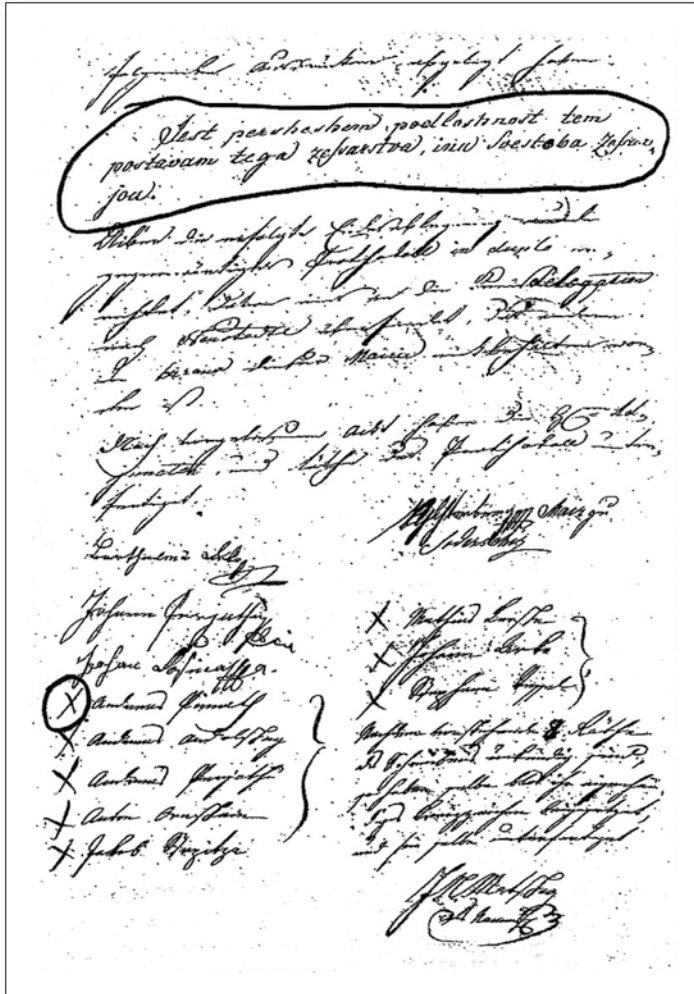
Since Slovenian soldiers served in non-native armies or, as insurgents and volunteers, fought against foreign armies, it is interesting to make a sort of a military and historical description of when, to whom, in what numbers and on which occasions these soldiers took oaths, and what would the consequences of not fulfilling the taken military oaths be.

All of us who have had to take a military oath have committed to sacrificing our lives for the welfare of our homeland. We were also aware of the fact that breaking the military oath in war time would result in the penalty of death. However, we were not familiar with the examples of collective punishments carried out by commanders. Commanders of Roman legions, in the event the legion withdrew from the combat line, beheaded every tenth soldier after the battle. It is said that after such an exemplary punishment the legion never again retreated from the battlefield but fought to the last man. Personally, I was most shocked by the decision of a Serbian commander in the First Balkan War in 1912 when he ordered the entire infantry regiment shot after the battle for withdrawing from enemy attack.

Peasant Insurgents (1515)

I find it acceptable to include peasant insurgents who were armed and fought in groups similar to military troops and had their own leaders – commanders (Matija Gubec and others) among soldiers, as they set out to "declare war on the noblemen". Along with the outward symbols they bore in battles (flags, crosses and similar), they also had to take an oath. According to some sources (Slovenian lands in the 15th and 16th centuries, the internet), the oath of peasant insurgents who entered the Peasant Union was worded as follows:

"By this sword I swear, in the presence of the Trinity and God's holy anger, to enter the Peasant Union. I will not give any money, socage or crops to the noblemen, only the emperor's tax. When brought news by



Prva prisega v slovenskem jeziku – Napoleonu, 1811
(AS. Arhiv graščine Ortnek. Štev. 764, fasc. 31)

gosposke. Najbolj sem bil vesel, ko sem v ortneškem graščinskem arhivu poleg drugih našel tudi vojaški in policijski dosje. Prijetno pa sem bil presenečen, ko sem našel rokopis vojaške prisega v slovenskem jeziku iz obdobja Ilirskih provinc 1811.

Iz priložene fotokopije protokola vojaške prisega francoskemu cesarju Napoleonu z dne 13. 8. 1811 v nabornem okolišu Sodražica (AS, Arhiv graščine Ortnek, štev. 764, Spisi-fasc. 31) je razvidna tudi prva vojaška prisega v slovenskem jeziku, in sicer:

“Jest persheshem podloshnost tem postavam tega zessarstva, inu Svestoba Zessarjou.”

Nepismeni naborniki so namesto podpisa na dokumentu naredili križec.

Tudi Andres ANDOLSHEG (Andrej Andolšek), rojen 15. 1. 1784 na Schukou 1 (Žukovo, nad Velikimi Poljanami), ki se je iz Rusije srečno vrnil domov in se poročil z Nežo Prijatelj

general history. It is, however, less known that Carniolan soldiers, before entering the “Illyrian regiment”, swore allegiance in the Slovenian language and that the mentioned regiment included several officers and non-commissioned officers from Illyrian Provinces who probably commanded the soldiers in this homogeneous Slovenian unit in the “language of the land”, that is in the Slovenian language.

When conducting genealogical research of the Andolšek – Andoljšek family, I thoroughly examined the castle archives and land registers in the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, in particular documents of the Ribnica, Ortnek and Turjak noblemen. I was most pleased when, along with other files from the Ortnek castle archives, I found a military and a police file. It was also a pleasant surprise to come upon a handwritten military oath in the Slovenian language from the time of the Illyrian Provinces in 1811.

The attached photocopy of a military oath to the French Emperor Napoleon, dated 13 August 1811, from the Sodražica recruiting area (ARS - Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, Ortnek Manor Archives, No. 764, Written documents-fascicle 31) contains the first military oath in the Slovenian language:

“Jest persheshem podloshnost tem postavam tega zessarstva, inu Svestoba Zessarjou.”

English translation:

“I swear obedience to the laws of this empire and loyalty to the Emperor.”

Illiterate recruits signed with an “x”.

Among them was Andres ANDOLSHEG (Andrej Andolšek), born on 15 January 1784 at Schukou, house no. 1 (Žukovo, above Velike Poljane), who returned safely from Russia and married Neža Prijatelj from Vrh, house no. 1. It is not known when exactly he returned from the Russian expedition but judging by the births of his two children (Neža, 29 October 1813, and Marija, 23 January 1816) it was probably in the beginning of 1813.

It is interesting to mention that some recruits (I have only been tracking those with the last name Andolšek) did not report to the recruiting board the following year (1812). By lucky coincidence I have discovered that many young men from this list, including the Andolšek boys, left their homes and probably illegally moved to places outside the Illyrian Provinces. The first was Gregor Andolšek from Velike Poljane, house no. 9, who, together with his wife Neža Peterlin who was from the same village, left for the village Češnjevok, house no. 19,

iz Vrha 1. Kdaj se je vrnil z ruskega pohoda, ni natančno znano, toda iz podatkov o rojstvu dveh otrok (Neže 29. 10. 1813 in Marije 23. 1. 1816) lahko sklepamo, da je bilo to v začetku leta 1813.

Zanimivo je tudi, da se nekateri naborniki (sledil sem samo tistim s priimkom Andolšek) leto pozneje (1812) niso več oglasili naborni komisiji. Po srečnem naključju sem odkril, da so številni mladeniči s tega seznama, med njimi tudi Andolškovi fantje, zapustili domačije in verjetno ilegalno odšli v kraje zunaj Ilirskih provinc. Prvi je to storil Gregor Andolšek iz Velikih Poljan 9 in skupaj z ženo Nežo Peterlin iz iste vasi že 1810 "odšel" v vasico Češnjevke 19 pri Trebnjem. Kot drugi je "dezertiral" Andrejev brat Štefan iz Žukovega, rojen 16. 11. 1788, ki se je 15. 5. 1811 priženil k Mariji Duller v Češnjevke št. 13. Bil je namreč že na seznamu za naborno leto 1811, vendar se je tako izognil obveznosti v francoski vojski. Sledil mu je mlajši brat Johan, rojen 25. 8. 1793, ki je 1812 zapustil Žukovo in se poročil z Ano Krašovec v Sevnico 131. Podobno so storili Andolškovi predniki iz Boštanja. Prav vsi so že vedeli, zakaj so zapustili Ilirske province. Tako smo dobili tudi prve vojaške dezertarje iz Ilirskih provinc.

Prostovoljci četniških odredov (v Srbiji, 1903)

Vojaška prisega v Srbiji je menda omenjana že v obdobju cesarja Dušana leta 1334 pa vse do ustanovitve redne srbske vojske leta 1836. Vsebina se je seveda razlikovala glede na to, ali so prisegali knezi, hajduški harambaše ali vojvode četniških upornikov. Vedno pa so jo izrekli v navzočnosti pravoslavnega duhovnika (prote), z levo roko na evangeliju in s tremi dvignjenimi prsti desnice za zvestobo knezu, vojvodi in domovini, Srbiji.

Slovenski prostovoljci, sprejeti v četniške »dobrovoljske odrede«, so prisegali enako. Ceremonial je vodil pravoslavni duhovnik, navzoč je bil tudi poveljnik četniškega odreda. Na sredi sobe so mizo pregrnili z belim prtom. Nanjo so položili evangelij, na desno stran srebrn križ, na levo pa prekrižana revolver in bodalo (kamo). Gospodar je prinesel hlebec kruha in ga postavil na zgornjo stran evangelija. Duhovnik je začel molitev, potem je navzoče pozval, naj tri sklenjene prste položijo

by Trebnje as early as 1810. The second "deserter" was Andrej's brother Štefan, from Žukovo, born on 16 November 1788, who married Marija Duller from Češnjevke, house no. 13, on 15 May 1811 and moved to live with her. Štefan was already on the list for the 1811 recruitment year, but he avoided military duty in the French Army by marriage. He was followed by his younger brother Johan, born on 25 August 1793, who left Žukovo in 1812 and married Ana Krašovec from Sevnica, house no. 131. Similar was done by the Andolšek ancestors from Boštanj. They all had a reason for leaving the Illyrian Provinces and thus became the first military deserters from this area.

Volunteers in Guerrilla Detachments (in Serbia, 1903)

Presumably, a military oath in Serbia was already referred to at the time of Emperor Dušan in 1334 and continued to be mentioned until the establishment of the regular Serbian Army in 1836. The subject matter of the oath of course differed based on whether it was given to princes, captains of bands of bandits or dukes of guerrilla insurgents. However, it was always taken in the presence of an Orthodox priest (Prota), with the left hand placed on the bible and the right hand holding up three fingers, swearing loyalty to the prince, the duke and the homeland, Serbia.

Slovenian volunteers who were accepted in guerrilla volunteer detachments ("Dobrovoljci") took the same oath. The ceremony was conducted by an Orthodox priest; also present was the commander of the guerrilla detachment. A white tablecloth was laid on the table in the middle of the room. The table held a bible, silver cross on the right side and crossed revolver and dagger (Kama) on the left side. The master of the house brought a loaf of bread and set it on the upper side of the bible. A priest began praying and invited the persons present to put three fingers on the bible or silver cross. All the others placed three fingers on the shoulders of their comrades. Then the priest (Prota) pronounced the oath loudly, while those present repeated after him:

"Vo imja Oca i Sina i Svjatoga Duha, amin! Ja, (ime i prezime), zaklinjem se u Gospoda Boga i Gospoda Sina Isusa Hrista i Gospoda Duha Svetoga, zaklinjem se u hleb ovaj i revolver da ću tačno i savesno i bezuslovno ispunjavati sve naredbe Centralnog odbora koje mi se budu dale, a koje idu u korist našeg oslobođenja i ujedinjenja sa majkom Srbijom, a pod upravom odbora. Ako bi se namerno

na evangelij ali pa srebrni križ. Vsi drugi so položili tri prste na ramena svojih tovarišev. Duhovnik (proti) je glasno izgovarjal prisego, navzoči pa so jo glasno ponavljali:

»Vo imja Oca i Sina i Svjatoga Duha, amin! Ja, (ime i prezime), zaklinjem se u Gospoda Boga i Gospoda Sina Isusa Hrista i Gospoda Duha Svetoga, zaklinjem se u hleb ovaj i revolver da ću tačno i savesno i bezuslovno ispunjavati sve naredbe Centralnog odbora koje mi se budu dale, a koje idu u korist našeg oslobođenja i ujedinjenja sa majkom Srbijom, a pod upravom odbora. Ako bi se namerno ogrešio o datu zakletvu da me Bog, krst, ime, slava i hleb kazne, a nož i revolver kaznu izvrše. Amin!«

Potem so se vsi prekrizali in poljubljali evangelij, srebrni križ in revolver, prekrizan s kamo (bodalom). Srbskim četnikom se je pridružilo in priseglo približno deset slovenskih »dobrovoljcev«. Slovenski prevod te četniške in prostovoljske prisega je takšen:

»V imenu Očeta, Sina in svetega Duha, amen! Jaz, (ime in priimek), prisegam pri gospodu Bogu, gospodu sinu Jezusu Kristusu in gospodu svetem Duhu, prisegam pri tem kruhu in revolverju, da bom točno, pošteno in brezpogojno izvrševal vse ukaze Centralnega odbora, ki mi bodo dani, in ki bodo koristili osvoboditvi in združitvi z materjo Srbijo, pod upravo odbora. Če bi namerno prekršil dano prisego, naj me kaznujejo Bog, križ, čast in kruh, z nožem in revolverjem pa naj se izvrši kazen. Amen!«

Avstrijska in avstro-ogrska vojska (1616–1918)

Cesarsko-kraljevi major v pokoju Andrej Komel plemeniti Sočebčan je 1889 v Celovcu izdal knjižico z naslovom *Prisega in vojni člani* (Eid und Kriegs – Artikel), vendar dr. Tomo Korošec v svoji monografiji o Komelu ne navaja prevoda te prisega. Prosil sem ga za brošuro; predstavljam kopijo njene naslovnice in nemško besedilo prisega. Kopija slovenskega prevoda, ki ga je vzporedno podal major Komel, pa je slaba, zato posredujem izpisek. Prisega iz leta 1880 se glasi takole:

Prisega

»Naši vojaki naj Nam Frančišku Jožefu

ogrešio o datu zakletvu da me Bog, krst, ime, slava i hleb kazne, a nož i revolver kaznu izvrše. Amin!»

Everyone crossed themselves, kissed the bible, silver cross and crossed revolver and dagger (Kama). The Serbian guerrillas were joined by about ten Slovenian volunteers who also took the oath. This is the English translation of this guerrilla and volunteer oath:

“In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Amen. I, (name and surname), swear by the Lord God, the Lord and Son Jesus Christ and the Lord Holy Spirit, by this bread and revolver, to exactly, honestly and unconditionally execute all orders of the Central Committee, which I will receive and which will benefit the liberation and unification with mother Serbia, under the administration of the Committee. Should I deliberately break the given promise, I may be punished by God, the cross, honour and bread, and the punishment be implemented with a knife and a revolver. Amen.”

Austrian and Austro-Hungarian Army (1616–1918)

The retired Imperial-Royal Major Andrej Komel Edler von Sočebčan published a booklet in 1889 in Klagenfurt, titled *Eid und Kriegs-Artikel* (The Oath and Articles of War). However, in his monograph on Komel, Dr. Tomo Korošec does not include a translation of this oath.

I have asked him for a brochure and attached here a copy of the front cover and the German text of the oath. The Slovenian translation, presented by Major Komel, is written out below, as the copy was too bad to attach. The oath from 1880 is worded as follows:

Prisega

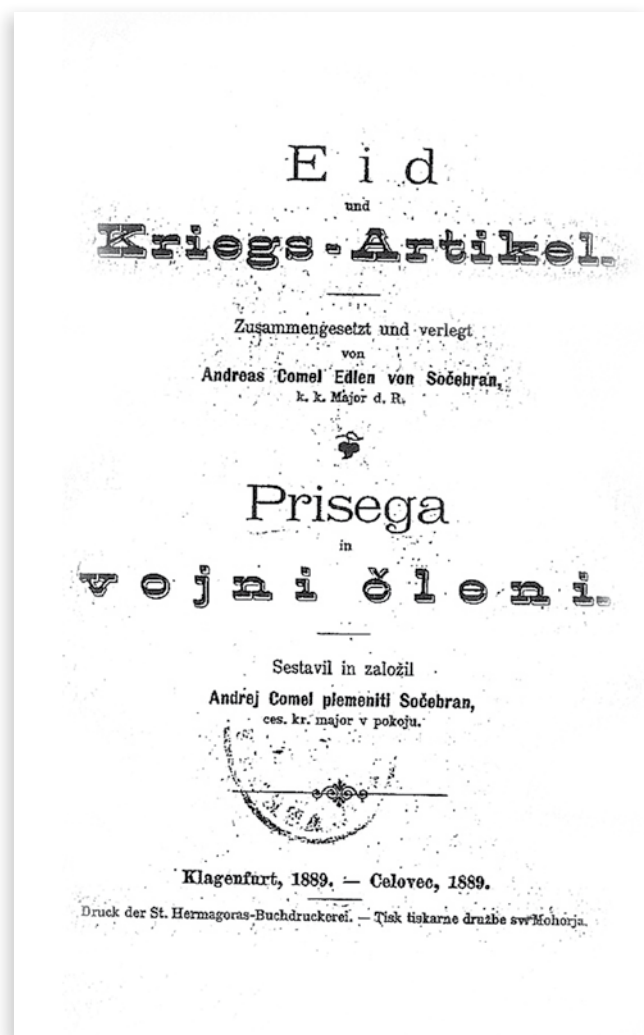
“Naši vojaki naj Nam Frančišku Jožefu Prvemu, po božji milosti cesarju avstrijskemu, Apostolskemu kralju ogerskemu, kralju češkemu, dalmatinskemu, hrvatskemu, slavonskemu, gališkemu, vladimirskemu in ilirskemu, nadvojvodi avstrijskemu, velikemu vojvodi krakovskemu, vojvodi lorenskemu, salcburškemu, štirskemu, koroškemu, kranjskemu, bukovinskemu, gornje- in spodnje-sleškemu, velikemu knezu erdeljskemu, mejnemu grofu moravskemu, pokneženemu grofu habsburškemu in tirolskemu itd., itd., prisežejo prisego s temi besedami:

Prisegamo Bogu Vsegamogočnemu z očitno prisego, da bomo Njegovemu Apostolskemu Veličanstvu, našemu presvilemu vladarju in gospodu,

Prvemu, po božji milosti cesarju avstrijskemu, Apostolskemu kralju ogerskemu, kralju češkemu, dalmatinskemu, hrvatskemu, slavonskemu, gališkemu, vladimirskemu in ilirskemu, nadvojvodi avstrijskemu, velikemu vojvodi krakovskemu, vojvodi lorenskemu, salcburškemu, štirskemu, koroškemu, kranjskemu, bukovinskemu, gornje- in spodnje-sleškemu, velikemu knezu erdeljskemu, mejnemu grofu moravskemu, pokneženemu grofu habsburškemu in tirolskemu itd., itd., prisežejo prisego s temi besedami:

Prisegamo Bogu Vsegamogočnemu z očitno prisego, da bomo Njegovemu Apostolskemu Veličanstvu, našemu presvilemu vladarju in gospodu,
 Frančišku Jožefu Prvemu,
 po božji milosti cesarju avstrijskemu, kralju češkemu itd., in Apostolskemu kralju ogerskemu, zvesti in pokorni, da bomo presvitlega cesarja, generale in sploh vse svoje predpostavljene in višje poslušali, jih častili in branili, njih zapovedim in poveljem v vsakeri službi pokorščino skazovali, da se bomo zoper vsakega sovražnika ktereakoli in kjerkoli Njegovega cesarskega Veličanstva volja ukaže, na vodi in na suhem, po dnevi in po noči, v bojih, naskokih, spopadih in v vsakoršnem početju, z jedno besedo, povsod, vsak čas in o vsaki priliki junaško in možato bojevali, da ne bomo svojih čet, svojih bander, zastav in topov nikakor in nikdar zapustili, da se ne bomo nikoli udajali ni v najmanjšo sporazumljenje s sovražnikom, ampak da se bomo vsegdar vedli tako, kakor vojni zakoni govore in kakor se spodobi pravim vojakom ter da hočemo na ta način častno živeti in umreti. Tako nam Bog pomagaj. Amen!«

V nadaljevanju so navedeni vojni člani, v katerih so ob morebitnem »prelomu podredbe« naštete tudi kazni – od »smrtne kazni z ustreljenjem«, »hudodelstva z ječo do desetih let ali kot prekrški z ostrim zaporom do šestih mesecev ...«. Število slovenskih vojakov in častnikov staro-avstrijske in avstro-ogrske vojske je znano le v odstotkih (0,6 odstotka vojakov, 12 odstotkov kopenskih in 16 odstotkov pomorskih častnikov), vemo pa, da je v vojni mornarici služilo približno 50.000 mornarjev.



Austro-Hungarian Army oath, 1880
 (Major Andrej Komel – Sočebran, translation)

Frančišku Jožefu Prvemu,
 po božji milosti cesarju avstrijskemu, kralju češkemu itd., in Apostolskemu kralju ogerskemu, zvesti in pokorni, da bomo presvitlega cesarja, generale in sploh vse svoje predpostavljene in višje poslušali, jih častili in branili, njih zapovedim in poveljem v vsakeri službi pokorščino skazovali, da se bomo zoper vsakega sovražnika ktereakoli in kjerkoli Njegovega cesarskega Veličanstva volja ukaže, na vodi in na suhem, po dnevi in po noči, v bojih, naskokih, spopadih in v vsakoršnem početju, z jedno besedo, povsod, vsak čas in o vsaki priliki junaško in možato bojevali, da ne bomo svojih čet, svojih bander, zastav in topov nikakor in nikdar zapustili, da se ne bomo nikoli udajali ni v najmanjšo sporazumljenje s sovražnikom, ampak da se bomo vsegdar vedli tako, kakor vojni zakoni govore in kakor se spodobi pravim vojakom ter da hočemo na ta način častno živeti in umreti. Tako nam Bog pomagaj. Amen!”

E i d.

Unser Kriegsvolk soll Uns Franz Joseph dem Ersten, von Gottes Gnaden Kaiser von Österreich, Apostolischen König von Ungarn, König von Böhmen, von Dalmatien, Croatia, Slavonien, Galizien, Lodomerien und Illyrien, Erzherzog von Österreich, Grossherzog von Krakau, Herzog von Lothringen; Salzburg, Steyer, Kärnten, Krain, Bukovina, Ober- und Nieder-Schlesien, Grossfürsten von Siebenbürgen, Markgrafen von Mähren, gefürsteten Grafen von Habsburg und Tyrol etc. etc. folgenden Eid schwören:

Wir schwören zu Gott dem Allmächtigen einen feierlichen Eid, Seiner Apostolischen Majestät, unserem Allerhöchstauchseligsten Fürsten und Herrn,

Franz Joseph dem Ersten,

von Gottes Gnaden Kaiser von Österreich, König von Böhmen u. s. w., und Apostolischen König von Ungarn

treu und gehorsam zu sein, auch Allerhöchstihren Generalen, überhaupt allen unseren Vorgesetzten und Höheren zu gehorchen, dieselben zu ehren und zu beschützen, ihren Geboten und Befehlen in allen Diensten Folge zu leisten, gegen jeden Feind, wer es immer sei, und wo immer es Seiner kaiserlichen und königlichen Majestät Wille erfordern mag, zu Wasser und zu Land, bei Tag und Nacht, in Schlachten, in Stürmen, Gefechten und Unternehmungen jeder Art, mit einem Worte, an jedem Orte, zu jeder Zeit und in allen Gelegenheiten tapfer und mannhafte zu streiten, unsere Truppen, Fahnen, Standarten und Geschütze in keinem Falle zu verlassen, uns mit dem Feinde nie in das mindeste Einverständnis einzulassen, uns immer so, wie es den Kriegsgesetzen gemäss ist, und braven Kriegsheuten zusteht, zu verhalten, und auf diese Weise mit Ehre zu leben und zu sterben. So wahr uns Gott helfe. Amen!

Die 1. bis 6. Formeln für die nicht in Schlachtenstadien angeführten Personen, sowie für die kaiserlich-königlichen Vorgesetzten sind in dem beizuliegenden Bescheid enthalten.



Prisega v avstro-ogrski vojski, 1880
(Major Andrej Komel – Sočeban, prevod)

Prostovoljci Vojske kraljevine Srbije (1912–1913)

Številni slovenski prostovoljci, predvsem zdravniki, so pohiteli na pomoč srbski vojski v prvi in drugi balkanski vojni. Vsi so morali izreči in podpisati prisego prostovoljcev (VZA, Srbska vojska, P-17, Š-148, F-1, d-25). Ta se ni veliko razlikovala od navadne vojaške prisega pred pravoslavnim duhovnikom, ki jo je overovil poveljnik vojaške enote.

V izvorniku se je glasila takole:

»Ja, dobrovoljac (ime i prezime), zaklinjem se Bogu svemogućim da ću Vrhovnom zapovedniku sve zemaljske oružane sile Kralju Srbije Petru Prvom svagda i u svim prilikama biti veran, svom dušom odan i poslušan; da ću zapovesti svojih pretpostavljenih starešina slušati i verno izvršavati; da ću Kralja i Otadžbinu junački braniti i vojničku zastavu nigde neću izneveriti. Tako mi Bog pomogao!

English translation:

The Oath

“May our soldiers take an oath to Franz Joseph I, by the grace of God Emperor of Austria, Apostolic King of Hungary, King of Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Galicia, Lodomeria, Illyria, Archduke of Austria, Grand Duke of Krakow, Duke of Lorraine, Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Bukovina, Upper and Lower Silesia, Grand Prince of Transylvania, Margrave of Moravia, Princely Count of Habsburg and Tyrol, etc., etc., with these words:

We swear by God Almighty to be loyal and obedient to His Apostolic Majesty, our Noble Prince and Lord, Franz Joseph I, by the grace of God Emperor of Austria, King of Bohemia, etc., and Apostolic King of Hungary; to listen to, honour and defend the Noble Emperor, generals and all our superiors; obey their commands and orders in any service; to fight heroically and courageously against any enemy, wherever and whenever so ordered by His Imperial Majesty, on water and on land, by day and by night, in battles, attacks, engagements and in any act; thus anywhere, anytime and at every opportunity. We swear not to abandon our troops, banners, flags and cannons in any way or at any time; to never enter into any agreements with the enemy, but to always behave in line with the rules of war and as befits true soldiers and thus live and die with honour. So God help us. Amen.”

In continuation, “articles of war” are stated, listing punishments in the event of “breaking an order” – from “the punishment of death by shooting”, “crimes resulting in up to ten years of imprisonment” to “offences resulting in up to six months of close arrest”, etc. The number of Slovenian soldiers and officers in the Old Austrian and the Austro-Hungarian Army is only known in percent (0.6 percent of soldiers, 12 percent of land and 16 percent of naval officers); however, it is known that approximately 50,000 sailors served in the navy.

Volunteers in the Army of the Kingdom of Serbia (1912–1913)

Numerous Slovenian volunteers, particularly doctors, rushed to assist the Serbian Army in the time of the First and Second Balkan Wars. They all had to take and sign a volunteer oath (Military History Archives, Serbian Army, P-17, Š-148, F-1, d-25)

Potpis ...
Zakletvu izvršio sveštenik ...
Overava komandir ...«

V slovenskem prevodu bi se »Prisega prostovoljcev« glasila takole:

»Jaz, prostovoljec (ime in priimek), prisegam pred vsemogočnim Bogom, da bom vrhovnemu poveljniku oboroženih sil, kralju Petru Prvemu, vedno in povsod zvest, z vso dušo privržen in poslušen; da bom poslušal in zvesto izvrševal zapovedi svojih nadrejenih starešin; da bom pogumno branil kralja in domovino in ne bom nikoli oskrunil vojaške zastave. Tako mi Bog pomagaj!«

Podpis ...
Prisego opravil duhovnik ...
Potrjuje poveljnik ...«

V Slovenski vojaški inteligenci, str. 332, sem našel natančno število slovenskih prostovoljcev (55).

Prostovoljci Vojske kraljevine Srbije (1914–1918)

Številni ujetniki avstro-ogrške vojske, tudi Slovenci, so v ruskih taboriščih vse od leta 1916 kot prostovoljci množično vstopali v srbsko vojsko. Predstavniki te so jim ponudili v podpis »Dobrovoljačko izjavo« (VZI Beograd, Arhiv Srbske vojske, P-3/a, Š-26, F-5. d-3), ki se je v izvorniku glasila:

»Želim da stupim od svoje volje kao dobrovoljac u redove Srpske vojske za vreme trajanje ovog rata i izjavljujem:

da mi je poznato da ću od strane Austrijanaca biti smatran za izdajicu ako me njihove trupe uhvate;
da od dana stupanja u dobrovoljce prestajem biti ratni zarobljenik, i
da pristajem da služim tamo gde me Vrhovna komanda rasporedi.

Potpis (ime i prezime, čin i odakle je)
Datum, mesto i potpis dva svedoka«.

V slovenskem prevodu bi se ta »Izjava prostovoljca« glasila takole:

which was very similar to a normal military oath taken before an Orthodox priest and verified by a military unit commander. This is the original text of the oath:

»Ja, dobrovoljac (ime i prezime), zaklinjem se Bogu svemogućim da ću Vrhovnom zapovedniku sve zemaljske oružane sile Kralju Srbije Petru Prvom svagda i u svim prilikama biti veran, svom dušom odan i poslušan; da ću zapovesti svojih pretpostavljenih starešina slušati i verno izvršavati; da ću Kralja i Otadžbinu junački braniti i vojničku zastavu nigde neću izneveriti. Tako mi Bog pomogao!

Potpis ...
Zakletvu izvršio sveštenik ...
Overava komandir ...»

English translation of the volunteer oath:

»I, volunteer (name and surname), swear before Almighty God to be at all times and in all places loyal, deeply devoted and obedient to the Supreme Commander of the Serbian Armed Forces, King Peter I; to listen to and faithfully fulfil orders given by my superiors; to heroically defend the King and the homeland and never to desecrate the military flag. So help me God!

Signature ...
The oath carried out by priest ...
Verified by commander ...»

I state the exact number of Slovenian volunteers (55) in the book Slovenska vojaška inteligencija, p. 332.

Volunteers in the Army of the Kingdom of Serbia (1914–1918)

Numerous prisoners of the Austro-Hungarian Army, including Slovenians, who were placed in Russian POW camps, massively began to enter the Serbian Army as volunteers, beginning in 1916. Representatives of the Serbian Army gave them the following volunteer statement to sign (Military History Institute Belgrade, Serbian Army Archives, P-3/a, Š-26, F-5. d-3), which, in the original, read as follows:

»Želim da stupim od svoje volje kao dobrovoljac u redove Srpske vojske za vreme trajanje ovog rata i izjavljujem:

»Med to vojno želim prostovoljno vstopiti v Srbsko vojsko in izjavljam: razumem, da me bodo Avstrijci imeli za izdajalca, če me ujamejo; da od dneva pristopa k prostovoljcem ne bom več vojni ujetnik; da bom služil vojaško službo, kamor me bo razporedilo Vrhovno poveljstvo.

Podpis (ime in priimek, čin, bivališče)
Datum, kraj in podpis dveh prič.

Zaradi manj znanega ozadja in zapleta, povezanega z željo panslovanskih prostovoljcev, da bi se v srbski vojski bojevali za jugoslovanske ideale, so številni prostovoljci, tudi Slovenci, zavrnilo vojaško prisego srbski vojski in zahtevali prisego še nevzpostavljeni jugoslovanski vojski. Nekaj podatkov sem že navedel v knjigi *Slovenska vojaška inteligenca* (str. 335–337). Za kaj je pravzaprav šlo?

Pripadniki srbske vojske so pridobili največ prostovoljcev med ruskimi ujetniki v Romuniji. Tudi ujeti avstro-ogrski vojaki (Slovenci) so se množično prijavljali med prostovoljce (dobrovoljce) srbske vojske. Izstopali so preporodovci in člani sokolske organizacije. Po hudih bojih in človeških izgubah dobrovoljskih enot v Dobruđi je prostovoljsko gibanje zastalo. K temu so veliko pripomogli tudi t. i. disidenti, ki naj bi pod vplivom avstro-ogrške obveščevalne službe agitirali proti prostovoljskemu gibanju ter postavljali različne pogoje in zahteve (za Jugoslavijo, proti Srbiji). Očitno je šlo za organizirano akcijo proti velikosrbskim težnjam vladajočih krogov okrog Pašića in proti poniževalnemu obnašanju nekaterih srbskih častnikov in podčastnikov.

Tudi srbski poveljnik dobrovoljskega korpusa, ki je dobro poznal notranje razmere in odnose, je predlagal srbski vladi, da se korpus preimenuje v »jugoslovanskega«, vendar so zavrnilo njegov predlog. Zato je 21. 3. 1917 skupina hrvaških in slovenskih častnikov (stotniki Pavle Golia, Stanko Lapajne, Ernest Sorčan, D. Rustja, T. Bedenk, M. Juvan in V. Španger) poslala takšno izjavo:

»Mi, dobrovoljci, zlasti Hrvati in Slovenci, ki smo vstopili v srbsko dobrovoljsko vojsko, smo, žal, doživeli v korpusu veliko razočaranja. Želeli smo svobodo, našli pa suženjstvo, ponižanje in nasilje, ki prekaša celo tisto,

da mi je poznato da ću od strane Avstrijanaca biti smatran za izdajicu ako me njihove trupe uhvate; da od dana stupanja u dobrovoljce prestajem biti ratni zarobljenik, i da pristajem da služim tamo gde me Vrhovna komanda rasporedi.

Potpis (ime i prezime, čin i odakle je)
Datum, mesto i potpis dva svedoka.”

English translation of this volunteer statement:
“I wish to enter the Serbian Army voluntarily during this war and declare the following:
I understand the Austrians will treat me as traitor in the event of capture.
From the day of entering the volunteer detachment, I am no longer a prisoner of war.
I will perform my military service wherever deployed by the Supreme Command.

Signature (name and surname, rank, place of residence)
Date, place and signature of two witnesses”

Due to the unfamiliar background and complications linked to the wish of the Pan-Slavic volunteers to fight for Yugoslav ideals in the Serbian Army, many volunteers, including the Slovenians, rejected the military oath to the Serbian Army and demanded to take an oath to the not yet formed Yugoslav Army. I have already stated some information about this in the book *Slovenska vojaška inteligenca* (p. 335–337). What was really the issue?

Members of the Serbian Army obtained most volunteers from among the Russian prisoners in Romania. The captured Austro-Hungarian soldiers (Slovencians) also massively entered the volunteer detachments (“Dobrovoljci”) of the Serbian Army. The most numerous among them were revival representatives (“Preporodovci”) and members of the Sokol organisation. After severe battles and losses in the volunteer units in Dobruđja, the volunteer movement came to a halt. The dissidents contributed much to this, as they, under the influence of the Austro-Hungarian intelligence service, agitated against the volunteer movement and set various conditions and demands (for Yugoslavia, against Serbia). It was obviously an organised action against the Greater Serbian aspirations of the ruling circles around Pašić and against the humiliating attitude of some Serbian officers and non-commissioned officers.

A Serbian commander of the volunteer corps, who was well familiar with the internal conditions and

pred katerim smo bežali iz Avstrije. Še nikoli v življenju nismo bili tako brezpravni, kakor smo zdaj v srbskem dobrovoljskem korpusu kot borci za svobodo. Morali smo biti molčeče priče najbolj neverjetnih zločinov nad našimi rojaki. Če smo načenjali naša narodnostna vprašanja, zaradi katerih smo se pravzaprav zapisali v korpus, so nam očitali separatizem, vohunstvo in podobno. Če naj bi naš korpus predstavljal pomanjšano sliko prihodnje Jugoslavije, tedaj naj nas Bog obvaruje takšne svobode, kajti prešli bi iz enega jarma v drugega, še hujšega ... Najbrž nas bodo kmalu aretirali ter odpeljali nekam daleč v Rusijo in nihče ne bo več izvedel za naša življenja in požrtvovalnost, za našo pripravljenost žrtvovati se za slovensko stvar ...».

Med disidenti so bili še: M. Gorup, G. Pekle, J. Kotnik, J. Župančič, C. Cirman, S. Jeras, J. Velnar, J. Urbančič, S. Lapajne, M. Gnezda, J. Štefančič, J. Rožman, J. Bergoč, verjetno pa tudi Jaka Avšič. Zanimivo je, da je večina disidentov junija 1917 prestopila v rusko carsko vojsko, potem pa oktobra istega leta v enote Rdeče garde. Disidentsko problematiko bi bilo smiselno podrobneje obdelati, tako na podlagi ohranjenih arhivov srbske in avstro-ogrske vojske kot tudi »disidentskega« arhiva, ki ga je v Ljubljano prinesel dr. J. Kotnik (in ga menda hranijo v ljubljanskem Zgodovinskem arhivu).

Srbski dobrovoljski korpus je potem razpadel, saj ga je zapustilo približno 13.000 prostovoljcev, tudi veliko Slovencev. Večino disidentov so ruske oblasti poslale v protirevolucionarne enote, številni pa so potem zbežali v Rdečo gardo.

Od 567 Slovencev jih je maja 1917 ostalo v srbski vojski samo 234. Del disidentskih zahtev je bil izpolnjen šele na solunski fronti. Tako so po ukazu prestolonaslednika Aleksandra Karađorđevića 29. decembra 1917 preimenovali Vardarsko divizijo v Jugoslovansko, vendar je srbsko Vrhovno poveljstvo vztrajalo, da morajo vsi slovenski (in drugi) prostovoljci postati srbski državljani in priseči srbskemu kralju. Kljub posamičnim odporom je večina to storila, saj so bili na pragu domovine. Tako se je na solunski fronti bojevalo 194 slovenskih prostovoljcev, nekateri od njih (21) so sodelovali tudi v bojih za severno mejo pod poveljstvom generala Rudolfa Maistra.

Podobno usodo so doživeli pripadniki t. i. Pivkovega bataljona (italijanski ujetniki), ki

relations, suggested the Serbian government rename the corps into "Yugoslav" corps, but his proposal was denied. This was the reason for the following statement, submitted by a group of Croatian and Slovenian officers (Captains Pavle Golia, Stanko Lapajne, Ernest Sorčan, D. Rustja, T. Bedenk, M. Juvan and V. Špangeron) on 21 March 1917:

"We, volunteers, particularly Croatians and Slovenians, who have entered the Serbian volunteer army, have, unfortunately, experienced great disappointment in the corps. We longed for freedom but found slavery, humiliation and violence surpassing the one we escaped from in Austria. We have never in our lives been so deprived of our rights as we are now, in the Serbian volunteer corps, as freedom fighters. We were forced to be silent witnesses of the most unbelievable crimes committed on our fellow countrymen. If we brought up questions of nationality, on account of which we actually entered the corps, we were reproached for separatism, espionage and similar. If this corps is to be an image of the future Yugoslavia, then God protect us from such freedom, for we would go from one bondage to another, even worse. We will probably soon be arrested and taken somewhere far into Russia, and nobody will ever know of our lives and self-sacrifice, of our willingness to sacrifice our lives for the Slovenian cause ..."

The following persons were also among the dissidents: M. Gorup, G. Pekle, J. Kotnik, J. Župančič, C. Cirman, S. Jeras, J. Velnar, J. Urbančič, S. Lapajne, M. Gnezda, J. Štefančič, J. Rožman, J. Bergoč, and probably also Jaka Avšič. It is interesting to note that most dissidents joined the Russian Tsarist Army in June 1917, and then the Red Guard units in October 1917. The issue of dissidents is worth more detailed handling, both on the basis of preserved archives of the Serbian and Austro-Hungarian armies as well as on the basis of the "dissident" archives brought to Ljubljana by Dr. J. Kotnik (supposedly located in the Historical Archives Ljubljana).

The Serbian volunteer corps later disintegrated, as approximately 13,000 volunteers left, among them many Slovenians. The Russian authorities sent most dissidents to counter-revolutionary units, and many then escaped to the Red Guard.

From among 567 Slovenians, only 234 were still in the Serbian Army in May 1917. Certain dissident requirements were not fulfilled until the time of the Macedonian Front. By order of Crown Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević, Vardar Division was

niso hoteli postati srbski državljani in priseči zvestobo srbskemu kralju, zato se jih je od 123 samo 7 udeležilo bojev na solunski fronti. Večina se je iz Boke Kotorske vrnila v Slovenijo.

Prostovoljci Rdeče armade (1917–1918 in 1948–1952)

Nisem našel podatka o tem, kako so slovenski prostovoljci (približno 135) v burnih letih 1917/1918 prisegli ob vstopanju v enote Rdeče armade ali pa nasprotno, Belogardejske vojske. Nekateri posamezniki navajajo, da so prisegli zvestobo svojim neposrednim poveljnikom. Znano je, da je po oktobrski revoluciji Vseruski centralni izvršni komite sovjetov 22. 4. 1918 predpisal t. i. »slovesno obljubo«, s katero je vsak pripadnik Rdeče armade, kolektivno ali posamezno, pred delavskim razredom Rusije in vsem svetom obljubil zvestobo revoluciji, ljudstvu in sovjetski oblasti, s čimer je bil hkrati izražen njen razredni (revolucionarni) značaj. Šele leta 1922 je bilo sprejeto besedilo vojaške prisege, ki so ga pripadniki Rdeče armade izrekli skupaj na prvomajski paradi, pozneje pa tudi potrjevali s podpisom na seznamih novih rekrutov.

Po resoluciji informbiroja (1948) so morali slovenski častniki (dezertjerji iz JLA), bilo jih je devet, pred sprejetjem v Rdečo armado podpisati vojaško prisego.

Slovenska vojska (1918)

Major oz. general Rudolf Maister je moral glede prisege ločeno obravnavati tri skupine: slovenske častnike, s katerimi se je skrivaj dogovarjal za skupno delovanje in ki so prisegli zvestobo (obljubljali molččnost!) njemu osebno, posamično ali v manjših skupinah; prve skupine slovenskih in liških (srbskih) vojakov avstro-ogrske vojske (četa kapetana Markovića), ki so se prek Maribora (Šentilja) vračali domov, pa jih je bilo treba za nekaj časa zadržati v Mariboru (bolj pomembno kot prisega je bilo plačilo, saj domoljubni nagovori niso prišli v poštev); tretja skupina pa so bili mobilizirani štajerski vojaki, razvrščeni v mariborski in celjski polk ter druge enote pred takojšnjim odhodom na koroško fronto. Tako naj bi 21. 11. 1918 ob 11.30 uri prisegel Mariborski pešpolk, v postroju, slovenski domovini in svojim poveljnikom, seveda pred Bogom.

renamed Yugoslav Division on 29 December 1917; however, the Serbian Supreme Command insisted that all Slovenian (and other) volunteers become Serbian citizens and swear allegiance to the Serbian king. Despite some resistance, most volunteers did so, as they were close to their homeland. 194 Slovenian volunteers thus fought at the Macedonian Front, some of whom (21) also participated in the battle for the Northern Border under the command of General Rudolf Maister.

A similar destiny awaited members of the so-called Pivko Battalion (Italian captives) who refused to become Serbian citizens and swear loyalty to the Serbian king. Of 123 members, only 7 participated in battles at the Macedonian Front and from the Bay of Kotor, most returned to Slovenia.

Volunteers in the Red Army (1917–1918 and 1948–1952)

I found no information regarding the manner in which Slovenian volunteers (approximately 135) took the oath in the turbulent years of 1917/1918 when entering the Red Army units or the opposing White Guard army. Some individuals state they swore loyalty to their immediate commanders. It is known that, after the October Revolution, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets imposed the so-called "solemn oath" on 22 April 1918. Each member of the Red Army, either collectively or individually, swore loyalty to the revolution, the people and the Soviet authority, in front of the Russian working class and the entire world, thus also manifesting the class (revolutionary) nature of the oath. The words to the military oath, which members of the Red Army pronounced collectively at the First May Parade and later also confirmed by signing the list of new recruits, were only adopted in 1922.

After the Informburo resolution (1948), nine Slovenian officers (Yugoslav People's Army deserters) had to sign a military oath before entering the Red Army.

Slovenian Armed Forces (1918)

Major or General Rudolf Maister had to deal with three groups of people in regards to the oath: Slovenian officers with whom he secretly made arrangements for joint operations and who swore loyalty (secrecy!) to him personally, either individually or in small groups; the first groups of Slovenian and Serbian (from Lika) soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian Army (company of Captain Marković)

Uporniki tajne domoljubne organizacije na Primorskem – TIGR (1925–1941)

Mira Cencič, avtorica knjige *TIGR* (Ljubljana, 1997) na str. 91 navaja tudi eno od prvih priseg pripadnikov ilegalne domoljubne organizacije TIGR, verjetno leta 1925, ki je bila takšna:

»Na svojo čast in čast svoje družine prisegam pred Bogom, da bom storil vse kar je v mojih močeh za osvoboditev Julijske krajine, ki mora biti združena z Jugoslavijo.«

Pozneje, jeseni 1930, po vdoru fašistične policije in prvih smrtnih obsodbah članov organizacije, so vodilni za vse novince sprejeli zelo kratko prisego:

»Raje smrt kot izdajstvo!«

Danes je tudi zgodovinsko priznано, da so bili prav tigrovci (Danilo Zelen in drugi) med prvimi partizanskimi borci, pripadniki NOV Slovenije. Največ tigrovcev se je znašlo v britanskem ujetništvu, potem pa so se pridružili različnim obveščevalno-diverzantskim skupinam padalcev in tudi enotam Jugoslovanske vojske zunaj domovine, kar so partizani obravnavali kot izdajstvo. Število tigrovcev ni ugotovljeno.

Prostovoljci španske republikanske armade (1936–1939)

Po nekaterih izjavah španskih prostovoljcev je mogoče sklepati, da so podpisovali sezname pod prisego v španskem jeziku, kjer pa so bile nacionalne enote homogene (slovenske čete Ivana Cankarja, Matije Gubca), so poveljniki izvajali tudi javno prisego v slovenskem jeziku. Vseh slovenskih »špancev« je bilo 533, od teh se jih je le 22 vrnilo v domovino.

Vojska SHS – kraljevine Jugoslavije (1919–1941)

Vojaki – rekruti so vojaško prisego izrekli skupinsko, v postroju (po verski pripadnosti), pred duhovniki vseh verskih skupnosti (Mile Bjelajac, *Vojska SHS/Jugoslavije*, Beograd, 1994 –fotografija iz Sarajeva, 1928, podčastniška šola – razvrstitev gojencev po verski pripadnosti: pravoslavci, katoliki, judje in

who were returning to their homes via Maribor (Šentilj) and had to be held in Maribor for some time (more important than the oath was payment, as patriotic speeches were out of the question); and the third group, mobilised soldiers from Styria, deployed to Maribor and Celje regiments as well as other units, who were immediately leaving for the Carinthian Front. Maribor Infantry Regiment thus took the oath to the Slovenian homeland and their commanders, before God, standing on parade, on 21 November 1918 at 11:30.

Insurgents of the Secret Patriotic Organisation in the Primorska Region (Slovenian Littoral) – TIGR (1925–1941)

Mira Cencič, author of the book *TIGR* (Ljubljana, 1997) mentions, on page 91, one of the first oaths taken by members of the illegal patriotic organisation TIGR around 1925. The words to the oath were the following:

“On my honour and the honour of my family, I swear before God to do everything in my power to free Venezia Giulia which must be annexed to Yugoslavia”.

Later, in the autumn of 1930, after the invasion of the fascist police and the first death sentences of organisation members, the leaders adopted a very short oath for all novices:

“Better death than treason!”

Today it is also a historical fact that members of the TIGR organisation – Danilo Zelen and others – were among the first partisan fighters, members of the People’s Liberation Army of Slovenia. Most TIGR members fell into British captivity and then joined various intelligence and sabotage groups of paratroopers as well as Yugoslav Army units outside the homeland, which partisans considered treason. The number of TIGR members is unknown.

Volunteers in the Spanish Republican Army (1936–1939)

Based on the statements of some Spanish volunteers it is possible to conclude that they had to sign lists below an oath written in the Spanish language; however, where there were homogeneous national units (Slovenian Ivan Cankar and Matija Gubec companies), commanders also implemented a public oath



Podčastniška šola VKJ v Sarajevu, 1928– razvrstitev po verski pripadnosti

VKJ Non-Commissioned Officer School in Sarajevo, 1928 arrangement in accordance with the religious affiliation

muslimani), besedilo pa je bilo predpisano v Pravilu službe. Zvestobo so izrekli kralju in domovini, seveda s sklicevanjem na boga. Častniki in podčastniki so podpisovali pisno prisego z datumom podpisa, ki so jo shranili v kadrovski mapi. Vojaška prisega v srbsčini se je glasila takole:

»Ja, (ime i prezime), zaklinjem se svemogućim Bogom, da ću Vrhovnom zapovedniku sve vojne sile, Kralju Jugoslavije Petru Drugom, svagda i u svim prilikama biti veran, svom dušom odan i poslušan, da ću se za Kralja i Otadžbinu junački boriti, da vojničku zakletvu nigde i nikada neću izneveriti i da ću sve zapovedi svih pretpostavljenih mi starešina slušati i verno izvršavati. Tako mi Bog pomagao!«

Slovenski prevod bi bil takšen:

»Jaz, (ime in priimek), prisegam pri vsemogočnem Bogu, da bom vrhovnemu poveljniku obo-roženih sil, kralju Jugoslavije Petru Drugemu, vedno in v vseh okoliščinah zvest, z vso dušo predan in pokoren, da se bom pogumno bojeval za kralja in domovino, da nikoli in nikjer ne bom prelomil vojaške prisega in da bom ubogal vse ukaze nadrejenih starešin in jih zvesto izvrševal. Tako mi Bog pomagaj!«

Slovenski rekrutni kontingent je štel približno 7.000 vojakov na leto, zato lahko sklepamo, da je v obdobju 1920–1941 v VKJ služilo 150.000 vojakov, do 2.000 podčastnikov in častnikov ter 21 generalov – admiralov.

in the Slovenian language. There were 533 Slovenian “Spaniards”; however, only 22 of them returned to the homeland.

Army of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS) – the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1919–1941)

Soldiers – recruits took the military oath collectively, on parade (according to their religious affiliation), before priests of all religious denominations (Mile Bjelajac, Vojska SHS/Jugoslavije, Belgrade, 1994 – a photograph from Sarajevo, 1928, Non-Commissioned Officer School – arrangement of students according to their religious affiliation:

“Orthodox, Catholic, Jewish and Muslim), while the words themselves were prescribed by the Rules of Service. Loyalty was sworn to the king and the homeland, of course by appealing to God. Officers and non-commissioned officers signed a written oath, with the date of the signature, which was kept in the personnel file. The military oath in the Serbian language was worded as follows: “Ja, (ime i prezime), zaklinjem se svemogućim Bogom, da ću Vrhovnom zapovedniku sve vojne sile, Kralju Jugoslavije Petru Drugom, svagda i u svim prilikama biti veran, svom dušom odan i poslušan, da ću se za Kralja i Otadžbinu junački boriti, da vojničku zakletvu nigde i nikada neću izneveriti i da ću sve zapovedi svih pretpostavljenih mi starešina slušati i verno izvršavati. Tako mi Bog pomagao!”

Mobiliziranci v italijansko vojsko (1927–1943)

Menil sem, da je bila vojaška prisega slovenskih mobilizirancev v italijansko vojsko v obdobju 1927–1943 precej različna, odvisna od narodnosti posameznih vojakov, posebno še, ker je šlo za imperialno vojsko (agresija na Etiopijo, Albanijo, Jugoslavijo itn.), vendar smo iz zgodovinske pisarne oddelka za splošne zadeve Vrhovnega vojaškega poveljstva v Rimu, s posredovanjem prof. dr. Jožeta Pirjevca, januarja 2008 dobili (Knjiga I., Disciplinske obveznosti – Generalne obveznosti vsakega vojaka, Vojaška prisega) skoraj enaka besedila iz treh različnih obdobji leta 1873, 1942 in 1952 (brez omenbe kralja), ki se v italijanščini glasijo:

»Giuro d'essere fedele al Re ed ai suoi Reali successori, di osservare lealmente lo Statuto e le altre leggi dello Stato, e di adempire tutti i doveri del mio stato, al solo scopo del bene inseparabile del Re e della Patria.«

Prevod v slovenščino je takšen:

»Prisegam, da bom zvest kralju in njegovim naslednikom, da bom pošteno izvrševal odredbe ustave in drugih državnih zakonov in izpolnjeval vse obveznosti do moje države, z edinim namenom zvesto služiti kralju in domovini.«

Nezanesljive primorske rojake so pošiljali v delavske bataljone ali pa v enote na kašnem otoku – številni so namreč preprosto dezertirali. Italijanskih mobilizirancev naj bi bilo približno 70.000, številni od njih pa so v letih 1941–1943 kot ujetniki zahodnih sil v Afriki prestopili v NOV (prekomorske enote), del tudi v Jugoslovansko vojsko zunaj domovine. Nekaj Primorcev se je po letu 1941 pridružilo tudi grškim in albanskim partizanom.

V nasprotju z navadnimi vojaki, ki niso prisegali pred Bogom, so italijanski fašisti (od mladeži do posebnih enot – črnosrajčnikov) prisegali zvestobo svojemu ideološkemu vodji duceju – Benitu Mussoliniju tudi pred Bogom, z besedami:

»Nel nome d'Iddio e dell'Italia, giuro di eseguire gli ordini del Duce e di servire, con tutte le mie forze e, se è necessario, con mio sangue, la causa della rivoluzione fascista.«

English translation:

“I, (name and surname), swear by God Almighty, to be always and in all circumstances loyal, deeply devoted and obedient to the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, King of Yugoslavia, Peter II; to heroically fight for the King and the homeland; to never and nowhere break the military oath; and to obey and faithfully fulfil all orders given by my superiors. So help me God!”

As the Slovenian recruitment contingent numbered approximately 7,000 soldiers annually, we may assume that in the period from 1920 to 1941 approximately 150,000 soldiers, up to 2,000 non-commissioned officers and officers and 21 generals/admirals served in the Army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (VKJ).

Soldiers mobilised to the Italian Army (1927–1943)

I thought the military oath of the Slovenian soldiers mobilised to the Italian Army in the period from 1927 to 1943, particularly with regard to the fact that this was an Imperial Army (aggression on Ethiopia, Albania, Yugoslavia, etc.), would differ according to the nationality of soldiers. However, in January 2008, with the help of Prof. Dr. Jože Pirjavec, I obtained almost identical texts (Book I, Disciplinary Requirements – General Responsibilities of Every Soldier, Military Oath) from three different periods (1873, 1942 and 1952 – the text from the last period includes no mention of the King) from the Supreme Military Command, Department of General Affairs, of the Historical Office in Rome. The texts in the Italian language are worded as follows:

“Giuro d'essere fedele al Re ed ai suoi Reali successori, di osservare lealmente lo Statuto e le altre leggi dello Stato, e di adempire tutti i doveri del mio stato, al solo scopo del bene inseparabile del Re e della Patria”.

In the English language the content is the following: “I pledge loyalty to the King and his descendants. I swear to dutifully implement constitutional orders and other state laws and fulfil all obligations to my country, with the single intention of loyally serving the King and the homeland.”

Unreliable fellow countrymen from the Primorska region, many of whom simply deserted, were sent to

V slovenskem prevodu se to glasi takole:

»V božjem imenu in imenu Italije prisegam, da bom sledil ukazom duceja in služil, z vsemi svojimi močmi in če bo treba tudi s krvjo, za dobro fašistične revolucije.«

V obdobju STO so naborniki podpisovali nekakšne »bele pole« z besedilom prisege, vendar vsebine ne poznajo (menda so celo rekrutirani kot prostovoljci?), kar bi bilo zanimivo podrobneje razjasniti.

Mobiliziranci v nemško vojsko – Wehrmacht (1942–1945)

Sredi leta 1935 so v nemški vojski – Wehrmachtu sprejeli takšno besedilo vojaške prisege:

»Ich schwöre bei Gott diesen heiligen Eid, dass ich dem Führer des Deutschen Reiches und Volkes, Adolf Hitler, dem Oberbefehlshaber der Wehrmacht, unbedingten Gehorsam leisten und als tapferer Soldat bereit sein will, jederzeit für diesen Eid mein Leben einzusetzen.«

Besedilo je menda sestavil Adolf Hitler osebno. Do leta 1944 so vojaki pri prisegi levo roko položili na meč, desno pa dvignili v »Hitlerjev« pozdrav. Po tem letu (atentat na Hitlerja) so z levo roko držali nemško državno zastavo. Slovenskih mobilizirancev naj bi bilo približno 30.000.

Slovenski mobiliziranci v Wehrmacht v obdobju 1942–1945 so nemško besedilo prisege dobili na listku in so se ga morali naučiti na pamet. V prevodu se prisega glasi takole:

»Pred Bogom slovesno prisegam, da bom brezpogojno ubogal voditelja nemške države in naroda, Adolfa Hitlerja, vrhovnega poveljnika nemške vojske, in kot pogumen vojak sem vsak trenutek pripravljen dati tudi svoje življenje.«

Prostovoljci v nemške enote SS – Schutzstaffel (1942–1945)

Sicer redki slovenski prostovoljci v nemške enote SS (Schutzstaffel), ki so bile pod neposrednim poveljstvom Heinricha Himmlerja, reichsführerja, glavnega vodje SS in nemških varnostnih služb ter armadnega generala SS, so prisegali s temi besedami: »Ich schwöre Adolf

working battalions or to units on islands. There were approximately 70,000 mobilised Italians, many of whom joined the People's Liberation Army (overseas units) during 1941 and 1943, as prisoners of the Western Forces in Africa, while some of them also joined the Yugoslav Army outside the homeland. Some soldiers from the Primorska region joined the Greek or Albanian partisans after 1941.

In contrast to regular soldiers who did not swear before God, Italian fascists (from youngsters to special units – Blackshirts) swore loyalty to their ideological leader Il Duce – Benito Mussolini also before God, using the following words: "Nel nome d'Iddio e dell'Italia, giuro di eseguire gli ordini del Duce e di servire, con tutte le mie forze e, se è necessario, con mio sangue, la causa della rivoluzione fascista".

The English translation is worded as follows: "In God's name and in the name of Italy I swear to follow the orders of Il Duce and to serve, with all my strength and, if need be, with my blood, for the welfare of the fascist revolution."

In the time of the Free Territory of Trieste, recruits had to sign certain "white sheets" with the text of the oath; however, they were not familiar with the contents (whether they were recruited as volunteers is not clear), which would be interesting to clarify further.

Soldiers mobilised to the German Army – Wehrmacht (1942–1945)

In the middle of 1935, the Germany Army – Wehrmacht adopted the following words to the military oath: "Ich schwöre bei Gott diesen heiligen Eid, dass ich dem Führer des Deutschen Reiches und Volkes, Adolf Hitler, dem Oberbefehlshaber der Wehrmacht, unbedingten Gehorsam leisten und als tapferer Soldat bereit sein will, jederzeit für diesen Eid mein Leben einzusetzen."

The text was presumably composed by Adolf Hitler himself. Until 1944, soldiers put their left hand on a sword while taking the oath and raised their right hand in the "Heil Hitler" salutation. After that year (in which there was an attempt on Hitler's life), they held a German national flag in their left hand. Presumably, there were approximately 30,000 soldiers mobilised from Slovenia.

Slovenians mobilised to the German Wehrmacht during 1942 and 1945 received a piece of paper with the words of the oath and had to learn the text by heart. In English the oath was worded as follows:

Hitler unerschütterliche Treue. Ich schwöre ihm und den Führern, die er mir bestimmt, unbedingten Gehorsam. Adolf Hitler: Sieg Heil!«

V slovenskem prevodu bi bila prisega takšna:

»Adolfu Hitlerju prisegam neomajno zvestobo. Njemu in vodji odločno prisegam brezpogojno pokorščino. Adolf Hitler: živila zmaga!«

Kakšna je bila nemška različica ob domobranski prisegi, si lahko samo mislimo! Mogoče je celo ohranjena v zaseženih nemških arhivih ali pa je bila razkrita ob procesu proti SS-generalu Rösenerju leta 1946 pred ljubljanskim vojaškim sodiščem. Število slovenskih pripadnikov enot SS ni znano, po nekaterih ocenah jih je bilo približno 120. Osebno sem (kot otrok) poznal dva.

Mobiliziranci v madžarsko vojsko (1942–1945)

Približno 5.000 slovenskih mobilizirancev v madžarski okupacijski coni v Prekmurju v obdobju 1942–1945 je ob vstopu v madžarsko vojsko takole prisegalo v madžarskem jeziku (po virih Pokrajinske študijske knjižnice v Murski Soboti, 2007):

Slovenski prevod te prisege se glasi:

»Pri vsemogočnem Bogu prisegamo, da bomo zvesti in pokorni VRHOVNEMU POVELJNIKU, veličastnemu vitezu Nagypanyai HORTY MIKLOSU, zakonito izbranemu voditelju, Madžarski in njeni ustavi, ter da se bomo pokoravali vsem zakonom te države.

Prisegamo, da bomo pokorni generalom madžarske vojske, drugim predstojnikom in nadrejenim, da jih bomo spoštovali in varovali ter zvesto izpolnjevali vse njihove zapovedi in ukaze; z vsem svojim znanjem in močmi bomo skrbeli za podrejene ter jim s svojim zgledom pomagali, da bodo v vseh okoliščinah pošteno opravili svoje dolžnosti.

Prisegamo, da se bomo za našo sveto domovino proti vsem sovražnikom, notranjim in zunanjim, vedno in povsod viteško in moško bojevali, četudi za ceno svoje krvi in življenja. Svojih čet, zastav, topov in drugih bojnih sredstev ne bomo izgubili ter s sovražnikom nikoli ne bomo sklepali nobenih sporazumov;

“I solemnly swear before God to unconditionally obey the leader of the German country and people, Adolf Hitler, the Supreme Commander of the German Army, and, as a brave soldier, to also lay down my life at any moment.”

Volunteers in German SS units – Schutzstaffel (1942–1945)

Rare Slovenian volunteers in German SS units (Schutzstaffel), which were under direct command of Heinrich Himmler, Reichsführer, the main leader of the SS and German security services, and the SS army general, took the following oath:

“Ich schwöre Adolf Hitler unerschütterliche Treue. Ich schwöre ihm und den Führern, die er mir bestimmt, unbedingten Gehorsam. Adolf Hitler: Sieg Heil!”

The English translation of the oath is the following:

“I pledge firm loyalty to Adolf Hitler and unconditional obedience to him and the leader appointed to me. Adolf Hitler: Hail to Victory!”

We can only imagine what the German Home Guard variant of the oath was like! It may even be preserved in confiscated German archives or has been revealed during the trial against the SS General Rösener in 1946 before the Ljubljana Military Court. The number of Slovenian SS unit members is unknown; however, it is estimated that there were about 120. As a child, I knew two of them personally.

Soldiers mobilised to the Hungarian Army (1942–1945)

When joining the Hungarian Army during 1942 and 1945, approximately 5,000 Slovenians mobilised in the Hungarian occupation zone in Prekmurje took the following military oath in the Hungarian language (according to the documents from the Murska Sobota Regional and Study Library, 2007):

This is the English translation of the oath:

“We swear by God Almighty to be loyal and obedient to the SUPREME COMMANDER, the Grand Knight Nagypanya HORTY MIKLOS, the legitimately elected leader, to Hungary and its constitution and to obey all the laws of this country. We swear obedience to the generals of the

Iskői szöveg.

Imnepélyesen esküszünk a Mindenható Istenre, hogy HADURUNK fősé-
méltósága vités Nagybányai H O R T H Y M I K L Ó S, Magyarország törvé-
nyesen megválasztott kormányzója iránt, hűséggel és engedelmességgel vi-
seltetjük, Magyarországhoz és alkotmányához hűek leszünk, az ország törvé-
nyeinek engedelmeskedünk.

Ésküszünk, hogy a honvédség tábornokainak és minden egyéb előljár-
coknak és feljebbvalóknak engedelmeskedünk, őket tiszteletben tartjuk és
védelmesejük, rendeleteiket és parancsait minden szolgálatban hűven tel-
jesítjük; alirendelteinkről mindig legjobb tudásunk szerint gondoskodunk,
példamutatással és minden erőnkkel rajta leszünk, hogy kötelességüket
minden körülmények között becsületesen teljesítsék.

Ésküszünk, hogy szent hitünkért minden belső és külső ellenség
ellen, bárki legyen is az, mindenkor, mindenütt és minden alkalommal, ha kell
életünk és vérünk feláldozásával is, vitézséggel és férfiasan harcolunk. Csa-
patainkat, zászlóinkat, lövegeinket és egyéb harci eszközöinket el nem hagy-
juk és az ellenséggel soha a legkisebb egyetértésbe sem bocsátkozunk; ha-
za- és nemzet ellene, vagy oly irányzat szolgálatába, mely a honvédség,
vagy az ország más fegyveres testületeinek fegyelmét aláítani igyekszik
nem lépünk; semmi féle titkos társulatnak tagjai nem vagyunk és nem le-
szünk; minden szolgálati titkot hűven megőrizzük.

A hadisíkkéket szem előtt tartva, mindig a haditörvények szerint,
derék honvédekhez és jó hazafiakhoz illő módon viselkedünk és így becsü-
lettel élünk és halunk.

I S T E N E M I N K E T U G Y I S E G É L J E N !

A M E N !

Madžarska kvislinska vojska, 1941
(prevod znanca iz Murske Sobote)

Hungarian Quisling Army, 1941
(translation by an acquaintance from Murska Sobota)

*ne bomo vstopili v službo nobene protinarodne,
protidomovinske ali kakršne koli druge struje,
ki poskuša spodkopati disciplino naše vojske ali
drugih oboroženih sil; nismo in ne bomo člani
nobene tajne združbe; zvesto bomo varovali vse
službene skrivnosti.*

*V skladu s člani vojaškega zakonika in upošte-
vajoč vojaške zakone se bomo vedno obnašali
kot strumni vojaki in dobri patrioti ter tako
pošteno živeli in umirali. Naj nam Bog poma-
ga. Amen!«*

Slovensko domobranstvo (1941–1945)

Pripadniki slovenskega domobranstva so
Hitlerju prisegli dvakrat! Ker je ta prisega že
dovolj spolitizirana, dodajam samo nekaj manj
znanih podrobnosti.

*Hungarian Army and to all other superiors, we
promise to respect and protect them and to loyally
fulfil all their commands and orders. We will use all
our knowledge and strength to care for the subordi-
nates and be an example to them by honestly fulfill-
ing our duties, regardless of the situation.*

*We swear to always and in every place fight gal-
lantly and manly for our sacred homeland, against
all enemies, internal and external, even at the price
of our own blood and life. We will not forsake our
troops, flags, guns and other combat resources
and will never enter into any agreements with the
enemy. We will not join the service of any anti-
national, anti-homeland or any other movement
trying to undermine the discipline of our army or
other armed forces. We are not and will not become
members of any secret society. We will loyally pro-
tect all official secrets.*

Dr. Stanko Kociper, osebni tajnik in zet divizijskega generala Leona Rupnika, generalnega inšpektorja Slovenskega domobranstva, je v svoji knjigi (*Kar sem živel*, Ljubljana, 1996, str. 189–197 v poglavju *In iz ozadja*) zapisal, da je pobuda za domobranksko prisego prišla iz Organizacijskega štaba (poveljnika podpolkovnika Krenerja ali pa podpolkovnika Ernesta Peterlina, ki je pogosto zahajal k SS-generalu Erwinu Rösenerju), da je general Rupnik pri SS-generalu Rösenerju zares omilil celotno besedilo prisega, pozneje pa samo dopisal del stavka »... proti komunistom in njihovim zaveznikom.« Ker je bil Rupnikov sin, stotnik Vuk, proti vsakršni prisegi Nemcem – častniki so bili pač še vedno vezani na prisego jugoslovanskemu kralju Petru I. –, ga je oče nazadnje vendarle prepričal, da je kralj zbežal, narod pa prepustil Nemcem in »komunistom«. General Rupnik je dosegel le to, da je na vladni palači poleg nemške plapolala tudi slovenska zastava. In še nekaj nam je zaupal Kociper: samo on in general Rupnik sta vedela za nemški načrt, da bi iz jedra domobrantskih enot vzpostavili tudi slovensko enoto SS, zato pa je SS-general Rösener vztrajal pri besedilu domobrantske prisega, ki je izražala tudi zvestobo Adolfu Hitlerju!

Prisega, javno objavljena v tedanjih častniških *Jutro* in *Slovenec*, leta 1944 in 1945, se je glasila:

»Prisegam pri Vsemogočnem Bogu, da bom zvest, hraber in svojim nadrejenim pokoren, da bom v skupnem boju z nemško oboroženo silo, stoječo pod poveljstvom Vodje Velike Nemčije, SS-četami in policijo proti banditom in komunizmu, kakor tudi njegovim zaveznikom, svoje dolžnosti vestno izpolnjeval za svojo slovensko domovino, kot del svobodne Evrope. Za ta boj sem pripravljen žrtvovati tudi svoje življenje. Tako mi Bog pomagaj.«

Iz besedila prisega nedvoumno izhaja, da so domobranci kot del SS-čet in policije prisegli zvestobo Adolfu Hitlerju – vodji velike Nemčije, za boj proti partizanom (banditom) in komunizmu ter njihovim zaveznikom, sicer za »svojo slovensko domovino« (in tudi pred slovensko in nemško zastavo) kot »del svobodne Evrope«, seveda po nacističnem vzorcu (arijsko čiste, če bodo tudi Slovenci sodelovali v SS-enotah). Po mojem mnenju je glavni poudarek v delu, ki govori, da so domobranci (pomožni)

In accordance with the articles of the military code and in line with the military laws, we will always behave as strong soldiers and good patriots and thus live and die honestly. So God help us. Amen!”

Slovenian Home Guard (1941–1945)

Members of the Slovenian Home Guard actually swore to Hitler twice! As this oath has already been politicised to a great extent, I will only add several less known details.

*Dr. Stanko Kociper, personal secretary and son-in-law of the Division General Leon Rupnik, Inspector General of the Slovenian Home Guard, wrote in his book (*Kar sem živel*, Ljubljana, 1996, pp. 189–197, in the chapter titled *In iz ozadja*) that the initiative for the Home Guard oath came from the Organisational Staff (Commander Lieutenant Colonel Krener or Lieutenant Colonel Ernest Peterlin who often visited SS General Erwin Rösener) and that General Rupnik in fact softened the entire text of the oath composed by SS General Rösener and later only added the part of the sentence saying “... against communists and their allies”. Rupnik’s son, Captain Vuk, was against any oath given to the Germans – officers were still bound by the oath given to the Yugoslav King Peter I – but his father finally managed to convince him that the king had escaped and left the nation to the Germans and the “communists”. The only thing General Rupnik managed to achieve was having a Slovenian flag fluttering next to the German flag on the government building. There is one more thing that Kociper revealed: only him and General Rupnik knew about the German plan of forming a Slovenian SS unit from the core of the Home Guard units. For this reason, SS General Rösener insisted on the words of the Home Guard oath expressing loyalty to Adolf Hitler!*

*The oath was publicly announced in the newspapers *Jutro* and *Slovenec* in 1944 and 1945 and was worded as follows:*

“I swear by God Almighty to be loyal, brave and obedient to my superiors; to stand in common struggle with the German armed forces, standing under the command of the leader of Greater Germany, SS troops and the Police against bandits and communism and their allies; this duty I will carry out conscientiously for my Slovenian homeland as part of a free Europe. For this struggle I am also willing to sacrifice my life. So help me God.”

The words of the oath undoubtedly show that members of the Home Guard, as part of SS troops

del »SS-čet in policije«. To pomeni, da ne gre za vojsko, temveč za (pomožne) SS in policijske enote. In iz prisege enot SS smo tudi videli, da so zvestobo izrekli neposredno Hitlerju, kar so storili tudi slovenski domobranci.

Privrženci domobranstva še vedno potvarjajo omenjeno besedilo (Samo Hubad, *Večno podtikanje, Demokracija*, novembra 2002), saj trdijo, da so prisegli »na slovensko zastavo in slovenski narod«, izpustili pa so tisti najbolj kompromitirajoči del, ki govori o skupnem boju s »SS-četami in policijo« in celo Rupnikov osebni pripis »komunizmu kakor tudi njegovim zaveznikom«, na to mesto pa so naknadno vstavljene besede »na slovenskem ozemlju«. Tako se zgodovine ne da ponarejati ...

Res je samo to, kar je osebna zasluga generala Rupnika, da so domobranci prisegli tudi ob slovenski zastavi in himni *Naprej zastave slave!* Vendar – tudi ob nemški zastavi in himni ter nemškem meču!

Zgodovinarji in pričevalci so zbrali tudi druge dokaze o pravem pomenu domobranske prisege. Gre predvsem za govor SS-general Rösenerja pred prisego domobrancev 20. aprila 1944, na Hitlerjev rojstni dan. Tedaj je poudaril, da je on osebno dne 24. 9. 1943 ukazal ustanoviti Slovensko domobranstvo iz belogardističnih legionarjev, da so jih Nemci izurili, oblekli in oborožili (ter plačevali) za skupen boj proti komunizmu in banditom (*Slovenec*, 21. 4. 1944). Drugič so domobranci prisegli 30. januarja 1945, na obletnico nacističnega prevzema oblasti v Nemčiji.

Ne gre pozabiti, da je SS-general Rösener 1. 2. 1944 zapisal: »Slovensko domobranstvo je deželna formacija, kar pomeni iz Slovencev na italijanskem bojnem območju vzpostavljena enota, ki mora izvajati čisto policijske naloge. Slovensko domobranstvo smo ustanovili na osnovi odredbe vrhovnega komisarja v operacijski coni Jadransko primorje. Te enote so plačane iz sredstev vrhovnega komisarja oz. naravnost iz italijanskih državnih sredstev. Vrhovni šef tega Slovenskega domobranstva je vsakokratni višji vodja SS in policije.« Domobranci so bili tudi sodno podrejeni SS, vrhovni poveljnik SS in policije je bil reichsführer Heinrich Himmler. Torej ni šlo za nobeno vzporedno slovensko »narodno« vojsko, temveč za pomožne SS in policijske enote. Vsem je navsezadnje tudi dobro znano, da domobranski poveljniki niso mogli niti samostojno

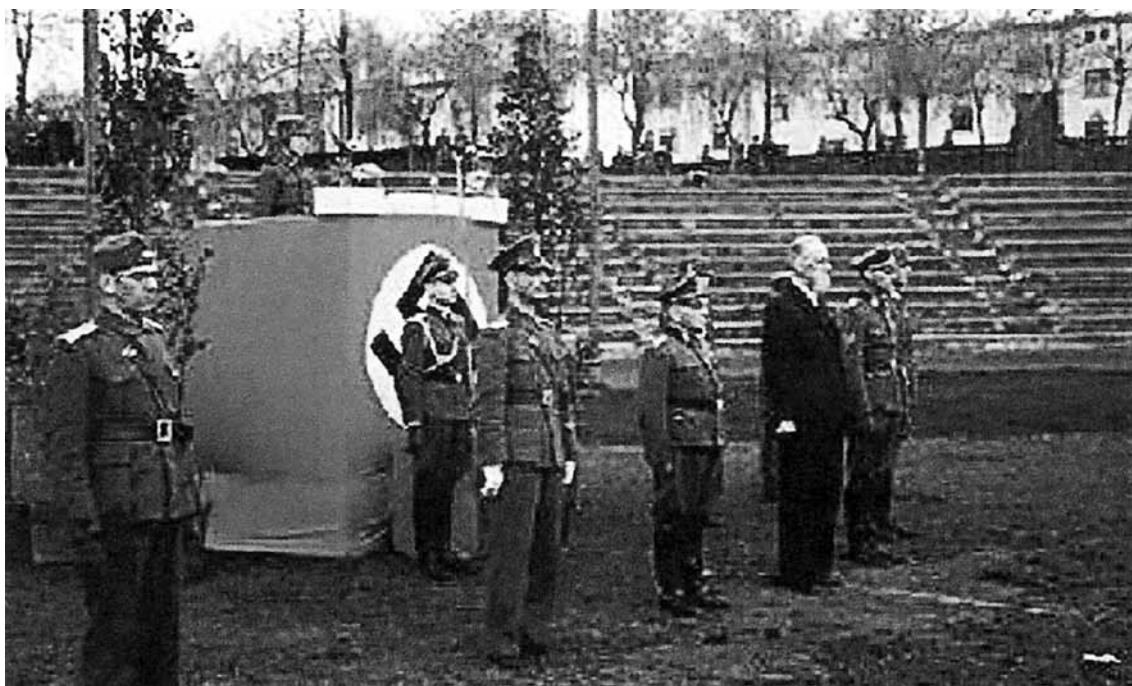
and the Police, swore loyalty to Adolf Hitler – leader of Greater Germany – in the struggle against partisans (bandits) and communism and their allies; as it is, for “their Slovenian homeland” (and also before the Slovenian and German flags) and as “part of a free Europe”, but in accordance with the Nazi model (pure Aryan if Slovenians also participate in SS units)! In my opinion, the main emphasis lies in the part saying that members of the Home Guard are an (auxiliary) part of “SS troops and the Police”, meaning that the Home Guard was not an army but an (auxiliary) SS and Police unit! Also, from the oath of SS units we have seen that soldiers swore loyalty to Hitler directly, which was also the case with Slovenian Home Guard members.

*Adherents of the Home Guard still falsify the above mentioned text (Samo Hubad, *Večno podtikanje, Demokracija*, November 2002), claiming that Home Guard members swore “to the Slovenian flag and the Slovenian nation”; they leave out the most compromising part regarding joint combat with “SS troops and the Police”, and even Rupnik’s personally added phrase “communism and their allies”, with the words “in the Slovenian territory” subsequently added in this place. This, however, is not the way to rewrite history.*

*The only truth is in the personal merit of General Rupnik who saw to Home Guard members also swearing to the Slovenian flag and the anthem *Naprej zastave slave* (Forward, Flag of Glory)! However, the soldiers also swore allegiance to the German flag, the German anthem and the German sword!*

*Historians and witnesses have gathered other evidence regarding the real meaning of the Home Guard oath. This includes especially the speech of SS General Rösener before the taking of the oath by Slovenian Home Guard members on 20 April 1944, on Hitler’s birthday, during which he emphasised that on 24 September 1943, he personally ordered the establishment of the Slovenian Home Guard, made up of White Guard legionnaires whom the Germans trained, clothed and armed (as well as paid) for joint combat against communism and the bandits (*Slovenec*, 21 April 1944). Home Guard members swore for the second time on 30 January 1945, at the anniversary of the Nazi takeover of power in Germany.*

It should not be forgotten that on 1 February 1944 SS General Rösener wrote: “Slovenian Home Guard is a provincial formation, a unit formed of Slovenians in the Italian combat area, whose duty is implementing pure police tasks. Slovenian Home



Domobranska prisega, Ljubljana, 1944

Home Guard oath, Ljubljana, 1944

poveljevati v bojih proti partizanom, če ni bilo poleg nemškega inštruktorja. Izjema so bili le odločilni boji za preboj prek Drave, da bi dosegli cono (ujetništvo) britanskih enot na Koroškem.

Po prisegi so domobranci v vojašnici podpisali še tako izjavo v nemščini (erklärung) in slovenščini:

»Sem prostovoljno pristopil v Slov. Domobranstvo, v boj in uničenje komunizma, kateri je moji deželi že toliko gorja prinesel in celo Evropo ogrozil.

Moja trdna volja je, z vsemi mojimi močmi, v zadovoljstvo moje dežele in Evrope, bojevati se pod nemškim vodstvom, in za to tudi moje življenje postaviti.

To obvezo sem danes s sveto prisego potrdil. Sem bil o dolžnostih in pravicah v službenem, disciplinarnem in gospodarskem oziru poučen. Podpis:... «

Vsebinsko prisega je dopolnjeval tudi obred. Nemški vojak je držal meč, na katerega so domobranci položili levico, tri prste desnice pa so dvignili in ponavljali slovenski del prisega, ki ga je izgovarjal njihov »pomožni« poveljnik – podpolkovnik Krener. Pred tem je nemški vojak prebral prisego v nemščini.

Guard was established on the basis of the order by the Supreme Commissioner in the operational zone Adriatic Coast. These units receive payment from the resources of the Supreme Commissioner or directly from Italian state resources. Supreme Head of the Slovenian Home Guard is the current superior leader of the SS and the Police". Home Guard members were also legally subordinate to the SS, while the Supreme Commander of the SS and the Police was Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler. The Home Guard was thus not a parallel Slovenian "national" army but an auxiliary SS and police unit. And finally, we are all well familiar with the fact that Home Guard commanders could not autonomously command in combats against the partisans, less a German instructor was present. The only exception regards decisive combats for the breakthrough across the Drava River in order to reach the zone (captivity) of British units in the Carinthia region.

After taking the oath, Home Guard members had to sign the following statement in the German (Erklärung!) and Slovenian languages:

"I have voluntarily entered the Slovenian Home Guard to combat and destroy communism which has brought much sorrow to my country and endangered entire Europe.

It is my strong will to fight under German leadership with all my strength, to the satisfaction of my country

Ob prvi prisegi so bili navzoči (glej fotografijo): nemški generalni konzul Müller, hrvaški konzul Salih Baljić, SS-Ortsgruppenführer Grubitz, SS-Standartenführer Schimmelpfenig, podpolkovnik Balke kot zvezni častnik Wehrmachta, SS-generalporočnik in višji vodja SS Erwin Rösener ter divizijski general Leon Rupnik, predsednik Ljubljanske pokrajine.

Kot zanimivost še navajam, da nemški častniki niso prišli na ljubljanski stadion oz. na kraj prisege šele po opravljeni maši škofa Gregorija Rožmana zaradi taktičnih ali drugih razlogov (ali nasprotno, da se je škof Rožman »umaknil« iz posebnih »političnih« razlogov). Nič od tega ni res! Šlo je preprosto za to, da so častili le germansko božanstvo Julla in niso hoteli biti navzoči pri krščanskem bogoslužju.

In še zadnji dokaz, komu so bili domobraneci neposredno podrejeni. Ob drugi prisegi, januarja 1945, je SS-general Rösener osebno prebral ukaz, s katerim je povišal poveljnika Slovenskega domobranstva podpolkovnika Franca Krenerja v čin polkovnika, stotnika Vuka Rupnika v čin majorja, 44 častnikov v višje čine, 3 podnarednike v narednike, 50 kaplarjev v podnarednike in 70 domobrancev v kaplarje. Vsem je tudi osebno podelil pisne ukaze – listine. Razdelil pa je tudi več odlikovanj in značk za ranjence. Tako sta železni križec II. razreda prejela major Vuk Rupnik in stotnik Drago Furlan.

Slovensko četništvo (Plava garda) – Jugoslovanska vojska v domovini (1941–1945)

Kapetan Uroš Šušterič, nedavno razglašeni četniški vojvoda »Triglavski«, ni mogel verificirati spodaj navedene prisege pripadnikov JVVD, ker so v nekaterih krajih nekdanje Jugoslavije in enotah poveljniki četniški korpusov spoštovali tudi tradicionalne običaje. Ob vsaki prisegi so pravoslavni duhovniki blagoslavljali zaprisežene borce in starešine. Prisega se je glasila: »Ja, (čin, ime i prezime), zaklinjem se svemogućim Bogom, da ću Vrhovnom Zapovedniku sve vojne sile, Kralju Jugoslavije Petru II., svagda i u svim prilikama, biti veran, svom dušom odan i poslušan; da ću se za Kralja i Otadžbinu junački boriti; da Vojničku zastavu nigde i nikad neću izneveriti i da ću zapovesti svih

and Europe, and to lay down my life for this cause. I have confirmed this commitment on this day by taking a sacred oath.

I have been informed of my duties and rights as regards the official, disciplinary and economic aspects. Signature: ... “

The ceremony itself also bore witness to the contents of the oath. A German soldier held a sword on which Home Guard members laid their left hands; they raised three fingers on their right hands and repeated the Slovenian part of the oath pronounced by their “auxiliary” commander – Lieutenant Colonel Krener. Beforehand, a German soldier read the oath in the German language.

The following people were present at the first oath-taking (see the photograph): German Consul General Müller, Croatian Consul Salih Baljić, SS-Ortsgruppenführer Grubitz, SS-Standartenführer Schimmelpfenig, Lieutenant Colonel Balke as a Wehrmacht federal officer, SS-Lieutenant General and SS superior leader Erwin Rösener, and Division General Leon Rupnik, president of the Province of Ljubljana.

It is interesting to note that German officers only came to the Ljubljana stadium, the place of the oath, after the end of mass which was conducted by Bishop Gregorij Rožman, supposedly on the grounds of tactical and other reasons (or just the opposite, that bishop Rožman “withdrew” for special “political” reasons). However, none of this is true! The reason is simply the fact that they only worshipped the German deity Julla and did not wish to be present at a Christian service.

And here is the last piece of evidence regarding the issue of whom Home Guard members were directly subordinate to. During the second oath-taking, in January 1945, SS General Rösener personally read the order for the promotion of the Slovenian Home Guard commander, Lieutenant Colonel Franc Krener, to the rank of Colonel, Captain Vuk Rupnik to the rank of Major, 44 officers to higher ranks, 3 sub-sergeants to the ranks of sergeants, 50 corporals to the ranks of sub-sergeants and 70 Home Guard members to the ranks of corporals. He also presented all of them with written orders - documents. He distributed several decorations and badges for the wounded. The Iron Cross II. Class was awarded to Major Vuk Rupnik and Captain Drago Furlan.

Slovenian Chetniks (Blue Guard) – Yugoslav Army in the Homeland (1941–1945)

Captain Uroš Šušterič, recently proclaimed Chetnik

Narodni odbor za Slovenijo izdaja na podlagi narodne is-
ve z dne 29. oktobra 1944 in člena 7. uredbе o ustahovitvi slovenske
narodne vojske z dne 21.1.1945

u r e d b e

o u r e d i t v i slovenske narodne vojske.

Člen 1.

Pripadniki slovenske narodne vojske so vsi telesno in du-
ševno zdravi moški slovenske narodne skupnosti narodnosti v. eta-
rosti od dopolnjenega 18. do dopolnjenega 55. leta starosti, ki niso
v narodnostnem ozirju s svojimi sodržanji in dejanjem ničesar za-
gršili proti interesom slovenskega naroda in svobodni države v. ča-
su take zasedbe slovenskega ozemlja in so:

- a) v ilegalnih oddelkih in enotah
- b) v obstoječih vojaških enotah
- c) izven obeh gorajših skupin.

Člen 2.

Slovenska vlada mora na predlog državnega tajnika za vojsko
posebno uredbo razveljaviti vojaško obveznost od 18. starostnega
na do vključno 50. leta.

Člen 3.

Sluša v slovenski narodni vojski sloni na načelu prostovolj-
nosti in na načelu obveznosti v okviru zakonitih predpisov.

Člen 4.

V slovensko narodno vojsko morajo prostovoljno vstopiti tudi
pripadniki drugih jugoslovenskih narodov ako se to izrazi svoje
želje in se sprejeti.

Častnike sprejema vrhovna vojaška oblast, podčastnike
poveljniki divizij in samostojnih oddelkov, kaplarja in meštvo pa
poveljniki bataljonov.

Člen 5.

Pripadniki slovenske narodne vojske prisegajo kralju in slove-
nkemu narodu.

Prisega se glasi:

"Jaz (ime in priimek) prisegam pri vsezmogočnem Bogu, da bom
Vrhovnemu poveljniku slovenske narodne vojske kralju Petru II.
poslušna, slovenskemu narodu pa zvest in da vse duše vdan, da se bom
za slovenski narod in njegovo svobodo ter kraljevino Ju ocalavijo
junaško boril, da se ne bom nikjer in nikoli izneveril vojaški sa-
stavi ter da bom poslušal in zvesto izpolnjeval zapovedi vseh od
narodnega odbora za Slovenijo postavljenih nadrejenih starešin. Naj
mi pri tem pomaga Vsezmogočni Bog!"

Člen 6.

Kako bo razdeljena narodna država Slovenija v vojaškoteritori-
jalnem ozirju, se bo predpisovalo s posebno uredbo.

Prisega Slovenske narodne vojske, 1945
(Arhiv VZI Beograd, štev. 1/1-6, S-27)
Slovenian National Army oath, 1945
(Military History Institute Archives, Belgrade, No. 1/1-6, S-27)

*pretpostavljenih mi starešina slušati i verno iz-
vršavati. Tako mi Bog pomogao!*

V slovenskem prevodu bi se prisega glasila
takole:

»Jaz, (čin, ime in priimek), prisegam pri vse-
mogočnem Bogu, da bom vrhovnemu poveljni-
ku vseh oboroženih sil kralju Petru Drugemu
vedno in v vseh okoliščinah zvest, z vso dušo
vdan in poslušen; da se bom pogumno bojeval
za kralja in domovino; da nikjer in nikdar ne
bom onečastil vojaške zastave ter da bom ubo-
gal in zvesto izvrševal ukaze vseh nadrejenih
starešin. Tako mi Bog pomagaj!«

To četniško prisego so pripadniki slovenskih
četnikov (plavogardistov) izrekli posamično
(častniki) ali skupinsko (podčastniki in voja-
ki), menda tudi ob navzočnosti kuratov (ka-
toliških). Ocenjujem, da je to prisego izreklo
približno 800 pripadnikov JVVd – v Sloveniji.

Štajerski četniki (Katja Zupanič, *Četništvo
na Štajerskem*, Maribor, 2004, str. 80) so priseg-
gli skupinsko. Ponoči 28. junija 1944, na Vidov

Duke "of Triglav", could not verify the below men-
tioned oath of the Yugoslav Army in the Homeland
(YAH) members, as in some units and parts of the
former Yugoslavia Chetnik corps commanders also
respected traditional practices. For every oath,
Orthodox priests would bless the sworn fighters and
superiors. The oath was worded as follows:

"Ja, (čin, ime i prezime), zaklinjem se svemogućim
Bogom, da ću Vrhovnom Zapovedniku sve vojne
sile, Kralju Jugoslavije Petru II., svagda i u svim
prilikama, biti veran, svom dušom odan i poslušan;
da ću se za Kralja i Otadžbinu junački boriti; da
Vojničku zastavu nigde i nikad neću izneveriti i
da ću zapovesti svih pretpostavljenih mi starešina
slušati i verno izvršavati. Tako mi Bog pomogao!"

The English translation of the oath:

"I, (rank, name and surname), swear by God
Almighty, to be at all times and in every circum-
stance loyal, deeply devoted and obedient to the
Supreme Commander of all armed forces, King Peter
II; to heroically fight for the King and the home-
land; to nowhere and never desecrate the military
flag and to obey and faithfully execute orders of all
superiors. So help me God!"

This Chetnik oath was taken by members of the
Slovenian Chetniks (Blue Guard members), either
individually (officers) or collectively (non-commis-
sioned officers and soldiers), presumably also in the
presence of curates (Catholic). My estimate is that
the oath was taken by approximately 800 YAH mem-
bers in Slovenia.

Styria chetniks (Katja Zupanič, *Četništvo na
Štajerskem*, Maribor, 2004, p. 80) took the oath col-
lectively. On the night of 28 June 1944, on St. Vitus'
Day, they gathered in the woods of Metava near St.
Peter, one hundred of them who "... by the unfurled
Yugoslav flag and by God, swore to King Peter II". On
this occasion everyone received Yugoslav cockades,
officers larger ones, combatants smaller. Their ille-
gal fight was accompanied by the slogan: "Do not
expose precious human lives to a futile combat with
the Germans or the partisans". During his speech,
commander Zmagoslav said that "Chetnik move-
ment in Styria operates in the most difficult terrain,
namely within the borders of the German Reich". In
spirit, he united Styria Chetniks with the Chetniks in
Croatia and Serbia. He urged them to patiently wait
for the great moment and cried out: "Forward, Flag
of Glory! To battle, heroic blood! For the benefit of

dan, so se zbrali v gozdu v Metavi pri Sv. Petru, njih sto, ki so »... ob razviti jugoslovanski zastavi pri Bogu prisegli kralju Petru II. Ob tej priliki so vsi prejeli jugoslovanske kokarde, oficirji večje, borci manjše. Njihov ilegalni boj je spremljalo geslo: »Ne izpostavljal dragocenih človeških življenj v neplodnem boju z Nemci ali partizani. V govoru je poveljnik Zmagoslav dejal, da »ima četništvo na Štajerskem najtežji teren, ker delujejo v mejah nemškega Reicha. V duhu jih je združil s četniki na Hrvaškem in v Srbiji. Pozval jih je na čakanje za veliki trenutek in zavpil: »Naprej zastave slave! Na boj junaška kri! Za blagor očetnjave, naj puška govori!«

Zanimivo je, da so to prisego delno sprejeli tudi častniki Slovenskega domobranstva, ki so še vedno menili, da jih zavezuje prisega vrhovnemu poveljniku – kralju Petru II.

Menim, da je bila četniška prisega tudi zaradi vsebine sprejemljiva za t. i. del »slovenske ilegale«, saj v njej ni nobenih elementov kolaboracije z okupatorjem ali boja proti partizanom. Seveda pa vsebina prisege ne more vedno odražati dejanskih razmer na določenem terenu in v nekem obdobju. Tudi Italijani in Nemci so namreč prikrito podpirali četnike.

Slovenska narodna vojska (1944–1945)

V ukazu št. 39, strogo zaupno, z dne 25. aprila 1944, je tedanji v. d. poveljnika Jugoslovanske vojske v Sloveniji, general Račič, v rešnici brigadni general Vladimir Vauhnik, začel oblikovati t. i. Slovensko narodno vojsko.

V podpisani uredbi Narodnega odbora za Slovenijo o ustanovitvi Slovenske narodne vojske z dne 21. 1. 1945 je v 10. členu zapisano: »Pripadniki Slovenske narodne vojske prisežejo zvestobo kralju in slovenskemu narodu.«

V uredbi o ureditvi Slovenske narodne vojske z dne 5. aprila 1945 (Arhiv VZI, Beograd, št. 1/1 6, Š–274), člen 5, je navedena tudi prisega, ki naj bi se glasila takole:

»Jaz, (ime in priimek), prisegam pri vsemo-gočnem Bogu, da bom Vrhovnemu poveljniku slovenske narodne vojske kralju Petru II. poslušen, slovenskemu narodu pa zvest in iz vse duše vdan, da se bom za slovenski narod in njegove svetinje ter kraljevino Jugoslavijo junaško boril, da se ne bom nikjer in nikoli izneveril

the Fatherland, let the rifle speak!»

It is interesting to note that this oath was also partially adopted by officers of the Slovenian Home Guard who still believed they were bound by the oath to the Supreme Commander – King Peter II.

On the basis of the contents of the Chetnik oath I estimate that it was also acceptable to the so-called part of the “Slovenian underground movement”, as it contains no elements of collaboration with the occupier or combat against the partisans. However, it is also true that the contents of the oath cannot always reflect the actual situation in a certain area and at a certain time. As it was, the Italians and Germans were also secretly supporting the Chetniks.

Slovenian National Army (1944–1945)

By order number 39, classified as top secret, dated 25 April 1944, the then acting commander of the Yugoslav Army in Slovenia, General Račič, in fact a Brigadier General Vladimir Vauhnik, began forming the so-called Slovenian National Army.

Article 10 of the signed Decree of the National Committee for Slovenia on the establishment of the Slovenian National Army, dated 21 January 1945, reads as follows: “Members of the Slovenian National Army swear loyalty to the King and the Slovenian nation.”

Article 5 of the Decree on the Regulation of the Slovenian National Army, dated 5 April 1945 (Military History Institute Archives, Belgrade, No. 1/1 6, Š–274), also includes an oath which is worded as follows:

“I, (name and surname), swear by God Almighty to be obedient to the Supreme Commander of the Slovenian National Army, King Peter II; to be loyal and deeply devoted to the Slovenian nation; to heroically fight for the Slovenian nation, all that is sacred to it, and for the Kingdom of Yugoslavia; to nowhere and never betray the military flag and to obey and loyally fulfil commands of all superiors appointed by the National Committee for Slovenia. So help me God Almighty!”

Although the Slovenian National Army was established on 5 May 1945, it seems that the mentioned oath was not taken by any of the members of the Slovenian Home Guard which was supposed to constitute the core of this envisioned “army”. We only know that in the middle of April 1945, soldiers of the Styria Chetnik detachment received identity cards as members of the Slovenian Army of the Yugoslav

vojaški zastavi ter da bom poslušal in zvesto izpolnjeval zapovedi vseh od narodnega odbora za Slovenijo postavljenih nadrejenih starešin. Naj mi pri tem pomaga Vsemogočni Bog!«

Čeprav je bila Slovenska narodna vojska ustanovljena 5. 5. 1945, se zdi, da navedene prisega ni izrekel noben pripadnik Slovenskega domobranstva, ki naj bi sestavljalo jedro te zamišljene »vojske«. Vemo samo, da so sredi aprila 1945 vojaki štajerskega četniškega oddelka dobili izkaznice pripadnikov Slovenske armade Jugoslovanske vojske v domovini, katere primerek mi je maja 2006 posredoval še živeči četniški narednik »Rado« (glej faksimile).

Partizanska vojska – NOV in PO Slovenije (1941–1945)

Partizanska vojaška prisega je pravzaprav izražala zvestobo narodu in domovini v boju proti okupatorju in domačim izdajalcem. Uradno sta obstojali dve različici, v različnih krajih pa je imela tudi posebne dodatke.

Prva različica je bila objavljena takoj na začetku upora proti okupatorju v biltenu Vrhovnega štaba NOV in POJ števil. 2 z dne 19. 8. 1941:

»Mi, narodni partizani Jugoslavije, latili smo se oružja za nemilosrdno borbo protiv krvoločnih neprijatelja koji porobiše našu zemlju i istrebljuju naše narode. U ime slobode i pravde našeg naroda, zaklinjemo se da ćemo disciplinovano, uporno i neustrašivo, ne štedeći svoje krvi i živote, voditi borbu do potpunog uništenja fašističkog osvajača i svih narodnih izdajnika«.

V prevodu bi se glasila takole:

»Mi, ljudski partizani Jugoslavije, smo prijeli za orožje za neizprosni boj proti krvoločnemu sovražniku, ki je zaslužnil našo domovino in namerava iztrebiti naše narode. V imenu svobode in pravice našega naroda prisegamo, da se bomo bojevali disciplinirano, vztrajno in pogumno, žrtvujoč tudi svojo kri in življenje, vse do popolnega uničenja fašističnega osvajača in vseh narodnih izdajalcev.«

Pozneje, marca 1942 in maja 1943, je VŠ malce spremenil to vojaško prisego, vendar so prve štiri sestavine ostale – narod, domovina,

Army in the Homeland, a sample of which was given to me in May 2006 by the still living Chetnik Sergeant "Rado" (see facsimile).

Partisan Army – National Liberation Army (NLA) and Partisan Detachments (PD) of Slovenia (1941–1945)

The partisan military oath expressed loyalty to the nation and the homeland in the struggle against the occupier and national traitors. There were two official variants, while different places also included their own special additions to the oath.

The first variant was published right at the beginning of the revolt against the occupier, in the Supreme Command Bulletin of the NLA and PD of Yugoslavia, number 2, dated 19 August 1941:

»Mi, narodni partizani Jugoslavije, latili smo se oružja za nemilosrdno borbu protiv krvoločnih neprijatelja koji porobiše našu zemlju i istrebljuju naše narode. U ime slobode i pravde našeg naroda, zaklinjemo se da ćemo disciplinovano, uporno i neustrašivo, ne štedeći svoje krvi i živote, voditi borbu do potpunog uništenja fašističkog osvajača i svih narodnih izdajnika«.

English translation:

»We, national partisans of Yugoslavia, have taken up arms in an inexorable struggle against the bloodthirsty enemy who has enslaved our homeland and plans to exterminate our peoples. In the name of freedom and justice of our nation, we swear to fight in a disciplined manner, with perseverance and courage, sacrificing our own blood and lives, until complete destruction of the fascist conqueror and all national traitors.«

Later, in March 1942 and May 1943, the Supreme Command made slight changes to the military oath, but the first four components remained – nation, homeland, occupier and national traitors. This partisan oath thus includes no mention of socialist revolution or party, and especially no reference to communism. As estimated by the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, the Yugoslav Army numbered approximately 800,000 soldiers - partisans in May 1945, meaning that, also taking into account those killed in action, this oath was taken by about a million members of all nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

Article 6 of the "Partisan Act" (National Liberation War in Slovenia 1941-1945, Ljubljana, 1978)

okupator in domači izdajalci. V tej partizanski prisegi ni nobene socialistične revolucije ali partije, še manj pa komunizma. Po ocenah GŠ JLA je maja 1945 JA štela približno 800.000 borcev – partizanov. To pomeni, če upoštevamo tudi padle, da je to partizansko prisego izreklo približno milijon pripadnikov vseh narodov in narodnosti Jugoslavije!

Po čl. 6 »partizanskega zakona« (Narodno-osvobodilna vojna na Slovenskem 1941–1945, Ljubljana, 1978) je bila določena ta »partizanska prisega«:

»Jaz, partizan osvobodilne ljudske armade slovenskega naroda, ki se ob boku slavne Delavske-Kmečke-Rdeče Armade Sovjetske Zveze ter vseh ostalih za svobodo se borečih narodov, borim za osvoboditev in združitev slovenskega naroda, za bratstvo in mir med narodi in med ljudmi, za srečnejšo bodočnost delovnega ljudstva, prisegam pred svojim narodom in svojimi sobojevniki: da bom oddal vse svoje sile in vse svoje sposobnosti osvobodilni stvari slovenskega naroda, delovnega ljudstva ter vsega naprednega in svobodoljubnega človeštva v sveti vojni proti fašističnim tlačiteljem in barbarom; da ne bom zapustil partizanskih vrst, v katere sem prostovoljno in zavestno vstopil in ne odložil orožja do popolnega uresničenja velikega osvobodilnega cilja slovenskega naroda. Prisegam, da bom v boju za te velike osvobodilne cilje s svojo krvjo branil čast in nedotakljivost naše partizanske zastave in da bom, če bo to potrebno, žrtvoval tudi svoje življenje. Za svobodo v boj!«

Različica, ki sem jo povzel po slovenski Wikipediji (Lešnik D. & Tomc G., Rdeče in Črno, Ljubljana, 1995), je podobna, obe pa se razlikujeta od jugoslovanske. Glasila se je takole:

»Jaz, partizan osvobodilne ljudske armade slovenskega naroda, ki se ob boku slavne Delavske-Kmečke-Rdeče Armade Sovjetske Zveze ter vseh ostalih za svobodo se borečih narodov, borim za osvoboditev in združitev slovenskega naroda, za bratstvo in mir med narodi in med ljudmi, za srečnejšo bodočnost delovnega ljudstva, prisegam pred svojim narodom in svojimi sobojevniki, da bom oddal vse svoje sile in vse svoje sposobnosti osvobodilni stvari slovenskega

prescribed the following “partisan oath”:

“I, partisan of the Liberation People’s Army of the Slovenian nation, fighting alongside the famous Workers’ and Peasants’ Red Army of the Soviet Union and all other freedom fighting nations, for the liberation and unification of the Slovenian nation, for brotherhood and peace among nations and people, for better future of the working people, swear, before my nation and fellow combatants, to dedicate all my strength and capabilities to the liberation cause of the Slovenian nation, the working people and all the progressive and freedom-loving humanity in the holy war against the fascist oppressors and barbarians; not to leave the partisan ranks which I have joined voluntarily and consciously and not to lay down my arms until complete fulfilment of the great liberation cause of the Slovenian nation. I swear to defend the honour and inviolability of the partisan flag with my blood in the struggle for this great liberation cause and, if necessary, to also sacrifice my life. To the fight for freedom!”

The below-cited variant which I have taken from the Slovenian Wikipedia (Lešnik D. & Tomc G., Rdeče in Črno, Ljubljana, 1995) is similar, while both differ from the Yugoslav variant.

“I, partisan of the Liberation People’s Army of the Slovenian nation, fighting alongside the famous Workers’ and Peasants’ Red Army of the Soviet Union and all other freedom fighting nations, for the liberation and unification of the Slovenian nation, for brotherhood and peace among nations and people, for better future of the working people, swear before my nation and fellow combatants to dedicate all my strength and capabilities to the liberation cause of the Slovenian nation, the working people and all the progressive humanity in the holy war against the fascist oppressors and barbarians; I swear not to leave the partisan ranks which I have joined voluntarily and consciously and not to lay down my arms until complete victory over the fascist occupiers and complete fulfilment of the great liberation cause of the Slovenian nation. I swear to defend the honour and inviolability of the partisan flag with my blood for this great liberation cause and, if necessary, to also sacrifice my life. To the fight for freedom!”

This is, as usual, a Slovenian peculiarity.

naroda, delovnega ljudstva in vsega naprednega človeštva v sveti vojni proti fašističnim tlačiteljem in barbarom, da ne bom zapustil partizanskih vrst, v katere sem prostovoljno in zavestno vstopil, in ne da bi odložil orožja do popolne zmage nad fašističnimi okupatorji, do popolnega uresničenja velikega osvobodilnega cilja slovenskega naroda. Prisegam, da bom za te velike osvobodilne cilje s svojo krvjo branil čast in nedotakljivost naše partizanske zastave in da bom, če bo to potrebno, žrtvoval tudi svoje življenje. Za svobodo v boj!«

Slovenska posebnost torej, kot ponavadi.

JA – JLA

Takoj po osvoboditvi leta 1945 so vojaško prisego ali slovesno zaobljubo JLA pogosto spreminjali. Z zakonom o JLA, 1965 (Vojna enciklopedija, 9, Beograd, 1962) je bila sprejeta ta prisega:

»Ja, (rođeno ime i prezime) svečano se obavezujem, da ću verno služiti svom narodu, da ću braniti svoju otadžbinu Socijalističku Federativnu Republiku Jugoslaviju, da ću čuvati bratstvo i jedinstvo naših naroda i ugled Jugoslovenske narodne armije i da ću savesno izvršavati naređenja mojih starešina. Uvek ću biti spreman da se borim za slobodu i čast otadžbine, ne žaleći da u toj borbi dam i svoj život.«

V prevodu se je slovesna zaobljuba glasila takole:

»Jaz, (rojstno ime in priimek), slovesno obljubljam, da bom zvesto služil svojemu narodu, da bom branil svojo Socialistično Federativno Republiko Jugoslavijo, da bom varoval bratstvo in enotnost naših narodov in ugled Jugoslovske ljudske armade in da bom predano izvrševal ukaze starešin. Vedno se bom pripravljen bojevati za svobodo in čast svoje domovine, in ne bom obžaloval, da v tem boju dam tudi svoje življenje.«

Zadnja različica slovesno zaobljube, sprejeta po letu 1974, pa je taka:

»Ja, (rodjeno i porodično ime) svečano se obavezujem, da ću braniti nezavisnost, ustavni poredak, nepovredivost i celovitost Socijalističke

Yugoslav Army (YA) – Yugoslav People's Army (YPA)

Immediately after the liberation in 1945, the YPA military oath or solemn vow changed frequently. With the YPA Act, 1965 (Military Encyclopaedia, 9, Belgrade, 1962), the following oath was adopted:

“Ja, (rođeno ime i prezime) svečano se obavezujem, da ću verno služiti svom narodu, da ću braniti svoju otadžbinu Socijalističku Federativnu Republiku Jugoslaviju, da ću čuvati bratstvo i jedinstvo naših naroda i ugled Jugoslovenske narodne armije i da ću savesno izvršavati naređenja mojih starešina. Uvek ću biti spreman da se borim za slobodu i čast otadžbine, ne žaleći da u toj borbi dam i svoj život”.

The English translation of this solemn vow was worded as follows:

“I, (birth name and surname), solemnly swear to loyally serve my nation, defend my Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, preserve the brotherhood and unity of our peoples and the reputation of the Yugoslav People's Army, and loyally execute my superiors' orders. I will always be willing to fight for the freedom and honour of my homeland and will not hesitate to lay down my life in this fight.”

The last variant of the solemn vow, adopted after 1974, reads as follows:

“Ja, (rodjeno i porodično ime) svečano se obavezujem, da ću braniti nezavisnost, ustavni poredak, nepovredivost i celovitost Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije i da ću čuvati i razvijati bratstvo i jedinstvo naših naroda i narodnosti. Uvek ću savesno i disciplinovano izvršavati obaveze i dužnosti branioca svoje samoupravne socijalističke domovine i biti spreman, da se borim za njenu slobodu i čast, ne žaleći da u toj borbi dam i svoj život”.

English translation:

“I, (name and surname), solemnly swear to defend the independence, the constitutional structure and the integrity of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and to preserve and promote brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities. I will always strictly and in a disciplined manner execute the obligations and duties as defender of my self-governing socialist homeland and fight for

Federativne Republike Jugoslavije i da ću čuvati i razvijati bratstvo i jedinstvo naših naroda i narodnosti. Uvek ću savesno i disciplinovano izvršavati obaveze i dužnosti branioca svoje samoupravne socijalističke domovine i biti spreman, da se borim za njenu slobodu i čast, ne žaleći da u toj borbi dam i svoj život».

V prevodu se glasi takole:

»Jaz, (ime in priimek) slovesno obljubljam, da bom branil neodvisnost, ustavni ustroj, neokrnjenost in celovitost Socialistične Federativne Republike Jugoslavije in da bom varoval in razvijal bratstvo in enotnost naših narodov in narodnosti. Vedno bom dosledno in disciplinirano izvrševal obveze in dolžnosti branilca svoje samoupravne socialistične domovine in se bom bojeval za njeno svobodo in čast, ter ne bom obžaloval, da v tej boju dam tudi svoje življenje.«

S pravili službe JLA so leta 1957 predpisali slovesnost, na katero so bili povabljeni starši, sorodniki in prijatelji vojakov. Vojakom so podeljevali tudi listino »slovesne zaobljube« (glej primerek) z navedbo datuma in kraja prisege. Gojenci vojaških akademij smo slovesno zaobljubo podali skupinsko, po šolanju pa smo podpisali še pisno zaobljubo (prisego), ki so jo hranili v dosjeju kadrovskih podatkov. Dobro se spomnim, da me je ob podpisovanju oz. branju zadnjega stavka o »darovanju« življenja spreletel nekakšen srh.

Ljudska milica

Za primerjavo med prisego vojakov in pripadnikov policije (tudi domobrancev) navajam prisego slovenskih miličnikov iz leta 1946, ki jo je v 45. členu predpisoval Zakon o ljudski milici (Uradni službeni list RS, 1946). Glasila se je takole:

»Jaz, (ime in priimek), prisegam pri svoji časti in življenju, da bom svojo službo opravljal po zakonih in ukazih nadrejenih starešin vestno, požrtvovalno in nepristransko; da bom discipliniran in da bom brezpogojno izvrševal ukaze nadrejenih starešin; da bom varoval uradne tajnosti in da bom na vsakem mestu varoval ugled ljudske milice. Prisegam, da bom budno varoval pridobitve narodnoosvobodilnega boja in ustavni red, ljudsko oblast ter bratstvo in



Diploma o svečani prisegi v JLA
YPA solemn oath certificate

its freedom and honour, and will not hesitate to lay down my life in this fight.”

The YPA Service Regulation from 1957 prescribes a solemn ceremony to which parents, relatives and friends of soldiers were also invited. In the end, soldiers also received a “solemn oath” document (see the copy), with the date and location of the oath-taking. Students of military academies took a solemn oath collectively and, after completing their studies, signed a written oath which was kept in the personnel file. I still remember that I shuddered as I was signing the oath and reading the last sentence of “laying down” my life!

National Militia

For comparison of the oath of soldiers and police members (also Home Guard members) I cite the oath of Slovenian militiamen from 1946, prescribed by Article 45 of the National Militia Act (Official Journal of the Republic of Slovenia, 1946). The oath was worded as follows:

enotnost naših narodov, da bom zvesto izpolnjeval naloge za okrepitev in razvoj teh pridobitev in da bom do zadnjega diha zvest narodu in svoji domovini Federativni ljudski republiki Jugoslaviji. Če prekršim to svojo slovesno prisego, naj me zadene neusmiljena kazen vojaškega zakona, splošno sovraštvo in prezir naših narodov in prekletstvo domovine.«

Neobvezen sklep

Ob koncu tega zgodovinskega opisa, kdaj, komu in kaj so slovenski uporniki, prostovoljci in vojaki prisegli ali (za)obljubljali, ne bom delal nobene znanstvene analize niti primerjave, kaj je katera vojaška prisega pomenila v življenju vojaka oz. vojske. Zlasti ne želim razpravljati o posledicah neizpolnjevanja prisega ali hujših kršitev. Ker naj bi vsaka prekršitev vojaške prisega pomenila tudi smrtno obsodbo – v prisegi AOV je bilo to tudi neposredno poudarjeno –, sem se odločil, da ta opis končam z izkušnjo najstarejše vojske na svetu, dva tisoč let stare cerkvene »vojske«.

Priznani slovenski teolog, dr. Jožef Korošak – pater Bruno, mi je odgovoril takole:

»Načelno naj bi veljalo, da se redovne in duhovniške zaobljube ne morejo primerjati s prisegami ali zaobljubami vojakov.

Bog je edini, ki lahko zahteva, da mu žrtvujemo tudi naše življenje. V vseh stoletjih človeštva pa so se vedno našli številni vladarji, od faraonov do različnih partijskih šefov, ki so si domišljali, da jim je Bog podelil oblast razpolagati z življenjem drugih, ki z različnimi vrstami priseg izjavijo, da so pripravljeni zanje ali za njihove ideologije žrtvovati tudi svoje življenje, sprejemati sankcije in podobno.

Kristus je jasno prepovedal vsake vrste prisega. V evangeliju po Mateju 5, 34.37 je rečeno: »Jaz pa vam pravim: sploh ne prisegajte!« in po Jakobu 5, 12: »Predvsem pa, moji bratje, ne prisegajte, ne pri nebu ne pri zemlji, ne s kako drugo prisego.«

Bodoči vojaški ordinariat SV bo verjetno moral zahtevati ukinitev »slovesne prisega« v Slovenski vojski. V poklicni vojski je prisega le lepotni dodatek in spomin na nekdanje prave vojaške prisega.

“I, (name and surname), swear by my honour and life to loyally, self-sacrificially and impartially perform my service in line with the laws and orders of my superiors; to unconditionally and in a disciplined manner execute my superiors’ orders; to protect official secrets and the reputation of the national militia at any time and place. I swear to be alert in protecting the gains of the national liberation struggle, the constitutional order, national authority and the brotherhood and unity of our nations; to loyally execute tasks for the reinforcement and development of these gains and to remain loyal to my nation and homeland, the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia, to the last breath. Should I break this solemn oath, I may be ruthlessly punished by military law, endure general hatred and contempt of our nations and be cursed by my homeland.”

Optional Conclusion

In the conclusion of this historical description of when, to whom and with what words the Slovenian insurgents, volunteers and soldiers swore or promised, I will not conduct any scientific analysis or mutual comparison of the significance a certain military oath had in the life of a soldier or army. I particularly do not wish to discuss the consequences of non-compliance with an oath or its serious violation. As every violation of a military oath resulted in a death sentence – the oath of the Austro-Hungarian Army is very explicit in this regard – I have decided to conclude this description with the experience of the oldest army in the world, the two thousand year old church “army”.

The renowned Slovenian theologian, Dr. Jožef Korošak – Father Bruno, gave the following statement:

“As a principle, monastic and ecclesiastical vows may not be compared to oaths and promises of soldiers.

God is the only one who can demand that we sacrifice our lives to him. In the course of centuries, there were numerous rulers, from pharaohs to various party leaders, who believed God had given them the authority to dispose with the lives of others who had to take various oaths to state they are willing to sacrifice their own lives for these leaders and their ideologies, to accept punishments and so on.

Christ has clearly forbidden all kinds of oaths. In Matthew 5:34-37 it is written: ‘But I say unto you, swear not at all!’ and in James 5:12: ‘But above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath’.

Osnovni viri

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The future military ordinariate of the Slovenian Armed Forces will probably have to demand the abolition of the 'solemn oath' in the Slovenian Armed Forces. In a professional army, the oath is merely an ornament and a memory of onetime real military oaths."

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