This article focuses on the Slovenian songs about the devastating 1755 Lisbon earthquake and on the context revealed by these songs. It is based on two songs about this earthquake that were published in the first collection of Slovenian folk songs from the mid-nineteenth century. The songs draw attention to the impact of this event in the media and the reception of these types of songs among the Slovenians. Studying the genesis of both songs, it reveals the role of organists and also the mindset that comes to the fore in the song narrations. The traces lead to a song leaflet that brings Slovenian songs closer to the general European tradition, with certain basic differences: the Slovenian song published on the leaflet contains a prayer for the victims of the Lisbon earthquake, which means that it provides special spiritual assistance. The article also reveals the reasons why the songs about the Lisbon earthquake were excluded from the subsequent standard collections of Slovenian folk songs, although the memory of both the songs and the Lisbon earthquake was still attested at the end of the nineteenth century. The Slovenian songs about the Lisbon earthquake therefore not only show the Slovenian response to the misfortune of the unknown people of Lisbon, but also question the social role of folklore studies.

Keywords: Lisbon earthquake, Slovenian folk songs, song leaflets, folklore studies

While reviewing older publications of Slovenian folksong heritage a few years ago, a song about the Lisbon earthquake captured my attention. I was surprised by the testimony of this recounting of that fatal event and by the fact that its impact also extended to Slovenia, where it was preserved for a long time. Alongside my general interest in songs with a novella-like character, I thought these songs deserved special treatment in addition to consideration of the issue of their inclusion in or exclusion from the folk-representative canon of Slovenian song creativity.

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Despite relatively new findings on the oldest transcriptions of the Slovenian heroic song “Pegam and Lambergar” (Torkar 1993: 13), Slovenian folksong collection begins with the 1776 transcriptions (Vodušek 1970: vii) and expressly obtained the function of promoting ethnic identity in the nineteenth century. In the period when Slovenian intellectuals had very vibrant contacts with the collection efforts of other Slavic nations, the efforts of cultural nationalism that influenced folksong collection (Leerssen 2008) had special features: forming connections with these nations increased their overall power and steered them away from narrow nationalistic views. For Slovenians this was especially true at a time when the Pole Emil Korytko was in Ljubljana in political exile.

During his political confinement in Ljubljana, Korytko published the first collection of Slovenian folk songs, called Slovenske pesmi krajinskih naroda (Slovenian Songs of the Carniolan People) in five volumes with the help of the Slovenian intellectuals known as the Ljubljana Circle, a member of which was also the greatest Slovenian poet, France Prešeren. Emil Korytko, who was in political exile in Ljubljana between 1837 and 1839, did not live to see the publication of Slovenske pesmi krajinskih naroda, which also included the song “Lisbona potopljena” (Lisbon Sunken): in fact, he died just before he received the decree on his political amnesty.

In 1844 two songs about the Lisbon earthquake entitled “Lisbona potopljena” (Lisbon Sunken) were published in the fifth volume of Korytko’s collection.1 Due to their foreign subject matter, the inclusion of these songs in the Slovenian national folksong collection seems a little surprising. It shows that due to Korytko’s plans the conception of folk songs was more open: the two songs were included in the collection in accordance with the broad concept of the editor, who planned to publish all Slovenian ethnological material. As the final goal, he planned to issue a monumental encyclopedia about the Slavs or the culture of the Slavic peoples, titled Słowiańszczyzna (Smith 1986: 141–173). Korytko’s ethnological and folklore concept was very broad because it was marked by the study of philosophy in Lviv, or by the Polish ethnographic school.

The collection was therefore designed only as the beginning of a presentation of Slovenian culture and was limited only to the lyrics of folk songs; therefore the songs on the Lisbon earthquake had no accompanying explanation for which earthquake they referred to. However, from subsequent testimonies relating to these songs, it is quite clear that they refer to the devastating earthquake that took place on 1 November 1755 and claimed 60,000 (Halter 1995) to 100,000 lives and almost completely destroyed Lisbon (Vidrih 2006: 24–25). The two songs about the Lisbon earthquake were apparently created as part of the exceptional media impact of this event, which is reflected in them in various ways.

In the first song published in Korytko’s collection, the moral lesson is more pronounced than the description of the great disaster that struck Lisbon:

1 The first song was published with an obvious mistake in the title, which read “Lisbona potopljena” instead of “potopljena” (Lisbon Flooded; Korytko 1844: 26).
1. Kakšin štirab zel svet prehaja, 
   kadar Bog se rasferdi.
   Svoje štrafenge vun daje, 
   S’ nami rajtengo dershi.
   Sa pregrebe naš štrafija,
   Kar pa zblovek ne spozna,
   Naš k’ pokori napeljuje,
   Tudi nam odog sje da.

   What fear is afoot throughout the world
   When God becomes enraged,
   Dealing out his sentences,
   Demanding payment.
   He is punishing us for the sins
   Which a man does not realize
   Leads us to repentance,
   Giving us a reprieve.

2. Li poglej kdo golpoduje,
   Vtani, kdor si len u ferz’
   Ker je semlja vsdviguje,
   Vsemi šhalost si u perf’
   Skleni življenje porovnati,
   Dokler je sre ura, zha.
   Bog, poglej, je sna mafhvat,
   Veznho pokonzhati naš.

   Just look at who rules,
   Whoever is lazy in his heart, get up,
   As the Earth rises,
   Take the sadness in your chest.
   Decide to reform your life,
   While there is still time,
   See, God can take revenge,
   And destroy us forever.

3. Gledaj mesto Lisabono,
   Mesto de mu para ni,
   Oziran s kraljevo krono
   Sdaj podfusto v blat’ lesi.
   Bogatinzam blago, slati
   Ni na pomozh moglo prit’,
   Vje šiviljenje mora dati
   V svoji kervi kopan biti.

   Look at the city of Lisbon,
   The city beyond compare,
   Decorated with the royal crown
   Now lying buried in mud.
   The rich people’s goods and gold
   Could not help them,
   Everybody had to forfeit their lives
   And bathe in their blood.

4. Dete materi na persih,
   Mati s detetam vred,
   Kakšin štirab obzbhatjo v ferzih,
   K morjo škupaj grosno vmret’.
   Veter, ogenj in nesrezha
   Tamkej videti je blo,
   Vja Lisbona je gorenja,
   Po vših krajih gre v semlj.

   The baby on the mother’s breast,
   Mother together with baby,
   What fear they feel in their hearts,
   When they must die together terribly.
   Wind, fire, and horror
   Over there it could be seen,
   All Lisbon is burning,
   Everywhere going into the ground.

5. Gospa vidi svoje dete
   Tam po kervi plavati,
   Gospod vidi svojo deklo
   Tam v ogni jamrati,
   Vjoki turni noj gradovi
   So je tam pohipali,
   Na kraljevim plaz sidovi
   So je s grobjam glibali.

   The lady sees her baby
   Swimming there through the blood,
   The gentleman sees his maid
   Moaning there in the fire,
   High towers and castles
   Collapsed there,
   On the royal market the walls
   Were leveled with heap of stones.
The song does talk about the earthquake in Lisbon, but it seems that its main message is that God became enraged by human sins and therefore punished people. The Lisbon earthquake was used as an example that demonstrated the validity of the Christian doctrine: the great disaster that struck the people of Lisbon was used to call for a return to the true faith and repentance. This warning is all the more effective because, according to the song, Lisbon was an extremely rich city, a royal capital, but in the devastating earthquake it sank to the ground in blood and fire with all its riches: just as the magnificent towers turned into dust, the most powerful people were also ruined.

In the second song published in Korytko’s collection, the devastating Lisbon earthquake is depicted with greater narrative attention to the developments, and also with much more empathy for the suffering of the people affected by this earthquake:

1. **Kakšhin strah mi je imelo**
   Le to mejto Lisabon?
   Vse se treslo, vkup letelo,
   Kraljev dvor in slati tron,
   V mest ljudje shalvat zazhnejo,
   Ne vedo, kam beshat, tezh.
   Komej fkozi vrata grejo,
   Jel so eden drugmu režh:
   What fear had
   This city of Lisbon?
   Everything was scattering, flying together,
   The royal palace and golden throne.
   In the city, people begin to mourn
   They do not know where to flee, to run
   Just as they go through the door
   They begin to say to each other
   Sweet Jesus, what will happen to us,
   It is the judgment day for sure,
   Everything will collapse below us,
   Oh dear, what should we do?
   The Prince of Navarre is on the field,
   With his regiments he stands,
   With all the regiments as in battle
   Only a few of them escaped.

2. **Ljubi Jezus, kaj bo s nami,**
   Sagotov bo jodni dan,
   Vderlo je bo vse pod nami,
   Oh joj, kaj sazhet je nam?
   Prinz Navare je na polji,
   S svojim poljkan on fioji,
   S všim poljkan kakor v boji.
   Malo kter je stron prifhal.
   What fear had
   This city of Lisbon?
   Everything was scattering, flying together,
   The royal palace and golden throne.
   In the city, people begin to mourn
   They do not know where to flee, to run
   Just as they go through the door
   They begin to say to each other
   Sweet Jesus, what will happen to us,
   It is the judgment day for sure,
   Everything will collapse below us,
   Oh dear, what should we do?
   The Prince of Navarre is on the field,
   With his regiments he stands,
   With all the regiments as in battle
   Only a few of them escaped.

3. **V osnih urah fo hoteli**
   Skušit te ferzhtni ljudje,
   Although the towers were strong,
   They were like powder
   Although the people were powerful,
   They were humiliated to nothing.
   You angry king of heaven,
   We know your strength,
   Take to yourself the human souls,
   And grant us the eternal light.
So šli v meši’ deb kaj vseli,
Aube kaj se jim sgođi!
Oh vender Bogu se smili!
Komaj notri pridejo,
Nov potrefi se štorili,
Vji se v semljo vderejo.

They went into town to get something,
Alas, what happens to them!
Oh, but God have mercy!
Just when they enter in there,
New tremors appear,
And they all sink into the ground.

4. Tak ljudi je dvanajst tavshent
Se v semljo vderlo blo
In dubovnov devet tashent
Vje kmal k vezbnost je fhlo.
Vje kamele, konji, voli.
V magazinih kar je blo
V en minuti vje je doli
Prishlo kmalo pod zemljo.

Thus, twelve thousand people
Sank into the earth
And nine thousand priests
Soon went into eternity.
All the camels, horses, oxen.
Everything that was in the warehouses,
In one minute everything down here
Soon sank under the ground.

5. O Maria mati boshja,
Ti našvari pred peklam,
Sprof’per Bogu mosh oroshja
Soperftat jovashnikam.
Ti našvari pred potrešam,
Verni boshje fhibe prezh,
Ti naš vodi prot nebefam,
Daj nam freszno jih dofez

Oh, Mary, Mother of God,
Protect us from hell,
Ask God for strength of arms
To defend ourselves from the enemy.
Protect us from the earthquake,
Spare believers from the scourge of God,
Lead us to heaven,
Let us reach it safe and sound.

(Korytko 1849: 29–31)

The second song about the Lisbon earthquake is therefore not an example of a preaching device that uses the disaster in Portugal as a powerful call to repentance: it offers a more realistic depiction of the earthquake with an extremely naturalistic description of the disaster, trying to comprehend the experience of the fatal events. The song concludes with an intercession to Mary to protect people from hell and fatal disasters, such as earthquakes.

Neither the first nor the second song provides any clues about who its author was and how it came to Slovenia. In addition, the transcriptions do not provide any information on what impact these songs had among the people. A transcription by Davorin Petelin testifies to this very aspect—that is, the popularity of the songs about the Lisbon earthquake in Slovenia: as a student in the 1875/76 school year, Petelin sent a transcription of a song very similar to the first song about the Lisbon earthquake published in Korytko’s collection to Karel Štrekelj (the later editor of the collection Slovenske narodne pesmi [Slovenian Folksongs]). Petelin’s song was even more complete and more extensive than the song in Korytko’s publication because it comprised eight stanzas. The song was titled “Pesem od

2 Probably a mistake: instead of verni it should have been vernim.
SONGS ABOUT THE LISBON EARTHQUAKE, OR THE SLOVENIAN RESPONSE TO STORIES ABOUT...

Figure 1: The end of the first and the beginning of the second song about the Lisbon earthquake published in 1844 in the fifth volume of Korytko’s collection of Slovenian folk songs.

C'ntilena de. S. Stephane M.

Figure 2: Like many other songs, a song about St. Stephen was sung “to the tune of Lisbon”. In this way the tune of the song about Lisbon earthquake was preserved (Kramar 1926: 74).
Lizabone” (The Song about Lisbon) with the note “an old Carniolan song.” In 1875 or 1876, the student Davorin Petelin therefore still found this song in central Slovenia; it was known as an old song typical of Carniola. Compared to the similar song published in Korytko’s collection, this song differs not only by its length: its language is updated, reflecting the song’s acceptance and vitality among the people, and the message of the song is less tied to a preaching model (Petelin 1875/1876).

The student Davorin Petelin therefore talks about “an old Carniolan song,” or a widely accepted and frequently sung song in the central Slovenian area. The song was transcribed even as late as the twentieth century in the far western part of Slovenian ethnic territory, the Littoral region, as a copy of one of the songs in Maver’s collection; the copy was made by the collector Ivan Kokošar. The song was still preserved even with nine stanzas, but the language was again somewhat more archaic (Kokošar s. a.: 9–10). In addition to these transcriptions, there may be others that have not yet been discovered: in 1932, a third folk song about the Lisbon earthquake was mentioned alongside these two types of songs (Debeljak: 1932: 688), but so far it has not yet been found.

Just like the printed transcriptions, the manuscript copies of the songs do not contain any information on what earthquake they refer to nor do they provide any information on how the songs came to Slovenian territory. The answer to this is provided by older transcriptions, which also raise entirely new questions.

THE SONGS ABOUT THE LISBON EARTHQUAKE IN ORGANISTS’ TRANSCRIPTIONS

Older transcriptions, which can be traced while studying the origin of the songs about the Lisbon earthquake, lead us to the area south of Ljubljana, to Inner and Lower Carniola and the activity of two organists. The song’s acceptance can be traced in the songbook of the organist Filip Jakob Repež from Stari Trg pri Ložu because the song is already performing a new role: in the songbook published in 1770 and reprinted five years later, Repež published a song intended for the procession for rain, in which he used the melody of one of the songs about the Lisbon earthquake. In the note added to the song, it is said that the song should be sung “to the tune of the well-known song about Lisbon” (Repež 1775: 60).

The second organist, Jožef Ambrožič, a schoolmaster in Dobrepolje in Lower Carniola, wrote his first manuscript songbook almost at the same time as the first organist: in 1771 (Kramar 1922: 96). Among other songs in it, a song about the Archangel Michael appeared, with a note to be sung “na vižo Lizabone” (‘to the tune of Lisbon’; Kramar 1923: 11). The

3 Carniola is one of the historical Slovenian regions.
4 I would like to thank my colleague Marjeta Pisk for providing the information on the Littoral.
5 na vižo koker ta vsim dobru znano Peisem od Lizabone.
songbook also contains a poem about St. Anthony of Padua, with a similar note: *viža od Lizabone* (‘the tune of Lisbon’; Kramar 1923: 13), as well as a song about St. Stephen (‘C’ntilena de S. Stephane’), next to which the tune was also published in addition to a note that it should be sung “to the tune of Lisbon” (Kramar 1926: 74).

Jožef Ambrožič also wrote the song “Od vse sorte Nadluh” (All Sorts of Troubles), where he added the note “Aria od Lizabone” (Aria about Lisbon; Kramar 1925: 82). In the fourth songbook written by the same author in 1775 (Kramar 1924: 31), the song was published, of which only the melody was used in previous cases. The folksong transcriber Franc Kramar, who reported on this song almost a century and a half later, also pointed to the event itself, the 1755 Lisbon earthquake. Upon the publication, he wrote: “This song was then in general called ‘About Lisbon,’ and almost the majority of Ambrožič and Repež’s hymns were sung to its tune. Let now this interesting song follow, so that it is saved from oblivion.”

**Od Liša Bonskiga Meista** (About the City of Lisbon)

**Vifsha od Lišabone** (The tune of Lisbon)

1. *Poshlusaite vi greifsniki, zhait je ia spokorit vam,*
   *Gredo zhudeshi veliki,*
   *ne bo delezh sodni dan!*
   *ti potreshi, veitrij, vode,*
   *fo se sternile toku,*
   *od take Našrezhe, skode,*
   *nei še Nigdar shlishat blu!*
   
   Listen, you sinners,
   It is time to repent,
   Great miracles are coming,
   Judgment day is not far!
   These earthquakes, wind, water,
   Have joined together, such that
   An accident, damage like this,
   We have never heard of!

2. *O Kai je sen strah imeili,
   Letu Meistu Lišabon,*
   *kse ie treshlu, včup letelitu*
   *kralevi hoffi nu tron,*
   *Nu kar je drusihi hiš billu,*
   *tu je všemlo vderlu se,*
   *Morje je je Restegnilu,*
   *na verb potopillu vse.*
   
   Oh what fear had
   This city of Lisbon,
   When everything shook and fell together,
   Royal court and the throne,
   And all other houses there
   Collapsed to the ground,
   The sea stretched
   And flooded everything on top.

3. *Ludie szhagaina ne vejo*
   *od strahu kam beifsat, tezh,*
   *vender ven zhes vrata grejo,*
   *sazhno Eden h drugmu rez:*
   
   People in despair not knowing
   Where to flee and run in fear
   But go out through the door,
   Start saying to each other:

---

6 Ta pesem se je takrat sploh imenovala ‘od Lizabone’, in na napev te pesmi se je takratnih Ambrožičevih in Repeževih cerkvi pesmi skoraj največ pelo. Naj sledi vsa ta zanimiva pesem, da se tu otme pozabljenosti:
61

Marija Klobčar

 devastation dan!

Outside the city there by the side
They were standing in fear far away,
And in great lamenting,
Because the sea was following them;
After eight hours they wanted to
Venture, these courageous people,
They went into the city to take something
Look what happened!
Oh sorrow, God have mercy,
Just when they came to town,
New earthquakes struck,
So that they all sank into the ground!
In there ninety thousand
People sank, it’s true,
All the shops, churches, monasteries,
Two hills fell over.
Everything had to come to an end
In the beautiful city of Lisbon,
No one could leave,
The help was in vain!
Two thousand convent nuns,
Were killed in this way,
And nine thousand priests
Also passed into eternity.
This earthquake is still getting bigger
It even spread across to Africa,
Where the disaster was even greater
Than in Lisbon, indeed!
The Prince of Morocco there on the field
Stands with his regiments,
And in tents several thousand
Soldiers lie.
The earthquake soon swallows them up
Thirty thousand people!
Guns, gunpowder, all weapons
Only a few that can avoid it.
Songs about the Lisbon earthquake, or the Slovenian response to stories about...

In the song, the Lower Carniolan dialect is clearly noticeable and orthographic inconsistency indicates that the writer was poorly educated. At the same time, the song is a remarkable document. It gives a poor description of the earthquake that struck Lisbon on 1 November 1755, but nonetheless provides essential information: the earthquake, tsunami, the horror of the people, who were convinced that the judgment day was coming, their escape from the city, and the moving sea, “which was following them.” When the people, who withdrew from the city, thought that the earthquake was over, they returned to the city to retrieve their property, but they were struck by a new seismic wave, which buried them. According to the song, ninety thousand people were killed, and with them also all the shops, churches, and monasteries were destroyed, because—as the song goes—two hills fell across the city. The earthquake also killed two thousand nuns in convents, as well as nine thousand priests.
The song continues with a description of the catastrophe in Africa: the disaster there was supposed to be even greater. The Moroccan prince was on the field with his people and the soldiers, who stayed in tents. In the earthquake, which occurred within a single minute, everything was destroyed, along with weapons and livestock. Thirty thousand people were believed to have died. The cities of Fes and Meknes were leveled in the earthquake just when people were about to sit down and have lunch. The information provided in the song obviously also refers to aftershocks, or a new earthquake that occurred on 18 November, which was even worse than the first one and completely destroyed the towns described (Meyers 1981: 1268).

The song is therefore also about the earthquake in Africa, which is not mentioned in the songs published in Korytko’s collection of 1844. A closer look nevertheless finds parallels between this song and the second song about the Lisbon earthquake from this collection. In the song, which Korytko published as a folk song, some documentary data were lost or changed. Just a modest description of the catastrophe with the presentation of people’s horror remained; however, the described arrival of people in the city, which took place after eight hours, does not mention whether these were people that escaped the city and returned to retrieve their possessions, or people from the surrounding area that came to steal the victims’ possessions.

The transfer of songs into oral tradition and its transfer in oral tradition caused significant changes in both individual details and the basic data, such as the number of victims: ninety thousand victims turned into twelve thousand, only the number of dead nuns and priests stayed the same. However, the biggest difference between the song written in Ambrožič’s collection and the song published in Korytko’s collection is that the memory of the earthquake in Africa was lost: only the description of camels killed by the earthquake remained. The Prince of Morocco was replaced by the Prince of Navarre, a region in Spain that was under French rule at that time. The mention of the Prince of Navarre may refer to the aid that the nearby state offered in this grand-scale catastrophe.

The Lisbon earthquake caused a turning point in several aspects. Among other things, it marked the beginning of global solidarity and mutual assistance (Halter 2005), which may be indicated by the mention of the Prince of Navarre in the second folksong published in Korytko’s collection. The awareness of the need for examining the causes and consequences of the earthquake triggered the development of new scientific disciplines such as seismography, geology, and sociology (Vidrih 2006: 25; Halter 2005). Nonetheless, this earthquake also introduced doubt about God’s justice into the European mental space, which was also expressed in Voltaire and Goethe’s writings (Gspan 1978: 171; Halter 2005). The Slovenian versions of the song about the Lisbon earthquake do not report anything about this doubt. The answer to this question—whether this is due to the changes caused by the oral transmission of the songs, or the fact that Slovenian songs about the Lisbon earthquake were simply different—is indicated by the oldest publication of this song in Slovenian territory.
THE LISBON EARTHQUAKE AND THE MESSAGE OF THE SONG LEAFLET:
A SONG AS AN EXPRESSION OF SPIRITUAL ASSISTANCE

In 1932, the Slovenian public got to know the original song about the Lisbon earthquake, which was printed on a leaflet. The leaflet has been preserved in the private library of the family of the Slovenian writer Ivan Tavčar, at Visoko Mansion near Škofja Loka (Gspan 1978: 171).

The song of the horror of the earthquake and flood that happened in the year 1765, on the first of November in Portugal in this prestigious city of Lisbon.

1. **Kaisen frrah zeu fveit prehaje,**  
   **Kader fe Bog rešerdi,**  
   **Svoje shtrafinge vendaje,**  
   **S' nami ratiengo deršbi,**  
   **Našho pregrebo shratisfuje,**  
   **Ta zhlovek pak nepofna,**  
   **K' pokuri naš napetuje,**  
   **Tudi enem odog da.**  
   What fear fills the world  
   When God becomes enraged,  
   Giving out his sentences,  
   Demanding payment.  
   He is punishing us for our sins,  
   Which a man does not realize,  
   Leads us to repentance,  
   Gives us some reprieve.

2. **V sdigni fe jeklenu ferze,**  
   **Kir fe emla vsdiguje,**  
   **Spušti shalo v’ tvoje perfse,**  
   **Spožnati, kdu gošpoduje.**  
   Stand up, you steely heart,  
   Because the earth is rising,  
   Let sorrow enter your breast,  
   Recognize who rules.  
   Decide to reform,  
   While there is still time  
   You see God’s revenge  
   How God can destroy us.

3. **Pogledaite Lisabona,**  
   **Meifšu kir mu gliha ni,**  
   **Szieranu s’ Kralovo Krono,**  
   **Sedei pak potštu lešbi.**  
   Look at Lisbon,  
   The city to which nothing can be compared,  
   Decorated with the royal crown,  
   Now lying destroyed.  
   Thus, God can visit  
   Anyone who does not flee from sin,  
   Anyone who refuses to recognize him,  
   And always lives in sin.

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7 The mistake in the title is evident.
8 Pešem od grofše tega potreša inu potopa, kateru se je sgodilu v’ tem Lejtu 1765, tega perviga Novembra v’ Portugali v tem jmenitnem Meifšu LISABONA.
4. Gradi, hifrhe nu Šidovi
so je tam potipali,
Turni nu polotf Krabovi
so je grublam sgihali.
Kai jen jirah nu trepetanje
Je tamkei videt billu:
Kai jen jok nu klagnanje
Se je tamkaj slišhalu.
Castles, houses, and walls
Collapsed there,
Towers and the royal palace
Turned into ruins.
What fear and trembling
Was seen there:
What weeping and lament
Was heard over there.

5. Kar ta semla ni pošherla,
Se je s' ognam šzerelu,
Ktera hifrhe je ni poderla,
Je s' vetram ferderbanu.
Tudi morje grošovitu,
Od vetrna perfilenu,
Je potopitu jerditu
Velku hifrhe nevčmilenu.
What was not swallowed by the earth,
Was decorated with fire,
Houses that did not collapse,
Were destroyed in the wind.
Even the terrible sea,
Forced by the wind
Many houses mercilessly.

6. Vesele perfhone sdrave,
So potfute s' to semlo,
Gofpudi, nu sšlahnte frave
Pod kamenjam konz jemlo,
Tem bogatemo blagu flati,
Ni moglu pomagati.
Však je mogou leben dati,
V' svoji kervi kopati.
Happy and healthy persons
Are buried in this earth,
Lords and noble ladies
Are dying under the rocks,
The rich ones' golden goods
Could not help them.
Everyone had to give his life,
And bathe in his own blood.

7. Otrak na materneh perfeb,
Je mati s' otrakam vred,
So obzhutli martrto v ferzeh,
Mogli grošnu v' kupei vmret.
Ogen, veter, nu nefrezhe,
Strah nu sšalof v' vših kotih.
To Lisabona resmezhe,
Po vših šraneh nu platih.
The baby on the mother's breast,
Mother together with her baby,
They felt pain in their hearts,
When they had to die together terribly.
Fire, wind, and disaster,
Fear and sadness in all corners.
Tear Lisbon apart,
On all sides and parts.

8. Tukai ozha sfoje deite,
Vidi v' karvi plavati,
Tamkai gospa sfoje dekle,
Sljhi v' ogni jamrati.
Karvavo pesbeni ludie
Tamkai na kupeh lufhe,
Kter pred oignam vjeti ožhjo,
Ti le pak v' morju vtope.
Here the father sees his baby
Swimming in the blood,
A lady over there hears her maid
Moaning in the fire.
People burned and bleeding,
Are lying over there in piles,
Those who want to escape the fire,
Are just drowned in the sea.
In the leaflet, which has been preserved at Visoko Mansion, a poem was printed that was apparently the basis for creating the first song about the Lisbon earthquake in Korytko’s collection. Linguistic awkwardness and spelling inconsistency of the song again indicate the poor education of the author. However, the prayer added to the song is worth special attention. In this case, it was not a prayer against unexpected death, as previously thought (Gspan 1978: 171), but a prayer for all victims of the earthquake, which completely changes the view of the role of this Slovenian song.

The Lisbon earthquake introduced doubt in God’s justice to the European mental space, whereas the Slovenian song leaflet provided a prayer for all the victims. This is actually the feature that most distinguishes Slovenian variants of the songs about the Lisbon earthquake from the reactions of European intellectuals. At a time when, due to a major disaster, Europe called into question God’s justice, both Slovenian songs about the Lisbon earthquake called for repentance and also asked God to protect people from disaster. The prayer added to the song on the leaflet had another important message: it provided spiritual help to all those that perished in the Lisbon earthquake.

The leaflet found at Visoko clearly shows how the news of the devastating earthquake spread, especially because the deadliest earthquake in recent European history was also the first global media event (Halter 2005). In this respect, a comparison with three songs (or song leaflets) that have been preserved in Central Europe is very informative. These are song responses to the tragic event, which differ both from the Slovenian song about

9. **Gleite koku Bug mogozhni**
   Velke gore ponifha,
   Nu de fo ih turni mozchni,
   K’ temu prahu pergliha.
   O jerditi Kral Nebovehki:
   Mi pojnamo tvojo muzh,
   Sanes si dushi zlovehki,
   Podai nie to vezhmo Luzh.
   KONZ.

   **Ovsmileni Gospud JESU Christe!**
   mi te pohleunu prosimo:
   jkus tvojo prebritko tertpleinie,
   inu smertno britku,
   vjmili je zhes sfe lete,
   kateri fo v’ti nhyperzbi smert siurili.
   Amen.
   (cited in Debeljak 1932: 688–689)

   See how almighty God
   Levels great mountains,
   And even though the towers are strong,
   He turns them into dust.
   Oh, the angry Heavenly King,
   We know your strength,
   Spare the human soul,
   Grant it the perpetual light.
   THE END.

   O merciful Lord Jesus Christ!
   We ask you humbly:
   Through your bitter suffering
   And your bitter death,
   Have mercy on all those
   Who have died in this disaster.
   Amen.

(cited in Debeljak 1932: 688–689)
the earthquake and among themselves. They include a very documentary German record that largely focuses on the difficulties of victims finding a solution to free themselves (Richter 1972: 5–6); a record from Tyrol, in which the author is a young Anna Catrina Schuechterin from Tschagguns (Montafon); and record from Switzerland, which in addition to human casualties—it mentions more than one hundred thousand, just like the Tyrolean record—estimates the value of lost gold and silver. All three records preserved have a distinct novella-like character: in the introduction they invite the audience to listen to the song about the devastating earthquake, and then they each go on to describe the disaster that struck Lisbon in their own way. What all three songs have in common is that they consider the Lisbon earthquake a divine punishment, and therefore invite listeners to reform and ask God for mercy.

Despite these conclusions that bring these songs closer to the preaching models, the foreign examples differ significantly from the Slovenian ones not only in the presentation of the content, but especially in the function of the song messages. These examples have a notable novella-like emphasis, which shows that the songs were presented as songs about terrifying events—that is, as broadside ballads. In contrast, for the Slovenian songs organists played an important role in spreading and preserving, or perhaps even producing, these songs. This is shown by both the preservation of these songs by organists Repež and Ambrožič and by the use of this song’s tune as the basis for new creativity. Moreover, this finding also raises the question of the role of organists in the Slovenian production of songs with a novella character.

Alongside the preserved Slovenian song leaflet and the prayer accompanying the song, the role of Slovenian organists raises another important question: was the attitude expressed in this prayer a Slovenian special feature, or was it just one of the responses to the disaster in Portugal, which was not linked to nationality, but has been preserved only in Slovenia? The search for this answer reveals not only the consequences of the Lisbon earthquake, but also the attitude to the world at large or its changing.

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9 The copy is kept by the German Folksong Archive (Deutsches Volksliedarchiv, in the following text used as abbreviation: DVA) in Freiburg, B 18652. I would like to thank the librarian at the archive, Barbara Boock, for providing the archival copies.

10 DVA, Bla 552, copy of Paul Beck’s quotation in Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde in Berlin 1906, Nr. 4, p. 55 (Forschung u. Mitteilungen zur Geschichte Tirols u. Vorarlbergs).

11 DVA, A 62063; originally in the Swiss Archive for Folklore Studies (SVA), 14 361, p. 24.
“THE SONG ABOUT LISBON” AND SLOVENIAN FOLKLORE STUDIES, OR THE SLOVENIAN RECEPTION OF THE LISBON EARTHQUAKE AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The overview of Slovenian songs about the Lisbon earthquake, compared to the responses of European intellectuals, thus indicates important changes in the attitude towards the world. It is exactly these songs and their subsequent fate that offer important conclusions at another level: the ideological changes that affected Europe (Gspan 1978: 171; Halter 2005) were followed by changes in the attitudes towards the songs that were related to foreign people and other nations.

After the death of Emil Korytko, the editor of the first collection of Slovenian folksongs, the songs about Lisbon were no longer found in standard folksong collections, although they were still largely preserved in transcriptions (Petelin 1875; Kokošar [no year]). Namely, in the second half of the nineteenth century the Slovenian concept of assessing and editing folksongs became stricter: because of the interconnections between the Slovenian and German cultures, which was primarily facilitated by the incorporation of Slovenian ethnic territory into the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the opposition to foreign influences was one of the fundamental requirements of efforts in folklore studies. In the second half of the nineteenth century, this requirement was further enhanced due to ethnic tensions. The comprehensive collection of Slovenian folksongs, Slovenske narodne pesmi, whose first part edited by the Slavic studies professor Karel Štrekelj was published in 1895 in Graz (Štrekelj 1895), was very consistent in eliminating songs with a clear foreign influence. The song “Lisbon Flooded” thus cannot be found in Štrekelj’s collection.12

On 14 April of the same year (1895), Ljubljana was struck by an earthquake, which mostly caused property damage (Vidrih 2006: 22–24). However, although this earthquake could not be compared with the impact of the Lisbon earthquake, it evoked memories of it: in the newspaper Slovenski narod (Slovenian Nation), the Slovenian poet and writer Josip Stritar published the poem “Slovenska Lizbona” (The Slovenian Lisbon), which he also translated into German and published it the Viennese newspaper Neue Freie Presse a day earlier—that is, on 24 April. The poem brought considerable financial support to Ljubljana, which was also the purpose of these publications. It was also published in Croatian and Czech translation (Nepodpisano 1895: 385–387). However, Stritar’s poem also shows that the Lisbon earthquake was still present in the consciousness of the Slovenians.

12 On this basis, the two songs about Lisbon were also excluded from the contemporary basic collection of Slovenian folksongs, as part of which five volumes of narrative songs have been published so far (SLP I–V, 1970–2007). This collection has complemented Štrekelj’s previous collection of Slovenian folksongs, but the songs about the Lisbon earthquake were not included in it, although they were known to the editors (Kumer 1976: 124). Exclusion of these songs demonstrates the durability of established folklore viewpoints, which considered the validation of national identity to be the goal of folklore studies.
Stritar’s poem “The Slovenian Lisbon” highlighted another aspect: the earthquake itself and its parallels with the Lisbon earthquake were intended to make Ljubljana famous. Stritar expressed this very directly in the fifth verse:

*Ljubljana, prej po svetu malo znana,*  
*Imenovana redko med narodi!*  
*Zdaj, opustošena in razdejana,*  
*Zaslula boi pov sod po ti nezgodi.*  
*Lizbono bodo te slovensko zvali,*  
*Rodovi pozni še te milovali*

*Ljubljana, little known in the world in the past,*  
*Rarely spoken of among nations!*  
*Now, devastated and destroyed,*  
*You’ll become famous everywhere for this disaster.*  
*You’ll be called the Slovenian Lisbon,*  
*And pitied by future generations. (Stritar 1895: 22)*

Thanks to Josip Stritar, this poem was also printed on a leaflet (Dolenc 1982: 115), in which he relied on the tradition of publishing these types of songs on leaflets. The poetic response to the Ljubljana earthquake thus symbolically concluded the story of the devastating 1775 Lisbon earthquake and the special Slovenian response to it. This is a story that, despite the geographic distance, left deep traces among Slovenians and in its own way provided a perspective not only on the completely unknown inhabitants of large and wealthy Lisbon, but also on the views of Slovenian folklore studies and in its assessment of the songs about the fate of distant nations.

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PESMI O LIZBONSKEM POTRESU ALI SLOVENSKI ODZIV NA ZGODBO O NESREČI DRUGEGA

Zbiranje slovenskih ljudskih pesmi je dobilo v 19. stoletju izrazito nacionalnopromocijski značaj in je bilo namenjeno predstaviti tistega izročila, v katerem so zapoševalci in uredniki prepoznavali nacionalno izvirnost. V prvi zbirki slovenskih ljudskih pesmi, slovenske pesmi krajinškega naróda, ki jo je z pomočjo slovenskih sodelavcev pripravil poljski emigrant Emil Korytko, pa sta bili leta 1844 objavljeni dve pesmi z naslovom "Lisbona potopljena". Uvrstitev teh pesmi v nacionalno zbirko, ki je za Slovence zaradi tuje pesemske snovi presenetljiva, kaže na širši koncept urednika in na pomen te pesmi v slovenskem izročilu.

Pesmi se nanašata na siloviti potres 1. novembra leta 1755, ki je skoraj v celoti porušil Lizbono. Nastali sta kot del izjemne medijske odmevnosti tega dogodka, kar pa se v njiju kaže na različne načine. V prvi pesmi potres v Lizboni pesniku služi kot zgled, eksempl, na podlagi katerega dokazuje veljavnost krščanskega nauka in kliče k spreobrnjenju in pokori. Druga pesem je pozornjejša do samega dogajanja; dogodek predstavlja z večjo empatijo za trpljenje ljudi in ga sklene s priprošnjo Mariji. Iz zapisov ni mogoče razbrati geneze pesmi, njuno odmevnost pa dokazujejo zapisi posameznih variant s konca 19. in celo z začetka 20. stoletja. Ne objave ne rokopisi teh pesmi pa ne vsebujejo podatkov o tem, za kateri potres v Lizboni gre in kako sta pesmi prišli na Slovensko.

Odgovore na to ponujajo starejši zapisi. V pesmarici Filipa Jakoba Repeža, ki je prvič izšla leta 1770, je v pesmi, namenjeni prošnji procesiji za dež, uporabljena melodija pesmi o lizbonskem
potresu. Repežev sodobnik Jožef Ambrožič, organist v Dobrepolju na Dolenjskem, pa je v svojih zapisih pri štirih pesmih navedel, da se pojejo »na vižo Lizabone«. Zapisovalec ljudskih pesmi Franc Kramar, ki je na začetku dvajsetega stoletja poročal o Ambrožičevem delu, je opozoril tudi na kontekst izvirne pesmi, torej na potres v Lizboni leta 1755. Objavil je tudi izvirno pesem in podatke o sami katastrofi.

Za razumevanje slovenskih pesmi o lizbonskem potresu je pomemben tudi širši evropski kontekst. Pregled dogajanja tem prostoru namreč kaže, da je siloviti potres v Lizboni prinesel prelom v več pogledih: pomenil je začetek globalne solidarnosti in medsebojne pomoči, zavedanje potrebe po preučevanju vzrokov in posledic potresa pa je sprožilo razvoj novih znanstvenih disciplin, kot so seizmografija, geologija, sociologija in drugih. Hkrati je v evropski miselni prostor vnesel dvom o božji pravičnosti, ki sta ga v svojih zapisih izrazila tudi Voltaire in Goethe.

Znane slovenske varijante pesmi o lizbonskem potresu o tem dvoru, je počitavo ničesar. Razloge za to razkriva najdba slovenske predloge oziroma izvirnika, letaka, objavljenega leta 1932, ki je se obranil na dvorcu Visoko pri Škofji Loki. Primerjava kaže, da je bila na letaku natisnjena pesem, ki je bila osnova za nastanek prve pesmi o lizbonskem potresu v Korytkovi zbirki. Pesmi je dodana molitev za vse žrtve potresa.

Medtem ko je torej lizbonski potres v evropski miselni prostor vnesel dvom o božji pravičnosti, je slovenski pesemski letak prinesel molitev za vse žrtve. Ta značilnost slovenske variant pesmi o potresu v Lizboni najbolj ločuje od odziva evropskih razumnikov: v času, ko je Evropa zaradi velike nesreče podvomila o božji pravičnosti, sta obe slovenski pesmi o lizbonskem potresu klicali k spreobrnitvi. Molitev je pomenila tudi duhovno pomoč vsem tistim, ki so umrli nenadne smrti.

V tem se slovenski letak ločuje tudi od vsebine te pesmi na drugih pesemskih letakah, najdenih v srednjeevropskem prostoru, zasnovanih kot poulične ali sejmarske pesmi. Primerjava s tujimi primeri kaže, da so imeli pri širjenju in ohranjanju ali morda tudi pri ustvarjanju slovenskih pesmi o tem dogodku pomembno vlogo organisti. Vloga organistov pa ob ohranjenem slovenskem pesemskem letaku oziroma ob molitvi, ki je pesmi dodana, odpira še eno pomembno vprašanje: ali je šlo v tem primeru za slovensko posebnost ali pa je šlo morda za enega od odzivov na veliko nesrečo na Portugalskem, povsem nasprotnega od dvoma, ki je tedaj zaznamoval evropske razumnike. Iskanje tega odgovora pa ne razkriva le posledic potresa v Lizboni, temveč odnos do sveta nasploho oziroma njegovo spreminjanje.

Preminjal pa se ni le odnos do sveta, temveč tudi odnos do pesmi, ki so se nanašale na ustvarjalnost, povezane z drugimi narodi. Po smrti Emila Korytka, urednika prve zbirke slovenskih pesmi, pesmi o Lizboni na Slovenskem ni več zaslediti v tiskani obliki, temveč le še v prepisih. V drugi polovici 19. stoletja se je na Slovenskem namreč koncept presojanja oziroma urejanja ljudskih pesmi zaostro: zaradi prepletene slovenske kulture z nemško je bilo nasprotovanje tujim vplivom ena od temeljnih zahtev folklorističnih prizadevanj. Ta zahteva se je v drugi polovici 19. stoletja zaradi nacionalnih nasprotovanj stopnjevala. Velika zbirka slovenskih pesmi, Slovenske narodne pesmi, ki jo je leta 1895 začel izdajati Karel Štekelj, je bila pri izločanju pesmi s prepoznavnim tujim vplivom zelo dosledna. V Štekeljevi zbirki tako pesem Lizbona potopljena zaman iščemo. Na lizbonski potres in na spomin nanj pa je prav v
letu izida prvega zvezka Štrekljeve zbirke opozoril slovenski pesnik in pisatelj Josip Stritar, ki je v časopisu Slovenski narod objavil pesem »Slovenska Lizbona«, predstavljenem tudi v tujini. Primerjava ljubljanskega potresa z lizbonskim je v Stritarjevi pesmi Ljubljani prinesla precejšnjo finančno pomoč. Pesem hkrati dokazuje, da je bil lizbonski potres v tem času v zavesti Slovencev še vedno navzoč. Stritar je poskrbel tudi za natis te pesmi na letaku, s čimer se je naslonil na tradicijo objavljanja pesmi te vrste na letakih. Pesemski odziv na ljubljanski potres je tako simbolično sklenil zgodbo o potresu, ki ga je leta 1775 sprožila velika katastrofa v Lizboni, in zgodbo o slovenskem odzivu nanu.

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