

PRIMOŽ TRUBAR IN GORIZIA AND FRIULI

Trubar je oktobra 1563 preživel tri tedne v goriški grofiji, kamor je prispel na povabilo nekaterih tamkajšnjih plemičev. Njegov obisk je kmalu dobil mednarodni pomen. Beneške oblasti, papeški nuncij v Benetkah in na Dunaju ter celo cesar Ferdinand I. so izdali uradne izjave neodobravanja, nasprotovanje pa ni preprečilo širitve luteranstva v goriški grofiji. Beneška Furlanija je postala pomembna pot, preko katere so se južno od Alp širile publikacije, izdane v Urachu. Anton Dalmata je bil do leta 1556 duhovnik v Huminu; iz Nemčije je s pomočjo širokega kroga prijateljev širil knjige po vsej Furlaniji, v Gorico in v smer Istre. Nicolas Pichler je pošiljal knjige iz Beljaka preko Trbiža in doline reke Bele v Humin in Furlanijo. Po isti poti so v avstrijske dežele prihajale tudi italijanske, nemške in slovanske knjige. Še ob koncu 16. stol. so bile knjige, tiskane v Urachu, zaplenjene v Gorici, Gradiški in Devinu. Zaradi tega so v Furlaniji poznali Trubarja celo protestantje italijanskega jezika. Leta 1567 je videmska inkvizicija radikalnega protestanta Bernardina della Zorza iz Vidma postavila pred sodišče, ker je slavil »našega velikega preroka Primoža« in ga primerjal z Luthrom, Janom Husom in Girolamom Savonarolo.

Luteranstvo, oglejski patriarh, Anton Dalmata, Stipan Konzul, Humin, protestantske knjige

In October 1563 Trubar spent three weeks in the County of Gorizia upon the invitation of some local noblemen. His visit soon took on international significance. Formal declarations of disapproval were issued by the Venetian government, the papal nuncios in Venice and Vienna, and even by the Emperor Ferdinand I. However, the disagreement did not impede the spread of Lutheranism in the County of Gorizia. Venetian Friuli became an important route for the diffusion of publications from Urach south of the Alps. Until 1556 Anton Dalmata had been a priest in Gemona; then, via his extensive network of friends, he distributed books from Germany all over Friuli, in Gorizia and towards Istria. Nicolas Pichler sent books from Villach, through Tarvisio and the Fella valley to Gemona and Friuli. Italian, German and Slavic books were brought into the Austrian dominions via the same route. In the late sixteenth century books printed in Urach were still being confiscated in Gorizia, Gradisca and Duino, so Trubar was known in Friuli even by Italian-speaking Protestants. In 1567 a radical Protestant, Bernardino della Zorza from Udine, brought to trial by the Inquisition in Udine, celebrated »our great prophet Primos«, comparing him to Luther, Jan Hus and Girolamo Savonarola.

Lutheranism, Patriarch of Aquileia, Anton Dalmata, Stipan Consul (Konzul), Gemona, Protestant books

1

Trubar came to Gorizia from Ljubljana at the end of October 1563. On 29th October the parish priest of Gorizia, Matej Mrcina, went to Udine to denounce

Trubar's presence to the patriarch's vicar, Jacopo Maracco, and to beg the vicar's immediate presence in the city. On that same day Maracco wrote to the patriarch Giovanni Grimani, whose seat was in Venice.¹ In Gorizia, Trubar had preached and given the Eucharist *sub utraque specie* in a private house; he had also administered baptism without Catholic rite; he had the nobility's support, but was also followed by simple citizens and peasants. Two Gorizia priests had revealed themselves to be his followers.² In such a situation the patriarch vicar thought his visit to Gorizia could pointlessly expose his own life to risk. Some weeks later Maracco wrote in Latin to the parish priest Mrcina.³ As a parish priest, he had to look after his flock, and to fight Trubar and the heretics with the help of the political authorities, particularly of the County deputy regent, Veit von Dornberg, a good Catholic.

In the meantime, in Venice the patriarch Grimani had reacted through diplomatic channels to the news of Trubar's journey. On November 14th the imperial ambassador Franz Thurn-Valsassina wrote to the Emperor Ferdinand I referring to the reaction of the patriarch and the Venetian authorities.⁴ In Ljubljana, Trubar became acquainted with these protests; as early as 1st December he wrote two letters, one to Georg von Thurn-Heiligenkreuz, the other to the same Thurn and *an die anderen Herren in Görz (to the other Gentlemen in Gorizia)*, in which he described what he had been doing in Gorizia.⁵ On December 9th he made a shorter report to his patron, Baron Hans Ungnad:

¹ Udine, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, Ms. 139, *Epistole di Jacopo Maracco*: fol. 4r-4v; Maracco to Patriarch Grimani, Udine October 29th, 1563, copy: »Hoggi è stato a me il piovano di quel luoco, nuovamente presentato a quella pieve vacante dalla Maestà Cesarea et, dapoi havere ottenuto la confirmatione, si è steso in deplorare l'infelice et misero stato di quella Terra, per la novella peste seminata da quel Primos heretico, qual non satio d'haver infettato alcune ville di quel contado, col favor del conte è intrato nella Terra et predicò, se ben in casa privata, la sua empia dottrina; commonica chiunque va *sub utraque specie* in habito secolare, batteza con acqua semplice, senza altra cerimonia della chiesa, et fa mille mali con un seguito estremo delli nobili et concorso anco delli ignobili et delli poveri contadini, di maniera che ogni rimedio sarà quasi tardo et vano, se Iddio non agiuta o Sua Maestà non la fa davvero: il che non si crede.« For Jacopo Maracco, the patriarch of Aquileia Giovanni Grimani's vicar but not suffragan bishop (*weihbischof*), as Trubar wrote to Ungnad (Paolin 2009).

² Ibid. »Il mio andare a quella terra sarebbe con pericolo della persona mia, perché colui [Trubar] va molto accompagnato, et questi nemici della verità fanno del male facilmente alli cattolici [...]. Fautori et complici di costui sono doi pessimi preti beneficiati del loco; uno è quel bestemmatore del quale altra fiata ho scritto, l'altro è il piovano di San Pietro, pur di Goritia, quali sono ambidua heretici scoperti et marzi.« The two priests were Bartholomaeus Pogiboch, chaplain of Gorizia Cathedral, and Francesco Croco, a former Calabrian friar (Cavazza 1976: 15, 19–20).

³ *Epistole di Jacopo Maracco*: fol. 206r; Maracco to Mrcina, November 16th or 26th, 1563: »Tu igitur vigiles super grege tibi commissio, caveas illi a Primosio et a ceteris haereticis, et ad augustissimi Caesaris auxilium confugas hortor.« On Matej Mrcina see *Slovenski Biografski Leksikon* 2009: *ad vocem*.

⁴ Udine, Biblioteca del Seminario, Ms. 294: ff. 419v-420r; Francesco Della Torre-Valsassina to Ferdinand I, Venice, November 14th, 1563, copy: »Reverendissimus Patriarcha Aquilegiensis me diebus istis convenit mihi que significavit se informationem habuisse quod nuper nonnulli ex Goritia quendam presbiterum vocatum Primos ex Lubiana convocarunt eumque ibi praedicare ac communionem et baptismum secundum novum religionis ritum exercere permittuntur et iubent.«

⁵ Trubar to Georg von Thurn, Ljubljana, December 1st, 1563; Elze 1897: n. 41, 366–368; n. 42, 368–370; Rajhman 1986: n. 40, 167–168; 41, 169–171.

Vor vier wochen bin ich von herrn Jörgen grafen freiherrn vom Thurn etc. gen Görz erfordert, und daselbst vierzehn tage nach einander deutsch, windisch und walisch in der herren von Eck haus, und zu Rubia im gechloß, denn die pfaffen haben auf unser ersuchen mich in die kirche nicht zugelassen, gepredigt, und das nachtmahl in allen drei sprachen gehalten, und dem herrn Hannibal von Eck einen sohn getauft, darob die pfaffen und mönche sind schier unsinnig worden. Und am herausreiten auf meinem kleinen eselein hab ich zum Kreuz in der kirche am einem sonntag, dabei der ganze Wippacher boden und viel pfaffen gewest, eine predigt gethan, dawider niemand nichts geredet, auch den priestern selbst wohlgefallen, welche predigt, will's gott, will ich in kürze in die obgemeldte drei sprachen bringen und e. gn. zuschicken, daß man sie drucke. Denn die görzerischen etliche pfaffen und mönche mit hilf und schutz des Amarack, weihbischof und vicari general des aquilejischen Patriarchen zu Weiden [Udine] und des päpstischen legaten zu Wien haben den gottseligen frommen herrn grafen von Thurn und seiner gn. Fürstlich gemahl und mich gegen der röm. kai. mt. etc. hoch versagt, auch befehl auf den herrn verwalter Dornberger zu Görz und auf den herrn Lanthieri erlangt, daß wenn ich in die grafenschaft Görz mehr komme, mich gefänglich einziehen.⁶

In his letter to the nobles of Gorizia, Trubar specified that he had preached about the first and second epistle of John and the tenth chapter of the *Acts of the Apostles*, the narration of the centurion Cornelius' conversion.⁷ The hint to the gift of the languages that is in this passage (10, 46: »They heard them speak with tongues, and magnify God«) is somewhat reminiscent of *Romans*, 14, 12: *Et omnis lingua confidebitur Deo*, every tongue shall confess to God, the quotation frequently appearing on the title-page of Slovenian editions in the sixteenth century: this reference fully matches the sermons in the three languages.⁸

Trubar insisted on the religious aspect of his short stay in Gorizia. But his visit had political and diplomatic repercussions in Venice, Rome and Vienna that were halted only by the death of Emperor Ferdinand I (25th July 1564).⁹ Georg von Thurn-Heiligenkreuz was the son and vicar of the captain of Gorizia, the powerful

⁶ Trubar to Hans Ungnad, Trubar, Ljubljana, December 9th, 1563; Elze 1897: n. 42, 368–370; Rajhman 1986: n. 42, 172–176 (»Pred 4 tedni me je poklical gospod Jurij, grof in baron s Thurna itd., v Gorico, in sem tu 14 dni zapovrstjo pridigal nemško, slovensko in laško v hiši gospodov Eckov in na gradu v Rubijah, kajti duhovniki me na prošnjo niso pustili v cerkev. Obhajal sem večerjo v vseh treh jezikih in krstil sina gospodu Hanibalu Ecku. Zaradi tega so duhovniki in menihi kar noreli. In ko sem jahal nazaj na svojem osliču, sem v Križu pridigal neko nedeljo v cerkvi; zbrala se je vsa vipavska dolina in mnogo duhovnikov; nihče ni ugovarjal, celo duhovnikom je pridiga ugajala; to pridigo bom, ako Bog da, na kratko sestavil v omenjenih treh jezikih in poslal vaši milosti, da se natisne. Nekateri goriški duhovniki in menihi so s pomočjo in po nasvetu Maracca, pomožnega škofa in generalnega vikarje patriarha v Vidmu, [in] papeževga legata na Dunaju obsodili bogaboječega pobožnega gospoda grofa Thurna, njegovo milostno knežjo soprogo in mene pri rimskem cesarskem veličanstvu itd. ter tudi dosegli ukaze za gospoda upravitelja Dornbergerja v Gorici in gospoda Lanthierija, naj me ulovijo in zaprejo, če še kdaj pridem v grofijo Goriško.«)

⁷ Elze 1897: 369; Rajhman 1986: 167.

⁸ See for example Trubar's title-pages: *Abecedarium und der klein Catechismus*, 1550; *Abecedarium. Ene buquice* (1555); Adam Bohorič, *Arcticae horulae succisivae*, 1584; Berčič 1968: n. 3, 4, 45.

⁹ Wien, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, *Österreichische Akten*, Görz, Gradiska, Friaul, Fsz. 2; Steinherz 1914: 287–290; Cavazza 2006b: 385–389.

Franz von Thurn-Heiligenkreuz, who had been living in Prague for some ten years as a *Hofmarschall* of the Archduke Ferdinand, the Emperor's second son and governor of Bohemia.¹⁰ Hannibal von Eck-Ungerspach belonged to a Carniolan family that had become Lutheran some years before: his residence in Gorizia, where Trubar preached, was the Ungerspach's old mansion, right in the town centre, in front of the Provincial States Palace.¹¹ Among Trubar's supporters there was also Andreas von Attems, a very influential personage among the lesser nobility of the County, who had become a Lutheran during his sojourn in Germany.¹² The very rich Lantieri family, entitled to two seignories controlling the road from Gorizia to Ljubljana (Reiffenberg, now Branik, in the County of Gorizia; and Vipava, in Carniola) also became Lutheran: for this reason the government in Vienna had requested the Lantieri to seize Trubar on his way back. But Trubar knew their religious position pretty well: he wrote, indeed, that »Herr Lantieri« (probably Lorenzo Lantieri, given that his father, Gaspare, had died in that same year of 1563) was still »ein Nikodemus«, that is one who hid his faith.¹³

2

Trubar never returned to Gorizia, nor was there ever a Lutheran preacher permanently resident in the town. At the beginning of 1565 Thomas Ostermann, who had taken over the role of *Burgprediger* for the Lantieri at Vipava, went to Gorizia and baptized another son of Hannibal von Eck, and so he gave rise to a second series of protests by the parish priest Mrcina, the patriarchal vicar Maracco and the papal nuncio in Vienna Zaccaria Delfino, much worried about what was happening in Gorizia.¹⁴ Since the Lutheran nobility preferred to have their Lutheran

¹⁰ Hirn 1885–1888: I, 367–368; II, 462–463; Cavazza 2002: 229, 298–299.

¹¹ On Hannibal von Eck see Cavazza 2002: 299–301.

¹² Andreas von Attems speaks about himself in his German autobiography: see Tersch 1998: 280–284.

¹³ Trubar to Georg von Thurn, Ljubljana, December 1st, 1583, cit.; Elze 1897: 367; Rajhman 1986: 170–171. On the Lutheranism of the Lantieri family since Gaspare Lantieri, see the recent: Stasi 2008: 44–48; 50–53.

¹⁴ *Epistole di Jacopo Maracco*: fol. 38r-38v; Maracco to Patriarch Grimani, Udine, January 10th, 1565: »Essendo pochi dì sono nato un altro figlio a quel Dech [Hannibal von Eck], questo mal huomo ha procurato che Primosio ha mandato un suo simile, qual ha fatto l'istesso officio di battizare, comunicare et predicare, che egli fece l'anno passato [...]. Et perché le sue prediche piacquero a certi nobili del luoco, li fu fatto partito di condurlo per predicatione tutto l'anno per 150 rainesi.« Patriarca Grimani wrote to the Archduke Charles ever since January 20th: Steinherz 1914: 287–288; contemporarily he asked Rome its nuncio Zaccaria Delfino's intervention. Two months later Maracco asked the deputy regent (Landsverweser) of Gorizia to arrest Ostermann; *Epistole di Jacopo Maracco*: fol., c. 44r; Maracco to the Landsverweser Veit von Dornberg, Udine, March 10th, 1565: »Prego quanto più posso di cuore ch'Ella si contenti [...] di prestarmi il suo braccio et favore, con fare ritenere dalli suoi officiali quel pre' Thomaso Osterman, ch'ha commesso in Goritia quelle impietà, et conservarlo nelle sue pregioni.« Yet Ostermann was never arrested and kept on dealing with Lutheran propaganda. Maracco's protestation, ibidem, f. 215r: Maracco to the Archduke Charles, Udine, June 5th, 1565: »Tanti nostras litteras fecit ut [...] Ostermannus autem in vico Vipavae, quasi in asylo, tutissimus degat et nos rideat.« Thomas Ostermann had been Trubar's fellow student in Vienna in 1528: see Rupel 1962: 425.

ministers privately in their castles, complying with a concession they were granted by the Archduke Charles, Ferdinand's I son and successor for the Inner Austria provinces (*Innerösterreich*: Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Gorizia, Trieste),¹⁵ until the end of the sixteenth century those who professed the Lutheran faith had to go for the public cult to the neighbouring Vipava, which legally belonged to Carniola, so they were under the Lantieris' protection.¹⁶

On the other hand, the books and publications edited by Trubar in Tübingen and in Urach went the rounds in the County of Gorizia, but also in the adjacent Venetian Friuli on a large scale and over a long period. In 1581 the new patriarchal vicar of Udine, Bishop Paolo Bisanti, wrote to the archduke Charles that he had confiscated more than 2,000 books in the course of his visit to the Austrian part of his diocese; all the books had been in the hands of the Slovene clergy, who had read them eagerly and used them in their ministry.¹⁷ In the second half of the sixteenth century the majority of the Lutheran books printed in Germany, particularly the Slavic publications from Urach, mostly passed through Villach, whose territory was the domain of the prince-bishop of Bamberg, and hence they were sent to Graz and Ljubljana. In addition to this, there was another, less well-known route that also started from Villach, entered Venetian territory at Pontebba, and then through the valleys of the rivers Fella and Tagliamento arrived at Gemona; from these places books could easily be distributed across the Friulian plain, or brought further towards Gorizia, Trieste and Istria.¹⁸ In March 1558 Pier Paolo Vergerius had covered this route from Villach to arrive at Duino, on the Adriatic coast, crossing the whole of Friuli by coach and four. It was an inquiry instituted by the Inquisition of Udine on Vergerius's journey that revealed the presence of an important centre of Lutheran propaganda for North-Eastern Italy in Gemona.¹⁹

The key figure was an Istrian priest, known in Gemona as Antonio of Pinguente (nowadays Buzet, in Croatian Istria), an organist and choir master, who had lived in this town since 1537.²⁰ Around the year 1552 Antonio came into contact with another Istrian priest, Stefano of Pinguente, a refugee in Villach for religious reasons, who had previously lived in Mariano (nowadays Mariano del Friuli, a feud of the Eck family in the Gorizia area).²¹ Around 1555 Stefano of Pinguente lived in Villach

¹⁵ See Schmidt 1908: 112–113.

¹⁶ Cavazza 1996: 45–48, 54.

¹⁷ Salimbeni 1977: n. 125, 245; Bisanti to the Archduke Charles, Udine, October 25th, 1581, copy: »Ho stazzato quanti libri me ne sono venuti alle mani di Martin Luthero et di Trubero et altri eretici, che in questa mia visitatione ne ho strazziati più di domilla, et liberato le anime di quei poverini, che si andavano esercitando giorno et notte in leggere le suddette versioni et interpretationi, senza temma o rispetto di alcuna escommunicatione papale.«

¹⁸ Cavazza 1976: 35–51; Rozzo 2006.

¹⁹ Del Col 1998: XXVIII–XXXII. 147–152 and passim; Rozzo, 2006, 74–77; Rozzo, 2009.

²⁰ Del Col 1998: 31, and note 48, 241, and note 1. At Gemona Antonio of Pinguente was titular priest of the altars of Saint Thomas and of the Three Wise Kings at Saint Mary's.

²¹ See interrogations to Dionigi de Rizzardi, Udine, April 18th, 1558 (Del Col 1998: 26): »Monitus fuit ut esprimat nomina et cognomina omnium Italarum, cum quibus locutus fuit in Italia vel extra de huiusmodi

at Nikolaus Pichler's (Bühler, Büchler, but also Pillar, according to various sources), together with Agostino Sereni, a follower of Vergerius who had escaped from Koper in 1549. It is possible that Pichler had married a daughter of Sereni. As early as 1555 Stefano of Pinguente and Pichler were distributing Protestant books in Italy, particularly Vergerius's works.²²

The priest Stefano of Pinguente is undoubtedly the Croatian Stipan Konzul.²³ It is more difficult to identify Antonio "of Pinguente." He escaped from Gemona to avoid being seized by the Inquisition so he was sentenced in contumacy on 5th December, 1558.²⁴ Nevertheless, he remained in contact with the Lutherans of Gemona. In 1581 one of these told the Inquisition that Antonio of Pinguente had died shortly before in Ljubljana²⁵. This witness seems to justify the priest's identification with Antun Dalmata (Dalmatin), who died precisely in 1579 in Ljubljana.²⁶ And yet it is difficult to explain why in Gemona he was known as Antonio of Pinguente: perhaps in order to have an ecclesiastical benefice he wanted to introduce himself as a Venetian subject, instead of an Austrian one (since he came from Fiume [Rijeka] or Segna [Senj], two towns on the Adriatic coast that were subject to the Hapsburgs).²⁷ Konzul, Antun Dalmata and Nikolaus Pichler played a

dogmatibus haereticis [...] dixit: Il primo che mi parlò di queste cose in Germania fu un prete Stephano de Pinguente, il quale in Villacho, dove lui stava quella volta, me ne parlò tre o quattro anni sono incirca [...]»; Udine, May 18th, 1558 (Del Col 1998: 31): »Item dixit che quando furno mandati a lui da pre Stephano, del quale nelli suoi costituiti, i libri del Luthero già detti da lui, insieme con li suoi erano pur certi libri, cioè il Luthero sopra il Genesis et l'*Apostilla* con una lettera, la quale littera et libri andavano et esso li consegnò a pre Antonio da Pinguente, habitante in Gemona, il qual li tolse da lui.« See also his deposition on May 26th, 1558 (Del Col 1998: 43): »Circa presbyterum Antonium, qui in tertio constituto nominatus est, m'è suvenuto che za pol esser anni sei incirca mi nominò pre Stefano de Pinguente sopradetto [...]. Lo conosceva, como credo, per esser tutti d'una patria. Dapoi mi disse che, volendo io qualcosa bella in materia de libri, dovesse trovar in Villaco il detto pre Stefano apresso Nicolò Piler: dove che [...] lo trovai lozato apresso il detto Nicolò. Et domandando la causa che era levato de qua, disse esser partito da Meriano et da non so che altro logo dove il stava, da persecutione che haveva per haver communicato sub utraque specie.« In the Inquisition's reports the two priests are always named with their own first name followed by the place of origin according to the Italian usage of the time.

²² Ibid.: 26, and note 41; see previously Cavazza 1996: 39.

²³ Konzul had been in contact with Trubar since 1552: Bučar 1910: 73–76. Jembrih 2007 does not write about Konzul's life before 1560.

²⁴ Del Col 1998: 241–242: »Christi nomine invocato, dicimus, sententiamus et sententiando declaramus praedictum presbyterum Antonium, tamquam contumacem et inobedientem, sententiam excommunicationis incurrisse et sic ipsum excommunicatum denuntiamus, et subinde a quocunque eius beneficio cum cura et sine cura privamus et privatum esse decernimus et mandamus, declarando quoque et pronuntiando omnia et singula, de quibus penes nos diffamatus fuit, fuisse, fore et esse vera, ipsumque esse haereticum manifestum et pro tali ab omnibus haberi et ubique locorum teneri atque evitari et sic in poenas et censuras a sacris canonibus contra tales statutas et inflictas incidisse.«

²⁵ Udine, Archivio Arcivescovile (= AAU), *Sant'Uffizio*, process n. 60: f. 50r; Marc'Antonio Pichissino's examination before the Inquisition, Udine, October 24th, 1581: »Gli miei compagni furono allora Dionigio Rizzardi, Nicola Formentino, qual al presente è morto, pre Antonio de Pinguente, qual morse quest'anno alla Lubiana.«

²⁶ Elze 1897: 101; Bučar 1910: 96: it is not inconceivable that it took two years for the news to get to Gemona.

²⁷ Dalmata's biography before 1560 and his origins are still very uncertain.

fundamental role in the activity of the Urach press: the first two were Trubar's direct collaborators as translators and proof-readers; Pichler, from Villach, as an unceasing disseminator of these publications to south of the Alps.²⁸ This comradeship was already active around 1554/1555 and seems to be much connected with Vergerius.

Vergerius's relations with the Urach press are too complex a matter to be dealt with here.²⁹ However Konzul's and Antun Dalmata's stays in Italy may explain their interest in publishing books in Italian: six of them were published in the *Bibelanstalt* at Urach.³⁰ Antun Dalmata was perhaps thinking of the fellow believers he had left in Friuli. Antonio Passavolanti of Gemona, processed by the Inquisition in 1567, had almost all of these books at home (the only one missing was *Beneficio di Cristo*, printed in 1565).³¹ Passavolanti also had a copy of the *Forma breve della dottrina christiana* by Johannes Wigand (1564), a disciple of Matthias Flacius Illyricus, the most problematic work of the whole typographical activity at Urach, which was surely not in accordance with Trubar's position.³²

3

The route through Gemona was used to spread Lutheran books all over Friuli and the County of Gorizia. This is witnessed by the books confiscated in Gorizia, Gradisca and Duino until the last decade of the sixteenth century and burnt by the ecclesiastic authorities.³³ In the Inquisition lists of forbidden books, written in Latin and with no typographic data, there are hints of many Slovenian editions and several Croatian books printed in Urach, also in the Cyrillic and Glagolitic (Illyrian) alphabets. Some of them are difficult to identify: for instance an *Antonius Dalmata, de vanitatibus synagogae papisticae, lingua illyrica* was burned at Duino in 1597.³⁴ At Duino there was also a luxury white leather-bound volume, one of those Baron

²⁸ Pichler was still active at the beginning of the '80s: See Rainer 2004: 24; Nunzio Germanico Malaspina to cardinal Savelli, Graz, September 27th, 1581: »Don Juan de Borgia [Spanish ambassador at Vienna] mi scrive che in Villacco le cose stanno in malissimo stato, et che un italiano nominato Nicolò Pillar fa danno grandissimo per esser pessimo luterano.« Pichler distributed Trubar's books still in 1583: Trubar to the Deputies of Carniola, Derendingen, January 8th, 1583; Elze 1897: n. 60, 525; Rajhman 1986: n. 80, 283–284.

²⁹ See Jembrih 2007.

³⁰ Still fundamental is Bučar - Fancev 1938; see also Cavazza 2006a: 148–150.

³¹ AAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, process n. 42 (»Die 19 septembris 1567 contra Julium Passavolanti de Glemona«): f. 343v-344r; Cavazza 1976: 44–45.

³² Process n. 42, f. 344r, the last of the eight sequestered books: »Forma breve della dottrina christiana, come si costuma d'insegnare nella gesia di Mademga [?].« It is surely the *Forma breve della dottrina christiana, come si costuma d'insegnare nella chiesa di Madeburga* [sic], di Iohan Wigando, tradotta de latino in lingua italiana: rivista et corretta con diligenza per Antonio Dalmata et Stephano Istriano, in Tübingen 1564 (DV16, W 2802). This work, owned by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek of Munich, has been for long time considered lost: see Bučar - Fancev: 122–123.

³³ Cavazza, Rainer 2006. The lists of burned books published in this work have been drawn up by the Roman Archive of the former Sant'Uffizio.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 177; there follows, likewise unrecognizable, another work by the same Dalmata; »Eiusdem tractatus contra invocationem sanctorum.«

Hans Ungnad used to give as a present to his most important friends. Perhaps it had belonged to Matthias Hofer, seignior of Duino: *Primi Truberi pessimi haeretici institutio novae ecclesiae, ubi adsunt multae malisdictentiae et blasphemiae in sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam et in sanctissimum Summum Pontificem, cuius copercula in corio albo impressa tenebant imagines et nomina infrascriptorum haeresiarcharum, videlicet Martini Lutheri, Justi Jonas, Joannis Calvinii* [probably a bad reading for *Antonii Corvini*, the reformer in Lower Saxony], *Philippi Melanthonis et eiusdem Truberi*. This book could have been a copy of the *Cerkovna ordninga*, the Slovenian Church's Ecclesiastic system printed in 1564.³⁵

In Venetian Friuli Slovenian or Croatian publications had a minor distribution if compared to the Austrian part of the patriarchy of Aquileia. In the patriarchal curia in Udine, where nobody knew either Slovenian or even German – Trubar was never a well-defined figure: vicar Maracco hardly ever realized the difference between Trubar and a certain Thomas Ostermann, the Lantieris' *Burgprediger* at Vipava. It was very different with regard to those who professed Protestant ideas in Friuli: in that network of confidences and complicities that started from Gemona and Gorizia, as well as from the neighbouring Austrian territories, Trubar was placed beside the great protagonists of the European religious renewal, as much as the luxurious leather volumes of Urach. This was confirmed by Bernardino della Zorza, an exponent of the radical reformation of Udine, in his declarations before the Inquisition court that tried him at the beginning of 1567. To save Christians from error God had sent His great prophets: Jan Hus, Girolamo Savonarola, Martin Luther and »finally, our great prophet Primos.«³⁶

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³⁵ Ibid. The Latin title, *Institutio novae ecclesiae*, reminds the *Cerkovna ordninga* (Berčič 1968: n. 14); on the other hand, the bookbinding makes one think of a work of bigger size and different subject. These luxurious book – bindings of Trubar's works given as presents by Hans Ungnad had been studied in Heligensetzer 2005: 81–84 (excellent illustrations 24–28).

³⁶ AAU, *Sant'Uffizio*, »Sententiarum contra reos S.Officii liber primus.« f.70r; Bernardino della Zorza's abjuration before the Inquisition, Udine, January 31st, 1567: »Iddio ha mandato molti profeti, e tra gli altri fu Giovanni Usio, il Savonarola, Martin Luthero et finalmente il nostro gran profeta Primos, acciò gli christiani non stiano nelli errori.« See Paolin 1978: 19.

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