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**A Religion for the People? Economic change, language, and ethnicity  
in the sixteenth-century Slovene Reformation**

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Historians of the Reformation in sixteenth-century Central Europe have traditionally placed considerable emphasis on the impact of the 'printing revolution' and the use of printed propaganda for its success, and the recent 'cultural turn' in early modern historical studies has tended to modify research in the field rather than upend the paradigm<sup>1</sup>. For the Austrian duchies, there is supporting evidence that illustrates how religious literature was 'imported' from the Holy Roman Empire by various avenues and agents, such as Austrian merchants, seasonal laborers, and even professional book sellers who created a line of communication connecting the duchies' urban population with the towns of the Holy Roman Empire, and specifically with Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Regensburg. Once Protestantism had taken hold among the duchies' nobility, they set up printing presses to implement Lutheran school and church ordinances, which made them natural prime targets for the Counter-Reformation roll-back in the last two decades of the century. The Austrian Estates' new grammar schools catered for the educational needs of the nobility and burghers. At least some provision was made in the form of bursaries or stipends for the deserving poor, primarily for the purpose of training them up for the ministry. There is thus evidence to illustrate that literacy-based religious instruction made an important contribution to the Reformation in sixteenth-century Austria<sup>2</sup>. Where the present case study proposes to differ is in its assessment of the benefits to be derived from the traditional approach for a nuanced understanding of the social construction of religious belief and identity: there is a tendency in the historiography on the subject to tacitly accept at face value the narratives created by the officers of the Church and government and their Protestant counterparts, thereby running the risk of 'importing' and perpetuating the perspective of early modern historians and their nineteenth-century successors. The present case study proposes to contribute to the necessary process of historiographical revision by shifting the focus from text-based literacy to the social context and uses of language and their contribution to the construction of religious and ethnic identity. By adopting this approach, the present study hopes to more adequately capture the spiritual, social, and cultural meaning of the syncretistic beliefs

held and practiced by minority populations in the Habsburg Monarchy. The methodology adopted does, however, not follow the 'cultural turn', which carries its own hazard in potentially paying insufficient attention to the economic dimension of its subject. Per contrast, it is hoped that this case study will illustrate how elite and popular religion need to be understood as both part and product of the social and economic fabric of sixteenth-century Austria.

*Introduction: Economy, society, and the Reformation challenge*

From the perspective of the representatives of the nobility and estates of the Holy Roman Empire, the Inner Austrian duchies of the Habsburg Monarchy were noteworthy first and foremost for their geostrategic importance as part of Christendom's eastern military frontier against the Ottoman Empire. With a population of perhaps 400,000 in 1528, the duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, which jointly formed Inner Austria, took a modest third place in the demographic ranking of the Habsburg provinces, excluding Hungary-Croatia, after the lands of the Bohemian crown, and the archduchy of Upper and Lower Austria<sup>3</sup>. Inner Austria nevertheless made a tangible contribution to the economy of the Holy Roman Empire by its share in trans-regional trade, its cattle trade with Italy, and the output of its ore mines and foundries in the eponymous Styrian town of Eisenerz, in Upper Styrian Leoben, and in the various scattered municipalities of the Upper Styrian Enns valley. However, Styrian iron production was hit by the wider overproduction and sales crisis in the second half of the sixteenth century. The adverse economic effects of this crisis were to last well into the seventeenth-century, and abated after 1625 only, when a government-directed re-organisation of the Upper and Inner Austrian iron works began to take effect<sup>4</sup>. Commercial activity and urban wealth were declining throughout the sixteenth century as a result of the Turkish wars and its concomitant heavy defence expenditure, funded by taxation,, which, coming in the wake of a monetary crisis in the Upper German towns, drained away merchant capital<sup>5</sup>. As a result of these shifts, Inner Austria's share in the re-export and transit trade, especially in the cattle and wine trade between Italy and Habsburg Hungary, became correspondingly more important in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Regional trade along the east-western 'Ljubljana road' connected Croatian Ormoz, Styrian Pettau (Ptuj), Cilli (Celje), and Carniolan Laibach (Ljubljana) with Gorizia.

Further routes extended into Carinthia, and along the Hungarian-Croatian border. Cross-border trade with the neighbouring Hungarian markets was of key importance to towns like Radkersburg in Styria, which projected into Hungarian territory, or to such smaller Styrian settlements as Burgau, Wörth and Neudau along the border<sup>6</sup>. Throughout the early modern period, the population of the adjacent areas of east and Lower Styria and Carniola were subject to the ravages and kidnappings of hostile invaders, whether they were Turkish raiders or the Hungarian nobility's unmanageable auxiliaries. Population losses, however, remained limited to these areas and were offset by Inner Austria's inclusion in the general sixteenth-century demographic rise<sup>7</sup>.

Apart from the levelling effect of external pressures on demographic growth, regional disparities can also be related to economic patterns, so, for example, in the case of Styria: the fact that Lower Styria's densely populated network of villages, market-towns and larger municipalities initially (in 1528) made up only 27% of the population total, whereas the unevenly populated semi-mountainous north held 33.4%, is explained by the latter's industrial structure and its attraction of domestic and foreign labour. Upper Styria's rural economy was characterized by the prevalence of large farming units and seasonal migration of the male population to the German towns in search of supplementary income, a pattern which accounted for the early inroad of Protestantism in this region. By the sixteenth century, heritable leasehold (*Erbpacht*) was the prevalent form of tenancy. Farms were passed on undivided to the eldest son, and late marriage and extended family households including unmarried relatives were the norm. Against this background, the crisis of the iron industry would seem to account for the relative gradual demographic decline to a share of 21% of the population in 1780. Conversely, the 'backward' south with its predominance of agriculture and more labour-intensive viticulture increased its share of the population total from 27% to 31% by 1700 and 36% in 1770, in spite of the ravages of border raids in the 'Kuruc Wars' in 1704-9. Partible inheritance and smaller farming units run by individual families characterized the peasant economy of this part of the duchy<sup>8</sup>.

Another distinctive feature of Inner Austria's rural economies in general, and the south-eastern parts of the province in particular, was the growth of a sub-tenant population of cottagers (*Keuschler*) who lived on small plots of parish land and paid

dues to the village community. This group rapidly expanded in the second half of the sixteenth century as a result of the demographic rise, and towards the end of the century, they made up about 35-40% of the rural population in the economically advanced parts of Carniola. In the region between Kranj (Krainburg) and Škofja Loka, the ratio between cottages and peasant farms was 136 to 301 in 1588, and in the area around Logatec, where surplus income was derived mainly from carrying trade, the ratio was 76 to 130 as early as 1527. Below this, there was a stratum of landless labourers, farm hands, and servants, who constituted a mobile rural work force for further agrarian production<sup>9</sup>.

Inner Austria, and particularly the south-east was also affected by the broader Central European current of refeudalization. This could take the shape of an expansion of demesne farming where cultivable land was available. However, de facto heritable leasehold was not only prevalent in Upper Styria, but had developed in some parts of the south of the duchy. Lower Styrian landlords therefore frequently pressed for full legal commutation or acquisition to obtain cash payments. Since this amounted to no more than official confirmation of the status quo, it held no obvious advantages for the tenants, who were in any case struggling to muster the lump sums of money required. More common was the landlords' appropriation of the rural surplus through a sharp increase in dues in kind and labour services, the *Robot*. The nobility's monopolization of production for the local markets, and the concomitant restrictions on the subjects' liberty and economic activity characterized the situation in Lower Styria, the agrarian plains of Lower Carniola, and in the south-western Hungarian territory across the Styrian border, so-called Prekmurje. It has been plausibly argued that this mode of production accounts for the retarded development of these regions' agrarian economies<sup>10</sup>.

A contrasting economic and legal pattern existed in Upper Styria, Carinthia, and parts of Upper and Inner Carniola where forms of 'early capitalist' industrial production (iron and quicksilver) and hereditary tenancy were established features. This had implications for the relations between towns and countryside: the mining communities provided a stimulus for agrarian production. In Upper Styria, for example, there were entire areas (*Widmungsbezirke*) which were designated to the provisioning of these towns. Clashes over the nobility's commercial activities, especially their interference in the wine trade, were not limited to the south, but seem to have been more frequent

there. The nobility thus antagonized the urban communities, with whom they shared common ground solely in their efforts to bar the rural population from direct access to the markets. Otherwise, the ducal towns and the Estates were fiercely at odds about the distribution of the staggering financial burden of military defence<sup>11</sup>.

From a geographic conceptual framework, it has been stressed that patterns of communication and joint action among the urban and rural population of the Slovene and Croatian lands, i.e. Lower Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Gorizia, Istria, and Croatia, depended on the regional infrastructure of trade routes and roads, and navigable rivers. Hence the "compartmentalization" of peasant action during uprisings, and the patchy diffusion of the Protestant Reformation, the predominantly urban impact of which is explained by the primary importance of close inter-urban contacts and a "class structure" which further separated the urban and rural population<sup>12</sup>.

This, explanation, however, is not entirely convincing: rural outbreaks of unrest tended to be localized for various reasons, the individual nature of grievances and limited aims of protest being the most obvious explanations. On the other hand, where concerns were perceived to be of a nature transcending the local and even regional communities, rapid communication and emulative action occurred. This was the case during the peasant uprising in 1515, which was directed against both increased feudal exploitation and urban aggression against rural trades. It seems to have received its first impetus from the great peasant war in Hungary in 1514, whence it spread to Croatia, Carniola, Lower Styria and Carinthia. Similarly, the Táhy uprising of 1573, which started as an antifeudal outbreak with a specific, locally determined agenda, rapidly turned into a large-scale rebellion among the Slovenian peasantry of Carniola and Lower Styria. Conversely, the Slovenian peasantry of Inner Austria remained impervious to the appeal of the 'evangelical' German Peasants' War of 1525 and its offshoot in Upper Styria, in spite of its restorative antifeudal agenda<sup>13</sup>.

The argument from infrastructure poses equal problems as an explanation for the urban bias of the Slovenian Reformation since the vast majority of nominal towns were in fact semi-agrarian municipal settlements or 'market towns' that were well integrated into the wider rural economy. This is not to contest the observation that the comparatively more advanced economy and higher level of "urbanization" of the Slovenian Inner Austrian regions contributed to its higher receptivity if compared to

Croatia<sup>14</sup>. The notion that there was "minimal contact between cities and countryside, between city dwellers and peasant farmers" in Slovenian Inner Austria is, however, certainly overdrawn even where larger towns like Laibach or Radkersburg were concerned: trade contacts and possession of land and vineyards in the vicinity of the towns were integral features of the civic economy<sup>15</sup>.

Communication and social stratification, though not "class", are nevertheless relevant explanatory categories if set in the context of linguistic and ethnic diversity. As previously indicated, Inner Austria's economic and legal patterns had an ethnic dimension in so far as the most disadvantaged or economically backward regions of Lower Styria and the Carniolan plains were Slovenian, whereas the most advanced regions, most notably Upper Styria, were exclusively German in their ethnic composition. In Lower Styria, the difference between the larger towns and the countryside was underwritten by the ethnic contrast of the German urban population and the mixed or entirely Slovenian countryside. In general, economic progress was limited to the German and ethnically mixed (Italian, Slovenian, German) regions and municipalities of Inner Austria<sup>16</sup>.

Ethnic differences did not, of course, translate automatically into linguistic barriers, and bilingualism was noted by sixteenth-century observers to be a wide-spread skill among the urban and noble elites especially in Carniola and Gorizia. By the late seventeenth century, language had become a distinguishing trait with social implications: thus, even among the Slovenian nobility of Carniola, usage of the native tongue as opposed to the official German and learned Latin seems to have been reserved to close and intimate circles<sup>17</sup>. In public, it was perceived as stigmatizing its speaker as a member of the lower classes. Commenting on the respective usages and official sanction of the Slovenian and the German language in the duchy, the Carniolan historian Johann Weikhart von Valvasor (1641-1693) observed that the latter (German) was "nur bey den Edlen/und politen Leuten/meistentheils gebräuchlich/wie nicht weniger alle Rechtsführungen Teutsch ausgeführt/ingleichen alle Schrifften und Briefe/in selbiger Sprache/verfasst werden; dahingegen die andre/nemlich die Windische oder Sclavonische/sich der Dorff=Zungen/und anderer gemeiner Lippen bedient."<sup>18</sup>. Since this change seems to have been a feature of Inner Austrian societies after the imposition of religious conformity in the three decades from 1598 to 1628, the question arises whether it can be related to the impact of

Catholic confessionalization. As regards the spread of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, "communication", i.e. language, and "class" affected its progress in two ways: firstly, bilingualism was limited to the civic and noble elites, hence Lutheranism was initially received by the German or German-speaking Estates and municipalities through their contacts with the rest of the Empire. The diffusion of the faith among the German and mixed population of the economically advanced regions of Inner Austria on the one hand, and the Slovenian rural population of the 'backward' areas on the other thus depended on the Estates' proselytizing activity. Elite attitudes towards this task, however, were shaped by the restraining effects of economic and legal relations. While the spread of Lutheranism among the more autonomous farmers and volatile mining population of Upper Styria, for example, was successfully promoted by the local estate owners to forestall the spread of socially subversive varieties of Protestantism<sup>19</sup>, the logic of economic and social relations in the Slovenian parts of the province dictated a different course. The most important of the resulting constellations of interest saw the majority of the Slovenian rural population of Lower Styria and Carniola arraigned with the Catholic archduke against the Protestant nobility and towns, because the prince was their last legal resort in the continuing struggle to counter feudal excesses and urban retributive action in trade conflicts. As will be shown, the Lower Styrian and Carniolan lords' concern for the spiritual welfare of their subjects only exceptionally extended to active proselytizing among the illiterate Slovenian peasants, since this arguably threatened further social friction.

Material and ethnic patterns hence combined to form a deep structure which affected the course and outcome of the evangelical missionary campaign, as well as determining the reformed nobility's and clergy's attitude towards popular religion and the uses and perils of literacy-based education among the lower classes. The remainder of this article will investigate how the interaction of these factors shaped the Slovenian Reformation and Slovenian popular Protestantism in the sixteenth-century.

*A religion of the book? Language, literacy, and ethnicity in the Slovene Reformation*

At the centre of Slovenian Reformation history and its historiographical reflection stands the towering figure of Primõs Trubar (1508-1586), whose literary contributions



to, and formative influence on written Slovene continue to attract scholarly attention<sup>20</sup>.

A Carniolan by birth, Trubar became a protégé of the theologically broad-minded bishop of Trieste, Pietro Bonomo, at whose court he became acquainted with Erasmian humanism and developed an affinity to Protestant discourse. This was later to draw him to the works of Zwingli, Bullinger and Calvin. Between c. 1527 and 1547, he successively held benefices in Laibach (Ljubljana) and various Lower Styrian and Lower Carniolan rural parishes, where he actively engaged in preaching and proselytizing of an increasingly distinctive Protestant hue. Word spread to the bishop of Laibach, Urban Textor (d. 1546), and his like-minded (prospective) successor, Franz Joseph Rizzano, and in 1548, Trubar was forced to take refuge in the German Imperial towns first of Nuremberg, and then Rothenburg ob der Tauber and Kempten<sup>21</sup>. In 1555/6, a Protestant printing press was set up in Urach, under the protection of duke Christoph of Württemberg. The press was further patronized by the emigré Styrian Estates' Captain Hans Ungnad von Sonneck, after whose death in 1564, however, production ground to a halt. Until then, Trubar effectively was spiritus rector of this enterprise, the purpose of which was to provide Slovenian and - so the intention of the patrons - Croatian translations of the Holy Scriptures and the key Lutheran texts for religious instruction<sup>22</sup>. In June 1561, Trubar accepted a commission from the Carniolan Estates for the organization of the nascent Protestant church ministry of the duchy. However, he was almost immediately denounced as a heretic to Emperor Ferdinand I by the bishop of Laibach, Peter von Seebach (1559-68). In the ensuing interrogations, Trubar was backed by the Carniolan Estates who also supported his subsequent defence against charges of Zwinglian heterodoxy, which Jakob Andreae had brought against him at the court of his patron, duke Christoph of Württemberg. Trubar's own statements on the issue of transsubstantiation in his correspondence with Bullinger would, incidentally, suggest that Andreae's suspicions were not unfounded<sup>23</sup>.

Support from the Carniolan Estates quickly fell away in 1564, when archduke Karl II prohibited the proclamation of Trubar's Slovenian church and school order, the mere drafting of which was sharply denounced as a usurpation of ducal power. The 400 printed copies which had already been delivered to Laibach were confiscated, and Trubar was banned from Carniola and the rest of the ducal territories, which he left for

good in the following year (1565)<sup>24</sup>. On this occasion, he was deserted by the Carniolan Estates, who were appalled at the spectre of a headlong confrontation over the religious issue at the very outset of the Catholic prince's reign. Having received a stinging rebuke from Karl II on making a tentative admission of their commission for a Slovenian translation of the Württemberg church agenda in November 1564, the Carniolan Estates disowned Trubar completely. In a further letter, they hastened to protest their ignorance of the actual document, and any share in its printing and attempted publication<sup>25</sup>. Trubar's exhortation to act like "beständige und nicht mamalukische christen, ehr- und geizhals" and step forth to confess the Augsburg faith to the new government "mit offenem maul...mit gefahr eures guts, leibs und lebens, weib und kinder, schriftlich, mündlich und offenlich..." fell on deaf ears. His further prediction that any failure to fight the beginnings of repression would turn out to be the undoing of Inner Austrian Protestantism was borne out by the subsequent course of events<sup>26</sup>.

Trubar's departure did not yet mark the end of the Slovenian Protestant Church, which was eventually dismantled by archduke Ferdinand and bishop Thomas Hren of Laibach (1560-1630) at the turn of the century. It did, however, signal the end of a largely autonomous Slovenian Reformation which had taken its inspiration from Erasmian humanism and from the Swiss 'third way' of Protestantism as reflected through the prism of Trubar's syncretistic theological writings<sup>27</sup>. The church agenda that was eventually drawn up on the basis of the religious concession for the three Inner Austrian duchies in 1578 followed its Upper and Lower Austrian (1568/71) counterparts in expressly denouncing divergent variants of Protestantism. This was noteworthy in so far as Flacianism had become widespread in Upper Styria and among the Carinthian nobility. With the onset of the Counter-Reformation, however, the need to secure the support of the Lutheran majority party in the Empire became pressing, so that the Carinthian Estates were persuaded to conform by joining the Styrians and Carniolans in subscribing to the Formula of Concord. Apart from rejecting Flacianism, the church order of 1578 formed the starting point for an organizational structure which placed the church ministry in Graz at the top through its powers of ordination and control in theological matters. Gradually, the church ministry in Laibach became subject to the Styrian council, thus strengthening the influence of the German element among the three parts of the province's ecclesiastical structure<sup>28</sup>.

This had implications for the aims and linguistic complexion of the Protestant schools: Trubar's plan had made provision for elementary schooling and religious instruction in the vernacular, though he conceded to his patrons' educational concerns by prescribing Latin and some supplementary German teaching for higher education in the Estates' grammar school in Laibach<sup>29</sup>. Trubar's concern for the dissemination of the faith among the Slovenian peasantry, however, was not written into the new fragmentary educational system, and essentially rested on the initiative of individual members of the nobility. In view of the previously described constellation of interests, it seems hardly surprising that such proselytizing and educational activity as can be traced did not normally extend to the illiterate rural population. In general, it was limited to the population of the municipalities, where it met with some success: thus, there was evidence that several of the twenty-four Protestant preachers from the Empire which the Carniolan nobility supported in 1569 were employed to minister to the burgher communities<sup>30</sup>. Apart from the duchy's capital and Protestant stronghold of Laibach, there is some evidence for the smaller municipalities: Valvasor relates how Karl II evicted Protestant preachers from Rattmansdorff - the town that had clashed with the rebellious Slovenian peasants in 1515 - and Krainburg (Kranj), and punished Protestant burghers from Rudolfswerth, Krainburg, Weixelberg, Ratschach, and Wippach for attending Protestant services on neighbouring estates of the nobility<sup>31</sup>.

On the other hand, even as conspicuous an adherent of the new faith as the Carniolan Estates' Captain Baron Herwart von Auersperg (1528-1575) showed little enthusiasm for spreading the doctrine among his subjects. His son Andreas, who succeeded him as lord of this patrimonial town, took a different stand, and actively encouraged the adoption of Lutheranism by the inhabitants of the small municipality of Žužemberg in the region of Dolenjsko. By 1580, there were twenty-four converts among the local merchants. The surrounding peasantry, per contrast, remained unaffected<sup>32</sup>. Equally unsuccessful was another member of this family, Christoph von Auersperg, in using his *ius patronatus* in 1585 to instal Trubar's protégé Georg Dalmatin as incumbent of St. Cantzian, a Carniolan parish with no less than nine affiliated churches. His action aroused fierce opposition from the staunchly Catholic parishioners. In their petition to archduke Karl II, they claimed that Christoph had for more than twenty years put pressure on the parish, particularly on its landless labourers, to accept the new faith.

They further denounced Christoph for confiscating parish property, and for altering the church interior, presumably to conform to Lutheran prescriptions. It seems, however, that his missionary fervour was already flagging by this time, since the church is described as neglected<sup>33</sup>.

In the face of wide-spread illiteracy, evidence of Protestantism among the rural Slovenian population of Carniola, Istria, and Carinthia must be seen as indicative of vernacular proselytizing either by Protestant parish priests, or by itinerant preachers. Typically, such enclaves developed in areas where a shortage of clergy and subjection to the authority of an absentee clerical lord combined to create a spiritual and jurisdictional vacuum. This was the case, for example, in the Carniolan Herrschaft of Veldes, which belonged to the cathedral chapter at Brixen and was subject to the Cardinal of Trient. It took repeated efforts in the years 1572 to 1587 to evict the local Protestant clergy and eradicate heresy, but the introduction of a Catholic parish priest seems to have been crucial in effecting the reversal<sup>34</sup>. There were a few exceptions to the overall pattern, most notably the Protestant communities of Sovče/Seltschach and Zagoriče/Agoritschach in Carinthia, which survived into the toleration era and testified to the resilience of literacy-based heresy. In general, however, Protestantism was a transient phenomenon in the Slovene villages.<sup>35</sup>

The social and ethnic implications of Protestantization as promoted by the Estates after 1578 became politically effective when archduke Ferdinand was able to enlist the support of the Slovenian peasantry to arrest Protestant preachers on the estates and in the castles of the nobility, as happened to the Carniolan Estates' clergy, including Trubar's son Felician, in 1600-1<sup>36</sup>. In 1584, the nuncio in Graz Germanico Malaspina reported that the Slovenian peasants bitterly opposed the introduction of the new, Gregorian calendar which they considered a ploy by their Protestant lords "per togliere la santificazione de le feste degli santi"<sup>37</sup>. The imagined threat is revelatory of how proselytizing efforts by the feudal lords were perceived, i.e. as acts of interference with the spiritual and social order that determined the life of the parish community. In this particular case, it was seen as a pretext for increasing economic exploitation by a reduction of the number of feast days. If Protestantization thus seemed to spell destruction of community rights and values, the Counter-Reformation as executed by the Catholic prince promised restoration and protection of the traditional order<sup>38</sup>.

The equation of Protestant religious and feudal economic policies derived its credibility from the fact that the estate of the nobility was the prime agent of confessionalization. Trubar's vision of a socially comprehensive Reformation opened up a different perspective. It has been pointed out correctly that Trubar was the first writer to formulate the concept of a Slovenian people as a geographically fragmented community of language. However, there is no contemporary evidence to support the further conclusion that his references to all Slovenes ("alle Windischen") in the dedications of his Slovene primer (1555), and his translation of the New Testament (1557, 1560) to both his German and Slovene readers can be considered proof of the actual existence of a 'self-conscious Slovenian people' ("Es kann daher nicht der geringste Zweifel bestehen, daß es zu Trubars Zeiten bereits so etwas wie ein seiner selbst bewußtes windisches (slowenisches) Volk gegeben hat")<sup>39</sup>. The previously quoted anti-Protestant petitions of the sixteenth century, for example, were not couched in terms indicative of ethnic awareness; neither is there any evidence of ethnic notions of a Slovenian self and a German 'other' as a mobilizing agent in anti-feudal peasant protests<sup>40</sup>.

Rather, the concept of an ethnic community united by language seems to have been Trubar's projection, which should be seen in the wider context of his missionary plans. To provide for a Slovenian Protestant literature, he needed to canvass not only the support of the Inner Austrian elites, but also depended on help from the German Protestant Estates of the rest of the Empire, from the burghers of Vienna and such Imperial towns as Nuremberg, Strasbourg, and Frankfurt<sup>41</sup>. The centrality which Reformation theology allotted to the study of scripture, homiletics and devotional works was uppermost in the mind of Trubar and his supporters when they set up and maintained the Slovene-Croatian translation enterprise and the printing press in Württemberg. Contemporary accounts of the linguistic and ethnic composition of the south-eastern Slavic peoples, generally referred to in the hazy terms 'Illyrian' or 'Slavonian', were only just beginning to be drawn up and circulated in the Empire, among the more recent and less inaccurate being Maciej Miechowita's *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis* (1517) and Sigismund Gelenius's *Lexicon symphonum* (1537)<sup>42</sup>. To permanently capture and focus the attention of the Imperial Protestants, it was thus essential to put the Slovenian people firmly on the map. Trubar did so by giving a

detailed and graphic account of the differences and common features in language, customs and religious outlook of the inhabitants of Inner Austria. For obvious reasons, he put great stress on similarities in dress and custom among the Slovenian and German population of the three duchies<sup>43</sup>. Strategic considerations notwithstanding, Trubar gives a more differentiated picture of the linguistic and ethnic landscape than any of his immediate Protestant and Catholic successors, who lapsed into the earlier inaccurate terminology. In the case of the Protestant authors, the apparent lack of expertise might be seen as indicative of a slackening of interest in the Slovene and Croatian mission in the face of mounting Counter-Reformation pressure, in any case, the picture became blurred again and remained so until the rise of Slovenian historiography provided a new impetus in the late seventeenth century<sup>44</sup>.

Prior to this, in connection with the preparation of his Slovene translations, Trubar repeatedly commented on the problems caused by the fragmentation of the Slovenian idiom into a profusion of regional dialects of often merely local currency. He further claimed that the existing Slovene vocabulary was inadequate for a correct rendition of Protestant thought<sup>45</sup>. To make up for these defects, Trubar adapted German words and assimilated lexemes into his literary Slovene language, which he derived from the regional variants, especially the Laibachian dialect. However, the resulting construction met with harsh critique: a memorandum for archduke Maximilian (the future King of Hungary and Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor) in 1560, which Trubar presumed to have been drafted by his adversary Paul Skalic, and which Maximilian forwarded to duke Christoph of Württemberg, disputed the missionary effectiveness of Trubar's translation of the New Testament. In the eyes of this critic, the text was unfit as an instrument of conversion even among the Inner Austrian Slovenes on account of its idiosyncratic rendition of the dialects' peculiarities and its heavy reliance on German vocabulary<sup>46</sup>.

Trubar's defence is interesting not so much for its admission of his language's limited intelligibility to the Croatian population of the coast and the neighbouring Slavonian-Croatian lands, who were in contemporary usage often included in the vague term *windisch*<sup>47</sup>. More important is his explanation of the ways in which he proposed to use his translations for the Slovenian mission. In his own words, he claimed: "Ein jeder Lateiner, Teutscher oder Waliser kan meine geschrifften dermaßen lesen und

aussprechen, das ein jedlicher (sic!) windischer zuhörer mag die verstehen." He thus hoped to reach out to the illiterate Slovenian population through the mediation of the educated civic and noble elites, whom he had elsewhere characterized as being in their majority bilingual<sup>48</sup>. Hence, his "Postille" of 1558, for example, was not a straightforward homiletic work for pastoral use, but a collection of concise exegeses which were to be read out to the youths on Fridays and Sundays just before they attended church services<sup>49</sup>. Trubar thus presumed the active involvement of literate members of the household, or, ideally, of the feudal lord.

If these instructions are added to his educational plans and the church agenda of 1564, it emerges that Trubar was aiming at a comprehensive Reformation which would be transmitted to the illiterate Slovenian population from below, through elementary religious instruction by the parish clergy and the gradual spread of literacy - hence his primer of 1555 - and from above, through the proselytizing efforts of the elites, especially the Protestant lords. In 1567, he exhorted the Carniolan nobility, and their wives in particular, to keep a stock of scriptural translations and devotional works ("Biblische und andere Gottselige Bücher") in the German and Slovene language from which to read out assiduously to their children, servants and subjects so as to draw them to the true doctrine ("zum alten seligmachenden Glauben")<sup>50</sup>. The latter reference to the restorative impetus of Protestantism as the 'ancient salvific faith' pointedly contested Catholic claims. If continuity in time is asserted here, continuity and coherence in space are likewise aimed at: far from elaborating the concept of a culturally separate Slovene community, Trubar promoted a vision of a confessionally and culturally inclusive society, of which the Slovene people formed a part. He thus urged the spread of bilingualism vertically among the social estates, and horizontally, to the German nobility of Upper Styria, the archduchy of Austria, and Tyrol. Integration is transformed into complete fusion through the agency of divine ordination: Trubar's addressees are the elect people, "In summa, die von Gott außewelten Creiner, Steirer, Kerner und Windischen hohen und nidern Standts."<sup>51</sup>

Such a concept, however, went considerably beyond the spiritual needs and confessional designs of the elites, which were shaped by considerations of political and social expediency. While the Carniolan nobility showed genuine interest in supporting the printing enterprise for domestic noble and civic consumption, it was

the prospect of a multi-lingual, especially Croatian, dimension which was most attractive to Trubar's supporters in the rest of the Empire. Like Ungnad, they viewed the Slovenian and Habsburg Croatian territory mainly as a spring-board for the launching of a Turkish mission<sup>52</sup>.

Further, practical problems to the diffusion of the gospel among the Slovenian peasants arose from the lack of a sufficient number of adequately educated Protestant parish clergy who were fluent in the vernacular. Problems of clerical recruitment beset the organization of a parish network throughout Inner Austria until the Counter-Reformation put an end to all efforts by dissolving the Protestant school and church ministries in 1598-1600<sup>53</sup>. For the Slovenian rural mission, these difficulties were exacerbated by wide-spread illiteracy and a consequent limitation of the number of native candidates for priesthood<sup>54</sup>. Even if the modern argument for the overall intelligibility of Trubar's translations among Slovene-speakers is accepted<sup>55</sup>, it remains difficult to gauge the actual number of readers, and even more so the size of the wider audience to whom his works might have been read out<sup>56</sup>. In 1563, 400 copies each were printed of the Lutheran Catechism and the Augsburg Confession. Of these, 65 and 41 respectively were still in stock in the following year, while the rest had been sent to Laibach and Villach. This was still better than the frustrating balance for the Croatian Glagolitic prints: of the 1000 illustrated copies of the Apocalypse which had been printed in 1563, there were still 687 copies in Urach in 1564, while 170 and 115 copies, respectively, had been sent for sale or even free distribution to Laibach and Vienna<sup>57</sup>. Some evidence has been found for the circulation of manuscript copies of Slovenian Lutheran texts in Carinthian parishes<sup>58</sup>, but detailed lists from contemporary Carniolan inventories confirm the general picture of an educated noble and bourgeois readership who had some knowledge of the humanist rhetorical models and traditions on which Trubar drew so heavily<sup>59</sup>. This was the audience to which Trubar tried to impart his vision of an ethnically mixed, though hierarchically structured elect people, an attempt that was thwarted by the countervailing forces of economic and social antagonism which translated into confessional opposition.

Trubar's concept of an elect people had implications for the ways in which he perceived and addressed the Slovenian common folk: poverty is their salient



characteristic, with the multiple meaning of spiritual, material, and even linguistic deprivation, the latter referring, as previously shown, to the alleged expressive shortcomings of the vernacular<sup>60</sup>. Trubar draws out the implicit associations with the Christian virtue of spiritual *simplicitas* in depicting the Slovene peasants of Carniola as a 'good, decent, faithful, honest, obedient, hospitable and kind folk' ("gut, erbar, trew, wahrhafft, gehorsam, Gastfrey, unnd miltes Volck")<sup>61</sup>. Submissiveness and uncorrupted communal virtues thus seem to mark out the Slovenian part of the elect people as a flock of sheep in need of pastoral care and guidance. Simplicity, however, is ambivalent in implying the gullibility and ignorance that sets the sheep on the wrong path: they are 'overly and boundlessly superstitious' ("zuvil und zu groß Abergleubisch")<sup>62</sup>. The term superstition is used here to denote orthodox Catholic practices and beliefs, but also more irregular sectarian activities, which are, however, presented as an outgrowth of Catholicism. Trubar had first-hand knowledge of both through his experience as parish priest of the Lower Styrian parishes of Loka near Radece and in Lasko (Tüffer), a wealthy and large parish with no less than fourteen affiliated churches on both sides of the river Sann, to which he had been appointed as vicar of his patron, Pietro Bonomo, in 1530. In particular, Trubar complains of his parishioners' unshakeable belief in the intercessory powers of the saints and the Virgin and the salvific means offered by the Roman Church. There was an unbroken tradition of Catholic practices that could be transferred to a sectarian context, most notably the making of votive gifts and donations in kind, and pilgrimages to places of Marian worship in Italy, Bavaria, and the Rhineland<sup>63</sup>.

His parishioners' obstinate persistence in Catholic 'superstitions' was a source of concern and vexation to Trubar, but did not affect his assumptions about the basically uncorrupted state of the Slovene people and the feasibility of religious reform. His experience as a parish priest nevertheless forced him to acknowledge the existence of sectarian practices that effectively deviated from this pattern of mere passive 'aberration', and pointed to an independently created dimension of the community's religious life: in various reports, Trubar relates his encounters with a phenomenon that came to be wide-spread in sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Lower Styria and Carniola. It followed a basic pattern which centred on the construction of new churches at the behest of self-proclaimed visionaries, who were occasionally young girls, but more often belonged to the group of elderly, unmarried and destitute women

on the fringes of parish society who figure so frequently in contemporary sources as 'wise women' or witches<sup>64</sup>. The gist of their messages was the imperative demand by a saint, frequently the plague saints Rochus and Sebastian, or the Virgin, to make up for past neglect by the construction of a church on a specified and usually remote, but conspicuous place. Failure to comply would incur the offended saints' wrath, which could take the form of various natural disasters<sup>65</sup>. This threat carried weight with the Slovene rural communities who were at intervals stricken with bouts of plague, and destruction of their live-stock and agricultural produce through epidemics and tempests<sup>66</sup>. Hence, the prophecies met with a vigorous response. The new churches invariably became the focus of cults which blended pagan beliefs with established Catholic practices, such as the making of votive gifts, in the sacrificial donations of wax, hemp, cattle, and other goods. Construction of new churches soon became the preliminary for the constitution of a sect, nicknamed variously the 'Founders' ("Stifter"), or 'leapers' ("Springer und Werfer"). The latter term gained wider currency on account of the convulsions which were the prelude to the ecstatic trances and visions of the 'leapers', who congregated near the churches for nocturnal sessions. The appeal of the cult, which created new local foci of devotion, furthered the geographic spread of this phenomenon, the sectarian coherence of which, however, remains as unclear as its origins. It was limited to the rural Slovenian population of Lower Styria, Carniola, and parts of Gorizia, and kept cropping up in various places as late as the 1620s, in spite of harsh systematic persecution by Ferdinand II. In Carniola, the practice of 'wild' church building in fact continued down to the late seventeenth century<sup>67</sup>. Although there is no evidence that the cult was connected with magic practices, or bacchanals accompanied by promiscuity, the 'leapers' were denounced precisely on these charges by Trubar and his patrons, the Inner Austrian Estates. In 1561-2, king Maximilian as patron of the Slovene printing enterprise is informed of the mischief wrought by these 'frivolous, mad, and disreputable people' ("leichtfertige(..), wohnsinnige(...) und ehrlose(...) Leütte(...)")<sup>68</sup>. The Slovene girl who was crucial in establishing the cult of the Virgin at Oberburg in Carniola in 1561 is decried as a whore, and an old peasant woman, one Ursula Ferligojka, who initiated the by then vastly popular pilgrimage to a similiar place in Gorizia is accused of witchcraft and multiple infanticide. Contrary to the pattern established by the sources, Trubar presented the allegedly debauched and greedy Catholic clergy as the prime

movers. Part of his wrath, however, was reserved to their adherents, the 'befooled and silly peasants' ("betörichten und einfältigen bauern"), simplicity being clearly no virtue in this context<sup>69</sup>. The association with witchcraft was taken up and turned into a formal accusation by the Protestant Estates of Styria, whom the semi-orthodox 'leapers' presented with an excellent opportunity to denounce, without appearing to do so, the idolatrous implications of Catholic beliefs<sup>70</sup>.

Trubar's disenchantment with rustic simplicity was indicative of a wider gap which set off the mental horizon of the humanist missionary from the spiritual world of his object, a sphere which turned out to be neither an unstructured void, nor a chaotic darkness waiting to be illuminated by Protestant theological reasoning. Luther's critique had focused on identifiable papist idolatry, but by the mid-sixteenth-century, there was a wide-spread belief among Calvinist and Lutheran reformers that amorphous paganism and polytheism were on the advance<sup>71</sup>. This perception was defective in disregarding the syncretistic nature of popular religion. In terms of practical missionary work, misconception spelt failure, and the short-comings of Trubar's approach to a system of beliefs shaped by the appropriation and transformation of Christian and pagan spiritual traditions became obvious in a clash between Trubar and the parishioners of Smarcna, which was affiliated to his parish of Loka: his attempts to effect the suppression of the local 'leaper' cult met with a violent reaction from his infuriated flock which forced Trubar into hasty retreat. The luckless missionary abandoned the care of this part of his parish to a vicar<sup>72</sup>. However, since religious syncretism, not paganism, formed the spiritual basis of popular religion, the relation between the two spiritual worlds was not antagonistic: the former would arguably have succumbed to a long-term process of gradual acculturation had Trubar's plans for a comprehensive confessionalization at all levels of society been implemented.

Prior to the onslaught of the Counter-Reformation in the late sixteenth-century the chief obstacle to the progress of Protestantism among the Slovenian rural population was hence not the alleged intellectual prematurity of its doctrine<sup>73</sup>, but the social limitations and objectives of a literacy and language based missionary approach as endorsed by the elites, and reflected in peasant resistance to ideological inoculation.

It is in this context that linguistic and ethnic differences began to acquire confessional connotations, and the Slovenian Reformation's reliance on the printed word as an agent of spreading the Lutheran faith proved inadequate in responding to the reality of unexpectedly complex and resilient popular beliefs.

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<sup>1</sup> The title of this article references the late Robert Scribner's seminal study of the uses of verbal and pictorial 'propaganda' in the German Reformation: Robert Scribner, *'For the Sake of Simple Folk'. Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2nd edn. 1994). For the paradigm of a printing and communications revolution in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and its significance, among others, for diffusing ideas of the Lutheran Reformation see Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change and the structure of communications* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2 vols, 1979), and the revised text: ead., *The printing Revolution in early modern Europe* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), as well as the author's defence of her broader thesis about the printing revolution and its impact on Western civilisation, and her reassessment of some primarily technical aspects in response to criticism: ead., 'An unacknowledged Revolution revisited', *American Historical Review* 107, no 1 (February 2002), 87-105.

<sup>2</sup> Gernot Heiss, 'Konfession, Politik und Erziehung: Die Landschaftsschulen in den nieder- und innerösterreichischen Ländern vor dem Dreissigjährigen Krieg', in: Grete Klingenstein, Heinrich Lutz, Gerald Stourzh (Hg.), *Bildung, Politik und Gesellschaft* (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Gesellschaft, 1978, 13-63. Jerše Sašo, *Im Schutz und Schirm des Reiches: Spielräume der Reichspolitik der innerösterreichischen Landstädte im sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Cologne – Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2006),

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Albrecht Luttenberger, 'Innerösterreich und das Reich im Zeitalter der Gegenreformation', in France Dolinar, Maximilian Liebmann, Helmut Rumpler (eds.), *Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation in Innerösterreich 1564-1628* (Graz: Hermagoras Verlag, 1994), 357-371, and Regina Pörtner, 'Heresy and Literacy in the eighteenth-century Habsburg Monarchy', in: Howard Louthan, Gary B. Cohen, and Franz Szabo (eds.), *Diversity and Dissent. Negotiating religious difference in Central Europe, 1500-1800* (Oxford – New York: Berghahn Books, 2011, 173-192, at pp. 180-187.

<sup>3</sup> Estimated population figures in: Joseph Velikonja, 'Slovene and Croatian Lands in the Sixteenth Century (A Geographical Framework)', *Slovene Studies* 6 (1984), 11-30, at p. 18; and for the hereditary lands: Kurt Klein, 'Die Bevölkerung Österreichs vom Beginn des 16. bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts (mit einem Abriß der Bevölkerungsentwicklung von 1754 bis 1869)', in: Heimold Helczmanovszki (ed.), *Beiträge zur Bevölkerungs- und Sozialgeschichte Österreichs* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1973), 47-112. The lands of the Bohemian crown had a population of ca. four million in 1618, see Charles Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618-1815*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 11, 49.

<sup>4</sup> Ferdinand Tremel, *Der Frühkapitalismus in Innerösterreich* (Graz: F. Leykam, 1954), especially at p. 18, also id., 'Beiträge zu einer Handelsgeschichte Leobens in der frühen Neuzeit', *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Steiermark* (subsequently cited as *ZHVST*) 60 (1969), 107-126. For the crisis and reorganization of the Styrian iron industry see Anton Pantz, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Innerberger Hauptgewerkschaft*, Veröffentlichungen der historischen Landeskommission für Steiermark, vol. XIX, (Graz: Historische Landeskommission für Steiermark, 1903),

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especially pp. 1-12, and id., *Die Innerberger Hauptgewerkschaft 1625-1783* (Graz: Styria, 1906).

<sup>5</sup> Othmar Pickl, 'Grazer Finanzkaufleute und Fernhändler im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert', in: Wilhelm Steinböck (ed.), *850 Jahre Graz. 1128-1978. Festschrift im Auftrag der Stadt Graz* (Graz, Vienna, Cologne: Styria, 1978), 147-165; and id., 'Die wirtschaftliche Lage der Städte und Märkte der Steiermark im 16. Jahrhundert', in: Wilhelm Rausch (ed.), *Die Stadt an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas*, vol. IV (Linz: Ludwig-Boltzmann-Institut für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1980), 93-128, at pp. 98-109, as well as Ferdinand Tremel, 'Der österreichische Kaufmann im 16. Jahrhundert', in: Helmut Jodok Mezler-Andelberg (ed.), *Festschrift Karl Eder* (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag, 1959), 119-140.

<sup>6</sup> The most important trade routes are described by Toussaint Hočevar, 'A comparison of economic and social conditions in Slovene and Croatian lands during the Reformation', *Slovene Studies* 8 (1984), 31-48, at pp. 33-38. Inter-regional trade in the Alpe-Adria lands is discussed *ib.*, 38-40.

<sup>7</sup> Documents relating to the regulation of damages wrought on Styrian settlements and the nobility's estates from the sixteenth century to the Kuruc wars of the early eighteenth century can be found in the Styrian State Archive Graz, Landschaftliches Archiv IV, 3, box 708.

<sup>8</sup> For the Styrian population figures see Manfred Straka, 'Die Bevölkerungsentwicklung der Steiermark von 1528 bis 1782 auf Grund der Kommunikantenzählungen', *ZHVST* 52 (1961), 3-53, tables on pp. 14-15, 16-17, 26, 40, 43. The economic situation in Upper and Lower Styria is described in: Anton

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Mell, *Die Lage des steirischen Unterthanenstandes seit Beginn der neueren Zeit bis in die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar: n.p., 1896), pp. 5ff. See also the contributions in: Fritz Posch (ed.), *Das Bauerntum in der Steiermark* (Graz: Selbstverlag des Historischen Vereins für Steiermark, 1963).

<sup>9</sup> Ferdo Gestrin, 'Économie et société en Slovénie au XVIIe siècle', in: *Annales: Économies - Sociétés - Civilisations* 17 (1962), 663-690, at p. 684, n.2, and 685. For the growth of a subtenant population see also Fritz Posch, 'Bauer und Keuschler', in: Posch, *Bauerntum in der Steiermark*, 68-72, at p. 71.

<sup>10</sup> See Gestrin, 'Économie', 665-668; Mell, *Lage*, p. 5; Ferdinand Tremel, 'Grundzins, Robot und Zehent', in: Posch (ed.), *Bauerntum in der Steiermark*, pp. 35-42, at pp. 38-40. The peasants of Upper Styria successfully fought off *Robot* increases in excess of a maximum of twenty days, but daily *Robot* became the norm in Lower and East Styria, see Fritz Posch, 'Vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Bauernschutzgesetzgebung der Kaiserin Maria Theresia', in: Posch, *Bauerntum in der Steiermark*, pp. 56-60, at pp. 57-59.

<sup>11</sup> Gestrin, 'Économie', 668-670. For the clashes over rural trade (*Gäuhandel*) in the Slovene parts of Inner Austria see *ib.*, 670-678. Archducal orders for Carinthia in 1602 and Styria in 1604 remained ineffectual, *ib.*, p. 690, see also Pickl, 'Die wirtschaftliche Lage der Städte und Märkte', 96-97, and August Dimitz, *Geschichte Krains von der ältesten Zeit bis auf das Jahr 1813*, vol.2 (Laibach: n.p., 1875), p. 290. The *Widmungsbezirke* in Styria are described by Hans Pirchegger, *Geschichte der Steiermark* (Graz, Vienna, Leipzig: Hans Stiasnys Söhne, 1934), 147-148.

<sup>12</sup> Velikonja, 'Slovene and Croatian lands', 22-23.

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<sup>13</sup> Franz Mayer, 'Materialien und kritische Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der ersten Bauernunruhen in Steiermark und den angrenzenden Ländern', *Beiträge zur Kunde steiermärkischer Geschichtsquellen* (subsequently quoted as *BKSTGQ*), 13 (1876), 1-32; Franz von Krones, 'Aktenmäßige Beiträge zur Geschichte des windischen Bauernaufstandes vom Jahre 1573', *BKSTGQ* 5 (1868), 3-34. The Slovenes' reserve in 1525 is mentioned by Bogo Grafenauer, *Ethnic conditions in Carinthia* (Ljubljana: Research Institute, Section for Frontier Questions, 1946), p. 8. There were incidents of rural unrest in Upper Carniola at this time which have been interpreted as reverberations of the German Peasants' War, see Mirko Rupel, *Primus Truber: Leben und Wirken des slowenischen Reformators* (Munich: Südosteuropa-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1965), p. 36. There is no modern comprehensive treatment of the subject, but some valuable additional detail for the Slovene sources on sixteenth-century rural discontent can be gleaned from Nataša Štefanec, 'Soziale Unruhen im Königreich Dalmatien, Kroatien und Slawonien, 16.-18. Jahrhundert, in: Peter Rauscher, Martin Scheutz (Hg.), *Die Stimme der ewigen Verlierer? Aufstände, Revolten und Revolutionen in den österreichischen Ländern, ca. 1450-1815* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2013), 177-200, at pp. 181-186.

<sup>14</sup> This is the central argument of Hočevar, 'Comparison'.

<sup>15</sup> Quotation from Velikonja, 'Slovene and Croatian lands', p. 23.

<sup>16</sup> See above, esp. Gestrin, 'Économie', passim. Ethnic settlement patterns in Carinthia are described in Grafenauer, *Ethnic conditions*, 7-8. For Styria, a description of settlement patterns and a map of linguistic boundaries can be gathered from the otherwise unpalatable work by Gerhard Werner, *Sprache und Volkstum in der Untersteiermark*, *Forschungen zur deutschen Landes- und Volkskunde*, vol. 31,



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(Stuttgart: J. Engelhorn's Nachfolger, 1935). Its ideological drift is accurately reflected in the title.

<sup>17</sup> Cp. Hočevar's conclusions in his review of Pavlè Merkù, *Slovenska plemiška pisma (družin Marenzi-Coraduzzi s konca 17. stoletja)* (Trieste: Založništvo tržaškega tiska, 1980). Merkù's edition reprints the Slovene correspondence of the Carniolan women of the Caraduza family in the late seventeenth century, see Toussaint Hočevar's comments in *Slovene Studies* 3 (1981), 32-35.

<sup>18</sup> Johann Weikhard von Valvasor, *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain*, vol. II, book VI, ch. I, p. 271 (Laibach [Ljubljana]: n.p., 1689). The philological and socio-linguistic contents of this work is further evaluated by Gerald C. Stone, 'J.W.Valvasor's Ehre des Herzogtums Krain (1689): A source for the history of the Slovene language', *Slovene Studies* 12 (1990), 43-53.

<sup>19</sup> The disciplinary function of Lutheran confessionalization as promoted by the Inner Austrian Estates is briefly touched upon by Günter Scholz, *Ständefreiheit und Gotteswort. Studien zum Anteil der Landstände an Glaubensspaltung und Konfessionsbildung in Innerösterreich (1517-1564)* (Frankfurt am Main-Berlin-New York: Peter Lang, 1994), p. 96-98.

<sup>20</sup> The state of research is represented in the collection of articles by Sönke Lorenz/Anton Schindling/Wilfried Setzler (eds.), *Primus Truber 1508-1586. Der slowenische Reformator und Württemberg* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2011). For biographical approaches see Rupel, *Truber*, and the review article by Rudolph Flanik, O.Carm., 'Trubar and his biographers', *Slovene Studies* 4 (1982), 49-56. The state of research on the broader issue of the South Slavic Reformation is documented by the above cited volume by Lorenz/Schindling/Setzler, *Truber*, and the papers of a conference held at

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the University of Chicago, Illinois, in 1984, published in: *Slovene Studies* 6 (1984).

The linguistic issue is dealt with in detail in the collection of essays edited by Rolf-Dieter Kluge/Eugenio Coseriu/Heinz Setzer, *Ein Leben zwischen Laibach und Tübingen: Primus Truber und seine Zeit: Intentionen, Verlauf und Folgen der Reformation in Württemberg und Innerösterreich* (Munich: O.Sagner, 1995).

<sup>21</sup> Rupel, *Truber*, especially pp. 18-19 for Bonomo and p. 40 for Trubar's theological views up to 1547; see also the editor's instructive biographical outline in: *Primus Trubers Briefe mit den dazugehörigen Schriftstücken, gesammelt und erläutert von Theodor Elze* (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein, 1897), pp. 1-14, as well as Balduin Saria, 'Die Slowenische Reformation und ihre Bedeutung für die kulturelle Entwicklung der Slowenen', in: Branko Berčič (ed.), *Abhandlungen über die slowenische Reformation, Geschichte, Kultur und Geisteswelt der Slowenen*, vol. 1 (Munich: R. Trofenik, 1968) 23-49, at pp. 25-29.

<sup>22</sup> The pioneering work by Christian Friedrich Schnurrer, *Slavischer Bücherdruck in Württemberg im 16. Jahrhundert, ein litterarischer Bericht* (Tübingen: n.p., 1799), is indispensable for its reprinting of important documents. The relevant correspondence has been edited by Elze, *Trubers Briefe*. For Ungnad see Johann Loserth, *Die Reformation und Gegenreformation in den innerösterreichischen Ländern* (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1898), 105-114, and the recent assessment of Ungnad and the Urach printing press by Hermann Ehmer, 'Primus Truber, Hans Ungnad von Sonnegg und die Uracher Druckerei 1560-1564', in: Lorenz/Schindling/Setzler (eds.), *Primus Truber*, 201-216.

<sup>23</sup> Elze, *Trubers Briefe*, preface, 8-12, and the documents on pp. 294-315. The Carniolan Estates backed Trubar against charges of Zwinglianism in their letter to

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Christoph of Württemberg, 28. January 1564, *ib.*, 385-387. The case against Trubar rested on an imprudent statement concerning the validity of the sacramentarian position in a letter to Nikolaus von Graveneck, ducal *Obervogt* in Urach, in October 1563, see Elze, *Trubers Briefe*, 358-359. The contents of this letter was leaked to Jakob Andreae, who raised this issue with duke Christoph of Württemberg, see his letter of 18. November 1563, Elze, *Trubers Briefe*, p. 359. Trubar remained evasive on the issue of Zwinglianism: in his correspondence with Bullinger, he backed away from Andreae's polemics and urged Bullinger not to believe any 'rumours' of anti-Zwinglian attacks by himself. This is followed by further equivocation on the contentious question of real presence, and an assertion that he took a neutral position in the sacramentarian controversy and had offended neither side by his preaching, see his letter of 13 March 1557 to Heinrich Bullinger, in: Elze, *Trubers Briefe*, 22-28, at pp. 24-25.

<sup>24</sup> See Elze, *Trubers Briefe*, p. 12-13. For Karl's reaction and the fate of the printed copies of the agenda see the editor's (German) preface, p. VIII, and his epilogue to the facsimile reprint of the Slovenian Church Order, see Christoph Weismann (ed), *Primus Truber, Cerkovna ordninga* (Tübingen 1564) (Munich: R. Trofenik, 1973), pp. XVII-XXV.

<sup>25</sup> For the correspondence between Karl II and the Carniolan Estates concerning the issue of the church agenda see Elze, *Trubers Briefe*, 427-428, 442-446, and the final apologetic letter by the Carniolan diet, 8 February 1565, 446-449.

<sup>26</sup> Quotations from Trubar's letter of 29 October 1564 to the Carniolan Estates, in: Elze, *Trubers Briefe*, 28-29.

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<sup>27</sup> For the reception of Swiss and German thought see Oskar Sakrausky, 'Der Einfluß der deutschen Theologie auf die südslawische Reformation', *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 13 (1970), 77-96, at pp. 84, 86-90. The issue of the intellectual origins of the Reformation in the southern parts of the province and its potential for a semi-autonomous development would merit further investigation.

<sup>28</sup> For the statutes of the church order of 1578 see E. A. Doleschall, 'Die Kirchenordnung Innerösterreichs im 16. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich* (subsequently cited as *JGGPÖ*), 5 (1884), 163-183, and for the archduchy's agenda: Georg Loesche, 'Die reformatorischen Kirchenordnungen Ober- und Innerösterreichs', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 18 (1921), 35-55, 121-154. The impact of Flacianism is illustrated by Johann Loserth, 'Der Flacianismus in Steiermark und die Religionsgespräche von Schladming und Graz', *JGGPÖ* 20 (1899), 1-13, and Oskar Sakrausky, 'Der Flacianismus in Oberkärnten', *JGGPÖ* 76 (1960), 83-109. Oliver Kermit Olson, *Matthias Flacius Illyrius and the survival of Luther's reform* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002) references his theological writings but does not discuss his regional impact beyond a passing reference to the Istrian Reformation on pp. 222-226. Subscription to the Formula of Concord was completed in 1582, see Karl Amon, 'Innerösterreich', in: Anton Schindling/Walter Ziegler (eds.), *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung*, vol. 1 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1989), 102-116, at p. 111. The actual subjection of the Carniolan ministry to the board in Graz is illustrated by the communication between the Carniolan and Styrian Estates on questions of ordination, see Loserth, *Reformation und Gegenreformation*, 588-589.

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<sup>29</sup> Weismann, *Truber, Cerkovna ordninga*. The dual system is also mentioned, without comment on its implications, by Jože Pogačnik, 'The Cultural Significance of the Protestant Reformation in the Genesis of the South Slavic Nations', *Slovene Studies* 6 (1984), 101-112, at p. 107.

<sup>30</sup> Valvasor, *Ehre des Herzogthums Crain*, vol. II, book VII, ch. VIII, 438.

<sup>31</sup> Valvasor, *Ehre des Herzogthums Crain*, vol. II, book VII, ch. VIII, 438, 442, 453.

On Rattmansdorff see Mayer, 'Materialien', p. 15.

<sup>32</sup> See Irena M. Ozbalt, 'Evangelini: The Protestant intermezzo in Zuzemberk', *Slovene Studies* 6 (1984), 191-201. Trubar's patronage of Dalmatin is stated by Jože Rajhman, 'Jurij Dalmatin and his Bible in the Light of Literary History and Theology', *Slovene Studies* 6 (1984), 113-125, at p. 114.

<sup>33</sup> Valvasor, *Ehre des Herzogthums Crain*, vol. II, book VII, ch. VIII, p. 453.

<sup>34</sup> Valvasor, *Ehre des Herzogthums Crain*, vol. II, book VII, ch. VIII, pp. 455-8.

<sup>35</sup> See Tom M.S. Priestly, 'Slovene Protestants in Carinthia', *Slovene Studies* 6 (1984), 177-189, and Oskar Sakrausky, *Agoritschach. Geschichte einer protestantischen Gemeinde im gemischtsprachigen Südkärnten*, Kärntner Museumsschriften (Klagenfurt: Landesmuseum Kärnten, 1960),

<sup>36</sup> Valvasor, *Ehre des Herzogthums Crain*, vol. II, book VII, ch. XIV, p. 468.

<sup>37</sup> Malaspina to Gallio, 3 January 1584, in: Johann Rainer (ed.), *Nuntiaturberichte, Sonderreihe: Grazer Nuntiatur*, vol. 2, 1582-1587 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), p. 217.

<sup>38</sup> Outside the fray of confessional conflict, such hopes proved deceptive, as the peasants of the Lower Styrian *Herrschaft* Schönstein were to find out: governmental responses to their complaints against the increase of feudal obligations varied

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according to the confessional outlook of the present owner: while previous complaints against Protestant lords were successful, the peasants were denied redress against the excessive demands of the Catholic Wagen von Wagensberg family in 1594-7, see Helfried Valentinitich, 'Willkür und Widerstand. Die wirtschaftliche und rechtliche Lage der Untertanen der untersteirischen Herrschaft Schönstein in der frühen Neuzeit', in: Vincenc Rajsp (ed.) *Grafenauerjev Zbornik*, (Ljubljana: Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, 1996), 469-482, at pp. 474-475.

<sup>39</sup> Radoslav Katičić, *Ein Ausblick auf die slawischsprachige Völkerwelt im Südosten* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Schriften der Balkan-Kommission, Philologische Abteilung, vol. 37, 1996), p. 18. Quotations from Trubar's prefaces *ib.*

<sup>40</sup> A stimulating discussion of the issues of language, ethnicity and the function of opposition for the definition of cultural identity can be found in Irene Portis Winner, 'Ethnicity and Communication', *Slovene Studies* 5 (1983), 119-124. Evidence from present-day Slovene communities in the Lower Carnian Alps would warn against any oversimplification of the complex relationship between linguistic and ethnic identity, see the instructive case study by Robert G. Minnich, 'Speaking Slovene - Being Slovene. Verbal Codes and Collective Self-Images: Some Correlations Between Kanalska Dolina and Ziljska Dolina', *Slovene Studies* 10 (1988), 125-147.

<sup>41</sup> A list of supporters is stated in Schnurrer, *Slavischer Bücherdruck*, p. 61. For the importance of the Viennese booksellers' support of Ungnad's press and the activation of their connections from Augsburg to Debrecen see Bernhard Hans Zimmermann, 'Die Bedeutung Wiens für die Reformation und Gegenreformation bei den Kroaten und Slowenen', *JGGPÖ* 65/66 (1944/45), 21-53, at pp. 27-36.

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<sup>42</sup> See Eugenio Coseriu, 'Das westeuropäische Bild vom Südlawischen zur Zeit Primus Trubers', in: Kluge et al. (eds.), *Primus Truber und seine Zeit*, 174-185, at p. 176.

<sup>43</sup> Trubar's intention of canvassing support and evoking the sympathy of his German patrons for the plight of the Slovenes and Croats is expressly stated in his prefaces to Stephan Consul and Anton Dalmata's translation of the first part of the New Testament of 1562, quoted at length in Katicic, *Ausblick*, 38-39. Cp. also his information for the Carniolan Estates' Verordnete, 1 March 1562, in: Elze, *Trubers Briefe*, which concluded: "Aus dem werden alle Teutschen abnemen, wie hoch das unser dolmetschen, druckhen, disen volckern von nötten sei.", ib., at p. 164. Trubar's detailed description of the Slovene and Croatian peoples of Inner Austria and the adjoining Croatian-Slavonian lands is reprinted in: Saria, 'Slowenische Reformation', 47-48; cp. also Janez Rotar, *Die Nationwerdung der Slowenen und die Reformation. Trubars Benennung von Ländern und Völkern, Geschichte, Kultur und Geisteswelt der Slowenen*, vol. 21 (Munich: R. Trofenik, 1991), at pp. 7-8.

<sup>44</sup> Cp. the examples mentioned by Coseriu, 'Das westeuropäische Bild', 181-183. The contributions of sixteenth- to eighteenth-century historiography are evaluated by Michael B. Petrovich, 'The Rise of Modern Slovenian Historiography', *Journal of Central European Affairs* 22 (1963), 440-467.

<sup>45</sup> See Trubar's statements in his preface to the first part of the New Testament in the Slovene Language, Tübingen 1557, reprinted in: Schnurrer, *Slavischer Bücherdruck*, 18-21.

<sup>46</sup> "Lingua tamen ipsa, seu prolocutio, quam auctor Sclavonicam posuit, est quidem Sclavonica, tamen arctata & constricta ad illam saltem Sclavonicae proprietatem, qua

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provinciae Styria, Carniola & Carinthia utuntur, ita quod si ista translatio legatur coram illis Sclavis, qui in partibus regni Ungariae superioribus, in Comitibus Trinchiniensi, Arwalypto & aliis vicinis morantur, parum aut ferme nihil sint intellecturi." Having asserted its unintelligibility to, among others, the 'Illyrians' and the population of the area of Zagreb, the author continues "Quin etiam ipsius Styriacae, Carniolae & Carinthiae linguae tam obscure sunt redditae, ut vulgus seu communis populus illarum popularum absque cognitione linguae Germanicae non sit intellecturus complura hic posita vocabula, eo quod non pauca sint, quae Germanicam potius quam Sclavonicam linguam sapiunt (...)", quoted from the text of the memorandum in: Schnurrer, *Slavischer Bücherdruck*, p. 32-33. The first part of this critique has been echoed by modern charges that Trubar sacrificed contemporary hopes of a larger Slovenian-Croatian linguistic community to his project of a Slovene literary language, see Vasilij Melik, 'Der Einfluß der Reformation auf den Prozeß der sozialen Affirmation der slowenischen Sprache', in: Kluge et al. (eds.), *Primus Truber und seine Zeit*, pp. 186-190, at p. 187.

<sup>47</sup> See Trubar's defence in his letter to duke Christoph of Württemberg, 8 March 1560, in: Elze, *Trubers Briefe*, p. 62-63. The assumption of Skalich's authorship of the memorandum is uttered *ib.*, p. 62. The meaning of the term *windisch* in early modern usage varies, cp. Rado L. Lenček, 'Note: the terms Wende-Winde, Wendisch-Windisch in the historiographic tradition of the Slovene lands', *Slovene Studies* 12 (1990), 93-97. Lenček states that it was generally applied to the Slavic population of the Slovene-speaking territories of Inner Austria and (further) Istria as well as Hungarian Prekmurje, *ib.*, p. 94. The term could either mean Slovene or include



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related Croatian idioms, and Trubar's use of the term vacillates; Katičić, *Ausblick*, is inconsistent on this point, cp. the contradictory statements on pp. 17 and 109.

<sup>48</sup> Quotation from Trubar's letter to duke Christoph of Württemberg, 8 March 1562, in: Elze, *Trubers Briefe*, p. 63. The linguistic spheres are set out in Trubar's preface to the first part of the Glagolitic New Testament of 1562, where he states that the nobility as well as many of the burghers and clergy were at least bilingual, whereas the common folk spoke Slovene only: "Aber der gemein ungewandert Man durch auß, redet nur die Windische Sprach." quoted in: Saria, 'Slowenische Reformation', p. 48.

<sup>49</sup> Jože Koruza, 'Die literarischen Formen der Predigten Primus Trubers', in: Kluge et al. (eds.), *Primus Truber und seine Zeit*, 268-277, at p. 275.

<sup>50</sup> From the preface to *Svetiga Pavla Lystvvi* (1567), reprinted in: Rotar, *Nationwerdung*, p. 10.

<sup>51</sup> Quotations from Rotar, *Nationwerdung*, 10-11. In his preface to the 1582 edition of the Slovene New Testament, he addressed his readers as "wir Creiner, Understeierer, Kärner und Windischen, die mit dem gemeinen Landtvolck uns der Windischen Sprach gebrauchen.", ib., p. 11.

<sup>52</sup> Cp. Zimmermann, 'Bedeutung Wiens für die Reformation', especially p. 26.

<sup>53</sup> This emerges from Johann Loserth, *Die protestantischen Schulen der Steiermark im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1916), and Johann Loserth, *Die Beziehungen der steiermärkischen Landschaft zu den Universitäten Wittenberg, Rostock, Heidelberg, Tübingen, Straßburg und anderen in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Graz: Leuschner und Lubensky, 1899).

<sup>54</sup> Trubar's report of 17 June 1562 for the Carniolan Estates' Captain and diet states that duke Christoph of Württemberg had founded two scholarships for Carniolan

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students at the University of Tübingen to further the Protestant mission, see Elze, *Trubers Briefe*, p. 183, and his study, quoted ib., p. 183, n. 2: Theodor Elze, *Die Universität Tübingen und die Studenten aus Krain* (Munich: R. Trofenik, 1877).

<sup>55</sup> This is the overall balance of the analyses by Erich Prunč, 'Der Wortschatz in Trubers Kirchenordnung', in: Kluge et al. (eds.), *Primus Truber und seine Zeit*, 333-351, at p. 343, and, with considerable qualifications regarding the effect of Trubar's linguistic "foreignization", Jože Toporišič, 'Lexical Germanisms in Truber's *Catechismus*', *Slovene Studies* 9 (1987), pp. 233-241, at p. 239.

<sup>56</sup> Elisabeth Seitz ' "Wäre doch Truber ein Kroat gewesen!" Slovenische Variationen über das Thema einer gesamtslavischen Schriftsprache von der Reformation bis zum Neoillyrismus', *Slovenski jezik - Slovene Linguistic Studies* 1 (1997), 91-124, at p. 102, states that no less than 31,000 copies of 37 works were printed in Urach. The bulk of these, however, were in Croatian, i.e. 23,500 copies of 26 works, whereas there were a mere 4 Slovene titles with an edition of 3,500 copies, the remainder (6: 4,000) being in Italian. The stated overall figure for Urach's output seems suspiciously high, but the press's linguistic bias would be further evidence of its patrons' missionary priorities.

<sup>57</sup> Dimitz, *Geschichte Krains*, 285-288. The author does not comment on the remainder.

<sup>58</sup> Bogo Grafenauer, *The national development of the Carinthian Slovenes* (Ljubljana: Research Institute, Section for Frontier Questions, 1946), pp. 13-14.

<sup>59</sup> See Maja Žvanut, 'Europäische Bücherproduktion des 16. Jahrhunderts in Krain', in: Kluge et al. (eds.), *Primus Truber und seine Zeit*, 226-234. For the formative influence of humanist rhetorics on Trubar and his readers' predilection for classical

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literature see Majda Stanovnik, 'Truber und das Problem der literarischen Übersetzung', in: Kluge et al. (eds.), *Primus Truber und seine Zeit*, 363-381, at pp. 367-373.

<sup>60</sup> Cp. his preface to the glagolytic New Testament of 1562, quoted in Rotar, *Nationwerdung*, p. 7. This is echoed in the prefaces to Georg Dalmatin's Slovene Bible of 1584, quoted *ib.*, p.12. Vernacular short-comings are mentioned in the preface to the first part of the Slovene New Testament, 1556 (printed in 1557), see Schnurrer, *Slavischer Bücherdruck*, p. 19.

<sup>61</sup> Quoted in Rupel, *Truber*, p. 38.

<sup>62</sup> Quoted in Rupel, *Truber*, p. 37.

<sup>63</sup> Rupel, *Truber*, 37-38.

<sup>64</sup> Valvasor mentions the government's persecution of wise old women whom the Slovene rural population of Carniola revered for their medical and soothsaying capacities. Valvasor notes with distaste that such a woman was commonly addressed as "Bogina", i.e. goddess, see Valvasor, *Ehre des Herzogthums Crain*, vol. II, book VII, ch. XVI, p. 470.

<sup>65</sup> Cp. the report quoted at length in: Rupel, *Truber*, p. 38 (no date), and his account for king Maximilian of Bohemia, 27 October 1561, in: Elze, *Trubers Briefe*, 140-145, at pp. 143-144, n.7.

<sup>66</sup> The famous diet of 1578 which obtained the Inner Austrian religious concession from archduke Karl II met in Bruck in Upper Styria on account of outbreaks of plague further down the south, see Pirchegger, *Geschichte der Steiermark*, p. 438. The Slovene parts of Inner Austria were also the centres of 17th century witch crazes in which charges of conjuring up natural disasters featured prominently. Moreover, the

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gravamina of the rebellious Slovene peasants of 1515 explicitly criticized the authorities' alleged leniency in punishing maleficent witches, see Fritz Byloff, *Hexenglaube und Hexenverfolgung in den österreichischen Alpenländern* (Berlin-Leipzig: Walter De Gruyter, 1934), p. 37, and for the Slovene witch trials Vincenc Rajsp, 'Hexenprozesse in Slowenien', *Acta Ethnografica* 37 (1991-2), 51-66.

<sup>67</sup> The intellectual origins and social history of this phenomenon stand in urgent need of historical investigation. For an instructive treatment of its ecclesiastical dimension see Josef Till, *Stifter und Springer. Beiträge zur Geschichte einer religiösen Bewegung im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert im slowenischen Raum Innerösterreichs*, unpublished theological thesis, Graz 1977. See also Erich Winkelmann, 'Springersekte und Bergkirchen in der alten Südsteiermark', *JGGPÖ* 62 (1941), 33-37. Valvasor's account of a recent foundation of a St. Joseph's chapel at Gutenfeld in Carniola conforms to the sectarian pattern, see Valvasor, *Ehre des Herzogthums Crain*, vol. II, book. VIII, ch. IV, p. 741.

<sup>68</sup> Cp. Trubar's statement quoted in Rupel, *Truber*, p. 38.

<sup>69</sup> Quotations from Trubar's letter to Maximilian, 27 October 1561, in: Elze, *Trubers Briefe*, at pp. 143-144, and from his address to Maximilian in his preface to the Croatian New Testament of 1562, *ib.*, p. 144, n.7.

<sup>70</sup> The complaints of the Styrian Estates and their secretary Matthes Amman in 1596 are quoted in: Till, *Stifter und Springer*, at p. 224.

<sup>71</sup> See Jean Delumeau, 'Les réformateurs et la superstition', in: Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme Français (ed.), *Actes du Colloque L'Amiral de Coligny et son temps, Paris, 24-28 octobre 1972* (Paris: Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme Français, 1974), pp. 451-487, at pp. 467-477.

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<sup>72</sup> Cp. Trubar's report in 1558, quoted in Rupel, *Trubar*, at p. 39.

<sup>73</sup> Delumeau, 'Les réformateurs', argues that Protestant rationality was premature in view of the state of sixteenth-century popular religion, see *ib.*, part IV, 478-487: 'Le protestantisme était-il prématuré au XVIe siècle?'