

PRIMOŽ TRUBAR AND SLOVENE LITERATURE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY*

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With the exception of a few fragments containing identifiably Slovene linguistic features—most notably the texts discovered at Freising, which scholars date conventionally to the year 1000 AD—no writing, let alone literary creativity, took place in any of the numerous dialects of Slovene before the middle of the sixteenth century. In this respect Slovene as a medium of intellectual and social communication stood significantly behind the other Slavic cultures of Southeastern Europe—Bulgarian, Serbian and Croatian—which by 1550 had not only produced works of art of enduring importance, but had contributed as well individuals of talent to the international cultures of their times: in the Orthodox east men like Gregorij Camblak and Konstantin Kostenki; in the Latin west Marko Marulic and Matthias Flacius Illyricus. Slovene backwardness was the result of a variety of circumstances—historic, geographic, economic, and linguistic—that successfully impeded the formation of a Slovene ethnic awareness for the first thousand years of Slavic settlement in the Eastern Alps (ca. 550-1550). As Rado Lencek notes (1982:42), “it is obvious that the modern concept of the ‘Slovene language,’ or anything ‘Slovene’ for that matter, did not exist during these centuries.” Indeed, the retention of the very name *Slovene*, which was simply the generic term for all Slavs, may reflect the unselfconscious attitude of the Eastern Alpine Slavs. Not until the nineteenth century was it possible to distinguish between “Slovene” and “Slav” in the Slovene language, and then only thanks to a borrowing from the Czech (Lencek 1982:23).

The year 1550 represents a fateful turning point for the Slovenes, one with whose repercussions we live, it is no exaggeration to say, to the present day. As a result of activities occurring in the first half of the sixteenth century, a consciously supra-dialectal form of Slovene was encoded in book form and published. This epochal event proved not to be an isolated instance, but the beginning of a series of publications in Slovene (somewhere between forty and fifty books were eventually printed, composed by approximately twenty Slovene Lutheran clergy and laymen [Slodnjak 1958: 64-5]). Their activities continued intermittently for almost fifty years, until the expulsion of the Lutherans from the Inner-Austrian lands in 1598. Concurrently with this last phase of Slovene Protestant literary creativity, a period of Counter-Reformational writing also took place: it ended in 1615 with the publication by a Jesuit priest of the Slovene translation of St. Pèter Canisius’ *Catechismus*. That book marked, however, a very clear *terminus ad quem* for this first period of writing in Slovene. No further printing in the language would take place until 1672, and then only a reprinting of one of the Counter-Reformational texts. No true literary creativity would be permitted to occur in Slovene until the times of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, i.e., the second half of the eighteenth century.

In the Slovene lands, then, the period 1550-1615 stands in stark and brilliant contrast to the darkness before and the darkness after. Though relative to their neighbors the Slovenes came late to literacy in the native tongue, nevertheless in six and a half short decades they not only found their voice but created a body of writing that would lead to the formation of a rich and vital modern culture. It is about this first seminal period of Slovene letters I would like to speak in some detail today.¹

Three factors conditioned the development of Slovene culture in the sixteenth century: the Protestant Reformation, which combined the humanism of the Renaissance with a renewed and militant Christian piety; the Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation, which was to be closely associated with the Baroque in Central Europe; and the Turkish threat, which hit its peak in the sixteenth century. These factors are clearly not of equal importance: the Reformation, especially in the form of Lutheranism as it was practiced in the German lands, provided the matrix for Slovene developments, while the Counter-Reformation and the intrusions of the Turks merely impeded, or at most undermined, but did not determine those developments. Each of these three factors, did, however, help to shape the nascent Slovene consciousness of the Slavic inhabitants of Inner Austria.

The Protestant Reformation is dated conventionally from the last day of October 1517, when the young Augustinian monk, Martin Luther (1483-1546), nailed his ninety-five theses to the chapel door of the Castle of Wittenberg to protest, among other things the sale of indulgences. Thanks to Luther's zeal and eloquence, but also as a result of the Central European political situation and the power of the printing press, his ideas spread rapidly. Though we do not know when they first appeared in the Slovene lands (Grafenauer [1979:266] cites 1518 for Carinthia), we do assume that by the mid 1520's they were well in evidence there. In 1527, 160 copies of Kaiser Ferdinand I's decree against the Protestants reached Ljubljana: it threatened any who denied the sacraments of the Catholic Church with capital punishment (Rupel 1965:34). Evidently it had little impact, for two years later Mathes Klombner, who held a responsible position in the Carniolan Diet (*deželni stanovi*, *Landestände*), was made the head of the Lutheran community in Ljubljana (ibid:35). Lutherans and Catholics would thereafter coexist in Carniola, Styria, Carinthia and other Slovene lands, as well as in Trieste and the Croatian lands, till the end of the century. It should be noted that in Slovenia Lutheranism was almost exclusively a bourgeois phenomenon, and therefore restricted by and large to the few cities and larger market towns (Ljubljana, Celje, Maribor, Ptuj, Novo mesto, Škofja Loka, Kranj, Bled, Klagenfurt, Graz, Villach, Gorica and a few others).

The end of the Reformation in Slovenia can be dated with exactitude. In 1596 Archduke Ferdinand inherited control of the Inner Austrian lands of the Hapsburg dominion and began immediately to expel from them all vestiges, public and private, of the reformed faith. On October 29, 1598, his decree was published in Ljubljana giving all Protestant preachers and teachers twenty-four hours to leave the city, and three days to leave the province; failure to comply carried pain of death. Commissions were established to check the *bona fides* of all remaining citizens, so that by the beginning of the seventeenth century, only the Protestant nobility of Austria, operating under the Peace of Augsburg and the traditional deference shown to those of high rank by others of high rank, could practice Lutheranism with impunity. Even they were compelled to conform, however, after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), which so sharpened religious tensions in the Hapsburg realm that in 1628 non-Catholic noblemen were also driven into exile from the Slovene lands. By this time, however, Protestantism had long since ceased to be a vital force there.² We might also note that during this hundred-or-so year period, the Reformation in the Inner Austrian lands was represented by and large by orthodox Lutheranism, though other Protestant movements, such as Calvinism, Zwinglianism, Flacianism, and Anabaptists and the like, were not unknown (cf. Grafenauer 1979:293).

The Counter-Reformation, the second factor of capital importance to Slovene cul-

ture in the sixteenth century, affected the Slovene lands on two levels. The first was doctrinal. As a result of the Council of Trent, called so reluctantly by Pope Paul III in 1545 (its sessions continued till 1552, then were interrupted until the papacy of Pius IV, who reconvened the delegates in January 1562 and concluded their deliberations in December 1563), Roman Catholicism rearticulated its articles of faith, particularly in light of the Protestant claims against them, and reinvigorated the spirits of those clergy and laity who had for one reason or another resisted the blandishments of the reformers for almost half a century. Trent confirmed both doctrinally and practically the supremacy of the Pope in all matters pertaining to the governance of the Roman Church. Thus it consecrated the centralizing view of authority also to be found in the lay governments of Europe at the time. It sanctioned the intrusion of the Church into the literary sphere with the establishment, in March 1564, of the rules governing the infamous *Index librorum prohibitorum*. And in the compilation of a catechism and the elaboration of "immutable" rites such as the Tridentine Mass, it strove to make uniform the beliefs and practices of the Western Church to a degree Christianity had never before experienced. Thus Rome did not "reform" itself, at least in the sense the earliest Protestants had demanded. Rather it simply suppressed some of the practices the reformers had found most noxious (without, however, admitting guilt concerning them), and it stressed its strengths: through Apostolic Succession continuity with the ancient church, clarity and authority of its voice in its teaching, stability in its rigid hierarchy. With all this in hand, it proceeded to the regaining of its lost sheep, among them those in the Slovene lands.

The other level on which the Counter-Reformation affected the Slovenes was far less lofty and far more immediate. In 1534 Ignatius Loyola established the Society of Jesus, which rapidly turned itself into the executive force of the Counter-Reformation. In 1573 the Jesuits opened their first school in Slovene territory, the Collegium at Graz, and quickly elevated it to university status (in 1580) for the training of Catholic clergy. Among their students was Tomaž Hren (1560-1630), who in 1599 became the Bishop of Ljubljana. He presided over the dismantling of the Reformation in his see, the destruction of many Protestant books and schools (2,000 books were burned in Ljubljana [Grafenauer 1979:305]), and the re-establishment of Apostolic authority in the area. The Jesuits borrowed the tactics of their opponents where opportune. Hren, for example, is credited with the compilation of a Sunday lectionary in Slovene (*Evangelija inu listuvi*, 1613, which actually used the Protestant translations of the New Testament). As noted earlier, Janez Čandek, a Jesuit of Višnja gora, translated Canisius' catechism into Slovene in 1615. The Jesuits compiled hymnals in the vernacular, founded schools, and even produced plays. For the most part, however, they shunned the Protestants' involvement with book production, so that under the Jesuits' aegis Slovene literature disappeared for all practical intents and purposes for 150 years. They did, however, make contributions in the pictorial and plastic arts, as well as music, and their impact can still be appreciated in the surviving artifacts, particularly the architecture, of the Slovene Baroque. But these lie outside the scope of this paper.

While the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter-Reformation represent in a sense opposite sides of the same coin, the third factor of cardinal importance to the Slovene lands in the sixteenth century is specie of a different kind. As Mirko Rupel, the modern biographer of Primož Trubar, notes concerning that reformer's childhood (Rupel 1965:9):

The impression that the tales of the Turkish atrocities made on the imagination of the young boy remained with him till the end of his life. In almost every one of his books he mentions the Turkish danger as the greatest misfortune of the Slovene peasant.

His parents had experienced Turkish rapacity firsthand, in the raids of 1471, 1476, 1491 and 1497. But even more momentous for the Hapsburg lands as a whole was the spectacular rise of Turkish power in the sixteenth century, particularly in the reign of Sultan Suleyman I, "The Magnificent." No sooner did he come to power (in 1520) than Belgrade fell (1521), northern Bosnia fell (1522), Buda fell (1526), and the first siege of Vienna was laid (1529). Throughout the entire middle of the century, during the heyday of Slovene Protestantism, Slovene eyes were constrained to gaze—quite uncharacteristically, I might note—to the southeast. The effects on the reformers, particularly Trubar, were significant, as I hope to show at the conclusion of this paper, and even when Suleyman died in 1566 and the Ottoman Empire slipped into rapid decline (Sugar 1977:195), the Turkish threat remained an ever present reality, with all the implications that that would have for Central European culture. We should not forget that the last Turkish siege of Vienna did not occur until 1683, nor that relative security returned to the Slovene and Croatian lands only after the signing of the Treaty of Sremski Karlovci in 1699.

Now that I have set the stage, so to speak, by providing some of the cultural and historical background of Slovene Protestantism (for the geographical and economic background I refer to the articles by Joseph Velikonja, "Slovene and Croatian Lands in the Sixteenth Century [A Geographic Framework]", *Slovene Studies*, 6/1-2 [1984]:11-30; and Toussaint Hočevar "A Comparison of Economic and Social Conditions in Slovene and Croatians Lands during the Reformation", *ibid.*, 31-48), I would like now to turn my attention to the principal actors on this stage. There are five. One I have already introduced, Bp. Hren of Ljubljana, in his role as Catholic spoiler, as it were, of Protestant initiatives. I have little more to add concerning him, except to note that as the son of Protestant parents he knew the reformers' works firsthand, and that many scholars credit him with salvaging some of the Slovene Protestant writings, at least those not in direct contradiction to Roman teaching. As we noted above, however, Hren did little or nothing to extend Slovene literature, and as such is of importance only as the marker of the end of an epoch in Slovene culture.

The other four principals, Protestants all, are Primož Trubar (1508-1586), Sebastijan Krelj (1538-1567), Adam Bohorič (ca. 1520-after 1598), and Jurij Dalmatin (1547-1589). The most important of these is Trubar, whose life and work I propose to examine here in some detail. Of the other three Dalmatin is the outstanding personality, so that it is his contributions to the formation of Slovene literature I will conclude my paper with. Of Krelj and Bohorič I will be able to say only a little.

For Ivan Prijatelj, writing in 1908, Primož Trubar was the "cornerstone of our culture" (*vogelni kamen naše kulture*) (Prijatelj 1908:5). Basing himself in large part on the exhaustive publication of Trubariana by Pastor Theodor Elze at the end of the nineteenth century (particularly his edition of Trubar's letters in 1897 [*Primus Trubars Briefe* (Tübingen: Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 1897)]), Prijatelj's reassessment of the Protestant reformer contributed enormously to Trubar's literary and historical reputation in the Slovene lands. Only two short years later, in fact, a statue was raised to the "Father of Slovene Literature" at the entrance of the Tivoli Park in Ljubljana.

For Mirko Rupel, Trubar's definitive biographer (for an evaluation of the three Trubar biographies already written, see Fr. Rudolph Flanik's review article in *Slovene Studies* 4/1 [1981], 49-56), Trubar stands with France Prešeren, Fran Levstik, and Ivan Cankar as one of the "highpoints" of Slovene literary and cultural history (Rupel 1965:275). More than anyone else, according to Rupel, he embodied the entire beginning of cultural awareness among the Slovenes. His life and work were intimately connected with every Slovene writer of the sixteenth century, Catholic or Protestant, and his impact on the written Slovene word would continue to be felt hundreds of years after his death.

Even in modern Yugoslavia Trubar has continued to serve as a lively topic of debate for his countrymen. Matthias Murko marvelled at Trubar's amazing awareness of a South Slavic continuum in his study *Die Bedeutung der Reformation und Gegenreformation für das geistige Leben der Südslaven* (Prague and Heidelberg:1927). France Kidrič devoted a number of exhaustively researched articles to Trubar's literary activities (cf. Kidrič, 1978:11-161). F. Orazem and Jože Rajhman have recently (1964 and 1974 respectively) defended dissertations on Trubar's theology (Flanik 1981:56, note 7), and Rajhman has gone on to write a lengthy study of Trubar's first publication (*Prva slovenska knjiga* [Ljubljana: Partizanska knjiga, 1977]). Two writers, Jože Javoršek and Jožko Humar, in 1977 and 1980 respectively, have attempted to reinterpret Trubar as an early exemplar of liberation theology (Flanik 1981:54-5), a predecessor of the Communist politicians Boris Kidrič and Edvard Kardelj. And the recently deceased Anton Slodnjak devoted a substantial portion of his German-language history of Slovene literature to Trubar's activities (Slodnjak 1958:49-66). Be it also noted that Trubar's fame has spread overseas as well: in 1984 he was one of the chief objects of investigation of the Conference convened to observe the four-hundredth anniversary of the translation of the Bible into Slovene. The proceedings of this meeting, which took place at the University of Chicago last March, are available in volume 6 of the journal *Slovene Studies*, cited above.

Trubar was the author not only of the first book of the Slovene Reformation (and indeed of all Slovene literature), but for all practical intents and purposes of the last book as well. In 1550 or perhaps 1551 his "Catechismus in der Windischenn Sprach, sambt einer kürtzen Ausslegung in gesang weiss. Item die Litanai vnd ein Predig vom rechten Glauben, gestelt, durch Philopatridum Illiricum," with the Slovene subtitle "Anu kratku Poduuzhene skaterim vsaki zhlouik more vnebu pryti," was published in Tübingen, along with another small volume that has a short German title and a long Slovene subtitle: "Abecedarium vnd der klein Catechismus In der Windischen Sprach: Ane Buquice, is tih se ty Mladi inu preprosti Slouenci mogo lahku vkratkim zhasu brati nauuzhiti, v tih so tudi ty vegshy stuki te kerszhanske Vere inu ane Molytue, te so prepisane od aniga Peryatila vseh Slouenzou." These bibliophilic rarities, preseved now only in the Vienna National-Bibliothek, were printed in the so-called Schwabacher Fraktur or gothic script. Trubar's last work, "Hishna postilla D. Martina Lvtheria, zhes te nedelske inu teh imen itishnih prasnika Evangelie, skusi cejlu Lejtu, s'Vsem flissom tolmazhena, skusi Primosha Truberia Krainza rainziga," was published posthumously in 1595 in Tübingen by Trubar's youngest son Felicijan, the last Protestant preacher in Ljubljana in the sixteenth century. This book, which Trubar was translating on his deathbed, was printed in Antiqua or roman script (as all of Trubar's books after the first two) and represents the final creative word of Slovene Protestantism until the late nineteenth century. Thus Trubar was the alpha and omega, in a sense, of reformational writers in the Slovene lands.

Born sometime around the Feastday of St. Primus (June 9), in 1508, in the village of Raščica, due south of Ljubljana in the Dolenjska area of the Province of Carniola, Trubar received for his time and station a relatively thorough education. Thanks to his innate talents and the comfortable situation of his family, who ran a mill, he was destined for the priesthood, and to that end was sent to Rijeka to study (in 1520 or 21). Shortly thereafter he transferred to Salzburg, where among others he encountered the notorious anti-semite of the time, Dr. Balthasar Hubmaier (Hubmaier's fanaticism seems to have produced in young Primož a lifelong commitment to religious toleration), and met Bishop Peter Bonomo, for a few years the humanist secretary of Emperor Maximilian I in Vienna. At this time Bonomo was returning to Trieste to take over his see; Trubar attracted his attention and in 1523 or 1524 was invited to serve under him in Trieste. Thanks to Bonomo's kind direction, Trubar learned Italian and improved his Latin (he already knew, of course, Slovene, Croatian and German); he heard Erasmus' work explicated by Bonomo in three languages including Slovene), and came to know firsthand Luther's reformation, of which Bonomo was a supporter. In 1528 he was even sent to the University of Vienna, but he quit the school and the city in the following year in view of the Turkish menace. Upon his return to Trieste Bonomo ordained him a priest of the Roman Church.

Concerning Trubar's humanist education Rupel makes the following very forceful statement:

Even if he read the Latin classics and the writings of the humanists, e.g., Erasmus of Rotterdam, that does not allow us to say that he himself had become a humanist. He felt too little enthusiasm for antiquity and felt himself not much of a scholar. He was simply of a healthy peasant nature with an inclination to the practical, and without any sense for the higher ideals of humanism or learned theological hairsplitting. (Rupel 1965:28)

At the very end of his study Rupel returns to this point when he writes of Trubar's religious fervor, patriotism and cultural consciousness:

Though this consciousness was brought up on humanism, Trubar was nevertheless no humanist. True, he wrote in Latin and quoted Cicero, Sallust, Pliny the Younger and the Elder, Vergil, Perseus and others, but his simple Latin and his entire style of expression in both his Slovene and non-Slovene texts do not allow us to call him a humanist. In the final analysis this results from his somewhat limited schooling. (Rupel 1965:281)

Rupel means by this last statement in particular that Trubar never finished a university course.

Before I continue with this outline of Trubar's biography, I would like to address this very central issue of his humanism. Most modern scholars of the Renaissance, among whom I might name Paul Oskar Kristeller and Hannah Grey, would bridle at Rupel's equation of humanism with theological hairsplitting, polished Latin and enormous erudition, though these factors do play a part in constituting the generic humanist. Much more important, however, in defining this type is an individual's attitude toward learning, his or her critical approach to texts, the day-to-day results of his or her intellectual and organizational activities. Sixteenth-century Europe was full of humanists: not all of them achieved the level of Erasmus or Bonomo or Melanchthon, but in

their own more limited way they contributed to the accumulation and dissemination of learning, using those dispassionate, thorough humanist methods we like to think also typify modern scholarship. I suggest therefore that we do not condescend to allegations concerning Trubar's "peasant, practical nature," but examine what he did, using Rupel's very own data. It will be clear, I think, that Trubar often operated as a humanist.³

From his ordination in 1530 until 1548, Trubar functioned as a Roman Catholic priest. It is worthwhile remembering that the first public protestant congregation was formed in Ljubljana almost at the same time (1529), but for almost two decades Trubar would remain as a Roman Catholic reformer, albeit increasingly aware of Protestant trends and suffering for his promotion of some of them. After brief service in the countryside (in Laško), Trubar was called to Ljubljana as one of two Slovene-language Vicars of the Cathedral; in 1542, though only 34 years old, he became Dean (*Domherr*). His support of some reform measures, particularly the distribution of communion in both kinds (which, however, he did only privately, never in his official capacity), and his very popular Slovene sermons, eventually brought him into conflict with his bishop. In 1548 Trubar's arrest was ordered, his property confiscated and he eventually excommunicated. Warned by friends of his in the hierarchy, however, he fled to Nuremberg before he could be apprehended. There he officially renounced his priestly office, embraced Lutheranism, became a pastor and married.

Even while he was living in the countryside, Trubar kept abreast of theological developments in reformed Europe. We know, for example, that he read the Protestants Konrad Pellican and Heinrich Bullinger (their Biblical commentaries) as soon as they appeared, and that he discussed Calvin's *Institutiones religionis christianae* with Bonomo in Trieste. His library was worth 400 gulden, a sizable amount, when it was impounded in 1548. And Trubar must have been outstanding enough in his day to call down upon himself personally the wrath of P.O. Vergerius, Catholic humanist bishop of Koper, who tried in vain to root out the reform in his see (ironically Vergerius himself would later become a Protestant and one of Trubar's supporters in Germany). Most crucial, however, for our understanding of Trubar's humanism are his actions in exile. Despite the displacements of his flight, conversion and marriage, he immediately set about the translation into Slovene of a Lutheran catechism and the writing of a primer on orthography (i.e., the first two Slovene books, which appeared in 1550 or 1551). As Rajhman has demonstrated, the first of these was no mere translation of Luther, but rather a careful reworking of many sources (Johannes Brenz, Veit Dietrich, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, as well as Luther), and that throughout, "most often the starting point for Luther was God, for Trubar above all man" (Rajhman 1977:42).

By 1554 Trubar had been called as pastor of the Lutheran community in Kempten, in the Allgäu. Thanks to its proximity to the Swiss cantons and the ideas of Calvin and Ulrich Zwingli, his parish was rife with controversy. Trubar, however, was tolerant to all points of view. (Though he himself was inclined to the Swiss, especially their understanding of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, he publicly professed orthodox Lutheranism to the end of his days). He also was beloved as a caring shepherd of his flock: Trubar never neglected his pastoral duties for his publicistic concerns. Indeed he was making house calls to his sick parishioners up to a few days before his own death. Not only was he tolerant, he was very kind and generous with his resources to the point of self-impoverishment.

Most important in this period of his life (his first exile in Germany) were his meeting

with the newly converted Vergerius in Ulm in 1555, who persuaded Trubar to begin the translation of the Bible into Slovene (the Gospels and Acts appeared in 1557); the founding of the Bible Society in Urach; the translation of Trubar's catechism into Croatian; and the publication of Trubar's first book in German, all in 1561.

At first Trubar refused to undertake the translation of the scriptures (though Luther himself had sanctioned this "good work" with his 1522 German version of the New Testament and 1534 version of the Old), on the grounds that he knew no Greek or Hebrew. But Vergerius convinced him that excellent translations existed in Latin, German and Italian (he also persuaded him to switch from *Fraktur* to roman script), so that in that very same year Trubar produced "Ta evangeli svetiga Matevsha, sdaj pervizh vta slovenski iesig preobernen." Vergerius' influence may also be noted in the Latin subtitle of this work, which reads in part "nunc primum versum in linguam schlaucam," for it was his desire for Trubar's translation to reach all the Slavs.

Trubar's ambivalent usage of "slovenski"—sometimes it meant Slavic, sometimes Slovene (we might remember that Kopitar experienced a similar problem in 1808)—belies his very clear understanding of exactly to whom he was directing his translations. In 1557 he reissued Matthew, together with the other three gospels and the Acts of the Apostles and the first piece of sustained, original Slovene prose, entitled "Ena dolga predguor," the lengthy foreword to his translation (which, by the way, is the first of Trubar's books to appear under his own name). This time the subtitle (now in German) speaks of a translation "in die gemeine Windische sprach" (*windisch* seems to have meant only Slovene). But the Slovene dedication of 1555 and the German dedication of 1557 both contain the same statement concerning the languages of the texts:

Since Slovene [or Slavic] is not spoken everywhere in one and the same way—many words are said differently by Carniolans, Carinthians, Styrians, people of Dolenjska and the Bezjaks, those from the Carst area and Istria, and by the Croats [he leaves out the Croats in 1557 (Rupel 1966:80)]—therefore for many reasons we have decided to translate this work of ours into the Carniolan language, primarily because it seems to us that the people of the other lands will be able to understand it. And we have not sought in this translation after fine, smooth, elevated, artistic, new or unknown words [in 1557 he adds also "Croatian" (*ibid.*)], but rather common, simple Carniolan words [*gmajnske, krajnske preproste besede*], which every simple Slovene [or Slav] is able to understand. (Rupel 1966:65)

Thus Trubar had as early as the 1550's a clear sense of the essential linguistic unity of the Slovene dialects and an equally clear awareness of differences between Slovene and the other Slavic languages, notably the language of the "Croats, Dalmatians, Bosnians, Serbs and Bulgarians" as Trubar himself calls it (Rupel 1966:127). (For an understanding of how radically different Vegerius' view concerning South Slavic linguistic unity was, see Olga Nedeljković, "Illyrian Humanist Ideas in the Works of the South Slavic Protestant Publishers in Urach", *Slovene Studies* 6/1-2 [1984]:127-42). His audience was first and foremost his fellow Slovenes, "muji lubi Slovenci inu bratje" (*ibid.*:86), "muji dobri preprosti lančmani" (*ibid.*:90). He would encourage others to translate for the remaining South Slavs, whose language, he admitted, was spoken throughout the Balkans and used even in the "court of the Turkish tsar" (*ibid.*:72). But he would write as he knew best, in the language "spoken

in Raščica, where I was born" (ibid:80).

Trubar strove for accuracy in his translation not only in language, but also in sense. In 1555 he wrote:

In our translation we have always had before us the true source of the New Testament, which was written in Greek; we have looked as well at the translations of both ancient and modern scholars who have translated the New Testament from Greek into Latin, German and Italian, most especially however at Erasmus of Rotterdam's New Testament, whose annotations have helped us a great deal. (Ibid.:65-6)

In 1557 he admits to using:

two Latin, two German and one Italian New Testament and a Croatian Missal printed in roman characters in Venice: and before I examine each word in each translation individually, as well as Erasmus' *Annotaciones* and other commentaries, and decide which translation I should follow, a lot of time goes by. (Ibid.:77)

Such painstaking care reveals an attitude more akin to humanist scholarship than to confessional zeal, it seems to me. Trubar might simply have translated Luther; instead he returned *ad fontes* and started *ab ovo*, in humanist fashion.

Trubar's other achievement of this period was his founding of the Bible Society (officially the "Windische, Chrabatische und Cirulische Trukherey") in Urach. Its sponsor was the Austrian Protestant nobleman Hans Ungnad, Freiherr von Sonneck. According to Rupel (1965:134), this firm was the fulfillment of Trubar's dream to promote Protestantism among the South Slavs and Slavic-speaking Turks by means of the printed word. In its brief existence (it folded after Ungnad's death in late 1564), it produced twenty-five titles and a total of 25,000 volumes in gothic, roman, cyrillic and glagolitic scripts and in the German, Croatian, Slovene and Italian languages (ibid.:223). Its demise speeded the end of the Reformation in Croatia, but not in Slovenia, for one simple reason. The Bible Society had permitted Trubar to contribute directly to Croatian Protestantism through his two Croatian assistants, Stipan Konzul and Antun Dalmata. Otherwise the Croatian reform had raised up few indigenous leaders of any stature (see Ivo Banac, "The National Notation of Matthias Flacius Illyricus," *Slovene Studies* 6/1-2[1984]:93-100, to understand how uninvolved he was with the destiny of his country). When that relationship between Trubar and Croatia was broken, Croatian Protestantism suffered, while Trubar turned his attention completely to Slovene again.

In 1560 Trubar was recalled to Ljubljana, this time to occupy one of the most important Protestant positions in the city, as Superintendent or First Preacher of Carniola. He remained for five years and enjoyed great success, particularly for his preaching (women were "driven to tears of joy when they heard him speak" [Rupel 1965:149]), but in 1564, as a result of his publishing *Slovenska cerkovna ordninga*, of which no copy is extant today, he was once again driven into exile, this time permanently, by the Catholicizing central government of the Inner Austrian lands under Archduke Karl.

This period too is important for a number of achievements in Slovene culture with which Trubar was directly or indirectly connected. Chief among them was the founding of the Slovene Latin School in Ljubljana in 1563: its subjects included Latin, music, religion, the arts, German, mathematics, Greek and even Slovene, which was

used as the language of instruction in the German classes (otherwise German was used to teach in). The Ljubljana Lutheran community supported its school, and Trubar was intimately involved with its functioning. Trubar's attempt to provide a formal structure for the Lutheran Church in the Slovene lands met with less success: the *Slovenska cerkovna ordninga* was attacked by friend and foe alike, the former because of doctrinal controversies and personal animosities amongst the Protestants, the latter because of the new vigor of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. The third achievement of this period is Trubar's acceptance of the young Jurij Dalmatin, an impecunious student of great potential, into his home. Dalmatin even moved with the Trubar family into exile in 1565; this close tie was the bond between the two generations of Slovene Protestantism, as we shall see.

Exiles and even death (Ungnad, Vergerius and Trubar's first wife all died within two years of each other) did not slow Trubar down, however. In 1566 he published his Slovene Psalter, a work that had taken eleven years to finish and represents his only Old Testament translation. Rupel feels it is very weak in that it is so derivative of German translations. Perhaps here Trubar's genuine inability to handle Hebrew (as opposed to his modest disclaimer to know no Greek) took its toll. In 1567 Trubar and his second wife, Anastasia (he would marry yet a third time, after Anastasia's death, when he was 72), settled in his last parish, at Derendingen near Tübingen. The proximity to both the famous university there and the press were obvious stimulants for him, for he published or republished four books within that one year. The best of these are his hymns. Rupel notes that he translated or composed about thirty hymns in his lifetime, making him the first poet to be known by name in the language; his hymnals, seven editions in all, comprise one of the most enduring contributions of Slovene Protestantism to Slovene culture. Thanks to their enormous popularity they survived even the pyres of the Counter-Reformation. The year 1567 was also the year of Trubar's last, semi-secret visit to Slovenia. He would never return home again.

The final two decades of Trubar's life, and the final three decades of Slovene Protestantism, for it outlived him by only ten years, are the highpoint of Slovene culture in the sixteenth century. From the political point of view Trubar succeeded, despite his distance from the centers of activity in Ljubljana, Graz and Klagenfurt, in eliminating denominational animosities within the Slovene Protestant communities by imposing upon them the *Formula concordiae* of 1577 (published in 1580), which brought a measure of doctrinal peace to Protestant Europe, including Slovenia. He also supported the various so-called "pacifications" wrested by the Slovene and Austrian Protestant bourgeoisie from the House of Hapsburg. These permitted relative religious tolerance in Inner Austria for the burgher class. Though they proved ephemeral, they provided Slovene Protestant culture enough time to permit its greatest cultural endeavors to bear fruit.

And what were these fruits? I would like to look at four specifically, two belonging to Trubar, and two unthinkable without his support and groundbreaking labors.

The first is Trubar's longest work, over 500 pages, *Catechismus sdveima izlagama*, published in 1575. It is Trubar's most substantial defense of Lutheranism against Catholic claims, and it was written, as its German dedication makes clear, in response to the first Slovene Catholic book, *Compendium catechismi catholici in Slavonica lingua*, translated by Leonhard Pachenecker and published in Graz in 1574. (This book is known only from Trubar's mention of it; it has not survived). Trubar's text takes the *Societas Jesu*, newly arrived in the Slovene lands the year before, severely to task: calling the Jesuits wolves in sheep's clothing, he castigates them even for their

name, for they are not brothers of Jesus, like good Christians, but presume to be associates (*socii*) of his. This work ended Trubar's eight-year silence, which was prompted in part by illness.

Perhaps the crown of Trubar's translation efforts was his publication in 1582 of the entire New Testament (which he had been working on since 1555). Essentially a reprint in smaller format (to facilitate carrying it about) of all the preceding parts (he refused to modify anything, even the spelling, because he believed his translation was accurate and the orthography understandable), he conceived of this work as his swan-song as well:

Le-te bukve z le-to predgovorjo vom, mujim lubim Slovennom, jest, kir sem
74 lejt star, 52 pridigar, h ti muji odhudni iz tiga svita za sebo pustim . . .
(Rupel 1966:283)

Since I am 74 years old, 52 of them a preacher, in anticipation of my departure from this world I leave behind me for you, my dear Slovenes, this book with this foreword.

In his German dedication he mentions that the Old Testament has been translated as well, but neither names the author (Jurij Dalmatin) nor notes the fact that Dalmatin had also translated the New Testament. Rupel suggests he suppressed this information in order to justify his own publication, which Trubar understood to be the climax of his career (Rupel 1965:264). It is, of course, impossible to know Trubar's motive for sure, but, as I will suggest in my conclusion, perhaps Trubar himself sensed that a new generation, and with it a new understanding, had overtaken the Reformation in Slovenia, and this uncharacteristic silence was his way of gently registering his dissatisfaction with it.

The third and fourth works crowning this summit of Slovene Protestant creativity are Dalmatin's translation of both the Hebrew and Greek Bibles, published in 1584, and Adam Bohorič's grammar of Slovene, *Arcticae horulae*, also issued in the same year. Since neither of these men has found his biographer yet (at least no one on the order of Rupel), I will adduce information about them here from the somewhat dated but excellent articles on them by Kidrič, written in 1925: "Adam Bohorič" (Kidrič 1978:143-8) and "Jurij Dalmatin" (Kidrič 1978:149-61).

Bohorič's dates are unknown, but it is clear he was younger than Trubar and older than Dalmatin. We know that he was at the University of Wittenberg in 1548, and that he ran a school in Krško, in the Province of Carniola, from 1551 to 1563. In the latter year he may have made his formal profession of faith as a Lutheran; in any event he was evidently a Protestant when the Carniolan Diet assigned him the task of running the Latin School in Ljubljana, which he did from 1566 till his retirement in 1582, and again briefly from 1595 to 1598, whereafter he disappeared from view. His achievements are three: with Trubar he shares credit for the founding and promotion of formal education in the Slovene lands; with Sebastijan Krelj he shares credit for the development and application of a consistent orthography for Slovene (for digraphs to represent š, ž, č, lj and nj) (in the nineteenth century this alphabet was called the *bohoričica* in his honor); and with Dalmatin he must share the glory of the first grammar of Slovene. Though he alone is the author of this work, Bohorič wrote the *Arcticae horulae* at the behest of the Review Commission which was examining Dalmatin's Bible, so that there would be orthographic and grammatical consistency in the text. Thus the grammar was the result of the Bible. In any event Bohorič's work from a scholarly point of view was very derivative and unsatisfactory, based as it was

on a too literal imitation of Philip Melanchthon's grammar of Latin to the point that Bohorič invented forms for Slovene (like a vocative and an ablative). Though the book failed in its purpose, which was to equate Slovene with Latin, its merit lay in its initiation of a tradition of the grammatical interest in Slovene, and its insistence upon Slovene's unique place within the framework of Slavic linguistics as a whole. Bohorič's introduction, notes Kidrič (147), was the only text of the sixteenth century to stress Slovene membership in the "world-wide" (Rupel 1966:358) realm of the Slavs. And the very derivation of Slav from *slava*, glory, places Bohorič in the forefront of Baroque Slavism, which was to blossom in the South and West Slavic lands so luxuriantly in the seventeenth century.

Dalmatin, born in Krško in 1547 and the best student in Bohorič's school there, took his higher education in Germany: he received his baccalaureate from Tübingen in March 1569 and his master's degree four months later. In 1572 he became a Lutheran minister, married and moved to Ljubljana, where he stayed (except for journeys to Germany) till his death in 1589. Kidrič (151) makes several points about Dalmatin worthy of repetition here: he was devoted to Trubar (as noted above, Trubar treated him as one of the family when he went into exile in 1565, and supported and defended him during his student years); he was a life-long Lutheran of rather narrowly orthodox views, without the zeal of the convert; his knowledge of classical languages and his education in general were oriented toward his calling alone. As Kidrič says, "... one looks in vain for any explicit humanistic or Renaissance feature in his physiognomy" (151). I would like to emphasize this last point.

Dalmatin (and with him Bohorič, Krelj and others) belonged to a different generation from Trubar. The division between them involved more than age, however. Trubar was of a humanist bent, his education involved direct contact with Italian humanism (in Rijeka and above all in Trieste); even his schooling in German-speaking lands (Salzburg and Vienna) inclined more to Mediterranean models than to Central European ones. He was tolerant of diversity; in his scholarship he eagerly sought a variety of sources and viewpoints beyond his own denomination's bounds; he was creative, productive, flexible and accommodating - all of which are traits of the Italian style of humanism he espoused. The younger generation of Slovene Protestants, on the other hand, all received their education in Germany alone. They were strictly Lutheran in their scholarship and outlook, far less creative or original in their publications, and inflexible. Their piety, rigidity and intolerance reflect far more the German rather than the Italian approach to humanist endeavor. Therein lies the generational division between the Slovene Protestants.

Nowhere does Dalmatin's attitude toward humanist scholarship contrast more clearly with Trubar's than in the translation of the Bible. In Dalmatin's own words, in the German introduction to his magnum opus:

For my homeland and for everyone's benefit I have ... translated [the Bible] into our language, both from its source in the original languages in which it was first written and from other translators, but also from the oft mentioned, fundamental, accurate and universally acclaimed translation by Luther. (Rupel 1966:336)

In point of fact, according to Kidrič (op.cit.) and Rajhman ("Jurij Dalmatin and his Bible in the Light of Literary History and Theology," *Slovene Studies* 6/1-2[1984]:113-25), Dalmatin used Luther's German Bible of 1545 so exclusively

that he even omitted from Sacred Scripture the passages that Luther chose to omit; and the Review Commission examining the Slovene version had little success in persuading him to make any changes despite the fact that they based their suggestions on the Complutensian Polyglot and other scholarly Biblical sources of the day (Kidrič 1978:156). While Dalmatin's orthography was a bit more consistent than Trubar's, his language a slightly more generalized dialect of Slovene, and his turns of phrase occasionally more felicitous and less Germanized than his predecessor's, nevertheless his translation represents a narrowing of the scholarly scope of Slovene Protestantism, a diminution of those creative impulses that had served to popularize Lutheranism in the land, and a clear change of ideological generations from Mediterranean to Central European humanism, indeed from Renaissance to proto-Baroque. Trubar and Dalmatin died only three years apart (1586 and 1589 respectively), but they typified the two different generations of Slovene Protestantism. Thanks to the Counter-Reformation, a third was not to be.

I would like to conclude with a word about the Turks, whose constant pressure on the Slovene lands in the sixteenth century I claimed at the beginning of my paper was one of the three major factors, with the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, to have an effect on Slovene culture. As one historian notes (Spitz 1985:48): "The shadow of the crescent lay across central Europe on the eve of the Reformation, and the Turks were to play a critical role in the *Realpolitik* that determined the course that the movement was to take." For the first generation of Slovene Protestants, the Turks were an ever-present reality. Trubar wrote a lengthy German introduction to his Slovene translation of the Gospels in 1557 so that German speakers would come to know the full horror of living on the border with that "evil empire" of the day. The Turks, he says (Rupel 1966:78) "murder, strangle, capture, abduct and sell into shameless slavery" both Slovenes and Croats. In his "Hymn against the Turks" of 1567 he wrote:

Ne daj da bi tuja čast
od Turkov se zatrla
od papeža zavrgla . . .

Do not allow your honor, O Lord,/ to be obliterated by the Turks,/ or
perverted by the Pope . . . (Rupel 1966:200)

But at the end of that very same hymn he strikes a different note on the same subject:

Daj nom v veri obstati
tuj vuk vselej držati,
Turkom trojico znati,
Da nas več ne dražijo.

Let us persevere in faith,/ hold ever to your teaching,/ inform the Turks of
the Trinity,/ so that they cease tormenting us. (ibid.:201)

The conversion of the Turks, always a pious thought of Reformation Christianity, was an urgent necessity for Trubar, and even a great opportunity to be rejoiced over. It is to this end that he stressed in 1557 the mutual intelligibility of Croatian and Slovene, and the fact that Croatian is spoken throughout the Turkish Empire, "even in Istanbul,

at the court of the Turkish tsar" (ibid.:72). Trubar had his sights set very high. Though he refused to compromise the integrity of his own dialect by the artificial admixture of Croatian words, nevertheless he obviously hoped that enough of his translation would be understandable to penetrate as far as "the court of the Turkish tsar". Moreover Trubar worked directly with Croatian Protestants to speed the spread of the faith in their lands and beyond.

The second generation of Slovene Protestants, on the other hand, lacked Trubar's missionary zeal. It is a fact that Turkish aggressiveness in Southeastern Europe attenuated rapidly after Suleyman's death in 1566 (the Battle of Lepanto, 1570, the first major European victory over the Turks being but the first swallow of the spring to come [Sugar 1977:195]). By the end of the sixteenth century the Turks were clearly on the defensive against a reinvigorated Austria. But Dalmatin's "Heartfelt Prayer against the Turks" (1574) (Rupel 1966:321) merely attempts to cajole God into smiting the infidel; he does not ask Him to convert them: "Aku Ti boš tu dopustil,/ kdu bo Te na zemli častil?" (If you permit this [a Turkish victory], who will honor you on earth?). Throughout Dalmatin's writings it is evident he wished to maintain a strict Lutheran orthodoxy, and thus felt constrained to keep his gaze fixed on North Central Europe and the doctrinal developments there. The Turks and the Croats represented no opportunity for him as they had for Trubar. And even that "pan-Slavic awareness" that some scholars impute to Dalmatin and Bohorič seems to me in the final analysis to be a defensive and self-centered gesture, designed to preserve the Protestant status quo in the Slovene lands, not a desire to extend the faith south and east.

Indeed, as I have pointed out above, the range of vision of the later Slovene Protestants was reduced in comparison to Trubar's, their interests circumscribed by the growing pressures of the Counter-Reformation, and their reformist ardor cooled. Dalmatin too mentions that Slavic (not Croatian specifically) is used at the Turkish court (Rupel 1966:335), but his point differs substantially from Trubar's. He makes a claim instead for the superiority of Slovene over all the other Slavic languages: "All the Slavic people can understand our dialect . . . much more easily than we theirs because of their difficult and peculiar ways of pronouncing and writing." In other words, even in the realm of language, the understanding of the second generation had changed (and perhaps it was with this new understanding that Trubar could not reconcile himself, and for that reason kept silent about Dalmatin's translation of the New Testament). For Trubar Slovene had been a modest, unpretentious medium deeply indebted to German for words and phrases, its range limited to the Slovene lands. For Dalmatin, Bohorič and the others, however, the prestige of Slovene had risen (Bohorič compared it to Latin itself), as its spelling and structure became fixed and its literary expressiveness increased. But the interests and abilities of its users fell short of the new range of its possibilities. And, in any event, the Counter-Reformation soon made all the pretensions of the later Protestants moot: by the end of the sixteenth century the prestige of Slovene for literary purposes had returned practically to zero, and in the realm of language as in everything else, Slovene culture quickly slipped from the enlightened humanism of Primož Trubar to enter upon the murky—and for Slovenia mute—ways of Baroque Slavism.

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1. I might note parenthetically that the first period of Slovene literature served not only as an inspiration to later Slovene writers, but as a model (or matrix or paradigm) as well. The four-part pattern: 1. spelling primer. 2. grammar. 3. translation of Holy Scriptures. 4. artistic writing, as was established in the sixteenth century and repeated, by 1. Pohlin, *Abecedika* (1765), 2. *Kraynska grammatika* (1768), 3. Japelj and Pohlin's Bible (1784-1804) and 4. *Pisanice* (1779-1781) and in the works of Anton Tomaž Linhart, in the eighteenth, and again, to some degree, with Kopitar, Metelko, Čop and Prešeren, in the nineteenth century (cf. Rado Lencek, "A Paradigm of Slavic National Evolution: Bible—Grammar—Poet," *Slovene Studies* 6/1 [1984]:57-71)
 2. This is not to say, however, that it disappeared altogether: both in Prekmurje, which is Slovene ethnic territory long under Hungarian domination, and in Southern Carinthia, Protestantism has managed to survive to the present day. And in the case of the Prekmurjans, their Lutheranism has even been successfully transplanted to the New World, where it thrived in the religious toleration of Pennsylvania. Cf. Tom M.S. Priestly "Slovene Protestants in Carinthia," *Slovene Studies* 61-2[1984]:177-89; and Karl K. Krueger, "A Windish Protestant Community in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania," *Slovene Studies* 6/1-2 [1984]:203-26.
 3. Humanism as an ideology was well attested in Slovenia throughout the first half of the sixteenth century, precisely in Trubar's formative years. See Primož Simoniti's study, *Humanizem na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1979). Rado L. Lencek, in his article "Humanism in the Slovene Lands" (*Nationalities Papers* 7/2 [1979]:155-70), says the following concerning Trubar and Bonomo: "It was Bonomo who introduced Trubar to classics and the writings of the great humanist and scholar, his, i.e. Trubar's, plans and achievements as a reformer were shaped by Bonomo's humanism" (16). Lencek prefers to think of Trubar as at best a Biblical humanist, whose philological expertise was however well below the level of Erasmus'. Štefan Barbarič in his article, "Ideje humanizma v delih slovenskih Protestantov" (*Slavistična revija* 24/4 [1976]:409-20), makes a similar point, that Erasmus was important to Trubar only for a limited way (more in matters of faith than philology). In all other times and ways Luther was Trubar's principal inspiration, and Protestantism, not humanism, his ideology.

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