

ACTA
ECCLESIASTICA
SLOVENIAE
22

Lilijana Žnidaršič Golec
DUHOVNIKI KRANJSKEGA DELA
LJUBLJANSKE ŠKOFIJE
DO TRIDENTINSKEGA KONCILA

LJUBLJANA 2000



KAZALO

PRILOGE

Kratice in okrajšave	9
Predgovor	11
Uvod	13
I. Ustanovitev in obseg ljubljanske škofije	23
I/1. Ustanovitev škofije	23
I/2. Obseg škofije	43
II. Ljubljanski stolni kapitelj	60
II/1. Pravice in dolžnosti ter statuti	60
II/2. Sestava	67
II/3. Vprašanje prvega prošta, dekana in kanonikov	77
II/4. Bogoslužje: osnovna skupna dejavnost	82
II/5. Kapiteljsko gospodarstvo	89
II/6. Prikaz proštov	101
II/7. Prikaz dekanov	119
II/8. Kanoniki in (protestantska) reformacija	137
III. Duhovniki	155
III/1. Število	155
III/2. Krajevni izvor	161
III/3. Socialni izvor	165
III/4. Šolanje, vzgoja in izobrazba	175
III/5. Posvečenje	191
III/6. Gmotni položaj	197
III/7. Nравно življenje in disciplina s posebnim pogledom na (protestantsko) reformacijo	213
IV. Biogrami duhovnikov	227
V. Pregled duhovnikov po krajih	298
V/1. Župnije in vikariati	298
V/2. Oltarni in drugi beneficiji	302
V/3. Duhovniki v Ljubljani	304
Priloge	307
Povzetek	355
Summary	359
Arhivski viri	363
Tiskani viri in literatura	366
Zemljevid ozemlja obravnavanega dela škofije	385

PRILOGE

I. Ustanovitev in obseg ljubljanske škofije	307
Ustanovne listine	
1. 1461, december 6., Gradec	307
2. 1462, september 6., Pienza	314
3. 1462, september 10., Pienza	318
Župnija Kranj	
4. 1511, avgust 29., Kranj	319
Duhovnija Jesenice	
5. 1526, marec 5., Dunaj	323
II. Ljubljanski stolni kapitelj	
Posebne pravice	
6. 1466, oktober 29., Gradec	324
7. 1498, avgust 23., Freiburg im Breisgau	326
Konstitucije	
8. 1519, junij 14., Ljubljana	327
9. 1533, maj 1., Ljubljana	334
Disciplina	
10. 1523, november 28., Dunajsko Novo mesto	336
Temporalije	
11. 1463, avgust 20., Šmartin pri Kranju	337
12. 1547, januar 26., Gorica	339
13. po 1552, november 4., Ljubljana	340
Kapitelj in protestantska reformacija	
14. 1563, avgust 3., Ljubljana	342
III. Duhovniki	
Oporka Andreja Prosena	
15. 1534, november 1., Ljubljana	344
Reverz Filipa Stokrata	
16. 1560, januar 10., Ljubljana	346
IV. Drugo	
Zgodnjikov beneficij v ljubljanski stolnici	
17. 1463, december 10., Kranj	348
18. 1464, december 28., Dunajsko Novo mesto	349
Šola pri stolni cerkvi	
19. 1559, maj 17., Ljubljana	350
Kronološki razpored prilog 1, 2, 3, 11, 17, 18, 6, 7, 4, 8, 10, 5, 9, 15, 12, 13, 19, 16, 14	

CONTENTS

LIST OF APPENDICES

List of Abbreviations	9
Foreword	11
Introduction	13
I. The Founding and Territorial Range of the Ljubljana Diocese	23
I/1. Founding of the diocese	23
I/2. Territorial range of the diocese	43
II. Cathedral Chapter in Ljubljana	60
II/1. Rights, obligations, and statutes	60
II/2. Organisation	67
II/3. First provost, dean and canons	77
II/4. Liturgical activities	82
II/5. Economy	89
II/6. Provosts	101
II/7. Deans	119
II/8. Canons and the (Protestant) Reformation	137
III. Priests	155
III/1. Number	155
III/2. Local origins	161
III/3. Social origins	165
III/4. Schooling and education	175
III/5. Ordination	191
III/6. Financial status	197
III/7. Ethics and discipline	213
IV. Biographical Sketches of Priests	227
V. Lists of Priests with Reference to Locality	298
V/1. Parishes and vicariates	298
V/2. Altar and other benefices	302
V/3. Ljubljana	304
Appendices	307
Povzetek (Summary)	355
English Summary	359
Archival Sources	363
Published Sources and Secondary Works	366
Map of the Discussed Area	385

LIST OF APPENDICES

CONTENTS

I. The Founding and Territorial Range of the Ljubljana Diocese	
Founding Documents	
1. 1461, December 6 th , Graz	307
2. 1462, September 6 th , Pienza	314
3. 1462, September 10 th , Pienza	318
Parish of Kranj	
4. 1511, August 29 th , Kranj	319
Vicariate of Jesenice	
5. 1526, March 5 th , Vienna	323
II. Cathedral Chapter of Ljubljana	
Privileges	
6. 1466, October 29 th , Graz	324
7. 1498, August 23 rd , Freiburg im Breisgau	326
Statutes	
8. 1519, June 14 th , Ljubljana	327
9. 1533, May 1 st , Ljubljana	334
Discipline	
10. 1523, November 28 th , Wiener Neustadt	336
III. Priests	
Andrej Prosen's Testament	
15. 1534, November 1 st , Ljubljana	344
Filip Stokrat's Pledge	
16. 1560, January 10 th , Ljubljana	346
IV. Miscellanea	
Primissarius' Benefice in the Cathedral	
17. 1463, December 10 th , Kranj	348
18. 1464, December 28 th , Wiener Neustadt	349
Cathedral School	
19. 1559, May 17 th , Ljubljana	350
Chronological List	
of Appendices: 1, 2, 3, 11, 17, 18, 6, 7, 4, 8, 10, 5, 9, 15, 12, 13, 19, 16, 14.	

POVZETEK

Razprava "Duhovniki kranjskega dela ljubljanske škofije do tridentinskega koncila" je široko zastavljen odgovor na vprašanje, kdo so bili duhovniki, ki so prvih sto let po vzpostavitevi ljubljanske škofije delovali na njenem ozemlju, pripadajočem deželi Kranjski. Gre za kolikor mogoče temeljiti prikaz 268 oseb, izpričanih v zgodovinskih virih prve roke in drugem primarnem gradivu, pri čemer predstavljajo biografski podatki za posameznega duhovnika le eno od analiziranih ravni. Pomembno mesto v razpravi imajo kritična obravnava ustanovitve in obsega škofije, samostojna obdelava ljubljanskega stolnega kapitla in analiza pomembnejših vprašanj, zadevajočih obravnavano duhovščino kot celoto.

Razpravo sestavljajo uvod s temeljnimi načeli in poudarki v luči opravljenega dela, pet poglavij, razdeljenih v tematska podpoglavlja, ter transkripcija devetnajstih dokumentov. Ker se študija v časovnem pogledu osredotoča na prvih sto let škofijskega obstoja, je prvo poglavje namenjeno ustanovitvi škofije in njenemu obsegu. V njem avtorica odstira vzroke, povode in okoliščine, v katerih je cesar Friderik III. 6. decembra 1461 ustanovil škofijo s sedežem v Ljubljani, ustanovitev pa 6. septembra 1462 potrdil papež Pij II. Drugi del poglavja je posvečen opredelitvi v raziskavi zajetega prostora. Pri razčlenitvi vprašanja o župnijah, dodeljenih škofiji ob ustanovitvi, ter župnijah (Kranj in Dob), pozneje inkorporiranih škofov oziroma kapiteljski menzi, se pokaže ločnica med območjem pod jurisdikcijo ljubljanskega škofa in območjem, ki ga "episcopus Labacensis" (v primeru Doba "capitulum Labacense") upravlja kot župnik prek svojega vikarja. Avtorica se odloči za vključitev obeh območij ne glede na nekatere nejasnosti, ki se zrcalijo tudi v prepirih med oglejskimi patriarhi in ljubljanskimi škofi.

Predmet drugega, najdaljšega poglavja je ljubljanski stolni kapitelj. Ta takšne pozornosti ni deležen le zaradi razmeroma bogatega in premalo znanega kapiteljskega gradiva, marveč predvsem zaradi pomembne vloge, ki jo je kapitelj odigral v življenju škofije, dežele Kranjske in deželne prestolnice

Ljubljane. Ker je imela kapiteljska skupnost svoja pisana in nepisana pravila, svojo sestavo, premoženje itd., so v tem sklopu predstavljeni tudi njeni posamezni člani, zlasti nosilci dignitet ter raznih služb na škofijski in kapiteljski ravni. V tem poglavju je tako po eni strani govor o pravicah, dolžnostih in določbah ter strukturi, bogoslužni dejavnosti in gospodarstvu celotnega kapitla, po drugi strani pa o imenih prvih kapiteljskih duhovnikov ter proših in dekanih, katerih podoba je bolj ali manj jasno (pač glede na razpoložljive vire) orisana v posebnih razdelkih. Posebej je obdelano še vprašanje o odmevih reformacijske oziroma protestantske misli v kapitlu.

Na podatkih, zbranih za vse duhovnike skupaj, slonijo ostala tri poglavja. Tretjemu poglavju daje pečat analiza podatkovne baze z več vidikov: števila duhovnikov, njihovega krajevnega in socialnega izvora, šolanja, vzgoje in izobrazbe, posvečenja, gmotnega položaja ter nravnosti in discipline. Namen analize je čim konkretnje opredeliti različne razsežnosti svetne duhovštine kot prevladujočega dela kleriškega stanu in obenem osvetliti položaj, ki ga je imel izbrani "clerus saecularis" v družbi. Kot posamezniki pridejo obravnavani duhovniki do izraza predvsem v četrtem poglavju, kjer so po abecednem redu imen oziroma priimkov razvrščeni duhovniški biogrami. Glede na kraj službovanja in vrsto beneficia so v petem poglavju kronološko podana imena beneficiatov – posebej za Ljubljano, škofijsko središče in glavno mesto Kranjske. Sledi prepis devetnajstih, v veliki večini prvikrat predstavljenih virov, katerih izbor temelji na vsebinskem kriteriju. Med temi dokumenti so denimo kapiteljska statuta iz 1519 in 1533 ter oporoka duhovnika Andreja Prosena iz leta 1534.

Poleg evidence nad imetniki cerkvenih beneficijev v kranjskem delu ljubljanske škofije v obdobju 1461-1563 prinaša razprava več, na relevantnih virih temelječih ugotovitev, ki so v slovenski (cerkveno) zgodovinski literaturi bodisi prvič eksplicitno zapisane bodisi je njihova vrednost v tem, da potrjujejo ali zavračajo nekatere že uveljavljene, a premalo konkretizirane trditve. V zvezi s cerkvenoupravno razdelitvijo kranjskega dela škofije je omeniti ugotovitev, da je na tem območju obstajal en arhidiakonat, ki mu je načeloval župnik v Radovljici in prošt v Ljubljani, in sicer kot "archidiaconus natus" za bržkone celotno ozemlje nekdanje radovljiske prazupnije. Kar

zadeva kapitelj, je vsekakor upoštevati najdbo dela statuta, ki letnico nastanka najstarejših ohranjenih konstitucij ljubljanskega kapitlja pomakne iz 1519 v 1508. V prid domnevi o oblikovanju prvega kapiteljskega statuta še v dobi škofa Lamberga (1463-1488) pa govori ugotovitev, da sta statutarni besedili iz 1508 in 1519 vsebinsko identični.

Tezo o razmeroma številni duhovščini v času neposredno pred reformacijo in številčnem upadu klera v desetletjih po Luthrovem nastopu, podkrepljuje pretres virov z vidika štivila. Po drugi strani se rezultati analize krajevnega in socialnega izvora ter izobrazbe ne ujemajo s splošno sprejetimi predstavami o duhovnikih proučevanega časa in prostora. V skladu s temi naj bi bilo med uživalci donosnejših nadarbin najti skorajda samo tujce, domača nižja duhovščina pa naj bi bila v primerjavi s protestantskimi predikanti precej manj izobražena. Drugačno sliko kaže raziskava: duhovniki – Kranjci so zasedali vsa mesta v cerkveni hierarhiji ljubljanske škofije in se po doseženi izobrazbeni stopnji niso niti vidneje razlikovali od sobratov v Srednji in Zahodni Evropi niti niso zaostajali za protestantsko opredeljenimi sorojaki. Kar zadeva socialno okolje, iz katerega so izšli, je največ evidentiranih beneficiatov dalo (domače) meščanstvo - družbeni sloj, kateremu je po izvoru pripadal razmeroma velik del članov ljubljanskega kapitlja. Opazno razliko v dohodkih više in nižje duhovščine, slabo kupno moč slednje, posredno pa tudi pomen posameznikove podjetnosti izkazuje študija o gmotnem položaju duhovnikov, podprta s kvantitativnimi podatki iz arhivskih virov.

V okviru obravnave strukturnih vprašanj, ki tvorijo jedro raziskave, si avtorica zastavlja tudi ožja interpretativna, identifikacijska in kronološka vprašanja. Zadrži se denimo pri problemu interpretacije ustanovnih listin, kjer pokaže na sprejemljivost razlage M. Miklavčiča o eksemplnosti ljubljanske škofije. Pri določitvi vrstnega reda generalnih vikarjev, škofijskih oskrbnikov, proštov in dekanov opozarja na napake v obstoječih internih seznamih. Ob pritegnitvi gornjegrajskega gradiva postavlja vzgojnoizobraževalno središče mlade škofije v Gornji Grad. V istem podpoglavlju, nanašajočem se na duhovniško vzgojo in izobraževanje, dokazuje, da so si pristojnosti nad stolno šolo delili škof, kapitelj in ljubljanski meščani in da kapitelj ni imel lastne šole. Bolj ali manj splošne pritožbe nad nedisciplino in nemoralnim vedenjem

duhovnikov so v razpravi prikazane kot del širšega reformacijskega dogajanja, kot relativne pa v luči tedaj tudi med katoličani dokaj razširjenega odklanjanja celibata kritike na račun duhovniškega konkubinata in poročenosti.

Ob razmeroma skromni ohranjenosti in veliki razdrobljenosti gradiva ostajajo dragoceni mnogi drobni podatki, ki jih pri analizi ni bilo mogoče umestiti niti s sicer neredko uporabljenima metodama analognega in retrogradnega sklepanja. Pomen citatov iz virov (navadno v opombah) kakor tudi prilog je po drugi strani zlasti v tem, da omogočajo neposreden vpogled v uporabljeno gradivo. Znaten del le-tega v zadevni domači literaturi ni bil upoštevan, še manj sistematično obdelan. Nasprotno je ta literatura v precejšnji meri zastarela in presplošna: duhovnike prikazuje predvsem z vidika krajevne in župnijske zgodovine ali pa jih nekritično predstavlja kot protipol dobrih in visoko izobraženih predikantov.

Pričajoča analiza duhovštine kranjskega dela ljubljanske škofije si kot okvirno zgornjo časovno mejo postavlja leto 1563, torej leto, ko se konča tridentinski koncil in stopi katoliška Cerkv v novo obdobje. Le leta pozneje pride v krajevni Cerkvi do dokončne ločitve na katoliški in protestantski del. Obravnavano obdobje tako zaznamujeta tip "poznosrednjeveškega duhovnika" in v vrtinec zgodnje reformacije ujeti duhovnik prihajajočega novega veka. Kdo so bili duhovniki tistega časa na cerkveno oglejskem območju Kranjske, je vprašanje, ki še čaka na primerno izčrpen odgovor.

Pre-Tridentine Clergy of the Carniolan Part of the Ljubljana Diocese

SUMMARY

The present dissertation brings a thorough answer to the question of who were the secular clergy in the Carniolan part of the Ljubljana diocese during the first century after its foundation. It presents 268 priests, all of them documented through primary historical sources, the biographical being but one of the levels of analysis. Due consideration is given to the establishment of the diocesan structure, the extent of the diocese, the Ljubljana cathedral chapter, and the more important aspects of the clergy discussed.

The dissertation consists of an introduction in which the author points out the basic principles and objectives of the work, of five chapters divided thematically into sub-chapters, and of an appendix comprising the transcription of nineteen documents. Since the study concentrates upon the first hundred years of the history of the diocese, Chapter I deals with its foundation and extent. The author shows the circumstances, reasons and motives that led Emperor Frederic III. to found the diocese on 6 December 1461. (Pope Pius II's confirmation followed on 6 September 1462.) In the second part of the Chapter, a distinction is made between the parishes assigned to the diocese upon its foundation and the parishes (Kranj and Dob) incorporated into the bishop's or cathedral chapter's mensa at a later date (Kranj in 1507, Dob in 1518.) The author decided to take into account both "kinds" of parishes, regardless of the fact that before the beginning of the 17th century the Ljubljana bishop did not exercise episcopal jurisdiction over the parishes of Kranj and Dob, where his position was only that of a "parochus". Several disputes between the patriarchs of Aquileia and the Ljubljana bishops show that the question of diocesan borders was quite complex.

Chapter II, the longest of all, examines the Ljubljana cathedral chapter, which is given so much attention not only because the preserved chapter-related records are comparatively rich and insufficiently known, but even more because of the role the Ljubljana chapter played in the life of the diocese, the province of Carniola and the province's capital Ljubljana. Since the chapter

had its own written and unwritten regulations, its own structure, property etc., individual chapter members, especially dignitaries and holders of various offices, are discussed in the same chapter. On the one hand, the author therefore examines the rights, obligations, organisation, liturgical practices and economy of the chapter as a whole. On the other hand, she tries to identify the first chapter dignitaries and canons, and to delineate the life and work of provosts and deans. The echoes of the (Protestant) Reformation among the cathedral clergy are dealt with in the last sub-chapter.

In Chapter III, the author analyses the number, local and social origins, schooling and education, ordination, economic status, ethics and discipline of all the clergymen concerned. The aim of the analysis is both to present various dimensions of the secular clergy constituting a specific social group and to throw light upon their status in broader society. Incumbents come to the fore as individuals in Chapter IV, where biographical data for each of them are listed alphabetically. In Chapter V, the names of the priests in question are arranged according to the place of their benefices or service; a special list is made for Ljubljana, the seat of the bishop and capital of Carniola. Chapter V is followed by a presentation of nineteen documents, most of which are published for the first time. Among them are, for example, the statutes of the Ljubljana cathedral chapter from 1519 and 1533, and a testament of the priest Andrej Prosen from the year 1534.

The dissertation contains several conclusions based on archival material and which we hope will enrich the existing knowledge of Slovenian late medieval and early modern church history. Whereas some of the conclusions are new, others either confirm or refute the accepted "truths". With regard to the ecclesiastical administration of the Carniolan area of the diocese, for example, the present research shows that between 1461 and 1563 there was but one archdeaconate which in all probability extended over the whole territory of the primeval Radovljica parish. The archdeacon was administered by the Radovljica parish priest and Ljubljana provost as "archidiaconus natus". As for the Ljubljana cathedral chapter, the discovery of the constitutions written in 1508 changes the dating of the oldest preserved statute from 1519 to 1508. The identical contents of the two texts speak, besides, in favour of the supposition

that the first chapter statute was issued under Bishop Sigismund Lamberger (1463–1488).

The results concerning the number of priests confirm a relatively high percentage of clergy in pre-Reformation Carniolan society as well as a decline in their number after the spread of Luther's teaching. On the other hand, the author confutes some deeply-rooted views on the origins and educational level of the incumbents. According to these views, the most important benefices were held almost exclusively by foreigners and the domestic lower-ranking priests were far less educated than their Protestant colleagues. However, the present analysis shows that clerics of Carniolan origin could get any benefice and occupy any position in the hierarchy of the Ljubljana diocese. As regards formal education, there were no significant differences between the clergy concerned and the clergy of pre-Tridentine Middle and Western Europe; nor did the Catholic priests in that respect lag behind their Protestant fellow countrymen.

A closer examination of the primary sources has furthermore revealed that the majority of the incumbents originated from Carniolan towns – Ljubljana, Kranj, Kamnik, Radovljica and Novo mesto. From domestic towns sprang quite a few members of the Ljubljana chapter. As regards the economic status of the priests, there was no doubt a wide gap between the wages of lower and the incomes of upper clergy. The more resourceful incumbents could, however, improve their financial position in other ways, not rarely by undertaking activities officially not allowed to clerics.

In the dissertation there are to be found numerous answers to minor questions as well as suggestions regarding the interpretation of source material, identification of priests and chronology of events. Exposing the differences in the interpretation of the so-called founding documents, the author sides with M. Miklavčič, who considers the Ljubljana diocese exempt from the Aquileian patriarchate. Mistakes in the existent lists of vicars-general, diocesan or chapter procurators and, above all, provosts and deans, are pointed out and corrected. On the basis of the archives from Gornji Grad, the author proves that a kind of a seminary existed there already before Trent. As concerns schooling at the cathedral church, the assertion of V. Schmidt that there were

two schools at St. Nicholas' is disproven. The Ljubljana bishop, the cathedral chapter and the town authorities shared rights and obligations over one and the same school. The more general question of undisciplined and immoral behaviour on the part of the clergy is presented in the context of the Reformation. In the light of the fact that not few Catholics of the period rejected celibacy and approved of priestly marriages, critical remarks on concubinage and married priests are seen as relative.

Because of the sparseness and dispersion of preserved records, all data obtained from the archives proved to be valuable. Sources from the time either just precedent or subsequent to the period in question were also of quite considerable value; through the application of analogy and retrospection, the isolated pieces often fit into a mosaic. An insight into the archival material employed in the research is provided by numerous citations as well as the appendices. This is especially invaluable in view of the fact that the existent works concerned with the 15th and 16th century clergy of today's Slovenia are either outdated or too vague. They regard priests only as part of local (parish) history or uncritically present them as the more or less exact opposite of the well- and better-educated Protestant preachers.

In 1563, the year at which the present research stops, the Council of Trent came to a close and a new era in the Catholic Church began. Only a year later the Church in Carniola was divided along the lines of Catholicism and Lutheranism. The priests dealt with in the present dissertation therefore belonged to the world passing from the Middle Ages to Modern Times. Who the clergy were in the Aquilean part of Carniola during that transition is but one of the questions that remains to be answered properly.