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*Mlada Čehinja kriči na sovjetske vojake na tanku med invazijo na Češkoslovaško pod sovjetskim vodstvom v Pragi 26. avgusta 1968 (arhiv BettmannGetty Images) / Una giovane donna ceca urla contro i soldati sovietici su un carro armato durante l'invasione della Cecoslovacchia da parte dei sovietici, a Praga il 26 agosto 1968 (Archivio BettmannGetty Images) / A young Czech woman shouts at Soviet soldiers on a tank during the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia, in Prague on Aug. 26, 1968 (BettmannGetty Images Archive).*

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VSEBINA / INDICE GENERALE / CONTENTS

- Boštjan Udovič & Lara Sorgo:** Giuseppe Tartini: soltanto un'attrazione culturale locale o un ponte diplomatico verso gli altri Paesi? ..... 183  
*Giuseppe Tartini: Just a Local Cultural Product or a Possible Tool of Slovenian Cultural Diplomacy?*  
*Giuseppe Tartini: lokalna kulturna znamenitost ali sredstvo slovenske kulturne diplomacije do drugih držav?*
- Stanislav Južnič:** The Forgotten Trieste Bishop Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain (1721–1724) and His Relatives ..... 211  
*Il vescovo triestino dimenticato Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain (1721–1724) e la sua famiglia*  
*Pozabljeni tržaški škof Volf Vajkard Rain (1721–1724) in njegovo sorodstvo*
- Polona Tratnik:** “Hansel and Gretel”: The Abandoned Children Become Enlightened Social Subjects ..... 231  
*«Hansel e Gretel»: i bambini abbandonati diventano soggetti sociali illuminati*  
*»Janko in Metka«: zapuščena otroka postaneta razsvetljena družbena subjekta*
- Matteo Perissinotto:** «Nel ‘demi-monde’ della cocaina»: traffico e consumo di cocaina nella Venezia Giulia (1918–1923) ..... 251  
*“In the ‘Demi-Monde’ of Cocaine”: Cocaine Trafficking and Consumption in the Julian March (1918–1923)*  
*»V ,polsvetu‘ kokaina«: trgovina s kokainom in njegova poraba v Julijski krajini (1918–1923)*
- Matic Batič:** Nova govorica prostora: preimenovanja naselij na severnem Primorskem po drugi svetovni vojni (1948–1954) ..... 281  
*Il nuovo linguaggio dell’ambiente: modifiche dei toponimi sul litorale settentrionale sloveno nel secondo dopoguerra (1948–1954)*  
*The New Language of Space: The Renaming of Settlements in Northern Primorska after the Second World War (1948–1954)*

**Blaž Torkar & Stanislav Polnar:** The Impact of the 1968 Prague Spring on Czechoslovak and Yugoslav Military Doctrines ..... 307  
*L'impatto della primavera di Praga del 1968 sulle dottrine militari della Cecoslovacchia e della Jugoslavia*  
*Vpliv praške pomladi 1968 na češkoslovaško in jugoslovansko vojaško doktrino*

**Mila Orlić:** Talijansko javno pamćenje i slika drugog: antislavenski stereotipi u recentnoj historiografiji i književnosti sjevernojadranskog prostora ..... 333  
*Memoria pubblica italiana e rappresentazioni dell'altro: stereotipi antislavi nella recente storiografia e letteratura dell'area alto adriatica*  
*Italian Public Memory and Representations of the Other: Anti-Slavic Stereotypes in Recent Italian Historiography and Literature of the Upper Adriatic Area*

**OCENE**

**RECENSIONI**

**REVIEWS**

*Eleanor Janega:* The Once and Future Sex: Going Medieval on Women's Roles in Society  
**(Veronika Kos)** ..... 355

*Joseph Lennon:* Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History  
**(Li Gengming & Hamid Farahmandian)** ..... 359

## FORGOTTEN TRIESTE BISHOP WOLFGANG WEICKHARD VON RAIN (1721–1724) AND HIS RELATIVES

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### ABSTRACT

*We described the actions of Trieste bishop Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain and his influential father. Given that we are dealing with an extremely important Carniolan noble family, it seems quite incredible that modern censuses do not include Rain either among the bishops of Trieste, or among the broader enumerations of Catholic bishops. To explain the background of those unfortunate omissions, we presented the lives of both actors in the light of the Habsburgian court's politics and academic intrigues of their times.*

*Keywords: Johann Friedrich Rain, Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain, academic background, Alchemy, 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Century, Habsburgian Monarchy*

## IL VESCOVO TRIESTINO DIMENTICATO WOLFGANG WEICKHARD VON RAIN (1721–1724) E LA SUA FAMIGLIA

### SINTESI

*Nell'articolo prendiamo in esame l'operato del vescovo triestino Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain e del suo influente padre. Trattandosi di una importante famiglia nobile della Carniola, sembra abbastanza incredibile che i censimenti moderni non includano Rain né tra i vescovi di Trieste, né tra le più ampie enumerazioni dei vescovi cattolici. Per spiegare i retroscena di queste spiacevoli omissioni, abbiamo deciso di presentare le vite di entrambi i protagonisti alla luce della politica della Corte Asburgica e degli intrighi accademici del tempo.*

*Parole chiave: Johann Friedrich Rain, Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain, formazione accademica, alchimia, secoli XVII e XVIII, Monarchia Asburgica*

## INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

The bishopric of Trieste is important political and religious post: therefore, it is not coincidence that the member of eminent family of barons Rain became a bishop in Trieste. The curious question is, why he failed the official recognition? We'll try to resolve that puzzle.

## FATHER OF TRIESTE BISHOP

The owner of the castle Rain by Begunje Georg Rainer held the high office of Carniolan viceroy. Andreas obtained the manor Strmol, which his son Georg inherited. Georg's son Franz Rain (Franziscus, 1497–Strmol 1555) was a member of Carniolan provincial estates: he received the title of baron in 1530. He married Amalia Sigesdorf: their son Georg Rain (1532 Strmol–1581 Ljubljana) was among the leading protestants to change fortune of their family. Georg married Margarete Paradeiser and had a son Franz Georg Rain (1562–1628) who was noted in Strmol on 16 November 1568. On 24 December 1606 a manager of the castle Švarcenek the judge Franz Georg signed a complaint against then Ljubljana bishop Thomas Chrön. That protest did not help much, and the part of the family Rain was forced to resettle to northern protestant areas. Franz Georg Rain's wife born Raunach gave birth to Jacob Georg Rain (Abt. 1595 Strmol–1635) who sold Strmol to his second cousin, Franz Christoph von Schwab Lichtenberg (1597 Tuštanj–1641 Sorg in Middle Franzonia) on 14 August 1634. Franz Christoph was a grandson of Anna Rain (1528 Strmol–1566 Tuštanj): she was also a great grand aunt of Jacob Georg Rain's son the alchemist Johann Friedrich Rain.

Most of Protestants left their Carniola, but Johann Friedrich Rain reembraced his Catholicism and stayed at home. As the mythic political alchemist Johann Friedrich Rain donated to his emperor 50 nicely illustrated allegorical works about the philosophers' stone (Žvab, 2016, 224).

From 1647, Johann Friedrich Rain's neighbor at Gornji Trg no. 5 in Ljubljana between the Auersperg Palace and the Ljubljanica River on today's Salendrova Street no. 4 was the Ljubljana City Judge Jacob Seiter who served together with the mayor Ludwig Schönleben (1590 Heilbronn–1663 Ljubljana). Ludwig's son Johannes Ludwig (1618–1681) was Volf Engelbert Auersperg's best friend. Jacob Seiter's and Ursula's eldest son Jacob Ignatius Seiter was baptized in Ljubljana St. Nicholas church on 28 July 1654: his godparents were Mathias Triller von Trilleck and Anna von Walther, while in 1660 the godparents of his younger brother Johan Karl were the wealthy Ljubljana wholesaler Zacharias von Waldreich zur Ehrnport (1623 Augsburg–1682) and his wife Anna Katharina born Pippan. Jacob Ignatius became a Ljubljana physician and a city physicist in Varaždin: like his neighbor Rain, he loved alchemy. Few months after the Ottomans besieged Vienna, Jacob

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<sup>1</sup> Dedicated to Andraž Žvab (1980–2020). I would like to thank both per-reviewers and editors of this article.

Ignatius wrote the manuscript *Lux septuplex*, which was later transcribed by the leading pharmacist of Idrija mine, Ernst Freyer (\* 1729) who apprenticed nearby (Seiter, 1684; Smole, 1982, 468; Schivitz, 1905, 19, 25, 123, 265; Sommervogel, 1890–1900, VII, 1205–1206; Andritsch, 1980, 200, 204; AS 863, fasc. 1; Kovačič, 1998, 63, 70; Baraga, 2003, 206–213, 211, 213–214; Valvasor, 1689, book 10, part XXXI; SI\_ZAL\_LJU/0346, Fabjančič, 1940–1943).

Among Johann Friedrich Rain's Graz teachers were a rector in 1657 Joannes Ferdinand Hafenegger (1607 Vienna–1659 Graz) as well as his predecessor and successor the Croatian Michael Sikuten (1608 Šašincev by Zagreb–1687 Graz). Sikuten studied theology in Graz in 1633–1637 with the leading Roman Jesuitical mathematician Christopherus Grienberger (1564–1636). In 1635–1637, a student Sikuten taught philosophy in Graz. After his dissertation he was professor of philosophy in Vienna in 1638–1640 where he served as a dean of philosophical studies and a confessor. He was a Viennese vice-dean in 1640 when his students published his theses for their PhD in philosophy. Later, during the fourteen years, Sikuten served four times as the rector in Zagreb, Judenburg, and Graz: in 1650–1654, after Rain's promotion in 1659–1662, in 1669–1672, and in 1676. He became an Austrian provincial. Besides the theses published by Rain and his other students, Sikuten and his fellow Jesuits issued the praise of Jesuitical successes in China between 1581–1669: they used the manuscripts of Adam Schall von Bell and his Beijing assistant Bernard Diestel (1623 Vipava–1660).

In 1654/55–1657 in Graz Johann Friedrich Rain studied philosophy with Michael Sautter (1618 Riedling by Passau–1684 Linz) who taught Rain physics in 1655/56 as a catechist and confessor. Throughout his pedagogical services, Sautter taught Hebrew language.

Sautter and Schönleben were born just few weeks apart, but Schönleben left the Jesuit order before Rain's promotions. In 1657/1658 Rain still titled himself by the castle Strmol: on 27 April 1656 at 8 o'clock Sautter promoted Rain and his fellow students to their bachelor's degrees. A year and half later, Sautter awarded them with their doctorates in the aula of the university in Graz on 30 August 1657 at 8 o'clock. Some of Rain's classmates were Benedictines or they became the Jesuits while his fellow Carniolans were Mathias Struckl from Kromberg by Gorizia, Mathias Gaspersic from Škofja Loka and Jacobus Mihic from Gottschee. The student Rain resided in Graz Archiducal Collegium Convict. The linguist, translator, professor of Hebrew Language, theologian, and philosopher Sautter joined the Jesuits in Vienna in 1640 and studied two last years of philosophy there in the class of Georg Plazer and Johann Eberhard Nithard (1607 Falkenstein–1681 Rome) in 1643–1644. Nithard became a preceptor of Leopold I and his sister the future Spanish queen Mariana. Nithard was her confessor in Madrid: she made him the Grand Inquisitor and de facto prime minister of Spain in 1666–1669, but he signed the unfavourable treaties with Portugal and Franze in 1668. In 1672 Nithard became a Cardinal in Athanasius Kircher's Rome.



Sautter's promotion of Rain's dissertation made Sautter welcome in Ljubljana. After Rain's promotion, Rain and Sautter went to Ljubljana almost together. Sautter served as twenty-first rector of the Jesuit College in Ljubljana from 28/29 August 1660 to 24 September 1663: there Johann Weikhard von Valvasor just finished his studies. On 10 August 1660 the new rector Sautter got his own room at the newly build floor of the Jesuit collegium to prepare the visit of emperor Leopold, planned by three brothers Auersperg. Leopold stayed in Ljubljana from 7 September to 15 September. The new rector Sautter had just few days for all necessary arrangements. During his first afternoon in Ljubljana, the emperor, his uncle the alchemist archduke Leopold Wilhelm, the imperial confessor Graz native Jesuit Philipp Miller, and other dignitaries visited the Jesuit college, greeted by the deputy rector at the front door. After the mass, the students staged the play named *Emperor Rudolf* including the music of then popular opera to imitate the Italian theatre which performed at Auersperg's palace in next days. The emperor Rudolf's alchemistic pursuits were well known and appreciated. For some reasons, Johann Weikhard von Valvasor in his *Glory* detailly described that imperial visit but failed to note the role of the Jesuits. Later, Sautter took over the rectorship in Passau (1666–1670, 1673–1675) and in Vienna (1675–1680).

Johann Friedrich Rain obtained his PhD in Sautter's class with an essay on *Philosophia Tripartita* dedicated to the prince's elder brother the Carniolan governor general VE Auersperg and published in Graz next year (Rain, 1657). His and Schönleben's PhD were among at least twenty-three works dedicated to VE Auersperg. Soon after Rain, Johannes Andreas von Gallenfels (abt. 1635–after 1692) obtained his PhD under VE Auersperg's patronage in Graz in 1659. Johannes Andreas later owned the manor Golnik and as a headmaster at Bled in 1678. His son Karl baron Gallenfels (1673–1741) became the Jesuitical confessor of the Habsburgian born Portuguese queen in Lisbon. Johannes Antonius von Kunstl (1627–1708) dedicated to VE Auersperg his PhD in law obtained in Salzburg in 1651. Johannes Balthasar count Schrattenbach (abt. 1625–1693) also dedicated to VE Auersperg his PhD defended in Graz in 1650. VE Auersperg certainly paid all those printing expenses. Therefore, Rain praised him as the peak of the six hundred years of history of Carniolan family Auersperg.

After his PhD, Johann Friedrich Rain worked in Ljubljana as an assessor. He married Marianna (Maria Anna) of the Trieste salt merchant family de Leo who got the title of the counts Löwenburg on 3 May 1605. On 13 June 1676 Johann Friedrich Rain and Ljubljana mayor Markus Witz's (1569–1654) son Johannes Andreas Witz von Wizenstein (\* 1620) were groomsmen at the marriage of Franz Ludwig von Buseth († 1683/84) with Johannes Andreas's daughter Regina Theresia (\* 1657), while Rain's wife became a godmother to the son of Karl von Sellenitsch and Anna Susanna on 29 November 1672. From his calm official and family life, Rain gradually embraced his alchemy also because of his supervisor Sautter's knowledge of Hebrew, influenced by Sikuten's Chinese relations.

Johann Friedrich Rain left his *Opus posthumum* (ÖNB Rain Cod. 11516) which his son and heir the baron Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain submitted to the emperor (Evans, 1989, 166; Tauschitz, 2019, 39). That book was bound with the scripts of Basilius Valentinus and others. Rain mentioned Mercurius Philosophorum, Kircher, Baptist van Helmont, Michael Sendivogius, Thomas Aquinas, Becher, Newton's favourite Johann de Monte-Snyders (abt. 1625–1670), and both sages posthumously praised as the alchemists: Ramon Llull (c. 1232 Palma–1315/1316) and the manuscript-trader Nicolas Flamel (c. 1330–1418 Paris). Rain also indorsed Roger Bacon, Paracelsus, and Zetzner's anthology (Zetzner, 1661). Rain loved the myths about Hercules, Odysseus, and the underground adventures of Vergil's Aeneas which Rain understood as the journey into subconscious (Rain, 1686, 12r; ÖNB Rain Cod. 11395, liber 1). In his first volume of *Theoria et Praxis*, Cod. 11395, Rain wrote fifty-four chapters described in table of contents before the start of his manuscript. That first volume was entitled *Dye composition of a philosopher mercury*. Its table of contents was written after a preface and before the text of that first volume. Second volume entitled *Dye composition of a philosopher sulfur* had twenty-four chapters listed in a separate table of contents before that volume. Rain also wrote those useful indexes to all his following volumes. The last third volume entitled *Dye composition of a white net of philosophers' stone* had thirteen chapters initially listed in table of contents (ÖNB Rain Cod. 11395, liber 3, 316–317).

A stylized pointing hand was drawn in the left margin to underline important parts and the notes put at the right margin. With his astrological Seven Planets Rain connected seven metals, seven spectral colours, and seven days of a week (ÖNB Rain MS. 11.487, 144). Rain's Mercurius Philosophorum can be produced from the Idrija quicksilver (Tauschitz, 2019, 43; Soukup, 2021). Rain's Codex 11395 is the first of four volumes. It deals with the practice and theory of the manufacture of the Mercurius Philosophorum. That supposed item is warm and moist and glittering. It became denser by heating, while the common vulgar mercury is cold and moist: it blackens other metals and might be rarefied by heating. On his way to gain the famous philosophers' stone Rain also discussed the Sulfur Philosophorum.

According to Franz Minařik, the messenger father Marcus presented Rain's *Summarum natura* to the Emperor Leopold I and to the empress. That father Marcus could have been the Jesuit Markus Antonius Kappus (1657 Kamna Gorica–1717 Arivechi in Mexico) who studied theology in Graz and Milano in 1683–1685 before he went to America in 1687. Rain gained imperial patronage and 36 golden Denarius on 26 December 1686.

In his work *Praeservativum*, Rain identified another benefit that he had seen in alchemy: with this unique means, you, Austria, will rule over the other countries, resembling the ideas of Philipp Wilhelm von Hörnigk (1640 Frankfurt–1714 Passau): Becher married Hörnigk's sister.

Rain dedicated his *Praeservativum* to the emperor Leopold I and his wife Eleonore (Rain, 1680). The clever Leopold simultaneously supported Rain's archenemy Jakub Jan Václav Dobřenský z Černého Mostu (Dobrzensky, 1623 Prague–1697 Prague). Zetzner was Rain's principal source as Rain usually quoted his volumes and pages to describe the works of alchemists (Rain 1686, 10r, 10v).

### FORGOTTEN BISHOP OF TRIESTE BARON RAIN

In contrast to his antagonist Dobrzensky, Johann Friedrich Rain adhered to classical alchemy and most of all to Paracelsus, which in those times also meant an explicit or implicit enthusiasm for the Rosicrucian. Although Rosicrucians were primarily Protestant, they also had their supporters in the Catholic countries: Rain's parents were in good relations with the leading Carniolan Lutheran Primus Truber.

Johann Friedrich Rain firstborn was Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain (Wolfgang Weichard, Wolff, Volbenk, baron Riáms, 15 May 1664 Ljubljana–1724 Trieste): Riáms castle in Ober-Pundt inside Three Leagues (Raetia) is now in the Swiss cAntonius Graubünden. Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain's godparents were the Governor General VE Auersperg (\* 1610) and Volbenk Avgust baron Paradeiser († 1696 Ljubljana). In 1685 at Ljubljana Parish church S. Petri Apostoli Volbenk Avgust baron Paradeiser married Maria Salome Shesariz (Ljubljana St Nicholas Baptismal book page 349/329; Schivitz, 1905, 19, 259).

Then Imperial Court Chaplain Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain authored his Viennese Ph.D. in Wolfgang Eggendorffer's (1648 Steyr–1709 Graz) class of theology. In 1684–1686 in Graz Eggendorffer was a professor of ethic and philosophy with physics as well a dean of linguistic and a confessor. Later he taught theology and then fulfilled the duties of prefect of studies and chancellor at the University of Vienna (Stöger, 1855, 69; Sommervogel, 1890–1900, III, 342; Rain, 1692). At the bottom of first copperplate Volf Vajkard put his engraved title. The second copperplate have the dedication; the next ten copperplates have the theses at the bottom.

Within his thesis, Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain published twelve copperplated illustrations of Georg Christoph Eimmart the younger (1638 Regensburg–1705 Nurnberg), a German draughtsman-engraver who established the first astronomical observatory inside Nurnberg city walls with a little help of his daughter Maria Clara Eimmart (1676 Nurnberg–1707 Altdorf). Maria Clara Eimmart married her father's pupil and successor Johann Heinrich Muller who taught physics at the Nuremberg Gymnasium (Grammar School) with Johann Gabriel Doppelmayr (1677–1750) as his frequent visitor. Doppelmayr's books and experimental tools dominated the collection of Ljubljana Jesuits' school where Johann Friedrich Rain's other son Johannes Heribert Ferdinand Rain (1674 Ljubljana–1742 Passau) taught. The last Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain's engraving was authored by Johann Christoph Weigel of Vienna, after the painting of C. Heiss (Johann Heiß (1640

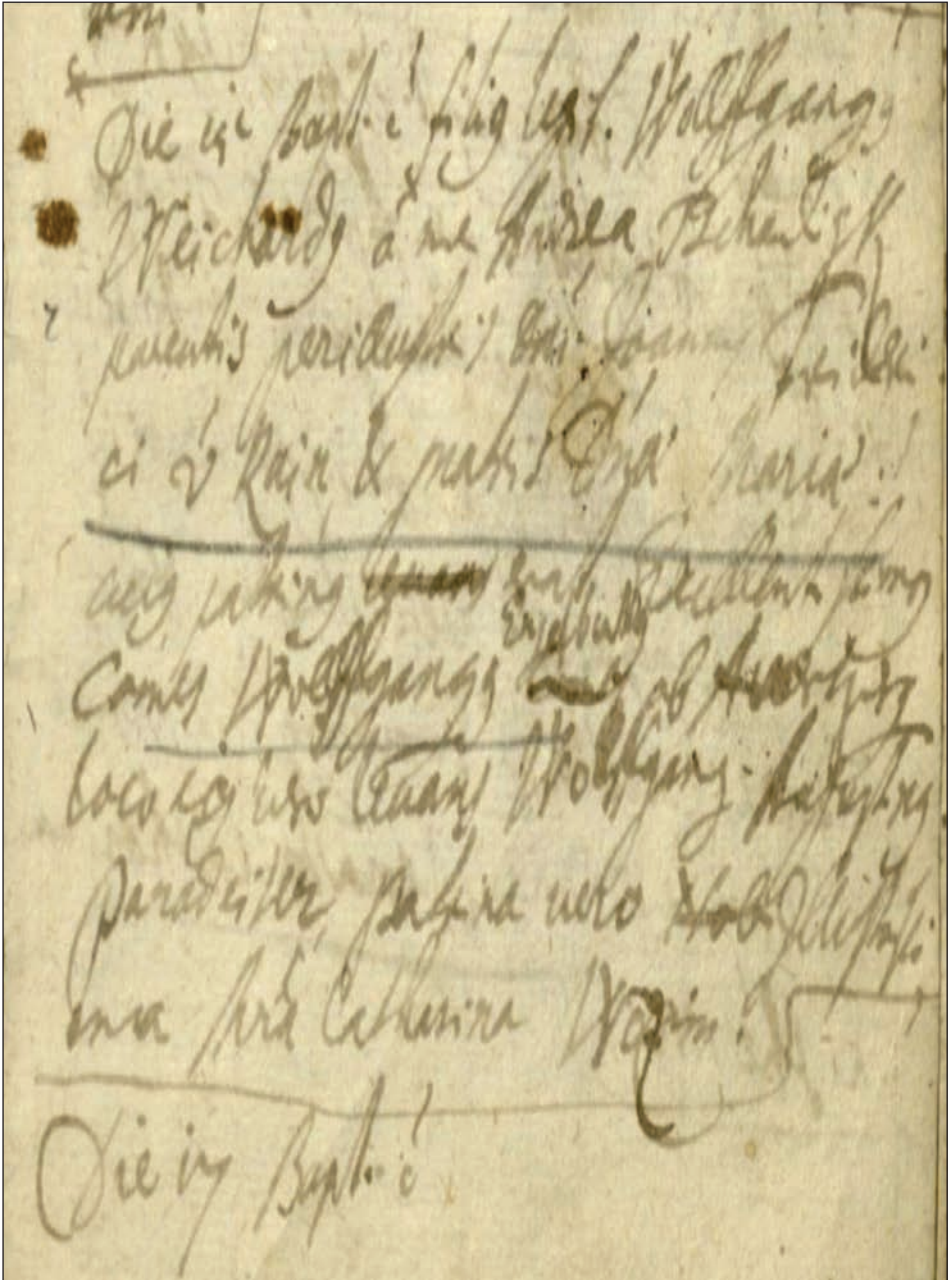


Fig. 1: Baptismal note of Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain (Ljubljana St Nicholas Baptismal book, page 349/329).

Memmingen–1704 Augsburg)). Christoph Weigel the Elder (1654 Redwitz an der Rodach in Upper Franconia–1725 Nuremberg) learned the art of copper engraving in Augsburg. After his various stations, including Vienna and Frankfurt am Main, he acquired citizenship in Nuremberg in 1698, few years after Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain's dissertation. He tutored his younger brother the engraver, art dealer, and publisher Johann Christoph Weigel (1661 Redwitz–1726 Nuremberg).

After his dissertation, Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain was an *infulirter* (entitled to wear a miter) Probst to S. Paul (Carinthian Sankt Paul im Lavanttal (Šentpavel) by Wolfsberg which included the famous Benedictine monastery): less probably he served at the Sankt Peter an der Au in Lower Austria. Later, Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain was employed as the imperial City pastor to Bruck an der Mur and simultaneously served as the Archpriest in Upper Styria (less probably Upper Steyr) under Josef I Dominikus count Lamberg (1680 castle Lamberg in Steyr–1761 Passau) who ruled as the bishop of Graz-Seckau from 1712 to 1723 and was created a cardinal in 1737. In 1723 Seifert's stated that now Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain serves as a bishop and count of Trieste (Wolff Weichard von Rain / Freyherr von Riáms/vorher *infulirter* Probst zu S. Paul/Kays. Stadt Pfarrer zu Bruck an der Muhr/u. Erz-Priester in Ober-Steier /nun Bischoff und Graf zu Triest/ geb. 1664, Seifert 1723, 375/244). Indeed, in 1721 Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain became the bishop of Trieste instead of then deceased Joseph Antonius baron Delmestri von Schönberg (1672 Krmin (Cormons)–19 February 1721 Trieste) who was appointed on 23 April 1720 but ruled just several months. A count-bishop in Trieste Wolfgang Weickhard baron Rain was replaced by Joseph Antonius 's younger brother Luca Sartorio II Delmestri baron Schönberg (1679 Cormons–1739 Trieste) on 26 June 1724.

Joseph Antonius provided the Trieste bishopric functions for his brother in hope that he would replace him: that might have caused some anger against Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain's appointment even if he was a descendant of ancient Trieste family De Leo by his maternal line. That might have caused Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain's exclusion from the official list of Trieste bishops. Rain–Leo's competitors Schönbergs were the Saxon nobles who can be traced back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century as bishops, cardinals, bailiffs, or chamberlains: until 1761, several members of the noble Schönberg family headed the Saxon mining administration. Anyway, their Cormons Friuli branch was politically far weaker in Trieste compared to De Leo. But the times changed in 1719 after the emperor Charles VI created a free port (Punto Franzo) in Trieste, two years before Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain took over the Trieste bishopric: the municipality of Trieste was subsequently directly subordinated to the Viennese court. Moreover, the alchemy of Paracelsus, Leopold I, or Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain's father became clandestine under Leopold's son Charles VI.

In those times the bishop of the nearby Venetian Koper (Capodistria) was the Theatine (C.R.) Antonius Marija Borromeo (1666 Padova–1738) from 1713 to 1733, while Dionisio Dolfin (1663–1734) became the next to last patriarch

of Aquileia in 1699. The Trieste of bishop Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain went through a great period of prosper. The mercantilism prevailed in Vienna: but the port of Trieste hardly challenged the dominant position of Venice in the Adriatic Sea. In 1702, during the War of the Spanish Succession, Trieste was heavily bombarded by the French fleet: its commercial capacity was damaged. Few months later Isaac Newton's friend Edmund Halley examined the port of Trieste on 1–4 February 1703, 3 March 1703, 27 July 1703, and on 15 September 1703: he cooperated with the prince Eugene of Savoy whose Viennese library gained fame. In Trieste, the civil governor of the city Johannes count Strassoldo from the old Friulan family and the military governor Johannes Ernst count Herberstein (5 June 1671–1746 Graz) helped Halley's measurements of the depth of water and the size of port: the Styrian provincial administrator from 1703 to 1728 Johannes Ernst Herberstein fathered the Ljubljana bishop Karl Johannes Herberstein (1719–1787). Halley's effort was futile because he did not consider Trieste port deep enough. During his secret mission for the queen the captain Halley preferred the deeper Bakar (Buccari) Bay, but the landing never occurred there after the Brits captured Gibraltar in 1704 (Cook, 1998, 299, 318; Halley, MacPike, 1937, 249).

Soon after Halley's visits, in 1706, the Trieste high-school lectures began: the seminary opened on 4/11/1713. They never filled their classrooms with more than a hundred students. No theology was taught in the curricula of Trieste except for the lectures of moral philosophy for the priests of the Trieste diocese at the request of then bishop the Trieste native Antonius io Marenzi in 1647 (Zovatto, 2006, 265). Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain supported Trieste Jesuits as so many of his relatives joined them. His father's paternal first cousin Friedrich Rainer (\* 1619 Mureck; SJ 1637 Vienna; † 1683 Linz) taught grammar as the leader of congregation in Ljubljana in 1651: he became the professor of philosophy in Trnava and Klagenfurt and published two polemical books about the Virgin Mary. Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain's younger brother was the Jesuit Johannes Heribert Ferdinand Rain. Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain also had two nephews Jesuits (Sommervogel, 1890–1900, VI, 1405, 1408; Stöger, 291–292).

During Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain's episcopate, in 1719–1724 the professor of philosophy, catechist, confessor, and the prefect of Trieste school was Aloysius Ustia (\* 1684 Trieste; SJ 1701 Vienna; † 1739 Rijeka). In 1705–1707 and in 1711–1714 in Graz, Ustia studied philosophy and theology. In 1718/19 in Trieste, he taught logic, in 1719/20 physics, and in 1720/21 he preached in Italian language without ever teaching metaphysics as a third part of his course. In 1724 he was a minister in Trieste and in 1727 he headed the congregations there. In 1734–1737 he was a confessor in Rijeka. In 1738 in Trieste, he was a confessor, and in 1739 in Rijeka he served as a prefect (Lukács, 1988, vol. 3, 1753; Fejér, 1990).

In 1707–1709 the Croatian Francesco Saverio Petris (\* 1674 Cres; SJ 1689 Rijeka; † 1753 Trieste) taught philosophy in Gorizia where he published his student's philosophical dissertation in 1709. He was the Trieste

college historian and catechist in 1712–1724: from 17 October 1718 to 1720 he served as the Trieste rector. In 1719–1720 Petris' minister was Michael Fait who filled that post again in 1725, while in 1721–1722 Joseph Ravina (\* 1678 Val de Non; SJ 1700 Vienna; † 1756 Gorizia) took over the ministry after he taught philosophy in Gorizia in 1719–1720 and published his fifty theses in 1720. After Rain passed away, from 4 November 1724 Petris was rector in Rijeka: from 10 December 1725 he was again the rector in Trieste with the minister former Ljubljana rector Zacharias Gladich. Petris was appointed the rector in Gorizia on 3 June 1728. On 15 November 1738 Petris was elected the Trieste rector again.

After Rain took over the Trieste bishopric, from 13 November 1721 until November 1724 the Trieste rector was Simon Somavilla (Summavilla, 1672/1673 Moena in South Tyrol–9 February 1739 Trnava) while Petris headed the Trieste seminary in 1722–1724. In 1687 in Graz Summavilla matriculated in grammar class of Antonius io Bömer (1664 Geseke in North Rhine–Westphalia–1706 Spain): Bömer published several books about the physics and zodiac. The bishop Rain was a decade older than Summavilla: he needed Summavilla's qualities to connect business interests of the then Hungarian kingdom with newly opened free ports in Trieste and Rijeka. Summavilla was a socius of magister of novices, librarian, and monitor in Trenčín in 1718–1719 and 1726–1728: he served as the monitor and spiritual in Trnava in 1719–1721 and in 1729–1731. He was the superior preacher in Italian and German language and prefect of congregation in Osijek in 1728 where he managed the local crypt under the church. On 28 October 1731 Summavilla took over the rectorship in Trieste again with Ernest Codelli as a minister and Terzi as the preacher in Italian language. From 10 October 1734 Summavilla was a rector in Rijeka with Zacharias Gladich as a minister: until Joseph Tedeschi replaced Summavilla on 22 December 1737. In 1738 Summavilla was a spiritual, examiner of candidates, and monitor in Leoben. In 1739 he was a spiritual, examiner of candidates, and monitor in Trnava.

After Rain's death, from 10 December 1724 to 10 December 1725 the rector in Trieste was Franziscus Xaver Barci with his minister Ernst Codelli. Previously in 1719–1724 Ernest Codelli (von Fahnenfeld, \* 1661 Gorizia; SJ 1677 Gorizia; † 1739 Gorizia) was a school prefect: before and later he served in Ljubljana. In 1719–1720 in Trieste Franziscus Pittorfer (\* 1679 Ljubljana; SJ 1699 Klagenfurt; † 1727 Ljubljana) preached in Slovenian language: in 1721–1722 his duties were taken over by Bartholomeus Bassar (\* 1682 Škofja Loka; SJ 1718 Vienna; † 1738 Ljubljana), and in 1724–1725 by Markus Antonius Kappus's nephew Joachim Markus Kappus (von Pichelstein, \* 1693 Ljubljana; SJ 1710 Ljubljana; † 1752 Ljubljana). In 1719–1724 in Trieste Jacob Troyer was a prefect of Congregation of Christ's agony: in 1724–1732 he was monitor and then confessor. In 1719–1720 the former bishop's theologian in 1718 Mihael Caucig (\* 1669 Razdrto; SJ 1687 Trieste; † 1738 Linz) was ill: in 1721–1738 he

taught mathematics in Klagenfurt and Linz. The rector from 21 October 1714 to 1718 Lucas Slataper (\* 1667 Gorizia; SJ 1688 Leoben; † 1745 Rijeka) was the theologian of the Trieste bishop as the regent of seminary in 1719–1720. In 1721 he was just a regent of seminary and a lecturer of casuistic as Rain did not use the Jesuit theologian. After Rain took over the Trieste episcopate in late February 1721, Slataper became a rector in Rijeka on 17 March 1721 (Jesuits, 1718, 21; 1719, 21; 1720, 22; 1721, 21; 1722, 21; 1724, 22; 1740, 44; Lukács, 1988, vol. 2, 1099–1200; Tavano, 2006, 239; Sommervogel, 1890–1900, II, 242; Stöger, 1855, 38).

In the year of Rain's death in 1724, Antonius Terzi (\* 1694 Gorizia; SJ 1709 Vienna; † 1755 Gorizia) lectured on rhetoric and poetics as the leader of congregations in Trieste: in 1718 in Varaždin he taught poetic still as a magister, in 1719–1722 in Graz he studied theology with Joachim Markus Kappus among his classmates. In 1721 in Graz Terzi was inflected as the pater and made his 3<sup>rd</sup> approbation in Judenburg in 1723. In 1725 Terzi taught logics as the catechist in Zagreb while there Bakranin taught physics as the prefect of lower schools and Novoselić taught rhetoric. From 25 June 1724 to 17 November 1727 the rector in Zagreb was Jacob Pettinatti (Petinatti, \* 1673 Volarje by Tolmin; SJ 1691 Gorizia; † 1730 Judenburg) who taught philosophy in Graz in 1708–1710 with physics in 1709: on 28 April 1709 in Graz, he published *Annuum Sapientia* about the eclipses, full moon, Kepler, Galileo, and Kircher. In 1710 in Graz, he published *Holocaustum* about the Sun in first part, and in second part on the moral virtues of philosopher. Pettinatti served as a rector in Rijeka in 1719–1722 and in Varaždin in 1723–1724 where he arranged the autonomy of his school against then city authorities. After 1727 he instructed the 3<sup>rd</sup> approbation in Judenburg. Despite of their Ratio Studiorum, not all the Jesuits represented unified positions in physics and philosophy. There were also conflicts: one of them happened in 1726. At that time, the professor of physics and prefect of congregation at the University of Zagreb Antonius Terzi used the help of the Zagreb professor of logic, the catechist and historian of their college Josip Novoselić (1694 Varaždin; SJ 1709 Varaždin; † 1752 Zagreb) and their students against the Descartes' presumption and conjecture advocated by then Zagreb professor of metaphysics and prefect of lower schools Luka Bakranin (\* 1692 Oštarije by Ogulin; SJ 1712; † 1627 Cadiz). Terzi and Novoselić rejected the thesis of Bakranin and appealed to the Jesuitical General Michelangelo Tamburini against Cartesians. The whole town of Zagreb was stirring up the conflict. After the intervention of the Austrian provincial Maximilian Galler, Tamburini punished all involved. The Jesuitical authorities rejected Terzi by finding that in their own declaration of 15 June 1706 the authorities did not put Descartes on the list of prohibited teachings. Pettinatti, Terzi, and Bakranin left Zagreb. After he finished three years course of philosophy in Zagreb, Bakranin was immediately



send to western missions: but he died on his way. In 1727 Terzi taught metaphysics in Zagreb as the last part of three years course: in 1728 Terzi taught casuistic in Ljubljana. Terzi taught casuistic in Zagreb in 1729–1730 and Novoselić headed congregations as the Zagreb librarian in 1728–1730. Terzi returned to Trieste as a catechist and lecturer of casuistic in 1732: but soon Cartesians won that game anyway. The alchemist Johann Friedrich Rain and his son the Trieste bishop Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain might have preferred then modern Bakranin's Cartesians to their Aristotelian critic Terzi even if Johann Friedrich Rain's or Robert Boyle's alchemy was at odds with both (Lukács, 1988, #326, 1632; Andritsch, 1987, 104; Jesuits, 1718, 25; 1719, 10; 1722, 10, 41; 1723, 13; 1724, 22; 1725, 32–33; 1726, 33; 1727, 33; 1728, 13, 33; 1729, 31; 1730, 31; 1732, 22).

Hörnigk's idea of a free port in Trieste was finally accepted in Vienna in 1717 also because Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain's father shared Hörnigk's alchemistic mottos. The emperor Charles VI declared freedom of trade in the Adriatic and consequently obtained the approval of the Trieste municipality at the end of 1718. In the meantime, on 21 July 1718, in Požarevac the Habsburgians concluded a treaty of peace and trade with the Ottoman Sultan, which encouraged the free movement of the eastern goods through Habsburg territory after Eugene of Savoy occupied Beograd. The two patents issued by the emperor on 15 and 18 March 1719 established the Trieste privileges. Merchants were offered the imperial flag and accommodation. Furthermore, the roads leading to the port of Trieste were widened and protected. The Article 3 of the patent dated March 18 declared free ports in Trieste and Fiume: placed directly under the authority of Vienna. Additionally, the Ostend East India Company (General Company Established in the Austrian Netherlands for Commerce and Navigation in the Indies) as a chartered trading company was established in December 1722, after Habsburgian annexed Habsburgian Netherlands according to the Peace of Utrecht signed on 11 April 1713. The company's business was in the East and West Indies, but primarily in former, which then meant India and China. That company took its name from the Flemish port city of Ostend where it was mainly supplied and managed by the wealthy merchants or bankers of Antwerp and Ghent involved in private expeditions. The company had two commercial subsidiaries: Cabelon on the Coromandel Coast (Covelong (Kovalam) in Chennai, Tamil Nadu in southeast India) and Banquibazar (Bankipur) in west Bengal of modern India. Between 1724 and 1732, twenty-one vessels of Ostend company were sent abroad, mainly to the Chinese CANTONIUS and Bengal. With then rising prices, high profits were made in China, which angered the older rivals including the Dutch VOC, the British EIC and the French CFT; they refused to recognize the Habsburgian emperor's right to establish an East India company in the Habsburgian Netherlands and regarded the Ostenders as interlopers. The international pressure was exerted on the emperor: he

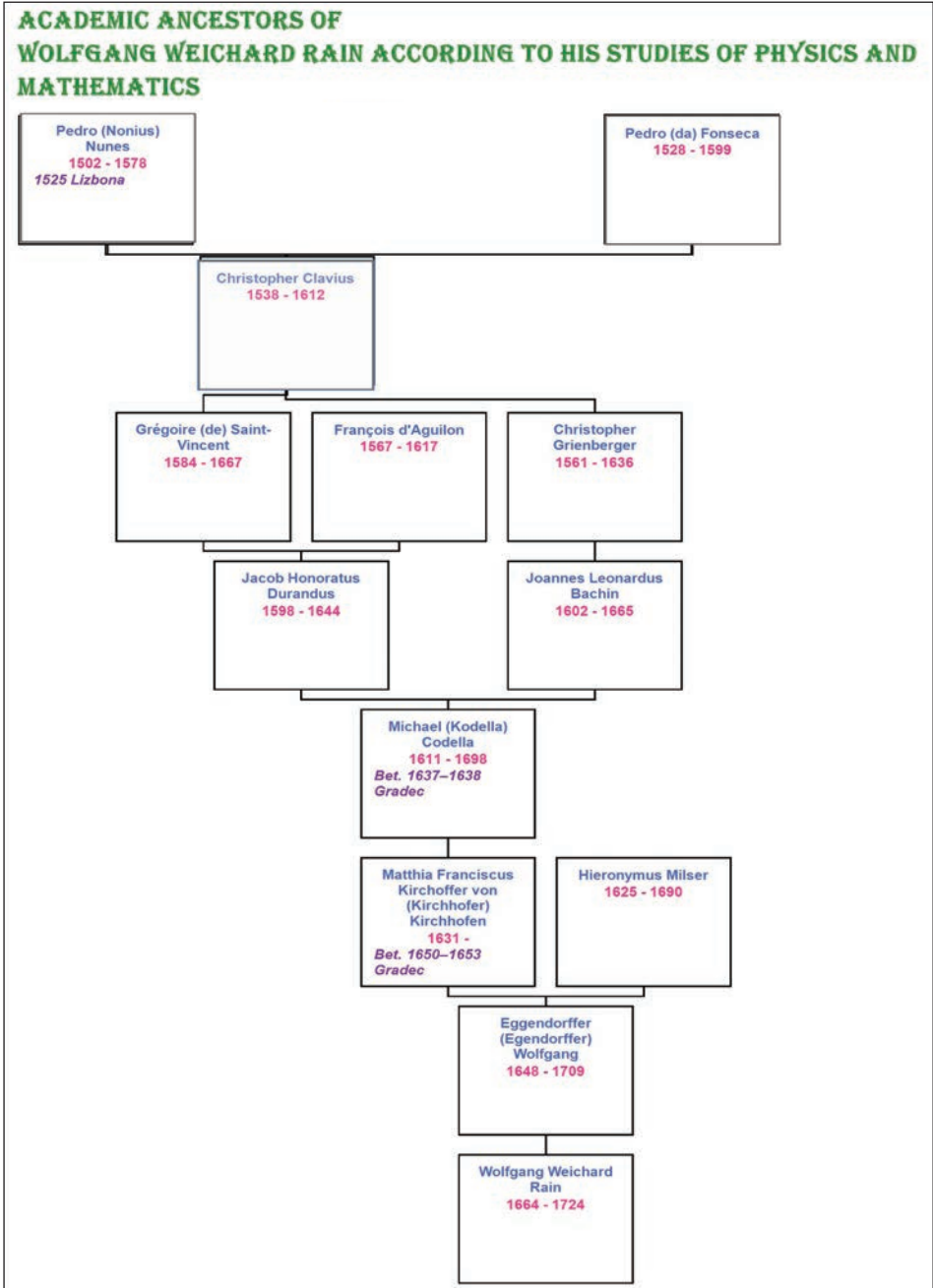


Fig. 2: Academic ancestors of Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain (Authors archive).

eventually capitulated. In May 1727 the company's license was suspended for seven years and in March 1731 the second Treaty of Vienna ordered its definitive abolition. The flourishing Ostend Company had been sacrificed to the interests of Pragmatic sanction: then modern sexual extravagancies of the sons of Leopold I failed to produce his grandsons for the first and only time in Habsburgian history.

To promote those local businesses and his religious duties, the bishop Rain had to cooperate with other Trieste authorities. Marzio count Strassoldo became the captain of Trieste in 1705. He was a colonel hunter and state councilor: under his government the public building was completed in Trieste, the lazaretto St. Carlo was built in 1720, the capital house was increased, and the first ship was built to introduce trade. On 27 March 1719, the Compagnia Orientale a Trieste received its privilege nine days after the Viennese imperial decree. At the beginning of Rain's episcopate, the Trieste native Andrea baron de Fin became the captain of Trieste in 1721.

#### JESUIT BROTHER OF TRIESTE BISHOP

Johann Friedrich Rain studied in Graz, but all his sons preferred the Viennese university. Johannes Heribert Ferdinand (\* 1674) entered the Jesuit order in 1692 and went through his novitiate in Ljubljana in 1694–1695. In 1696–1699 Johannes Heribert Ferdinand studied mathematics with his year older fellow student Antonius Steyrer (1673 Brunico–1741 Dresden) who later taught mathematics the princess Maria Amalia (1701–1756) and other children of Emperor Josef I, and until his death confessed then empress Maria Amalia in Munich. The other Johannes Heribert Ferdinand Rain's Viennese teacher of mathematics was Johannes Baptista Rösing (1652 Vienna–1723 Vienna) who previously taught mathematics also in 1685 and in 1692. In 1693–1695 Rösing taught casuistic in Ljubljana and in 1699 he taught controversial theology in Rome. In Vienna he published his thesis in 1687. Later, he issued *Planisphaerium austriacum* in 1688 and *Philosophia elementaris seu Victoriae et Trimphi Lepoldo Magno* in 1689, altogether four books about physics and the similar opus about the emperor Leopold's battling Ottomans including his elegy (Stöger 1855, 304, 339–340). Johannes Heribert Ferdinand also studied theology in Vienna: then he taught at the lower studies in Graz on 28 February 1708: next year in January 1709 he taught rhetoric there (Andritsch 1987, 193, 196). Later in 1712–1716 in Ljubljana he taught philosophy including physics and served as the professor of canon laws, confessor, the prefect of higher studies, and examiner in Ljubljana in 1724–1726. In 1722–1723 in Klagenfurt, Johann Heribert Ferdinand taught casuistic as a prefect of congregation of higher studies and consultant while his brother was a bishop in Trieste. The Viennese and Graz members of baron Rain Family studied in Graz (Jesuits, 1722, 5; 1723, 5; Andritsch 1987, 193, 136, 146).

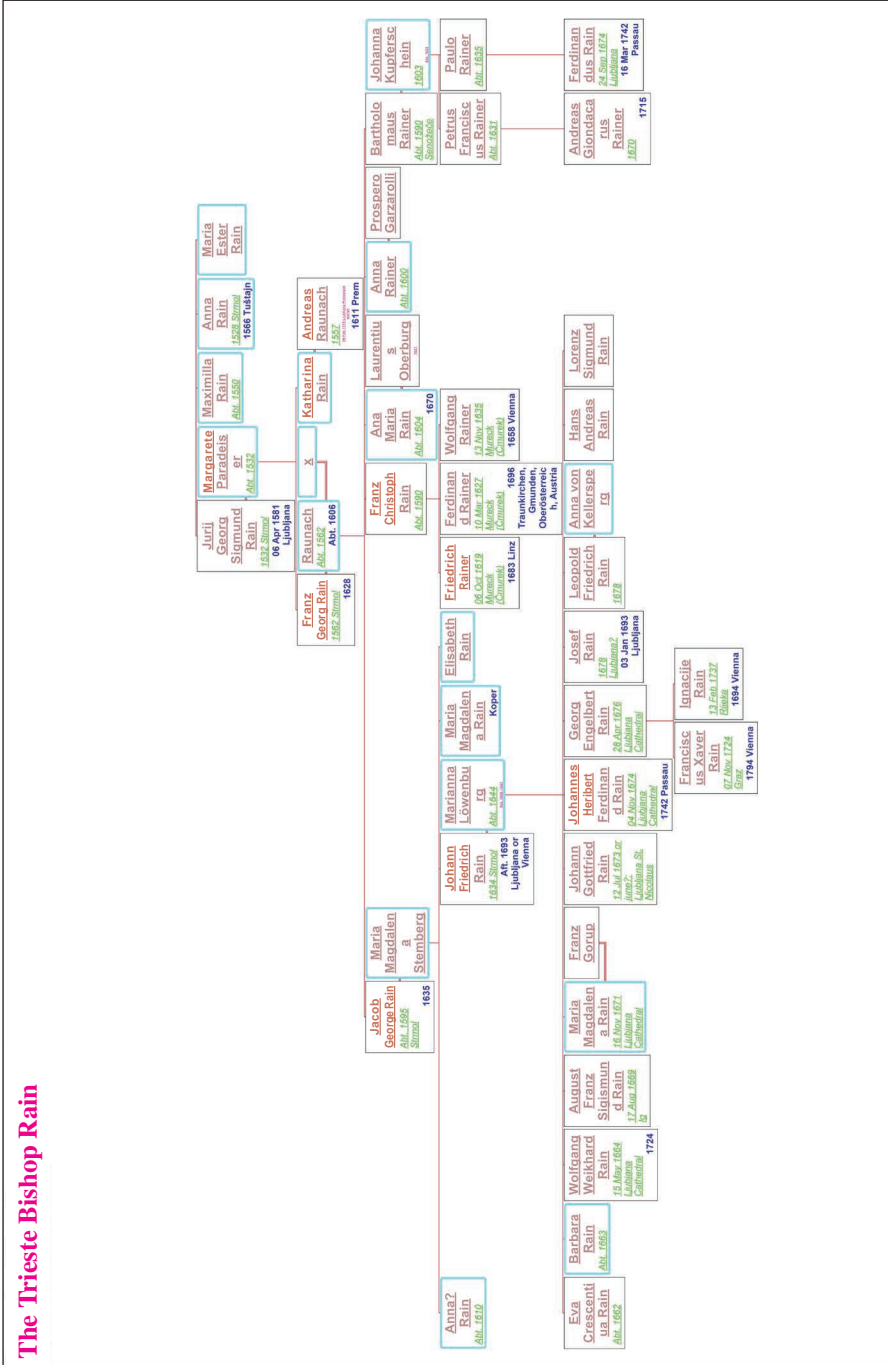


Fig. 3: Rain ancestors: Family of Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain (Authors archive).

## CONCLUSION

From 1664 to 1678 Johann Friedrich Rain had twelve children including three daughters: but only a daughter and three sons survived to adulthood. His two older sons were important priests while just the youngest Leopold Friedrich Rain (\* 1686) became the imperial Inner Austrian Regimental Council and married Anna Keller von Kellersperg. Johann Friedrich Rain's only surviving daughter Maria Magdalena (\* 1671 Ljubljana) married the Hungarian-Croatian knight Franz von Gorup (Goriup) of the old military family of Varaždin county, which carried their predicate after their estate Bežanec (NŠALj St. Nicholas, 341; Seifert, 1723, 375/244). His relative Franz Gorup was Bishop of Novi in 1659–1662: their descendant Eugen Franz Gorup von Besánez (1817–1878) metamorphosed Johann Friedrich Rain's alchemy into modern chemistry.

Johann Friedrich Rain was not only a famous alchemist, but also an influential Carniolan politician. His prestige was inherited by his surviving children, most of all by the bishop of Trieste Wolfgang Weickhard von Rain. For some reason, the list of Trieste bishops does not include him: it is high time to repair that inconvenient error.

POZABLJENI TRŽAŠKI ŠKOF VOLF VAJKARD RAIN  
(1721–1724) IN NJEGOVO SORODSTVO

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*POVZETEK*

*Dosežki tržaškega škofa Volfa Vajkarda Raina (Wolff, Wolfgang Weichard) in njegovega vplivnega očeta Johannes Friedrich a Raina bodejo v oči s svojim svetovljanskim duhom onih dni. Pripadala sta mogočni habsburški družini plemenitašev: toliko bolj zagatno je, da sodobni popisi ne vključujejo Raina ne med tržaškimi škofi, ne med širšimi naštevanji katoliških škofov. Naša razprava ima namen popraviti to neugodnost. Kako je sploh lahko prišlo do neljube napake? Da bi bralcem priskrbeli kolikor toliko smiseln odgovor, smo skušali ovrednotiti življenjske poti poglavitnih junakov naše zgodbe. Opisali smo graške in dunajske študije obeh Rainov: zveze pridobljene v metropolah so botrovale njuni evropski razpoznavnosti, pridobile pa so jima tudi prenekaterega nasprotnika potem, ko je zlata doba habsburške alkimije omahnila skupaj s smrtjo cesarja Leopolda I.*

*Ključne besede: Johann Friedrich Rain, Volf Vajkard Rain, akademske študije, alkimija, 17.-18. stoletje, Habsburška monarhija*

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