

**NOTE: THE TERMS WENDE - WINDE, WENDISCH - WINDISCH
IN THE HISTORIOGRAPHIC TRADITION OF THE SLOVENE LANDS**

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From notes on the formation
of Slavic ethnic nuclei

1.0. As is well known, the English term *Wend* for the German *Wende* today denotes a member of a Slavic ethnic group in East Germany which is also known as the *Sorbs* or *Lusatian Serbs* and live in the regions of Upper and Lower Lusatia (Sorbian *Łužyca*, German *Lausitz*), with the cities of Budyšin/Bautzen and Chośebuz/Kottbus respectively as their main cultural centers. The Germans call them *Wenden* or *Sorben*; they call themselves *Serbja*, *Serbi* (Jakobson 1955). They speak Sorbian, also known as Lusatian or Wendisch, which exists in two major varieties, of which Lower Lusatian is closer to Polish and Upper Lusatian is closer to Czech.

In the Middle Ages the terms *Wenden* and *Winden* were used by the Germans to denote Slavic peoples in general. Both terms designated Slavic tribes whom the Franks, Saxonians and Bavarians first encountered when they began their eastward and southward expansion, in particular the Polabians on the lower Elbe river and along the Baltic coast; the Sorbs or Lusatians on the Saale and upper Elbe; and the Slavic tribes in the eastern Alpine regions. Both names seem to reflect the Latin form of the name of the *Venedi*, a people living on the Vistula in about the 1st century as reported by Pliny the Elder (ca. 77 A.D.), or *Veneti* as reported by Tacitus (ca 97 A.D.); or the Greek form of the same name, *Uenedai*, "a people of Sarmatia" reported by Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.); and the name of the "populous race of *Venethi*," associated with the *Sklabeni* by Jordanes (6th century A.D.). While in Medieval German both *Wenden* and *Winden* were used to refer to the Germans' Slavic neighbors indiscriminately, in Modern German *Wenden* denotes the Lusatian Sorbs and *die wendische Sprache* their language; and *Winden* denotes the Slovenes, and *die windische Sprache* the Slovene language (cf. Brockhaus 1923).

2.0. In the first primary sources related to the history of Slavic tribes in Noricum and Pannonia—such as the *Fredegarii Chronica* composed between A.D. 658 and 661, an original source for events up to 642; *Pauli Diaconi Historia Langobardorum* (between 787 and 799), for events between 590 and 668; *Annales Regni Francorum* (788-829), for events between 741 and 829; *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* (dated 873 and preserved from the 11th century), for events during the 8th and 9th centuries; numerous charters granting estates to monasteries and feudal fiefs to lay princes across the Slovene lands, and copious numbers of deeds and contracts preserved from these centuries—there are three types of ethnic name used to refer to the ancestors of today's Slovenes, their land and their language. They are: first, *Sclaii* (596), *Sclaueni* (618), *Sclavinia* (785), *Sclavorum regio* (780), *Sclauorum prouincia* (780), *Sclavorum gens* (664), *lingua Sclavanisca* (970), *vocabulo Sclavorum* (973), *Slougenzin marcha* (860); second, [Sclaii coinomento] *Winidi* (623), *marca Winedorum* (631), *Walluc dux Winedorum* (631), *exercitum Winitorum* (631);¹ and third, *Carentani* (772), [Sclaii qui dicuntur] *Quarantani* (870), *Carenthia* (772), *Karinthia* (772), *prouincia Karantana* (811). The first two sets of terms, viz., *Sclaii* / *Sclaueni* and *Winedi* / *Winidi*, at this early stage of history very often stand for "Slavs" in general; the former corresponds to Medieval Slavic *Slověninŭ* (pl. *Slověne*) and Greek

Sklabenoi (pl.), the name with which the Slavic tribes entered history; the latter, to an earlier Germanic *Wend-/Wind-* pattern, consistently preserved in the Fredegar Chronicle. The two sets of terms must have been two genus-names—the one Slavic and the other Germanic—for the Eastern Alpine Slavs. The third set of terms, *Carentani / Karinthia*, based on the name of an ancient pre-Slavic population of Noricum, represents (paradoxically as it may sound) the only indigenous ethnicon for Slovenes. The short-lived political existence of *regnum Carentanum* (888), *Charentariche* (898), and even the *Ducatus Karinthiae* (976-1002) did not lead to the socio-cultural affirmation of the term in Slovene history.

3.0. In the oldest historiography of the Slovene lands,² for long centuries part of German and Austrian history—which is represented by, e.g., Michael Gotthard Christalnig (1500-95), the polyhistor Hieronymus Megiser (1554-1619), Johann Ludwig Schönleben (1618-81), Baron Johann Weichard von Valvasor (1641-93), Johann Gregor Thalnitscher von Thalberg (1655-1719)—the ethnonyms *Wend* and *Wind*, when used in reference to the Slavic inhabitants of the seven lands of the Slovene speech area (Carinthia, Styria, Prekmurje, Carniola, Goriško/Gorizia, Trieste and Istria) were used interchangeably and without discrimination. These first historians, moreover, even believed the German historiography of the time, to the effect that the (Slovene) *Wends / Winds* had developed ethnogenetically from the Vandals, and were of German origin anyway (Kidrič 1930a: 76-77).

3.1. Thus, for instance, Schönleben (the son of a German family from Württemberg and a patriot of his native Carniola), ethnographically equated the genus Slovenes / Slavs with the *Vends* and *Vandals*, viz., “Sclavus,” “Vendus,” “Slavi seu Vindi,” “Venedos seu Vindos non solum patria, sed et genere gentis Germanos faciunt,” “omnes Vindos et Slavos origine Germanos esse” (1681/I 203-05).

Similarly, Valvasor (a polyhistor of Italian ancestry, himself Germanized in his native Carniola, also a patriot of his homeland), in 1689 speaks of the language of his countrymen under the heading “Von der Crainerischen und Sclavonischen Sprache” (VI, 1), calling it now “Wendisch” (V: 271), now “Sclavonisch oder Windisch” (VI: 235), now “Krainerisch-sclavonisch,” “krainerisch und Sclavonisch,” or “Sclavonisch oder Krainerisch;” and the speakers of the language “Slavonier,” “Wenden oder Winden,” “Sclaven oder Wenden,” “Winden oder Sclaven.”

3.2. In the pre-national period of Slovene history Slovene writers were not better off with their ethnographic nomenclature. There was in the language as yet no separate word for the genus “Slavs” (nowadays *Slovani*): *Slovenec* and *Sloven* were used for both genus and species. The native Slavs of Innerösterreich were called *Slovinci*, although in Carniola there were only *Kranjci*. It is in this sense that Primož Trubar wrote his epistles and dedications to his “Lubi Slovinci” (1555a, 1557, 1558, 1560), and “Kranjci inu Slovinci” (1562, 1564), calling his language “ta naša slovenska beseda” (1555b, 1567); and, whereas Adam Bohorič in 1584 was still repeating the German historians’ view that “Heneti, Veneti, Venedi, Vindi, Vandali, and Slavs are the same people” (see Lencek 1970: 49), he referred to *integra Carniolana vel rectius Slavonica lingua* (1584); while Jurij Dalmatin already boasted with pride on the title page of his Bible (1584): *Biblia, tv je, vse svetu pismu ... Slovenski tolmaženu* (see Rotar 1988: 174-260).³

Some four or five generations later this usage was already changing. Franc Mihael

Paglavec, a Slovene priest and popular writer (1679-1759), addressed his *Tomasa Kempencarja Bukve* (a translation of the *Imitatio Christi* by Thomas à Kempis) of 1745 to "Lubi Slouenzi inu Crainzi," and to "lubi moy Cranzi ali Slovenci." As Kidrič (1930a: 91) explained, the tendency, which had been increasing over the centuries, to use the terms *Slovenec / slovenski* and *Winde / Windisch* on the one hand vs. *Kranjec / kranjski / Carniolicus / Krainer / Krainerisch* on the other to differentiate the non-Carniolan from the Carniolan, became more and more pronounced during this period. The Carinthian tradition was as follows: The "Vindi Carinthiaci" were *Koroški Slovenci*, the "Styro-Vindi" were *Štajerski Slovenci*, and the non-specified "Vindi" were *Slovenci v Prekmurju* (Gutsmann 1777); and, whereas Gutsmann (1789: 442) still associated "Windisch," "Slovenski," "Slovenji" and "Slavenski" together, later Carinthian dialectal usage established a distinction between *slovenji* = "Slovene" vs. *slovenski* = "Slavic" (Prunč 1988: 161). Father Marko Pohlin (1735-1801) in 1768 limited the terms *Winde / Windisch* to Carinthian and Styrian Slovenes, while Valentin Vodnik (1758-1819) was still using *Slovenci* for both genus and species in 1797 and in 1809 combined all the extant terms without distinguishing among them, viz., "Slovenci" = "Slovenzen" = "Wenden" = "Winden."

It was at this point in time that Jernej Kopitar (1780-1844) clarified the confusion in this terminology in the Slovene historiographic tradition. In the introductory chapter to his *Grammatik* 1808, he credited August Ludwig von Schlözer (1735-1809), the German historian, for having for the first time stated the limits for the terms "Winden" and "Wenden" in German ethnographic nomenclature. He quotes (Kopitar 1808: vi-vii) from Schlözer 1772: "WINDEN im südlichen Deutschland, in Krain, Kärnten, Steyermark und Friaul; [they are all united under the House of Habsburg]. . . WENDEN, im nördlichen und östlichen Deutschland, von der Elbe längs der Ostsee bis zur Weichsel, und südwärts bis an Böhmen herunter. . . Die einzelnen wendischen Stämme heissen: a) *Obodriten*, in Meklenburg, . . . auch *Polaber*, *Wagrier* und *Linonen*. b) *Pommern* oder *Wilzen*, von der Oder bis an die Weichsel. . . c) *Ukern* oder *Grenzwenden*, *Heveller* und *Retharier* in den fünf Brandenburgischen Marken. . . d) *Sorben* zwischen der Sale und Elbe in dem heutigen Obersachsen. . . e) *Lusizer* oder *Lausizer*, noch der beträchtlichste Ueberrest der nördlichgermanischen Slaven . . ." To this limitation of the term *Winden* by Schlözer Kopitar adds a footnote:

"Diese zum Citiren so bequeme Benennung ist nicht ganz richtig. Nur die Steyerischen und Kärntnischen Slaven werden zum Unterschiede von ihren deutschen Mitbürgern *Winden*, d.i. Slaven genannt; (denn *Wende*, *Winde* ist das deutsche Synonymon für *Slave*, so wie *Unger* für *Madyar*, u.m.a.) eben deßwegen nennen sie sich auch selbst *Slovénzi*, d.i. Leute vom *Slavischen* Volksstamme, nicht vom *Deutschen*: der *Gesamtnahme* der Nation ward ein *Species-Nahme*. — In Krain hingegen, wo das ganze Land von Slaven bebaut wird, fiel dieser Anlaß weg, und der *Special-Nahme Krainer (Krajnzi)* gilt ausschließend seit Mannsgedenken. — Sprache, Kleidung, Lebensart ist die *nähmliche* bey den *Winden*, wie bey den *Krainern* aber nie wird der *Krainer Slovénz* im specialen Sinne, und umgekehrt der *Slovénz* nie *Krajnz* genant," (Kopitar 1808: vi).

4.0. This was the time when the terms "Winde," "Windisch" began to be slowly withdrawn from usage by the pre-Romantic generation of the Slovene Revival. Kopitar, who in 1808 still printed his grammar of Slovene with reference to the *Slavische Sprache*

in *Krain, Kärnten und Steyermark*, in 1809 already began to use German equivalents of the old Slovene generic terms: *der Slowene*, *slowenisch* = *Slovenec*, and *slovenski* as a species-name for "Slovene" in his correspondence with Josef Dobrovský (Jagić 1885), and in his first essays in German (Kopitar 1810a, 1810b). His usage was followed in their correspondence and publications by the principal representatives of his generation such as Janez Nepomuk Primic (1785-1823), Valentin Vodnik, Urban Jarnik (1784-1844), Janž Leopold Šmigoc (1787-1829) and Matevž Ravnikar (1774-1845).⁴

It is also at this juncture that the terms *Slovan* and *slovanski* for the German form of the genus-name *Slawe* and *Slawisch* came into practice. The usage was the Czech one, as in *Slovan*, *slovanský*, and was introduced into Slovene under the influence of Dobrovský's contacts with his Slovene correspondents. From this time on the genus vs. species opposition *Wind* / *windisch* vs. *Slovene* / *slowenisch* was replaced by *Slovenec* / *slovenski* vs. *Slovan* / *slovanski*, thus crystallizing the dyadic conceptual relationship "Slovene" vs. "Slav / Slavic." By the middle of the nineteenth century the leading representative of the German intelligentsia of the Monarchy, the Carniolan Anastasius Grün (1850) defined the language of the Southwest Slavic dialects spoken "in ganz Krain, zu Krain gehörigen Dialekten Istriens und des Küstenlandes, in der unteren Steiermark, in einem Theile Kärntens und in einzelnen Grenzgebieten Ungarns" as "die *Slovenische*, auch *Krainische*, *wendische* (*windische*) genannt,"—ordered in a sequence which very clearly indicates the withering away of the the earlier German ethnographic nomenclature in the Slovene lands.

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NOTES

1. The English translation of the *Fredegar Chronica* (Wallace-Handrill 1960) unfortunately uses, incorrectly, the German forms *Wend* and *Wendish* in all the references to *Winds* and *Wind* in our examples; thus, "Slavs who are known as Wends" (39), "the Wendish March" (61), "the Walluc or Wendish duke" (61), "the Wendish army" (62).
2. For Slovene historiography see Kos 1935/1985, Zwitter 1939, Grafenauer 1979, Petrovich 1963. For individual authors, see *Slovenski biografski leksikon*.
3. The works of the 16th-century Slovene writers quoted here are: Trubar 1555a: *Abecedarium*; Trubar 1555b: *Ta evangeli svetiga Matevža*; Trubar 1557: *Tiga noviga testamenta ena dolga predgovor*; Trubar 1558: *Ta drugi dejl tiga novga testamenta*; Trubar 1562: *Artikuli ... te prave stare vere krščanske*; Trubar 1564: *Slovenska cerkovna ordninga*; Bohorič 1584: *Arcticae horulae*.
4. For individual authors, see *Slovenski biografski leksikon*.

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