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Pravo ime: Reflections on "Real" Names in Slovene Biographies

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Abstract

For persons whose names have changed over time, the concept of their "real" names is an essential part of any biography. Standard Slovene reference works frequently report the *pravo ime* 'real name' of an individual, but closer examination shows that such names frequently do not conform to actual historical records. This article deconstructs the notion of a "real" name and contrasts it with other concepts, such as a birth name, original name, or baptismal name. After discussing how "real" names are occasionally misused, special issues in Slovene naming conventions are presented, including orthographic reform, multiethnic identity, regional identity, and nationalism. The article discusses motivations for deviations from historical sources, and it summarizes patterns of inaccuracies that researchers can expect to encounter. Numerous examples of prominent individuals from Slovene history are provided as illustrative cases, supported by baptismal records as primary sources. The article concludes with recommendations for good practice by biographers, historians, and translators.

Key words: names, spelling, biography, historiography, nationalism

1. Johann who?

When we think of the great writers in Slovene literature, names of authors like Johann Cankar, Janez Taučar, and Otto Zupančič do not spring to mind. Or, rather, it *is* these authors we think of—but not under these authentic baptismal names (TB 1–3). Instead, we know them as Ivan Cankar, Ivan Tavčar, and Oton Zupančič. This is also fitting, because these are the names that they lived with as adults, the names they published under, and the names inscribed on their final resting places.

The notion of a person's "real" name (or birth name, original name, etc.) is an essential part of any biography. Any standard reference work will inform readers that Mark Twain, Marilyn Monroe, and John Wayne were born Samuel Langhorne Clemens, Norma Jeane Mortenson, and Marion Robert Morrison, respectively, to pick three well-known examples.

Slovene biographies and histories are no exception to this practice. *Enciklopedija Slovenija* contains many examples of citing a *pravo ime* 'real name', such as

– "Angelik iz Kranja, pravo ime *Janez Visintin*" (Angelicus of Kranj, real name Janez Visintin; ES 16 2002: 4), referring to a Slovene priest and Capuchin preacher (1735–1790);
– "Savin, Risto, pravo ime *Friderik Širca*" (Risto Savin, real name Friderik Širca; ES 10 1996: 410), referring to a Slovene composer (1859–1948);
– "Sattner, Hugolin, pravo ime *Franc Sattner*" (Hugolin Sattner, real name Franc Sattner; ES 10 1996: 405), referring to a Slovene composer (1851–1934).

In addition to the label *pravo ime*, Slovene works may use other phrasing:

– "[Janez Majciger] s pravim imenom Janez Majcinger" ([Janez Majciger] with the real name Janez Majcinger; Bedina 1995: 159), referring to a Slovene ethnologist and philologist (1829–1909);
– "Čadež, Adolf (rojstno ime Ivan Čadež" (Adolf Čadež (birth name Ivan Čadež; Bogataj 2013), referring to a Slovene Franciscan religious writer (1871–1948);
– Brodar, Srečko (krstno ime Felix/Feliks Brodar" (Srečko Brodar (baptismal name Felix/Feliks Brodar; Turk 2013), referring to a Slovene archaeologist (1893–1987);
– "Bartholotti Janez Nep. . . . s krstnim imenom Karel Jožef" (John Nepomuk Bartholotti . . . with the baptismal name Karel Jožef; Lukman 2013), referring to a Slovene theologian (1729–1788).

The problem is that every one of these examples is—if not outright wrong—at least inaccurate or misleading. The purported real names (or *rojstno ime* 'birth name' or *krstno ime* 'baptismal name') of these individuals are listed in table 1 alongside their actual baptismal names.

Individual	Claimed name	Baptismal name
Angelicus of Kranj	*Janez Visintin*	*Joannes Nepomucenus Visintin*
Risto Savin	*Friderik Širca*	*Fridrich Franc. Xav. Širca / Schirza*
Hugolin Sattner	*Franc Sattner*	*Franz Jutrasch*
Janez Majciger	*Janez Majcinger*	*Johann Maizinger*
Adolf Čadež	*Ivan Čadež*	*Joannes Čadež*
Srečko Brodar	*Felix/Feliks Brodar*	*Felix Brodar*
John Nepomuk Bartholotti	*Karel Jožef*	*Carolus Josephus Barthalothi*

Table 1. Selected claimed real/birth/baptismal names and actual baptismal names (TB 4–10).

Compounding the problem is that all the sources cited for these names are also reliable sources. Despite the best efforts of biographers and historians, reliable sources are nonetheless not infallible, and the information in them may not be accurate. Inevitably, such information is taken at face value and eventually trickles out in good faith into other sources—newspapers, tourism websites, Wikipedia, and so on, including in translations—further disseminating the errors.

However, it would be a mistake to characterize these errors as simply the result of carelessness. In the best cases, such inaccuracies are the result of citing older reliable (but fallible) sources—and, in the worst cases, there may be actual manipulation of information to fit a particular agenda. In any case, they follow certain predictable patterns, and awareness of these patterns can aid researchers in recognizing and avoiding them.

This article addresses the question of what a "real name" is (or may be construed as), the occasional misuse of such names, special issues complicating citation issues for Slovene names in particular, the motivations underlying errors, and common patterns of errors in reference works that cite "real" names. The patterns are illustrated with examples of inaccuracies found in Slovene reference works. The article concludes with good practice recommendations for biographers, historians, and translators.

2. What is a real name?

What, in fact, is a "real" name? Today a real name is generally understood as a legal name; that is a government-registered designation for an individual with a single, invariable form, such as appears on a passport or other legal document. Anyone that has struggled with an online form that rejects otherwise valid names because they do not contain a requisite apostrophe, dot, space, or diacritic can readily appreciate this. In practice, a person may be known by a nickname (e.g., *Bubba*), a short form of a name (e.g., *Bill* for *William*), or a middle name, and his or her legal name may be strikingly different. However, this perspective of character-by-character immutability is largely an artefact of today's electronic world, where search strings strictly match or do not match.

In most cases, a legal name today will also correspond to a name on a birth certificate (essentially a "birth name"). However, people have also changed their legal names as long as the concept has been recognized, for a wide variety of reasons, including marriage, anonymity, religious conversion, and aesthetics. An example of the last was the decision by the Slovene businessman Ivan Jebačin (1866–1932) to change his name to Ivan Jelačin (along with the name of his family members and the name of his company, which was the forerunner to today's Kolinska food processing company in Ljubljana) in 1909 (Premembe 1909). Namely, before increasing Serbo-

Croatian influence around 1900, the root *jeb-* 'fuck' was not widespread in Slovenia—especially in the west, where the Jebačin family originated[1] (Snoj 2009: 237)—but Jebačin's relocation to Ljubljana and increasing business ties with the south compelled the name change. It is difficult to argue that *Jelačin* was not Ivan's "real" name after he legally changed it, and biographers and historians generally do not even mention the surname that he used for the first four decades of his life (e.g., Savnik 1967: 13; MSE 2 1975: 163; Sancin 2013).

In the era before increasingly thorough civil registration recorded the names of newborn citizens, such names were recorded in church records, especially for baptisms (i.e., as baptismal names). Because they appear in official records, these names are conveniently concrete and can be cited with complete certainty as baptismal names. However, they are considerably less reliable as "real" names in the sense of what people called themselves and what others called them (i.e., conventional names). A child may have been baptized with the Hungarian name *János* in records from Prekmurje, or the German name *Johann* in most of what is now Slovenia, or the Latin *Joannes* more or less anywhere—and in more recent times with the Slovene name *Janez* or *Ivan*—but this does not prove that he actually used these names. These are authentic baptismal names, but a given individual may well have actually used any of these (Latin being dubious under most circumstances, of course)—or even *Anže*, *Jani*, *Vane*, *Žan* or some other form—as his habitual name in practice.

The individual priests compiling the baptismal records were generally consistent in recording all names in either Latin, German, Hungarian, or Slovene forms, presumably based on their own preferences, which may or may not have corresponded to actual name use in the community. To some extent, this can be related to the use of German as an official language of administration, or Latin as an official language in the Church, although there is no strict correspondence with this by place or time period. The fact that priests frequently recorded information in their language of choice is highlighted by the fact that the summary volumes of baptisms (titled *Repertorium baptizatorum*, *Taufindex*, *Krstni index*, or similar) that were later compiled often contain name forms modified from the forms found in the original records—sometimes based on spelling reforms, but apparently also on personal preferences.

In rare cases it is possible to assume what name a person used, at least at a given time, based on his or her own testimony. For example, the writer known as Ivan Cankar (and baptized *Johann Cankar*) was apparently

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[1] The Jebačin/Jelačin family grave (with both spellings of the surname) still stands in the cemetery in Senožeče, where Ivan Jelačin was born (see https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/210083330).

called *Janez* as a child based on his own autobiography: for example, "Še je vprašala: 'Kdo je bil?' 'Janez!' je rekla sestra Lina" (She then asked: "Who did it?" "Janez" said my sister Lina; Cankar 1920: 14–15). However, danger lies in placing too much faith in assumptions. Encyclopedias do not offer *Johann* or *Janez* as Cankar's "real" name even though he apparently acquired the name *Ivan* only later in life.

Although it has long been possible to travel to the episcopal archives in Slovenia and examine records in person—or to pay a fee to have an archivist examine and copy such records—it was only in May 2021 that these records were made available online in digitized form.[2] This new easy access has provided a goldmine of information not only to Slovene genealogists but to biographers and historians as well, making it possible to clear up various mysteries. The example of the Slovene politician Dinko Puc (1879–1945) is illustrative. *Dinko* is obviously a nickname, although not all reference works (e.g., ES 10 1996: 12) mention his full name. Janez Keber's encyclopedia (1988: 149) indicates that *Dinko* is a nickname for *Dominik*, and the *Slovenska biografija* site offers the full name *Dominik* (Andrejka 2013). However, checking the church records confirms that he was baptized *Dominicus Puc* (TB 11).[3]

3. Misuse of real names

People sometimes use a "real" name that differs from a person's conventional name as a form of aggression or shame, relying on its shock value. This may take the form of a full (baptismal or legal) name, imitating the scolding of a parent reprimanding a child by using his or her first, middle, and last names, or the stern authority of a legal deposition:

– "I would not trust William Jefferson Clinton with my wife" (Smith 1998);
– "Why does Barack Hussein Obama associate with so many radical people that appear to hate America?" (Berfield 2008);
– "Donald John Trump has been a great president for anti-Semites" (Milbank 2019).

Such examples are also found in Slovenia; for example, exploiting the fact that the politician Janez Janša, although baptized *Janez*, is officially registered with the name *Ivan*:

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[2] See the alphabetized parish list at Matricula Online, https://data.matricula-online.eu/en/suchen/?date_range=1500%2C2000&diocese=48&place=, or the interactive map at https://data.matricula-online.eu/sl/landkarte/ ?bbox=1530632%2C5742581%2C1726310%2C5833846.

[3] In this case, periodicals at the dLib site (https://www.dlib.si/) strongly indicate that *Dominik Puc* was a name that was authentically used (with about three dozen hits, compared to thousands for *Dinko Puc*), whereas the (confirmed) baptismal name *Dominicus Puc* does not appear in any of these sources.

– "Ivan Janša je lažnivec! In to je zadnjič, da sem ga omenil s polnim imenom in priimkom. (Ivan Janša is a liar! And this is the last time I mentioned him with his full first and last name; ivan.z 2016).

These examples, although based on truth, are disingenuous because they are passive aggressive and exploit a truth for malicious ends. There are also untruthful invocations of "real" names:

– "How do you spell Adolf Hitler's real name? Some will say Schickelgruber, some Schicklegruber, and some Schicklgruber" (As 1943), referring to the surname used by Hitler's father until it was legally changed in 1877, twelve years before Adolf Hitler's birth;[4]
– "Please show your respect for American ideals and dump Donald Drumpf (real family name)" (Freytag 2020), using a surname that was changed to *Trump* in the early seventeenth century.

Again, such examples of "real" names are not alien to the Slovene context; for example:

– "da je pravo ime osebe, ki jo poznamo kot Tita, v bistvu Walter Weiss, ki je poljski Žid" (that the real name of the person we know as Tito is essentially Walter Weiss, a Polish Jew; Revolucija 2018), referring to an unsubstantiated theory that the real Josip Broz was shot in 1939 and replaced by another.

These examples are, of course, purely spiteful without any basis in truth. Although they have resonance, they would not be used in this way by any conscientious biographer or historian. However, as pointed out below, putative "real" names may also be exploited for more subtle motivations.

4. Special issues

Before the possible motivations for intentional inaccuracies in name forms are addressed, attention should be drawn to some language-specific issues in the development of Slovene. These include orthographic reform, ethnic identity, geography, fashion, hypercorrection, and nativization.

Most Slovene spelling adaptations of names, or decisions on which name forms to cite and which to ignore, are based on assumptions about what seems to be appropriate at the time. As mentioned earlier, assumptions are dangerous. In many of these cases, the notion seems to be that—if they only could have—these individuals would have spelled their names to conform to the conventions of modern practice, and that name forms that they rarely or even never used are therefore their "real" names.

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[4] In fact, Hitler's baptismal record reads *Adolfus Hitler,* with his father's name corrected from *Hittler* to *Hitler* (TB 12).

4.1. Old orthography

Orthographic reforms were already mentioned above, the most significant one being the switch from the Bohorič alphabet to the Gaj alphabet in Slovenia in the 1840s.[5] The result is some systematic changes when reporting real names. Visually, these adjustments might be relatively small or more significant:

– "Dular, Franjo (rojstno ime Franc Dular" (Franjo Dular (birth name Franc Dular; Pirjevec 2013), referring to a Slovene veterinarian (1860–1924) actually baptized *Franz Dular* (TB 13);
– "Kozenn . . . , Blasius (pr. ime Blaž Kocen)" (Blasius Kozenn (real name Blaž Kocen); Kovačec 1999: 210), referring to a Slovene cartographer (1821–1871) actually baptized *Blaſh Kozen* (TB 14).

One might argue that these are simply transliterations, no different from saying that Vladimir Lenin's (1870–1924) original surname was *Ulyanov* (without bothering to specify *Ульяновъ*). After all, Bohorič *Franz* and *Kozen* are not pronounced any differently from Gaj *Franc* and *Kocen*. However, this argument sacrifices orthographic authenticity—and, in the case of Kozenn, also introduces the anachronism of a Gaj spelling before that system was created, in addition to ignoring his own spelling of his surname.

4.2. Multiethnic identity

Another issue that arises with name choices is the multilingual or multiethnic identity of many individuals associated with Slovenia. For example, figures such as the lawyer and businessman Peter Kosler/Kozler (1824–79) or the politician Franc Kavšek / Franz Kauschegg (1820–1906) shifted freely between Slovene and German spellings of their names (Reindl 2021: 160, 168). For these, Slovene sources generally follow the Slovene spelling, simply enclosing the German spelling in parentheses at first mention, although some sources stake an explicit ethnic claim: "KALŠEK, KAVŠEK, ponemčen KAUSCHEGG" 'Kalšek, Kavšek, Germanized Kauschegg' (Koštial 1905: 243), even though the spelling with *š* (in the Gaj alphabet) is also an anachronistic spelling of Kavšek's baptismal name, *Franz Kauscheg* (TB 14). During his life, Kavšek consistently signed himself using the German form of his name, *Kauschegg* (e.g., Šuštar 1996: passim). However, he straddled both identities after his demise because his death record gives

[5] The main changes were respelling *z* as *c*, *zh* as *č*, *er* as *r*, *ſ* as *s*, *ſh* as *š*, *s* as *z*, and *sh* as *ž*; however, older Bohorič spellings did not use these consistently. In addition, Bohorič spellings only gradually gave way to Gaj spellings, and a few can even be found in some Slovene surnames today (e.g., *Snoj* for *Znoj*, or *Zorn* for *Corn*).

his name as *Franc Kauschegg* (SB 1), but his gravestone reads *Franc Kavšek*. The concept of his "real" name remains elusive.

4.3. Prekmurje people

Figures from Prekmurje are another special case in Slovene historiography. Prekmurje was not incorporated into the rest of Slovenia until 1919, and prior to that the Slovene published in Prekmurje (and the spelling of Slovene names) followed a Hungarian-based orthography known as *ogrica*. This has resulted in persons from that milieu being listed under various forms of their names deemed most appropriate. Thus (among other variations) in reference works[6] one finds:

– *Imre Augustič* (ES) vs. *Imre Agustič* (SBL), referring to a journalist (1837–79) that wrote his own name as *Agustich Imre*;
– *Franc Ivanocy* (ES) vs. *Franc Ivanoczy* (MSE), referring to a priest (1857–1913) that wrote his own name *Ivanóczy Ferenc*;
– *Mihal Sever* (ES) vs. *Mihael Sever* (SBL), referring to a writer that may have written his own name *Szever Miháo Zvanecsa*;[7]
– *Franc Temlin* (ES; SBL) vs. *Ferenc Temlin* (MSE), referring to a Protestant writer (between 1670 and 1750) that apparently wrote his own name *Temlin Ferenczi*.[8]

Four decisions are at play here when deciding on the proper form of the name to cite; in addition to the conventional reversal of first and last names, the biographer or historian must decide whether to transliterate the *ogrica* (e.g., *Sz* → *S*-), whether to substitute equivalent (translated) names (e.g., *Ferenc* → *Franc*), and whether to drop diacritics (e.g., *ó* → *o*). It is notable that the usual Slovene practice is to modify the name in one or more of these ways rather than citing the name in its authentic attested form.

4.4. The "super Slovenes"

The "super Slovenes" (as I have come to call them) are those that switched their "western-sounding" names like *Andrej*, *Franc*, *Jurij*, *Karel*, and *Štefan* for fashionable (and fanciful) Slavic equivalents in the nineteenth century (e.g., *Hrabroslav*, *Prostoslav*, *Oroslav*, *Dragotin*, and *Krunoslav*; Reindl 2021: 160). The composer Hrabroslav Volarič (1863–95) obviously started

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6 For convenience, I am using three reference works—*Enciklopedija Slovenija* (ES), *Mala splošna enciklopedija* (MSE), and *Slovenski biografski leksikon* (SLB)—here and below as representative of the Slovene "referencescape." There are certainly other reference works that may differ in practice from these.

7 This name form is cited by Štefan Küzmič (1754: iii); the epithet *Zvanecsa* is believed to refer to Sever's origin in the village of Vaneča (Novak 2013b).

8 The name is hidden in an anagram on the cover page of Temlin's unsigned 1715 translation of Luther's *Small Catechism* (Novak 2013a).

life as *Andrej* (or an equivalent), but this earlier real name is often not mentioned in reference works (e.g., ES 15 2000: 346), nor is it always mentioned that the linguist Oroslav Caf (1814–1874) started life as *Jurij* (or, more likely *Georg*; e.g., ES 1 1987: 409).[9] An interesting case is Karl Deschman (1881–89), who apparently had second thoughts about adopting the Slavic moniker *Dragotin* and was even repudiated for "betraying" the Slovene ethnic movement. He is indexed (again, with variant names) in reference works as *Dragotin Dežman* (ES; Stanonik and Brenk 2008: 195) and *Karel Dežman* (MSE; SBL), but his grave marker reads *Karl Deschman*. These adopted Slavic names raise the issue of whether they were intended to be used as a nom de plume alongside a traditional "real" name or as real names themselves, intended to replace original names. The intent likely varied from individual to individual.

4.5. Hyper-Slovenization

At one time it was the usual practice to Slovenize the first names of people not even associated with Slovenia (e.g., *Jurij Washington*, *Ivan Adams*, and *Tomaž Jefferson*; Anonymous 1873), but this practice has been long abandoned. The current practice can be characterized as Slovenizing the *first* names of individuals associated with Slovenia (whether they used such names or not) while leaving the *last* names unmodified (Reindl: 2012: 159–60)—for example, transforming Sigismund von Herberstein (1486–1566) into the anachronistic *Žiga* Herberstein. However, last names were also sometimes hyper-Slovenized as well. Not so long ago, *Valvasor* and *Zois* were commonly written as *Valvazor* and *Cojz*; today the former is still encountered with some frequency, but the latter much less so. However, some of these hyper-Slovenized names never managed to revert to their authentic spellings. Thus, the painter Michael Stroy (1803–71) seems to be stuck with his surname indexed as *Stroj* (ES; SBL; MSE) even though he was baptized *Michael Stroy* (TB 16), signed all of his paintings *Stroy*, and is listed in his death record as *Michael Stroy* (SB 2).

4.6. Scratching an *-ić*

Finally, there is the matter of Serbo-Croatian names that have been modified to conform to Slovene spelling conventions. The Slovene normative guide stipulates that the letters *ć* and *đ* may be respelled *č* and *dž* as adaptations to Slovene (Toporišič 2001: 146). For reference works, this is rarely an issue for better-known names that are recognized as Serbo-Croatian; for example,

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[9] Caf wrote his own name as *Georg Zaf(f)*, sometimes also with the equivalent *Oroslav Caf(ov)* in parentheses or standing alone, throughout his career, but the very real name *Georg* nonetheless does not appear in ES, MSE, or SBL. The German newspaper report on his suicide (also not mentioned in ES) refers to him exclusively as *Georg Zaff* (Selbstmord 1874).

Ivo Andrić (1892–1975), winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature, is always listed under the spelling *Andrić* (ES; MSE). A relevant example is the ethnically Slovene composer Fran Gerbić (1840–1917), who was baptized *Franziscus Gerbiz* (TB 17) and later (for whatever reason) most consistently spelled his own surname *Gerbić* (and occasionally *Gerbic* and *Grbič*). Nonetheless, he is indexed in reference works under yet another spelling, *Gerbič* (ES; MSE), or *Gerbic* (SBL), and his own preferred spelling is not even cited as an alternative. Another example is the physician Franz Wilhelm Lippich (1799–1845). Although born in Slovakia, his father was born in Montenegro, thus the alternative *-ić* spelling of his surname. Practice varies in whether reference works index him as *Fran Viljem Lipić* (ES; SBL) or the Slovenized form *Fran Viljem Lipič* (MSE). Until 2013, there was a street in Ljubljana named for him, spelled *Lipičeva ulica* (Odlok 2013). As so often, there are also ambiguities; for example, the White Carniolan hog merchant of Uksok origin Ilija Predovič (a.k.a. Elija Predović, 1853–1938) also had a street in Ljubljana named after him: *Predovičeva ulica* (renamed *Ulica Vide Pregarčeve* in 1952; Valenčič and Traven 1980: 128–29). His grave inscription in Žale Cemetery reads *Ilija Predovič*, but the exterior of the family crypt reads *Predović*, and so it is difficult to judge how his "real" name should be spelled.

5. Motivations

Inadvertent or unintentional changes to people's names are likely a result of superficiality or lack of access to primary sources. Facilitated access to publications and vital records through increasing digitization is helping ameliorate the latter problem. One can only guess at the possible motivations for deliberate changes to "real" names of historical individuals. Conscious or unconscious nationalism certainly comes to mind, manifested in Slovenized spellings and reclaiming compatriots.

5.1. Slovene suffixes

Modifying names to make them appear more Slovene was mentioned above in the context of Hungarian-appearing Prekmurje names and names that resembled Serbo-Croatian. Sometimes even the spelling of the suffix of a name was "tweaked" to appear more Slovene.

It comes as something of a surprise to realize that the spelling *Primus Truber* (the spelling that Trubar himself settled on by 1528; Golec 2009) was more common than *Primož Trubar* in English until about 1991, and in fact was the only name form in use in English until 1917 (fig. 1).

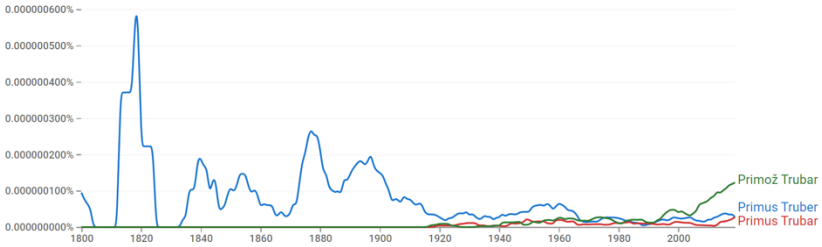

Figure 1. Primož Trubar and variants in English books 1800 to present; the variant *Primož Truber* was not found (Google Ngram).

In contrast, in Slovene publications the Slovenized spelling *Primož Trubar* became dominant over competing name variants in the 1880s (fig. 2).

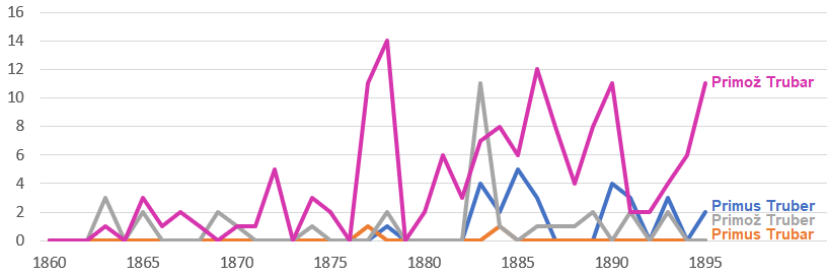

Figure 2. *Primož Trubar* and variants 1860–95, limited to Slovene-language publications (dLib data).

The limited references to Trubar in the first half of the nineteenth century give roughly equal weight to the very real spelling *Truber* (but perhaps not his "real" surname; cases can be made not only for *Trobar*, but also *Malnar* and *Mull(n)er*; Kidrič 1920; Golec 2009). In any case, it is likely that the modern Slovene preference for the spelling *Trubar* was "pushback" against the perception of *Truber* as a Germanized spelling (see Kidrič 1920: 267) that should be rejected.

The same rejection of *-er* is found for the name of the Slovene missionary and explorer Ignaz (or Ignatius) Knoblecher (1819–1858). Knoblecher was baptized *Ignatius Knoblecher* (TB 18). The Slovenized spelling *Knobleher*, and then *Knoblehar*, appeared late, only about a decade before his death, and now he appears exclusively with the *-ar* spelling in reference works (ES; MSE; SBL). It is likely that, as for *Trubar*, the reason is rejection of an apparent Germanism.

A different suffix spelling issue is found for the translator Jurij Japelj (1744–1807). Baptized *Georgius Jabel[us]* (TB 19), he also wrote his name *Juri Japel* during his lifetime (e.g., Japel 1794). The surname has been

modified to end in *-lj* to satisfy the modern Slovene linguistic norm, and this form has completely supplanted Japelj's own spelling of his surname, which cannot be found in reference works (ES; MSE; SBL).

5.2. Reclaiming the renegades

A special category of names is those of people that, although ethnically Slovene in origin, lived their lives abroad and consistently used spellings of their names that do not correspond to practice in Slovene biographies (for more details, see Reindl 2021). Briefly, examples include:

– The linguist Franz Miklosich (1813–91), baptized *Franz Xav. Mikloschitsh* (TB 20). He overwhelmingly used the name *Franz Miklosich*, but he is indexed exclusively as *Franc Miklošič* in Slovene reference works (ES; MSE; SBL).
– The chemist Fritz Pregl (1869–1930), baptized *Friedrich Michael Raimund Pregl* (TB 21). He consistently used the name *Fritz Pregl*, but he is indexed exclusively as *Friderik Pregl* in Slovene reference works (ES; MSE).
– The photographer Johann Pucher (1814–64), baptized *Augustin Johann Pucher* (TB 22). He consistently used the name *Johann Pucher*, but he is indexed exclusively as *Janez (Avguštin) Puhar* (ES; MSE; SBL) in Slovene reference works.
– The inventor Johann Puch (1862–1914), baptized *Johann Puch* (TB 23). He consistently used the name *Johann Puch*, but he is indexed exclusively as *Janez Puh* in Slovene reference works (ES; MSE).
– The physicist Josef Stefan (1835–93), baptized *Joseph Stephan* (TB 24).[10] He consistently used the name *Josef Stefan*, but he is indexed exclusively as *Jožef Stefan* (ES; SBL) or *Jožef Štefan* (MSE) in Slovene reference works.

The motivation for generally omitting (or relegating to secondary importance) the names that these individuals really used in life can be viewed as some sort of effort on the part of cultural or political nationalists to reclaim "renegades"—people that were born in Slovene ethnic territory but built their careers and identities elsewhere. After they rose to prominence, it was a matter of Slovene national pride to reclaim them as ethnic Slovenes, including by Slovenizing their names.

A poignant example of this practice is the civil servant Laurenz Koschier (1804–79). Koschier was baptized *Laurentius Koschier* (TB 25). He worked throughout the Austrian Empire, and his claim to fame is as the (co-)inventor of the postage stamp. He appears in Slovene reference works

[10] However, see the conclusion of this article for additional details.

exclusively as *Lovrenc Košir* (ES; MSE). It seems that Koschier had been entirely forgotten by Slovene biographers and historians until long after his death. He was recalled only in 1937, two years after the hundredth anniversary of his 1835 proposal to Vienna that postage stamps be introduced, in a Slovene article belatedly lauding him for his concept (Bednarik 1937: 69). It is also in this article—published almost six decades after Koschier's death—that the spelling *Lovrenc Košir* is first found at the dLib site.

6. Patterns of inaccuracies

Issues and motivations aside, it is possible to summarize five patterns of deviations from baptismal names: carelessness, adjustment from Latin, adjustment from Bohorič spellings, and minor and major Slovenization. Being aware of these patterns can help biographers anticipate how a putative "real" name or a conventional name may differ from a name that was actually recorded. In addition, amateur genealogists may also benefit from awareness of these patterns when working with archival and other records.

6.1. Simple carelessness

In a few cases, deviations can be ascribed to simple carelessness or overgeneralization. For example, various sources about the natural historian Simon Robič (1824–1897) state that his "original name" (*prvotno ime*; ES 16 2002: 4) or "real" name (*pr[avo] i[me]*; Stanonik and Brenk 2008: 963; Ivanič 2011: 1243) was *Rabič*. Leaving aside the objection that the letter *č* had not yet come into use when Robič was born, a check of the church records confirms that he was baptized *Simon Robizh*—that is, *Robič*, not *Rabič*, in the Bohorič alphabet (TB 26). It is likely that the note "Rabič do 1865" 'Rabič until 1865' (Pirjevec 2013) is closer to the truth, referring to the spelling that Robič habitually used rather than an original or real name.[11]

6.2. Latin endings

A common inaccuracy when citing "real" names is to cite a next-best variant closest to a modern Slovene name rather than an actual attested name in Latin form; for example:

[11] In fact, one finds Robič signing himself *S. Robič* as early as 1861 (Iz Predvora 1861: 289), as well as the name forms *Simon Rabitsch* (Juventus 1861: 13) and *Simon Robitsch* (Herr 1869) in the same decade, attesting to the fluidity of spelling.

– "Pohlin, Marko (pravo ime *Anton Pohlin*" (Marko Pohlin (real name *Anton Pohlin*; ES 9 1995: 38), referring to a Slovene philologist (1735–1801);
– "Davorin Jenko . . . Pri krstu so mu dali ime Martin" (Davorin Jenko . . . At his baptism he was given the name *Martin*; ES 9 1995: 38), referring to a Slovene musician and composer (1835–1914).

In fact, Pohlin was baptized *Antonius Puhlin* (TB 27) and Jenko was baptized *Martinus Jenko* (TB 28). As already mentioned, although Latin names were certainly not in everyday use (one can only guess how much Latin was used at the Jesuit college where Pohlin studied), the concept of a "real" name is elusive—and, if a baptismal name is *Martinus*, although it does mean 'Martin', it is not *Martin*.

6.3. Bohorič conversion

The anachronism of citing Gaj spellings before such spellings existed as original names, real names, or birth names has already been mentioned. Such examples are rife in Slovene sources. For example, Slovene biographies offer a raft of alternative forms of the surname of the painter Franc Ilovšek (1700–1764): *Jelovšek*, *Ilovšek*, *Illouscheg*, and *Jellouschegg*. However, the spelling of his surname recorded in his baptismal record— *Jeloushek* (TB 29)—seems to be cited nowhere.

From the seventeenth-century bandit Kljukec (c. 1652–1697) with the impossible *pravo ime* 'real name' *Janez Košir* (Mal 2013) to the eighteenth-century preacher Romuald (1676–1748) with the impossible *krstno ime* 'baptismal name' *Lovrenc Marušič* (Štrekelj 2012: 365), to the nineteenth-century linguist Stanislav Škrabec (1844–1918) with the possible *pravo ime* 'real name' *Anton Škrabec* (ES 13 1999: 58)—but in fact baptized *Anton Skrabez* (TB 30)—Slovene biographies are filled with names that have been updated from Bohorič to Gaj spelling with good intentions, but are then casually presented as authentic spellings.

6.4. Minor and major Slovenization

Minor Slovenization corresponds to a minor nationalist fillip—an embellishment that is only a little nip and tuck, a letter changed, inserted, or omitted here or there, to ensure that a historical figure is securely in the Slovene ethnic camp. Thus, one finds:

– "dobil ob krstu ime Karel Kajetan" (he was baptized with the name *Karel Kajetan*; Golec 2018: 154), referring to Carol Cajetan Mayer (1890–1941)—as he was actually baptized in Austria (TB 31)—a descendant of the polymath Johann Weikhard von Valvasor; and

– "krščen kot Leopold Henrik" (baptized as Leopold Henrik; Golec 2020: 161), referring to Leopoldus Henricus Haipel (1691–?)—as he was actually baptized (TB 32)—a person connected with the Čop family.

More unsettling is major modification of a name or multiple names to the same end, compounding the inaccuracy. An example of three names modified simultaneously is:

– "rojena: Frančiška Ksavera Marija Eppich" (born: Frančiška Ksavera Marija Eppich; Slavko 1983: 99), referring to the theater actress Marija Vera (1881–1954), who was in fact baptized *Franziska Xaveria Maria Eppich* (TB 33)

Well-intentioned or not, such practice is ultimately dishonest.

7. Concluding observations

The examples presented here are by no means exhaustive. In fact, there is probably no end to the number of purported "real" names, original names, and baptismal names found in Slovene reference works that do not correspond to the historical records. Often the historical records are also more complex than one expects. The physicist Josef Stefan (1835–93), mentioned above, actually did write his surname *Štefan* in high school—but, regardless of the baptismal record (with the spelling *Stephan*) his legal surname at birth was apparently *Startinik* (his unmarried mother's surname), and he did not acquire his father's surname until 1844, at age nine, when his father and mother married (Čermelj and Uršič 2013).

What is a biographer, historian, or translator using Slovene sources to do? As stated at the outset, conventional names remain primary regardless of historical records. The writer Janez Trdina is conventionally known as *Janez Trdina* in both Slovene and English, even if he was baptized *Joannes Babtista Terdina* (TB 34)—and it certainly should never be claimed that his real, original, or baptismal name was *Janez Krstnik*. Conventional names also differ by language: just as the names of Christopher Columbus or Nicolaus Copernicus widely differ between languages, there is no contradiction in the fact that the man baptized *Irenäus Friedrich Baraga* (TB 35) is conventionally known in Slovene as *Friderik* and in English as *Frederic*.

In (good) practice, reference works often acknowledge the fluidity in name forms used by individuals and later biographers, including variants after a neutral label such as *tudi* 'also'. Objecting to the use of a *c* substituting for a *z* may seem like a quibble, but good scholarship demands precision, and some recommendations can be offered for both scholars and translators.

First, it is necessary to be aware of the habit of Slovene sources misreporting or misrepresenting names by making use of multiple sources to confirm spellings rather than unquestioningly accepting them at face value.

In addition, when citing names, there is no harm in offering common variants (although there is no need to list every version of a name, or all the pseudonyms, that a person ever used). When choosing a primary name form for a person (if it is not already clear from conventional usage), the person's own name usage ought to be considered—or the family's choice, which may be apparent from grave markers, for example (cf. Reindl 2021). Finally, whereas a baptismal name is a relatively objective fact, one should be cautious in using *born as* when it is unsubstantiated by clear evidence, and one should simply avoid loaded labels like *real name*. There is a continuum of reality from (the very real but inappropriate) name *Johann Cankar* to (the fully appropriate but questionable) name *Janez Janša*.

It is unlikely that Slovene scholarship is unique in "fixing" baptismal names to meet nationalist expectations, or in presenting unsubstantiated "real" names to reinforce an ethnic claim on an individual. It would be fruitful to examine such naming practices in the scholarship of other languages, both close to Slovenia and more distant, to determine what is really in a name—and what biographers and historians may slip into names.

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POVZETEK

PRAVA IMENA V SLOVENSKIH BIOGRAFIJAH

Pojem »pravega imena« je pomemben vidik biografije oseb, katerih imena so bila sčasoma spremenjena. Slovenski standardni priročniki pogosto navajajo posameznikovo »pravo ime«, podrobnejša analiza pa pokaže, da se tovrstna imena pogosto ne ujemajo z dejanskim zgodovinskim gradivom. Avtor v članku analizira pojem »pravega imena« in ga primerja z drugimi pojmi, kot so rojstno ime, izvirno ime ali krstno ime. Po obravnavi občasne nepravilne rabe pravih imen predstavi posebna vprašanja, povezana s slovensko poimenovalno prakso, kot so pravopisna reforma, večnacionalna identiteta, regionalna identiteta in nacionalizem. V nadaljevanju analizira razloge za odstopanja od zgodovinskih virov in na kratko predstavi nepravilnosti, s katerimi se lahko raziskovalci srečajo. Za ilustracijo navede številne primere uglednih posameznikov iz slovenske zgodovine, ki jih podkrepi s podatki iz krstnih knjig kot primarnih virov. Članek sklene s priporočili za dobro prakso, namenjenimi biografom, zgodovinarjem in prevajalcem.