

SLOVENE PROTESTANTS IN CARINTHIA

Tom M.S. Priestly

1. INTRODUCTION

The year 1984 marks not only the quatercentenary of two of Jurij Dalmatin's important works, but also the bicentenary of two publications that were based upon them. Fifteen eighty-four saw the publication both of *Biblia: Tu ie, Vse Svetu pismu* and of *Karszanske lepe molitve* in Wittenberg (Berčič 1968A:224, 233); and 1784 saw not only Part One of the first Catholic New Testament to openly acknowledge the debt to Dalmatin, Japelj and Kumerdej's *Svetu pismu stariga (in noviga) testamenta . . . Nov. test. I* (Slodnjak 1968:14), but also the re-edition of Dalmatin's prayer-book under the title *Kristanske bukvice*, published in Celovec/Klagenfurt in Carinthia. This last-named was the first Slovene Protestant publication to be allowed after the beginning of the Counter-Reformation, and its publication alone shows the strength of Protestantism in Carinthia at the end of the eighteenth century.

In Carinthia, the only Slovene-speaking Protestant community that exists today is in the villages of Zagoriče/Agoritschach and Sovče/Seltschach. From 1783 (see 2.3. below) to 1969, the villages belonged to the parish of Bleiberg, and since 1969, to the Agoritschach-Arnoldstein parish (see Pilzecker 1981:48). They are small: 24 years ago, the inhabitants numbered 460 (Sakrausky 1960:6), and there may be fewer today. The villages are perched on a slight rise at the Eastern end of the Zilja/Gail valley, within two km. to the South of the town of Podklošter/Arnoldstein. This is not only an important industrial center (mining, brickworks, lumberyards) but is also the closest town to two important passes: the pass, 5 km. distant, into the Kanal valley in Italy, and the pass, 10 km. distant, into the Sava valley in Yugoslavia. Podklošter is thus an important point on the routes from Beljak/Villach (16 km away) to both Udine and Ljubljana, and is indeed the frontier station on the railroad from Vienna to Venice and Trieste. It is in the immediate neighborhood of this bustling center that is found the only community of Slovene-speaking Protestants in Austria.

In this paper, I review the maintenance of the Protestant faith among Carinthian Slovenes from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, and comment briefly on the situation in Zagoriče today.*

*I wish to express my thanks for their help to Andreas Moritsch, Hermann Fritz, Oskar Hofer (curator, Evangelisches Diözesanmuseum, Fresach), and Karl Pilzecker (pastor, Agoritschach-Arnoldstein).

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 The Reformation

Protestantism was welcomed with different degrees of enthusiasm in different parts of the Slovene-speaking lands.¹ As far as Carinthia was concerned, the strongest support for the new faith was in the Zilja valley; this parallels the strong adherence to Protestantism in contiguous parts of monolingual German-speaking Carinthia. Between 1526, when the Reformation first officially reached Beljak, and 1594, when the Counter-Reformation was formally instituted in the same city, it is reported that nearly 100 of the inhabitants of the Zilja valley became Protestant (Sakrausky 1960:16-21); at that time, virtually all of these must have been Slovene-speakers.

A measure of the relative importance in this respect of Carinthia as compared with other Slovene provinces is the fact that in the years 1562-63, and again in 1584 (and, presumably, during the intervening years too) one-fifth of all the Protestant books printed in Slovene were sent to Beljak for sale and distribution (the reason being that the Carinthian estates had borne one-fifth of the production costs). This means that of the 1500 copies of Dalmatin's 1584 Bible that were printed, 300 were sent to Beljak; most of these must have found homes in the lower Zilja valley (I. Grafenauer 1946:307; Erjavec 1955/60 II:63; Sakrausky 1960:26).

In spite of the Protestant insistence on the use of the vernacular for the propagation of the faith and for both public and private worship, there was very little provision (in Carinthia, at least) for the training of priests who could speak Slovene. As a result, public worship was carried out, for the most part, in German.² This fact had one far-reaching, beneficial consequence for the future of Slovene as a language for religious purposes. Various materials for private use in the native language became extremely popular. Lay readers were found who went from house to house giving their assistance at what must have been impromptu private (and not always fully-authorized) services. In this way there arose a tradition of private, unofficial worship, using materials printed in Slovene. This tradition, which lasted well over 300 years, ensured the survival in this region both of the Protestant faith and of numerous books printed (and, later, manually copied) in the Slovene language (Sakrausky 1960:26-27).

2.2 The Counter-Reformation

The period from the November day in 1594, when the blows of an axe on a Beljak church door signalled the beginning of the Counter-Reformation in this region, to 13 October 1781, when the *Toleranzedikt*

of Emperor Joseph II was promulgated, was a long time for Carinthian Protestants to maintain their faith. During these 187 years many Carinthians were exiled, both German-speakers and Slovene-speakers, but mostly the former³; and there were, almost every year, investigations, inquisitions, and the confiscation and burning of Protestant books (Sakrausky 1960:30-48; Reischer 1981:15-21).

The lack of provision for Slovene-speaking priests during the Protestant period was not improved upon by the Catholic authorities (Sakrausky 1960:37). I suggest that, if there had been Catholic priests in the lower Zilja valley who were German-Slovene bilinguals, the adherence to Protestantism among the Slovenes in this area would not have been as persistent as it was: in this part of Austria, as in others, the *German-speaking* areas that managed to maintain their Protestant faith were, almost exclusively, and for necessity, far away from the major urban centers, and not easily accessible from major thoroughfares. The fact that the single *Slovene-speaking* area to persist in its Protestantism was situated so close to Podklošter — which, apart from its importance on trade routes, was also the site of an important monastery—is thus exceptional; the best explanation, in the absence of a geographical barrier to re-Catholicization, was that there was a linguistic barrier thereto. I therefore suggest that some attention to linguistic policies on the part of the authorities might have resulted in the re-Catholicization of the district, and hence to the total re-Catholicization of Slovene-speaking Austria.

It is in this context that the tradition of private worship, described above, became so very important. During the nearly 200-year period before 1781, the number of Slovene-speaking Protestants was very much reduced (see below); and yet many Protestant books were kept intact in this region, and precisely for the purpose of private, unauthorized, secret use. So, in the hamlet of Rute/Greuth, were kept the following: one of the two extant copies of Dalmatin's *Salomonove pripvviste* (1580); the only extant copy of Dalmatin's *Catehismvs* of 1580; and the only copy now in existence of Janz Tulščak's *Kerszhanske leipe Molitve* of 1579 (Oblak 1893:467). These are now housed in the excellent Diocesan Protestant Museum at Fresach (Elze 1894, 1895; Sakrausky 1960:43; Berčič 1968B:211, 216, 217).

As the years passed, many or all of the original sixteenth century editions must have become very worn, if not unusable. Others were confiscated and burned by the authorities. For these reasons, new editions being of course unobtainable, the only recourse was to use more and more handwritten copies (for descriptions of three such mss., see Oblak 1893, Ramovš 1920). "Razumljivo je," writes Ivan Grafenauer, "da so skriti *slovenski protestanti* na Koroškem, predvsem pri Zilji, hranili slovenske protestantske knjige kot dragi zaklad in jih prepisov-

ali," (1946 310); and Kotnik adds, "Zato so jih prepisovali, s prepisov spet prepisovali in imeli prepise v časti še konec 19. stoletja," (1946:312). The manuscript copies of the classic works of the sixteenth century writers were gradually complemented and supplemented by other materials, and the tradition spread across Slovene Carinthia. The result: the well-known *bukovništvo* movement. This kind of folk literature was, because of the movement's origins, written in a language-variety very close, both in style and in spelling, to that of Dalmatin (see Kotnik 1946, 1952; Erjavec 1955/60 II:817, III:250-259). We may assume that this literary activity "inadvertently strengthened the Slovenes against further Germanization, at least to a certain degree," (Barker 1960:44).

2.3. The Time of Tolerance

When the Protestants in the Lower Zilja valley area finally dared to admit their faith, after the *Toleranzedikt* of 1781, the total number in the whole region could not have exceeded 3000: of the 13,120 officially registered in the whole of Carinthia (Reischer 1981:23), there were about 1400 in the Arriach parish, another 1000 in the environs of Bleiberg, a few hundred in Zagoriče (Sakrausky 1960:56). We must, presumably, allow for a certain number to have been too hesitant, too fearful to register; but the total number of Slovene-speaking Protestants in the Zagoriče area at the end of eighteenth century cannot have been much more than the 500, which was the minimal number required for official permission for building a prayer-house (Reisher 1981:21).⁴ It was this small number who were still guarding the 200-year old Protestant books, with their manuscript copies.⁵

With the official toleration of Protestantism, it might have been expected that linguistic-religious problems would come to an end. It is indeed apparently true that the first three pastors in the parish of Bleiberg (which included Zagoriče)—Steinhäuser, 1783-87; Knopf, 1787-90; and Lederer, 1791-99—either knew some Slovene already, or else tried to learn the language. At the 1785 consecration of the Zagoriče prayer-house, for instance, Steinhäuser managed to give the sermon in Slovene (Pilzecker 1981:48); and, a few years later, Knopf was able to write:

Ich machte . . . die Einrichtung, Gebet, Evangelium, Epistel, Beicht, Kommunion, Tauffe, Hochzeiten, Versehen hielt ich in der Krainerischen Sprache, die Predigt aber deutsch; zuletzt eben die Hauptsache und dicta probantia in der krainerischen Sprache, die ich mir . . . übersetzen ließ. (Sakrausky 1960:60)⁶

Nevertheless, there does not seem to be any evidence to the effect that Slovene-speaking pastors were deliberately appointed. The existence in the diocese of a single parish with Slovene-speaking parishioners

must have been thought too much of an exception for official policy. The appointment, for example, of Michael Schmal as pastor (1799-1802), who had studied in Prešov and Bratislava and must have spoken Slovak, seems to have come about by chance (Sakrausky 1960:58-60).

And there was still language problems. Letters of complaint are on file concerning the lack of pre-Confirmation instruction in Slovene, and about some sermons in German (cf. Knopf's report!) that were not understood. The parishioners evinced a lack of willingness to pay for ministrations in a language they could not properly understand. Indeed, in the village of Sovče, not only did they continue with the tradition of private services in their homes on the Sundays when the pastor was not in attendance at the Zagoriče prayer-house; they stayed away even when he was there (Sakrausky 1960:58), that is, once a month (Pilzecker 1981:48).⁷

As well as the language-learning efforts made by the first pastors, mention must also be made of the attempts to provide printed materials in Slovene. These attempts, also, came from individual pastors, not from the diocesan center in Arriach. Pastor Steinhäuser arranged a donation of funds for the printing of a New Testament in Slovene; when this venture came to naught, pastor Knopf tried to use the money for the printing of a Catechism in the language; this also failed. It should be noted that Knopf had tried to arrange a *new translation* of the Catechism, not a re-edition of one of the sixteenth-century Slovene Catechisms (Sakrausky 1960:60-61).

The only attempt that met with success was by a Slovene-speaking Carinthian,⁸ and this venture *was* a re-publication of a sixteenth-century Protestant book—the re-edition of Dalmatin's prayer-book, in the form of *Kristianske bukvice*, printed in Celovec/Klagenfurt in 1784.

2.4. Kristianske Bukvice

The *Kristianske bukvice* is indeed, a very faithful re-edition of Dalmatin's *Karszanske lepe molitve*. Each one of Dalmatin's prayers is reproduced as in the original, with just a few minor (but consistent) orthographic changes, together with a few modifications that can be related to local dialect features.⁹ Even Dalmatin's two prayers against the Turks ("Molitev svper Tvrka" and "Ena drvga") are repeated verbatim, although the threat from the Turks must have been of little concern for Carinthians in the 1780's. The only major differences are in the title page and the introduction.

The 1784 title page is as follows:

Kristianske / Bukvice, / V' Katereh / Sa Hishne Gospodarje Inu
/ Gospodinje, Tudi Sa Druge / Stanove Stareh Inu / Mladeh
Ludi / Molitve / Se Naidejo / Is / Psalmou / Vkup Sbrane. /

[vignette] / Skus perpushanje Zaesarske Oblasti. / V' Zelouzi, / per Ignaziu Kleinmayrju 1784.

As to Dalmatin's original preface (*Vorrede*), which was in German throughout, it is replaced by a six-page introduction in Slovene, with the title: *Podvuzhenje / kaku / se ima prou moliti*.

As the title suggests, it contains instructions for the comments on prayer, citing the example of St. Augustine, and with relevant quotations from St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians and the Book of Jeremiah. The importance of faith is emphasized; Christians are exhorted to pray to the Holy Trinity; and they are told to concentrate while praying:

. . . Kadar my tedei hozhmo h'letei S. Troyzi nasho molitvo opraviti taku imamo letu s'andahtjo storiti nikar s'mislami okuli leitati inu kaj drugiga misliti, temuzh si muzhnu naprej vseti kakor de bi Gospud Bug sama S. Troyza pred nami stala, inu dobru premisliti kay mi govorimo . . .

It is explained how important prayer is, and how some people know better than others how to pray, that is, standard material, such as a pastor might include in a sermon. The author's name is not supplied; this introduction could well have originated in German (e.g., from pastor Steinhäuser) and been translated into Slovene.¹⁰

One further point requires comment. Neither on the title page, nor in the Introduction, is there any mention of Dalmatin's name. There is indeed no hint that the book's materials are 200 years old. These omissions may have been deliberate: as mentioned above, Knopf had tried to arrange a new translation of the Catechism, rather than the reproduction of, e.g., Dalmatin's *Catehismvs*, which (of 2.2) was available within the parish; and, as Sakrausky points out, sixteenth-century Protestantism did not altogether suit the Protestant clergy at the end of the eighteenth century:

Nach dem im Pfarrarchiv vorhandenen Exemplaren zu schließen, wurd [dieses Buch] stark benutzt, jedoch waren Steinhäuser und seine Nachfolger nicht damit zufrieden. Das, was ihre Unzufriedenheit erregte, dürfte wohl der ganz andere Geist sein, der aus diesem Büchlein sprach. Die Pfarrer waren damals doch alle überzeugte Jünger eines aufgeklärten Protestantismus. (1960:61)

Whatever the Slovene-speaking Protestants thought of these materials (and, since they used manuscript copies for private services, they must have become very used to them, and would have been unwilling to think badly of them), the German-speaking Protestant leaders apparently had their reasons for ensuring that Dalmatin's name, and all reference to sixteenth-century Protestantism, were omitted from the book. This is

evidence of the fact that there was not only a linguistic gap, but also a religio-cultural one, between the pastors and their parishioners. The villagers in Sovče, mentioned above, who paid minimal attention to their pastors, were thus (perhaps, extreme) examples of a conservatism that had been fostered by the tradition of secret worship in private homes:

Sie blieben bei ihren Hausandachten und bei ihren alten Büchern und Schriften. Und dies gewiß nicht aus nationalen Gründen, sondern einfach aus religiösem Konservatismus. Man muß das verstehen: Wenn man sich vorstellt, welche innere Welt des Glaubens sich mit diesen Formen der Geheimandachten und verbotenen Büchern von Jugend an aufgebaut hatte . . . Aus [dem] Festhalten an den Trostworten und hergebrachten Glaubensformeln ist auch diese konservative Strömung in Seltschach und Agoritschach zu verstehen. Dazu kommt natürlich noch die Sprache," (Sakrausky 1960:63).

The Time of Tolerance did not, therefore, bring about any *substantial* change in the tradition of private home worship in Zagoriče and Sovče. This tradition was maintained well into the nineteenth century, if not longer; which cannot but have aided in the maintenance of the use of Slovene in these two villages.

2.5. The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

The major sources for this paper (Sakrausky and Erjavec) have very little to say about the Protestant Slovenes of the Zagoriče area after the year 1800. Given the developments in the associations between language, religion, and nationalism, and given the importance that became attached to nationalism during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, their reticence is to be regretted.

Barker (1960:44) is presumably correct in criticizing Bogo Grafenauer (1946:13-14) in the following words:

. . . It is possible to exaggerate [the facts about the seventeenth/eighteenth-century *bukovništvo* movement] and to read into them a meaning which they cannot possibly have. It has been claimed that the *bukovništvo* movement 'strengthened the national feeling of Carinthian Slovenes' and that it is the clearest proof of a 'vigorous national consciousness among the common peoples of Southern Carinthia.' The writing of religious tracts in one's mother tongue at a time when nationalist slogans were unknown cannot be regarded as the conscious expression of national particularity.

It is interesting, however, to consider the nineteenth century, when feelings of "national consciousness" started to become very important in Central Europe. When did these ideas reach Zagoriče and Sovče?

How soon, how persistently, and how strongly did the forces of Germanization affect these villages? Given the unique history of the district, these questions are of particular interest; it is a pity that there is so little published about this period.

Erjavec, for example, claims only that the Protestant Slovene-speakers of Zagoriče prayed in Slovene until the end of the last century. Implicitly, we understand that they soon stopped doing so (1955/60 II:719).

Sakrausky gives a few more details, but still not very much. First, he claims that when nationalism increased sharply in the last third of the nineteenth century, "längst schon hatte sich die klein Agoritschacher Gemeinde an die Verkündigung des Evangeliums in deutscher Sprache gewöhnt," (1960:68), suggesting, apparently, that linguistic problems were a thing of the past. He goes on, however, to describe a situation that strongly suggests linguistic problems: while the Catechism and other religious matters were taught in German, the Protestants still used the Slovene formulae from the sixteenth century texts in their private worship at home (1960:69). And these private services were still being held: there is direct evidence from 1836, from 1856 and from 1897.

Sakrausky then relates how, in 1936, "[es] wurde dem Agoritschacher Presbyterium die Frage vorgelegt, ob ein Bedürfnis nach Abhaltung slowenischer Gottesdienste vorhanden sei, worauf allgemein erklärt wurde, daß ein solches nicht bestehe." This raises questions: how "general" was the negative response to the enquiry? What constraints, if any, were the respondents aware of, and perhaps afraid of? To what extent had the bitterness of the 1920 Plebiscite campaigns, and the extremes of opinion on both sides, penetrated to Zagoriče? How aware were the villagers of the political advances of National Socialism, and of the racism of its policies? The year 1936 does not seem well-chosen to provide a clear answer to the question as to whether the Slovene Protestants really wanted services in Slovene.

Sakrausky's final comments in this respect are as follows:

So hat die Agoritschacher Gemeinde die Notwendigkeit ihrer religiöser Betreuung mit Hilfe der Zweisprachigkeit gelöst, und zwar so, daß sich die Seelenzahl von Anfang ihres Bestehens bis zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts kaum veränderte. (1960:70)

The statistical facts are clear: although the figure at one time reached a low of 190, the number of inhabitants in the Zagoriče area (which was 230 in 1784, cf. 2.3.) was 225 in 1890 and increased to 460 by 1960. The remainder of the statement bears examination, however. Supporters of the use of Slovene in the bilingual zone in Carinthia must surely find the use of the word "gelöst" ironic: the problem of providing for religious needs has indeed been "solved", if the parishioners have

used only German in this context for so many years; but the reference to bilingualism is inappropriate—the solution of this particular problem appears to be exclusively unilingual.

Erjavec, on the other hand, makes an argument that seems tendentious in another way. He proposes that Germanization was *accelerated* in the Zagoriče area because of the adherence to Protestantism:

Dejstvo je to, da sta celo ti dve odročni vasi danes že močno ponemčeni, k čemer sta vsekakor pripomogli tudi njih protestantska cerkev in šola. (1955/60 II:720)

His argument, presumably, is that Protestantism is in some way “more German” than Roman Catholicism, thus abetting the decline in use of the Slovene language. Indeed, elsewhere he is even more blunt:

Nekateri menijo, da bi bili slovenska protestantska knjiga in slovenska protestantska cerkev preprečili ponemčenje, toda to ni verjetno. Čisto jasno je namreč bilo, da je ogromna večina slovenskega ljudstva odklanjala nemški protestantizem, zato bi se tudi slovenska protestantska cerkev nikakor ne mogla izvržati . . . (1955/60 II:155)

It may be pointed out, however, that (although it is quite possible for a faith to be associated with an ethnic or national group, be the grounds logical or illogical) the maintenance of the Slovene language in the two villages of Zagoriče and Sovče was exceptionally *strong*. Examination of data (see B. Grafenauer 1946, Brumnik et alii 1974) shows that in the late nineteenth century the Podklošter district was less than 50 Slovene-speaking as a whole, while districts to the immediate East and to the immediate West were over 90 Slovene-speaking. This was presumably typical of the differences between urban centers and rural areas in bilingual Carinthia at that time. And yet, as Sakrausky shows, the tradition of private worship in Slovene in the Zagoriče and Sovče homes was still alive as late as 1897. Why should it have been that, whereas the Podklošter district was preponderantly German-speaking at this period, the villagers of Zagoriče and Sovče nevertheless spoke Slovene (at least among themselves)? The only reason would appear to be the tradition of private (Protestant) worship. In any case, Germanization in these villages cannot be said to have been accelerated by their Protestantism, if it is true that Germanization was not accelerated but slowed down.

3. ZAGORIČE TODAY

I had the opportunity of visiting the village of Zagoriče twice in 1982. Both visits were very short; my conclusions are therefore tentative.

The pastor of the Agoritschach-Arnoldstein parish, Karl Pilzecker,

told me that there were no services nowadays in Slovene. He himself did not speak the language, and referred to it as "Windisch"; he was apparently unaware that many speakers of Slovene in Carinthia consider the term pejorative. He was well-informed about the history of the Protestants in the Podklošter area, and was very informative. When I enquired about the possible whereabouts of the various handwritten copies of old Slovene Protestant texts, he told me that these must now be considered irretrievably lost, since, in all probability, they were exchanged for food in the period of extreme shortages after the Second World War.

After an agreeable conversation in the new Evangelisches Gemeindezentrum in Arnoldstein/Podklošter, we made the three-minute drive to Zagoriče. I had enquired whether there might not still be older Slovene-speaking villagers who, even if they did not still pray in Slovene, at least remembered a time when they did so, and perhaps could recall the words of some Slovene prayers. I had wondered about the (very slight!) possibility that the words of one of Dalmatin's *Karszanske lepe molitve* might still be known. The pastor doubted that any villagers recalled any prayers in Slovene, but was willing to introduce me to some villagers who might.

Altogether we visited three households in Zagoriče (none in Sovče!), all of them the homes of prominent elderly people who were known Slovene-speakers and church-going Protestants. Each are quizzed, by the pastor and myself, about his or her private prayer habits, both now and previously. None admitted remembering any Slovene prayers, although there were vague recollections of times when such prayers were known.

If these three interviewees were representative, the conclusion would be a disappointing one: that the use of Slovene as a language of Protestant worship has now been lost completely. Given that the tradition of private *communal* worship was still alive in Zagoriče eighty years previously, it might have been expected that members of the oldest generation alive today would have been taught by their parents to pray *privately* in Slovene, at the very least. The evidence from the three interviews suggested that, if this had happened, the use of Slovene was replaced by the use of German so long ago that the prayers themselves had been forgotten.

I was not however prepared uncritically to accept the fact that a centuries-old tradition had come to such a sudden end. I knew from personal experience in bilingual Carinthia that linguistic reticence is the rule among those whose first language is Slovene, especially when talking to interlocutors (or when in the presence of third parties) who are (a) monolingual German-speakers, (b) persons in authority, and/or (c) strangers. On the occasion of the interviews just described, *all three* kinds of inhibiting factor were present. I wonder if a follow-up visit might meet with different results.

I had the chance to return to Zagoriče, on my own, about two weeks later. Unfortunately I had time for only one interview. Both I and the interviewee spoke Slovene; the inhibiting factors just listed were thus largely inoperative. The interviewee remembered having prayed privately in Slovene until about the age of 40, i.e., during the 1940's, and recalled the Lord's Prayer in Slovene without any difficulty at all, but could not remember more than the first sentence of Creed.

My report on the situation in Zagoriče today is clearly incomplete. Nevertheless, my greater success on my very brief second visit suggests that a longer stay may well reveal some Protestant villagers who still pray privately in Slovene. The text of some of the prayers may even go back to Jurij Dalmatin. I was, in particular, unable to visit Sovče, since this community had the reputation, historically, of maintaining the tradition of private worship in the home more persistently than elsewhere, this would probably be the most fruitful place to search for Slovene-speaking Protestants. The use of the Slovene language by Protestants for religious purposes is, clearly, moribund in this part of Austria; perhaps, however, it is not yet a thing of the past.

University of Alberta

REFERENCES

1. On the causes of this variation see, e.g., Erjavec 1955/60 II: 38-54, Grafenauer 1973:98.
2. There were of course exceptions to this general rule; see, e.g., Erjavec 1955/60 II: 63-65.
3. There were Slovene-speakers among the Protestant exiles in the Black Forest settlement of Freudenstadt. There was, however, less impetus for Slovene-speakers to emigrate from Carinthia than for German-speakers, and more of the latter were exiled, for the local officials conducting the investigations into the maintenance of Protestantism knew little or no Slovene (Sakrausky 1960:37-40).
4. Outside the Zagoriče area, some Slovene-speaking Protestants could still be found at the end of the eighteenth century. Erjavec mentions "druge raztresene slovenske protestantske družine iz Ziljske doline (iz Radnič, Mičic, Moš i. dr.);" while Peter Binder, who subsidized the printing of *Kristianske bukvice*, was from Bekštanj/Finkenstein (Sakrausky 1960:61).
5. The actual number of Protestant books extant in 1790 was not that large. Sakrausky (1960) is not fully clear in this respect. In one place (p. 26) he writes: "Die Chronik der evangelischen Pfarrgemeinde in Bleiberg berichtet, daß noch im Jahre 1790 mehr als zwanzig verschiedene slowenische reformatorische Drucke in der Gemeinde

- Agoritschach vorhanden war," but in another (p. 59): "So haben sich bis zum Jahre 1790 in der ganzen Agoritschacher Gemeinde . . . nur vier Bibeln, zwei Stück Neue Testamente (unvollständig), zwei Exemplare Psalmen, drei gedruckte Gesangbücher und zwei Katechismen feststellen lassen." It is difficult to explain the difference between 'more than 20', and what amounts to 13, printed texts.
6. Strictly speaking, if most or all of the sermon was in German, one cannot speak of "Slovene services" and, hence, should not speak of a "Slovene Protestant church." This is presumably the thought behind Erjavec's remark (1955/60 II: 719), "Čeprav je veljala zagoriška luteranska cerkvica za slovensko, se menda ni vršila v njej nikoli slovenska služba božja, verjetno so pa nekaj časa vsaj peli slovensko. . . ."
 7. On the other three Sundays in the month, one Paul Arrich "read" the services, translating at sight from a service book in German (Pilzecker 1981:50).
 8. Cf. note 4.
 9. E.g., *Karszanske lepe molitve*, p. 32: 'ushessa', vs. *Kristianske bukvice*, p. 28: 'usheta' for "ears".
 10. Further research is required on this subject. A first impression is of very poor punctuation: the first paragraph, for example, which is 145 words in length, has just two periods (i.e., is divided into two sentences), but has 15 commas altogether, some of them awkwardly placed. I suggest a translation by a literate, but not very literate, speaker of Slovene.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barker, Thomas, 1960. *The Slovenes of Carinthia. A National Minority Problem*. New York: League of CSA.
- Berčič, Branko (ed.). 1968A. *Abhandlungen über die slowenische Reformation*. Munich: Trofenik.
- . 1968B. "Das slowenische Wort in den Drucken des 16. Jahrhunderts," pp. 152-268 in *Berčič 1968A*.
- Brumnik, Avgust, Teodor Domej, Augustin Malle & Ferdinand Velik. 1974. *Die Slovenen in Kärnten / Slovenci na Koroškem*. Borovlje/Ferlach: Narodni svet koroških slovencev.
- Bünker, Otto, Paul Pellar & Franz Reischer (eds.). 1981. *Die evangelische Kirche in kärnten einst und heute*. Klagenfurt: Kärntner Druck-und Verlagsgesellschaft.
- Elze, Thomas. 1894. "Die slowenischen protestantischen Gebetbücher des XIV. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich* 15: 115-122.

- . 1895. "Zusätze und Berichtigungen zu den Aufsätzen über die slowenischen protestantischen Druckschriften des XVI. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich* 16: 168-175.
- Erjavec, Fran. 1955/60. *Koroški slovinci*. Part I-III. VOLS. 1-8. Celovec: Družba svetega Mohorja.
- Grafenauer, Bogo. 1946. *The National Development of the Carinthian Slovenes*. Ljubljana: Research Institute, Section for Frontier Questions.
- , Lojze Ude & Maks Veselko (eds.). 1946. *Koroški Zbornik*. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.
- Grafenauer, Ivan. 1946. "Slovensko slovstvo na Koroškem. Živ člen vseslovenskega slovstva," pp. 284-344 in Grafenauer, Ude & Veselko 1946.
- Kotnik, France. 1946. "Bukovniki," pp. 312-316 in Grafenauer, Ude & Veselko 1946.
- . 1952. "Naši bukovniki, ljudski pesniki in pevci," pp. 86-102 in Ivan Grafenauer & Boris Orel, eds., *Narodopisje slovencev. II del*. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.
- Oblak, Vatroslav. 1893. "Bibliographische Seltenheiten und ältere Texte bei den slowenischen Protestanten Kärntens," *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 15: 459-468.
- Pilzecker, Karl. 1981. "Agoritschach-Arnoldstein," pp. 48-51 in Bünker, Pellar & Reischer 1981.
- Ramovš, Fran. 1920. "Zanimiv koroško-slovenski rokopis," *Časopis za slovenski jezik, književnost in zgodovino* 2: 282-295.
- Reischer, Franz. 1981. "Zur Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Kärnten," pp. 11-26 in Bünker, Pellar & Reischer 1981.
- Sakrausky, Oskar. 1960. *Agoritschach. Geschichte einer protestantischen Gemeinde im gemischtsprachigen Südkärnten*. Klagenfurt: Verlag des Geschichtsvereins für Kärnten.
- Slodnjak, Anton. 1968. "Über die nationbildende Kraft der Reformation bei den Slowenen," pp. 11-22 in Berčič 1968A.