

## J. W. VALVASOR'S *EHRE DES HERZOGTUMS KRAIN* (1689): A SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF THE SLOVENE LANGUAGE

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### 1. Introduction

The availability of sources for the history of the Slovene language is notoriously uneven.<sup>1</sup> Following the *Freising Fragments* (c. 1000 A.D.) we have no sources at all to speak of until we come to the *Manuscript of Rateče* (1362-92). The fifteenth century is represented by the *Manuscripts of Stična* (c. 1428-40), the *Manuscript of Stara Gora* (1492-98), and the *Manuscript of Černjeja* (1497-1507). From the first half of the sixteenth century we have the *Manuscript of Kranj*. Then suddenly, beginning exactly in the middle of the sixteenth century, under an impulse provided by the invention of printing and the desire of the Reformation to produce sacred books in a tongue understood by the people, sources are available in abundance. A bibliography of sixteenth-century printed books in Slovene names 56 items.<sup>2</sup> Almost all of them are devotional in content, but there are a few linguistic works of some importance, such as Adam Bohorič's grammar entitled *Arcticae horulae succisivae* (1584) and Hieronymus Megiser's dictionary *Dictionarium Quatuor Linguarum* (1592). Sources in Slovene of secular content are otherwise in short supply, but the fact that Slovene could be used in writing for secular purposes is demonstrated, for example, by the set of vineyard regulations translated into Slovene by Andrej Recelj in 1582.<sup>3</sup>

In the seventeenth century the supply of sources decreases. Kopitar described this as a time when Slovene literature was totally dormant.<sup>4</sup> The Counter-Reformers, it is true, were unable to put the clock back and themselves now had no option but to make available religious books in Slovene, if they were to counter the effects of the Reformation. Nevertheless, book production dropped significantly<sup>5</sup> and, as before, secular texts are especially rare. Something is known of what may be broadly classified as the Slovene chancery language,<sup>6</sup> but there is a particular shortage of sources for the language of everyday life. Only two such sources are immediately perceptible: these are Gregorio Alasia di Sommaripa's *Vocabulario Italiano e Schiavo* (1607) and the private correspondence, only recently discovered and published, of Ester Maksimiljana Coraduzzi and her daughter, consisting of letters written during the period c. 1685-c.1700.<sup>7</sup> The only seventeenth-century Slovene dictionary, Matija Kastelec's *Dictionarium latino-carniolicum* (1680-88), has remained in manuscript and is therefore not easily accessible.<sup>8</sup> The Coraduzzi correspondence is particularly valuable, not only because it is the only substantial pre-1700 Slovene text dealing entirely with everyday life, but also because it demonstrates the use of Slovene by the nobility at a time when, according to the stock opinion, they did not do that sort of thing.<sup>9</sup>

A well-known source of information on everyday conditions in seventeenth-century Carniola is Johann Weikhard Valvasor's monumental work *Die Ehre des Herzogtums Krain*, published in 1689. Its fifteen books, bound in four volumes, contain 3,532 pages. Probably owing to the fact that it is written in German, however, its potential as a source for the history of the Slovene language has been overlooked. Valvasor's name does not, for example, appear in Rado Lencek's authoritative account of Slovene linguistic history.<sup>10</sup> Yet even a superficial examination of *Die Ehre* shows that it is capable of adding to our knowledge of the Slovene language in the seventeenth century. For one thing, it contains

a forty-line prefatory poem in Slovene by one Jožef Sisentschelli, entitled “Zafhtitno volhejne [A protective wish],” but there are also numerous Slovene words (including place-names), phrases, and sentences scattered throughout the German text. Furthermore, it provides us with clear accounts of the social and territorial distribution of the languages of Carniola. The three-hundredth anniversary of the publication of Valvasor’s great work<sup>11</sup> presents an opportunity to draw attention to its value as a linguistic source.

## 2. Valvasor’s background and linguistic competence

A matter which clearly bears on our assessment of Valvasor’s reliability as a witness of linguistic phenomena is his own linguistic proficiency. We can draw certain conclusions about this from the facts of his biography.<sup>12</sup> He was born in Ljubljana in 1641 and christened in the Cathedral on May 28 that year. His grandfather had arrived in Carniola from Italy in the sixteenth century and had been ennobled in 1602. The young Johann Weikhard was educated at the Jesuits’ grammar school in Ljubljana, after which he served in the army and saw action against the Turks. He then spent several years abroad, returning in 1672 to Carniola, where he married and settled down. (In 1685 he noted that he had spent 14 years abroad and had visited Germany, England, Denmark, France, Spain, Italy, and Africa “solely for the sake of curiosity.”<sup>13</sup> In his castle at Wagensberg (Sln. Bogenšperk) in Carniola—at Litija, 19 miles/30 km east of Ljubljana—he developed his intellectual interests, which were centered on explorations into the history and, particularly, the topography of his native land. He gathered round him at Wagensberg draughtsmen and engravers to assist him in making a graphic record of Carniola, and traveled its length and breadth enquiring, observing, and recording. His ardor arose from the ignorance of his country which he had observed on his travels abroad. In December 1685 Valvasor wrote to the Royal Society in London offering to write an account of Lake Cerknica for their *Philosophical Transactions* and enquiring whether they would be prepared to accept him as a member. He also sent them, on a later occasion, copies of certain books, maps, and prints, of which he was the author. Two articles by Valvasor were published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and in 1687 the Royal Society elected him fellow. *Die Ehre des Herzogtums Krain* was published in Ljubljana in 1689.<sup>14</sup> The great cost of producing it contributed to Valvasor’s financial ruin. Having sold his other property, he bought a house at Gurkfeld/Krško, and died there in September or October 1693.

The fact that Valvasor was born in Ljubljana (at Mestni trg 4) indicates that from childhood he knew both the Slovene and German languages. He may well have known Italian too and would obviously have learned Latin at school. The population of Ljubljana in the seventeenth century is estimated to have numbered about 7000, of whom about 4000 lived within the city walls.<sup>15</sup> Slovene, German, and Italian were in common use in the city, as Valvasor’s own statement tells us: “The usual language in Ljubljana is commonly Carniolan and German, also among the nobility and merchants Italian, and besides everything is written in German.” (*EHK* XI: 14) We have no way of knowing what proportion of the population spoke which of these three languages, but the fact that Valvasor quotes Slovene (as well as German) names for even small topographical details in Ljubljana (*EHK* XI: 667 ff.) suggests that Slovene was a prominent feature of the city’s life. There is also some significance in the fact that it was in Slovene that the watch would cry out at hourly intervals during the night to assure inhabitants that all was well.<sup>16</sup> German and Italian were, it seems, characteristically patrician, whereas Slovene was characteristically plebeian, but there was probably a high degree of bilingualism and/or multilingualism. Choice of language was presumably determined, to a large degree, by situation.

Valvasor's correspondence with the Royal Society includes a letter from Thomas Gale, Secretary to the Society, recommending the principle of distinguishing strictly between that which one has observed oneself and that which one knows only from hearsay. Valvasor was impressed by this idea and re-states it several times in *Die Ehre*.<sup>17</sup> It is evident that he followed the principle himself, as may be seen from his use of the first person in describing how he personally enquired after or observed this or that phenomenon. He often speaks of making direct enquiries of simple peasants in remote areas. Although he does not say in which language these interviews took place, it seems likely, to judge by all the circumstances, that he conversed with his informants in Slovene. There is one place in *Die Ehre* where he mentions having spoken Slovene himself. This, it is true, is not in a conversation, but in a situation in Venice when he was being shown a magic looking-glass by a Jew:

"When he showed me\* this looking-glass and said I should only announce what I desired to see in it, I did not say what my desire was, but only thought of it, namely, to see my castle Wagensberg. And I commanded the Jew to uncover the looking-glass for me, for it was covered by a curtain. Then, when the Hebrew answered that I should only express in words what I wished to see, but that it could be in any language that I liked, I spoke in Carniolan so that the Jew should not understand, [saying] in jest these words: *Zherna farba koslove mode*. Which words comprised no precise sense or meaning, but in German . . . mean 'Black paint goat's testicles'." (*EHK XI: 94*)<sup>18</sup>

Further evidence that Valvasor was a Slovene-speaker is provided by his use of the word "our" (German *unser*, Latin *noster*) when referring to the language. He writes, for example, "note that Jefero in our\* Carniolan language means the same thing as lake," (*EHK II: 237*). Similarly, in a letter to Thomas Gale he writes: "We have certain animals which in German are called Bilch and in our Carniolan language polhi [sc. dormice]."<sup>19</sup> Finally and most importantly, there is his linguistic material itself. The Slovene words and phrases are, on the whole, recorded accurately and spelled according to Bohorič's orthography. *Die Ehre* in fact contains a substantial extract from Bohorič's grammar explaining his orthographical principles. These are given in Latin, but Valvasor then repeats some of them in German to drive the point home. "The letter *H* (or *h*) must in the Carniolan language be pronounced in no other way than as *ch* or a Greek  $\chi$ . Which is particularly to be remembered so that the proper names of places which are named in this work may be correctly read and pronounced," (*EHK VI: 276*). It appears, however, that despite this injunction to remember the function of *h*, Valvasor's collaborator Erasmus Francisci<sup>20</sup> felt the need to make the spelling conform to the German convention. For example, "Hraftie (or according to our German spelling Chraftie). . ." (*EHK II: 215*). The absence of the asterisk beside the word for "our" indicates that Francisci is the author of the parenthesis. It seems likely that all or most of these divergences from *bohoričica* are his work. Nevertheless, there are certain other oddities about some of the Slovene words which it may be difficult to blame on Francisci, particularly the confusion of the voiced and voiceless sibilants (e.g., *jefero* for *jesero* "lake") and of hush and hiss sibilants (e.g., *Vifna gora* for *Vifhna gora* "Weichselburg," *EHK II: 175*). However, Valvasor's list of errata (lists are given separately by Valvasor and Francisci) show that he was sensitive to such errors and attempted to correct them.

Closely related to Valvasor's linguistic proficiency is the question of his nationality. The decision to publish Valvasor's correspondence with the Royal Society in the series *Kore-*

*spondence pomembnih Slovencev* is justified by Branko Reisp as follows: "Although Valvasor was not a Slovene by birth, he may [. . .] be counted among Slovene cultural activists and thus in the figurative sense among prominent Slovenes."<sup>21</sup> There is no doubt that (as Reisp states elsewhere) in the seventeenth century "the concept of nationality was not identical with that of today,"<sup>22</sup> but it is still difficult to see why Valvasor was any less a Slovene than other Slovene-speakers born in Carniola at that time. He frequently referred to Carniola as "my fatherland" (German *mein Vaterland*, Latin *patria mea*). In an account of Lake Cerknica, he says "To the ancient authors this lake was Lugea palus, to recent authors it was Lacus Lugeus, but to Latinists today it is Lacus Cirknicensis, to the Germans Zircknizer See, and to us Carniolans it is Cerknisko jezero."<sup>23</sup> If the idea that he was not a Slovene is based on the fact that he was a nobleman, this is in conflict with the common belief that the concept of nationality is essentially democratic.<sup>24</sup>

### 3. The Distribution of Languages in Carniola

In Valvasor's time Carniola was remarkable for the degree of linguistic diversity found within its borders. He wrote:

"One will not so easily find a land where so many languages are in use as here. The true and universal language of the land is Carniolan; apart from this, Illyrian is also spoken; yet somewhat corrupt and not completely pure. Thirdly, Croatian. Fourthly, Slavonic. Then, Dalmatian, Gottscheerish, Istrian, Italian or Friulian, and German. But all the nobility generally speak German, also Carniolan and Italian. All lawsuits are conducted and discharged in German, and all letters are written in German." (*EHK* II: 104)

The meaning of some of Valvasor's terms is not entirely clear. The reference to "Illyrian" is particularly enigmatic, for the language or languages usually now denoted by this term are generally considered to have died out centuries earlier. It is however apparent that Valvasor was not referring to a Slavic language, judging by the fact that "Illyrian" does not appear among the thirteen Slavic languages exemplified by versions of the Lord's Prayer in *Die Ehre* (VI: table between pages 274 and 275). Statements elsewhere in this work make it clear that by "Dalmatian" (*Dalmatisch, Dalmatinisch*) and "Istrian" (*Histri-anisch, Istrianisch*) Valvasor meant Slavic language-varieties of Dalmatia and Istria; it is therefore possible that "Illyrian" refers to one or both of the Romance languages now known as "Dalmatian" and "Istrian." The term "Carniolan" (*Crainerisch*), in Valvasor's usage, denotes the Slovene spoken in Carniola. The Slovene of Carinthia he refers to as "Windish" (*Windisch, EHK* VI: 278), but he is not entirely consistent in his use of this word. "Slavonic" (*Sclavonisch*), which comes fourth in the list of languages spoken in Carniola, is sometimes identified with "Carniolan" (as in Book VI: "Darinn die Crainerisch- und Sclavonische Sprache . . .") and sometimes with the entire Slavic group. Its precise meaning in the list is therefore obscure. "Gottscheerisch" is discussed below.

The social distribution of German in the Slovene lands in the seventeenth century is a matter of controversy. "By the end of the seventeenth century," writes Edward Stankiewicz, "Slovenian was, according to the testimony of Janez Vajkard Valvasor, used almost exclusively in the countryside and mostly in Carniola. German or Italian prevailed in the cities . . ."<sup>25</sup> But in Ljubljana, at least, as we saw from Valvasor's statement (*EHK* XI: 14, "The usual language in Ljubljana is commonly Carniolan and German, also among the nobility and merchants Italian. . .") this was not the case. I can find no evidence in *Die Ehre* to indicate that Slovene was used "almost exclusively in the countryside."

Controversial too is the question of the linguistic loyalty of the nobility. Valvasor's observation that "all the nobility generally speak German, also Carniolan and Italian" (see above) suggests that they were often bilingual or multilingual. Returning to this question later in the book, Valvasor says: "Yet throughout all parts of the same [sc. Carniola] two languages prevail, namely the Slavonic (or Windish) and the German; of which, however, the latter is as a rule used only by noble and well-to-do people, just as all lawsuits are conducted in German, equally all writing and letters are composed in the same language. By contrast, the other language, the Windish or Slavonic is used by [lit., avails itself of] the rural tongues and other common lips," (*EHK* VI: 271). However, the assertion that all writing and letters were composed in German is confuted not only by the Coraduzzi correspondence, but also by a modest number of books printed in the seventeenth century, some of which are named in Valvasor's own bibliography of Carniolan writers, in the supplement to Book VI. This suggests that Valvasor has a proclivity to exaggerate the use of German.

There were, however, two areas of Carniola where German had made inroads into the Slovene vernacular even at the plebeian level. The first of these was in the Gottschee/Kočevje region. "The inhabitants around Gottschee, Pölandt and the places nearby (it is a whole country) [are] called Gottscheer [. . .]. In their language too they use a singular kind of German and almost Franconian way of speaking; yet in such a way that, whereas a German cannot understand it properly, a Carniolan cannot understand a word," (*EHK* II: 210). (This, presumably, means a speaker of Carniolan German, for to say that a speaker of Slovene could not understand a German dialect makes little sense.) Elsewhere Valvasor calls Gottscheerisch "a separate language," (*EHK* II: 214). It survived long enough to be included in the *Deutscher Sprachatlas*, whose last instalment appeared in 1956.<sup>26</sup>

The other area with a significant German element was "the village of Feuchting (or, to give it its common name, *Bitina*" [now Bitnje, between Kranj and Škofja Loka]), "which is one German mile long. There blended Carniolan and German are spoken: for they mix half-German words and half-Carniolan words," (*EHK* II: 110-11). "For example, if I want to say [the equivalent of] German *Nimm du die Netze/ich die Büchsen; wir werden (oder wollen) die Vögel fangen etc.* [You take the nets, I'll take the guns; we shall (or we want to) catch the birds etc.] in the speech of Feuchting this will come out as: *Nim du Mrefsha/ich die Busha/wemer titfha fangen*, but in Carniolan: *Ufemeti mrefsho iest pukso, bodemo tize lovjle*. Likewise, *mit einem Scheit Holtz abschmieren* [to thrash with a cudgel] is in the speech of Feuchting *Is Schaitel Zam opauchat*, and in Carniolan *Is polenzam otepste*," (*EHK* XI: 127-28).

Valvasor's account of the Duchy of Carniola divides it into five regions: (i) Upper Carniola, (ii) Lower Carniola, (iii) Central Carniola, (iv) Inner Carniola, and (v) Istria. Of the inhabitants of Upper Carniola (Ober-Crain/Gorenska Stran) he says "they speak Carniolan well," (*EHK* II: 110). In Lower Carniola (Unter-Crain/Dalenska Stran) the people "also speak Carniolan well; yet they distort the words a little," (*EHK* II: 174). Central Carniola has four kinds of inhabitant: (a) Gottscheer, (b) Uskoks or Walachs (also known as *Staraverze*), who in their own language call themselves *Vlahe* or *Lahe*, (c) Croatians (called *Hèruate* or *Cheruate* in Carniolan), who live in the vicinity of Möttling, Freyer Thurn, Weinitz and Tschernembl, and speak Croatian, and (d) true Carniolans, whose language is the same as that of Lower Carniolans (*EHK* II: 208-11). Inner Carniola (das Innere Crain/ta fnotraine deu nakraffo jenu napiuke) has five categories of inhabitants: (a) Wipacher (*Vipauze*), who "speak quite differently from the others," (b) Karstner (*Krashauze*), who "have their peculiar language," (c) Tschitschen (*Zizche*), who are

“remote from them [sc. the Karstner] in language and speak their own,” (d) true Carniolans (*Krainze*), (e) Poyker (*Piuzchene*) (*EHK* II: 253-56). Istria (Histerreich/Ifrianske or Pifinske Krai) has two languages: Istrian, which is similar to Dalmatian, and Italian, “but bad” (*EHK* II: 289, VI: 328). In Fiume the main language is Dalmatian.<sup>27</sup>

Valvasor’s observations on the varieties of Slovene and other languages spoken in Carniola are, for the most part, too vague to be of much use to historical dialectology. However, the fact that he showed a marginal preference for the Slovene of Upper Carniola may be worth noting, as well as his reservations concerning the varieties spoken in the north of Upper Carniola: “Moreover, in the whole of Upper Carniola good Carniolan is spoken; with the exception of places close to Carinthia. For these speak roughly and draw the words out long, after the Windish manner of speaking,” (*EHK* VI: 278). Of the Karstner he says, “Their language strike one as rough; and in some places they speak so indistinctly that one can barely understand them; but they speak with Carniolan words, which in many places are very varied in their pronunciation,” (*EHK* VI: 310). The language of the Central Carniolan Orthodox Uskoks is exemplified in two prayers, which appear to combine both Čakavian and Slovene features (*EHK* VII: 490).

#### 4. Slovene Vocabulary in *Die Ehre*

##### 4.1. The Vocabulary of Folklore, Customs, and Superstitions

Many of the Slovene words scattered throughout Valvasor’s German text are quoted in the course of the discussion of specialized subjects. For example, in the description of customs and superstitions in Books VI and VII there are about 35-40 specialized words connected with these subjects. In view of the precursory nature of Valvasor’s interest in Slovene folklore and considering the predominantly religious nature of Slovene sources antedating *Die Ehre*, it is likely that some of these words are not previously attested. However that may be, the main virtue of Valvasor’s explanations is in their wealth of detail, which is far greater than one might reasonably expect to find in any dictionary. Most, but not all, of these words are in Pleteršnik’s dictionary [henceforward, Plet.]<sup>28</sup> and a few of them are there marked with the abbreviation *Valv.*, indicating that either Pleteršnik or one or more of the authors of the vocabularies from which he compiled his dictionary had considered *Die Ehre* as a source, though evidently no one thought of excerpting it systematically. It is noteworthy that Valvasor sometimes comments on the local distribution of a particular Slovene word, thereby providing material for the historical dialectologist. Some example follow:<sup>29</sup>

*boginja* “female soothsayer” (Plet. *boginja* “Wahrsagerin”). “There are also sometimes in Carniola both male and female peasants who divine lost or stolen goods for simple people and also give advice for various illnesses and other matters. But they are imprisoned by the authorities, if they hear about it, and, depending on the circumstances, are punished. Such a woman is called by the common man *bogina*, that is ‘a goddess;’ whereas she might more reasonably be called a devil or a devil’s slave,” (*EHK* VII: 478).

*kloča* “woman who accompanies bride” (Plet. *klóča* “Brautmutter”; *kôkla* = *kloka* “Brautmutter, Valvasor). “The bride is always accompanied to the wedding ceremony by an old and respected woman, whom they [sc. the inhabitants of Vipava] call in their language *klozha* (or *klozcha*); whereas otherwise it is usually pronounced *kokla*,” (*EHK* VI: 106).

*kolač* "wheel-shaped loaf baked at Easter; a round cake" (Plet. *koláč* "radförmiges Osterbrot [. . .] ein runder Kuchen überhaupt, bes. als Geschenk, oder auch, was man sonst an dessen Stelle als Geschenk, z.B. vom Jahrmarkte, von einer Wallfahrt bringt"). "*Kolazh* is a round-shaped loaf like a crown" (EHK VI: 312) "*Kolatich*. [. . .] the above-mentioned *kolatfch* or *kolazch*, however, is made as follows: one takes white dough and spreads it out on a slab until it is quite thin; then one covers this to the thickness of a finger with grated cheese into which fresh eggs have been beaten and milk and cream added and everything mixed together . . ." (EHK VII: 471).

*napoklanje* "prayers" (not in Plet., but evidently derived from *poklanjati* "to bow"). "Neither servant nor child gets anything to eat before enquiry has been made whether they have been to church and said their prayers, which is called *napoklanje*" (EHK VII: 474).

Further examples of words quoted in connection with descriptions of traditions, superstitions, religion, etc., are:<sup>30</sup> *božja mizica* "paten" (VII: 474); *bibale* "money to be spent on drink" (not in Plet.) (VI: 307); *bala* "bride's movable goods" (VI: 312); *križma* "water in which the child is bathed at christening" (meaning not given in Plet.) (VI: 282); *križmanik* "gift from godparents to child at christening" (Plet. under *križemnik*, where Valvasor is quoted); *dever* "bride's escort" (VI: 304); *družje* "deliverer of invitations to a wedding" (meaning not given in Plet.) (VI: 290); *kolednik* "carol singer" (VII: 272); *kolenček* "a little boy who sits on the bride's knees" (Plet. quotes Valvasor) (VI: 307); *panj* "tree-stump or log burned on Christmas Eve for superstitious reasons" (VII: 476); *peča* "veil" (VI: 279); *pogača* "unleavened bread or cake" (VI: 281); *potica* "rolled cake" (VII: 472); *presnec* "unleavened bread" (VI: 281-82); *propertnig* (spelled thus by Valvasor) "a kind of cake" (Plet. *poprtnik* "Weihnachtsbrot") (VII: 472); *sklepanec* "iron girdle worn by women" (VI: 279); *sold* "a coin" (VI: 308); *starejšina* "master of ceremonies at a wedding" (VI: 280, 312); *teta* "woman who accompanies the bride" (VI: 280); *tovariš* "man who attends the bride" (VI: 289).

#### 4.2. Names of Flora

Valvasor's account of vegetable life in his homeland includes something in excess of 70 names of plants useful to man as sources of food. At least ten types of grain are specified, viz.<sup>31</sup> *pšenica* (psheniza) "wheat", *rž* (réfch) "rye", *soržica* (sorfiza) "mixture of wheat and rye (maslin)", *ajda* (aida) "buckwheat", *proso* (profu) "millet", *ječmen* (jezhmen) "barley", *oves* (owes) "oats", *turška pšenica* (turska psheniza) "corn", *bar* (bar) "German millet", *sirek* (syrk) "Indian millet". Names of legumes include: *bob* (bop) "broad beans", *grah* (grah) "peas", *fižol* (fefou) "beans", *fižek* (fefék) "French beans" (*Welsche Bonen*: not in Plet.), *leča* (lezha) "lentils", *grašica* (grashiza) "vetch, tares", *čičerka* (zizerka) "chick-peas", *cizara* (zifara) "chick-peas" (perhaps a different variety). Names of fruit and berries are also highly specialized; they include: *jablan* (jablan) "apple-tree", *hruška* (kruska) "pear-tree", *tepka* (tepka) "perry-pear", *sliva* (slive) "plum", *nešplja* (nefpla) "medlar", *pomaranča* (pomaranza) "orange", *murva* (murua) "mulberry", *dren* (dren) "cornel cherry", *mokovnica* (mokounze) "service-berry". The main list of edible plants occurs in Book III: 346-52, but there are a few more named in Book II: 179, and others are distributed individually here and there.

Book III also contains a list of names of trees (p. 353), including: *javor* (javor) "maple", *jesen* (jefen) "ash", *breza* (brefa) "birch", *hrast* (hraft) "oak", *bukev* (bukèu) "beech", *smreka* (smreka) "pine", *mecesen* (mezesèn) "larch", *vrba* (verba) "willow", *lipa* (lipa) "lime", and *brinje* (bryne) "juniper". Several further plant-names are given, such as:

*zobnjak* (sobnjak) "henbane", *pelin* (pelen) "wormwood", *dresen* (drefen) "flea-bane", *veliki koren* (velkekoren) "elecampagne", and *ljuljka* (luleka) "darnel."

### 4.3. Names of Fauna

Among the names of wild animals recorded by Valvasor we find: *jazbec* (jasbez) "badger", *jež* (jesh) "hedgehog", *kuna* (kuna) "marten", *krt* (kert) "mole", *lisica* (lèfica) "fox", *medved* (medued) "bear", *risev* (riféu) "lynx", *volk* (uouk) "wolf", and *zajec* (saiz) "hare" (III: 442-43).

Words denoting birds are particularly plentiful and amount to something in excess of fifty. They include several domestic birds, such as *gos* (gus) "goose", *kokoš* (kokush) "hen", *petelin* (peteln) "rooster", *purman* (purman) "turkey", but the majority are wild, e.g., *jerebica* (jerebiza) "partridge", *kragulj* (kregul) "hawk", *orel* (orèl) "eagle", *raca* (raza) "duck", *postojna* (poftoina) "golden eagle". The principal list of birds is in Book III: 443, 447.

Fish-names too are well-represented and include: *androga* (andrage, pl.) "roach", *babica* (babeze, pl.) "loach", *kačela* (kazele, pl.) "river-lamprey", *pezdec* (pesdeze, pl.) "carp species", *ščuka* (shuka) "pike", *podlestev* (podlè-ftèu) "broad-snout", *rak* (rak) "crab", and *sipa* (sipa) "cuttlefish" (II: 155, III: 452, III: 454).

In Valvasor's description of Carniolan insects we find such words as *čebela* (zhèbela) "bee", *čmrlj* (zhèmèrl) "bumble-bee", *kobilica* (kobilza) "grasshopper", *komar* (komar) "gnat", *rogač* (rogaz) "stag-beetle", *osa* (ofa) "wasp", *sršen* (sershen) "hornet" (III: 457).

### 4.4. Place-names

The detailed topographies in *Die Ehre* naturally contain a multitude of place-names, which are of value not only to the historian but also to the philologist. It is Valvasor's practice to give the names of all towns, villages, and other geographical features in their German and Slovene versions, and sometimes in other languages too. Data of this kind are to be found mainly in Books II, III, IV and XI. The special value of this information as material for the history of the Slovene language arises from the fact that it was collected not from books, but by personal enquiry on the spot. "For I myself," said Valvasor, "have traveled through all the mountains and valleys everywhere in the entire country, enquiring most carefully and afterwards submitting everything to personal examination," (II: 109).

In many cases the German version is an obvious translation of the Slovene toponym (e.g., *Weichselburg* - *Višnja gora* (Vifna gora), *Wurtzen* - *Koren* (Kuren), *Neumarckte* - *Tržič* (Tershizh), *Am Thor* - *Na Vrateg* (Naurateg)), but this is not always so and Valvasor frequently explains the origin of place-names for the German-speaking reader by reference to the Slovene roots. In other words, he provides etymologies. For example, he writes: "*Wlato* lies between Laibach and Weixelburg, and is not called *Wlato* for nothing (or *Blato*, as the Carniolan tongue pronounces it), for this word means 'mud' and agrees in some measure with the German word *Unflat* 'filth' . . ." (II: 183). Leaving aside the question of the accuracy of these etymologies, their main value lies in the fact that they involve the citation of common nouns. The case of *Wlato*, for instance, involves the introduction of the common noun *blato* "mud". This results in a substantial addition to the lexicographical assets of *Die Ehre* (particularly in Book XI), including *draga* "meadows and pastures" (Plet. lacks this meaning, but has "channel to drain pasture") (XI: 120); *duplja* (duplye) "tree-hollow"; *groblja* (groble) "heap"; *brdo* (bérdó) "hill"; *koča* (kozha, kozcha) "hut, hovel"; *krop* (krop) "hot water"; *dol* (dul) "valley"; *starec* (starez) "bushel"; *kot* (kot) "corner"; *grič* (geritfch) "mound"; *grm* (gèrm) "bush"; *strmo* (stèrmu) "steep(ly)";



*struga* (struga) 'arm of a river'; *trn* (tèrn) 'thorn'; *trst* (tèrft) 'reed'.

### 5. Phrases and Sentences

Apart from the dedicatory poem, *Die Ehre* contains no continuous passages in Slovene. However, in addition to the individual words (of whose existence account has already been taken) there are a number of places in the German text where, for one reason or another, Valvasor quotes phrases or even whole sentences in Slovene. The fact that in these instances he chooses to record the exact words spoken is, of course, consistent with his principle of recording faithfully the things that he witnessed personally rather than reporting hearsay.

Two anecdotes involving Slovene utterances have already been mentioned: the macaronic sentences from Feuchting, and Valvasor's own words *Zherna farba koslove mode*. Another occurs in connection with his account of Carniolan birds:

"When the peasant-lads and shepherds see an army of cranes flying like this in formation, many of them speak or shout these words: *Zhizhe golobar pounaprei pouna fei, uarey de te vouk naujej, l'okule, l'okule, l'okule*. *Zhizhe* is a corrupt word and its meaning is unknown to me. *Golobar* means a cock pigeon. *Pounaprei pounafei* is the equivalent of 'half ahead, half behind.' *Uarey du* [sic] *te vouk naujej* means 'take care that the wolf doesn't eat you!' *l'okule* &c. means 'just round! just round! just round!'" (III: 449).<sup>32</sup>

In his description of the church of St. George at Sonek<sup>33</sup> in Central Carniola Valvasor recounts an anecdote from the time when the landowner was a Protestant. In 1580 the landowner's groom Juraj plundered the carving of St. George from the church and took it to the castle of Sonek, where he "put it on a table and put a candle in its hand with these words: 'Svet fvetj Jurai' (in German 'Give light, St. George!')". When the image dropped the candle, the groom said to it: "Dokler nezhes luzhi derfati, toku moresh ukuhino kuhati poiti," that is, 'Because you do not want to hold the light, you must go into the kitchen to cook.'" However, the image was no more skilled at cooking than at holding candles, so the groom said to it: "Dokler nezhesch ali nasnasch fvetite ali kuhati, toku moresch sefgan biti', which means in German 'Because you can neither light nor cook, you must be thrown in the fire.'" Thereupon he chopped the image's head off and threw it into the fire. A few days later he was murdered by peasants. (XI: 539-40).

### 6. The Account of the Slovene Language in Book VI

Book VI, "wherein the Carniolan and Slavonic language, as well as customs and traditions of this country, [. . .] are recounted," might well be expected to contain the heart of Valvasor's Slovene linguistic matter; but it does not quite live up to expectations. It includes the observation on the social distribution of Slovene and German mentioned in 3. above, emphasizes Slovene affinity with the other Slavic languages, reproduces (almost verbatim, but without attribution) Bohorič's Latin notes on Slovene spelling, accompanied by their translation into German, and gives versions of the Lord's Prayer in 13 Slavic languages. The Slovene version is almost identical with that given by Bohorič (who, however, gave only 6 Slavic translations). A striking feature is the use in this Book of the word *windisch*, which in most cases here has the general meaning "Slavic," so that St. Methodius is referred to as "ein gelehrter Wind (oder Sclavonier)," although it is also used (as elsewhere) to refer to the Slovene spoken in Carinthia (see above, in 3.)

Valvasor observes with evident disapproval that, particularly in Upper Carniola, Slovene is often "mingled and blended" ("vermengt und gebrochen") with German. To

show that borrowing words from German is not really necessary, he quotes the following seven examples of loanwords (from "Teutsch," i.e., German) with (in the third column) their "true Carniolan" equivalents:

Teutsch	Corrupt	Recht Crainerisch
Tausend	Taufent	Jeser
Leiter	Luitra	Stop
Tischtuch	Tifhtah	Part
Massen oder sich mässigen	Maffat	Obderfat
Ein Storg	Storkla	Zhapla
Spatzirengeln	Spanzirat	Sprehajat
Frühstücken	Fruftukat	Saiterkuat

It is interesting to note that as the "true Carniolan" equivalent of his first example he quotes the Hungarian loanword *jezer*.

## 7. Conclusion

The question of the extent to which Valvasor's Slovene material reveals details of the language's structure, particularly its phonology, in the seventeenth century deserves separate, specialized study. Similarly, to determine the extent of his contribution to the task of recording the Slovene lexicon it will be necessary to make a full excerpt and analysis of all the Slovene words in *Die Ehre* and to compare them with other sources. The intention here, however, has been neither to offer interpretations of Valvasor's Slovene material nor to catalog it in its entirety. The aim has been, by the use of examples, to draw attention to a neglected aspect of this celebrated work, whose tercentenary fell in 1989, and to emphasize its potential as a source for the history of the Slovene language, especially for the vocabulary of everyday life, in a period for which such sources are scarce.

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## NOTES

1. Most of the sources are discussed in R.L. Lencek, *The Structure and History of the Slovene Language* (Columbus OH: Slavica, 1982), 153-57, 251-61, 313-23.
2. B. Berčič, "Das slowenische Wort in den Drucken des 16. Jahrhunderts," in B. Berčič, ed., *Abhandlungen über die slowenische Reformation* (Munich: Trofenik, 1968), 152-250.
3. A short extract is reproduced from the manuscript in J. Toporišič and V. Gjurin, *Slovenska zvrstna besedila* (Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta, 1981), 440-41.
4. Letter to Hanka, dated 6 September 1831. See V. Jagić, *Neue Briefe von Dobrowsky, Kopitar und anderen Süd- und Westslaven* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1897), 101.
5. Lencek, 254.
6. T. Domej, J. Kos, P. Ribnikar, E. Umek, E. Prunč, J. Koruza, "Iz zgodovine uradne slovenščine," *Jezik in slovstvo* 19 (1973-74) 255-68.
7. P. Merkù, *Slovenska plemiška pisma družin Marenzi-Coraduzzi z konca 17. stoletja* (Trst/Trieste: Založništvo Tržaškega tiska, 1980).
8. Cf. A. Breznik, "Kastelčev latinsko-slovenski slovar," *Slovenski jezik* 1 (1938) 55-62.
9. See T. Hočevar's review of Merkù in *Slovene Studies* 3 (1981) 32-35.
10. Lencek, *Structure and History*.

11. A symposium to mark the occasion was held on December 7-8, 1989.
12. The two main biographies are: Peter von Radics, *Johann Weikhard Freiherr von Valvasor (geb. 1641, gest. 1693)* (Laibach/Ljubljana: Krainische Sparkasse, 1910) and Branko Reisp, *Kranjski polihistor Janez Vajkard Valvasor* (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1983).
13. B. Reisp, *Korespondenca Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja z Royal Society* (Ljubljana: SAZU, 1987), 21-22.
14. As originally spelled: J.W. Valvasor, *Die Ehre deß Hertzogthums Crain* (Laybach: Wolfgang Moritz Endter, 1689). Citations here, in English translation by the present author, are identified as *EHK*.
15. Reisp, *Kransjki polihistor* 26.
16. "The watch [. . .] is paid by the town; he is obliged to keep watch against both the enemy and fire the whole night, and to cry out at every hour: Tſchrai! Tſchrai! in German Wache auf! Wache auf!" (*EHK* XI: 671). Presumably, "Tſchrai" is a distorted form of "čuvaj".
17. Reisp, *Korespondenca* 35, 94, 108.
18. See also the Errata, *EHK* XI: 731. The asterisk here and elsewhere indicates that the first person singular refers to Valvasor himself, not to his German collaborator Erasmus Francisci.
19. Reisp, *Korespondenca* 25.
20. Re Francisci, see Reisp, *Kranjski polihistor* 168-69.
21. Reisp, *Korespondenca* 9.
22. Reisp, *Kranjski polihistor* 28.
23. Reisp, *Korespondenca* 52.
24. "In other words, it admits no grades, no hierarchy of membership. It does not exclude the poor or the wealthy, it does not distinguish between the intelligent and the stupid or between the learned and the ignorant," R.M. MacIver and C.H. Page, *Society: An Introductory Analysis* (London: Macmillan, 1962) 297.
25. E. Stankiewicz, "Slovenian," in A.M. Schenker and E. Stankiewicz, eds., *The Slavic Literary Languages: Formation and Development* (New Haven CT: Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies, 1980) 26.
26. *Deutscher Sprachatlas. Auf Grund des von Georg Wenker begründeten Sprachatlas des deutschen Reiches in vereinfachter Form begonnen von Ferdinand Wrede, fortgesetzt von Walther Mitzka und Bernhard Martin* (Marburg: Elwert, 1925-56).
27. From the dedicatory poem in the preliminary pages to *Die Ehre*, which is described as being in Dalmatian, it is clear that this term refers to the Slavic (Ikavian Croatian) language of Dalmatia.
28. M. Pleteršnik, *Slovensko-nemški slovar*, 2 vols (Ljubljana: Knezoškofijstvo, 1894-95); reprint, Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1974.
29. In these examples the original spelling, but not the original capitalization, of *Die Ehre* has been retained. The head-words are standardized; only the relevant meanings in Pleteršnik are given.
30. Except where indicated, spelling is modernized.
31. Here, the spelling is modernized, and Valvasor's original spelling is shown in parentheses.
32. The formula recorded by Valvasor is reproduced in K. Štrekelj, *Slovenske narodne pesmi* 4 (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1908-23), 443 (no. 8012). *Zhizhe golobar* is here interpreted as *Suči kolobar*, i.e., turn the circle. Štrekelj also includes a version recorded by D. Trstenjak in Styria in the nineteenth century, *ibid.* (no. 8011). I am obliged to one of the referees of this article for drawing my attention to this reference.
33. This village was about 5 miles/8 km due south of Ljubljana in the proximity of Ig. It is not shown on modern maps. Valvasor writes: "Sonekh (oder Sonnegkh) wird eben auch *Sonek* in der Crainerischen Sprache genennet" (XI: 539). It is consequently possible that the modern spelling should be *Zonek*.

**POVZETEK****VALVASORJEVA EHRE DES HERZOGTUMS KRAIN (1689):  
VIR ZGODOVINE SLOVENSKEGA JEZIKA**

*Lani je preteklo tristo leto, odkar je izšla Slava vojvodine Kranjske Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja. Pomen tega monumentalnega dela za kranjsko zgodovinopisje je znan in priznan, njegova vrednost za zgodovino slovenskega jezika - morda zato, ker je delo pisano v nemščini - pa je ostalo doslej neovrednoteno. Res je, da je edino daljše slovensko besedilo v Slavi štirideset vrstic dolga uvodna pesem, toda mimo tega je v nemškem tekstu raztresenih več sto slovenskih besed in fraz. Jezikovno gradivo te vrste predstavlja dokumentacijo živega jezika vsakdanjega življenja za obdobje, ki ni bogato na slovenskih zapiskih, še zlasti ne na zapiskih te vrste.*