THOUGHT, SOCIETY, CULTURE
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The History of Linguistic Thought and Language Use in 16th Century Slovenia

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EDITION

1 An introductory overview of the factors contributing to a literate culture in Slovenia and of its testimonies before the emergence of the Slovenian literary language in the 16th century

1.1 Language use according to social status

If we exclude the clerics, the language situation in 15th and 16th-century Slovenia is best divided into THREE GROUPS BASED ON SOCIAL STATUS: the peasant population, the town population, and the nobility. That said, we should avoid the stereotypical rigid attribution of the three languages (Slovenian, German — in some places Italian as well — and Latin) to one of the three classes. This conception, while completely rejected by contemporary scholarship, can be traced in both Slovenian and international literature as late as the mid-20th century — a timely methodological reminder that the relations between such concepts as language, nation, or social status were fundamentally different in earlier periods (in the 15th and 16th centuries in our case). The role played by the Slovenian language in the Slovenian lands is understood only if the role of the other languages used in this territory (Latin, German, Italian) is taken into consideration. Similarly, the role of a speaker's or a writer's national or ethnic affiliation can only be grasped if language and nationality are not equated; a member of one nationality may very well have written in one language and spoken in another (or others).

The PEASANTS and their families, who represented the majority of the population,[1] were generally uneducated and illiterate; what they spoke was a variety of Slovenian idioms and dialects, which differed from one region to another. Since they spoke no German or Latin (their knowledge would have been limited to a few basic everyday terms, perhaps even set phrases), the common people would have communicated with the upper classes in Slovenian. The CHURCH, too, occasionally adapted its language to the peasant majority,[2] as is suggested

1 Over 80 per cent until the 15th century and over 90 per cent in the 16th century (IZS 1999: 107, 135). For a survey of Slovenian history in English, see Luthar (2008).

2 The Slovenian documents preserved from the Middle Ages represent the basic repertory of texts used by the Western Church in the national language (the division follows Grdina 1999: 35–36): confession formulas (the Freising Manuscripts, the Stična Manuscript), a pre-sermon invocation (the Stična Manuscript), a didactic sermon (the second Freising Manuscript), the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, the Apostles' Creed (the Manuscripts of Klagenfurt and Castelmonte), the

by the traces of a pre-Protestant tradition in the spoken public idiom.[3] The 16th century further consolidated the establishment of an ecclesiastical Slovenian language in dealings with the peasants — a development assisted by Protestant book production.

The TOWN POPULATION was, in terms of ethnicity and language, more diverse than the preserved documents would suggest. The use of German and Italian (in the littoral towns) in official written communication should not lead us to imagine that all aspects of townspeople's lives were dominated by these two languages.[4] Equally mistaken would be the assumption that each town used a single language. Bi- or trilingualism was a common phenomenon in the Slovenian lands (IZS 1999: 113), not least because of two-way migration: from countryside to town (the Slovenian language), and from town to town (German, Italian, but also Slovenian). As for ethnic affiliation (IZS 1999: 115, Golec 2003: 29–37; 2009:101–113), it has been established that the smaller towns of Carniola had a Slovenian majority. During the Reformation period, when Ljubljana accommodated up to 6,000 residents, at least 70 per cent are estimated to have been Slovenian. That part of the town population that was of foreign origins was less important for the ethnic structure of the Slovenian territory, but it did play a major economic role (these were primarily Florentine bankers, Jews, merchants of South German and Italian descent).

In short, the languages of oral and written communication were not always identical, nor did the ethnic affiliation of those who understood several languages entail the use of one single language in all situations and circumstances.

While the predominant language of the NOBILITY was German, Slovenian was not as repressed in the Middle Ages, let alone in the 16th century, as might be assumed from the — mainly German — written sources. The majority of the nobility were at least bilingual, sometimes even trilingual. Moreover, fragments from history and literature attest to their use of Slovenian even in certain more elevated or formal situations.[5]

A knowledge of Slovenian may be ascribed especially to the lower nobility, who had patrimonial jurisdiction on their estates;[6] otherwise they could not have

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Salve Regina hymn (the Stična Manuscript), one stanza of the Easter Kyrie (the Stična Manuscript), a list of holy masses to be said by a religious brotherhood (the Venetian-Slovenian Manuscript). The common people would have prayed and sung in their native language. There is also indirect but solid proof of hymns being sung in Slovenian in churches in the 15th-century (Kumer 2002: 139–158).

3 Cf. chapter 1.4 and n. 25.

4 Cf. also Štih (1996: 150) and IZS (1999: 113). Conclusions based on individuals' surnames are not reliable because names were often translated.

5 E.g. Bernhard (II) of Spanheim; the foundation legend of Žiče (Grdina 1999: 18); a letter written in Serbian in 1480 to Leonhard, the last Count of Gorizia, by Katarina Branković, the widow of Ulrich, the last Count of Celje (Štih 1996: 138); other similar fragments (cf. Grdina 1999: 98).

6 Patrimonial jurisdiction was a manorial lord's right to administration and jurisdiction over his subjects (the right to passing sentence, to forcible recovery of tributes, and to certain actions in a non-litigious civil procedure). It was not in use in some parts of western Slovenia.

acted out their authority. Indeed, we possess a complaint lodged in 1527 by the Carniolan *Landstände* (assembly of representatives of various classes) claiming that the newly appointed *Vize-Landeshauptmann* did not hail from the country and 'knew no Slovenian, as had always been the custom'. According to Štih (1996: 139), this suggests that most Carniolan noblemen knew Slovenian, or else ran a risk of forfeiting prominent state functions. The absence of Slovenian from their written communication or (with rare exceptions) literary production does not preclude its spoken use on everyday occasions.

To cite an example: an aristocratic speaker of Slovenian in the late 15th century is portrayed in Paolo Santonino's description of his meeting with the knight Hertmannus of Hornegg and his consort Omelia from a castle close to Ptujska Gora (*Mons gratiarum*). While the knight is ambiguously said to have sung songs 'in his own tongue' (Santonino 1943: 237), there is no room for doubting Lady Omelia's language repertory: 'Besides, Lady Omelia has a number of lovely maids, young and fresh, and knows both German and Slovenian' (Santonino 1943: 238). To picture such a speaker of Slovenian accurately, we may take a closer look at Lady Omelia. According to Santonino (1943: 237), she is a 'most lovely' woman who has 'a feudal castle given to her by the Patriarchal Seat: wherefore she showed herself benign and most kind to the Patriarch's secretary'. Her two dresses, described by Santonino in detail, testify to affluence as well. Santonino's description enhances our understanding of the late 15th century language situation, confirming that Slovenian, too, was spoken by the nobility and considered no obstacle to making a good impression.

The late 15th century witnessed a growing awareness that the command of many languages (including Slovenian) was a mark of prestige. It was valued particularly by the Slovenian humanists at the IMPERIAL COURT. In his (auto)biography *Weißkunig*, Maximilian I thus claims to have learnt Slovenian in his youth from a 'farmer' (Simoniti 1979: 152–153; Grdina 1999: 182), and this 'facetious farmer' would have been, in Grdina's persuasive interpretation, none other than the bishop George Slatkonja. In addition, one of the two noble 'boys' (*ex Sclavonia*) from whom the Emperor likewise learnt Slovenian may well have been Paul Oberstain (Grdina 1999: 184–185). It appears that Maximilian acquainted himself with Slavic languages immediately before the 'Vienna Congress', so as 'to fascinate his two Jagiełłonian guests' (Grdina 1999: 185).

Yet this was not to be Maximilian's last contact with Slovenian. Some years later, in September 1513, he ordered Paul Oberstain to compile a dictionary by which he might master the Slovenian language completely ('pro lingua Sclavonica per-*ad*-discenda') (Simoniti 1979: 154). In his opinion, the 'Slavonic' language was '*omnium aliarum latissima*' (the most widespread of all) (Simoniti 1979: 193).

Somewhat later, but still relevant to this context, are certain passages in the Latin edition of Sigismund Herberstein's *Rerum moscoviticarum commentarii* (*Notes on the Affairs of the Muscovites*) (Simoniti 1979: 217–218). In a preface dedicated to King Ferdinand, Herberstein claims that he was able to write the work 'by relying on two things: on diligent research and on my skill in the Slovenian tongue, which assisted me greatly'.[7] For him, Slovenian is a *beneficium* (boon, benefit), to judge by his phrase 'emboldened by the knowledge and benefit of the Slovenian tongue (which is of the same sort as Ruthenian and Muscovite)'.[8]

This is stressed again in Herberstein's preface addressed to the German reader: 'ignorant people' called him insulting names because he studied languages, including Slovenian, but he was never ashamed to speak them, 'for each language is honourable and honest'.

1.2 Education

A factor to consider in tracing general education and literacy in the 15th century is the state of contemporary education. Not surprisingly, there is little information on the education system in this period, and descriptions for the Slovenian lands necessarily rest on the general state of education in Europe of the time. Taking into account the fact that early 16th-century Slovenia numbered 400,000 to 500,000 inhabitants (IZS 1999: 135), and applying the rough estimate of contemporary literacy in the Austrian region of Tyrol (3 to 4 per cent of the population; Dular 2002: 67) to the circumstances in the Slovenian lands, the number of literate inhabitants in 15th-century Slovenia could not have exceeded 20,000 at any given moment; in fact, their numbers would have most certainly been smaller.

With the development of the education system, and particularly with the need for better education, the share of literate people increased, but we need to be aware that the concept of 'literacy' did not fully correspond with its modern counterpart.[9]

7 '[D]uabus rebus fretus, perquirendi scilicet diligentia ac lingua Slavonicae peritia, quae magnum mihi adiumentum [...] attulerunt.'

8 '[...] Slavonicae linguae (quae cum Rhutenica et Moscovitica eadem est) cognitione beneficioque adiutum.'

9 An ability to read did not entail an ability to write.

1.2.1 Elementary education

The Slovenian territory was acquainted with all basic forms of medieval elementary schools. The first to be established in this area were CATHEDRAL SCHOOLS (Schmidt 1963: 17–19, Vidmar 1997: 62), paralleled by CHAPTER SCHOOLS, which only differed from the former in terms of organisation (Vidmar 1997: 63). A second type of school was the so-called MONASTIC SCHOOL. Throughout Europe (Vidmar 1997: 73), schools at monasteries were either internal, teaching the prospective monks, or external, teaching the children of the laity, who were not expected to remain at the monastery on completing their studies.

In LATIN PARISH SCHOOLS (Schmidt 1963: 22–24), priests would teach prayers, religious doctrine, singing, and reading.[10] The need for people with an elementary education, who were able to read and write, logically led to the establishment of TOWN SCHOOLS (Vidmar 1997: 137–138). These institutions, as described by Schmidt (1963: 24–30), did not serve as preparatory schools for university; rather, they were attended by townspeople's sons largely for practical reasons, as most of them needed, with increasing urgency, at least some basic literacy and skill in mathematics. A further distinctive feature of the town schools was the gradual replacement of Latin with German and — in the littoral towns — with Italian. The Europe of the 14th and 15th centuries (Vidmar 1997: 138–139) witnessed a proliferation of so-called reading, writing and calculating schools, which offered instruction in the 'mother tongue' and taught the necessary basics, especially of calculating and book-keeping.

In extra-institutional education, where some use of the mother tongue (though not necessarily Slovenian in the Slovenian lands) might be assumed, an important historical role was played by GUILDS (Vidmar 1997: 140, Okoliš 2000: 61–62).

1.2.2 The social origins of the students

To comprehend the state of elementary education in Slovenia, we shall examine how the opportunities to enrol in the education processes were distributed among the layers of society. It is only then that the (potential) role of Slovenian in elementary education can be assessed with some authority.

To begin with, our discussion should dispatch the CLERICS: their social origins had no impact on their education, for monastic and other schools regularly accepted members of all social classes (Vidmar 1997: 90). If accepted, young men of humble circumstances would study side by side with noblemen's sons, for pro-

10 Since the 11th and 12th centuries, the priests could be assisted by the so-called *scholares*.

motion in the Church did not depend on one's social origins. The clerics-to-be thus comprised students from all classes, including peasants, although the latter entered the education system with greater difficulties and were thus often limited to instruction in the basic skills. Prospective monks studied at (internal) monastic schools, and prospective priests at chapter and parish schools (Schmidt 1963: 30).

The education of the LAITY, by contrast, was more dependent on each student's social standing. TOWNSMEN had some access to parish schools, and especially to town (and private) institutions. NOBLEMEN, on the other hand, had access to almost all forms of education, and while advanced education was rarely their priority, they generally received some elementary instruction, even if it was outside regular institutions. They were usually taught at home in the family circle, at court, and of course at monasteries (Vidmar 1997: 135–137).[11]

Lay PEASANTS could not as a rule seek education within the school system.[12] This is not to say, however, that they were deprived of all instruction.

What was important in this respect was the EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE (Vidmar 1997: 141–143). The Christian populace had many obligations towards the ecclesiastical and secular authorities. Disobedience to the law was punished. Obedience, on the other hand, could not be exacted without a minimal religious education: every member of the congregation had to know the basic prayers at least. In the later Middle Ages, the people's religious education was further moulded by sermons that were delivered in the vernacular languages. In addition to learning everyday farm chores, they also received a knowledge of life and their milieu by oral transmission, through the folk tales and songs attested for the Middle Ages (cf. Kumer 2002: 139–158).

1.2.3 The use of languages in elementary education

The Latin language held the chief role in education. Reading, writing, and comprehension were not necessarily interlinked. It was quite possible for medieval students to read a text without understanding any of it (Vidmar 1997: 106), or to be able to read without being able to write (Vidmar 1997: 128). But despite the central role of Latin, the national languages were not entirely excluded from the education system. If the language of *instruction* was Latin, this did not preclude occasional use of the mother tongue. The mother tongue would have been heard

11 And presumably at chapter schools as well (Schmidt 1963: 30).

12 Even when the nearest parish or monastic school provided the most basic skills, the content was religious in nature.

especially at the town schools. While the peculiar multilingual situation in the Slovenian territory resulted in the use of German and — in the littoral towns — Italian, the use of Slovenian is attested as well. According to Herberstein's autobiography (Dimitz 1874: 318; Simoniti 1979: 215),[13] in 1486 the town of Vipava possessed a school where he studied in both German and Slovenian [*windisch*].

It remains a fact, however, that only knowledge of Latin was prized in this period (as well as by the Protestants). For those intending to continue their studies at university, the use of the national languages (German, Italian, Slovenian) was merely a necessary evil.

1.2.4 University education

Having acquired elementary education, a prospective student could enrol at one of the faculties:[14] the faculty of arts, where he could obtain his MA in 3 years, and his BA in a year and a half (Vidmar 1999: 173); the faculty of law, where the study of either canon or civil law took 5 years, and the study of both 7 years; the faculty of medicine (5 years for Masters of Arts, 6 years for other students); or the faculty of theology, which required at least 9 years in addition to the completed arts programme (Vidmar 1999: 180–181).

Since medieval Slovenia offered no university education, the students hailing from Slovenian regions had to study abroad. Medieval students were remarkably mobile, but their mobility also depended on their standing, for the less affluent ones would choose, particularly in the later Middle Ages, the universities closest to home (Vidmar 1999: 159). As a consequence, most students from the Slovenian lands are to be found at the universities of Padua, Bologna, and Vienna (Simoniti 1979: 119–126). The share of students of Slovenian origin was by no means negligible, but the long course of Latin studies often led them to forget their mother tongue even as late as the 16th century, a period which otherwise saw sharpened language awareness.[15]

By the standards of the day, the 15th century already saw a large number of students from the Slovenian lands who succeeded in acquiring a university education. Their social and ethnic distribution reveals no significant aberration at the expense of Slovenian native speakers (Simoniti 1979: 127).

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13 = *Fontes rerum Austriacarum I*, 1, 67–396: *Selbstbiographie Siegmunds Freiherrn von Herberstein 1486–1553*, ed. Th. v. Karajan, Vienna; this item of information is provided on p. 70.

14 In practice, however, the medieval university offered elementary skills as well (Vidmar 1999: 5).

15 Cf. chapter 2.7.

1.3 Manuscripts, books, libraries

The culture of writing and reading in Slovenia is greatly illuminated by information on the presence and storage of books. Here pride of place goes to MONASTIC libraries, headed by those attached to Carthusian monasteries (charterhouses), since making book copies was considered one of the Carthusians' central tasks. Some of the monks were also adept at ornamentation, and others at bookbinding. The library of the Žiče charterhouse was rich both in size and in spiritual content. As testified by Paolo Santonino, secretary of the Aquileia (Slovenian: Oglej) patriarch, in the late 15th century (Santonino 1943: 257): 'The library itself displays over two thousand book volumes from all disciplines, mainly written on parchment, including ancient ones furrowed with a quill, rather than printed, as is the custom nowadays.' The literary activity at Žiče is attested by c. 120 preserved manuscripts, 80 of them dating to the period between the 14th and 16th centuries (Golob 2006: 122–128). Similarly, the charterhouse library at Bistra near Vrhnika held many books in the 14th and 15th centuries, including texts of canon law, linguistics, and music, as well as some original works relating to the history and life of the monastic community (Dular 2002: 38). The Pleterje charterhouse, by contrast, had a more conventional library. Another religious order dedicated to copying texts and running libraries was the Cistercians (Dular 2002: 38), whereas the libraries of the other 15th-century orders are little known, excepting some information on the Dominicans, who fostered copying. Still, the scarcity of information today does not mean that the other monasteries lacked good libraries.

Also important are ECCLESIASTICAL NON-MONASTIC libraries. A document from 1478 (Simoniti 1979: 51–52) testifies to Bishop Lamberg's having borrowed from the Ljubljana chapter a large number — at least 50 volumes — of books and manuscripts for his residence at Gornji Grad. Half of them were juridical, and the other half was evenly divided between theology and medicine, but the list also includes some lexical aids and dictionaries and a sample of profane literature — the '*Hystoria Troiana*'. This document proves that the Ljubljana chapter already possessed a library in 1478. In addition, Paolo Santonino refers to 'libros quoque diversos' (diverse books) at the Kranj rectory.

Worth noting are also the aristocratic CASTLE LIBRARIES: the library of the counts of Turjak (Auersperg), known to us from a catalogue compiled in 1659 by Johann Ludwig Schönleben, possessed five and nine manuscripts from the 14th and 15th centuries respectively (Dular 2002: 41).

The late 15th and early 16th centuries saw the emergence of TOWNSPEOPLE'S PRIVATE LIBRARIES. Some of them can be partly reconstructed, e.g. the libraries

of Lenart Budina, Bishop Peter Seebach, or a Ljubljana family of lawyers by the name of Zaulus (Zaule) (Simoniti 1979: 55).

The structure of the INCUNABLES known from Slovenia 'is no different from the structure of the books printed in the rest of 15th century Europe. Evidently the supply and demand in Slovenia matched the situation in Europe, and the end of the Middle Ages found Slovenia established as part of a common Central European publishing and bookselling area' (Gspan and Badalić 1957, qtd. in Dular 2002: 46). Most of these incunables were printed in Italy (44.9 per cent) and Germany (42.9 per cent), with other countries represented by a modest 12.2 per cent. The situation in Croatia was similar (Gspan and Badalić 1957, qtd. in Dular 2002: 46).

1.4 Latin, German, and Slovenian texts of the 15th century

MEDIEVAL LATIN LITERATURE[16] (Pogačnik 1968: 53–55; Pogačnik 1972; Simoniti 1979: 40–49; Gantar 1992: 106; Grdina 1999: 19; Dular 2002: 37, 39) is represented in Slovenia by c. 160 manuscripts that are preserved by libraries in Slovenia and abroad. Most of the texts are devotional in content; of the secular

16 The more prominent Latin writers or copyists from the 15th century who lived or were born in the Slovenian lands include: Brother Bernard, who produced a copy of the *Life of Catherine of Siena*, with additions by Stephen Maconi (1401); Brother Matthias from the Žiče charterhouse, late 15th cent., who copied a florilegium from Aristotle, texts by the Church Fathers and other Christian writers; Nicholas Kempf, a foreigner of Alsatian origin: as prior of the charterhouses at Jurklošter (after 1447 and after 1467) and Pleterje (after 1462), he wrote ascetic and mystical treatises; Nicolaus de Gretz, early 15th cent., *magister* at Vienna University, probably from Slovenj Gradec, and author of many preserved writings, esp. theological ones; Nicholas Petschacher, 'notulator' at Znojm in Bohemia, hostile to the Hussites, who wrote poems on contemporary political events from 1437 (possibly even 1431) to 1445; 15 of his Latin poems are collected in an Admont manuscript; he describes himself as '*Carniole genitus, natio zlava mea est*' (XI, 21), and uses his knowledge of Slovenian to derive an etymology for the name *Kazimir* (III, 11s.) (Simoniti 1979: 41–42); Andrew Gall de Gallenstein (c. 1450), a local member of a well-known aristocratic family, parish priest at Bela Cerkev and archdeacon for the 'Slovenian March' (*Windische Mark*); two of his works are known by title, i.e. *De ingenio tutelari et illusionibus cacodaemonis* (theological) and *De origine et progressu religionis Christi in Carniola* (*On the origins and foundation of parishes in Carniola*); Ioannes de Carniola (c. 1500), a Benedictine monk who wrote, in Augsburg, an ascetic treatise, *Dispositorium moriendi*, and a part of the *Life of Christ*, *Vita Christi*. The texts found in these parts include an anonymous poem on George Hajdinjak (58 hexameter lines), recorded in 1469 by a Benedictine monk at St Paul's monastery in Carinthia; an inscription (now missing) in the chapel of the Trinity at Plac, Škofja Loka; a verse chronicle of the events in 1511–1516 (51 hexameters). The most prominent 15th cent. description of the Slovenian lands is the *Itinerarium* by Paolo Santonino, which recounts his visitations to the area in 1485–1487 (Santonino 1943).

ones, dating mainly from the 14th century and later, the most important are the historical treatises and dictionaries. Though there are few original works, there is a considerable number of non-literary records. Of interest for the present study are also the writings by some Slovenian-born authors who worked outside the Slovenian territory.

Another type of literature well represented in the Slovenian lands was MEDIEVAL GERMAN LITERATURE (Dular 2002: 37; Grdina, Cvirn and Janko 1993: 353; Grdina 1999: 19, 23).[17]

Most medieval texts WRITTEN IN SLOVENIAN OR INCLUDING SLOVENIAN PASSAGES OR WORDS stem from the 15th century,[18] while individual Slovenian words occur in some early 16th-century works as well.[19] The surviving literary

17 By the 15th century, the Slovenian lands had been visited by such poets as: the famous Ulrich von Liechtenstein (arrived in Carinthia on May 1, 1227), who included in his epic *Frauendienst* (1255) the Slovenian greeting of the Carinthian duke; Walther von der Vogelweide (1214), the greatest German *Minnesänger*; Wolfram von Eschenbach (early 13th cent.), whose chivalrous epic *Parzival*, the most important German work of its genre, sets the adventures of Parzival's uncle Trevrizent in a part of Styria (Celje, Rogatec, Hajdina). A *Minnesänger* was also one of the lords of Žovnek (later the counts of Celje), most likely Conrad I (Grdina 1999: 23–24). The 13th century saw still other — minor — *Minnesänger* in Slovenia. Other important works include the *Vienna Book of Genesis* (*Wiener Genesis*; prob. c. 1070 in Carinthia), and *Vita Mariae metrica*, a German epic poem of more than 2,000 lines, composed by one Brother Philip from the Žiče charterhouse in the early 14th cent.; there are still more religious verses that we know of. In the 15th century, the major literary works are *The Celje Chronicles* (late 15th cent.), two chronicles by a Carinthian parish priest, J. Unrest: *Chronicon Austriacum* and *Chronicon Carinthiacum*, and the autobiographical notes of Christoph Thein (1453–1520). Later works still linked to the Middle Ages include a printed leaflet from 1515, *Ain newes lied von den kraynnerischen bauren*, which cites some Slovenian words (cf. n. 19), and an itinerary to Istanbul by B. Kuripečič (1531). Herberstein's Latin travelogue (1557) was originally conceived in German.

18 In addition to the *Freising Manuscripts* (972–1039), only two earlier records are preserved in Slovenian: a greeting noted by Ulrich von Liechtenstein (1227) and the *Klagenfurt* or *Rateče Manuscript*, dating between 1362 and 1390 and now held by the Provincial Archives of Carinthia in Klagenfurt, Austria. The 15th century produced the following works: two multilingual poems by Oswald von Wolkenstein: no. 69, *Do fraig amorß*, and no. 119, *Bog de primi* (1416–1417); the *Stična Manuscript* (1428, 1440), held by the National and University Library (NUK) in Ljubljana, Slovenia; the *Kranj Manuscript* or the *Kranj Oaths* (1440 [?]–1556), the original of which is lost; the *Udine Manuscript* (1458), held by the Udine Municipal Library, Friuli, Italy; the *Škofja Loka Manuscript* (1466), held by the Austrian National Library in Vienna; the *Castelmonte Manuscript* (between 1492 and 1498), held by the Archiepiscopal Archives of Udine, Italy; the *Cergneu* or *Cividale Manuscript*, also known as the *Venetian-Slovenian Manuscript* (1497–), held by the Cividale Archaeological Museum, Friuli, Italy; the *Auersperg Manuscript*, 15th or early 16th cent.: the original appears to be lost, but photographs of it are held by NUK, Ljubljana, Slovenia; and *a MS sermon draft in Slovenian* from the late 15th or early 16th cent., discovered in Kranj and transferred to Ljubljana, where it is held by the Archiepiscopal Archives (Mikhailov 2001: 17–18).

19 The literature which has been at my disposal (Mikhailov 1998, 2001; Simoniti 1979: 48–49) mentions a non-literary account of the events between 1510–1524, composed by an anonymous

(and literate) production preceding the emergence of the Slovenian literary language suggests that most of the Slovenian texts would have been targeted at those congregation members who were not adequately educated to understand Latin. The texts in question are mostly 'auxiliary notes' taken by the priest (who would have ordinarily used Latin or German) to record the text which had to be taught to the congregation or delivered in a sermon. Such texts were never meant to be read by Slovenian-speaking congregation members but were intended exclusively for listening. The majority of the texts for internal ecclesiastical use were written in Latin, but German ones existed as well, particularly in the less educated circles. The role of Latin increased with the advent of humanism.

In the secular sphere, German and Latin texts were largely aimed at the higher classes. Even those upper-class members who were familiar with Slovenian would record their thoughts in German or Latin as a matter of course. Judging by the *Kranj Manuscript*, the town's administrative and legal affairs were indeed conducted in Slovenian, but these records were aids rather than expressions of a *written* legal culture. What was said in Slovenian was more commonly written down in German or Latin.[20]

The Slovenian territory lacks texts of secular learning written in the national language, such as began to flourish among the upper classes elsewhere in the high, and especially the late, Middle Ages. This expansion was curtailed in Slovenia by the lack of a suitable audience (the higher nobility as a rule). Moreover, the *higher* nobility would have mastered the German language alone, and it was only two dynasties, the counts of Gorizia and the prince counts of Celje, that had their seats in the Slovenian ethnic territory (Grdina 1999: 36). On the other hand,

Stična monk and included in the book *Angelus de Clavasio, Summa super casibus conscientiae, Argentinae 1513* (NUK 14652, endpaper), which contains a Slovenian phrase: 'Anno millesimo quingentessimo decimo quinto insurexerunt laici contra nobiles [...] et unam communitatem appellaverunt *boga gmaijna* [poor rabble] [...]' Another instance is *Ain newes lied von den krainerifchen bauren* from 1515, the year of a major peasant revolt: the German text printed on the leaflet contains a Slovenian sentence, which is repeated several times. A similar case is a poem by Rudolph Agricola Jr., added by Ioannes Dantiscus to his publication *Soteria*, which was printed in 1518 in Cracow and reprinted by Sigismund Herberstein; it includes two Slovenian words: 'ius (quod *Stara prauda* [ancient rights] vocabant) antiquum'. Finally, there is a Slovenian sentence by W. Praunsperger in Gaspar Lamberger's *Book of Tournaments* (1544), held by the Art History Museum in Vienna.

20 Notably, however, the sphere of law does display an *oral* language tradition. Škrubej (2001) argues for the existence of certain Slavic legal terms which go back to the Slavic settlement in the Eastern Alps and continue up to the manuscript period and to the 16th century texts. The names of some mid-15th-century town judges (Dimitz 1874: 301) possibly attest to their Slovenian origins (e.g. 1440–1441 Sebastian Supantschitsch, 1446–1447, 1450–1451 Lukas Nouakh, 1448 Simon Marschitz). The use of Slovenian in legal affairs is further confirmed by the complaint lodged by the Carniolan *Landstände*, which is cited by Štih (1996: 139). At the patrimonial court (ZS 1979: 183; Štih 1996: 138–139) the (oral) use of Slovenian would have been indispensable.

the oral presence of such a culture is attested by some of the records cited above (the *Auersperg Manuscript*, the Slovenian phrases in two multilingual poems by Oswald von Wolkenstein), which suggest recordings of the *Minnesang* (Grdina 1999: 94), an emphatically aristocratic poetry genre in terms of both production and reception.

When all these instances are complemented with a well-developed oral folk culture as reconstructed by Kumer (2002), it transpires that medieval Slovenian literature, known to us either directly from the preserved texts or indirectly from secondary sources, was typically produced by speaking and received by listening.

This premise, once accepted, supports the notion of a Slovenian language tradition even before the founder of the Slovenian literary language, Primož Trubar, published the first two Slovenian books in 1550. Trubar himself knew of no texts written in Slovenian, but he did know the oral tradition: his German preface to TT 1557 cites and comments on a passage from the Hail Mary prayer, which was transmitted orally.[21] Since the Slovenian conversion to Christianity began with the upper class, the beginnings of the Slovenian cultural language presumably drew on the 'social idiom' of this class (Grdina 1999: 95–96). Indeed, a tradition at the lexical level may be proved empirically. Analysing the substantives and verbs, Merše and Novak (1996: 289–301) assess the extent to which the lexicon of the *Freising Manuscripts* (972–1039) is preserved in 16th-century Protestant book editions. They reach the following conclusions: (1) best represented is the lexicon layer which continued to be used with the same meaning and is repeatedly confirmed in the 16th-century Protestant prints: 61 out of the 114 *Freising Manuscripts* substantives and 44 verbs out of 96 have identical or similar semantic realisations in the literary language of the 16th century; (2) the group of substantives and verbs not confirmed in Protestant texts is much smaller than the one consisting of preserved items, the ratio for verbs being 33 : 60; (3) a comparison concentrating on the substantives and verbs reveals that the major part of the *Freising Manuscripts* lexicon (e.g. two thirds of the verbs) is, semantically and formally, firmly embedded in the 16th-century literary language, which proves that the Protestant authors followed the tradition and adopted many expressions from texts disseminated in an oral form.

21 According to Trubar's German preface to TT 1557, '*Ave Maria* cannot be translated correctly and accurately. The Slovenians say "Thou are honoured, Mary" [češčena si, Maria].' (Sakrausky 1989: 103).