

# On the Origin of Alpine Slovenes

Aleš Iglič

University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Some historians believe that Slovenes were drawn into the European cultural circle by (Bavarian) feudalism, although it is this very same feudalism that also prevented them access to the resources needed for their social and cultural development – it is precisely this fact, they suggest, that presented one of the most significant obstacles for the further development of the Slovene nation. We cannot agree with this viewpoint. Rather, Slovenes owe their inclusion in the medieval European civilisation, which originates from European antique traditions stemming from ancient Greece, primarily to Roman and other indigenous peoples, as well as to Christian missionaries from the non-Germanic parts of Europe (Iglič, 2007a), i.e. Ireland and the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire, who spread Christianity and the culture of the antiquity in the region of the Diocese of Salzburg, from where missionaries came to Carantania, Carniola and Lower Pannonia (Fig. 1). The first Apostle of Carantania Modestus, for example, was sent to Carantania on the orders of the Irish monk Vergilius of Salzburg (Gruden, 1992). Overall, Irish monks contributed greatly to the preservation of the European civilisation in the Early Middle Ages also in other parts of Europe (Cahill, 1995).

By passing on the preserved antique knowledge, for example literacy, onto the barbarian peoples, Byzantine missionaries from Greece and Aquileia (Grivec, 1927; Bratož, 1990) as well as Irish missionaries (monks) preserved the European civilisation, which is based on the accomplishments of ancient Greece in the fields of philosophy, science, art, and political organisation (democracy). European Christian theology also developed following the tradition of ancient Greek, Hellenist, and Roman philosophy. One may consider the Balkans and, more broadly speaking, Southern Europe as the cradle of European civilisation and, up to the beginning of the decline of the Byzantine Empire in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, as the region with the most advanced civilisation and continuous tradition since Greek antiquity. In these areas, the level of general literacy was much higher than across the royal courts of Western Europe, where people were mostly illiterate (Iglič, 2007b). Thus, since even Charlemagne was illiterate, it was not feudalism that caused the ancestors of modern-day Slovenes to become part of European culture and civilisation – they rather joined this circle with the conversion to Christianity, which was accompanied by cultural progress.

Similarly, it was not the Arab translations and comments of classical Greek and Roman works that were the main cause of the renaissance in Italy. The *spiritus movens* of start of the renaissance start in Italy was the great number of Byzantine Greek scholars and other emigrants who escaped to Italy after

the fall of Constantinople in 1453 (Nicol, 1994), who brought to Italy the knowledge of their (Greek and Roman) civilization, which had mostly survived the medieval dark ages in the rest of Europe in the Byzantine East Roman Empire. The process partially started in Italy already in the time of crusaders' conquest of Constantinople in 1204.

Even before the conquest of Constantinople by the crusaders, the close contacts between Kiev Russia and the Byzantine empire gave rise to intense cultural development in 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century Kiev Russia, where the works of Homer, Democritus, Epictetus, Aristotle, Plato, and classical works from old Greek and Roman times ranging from philosophy to history, law, etc.; were widely known within the educated Russian class and were in many cases also completely or partially translated into the Old Church Slavic, as for example the Josephus's History of Judaic War (Dvornik, 1956). The remarkable literary achievements of Kiev Russia from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries were written by the Russian secular and cleric elites. The high cultural level at the princely court of Russian Kiev can be very difficult to find in the same period at similar courts in the western and in central Europe, i.e. outside the Byzantine Empire. It should be also be stressed that many Russian works from this period were written in the vernacular, an achievement which was repeated in most nations in the west and in central Europe much later, as they did not start to write vernacular prose before the 13<sup>th</sup> century, most of them only in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Dvornik, 1956). There were but few princes (or none) from the west and central Europe of that period who could write such remarkable literary documents as *Poučenie*, written by the Kievan prince Vladimir Monomach, who died in 1125 (Dvornik, 1956). Since Kiev was destroyed during the Mongol and Tatar invasions of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the Kiev transfer of Greek and Hellenistic culture to the neighbouring central Europe (for example to Poland) was unfortunately stopped (Dvornik, 1956). The Mongol and Tatar invasions were Russia's greatest disaster, because there was not enough time to complete the transfer of cultural and spiritual inheritance of Byzantium. The division of Kiev Russia into smaller principalities did not stop the cultural development of Russia. However, it was geographically more limited, for example to principalities like Novgorod, which had an unusually high level of literacy for that time period and developed further into a republic. The Republic of Novgorod preserved certain cultural, social, and political traditions from the time of Kiev Russia and even improved some of them (Dvornik, 1956), but this was not enough since the rest of Russia was mainly cut off from this development, which ended in the 15<sup>th</sup> century with the annexation of the Republic of Novgorod by the Grand Duchy of Moscow.

Going back to Slovene history, in the lands of Alpine Slovenes the role of Roman and other indigenous peoples must not be overlooked when considering the process of conversion of Alpine Slovenes to Christianity and the transfer of the culture of antiquity, especially in the case of mixed marriages, which were likely no rarity at the time (Granda, 2008). Not all indigenous peoples migrated or were eradicated in the course of the conversion to Christianity, which means that Slovene culture did not emerge completely anew. Indeed, a burned-down antique settlement discovered by archaeologists does not

automatically signify that it was violently demolished by newcomers – fires were and still are a part of everyday life (Granda, 2008).

For example, some Slovene historians assumed that the ancient Roman town of Celeia, today's city of Celje, formerly also known as the Celtic Keleia, died down along with its Christianity (diocese) at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, which they then associated with one of the colonisation waves of the ancestors of modern-day Slovenes (Grafenauer, 1988). As it turned out, however, the Bishop of Celeia Andrew is still mentioned in written records as late as in 680 (Granda, 2008). Therefore, it is hardly surprising that the old Celtic name for the city of Celje, probably in its Latin version, was passed down to our ancestors. Moreover, bishops could be banished, even by the church community itself. Something similar could be said for many other old Slovene settlements and towns, for example Ptuj, which also preserved its antique name. All this testifies to the fact that the ancestors of present-day Slovenes did not populate an uninhabited area. Along with the Czechs, the Slovenes are the westernmost settled Slavic people in Europe. In addition, the Slovenes are the Slavic people located closest to the centre of the old Roman Empire, since the western part of today's Slovenia was a part of Italy. Slovenes were able to progress so quickly precisely due to establishing settlements in provincial areas belonging to antique culture and intermixing with its inhabitants.

What should also be taken into account is the influence of the neighbouring peoples, who at that time already partially converted to Christianity. The Slovene Carantanian Princes Gorazd (749–751) and Hotimir (752–769), both inaugurated on the Prince's Stone (Fig. 2), were christened on the island of Herrenchiemsee at the Bavarian Lake Chiemsee (Kos, 1985), where they lived in an Irish monastery school. The beginnings of converting Slovenes to Christianity go further back than those of other Slavic nations, such as the Croats and the Poles. Prince Mieszko, the founder of the Polish Piast dynasty, converted to Christianity just before the year 1000, 250 years later than the Carantanian Princes Gorazd and Hotimir. Many other non-Slavic European nations also converted to Christianity much later than the ancestors of Slovenes. Norway converted to Christianity in the period between the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Finland in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, after it had been conquered by Sweden. The Lithuanians converted to Christianity in 1386, under the rule of Jogaila (Jagiełło), after they formed a common state with the Poles, which means that they accepted Christianity as their religion approximately 600 years after the christening of the Slovene Carantanian Princes Gorazd and Hotimir. The oldest known preserved text in any Slavic language, written in the Latin alphabet, is of Slovene origin – the Freising Manuscripts, dating from the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 3), which may even constitute the oldest preserved Slavic text in the world (Grdina, 1999). Historian Igor Grdina believes that the Carantanian Church used the Slovene language of the highest social classes of Slovene society at the time, and thereby elevated it above being merely a dialect (Grdina, 1999; Granda, 2008).



Figure 1. The region of adjacent Alpine Slovene princedoms Carantania and Lower Pannonia with their border provinces at the time of Charlemagne (742–814) and later (edited from Leisering, 1999). The region inhabited and ruled by Alpine Slovenes is denoted in the blue colour. In the 9<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript on the conversion of Bavarians and Carantanians to Christianity (*Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*), Carantania and Lower Pannonia north of the Drava River are designated as Sclavinia, i.e. Slovenia, which borders on the Moravians to the north (see this figure). This indicates that the terms Sclavs and Sclavinia (Fig. 5) in *Conversio* do not relate to the Slavic peoples in general, but rather to a specific Slavic people and region (Granda, 2008; Grdina, 1999), i.e. to Sclavs (Slovenes) and Sclavinia (Slovenia).

Up until the last 130 to 140 years of the Habsburg Monarchy, i.e. until the beginning of the formation of the German nation in the modern sense as we know it today (at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century), which exerted strong pressure on other peoples to undergo germanisation, the ancestors of present-day Slovenes were not so dramatically hindered in their social and cultural development as was believed until recently (Iglič, 2007c, 2007d). This will be better illustrated in the following paragraphs with a variety of examples.



Figure 2. The Prince's Stone was originally set within the stronghold of the Krn Castle (Curtis Carantana, Civitas Carantana, Karnburg Castle), which was the seat of the Carantanian Prince (Fig. 6). The Prince's Stone was used to inaugurate Slovene Carantanian princes between the 6<sup>th</sup> century and the year 820, approximately. After that, it was used to inaugurate Carantanian dukes and, finally, Carinthian dukes. Up until the year 1414, the inauguration was performed in the Slovene language. The ceremony itself is the oldest known such ritual in the Slavic world. The Prince's Stone is composed of the lower part of an ancient Ionic column from the period of the Roman Empire.

When the 6<sup>th</sup> century settlement of the Alpine Slovenes (*Scavorum gens*) in the regions of today's Slovenia, Austria, Italy, and western Hungary was at its end, the intermixing of newcomers (the majority) and the indigenous people (the minority) resulted in the formation of two major Slovene tribal regions – *Carantania* and *Carniola* (Žvanut, 2007), both of which the Lombard writer Paul the Deacon wrote about in the 8<sup>th</sup> century (Diakon, 1988). One of the records of Oton II's deeds of donation from 973 states that "Krajina" or "Kranjska" (Chreina Marcha) is a local (Slovene) name for Carniola ("Karniola").

The main historical source of knowledge about the conditions in Carantania in the Early Middle Ages is the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, a manuscript on the conversion of Bavarians and Slovene Carantanians to Christianity written in 870, which refers to the Carantanian Prince as the *dux*. The *Fredegarii Chronicum* mentions as the *dux* already the first prince of the ancestors of modern-day Slovenes known by name, Prince Valuk (*Wallucus dux Vinedorum*), who reigned the Slovene Carantanian Princedom (*Marca Vinedorum*) around 630 (Kos, 1985; Luthar et al., 2013).

In his *History of the Lombards*, dating from the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the Lombard historian Paul the Deacon writes about the Bavarian king (duke) Tassilo, who, around 593, invaded the land of the Slovenes (in *Scavorum Provinciam*), defeated them, and returned to his land with abundant plunder (Diakon, 1988). In one of his other works, Paul the Deacon mentions that at approximately the same time (around the year 595) the Bavarians attacked the Slovenes (*Scavos*). With the help of the Avars, the Slovenes vanquished the Bavarians. Milko Kos (1985) presumes that the name "Scavorum Provincia" mentioned in Deacon's first report relates to Carantania (Fig. 1), which would in future sources be referred to as Sclavinia (Slovenia). Paul the Deacon also reports that the ancestors of modern-day Slovenes invaded

(probably from Carniola) the Duchy of Friuli in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and mentions their battle with the Lombards around the year 705.

In historical sources from the 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, the ancestors of present-day Slovenes are most often called Slavs, Slabs, Sclauans, and Sclauons, and their land is referred to as Sclauinia/Sclavinia (Kos, 1985). The *Fredegarii Chronicum* refers to them as the Winedi (Vinedi). The biography of St. Columban, written around the year 618, employs the term “Venetii qui et Slavi”. The first ever historical mention of the name Sclaueni (Sclaveni) can be found in the manuscripts of Pseudo-Caesarius Nazianzenus dating from 525 (Zupanič, 1932/2006). Procopius and Jordanes report that the Slavs (Venetharum Natio) were divided into several tribes, but they predominantly called themselves the Sclaueni (Sclaveni) and the Antes; they supposedly shared a common language (see also Zupanič, 1928/2006, 1961/2006, Volpi Lisjak, 2004). In his work from the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, Jordanes, who was of Gothic descent, distinguishes among three different groups of the Slavs: the Venedi, the Sclavini, and the Antes (Dvornik, 1956). George Vernadsky (1887–1973), a historian of Russian descent and professor at Yale University, positioned the three major groups of the Slavs in the following regions: the Venedi/Venethi on the shores of the Baltic Sea and the region along the Vistula River, the Sclaveni between the Carpathian Mountains and the upper Dnieper River, and the Antes/Antae in the south, along the lower Dnieper and Don Rivers all the way to the Black Sea (Vernadsky, 1969, 1986). It was proposed that the Sclaveni later migrated from the Dnieper River to the region around Lake Ilmen (Vernadsky, 1969), which was also considered to be the territory of the north Slovenians/Slovenes in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, as presented in Fig. 4.

Slovene ethnologist, anthropologist, and historian Niko Zupanič states that the Slavic people were referred to in written sources as the Venedi or the Venethi already in the first two centuries A.D., when C. Plinius Secundus placed them in the proximity of the Vistula River, the western border of European Sarmatia, while Cornelius Tacitus wrote about them as the eastern neighbours of the Germanic Svebs (Zupanič, 1961, 2006). In the manuscripts of the Alexandrine geographer Claudius Ptolemy (89–167), the Venedi are mentioned as one of the largest peoples in European Sarmatia (see also Zupanič, 1961, 2006). Rudolf Much (Much, 1937), an expert in German linguistics, explains that the name Venedi (Venethi) meant “family” or “friends” to the Germanic tribes. The name has been preserved until the present day in the form of *Wenden* and *Windische*. Similarly, Slovenes are still known as *Vends* (Vendek) also in Hungary, although some Slovenes, such as for example those in Hungary, always referred to themselves as *Slovenes* (Bezlaj, 1967). As written by F. Dvornik, the Slovenes are one of the rare nations who preserved their ancient name *Slovenes* (Dvornik, 1956), even though through history a large part of them adopted other territorial or state names, as for example the Carantanians (Carantani) or Carniolans (see Figs. 9, 10, 14, 30 and 31).

The names Winedi, Winidi, and Venedi/Venethi were used not only for the ancestors of present-day Slovenes but also for the ancestors of present-day Czechs, the Polabian Slavs, Slavs from Thuringia, and others (Kos, 1985; Bezlaj, 1967); this notion is further reinforced by the Finnish name for Russia

*Venäjä* (derived from *Venadä*), which was according to Zupanič acquired by the Finnish from the Germanic peoples (Zupanič, 1961/2006). In relation to the Venedi being located on the shores of the Baltic Sea (Vernadsky, 1969) and the region along the Vistula River (C. Plinius Secundus), it should be mentioned that even in the 16<sup>th</sup> century a map drawn by O. Magnus called the Gulf of Finland Sinus Venedicus, i.e. the Venedic Gulf (see also Volpi Lisjak, 2004). It is also interesting to note that between the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the year 1972, the Danish king held the title of “King of the Vends”, which suggests that the Vends (Wends) settled in a broad area along the Baltic Sea.

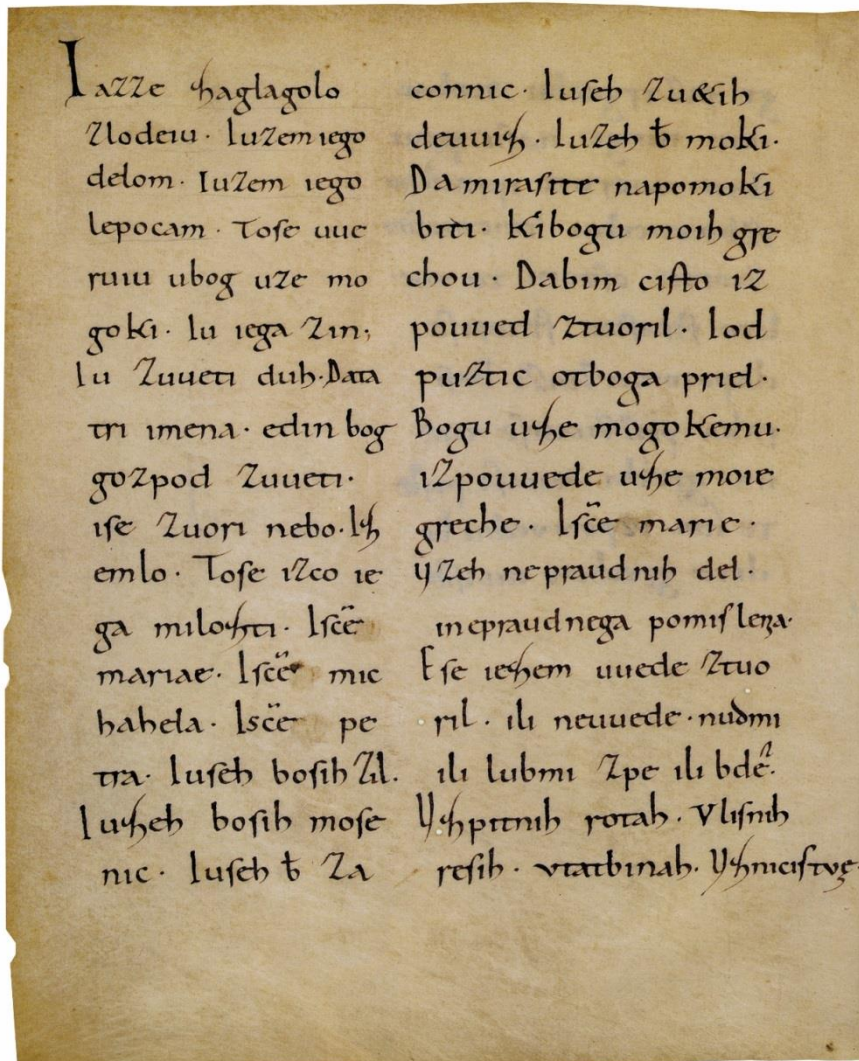


Figure 3. The Freising Manuscripts from the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century are the oldest known preserved manuscripts in the Slovene language and the oldest written record in the Latin alphabet in any Slavic language (Grdina, 1999). The figure shows the first page of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Freising Manuscript, which is a penitential form that starts with the words “I renounce the devil ...” (Žnidaršič, 2004). The original is kept at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.

The Slovene historian Janko Pleterški (Pleterški, 1995) gives credence to the hypothesis posed by J. Okulicz that the Veneti were originally an indigenous people in the region along the Baltic Sea (Fig. 4), and that due to the pressure of the Germanic wave of colonisation they partially migrated to the east, all the way to the Dnieper, where their culture and language fused with the native Baltic and Slavic population. The eastward migration of a group of Veneti (Venedi) is supposed to explain the previously mentioned writings by authors from antiquity (Pliny, Tacitus, Ptolemy), who distinguished two groups of the Veneti, with the first located somewhere in the area between the Vistula and the Dnieper, and the second located along the coast of the Baltic Sea. This duality is also thought to be supported by the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, which mentions the Veneti and the Veneti-Sarmati (Dvornik, 1956), and by the hypothesis of the Slovene linguist France Bezlaj that the proto-Slavic language is actually a Baltic language infused with Venetian features (see also Pleterški, 1995). It cannot be disputed that the proto-Slavic language was closely related to the proto-Baltic language (there are hundreds of similar words between the two), the language of origin of today's Lithuanian language and the proto-Prussian language (which went extinct in the 18<sup>th</sup> century). Bezlaj's hypothesis on the proto-Slavic language as a Balto-Slavic language interspersed with Venetian features could explain why the Germanic peoples used a Venetian name for their eastern Slavic neighbours. If the first Baltic Veneti and the Veneti inhabiting the region along the Vistula River spoke closely-related languages, it is to be expected that the Germanic peoples (and the Finnic tribes) referred to both by the same name. What both of these groups – the Baltic Veneti and the Veneti along the Vistula River – called themselves remains unknown since there are no written records on the topic. Furthermore, unanswered questions remain as to the input of the Baltic Veneti in the formation of the ancient Slavs. With regard to Bezlaj's hypothesis on the proto-Slavic language as a Baltic language with Venetian features, it is quite possible that their impact was considerable. Over a longer period of time, it is common for a smaller group to adopt the language of the majority. This is a common occurrence regardless of social status, as was the case with the Normans in France, who adopted the French language and later on, after several hundreds of years, i.e. after settling down in England, the English Language, as well as with the Bulgarians. However, the opposite is also possible, i.e. that a larger group adopted the language of the minority, as we shall see in our later discussion.





Figure 4. The area populated by Slovenes in the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.D. in the regions of today's Slovenia and Austria, and in the northern part of today's Russia in the vicinity of Novgorod and lake Ilmen (Vernadsky, 1969).

With regard to the Russians, it is worth mentioning the so-called Normanist Theory, formed by German historians in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Figes, 2008), since similarly unfounded theories about Slovene history constructed by German historians from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries are being adopted by many historians, including those from Western Europe, to this day. On the basis of a Russian Primary Chronicle from the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century titled *Povest' vremennyh let*, the Normanist Theory of the above mentioned German historians states that the first rulers reigning in what was to become present-day Russian territory belonged to the Scandinavian tribe Rus, who arrived in the area on the invitation of contending Slavic tribes (Fig. 4), which most probably led to the domination of the Slavic tribes by the Scandinavian tribe. When 19<sup>th</sup> century archaeologists started to discover the advanced and highly developed civilisation of the Slavic tribes in southern Russia (Vernadsky, 1969), it became clear that their civilisation extended all the way to the ancient Scyths, Goths, Romans, and Greeks (Zupanič, 1932/ 2006; Vernadsky, 1969; Figes, 2008), and that it was organised as a federation already prior to Scandinavian conquest (Martin, 2007).

According to Zupanič (1961/2006) the name Vends is furthermore contained in the name of the Ostrogoth king Vinitharius (the conqueror of the Vends, the Wendenkämpfer), who, as mentioned by Jordanes in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, defeated the western Antes and crucified their king Boz along with his sons and seventy nobles (Vernadsky, 1969). Although Zupanič, who also signed his name Županič, attempts to show in *Boz rex Antorum* (1961) that the name Boz is not of Slavic origin, Ammianus Marcellinus, a Roman officer of Greek descent from the 4<sup>th</sup> century, who wrote in Latin, refers to Vinitharius also by a different name, i.e. Vithimir, which does indeed sound Slavic. It is quite possible that Vinitharius actually had two names, a Gothic and a Slavic one (Vernadsky, 1969).

With the names Venedi, Venethi, Venetii, Winedi, and Vinedi, neither Niko Zupanič nor Milko Kos refer to the antique tribe of the Veneti from the present-day Italian region of Veneto, who lived along the river Po, but rather to the Slavic tribe of the Venedi. It cannot be completely ruled out that prior to Slovene migrations in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, some Slavic Venedi already colonised today's Slovene territory (Fig. 4), which was linked to the Baltic settlement area of the Venedi by the ancient Amber Road, already mentioned by Herodotus and Tacitus (Volpi Lisjak, 2004). Similarly, we cannot exclude the possibility that the antique tribe of the Veneti from the Po river basin had a connection to the indigenous Veneti from the region along the Baltic Sea – they might have been in contact via the ancient Amber Road even prior to the Baltic Veneti mixing with the neighbouring Slavic tribes.

The *Alpine* Slovenes (Fig. 4) were not a uniform tribe that migrated as one to the regions of the central eastern and eastern Alps, the upper Sava River, and the Soča River; rather, they migrated in several waves (Bezljaj, 1967; Bezljaj, 2003). Grafenauer believes that the first settlement wave took place in the 6<sup>th</sup> century (Grafenauer, 2000), proceeding first from the north (the western Slavic language group) and later on from the east; a testament to this fact is supposedly the current Slovene language, which has strong western Slavic roots (Bezljaj, 1967). It should be noted that the preserved Slovene Carinthian dialects display many more typical western Slavic features than the Carniolan dialects, which represent the basis for the modern Slovene language (Bezljaj, 1967).

In their new homeland, as recent genetic studies clearly show, the Alpine Slovenes at least partially mixed with the indigenous people (Zupan et al., 2016; Delser et al., 2018). According to linguist Luka Repanšek, without the above mentioned intermixing of peoples, the Celtic heritage in the toponymy of the southeastern Alpine region could not have been preserved (Repanšek, 2016). An analysis of pre-Slavic remnants in the names appearing in present-day Slovene territory has shown convincingly that the old claims according to which the Alpine Slovenes (Fig. 4) migrated to a virtually unpopulated area were baseless. In some mountainous regions, their harmonious coexistence with the indigenous population lasted even half a millennium. In some settlements, archaeologists recently found traces of uninterrupted continuity between antique and Slovene colonisation, which explains the fast cultural development of Slovenes after they settled down in their new homeland. The Slovene language preserved even some Romance and pre-Romance basic features, which cannot be found in any of the

neighbouring Romance languages (Bezljaj, 1967). Otto Kronsteiner, an Austrian Slavicist, therefore believes that the Slovenes, and partially their present-day language, are a mixture of Slavic, Celtic, and Romance (vulgar Latin) elements. As an interesting fact, it should also be noted that it is only with the Slovenes, the Irish, and the Scots (Granda, 2008) that cases of a particular metabolic disease were reported, while recent DNA analyses have shown a distinct percentage of Celtic genetic heritage in Slovenes (bearing in mind that the Celts settled in present-day Slovene territory around 300 B.C.). Furthermore, Bezljaj believed that the modern Slovene language includes many words of Illyrian descent, while the Polish scientist Lech Leciejewicz (1988) indicated the presence of western Slavic groups also in northern Russia (Fig. 4).

Most recent genetic studies (Zupan et al., 2013; Zupan et al., 2016; Delser et al., 2018; Mielnik-Sikorska et al., 2013) also confirm that the present-day Slovenes are to a considerable extent the descendents of indigenous peoples who lived in present-day Slovene territory and in the former Slovene territories in present-day Austria, Hungary and Croatia (Fig. 1). This implies, similar to the situation in many other Slavic regions in Europe (Kushniarevich et al., 2015), the cultural and linguistic assimilation of indigenous populations by the arriving Slovene people as an important mechanism of the spread of the Slovene (Slavic) language after the decline and later fall of the western part of the Roman Empire. It therefore seems that Slovene and also Slavic expansions in general were to a large extent a linguistic (Riasanovsky, 2005). The strong assimilation of indigenous peoples by the arriving smaller number of incoming Slovene people might have been possible because of the highly egalitarian culture of the arriving Slovene people, who among other things had no obligations to pay taxes (Pleterski, 2013), which may have been very attractive to indigenous populations (called Vlachs by the Slovenes).

It should also be stressed that the percentage of genetic in the modern Slovene population which has been inherited from indigenous peoples may vary considerably vary between the paternal and maternal lineages (Rebała et al., 2007; Zupan et al., 2013; Mielnik-Sikorska et al., 2013; Zupan et al., 2016; Delser et al., 2018). The genetic continuity of several maternal lineages in central Europe from the times of the Bronze and Iron Ages does not seem to be connected to extensive demographic changes, regardless of the visible changes in the material culture of central Europe at the end of the Western Roman Empire (Mielnik-Sikorska et al., 2013). On the other hand, the genetic homogeneity of the paternal lineages of Poles, Slovaks, Czechs, Lusatians, Slovenes, western Croats, Belarusians, Russians and Ukrainians, extending from the Alps to the upper Volga (Rebała et al., 2007), indicates that the Slavic expansion of predominantly male populations probably started somewhere within the regions of the present-day states of the above mentioned Slavic nations. For example, in the middle Dnieper basin, as suggested by Rebała et al. (2007). Based on the above cited studies, one can conclude that understanding the ethnogenesis of Slovenes requires a synthesis of autochthonous, allochthonous and cultural assimilation models (Pleterski, 2013).

French historian Francis Conte (Conte, 1995) suggested that the Gothic invasion of the region inhabited by the ancestors of present-day Slovenes (Sloveni, Slovenci) – namely, the region of Sclaveni

between the Carpathian Mountains and the upper Dnieper River – divided the indigenous population into two groups. One group supposedly moved southward and settled down in the territory of today's Slovenia and Austria, while the other group supposedly moved northeast to the region of Lake Ilmen, where they supposedly established the town of Novgorod (Conte, 1995), which corresponds to the similar view held also by Vernadsky (Fig. 4). In ancient times, Lake Ilmen was known as the Slovene Sea, and the town of Novgorod as Slovensk. There was also a district in Novgorod called the *Slovenski konec* (*Slovene District*) (Volpi Lisjak, 2004). The division of the Slovene tribe (or/and the Sclaveni) into two parts can also be supported by the finding of Bruno Volpi Lisjak (Volpi Lisjak, 2004), who discovered that the same name for the traditional monoxile boat (i.e. "čupa") was used only in the Slovene coastal villages between Trst/Trieste and the Timavo river (now in Italy) and in the Russian region near lake Ilmen close to Novgorod (Novgorod the Great). The Croats, who were the Slovenes' geographically closest Slavic nation-as they populated the east Adriatic coast, already used a different name (i.e. "ladva") for the same type of monoxile boat (Volpi Lisjak, 2004). Also note that the craftsmanship of shipbuilding was highly developed at the east and north Adriatic Sea already before the ancient Romans occupied this region (Volpi Lisjak, 2004). Therefore, the appearance of the Slovene traditional monoxile boat "čupa" at the east Adriatic coast after the fall of the Western Roman Empire strongly supports the assumption of the arrival of a Slovene tribe into this region after the fall of the Roman Empire or maybe in small groups already in the final stage of the Roman Empire.

The case of the place name Vipolže and similar words found in Slovenia and northern Russia must also be mentioned, since there are 113 towns in Russia, mostly in northern Russia around the town of Novgorod, called Vypolzovo (Volpi Lisjak, 2004; Bezljaj, 1967). In old Russian, the phrase *vypolzovskije žiteli* denotes free people. In this case, possibly, parallels could be drawn with the so-called *kosezi* and Slovene place names such as Koseze. The Germans called the *kosezi*, a social class of the noble people (German: Edlinger), as-a special Slovene social class which formed a military retinue to the prince of the Slovene principality Carantania (Luthar et al., 2013). Hence, we can guess that *kosez* is an old Slavic dialectal legal term that was brought to present-day Slovene territory by the same colonisation wave that formed the core of Novgorod Russia (Bezljaj, 1967).

The previously mentioned Slovene linguist France Bezljaj composed a list of a wide array of Slovene words and toponymic roots typical of northern Russia (Bezljaj, 1967). In line with the reasoning outlined above, there is more than enough evidence that what forms the linguistic basis of the Slovene language is in fact a northern Slavic language, which, however, developed under constant southern Slavic influence ever since its beginnings, i.e. since the settlement of Carantania (Bezljaj, 1967). Separate migrations resulted in the Slovene language having also strong western Slavic elements (Bezljaj, 1967; Kushniarevich et al., 2015); this claim is supported by new archaeological findings on motorway construction sites in the vicinity of Maribor and in Prekmurje (Granda, 2008), as well as the most recent genetic analyses, which point to strong maternal and paternal genetic links between Slovenes and the

western Slavic population, i.e. between the Slovenian, Slovakian and Czech populations (Zupan et al., 2013; Zupan et al., 2016; Delser et al., 2018), indicating, among others-things, a common population of ancestors and/or a significant transfer of genes between the ancestors of Slovenes and Slovaks (Zupan et al., 2013). The most recent genetic studies therefore confirm Bezlaj's hypotheses about the origin of the Slovene language and the Slovene nation (Zupan, 2014). The links would probably be even stronger if the genetic studies included autochthonous Slovenes living in the territory of present-day Austrian Carinthia. Genetic studies also indicate strong links between Slovenes and Hungarians (Zupan et al., 2013; Zupan, 2014; Zupan et al., 2016), which is to be expected if one takes into account that the Hungarians assimilated the Slovene (Carantanian) and the Moravian population (Kiss, 1967) in the region of former Lower Pannonia under the rule of the Princes Pribina and Kocel (Fig. 1). It should also be noted that the most recent archaeological findings do not confirm the direct domination of the Avars over the ancestors of present-day Slovenes (Granda, 2008).

One could compose an expansive dictionary of Slovene words with suitable parallels found in northern Slavic languages but not in Balkan Slavic languages. This shows how strong the link between the Slovene language and the northern Slavic languages truly is, probably as a result of old Slavic migrations (Bezlaj, 1967). All these observations in the Slovene language support the scientific views on different migration waves involved in the Slovene settlement in the Alps and their surroundings (Fig. 1), which brought about the formation of the Slovene language as a Slavic-Baltic mix interspersed with features of indigenous languages. This does not exclude the possibility that, during their migration, a part of the ancestors of modern-day Slovenes intermixed, for example with what was left of the eastern Germanic tribes (Bezlaj, 1967). Since there is a lack of written records, no other method besides genetic studies used in the research focusing on the old historic migrations of the ancestors of present-day Slovenes is more telling than the parallels that can be drawn between Baltic and northern Slavic words on the one hand and Slovene words on the other. One needs to bear in mind that the first smaller settlement waves of the Slavic people proceeding towards the region later known as Carantania happened earlier than in the 6<sup>th</sup> century (Bezlaj, 1967). The Slavic people started to colonise the territory of today's Czech Republic already in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

A wide array of Baltic-Slovene linguistic parallels and other archaisms speaks in favour of the assumption that the beginnings of Slovene linguistic individuality date back to at least the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. It is impossible to determine whether these beginnings go back to the old Slavic homeland (Fig. 4) or if the first migration wave on Slovene (Carantanian) soil happened already a couple of centuries prior to 6<sup>th</sup> century migrations (Bezlaj, 1967). Judging by linguistic studies, the claims about a single migration of Slovenes to Carantania and its neighbouring regions (Fig. 6) are merely romantic, mythological stories (Bezlaj, 1967).

On the basis of Bulgarian/Macedonian-Slovene linguistic parallels, Bezljaj presupposes that a part of the northern Slavic tribes migrated across the slopes of the Alps and the Carpathians and broke through all the way to the south and the Aegean Sea. In the old times, the name *Sloveni* was used only for the Slavic peoples in the vicinity of Thessaloniki, for the inhabitants of Novgorod, Russia, and for the Alpine Slovenes, where it also appears in place names. From the names of towns such as Slovenj Gradec, it can be inferred that the name *Sloveni* was used in the first centuries after the settlement of the ancestors of present-day Slovenes in a very general context (Bezljaj, 2003). Slovenes from the regions of Prekmurje and Veneto were probably always called *Slovenje* (Slovenes) (Bezljaj, 1967; Fujs, 1997).

This could mean that the ancestors of present-day Slovenes, as members of the tribe *Sloveni* (in the region of *Sclaveni*), migrated in three main directions (Vernadsky, 1969; Conte, 1995): to the north to the vicinity of Novgorod, to the south to the regions of Carantania, Posavska krajina and Lower Pannonia (Fig. 4), and then the latter group continued even further south in the third direction, to the vicinity of Thessaloniki (see also Igljč, 2008).

Since the ancestors of present-day Slovenes were among all the Slavic nations the first to convert to Christianity, the Slovene Slavist Franc Miklošič believed the language of Slovene Carantanians to have been the language of origin of so-called Old Church Slavic, i.e. the “language of worship” of all the Slavic people, who subsequently changed and transformed the language according to their needs. Later, it became clear that the basis of Old Church Slavic was a dialect of the Slavic people in the vicinity of Thessaloniki, who were probably also known as the Slovenes (Bezljaj, 1967).

Since, according to Miklošič, the ancestors of present-day Slovenes were the first among the Slavs to come in contact with the civilised world of the time in southern and western Europe, their (only marginally changed) name was used to designate all the Slavic peoples (see Marn, 1880). Note that the name Slovenes (Slovenians) at first referred to only one of the many Slavic tribes (Fig. 4) (Vernadsky, 1969).

The modern Slovene collective term “Slovani” (corresponding to English “Slavs”) is an artificial neologism that was coined on the territories of today’s Slovak Republic and Poland. In Slovenia, it was first used by Janez Bleiweis in his journal *Novice* just before the March Revolution in 1848. The name for the Slovene nation *Slovenci* (Sloveni, Slovenje) is an archaism, one of the many, which the Slovene language preserved the most out of all the Slavic languages. We can agree with the hypothesis of the Slovene art historian Janez Höfler that Trubar’s 1555 manuscript “Lubi Slovenci” (English “Dear Slovenes”) did not emerge out of nothing; it is rather a reflection of the old awareness of Slovene national identity (without political awareness), which extends all the way back to the time of the Slovene principality Carantania (Höfler, 2005), and even further back to a time before the ancestors of present-day Slovenes settled in the central and eastern Alps and Lower Pannonia (Vernadsky, 1969; Bezljaj,

1967). In accordance with Vernadsky, Bezlaj, Höfler, and also Miklošič, the historian Igor Grdina (Grdina, 1989) believes that the Latin terms “Sclavinia” and “Sclavorum gentem” in the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* from the 9<sup>th</sup> century relate to Slovenia and Slovenes in Carantania and Lower Pannonia (Fig. 1), as already discussed above. In addition, Höfler (Höfler, 2009) lists further sources in which the name Sclavinia is discussed in relation to the regions of Carantania and Lower Pannonia (Wojtecki, 1981; Bertels, 1987) as the southern and southeastern neighbours of Bavaria. In one of the documents from the Court of Louis I, written in the period between 822 and 827, the list of lands, besides France, Burgundy, Provence, and Italy, also includes Baioaria (Bavaria) and Sclavinia (Slovenia) (Zeumer, 1886).

To the above mentioned Slovenes in Carantania and Lower Pannonia (Fig. 1), we can also add the Slovenes in Sava March (Fig. 6), the core of the later Duchy of Carniola. According to Grdina, the Slavs should not be translated as “Slavic people” in today’s sense of the word, but rather as Slovenes, since the Latin manuscript *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* also mentions Moravians, who are designated by a Moravian name not hyponimic to the “sclavonic” name (Grdina, 1989). The region of Slovenia (Latin: Sclavinia) is also mentioned in other medieval sources, including *Nestor’s Chronicles*, which mentions the region on the same level as Croatian and Serbian regions (Grdina, 1989). Therefore, the language of inauguration of Slovene Carinthian dukes after the 10<sup>th</sup> century cannot be defined as a Slavic language but rather as Slovene language (see also Fig. 2) since the Slovene language at the time already developed some basic distinctive features in relation to other neighbouring and more distant Slavic languages (Grdina, 1989).

In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, during the reign of Emperor Otto III, the only major Slavic people of the time included in the Holy Roman Empire were the Slovenes, who had their seat in Carinthia and its adjacent connected counties, such as the Carniolan March; this was roughly the region of the Carantanian Kingdom of Arnulf of Carantania from the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 6), which recognised the privileged social group of the *kosezi*, a particularity known only to Slovenes, as discussed. Thus, in the famous illustration of the tribute of provinces Sclavinia, Germania, Galia, and Roma to Emperor Otto III (Fig. 5, left panel), one can justifiably equate *Sclavinia* with *Slovenia* as the region of Slovenes within the Carantanian sphere of influence in the Holy Roman Empire in the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Grdina, 1989; Höfler, 2009), which comprised the regions of the future duchies of Carinthia, Carniola, Styria, the princely County of Gorica (Gorizia), and parts of northern Istria. Note that the origin of the Italian name Gorizia is the original Slovene name of the city Gorica, which means a small mountain.

In the same manner, Slovenia may be equated with Sclavinia also in a 14<sup>th</sup> century fresco found in St. Peter the Younger Church in Strasbourg (Fig. 5, right panel), which depicts the tribute of European nations the Holy Cross. In it, Sclavinia represents the Slovene nation, alongside the nations of Germania, Italia, Gallia, Anglia, Scothia, Arragonia, Hungaria, Polonia, and others (Höfler, 2005; Höfler, 2009). On the basis of everything mentioned above, it can be reiterated that Trubar’s address “Lubi Slovenci”

(English “Dear Slovenes”) from 1555 was no novelty but rather a reflection of the ancient tradition dating back to the Carantanian period (Höfler, 2005) and even further, (see also Fig. 4) back to the period before the ancestors of present-day Slovenes settled in the region of the eastern Alps and Lake Balaton (Vernadsky, 1969; Conte, 1995; Iglič, 2008).



Figure 5. In the famous illustration of the tribute of Slavonia, Germania, Gallia, and Roma to Emperor Otto III from the 10<sup>th</sup> century (left), Slavonia can be equated with Slovenia, i.e. the region of the Slovenes of the time (Fig. 1) within the Holy Roman Empire (Höfler, 2009; Grdina, 1989), a region much bigger than present-day Slovenia. The original is kept at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. The figure on the right shows an illustration of Slavonia, i.e. the Slovene nation, in the fresco of the Strasbourg Cathedral, which depicts a tribute of the European nations to the Holy Cross (Höfler, 2009).

In the area of Novgorod (Fig. 4), the name Sloveni (Slovenci) (English: Slovenes or Slovenians) disappeared completely after the 15<sup>th</sup> century; by contrast, the aforementioned name was still used by people in southern Istria in the 1960s (Bezljaj, 1967) (Figs. 36). Bezljaj therefore suggests that if we decide to speak about the loss of Slovene ethnic territory in the north, we should also consider it in the south and southwest. In the 17<sup>th</sup> and partially also the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Kaykavian and Chakavian Croats were still called Slovenci or Slovinci (Bezljaj, 1967). Thus, even in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Austrian ethnographers called them Sloveno-Croats. Kopitar regarded Kaykavian Croatian only as a dialect on the margin of the Slovene language area (Kopitar and Čop, 1973; Grdina, 1999). Therefore, the historian Stane Granda believes that the naming of the great peasant revolt in 1473 as the Slovene and Croat revolt was politically motivated rather than substantive as all the participants were part of the same nation (Granda, 2008). The Kaykavians from Zagora were treated separately from other Slovenes mainly due to the border, not due to their language (Granda, 2008). It must be added that the medieval region of Slavonia from the time when Croatia extended to the Sava River in the north was ethnically different region than present-day Slavonia (a part of the Republic of Croatia), as it has undergone



significant ethnic changes since the late Middle Ages due to various reasons, including the Turkish invasion. The name of present-day Slavonia originates from *Sclavonia*, therefore, prince Louis of Lower Pannonia (Liudewitus, dux Pannoniae inferioris) cannot be considered a Croatian prince and -Lower Pannonia cannot be considered Pannonian Croatia. It was also logical that prince Louis of Lower Pannonia started his uprising/war against the Franks (bellum Liudewiticum) in the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century together with the Slovene Carantanians and Carniolans because they were all Slovenes (Latin: Sclaveni) from Sclavinia. -Accordingly, even modern genetic studies indicate a closer genetic kinship between Slovenes and western Croats (Rebała et al., 2007) than between other Croats and Slovenes.

With the Hungarian invasion and the foundation of the medieval Hungarian state, the Slovenes also lost the territorial link with their kinsmen in the present-day Slovak Republic (Slovak: Slovenská republika) as well as, at least partially, with present-day Croatian Slavonia (Granda, 2008). Slovaks and Slovenes probably participated in the same tribal union established under the leadership of king Samo in the period from 623 to 658 A.D. (see also Luthar et al., 2013).

The similarity between hand-made ceramic items found at some archaeological sites in the regions of old Slavic settlements from the 6<sup>th</sup> century in the territories of present-day Slovenia and the Slovak Republic and the ceramic items found in distant Ukraine (Guštin, 2005) corresponds with the previously mentioned hypothesis that the ancestors of present-day Slovenes also included the Sclaveni (Slovenes) who migrated to the Alps (Fig. 4) from the territory around lake Ilmen, arriving there from the region along the upper Dnieper River (Vernadsky, 1969), i.e. from present-day Ukraine. High quality ceramic items from the Late Iron Age and from the Roman Empire period found at Slovene archaeological sites in present-day Slovenia speak in favour of the Slovene colonisation of the Alpine region. However, concerning Bezljaj's finding that the Slovene language contains words which appear across the entire Slavic world, some of them only in particular areas, it can be assumed that the ancestors of present-day Slovenes migrated to the settlement area of the Alpine Slovenes (Sloveni) in several waves and from different regions.

As already mentioned, the possibility of Slavic migration flows prior to the 6<sup>th</sup> century should not be completely ruled out (Dvornik, 1956; Pleterski, 1995). According to reports written by the Byzantine diplomat Priscus (Vernadsky, 1969), some of the inhabitants of Pannonia (Fig. 1) in the 5<sup>th</sup> century ate millet and drank beverages made out of "medos" (honey) and "kamos" (barley), they had "strava" (a funeral ceremony), and spoke a language that was neither Gothic nor Hun nor Latin, which suggests that they might have been Slavs (Dvornik, 1956; Barford, 2001). Jordanes (Dvornik, 1956) also reports the use of the word "strava" in the region along the Tisa (Tisza) River in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Of great interest is also the Gothic origin of words such as *sword*, *helmet*, *regiment*, *prince* ("meč", "šlem", "polk", and "knez"), and others (Vernadsky, 1969). The results of archaeological research in Moravia and the Slovak Republic have shown that the Slavs were to a lesser extent present in those regions already in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D., which is in line with the reports of Procopius (*De Bello Gothico*), which state that between 508 and 514 A.D., the Herules, after their defeat in Langobardia

(Lombardy), decided to return home, to the region of present-day Denmark, for which they received safe passage through the Slavic region (Dvornik, 1956).

The intermixing of various peoples in the formation of present-day modern European nations is not typical only of central European Slovenes but also of many other nations. In the Albanian language, for example, approximately 25 percent of the words are of Romance, 20 percent of Turkish, 15 percent of New-Greek, and 10 percent of Slavic origin, which means that the original vocabulary of said language does not contain more than 30 percent of words of lesser-known origin (Grafenauer, 1988). The assumption about the Illyrian origin of the Albanian people can therefore be regarded only as a myth (Altimari et al., 1984; Grafenauer, 1988), established by some modern era historians.

It has been shown that a special type of hereditary dynastic succession within one family (Kos, 1985) was in effect in the land of the Alpine Slovenes (i.e. the Slovene Carantanians), which is probably the oldest known true Slavic state formation (Fig. 1) (Grafenauer, 1978, Kos, 1985) and existed in its initial form for about 200 years (from the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century until the third decade of the 9<sup>th</sup> century), in its last period under Frankish rule. The succession did not pass only from father to son, such as in the example of prince Borut (740–749), who was succeeded by his son prince Gorazd (749–752), but also to secondary family branches. Gorazd, for example, was succeeded by his cousin prince Hotimir (752–769) (Grafenauer, 1978). Hotimir's successors, i.e. domestic Carantanian princes, were Valtunk, Pribislav, Semika, Stojmir, and Etgar, who was prince of Carantania until 828.

History also knows other Slovene princes, dukes or counts of Alpine Slovenes, for example prince/duke Domician, who lived in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Glaser, 1993; Pleterski, 1994) and is considered as the founder of the Millstatt Abbey church, located in present-day Austria. In 1992, archaeologists discovered in Millstatt Abbey the remnants of an original panel from the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century placed over the grave of Domician, with the partially preserved inscription (QVIES)CIT DOMICIA(NVS) . . . (K)AROLI IMPERATORIS . . . (PA)GANITA(TEM), which confirmed that Domician lived in the time of Charlemagne (Glaser, 1993), in agreement with the description of his life from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, which is based on the previous texts from the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries (Nikolasch, 1993; Glaser, 1993; Pleterski, 1994). A Slovene nobleman, the blessed Domician is worshiped as a saint of the Catholic Church. Domician of Carantania (Carinthia).

The title *dux* puts Domician in the first line of the Carantanian upper class. However, his name is not found among those Carantanian princes who are mentioned in *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* between the years 772 and 828. One could therefore assume that either Domician wasn't quite at the top of the country's nobility, or that there are other reasons for it. Perhaps the name Domician is also the Christian baptismal name of a Slovene prince, who is listed in the *Conversio* under his Slovene name (Eichert, 2011). It has also been suggested that Domician was a prince (duke, count) of Liburnia (Pleterski, 1998, see also Fig. 6). Both, Liburnia and Carantania Minor (the maternal principality of Carantania) can be considered as parts of the larger territory of Sclavinia, inhabited by Alpine Slovenes,

in accordance with the spirit of *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, where Carantania and Lower Pannonia north of the Drava River (see also Fig. 1) are designated as Sclavinia, i.e. Slovenia.

After 828, Carantania (Fig. 6) as a tribal principedom of Carantanian Slovenes within the Holy Roman Empire, existed until the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Members of the Carolingian dynasty Karlman (830–880) and his son Arnulf of Carantania (850–899), who was Carantanian on his mother's side, were also Carantanian rulers and signed documents with the title *Rex Carantanorum*, i.e. King of Carantania (Zgodovina Slovencev, 1979).

It has been proved that the Carantanian Prince had an accompanying landed nobility already in the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. prior to the establishment of the Frankish social system (after 828). For the Carantanian society of the time, sources also mention other princeps (*principes*) and counts (*comites*). A document dating from 830 notes that the nobleman Baaz, who was a Carantanian Slovene, gave his heritage, including his unfree people and all of his properties, to the Diocese of Freising.



Figure 6. The Carantanian Kingdom of Arnulf of Carantania (850–899) with its seat in Carantania Minor (dark green) included also the adjacent county (march) along the Sava River (Sava March, later Duchy of Carniola) and Lower and Upper Pannonia (see also Štih, 1986). Arnulf's Carantanian Kingdom in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, which almost entirely covered the settlement area of Slovenes/Carantanians (denoted by different shades of green), represented the basis for the subsequent formation of the duchies of Carinthia, Carniola (Komac, 2006), and Styria. Carantanian Kingdom can be considered as a Slovene, i.e. non-Germanic, tribal duchy within the Holy Roman Empire (Korošec, 1990; Vilfan, 1996). Adapted from the Illustrated history of Slovenes (*Ilustrirana zgodovina Slovencev*, 2001).

The first proprietary church of the Carantanian princes was the Church of St. Mary at Zollfeld (Slovene: Gosposvetsko polje), which was built by prince Hotimir (752–769) and consecrated by the provincial bishop Modestus. After the removal of local Carantanian princes, the ownership of this ancient church passed to the crown and, through a deed of donation, to the Salzburg diocese. In a similar manner, approximately ten fortified manors/castles (*curtis*), which received their names already in the Frankish period, among them Krn Castle (German: Karnburg), Možberk Castle (German: Moosburg), Althofen, Ribnica, Breže (German: Friesach) and others. The construction of these original castles differed significantly from early feudal Frankish towers, representing the seats of old nobility from the reign of Slavic princes in Carantania. The name Carantania itself does not stem from a tribal name, as is the case with the majority of other Slavic nations; instead, it is associated with the seat of the Carantanian Prince at Krn Castle (*curtis Carantana, civitas Carantana*) (Fig. 6).

In the scope of its extended Frankish territorial unit (Fig. 6), Carantania, retaining the name of a considerably smaller territory, now called Carantania Minor (Fig. 1), united the greater part of the ancestors of present-day Slovenes up until its disintegration in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The name *Carantanorum region* (the county/principality of Carantanians), dating from 819 and designating the colonisation unit of Carantanians in Lower Pannonia north of the Drava River (Figs. 1 and 6), shows that the Carantanians already shared some form of common awareness since it does not relate only to the population of Carantania Minor. In his 871 work, a priest from Salzburg who fled from Lower Pannonia (Fig. 6) treats the history of Lower Pannonia only as part of the history of Carantanians, and another source mentions the banishment of Archbishop St. Methodius from Lower Pannonia as banishment from the Carantanian region. Furthermore, Kocel (833–876), Count and Prince of Lower Pannonia, who succeeded his father Pribina, is in some documents referred to as *quidam Carantanus*, while in 880 Carantania also included Blatenski kostel (German: Moosburg, Latin: Urbs Paludarum, present-day *Zalavár*), the capital of Pribina and Kocel.

Between 869 and 874, Prince Kocel ruled as a completely independent sovereign. At Kocel's Court, they introduced services of worship in the local Slovene language and the use of the Glagolitic alphabet. Thus, Slovene linguist Jernej Kopitar (1780–1844) believed (as did Miklošič later on) that the so-called “korotanščina” (a Pannonian proto-Slovene language) was the basis of the Church Slavonic language of St. Methodius, i.e. Old Church Slavonic (Marn, 1880), which later proved to be false.

Kocel's Court (Fig. 1) was probably also where the first Slavic code of laws, “Zakon sudni ljudem”, was written; it is supposed that the author of this work was Methodius. Per Kocel's wish, the Pope appointed Methodius the Archbishop of the reconstituted Pannonian Archdiocese (Grivec, 1927; Iglič, 2007a). Following Kocel's fall, the Great Carantania also comprised the county (march) along the Sava River (Carniola) and both Upper and Lower Pannonia under the rule of Arnulf of Carantania (Fig. 6).

From the 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the name Carantanians was frequently used for all Alpine and Pannonian ancestors of present-day Slovenes, as well as for their land (Korošec, 1990), although, as previously mentioned, Carantania was regarded as part of Sclavinia, i.e. Slovenia (Fig. 5) (Vernadsky,

1969; Grdina, 1989; Höfler, 2009). The manuscript on the conversion of Carantanians and Bavarians to Christianity *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* refers to Carantanians as a “Slavic tribe” that lived in Carantania Minor and Lower Pannonia. In different records of the deeds of donation, both the phrase “regions of Bavaria” and the phrase “regions of Carantania” are used (Zgodovina Slovencev, 1979). From the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, European authors – from Russian to English and even Arabic authors – frequently used the word *Carantanians* to denote all Slovenes as a whole. The *Russian Chronicles (Letopisi)* called the 12<sup>th</sup> century Slovenes “Horutani” (i.e. Carantanians), while an Arabic geographer from Sicily described Carantania as a region comprising the entirety of eastern Alps and Pannonia. Furthermore, in 1168, a chronicler from Saxony included Carantanians in the group of *western Slavic nations*, besides the Poles, Czechs, Moravians, Prussians, and Polabian Serbs.

Around 880, the English King Alfred wrote that the Danube represented the northern border of Carantania with Moravia Magna, while in the east Carantania bordered on the Bulgarians, from which the Carantanians were separated only by the wilderness between the rivers Danube and Tisa/Tisza (Grafenauer, 2000). It is clear that present-day Austrian and Slovene Carinthia encompassed only the central part of the broader Carantanian territory (Fig. 6); thus, in the geographical sense, they are two of the many successors of Carantania.

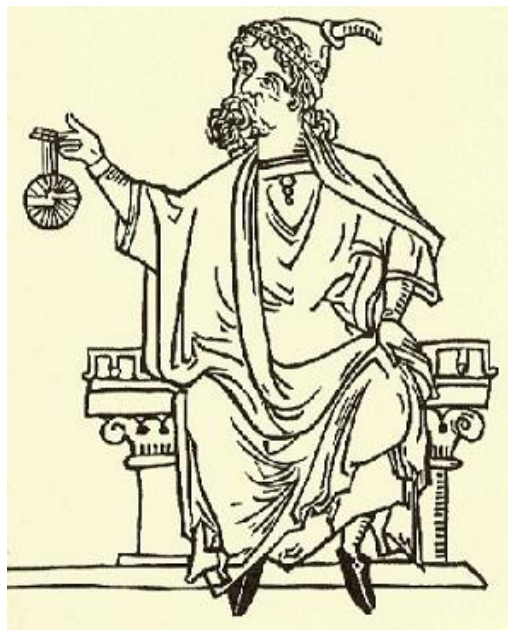


Figure 7. Slovene philosopher, mathematician, astronomer, astrologer, translator, and author Herman of Carinthia (Hermanus de Carinthia), born around 1100 in the Duchy of Carinthia (part of former Carantania) in the vicinity of St. Peter im Holz (Slovene: Sveti Peter v Lesu) in present-day Austrian Carinthia (Nartnik, 1987; Nartnik, 1990; Šumrada, 1996; Caiazzo, 2002; Thomas and Mallett, 2011). Herman of Carinthia studied in Chartres and Paris, France, where he also died in 1160. Among other topics, Herman of Carinthia wrote an original treatise on roots in mathematics (Gantar, 1965; Zečić and Škamperle, 2005).

Austrian Slavicist O. Kronsteiner therefore states that the “existence of the thousand-year German Austria is a preconception and a lie.” Austria has always been a multi-cultural land, and the predominant population in its central area were at first Slovenes. It was only much later that German gained ground and became the dominant language (Kronsteiner, 2004), especially in the northern Alpine regions, sparsely populated by the ancestors of present-day Slovenes, which later on resulted in the domination of Bavarian colonisers (Zupanič, 1911). Just the opposite occurred in the German colonisation areas south of the Drava River, which were almost completely taken by Slovenes. Only one large settlement area, that of the Kočevarji (see Figs. 36 and 40), who spoke a dialectal mixture of Thuringian and Frankish (Zupanič, 1911), was preserved; as can be deduced from the surnames on the commemorative plaque honouring the victims of WWI in the village of Stara Cerkev pri Kočevju, the Kočevarji (Gottscheers) mixed with Slovenes and were also partially germanised Slovenes.

All the regional names up to the boundary between Linz and East Tyrol that contain Slavic elements – which is a lot of them – are of Carantanian in origin, i.e. Slovene (Kronsteiner, 2004). In the early Middle Ages, the language of the largest part of present-day Austria was Slovene; Slovene was the main language not only in Carinthia but also in Styria, i.e. in the regions of former Great Carantania (Fig. 6). Therefore, Kronsteiner believes that Austrian cultural history should be written anew. Carantanians may be regarded not only as the ancestors of present-day Slovenes but also, to some extent, as the ancestors of present-day Austrians (Pleterski, 2005).

So, between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, the name Carantanians in most cases referred to the ancestors of present-day Slovenes, even though Carantania Minor did not include some other (border) Slavene duchies (counties), such as Carniola along the upper Sava River and Liburnia west of the original Carantania (Fig. 6). As previously mentioned, Carniola became a part of Great Carantania only later, in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, as a march (borderland) along the Sava River (Fig. 6). If the Bavarians, the Thuringii, the Saxons, and others are among the ancestors of present-day Germans, then the Carantanians are most definitely the ancestors of present-day Slovenes. The same could also be said of Carantanians with regard to present-day Austrians, since Slovenes, who were later on germanised, were up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century the predominant population in the former central Carantanian region. Between the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the name Carantanians was a generally accepted name for all the ancestors of present-day Slovenes. During the renaissance of the Slovene people, the name “Carantanian” regained its old Latin meaning. Proof of this is, for example, the inscription on the tombstone of linguist Jernej Kopitar, which says “Bartholomeus Kopitar *Carantanus*”, even though Kopitar was born in Carniola near Ljubljana. Moreover, in his poems about the Austrian revolution, Karl Marx referred to the Slovenes as Carantanians as late as in 1848, i.e. after Kopitar’s death (see Debeljak, 1972).

Examples of the highest nobility having Carantanian (Slovene) names date back to the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The Princes Pribina and Kocel (Fig. 1) were in their capital *Blatenski kostel* predominantly surrounded by Carantanian, i.e. Slovene nobility. The Carantanian Duke Arnulf of Carantania (850–899), a member of the Carolingian dynasty and great-grandson of Charles I, who signed with the title *Rex Carantanorum*,

i.e. King of Carantanians, the same as his father, was the illegitimate son of a Carantanian woman and the Bavarian King Karlman I (*Zgodovina Slovencev*, 1979). His army consisted of Bavarians and Carantanians. With the help of said army, Arnulf of Carantania became King of East Francia and was the last Carolingian to be crowned Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in 896. The Slovene Carantanian nobility largely fused with the Bavarian nobility (Kos, 1985) and gradually acquired Germanic names and surnames – a process that continued up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century; however, the Slovene nobility preserved its knowledge of the Slovene language.

Some Slovenes have the incomprehensible habit of forgetting or renouncing parts of their nation's history when it comes to those periods in which rulers were partially or completely of non-Slovene descent, even though the Carantanian Prince was granted a special right to use his native Slavic language also while attending the Imperial Court (Grdina, 1989). Because of the impact of German Slavophobic historiography, the Carantanian Kingdom of Arnulf of Carantania (Fig. 6), who was of Carantanian descent on his mother's side, was not regarded as Slovene tribal duchy. In some books, in fact, Arnulf is even referred to as Arnulf of Carinthia (instead of Carantania), despite the fact that the Duchy of Carinthia did not even exist at the time. If the English looked at their own history in the same way as some Slovenes, they should have renounced their history from William the Conqueror until the start of the Renaissance, and they would have had many more reasons to do so than Slovenes (see also Churchill, 2002) since, as opposed to the Slovene lands, the high nobility of Norman descent in England used a foreign language, i.e. French, also as their colloquial language from the time of William the Conqueror until the Renaissance (i.e. three and a half centuries). And yet, the present-day English do not seem to be bothered by that. As an interesting aside, let us also note that, much later, even Empress Maria Theresa in her letters to her adult children did not use German (she only spoke the Viennese dialect) but French, the same as the majority of the Russian high nobility (Figes, 2008).

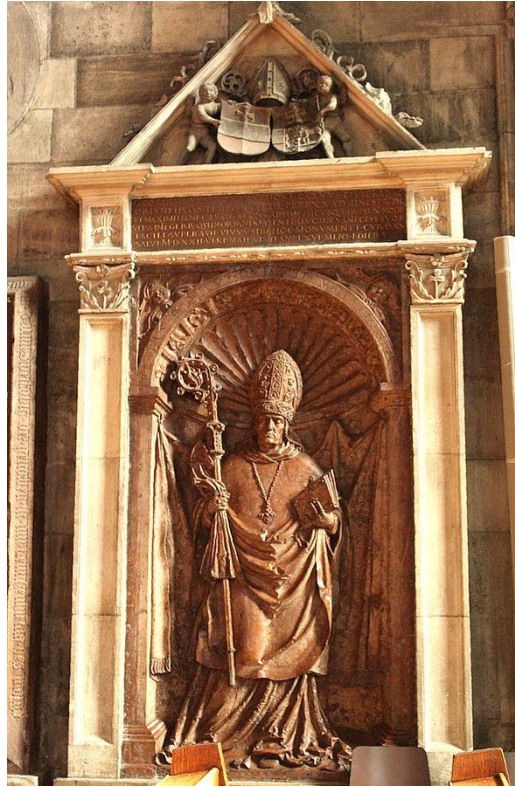


Figure 8. The tombstone of the Slovene conductor, composer, and Bishop of Vienna Jurij de Slatkonja (German: Georg von Slatkonja, Greek: Chrysippus) in St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna. The Latin epitaph starts with: Georgius Slatkonja, of Carniolan nationality, from Ljubljana, bishop with the Church of this city, etc. (Mantuani, 1907). Bishop Jurij (Georg) Slatkonja (1456–1522), a native of Ljubljana (Höfler, 1975; Höfler, 1999; Maček, 1936), was also a good mathematician and an amateur astronomer (Mantuani, 1907; Škulj, 1997). He first attended school in Ljubljana, and then in Ingolstadt and Vienna, where he earned the title *baccalaureus*. In his coat of arms he had a golden horse (see this figure), derived from a most likely incorrect Slovene etymological analysis of his surname: *slat* (zlat) = gold and *konj* (Greek Chrysippus) = horse; although, due to the loose manner of writing down surnames in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, one can never really be sure how a surname was pronounced and what was its origin. In 1498, Slatkonja formed a boys' choir in Vienna, which went on to become the renowned Vienna Boys' Choir. Prior to becoming the Bishop of Vienna in 1513, Slatkonja was among other things a cantor at the Court of Vienna. The Jurij Slatkonja Music Conservatory in Novo mesto in Slovenia is named after him.

To conclude, in recent times, even foreign historians have appealed to the Slovene public not to forfeit their own history unnecessarily. The Austrian historian Kronsteiner states (Kronsteiner, 2004): “The Freising Manuscripts are of Slovene origin. The Slovene language was spoken in the region of present-day Austria. All regional names between Linz and East Tyrol which contain Slavic elements – and there are many – are not Slavic but Slovene in origin. And finally, Slovene was the provincial language in Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola, i.e. in the region of the former Kingdom of Great Carantania” (Fig. 6).

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